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THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT STATUS OF
ARKANSAS' PROGRAM OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

presented by

LURLINE M. LEE

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

EGD degree in Guidance & Counseling

Walter L. Johnson
Major professor

Date February 25, 1955



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THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT STATUS OF ARKANSAS'

PROGRAM OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

By

Lurline Mahan Lee

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Department of Guidance and Counselor Training

1955

Approved

Walter L. Robinson

The Problem. This was a study of the origin, development, and present status of the State of Arkansas' program of higher education for Negroes. It attempted to explore: (1) the beginning of biracialism; (2) the evolving policy of the Supreme Court toward biracialism in higher education; (3) the economic and educational backgrounds of the Negro college students in Arkansas; (4) the quality and extent of the educational offerings available in the Negro colleges of the State; and (5) the attempt of the University of Arkansas to develop an integrated program of education on the graduate level.

It was hoped that the study might serve as a record of the unprecedented experiment, and that the experience of this State might prove helpful to other Southern states confronted with the racial issue in higher education.

Sources of Information. Data used in this study were collected from diverse sources, namely; (1) publications related to the study; (2) court records concerning discrimination in education; (3) published statistics of the public schools of Arkansas; (4) oral reports and records of Negro institutions offering undergraduate work in the State; (5) records from the offices of (a) the Dean of the School of Education at the

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University of Arkansas, (b) the Division of General Extension, (c) the Graduate Center at Little Rock, and (d) the State Department of Education; (6) the personal accounts of students, teachers, University officials, and State Department personnel.

Findings and Proposals for Consideration. The principal findings of the research indicate:

1. That while the problem of biracialism is an ancient one, not uniquely American or Southern, America's present-day handling of this problem has grave international implications.
2. That the Supreme Court, backed by public opinion, is becoming increasingly intolerant of biracialism in education.
3. That Arkansas' economic deprivation is reflected in all her schools and colleges, but that the Negro schools and colleges in terms of proportion of youth attending, per pupil expenditures, accreditation, preparation and salary of teachers, library and laboratory facilities, and scope of offerings are more adversely affected than are the white schools and colleges.
4. That since the opening of the integrated program of the University, the gap between the two races, in so far as educational indices are concerned, has begun to close.

Cont:

5. That a great majority of the Negroes seeking graduate study in Arkansas are employees of either the Negro public schools or the Negro colleges.

6. That integration on the graduate level can be achieved and maintained without litigation or serious racial disturbances of any kind.

These findings suggest that the following proposals be considered:

1. That additional research and experimentation are needed to solve questions arising from this study.

2. That better personnel and guidance programs are needed in all the colleges, including the University.

3. That the cultural foundation upon which professional education is based should be greatly broadened.

4. That a program of adult education for Negroes should be developed to prepare them more fully for responsibility in civic affairs.

5. That the University of Arkansas continue to develop the program of integration and become in truth a laboratory of inter-racial fellowship.

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT STATUS OF ARKANSAS'
PROGRAM OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES

By

LURLINE MAHAN LEE

A DISSERTATION

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State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
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This study was made possible only through the cooperation of many individuals, particularly the officials of the University of Arkansas and of the Arkansas State Department of Education who made their records available and permitted their use in this study and the many friends, both Negro and white, who so willingly shared their experiences with the writer.

The writer wishes also to express gratitude and appreciation for the interest, encouragement, and constructive suggestions received from Dr. Walter F. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, and the other members of the committee: Dr. Guy Hill, Dr. Carson Hamilton, and Dr. Cecil V. Millard, each of whom contributed material help as well as valuable intangible support.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Today the colored peoples of the world are on the march. This might well be termed by future historians, "The Rise of the Colored Masses." They are throwing off the yoke the white man has so long pressed upon them and are asserting their right to a place in the sun.

Today the United States of America has been thrust into a position of leadership of the free and democratic peoples of the world, but this leadership is subject to doubt and suspicion even among these peoples because America in some measure fails to apply the equalitarian principles of the Declaration of Independence and the provisions of the Constitution to approximately one tenth of the citizenry of the country. The situation has more dangerous implications also. Ralph Bunche, the great Negro leader, warns that "Our undemocratic racial attitudes and practices are rich and fully exploited sources of effective propaganda for those who oppose us and all we stand for" (36:218).

Education must provide the chief solution to the national dilemma, but education itself is not democratic. How then, can it provide the answer? Education must become democratic if

America is to avoid political chaos and demoralization. Robert

Hutchins (72:105) states it this way:

The truths inscribed on our hearts are, I think, the truths of the Declaration of Independence, which, as I recall it, include the proposition that all men are created equal. -- The task that we have on a world scale is not merely to repeat these propositions, but to show that this truth, which is inscribed on our hearts, is one that we are prepared to put into operation; notably put it into operation in those institutions which are dedicated to the propagation of our ideals, namely, our institutions of higher learning.

Charles W. Pipkin (127:29) who has studied the situation in the South where live approximately 68 per cent (1950 Census data) of the Negroes of the country, made the following statement before the Conference of the Deans of Southern Graduate Schools in their thirteenth annual session.

The challenge to the South to create a civilization in which there is essential democracy for white and black is one of the most difficult problems a dominant race has ever had put to its leadership and to its institutions. It is all the more crucial test of the South's capacity for self-control and self-direction because the whole spirit and form of democracy are under indictment throughout the world. -- The educational philosophy which does not take account of its obligation to the Negro from the kindergarten to the graduate school can have no part in the building of a civilization in the South where the two races may work in intelligent cooperation.

Such cooperation in the field of education between Negroes and whites has developed, to some extent, in the State

of Arkansas. Arkansas is a southern state. The race-relations pattern in Arkansas is deeply grounded in southern folkways and mores. The great majority of white citizens of Arkansas have been brought up with the belief that the Negro is biologically as well as socially inferior, and many of the whites are determined to keep the Negro "in his place." The society is bi-racial and segregation prevails generally. However, in recent years a new type of leadership has arisen, a reaffirmation of the belief in democratic ideals is underway, and this new type of leadership and this reaffirmation have developed the State's program of higher education for its Negro minority.

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to investigate the origin, development, and present status of the program of graduate education for Negroes in the State of Arkansas; to describe the graduate work being offered; to discover some of the problems connected with the program; and to make proposals for meeting these problems.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PROBLEM

Justification for the study was based on the following factors: (1) The ever-increasing demands of the Negro for equal educational opportunities, the court cases to which the Negro

has resorted when these demands were denied, and recent court decisions are requiring educators, civic leaders, and politicians to deal with problems related to graduate study for Negroes. Many of those concerned with the matter lack sufficient information to make wise decisions. (2) Admission of Negroes to the graduate school of the University of Arkansas has been accomplished with order, good-will, and in good faith. Other southern states, beset with law suits, have inquired concerning the program. These states might learn from Arkansas' experience what to do and what not to do, as they, voluntarily or at the command of the Supreme Court of the United States, embark upon a program of educational equalization on the advanced levels. (3) No previous record of the experiment has been made and several University of Arkansas officials expressed a desire for such a study to be made. (4) The Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools, meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1945, found that there was a great need for more factual information concerning graduate instruction of Negroes in the South, and recommended that such studies be made, preferably on a state basis (126:175). (5) The trend in education is definitely toward integration. It may well be that segregation in education will soon be a thing of the past. Such

a study as this will provide a record of Arkansas' vision and leadership in initiating educational integration in the South.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

In order to understand the problem a look at its historical setting was deemed necessary. The first chapter, therefore, develops this background down through the years immediately following the Civil War and its legal aftermath, and then defines and describes the study. Chapter II traces the evolving policy of the Supreme Court of the United States toward segregation in education, without which it is entirely possible that educational integration in Arkansas would never have been attempted.

The economic and educational background of Negro students is an important factor in their higher education, and the limitations of this background are considered in Chapter III. The Negro colleges of Arkansas, their enrollment, teaching personnel, curricula and areas of specialization form the content of Chapter IV. The beginning and early development of the integrated program, from the drawing of the color line to the opening of classes to the members of both races, is traced in Chapter V. Chapter VI describes the present status of the integrated program, and Chapter VII draws conclusions and makes recommendations for the future development of the program.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The problem of semantics is always a difficult one.

This is true, to some extent, of the terminology used in this study. In order to establish a common frame of reference, some clarification is necessary in relation to the following terms:

graduate study, higher education, land-grant college, Negro, minority, segregation, desegregation, integration, and discrimination.

1. Graduate Study.

There is a lack of precision in the use of the term "graduate study." To some educators it means simply that work so classified in the college catalog; to others it defines the state of the student's academic experience without reference to the character of work (126:8); to still others, "graduate study" must involve an element of research. Pierson states that Professor Butler held that graduate work involved four essentials: (1) strong personalities, rich in scholarship, to guide the students, (2) opportunity for close, personal relationships between these guiding personalities and their students, (3) the necessary equipment, such as libraries, classroom space, et cetera, and (4) student responsibilities for carrying on specialized studies

without required class attendance or other restrictions upon the student's time (126:8). The term will be defined herein as Good defines it: ". . . formal study pursued after receiving the bachelor's degree or first professional degree, usually for the purpose of obtaining a higher degree (64:393)." Such a definition agrees with the use of the term in Arkansas.

2. Higher Education.

"Higher education" as used herein, is a more comprehensive term, embracing all education above the level of secondary school as a prerequisite, -- i.e. requiring secondary education -- whether it be given in college, universities, graduate schools, professional schools, technical institutes, teachers' colleges, or normal schools (64:201).

3. Land-grant College.

Chambers (40:2), who has done much research in the area of land-grant colleges, gives two definitions which, for purposes of this study, have been combined. A "land-grant college," then, is herein considered to be any institution of higher education, state university or separate state college, that has been designated by the legislature of the state in which it is located as being eligible to receive benefits of the Morrill Act and any supplementary legislation.

4. Negro.

The various states of the United States are far from unanimous in their legal definitions of the term "Negro." The legal definition established by the State of Arkansas, according to Pope's Digest, Section 3292, is as follows: "Any person who has in his or her veins any Negro blood whatever."

The social definition, however, is more pertinent to this study, for it is the one commonly accepted throughout Arkansas. According to Arnold M. Rose, noted sociologist at the University of Minnesota, a Negro is "any person who has any known Negroid ancestry (143:6)." The United States Government recognized the prevalence of this social definition when it instructed its Census enumerators: "A person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood" (112:1). In such a sense will the term be used in this study. No attempt is made herein to define the term "Negro" scientifically or biologically, neither is any implication of inferiority or superiority of either whites or Negroes implied. The term is merely defined as it is used legally and socially in the State of Arkansas.

5. Minority.

Wirth's definition of a minority as "a group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination" (194:347) will be used herein.

6. Segregation.

"Segregation" is a pattern of accommodation. The term will be used to denote the act, process, or state of being set apart from others, but the separation need not imply discrimination since it may be voluntary.

7. Desegregation.

Another pattern of accommodation, the opposite of segregation, is desegregation, which implies the lack of spatial barriers between the two races. The term does not imply true integration. Desegregation may exist without integration, but integration cannot be achieved without desegregation.

8. Integration.

Bond (28:241) states that "integration" is a term borrowed from mathematics. In that subject "to integrate is to form into a whole; to unite or become united so as to form a complete or

perfect whole. In literary comprehension, it is to unify, as to integrate the plots of a play" (28:241). In education, however, Bond feels that integration involves the intangibles of the spirit. It becomes "the admission of Negroes to the normal intimacies that comprise so large a portion of modern education" (28:241). Such integration is the real goal of the vocal Negro leadership. In this study the meaning of "integration" is restricted to what Bond calls physical or spatial integration, the "mere physical occupancy of space within an institution" (28:249). Only in this latter sense has "integration" been attempted in Arkansas.

9. Discrimination.

"Discrimination," as used herein, does imply coercion. The word itself simply means "differential treatment accorded individuals who are considered as belonging in a particular category or group" (25:101), but for purposes of this study, it will refer to those acts which restrict or coerce a racial minority group against its will.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Data used in this study were collected from a number of sources, namely; (1) reports from Negro institutions offering undergraduate work in Arkansas; (2) reports of state subsidies for

graduate study; (3) reports from students enrolled in the program; (4) reports from teachers who have taught both Negro and mixed classes; (5) publications related to the study; (6) personal visits and interviews with officials of the University of Arkansas and of the Arkansas State Department of Education; (7) records from the offices of (a) the Dean of School of Education, (b) the General Extension Department, (c) the Registrar, (d) the Graduate Center at Little Rock, and (e) the State Department of Education.

A review of bi-racialism in the United States, court action resulting from attempts to break segregation in education, economic conditions in Arkansas and state educational facilities for Negroes below the graduate level serve as a background against which the problems and program of graduate instruction of Negroes are reflected.

Little attention was given to the political aspects of the Problem for a two-fold reason:

1. Search revealed little evidence of political differences on the educational program within the State.
2. Coverage of the more relevant aspects threatened to render the study too voluminous.

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LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Certain limitations of this study must be acknowledged:

(1) limitations related to the literature; (2) limitations related to the use of the interview; (3) limitations related to the reactions of students and teachers involved; and (4) limitations of university records.

As has been stated, little has been written that pertains directly to this investigation, but there is a vast quantity of pertinent material, much of it dealing with some phase of Negro education. The Encyclopedia of the Negro (49:174) lists four special Negro collections. Of these the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature in the New York City Library is the best known. The library of the University of Virginia contains the famous James Collection on the Negro (49:138). The very wealth of related material made a complete review of the literature prohibitive.

The interview is a technique of investigation which, in the absence of the necessary written documents, as in this study, may be used to reconstruct the comparatively recent past. The factor of memory, however, may color the testimony of even the first witness to a fact and thus invalidate its complete accuracy.

The long-standing bi-racial organization of Arkansas



society has fixed a gulf between the white teachers and their Negro students, and between the white and colored students, that may have precluded the true expression of their inmost thoughts and emotional reactions. Even in this sincere attempt at integration in education, the Negro must have found it difficult to be entirely frank. Again, the reactions of the students and teachers were not tested reactions, but merely stated ones.

Records of the University of Arkansas, from the enrollment application to the diploma, contain no racial identification. This is good from the standpoint of race relations, but it hampered research. It was difficult to determine the number of Negro students enrolled or to ascertain the racial category of some of the students who attended the Graduate Center.

RELATED STUDIES

While no previous study of the program of graduate instruction of Negroes in Arkansas has been made, some brief studies, reports, and histories have dealt with certain phases in the development of the program. Granger (65:349) gave a brief account of the admission of Negro students to the graduate schools of the University of Arkansas as an illustration of the changing attitudes in the South toward human relations.

An early history of the University of Arkansas (141 recorded the founding of the "Arkansas Industrial University" in 1871 while the Republicans were in control of the state government and of the ensuing conflict over the admission of Negro students. This conflict was ended in 1873 by action of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees which declared the institution "open to all, without regard to race, sex, or sect" (141:97). This action has never been rescinded, but its intent was circumvented by the establishment of the branch normal college at Pine Bluff in the heart of the colored population of the State. This institution became the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, which is today the leading college for Negroes in Arkansas.

In a much later history, Harrison Hale of the University staff (68), recorded the drawing of the color line by the University, the events of intervening years, and the subsequent admission of Negro students to the graduate schools of the University.

More pertinent to this study is the report of Dr. William O. Penrose who, as Associate Director of the General Extension Service of the University, was in charge of the experimental Graduate center at Pine Bluff and, later, of the permanent graduate center which the University established in Little Rock in May,

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1948 (122:144). In his account of the Pine Bluff center, he stated that prior to the opening of the Graduate Center of the University of Arkansas in Little Rock, the policy of the University toward graduate work for Negroes was two-fold. (1) In cases where the expense of duplicate facilities was prohibitive, Negroes were expected to use existing facilities under a system of segregation. As an example he cited the case of Silas Hunt who was permitted to enroll February, 1948, in the Law School of the University on the main campus at Fayetteville, but was required to study in a special room reserved for him in the basement of the law building and to meet classes in which he was the only student (122:146). (2) Graduate work in fields where the duplication of facilities was not prohibitive was to be offered in the Pine Bluff center, which was open to Negroes only (122:146).

Penrose attributed the success of the Pine Bluff experiment to the relative homogeneity of the student body. The students were all mature, experienced teachers, all members of a minority group anxious to prove their worth, and eager to be in the first class of Negroes to be graduated from the University (122:148).

Other more pretentious studies, such as those of Jenkins (62), Johnson (82), Works (191), Berkowitz (24), Pierson (126), McCuiston (103), the United States Office of Education (33), and the President's Commission on Higher Education (69-70) deal with

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graduate work for Negroes in the South or in the entire nation, with only a minor section devoted to Arkansas. They were helpful, however, in presenting a panoramic view of graduate instruction for Negroes.

Murray (113) made a comprehensive, detailed compilation of the various state laws on race and color. The volume contains not only the laws, but the pertinent Federal decisions and regional compacts as well as a balance sheet of civic rights published annually by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Chambers (41) presented a comprehensive summary of court actions dealing with higher education.

GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This investigation should be viewed within the framework of its historical background, for only in the light of their origin and growth can educational problems of the present be viewed sympathetically and without bias.

The problem of race relations is as old as man himself and as universal as the social organization of mankind. Race relations have been defined not so much as the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals conscious of these differences (143:4). When the people involved

regard themselves as separate races in competition for status, whether that status be social, educational, economic, or otherwise, the situation becomes racial. Carey McWilliams in Brothers Under the Skin holds that "racial prejudice is not a by-produce of racial or cultural differences as such; it stems rather from conflict or competition and is essentially a social phenomenon" (105:88).

Until the rise of Christianity the divisions which separated peoples seem to have been cultural ones and group antagonism was directed against the foreigner. After the rise of Christianity, the sharpest changes of the civilized world were religious in nature. "Today the most deeply rooted and persistent divisions among men are those of race and the most distinguishing badge of race is color" (33:4).

Negroes have constituted the main nonwhite group in the population throughout most of the history of the United States. "The history of the Negro in the United States begins definitely with the landing of twenty Africans from a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia, August, 1619, more than a year before the Pilgrim Fathers set foot in Plymouth Rock" (31:32). These early arrivals appear to have been indentured servants whose status was much the same as that of white indentured servants, but with their rapid increase in numbers -- the first census in 1790 listed 697,623 Negro slaves and 59,538 free Negroes in the United States

(31:50), and the demands of economics they soon changed from a servant class to a slave status.

All of the colonies experimented with slave labor, but white indentured servants were found to be more suitable and more profitable than slaves in the small towns and on the small farms in the North where relatively skilled labor was required. In the South, the tobacco and rice fields, and later the production of sugar and cotton made the use of unskilled labor under the direction of an overseer more profitable. Under these conditions slavery gradually disappeared in the North and became increasingly important in the South, but it was the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 that greatly increased the demand for slaves and fastened the albatross of slavery securely around the neck of the South. "Many historians believe that it is this well-nigh exclusive association of Negroes with slavery and of slavery with Negroes that has made this adjustment the most difficult of all the minority problems in the United States" (31:33). This is believed true on a universal basis also. Logan admits that in most parts of the world Negroes "do occupy the bottom rung of the ladder economically, socially, culturally, and politically," but postulates that this lowly position is "due primarily to the fact that for most of the last 500 years millions of Negroes were held in slavery" (97:3).

BEGINNING OF BI-RACIALISM

The newly enslaved Negroes were separated from those who spoke their language and thrown in with seasoned and adjusted slaves who taught the new slaves their duties and conditioned them to their subordinate status. "Those who were born in slavery, as most of the slaves in the United States came to be, were from their birth taught by precept and example, as well as by the collective expectation of their world, that their position was ordained of God. The whole social and mental climate was such that most of the slaves acquired the habits and attitudes necessary to survive under such a system" (33:9).

It was easier for the white person to acquire the habits and attitudes of the dominant social, economic, and political group. They justified their enslavement of the Negro first on the ground that they were heathen who must be won to the true religion, and later, on the supposed racial inferiority and natural servility of the Negro. Hence the Negro came to be regarded as a creature apart from white people. "In such an environment the members of group were unconsciously, if not deliberately, molded to the appropriate type: the one to rule, the other to serve" (33:9). This pattern, once established, became traditional and "right."

Thus was established the American system of bi-racialism and thus was the United States led into what Myrdal calls the "American Dilemma".

THE PRESENT AMERICAN DILEMMA

Myrdal's encyclopedic study, An American Dilemma (114), is the most comprehensive report yet made on the Negro in American society. He sees America torn between her democratic professions as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which he calls the "American Creed," and her highly undemocratic relationships with her Negro fellow citizens. He ridicules the belief in the biological inferiority of the Negro as "no longer intellectually respectable" (114:1003) and points out that "The trend of psychology, education, anthropology, and social science is toward environmentalism in the explanation of group differences, which means that the racial beliefs which defended caste are being torn away" (114:1003). The social differentiation between Negroes and whites, as he sees it, is "based on tradition and, more specifically, on the traditions of slavery society" (114:669). From this position he argues that the United States must either give up the "American Creed" and go fascist or accept an equality which would permit amalgamation. Neither of these alternatives seems to be immediately acceptable to the American, at least, not in theory.

Myrdal is supported in his refutation of the inherent intellectual inferiority of the Negro by Otto Klineberg (84) who, after much experimentation and much research, concludes that while there is no proof that Negro and white groups are inherently different there also is no complete demonstration that the groups are entirely alike. However, he finds little probability that inherent differences between Negroes and whites actually exist" (84:401). What differences there are he states, "appear to depend on existing discrepancies in the opportunities offered to the two groups" (84:101-102). This conclusion is similar to that reached by Professor Boaz, Dean of American anthropologists, in 1911, and propounded in his book The Mind of Primitive Men.

In a joint statement dated September 22, 1952, thirty-two outstanding social scientists who have worked in the area of American relations and among whom are Gordon and Floyd Allport, David Katz of the University of Michigan, Arnold M. Rose, and Gardner Murphy conclude that environmental differences are responsible for most if not all of the distinguishable differences between various racial and national groups (168).

St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton carry this environmentalism a step further. In Black Metropolis (48), their definitive study of Negro urbanization, they assume that not only

the present position of the Negro in the United States results from the oppression to which white people have subjected him, but that the Negro's mentality, conduct, personality, culture, and his entire life "flow naturally and inevitably out of the conditions imposed upon him by white America" (48:24).

American adherence to the ideals of liberty and equality was not an idle boast. In the slave-holding South a grave uneasiness, albeit covered with rationalization and a clamorous defense of slavery, was stirring. Murray (113:8) states that the advocates of slavery resolved the schizophrenia of holding a human being as property in a country dedicated to the principle of the equality of all men by the following syllogism:

All men are created equal, but Negroes are not men; they are un-Christianized, inferior barbarians and savages, therefore Negroes are not entitled to equal rights and privileges.

Many slave owners resolved the moral conflict by freeing their slaves, thus swelling the number of free Negroes to almost 500,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War (:494). In the free North, moral indignation over the continued and ever-expanding enslavement of the Negro mounted to a crescendo which played its part in engulfing the Nation in the holocaust of war.

THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS LEGAL AFTERMATH

The Civil War freed the slaves legally. On December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery was ratified (85:3). On March 14, 1866, Congress passed a Civil Rights Bill which was vetoed by President Johnson, but which on April 9, 1866, became law over the veto of the President (85:4). This Act anticipated the Fourteenth Amendment. There was some question as to the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act, however, and it was deemed safer to place the substance of the Act beyond the reach of the Supreme Court or the Congress of a later day and the Fourteenth Amendment with its famous "equal protection of the laws" clause was passed on June 13, 1866, and ratified by the states on July 28, 1868 (85:5).

In adopting this amendment, the American people reaffirmed their belief in the "American Creed" and set forth a broad and courageous policy toward minorities which greatly extended the frontiers of American Democracy. McWilliams (105) states that it was adopted for the specific purpose of making it clear that the federal government could, and indeed, should, safeguard the civil rights of citizens against any infringement of these rights by either private groups or the states.

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The South, broken and bewildered, confronted with thousands of suddenly freed Negroes, passed the infamous Black Codes (85:9) in an effort to control the situation and keep the Negro "in his place."

In 1875, Congress passed the culminating Act of all the civil rights legislation. This bill as adopted by the Senate, insured the right of all citizens, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, to the full and equal enjoyment of all accommodations, advantages, facilities, public conveyances on land or water, theatres, and other places of public amusement, schools, and cemeteries, but the House substituted a bill from which "schools and cemeteries" were omitted. It was the House bill that became the Civil Rights Act of 1875 (85:6).

Clearly the Act was intended to eliminate practices of discrimination, but the Supreme Court, in 1883, held the Act unconstitutional (85:9). Mr. Justice Harlan was the lone dissenter from the opinion that the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the states only. Konvitz (85:132) sums up the situation from the standpoint of the Constitution as follows:

1. States may prohibit discrimination.
2. States may compel discrimination (or segregation, which is not discrimination according to the United States Supreme Court).

3. States may leave the matter to private discretion.

This decision of the Court and the Fourteenth Amendment itself have been the bases of much litigation regarding education, some of which will be reviewed in the next chapter.

A SUMMARY

This study was concerned with investigating the development of an attempt in the State of Arkansas to integrate education, at least on the graduate level. The fact that this experiment is the first of its kind in the South and the expressed interest in and need for such a study on the part of officials of the University of Arkansas, other Southern states which face similar problems, and the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools suggest that this study would make a contribution to educational history. The sources of data and the method of collecting the data were described. Certain terms were defined and clarified. Limitations related to the review of the literature, the method of collecting data, the reactions of persons involved, and University records were present in the study. Directly related studies were summarized and the historical background of the problem was developed as a basis for understanding the problem.

CHAPTER II

THE SUPREME COURT AND SEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The development of bi-racialism in American attitudes and practices has been traced. This chapter deals with the litigation to which more militant Negroes resorted in their efforts to overthrow this bi-racialism in education, litigations without which it is highly probable that no Negro would have been permitted to enter a white state university in the South.

THE EARLY PERIOD

Since the schools are but the reflection of the society which they serve, a dual school system naturally developed. Indeed, long before there was a public school system in the South, segregation in the public schools of Boston came under legal attack in the case of *Roberts vs City of Boston*, 5 Cushing 198, (161:79). A Negro girl who had been barred from a white school only 800 feet from her home and forced to attend a Negro school 12100 feet away, brought suit in the Massachusetts Supreme Court against the city (20:4). Charles Sumner, acting as her lawyer, argued that segregation tended to perpetuate class distinction incongruous with democratic philosophy, that the separate Negro schools of Boston were not equal to those for whites, and that the

girl was subjected to a hardship in having to walk the additional distance to her home from the Negro school.

Mr. Chief Justice Shaw found that segregation of the races did not in itself constitute discrimination and held that the Boston School Committee in providing essentially equal facilities had "reasonably exercised local powers not specifically denied it by the higher authority" (20:4).

This doctrine pronounced by Mr. Chief Justice Shaw in 1849 was later used in the courts of Ohio, Indiana, New York, West Virginia, and Missouri to defeat the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment and to uphold state-enforced segregation (20:5).

None of these cases reached the Supreme Court of the United States. John P. Frank, Associate Professor of Law at Yale University, stated in the 1950 summer edition of The Journal of Negro Education that in 1873 a case involving segregation in transportation, *Railway Company vs Brown*, 17 Wallace Reports, 445, was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States which held, at that time, that "segregation among white and colored passengers into separate but identical cars on the same train amounted to exclusion from the cars and was a denial of the equality" (59:305).

In 1896, however, the Court reversed itself and firmly established the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the better

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known case of *Plessy vs Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537, 1896) which is generally credited with the doctrine. On June 7, 1892 (161:77), Plessy, a man of one-eighth Negro ancestry, bought a ticket for first-class interstate travel on the East Louisiana Railway and seated himself in a coach for white passengers. This action violated a Louisiana statute which provided for "separate but equal" accommodations for the two races. The law declared any passenger who insisted upon sitting in a coach "to which by race he did not belong" (113:193), to be liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars and imprisonment of not more than twenty days.

After being ejected from the coach, Plessy was arrested and fined for violation of the Louisiana statute, whereupon he filed in the Louisiana Supreme Court "a petition for a writ of prohibition and certiorari, directing that the criminal district court judge cease the prosecution" (113:77), on the basis of the unconstitutionality of the law. The State Supreme Court refused the petition.

Plessy then appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court by writ of error. He argued that the Louisiana statute violated his personal rights under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments.

The Supreme Court ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not require states to give Negroes

and whites identical treatment so long as the treatment afforded them was substantially equal (20:11).

That the Court relied upon the precedent set by Justice Shaw in the Roberts case is apparent in the following excerpt from Ashmore's account of the ruling (20:11):

Laws permitting or even requiring (separation of the races) (sic) in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by states where the political rights of the colored races have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

Thus was established the legal foundation for segregation by law. The durable doctrine of "separate but equal" in education, which was to prove the determining factor in much litigation involving the dual school system, was therein recognized as "a general American practice, not uniquely a Southern one" (20:12).

The sole dissenting opinion was voiced by Associate Justice Holmes Harlan who proclaimed the arbitrary separation of the white and Negro citizens on the basis of race "a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and equality before the law established by the Constitution" (113:192).

During the period between 1896 and 1930, state and Federal courts heard many cases involving segregation of various types and

the courts invariably invoked the doctrine laid down in *Plessy vs Ferguson*. Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, states that it is highly significant that during this period no effort was made to challenge the validity of the segregation laws in the various different states. Segregation per se did not become an issue. He cites as an example the case of *Gong Lum v. Rice* in which the Chinese plaintiff made no objection to the segregation laws of the State of Mississippi but objected only to being assigned to the Negro school (100:317). The result was that the court followed the separate but equal doctrine. *Rice v. Gong Lum* 139 Mississippi, 760, 140 So. 105 (affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in (1927) 275 U.S., 73, 72L. ed. 173, 48 S.C. 91).

These cases ushered in what Marshall refers to as the "1930-1945 Period" (100:317), in education litigation. In 1930 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization made up of the verbal and militant leadership of the Negro population, began a well-organized attack on the inequalities in public education on the higher level. Under its direction, Nathan Margold made a careful study of prevailing conditions. Charles H. Houston then drew up a blueprint for an extended legal attack against the revealed inequalities in education. A special fund was appropriated to begin a militant campaign (100:317).

The first case in the campaign, according to Marshall, was the Hocutt case against the University of North Carolina in 1933. The case was lost on a technicality in the state court when the President of the Negro college which Hocutt had attended refused to certify the academic record of the plaintiff, thus rendering Hocutt ineligible for admission (100:317).

Two years later a Negro succeeded in his attempt to enter the University of Maryland law school, *University of Maryland v. Murray*, 169 Maryland 473, 182 A. 590, (1935). Donald Murray applied for admission to the law school of the University of Maryland and was denied admission to the University in accordance with the Maryland law which required segregation in education. Murray then appealed to the Maryland Supreme Court of Appeals on the grounds that (1) the State provided no law school for Negroes within its borders, (2) the limited number of scholarships for out-of-state study with which Maryland sought to provide "education facilities, training and opportunities equal to those provided otherwise for white students" (113:200) did not insure that every qualified Negro applicant would receive one, and (3) that the Negro student forced to live away from home suffered an economic disadvantage because of the inadequate monetary remuneration of such scholarships.

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The Court upheld Murray's contentions and ordered him admitted to the Maryland school (20:32). Ashmore points out that while no attempt to re-define the Plessy precedent was made, it did point out that non-segregation offered a remedy when no other remedy was available (20:32).

The attack was next shifted to the State of Missouri. In 1936, Lloyd Gaines, a Negro holding an A.B. degree from Lincoln University, attempted to enter the law school of the University of Missouri, and when his application was refused on the ground that admission of a Negro would be contrary to the state constitution, he took his case to the courts.

He lost in the state court, and he then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938). At that time, according to Marshall (100:318), the best over-all strategy for attacking educational segregation seemed to be through "law suits seeking absolute and complete equalization" of opportunity. Gaines therefore brought suit on the grounds that there was no law school for Negroes within the State of Missouri and that the out-of-state scholarships offered him by the State of Missouri did not constitute equality of treatment (20:32).

The Supreme Court of the United States on December 12, 1938,

handed down its decision for equalization of educational opportunities. It ruled that if a state furnishes higher education to white citizens, it is bound to offer, within its own boundaries, equal advantages to Negro residents. Anything else less was a denial of equal protection of the laws, and the fact that Missouri offered out-of-state scholarships for Negro students was not sufficient. Chambers (41:6) quotes Mr. Chief Justice Hughes as follows:

The basic consideration is not to us what sort of opportunities other states provide, or whether they are as good as those in Missouri, but as to what opportunities Missouri itself furnishes to white students and denies to Negroes upon the ground of color -- The question here is not of a duty of a state to supply legal training, or of the quality of the training it does supply, but of its duty when it supplies such training to furnish it to the residents of the state upon the basis of an equality of right. By the operation of the laws of Missouri a privilege has been created for white law students which is denied to Negroes by reason of their race. The white resident is afforded legal education within the state; the Negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there and must go outside the state to obtain it. That is a denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege the state has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another state does not remove the discrimination.

The Gaines decision left the Southern states with two alternatives; to admit qualified Negroes into existing state institutions for whites where no graduate facilities existed for

Negroes, or to establish separate and equal institutions for Negroes (113:669).

There were two sequels in Missouri to this decision of the United States Supreme Court (41:7): (1) Missouri amended its statutes and ordered the board of curators of Lincoln University, the Missouri state institution for Negroes, to establish a law school equal to that at the University of Missouri. Such a law school was established in St. Louis; (2) A young Negro girl by the name of Bluford applied in January and again in August 1939 for admission to the graduate school of journalism at the University of Missouri. She was refused admission on the ground that she was a Negro. She then sued the registrar of the institution for \$10,000 damages, claiming that he had denied her the equal protection of the law. The case was tried in October, 1940, in the Federal district court. The court decided against the plaintiff. The plaintiff, it ruled, could not legally claim she was injured until she had given the state sufficient time to provide her the facilities she sought. A school of journalism was accordingly established at Lincoln University.

Tennessee and Kentucky also felt repercussions from the Gaines decision.

In Tennessee, a Negro student sought entrance to the

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law school of the University of Tennessee (41:7), but the case was lost "on the highly technical point of failing to exhaust administrative remedies."

Litigation in Kentucky resulted only in the establishment of an engineering course at the Negro college (100:318).

Ten years after the Gaines case, the United States Supreme Court again dealt with the issue of equal facilities for graduate and professional education "in the form of Ada Lois Sipuel's suits in the courts of Oklahoma and of the United States to gain admission as a student in the law school of the University of Oklahoma" (41:17). When Miss Sipuel brought suit, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma conceded that the Constitution of the United States prohibited discrimination against any citizen, and that Oklahoma was obligated to provide within the borders of the state a legal education for any qualified applicant. The court, somewhat weakly, cited the laws and customs of Oklahoma and decided that the state must be given ample time to establish a separate but equal law school for Negroes (41:18).

This time element was the Achilles heel of the state when the case was appealed and argued before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1947. In the series of litigations already traced in this study the Court had decreed that a state must provide substantially equal educational opportunities for Negro graduate students, then was added the responsibility of a state to provide

such opportunities within its borders, and on January 12, 1948 (41:18), the Court laid down a new point of law in stating that a state must provide such opportunities for Negroes as soon as it did for any other qualified student. *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma*, 332 U.S. 631 (1948).

Chambers (41:18) quotes Mr. Justice Wiley Rutledge, who delivered the court opinion:

The petitioner is entitled to secure legal education afforded by a state institution. To this time, it has been denied her although during the same period many white applicants have been afforded education by the state. The state must provide it for her in conformity with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and provide it as soon for her as it does for applicants of any other group.

On January 17, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma issued a writ directing the State Regents for Higher Education to comply with the decision of the Supreme Court. The Regents of the University of Oklahoma then established a law school at Langston University, the state Negro college, in time for Miss Sipuel to enroll at the same time white law students enrolled at the University of Oklahoma. Three white lawyers were assigned to teach her in rooms of the state capitol. Miss Sipuel refused to accept such a make-shift legal education (20:34). The Supreme Court of the United States refused to consider the matter further because the matter of segregation was not before it and "the question as to whether

the mandate was actually being executed must first be passed upon by the courts of Oklahoma" (41:19).

Justices Frank Murphy and Wiley Rutledge dissented. Mr. Justice Rutledge declared in unmistakable terms that no separate law school could be established overnight that would compare favorably with the University of Oklahoma's long-established and well-recognized law school. Nor could time be taken, said he, to establish separate but equal facilities without continuing the discrimination the Supreme Court had ordered ended at once. Chambers concludes that ". . . Mr. Justice Rutledge's cogent dissent was to be adopted by the whole court and became the law of the land a little less than two and a half years later" (41:19).

With the continued support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Miss Sipuel began the legal process anew. She finally secured admittance into the University law school in 1949 (20:34).

THE 1945-1950 PERIOD

Marshall states that during the 1930-1945 period the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "found by experience that the tangential approach to this legal problem did not produce results in keeping with time, money effort, and money expended" (100:318), and determined on an all-out attack

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against segregation itself in higher education (Sweatt of Texas and G. W. McLaurin of Oklahoma). Mr. Chief Justice Vinson, who on June 4, 1950, delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court, is quoted by Murray (113:699) as saying that the two cases presented two aspects of the same question: "To what extent does the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment limit the power of a state to distinguish between students of different races in professional and graduate education in a state institution?"

Sweatt applied for admission to the University of Texas Law School for the February 1946 term, and was refused admission because he was a Negro. At that time there was no law school in Texas open to Negroes. Sweatt thereupon filed suit to compel his admission.

Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a conference held at Howard University April 16-18, 1952, stated that when the case was first filed the State of Texas assumed it was but another in the series of cases seeking separate-but-equal facilities (100:319).

The trial court recognized that denial of the right of the petitioner to acquire a legal education when such right was afforded white citizens of the State was a deprivation of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed him by the Fourteenth

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Amendment, and ruled that a writ of mandamus to compel his admission to the University law school would be issued unless the State established "substantially equal segregated law school facilities by December 17, 1946" (41:21).

The Texas legislature set about providing such facilities. It created the Texas State University for Negroes, and authorized such university to provide "all courses of higher learning" in order to insure equalization of opportunity to the Negroes. Furthermore, the legislature directed the "Board of Regents of the University of Texas, in the interim, to establish forthwith upon demand, a law school to be known as the School of Law of the Texas State University for Negroes" (41:21). An appropriation of \$100,000 was made for this interim law school, and the Regents established such a school in Austin in a building near the University of Texas. The teaching was to be done by regular professors in law school of the University of Texas and the library of the Texas Supreme Court was to be available to Negro law students (41:22).

Sweatt refused to enroll in this "interim" law school and reappealed for a writ of mandamus to compel the law school of the University of Texas to admit him. Murray (113:700) gives the following course of events. The trial court denied mandamus, and the Court of Civil Appeals affirmed. (113:700). The Texas Supreme

Court denied Sweatt's petition for a writ of error. The United States Supreme Court granted certiorari in 1949 (113:700).

In the resulting court battle, the validity of the segregation laws per se was for the first time attacked directly (20:34). Sweatt's legal staff attempted to show that the Negro law school could not be the equal of the University of Texas law school, that the Negro is as capable of learning as the white, that segregation on the basis of race is an unjust and unreasonable classification, and that segregation in itself is harmful to the personality development of the segregated. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called in experts in the fields of legal education, anthropology, and psychology to support these claims.

The Supreme Court not only found the Negro law schools, both the original and the new, inferior in terms of faculty, variety of courses, opportunity for specialization, scope of the library, and other measurable characteristics, but also in such intangibles as "reputation of the faculty, experience of the administration, position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, traditions and prestige" (113:701).

Here for the first time the principle of community action was introduced. The Chief Justice noted that the Negro school

automatically excluded 85 per cent of the population of Texas -- the potential witnesses, members of juries, lawyers, judges, and others with whom any Texas lawyer would be forced to deal. This exclusion, the Justice concluded, made legal education offered in the segregated school inferior to that given in the University of Texas law school.

According to Roche (142:223), what Mr. Justice Vinson was implying was that ". . . where a state university trains people for community action, for service in a mixed community, segregation deprives the educational process of the meaning it should have." Roche found it difficult to conceive of an educational area in which this community action principle does not apply.

The Court held that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment required that Sweatt be admitted to the University of Texas.

On this same day, June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court went a step farther and decreed that a Negro student once admitted to a state-supported graduate school must receive the same treatment as students of other races (113:704). G. W. McLaurin, an elderly professor emeritus at Langston University, had applied for admission to the University of Oklahoma graduate school of education, and upon refusal of his application had carried his case to the federal

district court in Oklahoma City (20:34), which had ruled he was entitled to admission.

The Oklahoma legislature amended Oklahoma laws to permit the admission of Negroes to white institutions of higher learning in cases where such schools offered courses not available in the Negro schools. The amendment, however, required that such instruction be given on a segregated basis, and McLaurin was required to sit apart at designated desks in the classroom and in the library, and to eat at a different time from the other students (113:705).

McLaurin again appealed to federal court for the removal of these restrictions on the basis that they violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. When the district court ruled against him, McLaurin sought relief in the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Chief Justice Vinson delivered the opinion of the court. He said in conclusion: (113:704)

We conclude that the conditions under which this appellant is required to receive his education deprive him of his personal and present right to the equal protection of the laws . . . We hold that under these circumstances the Fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in treatment based upon race. Appellant, having been admitted to a state-supported graduate school, must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races.

These two opinions handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the same day, June 5, 1950, dealt decisive blows at segregation, but they did not set aside the Plessy doctrine enunciated in 1896.

State courts almost immediately followed these decisions of the Supreme Court in cases challenging discrimination within their borders. Murray states that "Following a Missouri Circuit order of June 25, 1950, to admit qualified Negro students, the University of Missouri voted unanimously to admit Negro students to the five state-supported colleges of that institution" (113:674).

Perhaps even more far-reaching was the decision of the Delaware Chancery Court of Newcastle in Parker et al. v. the University of Delaware et. al. (192:334), which held that qualified Negro applicants were entitled to be admitted to the undergraduate school of arts and sciences of the University of Delaware in cases where the facilities afforded them at the Delaware State College did not equal those provided by the University of Delaware. Anything less, the court held, would be a denial of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (192:334). The Negro was perforce admitted.

SUMMARY

The successive hammer blows of state courts, inferior federal courts, and the Supreme Court of the United States before which the walls of segregation in education are crumbling have been described. The development of the following principles has

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been traced: (1) the providing of separate but substantially equal facilities did not constitute discrimination, and did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (Roberts v. City of Boston and Plessy vs Ferguson); (2) non-segregation offered a solution when no other remedy was available (Maryland v. Murray); (3) the right of access to equal facilities within the borders of the state is a personal right and the granting of out-of-state scholarships did not provide equal protection of the law (Missouri ex rel. Gaines vs Canada); (4) a state is not only obligated to provide equal opportunities for Negroes within its borders but must do so as soon as it provides opportunities for whites (Sipuel vs Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma); (5) a hastily improvised professional school does not nor can it afford an education equal to that obtainable in a long-established school possessing state-wide prestige and offering the student the privilege of community interchange (Sweatt vs Pointer et. al.); and (6) having once admitted a qualified Negro student to its state university, a state is further obligated to give him the same treatment as it gives to students of other races and not to handicap him by restrictions based on his race or color (McLaurin vs Oklahoma State Regents).

The handwriting on the wall was plain enough and was duly noted by educators of Arkansas.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS IN ARKANSAS

In the design of American government, public education is a function of the State and of local communities. National and state agencies attempt to set the standards, but the final burden and responsibility for the public schools rests upon local school districts which operate and support the public schools.

The State of Arkansas does not represent a homogeneous area, for within the State are found wide differentials in the socio-economic structure of its counties, which are the smallest areas for which census data are available and also the most important administrative unit for school funds. These differences are reflected in the Negro public schools which of necessity serve as feeder schools for the Negro colleges of the state. A consideration, then, of the socio-economic structure of Arkansas counties and the system of public schools appears basic to any study of adequate opportunity for the higher education of Negroes in Arkansas. The educational problem of the Negro is racial only in part, for in large measure it is inextricably interwoven with the conditions of the state in which he lives.

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POVERTY OF THE STATE

Arkansas is not only a Southern state, but it is one of the most impoverished economically of all the states in this handicapped region. Ashmore, using data on income from Survey of Current Business, United States Department of Commerce, August, 1953, reported that in 1950 the per capita income in Arkansas was \$321, with only Mississippi's \$703 per capita income being lower. This was also true of total income: Arkansas, \$1,578,000; Mississippi, \$1,527,000 (20:144).

The 1950 census confirmed this financial poverty of the State in terms of retail sale values and median income per family. Retail sales in Arkansas in 1950 amounted to \$1,083,262,000, or only .83 per cent of the total United States retail sales (39:4-47). In terms of median income, according to 1950 Census figures, the whites earned \$1,117, the Negroes \$487. Table I shows the Census distribution of income in 1949 for all Arkansas families, both white and non-white (39:4-47), as compared with the distribution of income in the United States as a whole.

Table II gives the breakdown for the urbanized area of Little Rock and North Little Rock. Table III broadens the area somewhat and includes all of the county in which Little Rock and North Little Rock are located. Tables II and III were taken from the Report of

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TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN 1949 OF WHITE AND NON WHITE
FAMILIES IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS AND THE UNITED STATES

Total income	White*		Non-white*	
	Arkansas	United States	Arkansas	United States
Less than \$550	20.2	7.6	39.0	18.2
\$ 500 - 999	15.2	5.7	24.3	18.4
\$ 1000 - 1499	13.0	6.5	14.6	15.3
\$ 1500 - 1999	10.9	7.0	10.4	12.6
\$ 2000 - 2499	10.0	9.0	6.1	11.9
\$ 2500 - 2999	6.9	9.2	2.3	7.0
\$ 3000 - 3499	6.4	11.4	1.4	6.2
\$ 3500 - 3999	4.7	9.3	0.8	3.0
\$ 4000 - 4499	3.4	7.7	0.5	2.1
\$ 4500 - 4999	2.2	5.3	0.2	1.0
\$ 5000 - 5999	2.9	8.4	0.3	1.3
\$ 6000 - 6999	1.5	4.6	0.1	1.0
\$ 7000 - 9999	1.7	5.1	0.2	0.8
\$10,000 - and over	1.4	3.2	---	0.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Preliminary Reports, "Employment and Income in the United States By Regions, 1950," (Series PC-7, April 11, 1951), Table 9.

Median white income - \$1,117.

Median Negro income - \$ 487.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES FOR THE URBANIZED AREA OF
LITTLE ROCK AND NORTH LITTLE ROCK, 1953

Income	Total families and unrelated individuals	Per cent	Total families only	Per cent	Non-white fami- lies and unre- lated individuals*	Per cent
Less than 500	7,575	14.0	3,185	7.7	3,590	27.9
500 - 999	4,800	8.8	2,640	6.4	2,400	18.7
1000 - 1499	4,880	9.0	3,290	8.0	1,765	13.7
1500 - 1999	4,850	8.9	3,615	8.8	1,760	13.7
2000 - 2499	5,400	10.0	4,480	10.9	1,245	9.7
2500 - 2999	4,345	8.0	3,760	9.1	660	5.1
3000 - 3499	4,440	8.2	3,975	9.7	380	3.0
3500 - 3999	3,365	6.2	3,110	7.6	225	1.7
4000 - 4499	2,785	5.1	2,665	6.5	125	1.0
4500 - 4999	2,000	3.7	1,910	4.5	55	.4
5000 - 5999	2,955	5.4	2,350	6.9	85	.7
6000 - 6999	1,525	2.8	1,460	3.5	45	.3
7000 - 7999	1,765	3.2	1,670	4.0	30	.2
10,000 and over	1,220	2.2	1,175	2.8	---	---
Income not reported	2,335	4.3	1,365	3.3	495	3.8
Median income	2,356		2,857		1,055	
Total	54,240	99.8	41,150	99.8	12,860	99.9

*Approximately 27,000 Negroes in Little Rock (one-fourth of total)

Source: Report of Special Study Committee on Negro Youth, Recreation Programs and Facilities.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME FOR THE STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA
PULASKI COUNTY, 1953

Income	Families and unrelated individuals	Families only	Non-white fami- lies and unre- lated individuals
Less than 500	9,810	4,720	4,600
500 - 999	6,350	4,000	3,090
1000 - 1499	6,115	4,385	2,105
1500 - 1999	6,010	4,740	2,045
2000 - 2499	6,655	5,690	1,450
2500 - 2999	5,285	4,675	690
3000 - 3499	5,250	4,770	415
3500 - 3999	3,875	3,615	230
4000 - 4499	3,155	3,025	135
4500 - 4999	2,250	2,155	70
5000 - 5999	3,250	3,140	90
6000 - 6999	1,665	1,600	50
7000 - 9999	1,940	1,845	30
10,000 and over	1,285	1,235	---
Income not reported	2,930	1,760	585
Median income	2,238	2,635	969
Total	65,805	51,355	

Source: Report of Special Study Committee on Negro Youth,
Recreation Programs and Facilities.

the Special Study Committee on Negro Youth Recreation Programs and Facilities of the State of Arkansas.

The non-white incomes are predominantly those of Negro families, for the population of the State was 77.6 per cent white, 22.3 per cent Negro, and all other races totaled only 0.1 per cent.

The bulk of the population had incomes less than \$2500, with 69.3 per cent of the white and 94.4 per cent of the Negro families averaging below this figure. At the higher end of the scale also the difference between the races was marked. While 7.5 per cent of the white families received incomes above \$5000, only .6 per cent of 1 per cent of the Negro families reached this level. No Negro family earned over \$10,000 in 1949. The indigence of the people is apparent from such data (39:4-30).

ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE COUNTIES

A special committee of the Council on Rural Education, with Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University acting as compiler and editor, analyzed 1,104 Southern counties on the basis of crop type, crop sub-types, and urban-industrial type (82). All of the counties of Arkansas were included in the analysis. The committee found that of the seventy-five counties within the State of Arkansas, only three counties (Garland, Pulaski, and Sebastian) could be classified as predominantly non-farm counties, or "counties

in which fewer than one-fourth of the gainfully employed males were engaged in agriculture and counties with cities with a population of over 25,000* (82:6).

The remaining seventy-two counties were classified as farming counties. These farming counties, when classified according to major crop type, were described as follows: one vegetable-fruit county; two grain-livestock-dairying counties; five self-sufficing counties in which the family used 50 per cent or more of the total value of all products of the farm; and sixty-four cotton counties. The distribution can be seen in Table IV.

The sixty-four cotton counties were further divided on the basis of crop sub-type: (1) thirty-seven had one dominant crop -- cotton -- and "no type of farm other than the dominant type accounts for 10 per cent or more of the acreage harvested" (82:7); (2) eighteen counties had a dual crop system, "one additional type of crop which accounts for 10 per cent or more of the harvested acreage" (82:8); and nine counties had a multiple crop system. Table V shows this sub-division. Examination of Tables IV and V reveals that the counties of the State are overwhelmingly agricultural, and 49.33 per cent are of the one crop cotton type.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF ARKANSAS COUNTIES BY CROP TYPE

Crop type	Counties	
	Number	Per cent
Cotton	64	85.3
Self-sufficing	5	6.7
Grain-livestock-dairying	2	2.7
Vegetable-fruit	1	1.3
Predominantly non-farm	3	4.0
Totals	75	100.0

Source: Data compiled from Charles S. Johnson's Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties, 12, 56-69.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF ARKANSAS COTTON COUNTIES BY CROP SUB-TYPE

Crop sub-type	Counties	
	Number	Per cent
One dominant crop system	37	57.931
Dual system of major crops	18	28.125
Multiple crop system	9	14.062
Totals	64	99.218

Source: Charles S. Johnson, Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties, 12, 56-69.

In describing the social and economic characteristics of the cotton counties, Johnson stated (82:17):

The statistical characteristics of the cotton counties reflect the continued existence of the plantation system: a large, untrained, Negro laboring force, few industrial or non-farm occupations, low per capita income, a great gulf between the white owning and white tenant population and between the white and Negro population, and rigid enforcement of racial restrictions.

Such a description is pertinent to the situation in Arkansas. In the State as a whole, according to Johnson, 25.8 per cent of the population was Negro (82:67), but the thirty-seven cotton counties having a dominant one-crop-cotton system showed a much heavier concentration of Negroes. In seven such counties, 60 per cent or more of the population was Negro. An additional ten such counties had a Negro population of more than 40 but less than 60 per cent. Thus, 23 per cent of the counties had over 40 per cent Negroes.

TRENDS IN POPULATION SHIFT

During the decade from 1940 to 1950, however, there was a definite shift of the Negro population away from the South to the urban and industrial sections of the North and West. More than one million Negroes left the South during this period, making the Negro numerically less important (20:53). The white population

1

1

FIGURE 1.

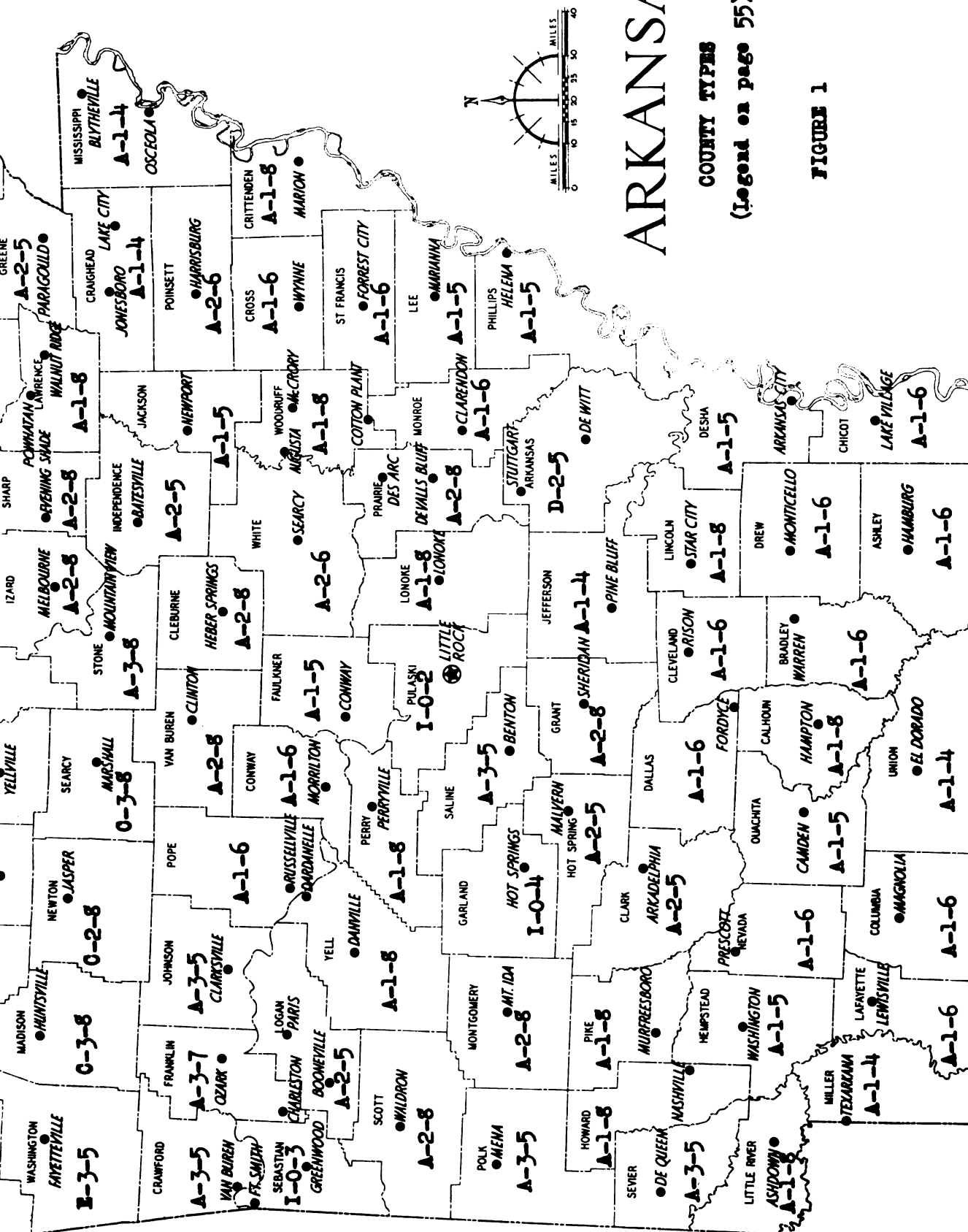
KEY TO MAP OF ARKANSAS SHOWING COUNTY TYPES

MAJOR CROP TYPE	CROP SUBTYPE	URBAN-INDUSTRIAL TYPE
A. Cotton	0. Unclassified	1. Metropolitan City
B. Crop-Specialty	1. One Dominant	County
C. Self-Sufficing	Crop System	2. Small Metropolis
D. Grain-Livestock-	2. Dual System of	County
Dairying	Major Crops	3. Small City County
E. Vegetable-Fruit	3. Multiple Crop	4. Large Town County
I. Predominantly Non-	System	5. Small Town, Indus-
Farm		trial County
X. Unclassified		6. Small Town, Non-
		Industrial County
		7. Rural, Industrial
		County
		8. Rural, Non-Indus-
		trial County

Source: Chalres S. Johnson, Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties,
page 56.

COUNTY TYPES
(Legend on page 55)

FIGURE 1



of the South increased by 16.5 per cent; that of the Negro population by 1.5 per cent. The loss sustained by the South through net migration amounted to 6.8 per cent, thus reducing the total gain in the South's population to 12.7 per cent for the decade, while the rest of the nation gained 15.3 per cent (20:55).

Arkansas was one of three Southern states that suffered an actual decline in total population, largely attributable to migration, during the decade. The white population increased by 1.1 per cent, but the Negro population decreased by 11.6 per cent, resulting in a loss of 2.0 per cent in the State (20:162-164). Table VI gives the recent changes by number and per cent.

By 1950, the seven counties having a population over 60 per cent Negro had been reduced to one county. The ten counties numbering from 40 to 60 per cent Negro had increased to eleven. The per cent of counties more than 40 per cent Negro had been lowered from 23 to 16 per cent. The heaviest concentration of Negroes was still in the predominantly cotton counties where powerful social and economic forces as well as the legal requirements of segregation buttress rigid separation of the races (20:128). Table VII shows the declining proportion of Negroes in the counties of heaviest Negro concentration.

Another trend of Negro migration became evident during these post-war years. In addition to the definite shift of Negro

TABLE VI

CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF ARKANSAS DURING THE
1940-1950 DECADE

Population			1940-1950 Changes	
Race	1940	1950	Number	Per cent
White	1,466,084	1,481,507	15,423	1.1
Negro	482,578	426,639	-55,939	-11.6
Totals	1,949,387	1,909,511	-39,876	- 2.0

Source: United States Census, 1950, Series P-B.

TABLE VII

ARKANSAS COUNTIES HAVING OVER FORTY PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION

Rank county	1900		1930		1950	
	Per cent Negro	Rank County	Per cent Negro	Rank County	Per cent Negro	
1. Chicot	87.1	1. Crittenden	79.0	1. Crittenden	66.8	
2. Crittenden	84.6	2. St. Francis	67.3	2. Phillips	59.7	
3. Desha	81.7	3. Phillips	67.0	3. Lee	59.4	
4. Phillips	78.6	4. Lee	65.4	4. St. Francis	57.4	
5. Lee	77.8	5. Lincoln	64.6	5. Chicot	54.6	
6. Jefferson	72.8	6. Desha	63.7	6. Lincoln	53.3	
7. Monroe	65.4	7. Chicot	62.5	7. Jefferson	49.8	
8. St. Francis	64.1	8. Jefferson	57.9	8. Monroe	48.8	
9. Lincoln	63.0	9. Monroe	55.7	9. Desha	48.0	
10. Lafayette	61.2	10. Lafayette	49.7	10. Lafayette	45.2	
11. Woodruff	61.0	11. Ashley	47.1	11. Ouachita	40.9	
12. Ouachita	55.7	12. Columbia	46.6	12. Hempstead	40.8	
13. Ashley	53.7	13. Drew	45.9			
14. Drew	52.9	14. Woodruff	44.2			
15. Mississippi	50.8	15. Ouachita	43.4			
16. Hempstead	49.7	16. Cross	42.7			
17. Pulaski	46.1	17. Hempstead	42.6			
18. Cross	44.0					
19. Miller	43.4					
20. Union	43.2					
21. Columbia	42.9					
22. Little River	41.9					
23. Lonoke	41.2					

Source: 1900 data - U. S. Census

1930 data - Charles S. Johnson, Statistical of Southern Counties, p. 57-69.

1950 data - U. S. Census

population from Arkansas to the industrial areas of the North and West, there was also a shift of population from the rural areas to the urban areas of the State. The State as a whole was becoming urbanized. In 1940, Arkansas was 22.2 per cent urban; by 1950 the urban proportion had increased to 32.3 per cent, a 42.9 per cent change in urban population (20:165-166).

This shift from the rural areas to the cities was not a new development. Evident for some time and greatly accelerated during the last decades, the trend did not compensate for the general exodus of Negroes from Arkansas. Little Rock, the capitol and largest city, was 38.4 per cent Negro in 1900, but in spite of a total population increase from 38,307 in 1900 to 102,213 in 1950, the per cent Negro had shrunk to 23.0 by 1950 (20:169). In 1930, according to Johnson's findings, thirty-one counties in Arkansas contained no urban areas and in no county did the proportion of urban dwellers reach 75 per cent (20:57-69). By 1950, one county was over 75 per cent urban and every county for which data were obtainable boasted some urban area (39:4-10). Table VIII compares the extent of urbanization in the Arkansas counties for the years 1930 and 1950, and reveals that in spite of the increasing urbanization, forty of the counties, or 53.3 per cent of the total counties were less than 25 per cent urbanized. Only three counties had an urban population of more than 50 per cent.

TABLE VIII

PER CENT OF URBANIZATION OF COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS

Per cent of urbanization	1930		Counties		1950	
	Number	Per cent urban	Number	Per cent urban	Number	Per cent urban
Over 75 per cent urban	0	0	1	1.3		
50 to 74 per cent urban	3	4.0	2	2.7		
25 to 49 per cent urban	5	6.7	32	42.7		
1 to 24 per cent urban	36	48.0	15	20.0		
No urban areas	31	41.3	0	0.0		
No data	0	0.0	25	33.3		
TOTALS	75	100.0	75	100.0		

Source: Census Data, Vol. II, Part 4.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

That the Negro's opportunity tends to decrease with the increase in the proportion that Negroes are of the population has been demonstrated by Johnson (32) and Brown (33). Johnson reported a correlation of .50 between the per cent of Negroes in the population and the per cent of farm operators who are tenants; - .12 correlation between the per cent of Negroes and the average size farms in the county; and - .51 correlation between per cent Negroes and expenditures for each Negro school pupil enrolled (32:13). In the twelve Arkansas counties in which the proportion of Negroes in the population in 1950 was 40 per cent or more, the per cent of tenancy ranged from a high of 94.8 per cent in Crittenden county, where 66.8 per cent of the population was Negro to a low of 46.2 per cent in Ouachita county in which the Negroes formed 40.9 per cent of the population. The same two counties represented the two extremes in average size of farms. Crittenden's average size farm was 30.5 acres; Ouachita's, 78.9 acres.

In 1949 a committee of the Eighty-First Congress, the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, conducting a special investigation of low income families and economic stability, considered an income of \$2,000 a year or less income for city families and \$1,000 a year or less income for farm families to be of concern to the

Congress (110:2). Table A shows the median income of non-white families in the forty counties for which data were available in the State of Arkansas in 1949. It can easily be seen that all of the forty counties, with the exceptions of Hot Spring and Sebastian, had a median Negro income below the division line between "moderate" and "low income" groups.

Hot Spring county is 36.4 urban and only 12.9 per cent Negro in population. Dairying and livestock farming are the leading agricultural pursuits and the use of the large timber supply has always been and continues to be the leading industry (15:195). Sebastian County, site of the State's second largest city, is an urban area, highly industrialized, boasting forty-eight different industries. The population is only 6.7 per cent Negro (15:225).

None of the predominantly Negro counties ranked in the upper 25 per cent according to median incomes except Ouachita County. Here again the county is quite industrialized and 44.2 per cent urban. Oil in the southern part of the county helps raise the average income (15:211).

The other counties of heavy Negro concentration were at the bottom of the income range. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, using preliminary 1950 Census releases, stated that Arkansas is among the Southern States with the lowest Negro farm income, having a median Negro farm family

TABLE IX

MEDIAN INCOME IN 1949 OF NON-WHITE FAMILIES AND UNRELATED
INDIVIDUALS IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS

County	Median income	County	Median income
1. Hot Spring	\$1,434	21. Jackson	\$ 712
2. Sebastian	1,104	22. Phillips	696
3. Bradley	996	23. St. Francis	689
4. Garland	975	24. Hempstead	688
5. Pulaski	926	25. Howard	688
6. Union	922	26. Poinsett	673
7. Ouachita	904	27. Ashley	664
8. Craighead	903	28. Jefferson	655
9. Faulkner	893	29. Lee	647
10. Dallas	887	30. Conway	645
11. Arkansas	859	31. Crittenden	644
12. Monroe	857	32. Cleveland	630
13. Mississippi	826	33. Lafayette	605
14. Prairie	826	34. Woodruff	582
15. Calhoun	771	35. Lenoce	563
16. Miller	767	36. Drew	552
17. Nevada	750	37. Little River	509
18. Columbia	748	38. Desha	473
19. Cross	738	39. Chicot	404
20. Clark	726	40. Lincoln	366

Data from 1950 Census, Vol. II, Characteristics of the
Population, Part IV, Arkansas, p. 208.

income of \$576 (110:338). Only Georgia ranked below Arkansas.

These facts suggest that urban Negroes in the State shared in the marked increase in non-farm income characteristic of the rest of the country, but that there had been little improvement in the rural income. White and Negro families of Arkansas share a common background of limitations that make it hard to increase earning power. Despite the recent tendency toward urbanization and industrialization, the State is still predominantly devoted to agriculture, an agriculture, in the main, of the cotton dominant crop type. Lack of education, and by 1953 Arkansas had attained the dubious distinction of ranking forty-eighth on the educational ladder, means starting out at the lowest paying jobs, and advancing slowly, if at all. In addition to these common hindrances, the Negro worker suffers additional handicaps in employment barriers and discrimination in up-grading. Mitchell states that "less frequently mentioned, but important, is the tradition of dependency, inferior status and fear that overshadows the Negro migrant to better jobs" (110:342).

THE SCHOOL THE REFLECTION OF THE ECONOMY

These various factors present two depressing facts: (1) Arkansas is one of the poorest states in the poorest section of the Nation, and (2) the Negro is the poorest of Arkansas citizens.

Frown (33) found that when ranked by value of real property, per capita income, bank deposits, value added by manufacture, and other indices, the states of the South were in the lowest quartile, and Arkansas was near the bottom of the total Southern states.

It was not surprising therefore to find that the educational picture in Arkansas was equally depressing. Although the State ranks forty-seventh in per capita income, it ranks well above most of the rest of the Nation in terms of the proportion of its income spent for the education of its children in public schools. Arkansas in 1950 spent 3.4 per cent of its income in schools, with only eight of the states in the entire Nation devoting a larger proportion of income to schools (20:144).

A look at the Negro elementary and high schools of the State is imperative here, for they form the base upon which the system of higher education necessarily rests.

School enrollment and attendance. In spite of unfavorable economic conditions and the racial differential in educational expenditures, statistics show that Negroes have been quick to respond to the educational facilities which were afforded. The enactment of compulsory attendance laws, the revised child labor laws, and the increasing urbanization of the Negro population have undoubtedly been factors in increasing the attendance of Negroes in

school, but they do not explain the whole picture. The marked tendency of an ever-increasing proportion of Negro children to attend school is clearly shown in Table X.

Table XI affords corresponding data for white public school students. Comparison of the two tables reveals that only small differences existed in enrollment-attendance ratios for whites and Negroes during these years. Also to be observed is the slightly greater percentage of attendance of high school students over elementary grade children. This was true of both Negroes and whites.

The length of school term in days, once so unfavorable to the Negro, was practically equalized by 1948. During the school year 1952-53, 90.5 per cent of all Arkansas students attended a normal nine months term, or 172 total days (15:236).

Expenditures per pupil for white and Negro children. Ashmore in his latest study stated, "By any measurement the Negro branch of the dual system lagged far behind" (20:17), but in no area was the lag more apparent than in per pupil expenditures. The support of white schools in Arkansas is still considerably below the national average and in general, facilities found in the Negro schools are even more inadequate than those in white schools. Where white schools are sub-standard, the temptation is great for

TABLE X

ENUMERATION, ENROLLMENT, AVERAGE NUMBER BELONGING, AND AVERAGE DAILY
ATTENDANCE OF NEGROES, 1948-1952

Year and Grades	Enumeration	Enrollment	Average number belonging	Average daily attendance	Enumeration enrolled	Percentage Enrollment in A.D.A.*
1948-49						
Totals	112,775	100,004	85,581	80,417	88.7	80.4
Grades 1 to 8		89,016	79,448	71,168		79.9
Grades 9 to 12		10,988	10,133	9,249		84.1
1949-50						
Totals	114,305	102,959	93,457	83,454	90.1	81.1
Grades 1 to 8		90,065	72,702	72,823		80.9
Grades 9 to 12		12,894	11,000	10,631		82.4
1950-51						
Totals	114,305	103,488	94,713	84,787	90.5	81.9
Grades 1 to 8		89,837	82,304	73,515		81.8
Grades 9 to 12		13,651	12,409	11,812		82.6
1951-52						
Totals	109,342	100,101	92,358	82,617	91.5	82.5
Grades 1 to 8		86,509	79,738	71,150		82.2
Grades 9 to 12		13,592	12,620	11,467		82.4

*Average Daily Attendance

Source: Statistical Summary for the Public Schools of Arkansas, 1948-50 and 1950-52.

TABLE XI

ENUMERATION, ENROLLMENT, AVERAGE NUMBER BELONGING AND AVERAGE
DAILY ATTENDANCE OF WHITES, 1948-1952

Year and grades	Enumeration	Enrollment	Average number belonging	Average daily attendance	Enumeration enrolled	Percentage Enrollment in A.D.A. ^a
1948-49						
Totals	334,287	317,426	286,522	265,880	94.9	83.4
Grades 1 to 8		251,776	225,368	207,965		82.6
Grades 9 to 12		65,650	61,154	57,915		88.0
1949-50						
Totals	342,638	322,214	293,479	271,577	94.0	84.3
Grades 1 to 8		253,717	229,517	211,126		83.2
Grades 9 to 12		64,497	63,980	60,451		88.3
1950-51						
Totals	324,532	325,107	296,919	275,193	94.9	84.6
Grades 1 to 8		255,664	232,075	214,313		83.8
Grades 9 to 12		69,443	64,844	60,880		87.8
1951-52						
Totals	324,475	316,213	289,048	268,235	97.5	84.8
Grades 1 to 8		247,586	224,982	207,930		84.0
Grades 9 to 12		68,627	64,066	60,305		87.9

^aAverage Daily Attendance

Source: Statistical Summaries for the Public Schools of Arkansas, 1948-50 and 1950-52.

local officials to divert to white schools State and Federal funds earmarked for Negro schools.

Johnson (82:25) found the median ratio of Negro to white expenditures to be 27.9 in cotton counties, and 85.3 per cent of Arkansas counties are cotton counties. He found a correlation of .42 between the per cent of the population which is Negro and the expenditures per pupil enrolled, as compared with a correlation of -.51, between per cent Negro and expenditures for Negro schools. He concluded that the plantation system, as evidenced in the cotton counties, is "bound up with a large Negro population and this in turn with a large racial differential" (82:26).

Table XII indicates the magnitude of the gap in white-Negro expenditures over a period of years. It also points out that the gap is closing, however slowly.

Despite large Negro populations, the five metropolitan counties of Arkansas had higher educational standards for both white and Negro schools than the rest of the State; and the disparity between educational facilities for the two races, as measured by current expenditures per pupil, was far less than in rural areas. In 1952, these metropolitan districts spent for each white pupil \$135.74 and \$111.58 for each Negro pupil. In rural districts the expenditures were \$97.71 for whites and \$67.24 for Negroes. The ratio of Negro to white in metropolitan districts was 82 per cent; in rural districts, 69 per cent (20:155).

TABLE XII
CURRENT EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL FOR WHITE AND
NEGRO CHILDREN, 1948-53

Year	Expenditures		
	White	Negro	Negro as per cent of white
1948-49	\$ 82	\$ 47	57.3
1949-50	91	53	58.2
1950-51	93	57	62.3
1951-52	98	64	65.3
1952-53	102.05	67.75	66.4

Source: Statistical Summaries for the Public Schools of Arkansas, reports from the State Department of Education.

That the State was making valiant efforts to overcome the inequalities in educational opportunities is apparent in the fact that seventeen Arkansas counties in 1951 actually spent more per Negro pupil than per white pupil. The differences in favor of Negro students ranged from \$124 in Washington County, the site of the University of Arkansas, to \$1 in Sevier County.

The teaching staff. Perhaps no other one factor is more indicative of the quality of education offered than the status of the teaching staff, whether measured in terms of training and experience or in terms of salaries received.

According to data supplied by the State Department of Education, marked improvement in the preparation of Negro teachers was made in the decade between 1941-42 and 1951-52. Table XIII presents comparative data concerning the training of white and Negro teachers for this period, and reveals the following:

1. The qualifications, in terms of years of college training, for Negro teachers compare favorably with those for whites.
2. For the two-year period 1944-45 to 1945-46, the Negro teachers were slightly better qualified than were white teachers.
3. In the years immediately following the Second World War, the period of the greatest exodus of Negroes from the State, the difference in training was again in

TABLE XIII

COMPARATIVE DATA CONCERNING WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS FOR THE SCHOOL YEARS 1941-42 TO 1951-52

School year	Median training in years of college		Median tenure in years		Median experience in years		Median monthly contract salary		Negro as per cent of white
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
1941-42	2.6	2.5	2.3	3.3	8.3	12.5	\$ 67	48	71.5
1942-43	2.6	2.3	1.7	3.5	7.7	9.6	79	54	66.1
1943-44	2.6	2.1	1.9	2.9	6.9	7.8	89	59	66.3
1944-45	2.4	2.9	2.9	3.3	8.5	8.3	98	69	70.4
1945-46	2.3	2.3	2.7	2.4	8.9	11.4	116	83	71.5
1946-47	2.8	2.3	2.3	3.3	9.3	12.2	134	94	70.1
1947-48	3.1	2.7	2.3	3.3	9.6	11.5	163	118	72.3
1948-49	3.6	2.8	2.5	3.4	9.6	11.5	179	122	68.2
1949-50	4.0	3.5	2.7	3.7	9.5	10.7	190	143	75.2
1950-51	4.2	4.0	2.8	3.8	8.7	10.0	200	159	79.1
1951-52	4.2	4.1	3.3	4.3	9.4	11.6	212	169	79.7

Source: Statistical Summaries for the Public Schools of Arkansas, 1948-50, 1950-52 Reports of the State Department of Arkansas.

favor of the white teachers, the greatest difference being reached in 1948-49.

4. Soon after the University of Arkansas' program of higher education for Negroes got under way, the gap between the median years in college of the two groups began to close, until in 1951-52 it was very negligible. (It is now rumored that the differential is again in favor of the Negroes. No evidence was available to support this claim).
5. In general, the Negro teachers are more experienced than the white teachers and they remain in the same school system longer than white teachers.
6. Salaries for both races were low, but the differential was decidedly in favor of the white teachers. The ratio of Negro to white was rising at a fairly steady pace except for the year 1948-49 when the ratio suffered quite a set back.
7. Salaries apparently were geared to years of college training, in a measure at least, for 1948-49 was the year most favorable to the white teachers in terms of training and most unfavorable to Negroes in terms of salaries received.

While the median years of training were relatively equal for the two races, the institutions in which they had received their training were not relatively equal, for until 1950 no Negro college in Arkansas was accredited by the North Central Association. However in 1950 Philander Smith College was accredited by the North Central Association and the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College at Pine Bluff became a member in 1951.

Accredited high schools. Perhaps in no factor was the difference in white and colored schools more marked than in the accredited status of the high schools. Two accrediting agencies rate the public schools of Arkansas, the North Central Association and the State Department of Education. Rating by the North Central Association is the more highly coveted rating, for the schools that are members of the North Central Association are also in Class A, according to rating of the State Department.

According to figures released by the State Department of Education in the Arkansas Almanac, for the school year 1952-53, ninety-seven or 22.7 per cent of the 428 accredited white high schools in Arkansas were members of the North Central Association, while of the total eighty-nine accredited Negro high schools only seven or 7.9 per cent were members. The State Department of

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Education classifies schools as A, B, or C schools. In Class A there were listed 162 white high schools or 37.9 per cent of the total 428 white high schools, while sixteen or 18.0 per cent of the Negro high schools were so classified. In Class B were 103 or 24.0 per cent of the white high schools, and twenty-six or 29.2 per cent of the Negro high schools. Class C claimed sixty-six or 15.4 per cent of the white high schools and forty or 44.9 per cent of the total high schools for Negroes. When the number of Class A schools, so rated by the State Department of Education, is combined with the number of schools listed as members of the North Central Association, which are also rated Class A by the State Department of Education, 259 or 60.51 per cent of the total white high schools are regarded as Class A high schools. Among the Negro high schools, only twenty-three or 25.84 per cent merited such rating. A glance at Table XIV which gives a breakdown of these schools and their respective ratings shows that in this area also, the white high schools are much superior to the Negro high schools.

The white high schools which are members of the North Central Association are scattered over fifty-six counties; those for the Negroes are centralized in five counties. Each of the twelve cotton counties having over 40 per cent Negro population supported from one to five North Central high schools for whites and not one for Negroes. Four of the seven Negro high schools accredited by

TABLE XIV

RATINGS OF ACCREDITED WHITE AND COLORED HIGH SCHOOLS, 1952-53

Accrediting agency	White		Colored		Total	
	Number of schools	Per cent	Number of schools	Per cent	Number	Per cent
North Central Association	97	22.7	7	7.9	104	20.1
State Department of Education						
Class A	162	37.9	16	18.0	178	34.4
Class B	103	24.0	26	29.2	129	25.0
Class C	66	15.4	40	44.9	106	20.5
Totals	428	100.0	89	100.0	517	100.0

Source: Arkansas Almanac, Pp. 139-143.

the North Central Association were centered in the three counties classified as non-farm economy counties. These same three counties are the counties with the greatest degree of urbanization.

SUMMARY

The facts and figures presented in this chapter indicate the following conclusions: (1) Arkansas, whether measured in terms of per capita, median, or total income or retail sale values, is one of the poorest of all the Southern States; (2) The Negro occupies the lowest round of the economic and educational ladder in this handicapped state; (3) The economy is largely agricultural with the cotton county being the dominant type; (4) Negroes constitute a large per cent of the population, but are becoming less important numerically because of an outward migration, more urbanized because of an inward migration; (5) The economic and educational opportunities of Negro children vary with the type of county in which they live; (6) Rural, cotton, non-industrially diversified counties are poor counties, both economically and culturally, and their poverty shows clearly in their school indices; (7) For all counties the opportunities for both whites and Negroes tend to increase with urbanization; (8) When cotton, ruralization, and a high percentage of Negroes are combined, the Negro has

least opportunity of all, whether considered in relation to Negroes in other types of counties or in relation to the white persons in his own county; (9) The Negro college student of Arkansas comes to college handicapped by both his economic status and his educational background.

These facts have an important bearing on the program and status of Negro colleges in the State, which will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

NEGRO COLLEGES OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

The earlier chapters of this study have been devoted to a consideration of the historical background of biracialism and the social and economic status of the Negroes of Arkansas. Analyses have been made by counties to reveal the economic and cultural setting of the population, and to discover the quality of the public school opportunity of both the total and the Negro group. It is clear from the data set forth that not only is the State as a whole subject to all the deprivations of the Southern region in which Arkansas is located, but that within the State there are marked inequalities among the various counties, so that, for either a white person or a Negro, having been born in a rural cotton county rather than a non-farm county may make the difference between the probability of receiving a fairly adequate education, by Arkansas standards at least, or a very inferior education.

As indicated in chapter three, the State is not only agricultural in its economy, but is largely dependent on cotton, the crop which is associated with a high rate of tenancy, a high density of farm population, a high proportion of Negroes in the population, and a low per capita income. The evidence shows that the minority group suffers even greater deprivations that are superimposed because of race.

In the State of Arkansas separate educational facilities for Negroes are legally mandatory. Moreover, the system of separate schools for Negroes has been shown to be a part of the dual organization of society in which tradition and custom not only sanction but enforce the segregation pattern. Changes in the Southern social structure--of which the educational system is a part--are indubitably under way, but such changes must proceed slowly if disorganization is not to result; therefore the higher education of Negroes must be considered, for the present, primarily as a problem of the separate Negro college. Such separate colleges for Negroes in Arkansas will be discussed in this chapter.

Among the factors which determine the effectiveness of the facilities for higher education are the number and location of the higher institutions, the extent to which potential students attend these institutions, the preparation of the faculty, and the scope and quality of the offerings. The present chapter is concerned with these factors.

NUMBER, TYPE, AND LOCATION OF NEGRO COLLEGES IN ARKANSAS

Of the twenty-four colleges within the State of Arkansas, five are separate colleges for Negroes only. One of these, Dunbar Junior College, is a municipal two-year college; three, Arkansas

Baptist College, Philander Smith College, and Shorter College, are four-year colleges supported by the Baptist and Methodist denomination, respectively; and only one, Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, is a four-year college maintained by the State for its Negro citizens. Table XV gives specific details concerning these Negro colleges. It is worthy of note that with the exception of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, the State-supported Negro college, all of the remaining four Negro colleges are located in Pulaski County, either in Little Rock or North Little Rock, two contiguous cities with only the Arkansas River marking the boundary between them.

Pulaski County, the only metropolitan city county, is one of the three counties in the State which boasts a predominantly non-farm economy. The population is 78.1 per cent urban and only 24.0 per cent Negro. By far the wealthiest county, in terms of sales tax, assessed valuation, and median income (15:117), it supports two of the seven Negro high schools accredited by the North Central Association. It has been found by Johnson (82) and noted in Chapter III of this study that, in general, educational indices reflect the relatively superior educational opportunities available in metropolitan centers, particularly for Negro children. This same tendency apparently carries over into the realm of higher education, at least in the State of Arkansas.

TABLE XV

SELECTED INFORMATION PERTAINING TO ARKANSAS NEGRO COLLEGES, 1953

Name	Location	Sponsor	President	Degrees offered	Number of faculty	Number of students	Number of seniors	Year founded
Arkansas Baptist College	Little Rock	Baptist	T.W. Ceggs	B.S., A.B.	26	210	17	1884
Arkansas A.M. & N. College	Pine Bluff	State	L.A. Davis	A.B., E.S.	158	1,140	175	1873
Dunbar Junior College	Little Rock	Municipal		None	12	488	--	1929
Philander Smith College	Little Rock	Methodist	M.L. Harris	A.B., B.S.	46	1,161	135	1868
Shorter College	North Little Rock	Methodist	H.E. Williams	B.S., A.B., B.D.	19	128	13	1886

Source: Arkansas Almanac, 1954-1955, p. 145.

The remaining Negro college, Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, is located in Jefferson County, which is adjacent to Pulaski County. Here a different situation is presented. A small-city county, according to Brown's classification (33). Jefferson is predominantly a cotton county, a type which Johnson found to be marked by large racial differential in education. Yet herein are found two of the seven Arkansas high schools which are members of the North Central Association. There is, however, considerable industrial diversification. The more than 150 industries (15:200) located in the county strike a balance between agriculture and industry. Again, a county may be of the cotton plantation type, as is Jefferson County, but its proximity to a large industrial center such as Little Rock may markedly modify its social and economic characteristics. The degree of urbanization also has a bearing on the Negro's opportunity and the county itself is 48.8 per cent urban (15:198). These factors may partially account for the favorable educational picture within the county. Also it is a well known fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is very active in Jefferson county.

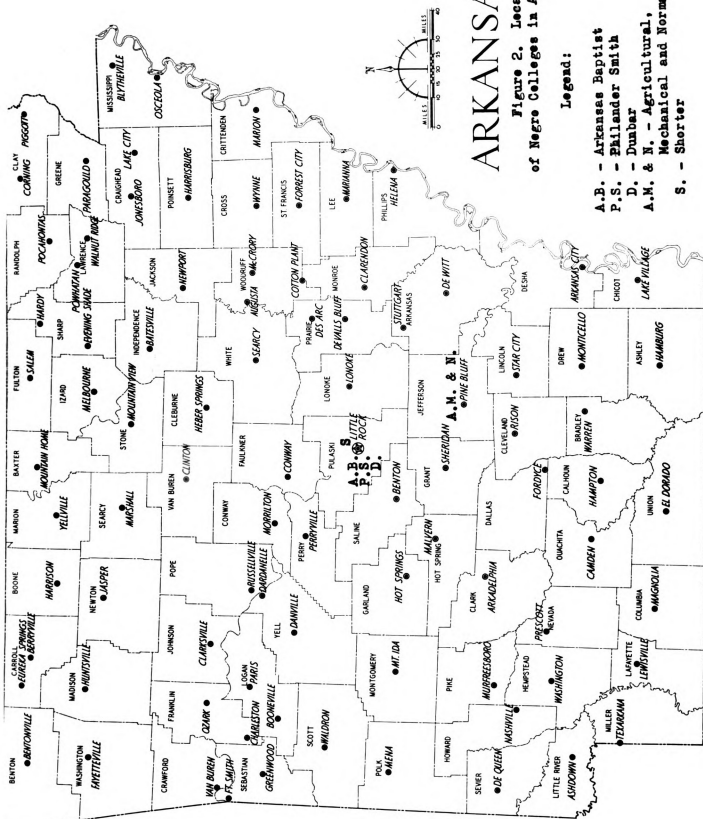
Here again, as with the high schools which are members of the North Central Association, the centers of higher educational opportunity for Negroes are located largely in the center of the

state and within a few counties. Figure 2 shows the centralization in location of the Negro colleges.

HISTORY OF THE NEGRO COLLEGES IN ARKANSAS

The Negro college is not a new-comer in the field of education in the United States. McCuistian in his comprehensive study states that the "Negro college was born during the dark days of Reconstruction" (103:16), but the Negro Year Book of 1947 gives 1854 as the date of the establishment of the first Negro college (117:146). However, only three such colleges, Wilberforce, Atlanta University, and Lincoln University, were started before the Civil War (117:16). Since 1854, 108 colleges for Negroes have been established in the United States (103:16).

Immediately following the Civil War the emphasis in education for Negroes was upon the establishment of schools for practical training in manual arts, trades, and agriculture. The Freedman's Bureau organized colleges for the training of teachers and the education of leaders among the recently liberated Negroes (60:450). One such college was the influential Hampton Institute founded in 1868 by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, an agent of the Bureau (103:14). Pierson states that as a result of the separation of the races in the schools of the South, "there was opened for Negroes an opportunity for a professional career in teaching, and likewise a need for the training of personnel for this profession" (126:145).



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By 1870, the Bureau felt that its task in establishing institutions of higher education for Negroes was completed and surrendered the responsibility for such future efforts to the various denominational churches (60:454). Three of the five Negro colleges in Arkansas were founded and are maintained through such denominational effort.

Philander Smith College. In the same year that Hampton Institute was founded, 1868, Philander Smith College, the oldest college for Negroes in the State, was founded through the combined efforts of the Freedman's Bureau and the Methodist denomination. The 1953 Bulletin of the College states that its founding "represents one of the earliest attempts to provide educational opportunities for the freedmen west of the Mississippi" (125:19). Mr. Low Webb was placed in charge of the newly created institution by the Freedman's Bureau in 1869.

The new-born institution was without grounds or buildings, but the manifest intellectual eagerness of Negro youth plus the always present tendency toward biracialism led the Arkansas Annual Conference of the Methodist Church in 1876 to create a separate conference for the Negro ministers and to designate Walden Seminary, as the school was then known, the Conference college (123:22). Some six years later, in 1882, Dr. G. W. Gray who was then president of Little Rock University, the Methodist college for whites, met a Mrs. Adeline Smith of Oak Park, Illinois, while soliciting funds.

She became interested in the work of the Negro college and in making her gift to Dr. Gray, designated \$10,500 for the struggling institution. The trustees accepted the gift, and in gratitude renamed the institution Philander Smith College in honor of the husband of its benefactor (123:22).

The College has not confined its offerings to the liberal arts or to the training of ministers, for in 1885, through a special grant from the Slater Fund, a shop was built for carpentry and printing. In 1888, the first degree class was graduated. Rufus C. Childress, a member of this first class, long served his people as assistant supervisor for Negro schools in the state. In 1933, Philander Smith's area of service was enlarged when the college was merged with the George R. Smith College of Sedalia, Missouri, which had burned (123:23).

Its present geographic area of service is described in the 1953 bulletin of the College as follows:

Philander Smith College represents the program of higher education of the Methodist Church for its Negro constituency north of Texas and west of the Mississippi River. Its immediate Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma territory contains approximately 1,350,000 Negroes. The College is specifically the program of higher education for the entire St. Louis Area, Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, which includes the Negro constituency in the states of Arkansas, Colorado, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Ohio, and Wisconsin (125:20).

Throughout its eighty-five years the College has been supported by the generosity of Christian people, both Negro and white. Its current budget is sustained by the four Annual

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Conferences of the St. Louis area (Negro) and the Annual Conference (white) of the states of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Oklahoma (123:22).

The work of Philander Smith College has been recognized by the Southern Association of Colleges since 1933 (123:1). According to a statement of its president, Dr. M. LaFayette Harris, the College was the first of the Negro colleges in the State to win accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This was in 1949. It is also fully accredited by the American Council on Education. In addition, it boasts membership in the Association of American Colleges, the National Conference of Church-Related Colleges, and the Methodist Educational Association.

Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. For five years, 1868-1873, Philander Smith was the only college for Negroes within the State. Then on April 25, 1873, the General Assembly of Arkansas passed an act supplementary to the organic act of 1871 which had established the Arkansas Industrial University, now known as the University of Arkansas, providing for the establishment of a branch normal college (140:51). The bill, sponsored by Senator Clayton, read in part:

"The Board of Trustees of the Arkansas Industrial University are hereby authorized to take into considera-

tion the interests of the state, especially the convenience and well-being of the poorer classes and to select a suitable site and locate thereon a Branch Normal College which location, owing to the principal college's being located in the north-western portion of the state, shall be made southwest or south of the county of Pulaski" (4:27).

The Bill does not contain the word "colored" or "Negro". Indeed, "... the framers were careful not to recognize in the law the element of race" (140:51), for it was passed under the reconstruction regime, but it is worthy of note that in requiring the location of the school to be south or southwest of Pulaski County the law in fact required that the normal be located in the heart of the colored population of the State. Pine Bluff in Jefferson County was the site chosen.

After a delay of two years, the school opened on September 27, 1875, with an enrollment of seven Negro students and a faculty of Negroes under the control of the University Board of Trustees (68:157). The branch normal was to be under the same general regulations as the University. According to Reynolds and Thomas' History of the University of Arkansas (140), students were to be admitted to the same courses upon the same conditions, the instructors were to be equal in number and attainments, and the same degrees and honors were to be conferred as in the main institution at Fayetteville.

It is possible although not probable, that for the first few years such equality of opportunity was maintained in the two

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institutions, for Dr. J. C. Corbin, a Negro holding the bachelors, masters and doctors degrees from Ohio University, who had served from 1873 to 1875 as Superintendent of Public Instruction in Arkansas and ex officio president of the University Board of Trustees, was installed as principal, a position he held for thirty years and in which he rendered valuable service (68:157). The school conferred the bachelors degree from 1882 to 1885, but from 1885 to 1929, the college was operated as a junior college (4:27). It was during this latter period that the name was changed in 1921 to "Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College" (68:157).

In 1927, Governor McRae appointed an independent Board of Trustees for the College. This same year the State Legislature provided \$275,000 for an expansion program. The General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund contributed \$183,000 and \$33,000 respectively, to aid in the project. In 1929, the school was again converted into a standard four-year degree-granting institution (4:28). Today the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College is fully accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. It is a member of the American Association of Colleges and the American Council on Education (4:31). From its inception it has been, and it remains today, the only state-supported college for Negroes within the entire State. Both the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College and the University of Arkansas are land-grant colleges.

Arkansas Baptist College. Not much is known of the history of Arkansas Baptist College, but it appears that it came into being largely as the result of the efforts of the Negroes themselves. The 1952-53 Annual Catalog of the college states that in 1884, "-- in the annual convention at Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Negro Baptists of Arkansas completed plans for the establishment of a school under their supervision" (17:15). In November of that year a school known as "Minister's Institute" was opened in the Mount Zion Baptist Church of Little Rock, Arkansas. For six months the school was operated under the leadership of the Reverend J. P. Lawson, a white minister from Joplin, Missouri, but was then forced to close because of insufficient funds. Later in the same year the college was re-organized through the work of the Reverend Henry Woodsmall, "a General Missionary of the Baptist Church for the state (sic) of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi" (17:15). During the period of depression in the 1930's, the always rather precarious position of the school was greatly jeopardized, but it managed to weather the storm and survive. In 1937, Tandy W. Ceggs was elected president and he has served the institution continuously to this date. Only the first two years work is accredited by the State Department of Education.

Shorter College. Shorter College, located in North Little Rock, was founded by a direct act of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The school began as Bethel University, September 16, 1886, in the basement of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Little Rock, Arkansas, with an enrollment of 109. In 1888, the name of the school was changed to Bethel Institute. Hard pressed financially, the school was moved in 1891 to Arkadelphia, Arkansas, where "the Reverend J. I. Lowe, acting for the people of the Arkadelphia District, had pledged \$3000.00" for its support. Its name was again changed in 1892 to Shorter University in honor of the Bishop Shorter who had organized the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Arkansas, and it was chartered in that name May 13, 1894. The charter was amended in 1903, changing the name to Shorter College. The school was operated only a short time in Arkadelphia, and in 1897 it was moved to its present location in North Little Rock, Arkansas (152:14).

Shorter College is governed by a board of Trustees and an Executive Board of the Twelfth Episcopal District which is composed of Arkansas and Oklahoma. Search failed to reveal any record of its accreditation although the 1947-1948 catalog of the College states: "The college works in cooperation with the Arkansas State Department of Education to turn out graduates acceptable as elementary school teachers" (151:9).

Dunbar Junior College. "The school is one of several municipal junior colleges for Negroes in the United States and was organized in 1929 as an upward extension of Dunbar High School." So states the "Historical Sketch" in the 1953-54 Catalog (54:7). As a municipal college in the steadily growing city of Little Rock, the school has enjoyed a steady and marked growth. In 1929, there were seventy-four students with an offering of twelve courses; in 1953, 488 students and seventy-eight courses. It boasts an imposing list of affiliations: membership in the American Association of Junior Colleges, in the North Central Council of Junior Colleges, in the National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro Schools, full accreditation by the State Department of Education, and recognition by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (54:7). Generous gifts from the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board have supplemented the financial support of the city of Little Rock so that the Catalog proudly states: "The institution's program is comparable in quality and quantity to the programs found in the lower divisions of the best liberal arts colleges" (54:7).

Out-of-state scholarships. None of these five colleges for Negroes in the State of Arkansas offer any degree above the bachelor's degree. Up until 1948, when the University opened its doors to Negroes seeking the master's degree, any Negro citizen

of Arkansas wishing to pursue graduate study was forced to seek such study outside of the state.

In 1952 Negro Year Book (118:230) states that "Out-of-state scholarship aid was originated by the Southern states to help Negro students secure graduate and professional training not offered to them within these states." Such scholarships are often referred to as "differential scholarships", for they, in most cases, make up the difference between what it would cost Negro students to study in the white institution within the state in which they live and their expenses at other colleges in states where racial segregation is not required.

Before 1930, provision for graduate and professional privileges for Negroes in State schools had received little attention, but during the 1930's several suits were brought against public institutions of higher learning because of their refusal to admit qualified Negro students. Following the Hescutt suit in 1932, Southern states began establishing out-of-state scholarships in an effort to appease both the ambitious militant Negroes, of which there was an ever-increasing number, and the Courts. In 1933, the Virginia Legislature decreed that the State must pay tuition of Negro students of Virginia who were compelled to go to other states for professional courses which were not provided for them within the State, and Maryland followed with a like provision

the same year. By 1938, out-of-state scholarship laws had been enacted by eight Southern states (117:95).

Then in 1938 came the Gaines decision in which the Supreme Court ruled that equal facilities for Negro students must be provided within the State. Out of this decision grew the "differential scholarships". Arkansas was slow to act, and it was not until 1942 that Governor Adkins set up a special committee to provide a scholarship fund for Negro students to pursue professional education outside of the State. The governing Board of the University agreed to join forces with this committee, and since then the University has contributed from its general fund to the support of this committee (68:135). Arkansas began granting such scholarships in 1943.

The first few years there was a "\$12,500 biennial appropriation" that enabled "about 100 Negro students to take professional and graduate work" (117:95). By 1947, however, the State had allotted \$35,000 for such scholarships. After the opening of the University to Negro graduate students in 1948, the allotment was decreased until, in 1951 \$20,000 was the sum allotted. The maximum sum awarded in a single grant at any given time was \$312.00 per school year. Approximately 1,000 Negro students have been aided through these scholarships (118:230).

Even though the University has been opened to Negro graduate students since 1948, the State is still willing to assist students applying for out-of-state aid to go elsewhere for their advanced training. Dr. Ed McCuistion, Assistant Commissioner for Instructional Services of the Arkansas Department of Education, stated in a letter of December 2, 1954, that only one student received such assistance for the first semester of 1954-55.

ENROLLMENT IN NEGRO COLLEGES

Increase in enrollment. College enrollment in the United States has increased remarkably during the past several decades. The Negro colleges have reflected this nation-wide expansion, for enrollment in the under-graduate college for Negroes has grown from 13,197 in 1927 to 33,918 in 1938 (103:35), to 44,000 in 1940 (73:720). Data given by Charles W. Thompson revealed that the proportion of whites in the age group fourteen to twenty-nine in institutions of higher education increased from 5.84 per cent in 1940 to 6.70 per cent in 1950. The proportion of Negroes in the same age group attending college increased from 1.78 per cent in 1940 to 3.16 per cent in 1950. He stated that "While the enrollment of Negroes increased at a higher rate than the white, it would take 69 years for the Negro enrollment to catch up with the white under similar conditions" (176:438).

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Arkansas, in spite of the migration of Negroes out of the State, has witnessed a similar growth in the number of Negroes attending the Negro undergraduate college. Table XVI gives the number enrolled in Negro colleges of Arkansas during the years for which data were available from the fall of 1932 through the year of 1953-54, the change in the number enrolled, and the per cent of change for the years 1932 and 1953.

Enrollment by sex. Jenkins, in his study of thirty-six undergraduate colleges for Negroes, found that in 1940 males constituted 48 per cent, while females constituted 52 per cent of the enrollment (73:718). Such figures for Arkansas in the year 1940 were not available, but Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College was one of the colleges included in the study. Using Badger's statistics (22:14) for the four senior colleges and the figures taken from the Bulletin of Dunbar Junior College, 1950-51, this study revealed that in the year 1950, ten years later, 45.28 per cent of the Negro college students of Arkansas were male and 54.72 female. Table XVII shows the enrollment and the per cent male and female for 1950 in the Negro colleges of Arkansas.

Enrollment of the students by counties. More significant for purposes of this study than the division of the students into male and female, is the distribution by counties from which the

TABLE XVI

CHANGES IN THE ENROLLMENT IN NEGRO COLLEGES IN ARKANSAS, 1932-1953

College	Enrollment by years					1932-1953 change	
	1932	1945	1947	1950	1953	Number	Per cent
Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal	134	404	825	995	1,140	1,006	751.
Arkansas Baptist	51	70	102	204	210	159	312.
Dunbar Junior	128	98	186	185	254	126	98.
Philander Smith	111	314	504	654	1,161	1,050	946.
Shorter	25	30	54	133	128	103	412.
Totals	449	916	1671	2171	2893	2444	545.

Sources: 1932 and 1945 figures are from Martin D. Jenkins, "Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education of Negroes", Journal of Negro Education, 21: 205-219; Spring, 1952.

1947 figures from the 1949 Negro Yearbook, 121.

1950 figures from Henry G. Bager, Statistics of Negro Colleges and Universities: Students, Staff, and Finances, 1900-1950, 14.

1953 figures from the 1954-55 Arkansas Almanac, 145.

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TABLE XVII

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT IN THE NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS FOR THE YEAR 1950

Institution	1950			Per cent	
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College	484	511	995	48.64	51.36
Arkansas Baptist College	84	120	204	41.18	58.82
Dunbar Junior College*	74	111	185	40.00	60.00
Philander Smith College	287	367	654	43.88	56.12
Sherter College*	54	79	133	40.60	59.40
Totals	983	1188	2171	45.28	54.72

Sources: *Compiled from data taken from the Bulletins, 1950-51.

All other data is from Badger's Statistics of Negro Colleges and Universities: Students, Staff, and Finances, 1900-1950, p. 14.

students come to college. Since four of the five Negro colleges in the State are located in Pulaski County, it was not surprising that 481 students, or 23.4 per cent of the entire college enrollment of Arkansas Negroes, listed their residences as being in Pulaski County. Other factors, however, should not be overlooked. This county, 78.1 per cent urban, contains the two largest cities of the State--Little Rock, population 102,213, and North Little Rock, population 44,097 (15:109)--and constitutes the only Metropolitan city county in the State. The development of the county has been tied closely with the development of Little Rock, the geographical as well as the industrial and governmental center of the State (15:218). In 1954, the county boasted more than 350 manufacturing plants. According to the Arkansas Almanac of 1954-1955, Pulaski County ranked first among Arkansas counties in assessed valuation (15:115), sales tax collected (15:119), and the amount of bank deposits (15:124). These favorable economic factors, the fact that the county population is only 24 per cent Negro, (39:4-16) and the general excellence of the public schools for Negroes in Little Rock and North Little Rock partially account for the large college enrollment from Pulaski County, as well as the fact that four of the five Negro colleges are located in the County.

The next largest enrollment of Arkansas Negroes - 270 - was from Jefferson County, the home of the State-supported

Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. The College is located in the city of Pine Bluff, which is also the county seat of Jefferson County. Here again economic factors as well as location undoubtedly play an important role, for Jefferson is a "Small City County" (82:12), 48.8 per cent urban (15:198), and the economy is well balanced in agriculture and industry. "It is the third largest cotton producing county in Arkansas, the rich bottom lands providing excellent yields", however, "more than 150 industries are located in the county" (15:200). Pine Bluff is the center of the most aggressive National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organization in the State. This organization has taken an active part in the attempt of the Negroes to attain equality of opportunity.

All of the counties having as many as forty Negroes attending the Negro colleges of the State were industrialized counties with the exception of Crittenden County which is a rural, non-industrial county. Cotton accounts for 85 per cent of all agricultural production in Crittenden County. However, the county, bordering the Mississippi River, does have the advantage of river freight rates and proximity to the rapidly expanding industrial development of the city of Memphis, Tennessee (15:183).

Table XVIII lists the enrollment by counties of Arkansas Negroes attending the five Negro colleges of the State in 1952. This year was chosen for tabulation because it was the only year for which data from all the colleges were available. In determining

TABLE XVIII

ENROLLMENT BY COUNTIES OF NEGROES IN ARKANSAS NEGRO COLLEGES, 1952

County	Dunbar Junior College	Shorter College	Philander Smith College	A M & N College	Arkansas Baptist College	Totals
Arkansas	2	1	1	23	2	29
Ashley	0	0	1	30	1	32
Bradley	0	5	1	16	3	25
Calhoun	0	0	0	0	1	1
Chicot	1	0	6	19	1	27
Clark	10	5	4	14	7	40
Cleveland	0	0	2	7	0	9
Columbia	3	3	11	29	8	54
Conway	1	4	13	14	4	36
Craighead	0	0	2	1	1	4
Crawford	0	0	0	1	1	2
Crittenden	0	3	25	13	1	42
Cross	0	0	13	11	0	24
Dallas	2	1	4	19	7	33
Desha	0	0	1	14	2	17
Drew	0	1	1	21	1	24
Faulkner	0	0	9	7	0	16
Garland	0	0	4	21	1	26
Grant	0	0	0	3	0	3
Hempstead	0	0	19	18	9	46
Hot Spring	7	2	3	5	2	19
Howard	0	0	2	10	0	12
Independence	0	0	1	2	0	3
Jackson	0	0	8	8	0	16
Jefferson	0	1	4	265	0	270
Lafayette	0	4	9	10	0	23
Lee	0	1	11	19	3	34
Lincoln	0	0	0	7	0	7
Little River	0	1	1	6	1	9
Logan	0	0	0	1	0	3
Loneke	2	1	6	0	1	10
Miller	0	0	5	43	1	49
Mississippi	0	1	3	16	6	26
Monroe	4	3	13	16	9	45
Montgomery	0	0	1	0	1	2
Totals	32	37	184	489	74	1028

TABLE XVIII (CONTINUED)

County	Dunbar Junior College	Shorter College	Philander Smith College	A M & N College	Arkansas Baptist College	Totals
Nevada	0	2	4	7	3	16
Ouachita	0	24	16	42	8	90
Perry	0	1	1	0	0	2
Phillips	1	0	5	34	0	40
Pike	0	0	2	0	0	2
Polk	0	0	2	3	1	6
Pope	0	0	3	0	1	4
Prairie	0	0	1	1	2	4
Pulaski	100	45	213	68	55	481
St. Francis	1	0	49	21	1	72
Saline	1	1	1	0	0	3
Scott	0	0	0	2	0	2
Sebastian	0	0	3	19	0	22
Sevier	0	0	3	4	0	7
Union	0	6	7	46	13	72
White	0	0	3	5	0	8
Woodruff	2	3	6	13	10	34
County Not Given*	12	11	55	67	19	164
Totals	117	82	374	332	113	1029
Grand Total	145	119	558	821	187	2057

Source: Data compiled from the Bulletins of the five names colleges for the year 1952 and the Arkansas Almanac, 1954-1955, pp. 107-110.

*These were from towns of less than 1,000 population and the towns were not listed in the Arkansas Almanac.

these figures, use was made of the student directories of the various schools and the Arkansas Almanac. The directories gave the home towns of the students. These towns were then checked in the Almanac list of all incorporated and unincorporated places of 1,000 or more population and the list of counties in which these places are located. Some students were from villages of less than 1,000 population whose county locations could not be determined. Such villages were combined under the heading "County Not Given."

The entire enrollment of Arkansas Negroes in the Negro colleges of the State in 1952 was 2,047; but, according to United States Census figures (38:75), Pulaski County alone, from which came 23.4 per cent of the entire number enrolled, enumerated 5,179 Negroes between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, usually the years of heaviest college attendance. The same source (38:71) attributed 5,349 Negro youth in this eighteen to twenty-four age bracket to Jefferson County from which only 270 Negroes were attending the Negro colleges of the State.

Strikingly significant is the fact that twenty-three of the seventy-five counties of the State had no Negro students enrolled in any of the Negro colleges of Arkansas. Redwine (137), in his study of Arkansas, quoted Mr. Frank Cantrell, Managing Director of the Arkansas Economic Council, State Chamber of Commerce, Little Rock, as saying, "The State of Arkansas has roughly three economic

areas that coincide with three geographic areas." He then defines these areas as follows:

(1) The Ozark area, comprising all counties north of the Arkansas River and west of the main line of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. (2) Eastern Arkansas, or the Delta area, comprising all counties east of the Missouri Pacific Railroad's main line, extending diagonally southeastward from Little Rock to Pine Bluff, McGehee and Eudora. (3) The Ouachita Gulf-Plain area, comprising all those counties south of the Arkansas River and west of the line just mentioned to Southwest Arkansas (137:27).

Area 1 is definitely agricultural in its economy and is cut off geographically from the rest of the State by the Ouachita and Ozark mountains. The twenty-three counties having no Negro enrolled in college all lie within this rural non-industrial area, which suggests that economic factors and geographic accessibility are large determinants in college attendance, and further, the great need for a college open to Negroes within this Ozark area. It is true that comparatively few Negroes live within the area, for fifteen of the twenty-three counties have less than one per cent Negro population. Only Yell County is more than two per cent Negro. Certainly the area could hardly support a Negro college, but at least one college open to Negroes within the area should be available if the State is to overcome the gross inequalities in the educational opportunity provided for white and Negro youth.

Brown, in her comprehensive study of the socio-economic problems of Negro education, states:

This educational inequality has important consequences in the elementary and secondary school training of many Negro students; it persists in the provision of higher educational opportunities; and its cumulative effect is felt in the economic, cultural, and educational level of the Negro population (33:2).

Out-of-state enrollment. That the quality of education afforded by the Negro colleges of Arkansas is not alone a State or even a Southern problem is evidenced by the fact that the five Negro colleges of Arkansas enrolled students from twenty-eight widely-scattered different states. Table XIX shows the distribution of this out-of-state enrollment for the year 1952. Fortunately, 83 per cent of these Negroes were attending either the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff or Philander Smith College at Little Rock, the two colleges of higher accreditation.

Enrollment of foreign students. In addition to these out-of-state students, twelve students from foreign countries, listed in Table XX were studying in the Negro colleges of Arkansas in 1952.

PREPARATION OF THE TEACHING STAFF

Perhaps no other single factor affects the quality of education available more than the quality of the teaching actually

TABLE XIX

ENROLLMENT OF OUT-OF-STATE STUDENTS IN NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS, 1952

States	A M & N College	Arkansas Baptist College	Dunbar Junior College	Philander Smith College	Shorter College	Totals
Alabama	1	0	0	2	0	3
Arizona	1	0	0	0	0	1
California	1	0	0	0	0	1
Georgia	2	0	0	3	9	14
Florida	2	0	0	0	0	2
Illinois	44	14	0	11	0	69
Indiana	7	0	0	2	2	11
Iowa	0	0	0	1	0	1
Kansas	2	0	0	6	0	8
Kentucky	1	0	0	4	0	5
Louisiana	23	3	1	3	1	31
Maryland	0	1	0	0	0	1
Michigan	3	0	0	1	0	4
Mississippi	9	1	0	5	0	15
Minnesota	0	0	0	1	0	1
Missouri	14	0	1	22	1	38
Nebraska	0	0	0	2	0	2
New Jersey	0	0	0	1	1	2
New York	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ohio	8	0	0	7	0	15
Oklahoma	4	1	0	16	8	29
Pennsylvania	3	0	0	0	0	3
South Carolina	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tennessee	52	0	0	18	4	74
Texas	11	1	0	0	1	13
Virginia	0	0	0	1	0	1
West Virginia		0	0	2	0	2
Wisconsin	1	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	190	21	2	109	27	349

Source: Data compiled from the Bulletins of the five colleges for the year 1952.

TABLE XX

ENROLLMENT OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS, 1952

Country	A M & N College	Arkansas Baptist College	Dunbar Junior College	Philander Smith College	Shorter College	Totals
Africa	1	0	0	3	0	4
Jamaica	0	0	0	5	0	5
Liberia	0	0	0	1	0	1
Nigeria	1	0	0	1	0	2
Totals	2	0	0	10	0	12

Source: Data compiled from the Bulletins of the five colleges for the year 1952.

carried on. No way of scientifically and accurately measuring the quality of teaching has yet been devised. No such attempt is made herein, but, since one of the generally accepted criteria of such measurement is the educational preparation of the teaching staff, the catalogs of the various colleges and the American Universities and Colleges, 1952, were checked to determine the number and type of degrees held by the staffs of these Negro colleges. Tabulation of its catalog data (3:11-21) revealed that Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College at Pine Bluff, the only State-supported college for Negroes within the State, in 1951 had a staff of 111 members. Ten of these, or 9.0 per cent held a bachelor's degree; eighty-seven, or 78.4 per cent held the master's; and fourteen, or 12.6 per cent, the doctorate. That same year the University of Arkansas, and it should be remembered that the two schools were originally intended to offer equal educational opportunities (140), claimed that the degrees of its staff were divided as follows: bachelor's, 10.7 per cent; master's, 51.7 per cent; doctor's, 36.2 per cent; others, 1.34 per cent (11:17). The greatest difference favorable to the University was in the per cent of doctorates held by the two schools. However, Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College had fewer members holding only the bachelor's degree than did the University.

By 1953, the picture had changed slightly in the Negro colleges. Of the 119 staff members, eleven, or 9.24 held the bachelor's degree; eighty-six, or 72.27 per cent held the master's; and twenty-one, or 17.65 per cent, the doctorate. One member, an instructor in shop, held no degree but did hold a diploma from Hampton Institute. The largest concentration was still at the master's level, but there had been a notable increase in the per cent of degrees at the doctoral level. Table XXXIV, in the Appendix, shows the number and type of degrees held by the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College staff from the fall of 1950 through the spring of 1954 and reveals a marked decrease in the number of bachelor's degrees and even more marked increase in the number of master's degrees. Comparatively little change had occurred in the per cent holding the doctorate.

Philander Smith College, largest in enrollment and a liberal arts college supported by the Methodist conferences of five states (125:23), in 1951 listed forty-five staff members; five, or 11.1 per cent, of which held a bachelor's degree; thirty-one, or 68.9 per cent, the master's; and nine, or 20 per cent, the doctorate (125:176). Hendrix College, the corresponding Methodist college for whites in the same year listed 16.7 per cent of its staff as holding the bachelor's degree, 50 per cent the master's, and 33.3 per cent the doctorate (11:174). Philander

Smith, the Negro college, had fewer staff members holding the bachelor's and doctor's degrees and more holding the master's than did Hendrix, the white college.

By the school year 1952-53, the latest year for which such data were available, Philander Smith, had reduced the percentage of bachelor's degrees to 10 per cent, the percentage of master's to 57.5 per cent, and increased the percentage of doctorates among its staff to 32.5 per cent. Dr. M. La Fayette Harris, President of the College, stated in the summer of 1954 that five staff members holding the doctor's degree were added to the staff in the fall of 1953 and that 50 per cent of the entire staff would hold the doctorate by September, 1955.

The staff of the two other private institutions, Arkansas Baptist College and Shorter College, a Methodist Institution, held a larger percentage of bachelor's, and a lesser percentage of master's degrees than did the first two discussed. However, Shorter College boasted a larger percentage of doctorates than did Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, while Arkansas Baptist College could boast only 10.7 per cent doctorates among its staff.

Dunbar, a municipal junior college claimed the fewest doctor's degrees, 8.3 per cent, but its 50 per cent in the master's level and 33.33 per cent in the bachelor's level outranked Arkansas Baptist, which is a four year college. Table XXI gives

TABLE XXI

NUMBER, TYPE, AND PER CENT OF DEGREES HELD BY THE STAFFS ON THE NEGRO
COLLEGES IN ARKANSAS, 1952-53.

Type	Arkansas Number	Baptist Per cent	A. M. & N. Number	Per cent	Dunbar Number	Per cent	Philander Smith Number	Per cent	Shorter Number	Per cent	Number Per cent
Bachelor	12	42.9	11	9.24	4	33.33	4	10.0	4	25.00	35 16.3
Masters	12	42.9	86	72.27	6	50.00	23	57.5	9	56.25	136 63.2
Doctors	3	10.7	21	17.65	1	8.33	13	32.5	3	18.75	41 19.1
No Degree	11	3.5	1	.84	1	8.33	0	.0	0	.00	3 1.4
Totals	28	100.0	119	100.00	12	99.99	40	100.0	16	100.00	25 100.0

Source: Data assembled from the catalogs of the Negro colleges of Arkansas.

the comparative standings of the five colleges in number of staff, the type of degree held, and the per cent of each of the latest year for which such data was available.

Institutions in which degrees were earned. Since any degree is generally considered only as good as the institution which granted it, the catalogs of the five schools were again consulted to determine the institutions from which these degrees had been granted. In general, the degrees on the bachelor's level were from colleges of lesser reputation than those on the other levels, although among the degree granting institution on this level were such well-known colleges as Northwestern, the University of Illinois, and the University of Wisconsin. Over the four year period checked, bachelor's degrees from twenty-six different institutions were held by the teachers in the Negro colleges of Arkansas.

On the master's level the situation was quite different. A much wider range of degree granting institutions, fifty-eight in all, was represented. For the most part, the master's degrees had been granted from quite well-known colleges and universities, with the greatest number having been conferred by Columbia, New York University, and the University of Chicago. Doctor's degrees held by these Negro college teachers had been granted by twenty-seven different institutions, all of them well-known except for Shorster College, which had conferred a Doctor of Divinity

degree, and Arkansas Baptist College which had conferred an honorary doctorate. Degrees from such outstanding institutions as Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Ohio State University, and the universities of California, Chicago, Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota were listed. Two degrees on this level had been earned in foreign universities, Berlin University and the University of Paris.

The prestige of the institutions in which the master's and doctor's degrees had been earned and the increase in number and per cent of degrees on these higher levels suggest that the Negro colleges are making a valiant effort to improve their teaching staff and that the teachers themselves are seeking advanced degrees from institutions of standing and prestige. The faculties of the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College and Philander Smith College far outrank the faculties of the other three colleges with respect to the percentage of higher degrees held by the staff.

AVAILABILITY OF CURRICULA

The term "availability" is defined here in terms of breadth of offerings, not in terms of geographical location of school units, which has already been examined.

It is apparent that the availability of higher educational facilities in a given community is determined by the breadth of educational offerings rather than by the mere presence of one or more institutions in the community. In Pulaski County, for

instance, there are four colleges for Negroes which are essentially similar in type in that they limit their offerings largely to the arts and sciences, home economics, and teacher-training work.

The total range of offerings is less than in Jefferson County where the only college, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal, attempts to relate the offerings to the needs of the Negro people by providing instruction in eight of the mechanic arts and agriculture, as well as in the arts and sciences, home economics, and teacher-training. Little is available in the Negro colleges in commerce, engineering, architecture, and library science. Nothing is available in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law or graduate work. Such narrowness in available offerings narrows vocational choice.

Certainly it would appear that in a democracy any field of specialization which is provided, at public expense, for some citizens of the State should also be available to any citizen of the State, regardless of race or color, who is prepared by ability and preparation to enter that field.

Undergraduate fields of specialization. Since no graduate work is available in any of the five Negro colleges of Arkansas, specialization can be achieved only on the undergraduate level. A field of specialization is defined herein "as any organized pattern of courses leading to an occupational specializa-

tion or, in the arts and sciences, any departmental sequence of 24-semester hours or more" (62:8). In order to determine what the opportunities for specialization are, the catalogs of all the five Negro colleges were used. Admittedly, the catalog listings may be unreliable since institutions may resort to catalog "padding" and list more courses than are actually offered. Tabulations, therefore, may represent the maximum offerings rather than actual ones. No evaluation is attempted. The approach is entirely quantitative. The total range of the offerings is subdivided into areas which may not have vocational significance and areas that are largely vocational in nature.

Areas not necessarily vocational. This area is composed largely of the arts and sciences which all of the five Negro colleges emphasize, first as subjects required for admission to college, as prerequisites for all of the fields of specialization, and, in many cases, as actual components of the field of specialization itself. Not surprising then, is the fact that the greatest diversification, in terms of both the number of fields and the number of institutions in which the fields are available, was found in the area of arts and sciences. This was true even in the case of the land-grant, state-supported, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College which listed fifteen areas of specialization under arts and sciences. Twenty different fields

of specialization in the arts and sciences are available in the total group of Negro colleges in Arkansas.

Dunbar, a junior college, offered specialization only in the field of biology, hence, biology was the only field of specialization common to all five Negro colleges. Mathematics and literature were offered by all the other four colleges. Sociology, religion, and music were common to three colleges. Two colleges offered specialization in art, psychology, history and chemistry.

The general pattern of the arts and sciences offerings is the same in the Negro colleges as in the University of Arkansas, only in the institutions for Negroes a much smaller number of fields of specialization is available. For example, in the foreign languages, French, German, Spanish, and Latin courses were available, but only two Negro colleges offered specialization in French and one in German. In the University, not generally open to Negroes on the undergraduate level, foreign language courses are offered in Latin, Greek, German, Russian, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish, and specialization is possible in five of these languages.

Areas largely vocational in nature. All four of the senior colleges for Negroes in Arkansas offer specialization in education and in home economics. The field of education was subdivided into elementary, secondary, business, health and

physical education, with four institutions offering specialization in elementary and business education, three in health and physical education, and only two in secondary education.

The range in home economics was not so wide. Two institutions offered only general home economics, two offered specialization in foods and clothing; and one in child development and home management. Home economics education specialization was available in both the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College and Philander Smith, but the former listed this field under secondary education while the latter institution classified it under home economics.

Agriculture, in which 87.9 per cent of the non-white population of Arkansas, a population largely Negro, was engaged in 1950 (38:45), is taught in only one of the Negro colleges of Arkansas, the state-supported, land-grant Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff. But even there, although courses in seven branches of agriculture were available, only one area of specialization, that of animal husbandry, was offered. The white University offered nine areas of agricultural specialization.

Two of the Negro institutions offered two year technical courses: Philander Smith in commercial dietetics, cosmetology, and electrical engineering; Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College in twelve of the mechanic arts.

Table XXII gives the fields of specialization and the

TABLE XXII

NUMBER OF FIELDS OF SPECIALIZATION AVAILABLE IN NEGRO
COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS, 1952-53

Fields of Specialization	Colleges				
	Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal	Arkansas Baptist	Dunbar	Philander Smith	Shorter
Number of Specializations					
Arts and Science	9	5	1	12	5
Agriculture	1	0	0	0	0
Education	4	3	0	4	3
Home Economics	3	1	0	3	1
Vocational Terminal Courses	12	0	0	3	0

Source: Data assembled from the Catalogs of the five
Negro colleges, 1952-53.

number of specializations within these broad fields at the various Negro colleges. These data suggest that while Negroes and whites receive, in general, the same kind of education on the higher level the scope of undergraduate offerings for Negroes is much narrower than that offered white students. This limited program of work constitutes a definite limitation upon not only the educational opportunity of the Negroes of the State, but upon their vocational choice as well. With the exception of the fields of education and religion, which boast 617 and 613 Negro workers respectively (39:4-185), too little effort is being made to relate the academic offerings to the needs of the general Negro population of the State.

Library facilities. The library facilities of a college are another criterion of the quality of education offered by that institution, for under modern methods of instruction both faculty and students must constantly seek information from collections of printed materials. Therefore, any study of Negro education should consider library facilities. No such information concerning the three smaller colleges, Dunbar Junior College, Arkansas Baptist, and Shorter, was available, either through a study of their catalogs, visits to the institutions, or a search through American Universities and Colleges. The Agricultural,

Mechanical, and Normal College in 1951 listed 24,803 volumes and 268 current periodicals for an enrollment of 1082 (11:170) compared with the University's 304,650 volumes and 2,128 current periodicals for 4,201 enrollment (11:178). Philander Smith College claimed 25,001 volumes and 305 periodicals for an enrollment of 570 students, while its counterpart for white students, Hendrix College, numbered their volumes at 55,436, their periodicals at 261, for an enrollment of 428 students (11:174). For an enrollment not quite four times the size of that of the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, the University had a library over twelve times the size of that at Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College.

On this basis, the libraries at the Negro institutions of higher education must be judged inadequate, even by State standards, for the service which they are attempting to perform. To enable them to function adequately, these Negro libraries need increased funds for books, personnel, and equipment.

DEGREES GRANTED

Dunbar is a junior college and confers no degrees. None of these Negro colleges grants advanced degrees except an occasional honorary degree. In May, 1950, Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon two men and one woman (2:157). The following

spring, Shorter College conferred honorary degrees upon four men: one Master of Arts, one Doctor of Humanities and two undergraduate degrees, the Bachelor of Divinity (153:48). Philander Smith is the only other Negro college that listed honorary degrees. In May 1952 and again in August 1952, the College conferred one honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (153:100).

The Bachelor of Science degree constituted the larger per cent of the undergraduate degrees granted. At the end of the school year 1952 a total of 294 degrees were awarded by the Negro colleges of Arkansas, 102 to men, 192 to women. Of this total, 176, or 59.9 per cent, were Bachelor of Science degrees; 117, or 39.8 per cent were Bachelor of Arts degrees; the one remaining degree, or .3 per cent, was the Bachelor of Divinity degree. Table XXIII presents this picture in detail. Women constituted 65.3 per cent and men 34.7 per cent of the total number receiving degrees at the end of the 1952 school year.

Data concerning degrees granted were not available for all colleges over the four-year period 1950-53, but Table XXIV shows the degrees awarded by each of the four-year Negro colleges over this period. It suggests that, as a rule, more women than men earn both the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees, and with the single exception of Philander Smith College these

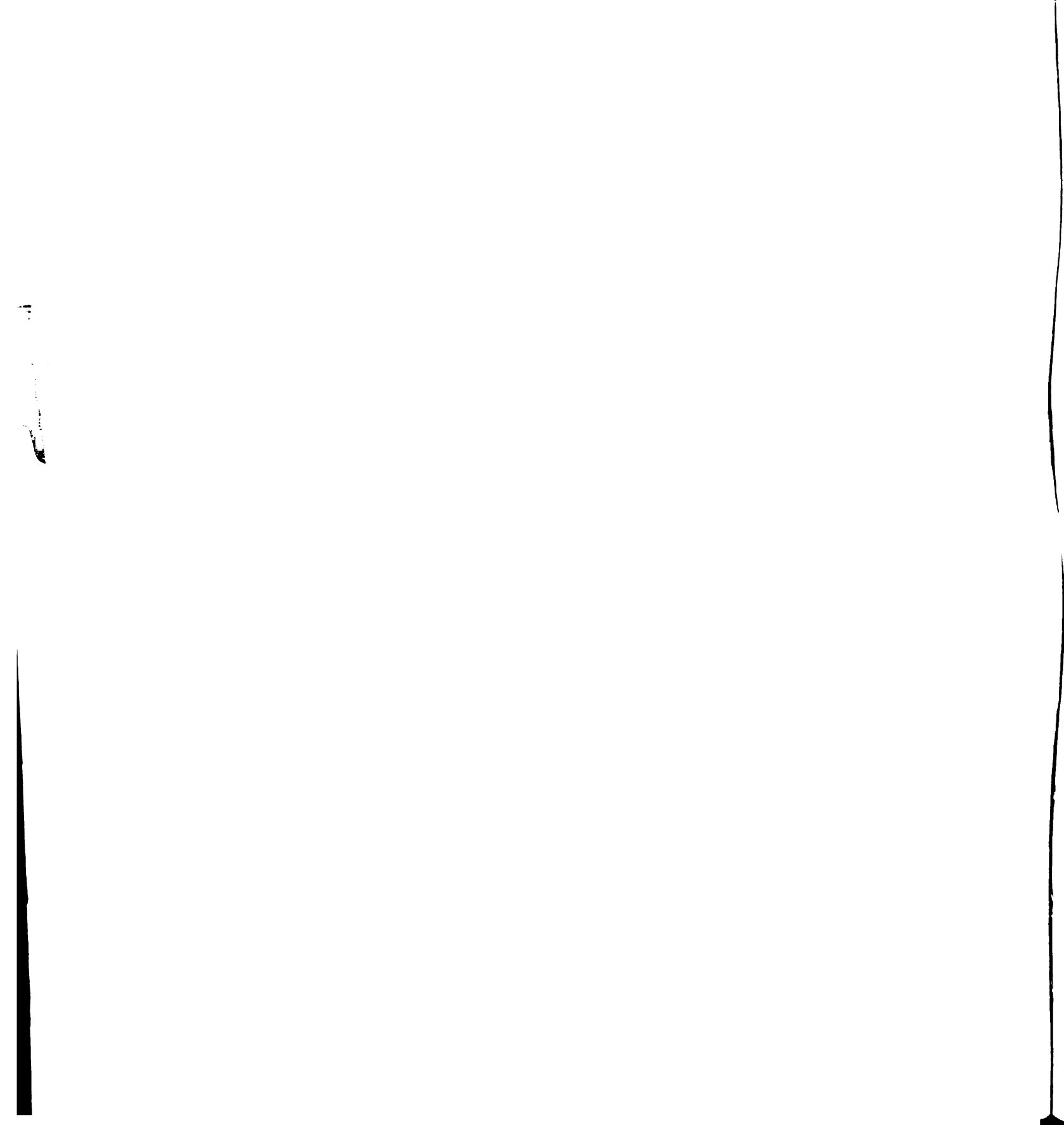
TABLE XXIII

DEGREES GRANTED BY THE NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS, 1952, BY TYPE, SEX, AND NUMBER

College	Type of Degree									
	Bachelor of Arts		Bachelor of Science		Others		Totals			
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	10	25	35	47	79	126	-	-	-	57 104 161
Arkansas Baptist College	2	1	3	8	18	26	-	-	-	10 19 29
Philander Smith	31	47	78	1	16	17	-	-	-	32 63 95
Shorter College	1	0	1	1	6	7	1	0	1	3 6 9
Totals	44	63	117	57	119	176	1	0	1	102 192 294

TYPE AND NUMBER OF DEGREES CONFERRED BY NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS
IN SELECTED YEARS BY SEX

Source: Catalogs of the various colleges.



institutions award far more Bachelor of Science degrees than they do the Bachelor of Arts.

Philander Smith College and Shorter College are both Methodist supported colleges. Philander Smith is a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, while Shorter is not so accredited. This lack of accreditation of Shorter plus the very small number of degrees of any type granted by the College during the three-year period for which data were available again suggest that perhaps it would be wise to merge these two Methodist institutions. The resulting single college would be strengthened and fewer Arkansas Negroes would be receiving degrees from non-accredited schools.

SUMMARY

The five Negro colleges of Arkansas, one of them a junior college, have reflected the national trend toward increased enrollments, enrollments in which the females outnumber the males. A tabulation of the counties of Arkansas which sent students to these colleges suggested that geographical accessibility and economic factors are strong, influential determinants in college attendance and revealed the need for a college open to Negroes in the geographically isolated northern portion of the State.

The curricula of the Negro colleges followed the same

general pattern of the offerings available to whites, with the fields of arts and sciences, education, and home economics receiving the major emphasis. The scope of the offerings, however, and the library facilities available to Negroes were much more limited than were those available to whites. None of the Negro colleges offered any advanced work at any level.

These limitations in educational opportunities for Negroes in Arkansas should be of concern to not only the State of Arkansas but to the Nation as a whole, for many out-of-state students attend Negro colleges in the State.

However, progress is being made, and with the opening of the doors of the University of Arkansas to Negroes, to be discussed in the next chapter, the future looks bright for increasingly expanded educational opportunities for Negroes.

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CHAPTER V

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS' INTEGRATED PROGRAM

The State of Arkansas and the University of Arkansas have traveled a perilous and uncertain road from declared desegregation in the days of the University's infancy to sincere attempts at integration in the post-war years. They traveled this road quietly and voluntarily, without any of the disturbances and litigations suffered by other Southern states. That Arkansas was able to do so and become the first state of the South to voluntarily open the doors of its university to Negro graduate students -- the only Southern state to take such action of its own will -- is a testimonial to the educational leadership within the State and to the good will and discretion of the students, both Negro and white, who pioneered in this venture. This chapter gives an account of these developments.

EARLY POSITION OF UNIVERSITY ON THE RACIAL ISSUE

The University of Arkansas is eighty three years old. Its 1954-55 Bulletin gives the following account of its founding:

The University of Arkansas owes its origin to a public-land grant act of the Federal Congress, which was accepted by the General Assembly of Arkansas on March 27, 1871. The State Act provided for the location, organiza-

tion, and maintenance of the institution. Fayetteville was selected as the site, and the University was opened on January 22, 1872. (183:13).

The State organic act of 1871, referred to above, created a board of trustees which was to consist of eleven members: the state superintendent of public instruction, who was to act as ex-officio president of the board, and ten elective members, one from each judicial circuit, who were to be elected by the legislature in a joint meeting of the two houses (140:57).

At that time Joseph Carter Corbin, a Negro, was serving as superintendent of public instruction, and, as such, was president ex-officio of the board of trustees of the University (140:357). Under such conditions it was not unnatural that the issue of admitting Negroes to the University arose even before the opening of the University. At a meeting of the board in Little Rock on January 17, 1872, Trustee Millen offered a resolution directing the president of Arkansas Industrial University, as the institution established under the provisions of the Merrill Act, was known until 1899 (140:69), to admit white and colored students "into the same classes" (140:96).

However, after much discussion, a substitute resolution introduced by Trustee Bennett, which left the issue to "the sound discretion of the executive committee" was adopted by the

board. On April 14, 1873, the executive committee announced that their "sound discretion" had thrown the University open to all "without regard to race, sex, or sect" (140:299).

In June of 1872, General Albert Webb Bishop, then treasurer of the board, and who later served the University as president from 1873 to 1875, delivered an oration in which he declared the question of race and color practically settled and referred to the University as a place which "all (are) privileged to attend, and with equal facilities to struggle after the preeminence which is the reward alone of industry and capacity" (140:96).

The color line drawn. President Gates, the very first president of the University, had the unpleasant duty of facing this embarrassing racial issue. One Negro, doubtlessly encouraged by legislative action and the ensuing oratory, had the temerity to apply for admission. According to the law he could not be excluded. President Gates therefore admitted the Negro, but required him to remain during the day in an out-house near the University, and "at noon and after school he himself heard the negro's (sic) recitations" (140:97).

This was not integration, but the Negro did attend the University. According to the records of E. N. Chanay, long-time principal of Merrill High School where the Pine Bluff Extension Center was located during the summers of 1948, 1949 and 1950, several other Negroes also attended during these early years.

Mr. A. B. Crumpt, later principal of the Camden Negro high school, was among them.

But Arkansas was a Southern state, the bitterness aroused by the Civil War was yet rampant, and the white citizens of the state were not ready for even this degree of integration. The opening of the branch normal at Pine Bluff in 1875 in accordance with the act of 1873, discussed in Chapter IV of this study, removed the question of Negro attendance at the University from "the domain of practical consideration" (140:97).

Early extension work. Although the Branch Normal at Pine Bluff was under the control of the University Board of Trustees until 1927 (141:20) and was statubly the equal of the University, practically it was not so. The University, perhaps in recognition of the inequality of educational oppertunities for the two races, has consistently encouraged extension work among the Negroes. During the 1920's, correspondence and extension courses could be taken from the University. Among the extension courses offered were courses in child psychology and tests and measurements which were taught at the old Branch Normal College at Pine Bluff from 1924-1926 by Mr. W. A. Wilson, principal of the First Ward School in Pine Bluff. Dr. Nolin M. Irby, Supervisor of Colored Schools

in Arkansas and a member of the extension faculty of the University of Arkansas, in 1936-37 taught courses on the graduate level to Negroes at Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff. The credits earned were not transferrable to other graduate schools and were later transferred from the University to Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. These accounts of early work among the Negroes were taken from the personal records of R. N. Chanay, Emeritus Principal of Merrill High School and were confirmed by Mr. Hilton, Emeritus Director of General Extension and Dr. Hetz, Emeritus Dean of the School of Education.

Hale, in his history of the University of Arkansas, stated that a movable school for Negroes consisting of "a light truck equipped with material for giving practical demonstrations in such subjects as terracing, poultry house construction, and canning" was "inaugurated by the General Extension Service" of the University in 1928. This mobile school was moved from county to county and during the first year of its existence conducted demonstrations in twenty-eight counties (68:202).

Ed McCuistian of Little Rock, long-time State Director of Negro Education for the State of Arkansas, stated in a conversation with a research worker in the summer of 1951 that Dean J. R. Jewell of the University School of Education taught extension classes for Negro teachers on the undergraduate level in the early 1930's. The credits earned did not count toward a degree but

could be used to fulfill a requirement for the renewal of a teaching certificate. This information was confirmed by the records of Dr. Henry Gustave Hotz, Emeritus Dean of the University School of Education, and Lilburn Lewis Hilton, Emeritus Director of the General Extension Service of the University.¹ The record is cited here only as an indication of the consistent interest of the University in Negro education.

These same sources of information revealed that the first extension classes for Negroes which carried permanent University credit were taught on Saturday in Fort Smith Junior College during the school year 1937-38. One course in the fall was taught by Mrs. Anderson and one in the spring by Ralph Barnhart. More important was a graduate seminar in curriculum construction which was taught by Ralph Jones, Principal of the Fort Smith Junior High School. The students enrolled in this last named class came to the Fayetteville campus the last few Saturdays and were taught by regular staff members. They took examinations set by the regular staff for the regular University students. This was a step nearer integration.

The coming of World War II interrupted this growing program, for, according to Mr. Hilton, the University was so short

¹ Personal interviews, August, 1951.

of instructors during the war years that the extension courses for Negroes were of necessity discontinued as a war measure.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT INTEGRATION

Despite this interruption of the extension program by the war-time reduction of the University staff, things were happening in Little Rock, all unknown to the University, that were to lead to the first attempts at integrated classes and eventually to an integrated program of higher education in Arkansas.

In public welfare. Mrs. Ora P. Nix, now with the Veterans Administration in Little Rock but during the war years Director of Public Welfare for Little Rock, related the following account of the train of these events.² The Division of Public Welfare was also plagued with such a dearth of workers that a 249 per cent turn over in personnel occurred. A meeting of the Pulaski County Board of Public Welfare was called to discuss means of stabilizing the staff. During the discussion, Mrs. Nix suggested that the Board employ a comparatively well educated Negro woman to work among her own people at a salary ranging between \$75.00 and \$90.00 a month. The Board was unwilling to adopt such a revolutionary plan. However, the problem so increased during the following month that the Board decided to follow Mrs. Nix's suggestion and

² Personal interview with Mrs. Nix, August, 1954.

asked Ed. McCuistian, then Director of Negro Education, to recommend a qualified Negro woman for the position. His choice was Mrs. Inela H. Childress, wife of the State-employed Rufus Childress, and she became the first Negro employed by the Division of Public Welfare to do case work in Little Rock and Pulaski County. Mrs. Childress proved so satisfactory that the Board felt another Negro woman could be used in a like capacity, and, upon the request of the Board and approval of Mr. John Pipkin, State Director of Welfare, Mrs. Childress helped Mrs. Nix find Mrs. Enco Cox, a teacher in the Little Rock Negro school system, who became the second Negro case worker in Little Rock.

Their employment, in spite of their ability, presented racial problems. An institute for Child Welfare workers was held at Henderson State Teachers College, an institution for whites, at Arkadelphia, Arkansas. No Negro had ever been received by the College or permitted to use College facilities. A compromise was effected. The two Negro women were permitted to attend the institute. They were not allowed, however, to stay in the college dormitory along with their fellow white employees but were required to find lodging elsewhere. As Mrs. Cox had relatives living in Arkadelphia, the two Negro women found lodging in the home of Mrs. Cox's relatives.

First mixed classes. In 1943-44, a class in mental hygiene, offering "two semester credits" of graduate credit was taught at the Medical School in Little Rock, by Dr. Elizabeth Fletcher, a psychiatrist on the staff of the Arkansas State Hospital. Mrs. Nix thought that the course might be helpful to the two comparatively untrained Negro social case workers, and in order to avoid any setting apart of two Negroes, Mrs. Nix suggested that the whole group of welfare workers take the course. The group was willing to take the course, but demanded resident credit for doing so.

This presented a problem. Mrs. Nix and Mr. Hilton held a conference, and Mrs. Nix requested that the group be allowed University credit for the course and that the Negro women be allowed to enter. Mr. Hilton consulted Dr. Fletcher, the teacher of the class, and the individual members of the class. Teacher and students alike voted to permit the Negro women to enroll. In this manner did Mrs. Inela H. Childress and Mrs. Eva Cox become the first two Negroes employed by the Public Welfare Division to do case work in Little Rock and Pulaski County and the first Negroes to sit in mixed classes with white students in Arkansas.

According to Mrs. Childress' personal account, which was confirmed by Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Nix, Dr. Fletcher, and Mr. Hilton,³

³Personal interviews with investigator, August, 1954.

there was no strain or tension felt. The two Negroes were accepted by the class and they gave their reports and participated in class discussion as did the white students.

The next wedge in the wall of educational segregation was driven the following year. A class in testing and counseling, also on the graduate level, was conducted at the Medical School under the general direction of Dolph Camp, who at that time was State Supervisor of Counseling and Guidance Services. Again Mrs. Nix was instrumental in securing the admission of Mrs. Childress to the class. Mr. Hilton related that he followed the same procedure of polling the teacher and the individual class members. Again the teacher and the class voted to permit the Negro woman to enroll in the class.

Once again there was no conflict or apparent tension felt by any of the class members. Mrs. Childress completed the course also and has her "certificate of credit" dated June 15, 1945, and signed by Mr. L. L. Hilton to prove it. This time she was the only Negro in the class.

These were war-time measures and, according to Mr. Hilton, the venture was not known to the officials of the University of Arkansas. Indeed, there was no publicity at all. This was a daring venture on the part of Mrs. Nix, Mr. Hilton, Dr. Fletcher, Mr. Camp, and both the Negro and the white students involved, for

this was in Arkansas, a Southern state, at a time when ill feeling between the races was rampant, when in Arkansas and other neighboring states there were rumors that Negroes were hoarding guns and ammunition in preparation for a general insurrection against the whites. Had these first attempts at integration become generally known, real trouble might have arisen. No mention of it was made in any of the Little Rock papers, either the white or the Negro publications.

In 1945, the State Supervisor of Child Welfare discovered that his department was going to lose Federal funds for a scholarship unless a suitable candidate to study social work could be found. Mrs. Childress was asked to accept this scholarship of \$120.00 a month, and in doing so she became the first Negro in Arkansas to receive a Federal grant to study social work through the Child Welfare Department. A stipulation of the grant was that Mrs. Childress after her year of training at Atlanta University return to work for the Child Welfare Department for at least a two-year period.

According to Mrs. Childress' own story, confirmed by the records of Mrs. Nix, she faced a serious problem upon her return to the Child Welfare Division.⁴ There had never been a Negro on the staff on the Child Welfare Division, no ground work had

⁴ Personal interview with author, August, 1954.

been laid for her entrance in the local office, and the staff refused to accept her. As she stated it, "We were moving too fast and the white people were not ready for integration." They refused her office space at the Child Welfare Division and for the entire time she was employed by the Division her office was in the County Welfare Building. The racial pressure became so great that in 1948 Mrs. Childress resigned and accepted a position, which she still holds, in the Little Rock public school system.

Meanwhile, things were "moving too fast" in the extension program of the University in Little Rock as well as in the Child Welfare Division. According to Mr. Hilton, extension classes were being taught in barracks on the grounds of the Medical School, but the University rented an office in the Pyramid Building. Despite the lack of publicity, word of the integrated classes had spread and several Negro teachers of North Little Rock attempted to enter an extension class taught by Miss Elizabeth Beltz for white students. When they appeared at the office in the Pyramid Building to register, the secretary in the office, not anticipating any difficulty, allowed them to register. No preparation had been made, as had been done in the other two cases, and a serious problem was created when the Negroes unexpectedly entered the class. Real trouble might have occurred had not Superintendent R. B. Brawner of North Little Rock settled the problem by refusing



these Negro teachers permission to attend the class. Faced with his ultimatum, the Negroes withdrew.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT GRADUATE CENTER

So great was the demand for graduate extension work that in 1948 the University established a permanent graduate center in Little Rock (181:5). For the first two years of its existence the classes were segregated. Additional room for the newly established Center was essential. Mr. Hilton, director of the program, stated that Dr. Little, the superintendent of the Little Rock public school system which includes both white and Negro schools, agreed to the use of Negro Dunbar Junior College classrooms by the Center. However, when the principal of the Junior College returned from Brown University where he had been studying, two Negro ministers of the city called upon him and objected to the use of Dunbar facilities by the Graduate Center on the basis of classroom segregation.

To avoid confusion, the Center then rented rooms and the use of library facilities from the Little Rock East Side Junior High School. But no Negro could attend classes there or use the library. Therefore arrangements were made for the Negro classes to be held at Philander Smith College, a Methodist college for

Negroes sponsored by members of both races. There were some white members on its controlling board and Dr. Harris, its president, was favorable to the plan even though the classes were segregated. This solution was far from satisfactory to the Negroes involved. Mr. Hilton recalled that the Negro students and Negro leaders in the city were adamant in their resentment of segregation and vociferant in their complaints. Mr. Hilton's answer was, "The University is doing all it can."

Approximately four times as many whites as Negroes were in attendance at the Graduate Center. More classes for whites were being offered and the Negroes felt discriminated against in this also, although the Center maintained one graduate class in public welfare that had only three Negroes enrolled. Duplicate classes for Negroes and whites were economically infeasible. Again Mr. Hilton counseled, "Be patient, Let the University work it out gradually."

It was, or could have become, an explosive situation. University personnel tried to keep down any publicity. That they were able to do so, Mr. Hilton felt, was largely because of the cooperative attitude of the press, both Negro and white, the understanding and wholesome influence of the State Director of

Negro Education, himself a Southerner, and the outstanding leadership of Nebraska born Lewis Webster Jones, then president of the University of Arkansas.

A TWO-FOLD POLICY EVOLVED

Under the combined leadership of these men and undoubtedly influenced by the numerous litigations in other Southern states, the University recognized that the provision of opportunity for higher education for Negroes was a matter of grave concern, having social, economic, moral, philosophical, and political as well as educational facets. State school officials, working with the University announced that "separate but equivalent facilities for undergraduate work" were available to Negroes at Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, this in spite of the fact that Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College was not accredited by the North Central Association (122:146). The University worked out a two-fold policy for Negro graduate work which was to involve, in many instances, attendance at the University itself.

Cases where duplication is prohibitive. First, in cases where the expense prohibited the duplication of graduate facilities for the two races, Negroes were to be allowed to use "existing facilities under a system of segregation" (122:146). The January 30, 1948, issue of the Little Rock Gazette, the leading

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newspaper of the State, quoted an announcement made by President Lewis Webster Jones, University President, and Herbert L. Thomas, Chairman of the University Board of Trustees, that any qualified Negro graduate student would be admitted to the University. Dr. Jones' statement concerning the application of a Negro who had been reported as seeking entrance to the University was given as follows:

After consultation with various state officials and with members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Arkansas, the decision has been made to admit Clifford Davis, a Negro applicant to the University School of Law, if he comes, and special arrangements have been made for his recommendation (90:1).

Davis did not appear on the day of registration, but one Silas Hunt, a Negro from Texarkana, Arkansas, and a graduate of Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College did appear to enroll and was admitted on February 3, 1948, as a first year law student. Hunt met all his classes alone in a small basement room of the Law School - just he and a professor facing each other across a table. Hunt studied through the spring semester and early summer before he was forced to go to a veteran's hospital at Springfield, Missouri, where he died of tuberculosis in April, 1949 (94:8).

Not all Negro applicants were as successful in gaining entrance as was Hunt. Wiley A. Branton, close friend of the

militant Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher of Oklahoma, accompanied Hunt to Fayetteville, seeking admission to the University. He was an undergraduate, and the University Registrar and examiner had notified him that he should seek admission to Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal. After consultation upon his arrival in Fayetteville, Branton did not attempt to enroll (92:1).

Another Negro, William J. Mitchell of Menifee, sought admission to the University of Arkansas Medical School at Little Rock, but was refused on the ground that the school was dangerously over-crowded (92:1). The enrollment of the Medical School was limited to ninety per semester and there were 113 applicants.

Hunt's experience was certainly not integration, but it was a step forward for the Negro people, a step approved, in general, by the white people of Arkansas. The Little Rock Gazette, molder of State public opinion, carried an editorial entitled "The University's Wise Decision", which after stating that the issue of graduate facilities for Negroes "could no longer be avoided," continued:

Mr. Thomas, President Lewis Webster Jones, and the other officials concerned have taken the bold and forth-right stand demanded by the logic of a situation that was not of their choosing. Their act reflects great credit upon Arkansas. They deserve, and we are confident they will have, the support of all our citizens (90:7).

Reaction to policy. Little or no objection to the admission of Hunt to the University was voiced by the students of

the University. According to the Little Rock Gazette (91:1) most students seemed to feel that the policy of segregated classes was unwise and that the University would in time adopt a policy of admitting qualified Negro graduate students to regular classes. The Arkansas Traveler, student newspaper of the University, published an extra of only one page in which student opinion of the unprecedented policy was voiced: Wanda Wassner, editor of The Arkansas Traveler, said she was not opposed to the enrollment of sincere Negro graduate students. Lloyd Henry of Augustus, a senior and president of the student body said he saw no objection to the decision. R. T. Eubanks in the School of Education thought it would help solve racial conflicts. William Penix, junior in the law school and World War II officer, stated that he would not object to attending classes with Negro graduate students. Fred Steele, a practical-minded engineering student, felt that the policy was wise from the economic angle. Hershel Payne approved because he believed that God had intended equal opportunities for all. Pete Hamzy, outstanding student and athletic director of the Fayetteville Boys Club approved the policy, but voiced the fear that "the issue of Negro students entering Southern colleges is being forced too rapidly" (167:1).

Dean Leflar, Dean of the Law School, was quoted as follows:

We will carry out the plans approved by the Board of Trustees in accordance with the requirements of law as laid down by the United States Supreme Court (167:1).

On Wednesday, February 4, 1948, the Little Rock Gazette (92:3) carried headlines "No Stir as Negro Enters University" and commented that he became a student "without any trace of the disturbances which have marked the attempted enrollment of Negroes in other Southern universities" (92:3).

Governor Ben Lancy, governor of Arkansas from 1944-1948 (15:78), endorsed the decision of the University of Arkansas authorities to admit qualified Negro applicants for graduate work, but he doubted that "--improvement of Negro educational facilities is the prime objective" of the efforts to enroll Negroes in established white schools and warned that "Abolishing race segregation won't work in this country, and those people who have it in their minds had better get it out" (91:1).

The attorney-general's office prepared a summary of the step-by-step development of the state policy for providing higher education for Negroes above the secondary level which was published in the Little Rock Gazette of Sunday, February 1, 1948. (See Appensix). The consensus of legal advisors was that Negroes could be admitted to the graduate or professional schools of the University of Arkansas since no equal facilities for them was

provided within the state, but that Negroes were not entitled to enter the undergraduate school since Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal could offer the same undergraduate courses of study as those of the University at Fayetteville (91:1).

According to a statement of Mr. Joe E. Covington, Provost of the University,⁵ there is no record in the minutes of the University board ordering the admission of qualified Negro graduate students to the University. In the first place, Negroes had never been officially excluded by action of the trustees so authorizing their admission was not necessary, and secondly, the question was a most delicate issue, involving possible unfavorable repercussions. Therefore the whole policy was worked out in oral agreement.

Attempts at integration. The University had set a precedent when it permitted Silas Hunt, a Negro, to enter the School of Law at Fayetteville in 1948, even though it had rejected the application of William J. Mitchell to the Medical School of the University. In view of the announced policy, it was to be expected that attempts to enter the Medical School would continue, and the summer of 1948 found Edith Mae Irby, a Negro girl from Hot Springs, among the 230 Arkansas residents who applied for admission to the freshman class of the Arkansas Medical School.

⁵ Personal interview, September, 1952.

All such applicants were required to take an aptitude test sponsored by the Association of American Medical Colleges and the enrollment was customarily limited to the ninety highest scoring students. Miss Irby ranked twenty-eighth and was therefore entitled to admission (93.1). Medical School officials felt physical segregation to be impossible in medical education since laboratory work is done in pairs, and Miss Irby was admitted "without any form of segregation". Another very practical matter doubtless entered into her complete acceptance. The School of Medicine is at Little Rock and has no campus, maintains no dormitories, so the delicate question of living accommodations did not arise as it did at Fayetteville. This made for less sensitivity in terms of human relations. Miss Irby completed her medical course, was graduated in 1952 and is today practicing medicine in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Records reveal that since Miss Irby's entrance there has been at least one Negro in each class of the Medical School.

Jackie Lamont Shropshire, who entered the Law School at Fayetteville the same semester, September, 1948, did not at first achieve the degree of integration accorded Miss Irby. He, like Hunt before him, took a room with one of the few Negro families in Fayetteville and ate in the student union cafeteria. According

to his own story,⁶ he was the only Negro on campus that first semester, and while two or three of the white students were friendly, most of them rather consciously ignored him. He spoke when he was spoken to, but made no advances, for he felt that to a considerable degree the status of future Negro students depended upon the record he made at the University. He too began his classes alone with a professor in that small basement room. He too was forced to carry books from the third floor library to that small room to study in isolation. After a month, two of his four classes were switched to a regular classroom full of white students.

Mr. Shropshire related the following account of this switch of classrooms. He had been told that he would meet two of his next day's classes in a room hitherto reserved for white students. As he sat alone in his basement room, he heard a pounding and nailing within the room across the hall where he was to meet classes on the morrow, saw many white students going in and out of the room, and heard a great deal of rather excited discussion. After all the whites had gone, he entered the room and beheld a desk in a corner apart, enclosed within a railing. He was dismayed, for he knew the significance of the pen and the solitary desk, but he was grateful that he would not enter the

⁶Personal interview, August, 1954.

room on the morrow unwarned, with the eyes of his white classmates focused upon him.

Others also were uncomfortable with this arrangement, and after two or three days a white boy from Eastern Arkansas approached the professor for permission to discuss with the class the removal of the railing. The teacher made the assignment a few minutes early and dismissed the class with the admonition, "Now discuss anything you like." Only two young men objected to the removal of the railing, and they withdrew their objection when they saw they were overwhelmingly outvoted. The railing was removed, but Shropshire still sat in the corner alone. During the second semester he met all his classes in regular classrooms, but still sat apart.

This first year was terribly hard, said Shropshire, but the second was not quite so hard. Two more Negroes, George W. Haley and Christopher C. Mercer, had enrolled in the Law School, so Shropshire did not feel so alone and nothing humiliating occurred. The professors, he stated, were always "terribly nice to me" and during this second year fellows began to ask him to their rooms to study. He began to feel at home.

The third year the pressure relaxed to such an extent that he thoroughly enjoyed the year. The Negro students sat where they pleased in the classrooms. A special table in the law

library was reserved for their use. The Negro students were housed this year in Lloyd Hall, a residence hall reserved for those doing graduate work. This dormitory contains single rooms and hence no problem was created. There has never been any segregation at the Razorback Stadium; they sat where they pleased. Shropshire played shortstop on the Law School softball team that year and played regularly in intermural games with no unpleasantness arising. He was asked to join the Student Bar Association and did so. He was graduated in June 1951. Shropshire became the first Negro to march in the academic procession and receive his degree along with the white students.

A few minutes later, Benjamin Lever, a Negro student majoring in Agriculture, who had spent the entire year of 1950-51 on the campus at Fayetteville, was also awarded a degree with the rest of his class.

Haley too, according to Dr. Robert A. Leflar⁷ of the Law School was making his mark. He was elected to the staff of the Arkansas Law Review, edited by the high ranking students in the school, an honor comparable to becoming a member of Phi Beta Kappa, according to Dr. Leflar.

Wiley Branton, refused admission in 1948, entered the Law

⁷ Personal interview, August, 1951.

School in 1950. He was later elected president of his dormitory, which housed both Negro and white students.

The Negro students were, in general, about average, according to Dean Leflar. Some were on probation at times, but none was asked to leave because of academic inefficiency. All completed their work, were graduated from the School of Law, and are now practicing in the State.

When duplication is not prohibitive. The second part of the policy for graduate work for Negroes was similar to that for undergraduate work. In such graduate fields as English, history, government, social work, psychology, and education duplication of facilities is not necessarily prohibitive, and it was to provide graduate work "in such fields as these that the Pine Bluff Center was established" (122:147).

The University assumed a long-term obligation to staff the new school until the colored Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College could develop its own graduate program, and it turned for instructors to the College of Education, University of Arkansas, to the State Department of Education, to Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, to the State Library Commission, and to the Pine Bluff Public School system (122:147).

Because the Negro college was already crowded, the classes were held in the main building of Merrill High School, the Negro secondary school at Pine Bluff. The overall theme of that first summer's work was "planning for school improvement." A sheet of directions and offerings was mimeographed and made available to all interested persons.⁸ This move was looked upon with distrust by the Negro people of Arkansas. Penrose, in the only written account of this venture, pictures this distrust and dissatisfaction graphically:

Early in the spring of 1948, many Negro teachers in the State feared that this was not a bona fide educational venture, but only a stratagem to prevent Negroes from attending classes on the main campus at Fayetteville. Accordingly, these leaders discouraged prospective students from enrolling. Negro teachers dissuaded fellow teachers. Even family pressure was applied in some cases. Negro journalists in the State openly agitated against the proposal. The student paper at Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College editorialized against it, and the majority of Negro undergraduates were also opposed. There was talk of boycott (122:147).

The powerful National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also opposed the new school. According to R. K. Bent,⁹ University Professor, who served as director of the school for a two-year period, on May 31, 1948, the day of

⁸ See Appendix.

⁹ Personal interview, July, 1950.

registration, approximately 150 Negroes were milling around the Merrill High School, but many refused to register until Mr. Chaney, principal of the host school and highly respected by the Negroes, called them into the auditorium and urged them to accept the University's offering in good faith. A good many did so, although some expressed the intention of spending only one week there. However, Penrose states that not one left before the entire term of six weeks was completed (122:147).

The following motives were given by those hardy persons who braved the censure, enrolled, and remained for the six weeks (122:148).

1. It was less expensive than going outside the State to study.
2. It was more desirable for Arkansas teachers to earn their Master's degree in a state school.
3. It was the logical place to find ideas for improving their own schools.
4. There was the wish to qualify for salary raises.
5. There was the desire to be in the first class of Negroes to graduate from the University.

Penrose states that in actual operation the Center exceeded expectations (122:148).

Under the instruction of friendly, interested, and helpful

teachers the students forgot their early misgivings, gave their cooperation, and esprit de corps quickly developed. So earnest and sincere were those first students that the instructors felt the work done by them equalled that done in the regular graduate school, and in some cases surpassed usual standards (122:148). This record was especially commendable since many of the students were graduates of unaccredited schools. Perhaps this very handicap provided an added spur to scholarship, for in accordance with the general policy of the University such students were assessed a removable deficiency of twelve semester hours of work. If grades on the student's first twelve hours of graduate work averaged a 4.00 ("B") or above, the penalty would be waived (180:265). They were anxious to remove these penalties and to prove that they could do acceptable work on the University level. In addition, they were all mature, experienced teachers with like problems and similar goals.

The students were handicapped in a measure by the inadequacy of the library. Penrose states that "Books and materials except for test books, were furnished by individual instructors and the library at Fayetteville" and concludes, "The Center library was small but carefully selected" (122:147). The library of Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College was also accessible to the Center students.

The reactions of the students both to the over-all program and to the specific courses were favorable. In an unsigned evaluation requested of each student the following factors were listed as being most helpful (122:148).

1. Exposure to the methodology of the instructors as an aid in the improvement of their own teaching.
2. Help in planning and in school evaluation.
3. Help in vocational building.
4. The use of current events as an enrichment of the curriculum.
5. The acquisition of a new concept of democracy and leadership in education.

A questionnaire was distributed at the close of the session asking the students for suggestions for the next summer's work. Again the students cooperated, and they brought forth the following suggestions for the improvement of future sessions (122:148-149):

1. Set up introductory skills courses to include such things as note taking, outlining, sentence construction, organization of composition, and summarizing.
2. All additional courses should be centered around practical problems of community school improvement.
3. Have the same instructors return for ensuing terms.
4. Use additional visual aids.
5. Provide an enlarged library.

6. Provide guidance and supervision from the State Department of Education and from the Extension Division of the University during the coming school year.
7. Let next summer session consist of either two terms of six weeks each, or one long term of ten or twelve weeks.
8. Provide an expanded program of courses to include American history, adult education, and religious education.
9. Arrange for some social get-togethers for the group.
10. Set up a series of non-credit courses in school management for those educators who need the stimulation of new ideas but who lack the background necessary to do graduate work.

Many of these proposals were incorporated into the summer programs of 1949 and 1950, the only other terms the Pine Bluff Center was operated.

In early May of 1949, the announcement that the University of Arkansas in cooperation with Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College and the State Department of Education would offer courses in education and related fields for graduate credit was made and circulated among the Negro teachers. Again the University of Arkansas, the State Department of Education, Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College and the State Library Commission supplied the instructors, with the University of Arkansas

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furnishing the majority of the teachers. According to official records of the Division of General Extension of the University an expanded schedule of courses was offered: six courses in educational administration, three in sociology, two each in elementary education, and political science, one in philosophy and one in rural economics. The enrollment was 131 for the first six weeks and 67 the last six weeks, making a total enrollment of 198 for the summer.

Many of the students availed themselves of the opportunity for part-time study in the Little Rock Graduate Center during the regular school year, and the program of the Seventy-Sixth Annual Commencement Exercises of the University of Arkansas, Saturday, June 3, 1950, bore the names of six Negroes, all education majors, who had earned the Master of Science degree. These Negroes, stated Dr. Hatz,¹⁰ did not go to the University for graduation exercises but were presented with their degrees in Pine Bluff.

During the summer of 1950, the enrollment in the Pine Bluff Center reached 254 for the first six weeks and there were 243 in attendance the second six weeks, or a total enrollment of 497 for the summer. Twelve courses, all in education were offered the first summer session and eight courses, again all in education, the second session.

¹⁰ Personal interview, August, 1951.

It is clear that all of this work at the Pine Bluff Center was concentrated in the field of education, but the students were, almost without exception, teachers in the schools of Arkansas and their greatest needs were to raise standards in their schools and to advance their own professional standings. The Pine Bluff Center was a genuine attempt on the part of the University and State Department of Education to meet these needs. The Pine Bluff Center was discontinued after this summer of 1950, for by the fall of 1950 the University had bought property in Little Rock at Sixteenth and Lewis streets to serve as permanent quarters of the Graduate Center of the University of Arkansas.

That same fall the classes offered by the Graduate Center in Little Rock, which formerly had been segregated, were thrown open to both whites and Negroes on a completely desegregated basis. This was the first attempt at integration which dealt with a large number of Negroes. This quantitative factor is an all-important one. As Ashmore has said, "breaching of the wall in the very top stratum of the educational system was possible because only a relatively few persons were involved" (19:251). Arkansas was now ready to attempt integration on a larger scale. An account of this integrated education follows in the next chapter of this study.

SUMMARY

The train of events related in this chapter shows plainly the slowly evolving change in attitudes in human relations and viewpoints of the educators and people of Arkansas over the years, from the time when the newly founded University was declared open to all races, through the drawing of the color line, to the World War II years and their emergency measures, which subsequently led to sincere, if somewhat limited, attempts at educational integration.

No national or federal pressure was brought to bear upon the situation so far as can be ascertained, but these people fearlessly faced their internal problems, perhaps somewhat in advance of many of their peers in other states.

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CHAPTER VI

PRESENT STATUS OF THE GRADUATE PROGRAM FOR NEGROES

From the beginning and somewhat halting developments traced in the preceding chapter of this study, evolved the present program of integrated graduate education at the University of Arkansas, a program duplicated to an extent at several of the other Arkansas colleges formerly restricted to white students.

This chapter describes the general graduate program of the University, the extension program of the University operating in other white colleges, the work of the Little Rock Graduate Center, and the integrated program on the main campus at Fayetteville.

GENERAL PROGRAM OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University of Arkansas, the only educational institution in the State that offers graduate work at either the master's or doctoral level, is the capstone of the educational system of the State of Arkansas. The Graduate School offers the following advanced degrees: (1) Master of Arts, (2) Master of Science, (3) Master of Science in Chemical Engineering, (4) Master of Science in Civil Engineering, (5) Master of Science in Electrical

Engineering, (6) Master of Science in Engineering Mechanics, (7) Master of Science in Industrial Engineering, (8) Master of Science in Mechanical Engineering, (9) Master of Business Administration, (10) Master of Education, (11) Professional Degrees in Engineering, (12) Doctor of Philosophy, and (13) Doctor of Education (183:15). The Bulletin further states that while the main objective of the Graduate School is "the advancement and dissemination of knowledge," the program is planned to meet the needs of "those who wish to participate in the scholarly activities of a particular field, those who desire self-improvement through advanced study beyond the bachelor's degree, and those preparing for the teaching profession" (183:15).

In addition to the Graduate School, the university maintains four rather limited professional schools: the School of Law at Fayetteville, the School of Nursing, the School of Medicine, and the School of Pharmacy at Little Rock (183:15).

Accreditation. The catalogs of the University from 1948 (the earliest one consulted) to the 1954-55 Bulletin of the Graduate School all contain the following statement: "The University of Arkansas is a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. All its colleges and schools are approved by their respective professional associations." Hale, in his history of the University of

Arkansas, stated in 1948 that the University was on the "Approved List of Association of American Universities" and that "only nineteen out of two hundred Southern colleges are so recognized" (68:275).

Such approval is generally regarded as the highest accreditation a college can receive. Students from colleges so accredited are admitted to the leading graduate schools of the country without examination. The University is the only college in Arkansas approved by the Association.

Graduate faculty. The Graduate School is headed by Dr. Virgil William Adkisson who is both Dean of the Graduate School and Chairman of the Controlling Graduate Council of eight members, all of whom hold the doctor's degree.

The graduate faculty is composed of those who hold the doctorate, those who have two full years of graduate study and have published research articles, and those who may be chosen by the graduate council (126:123). Very few qualify under this last classification.

The graduate faculty was, in 1951-52, composed of a total of 227 persons. Of these, 166, or 73.1 per cent held the doctorate; 55, or 24.2 per cent had earned the master's degree; two, or .9 per cent, had only the bachelor's; and four, or 1.8 per cent, a degree of some other type such as that of Certified

Public Accountant or a professional degree in some field of engineering (181:8-20).

By 1952-53, the per cent of the graduate faculty holding the doctorate had increased to 77.5, the master's percentage had been lowered to 20.1 per cent, the bachelor's to .4 per cent, and other type degrees had increased to 2.0 per cent (182:7-14).

This graduate faculty compared favorably in terms of degrees held, with that of Michigan State College at East Lansing, the land-grant institution in Michigan as the University of Arkansas is in Arkansas. In this same year Michigan State College's graduate faculty claimed 81.9 per cent of doctor's degrees, 16.2 per cent master's degrees, and 1.9 per cent bachelor's (107:245-266). The University of Arkansas faculty held fewer doctorates, but it also had fewer bachelor's degrees held by members of the graduate faculty. The University of Arkansas compared even more favorably with selected Southern land-grant universities. Table XXV shows this comparison.

In 1953-54, the picture was not quite so favorable, for while the total number of graduate staff had been increased to 267, the per cent of doctor's degrees had been lowered to 75.7 per cent, master's degrees increased to 23.2 per cent, the per cent of bachelor's degrees remained the same, and other type degrees held constituted only .7 per cent (184: 6-16).

A possible explanation is that a large per cent of the twenty-three additional staff members employed that year held

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TABLE XXV

PER CENT OF GRADUATE FACULTY HOLDING VARIOUS TYPES OF DEGREES IN SELECTED
LAND-GRAND COLLEGES, 1951

Institution	Doctor's degree	Master's degree	Bachelor's degree	Other degree	No degree	Total
Agricultural, Mechanical College of Texas	20.4	49.8	29.8	--	--	100.0
Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	52.6	31.1	12.6	3.6	--	99.9
*Michigan State College	81.9	16.2	1.9	--	--	100.0
Mississippi State College	27.8	57.1	15.1	--	--	100.0
University of Arizona	42.1	37.1	17.4	2.2	1.2	100.0
*University of Arkansas	77.5	20.1	.4	2.0	--	100.0
University of Florida	38.7	46.9	14.1	.3	--	100.0
University of Georgia	42.4	42.1	11.5	4.0	--	100.0
University of Kentucky	39.3	44.4	11.9	4.4	--	100.0
University of Missouri	32.7	47.0	19.1	1.2	--	100.0
University of North Carolina	49.0	33.0	18.0	--	--	100.0
University of Tennessee	39.0	48.0	13.0	--	--	100.0

Source: American Universities and Colleges, 1952.

*Catalogs of the Graduate Schools.

only the master's degree. This is understandable in light of the known fact that salaries in the South are lower in all phases of education. Dabney found the salaries of all instructors less than the average for the United States as a whole (45:140). This makes it difficult for Southern Universities to secure entering staff at the doctoral level. Certainly the University needs to continue the process of upgrading its staff.

Library facilities. The library facilities are an important factor in the quality of education offered by any educational institution. The latest catalog of the graduate school available, that of 1954-55, states that the "University Libraries are composed of the General Library and college and school libraries for agriculture, commerce, engineering, fine arts, law, medicine, pharmacy, and science" (183:26). Together they contain approximately 310,000 volumes, 210,000 documents of the Federal Government, 25,000 maps, 1,850 reels of microfilm, and 2,100 current magazines. "The General Library is a full depository for documents of the Federal Government and the State of Arkansas (18:26). In addition, the Library subscribes to the "printed editions of the catalogs of the Library of Congress and the British Museum . . . and to all principal indexing services" (183:26). Interlibrary loans are available and serve in some measure to counteract any inadequacy of the library facilities.

The School of Medicine at Little Rock has its own library containing approximately 24,800 bound volumes and receiving 480 of the more important periodicals (183.:26). In addition, the collection of the State Library Commission and the library of the city of Little Rock which boasts 118,213 volumes (1954:16), are available to medical students. Materials for students and investigators are further furnished by the Index Catalog of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, Index Medicus, Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus, Army Medical Library Current List of Medical Literature, and Various Abstract Journals (183:26).

A rather limited library is maintained at the University Graduate Center in Little Rock. This library is supplemented from time to time by loans from the General Library on the Fayetteville campus and by use of the Little Rock Public Library and the libraries of the Negro colleges within the city.

These limited library facilities are undoubtedly a handicap and influence the type of work done, but the University, according to its own published statement, "---strives continually to build up its resources of materials for graduate study and research in all fields in which graduate work is offered by the University" (183:26). Published statistics substantiate this statement.

During the school year 1950-51, 17,849 volumes were added and \$78,900 was spent for books and periodicals (11:176). In 1951-52, 14,784 volumes were added at a cost of \$45,174 for books alone and \$9,425 was spent for periodicals (155:51). By 1952-53, the outlay for books alone had reached \$51,041 (8:14). The number of volumes added to the library reflects the effort of the University to close existing gaps in holdings and to keep abreast of current publications.

The listed 310,000 volumes (182:26) is not an impressive figure when compared with the libraries of larger universities but when considered in the light of data reported to the United States Office of Education showing that in 1951-52 only ninety-eight, or 6.56 per cent, of the 1,509 institutions of higher education in continental United States owned volumes numbering between 200,000 - 999,999 (155:8), it appears very creditable, for the University of Arkansas is one of the smaller state universities and these figures rank it in next to the highest category of libraries in institutions of higher education in the United States (155:8).

Admission to the graduate school. The admission policy of the graduate school of the University of Arkansas is very similar to that of other graduate schools. Graduates of the University of Arkansas or of accredited institutions requiring

substantially the same undergraduate program as is required in the University, are eligible to apply for admission to the Graduate School. If applicants' grade averages are 3.00 (halfway between C and B), or above, they may, upon completion of the proper forms, be admitted to full graduate standing. Letters of recommendation are also required (183:15).

Graduates from an unaccredited college may be admitted with an entrance condition of twelve semester hours of work provided both their grades and program of undergraduate work are satisfactory. In the event their grades on their "first term of graduate work, in the amount of twelve hours or more, average 4.0 (B) or above, the condition will be waived" (183:15). If grades are below this required 4.0, an additional twelve hours of work, determined by the students' advisers and the Dean of the Graduate School, will be required (183:16).

All applicants must fill out several forms (See Appendix), the first of which is the "Application for Admission." This is followed by the "Permit for Provisional Registration," and at the time of actual registration, by the "Request to Register for Graduate Credit." It is noteworthy that none of the traditional identifying questions often used as a means of discrimination are included in any of these forms. The required name of the high school and other colleges attended could be used, in some

instances, to determine the race of the applicant. However, such is not the practice, and these details of education are of value in determining the applicant's fitness for graduate study.

Admission to the School of Law is based on at least two full years of pre-law work in the University of Arkansas or in some other university or college of recognized standing. The applicant must have maintained a satisfactory grade average during these two years (180:264).

The minimum requirements for admission to the School of Medicine are those established by the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association, namely, "The completion of a four-year high school course and three years' work in an approved college of arts and sciences" (180:267). In addition, according to the laws of the State of Arkansas, freshmen admissions are limited to residents of the State of Arkansas and selection of students is on a competitive basis within each congressional district (180:267).

Graduate and professional offerings. In today's complex society, in which human abilities constitute the nation's greatest resource, graduate and professional offerings are assuming an ever increasing importance in higher education. This importance is stressed in the following excerpt from Volume II of the National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes:

Graduate and professional education constitutes the institutional method by which society assures itself of adequately prepared individuals in the several professions, and the availability of graduate and professional curricula enables persons of high ability to prepare themselves for service, in those professions which require highly specialized training. Limitation of the availability of graduate and professional offerings, therefore, not only limits the opportunity of the individual but also deprives society of services which are essential to its well-being and progress (62:13).

Until the University opened its doors to Negroes in 1948, no graduate or professional study was available to Negroes within the State of Arkansas. Those more able Negroes who availed themselves of the out-of-state scholarships all too frequently failed to return to Arkansas. The realization that the State was losing many of its more gifted Negro citizens, the potential leaders of the Negro people, was doubtless an important factor in the University's decision to admit Negroes to its graduate and professional schools.

The University maintains the following ten instructional divisions: (1) College of Arts and Science, (2) College of Education, (3) College of Engineering, (4) College of Agriculture and Home Economics, (5) College of Business Administration, (6) School of Law, (7) School of Pharmacy, (8) School of Nursing, (9) School of Medicine, and (10) Graduate School (184:59).

The graduate program is superimposed upon the curricula of the undergraduate instructional divisions. In the University

of Arkansas, according to the 1954-55 Bulletin of the Graduate School, the following number of graduate fields of specialization in the several areas of graduate work are available: In arts and science, nineteen fields; in education, six fields; in engineering, six fields; in agriculture, ten fields; in business, seven fields; in home economics, three fields - a total of fifty-one fields of specialization. Professional offerings are available in law, medicine, nursing, and pharmacy. The School of Medicine offers graduate work leading to the master's degree with the major work in any one of the following five fields: (1) anatomy, (2) bacteriology and parasitology, (3) biochemistry, (4) physiology and (5) pharmacology. On the doctoral level, work is offered leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree in (1) biochemistry, (2) physiology, and (3) pharmacology (183:89).

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy is also offered in the fields of chemistry, economics, English, history and philosophy (183:21).

To students who are not seeking a doctorate but who pursue work above a master's degree the Graduate School may issue the "Diploma of Advanced Study," upon their completion of a minimum of sixty semester hours of graduate work. The 1954-55 Bulletin of the Graduate School describes such work in the following terms:

This work must be so organized in the student's program of study that it will parallel the program of

study acceptable for a doctoral degree for the first 60 hours, with the exception that residence requirements may be met by summer attendance (183:20).

These offerings may not be impressive when compared with the curricula of some of the larger universities, but at least the graduate and professional schools of the University of Arkansas offer to Negroes the same educational opportunities available to whites.

THE EXTENSION PROGRAM OF THE UNIVERSITY IN OTHER WHITE COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS

In the fall of 1951, the University of Arkansas prepared and sent to other state-supported colleges for whites within the State of Arkansas mimeographed sheets inviting their cooperation in the establishment of Graduate Centers in their respective institutions. The purpose of this move was explained in the following terms:

The University of Arkansas feels the need of extending its graduate offerings and believes that this can be accomplished by establishing Graduate Centers in other state-supported institutions who want and are able to cooperate (181:1).

Another factor in the University's decision to establish such residence centers, according to a statement made by the Associate Director of the Division of General Extension, was the desire to avoid costly duplication of graduate offerings.¹¹ Other colleges within the State were considering the addition of

¹¹ Personal interview, July, 1954.

graduate work to their curricula, and the University desired to prevent the establishment of other graduate schools, a move which would possibly weaken its existing Graduate School, since the limited appropriations of the State would necessarily be apportioned among the several Graduate Schools.

The conditions under which such centers would be established were then outlined in detail. Every effort was made to insure a high standard of work in such Centers.

Courses. The University was to select a list of courses in professional education from which the cooperating colleges would be permitted to choose the ones most suited to the needs of their respective areas. Course outlines and materials were to be uniform, wherever taught. To insure this, the University required that the courses selected be planned in consultation with University staff members responsible for such courses on the main campus at Fayetteville. All such courses were to be offered only during the regular school year and were in no case to be accepted as part of any doctoral program undertaken at the University.

Instructors. All instructors were to be regular staff members of the University, flown to the cooperating colleges on the established dates of class meetings, or regular staff members of the cooperating colleges who were deemed fully qualified to be on the University Graduate faculty. Such instructors were to

approved by the Graduate Council of the University. Since any teaching done by these approved instructors in the Graduate Centers was to be considered part of their normal teaching loads and not extra assignments, the University agreed to reimburse the cooperating colleges for the instructors' time used in teaching for the University.

Students. Qualified graduate students, both Negro and white, were to be admitted to such courses, provided they had applied and been formally admitted to the Graduate School in the regular manner. If the credits earned were to count toward a Master's degree, special approval of the student's adviser was to be secured in advance of registration. Only twelve semester hours of work taken in residence centers could be applied toward the master's degree. A student fully employed would be allowed to register for only three semester hours of credit in one semester.

Facilities. The cooperating institutions were to provide adequate classroom space, and to cooperate with the University in applying necessary teaching aids and library facilities. In addition to lending the cooperating institutions supplementary reference materials, the University would pay the cooperating institutions a stipend of twenty-five dollars per course for utilities and janitorial services.

A written agreement was to be made between the University and each cooperating institution.

Centers established. Under the terms of this proposal graduate centers have been established in the following institutions: (1) Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College of Monticello in Drew County; (2) Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Pope County; (3) Arkansas State College, Jonesboro, Craighead County; (4) Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Faulkner County; (5) Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia, Clark County; and (6) Southern State College, Magnolia, Columbia County.

These centers, together with the permanent Graduate Center at Little Rock, are located in the various sections of the State, making graduate work in education readily accessible to students in all areas of Arkansas. This is important since the University, located at Fayetteville in Washington County in the northwest corner of the State, is cut off from the rest of the State, by the Ouachita and Ozark Mountains. Work at the University, therefore, except for those in residence there, is reduced to a minimum because of this more-or-less isolated geographical location.

Enrollments and offerings of the centers. By the fall of 1952, all six of the Centers offered one or more graduate

classes in education. Arkansas State College at Jonesboro in the extreme northeastern section of the State offered three courses, in which eighty-six students were enrolled. Arkansas State Teachers College, Southern State College, and Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, each offered two courses, with respective enrollments of forty-one, fifty, and thirty-one. Arkansas Polytechnic College and Henderson State Teachers College were not so ambitious. They maintained only one course each with enrollments of sixteen and twenty-seven respectively.

The total enrollment in all six Centers was 251 in 1952.

The above information, taken from the records of the Division of General Extension of the University of Arkansas, is presented more graphically in Table XXVI.

Most of these 251 students were education majors, although some were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences. A breakdown of the enrollment by majors is given in Table XXVII. Such records suggest that the chief interest of Arkansas students seeking graduate credit lies in the field of education. Other records of the University support this assumption.

Strangely enough, in spite of this promising beginning, the same source revealed no record of any graduate classes held by any of these six Centers during the spring semester of 1953.

TABLE XXVI

ENROLLMENT IN EDUCATION COURSES OFFERED AT THE SIX GRADUATE CENTERS COOPERATING
WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, FALL, 1952

Course	Arkansas Polytechnic College	Arkansas State College	Arkansas State Teachers College	Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Henderson State Teachers College	Southern State College	Total
Educational Adminis- tration No. 403		40	25		27		92
Elementary Educa- tion No. 443		19					19
Secondary Education No. 443	16	27	16	11			70
No. 463				20		33	53
Psychology No. 563					17		17
Totals	16	86	41	31	27	50	251

Source: Data compiled from records of the Division of General Extension of the
University of Arkansas.

TABLE XXVI

ENROLLMENT IN EDUCATION COURSES OFFERED AT THE SIX GRADUATE CENTERS COOPERATING
WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, FALL, 1952

Course	Arkansas Polytechnic College	Arkansas State College	Arkansas State Teachers College	Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Henderson State Teachers College	Southern State College	Total
Educational Adminis- tration No. 403		40	25		27		92
Elementary Educa- tion No. 443		19					19
Secondary Education No. 443	16	27	16	11			70
No. 463				20		33	53
Psychology No. 563					17		17
Totals	16	86	41	31	27	50	251

Source: Data compiled from records of the Division of General Extension of the
University of Arkansas.

TABLE XXVII

COOPERATING INSTITUTIONS AND BREAK-DOWN OF ENROLLMENT BY MAJORS AND NUMBERS, FALL, 1952

Institution	Educational administra- tion	Elementary education and health	Physical education	Secondary education	Special educa- tion	Vocational educa- tion	Arts and sciences	Library science	Total
Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	4	12		10	4	1			31
Arkansas Polytechnic	3			12		1			16
Arkansas State College	29	18		21	1	5			86
Arkansas State Teachers College	8	14	2	13	4				41
Henderson State Teachers College	5	12		8	2				27
Southern State College	7	16		20	3	2	1		50
Total	56	72	2	84	25	9	1		251

Source: Data compiled from records of the Division of General Extension of the University of Arkansas.

with the exception of the three offered by Arkansas State College at Jonesboro. A fourth class was scheduled but was cancelled when only two students enrolled in the class. The three classes taught were one each in educational foundations, educational psychology and elementary education. The enrollments were respectively twenty, fifteen, and ten, making a total of forty-five students enrolled in graduate extension courses.

During the school year of 1953-54, the graduate enrollment at the six cooperating colleges reached 111 the fall semester and 127 the spring semester. Table XXVIII gives these totals by course and sponsoring institution. It may be noted that two of the cooperating institutions had dropped out of the program and the yearly enrollment was a few less than the enrollment for the fall term of 1952, the first recorded year of the program. Perhaps it might be well for the University to consolidate its extension program and offer classes only at the permanent Graduate Center in Little Rock. Certainly Henderson State Teachers College, Arkansas State Teachers College, and Arkansas Polytechnic College are within the same general geographical area served by the Graduate Center.

WORK OF THE GRADUATE CENTER IN LITTLE ROCK

For the first two years of its existence the Graduate

TABLE XXVIII

ENROLLMENT IN EDUCATION COURSES OFFERED AT THE SIX GRADUATE CENTERS COOPERATING WITH THE
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, 1953-1954

Course	Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College	Arkansas Polytechnic College	Arkansas State College	Arkansas State Teachers College	Henderson State Teachers College	Southern State College	Total enrollment	Grand total
	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	Fall Spring 1953 1954	
Educational Adminis- tration No. 403	26				21		47	47
Educational Foundations No. 453 No. 463	46	17	14 31		14 17		77	91 17
Educational Psychology No. 563			32				32	32
Elementary Education No. 443 No. 453		18	21		21		18	21 18
Secondary Education No. 443			12				12	12
Total	26 46	17 18	47 53		21 0		111 127	238 181

Source: Data compiled from the records of the Division of General Extension, University of Arkansas.

Center at Little Rock maintained separate classes for Negroes and whites. The white classes were held in Dunbar Junior College or at the Medical School of the University, while classes for Negroes were held at Philander Smith College. Classes for both races met at night from seven until ten o'clock during the week and on Saturday mornings from nine until twelve o'clock.

Early enrollment. During the fall semester of 1948, 276 students were enrolled, 206 graduate students and seventy undergraduates. Of this total only thirty-six were Negroes. The spring semester of 1949, the total enrollment dropped slightly, from 276 for the preceding semester to 245. Of these 178 were graduate students, fifty were undergraduates, and seventeen were classified as special students. Again thirty-six of them were Negroes. These figures were taken from mimeographed records of the Graduate Center.

These students were drawn from forty-one different towns and communities, with Little Rock furnishing 165 or the 245. A large per cent of them, 48.57 per cent, were classroom teachers, but thirty-eight other occupations were represented in the group. Table XXIX gives this breakdown, from which it can be seen that practically all of them were either professional, business, or clerical workers.

TABLE XXIX

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED IN THE
1948 CLASS AT THE GRADUATE CENTER IN LITTLE ROCK

Number	Occupation	Number	Occupation
119	Classroom teachers	1 of each:	Advertising managers
16	Social welfare workers		Assistant buyer
13	Vocational counselors		Band director
12	Housewives		College teacher
10	Vocational-agriculture instructors		Editor
9	Principals		Farmer
8	Secretaries		Health worker
	Students		I.B.M. specialist
4	Clerks, lawyers		Librarian
	Civil service employees		Manager of ready-to- wear
	Corrective therapists		Mortician
3	County superintendents		Nurse
	Insurance agents		Photographer
	Ministers		Pool hall manager
	Salesmen		Psychometrist
	School superintendents		Red cross worker
2	Bookkeepers		Registrar
	Health workers		Supervisor of Adult Blind
			Secretary-teacher
			Wholesale superin- tendent
			X-ray technician

Twenty-five students did not answer the question.

At least some of the students claimed an occupation entirely foreign to the field of education when in reality they were also engaged in teaching. For example, one man gave his occupation as mortician when he was actually employed by Philander Smith College as coach and an instructor in physical education (123 :16). When questioned concerning the matter, he stated that he earned a living "undertaking but taught for prestige."

The Negro teacher in the South does indeed occupy a position of greater prestige among his own people than does the white teacher among his people. Bryce, in his famous study of America, found that professional occupations ". . . have been the traditional top occupation in the Negro community" and states "in general, too, securing an education is the most effective shortcut to the top of the Negro social pyramid" (35:516). This may explain, at least in part, the manifest great desire of the Negro to gain access to the opportunities of higher education.

The enrollment continued to rise until in the spring of 1950, the last semester segregated classes were held at the Graduate Center, there were enrolled 404 students, of which fifty-five were Negroes.

Perhaps this small minority of Negroes enrolled was one factor in the decision of the University to open the classes at

the Center to both races. Certainly the cost in time, energy of the faculty, and money of maintaining duplicate classes was a determinant. When school opened at the Graduate Center in the fall of 1950, it was on a completely desegregated basis. The Negroes were quick to respond. The number enrolled jumped from fifty the previous semester to 127 Negroes.

Reaction to mixed classes. At long last, after years of hoping, talking, planning, and working, the Negroes were admitted to graduate classes on an equal basis with the whites. Many of the Negroes did not enter upon this venture without considerable trepidation. They were fearful of the treatment they might receive from white classmates and teachers alike and even more so, perhaps, of the keener competition they felt they would encounter in mixed classes.

The white students also were ill at ease. Some of the more liberal minded were glad to see segregation go and expressed their feelings to Negro and to white fellow students and to the staff. Some of the more conservative whites were resentful and fearful of this breaking of Southern mores.

The good judgment and tolerance of both groups are to be commended, for there were no un-toward incidents, and things soon settled down to the usual routine.

Curriculum. The curriculum has from the beginning of the Center been heavily loaded with educational courses. However, this is practical, for 162, or sixty-five per cent, of the 251 answering the question concerning their occupations were either teachers or school employees of some kind. From that first year through the summer session of 1954, people in education have predominated in the enrollment at the Center.

The relation of such a curriculum to the needs of the Negro students is supported by Johnson, who in his study of Negro college graduates, found that the majority of them, approximately three-fourths, have gone into the professional field and that teaching has claimed fully half of these profession workers. Even the vocational schools, he states, have sent more of their graduates into the professional fields than into industry (80:113).

During the school year 1948-49, twenty-two courses, all acceptable for graduate credit, were offered. Ten of these, or 45.5 per cent, were in education; four were in the closely related field of psychology; two each in history and English; while the fields of speech, sociology, political science, and social welfare, all in arts and sciences, each offered one course. The education courses were distributed over the areas of educational administration, vocational education, elementary,

and secondary education. Of the total twenty-two classes, six were exclusively for Negroes: two classes in education and one each in English, history, psychology, and social welfare.

The next year, 1949-50, the picture changed comparatively little except for an increase of eleven in the number of courses. Two of these added courses were in business and one was in industrial engineering. The number of courses in education increased from ten to seventeen, or from 45.5 per cent to 51.5 per cent of the total offerings.

The beginning of mixed classes in the fall of 1950 witnessed another gain of eleven courses offered the students. Again education, in its many areas, comprised the major proportion of the total offerings. This has been true consistently. In 1951-52, the total number of courses available dropped to forty and to thirty-nine in 1952-53. The autumn of 1953 saw a slight rise in the number of courses taught, but for the most part there has been little variation in the curriculum since the opening of the integrated classes. From Table XXX it is apparent that during its six years of operation the Graduate Center has offered work in only four colleges: Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Education, and Engineering.

Summer attendance at the Graduate Center is limited to Negroes only because the physical plant of the Center is inadequate

TABLE XXX

COURSES OFFERED AT THE GRADUATE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, 1948-1954, BY
FIELD AND NUMBER ENROLLED

Field	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	Totals
Agricultural Mechanics				1		1	2
Art						1	1
Business		2		1			3
Education	10	17	33	21	23	25	129
English	2	2	2	1	2	2	11
Folklore			1				1
Industrial Engineering		1			1		2
History	2	4	2	2	2	3	15
Political science	1	2	2	3	2	1	11
Psychology	4	3	4	5	4	4	24
Social Welfare	1	1		4	2	1	9
Sociology	1			1	2	2	6
Speech	1						1
Philosophy		1		1	1	1	4
Totals	22	33	44	40	39	41	219

Source: Records of the Graduate Center.

to accommodate the great influx of teachers, both white and Negro, who seek to advance their professional qualifications through summer school study.

When the announcement to this effect was made, there was considerable dissatisfaction among the white teachers. There was talk of "discrimination against the whites," and, according to the Associate Director of the Division of General Extension, one white man threatened to bring suit to force the University to permit white students to attend the summer sessions of the Center.¹² The policy, however, was not changed, and the threatened suit failed to materialize.

The program of summer work was much the same as that of the regular school year except that the number of offerings was smaller by approximately fifty per cent, and only two colleges, instead of four, those of Arts and Sciences and Education, offered courses. Table XXXI presents this picture of the summer curricula.

Table XXXII lists the composite enrollment of Graduate Center students in the different schools by number and per cent for the four-year period 1951-1954.

With the majority of the students seeking the master's degree primarily to qualify for higher salaries in the State school systems, this over-emphasis on educational courses is certainly an adaptation of the educational offerings to the class of students involved, but under such conditions the degree is hardly

¹² Personal interview, August, 1954.

TABLE XXXI

ENROLLMENT IN DIFFERENT SCHOOLS BY NUMBER AND PER CENT OF ALL
STUDENTS ATTENDING THE GRADUATE CENTER, 1948-1954

School	Number enrolled	Per cent of enrollment
Arts and Sciences	457	18.6
Agriculture	11	.45
Business	33	1.34
Education	1858	75.62
Engineering	95	3.87
Pre-Dental	1	.04
Pre-Medical	1	.04
Religion and Philosophy	1	.04
Total	2457	100.00

Source: Records of the Graduate Center, Little Rock.

TABLE XXXII

COURSES OFFERED AT THE LITTLE ROCK GRADUATE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS BY
FIELD AND NUMBER ENROLLED SUMMERS, 1951-1954

Field	1951			1952			1953			1954		
	First term	Second term	Total	First term	Second term	Total	First term	Second term	Total	First term	Second term	Total
Education	9	8	17	14	9	23	14	9	23	14	10	24
English	2		2		1	1						
Political												
Science		2	2		1	1						
Psychology	2		2	2		2	2		2			
Recreation	1		1									
Social												
Welfare								1	1	1		1
Sociology							1		1	2		2
Totals	14	10	24	16	11	27	17	10	27	17	10	27
												105

Source: Records of the Graduate Center.

to be regarded as an indicator of high intellectual achievement. However, when it is remembered that graduate instruction of any kind for Negroes began at Howard University as late as 1921 (193:102), and in Arkansas in 1948, this is not too grave an indictment but rather a beacon of hope for the future. As other intellectual occupations besides teaching are opened to Negroes on a large scale, they undoubtedly will seek the educational preparation necessary to qualify them to take advantage of the vocational opportunities thus made available to them.

That Negroes will be able to meet the educational standards of such preparation is indicated in the following section of this chapter.

Marks earned by Negroes and whites. The statement that Negroes feared the increased competition for grades they might encounter in integrated classes has been made. They felt, they said, that their meager educational backgrounds which had caused many to enter with deficiencies and perhaps the unconscious bias of their white instructors, would count against them. To partially determine whether this fear were justified, comparisons of the grades of the all-Negro groups, the all-white groups, and the desegregated groups were made. In the year 1949-1950, classes were separate for the two races, while during the 1950-1951 school

year the Negroes and whites sat in the same classes. The arithmetic mean of the marks earned in the Spring of 1950 by the segregated groups both Negro and white, and the integrated groups in the fall of 1951, by sex, were calculated and the "t" test of significant variation was applied with the following results:

1. At the one per cent level there were no significant differences between the sexes in either the all-Negro groups, the all-white groups, or the integrated groups.
2. At the five per cent level there was a significant difference between the men and women in the all-white groups. The women earned significantly higher marks than did the men.
3. There was no significant difference between the marks earned by the separate Negro or white groups at either the five or one per cent level.
4. No significant difference in marks was found, at either level, between the segregated Negro classes and the integrated classes.
5. Neither was there a significant difference in the grades of the all-white classes and those earned by the integrated classes at either the five or one per cent level.

These findings would seem to indicate that the fear of the Negroes concerning the danger of increased competition was not justified, and that Negroes at the graduate level can, if given

the opportunity, equal the work done by white graduate students, in so far as grades earned are a measure of work done. There was no attempt to measure, in any way, the amount of preparation required by the separate groups to earn these standings.

The Negro graduate student. The background of Negro college students is of great importance to the function of the college and the development of its curriculum and other facilities. This section is concerned primarily with the background and plans of the Negro graduate student. In order to ascertain the college background, occupational status, and educational plans of these Negro graduate students an inquiry form was administered to the students in attendance at the Center during the summer of 1954. All students were given the questionnaire in order to avoid any appearance of singling out certain ones. The returns were then arranged alphabetically, without regard to classes, and every other paper from this alphabetical list was selected for study. Of the remaining 132 students, 110 or 83.33 per cent were teachers. An additional ten, 7.57 per cent, were principals. Many of these principals were known to do some teaching also and might have classified themselves as teacher-principals had not the desire for status influenced their answers. One was a registrar, one a librarian, two were students. Thus 124, a per cent of 93.93, were directly connected with the schools.

These teachers and principals, totaling 120 were for the most part quite mature, experienced teachers. The median numbers of years taught was 4.4. There was considerable occupational mobility among them. Sixty-eight, or 56.6 per cent, had been on their present job from one to five years. The median number of years on the listed positions was 11.4.

Over half of the students stated that they lived in towns of 10,000 population or under - only about a third, 33 per cent, claimed they lived in cities of over 25,000 population.

The majority of the 132 students, 82.6 per cent, had received their undergraduate education in the State of Arkansas at either Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College or Philander Smith College, the two more highly accredited Negro colleges within the State. The neighboring states of Louisiana and Texas, where Negroes do not attend the state universities, furnished 6.8 and 3.8 per cent respectively. Altogether, sixteen different undergraduate colleges in nine states were represented.

Graduate study had been begun by 122, or 92.4 per cent, of the students at the University of Arkansas, although such institutions as Wayne University, the Universities of Wisconsin, Kansas, Illinois, and Columbia were also listed. One student had begun graduate study at the University of Riukyus. These figures suggest that many of these students would have been unable to pursue

graduate work were it not for the University of Arkansas Graduate Center. Only fourteen of the entire number had done work on the main campus of the University at Fayetteville.

Eighty-nine, or 67.4 per cent, frankly listed a higher degree with its resulting increase in salary as their major objective in pursuing graduate study. Seventy-one, or 53.8 per cent, stated that they were planning to continue their education beyond the master's degree.

In general, then, the majority of the summer students of the Graduate Center were connected with the schools in some capacity, most of them as classroom teachers. They had, for the most part, completed their undergraduate study within the State and begun their graduate work at the University of Arkansas. The large per cent of them who planned to go on beyond the master's level suggests that, since work in the Center cannot be counted as part of a doctoral program, many more Negroes will be studying on the main campus at Fayetteville.

THE PROGRAM AT FAYETTEVILLE

The programs of the Law School and the Graduate School on the main campus at Fayetteville are identical for Negroes and whites. No differentia is permitted as far as the academic work is concerned and all the facilities of the University are open

to both races alike. The general program of the University has already been discussed in the first part of this chapter under the following headings: types of degrees offered, accreditation, qualifications of the graduate faculty, library facilities, admissions policy, and graduate and professional offerings available. These, then, are the opportunities provided by the University not for Negroes or for white, but for any qualified citizen of the State of Arkansas.

Very few Negroes have done residence work during the regular school year at Fayetteville, for, as has been demonstrated, most of the Negro graduate students are employed during the year, and must take their academic work in the summer sessions or at night and on Saturdays. An exception to this situation was Benjamin Lever, manager of the experimental farm of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College and an agronomy major, who spent the entire school year of 1950-1951 on the campus.

The situation is somewhat different with the Negro law students. They may be admitted to the School of Law only upon completion of the freshman and sophomore years at some accredited college or university, and they then must complete the three additional years required for graduation in residence on the campus at Fayetteville (180:264).

Again there are few such students. Records of the Law School show that when Jackie Shropshire enrolled in the School of Law in September 1948, he was the only Negro on the campus. The

next year, 1949, two additional Negroes were enrolled, and in 1950 two other Negro law students and one Negro in the School of Agriculture were in residence at the University.

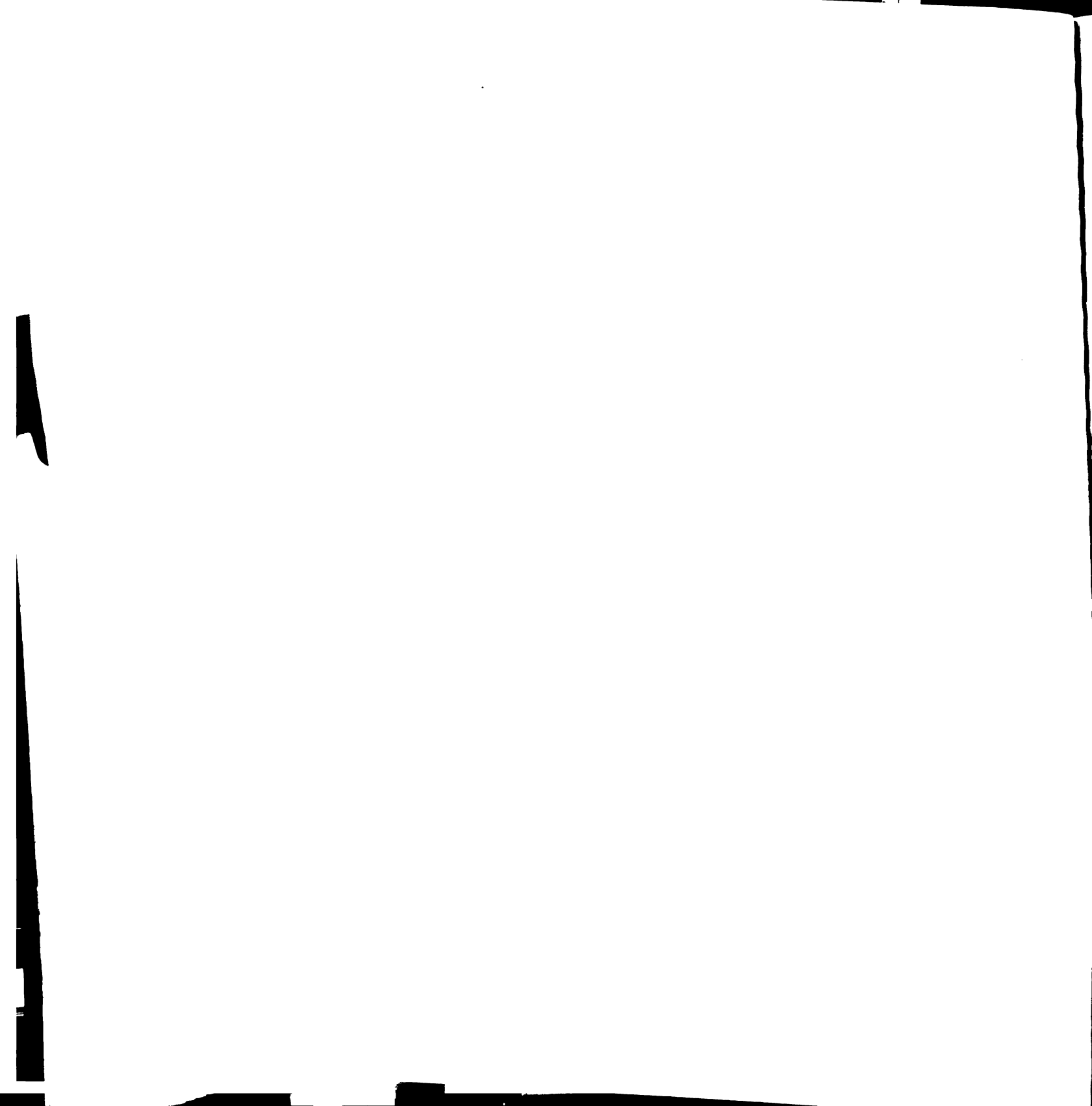
There have been one or two other Negroes on the campus for each of the succeeding years. The exact number was almost impossible to ascertain, for there is nothing on the student's record to reveal the race of the student. Only the question on the application concerning the undergraduate college of the student yields a clue and that is not an infallible one, for the applicant may have attended an integrated undergraduate college. This limitation of this study was noted in Chapter I.

Degrees granted Negroes. According to the records of the Division of General Extension of the University, Negroes did not go to the campus and march in the academic procession to receive their degrees until the end of the spring semester of 1951. Up until that time nineteen Negro women and seven Negro men had completed the graduate work prescribed by the University but they were personally awarded their degrees.

Beginning in June, 1951, Negroes receiving degrees came to the campus, if they so chose, and marched in the academic procession shoulder to shoulder with the white graduates. The printed programs of the Commencement Exercises of the University contain the names and undergraduate colleges of the graduating students. Such programs as were available were checked in an

effort to determine the number of Negroes receiving degrees at the University. This check revealed that through the summer of 1953, five Negro men had been awarded the Bachelor of Laws degree, twenty-eight Negro men and thirty-three Negro women had received the Bachelor of Science degree, making a total of sixty-six degrees conferred upon Negroes. All of the Bachelor of Science degrees awarded were in education with the one exception of the one in agronomy. This number may be below the actual figure, for some Negroes receiving a degree may have attended an integrated undergraduate school.

Such a list of degrees does not appear at all impressive, but when it is remembered that prior to 1921, only seventy-nine Negroes in the United States has received Master's degrees (80:144), the sixty-one master's degrees conferred upon Negroes over this three-year period by the University of Arkansas, one of the smaller Southern universities, are certainly indicative of the progress that is being made toward educational equality for Negroes. This advanced chapter in the history of educational integration in higher education in the South is being written by the educators of Arkansas with the full knowledge that, as Myrdal phrased it, "It is, indeed, an impossible proposition to educate the American Negroes and at the same time keep them satisfied with their lower caste position" (114:657). The educated people of Arkansas evidently desire to aid the Negro



in his quest of that "first-class citizenship" which Logan states is the goal of the American Negro (98:1).

SUMMARY

This chapter has revealed that the University of Arkansas confers the usual advanced degrees although the doctorate may be earned in only a limited number of fields. The University is as highly accredited as any institution in the South with the exceptions of Duke and the state universities in Texas, North Carolina, and Virginia which are members of the Association of American Universities (71:96), while the University of Arkansas is merely approved by this Association (68:275). The graduate faculty compares favorably with graduate faculties of other land-grant universities and the library is ranked in the second highest category of college libraries (155:8).

The General Extension Division of the University, through its centers at certain white colleges within the State and the Graduate Center at Little Rock, makes graduate education available to both races in all sections of the State.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND PROPOSALS FOR CONSIDERATION

SUMMARY

This study was concerned with the origin, development, and present status of the State of Arkansas' program of higher education for Negroes. Arkansas is one Southern state that has admitted Negroes to its University voluntarily and without trouble of any kind attending their admission. It was felt that the experience of this State might be helpful to other Southern states confronted with the racial issue in higher education and, at the same time, serve as a record of the unprecedented experiment.

It attempted to explore: (1) the beginning of biracialism, which has through the ages and in every country where the juxtaposition of two races has occurred, created almost inselvable problems; (2) the evolving policy of the Supreme Court toward biracialism in higher education; (3) the economic and educational backgrounds of the Negro college students in Arkansas; (4) the quality and extent of the educational offerings available in the Negro colleges within the State and (5) how the State of Arkansas has attempted through an integrated program of higher education

at the graduate level to overcome the inadequacies of such educational offerings and to keep abreast of the developing democracy of the country, a development reflected in the series of more and more liberal decisions of the Supreme Court concerning equality of educational opportunities for all citizens of the United States.

Exploration of the first three areas was conducted through extensive reading of historical, educational, and economic literature bearing on the subject of racial antipathy, the searching of court records concerning discrimination in education, and careful examination of the published statistics concerning the public schools of Arkansas. With these as a background, the picture of higher education for Negroes in the State of Arkansas was then drawn. This required visiting with Negro teachers, college presidents, and alumni of the University wherever they were found; searching the records of the Graduate Center, the Division of General Extension, the offices of the Deans of the School of Education and the School of Law of the University of Arkansas, and the State Department of Education; and talking with the various teachers and officials of the University and State Department personnel, all of whom rendered invaluable help.

Acknowledged limitations involved in the study were noted in Chapter I, but in the collection of data upon which this study was based, consideration was given to documents and relics and to

primary and secondary sources. Despite the conceded imperfection of memory, the oral testimony of many individuals of both races who were first witnesses to an event or series of events was necessarily relied upon in the effort to reconstruct the recent past. Indeed, in many instances the investigator had witnessed the original event.

In the absence of agreement on certain terms used in the fields of education and race relations, the literature in these fields was consulted and certain commonly accepted definitions were proposed in order to establish a common frame of reference.

Some of the teachers involved in the educational venture made limited use of the questionnaire and these results also are recorded herein.

FINDINGS

The findings resulting from the study are divided into the five general areas of exploration listed in the preceding "Summary" of this chapter. The investigator makes no claim to the first set of "findings". They are given herein because a searching of the literature dealing with the historical basis of biracialism revealed a consensus of the following:

1. The problems incurred through the juxtaposition of races exhibiting markedly different physical characteristics are of ancient origin and are not uniquely American or Southern.

2. The first Negroes brought to America were indentured servants but their distinguishing badge of color and their rapid increase in numbers plus the geography of the country and economic need changed their status to that of slaves. It is partially this long association of the Negro with slavery that has made their acceptance by the whites so very difficult.
3. The lack of admittance of the Negro to first class citizenship has international as well as national implications, for America's position of world leadership is endangered because of the wide-spread racial antipathy manifested in her treatment of her most populous minority.
4. The belief in the biological inferiority of the Negro, once so prevalent, is no longer intellectually acceptable. Studies of social scientists, psychometrists, and anthropologists of unquestioned repute have discredited such a belief and Negroes are now regarded as capable of making comparable achievements in and benefiting from whatever educational opportunities are available.
5. America, then, cannot adhere to the ideals of liberty and equality set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and at the same time continue to refuse equality in opportunity to this or any other minority without developing a psychological burden of guilt and placing herself in an untenable position before the nations of the world.

6. The Constitution itself, namely the Fourteen Amendment which sought to safeguard the liberty of the newly-freed Negro citizens, has been interpreted according to the moral atmosphere of the time and the changing temper of public opinion. This fact is clearly demonstrated in the succeeding interpretations of the Supreme Court regarding the intent and extent of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The findings related to the evolving policy of the Supreme Court toward biracialism in education reveal the following developments in this policy:

1. The foundation of the doctrine that the provision of "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes met the requirement of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was first pronounced in the decision of Mr. Chief Justice Shaw in the Roberts Case when he ruled the segregation did not in itself constitute discrimination and that the Boston School Committee in providing essentially equal facilities for Negroes had not violated the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment.

2. In 1896, in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson the Court

firmly established the doctrine of "separate but equal", for the Court ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment did not require states to give Negroes and whites identical treatment so long as the treatment accorded Negroes was substantially equal. Thus was firmly established the doctrine which did much to institutionalize segregation.

3. Many years later, in 1935, the Court ruled that Donald Murray be admitted to the University of Maryland's law school, and pointed out that non-segregation offered a remedy when no other way of providing equal educational opportunities for Negro graduate students was available.

4. The next year, 1936, in the Gaines suit v. the University of Missouri the Supreme Court ruled that out-of-state scholarships to which Missouri along with other Southern states had resorted in an attempt to satisfy Negroes seeking graduate education, did not satisfy the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that a state must offer equal facilities for the two races within its own boundaries.

5. When the case of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher's suit v. the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma was argued before the Supreme Court in 1948, the Court laid down a new

point of law in ruling that a state must provide equal educational opportunities for Negroes within its own borders as soon as it did for other qualified graduate students.

6. In the Sweatt case, an attack against segregation itself in higher education was made. The State of Texas had created the Texas State University for Negroes, but Sweatt refused to even enroll in this interim law school. In the ensuing court battle, the Supreme Court ruled that a hastily established, makeshift graduate or professional school could not equal the long established, reputable and accredited graduate school in a state university and introduced, for the first time into such suits, the principle of community action. Segregation, it was held, deprives education of its deeper meaning when those so educated are expected to function in the community.

7. As a result of the McLaurin suit in 1950 to gain entrance to the Oklahoma graduate school of education, the Court went even farther and decreed that once having admitted a qualified graduate student to its state university, a state is obligated to accord him the same treatment that it gives students of other races.

Such decisions of the Supreme Court, each more liberal and far-reaching than the previous one, certainly indicates that at least the legal walls of segregation are crumbling under the

determined attacks of Negroes seeking complete integration in higher education.

By almost any criterion the South is the poorest section of the Nation. Arkansas is one of the poorest of the Southern states, and the Negro occupies the bottom rung of the economic ladder in the impoverished state. Since education is irrevocably tied with economic status, an examination was made of the economic conditions of the different counties of the State and the results of these conditions upon the Negro and the Negro public schools, out of which come the Negro college students.

The findings relative to the socio-economic conditions in Arkansas as a part of the background of Negro college students revealed the following economic conditions:

1. The majority of the population had yearly incomes of less than \$2500. Of the whites, 69.3 per cent averaged below this figure; of the Negroes, 94.1 per cent averaged less than \$2500.
2. The State is still predominantly agricultural in its economy. There are seventy-five counties in the State, and of the seventy-two counties classified as farming counties, sixty-four were classified as cotton counties.
3. Cotton counties are characterized by the concentration of a large untrained Negro laboring force, a wide gulf

between the dominant whites and the Negroes, and rigid observance of the racial mores.

4. The Negro's opportunity tends to decrease with the increase in the proportion that Negroes are of the population.
5. The heavier the concentration of Negroes in a county the greater is the per cent of tenancy and the smaller the size of the farms. The per cent of tenancy, therefore, among the Negro agricultural workers was very high.
6. Only one of the predominantly Negro counties ranked in the upper 25 per cent according to median income. The other such counties are at the bottom of the income range.
7. Only Georgia ranked below Arkansas in median Negro farm family income.
8. Two trends were noticeable in Negro mobility: (1) outward migration from the State to the urban North and Northwest, and (2) inward migration from the rural districts to the urbanized centers within the State.
9. As a result of the outward migration, the last decade witnessed a decline in total population of Arkansas.
10. The Negro is becoming numerically less important in the State. Only twelve Arkansas counties in 1950 were over

40 per cent Negro as compared with seventeen such counties in 1930 and twenty-three in 1900.

11. As a result of the inward migration the Negroes are becoming more urbanized. However, according to 1950 Census figures, only three Arkansas counties had an urban population of more than 50 per cent.

12. Not only is the Negro's vocational range in Arkansas limited, but the Negro worker in Arkansas suffers discrimination in securing employment and in upgrading.

In view of the fact that the work of the college is necessarily based on that of the secondary school, the kind of secondary schools from which students are recruited is obviously a matter of prime importance in determining the type of work the college can rightly expect such students to do.

The findings concerning the educational background of Negro college students in Arkansas were as follows:

1. Arkansas ranks forty-eighth in actual amount spent for public school education, but ninth in the United States in terms of the proportion of its income spent for the education of its children in public schools. This fact suggests that even though a model tax plan were put into effect by the State, it would still be unable to support its public schools adequately.

2. Arkansas' economic deprivation has resulted, in general, in poor schools for both races. Where white schools are sub-standard, State and Federal funds earmarked for Negro schools are sometimes diverted to white use, with the result that the facilities found in the Negro schools are usually more inadequate than those in the white schools. This is true of buildings, libraries, and laboratories.

3. In spite of these conditions, there is a marked tendency for an increasingly greater proportion of Arkansas Negro children to attend school; so that there was in 1952 only a negligible difference in the enrollment-attendance ratios for Negroes and whites.

4. The proportion of Negro youth attending high school in Arkansas has increased even more than has that of grade school children. It now approximates that of white youth.

5. The length of the public school term, once so markedly favorable to whites, was practically equalized for the two races by 1948.

6. In general, there is still considerable difference in the per pupil expenditure for the two races. The difference, needless to say, is in favor of the whites. That this gap in white-Negro expenditure is slowly but surely closing,

is indicated by the fact that seventeen Arkansas counties actually spent more per Negro pupil in 1951 than they did for whites.

7. The educational opportunities of both white and Negro children vary greatly with the type of county in which they live. The rural counties and the cotton counties are in general poor counties, and this low plane of living is reflected in their poor educational indices. When a high percentage of Negroes is combined with these factors, the Negro has least educational opportunity. None of the twelve cotton counties having over 40 per cent Negro population supports a high school for Negroes.

8. On the other hand, the metropolitan counties, while having a high percentage of Negro population, had a high percentage of their Negroes urban and the disparity between educational facilities for the two races, as measured by current expenditure per pupil, was far less in these metropolitan counties.

9. The accreditation of Negro high schools is far below that of the white high schools. Only seven of the eighty-nine high schools for Negroes in the State are accredited by the North Central Association and four of these seven are

centered in the three counties classified as non-farm counties.

An additional sixteen Negro high schools are rated "A" schools by the State Department of Education.

10. There has been a marked improvement in the preparation of Negro teachers of Arkansas within the last decade. The gap between the median years in college of the white and Negro teachers began to close soon after the University of Arkansas initiated its program of higher education for Negroes. Today the qualifications, in terms of years of college training, of the Negro teachers compare favorably with those of white teachers in the State. And it is predicted that if the Negro teachers continue to seek advanced degrees at the present rate, they will soon have more years of college training than the white teachers.

11. The median of years of teaching experience is in favor of the Negro teachers. This suggests that the Negro teachers are not using the profession as a stepping stone to other vocations to the degree that white teachers are, which is understandable in light of the fact that in Arkansas the Negro teacher is at the top of the Negro social and financial pyramid, while the white teacher is not in such a favorable position either socially or financially. If this

be true, the teaching profession is attracting or will soon attract, the best brains among the Negro people but not necessarily the most capable whites. It seems logical to suppose that if such conditions continue, the Negro teachers of Arkansas will, in time, be superior to the white teachers both in native capacity and in preparation.

12. Salaries are apparently geared to years of college training, and while the ratio of white to Negro is still in favor of the white teachers, the gap is closing at a fairly steady pace.

All of these facts, both economic and educational -- the two are inextricably interwoven -- point out that the Negro college student of Arkansas comes to college handicapped by a poor home and community background, a preparatory education secured in sub-standard schools, and a general level of living that constitutes a danger to the State, and, if viewed in light of present-day mobility and economic interrelations, to the entire nation.

There are five colleges for Negroes in the State of Arkansas: (1) Philander Smith, the oldest college in the State and a liberal arts college supported by the Methodist denomination, (2) the land-grant Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, the only state-supported institution for Negroes, (3) Arkansas Baptist College, founded through the efforts of the Negroes

themselves, (4) Shorter College, a small Methodist institution, and (5) Dunbar College, a municipal junior college.

Major findings regarding the education offered in these five Negro colleges were as follows:

1. All of the five with the exception of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff in Jefferson county are located in Pulaski County, the site of Little Rock and North Little Rock, the two largest cities of the State. Jefferson County is adjacent to Pulaski County. This centralization leaves the Negroes of the major portion of the State without an easily accessible Negro college.
2. Until 1950, none of the four-year Negro colleges in Arkansas was accredited by one of the major accrediting agencies in the educational field. In 1950, Philander Smith won accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. A year later the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College was accredited by the Same Association. The latter is also accredited by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Only the first two years of work at Arkansas Baptist College is accredited by the State Department of Education. Dunbar, the municipal junior college at Little Rock, is a member of

the American Association of Junior Colleges and the North Central Council of Junior Colleges.

3. None of the Negro colleges offers graduate work of any kind.

4. Enrollment in the Negro colleges has increased steadily during the last several decades. This is true of enrollment in both white and Negro colleges, but the enrollment of Negroes has increased at a faster rate than that of the whites.

5. More Negro women than men are attending the Negro colleges of Arkansas, probably because of the great demand for elementary teachers, most of whom are women.

6. A disproportionate per cent of the Negroes enrolled in the Negro colleges were from Pulaski and Jefferson counties, the two counties in which Negro colleges are located.

7. Twenty-three of the seventy-five counties of the State had no Negro student enrolled in any of the Negro colleges of Arkansas. These twenty-three counties are all in the rural, non-industrial Ozark area, which suggests that economic factors and geographic accessibility play a large part in determining which Negroes attend college.

8. The five Negro colleges of Arkansas in the school year of 1952-1953 enrolled students from twenty-eight different states of the Union. This out-of-state enrollment suggests that peer educational facilities in Arkansas are a matter of concern to the whole Nation.

9. The faculties in these institutions compared favorably with those of corresponding white colleges in the State in the percentage of staff members holding the bachelor and master's degree, but unfavorably in the percentage holding the doctor's degree. The Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, for example, had a much higher percentage of staff members holding the master's degree than did the University of Arkansas the same year. Its staff also held fewer bachelor's and doctor's degrees.

10. For the most part, the master's and doctor's degrees held by these Negro staff members had been conferred by well-known, reputable institutions scattered over much of the United States.

11. The four Negro colleges located in Pulaski County limit their offerings largely to the field of arts and sciences, home economics, and teacher education. There is much duplication of effort, so that despite this centralization of colleges, the total range of offerings is narrow and waste is obvious.

12. There was greater diversification of fields of specialization in Jefferson County, the home of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. This college offered specialization in agriculture, and in several of the mechanical arts as well as in the various levels of education, areas in arts and sciences, and home economics. The scope of the offerings is, however, far more limited than in the white University of Arkansas.

13. The libraries of the Negro colleges were weak in book collections, periodical holdings, personnel, finances and buildings. These libraries need increased funds for books, personnel, equipment and quarters.

14. The colleges grant only the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees, with the exception of an occasional honorary degree. By far the greater percentage of degrees granted is the Bachelor of Science degree.

The facts presented here indicate that the Negro colleges of Arkansas are making progress. They have improved their libraries, upgraded their faculties until they compare favorably with teachers in the white institutions of the State, and won higher accreditation, but their program of work is limited and the colleges are so centralized that they are not readily accessible to much of the State. Furthermore, they offer no graduate work and any Negro of the State

desiring to pursue graduate work must either leave the State for his graduate education or enroll at the University of Arkansas.

That a Negro is able to do graduate work at the University of Arkansas is a recent and noteworthy development. That this privilege was given the Negroes voluntarily by the University and not won as a result of prolonged litigation, as it has been won in other Southern states, is still more noteworthy.

Findings regarding this attempted integration in higher education were as follows:

1. When the University was founded in 1871 during the days of Reconstruction, the institution was declared open to all races, and one Negro did actually attend the University on a strictly segregated basis.
2. In 1873, the Branch Normal in Pine Bluff in the heart of the Negro population of the State was established to provide higher education for the Negroes in the State who sought such education. The two institutions were under one board, and were supposed to be equal in every respect.
3. Nothing more was done toward integration until the years of the Second World War when two Negro women were permitted to attend extension classes with the whites in the capital city of Little Rock.
4. No ill feeling between the races resulted from the experiment and it was given no publicity. Indeed, it was

unknown to University officials on the main campus at Fayetteville, but the venture led officials of the Division of General Extension to believe that the two races could work together in harmony at least on the graduate level.

5. For three summers, 1948 - 1950, the University of Arkansas offered graduate work for Negroes in Pine Bluff, the home of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. The first graduate degrees awarded Negroes by the University were earned in this center and presented to the Negroes there.

6. In 1948, the University established a permanent graduate center in Little Rock. Classes were segregated for the first two years. The classes for Negroes were held at Philander Smith College and those for whites at East Side Junior High School. There was considerable discontent among the Negroes over this arrangement.

7. By the fall of 1950, the University Graduate Center had moved into its permanent headquarters which it had purchased from the city of Little Rock. That same fall all classes at the Graduate Center were opened to members of both races on a completely desegregated basis.

8. The expressed fear of the Negroes that they would be unable to cope with the increased competition for marks in integrated classes and the fear of many whites that the

Negroes would be unable to meet University scholastic standards was apparently refuted by the fact that no significant variance was found in the marks earned by the two races in segregated classes or in the grades earned by the segregated and the integrated classes. The "t" test of significant difference was used.

9. The year 1948 was an eventful one on the main campus at Fayetteville, for two Negroes, one in February and one in September, were admitted to the School of Law at the University. Their arrival aroused no unrest or racial antagonism among either the students or the faculty. Classes were on a segregated basis and the men, in each instance, lived with Negro families in the city of Fayetteville so that the social mores were not outraged.

10. A Negro woman was admitted to the School of Medicine at Little Rock in the fall of 1948 on a completely desegregated basis.

11. Segregation on the campus at Fayetteville was short lived. As a result of the action of the white students, classes were soon integrated and all the facilities of the University were opened to the Negro students. Outward integration had been achieved.

12. In addition to opening the Graduate Center at Little Rock

and the University at Fayetteville to the Negroes on an integrated basis, the University established graduate centers in cooperation with six of the State-supported white colleges of the State. The location of these centers in various sections of the State made integrated graduate work in education readily accessible to students in all areas of Arkansas except the Ozark area.

13. All six of these extension centers offered graduate work only in the field of education. However, most of the students attending these extension classes were education majors. A comparative few were enrolled in the School of Arts and Sciences.

14. Two of the six cooperating colleges have discontinued the University sponsored classes altogether, and the enrollment in the other four centers is dropping. These conditions raise the question of the advisability of continuing such centers.

15. There is little variation in the curriculum at the Graduate Center in Little Rock. Only the schools of Education, Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Home Economics and Engineering have offered work at the Center, and offerings in the School of Education far outnumber all others. Since approximately 65 per cent of the students enrolled at the Center were classroom teachers or school employees of some kind, this disproportionately educational curriculum may be meeting the needs of the students.

16. School personnel were even more disproportionately represented in the all Negro summer enrollment at the Center. A survey in 1954 revealed that almost 94 per cent of the summer students were connected with the schools, and a large per cent was mature, experienced teachers.

17. These teachers had, for the most part, secured their undergraduate education in the Negro colleges of Arkansas, although sixteen different colleges in nine different states were listed as the undergraduate college.

18. Ninety-two per cent of the summer students in 1954 had begun their graduate work at the University of Arkansas which suggests that a great percentage of the students would have been unable to pursue graduate work were it not for the integrated program of the University of Arkansas.

19. Over half of the students, 67.4 per cent, were motivated by the desire to obtain a master's degree with its accompanying increase in salary.

20. Almost 54 per cent of them stated that they intended to continue their education beyond the master's degree.

As far as could be ascertained, no Negro had by the summer of 1954 embarked upon a doctoral program at the University of Arkansas, but the great number of master's degrees being

earned by Negroes, the fact that studying outside the State constitutes an economic hardship for Arkansas Negroes, and their stated intent to do more advanced study all together suggest that many Negroes will be undertaking the doctoral program at the University of Arkansas.

21. The University of Arkansas is itself a Southern university in one of the least economically advantaged Southern states, and, as such, is subject to the handicaps of Southern education in general, chief of which is lack of adequate endowment and support.

However, its graduate faculty compares favorably, in terms of degrees held by the faculty, with other larger, better-known, land-grant universities. Its library is ranked in the second category of university libraries. The institution is fully accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and it is on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. All its colleges and schools are approved by their respective professional associations.

The University maintains ten instructional divisions and offers fifty-one fields of specialization.

PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE ACTION

The implications of the findings for the Arkansas program of higher education for Negroes have been mentioned at several

places throughout the preceding chapters. In this final summing up the major implications are presented in the form of tentative proposals for consideration by the educators of the State.

1. The colleges should establish a close cooperative relationship with the secondary schools from which they draw their students. Since the program of every college is necessarily based upon the ground work laid in the secondary school, the colleges should assist the secondary schools within their service areas to improve their educational programs. As four of the five Negro colleges are located in the Little Rock metropolitan area which provides 23.4 per cent of the students attending these colleges, such a cooperative program should be easily arranged.

2. The Negro colleges should establish procedures to help them know and understand their students. The programs of the colleges must need be based upon the needs of their students and all available techniques known to guidance services, such as standardized achievement and psychological examinations, interest and personality inventories, inquiry forms, personal interviews with students, and home and school visitation, should be utilized.

3. Some method of ascertaining the better minds of the secondary students and of helping such individuals secure

college education should be devised. Twenty-three out of seventy-five Arkansas counties, all of them within the rural, non-industrial Ozark area, had no Negro student enrolled in college.

4. In light of the revealed economic conditions of the Negroes, some system of State and Federal educational aids should be instituted to assist the brighter Negroes to attend college. Under present conditions many potential Negro leaders are remaining uneducated, because the extent to which Negroes may take advantage of educational opportunities is limited by the low economic status of the group.

5. Some means of providing better support for both public and private Negro institutions should be found, so that facilities for Negroes be substantially equal to those for white students.

6. Should no such means of equalizing opportunities by increased financial support for the Negro colleges be found, all state-supported institutions should be opened to members of the Negro race. Certainly the tremendous cost of racial dualism in higher education weakens all such institutions within the State and constitutes a great drain on Arkansas'

meager financial resources. The experience of the University has proved that the consequences of segregation are not as great as the Southern imagination had pictured them.

7. The merging of the two colleges supported by the Methodist denomination, Shorster and Philander Smith, appears highly desirable. Such action would strengthen the one remaining Methodist supported college and prevent the Negro students attending Shorster College from earning degrees in an unaccredited institution. Since both colleges are within the Little Rock area, the geographic accessibility of colleges to Negroes would not be affected.
8. Each institution should set up more extensive loan and grants-in-aid funds. The State cannot afford to neglect providing for students of high potential ability who are financially handicapped.
9. Each Negro institution should provide up-to-date dissemination of occupational information. The Negro in the South is vocationally handicapped, but opportunities in many fields have been opened to him since World War II. Negroes are entitled to know of these opportunities and to be prepared for them.
10. The colleges should establish a system of following-up their alumni. There is a definite need for much more complete and systematic data concerning alumni.

11. The colleges should continue the process of up-grading their faculties. Remarkable progress has been made, but much remains to be done.
12. The colleges should attempt to widen the cultural preparation of their students. The major function of the Negro colleges in Arkansas appears to be the preparation of teachers, but each of them should adopt a program of general basic education, for teachers need a much broader education than is afforded by professional study alone.
13. The Negro colleges should undertake a program of adult education for Negroes. Most of the adult Negroes of Arkansas, with the exception of the teachers, have had too little education to enable them to cope intelligently with the multitude of social and economic problems which constantly confront them.
14. The Negro colleges should promote community planning and organization. Negroes in Arkansas are now voting in all elections and are, in many instances, running for minor political offices and being elected. Negro adults should be given the opportunity to learn the art of continuous and responsible participation in civic affairs.
15. The University of Arkansas might well enlarge its Graduate Center at Little Rock, both physically and in the

scope of its educational offerings. Little Rock is the geographical center of the State and is within driving distance of most parts of the State, hence is more readily accessible to students of both races than is Fayetteville in the extreme northwest section of the State. Thus the Graduate Center service area is much larger than is that of the main University's at Fayetteville.

16. In light of the facts that twenty-three counties within the Ozark area had no Negro student enrolled in a Negro college, that geographical accessibility is a determinant in college attendance, that the Negro colleges are all centered in Little Rock and the adjacent county, and that integration on the graduate level has been brought about without any dire results, the University should consider opening its undergraduate schools to ambitious Negroes residing in the more geographically isolated Ozark area.

17. The University should begin to plan for the not-far-distant day when it will be forced to open its undergraduate schools to Negroes throughout the State. Such action appears necessary because of the recent ruling of the Supreme Court in declaring that segregation at any level rightly has no place in education.

18. The University should become a laboratory of interracial fellowship. Certainly it is to the colleges and

universities of the land that America must look for guidance in solving the long-standing, troublesome, and too-long neglected problems of its Negro minority. The University of Arkansas has pointed the way in achieving integrated education at the graduate level without litigation, racial bitterness, or untoward happenings of any kind. It would well behoove her to point the way toward a sane and just solution of the even greater educational problems now confronting the entire South.

PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Out of every such study as this arise certain proposals for research as well as for future action.

Proposals for research: This study, limited in scope as it is, has not attempted to answer many of the obvious questions concerning Negro education suggested by the data presented in the preceding sections of this report. Much additional research is needed before the following questions can be answered:

1. To what extent has Arkansas lost her potential Negro leaders through the failure of those who received out-of-state differential scholarships for advanced study to return to the State.
2. How do the Negroes of Arkansas who leave the State for study compare academically with other students in the colleges they enter?

3. Why do such members of Negroes from various sections of the Nation come to Arkansas to attend Negro colleges? Do they feel more secure in a Negro college with only Negro classmates? Or does such a segregated institution increase their opportunity for leadership among Arkansas students who have had, in many instances, poorer economic and educational advantages? Or have Arkansas Negro colleges sought the northern student because of his superior educational and cultural backgrounds? Only further research can answer such questions.
4. How far has the opening of the University of Arkansas to Negroes at the graduate level reduced the numbers of Negroes who leave the State for graduate training? Since many of these taking graduate work at the University become teachers in the Negro colleges of the State, will there develop a danger of institutional in-breeding in the faculties of the Negro colleges?
5. Some consideration needs to be given to the question of out-of-state Negroes attending the University. How far has the opening of the door of the University to Negro graduate students resulted in an influx of out-of-state Negroes to increase the already overcrowded conditions of

the campus at Fayetteville and at the Graduate Center?

Has any plan been worked out to handle such a possible development?

6. What are the possibilities for providing strong regional graduate centers in the South, not as an expedient to avoid integration but on a completely integrated basis? The duplication of work in such centers should be kept at a minimum.

7. To what extent may the quality of educational opportunity of the total Negro population be affected through the teachers in the elementary and secondary schools for Negroes in other sections having been educated in the rather poorly equipped Negro colleges of Arkansas?

8. There is apparently great need for more factual information concerning Negro education in Arkansas. Could detailed studies similar to National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes be undertaken on a State basis?

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APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL DATA PERTAINING TO COUNTIES OF ARKANSAS

SALES TAX COLLECTIONS BY COUNTIES

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>
Arkansas	\$ 290,110.65	\$ 329,972.51	362,380.29	411,279.61
Ashley	14,837.73	173,917.96	223,575.23	255,289.67
Baxter	73,762.57	100,420.35	132,759.68	135,235.46
Benton	425,481.37	516,994.39	589,160.39	692,348.67
Beone	162,141.42	176,503.95	201,459.34	225,328.50
Bradley	116,475.01	130,253.33	156,478.75	156,799.68
Calheun	23,558.55	30,565.80	35,591.71	42,719.73
Carrell	93,819.48	105,773.79	166,225.75	188,612.95
Chicot	139,485.29	184,630.79	180,013.17	200,212.16
Clark	169,714.38	185,108.13	198,442.22	206,576.04
Clay	175,477.72	208,034.31	217,101.23	259,517.76
Cleburne	56,462.71	62,402.93	75,925.85	74,906.80
Cleveland	30,120.21	34,986.14	42,933.01	49,585.26
Columbia	229,514.69	301,619.41	335,619.67	358,936.86
Conway	128,425.79	130,675.53	151,268.12	158,713.22
Craighead	448,546.74	508,578.50	537,498.62	606,068.36
Crawford	113,836.40	131,193.67	173,426.76	180,899.96
Crittenden	316,173.64	360,028.56	411,131.76	517,995.96
Cross	176,692.10	200,068.64	222,745.55	232,182.22
Dallas	92,620.62	103,711.59	118,382.72	145,817.20
Desha	143,978.17	183,668.04	207,703.81	248,318.85
Drew	94,685.83	109,115.27	132,369.61	135,119.46
Faulkner	163,914.85	173,723.49	190,855.87	213,120.55
Franklin	58,352.78	62,810.47	86,784.27	95,308.50
Fulton	30,916.06	32,118.26	42,866.20	50,523.89
Garland	619,056.39	655,355.01	726,512.29	818,336.12
Grant	43,151.13	51,027.56	57,879.72	63,621.15
Greene	212,911.57	232,520.92	257,397.54	283,549.05
Hempstead	201,760.55	212,724.63	210,024.94	222,972.38
Hot Spring	144,124.71	154,441.70	193,292.83	212,290.07
Howard	117,130.81	119,382.97	121,804.41	125,851.51
Independence	177,139.67	205,069.98	225,398.27	273,103.27
Isard	25,628.96	27,566.63	48,914.45	40,870.10
Jackson	198,334.76	227,726.72	267,107.15	302,851.47
Jefferson	646,811.66	709,739.05	819,254.66	1,032,044.32
Johnson	99,852.22	108,538.84	119,555.70	129,617.97
Lafayette	86,013.61	100,073.60	109,468.09	122,270.18
Lawrence	123,094.72	141,198.07	158,661.76	183,385.26
Lee	121,969.13	154,956.24	170,978.75	189,816.64
Lincoln	61,333.25	74,687.11	81,335.18	89,851.71

SALES TAX COLLECTIONS BY COUNTIES (Continued)

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1952</u>
Little River	68,419.50	70,041.63	80,740.78	91,543.91
Logan	131,508.05	135,296.72	139,411.92	156,421.48
Leneke	203,746.66	230,220.27	232,101.16	272,130.49
Madison	37,758.88	46,223.97	57,497.72	67,552.88
Marion	31,666.73	43,780.75	51,266.88	49,895.63
Miller	32,462.44	31,417.26	70,896.56	87,616.14
Mississippi	751,972.42	821,940.75	888,358.38	980,258.33
Menree	119,013.61	143,179.59	168,532.95	197,699.34
Montgomery	27,864.53	30,596.47	33,601.88	32,001.46
Nevada	99,685.87	104,002.94	108,748.79	105,436.41
Newton	11,869.00	21,279.62	20,769.20	17,866.21
Ouachita	241,498.73	292,754.91	315,615.73	475,640.16
Perry	23,025.80	22,321.26	25,114.81	23,300.95
Phillips	335,693.05	421,053.74	421,906.81	497,740.68
Pike	56,468.68	61,682.73	64,859.45	74,116.93
Poinsett	321,504.15	369,411.74	400,591.88	467,395.16
Polk	120,418.96	124,991.59	138,956.89	152,651.67
Pope	156,715.55	170,477.62	196,228.17	229,961.23
Prairie	61,475.73	75,234.62	90,384.65	105,477.09
Pulaski	103,880.47	330,387.66	4,022,496.90	4,632,525.84
Randolph	91,684.50	108,204.54	132,074.32	144,046.07
Saline	144,963.38	158,592.91	197,362.07	245,831.33
Scott	64,513.11	63,860.22	79,205.68	72,897.31
Searcy	38,024.29	45,233.43	50,336.97	53,532.75
Sebastian	909,578.22	996,914.95	1,188,129.82	1,369,729.11
Sevier	93,005.38	99,293.86	119,785.98	123,478.93
Sharp	22,382.75	26,695.32	28,378.64	36,050.52
St. Francis	253,835.74	317,742.43	350,807.68	352,757.10
Stone	24,158.83	23,788.98	34,210.24	34,623.13
Union	573,429.11	681,176.16	779,779.76	837,376.12
Van Buren	36,273.34	35,503.12	47,996.16	58,113.18
Washington	552,831.45	647,772.14	819,541.82	953,480.84
White	241,728.68	269,102.04	307,905.07	345,492.45
Weedruff	116,494.50	129,469.74	143,737.35	160,749.19
Yell	76,303.31	78,940.29	117,042.91	165,362.90
Out of State	618,894.93	110,976.92	3,858,205.69	4,613,383.74
Unclassified	297.76	579.84	2,074.07	2,380.24
	\$13,575,436.49	\$15,047,997.57	\$24,544,941.06	\$28,218,316.21

ASSESSED VALUATION BY COUNTIES

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>1907</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1952</u>
Arkansas	\$5,051,130	\$6,326,230	\$10,983,207	\$18,332,246
Ashley	4,729,916	5,447,425	10,924,335	14,694,416
Baxter	1,936,556	1,500,460	2,560,453	3,320,346
Benton	5,525,382	9,017,965	13,802,502	17,384,452
Boone	3,119,769	3,080,255	5,002,378	5,895,425
Bradley	3,920,503	3,495,670	5,900,538	6,205,265
Calhoun	2,433,122	1,724,508	3,058,035	3,563,612
Carroll	3,882,510	3,015,960	4,576,100	5,163,436
Chicot	3,319,950	3,856,554	7,242,234	9,527,057
Clark	4,904,981	4,510,521	7,695,185	10,386,132
Clay	5,531,010	3,877,510	8,713,387	9,842,408
Cleburne	1,850,150	1,483,465	2,003,280	2,256,635
Cleveland	2,536,412	1,924,380	3,028,823	3,193,452
Columbia	4,138,118	7,665,176	13,616,781	16,545,901
Conway	3,149,105	3,867,795	5,219,306	9,427,090
Craighead	7,233,681	8,176,870	14,986,162	13,309,110
Crawford	4,776,176	4,017,822	6,152,241	7,091,723
Crittenden	5,308,378	8,685,710	15,561,035	17,086,448
Cross	4,162,415	4,144,300	7,727,663	8,756,370
Dallas	2,742,556	2,901,025	4,588,040	5,027,750
Desha	3,126,385	4,231,620	6,184,674	7,619,447
Drew	3,656,685	3,986,639	6,080,494	6,914,734
Faulkner	3,131,250	5,242,352	5,822,843	6,593,369
Franklin	3,695,228	2,613,405	4,049,340	4,699,928
Fulton	1,908,635	1,531,523	2,249,563	2,631,454
Garland	8,017,820	62,288,435	22,674,463	24,311,143
Grant	1,538,728	1,759,830	3,394,070	4,252,201
Greene	4,687,300	5,163,426	9,655,855	10,614,425
Hempstead	5,362,460	5,199,840	8,627,576	10,083,639
Hot Spring	2,889,717	3,125,675	12,017,904	16,649,926
Howard	3,249,535	3,233,495	5,578,918	6,390,149
Independence	5,150,204	4,208,870	7,166,769	7,874,264
Isard	2,587,512	1,230,955	2,232,302	2,600,051
Jackson	5,623,987	3,887,821	8,486,869	10,791,752
Jefferson	12,425,235	15,695,720	29,744,657	32,637,102
Johnson	3,528,752	3,049,010	3,504,300	4,203,134
Lafayette	3,131,288	2,469,080	6,338,735	7,157,682
Lawrence	4,531,417	3,385,175	7,786,295	8,834,640
Lee	3,706,858	5,555,680	7,281,366	7,820,550
Linceln	2,182,156	2,857,460	4,977,190	5,836,560

ASSESSED VALUATION BY COUNTIES (Continued)

<u>Name of County</u>	<u>1907</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1952</u>
Little River	3,187,393	2,611,406	5,230,378	5,606,141
Logan	4,626,111	6,500,660	5,550,225	5,804,235
Lonoke	5,582,823	5,751,921	9,549,914	11,010,117
Madison	2,418,118	1,593,585	1,023,790	2,069,359
Marion	2,457,392	2,020,067	2,235,292	2,525,684
Miller	5,383,200	7,800,105	11,537,273	14,727,165
Mississippi	6,405,398	14,916,335	22,733,581	24,769,984
Monroe	4,391,785	3,697,335	5,981,511	7,825,183
Montgomery	1,319,136	890,024	1,323,995	1,928,920
Nevada	3,261,488	2,503,050	4,818,052	5,453,160
Newton	1,639,621	1,136,162	995,235	1,473,810
Ouachita	4,740,428	7,648,370	15,158,340	18,820,170
Perry	2,562,111	1,377,870	2,015,367	2,207,045
Phillips	5,870,925	7,632,675	13,567,043	14,615,325
Pike	2,086,751	2,103,164	3,290,882	3,804,614
Poinsett	3,768,173	5,808,493	9,934,291	11,505,251
Polk	3,761,127	3,128,771	4,924,832	5,308,068
Pope	3,989,426	3,957,623	6,223,140	7,085,922
Prairie	3,722,128	3,476,863	5,679,807	6,513,921
Pulaski	27,271,497	57,686,086	94,991,421	113,683,522
Randolph	2,906,688	2,931,725	5,328,450	7,154,334
Saline	3,025,330	3,652,980	10,237,735	12,801,636
Scott	2,241,689	2,802,250	2,227,502	2,437,877
Searcy	2,684,052	1,504,853	1,873,015	2,078,460
Sebastian	15,139,890	25,526,820	34,051,803	37,124,110
Sevier	3,328,968	3,060,330	5,550,696	5,658,143
Sharp	1,918,045	1,329,660	1,999,274	2,122,415
St. Francis	4,693,358	6,111,590	8,699,235	12,140,657
Stone	1,179,580	2,686,690	1,245,202	2,648,970
Union	5,490,609	12,472,577	25,626,672	31,208,800
Van Buren	1,483,163	1,171,532	1,554,960	1,849,540
Washington	7,402,919	13,693,665	17,572,655	18,496,439
White	5,459,396	5,631,480	12,076,943	14,444,793
Woodruff	3,791,360	3,517,790	5,683,490	6,315,381
Yell	4,668,703	3,218,310	4,110,769	4,800,247
	<u>\$328,232,673</u>	<u>\$460,976,419</u>	<u>\$680,224,747</u>	<u>\$795,975,140</u>

POPULATION OF COUNTIES, 1950

<u>County</u>	<u>County Seat</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1930</u>
Arkansas	DeWitt and Stuttgart	23,665	24,437	22,300
Ashley	Hamburg	25,660	28,785	25,151
Baxter	Mountain Home	11,683	10,281	9,519
Benton	Bentonville	38,076	36,148	35,523
Boone	Harrison	16,260	15,360	14,937
Bradley	Warren	15,987	18,097	17,494
Calhoun	Hampton	7,132	9,636	9,762
Carroll	Berryville & Eureka Springs	13,244	14,737	15,820
Chicot	Lake Village	22,306	27,452	22,646
Clark	Arkadelphia	22,998	24,402	24,932
Clay	Corning and Piggett	26,674	28,386	27,278
Cleburne	Heber Springs	11,487	13,134	11,373
Cleveland	Rison	8,956	12,570	12,744
Columbia	Magnolia	28,770	29,822	27,320
Conway	Merrilton	18,127	21,536	21,949
Craighead	Jonesboro and Lake City	50,613	47,200	44,740
Crawford	Van Buren	22,727	23,920	22,549
Crittenden	Marion	47,184	42,473	39,717
Cross	Wynne	24,757	26,046	25,723
Dallas	Ferdyce	12,416	14,471	14,671
Desha	Arkansas City	25,155	27,160	21,814
Drew	Monticelle	17,959	19,831	19,928
Faulkner	Conway	25,289	25,880	28,381
Franklin	Charleston and Ozark	12,358	15,683	15,762
Fulton	Salem	9,187	10,253	10,834
Garland	Hot Springs	47,102	41,664	36,031
Grant	Sheridan	9,024	10,477	9,834
Greene	Paragould	29,149	30,204	26,127
Hempstead	Hope	25,080	32,770	20,847
Hot Spring	Lalvern	22,181	18,916	18,105
Howard	Nashville	13,342	16,621	17,489
Independence	Batesville	23,488	25,643	24,225
Izard	Melbourne	9,953	13,834	12,872
Jackson	Newport	25,912	26,427	27,943
Jefferson	Pine Bluff	76,075	65,101	64,154
Johnson	Clarksville	16,138	18,795	19,289
Lafayette	Lewisville	13,203	16,851	16,934
Lawrence	Pewhatan & Walnut Ridge	21,303	22,651	21,663
Lee	Marianna	24,322	26,810	26,637
Lincola	Star City	17,079	19,709	20,250

POPULATION OF COUNTIES, 1950 (Continued)

<u>County</u>	<u>County Seat</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1930</u>
Little River	Ashdown	11,600	15,932	15,515
Logan	Beaneville and Paris	20,260	25,967	24,110
Leneke	Leneke	27,278	29,802	33,759
Madison	Huntsville	11,734	14,531	13,334
Marion	Yellville	8,609	9,464	8,876
Miller	Texarkana	32,614	31,874	30,585
Mississippi	Blytheville & Osceola	82,375	80,217	69,289
Monroe	Clarendon	19,540	21,133	20,651
Montgomery	Mount Ida	6,680	8,876	10,768
Nevada	Prescott	14,781	19,869	20,407
Newton	Jasper	8,685	10,881	10,564
Ouachita	Camden	33,051	31,151	29,890
Perry	Perryville	5,978	8,392	7,695
Phillips	Helena	46,254	45,970	40,682
Pike	Murfreesboro	10,032	11,786	11,792
Polk	Harrisburg	39,311	37,670	29,695
Pope	Mena	14,182	15,832	14,857
Pope	Russellville	23,291	25,682	26,547
Prairie	Des Arc and DeValls Bluff	13,768	15,304	15,187
Pulaski	Little Rock	196,685	156,085	137,727
Randolph	Pocahontas	15,982	18,319	16,871
St. Francis	Forrest City	36,841	36,043	33,394
Saline	Benton	23,816	19,163	15,660
Scott	Waldron	10,057	13,300	11,803
Searcy	Marshall	10,424	11,942	11,056
Sebastian	Fort Smith and Greenwood	64,202	62,808	54,426
Sevier	DeQueen	12,293	15,248	16,364
Sharp	Evening Shade and Hardy	8,999	11,497	10,715
Stone	Mountain View	7,662	8,603	7,993
Union	El Dorado	49,686	50,461	55,800
Van Buren	Clinton	9,687	12,518	11,962
Washington	Fayetteville	49,979	41,114	39,255
White	Searcy	38,040	37,176	38,269
Woodruff	Augusta	18,957	22,133	22,682
Yell	Danville and Dardanelle	14,057	20,970	21,313

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The 20 ranking cash crops in Arkansas for 1952, as reported by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, are as follows:

Cotton	\$275,472,000
Beef Cattle	61,211,000
Dairy Products	58,699,000
Broilers	57,346,000
Rice	55,578,000
Soybeans	36,718,000
Hogs	30,513,000
Hay	24,800,000
Corn	24,386,000
Eggs	22,310,000
Chickens	7,841,000
Strawberries	4,510,000
Oats	4,038,000
Peaches	3,848,000
Turkeys	27,732,000
Tomatoes	2,574,000
Potatoes	2,371,000
Sweet Potatoes	1,616,000
Watermelons	1,413,000
Lespedeza Seed	836,000

APPENDIX B

ACCREDITED NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS OF ARKANSAS

ACCREDITED HIGH SCHOOLS OF ARKANSAS
ACCREDITED NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS OF ARKANSAS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Rating</u>
Almyra, Immanuel	A	Little Rock, Paul	
Arkadelphia, Peake	A	Lawrence Dunbar	N.C.
Ashdown	B	Little Rock, St.	
Augusta, Carver	B	Bartholemew's	B
Batesville, Ethel O. Miller	C	Leneke, Carver	C
Bearden	C	Magnolia	A
Blevins	B	Magnolia, Walker	A
Blytheville, Harrison	A	Malvern, Wilson	C
Brinkley, Marian Andersen	B	Marianna, Robert R. Moton	A
Camden, Lincoln	A	Marion, J. S. Phelix	B
Carthage	C	McGehee	C
Chidester	C	McNeil	C
Clarendon, Carver	C	Menifee	A
Conway, Pine Street	A	Mineral Springs	B
Cotton Plant Vocational	B	Menticele	A
Crawfordsville,		Morrilton, L. W. Sullivan	B
Le Roy McNeil	C	Mt. Holly, New Hope	C
Crossett, T. W. Daniel	N.C.	Newport	B
Dermott	B	North Little Rock,	
Desha, Central	C	Scipie A. Jones	N.C.
DeValls Bluff (Biscee)	B	Okelema, Simmons	C
Dumas	C	Osceola	C
El Derado, Washington	B	Ozan, Clew	C
Emersen, McMittress	C	Parkin, Central	C
Eudora	C	Pine Bluff, J. C. Corbin	N.C.
Fairview, Lafayette		Pine Bluff, Merrill	N.C.
(Camden)	B	Pine Bluff, St. Peter's	B
Ferdyce	B	Prescott, McRae	B
Foreman, Unity	C	Pulaski County (North	
Ferrest City, Lincoln	A	Little Rock)	C
Fert Smith, Lincoln	N.C.	Risen, Lanweed	C
Grady	C	Rosston, Oak Grove	A
Gurden	C	Searcy	B
Hamburg	C	Sevier County (Lockesburg)	C
Helena, Eliza Miller	A	Smackover	B
Holly Grove Vocational	C	Sparkman	C
Hope, Yerger	A	Stamps	B
Het Springs, Langsten	N.C.	Star City, Lincoln	C
Jonesboro, Booker T.		Stephens, Carver	B
Washington	A	Streng, Gardner	B
Lake View (Helena)	C	Stuttgart, Helman	B
Lake Village, Central	B	Texarkana, Booker T.	
Lewisville	C	Washington	A

ACCREDITED NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS OF ARKANSAS (Continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Rating</u>
Thornton	C	Watson Chapel (Pine	
Turrell, William R.		Bluff)	C
Gelden	C	West Memphis, Wonder	
Wabbaseka	C	City	C
Walde	C	Wilmet	C
Warren	B	Wrightsville	C
Washington, Lincoln	C	Wynne, Childress	B

APPENDIX C

**COPY OF LETTER FROM THE ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR
INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES TO THE INVESTIGATOR**

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

December 2, 1954

260

Dear

We have finally found time to answer your letter of November 8th regarding the present status of the out-of-state scholarship fund which was set up by our State Legislature in 1943 for use by Negro students not eligible to take graduate work at our state university.

Since 1950-51 our state university has been open to all qualified applicants for graduate and professional work without regard to race. As a result of this change the original need for out-of-state scholarship funds has disappeared, and the graduate and professional work now being done at our university is more extensive and more effective than was possible under the out-of-state scholarship program. The reason for this is primarily the fact that whereas only about one fifth of our graduate and professional students who received this aid returned to the state, and since almost 100% of these scholarships were granted to teachers you can see that we are skimming off leadership rather than producing it in our state.

We do not have a complete listing of the number of students who received out-of-state aid. It started out with only three or four and built up rapidly to between 150 to 175, and the last year or two only two or three students who had started in Medicine have received aid - only one such person has received aid this term. As indicated above the students were required to have admittance to an accredited graduate or professional school. The basis of the grant was that applicant must be a resident of Arkansas, and the amount of the grant was based on the cost of similar work for white graduate or professional students. The maximum was set at \$312.00 per school year.

The program was administered by the Division of Negro Education in the State Department of Education though the Legislative Act appropriating the funds specified the funds were to be made available through the budget of our A.M. & N. College for Negroes at Pine Bluff. The scholarships were limited to fields or courses for graduate and professional credit open to white persons only within Arkansas, making it possible for Negroes to receive scholarships in any field open to whites, but not to Negroes, at our state university.

We trust that these statements will answer your questions. If they fail to do so please let us know.

Yours truly,

Ed McCuistion, Ass't Commissioner
For Instructional Services

EMcC:ht

APPENDIX D

TYPE OF DEGREES HELD BY NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS

TABLE
TYPE OF DEGREES HELD BY THE NEGRO COLLEGES OF ARKANSAS, 1952

Institution	Type of degree	Number	Per cent
Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College	Bachelor's	14	12.8
	Master's	73	67.0
	Dector's	21	19.3
	No degree	1	.9
	Totals	109	100.0
Arkansas Baptist	Bachelor's	12	42.9
	Master's	12	42.9
	Dector's	3	10.7
	No degree	1	3.5
	Totals	28	100.00
Dunbar Junior College	Bachelor's	9	64.3
	Master's	4	28.6
	Dector's	0	0
	No degree	1	7.1
	Totals	14	100.0
Philander Smith	Bachelor's	4	10.0
	Master's	23	57.5
	Dector's	13	32.5
	No degree	0	0
	Totals	40	100.0
Shorter College	Bachelor's	4	25.0
	Master's	9	56.25
	Dector's	3	18.75
	No degree	0	0
	Totals	16	100.00

Source: College bulletins.

TABLE

TYPE OF DEGREES HELD BY THE STAFF OF THE AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL AND NORMAL
COLLEGE OF ARKANSAS, 1950-1954

Type of degree	Years					
	1950 - 51		1951-52		1952-53	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Bachelor's	27	22.13	19	15.7	14	12.8
Master's	72	59.01	77	63.5	73	67.0
Doctor's	21	17.21	23	19.0	21	19.3
No degree	2	1.64	2	1.7	1	.9
Totals	122	99.99	121	100.0	109	100.0
					119	100.00

Source: Bulletins of the college for these years.

APPENDIX E

**SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAWS GOVERNING STATE POLICY REGARDING
HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES**

**STEP-BY-STEP SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAWS GOVERNING
STATE POLICY FOR PROVISION HIGH EDUCATION FOR NEGROES**

Little Rock Gazette, Sunday, February 1,
1948, Vol. 129, No. 74, Col. 2

Section 13213, Pope's Digest, directing that the university Board of trustees to select a site and locate a "branch Normal College" for "the poorer classes." The site selected was Pine Bluff. The school later was known as the Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal School for Negro

Section 13126, Pope's Digest, whereby the General Assembly accepted a congressional grant of 1890 for "the more complete endowment and support of the colleges . . . established under the Act of Congress of 1862." One of the conditions of the grant was that "in states where the white and Negro races were separately educated and there was a college for the education of the Negro race, that the state should equitably divide the appropriation." Mr. Holland stressed the importance of the provision as congressional recognition of the principle of segregation in educational institutions.

Act 345 of 1945, which set up a fund "to provide for the continued segregation of white and negro public schools, colleges, universities . . . through the establishment of a state tuition fund for higher learning to be used to pay tuition of qualified negro students in colleges outside the state when such courses are not available for them within the state."

APPENDIX F

**COPY OF INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO THE NEGRO COLLEGES
IN ARKANSAS**

GRADUATE COURSES IN EDUCATION
University of Arkansas

The following courses for graduate credit will be offered by the University of Arkansas in cooperation with Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College in Pine Bluff, and with the cooperation and assistance of the State Department of Education.

Educational Administration *574. Workshop in Community School Development. Prerequisite: 12 hours in Education and junior standing. Credit 2-4 semester hours. Workshop Staff 8:30-11:30 daily.

Educational Administration *453. Supervision of Instruction. Prerequisite: Senior standing and practice teaching. Weaver 7-8:30 daily.

Elementary Education *4438. Diagnostic and Remedial Techniques in Reading. Weaver. 11:30 - 1:00 daily.

The Workshop will be conducted in several sections dealing with various phases of work including administration, library problems, guidance, child development, and health. Students may participate in one or more divisions and receive credit which will depend on the work done. One or both of the other courses may be taken by full-time students depending upon the time devoted to the Workshop.

Fees

The regular University fee of \$20.00 for one summer session will be paid by a full-time student who is a resident of Arkansas. Non-resident students pay an additional fee of \$25.00 per session. Fees will be collected on registration day.

Registration

Registration will be conducted on the morning of May 31 at the Merrill High School in Pine Bluff.

Graduate Standing

Students who expect to register for graduate credit must present a transcript of their undergraduate record to Dean Henry Krenenberg, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, before May 25

so that registration materials may be prepared and eligibility for admission to graduate courses may be determined. The regulations regarding admission as stated in the Graduate School Bulletin will apply.

Housing Arrangements

Students are responsible for making private arrangements for board and housing.

Second Term Courses

If the demand is sufficient to warrant courses may be conducted during the second session. Communications regarding this should be addressed to Dean Kronenberg.

APPENDIX G

COPIES OF ENTRANCE FORMS USED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION
TO
University of Arkansas Graduate Center

270

Date _____

Place _____

Name _____
 Last First Middle

Address _____
 Street City State

Place of Birth _____ Date of Birth _____

This application is for: (Please check) Fall Semester__ Spring Semester__ Summer__

Is this your first enrollment in the Graduate School of the University of Arkansas either in Little Rock or Fayetteville? _____

If this is your first enrollment, the section below must be filled out. If this information is already on file the section below may be omitted.

High School Attended _____ Date Finished _____

Previously Attended U. of A.? Yes ___ No ___ When _____ Hours Completed _____

Other Colleges Attended: Dates: Hours Completed:

_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

What Degree? _____ Where? _____ When _____

If transcript of credits is not already on file in the University, it should be presented with this application, and must be filed before provisional enrollment is confirmed.

My transcript is on file with the University of Arkansas.

Yes ___ No ___

Signature of Applicant

Credentials Received. Date _____ Classification _____

Approved. Date _____ By _____

Graduate Dean

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

PERMIT FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION

Information furnished by the student:

Name

Home address

High school Grad

College

I hereby certify that the above statements are correct.
I understand that my registration is provisional and will be
cancelled if credentials supporting these statements are not filed
within ten days from this date.

.
Signature of Student

Permit granted as provisional

Date

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Graduate School

Fayetteville, Arkansas

Little Rock Graduate Center

Date _____

REQUEST TO REGISTER FOR GRADUATE CREDIT

Name _____

Mailing address _____

Course (Department and Number) _____

Major Subject _____

Is this your first registration with the University of Arkansas? _____

Do not write below this line

Approved

Major Professor_____
Graduate DeanPlease fill out one for each course.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS GRADUATE CENTER

Little Rock, Arkansas

273

Name _____
(Surname first; then given names)

Date _____

Graduate School _____

Major _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Department (E.G., Hist., Math., Etc.)	Course No.	Sec.	Credit Hours	Grade	M	T	W	T	F	S	Room	Instructor
			Leave									
			This									
			Column									
			Blank									

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS GRADUATE CENTER

Little Rock, Arkansas

FOR THE REGISTRAR

Name _____
(Surname first; then given names)

Date _____

Local Address _____

Graduate School _____

Street, City _____

Major _____

Home Address _____

Department (E.G., Hist., Math., Etc.)	Course No.	Sec.	Credit Hours	Grade	M	T	W	T	F	S	Room	Instructor

Date of Birth & _____ Place of Birth _____

Date of First Enrollment in University of Arkansas _____

Adviser _____

Dean _____

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS GRADUATE CENTER

Little Rock, Arkansas

FOR THE DEAN OF THE COLLEGE

274

Name _____
(Surname first; then given names)

Date _____

Graduate School

Mailing Address _____

Major _____

City _____ State _____

Do you Expect to Graduate This Semester _____

Department Hist., Math., Etc.)	Course No.	Sec.	Credit Hours	Grade	M	T	W	T	F	S	Instructor

Adviser

Dean

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS GRADUATE CENTER

Little Rock, Arkansas

Name _____
(Surname first; then given names)

Dean V. W. Adkisson

Report for the _____

Department and Course No.	Credit	Grade

A.B.C. (Passing grades).
D (Lowest passing grade, unsatisfactory)
E (Conditional failure, can be made up by re-examination)
F (Absolute failure)
Inc. (Coursework incomplete)
Abs. (Absent from final exam)
The Dean will welcome inquiries or suggestions.
Students will fill in Name and Address on back.

OVER

APPENDIX E

**COPY OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
OFFERS GRADUATE COURSES IN STATE-SUPPORTED SCHOOLS**

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS WILL OFFER
GRADUATE COURSES IN STATE-SUPPORTED SCHOOLS

November 9, 1951

The University of Arkansas feels the need of extending its graduate offerings and believes that this can be accomplished by establishing Graduate Centers in other state-supported institutions who want and are able to cooperate. The following are the conditions prescribed by the University in setting up such a program.

I. Courses

- A. The University of Arkansas will select a list of courses in professional education from which cooperating colleges may choose those best suited to the needs of their area. No courses other than those listed may be offered and courses for which enrollments are small will be cancelled.
- B. Course outlines and teaching materials shall be uniform wherever the course is taught. These shall be developed in consultation with the University staff members responsible for the various courses.
- C. No course will be accepted toward fulfilling any of the requirements for the Ph. D. or Ed. D. degree from the University of Arkansas.
- D. Courses herein provided for shall be offered during the regular school year but not in summers.

II. Instructors

- A. Instructors may be regular staff members of the University faculty or members of the teaching staff of the cooperating college. In cases where staff members from

the cooperating college are used to teach they must be approved by the Graduate Council of the University and be fully qualified to be on the University graduate faculty. No teachers will be approved until transcripts of college work and other pertinent data are submitted for examination.

- B. The University will reimburse the cooperating college for the portion of the instructor's time used in teaching for the University.
- C. Courses taught by teachers in the cooperating colleges shall be a part of their normal load and not extra assignments above the usual load carried in the institution concerned.

III. Students

- A. Students who wish to receive graduate credit in courses taught must apply and be formally admitted to the Graduate School in the regular manner before registration.
- B. No student shall receive credit toward a Master's Degree without the special approval of his advisor, to be obtained in advance.
- C. No undergraduate students may be admitted to the courses herein provided for.
- D. Qualified Negro graduate students shall be accepted in courses offered.
- E. No student may apply more than a total of twelve semester hours of work taken in residence centers, toward the Master's Degree.
- F. No fully employed person may take more than three hours of credit in one semester.

IV. Facilities

- A. Adequate class room space is to be furnished by the cooperating institution.

- B. Necessary teaching aids including audio-visual equipment will be supplied by the cooperating institution, and supplemented where necessary by the University.
- C. The University of Arkansas and the cooperating institution will jointly make available adequate library facilities for teaching the desired courses. This is interpreted to mean that the University will lend to the library of the cooperating institution the materials that it does not have on hand to make reference material adequate.
- D. A fee of \$25.00 a course will be paid by the University to the cooperating institution for utilities and janitorial service.
- V. The fees for the course herein referred to shall be \$7.00 per credit hour payable at registration.
- VI. The Division of General Extension of the University of Arkansas will be charged with the responsibility of administering this program in accordance with the regulations adopted and agreed to by the University and the cooperating colleges.
- VII. A written memorandum of agreement shall be made between the University and each cooperating college.

APPENDIX I

**COPY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
AND PLANS OF THE NEGROES ATTENDING THE GRADUATE CENTER
IN THE SUMMER OF 1954**

QUESTIONNAIRE

280

Name _____

Address _____

Sex _____

1. Where did you receive your undergraduate training?
2. What was your undergraduate major?
3. Where did you begin your Master's work?
4. What is your graduate, or present, major?
5. What is your occupation?
6. If a teacher, what do you teach?
7. Where do you teach? _____ City _____ State _____

Check in approximate column

Town of 2,500 or under _____

Town of 10,000 or under _____

Town of 25,000 or under _____

City over 25,000 _____

8. How long have you taught there?
9. How long have you taught altogether?
10. Have you ever studied in an out-of-state school?
11. Where?
12. Have you ever attended the main campus at Fayetteville?
13. How long?
14. Why are you attending graduate school? Check reason below.

Higher degree as objective	_____
Teacher Certification	_____
Professional interest	_____
Other	_____
15. Do you plan to continue your education beyond the Master's degree?

ROOM USE ONLY

Jan 7 '57

Jan 28 '57

20 Jan 58

16 Jul 59

~~AUG 19 1959~~

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JUL 19 1959

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