THE ATTITUDE OF
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
TOWARD
EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JULY, 1936
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background of the Association

"The American Institute of Instruction" was organized by a group of teachers in Boston in August 1830. Francis Wayland of Brown University was elected president, and for seven years consecutive meetings were held in Boston. "The American Institute of Instruction" fostered the public school sentiment and developed it into a scheme which more nearly approximated a "system" than was to be found elsewhere in the United States.¹

In response to a call for a "National Convention of the Friends of the Common Schools and of Universal Education" meetings were held at Philadelphia in October 1849 and in August 1850. The call was issued by thirty-six representative school men, among whom were twelve state superintendents of instruction and several college presidents. Horace Mann, who was then Secretary of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts, presided at the first of these meetings, and Eliphalet Nott, who was then president of Union College, presided at the other.

At this second meeting, in 1850, it was resolved to adopt a permanent Constitution and to name this organization "The American Association for the Advancement of Education."

This association may justly be called the parent of the "National Teachers' Association" and the grand-parent of the "National Education Association", because, in August 1857, a still larger movement for the promotion of common-school education was begun with the organization of the "National

Teachers' Association at Philadelphia. This new organization naturally absorbed the "American Association for the Advancement of Education". The two men most active in promoting this latter organization were, T. W. Valentine, president of the State Teachers' Association of New York, and B. B. Hagar, president of the State Teachers' Association of Massachusetts.

Mr. Valentine presided at the first meeting of the newly formed organization. The association met for four consecutive years, but no meetings were held in 1861, nor in 1862 because of the fact that the Civil War was in progress; however, from 1863 to 1870 there were regular annual meetings which were held in various cities.

In August 1870 at Cleveland, Ohio, under the presidency of B. B. Hagar, at that time principal of the State Normal School at Salem, Massachusetts, the name of this organization was changed to the "National Educational Association". This name remained the official title of the organization until 1906, when the association became known as the "National Education Association" incorporated by an Act of the Congress of the United States, passed June 30, 1906, to succeed and continue the work and the program of the "National Educational Association". Composed, as it is, of all groups of educators in the nation the National Education Association is considered by many educators to be the most important educational organization in America, because, it has for many years assumed leadership in focusing the educational ideals and policies of the nation.

As a national professional organization, the National Education Association provides a clearing house for plans and policies devoted to the improvement of educational procedure. This organization with its various departments, viz.: - Class-room Teachers; Elementary School Principals; Secondary School Principals; Supervisors and Superintendents, makes possible a national basis an exchange of thought on the particular problems in the fields of these departments.
The National Education Association has been responsible for much valuable research which has been used extensively in educational publicity such as:

- Problems of Teachers and Principals
- Administrative Problems
- Organization and Revision of the Curriculum
- Problems of Supervision
- Tenure and Retirement
- School Finance
- Salary Schedules
- Professional Ethics, etc.

The attitude of such an organization toward any educational movement or policy is nationally important. The educational viewpoints of its members are reflected in their speeches and the subsequent discussions; in conferences their ideas are clarified and crystallised and in turn affect the opinion of the general public toward education.

Selection of the Problem.- This study is made in order to determine, if possible, the attitude of the National Education Association toward education for the Negro. A knowledge of this attitude is important, because of the influence this organization exerts upon the educational thought of the country.

Purpose of the Study.- The purpose of this study is to discover, and place at the ready disposal of those interested, the nature and extent of the interest of the National Education Association in education for the Negro, from the origin of the present organization up to the present time.

Limitations.- In this study, a critical survey has been made of all the programs and resolutions of the National Education Association, from its first meeting in 1876, at St. Louis, Missouri, through its meetings in 1939 at Atlantic City, New Jersey, and at Denver, Colorado, as
found in the Proceedings of the National Education Association.

Method of Research.— The analytical survey technique is used to
develop the subject and the data are treated chronologically.

Source of Data.— The material is taken from the Proceedings of
the Association's annual meetings which are published after each general
session and which contain all programs, reports, resolutions, discussions
and minutes; these proceedings comprise sixty-four volumes; only one volume,
that of 1873, was unavailable.

Plan of the Study.— Minutes, speeches, reports, letters, discus-
sions and resolutions have been carefully studied and everything pertaining
to the education of or for the Negro has been recorded in direct quotations.
This material has been analyzed and grouped by decades as follows:

1871-1880
1881-1890
1891-1900
1901-1910
1911-1920
1921-1930
1931-1935

Any statement made in the study which implies an attitude on the
part of the association is substantiated by direct quotations.

Summary

Recognising the importance of the National Education Association
in American education, this study attempts:

1. To discover the attitude of the National Education Association
toward education for the Negro.

2. To place these facts at the ready disposal of those interested
in the subject.

Sixty-four volumes were surveyed and the findings were analyzed and recorded
by decades.
CHAPTER II

The foregoing chapter was given over to the historical background of the Association, the selection of the problems, the purpose and limitations of the study, the source of the data, the method of research, and plan of the study.

Purpose of this chapter. - It is the purpose of this chapter to record the findings which resulted from a survey of the proceedings of the Association for the decade 1871-1880 and to note the attitudes which characterized the association during those years.

The first proceedings of the Association were published in 1871. This date marks the beginning of the importance of the Association as a national body. This date also marks the beginning of the period in which the Negro was becoming a factor in public education. It also marks the period in which a system of public schools for both white and colored were being established in the South.

Among the several matters which were discussed by the members at this first meeting, the following were concerned with the education of Negroes:

1. Compulsory universal education. - It is easily discernible that the question whether compulsory universal education should apply to the Negro engaged the attention of the delegates at their very first meeting; the views of the members on this topic were divergent.

J. P. Wickersham of Pennsylvania in a speech entitled, "A National System of Compulsory Education - Empirical and Un-Americans," said in part:

The following extract from his "Mr. Hearne's" speeches on the floor of Congress in favor of the bill compulsory education bill, will put the matter in its true light:

"Congress must require a good and universal
system of common-school education in those states which do not provide it. That is the instant pressing necessity. The old slave masters, whose slaves are not free, by a new conspiracy against liberty, would deny them education. Evidence too voluminous for repetition here urges upon Congress from all parts of the States lately in rebellion that the warfare heretofore made upon the physical liberty of the laboring man is hereafter to be made upon his intellectual liberty. Slavery failed in its attempt to destroy the life of the nation reappearing in a new form now seeks to put out its eyes.

... The Senators of sixteen States and ninety Representatives are to be sent here by the choice ... of men who are unable to comprehend the Constitution under which they live, ... unable to read an argument, unable to receive into their minds any of the enlightened knowledge which comes from the capacity to read.

... "There is no middle ground between man educated and man enslaved. You have no right to shrink from the fulfillment of the duty you have undertaken, which is to secure to every man within your jurisdiction his full equality before the law and his full equal share of political power. It is but a mockery to extend to him the ballot-box and then to put out his eyes that he cannot see it."

In order to show that little or nothing is being done in the South to remedy the evil, Mr. Hearne in justification of his course, had read the following statement concerning public education in the South, obtained from the Bureau of Education:

I. Delaware: No State supervision, no State normal school, no adequate public-school law, no provision for the education of colored children.

II. Maryland: No public schools for children, except in Baltimore. Only nominal State supervision.

III. Free-school law recently passed, but its workings impeded by want of funds, school-houses, and qualified teachers. Only about one hundred schools in operation at date; no money yet collected, and school tax not available for months.

IV. West Virginia: Contemplating destruction of the already successful school system.

V. Kentucky: Recent attempt made by Legislature to cripple system already in operation by reducing the salary of the superintendent, paying no attention to his judicious recommendations; at present the law is substantially the same as before the emancipation, and no colored public schools established. Even the school tax collected from the colored people is used for the support of colored preachers.

VI. Tennessee: Successfully established school system overthrown and provisions of the "old preacher school" law re-established. No normal school.
VII. North Carolina: School system struggling under hostility of sentiment, inadequacy of means, so that permanency thereof is doubtful.

VIII. South Carolina: School system moderately successful; bitter hostility manifested; success possible only through continued adherence of the colored population.

IX. Georgia: School laws till recently same as before the war; new act recently passed and State Superintendent appointed; successful progress hampered on account of want of funds.

X. Alabama: School system imperfect in many respects, yet had secured an enrollment of 180,000 scholars; future existence of it doubtful.

XI. System partly organized; success heretofore limited by inadequate means.

XII. Mississippi: School law recently enacted, and notwithstanding bitter hostility, on the road to success; county superintendents appointed, school tax being collected, etc.; hostility to the system confined to the white inhabitants; colored people warm supporters of the system.

XIII. Arkansas: School system, in spite of white hostility, more successful than in most of the southern states.

XIV. Louisiana: School system a failure outside of New Orleans, owing to hostility of whites to the provisions for mixed schools.

 XV. Texas: No school system; no school supervision; no adequate legislation; bitter hostility in the eastern part of the state.

Mr. Wickesham again,

Without endorsing in full all that is contained in the matter above quoted, two great factors are too potent to be contradicted by anybody; first, that a monstrous degree of ignorance exists in the South; and, second, that no adequate effort is being made by the local authorities to reme ve it. Admitting that ignorance is an evil that says the very foundation of a republic, and that it threatens in the sections named, does it follow that the General Government must establish a national system of compulsory education in order to find a remedy for it? I think not....

When the war ended, and the rebellious States sought restoration to the Union, among the constitutions prescribed should have been one requiring each of them to provide a system of universal education....

But the States have not all been restored to their proper places in the Union. .... The Government has laid aside its war powers with its war weapons and new rules by civil, not by military law. The States are once more equals of one another in the federal compact. .... Laws that are acknowledged to be unconstitutional and impolitic in one part of the Union must be recognized as unconstitutional and impolitic in all
parts of it. Above all, the great principles that constitute the foundations of our free institutions must be held sacred everywhere. Any departure from these, even for a purpose so good as that of educating the people, will most certainly prove disastrous. Let short-sighted statesmanship remember that as this nation could not exist one half free and the other half slave, so it cannot exist one half a republic and the other half a despotism.

For these reasons no act establishing a national system of compulsory education should be passed, even if limited in its practical application to the States of the South....

What shall be done? The question of providing systems of education in the South is a very difficult one. The population in the country districts is generally thin and scattered, the people mostly poor, the wealthy as a class are opposed to common schools; and in most cases, the white race is averse to having their children educated in the same schools with the black, and, in many, it is almost impracticable to establish separate schools for the children of the two races. Considering these difficulties and considering the social disruption and general desolation occasioned by the war, reasonably good success has attended the work of education in the South during the last five years.... In view of this state of things let the General Government, instead of undertaking to force a compulsory educational system upon an unwilling people, judiciously aid them in the work they are now doing for themselves with appropriations of money or grants of land.... Let help be given to those who will help themselves.... Such a system would be in accordance with our political institutions, self-made and self-governed....

I am satisfied that the question most deeply affecting the interests of this country to-day is the question of the education of our whole people without regard to race, class, color, or condition.... The power of educating their own children must be left in the hands of the people, and the duty of those in authority everywhere should be to give them light, evoke their strength, guide their efforts, and cheer them on in the noblest work God has left to be done by human hands. Legislate away if you will, all other of the dearest rights and privileges of the people; but let no sacrilegious hand ever venture to take from under the care of their natural protectors the holy household gods of American homes - our boys and girls.¹

We now detect a different attitude on the same topic in the view of another speaker in the same session.

As necessary now as then, the great sentiments of Humanity and Christianity, doing all they may in their own way, should bring into action for this work of preserving liberty, as they did for saving the Union, the national functions, the power of

appropriate national laws and administration. In this action
is, I believe, the final and comprehensive remedy, so far as
it is to be found from without those suffering sections.

National educational organizations sustain a vital rela-
tion to these important responsibilities. There is, I am
confident, a form and method of action for the General Government,
etirely constitutional and accordant with our institutions and
traditions. In the Department of the Interior, which is special-
ly charged with the control of a variety of domestic affairs,
you already have the Office of Education, required to collect
and disseminate information on educational subjects and to sug-
gest the best methods and systems. Strengthen this office ade-
quately, give it the means to fulfill this function as occasion
shall offer, and untold good will result.

The moral influence of the best work in the North will be
disseminated in the South. The inspiration and the arguments
so much needed may be supplied. But this is not adequate to the
present necessity. 1

In the second year (1872) of this decade we again hear viewpoints
expressed on Compulsory universal education for the Negro:

The State undertakes to give all its youth a good common-
school education. School systems are planned and operated on
this idea. Under this plan, taxes are collected and the whole
costly and complicated machinery is kept in motion. It is for
the instruction of all, not of one-half, or two-thirds, or any
other fraction. This is the attitude of the State toward every
citizen and tax-payer; this is the nature of the covenant be-
tween the commonwealth and the people.... The state has virtu-
ally promised to educate all its youth; it is abundantly able
to redeem that promise - unlimited power and resources are at
its command for that purpose. How, then, can a full discharge
be claimed while the obligation is but half performed?

When the state in the person of a school tax collector,
approaches a citizen and demands his money for the support of
schools, and is repelled as a swindler, attempting to obtain
money under false pretenses; promising to educate all, able
to educate all, yet in fact educating but one-third, or one-
half, refusing to make good its solemn covenant - what answer

Finally, the expediency and present necessity for legislative interposition to shield the children of the state from the dangers and the wrong of ignorance may be urged with unanswerable force from the statistics of absenteeism, truancy and illiteracy in this country. It is an incontrovertible fact that the voluntary plan is but partially successful... And while we caution about infractions of personal liberty, and refuse to invoke the only arm that has power to save, the waves of ignorance, vice and crime are rising higher and higher, and, unless we do this thing, the years can almost be counted when without a miracle, the Republic must go down into the furrows of the sea.

Summing up, then, I appeal to this national congress of teachers and educators to say to the people of the United States that the time has come to demand the interposition of law to stay these rising tides of ignorance and vice, by securing to all children, against every adverse claim and power, their absolute and inalienable right to the benefits and blessings of education.1

2. National Aid to Education for Sections where the Negro Lives.

Considerable thought was given to this matter, also, at the very first meeting of the association. It seems to have been almost the consensus of opinion of those present that the Federal Government should grant aid to the States in this undertaking. This is presumed to be true since no mention is made of opposing views.

The chief obstacle in the way of the success of the systems of education now established in the South as stated in the reports of the superintendents of the several States is a want of funds. It would be wise economy and good policy in every way for the United States to aid in supplying this want. . . . Five millions of dollars per annum granted by the General Government for school purposes, can be made to bring forth ten millions of dollars per annum in the several States for the same purposes; and with the needed funds, a system of schools can be built up for the people by the people.2

The same note is sounded by another delegate at the same session.

Some other form of effort must be devised into which the element of pecuniary aid must evidently enter. Many questions might arise about raising the necessary sums by taxes, but from the earliest days the nation has not questioned the right to use its domain for this purpose. The sale of public land is now paying into the National Treasury above all expenses, a million and a half annually.

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1 Newton Bateson, "Compulsory School Attendance," Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1872, pp. 54-70.

The General Land Office is also in the Department of the Interior under the same Secretary. Congress has only to enact that the net proceeds of the land sales shall be used in aid of education... How seem this would multiply schools and teachers, improve all that pertains to education.\

The feeling of all delegates present seemed to have been in accord with those who expressed themselves as being in favor of governmental aid, as shown by the unanimous adoption of a resolution introduced at their first meeting by J. P. Wickesheran.

Resolved: That this Association will look with favor upon any plan giving pecuniary aid to the struggling educational systems of the South, and that the General Government may deem judicious.

The above resolution was presented by a member from the floor and then and there voted unanimous approval; but in the second year, the sentiment in favor of national aid for education for the Negro had grown so strong that a committee, which had been appointed to submit resolutions for the year, presented the following resolution which was adopted and recorded in the proceedings:

Whereas Congress has passed through the House of Representatives and has under consideration in the Senate, a measure; first setting apart the net proceeds of the sale of the public lands for educational purposes... among the several states for a term of years, on the basis of illiterates, as a method of aiding most, and afterwards on the basis of the entire population;...

Whereas, this action of Congress is a recognition of the principle of national aid to education which this Association has emphatically recommended; therefore,

Resolved, That this Association heartily commends the action taken by Congress, and calls upon friends of universal intelligence and virtue in the land to give this bill their hearty support, as one the importance of which is yet outweighed by that of any other measure before Congress...."

In this same year (1872) a decided plea is made to the members of the Association to cooperate with those delegates from the South in seeking

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1 John Eaton, Jr., "National Aid to Education in the South," in Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1871, p. 47.
2 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1871, p. 49.
National aid for education in the South:

I have come before this National Educational Association, my friends, to offer one word of appeal in behalf of the poor South.... A new population has been thrown upon our hands for education.... With the addition of this colored population, more than half of the voters of a state that numbers one million people can not read the ballots they place in the ballot-box.... Few is this illiteracy entirely confined to the black population.... I have asked the National Association to call upon the Congress of the United States to make a land grant in aid of education in the Southern States.... I ask that this Association and those good people lend their aid, not only to secure the passage of that by the Senate, but I ask them to do more, to give us a more liberal grant; I ask them in the name of republican institutions, to consecrate every acre of the public lands of the United States to theCause of public instruction.¹

The fact becomes evident in 1873 that, some form of aid had been given by the Government, in response, doubtless, to the request of the Association, but it was felt to be inadequate.

However, we may congratulate ourselves upon the results of the aid thus far bestowed upon education by the general government, there is, in the policy heretofore pursued by the national government, one obvious and serious defect: It has not felt that education was one of the interests which it must foster and promote, and its policy has therefore been both inconsistent and inadequate.... 20 out of every 100 of its people above the age of 10 years are illiterate.... The nation as a nation must educate.²

The burden of educating the illiterate masses is again in 1878 laid on the shoulders of the General Government.

You will see, gentlemen, from this presentation of the case, that the government of the United States has a more direct concern in the right solution of this question than any other party.³

3. Normal Schools among Negroes.— Interest in this important phase of work among Negroes was manifested by this association and had made considerable progress as early as 1872.

¹Joseph Hodgson, "Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873, pp. 115-118.
... Benevolence guided by experience as well as stimulated by patriotism is building up, at well chosen points, training schools to meet the overwhelming demand for colored teachers, and furnish what the South most needs, and cannot in her exhausted condition provide, without admitting the negro to her white schools of high grade, which she will not do for generations. The right point of contact, then, between northern aid and southern needs is in the normal schools; your wealth must build them up, and your ranks of well fitted teachers must furnish volunteers to do the needed work.

At Hampton we have called to our aid the best teachers ..., of Vassar College and other institutions, and our claim to their service has been admitted. We want these when you want, only we need them more.

The Freedman's Normal school is a pioneer institution. You at the North are the reserves of our civilization, raising the supplies and guarding the forts. The southern teacher is at the front....

The normal school graduate of the South should be of the people - above them, yet of them - in order to make natural or probable a life-long service in their behalf.  

That the Normal school was coming to be accepted as a necessary institution for the Negro and that the members of the Association had become convinced of its necessity is made evident by the fact that General Armstrong had been asked to speak concerning his work among the Freedmen.

Again in 1873 the cry is heard for good normal school training, this time from a Negro State Superintendent of Education in Florida:

I stand here today, appealing to you in behalf of these 70,000 persons white and colored illiterates in Florida.... Give them the common school in perfection.... How are we to have good common schools in Florida without these higher institutions.... We are sending daily to the North, West and East for competent teachers, and the supply is not equal to the demand. 

4. Progress of Educational Work among Negroes.- On almost every side someone seemed to be wondering what progress was being made in education by Negroes or whether or not the results were encouraging; it seems that everyone who had any part in the work was as eager to tell about the wonderful progress that had been, and was being made, both in public and in private institutions, even as early as 1873.

1S. C. Armstrong, "Work Among the Freedmen." Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873, pp. 175, 176, 180.
2J. C. Gibb, "Education in the Southern States." Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1873, pp. 80-89.
Perhaps the most signal and wonderful evidence of this progress in results is the replacement of the institution of slavery in a large number of the States of the Union by schools and seminaries of learning. In these schools, ... attendance has increased to hundreds of thousands; and systems of schools for universal education are undertaken by most of the States, in which formerly their instruction was prohibited by most severe penalties. The down-trodden are now the uprisers.... There are instances of noble efforts on the part of those once supporters of the old order of things.... Many ex-Confederate soldiers are teachers.... These signal victories over prejudice add a peculiar charm to the progress of American education.... Now opposition to culture there in the South offers various reasons. One says, "We are poor and cannot afford the expense ...." Another says, "I do not believe my property should be taxed to educate the children of other men," Another says, "The education of the Negro will spoil him as a laborer;" .... Much of this opposition is honest, and is so far susceptible of removal by reason and argument.¹

A delegate from the South was very anxious to show the members of the association the remarkable progress of education in Alabama, as early as 1872; he was speaking at a reception given for the delegates at Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts:

Public instruction is a growth. My friend Mr. White remarked that there had been no advance in public instruction in Massachusetts.... Colored people had not been admitted into schools of Alabama. Now they are all admitted.²

Nor was this interest in the progress of the work among Negroes lacking in the next year — because the association had invited a member from Florida to tell of the progress which he could discern in the work.

We are here today from the distant State of Florida to say what we are doing to train up men and women irrespective of race or color.... There are many reasons for believing that this dense cloud of ignorance is rapidly dissolving. The desire on the part of the colored people to obtain a knowledge of letters is astonishing, and this desire is sustained by persistent effort. If I were to say half that can be truthfully said on this point, I would subject myself to the charge of extravagance and exaggeration by many....²

This paper provoked a great amount of discussion among those present.

Several attempted to defend their States for the lack of progress shown, while others attempted to blame the States and their laws for this lack.

²Joseph Hodges, "Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873, p 1;
³J. C. Gibbs, "Education in the Southern States," Proceedings of the National
Southern people are divided into three classes, rich, poor whites, colored.... One-fourth of the people in Kentucky over ten years of age can not read or write. I include colored people....

There is difficulty between the races. There is no provision in the country districts for the education of colored people. The whites are not willing to be taxed for colored people nor to give them a share of public money. The law forbids colored students going to white schools. What ought to be done? Educate separately or together? There is no want of capacity among colored students to keep pace with white students.... This social difficulty interferes with education. There are not school-houses nor is their money enough for separate schools for colored people. In my college Berea College, are white and colored, male and female. There is no difficulty.1

Progress in education of the Negro was again in 1880 arousing the interest and attention of the educators. A Southern speaker told of the Rise, Progress and Present Status of the Education of the Negro:

The conviction became very deep with us that in the altered condition of our people the only hope left was to do all that could be done toward elevating the masses, irrespective of race; and this conviction we promptly followed out in earnest action.... At the end of the first decade after the second reconstruction when new conventions were called, in which the old element of our population had full and entire sway, the public school policy was re-incorporated in the new constitutions.... The adoption of these new constitutions marks the era of the admission of the negro with the free consent of the white race to the ... right to free education.... You desire, doubtless, to hear something now in respect to the higher education.... I knew that many of these institutions are doing valuable work.... I am satisfied that the colored race through the agency of these higher institutions, is making decided progress.2

Negro Delegates and Speakers at Meetings of the Association.—That the Negro delegates present at some of the very early meetings of the association were cordially received and eagerly heard is quite evident, for in 1875 records show Mr. Gibbs, the speaker mentioned above, was a Negro who was the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida. He appeared on the program by invitation, was courteously received and was eagerly

Educational Association, 1875, pp. 80-89.
1Fairchild, Discussion, Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873, pp. 89-90.
heard; he spoke on "Education in the Southern States," a portion of his speech has been quoted in the section on Normal Schools in this chapter.

Mr. Brown, a colored teacher working in New Orleans, Louisiana, was asked to speak by a motion, or call from the floor by H. B. Tewman of Elmira, New York; the President of the Association granted the request, but had to interrupt Mr. Brown, because J. C. Gibbs was scheduled to speak at that session. Later in the session while many members were engaged in discussion provoked by Mr. Gibbs's paper, the President interrupted the discussion and requested Mr. Brown to continue his speech, which he said the President had been forced to interrupt. Mr. Brown made a few remarks on the question under previous discussion:

"There are colored and white children in the same school in New Orleans. The laws forbid, but Gen. Beauregard says they must be mixed! What can I, a colored teacher do, but mix them?"

Again in 1874 one item recorded in the minutes tells of the presence of a Negro delegate in their midst:

Mr. Hunter, a colored gentleman and a delegate from North Carolina, gave an account of education in that State which he represented as very encouraging.

No record was made of his speech, however.

Summary

In this chapter the attitude of the members of the National Educational Association, which in turn forms the attitude of the association, during the decade 1871-1880, has been shown, illustrated by quotations wherever possible, and grouped around five topics, viz.:

Attitudes toward:

1. Compulsory universal education for the Negro. The general attitude of most of the members, especially some of those from the Northern

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1 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1873, p. 98.
2 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1874, p. 139.
States was decidedly in favor of compulsory universal education laws, because they felt that if the Southern States were left to do as they saw fit a very small percentage of the illiterate Negroes of the South would be given opportunity to obtain even an elementary education.

2. **National or governmental aid for education of the Negro.**—The Association members during this decade were unanimously in favor of requesting some sort of national aid for education, especially in the South where such aid was most needed because of the added expense of extra schools for Negroes.

3. **Normal Schools for the Negro.**—That Normal Schools were needed and that the work of such schools for Negroes was worthwhile was generally accepted by the members, whenever this subject came before them during this decade.

4. **Progress of Educational Work among Negroes.**—News of the progress of the educational work among the Negroes was sought and welcomed whenever possible at any session held in this period. Those who were actively engaged in the work eagerly told of the progress and mentioned handicaps which impeded progress. Cooperation for continued progress was sought and pledged by many members.

5. **Negro delegates and Negro speakers at meetings of the Association.**—It is significant that during this decade Negro delegates were frequently given the floor and that a Negro speaker was placed upon the program. And it is further significant that there is nothing which could be found to show that Negro delegates and speakers were treated in any manner differently from other delegates and speakers.
CHAPTER III

Purpose of this Chapter. — The purpose of this chapter is to record the findings which resulted from the survey of the Association proceedings for the decade 1861-1870, and to note, if necessary, any change of attitudes from those recorded for the preceding decade 1871-1880.

In addition to the matters which were discussed during the first decade we find three new topics with which the education of Negroes was concerned: (1) Industrial Education; (2) Higher Education; (3) The Race Problem.

1. Compulsory Universal Education. — That the attitude of one member toward universal education had changed from opposition to support or approval, is noted in a speech written by Mr. Wickersham in 1861, who had in 1871 denounced the idea of compulsory universal education as being contrary to republican principles. This speech (of 1861) was not delivered by Mr. Wickersham, in person, but was read by Mr. D. F. Baldwin:

   The principle is everywhere recognized that as God made every human being capable of receiving an education, it is a duty to educate him. If one man is worth more to the State, to society, to himself, an account of being educated the claim is considered valid for all men.

   The doctrine of equality in school privileges was not always recognized among us. The country came to it by slow degrees, but the only departure from it that need by specially noticed is to be found in our treatment of the colored people. This class of people did not generally enjoy in the past, even at the North, school privileges equal to those enjoyed by more favored classes. This injustice is no longer done them in that section of the country; and throughout the South, heroic efforts are being made to educate all classes alike.... The social and political results of this policy are beyond human foresight.... May God grant that it is the way appointed by him to make free institutions permanent.... For myself, I have been averse to resorting to compulsory laws for education purposes. I have thought that such laws could not be enacted and enforced ... without some sacrifice of what we have considered republican principles ... but I am willing to acknowledge that ignorance is an evil of such
magnitude ... that it must not on any account be tolerated. I am, therefore, for compelling children to attend school ... and this without doubt, is the policy that is destined to prevail in America.

On the same day, July 21, 1881, immediately after their regular report had been submitted, the following resolution was offered in behalf of the Committee on resolutions, by T. V. Bicknell, one of the members of the committee:

That it is eminently proper for this body to place upon record its firm settled conviction of the value and necessity of universal education.

That the education of the children of all classes of the people in every State is essential and vital to the prosperity and perpetuity of our republican institutions; and that it is the province and the duty of each State to provide a full and thorough course of elementary instruction, at least, in free schools for every child within its borders.

Resolved, That this Association has witnessed, with great satisfaction the establishment and growth of free-school systems in the Southern States, and the success which has followed the work is an evidence of the earnest purpose of the workers and the wisdom of their methods. The present meeting has afforded the members abundant opportunities to note the zeal and enthusiasm of southern educators, and it is the pleasure of the Association to congratulate the people of the South on what has been already done in securing the growth of free-school systems and to express the hope that the day is fast coming when every child shall receive a good common-school education.

No record was made in the proceedings to indicate whether or not the above resolution was adopted.

However, in 1889 the Committee on Resolutions included the following in their list of resolutions submitted to the Association for that year; the whole list adopted:

Resolved, That universal education is a public necessity in a free government and as a consequence, is a matter of national interest and concern. Universal suffrage without universal education is a national peril. As a necessary means to universal education an efficient public school should be placed within easy reach of all American youth.


its doors open to all, and its beneficent tuition free to all.\footnote{Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1891, p. 175.}

Something of a contrary note is sounded in the very next year, 1890, in a paper by the State Superintendent of Texas on the enforcement of compulsory laws, read before the assembled members:

Some of the advocates of compulsory education, while they concede that it is unnecessary for our native white population, maintain that it is needed ... to raise to fitness for citizenship the descendants of African slaves ... It cannot be questioned that republican institutions are imperiled or have been imperiled in several Southern States by the infusion into the body of vipers of a vast number of people who had no preparation.... The experiment of compulsory education in the States would be perilous to the cause of the public schools.... The great need of the South ... is not more stringent laws requiring children to attend school, but better schools, ... more and better schools, and above all, better teachers.\footnote{Oscar H. Cooper, "Compulsory Laws and their Enforcement," Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1890, p. 192.}

That this paper had set someone to thinking - but in opposition to the ideas expressed - is proved by the fact that at the very next morning’s session, July 11, 1890, although the Committee on Resolutions had not made its report, the following resolution was offered from the floor by Mr. Hancock and referred to the regular committee:

Resolved, That the National Association believes it to be the imperative duty of the State to see that every one of its youth shall receive at least an elementary education; and in consequence of this belief the Association favors the enactment of liberal and efficient compulsory school laws.\footnote{Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1890, p. 27}

When the Committee submitted their Resolutions for the year the foregoing one was embodied in the report and the entire report was adopted.

Resolved, That a great responsibility rests upon state and society for the condition of those children who through neglect grow up in ignorance, uselessness and vice. That the scheme of education should actually assure to every child at least elementary intellectual and moral training ... that we fully approve judicious legislation and philanthropic effort directed to these ends.\footnote{Ibid., p. 32.
Evidently, the speaker who wished to secure support in opposition to the Compulsory education law had failed in his attempt.

2. National Aid for Education.—Again in 1882 the requests and demands for National aid rise louder and higher. Prof. J. W. Patterson, Superintendent of Public Instruction of New Hampshire, "elegantly urged the importance of National aid and said that 4,000,000 slaves have been raised from servitude to complete citizenship.... The Government should help instruct them, as the States are not able to do so...."

A rather general discussion followed this short speech; one of those taking part said:

Congress should understand that the great body of educators is in earnest on this subject. If Congress knows that public opinion is in favor of this movement, it will take necessary action."

As a result, a vote was taken and it was found to be a unanimous ballot in favor of having copies of a resolution printed and sent to all members of Congress at its Forty-Seventh sitting. The letter with the inclosed resolution follows:

Boston, Dec. 6, 1882

My dear Sir,—At the twenty-first annual meeting of the National Educational Association, held at Saratoga Springs, July 12, 1882, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote—

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Association, it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to make a liberal appropriation from the national treasury for the support of schools in the States, on the basis of illiteracy."

The above resolution was adopted, without a dissenting vote by nearly one thousand educators representing more than thirty States. It was ordered that a copy of this resolution be sent by the Secretary of the Association to each member of Congress.

Mr. R. Sheldon
Sec'y of the Nat. Ed. Association.

Many speeches in which national aid was requested were made that same year in the meeting of the Department of Superintendence; among those

\[1\] Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1882, p. ix.
\[2\] Ibid., p. x.
\[3\] Ibid.
speaking were:

Rev. A. D. Mayo of Boston, a self-styled Minister of Education in the South; Dexter A. Hawkins of Newark, J. L. M. Curry, agent of the Peabody Educational Fund.¹

On the evening of July 16, 1884, Robert Brigham of North Carolina made a plea for national aid for education and in one of the sectional meetings W. H. Gregory (Negro of Atlanta) spoke on "Negro Education - Its Helps and Hindrances", while in another sectional meeting held at the same time Booker T. Washington spoke on "The Educational Outlook in the South". On July 18, a resolution was offered by a Mr. Crefeld of Florida favoring national aid for education in the South. The resolution was not recorded but was adopted.²

Whatever aid, if any, that was being given to the South was evidently not enough, because the request comes again very dramatically put at the close of a rather long speech in 1890, before the Department of Superintendence:

I appeal last but not least to the patriotic statesmen of the Congress of the United States, to seriously review the claims of the millions of illiterate children who are ..., unprepared to exercise the high and responsible functions of American citizenship. Let it be understood by them that sixty days of school in the year, under the tuition of badly-paid teachers, can never bring the colored people of the South into intelligent harmony with the nature and genius of our free institutions. And if any economic administration of our Government be the watchword of the hour, let them bear in mind that the greatest of all economic measures is the education of the masses....³

3. Normal Schools needed for the Negro.— The private schools which had been established in the South were training teachers but the demand was far greater than the supply as is intimated in the following speeches in 1881 before the Normal Department of the Association by Commissioner of Education Orr of Georgia:

¹Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1882, Department of Superintendence, pp. 44-60.
²Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1884, pp. 18, 76-95, 105-111, 117-124, 120-123.
³J. A. E. Lovett, "The Education of the Negro in the South," Proceedings of
The Atlanta University, a colored institution, is the only college in the State that makes any pretensions to a normal school. ... We must look away from the colleges for teachers. I feel very deeply the importance of having in the State a normal school for white teachers, and a normal school for colored teachers.¹

Now from Kentucky in 1896 came word of some progress along this line:

So far as the State in which I live is concerned, they have organized a system of common schools followed by a high school, followed by a training school for teachers ... and this has been organized for the colored race in the South ....³

Not nearly so encouraging is the message from A. J. Steele from Tennessee who in 1889 was asked to tell about "Normal School Work among the Colored People". This subject had been originally assigned to Booker T. Washington, but because of ill-health and bereavement in the family, Mr. Washington was not able to attend.

Rev. Dr. Haddock writing on "The South and the School Problem" in the July number of Harper's Monthly says: "Of true normal-school work, there has not been much in the South outside the splendid work done in the best of the higher institutions for the negro...." On the contrary, the writer might truthfully have said "Of true normal-school work, tried by any great standard, there has not been much in the South...." Thus far in the normal school work undertaken for the colored student it is my experience that there is found but little time for anything but the tolerably fair mastery of the academic studies of the normal course, to say nothing of special professional training or true practice work.⁵

These statements provoked a small amount of discussion; three or four delegates took part, one of whom said:

I do not think that there is a thorough colored normal school in the South. The colored people desire proper ideas of education as exemplified in the ideal normal school and they appreciate the efforts in their behalf.⁴

¹Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1890, p. 508.
⁴Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1889, p. 607.
That the need for normal schools was felt very keenly in 1890 is shown in this speech before the Department of Superintendence by L. J. Jones of Indiana:

... Normal Schools for colored teachers must be established and maintained, until all schools can be provided with colored teachers who are thoroughly trained ... who will be united in interest with the pupils and patrons whom they serve....

And so spoke J. M. Greenwood of Missouri:

But if the "Blair Bill" or any similar measure shall be adopted the money should be employed in building school-houses and in establishing and maintaining normal schools, so as to supply those State needing help with first class teachers....

4. Progress of Educational Work Among Negroes:—Word came from many portions of the country of the progress of the work. Speeches were made by those actively engaged in the work in the South and also by members who were watching with interest the progress made.

To attempt to quote from these is almost impossible because they are all so full and encouraging; we list them as they occur in the proceedings during this decade:

1881 — "Lines of Advance" — C. C. Rounds of Maine.
1884 — "Last Words from the South" — A. D. Mayo.
1886 — "Educational Work Among the Colored Race" — W. H. Bartholomew
of Kentucky.
1883 - "Educational Progress of the Colored People in the South" - John H. Barrass of Mississippi.
1890 - "The Education of the Negro in the South" - J. A. B. Lovett of Alabama.

Mr. Lovett's paper caused a lengthy discussion, in which the following delegates took part and in their discussion brought out facts which indicated that some progress was being made in some phases of education for Negroes. All of these are found in the Proceedings of the year 1890. Others included are:

W. E. Peckwell, D. C.
W. H. Bartholomew, Kentucky
L. E. Jones, Indiana
E. L. White, Ohio
A. J. Richoff, New York
Mrs. E. D. Richoff, New York

5. Negro Delegates and Speakers at Meetings of the Association.

In 1884, at Madison, Wisconsin, W. H. Creggan of Atlanta, Georgia spoke at the meeting on "Negro Education - Its Helps and Hindrances"; his speech was graciously received and he was accorded every courtesy shown any other speaker so far as can be found.

Also in 1884, Booker T. Washington was invited to speak at the Association meeting. His subject was "The Educational Outlook in the South". There can be no doubt that he, too, was extended courtesies usual to all speakers.

In 1886 the following is recorded:

E. T. Kealing, Principal of Texas Normal School was called upon by President Calkins to speak.
The Negro is now standing at a transition period, when the old elements are clashing in daily warfare with the new ... and we believe that out of all confusion, out of this mixing of the good and bad, out of lack of definiteness there will finally evolve order of a higher kind than we have yet seen. 1

We note here that this delegate was called upon from the floor by the President of the Association.

In 1890 the members listened to an interesting and lengthy discussion of the Race Problem. Upon invitation, J. C. Price, President of Livingston College, Salisbury, North Carolina, spoke on the subject, "Education and the Race Problem." Mr. Price, a Negro, was accepted and given as warm a reception as any other speaker, so far as can be ascertained.

The following invitation from W. H. Crogman, a Negro teacher at Clark University, was included in the minutes for 1891:

Clark University
E. B. Bisbee, President

Atlanta, Ga., July 23, 1891

The Board of Trustees of Clark University, most cordially invite the members of the educational convention, sitting now in Atlanta, to visit the school buildings and grounds situated at the head of McDonough Street.

W. H. Crogman,
Secretary.

The University carriage will leave the book store, 110 Whitehall Street at 3 P. M.; and will furnish free rides for ten delegates. 3

No record could be found to tell whether or not the invitation had been accepted.

6. Industrial Education for the Negro. - During this decade one topic which was engaging the attention and was becoming the object of much thoughtful discussion by the delegates was that of industrial education.

When Booker T. Washington addressed the association in Madison, Wisconsin in 1896 on "The Educational Outlook in the South", he emphasized the need for industrial training for Negroes.
A certain class of whites, South, object to the general education of the colored man on the ground that when he is educated he ceases to do manual labor, and there is no evading the fact that much aid is withheld from negro education in the South, by the States, on these grounds. Just here the great mission of INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION, coupled with the mental comes in. "It kills two birds with one stone," viz.: secures the cooperation of the whites, and does the best possible thing for the black man.... Educate the black man, mentally and industrially, and there will be no doubt of his prosperity;.... They (Negroes) need teachers with not only trained heads and hearts, but with trained hands. 1

A member from New Haven, Connecticut, in 1890 told of the work in industrial education in the South and voiced its needs.

The Tuskegee University, in Mississippi ... has given such prominence to industrial training that its graduates are recognized as an uplifting force among their own people

The need of industrial education at the South is greatest with the colored people.... The colored youth in schools should be prepared to be leaders in this great movement. It is a fact of immense significance, that public sentiment in the South is turning in favor of both the education and manual training of the negroes. 2

The next year, 1891, the question of industrial education came up in the discussion of the Race Problem, as seen by the following quotation:

We should give the negroes moral and industrial training as well as literary instruction.... Let us give the negroes this sort of education; educate not their heads only, but their hearts and hands, before we assume to say that they are not capable of the highest improvement.

In this same year the Department of Superintendence heard a lengthy discussion on "The Education of the Negro in the South" in which one speaker, a supervisor from Washington, D. C., had this to say:

The colored people should be educated as other people are educated but the beginnings of such education should be wisely determined. They must be made industrious; ... they must be taught how to work profitably. They must be made president; to do this they must be trained in the arts and processes of economy.... To accomplish this they

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must learn to work intelligently, ... they must learn
the value of the investment of labor, ... These valuable
qualifications come not through books or letters alone;
they come by doing. So while I would say, teach the col-
ered youth in and of books, I say emphatically train
him also in the arts and processes of agriculture and
gardening. ... Train him in the most useful mechanical
arts and let him get this training contemporaneous with
acquirement of his primary scholastic education ... .
There is, however, not enough of the training of the
hands in the useful and necessary arts of life.
He is not the wisest friend of the colored race,
however, who establishes a university instead of a ma-
chine-shop ... . The same expenditure of money directed
only in part to the attainment of letters (and I would
not omit that part ... ), but directed also to training
these people how to raise potatoes more successfully,
how to market them, how to take care of cattle ... would
result in a prosperous ... community ...

The great danger of academic education ... as I have
pictured it is that is leads them away from the broad-
winning pursuits of life, which must necessarily be the
lot of the great mass of them, as it is of us all ....
Unless the colored youth are made to know and to feel
that success in manual labor are respectable and
honorable ... and unless they are made acquainted with
and given skill in, modern industrial arts and appli-
cances, their education will be to them a source of rest-
lessness and discontent. ... This is not true because of
their color ...

The education that the colored man receives, however,
should be so directed as to make him useful and independ-
ent at the earliest possible moment.

From another speaker during that same discussion came the follow-
ing:

The best help that can be given to the colored race
is that education that shall train him to be skilled
worker and teach him that honest labor is highest hon-
er ...

7. The Higher Education of the Negro. Many references have been
made in speeches to the higher institutions of learning that were in ex-
istence in the South, but no one speaker had devoted much time to them
before 1880, when papers were read on "The Higher Education of the Colored
Race - What Has Been Done; What Can Be Done". Quotations from these are
are given:

Every year since then the war has witnessed the establishment

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2Ibid., p. 520.
of one or more schools through the beneficence of philanthropists of the North; and the colored people have organized many themselves, of which some are doing well.

Dr. Haygood, Slater Fund agent, estimates that over 90 schools for normal and higher instruction are now in successful operation. Besides, there are two medical colleges, and at least two distinctly theological seminaries. The youth of the colored race have not heretofore been in a condition to receive or profit by the ideal college education; nor are many of them now. It is in no way their fault. It is due to the circumstances in which they were providentially placed — not to lack of mind or will.... Even in the old States a real college can hardly be made in less than fifty years. It is never a real thing till time and association and the ever developing literary atmosphere make it so.

All this will come to pass in time, in these colleges and universities. As the need for educated men grows, as they press their way into the various callings, as the average intelligence... becomes general, these colleges will take their proper places and do appropriate work....

There must be a full supply of teachers prepared to teach the rudiments of knowledge in such a way as to produce accuracy and to beget a thirst for knowledge.1

Another speaker on the same subject said:

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, in commenting upon an article of mine relative to the future of the American negro says among other things, that "the all important point in the negro problem is, what ratio of progress can the negro make in civilization and education? Can he keep up under favorable circumstances with the whites? Can he ever by special aid clear the ground on which he was left by slavery in the rear of the whites?"

I admit that these are "all important points" and that it is upon these that the solution of the so called negro problem largely rests. But does not the past history of this race, since its emancipation furnish us with examples that prove conclusively that with a clear field and a little aid there is no occasion for doubt as to the future?.... The Negro has labored under tremendous difficulties.... The question now is not one of ability or capability, for that has been settled.

What can be done must be determined largely by what has been done objectively and subjectively. The speaker here made lengthy reference to the splendid careers of Flipper and Alexander at West Point. I might multiply examples but it is sufficient to say that the graduates of our best American colleges give still further evidence as to what the colored boy can do under favorable circumstances.... When the negro educator shall have fully demonstrated his executive ability in the line of his

1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1889, pp. 547-548.
profession, there will be no reason to doubt that a change will take place in his favor. It must come.

These foregoing speeches show the courageous spirit of the delegates who were the champions in the crusade for higher education for Negroes.

8. The Race Problem.—In 1890, a great deal of time was given at the last general session of the association to the discussion of the "Race Problem". The introductory address, "The General Statement of the Problem", was made by A. A. Gumby of Monroe, Louisiana, who said, in part:

It would, perhaps, be wasting words to argue with these journalists who argue that education does not benefit the negro and would not improve his capacity to vote.... Everyone competent to speak and honest enough to be candid knows that education benefits and improves the negro.... Above all things, education of the negro diminishes, if it does not totally banish, all danger of race conflict and trouble....

The failure of the Federal Government to educate the slaves they made freemen is a shame and a disgrace, a scarlet letter on the garb of our history, a stigma which ... will never be until the wrong has been repaired.

Let the opponents of the Blair bill make the most of their unworthy victory. Let them hide their narrow heads under the thin disguise of constitutional scruples; the fact remains that they are at heart opposed to all public education, and devoid of any sense of justice to the negro race....

The second part of the general topic the "Race Problem" was discussed by J. C. Price, "Negro", under the sub-topic, "Education and the Problem".

The real question implied in this subject, as I understand it, is, Will education solve the race problem... Of course none of us would dare argue that intelligence or even education, is a panacea for all the ills of mankind;... I do not argue that increased intelligence, or multiplied facilities for education, will, by some magic spell, transform the negro into the symmetry, grace and beauty of a Grecian embodiment of excellence. It is certainly not my humble task to attempt to prove that education will, in a day, or a decade, or a century, rid the black man of all the physical peculiarities and deformities, moral perversions and intellectual distortions which are the debasing and logical heritage

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1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1889, pp. 549-553.
of more than two and a half centuries of enslavement. It is nevertheless, reasonable to presume that, admitting the ordinary human capabilities of the race, which no sane and fair-minded man will deny, it can be readily and justly predicated that if the same forces are governed by the same eternal and immutable principles, they will produce corresponding results and make the negro as acceptable to the brotherhood of men as any other race laying claims to the instincts of our common humanity. I believe that education, in the full sense of the term, is the most efficient and comprehensive means to this end, because in its results an answer is to be found to all the leading objections against the negro which enter into the make-up of the so-called race problem.

Let us examine more minutely the elements of the problem, in order to justify the reasonableness of our position. Intellligence is universally admitted to be the prime requisite for good citizenship. It can not be said now, as it was stated fifty years ago, that a negro cannot be educated. The history of education among the colored people for a quarter of a century does not confirm this statement.

The poverty of the negro is another stubborn element in the problem. But will education help to remove this objectionable element in the negro? It is a matter of observation and history that a section or community that seeks to keep its labor-producing class ignorant, keeps itself poor; and the nation or state that fails to provide for the education of its whole people, especially its industrial forces, is considered weakly lacking in statesmanship and devoid of the essential elements in material progress and prosperity. To this general rule the negro is no exception. To educate him, then, makes him an industrial factor of the state, and argues his own changed condition from repulsive poverty to more acceptable conditions of wealth.

The third paper on this general topic, the "Race Problem" was to have been delivered by Henry V. Blair of New Hampshire, on the subject, "A Problem in Civilization." But Mr. Blair was unable to be present. However, he sent the paper, which, although it was not read, was printed in the proceedings for the year by order of the Directors of the Association. A portion is given here:

The Southern problem, or the race problem of the

South, is no Southern any more than it is a Northern mystery. It is merely a problem in human nature. Its solution depends upon the proper use of the same means which have improved the conditions of men everywhere, regardless of race or color....

Education is the solution of the problem of all human advancement. Right education of the physical, mental and spiritual powers of each individual will perfect society and nothing else will do it....

Educate fully and impartially the children of both races in the South, and I believe the safety of the future will come from that very section under conditions which education alone can fully destroy, assailed the nation's life.

There is no other help adequate to the great work. With it the work may be done in ten years which cannot be done in fifty years without. Not done when it should be done, that work may fail....

Education is the hope of the world. ¹

It will doubtless be recalled that Mr. Blair had introduced a bill in Congress for national aid for education in the South, which had evidently been defeated, according to the remarks made in the speech by Mr. Price.

Summary

In this chapter the attitude of the members of the association during the decade 1881-1890 have been illustrated by quotations whenever possible, and grouped around eight topics.

1. Compulsory Universal Education.— It is of special interest to note that in this decade, one of the staunchest opponents to compulsory universal education had a change of heart and had aligned himself with the loyal supporters of the cause. The interest of the delegates in the matter, in general, seemed to have been as keen if not keener during this decade, except in the case of one delegate mentioned in the chapter.

2. National or Governmental Aid for Education.— The interest of the members of the association in requesting national aid, seemed even more intense in this decade; they wanted some real action from Congress, Letters

to show how seriously they were considering this matter.

3. Normal Schools Among the Negroes.- The delegates, especially those from the South, told of the work of the schools, and it was clearly seen that all were convinced that more schools were needed to supply the demand for Negro teachers.

4. Progress of Educational Work Among Negroes.- Notes of the progress of the work was made in almost every speech, delivered during this decade, by those who were engaged actively in educational work, even though the subjects of their papers were on other topics.

5. Negro Delegates and Speakers at Meetings of the Association.- The number of speakers invited to appear on the program had increased to three during this decade; all of them were men prominent in educational work among Negroes. It seems reasonable to conclude that they were as courteously received as those who were invited in the previous decade.

It is, no doubt, true that there were several Negro delegates present during the whole decade, but the records tell of only the one who was called upon for a few words by the President of the Association.

6. Industrial Education for Negroes.- During this decade we find the suggestion offered and emphasized, by several speakers, that the Negro should be taught how to use his hands profitably as well as how to use his mind. No where was there recorded any indication that any delegates opposed this suggestion.

7. Higher Education for the Negro.- This phase of education had not been discussed previously, although it had been frequently mentioned in the preceding decade. There were several speakers during this decade who mentioned the possibility and desirability of such education for Negroes.

8. The Race Problem.- One portion of an entire evening's session was spent in discussing the race problem; there were no comments made. If so, they were not recorded. This is probably due to the fact that this discussion was held at the last general session of the Association.
CHAPTER IV

Purpose of this Chapter.—In this chapter is recorded the findings which resulted from the survey of the proceedings of the association for the years comprising the decade 1891-1900.

The attitudes of the delegates during this decade have been analyzed and grouped around eight topics. It has been found that there was no general discussion in interest of national aid during this period, although it was mentioned in some speeches; in addition to the seven topics mentioned in the preceding chapter, we find one new topic in our grouping, viz., Rural Education.

1. Compulsory universal education for the Negro.—During this decade we do not find this whole expression used as in the previous decades; the subject is simply discussed as universal education. Universal education for the Negro was still under discussion by the members as is shown by the resolutions for the two years, 1892 and 1894.

The resolution, which was submitted in 1892, mentioned the progress the Negro had made in cutting down illiteracy within the race.

This Association finds cause for rejoicing in the educational outlook at the South. Prejudice against the public school gives way to sound judgment, and the foundations of future prosperity and harmony are laid in a growing popular intelligence. The new South is convinced that all classes must be educated, and we rejoice in the fact that the black race has already blotted out forty per cent. of its illiteracy. 1

This resolution was adopted together with others in the report of the Committee. The resolution which was submitted by the Committee in the year 1894 is short, but none the less pointed in its import.

1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1892, p. 267.
Education is the inalienable right of every child of our Republic. To take care that this right be not denied nor abridged is a duty which no State can neglect with impunity.1

In October, 1895, an educational Congress was held in Atlanta, Georgia under the auspices of the National Educational Association.2 During this Congress many speeches and addresses were delivered by visitors as well as by members of the Association. The editor of the New England Journal of Education was one of these speakers; his subject was "Educational Pride and Prejudice". He included this statement in his speech:

American can accept nothing less than universal elementary education as complete as human devotion and ingenuity can make it. Every American-born child is entitled to this much education, and the nation is entitled to as much protection from ignorance, pauperism, and crime as this affords.3

Then in 1900, we find that the Committee on Resolutions had again considered universal education in their deliberations. That year the resolutions were expressed or stated as a "Declaration of Principles".

A democracy provides for the education of all its children. To regard the common schools as schools for the unfortunate and the less well-to-do, and to treat them as such, is to strike a fatal blow at their efficiency and at democratic institutions; it is to build up class distinctions which have no proper place in American soil. The purpose of the American common school is to attract and to instruct the rich, as well as to provide for and to educate the poor. Within its walls American citizens are made, and no person can safely be excluded from its benefits.4

2. Normal School Work Among Negroes.- In this decade, 1891-1900, the work of training Negroes as teachers had gone steadily on; these Negro teachers who had gone out from the normal schools were making themselves very useful in communities and the influence of their work was being felt

1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1894, p. 35.
2Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1895, p. 951.
3Ibid., p. 1000.
4Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1900, p. 51.
and appreciated. In 1900 E. B. Priscell, who was at that time president of
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, told the members of the Normal
Department of the Association:

... The public school system ... has by no means
been a failure.... It has nevertheless failed to
introduce into its curriculum anything which bears upon
upon the improvement of the home and the soil....
Where teachers have been sent out from agricultu-
ral and industrial schools, not only has the migra-
tion to the cities been stopped, but crime has de-
creased and citizenship has improved.

These are certain matters that must be given
special emphasis in the training of such teachers.

1. As far as possible, race prejudice is to be
conquered. We sometimes speak as tho' race-preju-
dice exists only among the white people of the United
States, but it is quite as strong in other races....
To overcome this race prejudice in the minds of teach-
ers of negro youth means much in a land where whites
and blacks must live side by side.

2. A very important need of the colored race is
the creation of the work habit. Slavery forced the
black man to labor, and the revolt against it that
accompanied emancipation was to be expected. An en-
thusiasm for manual labor is of vital importance in
the education of teachers of the colored race. Man-
ual and industrial training therefore, should have
an important place in the curriculum of normal
course for colored teachers....

3. Another need of the colored race which its
teachers ought to help to meet is a sense of re-
responsibility.... On account of this lack of a feeling
of personal responsibility there is an imperative need
for the right sort of leaders among them, and their
teachers ought to be their leaders. In order to de-
velop this capacity for leadership they must gain the
power of self-government and learn how to control others
during their school life.

4. In as much as more than 80 per cent. of the col-
ered people live in the country, it is essential that
the majority of their teachers be interested in the
soil and in the plant and animal life....

5. A colored normal school really to be a school
for civilization.... The teacher ought to be trained in
matters which have to do with the improvement and beau-
tifying of the home.

When we come to understand, then, what the educa-
tion of a race means, we shall understand that normal
training for an undeveloped race like the blacks of
our own land must be more than usually comprehensive,
and will be successful only so far as it brings them
in contact with real life."

E. B. Priscell, "The Training of Negro Teachers," Proceedings of the Nation-
al Educational Association, 1900, pp. 488-489.
At the close of Dr. Frissell's speech several delegates engaged in free discussion; it seems that the Secretary did not take their statements verbatim because they are recorded in the proceedings as follows:

Hon. G. R. Glenn, state commissioner of education, Atlanta, Ga., said that the idea of normal training which these good gentlemen have presented shows that the normal schools are not doing what they could do. The normal schools have not acquainted their graduates with the real conditions in which the people live.... Our normal trained teachers know books enough but put in the face of a situation they cannot meet it. We want as a product from the normal schools, for both white and colored schools, men and women who can command the situation - men who can do things as well as learn them.... If you can teach these people as they ought to be taught - to be producers - we shall close up our jails and prisons. The marvel is that these colored people have not fallen into more ditches than they have.... If education will not solve this problem, then there is no solution for it.1 Principal G. H. Grissam of Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo., said that our colored normal schools are still in the stage of giving subject-matter; they have not yet reached the point where strong professional training is given. He believed the process of educating a negro's brain is not different from the process of educating a white man's brain. But there must be some different methods because of different environments.2

President E. H. Wright of the State Industrial College, Savannah, Ga., emphasized the disadvantage of the dual system of schools. We do not get proper supervision and it isolates the colored people. A white teacher can visit white and colored schools alike, can profit by their example and avoid their mistakes. The colored teacher is barred the privilege of visiting the white schools. The dual system also prevents the white people from knowing anything of our social life. Under this condition how can a county superintendent select the best teachers intellectually, morally, and religiously for the teaching of our children?3

President James E. Russel closed the discussion by showing most admirably the difference in aim between the normal schools of the South and those of the North. The South needs men and women with a well-rounded development, teachers with initiative who can go into city and country and lift the people to a higher plane of living. Too often, in the North and West, the normal schools prepare men and women to work in a great machine, a great system of schools - to be cogs in a great wheel. In the South teachers are going out from the normal schools with a spirit of service to lift mankind. I assume, said he, that this must become the normal school's aim in every part of this country.4

1 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1900, p. 489.
2 Ibid., p. 490.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
3. Progress of Educational Work Among Negroes. - That educational educational work among Negroes was going forward, and that the influence of such work was being felt in this decade is shown in a number of addresses recorded in the proceedings of the association for this period.

The resolution quoted below was included in the report of the Committee on Resolutions submitted for the year 1891.

10. The Association observes with great pleasure the manifest enlargement of educational activity in the Southern States of the Union. There is generally apparent in that section of the country an energy of educational effort which must inevitably go far, which has already gone far, to solve some of the social and industrial problems with which these states have been encompassed. With peculiar satisfaction we observe and record the fact, and congratulate our friends of the fair and sunny South upon its development.1

Another resolution previously quoted in this chapter also mentions the progress of the work among Negroes; we repeat the resolution, passed in 1893:

11. This Association finds cause for rejoicing in the educational outlook at the South. Prejudice against the public school gives way to sound judgment, and the foundations of future prosperity and harmony are laid in a growing popular intelligence. The new South is convinced that all classes must be educated, and we rejoice in the fact that the black race has already blotted out forty per cent of its illiteracy.2

In the very next year, 1893, Dr. James E. Angell, Chairman at the Second general session of the Association, called the attention of the assembly to the progress of the work among Negroes.

The last two decades have been creative decades in the work of education. Even in the South, which so long lagged behind the North and the West, what a change there has been since the war! Out of the very depths of misery and poverty which we in the North cannot begin to understand, they too, have taken up those great ideas of public education, and have taxed themselves, with a generosity which we cannot but admire, for the education both of the white and the black. (Applause)

It was not long since, that I had a conversation

1 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1891, p. 39.
with a gentleman who has done more than almost any
other for the promotion of education in the South;
... discussing the practical and difficult problems of
of the South with a pathos and an earnestness which I
shall never forget. At the close of the hour I said
to him: "What remedy have you for these terrible problems with which you are confronted there?" He arose,
with an expression of anguish through which yet there
was a ray of hope in his face, and with a fervor and
an earnestness which I shall never forget ... said:
"It is very dark; we can hardly see an arm's length
before us; but one thing I know: it must be eternally
good to educate the negro, to educate and Christianize the negro." (Applause) 1

When the Association met in 1894 Richard R. Wright, a Negro, ad-
dressed the group and among other things told of the progress that was
being made in Georgia.

We in the South are striving to lift up our people
so that they may go with you of the North in the grand
march of progress. . . . Thirty years ago we would not have
been met by a representative of this great band of teach-
ers. Thirty years ago noble men and women of your ranks
came down into the southland to open our eyes and to
show us what we should do to make ourselves worthy citi-
sens and people, worthy of the opportunities which had
been given to us. . . . We have, today, in the State of
Georgia, 3,500 teachers ... striving in their humble
way to teach the children the rudiments of an education.
We have had a hard time to get hold of education. . . . We
have had the difficulty of bringing our people to the
place where they could understand that education was
worth having. . . . I was elected to come here to get such
methods and such principles and such ideas as I might,
to carry back to the teachers in Georgia. . . . The col-
ered teachers of the South are anxious to join hands
with the educators of the North, and do whatever they
can for the development and betterment of the country
. . . . After all these years through benevolent means and
by the State and other aid, we have been able to give
the rudiments of education to seventy-three out of
every hundred children throughout the State of Georgia, so
that to-day only twenty-seven per cent. of the colored
children in that State cannot read and write. . . . I be-
lieve that the time will come, . . . and I sometimes think
it is almost here, when we can grasp hands and say, that
we shall wait for the uplifting of mankind, regardless
of race or color or previous condition of servitude. 2
(Applause)

1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1893, p. 25.
2R. R. Wright, "The Education of the Colored People in the South," Proced-
ingen of the National Educational Association, 1894, pp. 185-186.
At the meeting of the Department of Superintendence that same year (1894) these remarks, denoting progress, were made:

In every Southern State the people have undertaken the task of providing for the elementary education of the children of the negro race.... This work is carried on as efficiently as the limited means at their command will permit....

The South ... appreciates to the fullest extent the beneficent aid that the philanthropy and benevolence of the North and East have extended.... Schools for the secondary and higher education of the negro, established by means of these benefactions, are, to-day, accomplishing great work by educating teachers and preachers for the negro race. Let me emphasize one principle, that in my judgment must sooner or later be recognized: namely, that the education and development of the negro race must come from within, and not from without.... The negro himself whenever it is possible demands that his children shall be taught by negro teachers....

During the Educational Congress held in Atlanta, Georgia in October, 1895, the president of the Georgia State Teachers' Association included in his address the following:

School-houses are the milestones of a nation's progress.... The exhibits in the negro building, Booker Washington himself ... are largely the result of the spread of public education in the South. 2

The United States Commissioner of Education while speaking at the Educational Congress also told of the progress of the work among Negroes:

In the past twenty years the South has increased fifty-four per cent. in population, but its school attendance has increased 130 per cent; ... of all the people in the South, white and black, one in five is in attendance in school for some portion of the year.

Turning to the important subject of race education, we find that the statistics are still more to the credit of Southern statesmanship.

In 1870 the South had an enrollment in its schools of 571,508 colored children and 1,837,139 white children.... But in 1894 ... the white pupils had increased to 3,038,032 while the colored pupils had increased to 1,424,993. The increase of white pupils for the eighteen years was 109 per cent; while that of the colored was 150 per cent.... But what has education done for the South? It has produced a laboring class that can use machinery to assist the strength of bone and muscle. 3

3 W. T. Harris, "What the South is Doing for Education and What Education is Doing for the South." Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1895, pp. 1081-1090.
In the welcome address to the Department of Superintendence in 1896, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Florida, said:

The South cannot boast of the present status, but it is exceedingly proud of the progress made in the past fifteen years.

All concede that the negro should be educated and the people are graciously to receive and cheerfully carry the load of taxation for the education of all. It can be truthfully said that there is not a child in the state, white or black, but that is within reach of a school and can obtain from sixty to 180 months schooling at public expense, if he will only avail himself of the privilege.

The negro is treated more than fairly in the matter of education as statistics will prove. Some are skeptical as to the value he will derive from it.

That the members of the association were noting progress, especially in the South, where most of the Negroes were, is shown by this resolution, which was included in the report by the Committee on Resolutions for the year 1896 in the Department of Superintendence.

The members of the Department of Superintendence express their grateful appreciation of the progress of educational affairs in the South during recent years; it is a cause for congratulation and encouragement. This progress is evidenced by the large enrollment, the longer school terms and the improved equipment of schoolhouses, but more particularly by the greater interest on the part of the people and the increasing enthusiasm on the part of school officials. We learn with gratification of the improved condition of the negroes, the sympathy between the educators of both white and colored races and express our confidence in the ultimate moral and intellectual elevation of the negro by means of proper education. 8

In this same meeting of the Department of Superintendence, the delegates heard encouraging words of progress from G. R. Glenn, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Georgia, in a paper entitled "What the Negro gets from the Grammar-school and What he gives to it."

... The Southern people have labored patiently and loyally with their black freedmen, until they have reduced the illiteracy of these people, in thirty years, nearly 80 per cent. ... We have demonstrated to the world that the negro can be made a useful and valuable

citizen.... We have shown, further that the negro is not only teachable, and susceptible of the mental improvement characteristic of any other race, but his kindly, sympathetic, and legal disposition may make him a most valuable aid in working out the industrial problem of the South.... At all events the South is once and forever committed to the policy of extending a kindly and helping hand to the children of the negro race.... Education will do for the negro race what it has done for every other race among the children of men.... If statistics teach any lesson at all on this subject, they teach that the negro is now receiving a great deal from education that not only benefits the members of his own race, but makes life ... safe for all people of this country. Besides, it is unwise and unfair to compare what the negro has done in thirty years with what the white race has accomplished in four hundred years."

Then in 1900 when the Association met in Charleston, South Carolina, Booker T. Washington told the members,

The world is moving forward, not backward. Under the shadow of Fort Sumter we find ourselves to-night

The negro is not only getting an education, but is fast converting the white man to believe in the educa-
tion of the black man throughout this country. 3

That same year, 1900, the ex-president of the Board of Education of Memphis, Tennessee, spoke before the group of the Department of School Ad-
ministration; this speech touched upon the progress of education for Negroes.

When the social and economic condition of the negro in the South is taken into consideration ... the progress that the South has made with the negro problem as to edu-
cation is simply a marvel. 3

4. Negro Delegates and Speakers at Meetings. - During the meetings of the association in this decade we note a record of only one Negro dele-
gate; others mentioned were speakers. However, we cannot say that other Ne-
gro delegates were not present.

2B. T. Washington, "The Problem of the South," Proceedings of the National Edu-

ational Association, 1900, pp. 114, 120.
In 1894, Richard R. Wright was invited to address the delegates, which he did, telling them of the education of the colored people in the South. Most of his speech told of the progress that had been made in education for the Negroes and it has been previously recorded in this chapter under that topic.

In 1896, Booker T. Washington was invited to speak on the "Influence of the Negro's Citizenship." The speech is mostly concerned with the Race Problem and will be recorded in that section of this chapter. Before Mr. Washington spoke, another speaker who immediately preceded him, and spoke on a national phase of education, said:

In a few moments we shall hear with pleasure a representative (Mr. Booker T. Washington) of a distinctive line of educational work, who like Lord Byron, ... has become famous all at once. His fame rests not so much upon his educational ability and his power as a public speaker, although these are greatly admired, as upon the fact that he has shown discerning sense as to the true lines upon which the greatest educational and sociological problems of our country may be worked out. 1

The introduction given Booker Washington by the President of the association on this same occasion showed how highly he was esteemed.

The work of this association began by a consideration of the life and work of Horace Mann. We saw on that first day how the life of that great man elevated the entire spiritual life of the nation. To-might as the closing address of this association, there comes before us one who is doing for his own race in the South what Horace Mann did for us all. I have great pleasure in presenting to you Professor Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Normal Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. 2

In 1896, Kelly Miller, professor of mathematics at Howard University, was invited to speak to the delegates of the Association on "The Educational Value of Geometry"; this speech is in no way concerned with this present study, therefore, no part of it has been included.

Again we find that Mr. Washington was invited to speak to the association in 1898. The subject of this speech was "The Problem in the

2Ibid., p. 27.
South. However, most of this speech dealt with the progress which was being made in education and has already been mentioned and quoted in that section of this chapter.

Also in 1900 at the meeting of the Normal department we find Richard E. Wright mentioned as having taken part in a discussion following a paper by President Frissell of Hampton Institute. The remarks of Mr. Wright have already been recorded in that section of this chapter.

5. Industrial Education of the Negro.—The need for this phase of educational work was being felt and voiced more than once during this decade. Col. Francis Parker, the principal of the Cook County Normal School of Englewood, Illinois, in 1894 told the Normal Department of the Association:

The friends of the colored people in the North have made a great mistake about their education. How can we take these people and make them useful, important factors in society? I have only one answer to this problem, and that is education into work. I believe that the erstwhile curse of man, "By the sweat of thy face shall thou earn thy bread," is his great blessing, and I would train every child in the schools of the colored people to work. I would have a shop for handiwork in every school-house, I would have a small farm or garden surrounding every school-house, I would train these children into a love of work, ability to work, and into the honesty which is developed by honest labor. 1

President Frissell when speaking before the Normal School Department listed certain things that needed to be stressed in the training of Negro teachers; among this list we find Industrial education. We repeat,

2. A very important need of the colored race is the creation of the work habit. An enthusiasm for manual labor is of vital importance in the education of teachers of the colored race. Manual and industrial training, therefore, should have an important place in the curriculum of a normal course for colored teachers. 2

In 1900 also, the ex-president of the Board of Education of Memphis, Tennessee, when speaking before the Department of School Administration

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1 Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1894, p. 587.
told the delegates of that group:

If there is any part of the school population in the South for whom there should be manual training, more than the higher branches of learning, it is the colored pupil; and if he will turn his attention to the learning of mechanical and agricultural arts, he will be more content than if he apply himself to the acquisition of an education which necessarily, notwithstanding all the moral denial of the question, make him forever discontented with his lot. Intensive education can never break the biologic, moral and social barriers which limit his position in this country's economy. ¹

6. Higher Education for the Negro.— There were in this decade, evidently, some few delegates who needed to be convinced of the need for higher education for Negroes. In a discussion which took place in the meeting of the Department of Superintendence in 1894, we find that the State Superintendent of Mississippi is aligned on the side of higher education.

I can discern no good for either race in the illiteracy of the negro. If there is to be any improvement of conditions, it must come through training and educating him and I do not believe in limiting his education to manual and industrial training, thereby forcing him everlastingly to become a laborer. Open the avenues for intellectual training, and let the race rise as high as their mental capacities will allow. This is the doctrine I preach in Mississippi. ²

7. The Race Problem.— Several speakers touched on the Race Problem during this decade. Among the main speakers on this subject we find that in 1894, Laeton E. Evans, Superintendent of Schools of Augusta, Georgia, was the first — his outlook does not seem so very cheerful.

The race problem deepens and darkens with the years. While we are confronted with the grave problem of how to educate the negro and what to do with him now, there is reserved for our children's children a problem still more grave and portentous. They will be confronted by the educated negro, and will be called upon to answer the question what to do with him then....

The white man of the South will need to bear patiently the burden of the negro training; he will need to train him in morals, to train him in manner, to train him in letters, to train him in labor, to train him in citizenship, and the South ought and is willing to bear the burden.

²Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1894, p. 609.
For many years to come the negro race will develop slowly in character, will grow in capacity for self government, in independence of thought, and in power of self-protection. 

In 1885, the Chancellor of the University of Georgia in a welcome address at the Educational Congress held in Atlanta, said:

... Our population consists of two races for whom it is necessary to provide separate schools.

I know, gentlemen, that occasionally strangers come among us who understand our problem far better than we do, and are ready to show us that we are wrong. I do not choose to enter in this connection upon any vilification of my people's feelings or their social customs. Enough that it is a fact that the peace and prosperity of both races are best promoted by having separate schools. 

Another speaker, at
Another speaker, at the Educational Congress, included in his address some thoughts on the so-called Race Problem, which seem much more optimistic than that of the speaker of the former’s speech we quote:

The sentimentalists and partisans of the reconstruction period fancied that they had solved the race question which had disturbed the dreams of Jefferson, which had perplexed and affrighted the national conscience through all its history, and which had just evoked the mightiest moral energies of the century. But their solution was no solution. The problem had just begun and remains the transcendent sociological problem of the age. But will not dispose of it nor ignorant gush, nor race prejudice nor the philosophy of the sentimental and the remote; but it must work itself out on Southern soil by the wisdom of Southern men of both races. It must pass into the region of scientific study and investigation. The Southern scholar must make it his province in the still air of the university; the statesman and publicist must ponder it, and the capitalist may well reckon with it and his gold,...

In 1896, the main points in the speech of Booker T. Washington were on the solution of the Race Problem; he offered a suggestion for its solution in refutation of those which had been previously offered by many friends

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I have a good friend ... who argues very strongly from the platform, and in the press, that the way to solve the negro problem is to set aside a territory in the West and put him into it, and let him grow up a race unto himself....

There is but one way to solve the negro problem, as there is but one way to solve all problems. Treat the negro as a Christian gentleman, no more, no less. If you educate his head and hand and heart he will take care of himself.... At Tuskegee we are trying to develop the head, and hand, and heart of 500 young men and women in such a way that they will also be able to do what is called higher forms of work. I know in this country it is everywhere regarded as all right for the negro to work at the lower forms of work.... I repeat, what is the remedy for that condition of things?...

But ten years ago there went out from our institution men trained in head, and heart and hand, and they went ... at their work in a plain simple way. These graduates taught these unfortunate people ... to economize and ... soon they were building better houses; then they built a school-house and had school more than three months in the year. And so that work has gone on during these ten years.... Every improvement took by reason of the fact that these people had these leaders, these guides who induced them to make a change ... in the direction of their own civilization. My friends, if I knew anything about this problem in the South, it is that this kind of work is what we have to look to for our salvation.... For 200 years we have been taught to depend on somebody else, for food and clothing, for shelter, and for everything more we made in life. You cannot expect habits with a growth of 200 years to be gotten out of a race in twenty-five or thirty years. Unless we educate the children and give the older ones the benefit of good example and wise counsel, you will find little change in the future.... This problem will work itself out in the South in proportion as the negro's skill and intelligence and character can produce something the white man wants or that the white man respects; hence the value of industrial education. One race respects another in proportion as it contributes to the markets of the world.... These results will come to the negro as to all races, by beginning at the bottom and gradually working up towards the highest civilization.1

At the meeting of the Department of Superintendence in Jacksonville, Florida, in that same year, 1896, Hon. H. M. Sheats, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Florida, said in his welcome address:

At any rate, we do not desire the help or intervention

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in his "the Negro's" education of persons knowing nothing practically of his race, and who do not propose to live with the condition of affairs they would create. They must be educated in their own separate schools. Their future in the South is a difficult problem that must be solved by the South; and there is in her enough patriotism, enough humanity, enough Christianity and sufficient wisdom to solve it on the principles of philanthropy to the best interests of the race and to the good of the common country.

We pray that no fanatic be encouraged to intermeddle for our molestation and the injury of that people.¹

His was a clear cut statement, which perhaps voiced the feeling of many others in the South, but we cannot say that it met the approval of all the delegates.

8. Rural Education. - In the decade of 1891-1900 we find that more attention was given to Rural Education and it seems only natural that we find that this attention included the Negro since the majority of those people were then living in rural districts.

At Denver, Colorado, July 9, 1895, a Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools was appointed at the meeting of the National Council of Education. This committee submitted reports from time to time on the progress of their work; in 1897 J. H. Phillips submitted a paper as a partial report for that committee, the subject was "Negro Teachers for Negro Schools". Although it was not delivered it was published in the proceedings. Mr. Phillips said in part:

The answer to the question, "Should white teachers be employed in negro schools?" requires some knowledge of the past condition of the negro, as well as an intelligent and sympathetic appreciation of his present status. I propose to consider the question in the light of certain broad fundamental principles which involve, essentially the welfare and progress of the negro race .... The education of the race is still in an empirical stage .... The progress of the negro race, remarkable though it may be, is not the result of social and political self-revolution, but an effect produced by extraneous causes .... The intellectual power developed must be energized by proper incentives into self-activity; it must be made reproductive within the race.

It is not enough that the race shall be en-
vironed with all the accessories of civilisation....
It must be taught to work out its own salvation, if
its progress is to be real and enduring.... Its schools
must be taught by its own teachers.... Judicious aid to
a dependent people is necessary and praiseworthy, but
in my judgment, it should stop short of doing all their
intellectual work for them.

To cultivate in the negro the sense of intellectual
and moral independence such avenues of service as will
enable him to effect the uplifting of the race should
not be closed against him. He requires these as worthy
incentives to arouse his ambition and to stimulate his
sense of responsibility. To be the teacher of his race
is the one position of honor, dignity, and responsibility
to which he may legitimately aspire.... But a further
and more potent reason for employing negro teachers to
teach negro schools is the fact that race identity is
an important factor in educational work. The teacher
and the taught must possess a common consciousness, a
mutual affinity, as a condition of proper intellectual
and moral growth. The teacher must embody in his
personality the historic race epochs and processes of de-
velopment represented in the pupil, in order that the
intellectual powers of the child may be invested with
that atmosphere of sympathy and appreciation neces-
sary to their healthy activity. The historic consciousness
of teacher and pupil must possess certain intuitive ele-
ments in common as the result of common race processes,
if the teaching is to be efficient and the development
natural.

.... That relation requires love, not philanthropy;
affection, not charity; sympathy, not pity....

In elementary and secondary education I regard this
law of race identity as vital and imperative, but in the
province of higher education, its authority, under cer-
tain conditions, may possible be relaxed without seri-
ous consequence.

The important principle involved here is primarily
that of co-ordination - not of text-books and curricula
- but the vital co-ordination of the teacher with the
child.... The fact that the vast majority of negro
teachers are deplorably incompetent no one will deny.
But the remedy is to be sought in the improvement of
these teachers, and not in the substitution of white
teachers.¹

Summary

The attitudes of the members of the National Educational Association
Association have been shown in this chapter, for the decade 1891-1900. They
have been grouped around eight topics; quotations were used wherever possible

¹J. E. Phillips, "Negro Teachers for Negro Schools," Proceedings of the Nation-
eal Educational Association, 1897, pp. 560-562.
to illustrate these attitudes:

1. **Universal Education for Negroes.** It seems evident that this expression has been used to denote compulsory universal education throughout this decade; no record, however, has been found to show that this is not true. The members of the Association were as anxious to have this become understood as a requirement all through this decade, as in previous decades. Although no speeches were given over to its discussion, on two different occasions resolutions were passed.

2. **Normal Schools for the Negro.** All of the delegates seemed to be of the same opinion in regard to the Normal schools for Negroes during this decade, viz.: (1) that these were not numerous enough, and (2) that those which were operating, were serving their students inadequate training.

3. **Progress of Educational Work among Negroes.** There was a great deal of encouragement brought to the members of the association by the words of progress from many of those who were engaged in the work or from those who could from some special vantage point, get a very good idea of the progress which was being made in the work during the decade 1891-1900.

4. **Negro Delegates and Speakers at the Meetings of the Association.** We find that although the number of Negro speakers is the same in this decade as in previous one, the number of speeches has increased because one Negro addressed the organization upon two different occasions in 1896 and 1900. At all times, it seems safe to conclude that the Negro speakers were treated courteously, since nothing to the contrary has been recorded; and we conclude that one, in particular, was enthusiastically received, if we may judge by the Secretary’s notes indicating applause throughout the speech.

5. **Industrial Education for the Negro.** This phase of education seemed to be coming to the forefront in this decade. More than once and from
different sections of the country, do we find the thought being expressed
that the Negro should be given training in industrial education. No dele-
gate opposed it although there were many who endeavored to make it clearly
understood that the Negro's education should not be wholly of an industrial
nature.

6. Higher Education.— Higher Education was mentioned by several
speakers in this decade, but it was advocated especially by one delegate
who seemed dauntless in his crusade for higher education for the Negro in
his own State (Mississippi). There did not seem to be any special movement
made, however, by the delegates to increase the number of schools of higher
education except, of course, the normal schools for Negroes.

7. Race Problem.— A great deal of time was spent, in this decade,
in discussing the race problem from various angles. Several speakers touched
upon it in their addresses and one or two confined almost all of their re-
marks to this subject. The education of the Negro, it was generally felt,
would do much toward settling this perplexing problem. Many delegates made
it clear that education of both whites and Negroes was necessary to the so-
lution.

8. Rural Education for the Negro.— Rural education as a separate
and distinct type of education with different methods and aims was not men-
tioned for the Negro, but a committee was appointed to study rural schools and
their needs. This committee included in its report a very interesting paper.
CHAPTER V

Purpose of this Chapter.—In this chapter the findings for the
decade 1901-1910 are analyzed, discussed and grouped according to each re-
spective heading as follows: (1) Universal education; (2) Progress of edu-
cational work among Negroes; (3) Negro speakers and delegates; (4) Indus-
trial Education for Negroes; (5) The Race Problem; (6) Educational needs
of the Negro; (7) Private aid to education for the Negro.

1. Universal education for the Negro.—Again, we note that the word
"compulsory" has been often omitted from the expression; however, we feel
safe in assuming that it is understood in all discussion. In the first year
of this decade, 1901, we find that the Committee on Resolutions has included
the following resolutions in its report for the year; the report was re-
ceived and adopted by the general assembly. In these resolutions it seems,
however, that the duty of providing universal education is being put square-
ly up to each state in the Union.

1. The problem of elementary education is the most
important problem with which the State must deal....
To provide for the universal education of youth is the
duty of every state in the Union.... We note with satis-
faction the steps that have been taken by the present
administration to place the blessings of American free
schools within the reach of all the children of all the
people under our flag.

Our system of education will not be wholly free un-
til every grade of school from the kindergarten to and
including the university shall be open to every boy and
girl of our country.1

Then in 1903 we find that the Committee on Resolutions has again
included a resolution in that report which would affect the universal edu-
cation of Negroes.

2. We reiterate the statement which has so often
been made in the declaration of principles of this as-
sociation, that the common-schools of this country are
for the education of all the children. They are the one
great agency upon which the nation is to rely for a bar-
rrier against the setting up of "class distinctions which
have no place on American soil." In then every child must

1Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1901, p. 28.
be given an equal chance to acquire such education as will give it an individuality and make it a thoughtful factor in the development and management of social and state affairs. We believe that a conservative but efficient compulsory education law ... is necessary to the complete realization of a good common-school system ....

The Secretary and executive officer of the General Education Board when speaking in 1903 on the work of the Board and its aims told the delegates:

In the course of time the northern members of the board became convinced that something more than an educational propaganda was needed. They came to appreciate the heroic earnestness of the South in its efforts to promote universal education. They saw also the peculiar difficulties which hinder and limit the development and support of free schools for all the people in the southern states.

The South with its limited wealth, its insufficiency of debt and its sparse population has the added burden of supporting two distinct systems of schools - .... A great change in sentiment and conviction has taken place in recent years until "free schools for all the people" has become a political shibboleth in several states; but the careful observer of conditions and sentiment in the South sees that the old aristocratic ideal of society still hinders the progress of universal education at public expense.

The President of the University of Tennessee spoke before the Department of Superintendents and expressed some very definite thoughts in favor of universal education.

Now then but by universal education shall we qualify the members of the democracy for the discharge of their duties? No selection of persons to be educated is possible. When you limit education to any class, you sow discontent over all the land, and the ignorant portion of the population simply adds to the state's burden, rather than to its wealth and power. Besides when we select a portion of the people to be educated, we are sure to neglect the very ones who most need training. In a democracy the free public school is the only efficient agent. There is no way to reach all those who need to be educated except by training all the children at the public expense ....

Universal education by the state is the solution of the southern problem. Schools must be provided for all the children, both whites and blacks, and, when we once have the schools we must have compulsory laws to put the children in them. This is the supreme duty of the day.

The Committee on Resolutions for the year 1905 also included a resolution on universal education in its report which was submitted, then accepted and adopted as a declaration of principle.

6. It is the duty of the state to provide for the education of every child within its borders, and to see that all children obtain the rudiments of an education.

The very same resolution was included in the list of resolutions, submitted by the Committee on Resolutions for the year 1907, its position was also 6th in the list and the wording was identical.

2. Progress of the Educational Work among Negroes.—The eyes of all sections of the country were still turned toward the South, in an attempt to note signs of progress; and as usual the men who were engaged in the work in the South were eager to tell how the work was progressing. In 1903 the executive Secretary of the Southern Educational Board told the delegates,

Our problem of population has thus involved a double system of public education. But the social and educational separation of these races has created the opportunity and the vocation of the negro teacher, the negro physician, the negro lawyer, the negro leader of whatever sort. It has not only preserved the colored leaders to the negro masses by preventing the absorption of the best negro life into the life of the stronger race; it has actually created within thirty years, a representation of negro leadership....

Booker T. Washington appeared again before the delegates assembled in St. Louis, in the year 1904, and related some facts which showed the

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4. E. O. Murphy, "The Schools of the People," Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1905, p. 120.
progress with which educational work in the South was meeting.

Sometimes ago I sent out letters to representative southern white men, covering each ex-slave state, asking them, judging by their observations in their own communities what effect education had upon the Negro. To the following questions I received 136 replies:

1. Has education made the Negro a more useful citizen? Answers: Yes, 121; No, 4; Unanswered, 11.

2. Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire property? Answers: Yes, 96; No, 14; Unanswered, 24.

3. Does it make him a more valuable workman, especially where skill and thought are required? Answers: Yes, 132; No, 2; Unanswered, 2.

Judged purely from an economic and industrial point of view, the education of the Negro is paying, and will pay more largely in the future in proportion as educational opportunities are increased . . . .

3. Negro delegates and speakers at the Meetings of the Association. We find that there were Negro delegates and speakers at the Association Meetings in the years 1903, 1904, 1908 and 1910. In 1903, Rev. Charles T. Walker was invited to address the organization on "The Educational Need of the Southern Negro,"—a summary of his speech will be recorded later in this chapter. In 1904 Booker Washington was invited to speak to the delegates on "The Education of the Southern Negro,"—a portion of his speech has been quoted in the section of this chapter on "Progress." In 1908 Booker Washington was again invited to address the association. That speech or quotations from it, will be made in the section of this chapter, on Industrial Education.

A delegate, L. S. Ingraham, Principal of the Sparta Agricultural and Industrial Institute of Sparta, Georgia who was present in 1910, and took part in a discussion according to the record made in the proceedings for that year, was a Negro.

2Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1910, p. 1114.
4. **Industrial Education for the Negro.** — It has been noticed

that Industrial Education was seriously being considered as one of the
means through which the Negro race could become self-supporting and
independent. Booker T. Washington spoke, before the general sessions
in 1908, in favor of that phase of education for the Negro.

I believe that industrial education has a distinct
function in preparing people for life in a democracy,
and strengthening the life of these people in the country
in which they live . . . . You can easily imagine that it
was not an easy task to teach my race when it first became
free, the dignity of labor; . . .

There is something deep down in human nature that com-
pels one man to respect success in another man regardless
of the color of his skin. With the education and the
development of the millions of negroes in this country,
this entire nation should concern itself . . . .

The Inspector of State High Schools for Louisiana had the fol-

lowing to say, in 1910, on Industrial Education before the Department
of Superintendence:

"Most of the State Superintendents mentioned above [from
Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana,
Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas
and Virginia] advocate industrial education along agri-
cultural lines for the children of the Negro race. State
Superintendent J. Y. Joyner of North Carolina says on this
point (Biennial Report 1906-1908):

"My experience and observation in this work and my larger
acquaintance with the people of the state and their feeling
have deepened my conviction that the only hope in education
beyond the point of mastery of the rudiments of learning
for the negro race is to be found in agricultural and in-
dustrial training. Unless we can give him such training
in the schools as will help to make him a more industrious
and efficient workman, and to save him from vice and
idleness, the negro race is doomed."

James H. Dillard, president of the Joannes Fund, discussing
the purposes of the Joannes Fund in The Independent, of
December 2, 1909 states the problem is to be solved by the
rural public schools. In this connection he says:

"Now, it must be remembered that it is upon the rural public
schools that the great masses of the negroes in the South
must depend for what training they are to receive; and the

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1Booker T. Washington, "Negro Education and The Nation," Proceedings of
the National Education Association, 1906, pp. 87, 88, 89.
time has come for an effort to improve these schools. First, the public school authorities must make to the fact that the school term must be lengthened in order to make the money spent of much avail. Secondly, these schools must have some sort of supervision. They need someone who would come if only once or twice a month, with words of criticism and encouragement.\(^1\)

The income of the one-million dollar Jeannes Fund is to be used to induce the regular school authorities to extend the work of rural education for negroes.\(^1\)

The opinion expressed above seems to be an attempt to set a definite limit to education of the Negro in the Southern States. However, a new slant on the Race Problem appears in the remarks which are quoted below. These remarks were made just after the last speaker, Mr. Weber closed his discussion, on Industrial Education. The member making the remarks was Thomas P. Bailey, Superintendent of Schools in Memphis, Tennessee.

Let us put the negro question into science and science into the negro question. We have tried all else, and in vain, parties and churches and schools, and philanthropies of all kinds, have brought us not one whit nearer a solution. The favorite prescription for a solution is education, especially industrial education. And yet there are towns where negro artisans are not allowed to work, and labor unions in plenty that negroes may not enter. Education for what? Are the whites going to neglect the training of their children’s hands? When the grandsons of the former slave-owners are dead, will anyone prefer negro labor, skilled or unskilled, to white?\(^2\)

5. The Race Problem. -- The Race Problem did not come up for any general discussion during this period, but Mr. Bailey, the last speaker on Industrial Education asks:

Can education abolish race-consciousness and repattern the convolutions of the brain? Aye, education may solve the race problem and all problems, but where and where and how? Men and brethren let us study the race problem; let the study be, scientific and not sentimental; . . . .\(^3\)

\(^3\)Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1910, p. 241.
6. **Educational Needs of the Negro.** -- In this study, educational needs have been mentioned along with other phases of educational work, but nowhere has there been an entire paper devoted to this subject before this time. In 1903, Rev. Charles T. Walker spoke on the Educational Needs of the Southern Negro. A brief summary of his speech is given here.

The educational needs of the southern Negro summed up briefly are:

1. A better system of public schools which means longer terms and better teachers.
2. We need trade and technical schools for the masses.
3. We need high grade normal schools and colleges for the training of teachers, leaders, and professional men.

Not only in 1903 but also in 1904 were educational needs being given serious consideration; the Superintendent of Schools of Birmingham, Alabama told the delegates in the general session.

The primary need of the South today is a more liberal infusion of the spirit of true democracy... the deepening and strengthening of the conviction that the education of all classes of its people promotes the economic and moral welfare of the state; the realization of the American ideal which opens wide for every child of whatever race or color, the door of opportunity.

7. **Private Aid for education of the Negro.** -- Many references have been found throughout the survey, to the private aid which had been and was being given to promote education for the Negro, especially education of the higher type. In 1906, the proceedings for the year were published in the form of the fiftieth anniversary volume. Historical sketches were included, among them we find the following which gives some light on the beginning of the James Fund and the General Educational Board’s aid toward education for the Negro:

> From the original one-million dollar gift to the board (Gen. Education Board) by Mr. Rockefeller, appropriations have been made to schools in the South amounting to $4,16,000.

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one-half of which has gone to schools for colored people.

On April 4, 1905, Miss Anna T. James of Philadelphia, Pa., gave to the board in trust the sum of $200,000, the income of which is to be used for the "Assistance of the negro rural schools in the South." The board accepted this gift and named it—"The Anna T. James Fund for the Assistance of Negro Rural Schools in the South." By request of Miss James the income of this fund is appropriated for the present on the joint recommendations of the Principals of Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute, subject to the approval of the board.1

Summary.

This Chapter has been devoted to recording the attitudes of the delegates of the Association, during the decade 1901 - 1910. The findings have been grouped around seven topics:

1. Universal Education for the Negro. — We find that the interest of the association during this decade, has not lagged very much although there was little or no speech devoted to that subject; the records show several resolutions which were adopted in favor of universal education.

2. Progress in educational work among Negroes. — At no time, during this period, do we note the lack of news of progress; many of the active workers as well as those who were only watching the work with interest made cheerful and encouraging reports of progress.

3. Negro delegates and speakers at the meetings of the Association. — During this decade 1901 - 1910 we find that only two Negro speakers had been invited to speak before the group, and so far as we know only one Negro delegate was mentioned although many others may have been present.

4. Industrial Education for the Negro. — In this period we find that there are many superintendents of schools in the South who were reported as being in favor of industrial education together with the rudiments of learning for the negro race.

5. The Race Problem. — This problem was not discussed much during this decade, although a few references were made to it, only one speaker attempted to offer any suggestion for its solution.

6. Educational Needs of the Negro. — We find this topic being discussed for the first time, as such, in this decade; even though it was mentioned previously no special discussion was devoted to it.

7. Private Aid for Education of the Negro. — This type of aid although often mentioned as one of main steps of educational work among Negroes, was never given such publicity as to its origin and amount, until this decade.

In order to fully understand the purpose of this chapter, it is essential to review the definition of the term "agitation" as used in the healthcare field. Agitation is typically defined as an emotional and behavioral disturbance characterized by restlessness, irritability, and a sense of unease. It can manifest in various forms, including increased vocalization, body movements, and general feelings of discomfort.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of agitation management in healthcare settings. It aims to offer valuable insights into the assessment, intervention, and treatment strategies for managing agitation in patients. By understanding the complexities associated with agitation, healthcare providers can better support their patients and improve overall outcomes.

Agitation can affect patients of all ages and can be triggered by a wide range of factors, including pain, anxiety, delirium, and underlying medical conditions. It is crucial to identify the underlying cause of agitation to develop an effective treatment plan. This chapter will discuss common causes of agitation, assessment methods, and evidence-based interventions to effectively manage this condition.

In the context of patient care, it is important to recognize the signs and symptoms of agitation and take prompt action. Early identification and intervention can prevent the escalation of the situation and reduce the risk of complications. This chapter will provide guidance on how to effectively manage agitation in various healthcare settings, ensuring the well-being of patients is prioritized.

As a healthcare professional, your role in managing agitation is crucial. By applying the knowledge and strategies outlined in this chapter, you can contribute to the improvement of patient care andOverall, the chapter aims to equip healthcare providers with the necessary tools and understanding to effectively manage agitation, ultimately leading to better patient outcomes and enhanced quality of care.
The very fact that attention was being given to the explanation of such a law leads us to assume that the enforcement of such a law was being considered by the members assembled.

In 1919 we find the following resolution included in the report of the Committee of Resolutions which was submitted and adopted:

We specifically recommend -- -
7. Effective compulsory education laws in all states. 1

2. National aid for education for Negroes.-- Again the attention of the members of the Association is being turned to National aid for education, and, of course, the education of the Negro is concerned in this movement. In 1915 the Superintendent of Schools of Atlanta, Georgia, told the Department of Superintendence,

Too poor, for at least two decades, to even educate properly our own children, we have assumed in addition the training of the Negro race, nine-tenths illiterate at the start. The Union should have aided in this task, even if the South has been too proud to ask it. 2

Is it true that the South had been too proud to ask for aid? We think not, the records show that upon numerous occasions some one from the South was requesting the Association to seek National aid for education in the South especially, because of the "burden" of Negro education.

Then in 1916, at the Department of Superintendence this resolution was submitted and adopted,

1. We affirm that every child in the United States of America has definite educational needs for which adequate provision should be made by proper legislative enactment and by ample resources for support.... 3

The Department of Superintendence, which met in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1918, devoted almost one entire session to the discussion of the "National Responsibility for the Education of the Colored People;"

1 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1919, p.25.
3 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1916, p.897.
three papers were delivered by Negroes who were prominently active in
educational work. Parts of these papers will be given in this section
while other parts will be given elsewhere in this chapter. The first
speaker was Kelly Miller, Dean of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Miller said

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution made
the Negro a citizen of the United States .... But
his education was left to the affected states....
Consequently, for the most part the freed man was
left to shift for himself in his upward struggle
from ignorance to enlightenment. It was hoped that
his enfranchisement might enable him to exert the
requisite influence on the policy of the several
states, leading to the establishment of adequate
educational provision. Amidst all the imperfections and misdeeds of reconstruction, actual or
alleged, there stands out in bold relief one clear
redeeming feature. Actuated by the purpose of qualify-
ing the Negro for proper exercise of his citizenship
function, the reconstruction governments establish
the public-school system in the several Southern
States.

But actual experience soon demonstrated what prudent
pre-visions should have foreseen, namely, that the
recently impoverished and distracted Southern States
were not of themselves able to maintain adequate school
systems for the efficient education of both races.
Their heroic effort must be supplemented by national
provisions, or else the South for many generations must
lag behind other sections of the nation, and the
efficiency of the nation as a whole will be seriously
impaired.

We are likely to be misled by statistics showing
the remarkable rapidity with which the Negro is
acquiring the use of letters....

When we consider the woeful inadequacy of provision made for Negro education, there is left no room
to marvel because of this alarming result....

Without national aid to Negro education the
Southern States must continue for generations under
the heavy handicap of a comparatively ignorant and
ill equipped citizenship.

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that the efficient
education of the Negro can be conducted on a cheaper
scale than that of the Whites....
Philanthropy, to a commendable degree, has served to
supplement the deficiencies of the Southern States
for Negro education....

It was unfair to the Southern States to require them,
unaided, to prepare the Negro for duties of citizenship
at the time of his enfranchisement. The Nation, as a
whole, was responsible for the condition of the Negro....

But there is a higher sense in which the Nation is
obligated to the cause of Negro education. At the time
of his emancipation the Negro was left wholly without
wise guidance and direction. The sudden severance of
the personal relation which had existed complacently
under the regime of slavery left the Negro dependent
upon his own internal resources for the leadership of
his higher and better life. The discipline of slavery
had illily fitted him for this function....

The Federal government should make some provision for
those who are to stand in the high places of intellectual
and moral authority. In the Western States....
the state undertakes the task of maintaining higher institu-
tions of learning for the leaders in the various walks
of life. The Negro is unable at present...to maintain
such institutions for his own race; he is dependent
upon a remote and vicarious philanthropy.

Already thru land-grant and other Federal funds,
the government, in cooperation with the several states,
is supporting agricultural and mechanical colleges
for white youth. Some provision is also made for the
Negroes in the states where there is scholastic separa-
tion of the races. But these....are essentially...schools
of secondary grade...cannot be maintained on a high level
of collegiate basis. It is easy for the Federal govern-
ment to extend the application by establishing and
maintaining at least one institution of technical
character and collegiate grade which might serve as
a finishing school for the work done in the several
states. The Negro needs to be rooted and grounded in
the principles of knowledge on the highest collegiate
basis. The Federal government has already acknowledged
this responsibility in the moderate support which it
gives to Howard University as the national institution
of the Negro race. This acknowledgment of a National
responsibility, let us hope, augurs early ample
provision for the education of a race in its upward
struggle to the stature of American citizenship.  

1Kelley Miller, "The status of Negro education." Proceedings
of National Education Association, 1918, pp.555-556.
The second speaker, who delivered a paper on this general topic of "National Responsibility for the education of the Colored People," was W. T. B. Williams, Field Agent for the James and Slater Funds.

Mr. Williams confined his remarks to the subtopic - "The Nation's Responsibility to the South for Negro Education." Some of the things said by Mr. Williams were:

Our government has its only secure basis in the education of its citizens. "One illiterate citizen is a menace, and his participation in our government is fraught with grave consequences." Certainly it is of national importance that cultivators of 41,000,000 acres of land in the favored section of the country should be properly educated and trained for their serviceable labors.

The South lacks the means to give her children proper education. This works a special hardship upon the colored children. No one pretends that the Negro gets an equal share of even the slender elementary school fund.

If the money were divided impartially among the white and colored children it seems quite clear that no such training as our times require could possibly be given. All the more is it impossible to do anything but keep up appearance with the much smaller amounts that fall to the colored children in the division that is made.

The South needs to be led to a deeper appreciation of the value of education for all the people and especially to recognize the importance to itself and as well as to the nation, of Negro education. In most cases where there is any activity out of the ordinary in Negro education in the South today it can usually be traced to some influence of the James Fund, the Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board or to private schools like Hampton Institute, Tuskegee Institute, and Spelman Seminary or to the local colored people.

These funds are now inadequate to meet the demands the South is making upon them for co-operation in Negro education. Only the National government is equal to that. The nation owes it to the South to help in carrying forward this work.

The nation is already giving aid to certain phases of education in the South. It has helped to support agricultural and mechanical colleges here as elsewhere. It is difficult to see why the
national government should not help to meet an equally pressing need in general education for the Negroes in the same section. Such aid would doubtless meet with the same response given to private funds. If the national aid were conditioned upon increased public appropriations for colored schools, it would prove stimulating and helpful, as has been true with the private funds and in the case of the government money in agricultural training.

The South needs the help and stimulation which outside aid and cooperation in its consequent direction give. National means alone are adequate to this task. I think it's (the Nation's) responsibility is clear.  

The third speaker on this general topic was Isaac Fisher, the University Editor of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Fisher used as his subject "The Nation's Responsibility to Itself For Negro Education and Its Constitutional Power To Render Aid Thereo." He used very strong and convincing arguments to prove that it was wholly constitutional for the General Government to aid in the education of the Negro; among other things he said:

"Waiving all questions of equity to the Negro, the American Government has a direct and immediate responsibility to all the people of the United States for the education of the American Negro. To show that the National is responsible to itself for the education and that it can give aid in this direction, three propositions must be supported and proved: (I) That there is substantial relation between Negro education and the purpose for which the Union was formed; (II) that this relation creates a moral responsibility on the part of the government to all of the people to promote Negro education; and (III) that there is ample constitutional power in Congress to give aid to Negro education.

1. There is substantial relation between Negro education and the purposes for which the Union was formed. The purposes in the hearts of the men who formed this Nation were, as they themselves wrote them into the Constitution, (1) to form a more perfect union, (2) to establish justice, (3) to insure domestic tranquility, (4) to provide for the common defense, (5) to promote the general welfare and (6) to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. Is there substantial relation between Negro education or lack of it and the general welfare as embraced under these topics? The relation is substantial and direct.

The establishment of justice:---.... Whether it is so intended or not, the present inequality of opportunity and equality of duties imposed upon the Negro both by states and Federal governments are injustices which in time will be set up as precedents to breed and justify further injustices to other race or social groups throughout the nation. The education of Negro, therefore, is urged, not simply for his good, but because it will be a step toward the establishment of justice for all the people by the doing of justice to one of the weaker groups of the people.

The insuring of domestic tranquility:---

.... "All the available statistics and the unanimous opinion of men in position to know the facts would seem to prove that education — elementary or advanced, industrial or literary — diminishes crime among Negroes." (from a Southern judge.)

Providing for the common defense:---

.... To help educate the Negro will help provide for the common defense by increasing the love of those who must bear arms for the nation.

Promoting the general welfare:---

....It must be said that all the fruits of ignorance, i.e., crime, pauperism, high death-rate, low standard of living, etc., affect the general welfare of all the people. The steady and unexpected migration of Negroes from the South.... suddenly reminds the nation that in our scrupulous care to preserve the rights of the individual states we had neglected to provide for the general welfare of all the people, which is intrusted by the Constitution, not to the states, but to the general government.

.......It was rendered forever impossible by the inhibitions of the Thirteenth Amendment..... for one state to prevent the migration of Negroes to another state; and whether they will or not all the states of the American Union have a very special interest in the education of every Negro in the country.

Securing the blessings of liberty:---

.....Full liberty to the Negro to prepare himself for citizenship thru education is a principle which must be applied if the nation is not to adopt a counter-principle of restraint upon that race; and every arbitrary restraint of liberty not equally imposed on all citizens similarly required to bear the burdens of citizenship leads to ultimate tyranny and to a loss of national liberty.

(II) The relation subsisting between Negro education the purpose for which the Union was formed create a moral responsibility in the government to promote Negro education:--- The several ends for which the nation was founded
embracing the general welfare of all the people of the Union, was intrusted in terms to the care of the Federal government. The moral obligation of the Union to protect all of its people arises from this fact. If, as has been shown, the promotion of Negro education is a factor in the promotion of the general welfare the Nation is under moral obligation to advance the cause of Negro education. The nation's ethical obligation being conceded nothing remains but to affirm that,

(III) There is full constitutional power in Congress to give aid to Negro education.

There are three grants of power to Congress under which Federal aid may be given to Negro education, i.e., the power (1) to regulate commerce, (2) to provide for the common defense, (3) to provide for the general welfare.

It has already been shown that Negro illiteracy is productive of crime and a low standard of living. And it will be admitted without argument that these bear vital relation to the public health, the public morals, the public peace, and the public safety. Under its commerce power Congress has legislated (1) to prevent the spread of disease from state to state (Act of March 27, 1890), (2) to cooperate ... to prevent the spread of disease (Act of February 15, 1893), (3) to regulate railway sanitation, (4) to collect and compile sanitary information. From these cases it is clear that Congress may legislate to destroy conditions injurious to the public health, morals, and welfare under its power to regulate commerce. And it is not perceived that it has not the power to reduce illiteracy which is the cause of disease and its spread from state to state.

On the affirmative side, it may be said that Negro education will result in national benefits. On the economic side it may be said further that according to our last census there were 5,192,656 Negro bread-winners. The lack of skill and scientific training which these workers exhibit and the lack of education of which these are the fruits, point the way to a better promotion of commerce thru the better education of this great group of producers. From all these arguments may be deduced the simple conclusion that Congress has ample power under the Constitution to give aid to Negro education in order to equalize the opportunities of education given in the several states; and in giving such aid it need not examine the causes of the inequalities to be cured. If they spring from poverty in the states, Congress must help the states for the general welfare; if from poverty of Negroes Congress may encourage them by providing educational facilities for them further to provide for the common defense; or if from race discriminations Congress is morally bound to legislate in such a way that however desirable these discriminations may be they cannot jeopardize the National defense, retard the
growth of commerce and menace the public peace, public health, public morals, and the general welfare of all the people of the Union.¹

The foregoing speeches were so forceful that they prompted some immediate discussion. James H. Dillard, President of Slater and Jeanes Boards, took the lead in this discussion; he expressed himself as being thoroughly in favor of National aid for Negro education. — Among other things he said,

...I confess myself to have been at different times on different sides; but for a number of years I have thought that the reasons for National aid to Negro education far outweigh all possible objections. I say this in spite of the fact that I am an ultra-believer in states' rights and duties as opposed to Federal rights and duties.

In facing the problem I find myself confronted with the following thoughts:

1. Justice both to the Negro and to the South.—

    ...The whole nation should have felt the obligation to afford means of education to the freedmen, for the presence of the Negro on this continent and his use as a slave were due not to the South alone but to the whole country.

    ...Justice, therefore, demanded that when the change of status came the whole country should share the consequent obligation of education. This obligation has never been met and the demand for meeting it still calls as a matter of simple justice to the Negro. It is also a matter of justice to the South. The South, chief promoter of slavery and also chief sufferer, should not have been expected to have the whole burden of the public education of the freedmen. The beginning and the end of slavery affected, involved, and concerned the country as a whole. I would base National aid to Negro education on simple justice — justice to the Negro and justice to the South.

2. The tremendous benefit to the Negro and to the whole country.—

    ...the prosperity, the safety, the health of the Nation depends upon the spread of knowledge, intelligence, efficiency and enlightened purposes among all citizens of every race and calling, and the only practical governmental way of effecting this extension of good is thru the public schools.

3. The Spending of Money.—How better can all the people’s money be spent than in providing education for all the people? The necessary addition to ordinary expenses which would come on account of an amount of aid sufficient to cause very great improvement in Negro education would be relatively a small item in the country’s budget.

4. The need.—The facts speak for themselves. While much has been done...it is still true that in most parts of the South the terms of Negro public schools are too short and the pay and consequent fitness of the teachers too low....

5. The constitutionality of the proposition.—This aspect... has been considered in detail in Mr. Fisher's address... it seems to me that National aid should be withheld unless it could be given without two drawbacks.

1. Such must not diminish state or local appropriations....
2. The money given in aid must not be wasted....

I shall now venture to state in brief outline the policy and plan which I should like to see adopted:

1. Let aid be offered in fifteen states, as follows:
Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Two others, West Virginia and Missouri might be added....

2. Let the aid be given for salary of teachers in public schools of all grades....

3. Let the administration of the funds be in the hands of a committee of three consisting of the state superintendent, the state agent of Negro rural schools and the resident or principle of the leading state institutions for Negroes....

4. Let the amount be for fifteen years, one third, for ten years one-fourth, and for five years one-fifth of the amount expended each preceding year for all purposes of Negro education from public funds in each county and city, and for each state institution of higher grade....

The discussion of the Nation’s responsibility for the education of the Negro brought about immediate action, inasmuch as, Mr. Mead of Ohio, introduced a motion as soon as Mr. Dillard had ended his speech.

The motion was put into the form of a resolution and was unanimously adopted.—The resolution follows:

Resolved, That the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association urge the Federal Government to grant financial aid to Negro elementary education based upon some plan which is equitable and which will stimulate greater support for Negro education among the states receiving such aid.

The General Session adopted the following resolution, in 1920, when it was submitted by the Committee on Resolutions:

We are convinced that adequate preparation of teachers, and the elevation of standards of selection, can be achieved only thru an acceptance of the principle that the wealth of the nation as a whole can legitimately, and may justifiably be drawn upon to equalize opportunities for the education of all the nation's children. We reaffirm our faith, in the principle, and urge the immediate passage of the Smith-Towner bill by which Federal participation in the support of public education is provided and which, at the same time, preserves the autonomy of the state in the management of its schools.

The Department of Superintendence of the Association goes on record, in 1920, as standing in favor of National aid, but not National control. Included in their resolutions we find the following one:

2. We reaffirm our endorsement of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, and generous appropriations by Congress to aid and encourage the states in the promotion of education with the express proviso that Federal aid shall not imply Federal control of supervision of education, and that education in all its phases shall be organized, supervised and administered exclusively by state and local educational authority, established by state laws, as provided in the Smith-Towner Bill, now pending in the Sixty-Sixth Congress.

3. The Race Problem—There was not as much discussion of the race problem in this period; in 1911, the state superintendent of education of Alabama expressed his views, on the problem, in this manner.

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1 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1918, p. 477.
3 Ibid. p. 506.
In providing for the Negro youth a common school education, together with an industrial training, we earnestly desire the sympathy and cooperation of the North, but not its advice. We welcome its benefactions, but not the absolute direction of these expenditures.\(^1\)

In the same meeting the superintendent of schools of New Orleans, Louisiana, said,

When the negro slaves were freed they became, to some, white men with black skins, so that all that was needed to make them equal to the whites was to give them the white man's education. This attempt has likewise failed....\(^2\)

Then in 1915 the superintendent of schools of Atlanta, while talking before the Department of Superintendence, on "Supervision in the South" said, among other things,

....the difficulties are more than doubled in Dixie by reason of the necessity of having to provide separate schools for two races. In some parts of this country, far from securing sympathy on this account, we receive abuse for our failure to welcome the negro to school and home upon terms of equality....No matter how difficult it may make the problem of educating our own children, it is forever settled, so far as the South is concerned, that the whites and negroes will use separate schools.\(^3\)

4. Progress of educational work among Negroes.—When the Department of Superintendence in 1911, met in Mobile, Alabama, the first session's program included three addresses under the topic "A Message of Achievement from the Southland." Henry J. Willingham, State Superintendent of Education of Alabama, spoke first on "The Progress of Its (Southland's) Schools.—A small part of his speech follows:

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\(^2\) Ibid., p. 170.

In 1865 the people of the South found for them
selves more to do and less to do with than any other
people in the history of the world. . . . . Looking back
thru the period of years during which the South has
been developing and maintaining a system of public
education, we find much cause for rejoicing and for
making us to look with hope and good cheer toward
the future. . . . . We have come now to know that the
public welfare requires a proper education and a
suitable training for all the children at the public
expense. . . . and within a few more years the seven
remaining Southern states will write upon their
statute books a compulsory attendance law just as
it is now in every state of the North, the East and
the West. . . . Each Southern state is now spending
millions in providing for the higher education and for
the technical training of many . . . . About every ten
years the states of the South approximately double
their investment in public-school buildings.

The President of the State Normal School of DeKalb, Illinois, when
addressing the National Council, in 1914, had this to say about the progress
of educational work for the Negroes:

There has been a notable gain in the education of
the Negro, the lead established by Booker T. Washington
being increasingly followed. 1

Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University, touched on the progress of
the work, when, in 1918, he addressed the Department of Superintendence.
Mr. Miller said:

Beginning practically at the zero point of literacy,
at the time of his emancipation, the rate of literacy
had arisen to 70.6 per cent, in 1910. The rapidity
with which the Negro race has progressed in literacy
has been considered the most marvelous attainment
of the past century. In the period of fifty years a
considerable majority of its members has learned the
use of letters. . . . Altho 70 per cent of the Negro race
can read and write, comparatively a small fraction
make an efficient use of their attainments. 2

1 Henry J. Willingham, "The Progress of Its Schools," Proceedings of
the National Education Association, 1911, pp. 166-169

2 John W. Cook, "Some Positive Educational Gains in the Last Decade."
Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1914, p. 374.

3 Kelly Miller, "The Status of Negro Education," Proceedings of the
National Education Association, 1918, p. 556.
5. Negro delegates and Speakers.— There were three Negroes invited to address the National Education Association in this decade.

The general topic of their speeches was "National Responsibility for Education of the Colored People." Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University spoke on "The Status of Negro Education;" a portion of this speech is quoted in this chapter under the section on National Aid for Negro education, and another small quotation is made in the section on progress of educational work among Negroes. W. E. B. Williams, the field agent for the Jeans and Slater Fund, addressed the Association on the subtopic, "The Nation's Responsibility to the South for Negro Education." A part of his speech is found in this chapter in the section on National aid for education of the Negro.

Isaac Fisher, the University Editor of Fisk University dealt with the Nation's responsibility to itself for Negro education and constitutional power to render aid. Most of Mr. Fisher's speech has been quoted in this chapter and in the same section, on National aid, for education of the Negro.

6. Industrial Education for the Negro.— In 1911, the Superintendent of Schools of New Orleans told the Department of Superintendence gathered at Mobile.

While the South has not been free from mistakes in education, it has stood for vocational education for agricultural schools in the country, and for an education for the negro suited to his nature and social and economic needs.1

During the same session the Superintendent of Schools of Augusta, Georgia, said,

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let the Negro alone.... He is getting his industrial education and getting it fast. ....Now let us get together and stop making educated loafers out of the negroes, but make educated laborers out of them.2

1 Joseph M. Grimm "The Ideals of Its People." Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1911, p. 171.
2 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1911, p. 178.
Little, if any more, is said on industrial education; it seems to have been accepted as one of the main phases of education for the Negro.

7. The need for Rural Teachers for Negroes—Although no particular discussion is given over to Normal School work, in this period, we find, however, this topic which is indirectly related to the Normal school work. Leo M. Favrot, State Agent of Negro rural schools of Louisiana spoke to the Rural Department, in 1920, on the subject, "Securing an Adequate Supply of Prepared Teachers for Negro Rural Schools." He said:

The problem before us is, therefore, the problem of the supply and preparation of rural teachers for the 1,900,000 negro rural children...between the ages of five and fifteen years....The largest single problem that these (Southern) states have to face...is that of making efficient physically, morally, civically, economically, and industrially the 7,000,000 negroes....Whatever other agencies may be used to accomplish this purpose this problem now largely depends for its solution upon the greater efficiency of negro rural teachers.

We may as well recognize the facts:

1. We have 1,900,000 negro rural children to educate....

2. We need twice as many teachers....

3. The average standard of scholarship...is very low and must be improved.

4. The output of present institutions and the increase facilities for training teachers should be such as to increase supply from seven to tenfold annually.

5. The amount of public funds available for negro rural teachers' salaries...will have to be increased from $5,000,000 to $25,000,000 a year.1

In this we find the plea for a larger number of better trained teachers for the rural districts, as well as an earnest appeal for larger salaries for these teachers.

8. The value of education for the Negro.—In a way, this view is a new one; similar thoughts had been expressed by many, when talking of the progress of education work among Negroes.

In an address in 1916, in New York, Hollis B. Frissell, Principal of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute used Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton as illustrations of the value of education for Negroes.

I have called your attention to these two Negroes because their lives and work seem to have illustrated, as fully as any I could have chosen, the type of education which should be given to all Negro youth -- in fact, to all youth, whether white or black.

Washington and Moton had become thru their education possess of certain great qualities which are the finest fruits of education -- faith, love, humility, service. Washington gained a strong belief in an unseen force called Education....

Perhaps education has no more important duty than to help our youth to see the good in other men of other races.

"Faith, love, humility, service -- these should be the results of Negro education, as well as of all education."

Then in 1918, we find W. T. B. Williams saying to the Department of Superintendence,

The South needs to be led to a deeper appreciation of the value of education for all the people and especially to recognize the importance to itself as well as to the Nation of Negro education.

Summary.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to show the attitudes of the delegates of the National Education Association during the decade 1911-1920. The proceedings of the Association, for the years in the decade, have been critically surveyed and the findings analyzed and grouped around eight topics:

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1. Compulsory Universal Education.—As previously stated we find that in some instances the words "compulsory" or "universal" are omitted in this decade; however, it seems reasonable to assume that the missing word is implied in the discussions. During this decade, we find that the Association had adopted a resolution in favor of universal education and it had also adopted a resolution recommending the passage of compulsory education laws by all states.

2. National Aid for education of the Negro.—There was considerable effort made, during this decade, to obtain National aid for the education of the Negro. Speeches were made, discussions were held and resolutions were adopted; and it may safely be said that the delegates were unanimous in their support of this measure.

3. Progress of educational work among Negroes.—Perhaps there was as much to report in the nature of progress in this decade as in previous decades, but the attention and interest of the delegates were centered on other phases of education. We find only a few comments on the progress as such being made in this period.

4. The Race Problem.—Most of the speeches of this decade, omitted any lengthy discussion of the race problem; only three speakers mentioned it. Their views were colored, perhaps, by sectional feeling inasmuch as they were all Southerners.

5. Negro delegates and Negro speakers.—We find no mention of Negro delegates during this period; but there were three Negroes who were invited to take part on the program. It seems safe to assume that they were courteously received and eagerly heard inasmuch as nothing can be found to make us doubt this.

6. Industrial Education for the Negro.—This phase of education seemed to have been agreed upon in this decade as desirable for Negroes by many delegates, especially those from the South.
7. The need for Rural Teachers for Negroes.—The need for teachers in the rural districts was being felt more keenly, evidently, for in this period the plea was made for larger salaries for better equipped teachers.

8. The value of Education for Negroes.—During this decade, the attention of the delegates was called to the value of education of the Negro, to himself and to the Nation as a whole.
CHAPTER VII
FINDINGS FOR THE DECADE 1921-1930

Purpose of this chapter. — It is the purpose of this chapter to record the attitudes of the National Education Association members, toward education for the Negro, as expressed in their speeches, discussions and resolutions during the decade 1921 - 1930. The following classification has been made of the findings from the survey of the proceedings of the association: (1) National or federal aid for education of the Negro, (2) Progress of educational work among Negroes, (3) Private aid to the education of Negroes, (4) Equal opportunities for Negroes for education, (5) the work of the Committee to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, (6) Negro Speakers

1. National or federal aid for education of the Negro. — The members of the association seemed to be untiring in their efforts to obtain adequate aid from the federal government for education. In all of their deliberations, we feel that they kept the education of the Negro in mind.

In 1921 the delegates attending the general session adopted the following resolution which was presented by the Committee on Resolutions

We renew our unqualified endorsement of a department of Education with a Secretary in the President's cabinet and federal aid to encourage the states in the removal of illiteracy ... the training of teachers, and the equalization of educational opportunities as embodied in the Towner-Sterling bill now pending in the sixty-seventh Congress ... .

Also in 1921 the Department of Superintendence indorsed the continuance of aid from the government for education, as the following resolution will show

Federal Education bill. — We reinorse the principles of the Smith-Towner education bill . . .

We hold that long established practice of the federal government in providing aid to education within the states should be continued, and that the authorization of an appropriation by the Smith-Towner bill for the removal of illiteracy . . . and for the equalization of educational
opportunities are not only necessary in the present crisis but are also completely in accord with our most securely established practice. . . .

The above resolution was adopted.

In 1922, the members at the general session adopted the following resolution, when it was submitted in the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

It is especially appropriate in this place (Boston) and at this time to reassert a principle that has been irrevocably established in our national life -- the principle namely, that public education is more than a matter of local or even State concern, and that the Nation as a nation has a stake and interest in the welfare and development of every child in the land. . . .

We reaffirm our sincere, devoted and unqualified support of Federal aid and Federal recognition of public education. . . . as they are embodied in the Farmer-Stirling bill now pending in the sixty-seventh Congress.

The state superintendent of education of Pennsylvania when speaking in 1922, on "The Education of our Illiterates," said,

The illiterates of the country may be divided into three classes: the negro illiterates, the native-born white illiterates, and the foreign-born white illiterates. . . . The Nation should strike a swift blow at the illiterates between the ages of 10 and 20 . . . .

Negro illiteracy was reduced six per cent, during the last decade, but that there are still approximately 2,000,000 illiterates among the negroes and that a large per cent of these are found in eleven states make the question an acute problem of National importance. The Nation should no longer tolerate this injustice to these people. . . .

In this speech, can be seen the same attitude which most of the delegates, we might safely say, have always held toward national aid for the education of Negroes. The education bill was again supported, in 1923, by the delegates at the general session as is evidenced by this resolution:

1Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1921, p. 466.
2Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1922, p. 431.
The education bill. -- We reaffirm our sincere, devoted and unqualified support of Federal aid and Federal recognition for public education . . . . as embodied in the Tower Sterling Bill. 1

Then in 1924, the members of the Representative Assembly urged the passage of the education bill, as we find in the following resolution:

The education bill. -- We, the members of the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, assembled in the National Capitol, reaffirm our devoted and unqualified support of the Education Bill now pending in Congress. 2

2. Progress of educational work among Negroes. -- The first notes of progress, during this decade, were sounded in 1921 before the delegates of the Rural Department, by James E. Dillard, President of Slater and Jeanes Funds. Mr. Dillard in a speech on "The Negro in Rural Education and Country Life," said:

But in all sections there is the growing work of the public school . . . . The country schools are helping to bring incentive and hope as well as knowledge . . . . These figures (from the Jeanes, Slater and Rosenwald annual reports) are enough to show that the work of education among the colored people is going forward at least fairly well. . . . . 3

In 1918, the Illiteracy commission of the National Education Association was created; this committee's report, rendered in 1925, shows signs of progress of the educational work among Negroes, a part of this report is given here.

This report purports to set forth the work that is being done in certain of the states—such as are outstanding—to give expression to the thought of leaders in this field of education and to point out some new fields of opportunity that are opening or might be opened up.

Reports of States
Alabama.—While doing an excellent piece of work among the illiterate whites, Alabama excels in the education of negro illiterates and in the opportunity which she

1 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1923, p. 54.
2 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1924, p. 54.
is giving to negro leaders to minister through this movement to their own race. During the year 1921, 79 schools were conducted in this State for white illiterates and 153 for illiterate negroes. The number of adult negroes enrolled and taught was about double the number of whites!  

In 1929, Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee told of "The Progress of Negro Education in the South," it seems that this was the subject assigned to him by those who invited him to speak. Mr. Moton said:

In discussing "the Progress in Negro Education in the South," we should keep in mind first of all what the attitude of the south was toward education in general prior to 1860, 1865, and 1870. We must keep in mind that public education was not popular or practiced in the South prior to 1870 . . . .

What has been the result of these beginnings in negro education? In the first place these southern legislators during the reconstruction period, made it possible that free schools could be put at the disposal as far as possible, of every child, both black and white in the south, for elementary education. Whether it was popular or whether it was not popular, they did it, and the entire southern population is today thankful that they did it" . . . .

These southern legislators established normal schools in many states to train teachers for these schools but of course the normal schools, just begun could not furnish teachers to begin with. Northern philanthropy, for which we are thankful started other schools. There were three or four in this city (Atlanta) . . . . Practically every place where strategic battles of the Civil War were fought there have been established . . . . schools where negro teachers have been very largely trained by the northern white men and women to teach negro children in the public and private schools of the south. . . . What is the attitude of the south to-day on the question of education? Well, there is not a southern state to-day, not one, that has not within the past ten years doubled, trebled and probably quadrupled its appropriation for negro education. There isn’t as much money spent per capita because the south hasn’t got as much money per capita to spend but in proportion to the taxes collected and the tax values, you will probably find that the south spends for education for its entire population as much as any other section of the country . . . .

But I am thinking of the tendency, I am thinking of the feeling toward us, of the sentiment, the way the current is flowing, and the current is flowing deep and wide and rapid toward education for all the people in the south. There is an entire change of sentiment on the part of school officials in all of the southern states for negro education.

Another thing that is encouraging is that the white school officials in every southern state have set standards for the negro schools the same as for their white schools . . . .

1 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1925, p. 140.
New what does all this education mean? What is the future? Not merely education in itself. . . . Friends, we want you as teachers . . . not to put the negro down as an inferior and worthless race . . . I am convinced that the races can live together here in the South if they are both educated. . . .1

During the meeting of the Rural Department that same year, the field agent of the General Education Board told the delegates assembled of progress in the work.

Some of the prevailing attitudes on the part of the dominant race will have to change materially before real progress is made. The feeling of hostility to negro education is rapidly disappearing but the feeling of indifference and lack of responsibility are too prevalent. The negro school child cannot continue to subsist on the crumbs from the white man’s table. The negro has a just claim upon this region for a school system adequate to give his child the opportunity to develop to the limit of his capacity toward the standards of civilization for which we strive in America.

We have been seriously handicapped by the large amount of illiteracy. . . . many of the states are engaged in campaigns to reduce illiteracy. In one state at this time there are in operation night schools for adults in which more than 70,000 people, three-fourths of them negroes, are learning to read and write. . . .

The attitude of the negro teacher toward securing a fairer share of public support for his school has been one of patient waiting. . . . But a new attitude is developing in the group. More and more they are presenting to school authorities the cold hard facts regarding their situation. . . .

. . . . our physical well-being, our moral progress, and our cultural standards, are all dependent upon our attitude toward the unprivileged classes. There is evidence that we are finding our way out of the dilemma. The future holds for the dominant white race a brighter day when we have all realized our obligation to give the negro a fairer chance, and the negro people of our region, meek and patient still, are biding their time and seizing the opportunity as it presents itself. 2

3. Private aid to the education of Negroes. — Quite often, we find that references have been made to the value and influence of private aid to education work for Negroes. In 1929, Leo M. Favret gave an interesting report of such aid which had been rendered, and showed that it had been of real value. Mr. Favret said:

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The missionaries came to the south to do their work under the most trying circumstances... Their schools have trained the present leaders of the negro race and continue to render invaluable service in training negro teachers and leaders.

How heroic, too, has been the work of scores and hundreds of patient and persistent souls among the negro teachers. This group... includes the Jeannes agents... they are close to the people and can interpret their school needs to the county superintendent... There are men in state departments of education called state agents for negro schools who are devoting their time and abilities in trying to advance it. Behind them are the state superintendents of education. These agents are concerned with problems of state-wide importance. Among county superintendents are found an increasing number who have made the improvement of negro schools a paramount professional purpose...

Philanthropy has rendered two outstanding services to negro education in the south. It has, first, helped to fasten the attention of school officials and negro leaders upon specific needs and objections, and secondly, by giving small amounts of money, it has stimulated the south to invest increasingly large amounts in negro education. When the Jeannes Fund, for example, began to supply aid for helping the remote rural schools twenty years ago, it was frequently necessary for the Fund to pay the salary of a Jeannes county agent in order to start the work. Gradually, the proportion of money invested in this cause from public funds has risen. There are now 351 Jeannes agents in about half of the counties of the South with a large negro population rendering signal service in helping the most backward negroes to enjoy the benefits of a richer life.

The Slater Fund has helped colleges and secondary schools. Its most significant contribution has been to help develop county training schools in counties where none existed and where they were badly needed. These were organized in the beginning to furnish rural schools with better teachers. Many training schools have become four-year high schools and states have in more recent years done much to stimulate negro high-school development throughout the south... Outside financial aid, including the Smith-Hughes Fund for vocational education, has stimulated such schools to receive increasing appropriations from public sources...

The General Education Board has worked as a silent partner... with the Jeannes and Slater Funds, its two significant contributions have been toward the establishment of divisions of negro education in state departments and toward the development of adequate state schools for negroes; schools in which teachers, particularly, are trained. By giving from one-fourth to one-half of the cost of a building program states have not only been stimulated to give the remainder, but the added cost of maintenance has invariably been borne by the state...

The Julius Rosenwald Fund during the past twelve years has assisted in the construction of more than 4,500 school buildings...
Two movements in negro education have vitally affected all education in the south. One of these is the influence of Hampton and Tuskegee. Perhaps no two institutions have ever studied their task with greater care and mapped their programs with greater care with greater regard for the needs of the people they were designed to serve. It is not uncommon to hear from white school administrators, after the services of institutions like Hampton and Tuskegee have been described to them, "I can't see why such service wouldn't also benefit the white child." So this influence has helped to create the demand in the south for vocational agriculture and home economics for home and farm demonstration and girls' and boys' club work, for health work, and for every movement that tends to tie the school or educational agency closer to the people.

The other movement is the Rosenwald building movement... Notwithstanding the hopeful and encouraging signs, there are elements in the picture that are not encouraging. With all of the fine service in catering to the real need of the rural negro rendered by the Jeannes agents in 351 counties in the south, there are still 306 counties with heavy negro populations without Jeannes agents or their equivalent. Most of these counties are in darkness as regards negro education. Even though the Slater Fund has helped to provide 400 county training schools or high-schools, public or private, high-school enrolment in fourteen southern states is less than ten for each 1000 negroes, while in the United States there are thirty-nine high-school pupils for each 1000 persons.

Notwithstanding the fact that more than 4500 Rosenwald schoolhouses have been build... there are still 189 counties with a material negro population without a Rosenwald schoolhouse. The problem before school administrators in the south is to stimulate interest in Negro education in the weakest and most backward counties and in the black counties...

1. Equal Educational Opportunities for Negroes. At no time do we find that the association members seem satisfied with the distribution of educational funds. This fact is shown in the resolution which was submitted to and adopted by the Rural Department in 1925.

3. We are committed to the principle of the equalization of educational opportunities for all children... and to an equitable distribution of tax burdens for all citizens.

5. The Work of the Committee on Educational Problems in Colored Schools.—At the meeting of the Board of Directors in Philadelphia in 1926 a new committee was appointed whose business was to consider the

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1 Leo M. Favrot, "Negro Education in the South". Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1925, pp. 472-475.
2 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1925, p. 524.
educational problems of colored teachers. On June 30, 1926 that
committee made its report to the Board of Directors (report is quoted
below.)

Negro Education -- The following report was made for the
special committee on educational problems in the colored schools
by S. L. Smith of Tennessee.

"We, your special committee on educational problems in
colored schools beg leave to report as follows:

1. "We recommend that the National Education Association
create a committee to include at least three state
superintendents of education chosen from different
sections of the country, at least two or three women,
and three or four negro educational leaders, these
to be chosen from members of this Association.

2. "That the President of the National Education
Association be instructed to send a message of greetings
and good will, expressing the desire to cooperate with
the National Association of Teachers, in Colored
Schools, which meets July 28 to 30, 1926 in Hot
Springs, Arkansas."

After (some) discussion a motion was made . . . to approve
the report and to recommend its adoption by the Representative
Assembly.

This motion was seconded, then voted upon and carried.

On July 2, of that same year, at the meeting of the Represen-
tative Assembly, the president of the Association called for a report
from S. L. Smith the chairman of the Committee on Educational Problems
in Colored Schools. The following report, was worded a little differently
from the one submitted to the Board of Directors:

We, your special Committee of Educational Problems in
Colored Schools, beg leave to report as follows:

1. "We recommend that the National Education Association
create a Committee of ten on Problems in Negro Education,
this committee to include at least three state superinten-
tdents of education chosen from different sections of
the country, at least two or three women, and three or
four Negro educators.

2. "That the President of the National Education Associa-
tion be instructed to send a message of greetings and good
will to the National Association of Teachers in Colored
Schools expressing a desire to cooperate with their organi-
ization in furthering their educational plan. The next
meeting of the National Association of Teachers in Colored
Schools is held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, July 28-30, 1926.

"Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1926, pp. 1097-1098."
This report is signed by S. L. Smith, Chairman; W. T. B. Williams, William W. Sanders, N. C. Newfield.

I may explain (said Mr. Smith) that the Board of Directors by unanimous vote, expressed approval and recommended that the resolution be passed by the representatives of the Assembly, I therefore move the adoption of the report. (The motion was seconded.)

The President of the Association put the motion and it was carried. This Committee was listed in the group of Standing Committees of the Association as the Committee on Educational Problems in Colored Schools.

In the next year 1927, at the meeting of the Board of Directors in Dallas, Texas, the budget for the year was discussed, prior to its adoption. In the budget the item: Appropriation to the Committee on "Colored Schools"—$200.00 appeared. Evidently this item did not meet the approval of one delegate, because we find the following discussion recorded in the proceedings for that year:

Voices: . . . then, Mr. President, there is just one other question; I understood that all these Committees had been passed upon by the Committee on Committees with the exception of the two new ones named.

Chairman:---Three.

Voice:---One of them is the Committee on Committees itself.

Chairman:---Yes.

Voice:---Well naturally, I am speaking of the other two—Committee on Problems of Colored Schools and Committee on Children's Literature. Now, wouldn't it be proper to refer these Committees to the Committee on Committees to see the necessity for them? I don't see any more reason why we should have a Committee on Problems of Colored Schools than we should have a Committee on Problems of White Schools.

President Blair:---Well this very Committee was created by the Board of Directors in Philadelphia. It was proposed by people who were considering the question of colored schools and was brought up by the Board of Directors at Philadelphia. So, I feel it is one of the Committees created by the Board of Directors.

Voice:---Then I misunderstood your original statement. I understood your statement to say that these committees were

---Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1927, p. 1108.
now being created. Of course if the committees have already been created, then my statement is out of order.

Another Voices—May I explain that it was referred to the Board of Directors and unanimously passed at Philadelphia.

President Blair—The Committee which the Committee on Committees considered did not include this Committee on Colored Schools, because that was created at Philadelphia. 1

This Committee made another report in 1925, which was published in the proceedings for that year in the regular section of the volume set aside for Reports of Committees. (From that time on this report always occurred there.)

At this time, N. C. Newbold of the Division of Negro Education of Raleigh, North Carolina, was the chairman. The report follows:

On a basis of averages, every tenth child born in the United States belongs to the Negro race . . . .

Representing this tenth child and his twelve million kindred in America, your committee wishes to express appreciation for interest and cooperation already manifested in the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, and to recommend for your earnest consideration, and we hope your adoption at this meeting, the following plan for further cooperation.

1. Studies or surveys or investigations by this committee or other persons under its direction.
   (a) Collecting data on the status of Negro education would be of real value to educational officials and to students of this subject throughout the country.
   (b) That a basis study be made, if possible of the conditions affecting the health of the Negro school child as they exist at the present time. . . .

2. That in at least one program of the General Sessions there be included an address by some leader in Negro education who has a wide reputation for service in this field.

The obvious purpose of such an address would be to remind us of existing conditions in Negro education, and if possible furnish a basis for helpful co-operation. . . .

3. That a Negro musical organization be invited to furnish the music for at least one program of the General Session.

4. That the National Education Association give its sympathetic interest and encouragement to the preparation of a motion picture which will describe on a factual basis the history of Negroes in America their struggles, their accomplishments in education, literature, art, music, and in the accumulation of wealth, their contributions to America in industry, agriculture, and in the arts and

1Proceedings of the National Education Association. 1927, p. 1152.
osciences, and in peace and war.

The purpose of such a serious effort to describe the Negro's part in our history is self evident, viz: To inform the mass of our American people that Negroes form a component part of our population, that they desire to share in the privileges of our great government, but that they are eager to bear their full part of the responsibilities of other American citizens.

5. That the Committee to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools be included in the list of permanent committees of the National Education Association, and that an adequate appropriation be made for its activities in the current year.1

We find that this committee was, in 1928, listed in the group of standing committees of the Association as The Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.2 (From that time on, it has appeared there.) The report of this committee for 1930 was also included in the section set aside for Reports of Committees. A portion of it is here given.

This committee was first authorized and made permanent by the association in Philadelphia, July, 1926, . . . . It was first designated "A Committee on Problems in Colored Schools." At the convention in Minneapolis in 1930 the committee was reorganized and renamed. It has since been known as "The Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools." . . . . the committee has had five meetings . . . . . The present membership of the committee includes 16 persons whose educational interests and activities are varied, and who are fairly representative of the country as a whole.

In the first report of the original committee . . . in Philadelphia two recommendations were made . . . .

Both of these recommendations were adopted and have been carried out each year beginning at Minneapolis in 1928.

The committee's report to the Association at Minneapolis in 1928 included five recommendations which were adopted . . . .

Since the adoption of these recommendations, your committee has done what it could to make them effective. Members have recently assisted the National Advisory Committee on Education in its search for information on Negro education. Also several members of this committee are members of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Thus, the . . . recommendations regarding studies in Negro education

2Ibid., p. 1045.
and health are being given serious study by organizations
which give promise of some helpful results.

Recommendations 2 and 3 were carried out in the Atlanta
meeting a year ago. Dr. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee In-
istitute, gave an address which was one of the outstanding
events of the convention. Also, some of the Negro musical or-
ganizations of Atlanta, aided by the Tuskegee and Hampton
quartettes, gave a musical entertainment at one of the
evening sessions.

Some efforts have been made to secure money and talent
to produce the motion picture recommended in the Minneapolis
report, but so far, without definite results. We shall try
again.

In all the meetings of the committee since Minneapolis—
in Cleveland, Atlanta, Atlantic City, and here in Columbus,
two subjects have claimed most of our attention: (1) the
present status of Negro education in America and (2) the
health of the Negro school child. As has been previously
shown, these are now being studied by two national organi-
sations.

Other matters which have been given considerable atten-
tion in these meetings are the following:

First the question of soliciting aid from the Federal
Government through the proper channels, to lend its influence
in behalf of Negro education was first proposed at the Cleve-
land meeting in February 1929. This matter has come up again and
again in later meetings, at Atlanta and Atlantic City, and again
here in Columbus.

A special subcommittee has been appointed to continue the
study of the problems of "Equalization of Federal aid for Negro
Education."

In this committee it has been suggested that graduate
students could work out a bibliography on Federal aid which is
seriously needed. Also, the graduate students might select the
subject of Federal aid for Negro Education as a special thesis.

Second, a subcommittee composed of six members has been
appointed to select and compile a list of problems on Negro
education, this list to be submitted to the various institutions
in this country where graduate courses are offered, in the
hope that graduate students may be inclined to select from this
list some of the topics which most need early study analysis.

This subcommittee is charged also with the responsibility
of "finding out what institutions of higher learning in the
South have done toward studying problems of the Negro race."

Third, a subcommittee was appointed to aid the National
Association of Teachers in Colored Schools in setting up
objectives for the work of that organization, in any way that
may be desired.

Fourth, a subcommittee was appointed to study health
education for Negroes in Tennessee, Virginia and other states.
The chairman of this sub-committee in his report to the full
committee at Atlantic City said: "there are a few serious
attempts to promote health education among Negroes" but so far
as he knew there had been no worthwhile general health education
program put into operation. Continuing, he states: "With all that has been said and done by the health agencies and officials we are confronted with the fact that tuberculosis among Negroes has reached about the same position as it had whites a quarter of a century ago. Although the death rate has declined considerably, still the rate among Negro children of the South is almost six times that of whites of the same age."

The chairman of this subcommittee further reported that a serious study of the problems of Negro health is now being undertaken in Tennessee, which promises to be the most helpful of such studies ever before projected.

This study is being made under the direction of the Health Commissioner of Tennessee, and is being undertaken by Fisk University, and the State Health Department. The United States Public Health Service and various independent and philanthropic agencies are giving full cooperation. The study includes three phases:

1. The first phase consists of a statistical study and includes the most complete statistical analysis of racial differences in mortality, morbidity, and birth rates which it is possible to make from available data.

2. The second phase includes a field epidemiological study as extensive as possible in an effort to make out the various differences discovered by the statistical study.

3. The third phase is the most important, as it will be an inquiry into the methods and agencies necessary to correct the reasons for existing racial differences.

The State boards of health in several of the states .... have carried the message of disease prevention and good health to all the people of both races. Thousands of Negro children have been given remedial treatment in dental clinics, as well as in clinics for removal of diseased tonsils and adenoids. The same widespread interest in the health of Negroes is shown in the well-organized programs for vaccination against smallpox, typhoid fever, and other such preventable diseases.

While these programs are not strictly speaking health education, they are the same as those carried out for white people. There is, therefore, some ground for hopes of better things in the health of Negro school children in all the South.

Your committee has cooperated with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools in another undertaking: The president of that organization a little more than a year ago recommended that a Negro be selected in each state to gather data with regard to Negro education, and to work on some specific problem of research. A member of our committee has consulted the leading sociologist at Fisk University on this matter, and offered any further aid our committee can give.

However, far we have gone in our modern educational schemes and practices, it is still true that "as is the teacher, so is the school." While considerable progress has been made in recent years, it is still true that in some states of the south twenty-five percent of the Negro teachers have had only
elementary school education, and that another twenty-five percent have had less than four years of high school. Also, if measured by standard requirements, it is doubtless a fact that more than half the other fifty percent would fall short of high-school graduation...

In concluding this report, your committee recognizes the fact that the statements given above are only a brief and imperfect outline of what has been attempted so far, and planned for further action.

In view of the fact that education and health are twin paramount needs of the Negro race in this country, we recommend:

That the National Advisory Committee now sitting in Washington study the possibilities of securing the assistance of the Federal Government:

1. In improving and increasing the facilities of the higher institutions for training Negro teachers.
2. In establishing and developing in two or three centers in the South, higher institutions for the training of doctors, dentists and nurses for the Negro race.

To this end we request and urge the National Committee on Education to hold a series of conferences in the southern states, and invite to these conferences outstanding representatives of both races, where all problems involved may be faced frankly and discussed with intelligence and understanding.

The Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, lost no time nor effort in assembling the interest and attention of the National Education Association delegates.

The program and activity of this committee seemed to have met the approval of most of the association delegates and there was an apparent extensive cooperation.

6. Negro Speakers: — Robert R. Moton was the only Negro who was invited to address the association in this period. He spoke on "Progress in Negro Education in the South," and quotations from his speech have been made under the heading in this chapter.

Summary

The attitudes of the delegates of the Association have been shown, for the period of years from 1921 - 1930. These attitudes have
been grouped around six topics:

1. **National or Federal aid for the Education of the Negroes.**—During the first half of this decade the delegates showed by the presentation and adoption of resolutions that they were staunchly in favor of increased or continued national aid for education especially in the states where there was a great deal of illiteracy. (This illiteracy occurred mostly in the southern states where they Negro population was thickest.)

2. **Progress of Educational Work among Negroes.**—Some progress was reported for this decade, but one speaker in particular mentioned some of the things which would have to be changed before any real progress could be made. No one offered any objection to his statement, so we conclude that the other delegates, present, agreed with him.

3. **Private aid to the Education of Negroes.**—It was shown that without the support and influence of private aid, especially for higher education, the work of all education for Negroes would have greatly suffered in this decade.

4. **Equal Opportunities for Negroes for Education.**—The Association members present, stood in favor of equal opportunities for Negroes for education inasmuch as a resolution to that effect was adopted in this decade.

5. **Work of the Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.**—This committee, when first formed met the approval of all delegates present, but in the second year of its existence, one delegate questioned the necessity of such a committee. However, the committee became one of the standing committees of the association. This committee seemed to have received the approval of the majority of the delegates all through the rest of this decade.
6. **Negro Speakers.** — One Negro speaker was invited to address the association during this decade; his address was said to have been "one of the outstanding events of the convention." There seems to be no doubt that this speaker was graciously received.
CHAPTER VIII

FINDINGS FOR THE PERIOD 1931-1935

Purpose of this Chapter.—In this chapter is recorded the findings, which resulted from a survey of the Association's proceedings for the period 1931-1935. The attitude of the delegates as expressed in speeches, resolutions and addresses, have been grouped around the following topics: (1) Universal education for Negroes, (2) Federal aid for education of the Negro, (3) Equal educational opportunity for Negroes, (4) Negro Speakers, (5) Work of the Committee to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

1. Universal education for Negroes.—Although the word "Negro" does not occur in the resolution which was submitted and adopted at the Association Meeting in Atlantic City in 1932, it seems quite evident that the Negro was being considered. The Resolutions for the year were expressed as the Platform of the National Education Association; in Part I of this platform we find the following:

Opportunity.—Every child regardless of race, creed, social position, residence, or physical condition, should have the opportunity for the fullest development of his individual powers thru education. 1

This resolution, which met the approval of the members of the Association, shows that although nothing had been said concerning universal education for several years it had not been entirely ignored. The next year, 1933, the Superintendents gathered in Minneapolis, adopted a similar resolution:

1. In a republic equal educational opportunity must be available to all as the essential safeguard of democracy, as well as the inherent right of every individual. This principle is being so seriously attacked today that the American people should rise to an active protection of the schools. 2

1 Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1932, p.214

In 1934, and in 1935, the Association’s Committee on Resolutions submitted its reports, again, expressed as the Platform of the Association. In Part I of the Platform, the following statement occurs:

Opportunity.—Every child, regardless of race, belief, economic status, residence or physical condition, should have the opportunity for the fullest development of its individual powers thru education.¹

The above resolution was adopted; then in 1936 another one, identical in wording, was submitted and adopted at the General Session of the Association,² thus we find continued efforts were being made by the Association to have universal education.

2. Federal aid for Education of Negroes.—In 1931, a plea was voiced in the regular report of the Committee on Resolutions, for Federal aid for education of every child, it reads,

Federal Aid for Education.—Funds should be provided by the Federal Government to assist the states in making available to every child a basic education....³

Nothing was said, evidently, in the next year on this subject but in 1933 we find a statement in the report of the Committee on Resolutions which was contrary to that of the former years in that it was for placing the duty of educating all children on the state with little or no government aid; the resolution, which follows, was adopted.

(3) The duty of the state to educate all its children is fundamental and the greater part of local education costs should be borne by the state.⁴

But in 1935, again the old stand for Federal aid is made, in the resolutions submitted for that year, it reads,

¹Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1934, p.182.
³Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1931, p.270.
⁴Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1935, p.221.
Program.— The National Education Association reaffirms its stand that adequate Federal aid should be made available to the states to the end that every child and unemployed youth should be enabled to enjoy his right to formal education.\footnote{Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1935, p. 207}

The resolution was adopted.

3. Equal Educational opportunity for Negroes.— One of the resolutions, partly quoted in the section above, and one quoted in the section on universal education included statements on the equalizing of educational opportunities for every child—we repeat them here.

The resolution for the year 1931, reads,

Funds should be provided by the Federal Government to assist the states in making available to every child a basic education, in equalizing educational opportunities, in meeting the many acute problems of rural education, and in preventing the interruption of education during floods, droughts and other widespread emergencies.\footnote{Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1931, p. 270}

and the resolution for the year 1933, reads,

In a republic equal educational opportunity must be available to all as the essential safeguard of democracy as well as the inherent right of every individual.\footnote{Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1933, p. 677}

That a great deal of thought was being given to this subject is further shown in the report of another Committee, in 1934, which will be given now.

Report of General Subject Committees VI
A National Outlook on Education, John K. Heman, Teachers College Columbia University, Chairman

Another topic group of Committee VI considered Negro Education. The present distribution of National wealth has operated to the educational detriment of the Negro race which constitutes one tenth of our population. The measurable response of the Negro population to even limited educational opportunity has been most gratifying.
It is deplorable that the depression has resulted in lamentable curtailment of educational opportunity for this large portion of our population. Social justice and general economic welfare demand that, in the provision of educational opportunity, the needs of Negro pupils and teachers be given equitable consideration along with those of all other groups.

The above report was rendered at the meeting of the Department of Superintendence in 1934; later that same year, at the General Sessions, the President of the Columbian Educational Association addressed the delegates, among other things he said,

There is a vast difference between equality of educational opportunity and equality of industrial opportunity. Our greatest need is the opportunity for our boys and girls who receive education to be admitted to the various occupations and industries of the present day. Too often we charge them with willful lilleness when the doors of employment are shut against them. Can they be expected to demonstrate economic self-help under these unfair preceptions? The educational crisis calls for a New Deal. We must ally the school more closely with life and make it a life situation....

That colored children should be afforded facilities for education is so obvious as to make it seem unnecessary to assert; it ought to be axiomatic. The purpose of the school is to train children for good citizenship. Each state should be interested in this training regardless of race or color....

Colored people have demonstrated abundantly their capacity for economic self-help. They have built school-houses, paid teachers, and furnished transportation in many places thru many years....

We submit this record of seventy years struggle for culture and advancement as a justification for an equitable distribution of funds for the education of our children, to the end that we may be adequately equipped for meeting the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy....

We believe that the National Education Association is the most powerful influence in education in America. We appeal to the National Education Association to assume the initiative in the efforts to cure these inequalities.

\[1\textbf{Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1934, p. 664.}\]
We desire to let it be known that we appreciate the recent awakening of interest in our own education on the part of the white people in the South. We desire to let it be known that we appreciate the comparatively recent establishment of the office of a specialist in the education of Negroes - a competent specialist from our own ranks in the Office in Education in the Interior Department. We desire to let it be known that we appreciate the interest manifested in the recent National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes. All we ask is that when this emergency aid is secured an equitable proportion of it be allotted to the colored schools.

We take new hope from the encouraging words of President Roosevelt: "As yet all too small a percentage of the Negro children of our country, especially in the rural sections, enjoy adequate or equitable facilities for the education which is America's goal for every child. We have neither schools enough properly to accommodate the children who should be in attendance, nor educational offerings of the quality and variety adapted to their needs."  

4. Negro Speakers and delegates.— Only one Negro was found to have been invited in to address the members of the association in this period. In 1934, M. Grant Lucas, President of the Columbian Educational Association addressed the General Session of the National Education Association when they were assembled in Washington. His subject was "Economic Self-Help in the Educational Crisis," a portion of his speech was quoted in the above section.

There is no doubt that there were many Negro delegates present at the meetings of the association, during this period, but no mention has been made of them as such, therefore, it seems safe to conclude that their treatment was no different from that given any other delegates.

5. The Work of the Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.— This Committee was exceedingly active, and the success with which their plans were served as an

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incentive for further plans; the reports of the Committee show this fact. In 1931, the following report was rendered at the association meeting in Los Angeles:

This committee passed a resolution at its meeting in Detroit, February 25, 1931, to "report its activities to the National Education Association at its meeting in Los Angeles in July 1931."

The chief activities now engaging the attention of the Committee are indicated in resolutions which were passed at former meetings, as follows:

1. That a special committee of five, with Mr. N. C. Newbold as Chairman...be appointed to assume the responsibility of formulating a list consisting of a series of problems based upon Negro education; that Peabody and Columbia Colleges, where graduate students work, be asked to encourage students to accept problems from this list as subjects for theses. Motion carried.

2. That this special committee will have one essential problem, viz., to find out what has been done by the institutions of higher learning (white) in the South toward studying the problems of the Negro race. Motion carried.

It is resolution No. 2 with which the committee is especially concerned. In order to secure information as to what institutions of higher learning and what people in the South are doing to study the problems of the Negro race, a subcommittee prepared a list of questions which have been sent to all the white colleges in the South. Below is a copy of these questions:

1. Have members of your faculty written dissertations, theses, or other papers, or books, or made any studies of any kind on the problems of the Negro race recently or at any time? If so, please list these by title, author, etc., below or on a separate sheet.

2. Have your students, undergraduate or graduate, made any studies or written any papers on any phase of this subject recently or at any time? If so, please list these by title, author, etc.

3. Are any definite or incidental causes in race relations, or any race problems, now being offered to students in your institution? Or have such causes been offered in the past?
Please list courses and state number of students engaged in such study.

a. Are such courses credit courses? How much credit?
b. Are they incidental — correlated with other subjects? What subjects?
c. Will you mention some of the reactions of students to such study?

d. Any additional information as to anything else your institution may be doing in this field.

These question sheets were sent to the white colleges in May, and while a gratifying number of replies have been received, it is not now possible to give anything like a complete summary of what the white colleges are doing to study the problem of the negro race. It is possible to point out a few of the findings which seem quite significant.

1. A member of our subcommittee for Alabama and Mississippi writes: "It is rather interesting to find the women's colleges are giving more attention to this question than the men's colleges, especially the state institutions."

2. Reporting some results on graduate courses in race relations in the University of Mississippi, we have this: "The students give clear indications of a better and more intelligent attitude as a result of studying the background of some phases of present race relations."

3. Florida reports three colleges and Georgia six which give courses in race relations.

4. Seven colleges in South Carolina include race relations in sociology courses. . . .

5. In Virginia the University and twelve other colleges are offering various types of courses for the improvement of race relations. The contributions of the University are outstanding in this field, as are those of Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

6. Twenty-one institutions in North Carolina report some offerings of an inter-racial nature. The State University, Duke University and North Carolina College for Women have made significant contributions of many kinds.

7. In Maryland, Goucher College is rendering fine service in the improvement of race relations. Concord State Teachers College and Marshall College, West Virginia, are leading in this work in that state.
8. Newcomb College in New Orleans reports an article on "A study of Negro Aptitudes," by a member of its faculty. From Texas the report comes that five institutions are studying the problems of the Negro race. Most of the students are eager to see both sides of the problem; so the report from the University of Texas states.

9. Outstanding among all the institutions reporting are: (a) the University of North Carolina.- Members of the faculty and graduate students have produced approximately the following on some phase of the Negro race: Books - 25; Magazine articles - 27; unpublished manuscripts - 13. Besides these, many courses are offered each year dealing with some phase of the race question. (b) Duke University.- Graduates in the field of the Negro race - 8; undergraduate - 5; by faculty members - magazine articles - 15 or more.

This sketchy outline of the report received to this date indicates that more than sixty of the higher institutions for white people in the South are making some intelligent effort, many of them unusually fine efforts, to improve the interracial situation and the condition of the Negro in the South. Further efforts will be made to secure a more complete report.

It is of value to note here that one of the foundations has made an appropriation - a substantial one - to aid in promoting intelligent interracial studies in the higher institutions of learning in the South.

I might say that last summer the President of this great organization, Dr. Sutton, asked me to represent him at the convention of the Negro teachers at Petersburg, Virginia. It was a real experience to me to come before 500 Negro educators and many white ones also, all of them (probably because they were all leaders) well trained, some of them highly trained, and to listen to their discussions and to get the enthusiasm that they have, which was evident in this convention, to serve the world in the best possible way by solving their own problems.

This committee desires to report its activities further as follows:

1. That the National Education Association provide office room in its new building in Washington for a full-time secretary of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

2. That the National Education Association assist the latter Association financially in the employment of a full-time secretary over a period of five years, thus assisting the Colored Association to set up a program that will provide an opportunity for worthwhile leadership among the Negro schools of the country.
3. That the members of the National Education Association, strong and powerful body that it is, give their sympathetic cooperation and assistance to this Committee, both as individuals and as a body, in carrying forward the work undertaken by your Committee.]

Such a full report as the one given above certainly seems to indicate that the Committee was meeting with cooperation, in their efforts, from all sides.

Another report, made in 1932 at Atlantic City, seems equally as full and interesting; a portion of this report follows:

"At the meeting of the National Education Association in Minneapolis, July, 1926, both the Board of Directors and the Representative Assembly approved resolutions presented by this committee. Section 4 of these resolutions reads as follows:

"That the N. E. A. give its sympathetic interest and encouragement to the preparation of a motion picture which will describe on a factual basis the "History of Negroes in America.".............

This proposal has been discussed by our committee many times since then and repeated efforts have been made to get results.

At a meeting of the committee in Washington February 22, 1932, a further step was taken in this matter and the following resolution passed:

That a subcommittee be appointed to make a careful study of possibilities involved in the proposed motion picture on the "History of Negroes in America." This time the committee included in the scope of the work of its subcommittee this additional task: "To secure the rewriting of text books on American History to include facts about Negroes."

The subcommittee appointed to perform these services includes: Mr. S. L. Smith, Southern Director for the Rosenwald Fund, Chairman; Mr. W. T. B. Williams, dean of Tuskegee Institute; and Mr. Arthur D. Wright, president of the Board of Trustees of the Jeanes and Slater Funds.

1Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1931, pp.251-253.
The subcommittee appointed at Washington on February 22, 1932, ... is making the following brief report of progress:

1. Thru the good office of Mr. Will Hays, president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, we have gotten in touch with at least two large producers, and have had considerable correspondence with one of the leading producers and distributors who is offering valuable suggestions and seems willing to undertake the making of a picture episodical— in five or six reels, which would be so planned as to appeal to the theater goers of America, due to its informative nature, plus the abundance of worthwhile entertainment which could be interwoven in the story. . . . . .

The committee is now giving careful consideration to this phase of the program. When this is planned it would then be necessary to have a scenario prepared by a technician in this field, with the cooperation of all groups interested in Negro life and education. The committee has also had much encouragement from Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, a noted journalist and Miss Mary Beattie Brady of the Hesston Foundation. They have given much thought to this subject and each expresses a willingness to cooperate with the committee.

2. The committee has discussed the problem of having historians include notable achievements of Negroes and the race in text books of history on the same basis as achievements of other races are recorded, with a member of groups interested in Negro history and life, including Mr. Carter Woodson, director and editor of the Journal of Negro History, Mr. Charles Johnson, director of Social Service at Fisk University, Mr. Ulrich Phillips of Yale University, and others. Much study is now being made by various groups and individuals to provide means of furnishing supplementary reading in Negro life, not only for Negro schools, but for white schools and colleges. These groups seem willing to cooperate with this committee in efforts to see what can be done toward having the American historians include in all textbooks of history for the elementary, the high school, and the college, such notable achievements (if any) by Negroes as are worthy to go into history. Members of the committee have discussed this problem also with school officials who seem willing to cooperate in any way they can to carry thru the plans of the committee.

The committee has had two brief meetings since February to discuss the problems involved ... they are in agreement that with continued thoughtful efforts on the part of this committee, with the full
cooperation of the National Education Association and the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, as well as other groups ... something can and will be accomplished which will help in the solution of these problems.

A partial report ... was given at Los Angeles last July. Since then the study has been completed and published in the proceedings of a conference on "Education and Racial Adjustment" held at George Peabody College, Nashville, late in July 1931. Copies of this study ... show that more than one hundred white colleges in the South are studying the problems of the Negro race ....

That efforts be made to locate studies, particularly graduate studies that have been made or are now in progress on any phase of Negro education and health, and that these studies be examined (by a subcommittee) to determine if such studies are of sufficient importance to justify their publication by the United States Office of Education (or some other agency) for distribution throughout the country.

By direction of our full committee a subcommittee has been appointed "to study the question of discrimination in the use of Federal Funds for educational purposes." This subcommittee is composed of Mr. Leo M. Newst, Miss Mabel Carney, and Mr. W. W. Sanders. The committee has devoted considerable time and work to this study but can not report at this time.

This committee was really meeting with success and cooperation in their every undertaking; the cooperation of members of the association, as well as that of other individuals and groups who were interested in the work of this committee, was given.

The report for the year 1933 is none the less interesting and indicative of progress - part of this report will be given now.

Its (the committee's) main objectives are (1) to cooperate and encourage the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (2) thru subcommittees, to encourage studies in problems of Negro education and life and (3) to help promote inter-racial good will. This committee holds two annual meetings - one at the regular summer meeting of the National Education Association, the other at the February meeting of the Department of Superintendence.

Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1932, pp. 210-212
While tentative reports in progress of several of the subcommittees have been received only one or two are prepared in written form and included in this general report.

The subcommittee, working in cooperation with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, is doing what it can to help this important association of teachers keep going at reasonably satisfactory levels...but no formal report is filed.

The subcommittee to find out what white colleges and universities of the South are doing to promote wholesome interracial relations, reports that more than forty colleges sent representatives to George Peabody College in August 1933 for a three-day conference on this subject. R.R. Moten, principal of Tuskegee Institute, was invited to deliver an address to this group in conjunction with 2,000 teachers and public school administrators attending Peabody College. A similar conference is called to meet at Peabody in August, 1933, at which time very definite reports of what these colleges are doing will be made, including a source book and syllabus on Negro life and education for use in these white colleges.

The subcommittee to find out and secure the publication of important theses and dissertations that may contribute to the improvement of Negro education and health is doing effective work, but has no formal report at this time.

No definite report of the subcommittee to study the distribution of Federal Funds for Negro education is filed.

The subcommittee (1) to study what is included in...textbooks, and (2) to promote a moving talking picture...makes the following written report of progress.

The subcommittee appointed in Washington on February 22, 1932, was reappointed by President Joseph Robier in 1933, the present personnel being E. L. Smith, Chairman; Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, Arthur D. Wright of Washington, and W. T. B. Williams of Tuskegee Institute. The report of this committee follows under (a) and (b):

(a) The Negro in text books.—Before offering any specific suggestions the committee is attempting to encourage graduate students and efficient organizations to make careful studies to see to what extent this race is included in text books...adopted in Southern states for
basal and supplementary text books in elementary and high schools.

Thru a small grant from the Southern Interracial Commission, James O. Butler of Tennessee, a graduate student of Peabody College ... made a survey in 1933-34 and wrote his thesis for his master's degree on The Treatment of the Negro in Southern Textbooks. His study includes the examination of sixty textbooks now in use in fifteen Southern states. He has found that the writers of history do not ignore the Negro in American life, but that more space and attention are given to the Negro as a slave prior to 1860 than is devoted to the race as citizens and as a factor in modern life since 1860. Of the twenty-eight civil and problems of democracy textbooks examined, nineteen make no mention of the Negro.

Another graduate student of Peabody College majoring in problems of a dual system of education made a careful study of some textbooks used in upper elementary grades to determine to what extent the Negro is included. His findings are substantially the same as those of James O. Butler. During the past year, a committee of white and Negro educators under the direction of Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and Fred McCullough of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has been preparing a source book of the Negro, covering the various phases of his development and progress. The purpose of this source book is to supply authentic information and materials for use by instructors in white and Negro colleges in courses or discussions dealing with the Negro. Writers of future textbooks would find this source book most helpful in furnishing authentic material for integration into elementary and high-school as well as college text books.

The subcommittee proposes to encourage further research work on this subject the incoming year, including a careful examination of adopted readers and books of literature, music and art for elementary and high schools, and hopes to make a report on these at the meeting of the National Education Association in 1934. No specific recommendations will be made until the facts have been gathered and carefully analyzed by some of the ablest consultants available. In the meantime the committee hopes that school administrators, authors and others may give some thought to this subject and offer suggestions.

(b) Moving picture portraying Negro life in America.—The committee's progress report on this subject was made a year ago. Since that time the work has not developed much further, due to economic conditions.

In recent weeks the chairman of the subcommittee has renewed correspondence with the ... producers and distributors, and is encouraged over the outlook in this
The chairman has had conferences here in Chicago this week with one of the ablest consultants in educational moving pictures of America, who came from New York for this purpose. He offers important suggestions and seems willing to cooperate fully with the committee.

The subcommittee's greatest need in both of these projects is a small amount of money to help do the necessary preliminary studies.\(^1\)

It is quite evident that this committee was accomplishing much, and that their plans were meeting the approval of the association as a whole.

The 1934 report, which follows, shows that the interest and enthusiasm of this committee is being met with matched success.

Members of this committee have cooperated with a committee of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools in outlining some long time objectives for the further development of Negro education and life in America. Three of these objectives are as follows:

1. In the distribution of public tax funds and all other funds used for educational purposes, the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools urges that such distribution should be made on an equitable basis without regard to race.

2. We advocate the inclusion of stories of Negro life and history in school readers and general literature adapted for use in public and private schools so as to develop an appreciation of Negro life and of the race's contribution to civilization; and we urge the exclusion of all material used in the public schools that gives an unfavorable impression of or develops prejudice against the Negro race.

3. The overcrowded condition existing in many Negro schools, the insufficient number of teachers employed, the failure of many pupils to attend school because facilities are not provided for them, and the lack of sufficient buildings and equipment to accommodate Negro pupils in many states, are a menace to our democratic institutions........

The subcommittee has held three meetings this year and is submitting the following progress report.

1. The Treatment of the Negro in Textbooks. While the Subcommittee is not doing the research work, it is in touch with organizations, institutions and officials who

\(^1\) Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1933, pp. 203-205.
are giving much thought and attention to the study of textbooks now in use in the southern states..... Not all these studies are yet completed. The committee report a year ago included studies of about sixty textbooks of histories and civics and used in southern states. The studies now in progress include all textbooks in elementary and high schools.

At a conference on Education and Race Relations held at George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, August 1935, in which were represented State superintendents of education and members of their staffs, presidents of teachers colleges and universities of the South (representing about 50 white institutions), and other distinguished teachers and educators, the following recommendations were made by unanimous vote:

(a) That there should be taught in both white and colored schools such facts as "will promote good will, fair play, and a spirit of cooperation between the races". This recommendation had reference to units of teaching to be correlated with all public school subjects where possible.

(b) That "a book giving a faithful account of the contribution of the American Negro to the life of our country should be prepared and taught in all of our schools."

(c) That "each state department of education make a careful study of the public school textbooks in use in that state, with a view to such elimination and additions as may be necessary to the above end.

Following the passage of these resolutions, Robert Eleazer, of the Southern Interracial Commission, U. W. Leavelle of Peabody College and others have been in close touch with southern state departments of education and reported that much progress is being made by these states in studying carefully their own textbooks to see whether the Negro is fairly and adequately treated. Several graduate students are making studies on this subject as a basis for their theses and dissertations, some of which are yet incomplete. Just as soon as certain studies now under way are finished, the Committee will have access to the results, which it hopes to compile in a complete report for the next regular meeting of the N.E.A. with recommendations based on the factual materials.

Meantime a study of twenty history textbooks widely used in fourteen southern states reveals the fact that seventeen of the twenty leave the student in complete ignorance that Negroes have ever rendered the slightest patriotic service to the country and the other three give but the faintest suggestion of the facts; that only four Negroes were mentioned in the entire twenty volumes, two
two of them being leaders of slave insurrections. Only one book of the twenty mentions Booker T. Washington, and eighteen of the twenty make no reference whatever to the Negro's remarkable progress since emancipation.

The subcommittee has had correspondence with approximately twenty publishers of textbooks in America who offer full cooperation in the study and assure us of their willingness to give special thought to the subject in the publication of future textbooks and in the revision of existing texts. The president of one company states that he has "just recently had occasion to revise one of the company's readers in order to deal fairly and adequately with the colored race."

Since the textbook publishers of America offer full cooperation in this important problem and since many school officials are putting forth thought and efforts to see that adopted textbooks contain fair and adequate treatment of the Negro as well as other races.... this subcommittee urges all school officials and authors of textbooks in the United States to cooperate in the project.

A comprehensive Source Book on the Negro and Race Relations is being prepared by Charles S. Johnson.... This will be completed within the next few months. In addition.... the same member of the Subcommittee has prepared a fairly complete Annotated Bibliography of Books about and Negroes, which will be published by early fall.

Concluding this section, it may be stated that within the last ninety days, one southern State has adopted new textbooks for high schools in United States history, civics, sociology, economic and cooperative citizenship. A review of these new books compared with those used during the previous five years indicates that Negroes receive fairer, more just treatment in the recently adopted books than in those formerly used. This may be due to a better understanding of the subject by the authors themselves, and also, no doubt, partly attributable to a more tolerant, more enlightened attitude on the part of the southern people who use the textbooks under discussion in their schools. Further study will reveal more clearly what improvement, if any, has been made.

2. A Moving Picture Portraying Negro Life in America.-- A progress report of the Subcommittee.... was made to the N.E.A. in 1928, 1932, and again in 1935.... Within the past year the Committee has been in touch with a few of the large moving picture producers and distributors some of whom feel that there is great opportunity for producing a picture of this type, which might have box office appeal.
But up to the present no definite agreement has been made with any particular company.

The feasibility of an educational motion picture depicting Negro life is now being actually tested for its support by outstanding Negro artists and for its general popular appeal, based upon the artistic merit of such an undertaking. The plan at present contemplates the enlistment of the talent of various Negro composers, singers, writers, and artists whose contributions will be integrated under professional direction. The support of this idea has been so far, most enthusiastic, and further steps are being taken promptly to bring these plans to full maturity.¹

This committee has worked diligently and accomplished much, as can be readily discerned from their annual reports. The cooperation of many people and business concerns has been solicited and received by them in their tireless efforts; and there seems to be no doubt but that the Association, as a body stands wholeheartedly with them in their every undertaking.

The report of this committee for the year 1935, follows.

Meetings have been held once or twice a year and a report of progress has been filed with the Board of Directors of the N.E.AA. annually since the committee was created.

All sections of the nation are represented on this Committee, consisting of State Superintendent, state agents of Negro schools, college presidents and professors, high schools and elementary teachers, and members of philanthropic boards who are willing to give their thought and time in helping to promote, thru proper education, a better understanding among all groups in our population, and therefore a better interracial goodwill.

The Committee has held two meetings within the past year one at Washington in July and the other in Atlantic City in February.

In the past there have been occasional joint meetings of this Committee and a similar committee of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools at their annual meetings in August.

¹Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1934, pp. 200-203.
At the meeting of this committee in Atlantic City in February 1935, President Wilkinson of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools expressed a feeling that this type of cooperation is most helpful and requested that if possible, a still closer cooperation be effected. This might be brought about in part by having the president of each association appear on the program of the other, not only in the annual summer meetings but at the mid-year meetings also, including the Superintendence Convention of the N.E.A.

A special subcommittee of this committee was authorized at the Atlantic City Meeting, the duty of which it will be to report to the N.E.A. meetings outstanding interracial achievements in the country, including any educational developments of a notable character.

It is urgently requested by the committee that the incoming president of the National Education Association attend the meeting of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools in Tallahassee, Florida, from July 29 to August 1, 1935, or delegate some outstanding member to attend and address the conference.

The report the subcommittee on (1) the Treatment of the Negro in Text Books, and (2) Music and Picture Portraying Negro Life in America, was approved in principle at the Atlantic City meeting a part of it is given now . . . . . .

Since the last report of this subcommittee in July 1934 the members have continued to stimulate further studies of text books. R. B. Eclester, a new member of the committee added a year ago because of his interest in this study has examined twenty additional books of American history, now in use in the South, the results of which are published in a pamphlet by the conference on Education and Race Relations. . . . . .

Ullin Learell of George Peabody College . . . has prepared recently a new series of basal readers . . . which attempts to give as nearly as possible an adequate and proper treatment of social and economic problems as related to various minority groups in the American culture . . . . . .

This series of readers . . . has already been adopted for use in some southern states, according to reports.

It is the hope of this committee that other text book companies, publishers of books for general reading and for use in libraries will encourage more books of this nature for use by all racial groups.

The committee has been informed that at least one large city in the North and one in the East have recently discarded textbooks which the officials felt did not give fair treatment of Negroes. Others have asked the publishers to delete certain unfair material about Negroes.
In all cases of this kind the publishers have shown a cheerful willingness to cooperate.

While these studies of text books have been limited, so far, to Southern states, the committee passed a resolution recently requesting the chairman to contact state and city superintendents throughout the nation, asking them to cooperate in this important program. This will be done at an early date.

There are a number of studies yet incomplete in the southern states. It is hoped that a more comprehensive report may be ready for file by July 1936.

The subcommittee working on plans for an educational motion picture is now proceeding on a program which combines the objectives of social education with current art expression in music, design, and stagecraft. As primarily an educational venture, it is expected that it will have some commercial possibilities, thus reaching incidentally a wider audience.

Preparation of trial musical scores has begun and this has been accompanied by an increased interest on the part of producers of educational pictures which have commercial outlets.

The recent outstanding reception of certain sound pictures based upon aspects of the racial issue and Negro life gives added promise of the success of this venture. (Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University is giving much thought and time to this important project.)

The work of this committee for 1936, as shown in the above report has been equally as successful as that of any other year. The members of this committee seem to attack their problems and make their plans with enthusiasm and precision; their spirit must be contagious in a way, because of the success and cooperation with which they have met in all their efforts. If there has been any disappointment of their work or plans in this period, it has not been recorded.

Summary

The attitudes of the members of the Association, in this period, have been analyzed, recorded and grouped around five topics. The use of quotations has been made, wherever possible, to illustrate such attitudes.

*Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1935, pp. 156-159.*
1. **Universal Education for Negroes**—In this short period of five years, there were four resolutions passed in favor of universal education, and even though the word "Negro" does not occur in them, the expressions "to all," and "regardless of race" do appear, therefore, it seems safe to conclude the Negro was included in plans for universal education.

2. **Federal aid for Education of Negroes**—As in the plans for universal education, we find that in the requests for federal aid, the expressions "every child" and "all its children" are used; therefore we assume that the Negro was being considered, in this period, whenever federal aid was asked.

3. **Equal educational opportunities for Negroes**—In this period, we find the committee to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools had taken this as one of their main objectives. The association, as an organization, also passed two resolutions in favor of equalizing educational opportunities. There seems no doubt in our mind that the Negro was being considered when these resolutions were adopted, especially since the above mentioned committee had taken that as one of their objectives.

4. **Negro Speakers and delegates**—Only one Negro speaker was invited, in this period, to address the association members and we have every reason to believe that he was received by the entire body just as any other speaker. No mention was made of Negro delegates in this period, but no doubt there were many present especially, since we knew that some of the members on the committee to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, were Negroes.
5. The Work of the Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools—The work of this committee, in this period, has met with unusual success. The members of the Association, as well as the general public, have cooperated and supported them in their every endeavor. The committee, itself, seems courageous and dauntless, in the work and recommendations.
CHAPTER IX
Summary and Conclusions

It may be said that the attitude of the National Education Association toward the education of the Negro as has been found by this survey of sixty-four volumes of the proceedings of the association has been one of general interest. It was discovered that this interest was shown and expressed much more fervently and earnestly during the early periods of the association than during the later decades. It seems that the members of the early decades were much more anxious to consider the Negro as one of the citizen groups which had certain rights and for whose progress, they and the nation as a whole were responsible. Those early educators were far more courageous in expressing themselves, as to what they thought was right on any educational matters in which the Negro was concerned than are the white educators of later years.
But, even in the early days, there was very little real action by the association as an organization.

In the very first years of the association, there were several members who argued against universal compulsory education for any child; they seemed to think that education and its enforcement should be left to the parents. But even they were made to realize that such a policy would be detrimental to the ideals of society and of our country; and they, too, soon joined the ranks of those who were advocating universal compulsory education. There seemed to be no doubt, in the minds of those contending for compulsory education that the Negro was to be included in this general educational scheme, and whenever their attention was called to the fact that in some sections, he was being excluded, they unflinchingly said that such injustice should not be tolerated in democratic America. Early, we found that the majority of the association members were attempting to have some compulsory education
laws established but only one or two of them objected to leaving the enforcement of such laws to the states. At no time has the association taken a definite stand on the enforcement of the compulsory education law.

For a period of about twenty years, in the early life of the association, it was found that the majority of its members thought that the Federal Government should aid in the expense of common school education, especially in those sections where illiteracy was most prevalent; the illiteracy here referred to, was so often shown to mean that of the freedmen. From the last decade of the 19th century and almost to the end of the second decade of the 20th century, little was said or done concerning, National aid. From that time to 1935 the association as a body, stood in favor of national aid for education, but in 1935, one of the resolutions of the general body was in favor of relieving the Federal Government of this expense and of placing it squarely on the shoulders of the states. In 1935, however, the association, as a body, reaffirmed its stand for national aid. The attitude of the association in this respect, is reflected in three aspects as follows: (1) Federal aid with Federal control; (2) Federal aid with independent control of funds by state and Federal Government respectively; (3) Federal aid without Federal control.

In the first two decades of the life of the association, there were many members who were anxious to see that the work of the normal schools for Negroes was improved and that more normal schools were established; but little definite action was taken. In the first year of the 20th century, a plea was again made for the improvement and extension of normal schools for Negroes.

Beginning with the last decade of the 19th century and including the first year of the second decade in the 20th century, we found that
the majority of the association members, especially those from the South, were advocating industrial education for the Negro, with little or no academic training higher than that of the elementary school.

However, there were in the earlier years, a few members of the association who showed evidences of a broader and more democratic concept of education and who stood staunchly in favor of higher education for the Negro; there was, however, no such attitude expressed by the association as a body. Nothing has been said or done in recent years concerning the higher education of the Negro.

It was found that the Negro delegates and speakers at the association meetings were always treated in the same manner as any other delegates or speakers. Upon several occasions the reception of some Negro speaker was marked by vociferous applause. In recent years, fewer Negroes have been invited to address the association than in the earlier years. It is to be observed that upon most occasions, when a Negro addressed the body he was placed upon the program of the last general session, and there was little or no time left for a discussion of his speech. There is no doubt that, although they were not mentioned, there has been a much larger number of Negro delegates attending the association in the past ten or twenty years than ever before.

The "Race Problem" came up in discussions more frequently in the last decade of the 19th century and in the second decade of the 20th than at any other time. The association, as an organization, seemed to be interested in a rather remote way, in the "problem"; but the southern members of the association were usually the leaders in such discussions.

Rural education for the Negro, as separate from industrial education, interested the association members mostly in the last years of the 19th century. In the present decade, rural education for
the Negro, as a part of the entire rural population, has again been seriously considered.

Only in the first decade of the 20th century were the educational needs of the Negro, as such, discussed before the association, although some urgent needs were frequently mentioned when other educational phases came up for discussion.

The National Education Association as a body has not seemed to be very much in favor of the use of private aid as a means to promote education; its stand was taken firmly on the side of national aid and only upon a few occasions, in the first and third decades of the 20th century was any attention given to the discussion of the influence of private aid upon the education of the Negro. Almost all of such aid had been given in the establishment and maintenance of institutions of higher learning, except in the cases of the James, Slater and Rosenwald Funds, which were used largely for elementary education of Negroes.

The value of education for Negroes was sometimes mentioned in the earlier life of the association, but it was not until the latter half of the second decade, in the 20th century, that attention of the association was called to deliberate discussions of its value and importance.

Equalizing of educational opportunities for the Negro on a National basis was brought before the attention of the association only within the past fifteen years. It had been contended by some members, in the earlier years, that such a matter could not be left to the discretion of local or state authorities, but no definite statement by the body has been made regarding it.

As educational work among Negroes expanded in the last three
decades of the 19th century the general attention of the association was focused upon the South, particularly, and interest in the progress of Negro education was generally noted. In successive meetings many reports were rendered which showed that education, both cultural and industrial, was making many worthwhile citizens among the Negroes. Little which denoted progress was recorded in the 20th century.

In 1926, a committee was appointed by the Board of Directors of the National Education Association, whose purpose was to be to discover and help solve educational problems in colored schools. It was found that this committee could do more effective work if it cooperated with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; therefore, the committee was reorganized and renamed. Some of these people from both associations who were actively engaged in educational work among Negroes were appointed on this committee; and the work of this committee has been the means of calling the attention of the association to the many problems which face the teachers in colored schools. It has been the policy of this committee to formulate plans and enter activities which they desire that the association as a whole adopt and thereby declare its attitude in this respect.

In very recent years there have been indications of a revival of interest in the education of the Negro by the association; but those supporting the cause do not seem as forceful and fervent in their contentions as were the members in those earlier years of the existence of the association.

It may be noted, although beyond the scope of this study, that at the St. Louis meeting of the Department of Superintendence in 1936 there was considerable evidence of a strong revival of interest on the part of the officials of an interest in education for the Negro and
some show of a feeling of responsibility for its progress. At the final session of the meeting Edwin A. Embree, of the Rosenwald Board, who was on the program for an address on the subject made a courageous and impassioned plea for education of the Negro. There was some evidence that the address was well taken by the large audience present, but there is no doubt that Mr. Embree was given a dignified and respectful hearing.

The National Education Association is a powerful organization devoted to the interests of democratic education in America and in its fight for equal educational opportunities "for all the children of all the people" the problems of Negro education in American constitute a definite challenge whether or not the Association fully recognizes its obligation in this respect.
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