

THE NEW SOUTH
AND
HIGHER EDUCATION

A SYMPOSIUM AND CEREMONIES
HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE INAUGURATION OF
LUTHER HILTON FOSTER
FOURTH PRESIDENT OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

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The new south and higher education.

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THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

"The challenge . . . is to know, to seek, and to stand firm by those fundamental values which are essential to the good life."

LUTHER HILTON FOSTER

THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

What Are the Implications for Higher Education of the
Changing Socio-Economic Conditions of the South?

A Symposium and Ceremonies

Held in Connection with the Inauguration of

LUTHER HILTON FOSTER

Fourth President of Tuskegee Institute



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Introduction

On October 31 and November 1, 1953, ceremonies connected with the inauguration of Luther Hilton Foster as fourth president of Tuskegee Institute were held at the Institute. The planning committee for the ceremonies felt that on this historic occasion the institution, which has meant so much to the region, the nation and the world, should pause and examine critically the environment in which it must work, as well as the field to which it is devoting its services. For only in this way could proper direction continue to be given to the education of those who are to be the leaders of tomorrow.

So rapid have been the changes in many phases of southern life during the past ten to twenty years, it was considered appropriate to devote this occasion to analyzing and discussing these changes as bases for future planning. Prominent among the changes are the redistribution of the population, the reorganization of the economy, the extension of certain privileges of citizenship to members of America's largest minority group, and changes in attitudes and values.

The morning and afternoon of the first day, therefore, were given over to a symposium, "The New South and Higher Education." In the evening, the noted baritone, William Warfield, was presented in recital.

On the second day, the address at the Sunday morning chapel service, the inaugural address, and the inaugural statement of the new president further extended the theme of the symposium.

The presentations and discussions, by persons eminent in their respective fields, were factual and analytical and speak for themselves. They are not only significant for the educational program of Tuskegee Institute but for the programs of all educational institutions located in the region. They have meaning too for all of the people of the South, white and Negro, who live and work and hope and have a common destiny here.

Jessie P. Guzman, *Editor*
For the Inaugural Committee

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I

**SYMPOSIUM: THE NEW SOUTH AND
HIGHER EDUCATION**

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION IN THE NEW SOUTH

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The South of 1953 is different in many respects from the South of 1933.¹ This fact is generally appreciated. It is no longer news that the southern regions of the United States have been undergoing great social and economic changes. Specialists of all kinds have commented on it.

This transformation, so easy to see, is much more difficult to explain. Changes have come in such droves that it is difficult to interpret in a few concise principles exactly what is happening. Yet it is the task of the economist and sociologist to sense the direction and pattern that underlie great historic movements such as this. These social scientists should be able to convert a great mass of seemingly unrelated facts about change into an orderly and consistent pattern. Their interpretations should also be able to withstand the test of time. Perhaps the economist and sociologist can be forgiven if they too are a little bewildered at such flux. So far, they have been somewhat hesitant about announcing exactly where the South is going and what factors are setting the course.

Undoubtedly there are many points of view in terms of which the recent social change in the South could be summarized. Here is how a student of population could interpret the present situation in the South: The South is moving rapidly toward an industrial and commercial economy which is organized around cities and metropolitan centers. Although specialized agricultural production for inter-regional exchange remains a major part of the economy, its overwhelming influence is being modified, both in form and potency. (Cotton, like many monarchs these days, is king in name only and lives in exile in California.) These changes in economic and social organization are requiring the South's population to re-distribute itself in new patterns, to acquire new skills and to take

¹ This paper is based upon research completed as a part of the long range program of population distribution at Scripps Foundation. The funds for this research were granted by the Rockefeller Foundation.

on new characteristics. Evidence in support of this thesis is most easily presented in two sections, one dealing with population distribution and one dealing with population composition.

TRENDS IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE NEW SOUTH

Information leading to the conclusion that the South's population is organizing itself around cities and especially around metropolitan centers is contained in table 1. Between 1940 and 1950, the southern region as a whole grew at about the same rate as the nation. During this same decade, the urban population of the South grew much more rapidly than this,² while the rural-farm population suffered a very sharp decline. Such a combination of facts can only mean that there was a large redistribution of population within the region. In the South, for each three city dwellers in 1940, there were four in 1950. For each five farm residents in 1940, only four remained in 1950. This is truly a remarkable shift of people from farms to cities to occur within so few years. Because of this change, the South is rapidly losing its distinctively rural and agricultural character. It would take only a few years of growth at these rates to erase much of the previous differences in urban and rural composition between the South and the rest of the nation. In 1950, the South was almost exactly one-half urban and one-half rural. The rural population in turn was divided almost equally between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm (suburban and village). Hence, in the New South, the city population will out-number the rural, and the farm population will be one-fifth or less of the total population.

The growth of urban and rural-nonfarm population of the South has not been diffused evenly throughout the region, but has been concentrated in larger cities and their immediate environs. This may be verified by studying the central section of table 1. Standard metropolitan areas of the South grew much more rapidly than metropolitan areas grew in the nation as a whole. Nonmetropolitan areas grew comparatively little. However, at the end of the decade, the population of the South was still predominantly nonmetropolitan. But if the nonmetropolitan areas continue only to barely

² The definition of urban and rural population used in computing rates is the old (1940 census) definition. The new (1950 census) definition is used for the percentage distributions.

TABLE 1. MEASURES OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION IN THE SOUTH, IN COMPARISON WITH THE NATION

Characteristic	Percent change, 1940-50					Percent distribution, 1950				
	United States		The South			United States		The South		
	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Total	
Total population	14	19	6	11	100	100	100	100	100	
Urban*	20	30	29	48	64	49	39	56	56	
Rural-nonfarm	43	55	48	28	21	29	26	22	22	
Rural-farm	-24	-23	-23	-36	15	22	35	22	22	
Rural-farm Negro	-30	-25	-27	-41						
Standard metropolitan area	21	35	27	40	56	40	29	35	35	
Nonmetropolitan area	7	11	**	2	44	60	71	65	65	
Size of place					100	100	100	100	100	
50,000 or more	17	24	30	56	35	23	17	28	28	
25,000 to 50,000	19	52	59	44	6	5	4	4	4	
10,000 to 25,000	19	32	22	67	8	6	5	9	9	
5,000 to 10,000	22	53	50	37	5	5	5	7	7	
Under 5,000	10	12	-3	-11	46	61	67	52	52	

* 1940 definition of urban used in computing rate, 1950 definition of urban used in computing percents.

** Less than 0.5 percent.

maintain their present population while the metropolitan areas grow very rapidly, the South will be fully metropolitanized like most other parts of the nation in only a matter of two or three decades.

A study recently completed at Scripps Foundation disclosed that the current rate of metropolitan development in the South was faster than the rate at which the North developed its metropolitan centers.³ From this, it seems that the South is compressing into a few short years a social and economic change that required considerably more time to achieve in other regions.

Not all of the South's growth was concentrated around the larger cities, however. This may be seen in the lower section of table 1, where rates of increase are shown by size of place. The population living in smaller cities, having between 5,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, increased at rates well in excess of those for the rest of the nation. Since a large share of these smaller cities lies outside metropolitan areas, it must be presumed that small cities scattered throughout the nonmetropolitan areas were increasing in both number and size and at a fairly rapid rate. At first glance, this may not seem possible in view of the fact that nonmetropolitan areas had a low over-all rate of growth. Since the farm population is primarily located in nonmetropolitan areas, and since it was undergoing a sharp decline, the rapid growth of nonmetropolitan cities merely offset the losses in the farm population. The net effect was to produce an average rate of growth near zero.

To summarize: There is unmistakable evidence that during the 1940-50 decade (1) the South was urbanizing rapidly, (2) the new growth was concentrated around metropolitan centers, (3) numerous small cities were growing throughout the region, and (4) the farm population suffered an unusually big loss. All of these changes had the effect of causing the population of the South to be distributed by a pattern that more nearly resembles that for the nation as a whole.

This is only a quick and superficial way of summarizing the South's population distribution, however. It fails to answer such

³ Donald J. Bogue, *The Growth of Metropolitan Areas: 1900 to 1950, with an Explanatory Analysis of Urbanized Areas*. (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1953).

questions as, "Exactly where in the South are the areas of most rapid growth located? Where are the areas of greatest loss to the rural population?" Although complete and detailed answers would require a more lengthy explanation than can be given here, the broad outlines of some of these details can be sketched. To do so requires the introduction of a new system of regional delineation, recently developed at Scripps Foundation in cooperation with the United States Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics⁴. This is the system of economic areas. By this delineation, the Southern Province (corresponding to the South as defined by the Census Bureau) consists of four economic regions:

Region VII, Central and Eastern Upland Region

Region VIII, Southeast Coastal Plain

Region IX, Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast Region

Region X, South Central and Southwest Plain Region

Each of these regions is broken into smaller units called economic subregions. Each subregion, in turn, is composed of state economic areas. The state economic areas, which are the basic units of the system, are groupings of similar counties within each state. In this system, the standard metropolitan areas (in New England the county-equivalent of standard metropolitan areas) are recognized as separate state economic areas. Hence, there are two kinds of areas: metropolitan and nonmetropolitan.

Table 2 summarizes the rates of growth at which the metropolitan and the nonmetropolitan state economic areas grew in each of the four economic regions of the Southern Province. This table brings out in precise terms what most Southerners already know—that it was Florida and the Gulf Coast areas that gained population most rapidly in the 1940-50 decade. What may not be so obvious is that every economic area along the Gulf and Atlantic Seaboard gained population, from Brownsville, Texas, around to Charleston, South Carolina, and most of them gained at very rapid rates. The average rates of growth for metropolitan areas along

⁴ This system will be introduced and described briefly in a forthcoming monograph by D. J. Bogue, *The People of the United States at Midcentury: Trends in their Number, Distribution, and Composition*. It will be given a complete treatment in a monograph now in preparation in collaboration with Calvin Beale, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, who is co-author of the system of economic areas.

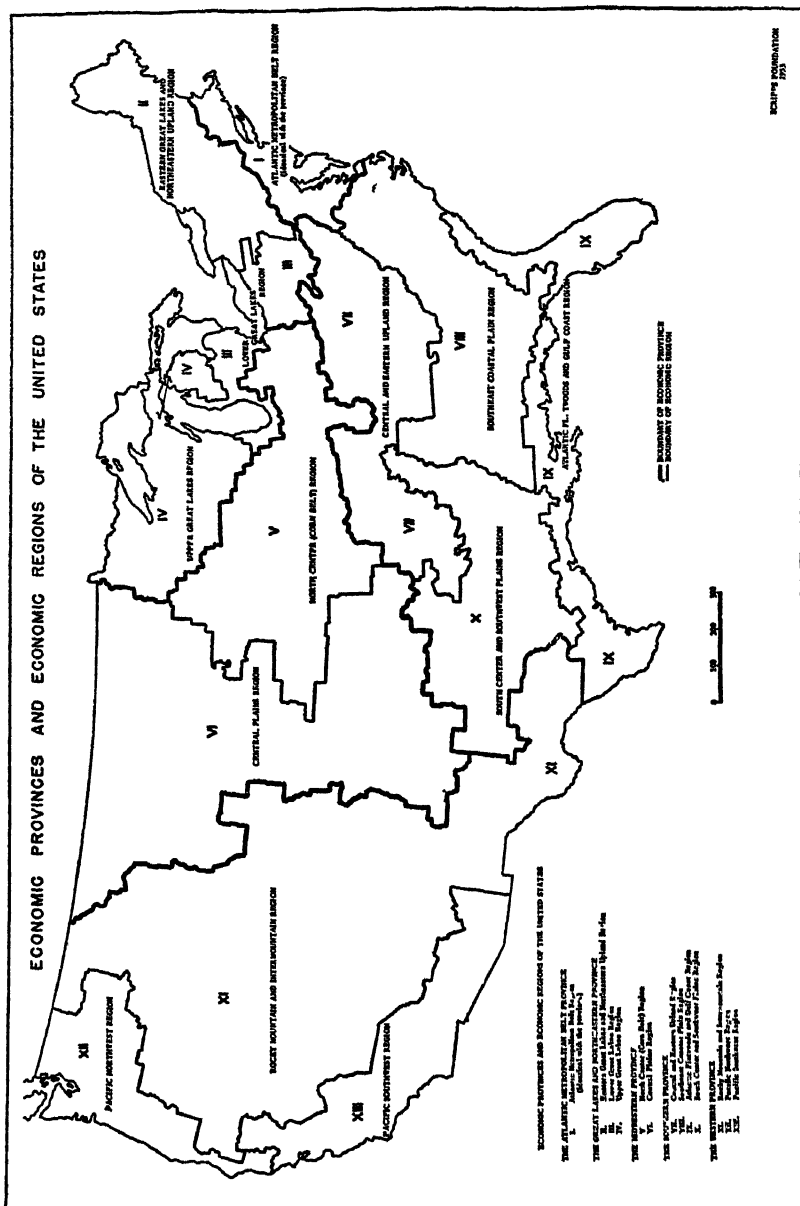


TABLE 2. PERCENT FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STATE ECONOMIC AREAS BY RATES OF POPULATION CHANGE, UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1940-50

Region	Median growth rate	Percentage of areas having the specified rate of change, 1940-50							
		All areas	-10 or less	-9 to 0	0 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 39	40 and over	
UNITED STATES, total									
Metropolitan	21	100	1	4	11	32	33	18	
Nonmetropolitan	5	100	6	27	33	18	8	8	
SOUTHERN PROVINCE									
Central and Eastern Upland									
Region VII									
Metropolitan	17	100	0	0	18	41	41	0	
Nonmetropolitan	-9	100	13	41	32	14	0	0	
Southeast Central Plain									
Region VIII									
Metropolitan	25	100	0	0	7	13	73	7	
Nonmetropolitan	4	100	7	26	38	24	5	0	
Atlantic Flatwoods and Gulf Coast									
Region IX									
Metropolitan	45	100	0	0	0	0	40	60	
Nonmetropolitan	25	100	0	0	12	35	23	29	
South Central and Southwest Plain									
Region X									
Metropolitan	40	100	0	0	0	17	33	50	
Nonmetropolitan	-5	100	29	42	21	4	0	4	

the coast were more than double those for the nation as a whole. The average rates for nonmetropolitan areas were about five times those for the nation. The nonmetropolitan area of the Gulf Region had an average growth rate as high as the average for metropolitan areas in the nation.

The second important fact to be derived from table 2 is that in the other three economic regions of the Southern Province, metropolitan areas also grew very rapidly—at an average well above that for metropolitan areas in the rest of the nation. Thus, the rapid metropolitanization of the South was not confined to any single part but occurred in all parts.

Third, except for the Gulf Coast Region, nonmetropolitan areas tended to lose population or grow very little. In Region VII more than one-half, and in Region IX almost three-fourths of the nonmetropolitan areas lost population. Some of these losses were very severe. For example, parts of the Ozark Plateau, the Ouichita Mountains, the eastern and western Highland Rim, central Oklahoma, eastern Texas, and western Arkansas had areas that lost 10 percent or more of their population. The rate of decline in the farm population in these counties was even higher than in other parts of the South. The areas mentioned are those parts of the South where farming conditions are poorest and where a high proportion of all farm families have lived at the subsistence level. Farm abandonment and conversion of cropland to grazing characterized these areas of poorer farming. Thus, the areas of population loss have been the areas of greatest economic hardship and least opportunity to gain an adequate livelihood.

But the losses and low rates of growth in nonmetropolitan areas were not confined to areas of poor farming resources. The Mississippi Delta, for example, lost farm population and made only a very small gain in its total population. Farm mechanization and farm consolidation tended to reduce the farm population in these better farming areas.

It is possible to examine the population trends in each economic region in terms of its subregional and state economic area parts. Agricultural, industrial, commercial and population data can be accumulated for each of these constituent areas. The evidence presented here is sufficient to establish the principle that it is a

mistake to think of the South as a single entity when trying to explain social and economic changes. There are many distinctive areas and sets of conditions within each economic region. The system of economic areas is an attempt to delimit these. A full explanation and a realistic appreciation of what is happening to the South would depend upon a careful study of changes in the individual parts.

One additional set of facts is required to complete the picture of population distribution and redistribution in the South. This is migration information. Table 3 reveals that in the ten years from 1940 to 1950 the South lost, through out-migration to other regions, an estimated 2.1 million persons. This is equivalent to 5.1 percent of its 1940 population. In other words, within the short period of one decade, the South suffered a net loss of one person

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED NET MIGRATION FOR STATES OF THE SOUTH, 1940-50

	Total net migration	
	Number	Percent
THE SOUTH, total	-2,185,000	-5.1
South Atlantic	73,000	0.4
East South Central	-1,285,000	-11.9
West South Central	-924,000	-7.1
<i>South Atlantic</i>		
Delaware	21,000	7.8
Maryland	270,000	14.8
District of Columbia	49,000	7.4
Virginia	169,000	6.3
West Virginia	-235,000	-12.4
North Carolina	-258,000	-7.2
South Carolina	-230,000	-12.1
Georgia	-290,000	-9.3
Florida	578,000	30.4
<i>East South Central</i>		
Kentucky	-366,000	-12.9
Tennessee	-143,000	-4.0
Alabama	-342,000	-12.1
Mississippi	-433,000	-19.8
<i>West South Central</i>		
Arkansas	-415,000	-21.3
Louisiana	-147,000	-6.2
Oklahoma	-434,000	-18.6
Texas	73,000	1.1

Source: U. S. Census Bureau, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 72, May, 1953.

in every twenty. As the preceding discussion would lead one to suspect, this loss was not evenly distributed. Florida enjoyed a very large net gain through migration. Texas made a small gain, probably much of it along the Gulf Coast. The states of the Upper South—Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia—also gained. All the other states of the lower South and the mountainous South lost population. Some of these losses were very large. For example, Arkansas, Mississippi and Oklahoma (which contain large areas of poor farming) lost about one person in five through migration. Alabama, South Carolina, West Virginia and Kentucky lost about one person in eight. It is probable that losses as severe as these have never before been suffered by these states. This unprecedented depopulation has at least four significant implications:

1. The metropolitan development and urbanization of the South is being accomplished primarily by people of the South — not through a great in-migration of urban people from other regions.

2. The areas of net out-migration are the more rural and non-metropolitan states. The process of urbanization, both in the South and in the nation as a whole, has led to a great depopulation of those parts where farmers were poor and only able to make a living at the subsistence level.

3. All population growth in the South resulted from the fertility of its own population. Birth rates have remained high in the South. As a result, fertility replaced the people lost through net migration. The rapid urbanization and metropolitanization of the population probably will lead to a lowering of southern birth rates as they have in the rest of the nation.

4. The rapid commercial, recreational, and industrial expansion in the Gulf and Atlantic Seaboard cities has attracted migrants from other regions (contrary to the general tendency noted in (1) above). The states with plus balances of net migration are those lying along the coastal areas of the South. The economic development of these areas appears to be attracting more migrants than are being lost. Probably a high proportion of these are technicians, specialists, professional and business people who possess special skills and bring in capital which helps build the New South.

TRENDS IN POPULATION COMPOSITION IN THE NEW SOUTH

The rapid urbanization and metropolitanization described before are reflected in the characteristics of the South's population. In general, these changes are in the direction of increasing the average educational level, increasing the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing, trade and service industries, increasing the number and proportion of workers in white collar and skilled occupations and raising the level of income in comparison with the nation. Table 4 presents the data upon which these findings are based.

Race and Nativity. As a consequence of out-migration, the Negro population of the South grew much more slowly than the white population between 1940 and 1950. A very high proportion of the net out-migrants to other regions were Negroes. Their arrival in unprecedented numbers in the major cities of the North and the West Coast is another of the great social changes since 1940.

As indicated by the fifth line of statistics in table 1, the Negro farmer led the exodus from the land. In each of the geographic divisions the rate of decline in the Negro rural-farm population was greater than the rate of decline in the white rural-farm population. A large proportion of Negroes departing from southern farms left the region entirely. This resulted in a lowering of the proportion of Negroes in the South's total population.

The foregoing discussion should not lead to the incorrect conclusion that all Negroes leaving southern farms and villages streamed into northern cities. The fact is that both the white and Negro population contributed to the building of urban centers in the South. The rate for Negroes is only moderately below that for whites.

Thus, in the New South the Negro citizens are a smaller proportion of all citizens than they were in the Old South. They are city dwellers rather than farmers in a higher proportion of instances.

In the nation, the foreign-born population declined between 1940 and 1950. This is a reflection of the curtailment of immigration since 1920 and the dying out of European immigrant groups. The South was unique in that its foreign-born population increased

TABLE 4. PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION WITH SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1940-50, AND COMPOSITION IN 1950; UNITED STATES AND DIVISIONS OF THE SOUTH

Characteristic	Percent change, 1940-50					Percent distribution, 1950				
	United States		The South			United States		The South		
	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central		
TOTAL POPULATION	14	19	6	11	100	100	100	100	100	
RACE AND NATIVITY										
Native white	17	22	10	14	88	74	80	76	80	
Foreign born white	-11	27	19	15	7	2	*	*	2	
Negro	17	8	-3	*	10	24	24	24	17	
Other races	21	58	108	-2	*	*	*	*	*	
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT—										
GENERAL POPULATION					100	100	100	100	100	
No school completed	-22	-20	-28	-10	2	3	3	3	5	
Grade school	-7	8	-2	*	44	51	58	58	48	
High school	50	58	48	34	37	31	28	28	33	
College	54	56	40	49	13	13	9	9	13	
Not reported					3	3	2	2	2	
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT—										
NONWHITE POPULATION					100	100	100	100	100	
No school completed	-24	-25	-31	-22	6	8	8	8	10	
Grade school	7	7	-7	-5	64	70	73	73	68	
High School	97	86	59	44	21	15	13	13	16	
College	94	84	65	48	5	5	3	3	4	
Not reported					4	3	3	3	3	
EMPLOYMENT STATUS					100	100	100	100	100	
Civilian labor force	12	16	3	9	53	52	50	50	50	
Employed	25	25	13	22	50	50	48	48	48	
Unemployed	-63	-59	-69	-68	2	2	2	2	2	
Not in the labor force	8	15	6	8	46	45	50	50	49	

TABLE 4. PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION WITH SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1940-50, AND COMPOSITION IN 1950;
UNITED STATES AND DIVISIONS OF THE SOUTH (CONTINUED)

Characteristic	Percent change, 1940-50					Percent distribution, 1950				
	United States		The South			United States		The South		
	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central		
MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP										
Agriculture	-17	-19	-25	-31	100	100	100	100	100	
Mining	2	18	8	37	12	17	27	20	3	
Construction	66	74	70	107	2	2	3	3	8	
Manufacturing	38	30	43	59	26	22	18	13	13	
Transportation	41	47	44	58	8	7	6	8	8	
Trade	40	58	54	50	19	17	15	20	20	
Finance	30	50	47	50	3	3	2	3	3	
Business services	58	77	72	62	2	2	2	2	2	
Personal services	-12	-8	-12	-7	6	8	7	8	8	
Entertainment services	32	48	63	46	1	1	1	1	1	
Professional services	42	56	54	53	8	8	7	8	8	
Public administration	77	97	77	109	4	6	3	4	4	
Industry not reported	15	80	56	49	2	2	2	2	2	
OCCUPATION—MALES										
Professional and technical	43	54	46	53	100	100	100	100	100	
Farmers and farm managers	-16	-14	-20	-30	7	6	5	6	6	
Managers, officials, and proprietors	34	48	36	36	10	13	24	16	16	
Clerical and kindred workers	29	38	38	44	11	10	8	11	11	
Sales workers	15	32	29	44	6	5	4	5	5	
Craftsmen and foremen	50	66	65	82	6	6	5	6	6	
Operatives	35	38	46	61	19	17	14	16	16	
Private household workers	-36	-46	-50	-66	*	*	*	*	*	
Service workers, except household	21	28	24	26	6	5	4	5	5	
Farm laborers, unpaid family	-37	-31	-37	-55	2	3	4	2	2	
Farm laborers, paid	-26	-32	-32	-31	3	5	5	6	6	

TABLE 4. PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION WITH SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1940-50, AND COMPOSITION IN 1950; UNITED STATES AND DIVISIONS OF THE SOUTH (CONTINUED)

Characteristic	Percent change, 1940-50						Percent distribution, 1950					
	United States			The South			United States		The South		The South	
	Total	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	South Atlantic	South East Central	Total	South Atlantic	South East Central	West South Central	West South Central	
Laborers, except farm and mine	10	3	7	28	10	8	10	88	10	10	1	
Occupation not reported						1	1	1	1	1	1	
OCCUPATION—FEMALES												
Professional and technical	30	42	35	35	11	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Farmers and farm managers	-23	-37	-35	-36	1	12	11	12	12	13	13	
Managers, officials, and proprietors	74	99	90	85	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	
Clerical and kindred workers	82	105	109	127	27	27	22	19	25	25	25	
Sales workers	64	96	94	88	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	
Craftsmen and foremen	93	100	109	180	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Operatives	50	43	57	92	19	19	20	18	10	10	10	
Private household workers	-32	-24	-28	-28	8	8	14	15	13	13	13	
Service workers, except household	56	77	88	82	12	12	11	12	15	15	15	
Farm laborers, unpaid family	42	-2	-46	-13	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	
Farm laborers, paid	34	2	4	13	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Laborers, except farm and mine	20	11	19	60	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Occupation not reported	64	70	114	96	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	

* 0.5 or less

quite rapidly between 1940 and 1950. Traditionally, the foreign-born have been an extraordinarily small part of the total population of the South. This recent increase is due to the immigration of people of Mexican ancestry and to some refugee peoples from Europe.

Educational Attainment. A rise in the average level of educational attainment was one of the greatest of the recent transformations in the South. The statistics of table 4 show the proportion of persons 25 years of age and older who had completed various amounts of schooling. These data show that the number of people with no formal education at all was greatly reduced. The number with some high school or college education was increased by one-third to one-half. Obtaining at least the equivalent of a full grammar school education has now become an accepted standard throughout the South. Since 1940, a higher proportion of students have attained or surpassed it than ever before.

The level of educational attainment climbed much faster for the South's nonwhite population than for the white. The number of nonwhite Southerners with some high school or college education increased faster than for white Southerners in all geographic divisions. Thus, in the New South the Negro has lessened, and is continuing to lessen, the educational gap between himself and the rest of the population. Although southern Negroes still have only about one-third the proportion of college graduates and less than one-third the proportion of high school graduates compared to the general population of the nation, the difference will rapidly diminish if present trends continue. This will be accomplished by the passing away of older generations whose educational opportunities were severely limited, and their replacement by younger generations that have been given more and better educational opportunities.

In analyzing the educational attainment of southern populations, and especially of southern Negroes, the migration factor should be kept in mind. The great number of out-migrants tends to select the better educated people of the South and to deposit them in other regions. Raising the average educational level of the South's people requires an extraordinary effort to overcome this loss through migration. For the South to lose so much of its population through out-migration and still show a sizeable rise in the average

educational attainment is a remarkable achievement. The fact that the new urban and metropolitan centers now provide better opportunities for the more educated young people than formerly is undoubtedly a factor in the South's ability to do this.

Industrial Composition. The redistribution of population described earlier has been accompanied by a change in the industrial composition of the South. The number of persons employed in agriculture and personal services has declined sharply, while the number employed in manufacturing, transportation, trade, and services (except personal) has increased rapidly. Although this same pattern was characteristic of the nation, the South showed it in an intensified form. Hence, the driving force behind the exodus from farms and the building up of cities was the expansion of old industries and the addition of new ones. During this decade, the South's manufacturing and commercial expansion provided employment that previously had not been available.

Occupational Composition. In keeping with the change in industrial composition, there was a marked change in the South's occupational composition. The number of men employed as farmers, farm laborers, or servants declined sharply. The number engaged as white collar and skilled workers increased at very rapid rates. For most white collar and skilled occupations, these rates are higher than in the nation as a whole. Women workers have experienced a similar change. Thus, in the New South, a higher proportion of workers are professional people, businessmen, clerks, craftsmen, and public servants. A lower proportion are unskilled laborers, servants to families and farmers. Table 5 compares the rate of increase of white and Negro workers in each of several specific occupations. This table shows that Negroes expanded their membership in many new fields, although the picture is still a discouraging one when the high proportion of Negroes in the lower-paying and more menial occupations is compared with the proportion of whites in these occupations. Yet the fact should not be overlooked that in some areas more occupational progress was made in the 20 years between 1930 and 1950 than in the 60 years from 1870 to 1930.

Income Composition. In the New South, the income level is higher than ever before. Table 6 shows that the median income of

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF RATES OF INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS, THE SOUTH, 1940-50

Greater gain for Negroes		Greater gain for Whites	
Men	Women	Men	Women
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS			
Architects	Artists and art teachers	Authors, editors, reporters	Actresses
Artists and teachers	College professors and instructors	Clergymen	
Designers and draftsmen	Designers and draftsmen	Dentists	Authors, editors, reporters
Civil engineers	Lawyers and judges	Musicians and music teachers	
Electrical engineers	Librarians	Physicians and surgeons	
Mechanical engineers	Musicians and music teachers		
Lawyers and judges	Nurses and student nurses		
Pharmacists	Social and welfare workers		
Social and welfare workers	Teachers		
Surveyors			
Teachers			
MANAGERS, PROPRIETORS, AND OFFICIALS			
Managers, etc.	Managers, proprietors, officials		
Manufacturing industries			
Construction			
Eating and drinking places			
Other managers			
CLERICAL, SALES, AND KINDRED WORKERS			
Mail carriers	Stenographers, secretaries, typists	Insurance agents	
Real estate agents	Telephone operators		
	Other clerical workers		

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF RATES OF INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS, THE SOUTH, 1940-50 (CONTINUED)

Greater gain for Negroes		Greater gain for Whites	
Men	Women	Men	Women
CRAFTSMEN AND FOREMEN			
Bakers		Boilermakers	
Cabinetmakers and pattern makers		Carpenters	
Compositors and type-setters		Locomotive engineers	
Electricians		Firemen	
Foremen		Structural metal workers	
Masons			
Mechanics, repairmen			
Metal molders			
Painters, paperhangers			
Plasterers			
Printing craftsmen			
Shoemakers			
Tailors and furriers			
OPERATIVES			
Apprentices	Operatives, manufacturing	Brakemen and switchmen	Dressmakers and seamstresses
Linemen, telephone and telegraph		Power station operators	
Mine operatives		Manufacturing, operatives, motor vehicles, transportation equipment	
Painters			
Welders and flame cutters			
Manufacturing operatives			
Stone, clay, glass			

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF RATES OF INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS, THE SOUTH, 1940-50 (CONTINUED)

Greater gain for Negroes		Greater gain for Whites	
Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary metals			
Machinery			
Food			
Knitting and other textile products			
Apparel			
Paper and paper products			
Chemicals			
Leather and leather goods			
SERVICE WORKERS, EXCEPT DOMESTIC			
Barbers	Barbers, beauticians	Janitors, porters	Cooks
Firemen	Charwomen, janitors	Cooks	Practical nurses
Policemen	Housekeepers	Elevator operators	
	Waitresses	Waiters, bartenders	

NOTE: The occupations listed here are those for which the data from the 1940 and 1950 censuses are readily comparable. It is not a complete list, and fails to include some occupations for which important changes have taken place.

southern wage or salary workers increased more rapidly than the median income of similar workers in the nation generally. Although the median income of the southern workers was only 78 percent as large as that of all workers, it appeared to be a significant improvement over the situation prior to 1940. Between 1940 and 1950, the people of the United States enjoyed a great improvement in their level of living. The very fact that workers of the South were able to enjoy a level of living increase that was proportionately as large as that for the rest of the country is in itself important.

An interesting detail of table 6 is that working women of the South draw a salary that is more nearly equal to that of all workers of their sex than do southern men. Moreover, they made more progress in wiping out the differences between their pay and that of their counterparts in other regions than did the men. In the New South the employment opportunities for people of both sexes have increased in number, variety, desirability and pay. The gains for women workers probably have been even greater than those for men.

IMPLICATIONS

When taken together, the evidence presented seems adequate to support the thesis of this paper; namely, "The South is moving rapidly toward an industrial and commercial economy which is organized around cities and metropolitan areas. This change in economic and social organization is requiring the South's population to redistribute itself in new patterns and to acquire new skills and take on new characteristics." If this conclusion is correct, it

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED MEDIAN INCOME, 1950 AND CHANGE IN MEDIAN INCOME, 1940-50, OF EXPERIENCED WAGE OR SALARY WORKERS, UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH

	Median income in 1949		Change in median income 1939-49		Percent change in median income 1939-49		Ratio of South to United States	
	United States	The South	United States	The South	United States	The South	1949	1939
Both sexes	2282	1772	1415	1184	163	184	.78	.72
Male	2637	2056	1643	1372	165	201	.78	.69
Female	1570	1328	933	857	146	182	.85	.74

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II. Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, U. S. Summary, Chapter C, Tables 144 and 166.

has a great many immediate implications for higher learning in the South. Although these implications lie within the realm of administration rather than research, it may not do harm to attract attention to some of them. Probably all have been stated before, although they may take on added significance when reviewed in the light of the preceding description of recent trends.

1. The fact that the citizen of the New South is more likely to be an urban and a white collar or skilled worker means that he must also be a better educated worker. An increasing proportion of employees will be required to have a high school or a college certificate. Now that mechanized and scientific farming is invading the South, workers in agriculture as well as other industries must be more highly trained. The population changes may be taken as valid arguments for renewing the effort to wipe out the educational differences that still remain between the South and the rest of the nation.

2. Educational programs may need to be reviewed and revised continuously to conform to the changing occupational composition of the South. The recent decades have brought new types of industries and jobs to the South that were not there before. An increasing number of different occupations are becoming available to Negro workers. As these changes occur, young workers with the proper qualifications and training should be ready to fill them. By keeping its program oriented toward changing employment needs, the South's educational system can maximize its contribution.

3. The rapid urbanization and metropolitanization of the population will undoubtedly create new problems of race relations in the South. From the ancient days to the present the city has been the melting pot of peoples and ideas. Ethnic groups that had been in direct conflict when occupying separate territories as nationals have reached an adjustment gradually with each other as residents of the same city. They have shown that it is possible to evolve a culture which permits both groups to participate in the economy and obtain benefits that neither possessed before. The city has been infamous, however, for relegating minority groups to ghettos, where hardships may be as bad or worse than those suffered as serfs on the land.

A temporary ghetto phase may be inevitable in the South's de-

velopment. If only a passing aspect of a total change, it probably would have some advantages. For all its evils and hardships, the ghetto can provide a higher level of education than its residents could attain if scattered over the land. By pooling the purchasing power and economic needs of its residents, it permits enterprising members to establish businesses and industries that serve the ghetto community. This provides an entrance into occupations and industries that previously were not open to them.

The universities of the South may well consider what their role will be in serving the urban poor. Until now, much of their work has been to help the children of the cropper; in the future they will have an increasing need to help the children of the slum. If permanent Negro ghettos are not to become a part of the social and physical structure of American cities, higher education must work overtime at the task of combating them.

4. All of the changes described in this paper are such as will make the economy of the South more nearly resemble that of the nation. In interpreting these changes, however, the mistake should not be made of concluding that all unique aspects of the South will disappear. There is much sociological evidence to prove that a culture can change and adapt to new conditions while retaining many of the local customs and traditions. Cultural differences between Boston, Fort Worth, Miami, Atlanta, and Los Angeles need only to be recalled to realize this fact. Thus, the emergence of the New South does not mean the disappearance of a distinctive southern culture in American life. Southern universities, like other social institutions of the South, will reflect this fact.

5. One effect of the recent changes is to bind the South closely to the economy of the rest of the nation. This should not be taken as proof that the cities of the South will be transformed into replicas of Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, or Omaha, however. Nor will a high proportion of the rural areas be transformed into broad, fertile, tillable fields like the Corn Belt. The physical setting within which the southern economy must develop remains essentially unchanged, except as it is modified by technological advance. Large deposits of ores and precious metals do not yet seem to exist in the South. Crops must still be grown on Piedmont, coastal plain, and mountain soils in much of the area. Temperatures, rainfalls, and hillside

slopes are unaltered. The nations which are most accessible to the South for international trade have different characteristics from nations facing the Northeast across the Atlantic Ocean. For these reasons, the economy that will be built in the South will not be an exact copy of the economy of any other region. Metropolitanization and urbanization do not connote economic uniformity any more than they require cultural uniformity. In training scientists, businessmen, and economists, it should be kept in mind that the South's changing economy must utilize available resources in terms of the current market, using the latest and best techniques developed for this purpose.

6. Finally, and perhaps most important, there is need for the schools of the South to renew their programs of scientific research, especially in the fields of social science. It is doubtful whether the changes that have come and are coming to the South could be reversed, even if a reversal is desired. But these changes do not necessarily mean Utopia, either for white or Negro residents. It is a basic moral conviction of most scientists that the maximum benefits are obtained when decisions are made with knowledge and understanding, rather than in ignorance. Because many of the problems of the New South will be human problems, and will involve matters of gaining a livelihood and social organization, it seems only reasonable that they can be solved more easily if the fund of economic and sociological knowledge about them is increased.

DISCUSSION

RUPERT B. VANCE

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to visit Tuskegee again. It is always worthwhile to come here and I hope that I can keep on coming back. I want to compliment Donald Bogue's paper by telling him that I have "never had it so good." He has provided the facts and the figures and left me free to speculate, to fly around in the stratosphere and say anything I think of in terms of interpretation and application. Usually, I have to substantiate what I have to say, but this time he has done it for me.

We are in the midst of large scale population redistribution. The main news about the southern people then is urbanization; and urbanization is happening in the South for the same reasons that it has happened elsewhere. To quote: "The South is moving rapidly toward an industrial and commercial economy which is organized around cities and metropolitan areas. This change in economic and social organization is requiring the South to redistribute itself in new patterns, to acquire new skills and take on new characteristics." This is the thesis of Professor Bogue's paper and it is well supported by capable analysis.

In changing its way of life, the South is moving away from its poorer farming areas and it is securing more of the means to support its cultural and material life. This new life demands a firm basis of economic support and in some respects we can raise the question of whether the South is moving its poverty from rural areas to urban areas. The problem changes but the problem remains.

The South, as Rudolf Heberle says, has not been a "heart land of modern capitalism"; it developed as one of the frontier provinces of the Euro-American economic system. This development has taken place within the period of High Capitalism—to use Werner Sombart's phrase—but the South was not an area of high economic development. The region's future status is to depend on the position it assumes within the structure of a complex economy.

To use Dr. Bogue's own phrasing, the South is moving toward a sub-dominant position in our national economy. This will be a move upward in the scale, involving a shift in occupations from extractive to industrial and white collar employment. Dr. Bogue has been very kind to the South and its development for he has based his analysis on our rates of change, not on the comparative status of the region. Ever since I cut my eye teeth on percentages, it seems the South has been changing at a faster rate than anywhere else. The point is this region lives in very fast company. The South today has to run extremely fast to stand still. In relative status of well-being, the South has a deadly figure—a critical ratio or a kind of supersonic barrier to pass. That figure is 66% percent of the national average. Since income is so important, I shall take an illustration here.

North Carolina is sometimes taken as a state which represents the changes occurring in the New South. Today (1952) it has a per capita income of \$1,049 as compared with only \$309 in 1929 and \$316 in 1940. Here is an increase of 239 percent from 1940 to 1952. But North Carolina ranks 45th among the states and has an income per person only 64 percent of the national per capita. New York increased 81 percent in this period but North Carolina's income is a little over one-half New York's per capita. Worst of all to Tarheel pride, South Carolina has passed North Carolina, largely because of the Savannah River Development. We hope to resume our position in the league as soon as construction is finished. Incidentally, Alabama is below North Carolina and is kept off the bottom by Arkansas, my native state, and Mississippi—which has remained statistically speaking—the “worst American state” since H. L. Mencken turned his attention to these matters in the early 1920's.

The South is devoted to mechanization, industrialization, and urbanization. The drive for new plants and new capital has assumed the proportions of a holy war. As an underdeveloped area with a low tax basis, the South has political leaders and social scientists who feel it must secure the economic basis on which to base the welfare, security and educational programs demanded by modern society.

I think my task here is to ask to what relative status in the

nation may our people aspire—realizing that Dixie can never stop running if it hopes even to stand still.

In the main, the structure of regional, economic, occupational and metropolitan dominance is already laid down in this country and the South is not going to overturn it or dismantle it. I know New England will not agree with this point of view but I will say that the textile industry is the only one the South can dismantle, regionally speaking. It could not repeat this undertaking so easily today at the South's prevailing level of wages. Here, however, I had best make a concession: I have not yet defined textiles. Many feel that the South is duplicating in hosiery, in rayon and nylon what it did in cotton textiles. One even hears rumbling that woollens are to come next. There is, of course, an answer. If the South's people had advanced their skills and incomes to the highest level, they would now be invading some other industry than textiles, no doubt.

Southern cities will develop and will come to occupy an important and respectable place in the national structure. They will not challenge—short of atomic destruction—the New York-Chicago axis, nor will the South duplicate even in its fastest growing area—the Gulf Coast—the phenomenal growth of the Pacific Coast.

Agriculture is now supporting fewer people but it is supporting them at higher levels. Instead of the ragged share croppers, we are becoming used to the skilled operators of tractors and complicated agricultural machinery—men who draw good wages and have more security because they are indispensable. Where these changes have not come, we still have poor owners working poor land with inadequate tools. Even here there is less determining reason why the sons of croppers and poor farm laborers should follow the lot of their fathers. Selective service, industrialization, northern and southern cities have pulled them away and should have carried more. Education is still not sufficient to enable them to realize on opportunities elsewhere but it is often sufficient to make them migrate—and that is a beginning.

The problem of tenancy seems to have been forgotten by the public and this may be unfortunate. The resettlement and farm security agencies have been liquidated and farmed out to other groups. This seems to have met with public apathy, if not with ap-

proval. To some degree, this is the measure of the extent to which these problems have been superseded and changed. But there are still people caught in this economic backwater and we can help them to move, or at least help their children. The young people are the best bet; they can do something else before they get set in the mould of tenancy. The agriculture left by the dethronement of King Cotton is bigger and stronger but it does not support many people.

May I conclude by saying that I do not think the South is any longer to make its way by making what we call "a poor mouth." I know all Southerners will understand what the phrase means. We used to do that as a kind of measure of our needs, as a poor relative of the nation—a measure of what we were going to get, if we could just show how bad off we were. I am sure of this: New England does not want to hear any more about the "poor South" and how bad off it is. They do not believe a word of it; in fact, they have been tired of hearing about "Problem Number One" for a long time. Maybe the whole country does not want to hear any more of this. I think the nation now would like to hear what the South can do for the rest of the country in terms of production, of efficiency and in terms of the contribution we are making. We are competing more and more in every area, thus proceeding toward a more complete integration with the nation.

It goes without saying that the South's concern is with the new distribution of occupations, of income, of levels of living in this new setting. If the southern migrants are to pile up at the foot of the economic pyramid in unskilled and over-crowded positions, they will have exchanged rural poverty for urban poverty and we and the nation will be worse off than we were in the beginning. Only in the capacity, training and ability of our people can we meet the test of efficiency. To this point of view we are committed both as teachers and as social scientists. But we have one great difficulty with us—and I for one will have to close without offering a solution here.

There exist individuals and groups in our population to whom this test of ability has never been applied. Without trial and without test, portions of our population are excluded from certain industries and occupations simply because "this work is not custom-

arily done by Negroes." It is a paradox that the Negro in the South has made more political progress in the last twenty years, I believe, than economic progress. I do not think that we expected this. Actually, we expected that more gains in economic participation would follow gains in education. But in terms of cracking the occupations, industrial and service, that Negroes could reasonably be expected to enter, the picture has not been encouraging. And as long as this continues, it will force the Negro to migrate out of the South. But migration is not the whole answer. He finds this pattern exists outside the South also. This pattern itself has to be changed. The one thing the Negro needs above all else is to have the chance to get into the whole range of employment according to his abilities and capacities as a producer. This means breaking a whole mould of custom. It is here that the Negro is now able to advance if given the chance. This chance is due him as a person and as a citizen.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY

BENJAMIN U. RATCHFORD

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Ladies and Gentlemen: It is indeed a pleasure to be here today to help celebrate the inauguration of President Foster and to participate in this discussion of "The New South and Higher Education." On an occasion like this, which is a milestone in the educational and cultural history of this state and region, it is eminently fitting and proper that we should pause to survey the role which higher education is playing in the life of the region which it serves. If higher education is to meet its obligation to society, it cannot be planned and conducted in a vacuum. It must not only keep abreast of changes in its environment, but it must also anticipate those changes so that it can train the leaders who will be wrestling with the problems of tomorrow. Since we have no crystal ball to delineate precisely those problems of the future, we must do the best we can by noting carefully the direction in which we are moving. By projecting our progress along that path, we may gain some idea of the kind of a society we will have in the future and the problems its leaders will have to face.

I shall attempt to sketch for you briefly the major changes which have been going on in the southern economy in recent years and to discuss some of their implications for the future.

In order better to understand the changes which have been taking place and to perceive the direction in which we are moving, it is necessary to note the situation from which we started some twenty-five years ago. In the late 1920's, we were not acutely aware of our poverty and low income, perhaps because we had lived with them so long. But, in reality, we were far behind the rest of the nation in any comparison of economic welfare. Our per capita income was less than half that enjoyed by the rest of the United States. Our public schools, our highways, our housing and our diets were far below national averages and often below the level of decency. Although we had more than a fourth of the country's population, our banks held less than 10 percent of the nation's banking resources.

It is not necessary to prolong this list of the measures of our poverty because it has become well known. One thing we did have in abundance; that was manpower, poorly educated and poorly trained though much of it was. Especially did we have an abundance of children; with 15 percent of the nation's income, we had over 30 percent of the country's children of school age. That meant that even the very low level of education which existed was a heavy financial burden. Other assets which we had, although largely unexploited, were our water, our fast growing crop of timber, our climate and our reserves of oil and gas. Technological developments of the past twenty years have greatly enhanced the value of these assets.

Reasons for our low level of wealth and income twenty-five years ago were not hard to find. The South was more dependent on agriculture than any other major region of the country and that agriculture was the most inefficient and the least productive in the nation. In 1930, almost half of the southern population was classified as rural farm. Generally, those people were poorly educated and poorly trained and they had the barest minimum of tools and equipment. Most of them placed their dependence upon one of the two major cash crops of the region which required no work during several months of the year. In that way, they failed to take advantage of the mild climate and the long growing season which were two of the region's major assets.

The soils of the South had been mined by decades of row crops, requiring heavy outlays for commercial fertilizers. The farm products were sold in the competitive markets of the nation and the world, where demand fluctuated widely. There were no tariffs to afford protection and no marketing arrangements to stabilize prices. On the other hand, the southern farmer made many of his purchases in markets protected by tariffs and where prices were stabilized by monopolistic and semi-monopolistic practices. The result was that in many years he suffered from what the economist calls unfavorable terms of trade; he was at a disadvantage in exchanging his products for the things he had to buy. It is no wonder that to many people the outlook for the southern farmer appeared hopeless.

On the industrial side, the South had relatively little manufac-

turing and that was mostly of simple and elementary types which required little capital to establish and little skill to operate. More than a third of all industrial employees were in textiles. These simple types of industry too operated in a highly competitive field where demand fluctuated widely. They usually paid low wages and their profits, while high in some years, were very unstable. Southern industry consisted mainly of a group of factories which concentrated on the cruder and more elementary stages of processing, leaving the more complex and difficult stages of processing and the finishing to be done outside the region. It was heavily dependent on outside aid in the financing, management and marketing aspects of its work. It had done little to build up the vast and complex structure of auxiliary and supporting services which is necessary to an autonomous and independent industrial system.

The low incomes in the basic fields of agriculture and manufacturing did not permit any extensive development in the fields of trade, services, construction, transportation, public utilities and government. As a result, employment and incomes in those fields remained low.

In the quarter of a century since the late twenties, the South has made enormous economic progress. Per capita income has more than trebled. Even after adjusting for higher prices, that represents almost a doubling in real income. Our per capita income is now about 65 percent of that of the rest of the country instead of less than half, which is another way of saying that our income had risen much faster than income in other parts of the nation. In the same way, nearly all other measures of economic activity and wealth show that the South has been forging ahead more rapidly than the rest of the country. We are now producing about 25 percent of the country's electricity instead of 15 percent. Our banks now hold some 15 percent of the nation's banking resources instead of 9 percent. The average term of our public schools is now almost equal to the national average instead of being 20 or 25 percent below. The training of our teachers and their salaries are much nearer to the national averages than they were twenty-five years ago.

How have these great achievements been accomplished? Obviously, the explanation is a complex one. Briefly, the principal factors have been, first, that we have greatly reduced the under-

employment or partial employment that prevailed over a large part of our economy in the past. Second, our workers are better educated, better trained, more skilled and have much more and better equipment with which to work. Third, they have much better management and supervision to direct their efforts. These simple statements, however, imply vast and far-reaching changes in the structure and functioning of our economy. Millions of workers have changed their occupations and their places of residence. Other millions who have remained in the same line of work have greatly changed their techniques and methods of work.

The most dramatic change has come in agriculture. Among economists, it is well recognized that in this modern industrial world one of the most important earmarks of a growing and developing economy is a declining dependence upon agriculture and a smaller proportion of the people engaged in farming. Between 1930 and 1950, over two million workers, or about 40 percent of the total, left southern agriculture. As a source of income, agriculture fell sharply in relative importance and is now surpassed by trade and services, by government and by manufacturing. With respect to the position of agriculture, the South experienced in twenty years almost exactly the same decline that the nation as a whole experienced in the fifty years from the 1870's to the 1920's.

Despite this decline in relative importance, however, gross farm production in the South increased by more than a fifth between 1920 and 1950. That could mean only a great increase in the efficiency of the workers, which meant more acres cultivated per worker and higher yields per acre. That increase in efficiency was brought about by changes in the production pattern, new and improved varieties of plants, better management and a great increase in mechanization. To anyone who has watched the southern landscape for the past thirty or forty years, as I have, those changes have been clearly evident in the greater prevalence of contour plowing, more terraces, more cover crops, more and better pastures, better breeds of cattle and better management of wood lots.

Symbolic of this great change in agriculture has been the great decline in the importance of cotton. Formerly, the value of the cotton crop was almost half of the total value of farm production in the South; now, it is only about one-fourth. The emphasis has

shifted away from cotton, with its heavy requirements of hand labor, to livestock, to the food and feed grains and to other types of products which can be produced with less labor and more mechanical equipment.

Not only has the southern farmer increased his production greatly but he has also received better prices for his products. For this, there have been several reasons. First, for the whole decade of the forties, the inflation which came with the war pushed up the prices of farm commodities in relation to other prices. Second, the farmer shifted his production to more profitable lines. Third, the Federal Government instituted a comprehensive program of controls and price supports which insured the farmer against the worst features of depressions. Together these three factors have given the farmer better terms of trade for his products and have protected him against some of the competitive disadvantages which have at times overwhelmed him in the past.

The first of these, however, the inflation generated by war, was, we hope, a temporary phenomenon which will not be with us in the future. The third factor, the system of Government controls and supports, is essentially a defensive and protective device designed to afford the farmer insurance against undue losses in periods of depression. It is not, and cannot be, a positive means of promoting greater total production and higher incomes for farmers. If it is used in periods of full employment like the present, it is likely to develop into a permanent monopolistic arrangement, operated with the approval and cooperation of the Government, having many of the characteristics of a protective tariff and a Government subsidy.

Further, it seems fairly clear that a system of controls impedes and discourages the transfer of resources to more profitable lines of farming and the development of more efficient methods of farming in the old lines, which afford the soundest basis for prosperity for southern agriculture in the long run. The ways in which the production of poultry, citrus fruits and other specialties have been promoted indicate what can be done, without Government aid, in expanding markets and improving the efficiency of production.

Manufacturing has increased in the South in recent years, although not so much as is often implied by incomplete accounts.

Manufacturing employs less than a fifth of our labor force. Since 1930, the increase in the number of workers engaged in manufacturing has been less than half the amount of the decline of employment in agriculture. Perhaps more significant than the change in the total industrial work force has been the change in its composition. Formerly, our industry was dominated by textiles, with lumber, furniture and tobacco following in importance. Textiles have declined substantially in relative importance while the others have about held their own. All of these are industries which require a large amount of labor and relatively little capital investment. The new industries which have been coming into the South have been more in the fields of paper, chemicals, electrical equipment, electronics, machinery and other similar lines. These often employ relatively few workers but require large capital investments and demand higher skills on the part of both workers and management. Briefly, the South is slowly moving out of the first stage of industrial development in which it concentrated on the simplest industrial processes and is moving into the second stage in which it will have to face bigger and more complex problems of industrial development. The solution of these problems will require better management and more research.

An integrated and self-sufficient industrial system, as contrasted with a collection of factories, requires a great volume of services performed by such people as accountants, architects, investment bankers, consulting engineers, chemists, lawyers and a host of others. Very slowly the South is developing these auxiliary services; eventually they may employ almost as many people as the factories themselves. These people, however, require a long period of education and professional training. Here is a need which higher education should take into account in planning for the future.

In the new economy of the South, the fields of trade, services and government are becoming more important. Between 1929 and 1950, they accounted for about one-half of the total increase in income payments in southern states. On the basis of income produced, they are almost twice as important as agriculture and manufacturing combined. As the South becomes more urbanized, enjoys higher incomes and attracts more tourists, and as more women work outside the home, there is a growing demand for more laundries, repair shops, garages and filling stations, restaurants,

hotels and motels and other similar establishments. The great strides which our industries have made in improving their technological efficiency enable relatively fewer people to meet our needs for processed goods. Thus more people are available for commercial services and to service the great volume of durable consumer goods in our homes.

Government has greatly increased its role in our economic life. The southern people now receive about one-fifth of all their income payments from some branch of government. This is a substantially higher percentage than prevails in the rest of the country and a greater proportion than we receive from either agriculture or manufacturing. To a considerable extent, the increase in governmental activity was inevitable as our incomes rose and as we placed greater emphasis on education, highways, public welfare and the development of natural resources. Of course, increased government activity has been a cause as well as an effect of higher incomes. A better educated citizenry, more and better highways and a sounder use of natural resources have all been important factors in the reorganization of our economy which has permitted us to produce more and to enjoy higher incomes. The kind of an economy in which we live seems to require more of those services which only government can provide.

The Federal Government has had a much greater expansion of its activities and expenditures than have state and local governments and those Federal expenditures have contributed in a more immediate and monetary form to raising southern incomes. Federal salary, wage and benefit payments are made on a uniform scale throughout the country. As the totals for those payments were increased several times over, the many billions of dollars involved had the effect of causing a disproportionate increase in the income of low-income areas such as the South. On the other hand, the progressive nature of the Federal tax structure meant that relatively less was taken out of such areas in the form of taxes.

As government assumes a greater and greater role in our economic life, our economic progress, our welfare and perhaps our very existence will come to depend more and more on the decisions made by governmental officials. This indicates a growing need in the future for more and better-trained civil servants. That need

has not been fully recognized nor have adequate facilities for training civil servants been provided, either in the South or anywhere else in the nation. It is a peculiar and unique responsibility of higher education to provide those facilities.

All of these changes in our economy have been accompanied by, and in part caused by, equally far-reaching changes in our population. Two of these population changes are of remarkable, if not startling, proportions and significance. The first is the trend toward urbanization. In 1930, we were predominantly a rural people, with only about a third of the population being classified as urban. Between 1930 and 1950, our urban population increased by 80 percent and our rural nonfarm population by 46 percent. During the same period, the rural farm population declined by some 28 percent. As a result, in 1950 almost half of our population was urban and another quarter was rural nonfarm, which means that nearly three-fourths of our people are either urban or are largely urban oriented. This was urbanization at a rate seldom equaled by any large area in our country.

The second great change was a great loss of population by outward migration. Between 1930 and 1950, the South had a net loss of over three million by migration, a figure equal to more than a fourth of our natural increase. This migration was much heavier, both absolutely and relatively, among the Negro than among the white population, with the result that the racial composition of the population was substantially changed. The proportion of Negroes in the population dropped from 26 percent to less than 23 percent.

Another significant population change has been the shift in the age composition of the people. For the past 15 years, the greatest increases have come in the non-productive age groups, the very young and the very old. This means that each productive worker has had to carry a larger load by supporting more dependents. This promises to get worse in the near future, since the age groups now entering the labor force have been twice depleted, first by the low birth rates of the thirties and again by heavy migration. If we are to make further increases in per capita income, or even hold the gains we have already made, this group will have to produce at a level far above past levels.

In summary, the South in the past quarter century has been moving rapidly from a rural, agricultural economy with very little government activity, toward an urban, industrial and commercial economy, with a great deal of government activity. In that process, we have raised our income very substantially, more than any other major section of the country. The economy into which we are moving is more complex and makes greater demands upon all segments of the labor force. Workers will have to be better educated and more highly skilled. There will have to be more managers and supervisors and they will have to be better trained and more experienced. There will be a greater demand for more and better trained personnel in the service and professional fields. Government will require more men than before, absolutely and relatively and it will need men of education, vision and integrity. They will have to be prepared to deal with urban rather than rural problems. Not so many farmers will be needed but they will have to be better educated and have better technical training.

These are the rough outlines of the economy of the future as indicated by the directions in which we are now moving. Every segment of that new economy will be making greater demands for leadership which can be supplied only by higher education.

DISCUSSION

EDWARD C. ACKERMAN

Assistant General Manager, Tennessee Valley Authority

Mr. Johnson and Members of the Board of Trustees, President Foster, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Audience: It is an honor of course to be invited to participate in this symposium. I have listened to Dr. Ratchford's very excellent paper and to the discussion of the papers which preceded his, Dr. Bogue's and Dr. Vance's. In a relatively short time, I think, they have given you a comparatively complete view of the basic features of the southeastern economy and population and their implications for education. I am supposed to address my remarks particularly to Dr. Ratchford's statement. However, since Professor Vance moved over a little into our field, I hope you will forgive me if I move somewhat into theirs.

Dr. Ratchford has shown the great gain which the Southeast has made economically in the last twenty-five years. He has shown changes that are taking place and most of the reasons for them. He has cautioned us against over emphasizing the achievement which the Southeast has made in the solution of employment problems. I think he has also indicated, as Dr. Vance did before him, the complexity of the problems which are facing the South. I am in agreement with what he has said on these points both in his description and in his interpretation of the meaning of his observations. They check against the data that I have and with which I am familiar. So I am not going to present any essentially different points of view, except in more minor detail. I would add a few supplementary remarks, however, to expand our field of view, particularly in looking at the relation of the economy of the Southeast to education. My comments will extend in two directions. The first will be on the general setting in which the changes within the Southeast have been taking place; and the setting, the environment nationally, that we are in at the present time. The second will concern the particular economic problems of the Negro people in the Southeast and their relation to this group's educational future.

Dr. Ratchford will agree, I am sure, that the changes which have taken place in the Southeast have taken place in recent years

and have occurred in an unusually favorable national setting. For almost twenty years now, we have had a vigorously expanding national economy and perhaps I can remark further and say that much of the expansion here in the Southeast has sprung from the environment which has been created nationally. And as most of us know, not a little of that expansion economically has been related to defense production, as it is at the present time. The expansion of industry in the Southeast, I believe, would have been a good deal less vigorous if we had not had the people as vigorous; or, possibly even more, vigorous movement forward from a national point of view. I think, without doubt, that the industrial changes in the South have been, at least in part, a response to the national demands. The expansion of industry in this region would have been a good deal less in a less vigorous national expansion. One needs only to note how many of the Southeast's new manufacturing plants are branch plants of corporations or companies based elsewhere to get confirmation.

Now this expanding national economy has also affected the Southeast favorably from the point of view of the opportunities which have been created elsewhere for migrants; that is, migrants from the labor force here—those people who have been moving off the farms. Dr. Vance and Dr. Bogue have noted this for you. This then has given us a situation since 1933 or since 1929, or any other point that you would like to take in that general period, in which hundreds of thousands of new jobs have been provided in the Southeast in manufacturing. This region, however, would have had a much more difficult time in finding jobs for its increasing population if economic opportunities in great numbers also had not existed outside the region.

What are the implications of this for the future? Can we expect the pattern of the last decade or last two decades, particularly in recent years, to continue? Can we expect continued national expansion of our economy at the rapid rate of the past? Of course, we hope that this will be true and possible. I believe that Dr. Ratchford's outline of the problems that we face, if I am again interpreting correctly, were based on that assumption. Briefly, it was this: An integrated, self-efficient industry is the next step for the Southeast; for employment in agriculture must continue to decline.

Now the question I would like to raise is: Are we sufficiently

certain of continued rapid national economic expansion and continued expansion of manufacturing employment both inside and outside of this region? Are we sure enough of that to set our sights exclusively in that direction? I, for one, do not believe that we should be quite so certain. It would seem to me not to be good planning, if we make only optimistic assumptions about the future. Accordingly, I think that we might contemplate in our planning a possible situation in which there may be these elements: First, a somewhat slower rate of absorption of migrants, of people moving from the Southeast into other regions of the country and into northern industry, in particular. Secondly, a national economic environment in which there may be some leveling off, which might in turn cause a leveling off of the expansion of southeastern manufacturing and of employment expansion. There are conditions that might contribute to this. One of these is the stiffening competition from other regions. There is news from New England, for instance, that workers have taken a voluntary wage decrease in that area and I think you will find similar indications from other regions, particularly the West and Midwest. Another is technological changes of considerable importance, which may change with the demand for labor in relation to output. That, of course, is commonly known as part of the trend. And then there is the possibility at some time of the ending of our defense building.

This would lead me to suggest that we would do well not to forget agriculture in the job which education has to do in the future. It is possible that our farming system is destined for a thorough mechanization here in the Southeast, no less than elsewhere in the United States. If that is so, under the conditions which I have described, we should think in terms of the future and possibly we ought to be thinking of a bigger and a more time-consuming program of public works to fall back on. In this connection, I am impressed with two things. In those parts of the Southeast where small ownership has prevailed, rather than tenancy, more people have stuck with the farm, whether the land was physically good or physically poor. And the second is just as important. We are far from having explored the full possibilities of intensive cultivation under this climate. This does not suggest that we should forget the problems Dr. Ratchford described. Educational institutions certainly will find greater and greater challenge in preparing for

further industrialization. But it should not be assumed that agriculture does not constitute a challenge in education and research. I think it does. So a balanced approach, rather than one which points very heavily in the direction of the problems which accompany urban expansion, is necessary.

My second comment relates to the particular situation and opportunities of the Negro people in the Southeast. Dr. Ratchford has called our attention to the fact that the average per capita income in the Southeast is now somewhere around 65 percent of the national average. This is a composite figure, including Negroes and whites alike. But if we break that figure down into two groups, the Negro population of the Southeast has an average income, that is, the median family income, of about 36 percent of the national average. And here I am defining the Southeast somewhat differently from Dr. Bogue. It is the eleven Southeastern States and it excludes Texas and Oklahoma. It excludes also Maryland and the District of Columbia and West Virginia. The white population has 83 percent and the Negro population 36 percent of the median family income. Then nearly a quarter of the population of the Southeast, the eleven Southeastern States, has only a little more than a third of the national average median family income from the point of view of the national average. But let me cite a few other statistics.

Of the Negro population, about two-thirds are in agriculture and the service industries and only 14 percent is in manufacturing as compared with 22 percent for whites. Of persons in the professional and technical fields, and of those that are managers, officials and proprietors, 4.5 percent is Negro; while 17.6 percent is white. Of the skilled workers, clerical, craftsmen, foremen, etc., the Negro population makes up 6.2 percent; while 32.0 percent is white. Of the unskilled, that is, farm labor, laborers, etc., 56.9 percent is Negro; while 15.3 percent is white.

Dr. Bogue has already called your attention to one other figure which I would like to have you record. The Negro population has about one-third of the number of the white population completing high school or who have completed high school. Only about 12 to 15 percent of the Negro population has completed high school.

Now a few additional facts: In the migration to other regions,

Negroes are leaving the South faster than white people. Dr. Vance has already noted and so has Dr. Bogue, that the Negro is leaving agriculture more rapidly than the whites. On the other side, we have also the observation which remains, that Negro employment within the South has been increasing in manufacturing, in wholesale and trade, among the skilled, the professional and technical workers.

Now these things suggest to me, in the first place, that if job opportunities in the other regions cease to be as numerous as they have been in the immediate past, the impact is going to be heaviest upon the Negro population of the Southeast; that is, in terms of the contraction of opportunities. Secondly, if a slower rate of national economic expansion occurs, and that is reflected in a slowing up of industrial expansion in the Southeast, strong competition for manufacturing and other non-agricultural jobs in the South can develop. This, of course, will mean a slowing up of the trend, which it has been shown is taking place—the shift of the Negro worker away from the lower paid occupations.

I think Dr. Ratchford was correct in pointing a direction for education which would prepare many more for careers in the professions, in science and also as skilled workers. This suggests that education should deal rapidly with the basic problem of getting more people to high school. This increasingly will be, if it is not already, the door through which the worker must pass in order to get into a better job, a better paying job. I think also the figures suggest that education should continue to deal with the problems of agriculture, particularly in an examination of more intensive methods and in the techniques of financing and managing, which lead to ownership.

Finally, I would like to say that I think they indicate that one of the great potentials for increased economic productivity here in the South is in the contribution which can be made by the Negro worker and professional and technical man. The conditions for developing the skills and the initiative of this important group of people, a quarter of all the Southeast, have improved much in recent years but I think that the figures that have been given here indicate there is even greater opportunity ahead. We have found that changes can be made; that is the big step. The problem now is one of hastening the change; and I think that is one mainly of financing education.

This is a problem in which the nation and the people of the Southeast generally, Negro and white, should be interested not only because the economic resources of the Negro people are somewhat less than they should be, but also because I believe the nation and the Southeast are losers every year that the potential skills of these people remain latent.

It, therefore, seems to me that it is in the interest of every citizen in the Southeast to see that education has the means of improving the productivity of Negroes at every level of instruction. Aside from the humanitarian aspect, I think it is just good business and people should realize it. The Southeast is not yet secure enough economically so that it can afford to waste any potential resource.

DISCUSSION

LORIMER D. MILTON

President, Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Ratchford has crowded into nine pages the history of the southern economy, its present status and the salient problems of the future, particularly as they affect education. He leaves very little room for discussion. I would certainly not be one to challenge either the facts or the general conclusions. He did not feel called upon to discuss the racial structure of the southern economy except generally. For some of us, however, the dissection of the manpower structure is basic to reorganization of our economy as we know it. Although the Negro population has dropped from 26 percent to 23 percent in the area, this 23 percent, or one in every four, remains a serious problem. What has happened to it?

While the median income of families and unrelated individuals in 1949 in the region did improve to 67 percent of the national average of all families, white families and individuals improved to 83 percent. Nonwhite families and individuals, however, had incomes only 26 percent of the national average. This means two things: First, that the relative income of the Negro population is extremely low; and, second, that the low income of this group continues to be a drag upon the average income of the area.

With such wide discrepancy between the income gains of white and black families, it must be concluded that under-employment of Negroes in agriculture has not been compensated for in the labor needs of business and industry.

We must conclude that the Negro potential for increased productivity and hence increased contribution to the economic development of the South is an outstanding problem that remains with us in the face of any over-all gains which may appear in statistics. If increased efficiency and declining employment in agriculture continue, while employment in industry and other business fields increases, the employment, training and up-grading of the Negro must keep pace if the group is to contribute its part to the further production and general well-being of the Southeast. If whites are

moved from agriculture into other areas or advanced in business and industry, the Negro sector becomes increasingly either an important labor force or an economic drag. Out-migration has solved no problem whatever.

The southern pattern of confinement of Negroes to the lower paid order-taking jobs is very much still in effect. Less than 5 percent of all nonwhite workers had professional and technical skills; and this during a period of constant improvement in those areas of employment requiring such skills. Fully 90 percent of all Negro workers in the Southeast are almost equally spread out in three groups; namely, farm and farm laborers, operatives and laborers, and private household and other service workers.

Much might be made of the fact that employment of Negroes in construction, manufacturing, and wholesale and retail trade show stability and in some cases improvement. Dr. Ratchford has already commented that a sizeable segment of manufacturing is simple, requiring more labor than machines. The long cyclical upswing from 1933 and continuing through 1950 accounts for the good showing of nonwhites in construction where they have always been well employed. Federal housing programs aided also.

Wholesale and retail establishments, some of the supporting lines pointed out by Dr. Ratchford, are expected to follow increases in per capita income and concentration of consumers. Many are small and poorly financed; are born easily and die easily, though normally accounting for a good segment of employment. Most of such establishments exist because of segregation rather than in spite of it, requiring little or no skill and sometimes very little capital and ingenuity.

Out-migration among Negroes has not only been toward the West and North but also toward cities of the South where residence has been taken up inside the old city limits, as the white population moved to the outskirts. Whether to the West or cities of the South, the trek is toward jobs. As industry rings the cities, swollen populations find better and more profitable employment than in the rural areas. However, much of the industry coming South has been called "Market Oriented"; and that, together with more favorable opportunities in the new industries mentioned by Dr. Ratchford, have offered little employment to Negroes.

It cannot be denied that increased government has been the important factor on the southern scene over the last two decades; but except in menial positions at the state level, and almost always advisory or consultant positions at the Federal Government level, there is not much evidence of its effect upon the almost one-fourth of the population which happens to be dark.

A summary of this situation would be simply that until the South recognizes and utilizes its labor power efficiently, it will never find in it the vast untapped productivity in income. We can ill afford to lose people and their productive power; for efficient people enrich the region. Of course lack of education has been responsible for a paucity of skilled and well-trained people needed to participate in the industrialization and development in all areas. Public education has been meager and has actually followed policies intended to prevent any industrial efficiency on the part of certain classes of the population. In fact, it has not done too much for either race; and yet, if people are to take their places in the economic life of the region, specific training must be available.

We cannot say that past emphasis on liberal arts was all wrong; but it was not enough and is not enough today. Culture and training for the jobs that are, and that are likely to be, may be a part of the same thing but they are not the same. Higher education needs to be reoriented. This process should be preceded perhaps by what is commonly called a "market survey" or "market research" to find out where opportunities are likely to be for the full employment of the Negro potential. Job analysis and standards together with minimum requirements for employment must be known as a precedent to intelligent reorientation. Up until now such orientation has been largely expedient.

Looking realistically at the New South, higher education must see clearly that the region will need, as the United States will need, not more degrees but more specialists in the physical sciences, the natural sciences, mathematics, government and business administration in its higher branches. And above all, we should not leave out engineering which, at present, presents such a wide gap in our training program that the most casual critic can point it out. At a time when engineers of any color are being advertised for and sought out, none is available at any price.

Further industrialization and utilization of resources and skills are going to impose upon our higher education the responsibility of not only training people for jobs in new industries but also for training them in such large numbers that it will be possible virtually to force the employment in those industries or in specific units in industry, which feel that they cannot take a chance on jeopardizing the services of many by utilizing the services of few. This education of the future, I realize, is going to be very costly to supply; for added to skilled and resourceful teachers must be expensive machinery and equipment, which will impose heavy and sometimes insurmountable burdens upon the budgets of privately endowed colleges. It may even be that our state supported schools must take the lead if they have the vision to see the opportunities and responsibilities ahead.

THE EXTENSION OF CITIZENSHIP

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Executive Director, The Southern Regional Council

The two notable addresses which we have heard have developed the make-up of our bi-racial South and explored the basis and promise of its amazing economic growth. What now of the processes of government in the South of the future?

First, I should like to make a point about the implications of our commitment to an industrial future. In the seventy-two years since Tuskegee Institute was founded, the Southern States, partly with Tuskegee's help, have made a leap across two hundred years of history. For it is the oddity and the tragedy of our past that the broad open plains of what are now the Southern States gave a new lease of life to a system of plantation agriculture. Elaborated in the sixteen and seventeen hundreds in the West Indies and Brazil, it began faltering in those areas before it was transferred to the new lands in the American South.

That whole society was built upon the sternly disciplined labor of men and beasts. Cog wheels and steam engines were alien to its purpose and never took deep roots. Those who led the slave South argued that the good society afforded leisure, culture and statecraft to a limited few and achieved that only by dint of the unthinking obedience of the many who worked the land.

The Old South did not have in its ethos the dream that inspired those who settled New England and the nearer West. Their main support was the limitless land, political freedom and independent economic enterprise. Well-being and full political participation, they hoped, could reach down into every rank of the population. In the North and West, men eagerly seized upon water wheels and then upon steam engines, and then upon electric power as a means of producing the wealth for the support and progress of the whole society. Hereabouts, by contrast, the vocal demand of those who were called statesmen was merely for the things that would strengthen the plantation economy—slavery, the narrow franchise, exaggerated racial pride, illiteracy, submission.

These two economies, as we all know, came to a clash, and, as time has proved, the best society won. Happily, we took the

lesson to heart and beginning about 1880, a long succession of Southerners imported into the South the techniques of industry, finance and business which were the strength of the North. We still deck the main avenues of our southern cities with equestrian bronzes of Lee and Jackson and Stuart. We would honor a more fruitful tradition if every school child knew about D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte; and old Governor Comer of Alabama; and Henry Grady of Georgia; and Ben Duke and Captain Smythe and H. P. Hammett, and many like them who first began to bend the South to the discipline of industry.

And now at last what these men looked toward has been achieved. We are a predominantly industrial economy. The Southern Association of Science and Industry is authority for the statement that in 1951 and 1952 the South added one new multi-million dollar industrial plant for every working day. In only two or three of our states is it still true that the largest group of the gainfully employed work in agriculture.

Now the industrial society runs by rules of its own. And they are very different rules from those which the South hammered out in its plantation era. Industry needs universal education and a good smattering of technical education for everyone. It requires the day to day understanding consent of its labor force. In modern terms, that is trade unionism. It requires also a basic equality among all who share its process. As it depends upon the consuming power of its public, and that depends upon a general distribution of the earnings of its productivity, it cannot afford to exclude from its process any large body of persons who in their poverty hold back the consuming power of its wage-earning customers. In modern terms, that means fair employment practices.

And lastly, and this is what is important to our subject today, it requires for its long endurance an inclusive and effective political democracy. That is both a practical matter and a matter of faith. The practical side of it is that the modern economy is a structure so delicate and so interrelated that it requires an intelligent, purposive control. The era of *laissez faire* was always more apparent in the textbooks than in the actual economy and even in the textbooks it is now antique. We see in every succeeding national administration the struggle of government to find its proper and needful place in the maintenance of permanent prosperity.

To be sure, other devices than the democratic, for this essential control, have been tried. A man named Benito Mussolini tried a crooked and hierarchal and partisan control and ended with his heels in the air. Adolf Hitler tried the same device and the collapse of his economy came with the world in flames. And a succession of Russian dictators are still pursuing minority control; ultimately, it is safe to predict, without success. I think the inner truth is, as clumsy as are the devices of political democracy, they are essential to that due representation of the whole society without which the industrial economy is certain to be warped in ways which will stir the discontent and eventually the disastrous disbelief of the many.

Herein lies the matter of faith. So long as a population has reason to believe that it can, through its political government, assert a mastery over the economy, society is viable. If the bulk of the population, engaged in the industrial process, comes to believe that it serves a master beyond its control, weakness and war come into focus. It is, therefore, of supreme importance that we find in this society, with its rich tradition of freedom, methods and policies of government in which the whole people can continuously have faith. That means using the best of our democratic traditions and purging everything which circumscribes or limits political participation.

It is a queer thing that this booming industrial South inherits, from its agricultural past, a solid structure of political undemocracy. And most of the devices by which undemocracy sustains its patterns were built with the excuse, at least, of Negro exclusion from the franchise. That was the stated purpose of the poll taxes. That is the continuing basic reason for the refusal of our state legislatures to re-apportion themselves to accord with modern population changes. The county unit system in Georgia would be cast aside by those who sustain it today if the full right of the Negro to the ballot came to be recognized and practiced.

In the last ten or fifteen years, we have made great strides toward achieving in the South a repudiation of our undemocratic past. The Negro vote in the South in fifteen years has grown from 200,000 to 1,100,000. The poll tax which, within the memory of an elderly mule, applied over eleven southern states, is driven back now

to five and it cracks, as you know, in some of these five. Arkansas has reformed its legislative apportionment. Florida has done so partially. And further reforms of this kind are the first order of business in two or three other southern states. By and large, voting by Negro citizens has become an accepted practice in all but one or two of our major cities and even in most of the prosperous and industrious towns. It is not yet accepted in those areas of the South over which the slavery and plantation economy held their hardest grip and it is, of course, exactly in those former plantation areas where the bulk of the southern rural Negro population lives. You in this audience are all too familiar with the statistics of Negro participation in Alabama's industrial counties and with the sad totals of registered Negro voters, three and twelve and eighteen, in many of the old plantation counties. Despite this handicap, as a rule of thumb, it may be laid down that Negroes in the Southern States take part in voting about half as well as white people do. Some further improvement in the cities and towns and the breaking down of the barriers to Negro participation in the open country would bring the two racial groups at least to an equal level. Beyond that, there is still the problem of getting a broader use of the franchise by the whole population.

One of the normal fruits of this new Negro participation in government comes now into being. Southern municipalities are known to employ at least 6,500 Negroes, and even two years ago well over 500 of these were in professional or clerical capacities. The latest count shows 718 Negro police officials in 128 cities, towns and counties in the South. Each southern state has towns with Negro police officers, although I regret to point out that Alabama is one of the laggards in this movement. Negroes are beginning to be employed in good numbers by local fire departments. What is more important, Negroes are making their way into the wider processes of local government. Richmond, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Nashville, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Wilson and others have lately added Negro members to their city councils. Kentucky and North Carolina have Negro members on their state school boards. Seven southern cities have Negro members on their local school boards.

Thus we see the beginning of the end of that old and almost unbelievable southern habit of excluding the entire Negro popula-

tion from representation on official boards. How we have ever supposed that our courts and our schools and our jails and police services and hospitals and tax-taking could be run for the whole South exclusively by persons with white skins when the decisions taken by such racially limited bodies were made to apply to that quarter or third of each town's population which was non-white, I can hardly understand. Simply as a matter of ethics, that has been an intolerable custom and, in the light of all I said a few minutes ago, we can see that it is blankly incompatible with our predominantly industrial society. It is necessary to have the consent, the agreement, the eager understanding of every process of government by the whole population under its authority and this thing that we call southern tradition has said "No" for a hundred and fifty years.

As the old tradition gives, we may confidently count upon the emergence and increase of a whole new quality in the Negro population in the South. Denial of participation doubtless induced all of those qualities which the South knows as the back-door approach in the Negro population. The white South sought and found the whimsical and the merry in a Negro population placed under this disability; but I think every Negro knows that beneath the whimsicality was sullenness and fear and the will to survive and deep intent to bring about reform. It is a maxim of government that power brings responsibility. Who supposes that in the city of Nashville the ordinary Negro adult, moving up and down Jefferson Street five years ago, read with any interest, or read at all, the morning's news of yesterday's proceedings in the Nashville City Council? Who doubts today but that the same men and women on Jefferson Street note with anxious care everything that Mr. Looby or Mr. Lillard had to say in yesterday's meeting of that same city council? Has it not been common experience, all over the South, in these last few years, that the Negroes who have been placed on public boards have been earnest and capable men and women who have performed faithfully in the interest of the whole citizenship?

When I was a youngster, in any southern town or city I went to, raggedness walked the Negro streets. But nowadays one has to hunt up the professional beggar if one wishes to show the northern visitor the southern Negro in his rags. I think something

quite similar is happening to the minds of Negro people all over the South. While the call to citizenship was faint, was merely an aspiration challenging the leading few, the basic Negro population lived in a treadmill. Even though the beginnings of change are as yet small, a new kind of hope and faith are apparent. Negro people now no less than the white begin to feel the call of responsibility and answer that call with good training, courage, clear eyes and faith in the democratic purpose of America.

Clearly, under the new opportunities and the new rules of the industrial South, all of those who were once poor in these states feel this new sense of belonging and of duty. Surely as the whole pressure of this new organization of the economy weighs and widens within this region, we can see the incompatibility in this society of the rules which the South worked out so long ago. Surely now we can learn that men are men.

It is such a South, which has learned to live down the racial discriminations of the past, which can move forward into full popular self-government. When that shall have been done, we can feel a proper pride in solving, here in our own states, one of the most crucial and difficult problems of this troubled world.

DISCUSSION

RUFUS E. CLEMENT

President, Atlanta University

Dr. Atwood, Dr. Foster, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been wondering why I was invited to be on this program, and I decided there were two reasons for it. Someone thought that college presidents had more than just an administrative interest, and that a gesture should be made toward their intellectual attainment; and, as President Atwood has been telling you, I am about to become a practicing politician.

We are discussing today a general theme, "The New South and Higher Education." You have just heard a very challenging and a very meaty paper on one phase of this theme. I want to tell you a story because it is *apropos* to some of the things that I want to say and some of the things that Mr. Milton said, and probably what Dean Thompson will say. It is Ira Reid's story, and I am glad he is in the house, because that means he won't tell it again this afternoon. The story is about one of those major foundations which decided that it would try and bring peace into the world by making a demonstration of how men could live together. And so this foundation recruited a group of men to send to Africa in a perfectly normal situation (but very different men) as a demonstration of the ability of people of different cultures and racial groups to live together. So it recruited an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, a Russian, an American—well, it recruited two Americans—an American white man and an American Negro. It said, "Now you go to Africa." "Well, what will we do?" the men asked. "Just hunt elephants; the only prescription is that you must write a report of your trip."

All of the group agreed. They were outfitted splendidly; they had a fine vacation; they took one of the big boats across the ocean; went by London and Paris; and finally arrived in Africa. At the end of four months, the elephant hunt was over, and the foundation received its reports. This is how they were made: The Englishman wrote on the colonial aspects of African civilization. The German wrote on the physiology (using a long term) of the elephant species, etc. The Frenchman had a very fine discussion on the sex life of the elephant. The Russian wrote on elephant hunting in ancient

Russia. The American white man wrote on the cost of outfitting an elephant hunting safari. The American Negro had a very short title—"Elephant Hunting and Race Relations." You will forgive me, therefore, for bringing some of the elephant hunting and race relations aspect to this "New South and Higher Education."

Dr. Mitchell is to be congratulated for all of the things he said and for daring to say some of them—particularly, for daring to suggest that the South get a new set of heroes. Now, that is likely to get him into trouble, but I hope it won't.

In his discussion, he said, in this change to the industrial society, that day-by-day understanding is necessary—the understanding consent of labor forces, and in long terms, trade unionism. I need not call attention to the fact that one big body of trained trade unionists is still reluctant to include the Negro in its day-by-day understanding consent, by denying to him complete participation in the unions and even membership in many of them. Even in Atlanta, with such a fine group, there has been recently a very acrimonious discussion of the real place of the Negro in organized labor and we do not quite get the day-by-day full consent of the Negro group because it might not even be in position to assent or dissent.

Let me call your attention to one further aspect of the rural population which is moving into the city—the urbanization of the South. Touching upon two or three of the papers this morning and on a point to which Dr. Mitchell also referred, we are becoming an urban group, but the white population is making two movements. It is moving and has moved from the rural areas into the city even before the Negro did. And now, it is in the process of moving out of the city again. The white population moves into the city, and then moves out of the city into the suburban areas just outside of the city limits. But in the case of the extension of citizenship, one big factor enters, and that is when they go outside of the city limits. When anybody goes outside, he loses his vote within the city. So what does the city do? The city, as we have done in Atlanta, turns around and in order to keep the Negro population from having too much weight in urban affairs, in the elections and the like, it incorporates, sometimes against the opposition of the incorporated people, all of these suburban areas. So that again these people be-

come a part of the voting population of the city. I can go through Fulton County and find myself way out in the country, and see a sign that says, "Speed Zone—25 Miles Per Hour"; and go five miles further out—straight out, and see on a desolate road, the sign, "City Limits, Atlanta, Georgia."

Some of the reasons why the Negro has moved into the city have been well expressed today. Let me point out one or two that have not been mentioned. There is the matter of the lack of personal protection. The Negro knows that if he lives in the rural area he is much more subject to have what we call his "civil rights" limited than if he lives within the urban population.

Then there is the availability of hospitals and medical facilities and emergency attention. The Negro in the rural area dies earlier because he cannot get the proper medical attention, because he does not have clinics to which he can go. If three people call the local physician, and two are white and one is Negro, you know what the answer is. If a person is injured on the road between here and Lafayette, the rural hospital or the little place out there in the country might not accept him for even emergency treatment. So the Negro moves into the city.

There are, of course, greater educational opportunities. There is more nearly an approximation in some areas of progress toward equality in educational opportunities for the Negroes in the city than there is in any area of the country, not only in terms of colleges, but in elementary and secondary fields. The Negro in the city does not have to stop to gather cotton; nor to do any one of the seasonal chores which he is called upon to do if he lives in a rural area.

Another fact is that the Negro has more protection as a part of the city, even if it is the protection of anonymity; that is, he can lose himself in the population if he does register and vote; and he cannot lose himself in the population if living in a rural area. If he dares expect the Constitution to apply to him, and does qualify and is permitted to vote, how is he to face the caller who comes by his house or the man for whom he works when asked why he dared do such a thing?

Now these things are very factual. They are things that are

well known to most of us and I state them merely by way of explanation of the statistics shown here today—that Negroes are moving into the cities in ever increasing numbers. Mechanization of the farm and consolidation of the farm are two reasons; however, there are many reasons which are much more personal and powerful than these and I have mentioned some of them.

I was quite surprised in looking at population statistics to find that Mississippi and South Carolina did not have the largest number of Negroes in absolute figures. I was equally surprised to find that North Carolina now has more Negroes than any state in the Union, that Georgia is second, and that each of these states has more than one million people in its population. The other four or five states are Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Alabama. I call your attention to that because we are discussing at this time the extension of citizenship, and these states make up, what I call "The Reluctant Area" of the South. I am not calling it "benighted." I have not used Mencken's term, "The Bible Belt," or the young Minnesota Negro's term, "The Area South of Freedom." I do not even use the negative or "The Unwilling Belt." I call this area "The Reluctant Belt," where you have this mass of Negroes, sometimes referred to as the Black Belt in population statistics. Negroes are still there in very, very large numbers. Speaking in terms of the extension of citizenship, this is the area which *knows* better, and which ultimately will *do* better.

I have not talked with a single leading intelligent southern office-holder, and I have talked with senators, governors and others, but who, when pressed in private conversation on the question of the extension of full citizenship, agreed with me, not willingly but with reluctance, that eventually the South must be completely civilized; that eventually the South must recognize basic human equality. They will say, "Segregation will go, don't be impatient." I could call names which would startle you. I won't of course. But because we were merely two people talking together, I have pressed them on some of these points and they have agreed.

Now what I am saying is just this; that the South knows, the South recognizes, the South is aware of, but the South is not quite ready for this experience. Let me finish.

The white South is not altogether to blame for what happens

to the Negro. The Negro is himself to blame, in a large measure. I am not quite as optimistic as George Mitchell is about this Negro that you meet on the streets of Atlanta, Birmingham or Tuskegee. We tried to get them to register in Atlanta, and in spite of all that we did, not too many Negroes registered. You will pardon the personal reference, but I am sure the candidate for the Board of Education in Atlanta last year got practically every Negro vote, but if he had not received a very large number of white votes, he would not have been elected. And he probably got more white votes than Negro votes, not because a larger percentage of white people voted, but because a small percentage of Negroes registered and voted. Now what I am saying is, if you have actually in mind an end result of widely extended citizenship so that it includes all of the people, the Negro must accept the responsibility as an indication of this goal by registering, by voting, and by supporting other men.

At this point, I cannot forego telling a story I am sure many of you have heard. But maybe one or two of our friends from out of the region have not heard it. The story goes that over in Birmingham, let me put it in Alabama—I could have said Atlanta—a young Negro went up to register, as this was an attempt to get Negroes to accept the responsibility of citizenship. A young Tuskegee graduate was one of the persons who applied. As he moved in the line toward the registrar, he heard these things going on: "Boy, where do you live?" "Birmingham." "What part?" He told him. "How long have you lived there?" "Six months." "Not long enough. Step aside."

"Boy, where do you live?" "Birmingham." "What part?" He told him. "How long have you lived there?" "Ten years." "Too long, step aside."

And so he worked on down the list, disqualifying these would-be voters in one way or another until he finally got to the question of literacy. The registrar said: "Can you read?" "Yes." "Can you write?" "Yes." "Let me hear you recite the Constitution of the United States." The applicant couldn't do it. "Step aside," he was abruptly ordered.

When he got down to the Tuskegee graduate, he was asked all the questions, and he answered them correctly by process of elimination. So then the registrar told him, "Now let me hear you,

Mr. Tuskegee Graduate, recite the Constitution of the United States."

That Negro had had time to make up his mind; so straightening up, he began, "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." And going all the way through that beautiful and immortal Gettysburg Address, he wound up, "Shall not perish from the earth." There was silence in the room. The registrar looked at him in amazement and said, "Damn, I didn't know any black man knew the Constitution by heart."

What I am saying is that much of the responsibility is on the Negro, and he must know the answers. He must register; he must vote; he must accept the responsibilities of full citizenship; and then the extension will come. He cannot do this alone, of course, because intelligent people, in the South, both Negro and white, must live together and think out and work on their problems together. Public opinion favors the extension of citizenship *and the time is now!*

DISCUSSION

CHARLES H. THOMPSON

Dean of the Graduate School, Howard University

I

Dr. Mitchell has given us an excellent summary statement of the reluctant evolutionary change from the archaic agrarian feudalism which characterized the South before and up to the 1880's, when Henry Grady and others began to preach their gospel of the "New South," to the beginning of a fairly recent and highly modern industrial economy. He has pointed out most clearly that the South's predominantly industrial economy "requires for its long endurance an inclusive and effective political democracy"; that "this booming industrial South," as he calls it, inherited "a solid structure of political undemocracy," but that the last ten or fifteen years have seen us make great strides toward a repudiation of our undemocratic past. As evidence of this change, he cites the fact that the Negro vote has increased over fivefold and that the Negro's participation in the government of our region, while not so striking, has been much more than a mere token.

And this "New South," Dr. Mitchell emphasizes, if it is going to reach its greatest potential, needs the vitalizing force that stems from full and unhampered participation of all of its citizens; quite as much as for the benefit of its members presently so severely disadvantaged.

II

Dr. Mitchell has done an excellent job as far as he has gone; but I for one wish he had gone much further. First, I wish he had emphasized the *immunities* of citizenship as much as he has the *privileges* of citizenship. The right to vote, to hold office and otherwise participate in government are important. But it is just as important, probably more so, for the masses of people that the immunities of citizenship be greatly extended also. The right *not* to be discriminated against in employment, housing, recreation and education and the right *not* to be segregated are of particular importance.

Second, the inclusion of this subject in this symposium implies that it has some significance for higher education in the South. I

wish that Dr. Mitchell had gone further into this aspect of the subject. It is on this point that I think it would be well for me to make most of my comments. Some of the more obvious implications which extension of citizenship in the South has for higher education in this region have been noted by Dr. Ratchford, Mr. Milton and others.

1. Obviously, the extension of the privileges and immunities of citizenship in a society which is going to have more and more money to spend for various kinds of services for its people is going to require more and more trained persons to perform these services. Hence, there will be an increased need for more and better trained workers in the fields of health, education, recreation and public welfare. More doctors, nurses, dentists, social workers and trained personnel in recreation. Higher education will be called upon to supply these increased needs.

2. In a social order that is still in transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy, there is going to be a continuing and increased need for technologically trained people—engineers, accountants and other business specialists.

3. But even more important, in a changing socio-economic order, or even in any reasonably civilized society, one should expect the higher institutions to develop a highly intelligent and socially responsible leadership, as well as highly trained technicians. But recent studies show that in too many cases, the graduates of our higher institutions in general are fitted neither for wise leadership nor even for the most intelligent participation as members of our society. As our social order has become more highly industrialized and specialized, higher institutions in general have so over-emphasized the JOB motive in education, that our society has dumped upon it each year a horde of money grabbing specialists, who have little or no understanding of, and even less interest in, the world in which they are to live.

What is even more distressing is the fact that so few college students and graduates know anything about the political or social problems faced by our society. In a recent survey of over 300 white students in a college in Texas, it was found that only 66 percent of them could give a reasonably satisfactory definition of democracy; only 48 percent could define politics in a satisfactory

manner; and only 31 percent had a reasonably satisfactory concept of what communism was. "Through rote-learning methods," concluded the person who made the survey, "we have produced citizens who can quote from the Declaration of Independence and proclaim that democracy is 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' but a shockingly high percentage of them have absolutely no idea of the relations between government and citizens, which differentiate democracy from any other society."

Dr. Mitchell correctly stresses the importance of intelligent, democratic control of our modern industrial economy. It goes without question that we can not have such control when our potential leaders have such an inadequate notion of what democracy really means; who are, in fact, such political and social illiterates. Our colleges and universities have done an excellent job in developing technologists who can produce an economy of abundance, but they have been woefully deficient in the education of potential leaders who can and will control that economy in the interest of all of the people.

4. One of the most direct implications which the changing economy in the South has for higher education is the fact that with increasing incomes more families will be able to send their children to colleges and universities. One of the basic problems of the South has been too many people dependent upon too few resources for a livelihood. This has meant a relatively smaller enrollment in higher institutions in general in the South.

For example, in 1950, if the enrollment in four-year white colleges in 17 Southern and Border States and the District of Columbia had been at the same rate as the college enrollment of white students in the North and West, there would have been 123,241 more white students in college in the South than was the case in 1950. Even if Negroes had been enrolled in college in the South at the same rate as Negroes in the North and West, there would have been 30,361 more Negro college students in the South than was the case in 1950. But if Negroes had been enrolled in college in the South at the same rate as white college enrollment in the South, there would have been over 100,000 more Negroes in college in 1950 than was actually the case. If college enrollment in the South can be reasonably expected to approximate that of the North and

West in the next decade or two, we will need to prepare for an increase of at least 150,000 students; and at a maximum, 250,000, an increase of one-fourth to one-half of our present college enrollment.

With an increase in family income in the South, as a result of better wages in a growing industrial economy, it can be reasonably expected that there will be an increase in college enrollment. Certainly, as Negroes and other underprivileged groups in the South are extended greater opportunities to obtain a fair share of the increased and increasing wealth of the South, a greater increase in college enrollment is inevitable. Taking the Negro alone, if the average Negro family in the South had received an income equal to the median income of white families in the region in 1949, Negroes would have had five to seven billion dollars more income than they actually received in that year.

5. While speaking of Negro and white college enrollments in the South, it might be well to note that the elimination of segregation in higher education, as a part of the process of extending citizenship, has posed and is going to pose even more difficult problems for higher education in the South. I will not take the time even to enumerate these problems. However, I would like to emphasize a suggestion which I have been urging for three or four years; namely, that it would be a very timely act of educational statesmanship if some agency would cause to be made a state-by-state survey of the higher educational needs of *all* of the people, Negro and white. This would determine what higher educational resources are already available to meet these needs on a racially integrated basis; and suggest what modification of existing resources needs to be made, so as to render maximum service to *all* the people.

6. Finally, may I observe that while some encouraging progress has been made in the extension of the privileges and immunities of citizenship to the South's most disadvantaged minority, the Negro, much more remains to be done. Much of this unfinished business of democracy concerns the part which Negroes themselves must play in helping to extend the privileges and immunities of citizenship and what higher education should be expected to do in developing Negro leaders who can and will play their role much more effectively in the immediate future than they have in the past.

III

There are several functions which higher education could perform in pursuing this task. But I think one of the most important is the assistance of young Negro college students particularly, to develop a dynamic and realistic philosophy of race relations. This will aid them to live in a racially-conditioned society with a maximum of dignity and self-respect and with a minimum of frustration and self-disesteem.

In the first place, such a philosophy as I have in mind should be predicated upon a valid perspective of racial discrimination as it affects the Negro group in this country. Many Negro college graduates do not realize that a large number of the difficulties which they encounter have nothing to do with race at all; that they would be plagued by them even if they were white. What they need is a philosophy based upon a world perspective of man's inhumanity to man, which will lift them out of their narrow personal or group frame of reference to a level of genuine concern for universal human rights, irrespective of race, creed, or geography.

In the second place, the kind of philosophy of race relations which I have in mind would enable Negro youth to develop a proper balance between accommodation to the *status quo* and effective protest against it. Racial segregation, in my opinion and in the opinion of an increasing number of people, is the most galling and degrading aspect of race relations in America today, especially where it is enforced by law, as is true in some 17 states and the District of Columbia. Negroes, as law-abiding citizens, have no other recourse than to abide by the law, until the law is changed. When they have achieved the proper balance between accommodation to the *status quo* and effective protest, they will allow themselves to be segregated only when they have to and will exert themselves to the utmost to get the law, or even the custom, changed. But one of the things that strikes even the casual visitor to the South is the extent to which Negroes, even some college-bred Negroes, accommodate themselves to the *status quo*, even beyond the call of legal necessity. And it is my considered opinion that many of our schools and colleges are largely responsible for this state of affairs.

Current efforts to extend the privileges and immunities of cit-

izenship to all of our people, by the elimination of racial segregation and its attendant evils from our national life, during the past decade, have been lifted from the realm of isolated minority group struggles to a level of national and international political concern. And just as important, these efforts are not only, or even primarily, in the interest of the minority groups themselves, but even more, in the interest of preserving and fostering a real democratic way of life in this country. For democracy in America is at the crossroads. And any Negro, and especially a college-bred Negro, who gives aid and comfort to the enemies of democracy by gratuitous cooperation with the *status quo*; or who does not seize every opportunity to fight segregation with every legitimate weapon at his command, not only has failed to develop a dynamic philosophy of race relations, but what is even more important, he has failed to perform the almost sacred patriotic duty of helping America to save her soul.

CHANGES IN VALUES AND ATTITUDES: THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

IRA DeA. REID

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I

The specific changes in the socio-economic conditions of the South which were noted in this morning's symposium cannot be dissociated from the social climate in which they occurred. As the concrete situations have changed, so have the attitudes and values associated with them. These values and attitudes are the operative ideas of a society. They are the traffic lights that inform the individual, the group and the area in which direction and in what ways action should be taken. They indicate actions to approve and actions which should be disapproved. They are the controls that make consistent behavior possible.

When changes occur in the volume and with the speed indicated in the morning's presentations, thoughtful persons begin to search for their real meaning. They note the demand for responsibility in the social situations created by these changes. They seek to disentangle the evidence of cause and effect. They sense that there is something bewildering about rapid change in a society that is geared to a more evenly paced movement. In periods of change in the past, it was the function of religion and the Church to interpret the transition; to let the faithful know man's fate, his place in the changing world; what he should live by. Today, such collective guidance must embody the findings of the social sciences in order that men may understand the real meaning of these changes, their causes and their potentials. It is at this point that the implications of change for higher education within the southern region become apparent.

Higher education, despite the limitations that it imposes by being too narrowly conceived as existing for the determined elite, seems to be faced with the implications of a new order in the South. The role that higher education must assume, if it is true to its profession of social and intellectual competence, is that of (1) diagnosing the society that is changing, (2) focussing attention on the important issues that are involved, and, (3) integrating social behavior on the various levels at which those changes have occurred.

The important task of this symposium then seems to be to determine, if possible, the areas in which there have been significant congruences between the South's operative ideas (the attitudes and values) and the achieved change, on the one hand; and the areas of anxiety, confusion, and slower change on the other.

This task permits us to attempt a diagnosis of the changing attitudes and values relevant to our problem. We will agree that there has been a general liberalizing of attitudes and values with reference to *persons*, if not to *things*, within the region as a whole. In an era when provincialism is decried, we may note several areas in which the South has emerged from its regional shell.

There has been a liberalizing, a freeing of operative ideas relating to the extension of higher education in general context as well as in the peculiar contexts of color classes.

We are aware of an increasing cooperation between State and National Governments and of greater understanding on the part of citizens of the relations of their local and county governments to the government of their state. The issue of "States Rights," for example, is but a mere shadow of its former self, especially as it concerns the alleged right of a state to do what it wished to do about the social status of people within its political domain.

Over the last two decades, we have witnessed an unparalleled growth in the extension and influence of collective bargaining as an instrument through which the social and economic status of thousands of southern workers has been raised. All of these things are ideas that have become operative within the region. And there are more.

No matter the despair that we may express about the relative status of the conditions and facilities under which the Negro population of the South now lives, we know that there has been an improvement in the quality of the conditions and in the facilities available for that population in the South. Whether our observational time span is fifty, twenty-five, ten, or five years, we note this qualitative change. Our presence in this community today is a vital index of that improvement. And, I dare say, our desire to have these situations completely altered seems realistic only because we know what has been done so far.

Freedom of communication across race and class lines is freer today in the South than at any other time during the century. This communication is freer at both the group level and in individual contacts than our general institutional behavior might indicate. It has released millions of people from the exploitative practices of regional violence. It has elevated those previously treated as pariahs to symbolic if not actual levels of human dignity. Some forty odd years of living in and observing the region lead me to believe and to think that human dignity is an operative idea within the region to a degree never before experienced.

A final example of this "liberalizing" of the region's operative ideas might be noted in its increasing recognition of citizenship rights and the "granting of permission" to exercise them. I recognize the ambivalence of this statement, but it seems to me that this very ambivalence is typical of the behavior and the lag that attend the changes in this region. One does not readily, or with one fell swoop, eliminate the patterns of condescension and paternalism from his social behavior. There are ever the fears of moving too rapidly or too slowly, or "knocking the bottom out of the situation," of establishing a new orthodoxy in place of the old one, of creating a new confusion that goes beyond the region's bad conscience. For these and other reasons, it seems, the South has tempered its behavior with the equivalent of what John Dewey called "refined passions."

To the minds of some men of the past, and to the minds of some of our contemporaries, the changes that we have noted—which really are changes of the past—may seem unimportant and relatively insignificant when compared with the larger and broader objectives of acquiring goodness for the region. It is not unseemly that they should so think. The South is at the exit threshold of an era when adjustment to change was unconscious and not yet conceived as a process about which something could be done in the way of guiding human affairs. Today, we are passing from the threshold of tacit adjustment and tacit agreement to one of deliberate reconstruction. We believe in the purposeful guidance of human affairs. This does not mean that we can hope to master the whole turmoil of facts and ideas, the onslaughts of an entirely changing system of democracy in the South. It does mean that social intelligence has reached a stage where the South can be satisfied only when it seeks to di-

agnose its condition, to disentangle the causes, and to master the course of events from the strategic points available to persons in higher education.

II

In diagnosing the southern region, the higher educators do not become apologists for the South of the past or the present. Even though they think that they may ultimately be driven by forces stronger than themselves, they would surely lose their moorings altogether were they to give up at least trying to interpret the southern situation as it is and to define it as they would have it. Higher education's responsibility for making the changing South a changed South has increased since we have learned to disentangle cause and effect and to relate the mental and the material. It, therefore, becomes expedient that higher education note those areas of southern life in which material change has not been so markedly identifiable as in our examples of the morning. If the economic, political and social worlds can move apace in establishing changed patterns of behavior and living, the educational world might move ahead in providing the region with a body of theory upon which it might build a tolerance for change. The hypothesis I would present to the higher educators of the South might be stated as follows:

Change is a never-ending process. Its rate may change, its direction may veer, its quality may alter, but the process continues. An important element in the socio-economic changes of the South is the nature of the controls within which change occurs. Two such controls within the region are:

1. The degree to which change in human relations is restrained, accelerated, or otherwise affected by judicial and administrative law;
2. The degree to which change in human relations is affected by the peculiar dualism of values and attitudes, both theoretical and operational, that we call racial—a dualism that is at once horizontal and vertical, existing within each one of the two groups defined as racial, yet cutting across both of them.

The institutions of law and racial stratification remain the most resistant to change, so resistant, in fact, that they define areas of anxiety and chaos in regional behavior. What insights and prognoses can higher education provide

for a region that is faced with this functioning social situation?

These things we know about the operative ideas affecting the institutions of law and of race in the region: That there are different bodies of belief; that these beliefs are in conflict; that these beliefs tend to be expressed in and to enjoin certain creeds; that the creeds of democracy, religion, even "separate but equal," for example, do not model the required conduct for a behavior that we now call good (thus, a Christian may support a discriminatory law, a public administrator may administer separately but not equally, any Southerner by birth or by adoption may accept the need for change in principle but ignore or distort or pervert it in practice); that many practices and beliefs in this field of person to person relations no longer command personal commitment; and, finally, that the region has in one way or another contravened the purpose and intent of law and racial stratification by establishing patterned evasions. These problems of values and change and their implications for higher education may be indicated in the situations that follow:

1. No matter how successful we are in dealing with the contemporary problems of social adjustment within the South, we are constantly faced with the handicap of a relatively high proportion of folk twenty-five years of age and over who have had no formal education. Professor Eli Ginsberg of Columbia University calls these folk "The Uneducated." Fifty-four percent of the 2,370,000 male workers of the region have had less than five years of schooling. Sixty percent of this number work on farms. It is suggested that operative ideas which contribute to constructive change do not rise from the experiences of such a large mass of uneducated peoples. What effect do the ideas of this group have upon the broad social objectives and potential achievement of the region?

2. The southern Regional Program for higher education is a unique social invention. It moves ahead in a quantitative way to provide higher education for more people within the limits of the combined resources of the region. It is an effort designed to come to grips with a vexing problem. To what degree and in what ways does this program represent a short view rather than a long range approach to the region's problem of higher education for all the people, equally and constructively shared?

3. A paramount issue now before the Supreme Court of the United States deals with the provision of education for the public school populations of the South. May this education continue to be separated on the basis of race and color? Are there any additional "patterned evasions" that may be expected no matter what decision the Court hands down? Can "equal protection" and equal sharing be regarded as a moral as well as a judicial and political problem? The resolution of this problem is to take place within the borders of at least seventeen states. What criteria are to be employed in building a program on the principles of constructive change in this social practice? How far and in what directions can higher education move in providing guidance for the South in this matter?

4. The private Negro colleges are also a unique social invention. They are the necessary instruments of a disfranchised and disparaged group and its friends to provide the necessary vehicles through which Negro youth could achieve a modicum of self-respect and learning otherwise denied them. They provide one tested method of adjustment and accommodation in the process of creating a democratic, though dualistic, society. The day has come when these institutions must look to their *raison d'être*. What is the nature of the change they might experience? What attitudes and values reinforce their survival? Are these operative ideas consonant with those that are producing the significant changes in other fields? Do these institutions resist change in any areas? Why? Do these institutions possess a survival value that can be made significantly democratic in the changed South? Higher education's answer can be neither mute nor inglorious. It must be wise.

These problems, among others, have broad and far-reaching implications for higher education in the United States without reference to race or region, but with reference to all of the attributes and characteristics that make a democratic society good. The problems and their supporting values seem to indicate that higher education has a significant task of diagnosis, prognosis and treatment ahead. At the outset, it must be able to provide a genuine intellectual and social leadership in the realities of the changing South. Secondly, it must be able to get its values and attitudes, its operative ideas, accepted. Third, recognizing the danger of a new orthodoxy

rising to replace an old one, the institutions of higher education must serve as the ventilators of the South, keeping ever in front of the region and the nation the opportunities for making effective use of the knowledge and the wisdom which are their supposed stock in trade.

To do this, they must acquire the "savvy" or the "know-how" demonstrated by the successful engineer. They must be able to identify the "gate-keepers"—those persons and institutions which resist the impending changes. The custodians of higher education might be charged to see to it that the dynamic attitudes and values which can emerge from the unbridled thought and the disciplined scientific pursuits of the colleges and universities will not become entombed in the museum of social fictions. With these implications facing them, the faculties of higher and liberal education cannot create their own dreams to avoid the nightmares of history.

All of this seems to indicate that the implications of a changing South for higher education and higher educators are myriad. They bespeak a need for an increasing social concern as to how can we build a good community in this region?

They bespeak an evaluation of personnel to cope with the need. Are our faculties thoughtful, discerning, dedicated teachers, researchers, applied scientists? Are they composed of men and women upon whom a changing South can depend for honest intellectual and creatively social advice and leadership?

Can higher education conceive and design programs and curricula that will aid in the preparation of men and women to come to grips with the problems of change that we now define as progressive, as well as those we have not touched because they fill us with confusion and anxiety?

It may be that we can become as wise in our way as were the ancient Chinese of whom Confucius wrote as follows some 2,500 years ago:

"The Ancients, when they wished to exemplify illustrious virtue through the Empire, first ordered well their states. Desiring to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first educated themselves. Wish-

ing to educate themselves, they first made pure their purposes. Wishing to make pure their purposes, they first extended their knowledge as widely as possible. This they did by investigation of things.

“By investigation of things, their knowledge became extensive; their knowledge being extensive, their thoughts became sincere; their thoughts being sincere, their purposes were made pure; their purposes being pure, they educated themselves; being educated, their families were regulated; their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed; their states being rightly governed, their empire was thereby tranquil and prosperous.”

I do not think that higher education in the changing South or in the changing world can design such a perfect circle of constructive change. I do believe that the implications of our changing southern scene permit higher education to break the region's sense of apathy, to minimize its anxieties, strains, and fears of change, while giving the region exemplary leadership in matters of mental maturity, intellectual guidance and social achievement.

DISCUSSION

HORACE MANN BOND
President, Lincoln University

We are engaged here in a discussion which Dr. Reid has introduced with great brilliance. I think when we talk about higher education and colleges in general, we seldom accurately estimate the fact that these institutions are social institutions. We think of our colleges in terms of links in the structure of the classic idea of what a college is. But I noticed on the front page of the *Alabama Journal* yesterday a very large picture of a young lady who is being "educated" at the college at Auburn, and who has been elected Auburn's "Homecoming Queen." This young lady, a sophomore in the College of Education, is to rule over festivities on the Auburn campus. She is a member of Alpha Delta Phi Sorority, was a "Glamour Beauty" in 1952-53, and is one of the twenty semi-finalists for 1953-54. She was the "Greek Goddess" in 1953, and "Sweetheart of Sigma Chi" in 1952-53. I regard this description of the educational process as an indication of what colleges really are today. Nor are, I believe, institutions like Tuskegee, innocent of the institution of "Homecoming Queens" and the like.

My point is, I think we make a great mistake to think about colleges as those pure places where people go to be "educated," in the classic meaning of the phrase. As a matter of fact, if we were to abstract out of our colleges the persons who go there for other reasons than what might be classically defined as an education, not only the Negro colleges, but a great many American colleges would immediately close their doors. People go to college for all of the apparatus, the appurtenances of what is a social institution. I don't think you can understand the Negro college except as it grows in the social matrix of American life, and it is important to appreciate this.

Colleges also, Dr. Reid has reminded us, are institutions which reflect the class and caste nature of the society from which they come. The reconstruction of education on an interracial, not on a segregated basis, is, therefore, a very difficult as well as a fundamentally desirable operation.

Now Dr. Reid has pointed out that in the South generally, we

have had very little change so far as law is concerned. I cannot think of any law that has been changed, except one in Kentucky. There was an amendment to the Kentucky Day Law enacted in 1904, aimed at Berea College and resulting in the separation of the races there. But that is the only instance I can recall at this time to affect the generalization of Dr. Reid, which is very illuminating.

But as was pointed out this morning, the Federal Constitution is a wonderful document, and the more I study this document and its development, the more "Pollyannaish" and one-hundred percent American I become. I believe we live in the best possible country under the best possible Constitution that man could possibly have devised. I say this quite seriously because in spite of the fact that laws are not easily repealed, there is the United States Supreme Court which gives interpretation to the law. This is true in spite of the fact that interpretation varies from time to time. There is always the possibility of social structure being modified by the application of these interpretations. There is the pertinent case of the old District of Columbia laws of 1871 and 1872 that were recently rediscovered and found still to be applicable as far as certain civil rights of Negroes are concerned. The most significant thing about the situation was that nobody I know of made the suggestion, even in Congress, that those laws be repealed. Twenty or thirty years ago, the Congress would have been shaken to its foundation at the thought that these laws were going to be rediscovered and applied to the Negro. That this did not happen in our day seems to be a highly suggestive indication of the changing pattern of opinion.

I would like also to call to your mind the pattern of attitudes as revealed by the cases now pending before the United States Supreme Court and further articulated by Dr. Reid's discussion. It is a curious fact that when Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Talmadge now advocate the creation of a private school system as a possible device by which to overcome an interpretation that the Supreme Court may make regarding these cases, they are adopting in reverse an argument that was put forward by the Negroes during the Reconstruction period. They put into the constitutions everywhere in the South a forbidding statement with reference to segregation. Negroes generally argued. We do not want to go to school with white people; that is not our point at all. We simply believe that

the public schools are public, since they were established on that basis. And if you don't want to send your children to school with Negro children, you don't have to. You can send them to private schools. You can set up your own private schools. And here, after all these years, we come back to this curious mechanism to destroy a public school system that was founded to a great extent for the benefit of Negro children.

Of course I know all of the southern historians will argue with me on this, and probably may work to prove that the South had a long history of public schools before the carpetbaggers ever arose and arrived on the scene. But we can point out the experience of Alabama which had a public school system created by the Reconstruction legislatures that enforced, for the first time, educational justice for the Negro and for the white children from the hill counties. What effect these attitudes may yet show, so far as other changes that might be facilitated by Supreme Court action, is still a matter of speculation, especially as far as higher education is concerned.

Our own institution in Pennsylvania was the first chartered for Negroes and it is important to point out that the charter included a racially descriptive phrase; it was to be an institution "for colored youth of the male sex." That was not true of those institutions founded in the South by the crusading American Missionary Association, which was the arm in the South of radical equalitarianism in the North.

As a matter of fact, I believe you will find that Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who founded Hampton Institute, hadn't the slightest idea that he was establishing an institution for Negroes. He thought initially that he was founding an institution in which poor people in the South could be educated—poor Negroes and poor white people. It was only after the racial situation was crystallized that the special institution for Negroes developed. Let me remind you that the American Missionary Association had in its charter that it was opposed to slavery, to caste and to every other evil; and it was under that charter that Oberlin College was established; and the earliest southern colleges attended by Negroes were an extension of the A.M.A.—Oberlin idea.

A very interesting point to note is that as early as 1829 an

institution for the education of Negroes was proposed by what was called the African Education Society. At this time all of the conservatives and radicals were still working together and Arthur and Lewis Tappan set out to form a college or a training school for Negroes. Just two years later, however, two things happened. One was Nat Turner's insurrection and the other was the formation of the American Anti-slavery Society. Arthur and Lewis Tappan broke away from the Colonization Society, but their effort to establish a college for Negroes in New Haven was promptly defeated by representations made against it by some of the townsmen and some professors at Yale. They pointed out their fear that there would be fights and riots between the students at the Negro college, and the students at Yale, most of whom were then from the South; and they predicted a serious decline in the Yale enrollment, as the result of permitting a "Negro" college in New Haven. The Tappans at once turned to Oberlin, requiring as a price of their very considerable financial aid, a clause in the charter prohibiting segregation. That phrase was drawn from that in the charter of the American Missionary Association, forbidding any segregation at all.

The colleges represented here today which were established by the American Missionary Association, and kindred societies, were not established to create what we now think of as a Negro college. They were all anti-segregation. I believe Morehouse has a charter with racial specification. But that can be explained. It would not have obtained the charter at all, in the Georgia of 1879 and 1913, if that specification had not been included.¹

Well, I would like to go on further with the historical bases for certain values and attitudes and their implications for higher education as they exist in our institutions today. I would like to suggest with all respect to the spirit of progress and hope to which all Americans are dedicated, (I don't like to suggest that it is possible for these trends to be reversed) that if you were to make a graph of these relations, which some students will do some day, that you will find these results: You will find, for example, an inter-racial institution like Berea flourishing in Kentucky from the Civil War on up to 1904 and then being reversed by the action of the

¹ No "Negro" college chartered in the South before 1876—the end of Reconstruction—has any racial limitation in its fundamental document.

state. Don't think that the lines of the graph are always going straight upward. Reversals of all kinds may be possible, just as the Nat Turner insurrection which coincided with cotton development in the West had an immense effect upon race relations and upon education for Negroes throughout the country.

So our future may be affected by many factors, including economic reversals, and international or national developments which we cannot now predict, and which may reverse all of the trends to which we now look with such utter confidence. But it is with confidence that Americans must look forward. That is a part of our national genius, a part of our very heritage.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

BASIL O'CONNOR, President
The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis

Dr. Faust, Dr. Foster and Friends of Tuskegee: This is an occasion when I find myself in a unique and difficult situation. I have been referred to jokingly as a New England Yankee, to which there is sometimes added an unnecessary word, and I am called upon to make a summary statement of the conference on "The New South and Higher Education." I think I have the qualifications to do this job, in spite of the fact that I am a Yankee, because I have been in and out of the South for thirty years now; and I have the indices of higher education. I have the title and I have the evidence that I have been through the formality.

Being in and out of the South for so many years has at least given me the advantage of being able to observe and to learn a little. That really helps you know; and it has also taught me to think. It helps to have some knowledge of a situation and then to think about it.

I could summarize this very great meeting by saying it was very good. Probably I would be much wiser if I did that. Indeed, it would be a tragic thing for all of us if I were to go through each one of these brilliant presentations and discuss it. However, all I intend to do is to make some observations.

I think one of the things we want to remember is that this has been a symposium on "The New South and Higher Education"; not on "The New South and Negro Education," not on "The New South and White Education." We must keep in mind that those things we have heard, those things that have happened, are happening, and may continue to happen right along into the future, relate to the total South. They relate to everyone in the South.

I feel it would be rather futile to expect recognition of the rights of others to knowledge, by those who did not have sufficient education or intellectual level that would enable them to recognize that right; and I think it would be equally stupid to expect people to be able to accept such rights, with their corresponding contributing obligations, unless they too had some sort of informing level of education and intelligence and awareness that would enable

them to accept those rights with the attending inferences. This is a two-way street. Whatever affects one group in the South, whether they are white or Negro, whether they are industrial or farming, affects the other group.

I think I can illustrate what I mean by stating what Elihu Root said as long ago as 1912; and he was neither a "New Dealer" nor a "Fair Dealer." He was, in fact, a member of the Cabinet in two Republican administrations. In a speech before the American Bar Association, he made the statement that conditions in this country had become so prominent and so tense, due to the grouping of great industries on the one hand, causing in turn the grouping of labor unions on the other, that one had to expect there would be a change. Government would have to step in to keep an equilibrium between the two groups.

We wonder what Elihu Root would say on that subject now that almost a half century has expired, with an increasing activity in both of these groupings. We have to bear in mind, as we become industrialized, that this change affects all of the people in the South and that it affects them in a new way; but that they come to the situation with all of the results that industrialization has meant in another area of the country; and which other parts of the world, now industrialized, have had to encounter.

We should realize that all of the discussions we have had concerning the New South—the distribution of population, the reorganization of the economy, the extension of citizenship and the changes in values and attitudes have concern for all of the population in the region. And if we concede they concern higher education, then higher education will have to take into consideration the fact that dealing with just one segment of the country or one group, in no sense solves the problem. Higher education must be a factor in aiding to solve the problems that are here, and will continue to be here, and will increase and will become barriers unless it adjusts its programs to do the things that have been suggested. Education will have to be concerned with the South as an entity.

I want to stress the importance of keeping abreast of the times. There are going to be more changes and these changes will have significant implications for higher education. We should see to it

that those who have the responsibility will be certain that higher education too is kept abreast of the times.

As for this institution, and now I am speaking as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, we feel that this particular institution has served a great purpose, it is serving a great purpose, and we hope that it will continue to do so. But many things need to be done if this is to be accomplished. I think we have at this Institute the educational units that can play their role in the important changes that are coming, and that Tuskegee will meet the challenge of the times.

Yesterday the Board of Trustees, which has been interested in this kind of thing for sometime, authorized your President to prepare a plan evaluating what Tuskegee has been doing, is doing, and what it can and should be doing, projected over a period of time. I believe it will be a tremendously interesting study. I know it will be. It is not a casual thing. We should realize its significance. Equally significant, of course, will be the results of such a survey. That is the attitude that Tuskegee Institute is taking towards higher education in the South.

This conference, then, has demonstrated what big problems we have today, with things moving so rapidly and with such magnitude. It has demonstrated how difficult it is for any one of us to solve them. The situation is a part of what is happening in the whole world and challenges the best intelligence of all to grasp its significance and to work out proper solutions. It requires all of the ingenuity of which one is capable to keep abreast of the times, whether one is educated or uneducated.

One of the functions of any educational institution is to operate in the times and under whatever circumstances it finds itself. It must embrace changes and adjust to them. But over and above that, it seems to me to be *sine qua non* to the continuation of our civilization, that educational institutions must develop and train and turn out those who have the disposition and inclination to be students of such a nature that they will have time to study, to ascertain, and through those processes become the leaders we must have if education is to receive the direction it needs in years to come.

I think most of our educational institutions can do that. I think

they want to do it. But they can best do it by realizing from time to time the necessity of an evaluation such as we are about to make here at Tuskegee.

On behalf of the Board of Trustees, I do want to thank those who have participated in the symposium today. This was an enjoyable day; a day of brilliant, scintillating thinking. And I say this with deep sincerity. We look to the future. Today has indicated the way.

II

CHAPEL SERVICE ADDRESS

THE DREAM OF ORDER IN THE MIND OF GOD

HOWARD THURMAN

Dean of the Daniel L. Marsh Chapel
Boston University

I am using as a background for our thinking this morning a passage written many years ago by the South African novelist, Olive Schreiner. "The new mother, when she looked at the head of the babe in her arms whispered in her heart, my child, may you seek after truth. If anything I teach you be false, may you throw it from you and go on to richer knowledge and deeper truth than I have ever known. If you become a man of thought and learning, may you never fail to tear down with your right hand what your left hand has built up through years of thought and study, if you see it at last not to be founded on that which is. If you become an artist, may you never paint with pen or brush any picture of external life otherwise than as you see it; if you become a politician, may no success for your party or even love of your nation ever lead you to tamper with reality and to play a diplomatic part. In all of your circumstances, my child, fling yourself down on the truth and cling to that as a drowning man in a stormy sea flings himself onto a plank and clings to it, knowing that whether he sink or swim with it, it is the best that he has. Die poor, unknown, unloved—a failure perhaps, but shut your eyes to nothing that seems to them the reality."

The words of my text are to be found in the 139th Psalm, a part of the sixteenth verse. "And in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them." The basic idea inherent in all of the insights of this particular psalm is that there is in the mind of God a sense of order, of wholeness, of integration. It is that God holds at dead center the dream of order of the stuff of life until at last, the stuff of life begins to respond objectively in shape and in manifestation to God's dream.

When I was a boy, I earned a part of my keep by collecting old newspapers and magazines for a price and burning them. Especially I enjoyed getting magazines from one particular family because they were subscribers to the *Atlantic Monthly*. The *Atlantic Monthly* in those days carried, as a part of the advertisement for

the Hamilton watch, a picture of Rodin's "Thinker." This picture became my model as a boy. I spent considerable time trying to reproduce the pose. I was practicing how to be a thinker. One day my mother sent for me to do an errand, but I told my sister to tell her that I was thinking. I was leaning on the fence with my Rodin's pose. Of course, I didn't do that again. Years after when I visited the Metropolitan Museum in New York, I saw a marble replica of this tremendous work of art. I walked slowly away from it, deep within the throes of its spell on my mind, when I found myself standing in the presence of another statue. As I looked at it, I saw the back of a giant hand. I walked around the hand and looked into the palm. There I saw deep within the palm of the hand a conglomerate of marble without any particular shape, but coming up out of that conglomerate, were the finished shapes of the bodies of a man and a woman—the dream of order at dead center in the mind of God brooding over the stuff of life, until the stuff of life began to take on the characteristics of objective manifestation of the dream.

The human body has committed to memory God's dream of order. A man may be an idiot, but still he will digest his food because these profound digestive processes go on without formal reference to mind as such. Think of what is inherent in this ability! Suppose man had never learned to do that! Suppose the body had not committed this lesson to memory! One result would be that man could not have developed a hand, which is the integration of fingers and thumb into one harmonious unit. This makes grasping objects possible. Further, it means that man was able to learn to throw things with direction and force, thus enabling him to create and control his environment. This has made it possible for man to use environment as a windbreaker behind which he can dream, reproduce his kind and project himself into the future even as he reaches back into the past. All of this is a response to the dream of order.

Some months ago in San Francisco, I dedicated a little baby boy who had what I thought was a dimple in his neck. When I talked to his parents a few days after, I commented on the fact that it was too bad that David's dimple was in his neck because when he grew up his collar would cover it and he could not use it creatively in human relations. His mother replied that the thing that I

had noticed was not a dimple but the vestigial remains of a gill and that the pediatrician said that in time it would be absorbed or a simple operation would take care of it. Then my mind took wings to that far off period in the past when land began emerging and the waters receded. There was a tremendous urgency for animals to learn how to breathe out of water, to take their air neat. There must have been some who said to themselves, "I won't do it. I just won't pay that kind of price for air." Thus they buried themselves more deeply in the slimy oozes of primeval ocean beds. But there were others who put forth the effort—how great, we do not know; how tortuous was the struggle, we do not know; how many failed, we do not know; but we do know that some learned how to breathe out of water. Then the breathing apparatus shifted from outside to inside; and lungs were born.

Is it unreasonable to think that what the human body has learned, the human mind is in immediate candidacy to learn? The dream of order held at dead center in the mind of God brooded over the stuff of mind until mind, in response, was able to separate itself somewhat from being body-bound. It seems that the body is very much older than the mind. Perhaps there was a time when mind did not exist as mind for it was body-bound. All of the energies of the organism were spent in survival. There were so many enemies everywhere that no surplus energy was available to float the kind of detachment which is mind as distinguished from body.

I remember when I was a college boy, my great dream was to finish my education and to secure a job so that I could say to my mother that it was no longer necessary for her to work for a living. When I finished my education, I wrote such a letter to her. A year went by and I came home for a visit. During the interval, she remained at home, no longer being required to spend long hours cooking and doing other things to earn a living. On this first visit, she and I were sitting on the front porch talking one day when she said, "Howard, many things have happened to me during this year. My mind is beginning to straighten itself out. All through the years when you children were small, and after the death of your father, it took all of my energy, every bit of it to keep myself going. I squeezed the little hours of rest and sleep for all that they could give of energy in order to make it possible for me to last the next day. But now I have long hours in which to think, and things are be-

ginning to unscramble. For instance, I now know definitely the year you were born." This is a parable of what must have been the early history of the race of mankind when for so long it took the maximum output of energy to guarantee sheer physical survival because terrible enemies were everywhere. But as soon as surplus energy became possible, due to some form of artificial protection from enemies, mind could be detached from the body, and separate self-consciousness as such became possible. Imagination was born and reflective thinking became an achievement of mind.

But the mind is young. It is full of immaturities, of contradictions. It isn't whole. It isn't synthesized. Little by little, however, the mind of man seems to be responsive to the dream of wholeness and integration which seems also to be at dead center in the mind of God. Here and there in the long history of man on this planet, there has emerged some exceptional human being who epitomizes what it means to deal wholly and in an intelligent manner with some part of his environment. Here and there has appeared a man who seems to think as one integrated synthesis. Of such a man we say he thinks God's thoughts after him. What this occasional human being demonstrated, the whole human race stands in candidacy to achieve. What the body has committed to memory through thousands of years of schooling, the mind at last is beginning to grasp, to share in, to be.

Is it unreasonable then to say that what the body has learned and what the mind is learning will sometime be characteristic of all of the relationships between men? The dream of order held at dead center in the mind of God brooding over the stuff of human relations may result in the fulfillment of all that men mean by the good life for all, the Kingdom of God.

It seems that the impersonal economic and scientific forces in the world have already learned such a lesson. Think about it for a minute. We have looked deep within the heart of the atom and we have been frightened by the disclosures that have come to our minds. We have annihilated time and reduced space to zero. The whole planet is in a sense an integrated unit, a small neighborhood; the whole planet is one world. The impersonal forces of nature have learned this lesson, and the extent to which they have learned the lesson we have discovered in our application of the scientific

method to the world of nature. It seems that the mind and the emotions of man, the raw materials of human relations, are the last strongholds against wholeness in the universe. Even though the world is one neighborhood in our minds and emotions, there are myriad neighborhoods, and they create patterns of living that breed war and hatred and strife. We are holding out against the relentless pressure of the dream of order. It is the mind and the emotions that are in arrears. They make the chaos in human relations. What this means, I do not have to belabor. All we need to do is look about us.

Every time human beings become involved in experiences of fundamental unity, they discover that such experience becomes more compelling than the fears and the hatreds that separate them. The curse of segregation is the fact that it robs human beings of experiences of unity and thus delivers them completely into the hands of the failings and the fears that separate and divide. There can be no response of human relations to this brooding dream in the mind of God until all the walls that separate brother from brother are demolished. Any man who builds a wall that separates him from his fellows and undertakes to make for himself a life behind that wall ignores the ties that bind him to others and defies this dream of God. Such a man takes his little hopes and his little fears, all his little dreams, and flings them defiantly into the face of God whose dream of wholeness will not let him go. Deep within himself he knows that the wall cannot survive. But any man wherever he is, however humble he is, who, in the little ways at his disposal, reaches out from within the context of his little life in a response to wholeness and integration, works on behalf of God's dream and anticipates the movement of the life of God in the midst of time and space with his children; to such a man the limitless and boundless resources of the universe are at his disposal.

If you are such a person, do not despair. Do not become world weary. Do not become depressed; for time, life, and God are on your side. This is the meaning finally of the text, "And in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them."

III

INAUGURAL EXERCISES ADDRESSES

THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN OUR TIMES

JOHN DALE RUSSELL

Chancellor and Executive Secretary
Board of Educational Finance, State of New Mexico

Higher education is one of the very large enterprises carried on today in the United States of America. Those of us who are closely connected with its operations sometimes do not realize fully the vast extent of the total program of which we are a part. Some 1,889 different institutions are currently listed by the United States Office of Education as worthy of recognition as institutions of higher education. Something like two and a half million students are attending, about one out of every four in the appropriate age group. These institutions have capital assets totaling in the neighborhood of eight billions of dollars. About two-thirds of these assets are in the form of physical plant and equipment and about one-third in the form of endowment and other non-expendable funds. The total income and receipts for all purposes in these institutions amount to approximately three billion dollars annually. These financial figures, it is true, may not seem large in comparison with the annual budget of our Federal Government, or the total national debt, but just the same, any enterprise with finances running into the billions of dollars must be considered big and important.

Higher education has not always operated on the scale to which we have recently become accustomed in the United States. The first reasonably accurate figures on the financing of higher education in this country were compiled only seventy years ago. During the period since that first collection of statistics, the total income for current educational and general purposes in institutions of higher education has increased by more than 350 times. And it is in the United States particularly that higher education has flourished during the past half century. At present, this country has more institutions of higher education and more students attending them than all the rest of the world put together.

Although the development of higher education has been particularly notable in the United States during the past half or three-quarters of a century, the organization that we call the college or university has had a remarkable long life in Western Civilization.

Our modern institutions have descended in an unbroken line of succession from the universities of the Middle Ages, which had their beginnings some 750 or 800 years ago in western and southern Europe.

The persistence of the institutionalized form of higher education over many centuries, and its vital place in the world of today, testify to its flexibility and adaptability. These qualities are highly essential to the survival of any man-made institution in a dynamic society. Although our modern institutions trace their origins back to the universities of the Middle Ages, the current species is radically different from its progenitor. Throughout the centuries, continuous adaptations have been made to changing circumstances. Without this element of flexibility, the organization would undoubtedly long since have become extinct. We who today carry on the service of higher education, with its long tradition of scholarship and teaching, can be grateful to the leaders in the past generations, who were willing to modify their concepts of what constitutes a true university or college, in order to permit desirable adaptations to the ever-changing needs of the society that was to be served.

Because of the changing nature of higher education, one must always speak of its role with respect to some particular time and place. This afternoon, I intend to discuss the role of higher education in the United States in the third quarter of the twentieth century, the era in which we are living.

THREE MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The major functions of modern higher education may be classified under three broad headings. The first of these functions is the preparation of young people for occupations that require extended or advanced schooling beyond that which can normally be made available in most local communities. This function has been important ever since there were universities. Any skeptic who would doubt that it is an important function today need only ask a representative sample of students why they are in college. Although there are some students in college who would not acknowledge that they have come for occupational preparation, enrollments in our higher institutions would be reduced to a small fraction of their present size if no opportunities were offered for education to

assist graduates in qualifying for employment. The extent to which industrial and commercial organizations and governmental agencies depend upon higher institutions for a supply of qualified personnel testifies to the strong social pressure for the performance of this first function.

The second major function is the discovery, promulgation and conservation of the truth in an unbiased manner. Other social institutions share to some extent in the responsibility for performing this function today, but the major dependence of society, especially in the the United States, for the maintenance of the search for new truth and for the preservation and propagation of truth in an unbiased manner, rests on the institutions of higher education. The current difficulties that are encountered in discharging this responsibility would be a most interesting subject to explore this afternoon, if time permitted. The subject, if treated at all, would require an extended discussion; so to avoid a long digression, we shall merely call attention to this function as one that is and always has been extremely important.

The third function is the preparation of people, young people especially, for all-round, effective living. This is a relatively new function for higher education. A hundred years ago, the elementary school gave sufficient education for such a purpose and until well into the twentieth century a high school education was adequate. But today "general education," as it is frequently called, is commonly recognized as a service to which the college must give increased time and attention. In this respect, the functions of higher education and the common school system overlap. It remains to be seen whether the function is to be a permanent one for higher education; or whether, as some have advocated, the local public schools will gradually take over this service by extending their programs to advanced levels, leaving the true university only the first two functions that have been mentioned. Whatever may be the ultimate outcome of the extension of the need for general education into the age levels that have traditionally been served by higher institutions, there is no doubt that currently colleges and universities are expected to make a substantial contribution to the kind of instruction that is needed for all-round, effective living in modern society.

For the higher institution merely to recognize that it has the

three functions that have been mentioned is not enough. It is particularly important that these functions be carried on at the maximum level of effectiveness. The resources of institutions in materiel and personnel are limited and even more important, the time of students is limited. Already we have prolonged the preparation for occupations, for which higher education is necessary, to an age beyond that at which most normal young people want to be self-supporting. We cannot continue indefinitely to increase the educational requirements for the professions in such a manner as to delay the age of entry on practice. Higher institutions must recognize the compelling necessity to use their resources and the time of their students effectively. There can be no patience with inefficient programs of higher education.

One of the greatest causes of inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the institution of higher education is the failure to adapt facilities and programs promptly to the changing needs of society. Though the basic functions of higher education remain relatively constant through long periods of time, the immediate social situation in which the institution operates changes markedly and rapidly. Let us look at some of the factors in the current social situation that have significance for the programs of our higher institutions.

THE IMPACT OF SCIENCE

We live in a world in which science is increasingly important. Somewhat grudgingly, about a century ago, the institutions of higher education began to develop instructional facilities in science. Today, the sciences are everywhere recognized as an essential part of higher education. Even though this field of study makes heavy demands for specialized equipment and materials of instruction, colleges and universities almost without exception recognize that adequate provision must be made for the education of students who are to become specialists in science.

Perhaps less adequate recognition is given to the need for giving all students an effective acquaintance with the fundamental ideas and procedures in the sciences. Yet these young people, who will be the educated citizens and leaders of the future, will need to know a good bit about the sciences, even though they are not specialists in any one science.

It is a responsibility of the educational institution, furthermore,

to see that, within the various fields of science, some specialties are not neglected while others are overplayed. Evidence is accumulating which would indicate that currently a disproportionate share of able students are going into certain fields of science, while other fields are not getting anything like the proportion of the better students that is needed.

Extreme emphasis on science also imposes a responsibility on the institution of higher education to make sure that appropriate emphasis is given the humanities and the social sciences. The contributions of these other fields of study to the welfare of society must not be overlooked in an age when the sciences seem to offer such great attractions. It is not at all a paradox to say that a college or university ought to be responsive to the needs of the society it serves and at the same time to expect the institution to be critical of the immediate expression of those needs. An institution of higher education is responsible not only for meeting expressed and fully realized needs. It must also meet needs of which the great majority of people are not fully aware, but which are in the long run of great importance to the general welfare. The institution, therefore, has a delicate problem of maintaining a suitable balance in its program, so that all fields of knowledge are adequately supported even though some of them, such as the sciences, may for a time seem to be of paramount importance in the popular mind.

MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

A second observation concerning the current social situation is the enormous growth and development of mass media of communication. Never before in history have so many people been informed so promptly of so much. This new situation affects programs of higher education in many ways. In the first place, the institution is called upon to prepare specialists in many lines of mass communication. This is not a new responsibility for higher education, though the media are different from what they formerly were. In earlier days, one of the chief means of communication and persuasion was the human voice, so the colleges gave great stress to platform oratory and forensic exercises. Now we have courses and curriculums in radio production, advertising and journalism in which young people are prepared to make a living out of what might be called the "arts of persuasion."

Beyond the responsibility of preparing young people in the newer fields of mass communication, the institution of higher education needs to introduce measures to prepare students to take care of themselves in a world which is filled with experts in the "art of persuasion." And beyond the knowledges and skills that seem now to be necessary to protect one from the wiles of the advertising pages and the radio and television commercials, there is need for equipment to protect the very intellectual integrity of the average citizen. In my opinion, there is today a grave danger that we, or most of us, may become merely a herd of listeners (to radio and loud-speakers) and picture gazers (movies, television, the pictorial magazines and the comics) to the neglect of the exercise of the higher mental processes involved in reading, reflecting and studying. One can easily become intellectually lazy and flabby by indulging the habit of forming opinions, attitudes and conclusions only through the relatively exertionless process of listening to radio commentators or looking at pictures. I am convinced that this sort of intellectual flabbiness is actually overtaking large numbers of our citizens who have brains capable of a more rigorous procedure for developing conclusions to guide their actions. One can perhaps forgive a six-year-old boy for demanding a particular type of breakfast cereal because it is strongly recommended by his favorite cowboy character on the radio or television. But when large numbers of adult voters form their opinions about the merits of a candidate for a high public office from the manner in which he behaves in front of a television camera, or the way his voice sounds over the radio, rather than from a critical analysis of his previous record in public service or from what he has said or written, we have a condition that is fraught with serious consequences for the future of our government.

In these times, we need citizens with the toughness of mind to think through a mass of data, to evaluate information and to correlate their findings with situations that have occurred in other times and places, so as to reach sound and valid judgments for themselves through their own mental processes. Our institutions of higher education need to cultivate in their students the habit of weighing and judging the opinions and recommendations of others, so as to prevent the too ready acceptance of predigested attitudes and conclusions from newspaper editors and

columnists, clever writers of feature articles, radio commentators, demagogic politicians, and others whose motives may not always be apparent.

If the main objective of education is merely the acquisition of information, it would possibly be fitting and appropriate to use the instructional methods that will bring about the desired learnings with the minimum of effort and inconvenience to the student. We could still improve our instructional processes very much even for this objective. But if one of our objectives in higher education is what the late Charles Hubbard Judd used to call the "cultivation of the higher mental processes"—the ability to grasp ideas and meanings, to compare and contrast and correlate and evaluate ideas toward some recognized goal of action—then other criteria for the selection of instructional methods are in order.

I strongly believe that this is a time when our institutions of higher education need to take into account the potentialities introduced by the rapid development of effective mass media of communication. Something must be done to prepare our citizens for the onslaught against their minds by these amazingly effective developments in the modern "arts of persuasion."

WORLD AFFAIRS

In the third place, because of the new position of the United States in world affairs, we need to prepare people for dealing much more comprehensively than ever before with national and international problems. The implications are clear for a wider and more effective teaching in such fields as geography, foreign languages, history, international relations, cultural anthropology, economics, and social psychology.

Geography is perhaps the most neglected of the long established subjects in the curriculum of higher education. Very few of our citizens are ever exposed to any formal instruction in geography after they leave the elementary school. The extent of our geographical ignorance is appalling. Yet geography plays a tremendous part in the decisions that affect all our lives today.

Foreign languages have been increasingly neglected, partly because of our lack of direct contact with people who speak languages other than English, but mainly I believe, because

languages have been taught as a study in formal grammar and vocabulary memorization rather than as a functional tool of communication. If this country is to carry its full responsibility throughout the world, it must have many more citizens who are competent in languages other than English. They must be competent, not at the level of passing a college examination in vocabulary and translation, but to the point of being able to think in the other language and to express themselves in it with reasonable fluency—to understand the speech, not as it is set down in the classic literature of bygone ages, but as it is spoken by the mass of people today. Nor are the traditional French, German and Spanish enough. There are numerous other languages for which we shall have need, languages that will be important in the decades that lie ahead. Russian is certainly one such language.

History, taught as a mere record of the past, with emphasis mainly on dates, and names, and places, and events, is usually a dull subject for the majority of young people. Though we have rather conscientiously insisted that all our youth at the high school or college level get some exposure to courses in history, I fail to find much evidence that a half century or more of such teaching has been influential in helping our voters to decide more wisely than they otherwise would have done among candidates and issues. But when history is taught with relevance to the modern scene and with the objective of helping the student to form the habit of evaluating current problems in the light of historical precedents—I think history can be taught in that manner without any debasement of its purity as a scholarly subject—then it becomes a most important source of enlightenment for those who as citizens must make decisions about future courses of action in a nation with world leadership.

I could go on in a similar manner to indicate the need for increased emphasis and greater effectiveness in the teaching of many other subjects in our institutions of higher education. Unless these institutions provide the leadership needed by the nation in discharging its world responsibilities, we shall be forced to depend on less well prepared leaders. And the result could be disastrous, not only for the United States, but for the rest of the world also.

THE CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

The institution of higher education has always been a vocational school, as I have indicated earlier in these remarks. It may not be assumed, however, that the occupational preparation that was good for previous generations is still effective today. The preparation needed in many occupations is rapidly changing. Higher education has nearly always lagged behind the actual life situations into which it is supposed to fit.

In addition to the changes in the nature of the occupations for which higher education has traditionally offered preparation, new occupations develop that have not previously offered employment to university graduates. An example is social work. More and more occupations are being brought into a status in which education beyond the secondary school is required. It is only within the last half century, for example, that teaching in the elementary school has been recognized as requiring preparation at the college level. Nursing is another occupation that seems to be rapidly emerging to the point where college-level preparation is required.

No one can foresee just what the development of new occupations requiring college-level preparation will be. One university with which I am acquainted has a course—a short course, it is true—for the training of church ushers. At least two universities of recognized standing have curriculums for the preparation of morticians. One may smile at these examples, but we must recall that the introduction of agriculture as a university subject was laughed at and sneered at only seventy-five years ago. In fact, most of the subjects now considered thoroughly respectable in the curriculum of higher education were derided and denounced when their proponents first began to advocate their inclusion. Fortunately, institutions of higher education have always been able, after some lag, to adjust their offerings to changing occupational needs. That policy must be and I am sure will be continued, despite some of the foot-dragging that always occurs in academic circles when something new is proposed.

SERVICES OTHER THAN TEACHING

One could go on at considerable length mentioning other social situations which require modification in the instructional pro-

gram of higher education. Without attempting to exhaust such a list, I would like to point out that society expects certain services from its higher institutions other than the teaching of young people. Most institutions now maintain some programs for the education of adults, people who are not interested in credits and degrees, but who want specific instruction for vocational or recreational purposes, usually on a part-time basis. The range of instruction in this area is almost infinite.

The constituency which an institution of higher education serves typically looks to it also for consultative and advisory services to industry, government, schools, religious groups and all sorts of organizations and individuals who are confronted by situations in which they need counsel. Such an institution has on its staff experts in a wide variety of fields who are usually able to apply their knowledge to the solution of practical problems. The relationship is mutually advantageous, for the facing and solving of a practical problem is often as stimulating and instructive to the professor as the solution of the problem is helpful to the organization that is assisted.

Research is another service for which our society commonly depends to an extraordinarily large extent on its higher institutions. Here again the advantage is mutual. The value of the discoveries made through research have been extremely important to our modern economic and social development, but of great importance also has been the stimulation of the scholars or the faculty through their research activities. I am convinced that the students in our educational institutions get better instruction when a substantial number of their teachers are also engaged in research, than would be the case if research and teaching were in the hands of sharply separated institutions and personnel.

Any candid and objective observer of the current scene in American higher education cannot fail to be impressed with another kind of non-instructional service that seems to be widely demanded and is widely provided by our institutions. The provision of public entertainment in many different forms, often having no apparent connection with the educational services, seems to be increasingly recognized as a necessary part of a college or university program. The maintenance of schedules of intercollegiate

athletic competition is perhaps the most obvious example. Many observers have raised serious question as to whether intercollegiate athletics on the scale now commonly maintained can be consistent with the basic educational purposes of a true institution of higher education. Nonetheless, the pressures for such entertainment services seem almost irresistible and large numbers of respectable educational institutions seem to consider the provision of public spectacles in the form of athletic contests as much a part of their necessary functions as the maintenance of instructional and research programs.

An educational institution has a responsibility considerably beyond the meeting of the demands currently made upon it. As was stated earlier, higher education must actively search for services which it might well be rendering its constituency. It must foresee ways in which the services it might render could contribute to the general welfare. It must aggressively push the values of such services until they are widely accepted.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

In the foregoing discussion, I have indicated what great responsibilities lie upon our institutions of higher education and how our modern society depends on them for so many services that are absolutely essential to our way of life. The administration of any institution having such significant responsibilities is certain to be a challenging task. The programs carried on through a modern institution of higher education are so numerous and so diverse that they require an exceptionally broad span of interest and judgment in the chief administrator.

It was said of the great universities of the Middle Ages that they were "*battue en hommes*," that they were builded of men. In a real sense the institution is its faculty. We are so accustomed to think of the buildings and the football stadium and the other physical properties as the "university" that we forget that these are only facilities where scholars, who are the true university, can carry on their work. Each scholar on the faculty is, of necessity, a specialist in his own field of teaching and research. Such a specialist usually has a strong trend toward rugged individualism in his nature, especially as concerns his own scholarly activities. He does not like to be told what to do or how to do it, especially by some-

one who is less of an expert in his particular field than he is. Sometimes a young, a very young, instructor can be induced to accept a suggestion from an old, experienced head of his department, but the young scholar soon gets over that stage of his development. This trait of scholarly individualism is admirable and necessary. It is a product of the kind of rigorous mental training that I commented on earlier as essential in the face of modern mass media of communication.

Even though each faculty member must be a specialist, with strong characteristics of doing his own thinking and making his own decisions, somehow the efforts of all staff members must be coordinated and directed toward the accomplishment of commonly recognized and commonly accepted goals. Utmost competence is required in the administrator of the institution in order to obtain a harmonious and a forward-moving program.

And there is always the problem of limited resources. No educational institution that I have ever seen or heard about has all the money it can use. All of them lack funds to undertake many of the services that they see are urgently needed. To persuade those who provide the supporting income that the needs are really as urgent as they seem to be to the faculty and executive staff, requires supreme ability of a sort that is not common among administrators.

A change in administration is always an occasion of unusual significance in the life of an educational institution, particularly in our American situation where considerable power is lodged in the top executive and where changes in personnel do not normally occur frequently or regularly. I have said on another occasion that the most significant act ever performed by an institutional board of trustees is the choice of a president. The future welfare of the institution depends more on the wisdom of that choice, than on any other single decision the board ever makes after the initial establishment and location of the institution.

Here at Tuskegee Institute, when it was necessary to search for a new president, the Board of Trustees fortunately did not have far to look. Right at hand was a man of broad and thorough preparation, of proved administrative ability, one who was thoroughly and favorably known to all connected with the Institute,

one who, under the supervision of the able illustrious leader who preceded him, had had a background of apprenticeship and experience that could not be matched anywhere. Doubtless my own judgment is biased in this instance, but I cannot refrain from expressing the pride I feel in finding that the ability of one of the most capable students I ever had in my classes has been recognized in his selection for the headship of this great institution. I warmly congratulate the members of the Board, the faculty, the students, the alumni, and every person in any way connected with Tuskegee Institute on the selection of Dr. Luther Foster as President. And to you, Dr. Foster, I extend my best wishes for a successful administration. The omens are all in your favor.

This is an interesting, even exciting, time in which to be associated with an institution of higher education. Tuskegee Institute, under its new leadership, will, I am certain, continue the forward progress that has marked its history in the provision of educational services to its constituency.

PRESENTATION OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

ROBERT P. DANIEL
President, Virginia State College

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Board of Trustees, Ladies and Gentlemen: As I stand before you to present the fourth president of Tuskegee Institute, it seems appropriate to call attention to the identification of Virginia with each of her presidents.

Both the founder, Booker T. Washington, and his successor, Robert R. Moton, were native sons of Virginia and came here with the inspiration of training and service at Hampton Institute. Although Frederick D. Patterson and Luther H. Foster were on the Tuskegee faculty upon their elevation to the presidency, Dr. Patterson came here after extended service as a professor at Virginia State College and Dr. Foster, born at St. Paul's Institute, Lawrenceville, Virginia, was reared on the campus of Virginia State College, of which he is an alumnus.

Your new president is from a most favorable family background. He had a father of keen business acumen, an able administrator as business manager and later as president of Virginia State College. He has a mother of charm and culture, the center of her home. He is himself a devoted family man.

This new president has excellent training. He holds the degrees of bachelor of science from Virginia State College and from Hampton Institute, master of business administration from Harvard University, master of arts and doctor of philosophy from the University of Chicago.

This new president, although young has had, for four years, valuable experience in the budget office of Howard University. He was business manager of Tuskegee Institute for twelve years and served in various educational, social and public organizations as follows: Secretary, American Association of College Business Officers; board member, National Federation of College and University Business Officers Association; member, editorial board of *College and University Business Magazine*; consultant, United Negro College Fund; treasurer, George Washington Carver Foundation, Inc.; member, Board of Directors, Tuskegee Institute Chapter, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; vestryman, St.

Andrew's Mission of the Episcopal Church. He is the author of three significant publications related to college administration and a member of the National Committee on Publication of College Business Manual.

This new president possesses most admirable qualities of personality and character—quiet in manner, but positive in meaning; human in understanding, but exacting in requirements; exalted in idealism, but realistic in standards; conservative in principles, but progressive in procedures.

So, Mr. Chairman, this new president is well qualified not only to carry on the great traditions of this internationally famous institution but also to provide the leadership for extending to new horizons its educational services. He is a worthy successor to his distinguished predecessors, a brilliant jewel now to be added to the resplendent presidential diadem of Tuskegee Institute.

Mr. O'Connor, I present to you Dr. Luther Hilton Foster, for induction as the fourth president of Tuskegee Institute.

INVESTITURE OF THE NEW PRESIDENT

BASIL O'CONNOR
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Dr. Luther Hilton Foster, by the order of the Board of Trustees, I am directed to invest you with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the presidency of Tuskegee Institute. I charge you with these responsibilities.

First, I deliver into your possession the history and traditions of this Institute and charge you to guard them well.

Secondly, I charge you to serve the Institute of today, to make it a university, a beacon of hope and peace in the world.

Third, I charge you to look to and build for the future. I know you will. Tuskegee Institute has an enviable record of service. This service will be continued under you. Tuskegee has done a wonderful and significant job of expansion. Your leading task will be to integrate, consolidate and preserve the gains that have been made. The future of this great and golden institution is in your hands.

You must be an educational leader of constant challenge and a stimulus to the faculty and the students if you would be the builder of a better, still better institution.

Dr. Foster, your educational record and experience in the field of higher education present an outstanding background eminently qualifying you to assume the responsibilities which lie ahead. You have the confidence and support of the trustees and faculty; and, as you approach this task, I pledge you our support and loyalty in your effort to attain the high ideals and aims to which Tuskegee Institute is dedicated.

SALUTATION TO THE NEW PRESIDENT

FOR THE STUDENTS

ARTHUR SCAVELLA

Chairman, The Student-Faculty Council

Sometime previous to my election last May as Chairman of the Student-Faculty Council, Dr. Frederick D. Patterson indicated he would resign his position as President of Tuskegee Institute to become head of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Although who would be his successor was rather difficult to say, speculation had it that Dr. Luther H. Foster, then Business Manager of the Institute, would be the logical choice. Speculation was correct, it seems, as Dr. Foster was elevated to the presidency. We had no doubt that Dr. Foster was fully capable of undertaking the position he now holds. We feel confident that he will continue to grow in stature with the fulfillment of his responsibilities.

In a short time, our new president has begun to endear himself to the heart of the Tuskegee student. Our contacts with him this year have been both profitable and pleasurable and we anticipate that they will continue to be so, as he has demonstrated a profound interest in student welfare.

Dr. Foster, we, the students of Tuskegee Institute, are interested in obtaining the best possible education. We feel certain that your efforts will be bent in this direction, during what we trust will be a long tenure of service. We firmly realize that maximum achievement can be approached or attained only when all the elements of Institute life—administration, faculty, students and alumni work harmoniously together.

On behalf of the student body, I, pledge to you our whole-hearted cooperation and support. Along with our pledge of support, go our very best wishes to you and to Mrs. Foster, for a most successful and happy stay here as President and "First Lady" of this our great institution.

FOR THE FACULTY

A. FLORENCE MAY

Secretary of the Faculty

Dr. Foster: If you were new to us, we of the faculty and staff might say simply, "We welcome you into the 'Tuskegee Family.'" But such a greeting is unnecessary since you have already served Tuskegee so ably and long. Nor do we need to do much more in words than join heartily in this formal recognition of your becoming president. Our greater contribution lies in action. For generations, Tuskegee students have sung in the third stanza of "The Tuskegee Song":

Thou gavest the Heav'n-blessed power to see
The worth of our minds and our hands.

In these words and in the third emphasis of Tuskegee—the development of spiritual sensitivity and values—we see in part the ends of our strivings here. At the same time, discord and uncertainty in the world make our task and that of other educational institutions much more difficult. Even so, with you as our leader, may we lift our educational program to the inspired heights necessary to achieve our basic aims—heights above the simply expedient, the mediocre, the routine, that afflict many schools.

These ceremonies are an honor, yes, but they imply a large responsibility. One which we share. Your success as president is joined to our success as teachers and staff members. While we applaud your being selected as our leader because of your qualities of integrity, efficiency, and simplicity, we realize that for the full exercise of these qualities you must have behind you a dedicated faculty and staff. In mutual accord, therefore, may we carry our program forward and discharge our responsibility to the young people here now and in the coming years.

Though administering an educational institution requires at times much personal sacrifice, we hope that for you and your family hours of joy and gratification in your work will far exceed hours of heartache and discouragement. May you see the realization of your dreams of a greater, more useful Tuskegee dedicated anew to developing sound thinking, sensitive hearts and skillful hands. Mindful of our responsibility in this joint undertaking, the

faculty and staff pray for you many fruitful years in the service of Tuskegee and wish you Godspeed!

FOR THE ALUMNI

DANIEL W. ANDREWS

Class of 1922

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Platform Guests, Faculty, Students, Ladies and Gentlemen: As the mantle of leadership falls upon your shoulders, Dr. Luther Hilton Foster, you become the fourth leader of this great institution whose beacon rays of hope and inspiration have shone forth from this place for the past seventy-two years. Upon the superior and durable foundation laid by Dr. Booker T. Washington, the late Dr. R. R. Moton wrought well in raising a beautiful superstructure. That superstructure was made even more imposing through the untiring labors of Dr. F. D. Patterson, your immediate predecessor.

Those who assume the role of leadership today must be men of courage, determination and vision. They must be men who, through training and experience, have the capacity to understand the causes and effects of the great forces which are reshaping the destiny of the world. The thousands of loyal alumni of Tuskegee Institute believe that you are such a man.

On behalf of the alumni, therefore, I extend warmest salutations to you as you assume the presidency of a school whose place in educational circles of the world stands secure. But even more, I pledge to you our unwavering, unquestionable loyalty, devotion and support as you, with your official family, shall work, plan and pray for the continued growth and development of this institution throughout the world.

On behalf of the alumni of Tuskegee Institute, I again extend our warmest salutations to you and pledge loyalty and support to our Alma Mater.

FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE

CHARLES G. DOBBINS
For the Governor of Alabama

President Foster, Distinguished Guests, Students and Faculty of Tuskegee Institute: On behalf of the Honorable Gordon Persons, Governor of Alabama and of the more than three million people of Alabama, I am honored to bring salutations and good wishes to the new president of our state's most famous educational institution.

Obviously, the selection of a man to head Tuskegee Institute is a matter of major concern to Alabama; indeed, it challenges the interest and attention of all the nation; for everywhere, men have come to regard this campus as an essential seed bed of American leadership.

Our thoughts may well turn back to the dreams and aspirations of the founder of this institution who, in 1905, in a book highly prized in my library entitled, *Tuskegee and Its People*, wrote these words: "Institutions, like individuals, are properly judged by their ideals, their methods, and their achievements in the production of men and women who are to do the world's work."

Today, nearly fifty years later, you do not need me to remind you of the magnificent role played by Tuskegee Institute in producing men and women who have performed with skill and honor their part of the world's work. Yet I think it appropriate at this time to say, for the people of Alabama: *We thank you, Tuskegee Institute, for all that you have done! We thank you for bringing to Alabama, under President [Principal] Booker T. Washington, under President Robert R. Morton and Under President F. D. Patterson, the blessed light of learning, the love of truth and the courage in the hearts of thousands to strive toward the highest fulfillment of American citizenship. Tuskegee, you have served Alabama—and the world—well indeed!*

But now we enter a new era in education and the world's work, an era with problems enough to dishearten all save the strong in faith. How grateful we are, at such a time, for the wisdom and good judgment of this Board of Trustees, which inspired them to give us the leadership of a man like Luther Hilton Foster. His

family background in the educational life of old Virginia, his academic preparation there and at Harvard and Chicago, and his later professional achievements at Howard University and here at Tuskegee—all combine to fit him for this task, to strengthen him for the splendid pages of Tuskegee history that will surely be written during his administration.

President Foster, the people of Alabama are happy that you serve as the fourth President of Tuskegee Institute and they pledge you, sir, their support, their friendship, and their faith!

FOR HAMPTON INSTITUTE

ALONZO G. MORON
President, Hampton Institute

President Foster, Mr. O'Connor, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I bring you greetings from Hampton Institute. The Board of Trustees, the faculty and the student body join me in saluting the new president of Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Luther Hilton Foster.

The ties that bind Hampton and Tuskegee have been fashioned in the mill of time and circumstance. The pattern was initiated in the call from Alabama to General Samuel Chapman Armstrong for a Hampton teacher. The South, the nation and the world are grateful that Booker T. Washington was the General's answer to that call.

At his death, another alumnus from Hampton Institute, Robert Russa Moton, was given the reins of responsibility here; and though his successor, Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson, was not a Hampton alumnus, he was, let me say, a member of the "Hampton Family" by marriage and through his many years of service as a member of the Hampton Institute Board of Trustees.

Today, we salute the third Hampton alumnus chosen to bear the responsibility of leadership of this great educational enterprise. But more than lives of service bind Hampton and Tuskegee. The Hampton tradition of education for life through hard work

and practical experience while learning has come to full flower in the Tuskegee program.

Furthermore, we like to think that the Hampton-Tuskegee Endowment Fund Campaign of 1926-27 was the seedling which has produced ten fruitful years of inter-collegiate cooperation of thirty-one colleges in the United Negro College Fund and the spread of this idea to twenty-eight other associations of colleges united for cooperative fund raising.

Dr. Luther Hilton Foster, you have built well at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and at the University of Chicago on the adequate foundation laid at Virginia State College and at Hampton Institute.

We are confident that you will continue to build well on the material and spiritual foundation set down here by your predecessors at Tuskegee Institute.

From all of us at Hampton, I bring you congratulations and best wishes for a long and rewarding tenure of useful service to Tuskegee Institute, to the youth of our country, to our nation and to our Holy Father in Heaven.

FOR THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

DAVID A. LOCKMILLER
President, University of Chattanooga

Mr. Chairman, President Foster, Distinguished Guests and Ladies and Gentlemen: It is an honor, for which I am grateful, to extend the greetings and best wishes of the American Council on Education to Tuskegee Institute and to President Luther H. Foster on this historic occasion.

Inasmuch as the American Council on Education is composed of some seventy-nine national and regional educational associations, sixty-four national organizations in fields related to education and 954 colleges, universities, secondary schools, libraries and public and private school systems, I should state a little of what I think our friends and co-workers would say if they could be here. I

know that they rejoice in the accomplishments of this institution and its distinguished faculty and alumni; and that they value and appreciate more than words can convey the partnership of Tuskegee in the vitally important cause of higher education.

The President of the American Council on Education, Dr. Arthur S. Adams, is indeed sorry that he could not be here today. He enjoined me to convey his warmest regards and the felicitations of his staff. In addition to all of these, I want to salute President Foster personally and on behalf of my colleagues at the University of Chattanooga and to express my appreciation for the wonderful symposium, "The New South and Higher Education."

Having its origin in the idea of improving the lot of mankind and achieving growth and success through persistent faith and hard work, Tuskegee stands today as one of the great educational institutions of the United States and the world. Here ideas as well as blades of grass have multiplied under the patient leadership of men of vision and devotion. Here thousands of young men and women have acquired mental discipline and skills which have enabled them to help themselves and others in assuming the full responsibilities of a free people. This is basic in democracy because a mere knowledge of books and the possession of skills are not enough. Free citizens must have intellectual curiosity, the ability to think, an appreciation of values and the wisdom and courage to make correct decisions.

Speaking here in 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt stressed the value of training every individual "to be of the utmost use, by developing his intelligence, his skill, and his capacity for conscious effort." He contended that this was of the highest importance to Negroes and whites and that it deserved the support of both races. He warned, however, that "no help can permanently avail you save as you yourselves develop capacity for self-help."

A quarter of a century later, President Hoover, in a radio address which was part of Tuskegee's Golden Jubilee Celebration, attested the progress of Negro citizens since the opening of this school by the famed Booker T. Washington. And yet from that celebration in the early 1930's to this inaugural, even greater accomplishments have taken place. As a native and resident of the South, I have witnessed so many gains during the past twenty

years that I predict the historian of the future will say it was in the mid-Twentieth Century that the spirit of American democracy vindicated the letter of the Constitution and the Negro as a race acquired full and equal citizenship.

Tuskegee has succeeded in its mission in spite of and because of great difficulties. One of the latter has been the blight of segregation. This is being removed more rapidly than many citizens realize, but regardless of when and how it comes, the Negro, the South, and nation will continue to need Tuskegee Institute. The eradication of the last vestiges of segregation will present new problems to those guiding the destinies of this institution as well as to all Americans concerned with education. I am confident that President Foster and all friends of Tuskegee will take courage from the past and follow the course set by the stars, no matter from which direction the currents may come.

President Foster is an experienced educator and he is aware of the joys and rewards as well as the trials and tribulations of being college president. He knows that the man who is worthy of being a leader will not complain of the faults of his helpers, of the indifference and ingratitude of alumni, or of lack of appreciation by the public. He will accept these along with lasting friendships and the roses of accomplishments. He will know that the meeting of difficulties with his best efforts and without losing sight of the ideal is the final measure of success.

Again, for the American Council on Education and personally, I congratulate Tuskegee and her new leader, Dr. Foster. Truly, the present and the past acclaim the future in this our blessed land.

FOR THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM

Executive Secretary

Mr. President and Chairman: The American Teachers Association is happy to have this privilege of expressing its felicitations to the fourth president of Tuskegee Institute.

I count it indeed an opportunity for the Association to be represented on this occasion, for there is the recollection of the mutuality of heritage of this president and of the American Teachers Association. This institution, properly so, has been concerned over the years with the interests of a professional group studying in our schools.

Very early in the twentieth century, an official of Tuskegee Institute, the director of the academic division, Dr. J. R. E. Lee, marshalled the educational forces of the Negro people of the nation and became the first president, in 1904, of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; which, since 1937, has been known as the American Teachers Association. The second president of the Association was the late Booker T. Washington, founder-president of Tuskegee Institute.

We do not forget such personalities as Monroe N. Work, Clinton J. Calloway and W. T. B. Williams, who were active and most serviceable in their sacrificial devotion to the cause of the American Teachers Association. We feel, therefore, this afternoon, something of a sense of obligation and something of a happy privilege to share in this heritage. We have a common cause about which we are duly and humbly concerned; that is, the role, the interests, and peculiar circumstances related to education. We recognize the educational crisis as an outcome of the war. There is even more of a crisis to which we must look forward in attempting to make our program as effective as possible. There must be concern that all resources be utilized and aligned for maximum effectiveness in the achievement of a total objective.

We come, then, to express congratulations for the Association and for the teaching profession to such a distinguished institution as Tuskegee Institute, and to extend to its new president our felicitations and our pledge of every possible type of cooperation.

FOR THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

WILLIAM J. TRENT, JR.
Executive Secretary

Mr. Chairman, President Foster: I have been charged with the responsibility of bringing you greetings from the United Negro College Fund. It feels like coming back home again, because the United Negro College Fund was born at Tuskegee Institute.

Out of the mind of the distinguished predecessor of President Foster came the idea that Negro colleges could best serve their constituents and best serve their purposes by joining hands and presenting to the American public the fact of great achievements and the great need for distinguished institutions.

In part, the UNCF brings greetings today as much as the representative of the student body or the faculty representative, because the Fund is an adjunct of Tuskegee Institute just as it is an adjunct to thirty other Negro colleges in America.

It is the primary function of the Fund to see to it that some of the pressing needs of Tuskegee Institute are brought before the attention of men and women of influence and resources in America, in order that President Foster, in doing his job, will have the necessary support to live up to the bright promise and better future of this institution.

To Dr. Foster, I bring greetings from the devoted staff in New York, and I bring greetings from some 4,000 volunteers throughout America who are concerned with Tuskegee Institute as well as with the various other institutions. I hope I can be presumptuous too in bringing you greetings from over 100,000 American citizens, who for over ten years have contributed more than \$25,000,000 to Tuskegee Institute and to the thirty other colleges. Many of these contributors, I am sure, are sitting in this audience.

President Foster, as you are elevated to the presidency of Tuskegee Institute, you are also elevated to membership on the Board of Directors of the UNCF. We find that we do not have to employ your resources alone in the field of securing adequate funds in separating people from their resources. You have thirty other presidents in the field with you. And so, while you take on this

major responsibility, it is good to know, I am sure, that you have behind you many distinguished citizens who have joined in this work.

As the Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund, and, if I may, as a friend of long standing, I salute you.

FOR THE LEARNED SOCIETIES

PRINCE P. BARKER

Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science

Mr. Chairman, President Foster, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the high honor to present the felicitations of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Learned Societies of the United States on your inauguration as the fourth president of Tuskegee Institute. The versatile genius of Benjamin Franklin firmly planted the concept of science as promoter of human welfare and progress in the origins of the American tradition. George Washington and John Adams postulated that scientific institutions were necessary to a popular democracy. Jefferson, throughout his two terms as President of the United States, was also President of the American Philosophical Society, the earliest of the great learned societies to stress the social meaningfulness of useful knowledge. The same concept motivated John Smithson to make possible for the young republic the noted institution that bears his name.

Founded in 1848, the American Association for the Advancement of Science has become the recognized spokesman for American science by coordinating and integrating the natural, mathematical, physical, engineering, agricultural and medical sciences with social, industrial and cultural progress.

The Association salutes the scientific program at Tuskegee Institute. If evidence were needed, it could be readily demonstrated by the wide range of basic research in the natural sciences at the George Washington Carver Foundation, research in engineering, and research in the School of Veterinary Medicine. Outstanding is the fact that Tuskegee Institute is the second Negro

college to win recognition from the national honor society of Sigma Xi by the founding of a Sigma Xi club on the campus in the spring of 1953.

Science does not exist in a vacuum, nor does it have meaning except in relation to human beings. Nowhere has the promotion of useful knowledge been more magnificently implemented than in the historic program of Tuskegee Institute.

The Association and the Learned Societies voice the firm conviction that under your wise stewardship, Dr. Foster, past achievements will constitute the prelude to a greater future; that Tuskegee Institute will play an increasing role in diminishing areas of ignorance and in enlarging those of tolerance and understanding; that it will continue to promote useful knowledge and to harness scientific research to human values and to the national welfare.

INAUGURAL STATEMENT

LUTHER H. FOSTER
President, Tuskegee Institute

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Board of Trustees, Ladies and Gentlemen: I accept with sincere dedication the responsibilities and the challenges which attend my election as the fourth president of Tuskegee Institute. I pledge my full and devoted services to the welfare of this institution. With divine guidance and with the help of others, I am confident that the full potential of Tuskegee Institute will be realized as we seek out and unfold our opportunities.

Tuskegee Institute is a dynamic organization. Its growth and its vigor are, in part, a reflection of the genuine satisfactions which come to all who participate in the program. I myself have had the privilege of serving Tuskegee Institute for twelve years.

It has been my good fortune to study and work at several other institutions. In each situation, I have been stimulated and instructed by many competent persons who were genuinely devoted to the cause of education. To all of those persons and to the institutions with which they were associated, I feel a deep sense of gratitude.

This is an important day in the life of Tuskegee Institute. The presence of this audience attests the significance of the event. The goodwill of many others is expressed in different ways. It is a tribute to the character of this institution that its welfare has so long been the vital concern of such a large constituency.

Because Tuskegee Institute is the interest of so many, I want to direct attention this afternoon to the Tuskegee *idea*; to its emergence as a major force on the educational scene and to its potential for future service. I hope, as an incidental outcome, the friends of Tuskegee may well know that we here draw strength from the heritage of Tuskegee's past as we perform our daily tasks and as we look to a future of increasingly realizable goals.

The definitive history of Tuskegee Institute is yet to be written, but the way of its seventy-two years is well marked. The impact of the program since 1881 has been momentous. The Institute has influenced thousands in a fundamental way. But, true to a basic

tenet of higher education, Tuskegee has remained sensitive continuously to the changing needs of the world in which it serves.

Let us look at the early years. Effective clarification of objectives and implementation of program are clear evidence of Booker T. Washington's wisdom and his ability to get jobs done. His sound ideas and practical approach commanded the respect and the support of a host of friends. While focused on a core of vocational content, Tuskegee Institute sought to stimulate in each student an appreciation for personal qualities associated with effective citizenship. Not so often expressed, but likewise goals of Tuskegee training, were the continual advancement of standards and superior performance in all things done. Many will recall this statement by Dr. Washington:

The man who has learned to do something better than anyone else, has learned to do a common thing in an uncommon manner, is the man who has a power and influence that no adverse circumstances can take from him.

This institution is well remembered, too, for pioneering in-service training and adult education.

Through the years, some educators—and others possessed of strong lay opinions—have tended to confuse the *aims* of Tuskegee Institute with its *techniques* of program implementation. They have argued also the merits of vocational versus liberal education. Sometimes there was the tendency to minimize the virtues of vocational competence; at other times, there was the failure to recognize Tuskegee's emphasis of personal development and intellectual attainment.

The accomplishments of those who studied under Dr. Washington stand as ample testimony to the validity of that program. Unfortunately, however, many individuals of good intention remember only the dramatic techniques which Dr. Washington employed in operating his program.

It is readily apparent to those who read Booker T. Washington's reports and books that his techniques, though frequently serving as useful ends in themselves, were more often means to attain a major objective. Thus, the *goals* of Tuskegee Institute are revealed as being paramount.

The middle years of Tuskegee's history reflected physical growth and major strides toward financial stability. It was increasingly possible for Robert R. Moton to corral interest and financial support for a program which offered an improved life to so many disadvantaged young people.

Service in areas outside the classroom continued in those years. The nation looked to Tuskegee, with Dr. Moton at the helm, for leadership in matters crucial to the welfare of the Negro in America. An example of this influence was the successful effort to establish a veterans' hospital in this community. The facility brought opportunity to Negroes for the practice of medicine, for research and for related services at a time and on a scale which would hardly have been possible otherwise.

In more recent years, Tuskegee Institute developed rapidly in those attributes essential to higher education. Curricula were modified and expanded to meet new requirements. Performance levels were advanced to keep pace with current trends and to improve Tuskegee's relative position in the total system of higher education. Research activities, both fundamental and applied, were enlarged materially.

Two other developments stand out in Tuskegee Institute's history of service and cooperation during the administration of Frederick D. Patterson. The United Negro College Fund was established as a pioneering project in college financing. Tuskegee Institute also participated in the development of regional education programs, which educators have strongly endorsed as essential for high quality instruction in any region.

Both of those efforts struck at the inefficient financing and the unbalanced availability of educational resources. It was important that something be done, for the deficiencies had an adverse effect on all citizens, even though they may have appeared at first to have been an obstacle only to one particularly disadvantaged group. Second-class education leads invariably to second-class performance and minimizes the citizen's value to his community.

We look now to the future. It is not the responsibility of the president alone to shape the destiny of an institution. The highest aims of any organization may be fulfilled only as all who share

therein participate thoughtfully, energetically and cooperatively in the dedicated cause. I do recognize, however, the charge which is mine to exercise administrative leadership. I should like to speak about the future, first, in a general way.

The role of Tuskegee Institute must be shaped by two sets of forces. There is the immediacy of the environment, including the strengths of the past, the resources of the present and the opportunities of the foreseeable future. These we cannot neglect, though we may wish to change them and may indeed have some success in doing so.

A second influence must be heeded if Tuskegee Institute is to meet the opportune challenge established by its own long and successful experience in dealing with fundamental issues. Tuskegee must chart its course to face problems which are now and will in our future be crucial for human welfare. The focus must be on people, particularly our students whom we touch daily.

Tuskegee Institute can well build its program around four specific responsibilities. These proposals envision modified emphases rather than redirection of time-tested policies.

First, Tuskegee Institute must insist upon the maintenance of high standards of technical performance such as exemplified by men like George Washington Carver. It must accept the competitive system which sets standards all are obligated to meet. More important, however, it must be alert to the factors upon which that competition is built. The continual extension and refinement of the world's knowledge impose an obligation upon people. They must share to a larger extent than ever before in the acquisition, use, and transmission of knowledge.

Second, Tuskegee Institute must encourage human development. We here must be particularly alert, for we are a technical and professional college. Tuskegee must not permit the rightful concern with technical competencies to crowd out courses and activities which stimulate wholesome living. We must remember our focus; it is on the individual—a *human* being.

Third, Tuskegee Institute must contribute to the strengthening of moral stamina among people. The urgency for action is apparent in a world where fundamental values seem to change al-

most as rapidly as do the events of the times. The most significant way by which Tuskegee can make itself felt in this duty is through its own firm dedication of program to the service of people. We need the wisdom to select appropriate goals and the courage to abide by those objectives so long as they are genuinely tenable. In this matter, Tuskegee must *think* and act above the exigencies of any immediate situation.

Fourth, Tuskegee Institute must work to improve human relations. People of goodwill applaud the current trend to judge individuals on their merit, and to have their rights, duties, and opportunities assigned accordingly. It is timely to reflect briefly on some of the major factors contributing to this significant improvement in human relations.

Sociological and anthropological studies have provided scientific validity for the concept of universal brotherhood. Legal appeals have clarified individual rights under the law and thereby raised the level of justice. Unprecedented expansion of the economy has opened new work opportunities and pointed to the need for full utilization of human resources, regardless of race.

At the same time, and frequently in the vanguard, Tuskegee Institute has exercised constructive leadership in race relations. How has this leadership been demonstrated? There has been the force of its graduates in their communities. There has been the power of influential persons who responded to their exposure to the Tuskegee program by speaking a word, lending a hand, or clarifying a policy in the interest of race relations. There has been the growing respect among people throughout the world for the demonstrated usefulness of the Tuskegee program and for the justice of its objectives. There have been the special efforts of outstanding members of the Tuskegee organization which have inspired many persons to high attainments.

Tuskegee Institute is a symbol of calm in an atmosphere sometimes fraught with the strife of misunderstanding. In another way, however, its activity resembles nuclear fission. Each Tuskegee action or contact is powerful in itself, but has its truest fulfillment in the profuse and cumulative effect of each action in the chain. Tuskegee Institute offers hope, and a practical but uncompromising

means of implementing that hope, to all who would partake of its services or who allow themselves to be touched by its spirit.

The future of Tuskegee Institute in human relations may well grow out of its past contributions in the somewhat narrower field of race relations. Foundations have been laid. Rapport has been established. The fundamental decency and justice of equal opportunity and full citizenship are substantially recognized. Those now clearly apparent objectives of Tuskegee Institute's early mission are a maturing reality.

Tuskegee's role is to help maintain the advances and to move forward into broader areas of human understanding. This can best be done through the continual development of individuals competent to deal intelligently and forthrightly with the problems of living for themselves and for the world in which they live. There is the added institutional duty to speak out for truth and justice in the general society.

In summary, the challenge to Tuskegee Institute is to know, to seek, and to stand firm by those fundamental values which are essential to the good life. Tuskegee must strive, further, to assure the full mental, physical, and spiritual stature of each person who shares in its program. Finally, Tuskegee Institute must dedicate itself to the future. In all these things, I shall strive to give fair account.

APPENDICES

THE INAUGURATION OF
LUTHER HILTON FOSTER
AS FOURTH PRESIDENT OF
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

AND

A SYMPOSIUM ON "THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION"

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

SATURDAY, OCTOBER THIRTY-FIRST AND SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER FIRST

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

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John H. Pinson	R. W. Woodruff

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES Peabody Room
2:00 p. m.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

SYMPOSIUM: THE NEW SOUTH AND
HIGHER EDUCATION Trade A Auditorium
8:30 a. m.

SYMPOSIUM (continued) Trade A Auditorium
1:30 p. m.

TOUR OF INSPECTION
3:45 p. m.

RECTAL BY WILLIAM WARFIELD, *Baritone* Logan Hall
8:00 p. m.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

CHAPEL SERVICE The Chapel
11:00 a. m.

ACADEMIC PROCESSION
2:00 p. m.

INAUGURAL EXERCISES The Chapel
2:30 p. m.

RECEPTION Logan Hall
6:30 p. m.

SYMPOSIUM

THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

What Are the Implications for Higher Education
of the Changing Socio-Economic
Conditions of the South?

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

MORNING SESSION—8:30-12:00

INVOCATION

REVEREND D. W. WYNN
Acting Chaplain
Tuskegee Institute

GREETINGS

DR. I. A. DERBIGNY
Vice-President
Tuskegee Institute

Population Distribution and Composition in the New South

Speaker: Dr. Donald J. Bogue, Associate Director,
The Scripps Foundation

Discussant: Dr. Rupert B. Vance, Professor of Sociology,
University of North Carolina

Presiding: President Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

The Reorganization of the Economy

Speaker: Dr. Benjamin U. Ratchford, Professor of Economics,
Duke University

Discussants: Dr. Edward C. Ackerman, Ass't. General Manager,
Tennessee Valley Authority

Mr. Lorimer D. Milton, President,
Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia

Presiding: President Albert W. Dent, Dillard University

The Extension of Citizenship

Speaker: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council

Discussants: President Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University
Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean of the Graduate
School, Howard University

Presiding: President R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College

AFTERNOON SESSION—1:30-3:30

Changes in Values and Attitudes

Speaker: Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Professor of Sociology,
Haverford College

Discussants: President Horace Mann Bond,
Lincoln University

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason,*
CIO Southern Public Relations Representative
(retired)

Presiding: President J. F. Drake,
Alabama A. and M. College

Summary Statement

Speaker: Mr. Basil O'Connor, President,
The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis

Presiding: Dr. Clarence H. Faust, President,
The Fund for the Advancement of Education,
The Ford Foundation

* Editor's Note: Address was not available.

RECITAL

WILLIAM WARFIELD

Baritone

Otto Herz At The Piano

Logan Hall

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:00 p. m.

I.

HONOR AND ARMS, from "Samson" *Handel*

OH SLEEP, WHY DOST THOU LEAVE ME,

from "Semele" *Handel*GOOD FELLOW BE MERRY, from "Peasant Cantata" . . *Bach*

II.

FUSSREISE (Tramping) *Hugo Wolf*

Walking through the woods this bright morning, I seek no better
heaven than to wander entranced along paths where earth smiles
in such splendor.

NUN WANDRE MARIA (Take Comfort, Mary) . . *Hugo Wolf*

Joseph comforts Mary during their journey to Bethlehem before
the birth of the Christ Child.

TRUNKEN MUSSEN WIR ALLE SEIN

(Drunken Must We Be) *Hugo Wolf*

Youth is a wineless drunkenness, but old age needs a stimulant.
So, if you take to drink, be sure your wine is old and rare.

BONJOUR SUZON (Good Day, Susan) *Leo Delibes*

Perhaps he comes too late, who leaves too soon. But, now that
I'm back, Susan, let me in, I pray. Do not be indifferent this
time. Good day, Susan.

BEAU SOIR (Beautiful Evening) *Debussy*

As the sun sets serenely and cornfields glow, my heart says youth
and spring are brief, enjoy each golden moment.

BALLADE DES FEMMES DE PARIS

(Ballad of the Women of Paris) *Debussy*

Of all women, from whatever country, none have as big mouths
as the women of Paris.

III.

ARIA—IL LACERATO SPIRITO,

from "Simon Baccanegra" *Verdi*

Torn with grief and suffering at the loss of his child, Fiescho leaves the Church of San Lorenzo and turns toward the palace of the Fieschi. A statue of the Virgin Mary is set in a niche by the side of the palace. Crazy by his great sorrow, Fiescho bitterly upbraids the Virgin for not protecting his child, but realizing the full extent of his blasphemy, he begs her forgiveness and asks her to pray for him.

ARIA—NEMICO DELLA PATRIA

(Enemy of the Fatherland) from "Andrea Chenier" . *Giordano*

This aria is sung in the third act by Gerard, a revolutionary who, having betrayed Chenier to his enemies, now admits that his accusations were false and were made from motives of jealousy.

INTERMISSION

IV.

OLD AMERICAN SONGS *Aaron Copland*

1. Boatman's Dance (Minstrel Song)
2. The Dodger (Campaign Song)
3. A Long Time Ago (Ballad)
4. Simple Gifts (Shaker Song)
5. I Bought Me a Cat (Play-game Song)

V.

FM GOIN' TO THANK GOD *arr. by Nathaniel Dett*
 L'L DAVID PLAY ON YOUR HARP . . . *arr. by Harry Burleigh*
 SCANDALIZE MY NAME *arr. by Harry Burleigh*
 MY LORD, WHAT A MORNING *arr. by Harry Burleigh*
 HONOR, HONOR *arr. by Hall Johnson*

CHAPEL SERVICE

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

11:00 a. m.

ORGAN PRELUDE: "Largo" *Handel*

INVITATION

CHOIR

"Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee. He never will suffer the righteous to fall; He is at thy right hand. Thy mercy, Lord, is great and far above the heavens; Let none be made ashamed that wait upon Thee."

DOXOLOGY (*All Standing*)*Minister and People:*

Lift up your heads, O ye gates! And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, And the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the King of glory?
The Lord strong and mighty,
The Lord mighty in battle!

Lift up your heads, O ye gates!
Even lift them up, ye everlasting doors,
And the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the King of glory?
The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.

HYMN NO. 1: "Fairest Lord Jesus"

OFFERTORY: "Meditation de Thais" *Massenet*

SCRIPTURE READING: No. 32

MELODY: "Oh I Know the Lord"

CONGREGATION

Minister: Lift up your hearts.

People: We lift them up unto the Lord.

Minister: O Lord, open thou our eyes.

People: That we may behold wondrous things out of thy law.

Minister: O Lord, open thou our lips.

People: And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

Minister: Praise ye the Lord.

People: The Lord's name be praised.

THE PASTORAL PRAYER

THE ANTHEM: "O Lord Most Holy" *Cesar Franck*
CHOIR

SERMON

DR. HOWARD THURMAN
Dean of the Chapel, Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

SILENT PRAYER AND MEDITATION

HYMN NO. 227: "Lord Speak to Me"

BENEDICTION

ORGAN POSTLUDE: "Festival Toccata" *Fletcher*

THE INAUGURAL EXERCISES

THE CHAPEL

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

2:30 p. m.

ORGAN PRELUDE: "Chorale" (Suite Gothique) . . . *Boellmann*

PROCESSIONAL

INVOCATION

DR. HARRY V. RICHARDSON

President, Gammon Theological Seminary

MUSIC: "Salvation Is Created" *Tschesnokoff*

CHOIR

ADDRESS

DR. JOHN DALE RUSSELL

Chancellor and Executive Secretary

New Mexico Board of Educational Finance

HYMN No. 225: "O Master Let Me Walk With Thee"

AUDIENCE

THE ACT OF INAUGURATION

Presentation of the President-Elect

PRESIDENT ROBERT P. DANIEL

Virginia State College

Investiture of the New President

MR. BASIL O'CONNOR

Chairman of the Board of Trustees

SALUTATION TO PRESIDENT FOSTER

For the Students

MR. ARTHUR SCAVELLA

Chairman of the Institute Council

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MUSIC: "How Lovely Is Thy Dwelling Place" *Brahms*
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