

# An American City In Transition

*The Baltimore Community Self-Survey  
of Inter-Group Relations*



MARYLAND COMMISSION ON  
INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS

BALTIMORE COMMISSION ON  
HUMAN RELATIONS

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**CHAPTER IV**  
**THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS**  
**EDUCATIONAL SERVICES IN BALTIMORE**

## Introduction

The May 17th Decision of the United States Supreme Court and the subsequent history making action of the Baltimore Public School System have solved some and minimized others of the problems envisaged by the Education Committee in planning its Education Study in the winter of 1954. Other issues not included in the plan have assumed a higher priority because of their crucial position in the movement from a legally desegregated to a fully integrated system in which race and color are in fact completely irrelevant elements in the planning and administration of an educational program.

Important types of educational institutions are not considered herein. Plans for the study of institutions of higher learning during May and June, 1954, had been made and negotiations had been completed for a study of parochial schools similar to that completed in the Baltimore Public Schools. During this delicate period of reappraisal and transition, it did not appear appropriate or in the best interest of the Self-Survey objectives to pursue these plans.

Consequently, this report is based primarily upon data concerning the Baltimore Public Schools. However, since about three-fourths of the pupils below college level in the city are in this system, it is felt that many of the findings herein have relevance to other educational institutions in Baltimore.<sup>1</sup>

## Definition and Description of the School Population

In order to understand fully the present racial distribution of the Baltimore School population, we shall first describe the broader population setting within which the school enrollment is situated.

During the period 1940 to 1950, the population of Metropolitan Baltimore expanded by more than a quarter of a million persons to reach a population of 1,337,373 in April 1950. This represented an increase of 254,073 persons or 23.5 percent during the decade. Thus, its rate of growth exceeded that of the country as a whole (14.5 percent) and that in the 168 metropolitan areas of the United States (22.0 percent).

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<sup>1</sup>It is based primarily upon official reports of and information obtained from the Maryland State Department of Education and the Baltimore City Public School Systems; upon data drawn from a questionnaire sent to teachers (Regular and Special Substitute) and principals; and upon information from conferences with qualified persons inside and out of the System.

The period covered by the statistical data is the post-World War II era beginning with the school year 1945-46 (termed 1946) and 1952-53 (termed 1953). Figures beyond this latter year were fragmentary and those prior to the former were not generally necessary for our purposes though some references are made to them for background purposes.

It also followed the pattern of the Nation's metropolitan areas for the past several decades in growing at a faster rate than the central city *per se*. While the Baltimore city population increased 10.5 percent, Baltimore County grew by 73.4 percent and Arundel County by 71.7 percent during this decade.

While the white population of Metropolitan Baltimore grew more rapidly numerically from 1940 to 1950 than the non-white, the non-white population, which is almost totally Negro, increased at a more rapid rate, i.e., the non-white population increased 36.9 percent while the white rose 29.5 percent.

This population movement has a racial aspect of great significance for the study of the educational problems of Baltimore. Non-whites have become concentrated within the central city while whites have tended to move to the suburban areas. From 1940 to 1950, about 83 percent of Metropolitan Baltimore's growth in non-white population took place in Baltimore city, while only 17 percent of the net increase in whites was within the city proper.

As a result of the relatively faster rate of growth in non-white than in white population and the tendency of non-whites to settle in the central city, the non-white proportion of the total population in the city, increased from 19 percent in 1940 to 24 percent in 1950 while its proportion of the metropolitan area rose from 18 percent in 1940 to 19.9 percent in April 1950.

Almost half of the population growth during this decade was due to the movement of persons into the area from outside. This accounted for a larger percentage of the non-white than white population growth, i.e., 61.4 percent of the non-white and 43.3 percent of the white population growth.<sup>1</sup>

Estimates of population growth since 1950 reveal that the metropolitan reached 1,480,000 in July 1953, a gain of almost 11 percent and that over half of this increase was due to the high rate of in-migration which accelerated following the outbreak of the Korean War when employment opportunities expanded sharply. It appears that, as in the Forties, most of the white increase has occurred in Baltimore County while the non-white

<sup>1</sup>In-migration in the suburbs constituted about 70 percent of the population growth while in Baltimore city it accounted for only 8.4 percent and this was due entirely to the influx of non-white persons. In fact, there was actually an out-migration from the city of 29,460 whites — equivalent to almost half of their natural increase. On the other hand, more than 80 percent of the new non-white inhabitants in the metropolitan area settled in Baltimore city.

growth has been largely in Baltimore city and the movement of white families to the suburbs has accelerated in recent years.<sup>1</sup>

#### POPULATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BALTIMORE CITY

The divergent population trends of the white and colored groups in Baltimore city during the decade of the Forties is reflected in a falling total population from 963,000 in 1943 to 930,000 in 1945 after which it rose continuously to 963,500 in 1953. The white population fell continuously during this period, though less rapidly after 1945, from 769,000 in 1943 to 715,800 in 1953 while the colored rose from 194,000 in 1943 to 247,700 in 1953 without interruption.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the growth in Negro population was sufficient to more than offset the declining white population and account for the rising total population from 1945 to 1953.

The impact of these population trends upon the growth in Baltimore Public School enrollments is apparent in Figure 1. While the general direction of the colored and total enrollments is the same as the population trends, the white enrollment trend was downward from 95,732 pupils in 1936 to 76,471 pupils in 1947 after which it rose continuously to 84,498 in 1953.

It is probable that the rising white enrollment figure for 1947 forward in the face of a falling white population in Baltimore city is accounted for by the suburban movement of white families whose children continued as pupils within the outlying schools within the Baltimore city public school system.<sup>3</sup>

#### ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, PUBLIC AND NON-PUBLIC —

In June, 1953 about three-fourths of all pupils below the college level in Baltimore city were enrolled in public schools while one-fourth of them were in non-public schools. However, the racial distribution of the pupils differed widely between these two types of schools. Approximately two-thirds of the white and more than 95 percent of the Negro pupils were in the Baltimore Public School System.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Report on the Housing Market Baltimore, Maryland Standard Metropolitan Area As of September 1, 1953, by Ralph S. Weese, Housing Market Analyst, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.

<sup>2</sup>Figures obtained from the Baltimore Department of Health.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix D, Tables I and II.

<sup>4</sup>Of the 173,248 pupils enrolled in Baltimore schools below the college level, 131,854 or 76.11 percent were in public and 41,394 or 23.89 percent in non-public schools in June, 1953. Of the 124,205 white pupils, 68.03 percent were in public and 31.94 percent in non-public schools while of the 49,043 colored pupils, 96.56 percent were in public and 3.44 percent in non-public schools.

Among the non-public schools, the Catholic group is most numerically important. Of the 161,075 pupils enrolled in Baltimore in June 1950, 121,365 or 75.3 percent were in public; 34,559 or 21.5 percent in Catholic; and 5,151 or 3.2 percent in non-public, non-Catholic schools, including private, Lutheran, Hebrew, Episcopal, etc., schools.<sup>1</sup> There have been no appreciable changes in the proportions of pupils in public and non-public schools between 1946 and 1953.<sup>2</sup>

The private schools receive a larger share of the elementary school pupils than of the high school enrollment. This is true of both white and colored pupils, though more pronounced among the former group.<sup>3</sup> There was no significant change between 1946 and 1953 in the relative importance of public and non-public schools at the elementary or high school level among either racial group.<sup>4</sup>

As might be expected from the rising population trend in the latter Forties, there was an increase in total enrollment between 1946 and 1953 which was shared by public and non-public schools at both elementary and high school levels. During this period, the total school population of Baltimore increased by 15.46 percent, from 150,055 to 173,248; the public school enrollment by 17.15 percent, from 112,551 to 131,854; and the non-public, by 10.37 percent, from 37,504 to 41,394. There were significant increases in the numbers of both white and colored pupils. The total number of Negro pupils in public schools increased by 33.53 percent while that of all whites in the system increased by 9.62 percent between 1946 and 1953, the Negro increase being almost four times that of the whites. While the increase in Negro public school enrollment at the elementary level was about twice the size of the increase in white enrollment, i.e.,

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<sup>1</sup>While the percentage of all colored pupils who attend Catholic Schools has decreased slightly, the number has increased, e.g., in 1935, 1,403 or 4.7 percent of all Negro pupils were in Catholic schools while in 1950, 1,637 or 3.8 percent were in such schools. Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore Public Schools, October 19, 1951 (Statistical Release).

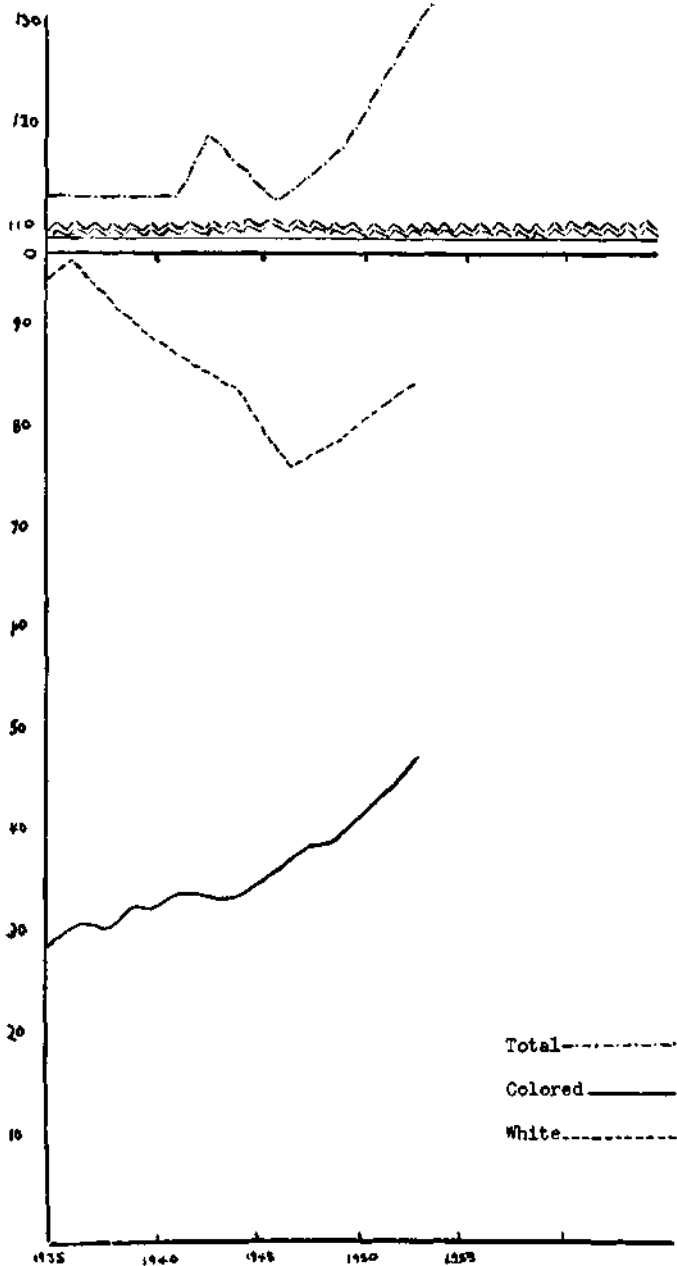
<sup>2</sup>Percentage of Baltimore enrollment in June 1946 and 1953, respectively, are as follows:

All pupils, 75.01 percent and 76.11 percent, respectively; white pupils, 68.21 percent and 68.03 percent, respectively; and Negro pupils, 95.76 percent and 96.56 percent, respectively. Corresponding non-public percentages may be obtained by subtracting each of these figures from 100 percent.

<sup>3</sup>In 1953, of the 89,005 white elementary pupils enrolled in Baltimore, 63.34 percent were in public and 36.66 percent in private schools while 79.88 percent of the 35,200 white high school students were in public and 20.12 percent in private schools. Similarly, 95.84 percent of the 35,735 Negro students in elementary schools were in public schools while 4.16 percent of them were in private schools. At the high school level, 98.51 percent of the 13,308 colored students were in public schools and 1.49 percent in non-public institutions.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix D, Table III. Percents are computed from this table.

FIGURE 1  
 ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY TOTAL AND COLOR  
 BALTIMORE CITY: 1935 - 1953



23.69 percent and 11.68 percent, respectively, the most striking increase occurred at the high school level where the Negro enrollment increased from 7,779 to 13,110 or 68.53 percent while the white enrollment rose from 26,604 to 28,119 or 5.69 percent during the period 1946 to 1953.

On the other hand, the percentage increase in the number of Negro pupils was smaller than that of white pupils in non-public schools at both elementary and high school levels.<sup>1</sup> At both elementary and high school levels, the rate of increase in Negro enrollment was many times greater in the public schools than in the non-public schools while the increases in white enrollments were almost identical in these two types of schools at both instructional levels.<sup>2</sup>

#### RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL POPULATION —

In June 1953, a little more than seven-tenths of the total school population of Baltimore was white and slightly under three-tenths of it was colored. The racial distributions of both the elementary and high school populations were approximately the same.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1946 and 1953 the proportion of the school population which was white, decreased while that of Negroes increased and again this change was most pronounced at the high school level. In 1946, 80.62 percent of the 41,232 high school students were white and 19.38 percent, colored. By 1953 the colored share had increased to 27.43 percent while the white had decreased to 72.57 percent.

The Negroes' share of the school population is largest in the public school system and smallest in the non-public schools. In June, 1953, 35.92 percent of the 131,854 public school pupils were Negroes while 64.08 percent were white. Of the 41,394 private school pupils enrolled at the

<sup>1</sup>This was most pronounced at the high school level where there was a net decrease in the percent of Negro pupils from 211 to 198 or a loss of 6.16 percent. At the elementary level, the number of white pupils enrolled increased from 29,297 to 32,626 or 11.36 percent while the Negro enrollment increased from 1,358 to 1,486 or 9.43 percent during the period 1946 to 1953 while at the high school level, the white enrollment increased from 6,688 to 7,081 or 6.73 percent while the Negro enrollment decreased by 6.16 percent.

<sup>2</sup>The increase from 1946 to 1953 in the enrollment of white pupils was as follows:

*total*, 9.62 percent, public; 10.48 percent, non-public; *elementary*, 11.68 percent public, 11.36 percent non-public; and *high school*, 5.69 percent public, 6.73 percent non-public. See Appendix D. Percents are computed from Table III.

<sup>3</sup>Of the 173,248 pupils enrolled in Baltimore schools in June 1953, 124,205 or 71.69 percent were white and 49,043 or 28.31 percent were colored. Likewise, 71.35 percent of the 124,740 elementary school pupils were white and 28.65 percent of them were colored while of the 48,508 high school pupils, 72.58 percent were white, 27.43 percent, colored.



same time, only 4.08 percent were colored and 95.92 percent were white. In both of these types of schools, a larger proportion of the elementary than of the high school population was colored and this was true both in 1946 and 1953. In June of 1953, 37.79 percent of the elementary and 31.80 percent of the high school populations were Negroes while 4.36 percent of the elementary and 2.72 percent of the high school pupils in non-public schools were Negroes.

The Negro's share in the public school population increased significantly at both elementary and secondary levels, the largest increase occurring at the high school level where his share increased from 22.62 percent to 31.80 percent while that of white pupils decreased from 77.38 percent to 68.20 percent during this period.<sup>1</sup>

#### PROPORTIONS OF PUPILS ENROLLED AT ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL LEVELS —

Approximately seven-tenths of all Baltimore pupils were at the elementary school level and three-tenths of them at the high school level in June 1953, i.e., of the 173,248 enrollees, 124,740 or 72.00 percent were at the elementary and 48,508 or 28.00 percent at the high school level. Both the total white and total colored pupil populations were shared in approximately the same proportions in both the elementary and high schools. Likewise, the distributions of all students and of white students was about the same in 1946 as in 1953. On the other hand, the proportions of all Negroes in Baltimore Schools in 1946 who were in elementary schools was higher and that in high schools, lower than in 1953. Whereas in the former year, 79.43 percent of the 37,034 Negro students were at the elementary school level and 21.57 percent in high school, their proportion at the elementary level in 1953 was 72.87 percent and that at the high school level 27.43 percent in the latter year.

This shift is due almost entirely to the changes in the proportions of the total Negro public school population enrolled in elementary and high schools during this period.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In June of 1946, 31.51 percent of the 112,551 public school pupils were Negroes and 68.49 percent, white; while in 1953 the Negro's share was 35.92 percent and the white's 64.08 percent. The Negro's share of the 78,168 public elementary school pupils in 1946 was 35.42 percent while the white's share was 64.58 percent while in 1953 the share of the 90,625 public elementary school students were 37.79 percent and 62.21 percent, respectively. See Appendix D. Percents are computed from Table III.

<sup>2</sup>Seventy-two and thirty-two one hundredths percent of the 47,358 Negro pupils in public schools in 1953 were in elementary schools and 27.68 percent in high schools while in 1946, 78.07 percent of the 35,465 Negro public school pupils were elementary and 21.93 percent, were high school enrollees.

In 1953, about two-thirds of the white public school pupils were in elementary and one-third in high schools while in non-public schools more than four-fifths of them were in elementary and less than one-fifth at the high school level.<sup>1</sup>

## **Standards of Educational Opportunity — A Negro-White Comparison**

The educational opportunity of a pupil in economic terms depends upon the quantity and quality of resources available, both capital and human, and the number of pupils who must share this aggregate. Thus, the comparison of various average or per unit figures reflecting these variables by race provide indices of similarity and difference in resources available to the average Negro and white pupil in the Baltimore public schools.

In the Negro-white comparisons which follow in this report, the reader should not assume that discrepancies which reflect superiority of educational opportunity for white pupils over Negroes is simply and solely due to the racial factor, or that they indicate a studied effort on the part of the Board or Public School Administration to accomplish this end. The fact that the Negro group as a whole is in a lower socio-economic group than whites causes the Negro group to suffer the disadvantages of low income, limited employment opportunity, sub-standard housing, etc., to a larger degree than the white group.

First, the availability of staff and physical facilities to Negro and white pupils will be considered. The pupil-staff ratio indicated the average number of pupils per staff member employed in the System.<sup>2</sup> Figure 2 shows that except for one year at the elementary school level, the pupil-staff ratio for Negroes was higher than that for whites but that the discrepancy at the elementary level was relatively small as compared with that at the secondary level. This difference between school levels, no doubt, reflects the accelerating pressure of rising Negro high school enrollment.<sup>3</sup>

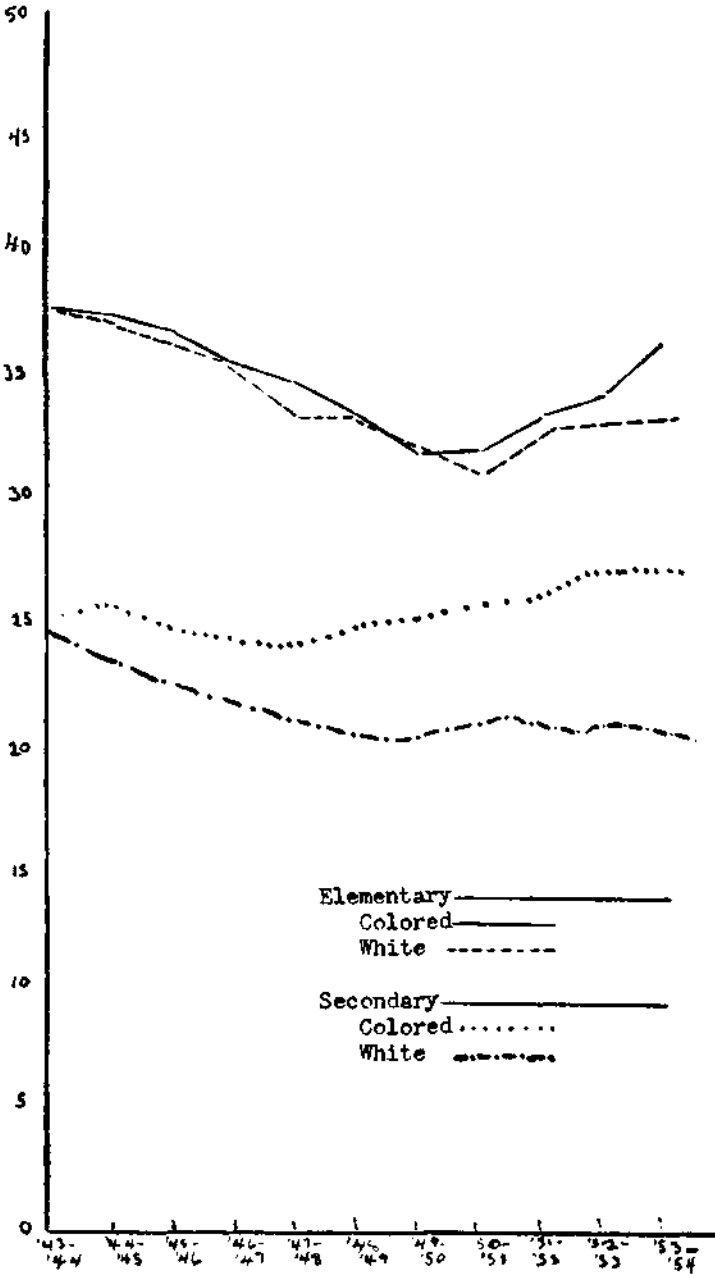
<sup>1</sup>Of the 84,498 white public school enrollees, 66.72 percent were in elementary schools and 33.28 percent in high schools while 82.17 percent of the 39,707 white pupils in non-public schools were in elementary and 17.83 percent in high schools. See Appendix D. Percents are computed from Table III.

<sup>2</sup>Staff includes educational personnel or school payroll (principals, vice-principals, librarians, etc.) as well as teachers.

<sup>3</sup>At the elementary school level, the white ratio ranged from a maximum of 38.1 in 1943 to a minimum of 31.8 in 1950 and then rose gradually to 33.6 in 1953 reflecting, no doubt, in this last three year period the sudden and rapid increase in population incident to the Korean War. The colored ratio started at the same level, ranged from 38.1 in 1943 to 32.7 in 1949 and then rose more rapidly than the white ratio to 37.0 in 1953. At the secondary level, the white pupil-staff ratio was downward with minor exception throughout the period 1943-1953 from 24.9 in 1943 to 27.5 in 1953 with a gradual decline to 24.6 in 1946 and 1947. See Appendix D, Table IV.

FIGURE 2

PUPIL-STAFF RATIO, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY, BY COLOR:  
BALTIMORE CITY: SCHOOL YEARS 1943-44—1953-54



Between 1943 and 1953, the median class size in the Baltimore Public Schools decreased in white elementary and secondary schools while they remained about constant in Negro elementary schools and increased in secondary schools. These median class sizes may be listed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Year (October)	Elementary Grade 1-6		High School Grade 7-12	
	White	Colored	White	Colored
1943 .....	42.6	43.6	35.4	32.5
1953 .....	38.8	42.0	32.2	37.5

The pupils per classroom figure provides an approximate index of the degree of utilization of available fixed physical facilities. In October 1953, the average number of pupils per classroom was significantly higher in Negro than white schools at all school levels. At the elementary level<sup>2</sup> the average number of pupils per room average was 39.5 in white and 45.0 in colored schools; in the elementary and occupational schools combined, these averages were 39.2 and 44.4 respectively; and at the secondary school (grades 7-12), 36.7 and 57.7 respectively.

Since thirty-five pupils per class is considered a full capacity load in general classroom, elementary, junior and senior high school, it is apparent that both racial groups were crowded and that the burden of over-utilization of physical facilities fell more heavily upon Negro than white children.<sup>3</sup>

In the face of the rising public school enrollment described in the previous section, the System was faced with the necessity of more intensively using existing facilities, increasing the available facilities, and/or a combination of both. Obviously, the latter alternative was used but war and post-war restrictions upon building imposed some limitations upon the rapid increase in physical facilities. Thus, part-time enrollment provides an index

<sup>1</sup>Information from Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland, March 3, 1954.

<sup>2</sup>"Elementary" includes kindergarten, pre-kindergarten, opportunity classes, special classes, and grades 1-6. These averages are based on the number of classrooms including general, vacant, auxiliary classrooms.

<sup>3</sup>This discrepancy between the average number of pupils per room in white and colored schools persisted regardless of the definition, and thus the number involved, of "rooms" though the resulting pupil per-room figures were smaller. When rooms included general, vacant, auxiliary, and make-shift classrooms, cooking rooms, and shops, these averages for October 1953 were as follows: white schools—elementary 37.3, elementary and occupational 37.0, secondary 31.3; for colored—elementary 42.8, elementary and occupational 42.2, and secondary 48.8. When rooms included general, vacant, auxiliary, and make-shift classrooms, shops, cafeteria and cooking, music, and other rooms, the pupils per room averages were as follows: for white schools—elementary 34.2, elementary and occupational 33.9, and secondary 26.9; for colored—elementary 40.8, elementary and occupational 40.3, and secondary 42.6.

(Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland, March 15, 1954.)

of extreme over-utilization of existing facilities in that the same room must be used two or more times per day by different classes, each having a less than normal number of hours schooling per day.

For the period 1943 to 1953, the incidence of part-time enrollment has fallen much more heavily upon Negro than white students, both in number of students involved and in the proportions of the net rolls of Negro and white schools involved. On the other hand, the figures for this period seem to reveal the continuous struggle of the Baltimore Public School System to cope with this extreme aspect of crowding in spite of the obstacles imposed by rapidly rising Negro enrollments and obstacles to the expansion of facilities under the then existing system of legal segregation. Table 1 shows that during this period, part-time enrollment in Negro elementary schools ranged from 820 or 3.78 percent of the net roll of Negro students to 8,604 or 34.38 percent, while in white elementary schools the range was from 77 or 0.20 percent to 1,723 or 3.94 percent.

**TABLE 1**  
**Number of Part-Time Pupils and Their Percents of Net Enrollments by Race,**  
**Baltimore Public Schools**  
**1943 - 1953**

Year	Net Roll*	WHITE Enrollment Part-time	Percent Part-time	Net Roll*	COLORED Enrollment Part-time	Percent Part-time
Elementary (Gr. 1-6)						
1930.....	53,991	956	1.70	16,224	1,957	12.06
1935.....	48,150		0.0	19,132	129	0.67
1940.....	39,256		0.0	18,823		0.0
1943.....	41,332	97	0.23	20,002		0.0
1944.....	40,195	397	0.98	20,582	1,187	5.78
1945.....	37,927	341	0.89	20,729	1,771	8.54
1946.....	37,130	77	0.20	21,082	1,026	4.86
1947.....	37,275	77	0.20	21,691	820	3.78
1948.....	38,859	230	0.59	22,764	3,297	14.48
1949.....	40,558	1,314	3.23	23,901	7,257	30.36
1950.....	41,352	1,433	3.46	25,015	8,604	34.39
1951.....	43,687	1,723	3.94	26,245	2,871	10.94
1952.....	45,064	1,002	2.22	27,251	3,255	11.94
1953.....	47,292	956	2.02	29,786	3,539	11.88

\*Net Roll, 1930 - 1949, from Annual Reports; 1950 - 1953 from report, "Net Roll by Grades . . . October of each year, 1947 - 1953."

Sources: Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland, March 8, 1945.

It will be recalled that the total public school enrollment began to rise in 1946, the white enrollment began its upward trend the following year, while that of Negroes continued its long term upward trend. Likewise, the part-time enrollments in Negro schools jumped from 3.78 percent in 1947 to 14.48 percent in 1948 and this percent was more than doubled by 1950, 34.39 percent, before it began to drop. There were no part-time classes at the secondary level in either white or colored schools. The decrease from 34.39 percent in 1950 to 10.94 percent in 1951 in the face of a continuous rise in total Negro enrollment reflected a sizeable addition to the available physical resources.

Between October 1946 and 1953, rehousing facilities having a net value of \$7,019,684 were added to the white schools and \$12,062,693 to colored schools. The increase in facilities available to Negro students was accomplished by new construction valued at \$10,368,502 and the transfer of school buildings from whites valued \$1,694,191 while \$8,713,875 worth of new construction was applied to the white schools.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE ALLOCATION OF EDUCATIONAL FUNDS BY RACE —

Table 2 shows that during the post-war expansion period, 1946-1953, discrepancies in the funds allocated per pupil for use by Negro and white schools, while still significant in size, were generally relatively small and declining. The capital outlays per pupil for Negroes greatly exceeded that of whites both in June 1946 and 1953 at the high school level. In the columns headed "Negro as Percent of White Per Pupil Figure" in Table 2, one hundred percent represents Negro-white parity in the per pupil figure designated. In all of the indices shown in this table except cost per pupil belonging at the high school level there was 90 percent or more of parity in both years and the discrepancy was smaller in 1953 than in 1946.

It is noteworthy that in the face of rapidly rising total public school enrollment the public system thus persistently sought to equalize the per capita expenditures for current purposes and to improve the capital facilities position of colored schools relative to whites by a much more than proportionate per capita expenditure on construction, and by re-allocating some existing school facilities.

While the discrepancies in per pupil availability of staff and facilities to white and colored students were, no doubt, aggravated by the pattern of rapid population growth of the Forties, it is unlikely that they are fully accounted for by these unusual developments. At the beginning of the period

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<sup>1</sup>Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland, March 3, 1954, Total Expenditures for School Rehousing, October, 1946 — October, 1953.

of most intense population pressure, 1946, the value of school property per pupil belonging (excluding equipment) was \$596 for white pupils and \$229 for Negroes, i.e., the Negro value was 38.42 percent of the white. In June 1953, the value of Baltimore Public School property used by whites was \$592.32 per pupil and that available to Negroes \$281.63. Thus, the property available to the average Negro student was 47.55 percent of that available to the average white student. It is apparent that during this period the value per Negro pupil increased significantly and that per white pupil decreased slightly, and that the gap between these expenditures closed as reflected in the increase in the percent the Negro pupil value was of the white from 38.42 percent to 47.55 percent. However, at the end of this period of rather valiant effort to equalize facilities, it was still true that on the average the aggregate of wealth available for the education of the average Negro child was less than half of that available to the average white child.

#### QUALITY OF RESOURCES — A RACIAL COMPARISON —

The standards of educational opportunity considered so far have been essentially quantitative in character. While the quality of educational resources employed are less objective and, therefore, less susceptible to accurate measurement, they are no less important in influencing the quality of education available to Negro and white pupils.

Salaries of Principals and teachers accounted for more than two-thirds of the total current expenses per pupil in 1953 and thus the quality of teachers constitutes a significant index of quality of human resources involved in education in Baltimore. Insofar as the attainment of an academic degree is a standard of quality of training, Negro teachers and principals achieved a higher level than whites. In October, 1953, the percent of Negro classroom teachers with degrees was 16 percent higher than that of their white counterparts, and the percent of Negro principals and vice-principals was greater by 13 percent.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of the semester-hours completed by a sample of the elementary school teachers in the Baltimore System by Dr. Maul gives sub-

<sup>1</sup>To be more specific, of the 2,808 white classroom teachers (including regular teachers and special substitutes), 1,893 or 67.41 percent had degrees and 915 or 32.59 percent did not while of the 1,431 Negro teachers, 1,187 or 82.95 percent had degrees and 244 or 17.05 percent did not. At the same time, of the 138 white principals and vice-principals combined in the Baltimore Public School System, 117 or 84.78 percent had degrees and 21 or 15.22 percent did not while of the 75 Negroes in this classification, 73 or 97.33 percent had degrees and 2 or 2.67 percent were without them. (Information from the Bureau of Research, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland, March 3, 1954.)

## TABLE 2

**Selected Per Pupil Figures, by Race and the Proportions the Negro Figures are of White  
Baltimore Public Schools, 1946 and 1953**

	Per Pupil, June 1946		Per Pupil, June 1953		Negro as Percent of white per pupil figure	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	1946	1953
<b>Cost per pupil belonging (Current expense)</b>						
Elementary.....	90.72-(b)	82.49-(b)	215.56-(a)	202.81-(a)	90.93	94.09
High School.....	164.52	137.44	314.35	240.62	88.54	76.55
<b>Capital Outlays per pupil</b>						
Elementary.....	1.15-(m)	12.53-(n)	29.35-(i)	73.88-(j)	1,089.57	251.72
High School.....	9.16-(o)	0.37-(p)	55.93-(k)	133.47-(l)	4.04	238.64
<b>Average Annual Salaries (Teachers and Principals)</b>						
Elementary.....	2377-(f)	2316-(f)	4189-(d)	4369-(e)	97.43	104.30
High School.....	2841	2595	4913	4693	91.34	95.52

- (a) Maryland State Department of Education, 87th Annual Report, year ending June 30, 1953, Table 89.  
 (b) Maryland State Department of Education, Eightieth Annual Report, Year Ending June 30, 1946; Table 90, p. 108.  
 (d) Maryland State Report, 1953, Table 96.  
 (e) Op. Cit., Table 97.  
 (f) Maryland State Report, 1946, Table 71, p. 84.  
 (i) Maryland State Report, 1953, Table 108.  
 (j) Op. Cit., Table 110.  
 (k) Op. Cit., Table 109.  
 (l) Op. Cit., Table III.  
 (m) Maryland State Report, 1946, Table 92, p. 11.  
 (n) Op. Cit., Table 94, p. 115.  
 (o) Op. Cit., Table 93, p. 118.  
 (p) Op. Cit., Table 95, p. 117.



stantiation to the above conclusion.<sup>1</sup> The percent of elementary school teachers who have attained 120 hours and over of education and under 120 hours, respectively, are listed as follows:

	<i>120 Hours and Over</i>	<i>Under 120 Hours</i>
White 1950 .....	53.1	46.9
Negro 1950 .....	69.7	30.3
White 1951 .....	48.3	51.7
Negro 1951 .....	78.7	21.3
White 1952 .....	55.2	44.8
Negro 1952 .....	81.7	18.3

For each of the years studied the percent of Negroes achieving 120 hours of education and over is larger than that of whites and also that the percent of Negroes achieving this level increased much more rapidly than that of whites during this three year period.

A second factor of importance in determining the quality of a teacher is the number of years of teaching experience. Analysis of the number of years of teaching experience attained by all classroom teachers in the Baltimore Public School System in October, 1953 reveals that, with the exception of regular teachers with degrees employed at the high school level, the median years of experience of Negro teachers was higher than that of white teachers both among regular teachers and special substitutes who had degrees. No significant radical difference was observed among teachers without degrees. The median number of years of teaching experience of classroom teachers in October, 1953 may be listed as follows:

MEDIAN YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS,  
BALTIMORE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, OCTOBER, 1953.

	<i>With Degrees</i>		<i>Without Degrees</i>	
	<i>Elementary</i>	<i>High School</i>	<i>Elementary</i>	<i>High School</i>
REGULAR TEACHERS				
White .....	5.50	17.95	21.75	21.15
Negro .....	8.50	9.75	21.00	21.05
SPECIAL SUBSTITUTES				
White .....	1.20	3.25	9.00	7.70
Negro .....	3.00	4.80	8.85	8.60

The writer is advised that by October 1954 all Negro classroom teachers have satisfied all requirements and are thus regular teachers whereas

<sup>1</sup>These data are based upon a 41 percent sample of the teachers in 1950; a 44 percent sample for 1951 and a 48 percent sample for 1952. They were obtained from the Bureau of Research, Department of Education of Baltimore and are a part of Dr. Maul's NEA Study, Part III.

there remain many white special substitutes. This observed formal training and experience superiority of Negro over white teachers and principals is probably due primarily to the very narrow range of job alternatives available to Negroes of college rank, particularly women, as compared with the wide range open to white persons having the similar qualifications.

No independent study of the comparative quality of physical facilities available to white and colored pupils has been made by your Committee since such a study was published in December of 1952 and is available to those interested in pursuing this subject further. Since your Committee formulated its plans for study, the change in Baltimore Public School racial policy in line with the United States Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954 has made such information much less pertinent for the solution of the educational problems of Baltimore since such data had primary relevance in seeking the equalization of facilities under the doctrine of "separate but equal." The prevailing socio-economic level of the Negro group as a whole and the pattern of in-migration described in a previous section placed a much larger proportion of Negro than white children in the overcrowded, blighted sections of the central city in which the oldest and least adequate schools for modern education are located. This Decision does not change this situation.

The following is a statement from the Department of Education as to changes in comparative quality of physical facilities available to both racial groups between 1921 and 1951:

"The preceding comment regarding the section of the city in which Negro groups generally reside is pertinent to an understanding of the school building situation. The Strayer Survey of 1920-21 was in general not very complimentary to the total school building situation in Baltimore and was particularly critical of school buildings occupied by colored children. The Strayer Committee recommended replacement of 82 percent of the buildings occupied by colored elementary pupils and 45 percent of the buildings occupied by white elementary pupils. Though the school population had been growing rapidly from 1913 through 1920, only one small structure of four rooms was built during the period. The construction of four other buildings was begun in 1920. The Strayer Survey reported over 10,000 children of elementary school age attending classes in makeshift or temporary structures and nearly 8,000 additional pupils on part time. The fact that a large percentage of buildings used by colored elementary pupils was recommended for abandonment reflects the inferior condition of buildings and grounds.

At the time of the Strayer Survey, Baltimore was just experimenting with junior high schools, the first three schools having been designated in

1919. By 1920 ten buildings had been designated junior high schools for white pupils. The Survey report noted that "the junior high schools were established without adequate preparation, qualified teachers, or courses of study . . .". In 1924 a colored junior high school was incorporated in the newly erected Douglass High School. By 1928 the number of junior high schools for colored children had risen to a total of four.

The Board of School Commissioners which sponsored the Strayer survey made every effort to implement the recommendations of the report. By 1930 all of the 367 classrooms which in 1920 had been lit by flickering open-flame gas jets were equipped with modern illumination. The improvement affected white and colored schools alike.

The United States Office of Education survey of 1951 calls attention to the fact that colored pupils attended a high percentage of small buildings placed on smaller sites. This is due to the fact noted above that the colored population generally lives in sections of the city where older buildings were constructed. Such buildings were erected in a day when it was public policy in a densely populated area to build small schools with practically no playgrounds. However, as the Negro communities expanded, more of the new and modern buildings were assigned for colored occupancy. Fire resistant buildings with adequate sites were provided for occupancy by Negro students. These are schools 101 (Henderson), 112, 122, 132, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 176, and the Carver Vocational-Technical High School, now nearing completion. As of the termination of segregated schools, a completely modern junior high school plant at Cherry Hill was completed; three buildings were modernized with large fire resistant additions; seven more acquired from former white occupants, one being the former Western High School building, and a new cottage-type plant for delinquent boys was provided. All new buildings and remodeled structures have been constructed to the same modern standards.

In general the end of segregated schools in Baltimore found school facilities for colored children on the way to marked improvement. For the reasons stated above it was still evident that a larger percentage of colored children was inadequately housed as compared with white children. However, added to the need for reducing overcrowding in the inner-city schools was the problem of building schools in the developing suburban sections where there were no schools at all. It so happened that most of these newly developed areas were occupied by white residents. Thus, within the funds at its disposal, the Department of Education was attempting to meet the pupil enrollment pressure wherever it occurred and without regard to racial differences as such."

## Assessments of Readiness to Meet The Problems of Integration

### PRELUDE TO LEGAL DESEGREGATION —

When Dr. William H. Lemmel took office as superintendent of Public Instruction in 1946, he established an operating policy which in retrospect may have been the prelude to the prompt and enlightened reaction of the Board of School Commissioners and the present Superintendent of Public Instruction to the historic Supreme Court Decision of May 17th, 1954. He took the position that while the Code of the City of Baltimore prevented his integrating the schools at the pupil level within the building, there was no legal obstacle to integration above the pupil level. It was his view that at the adult as well as the pupil level "one of the best ways of promoting good human relations is to provide opportunities for both adults and youth to find their common objectives and to work together in the study of health, education, political, economic, moral and spiritual problems."<sup>1</sup>

In support of this policy he established new human relations programs at the adult level, gave support to others already in progress, and contributed to the stimulation of legally permissible projects among the youth.

Under his administration, the following significant programs have been initiated:

1. In the fall of 1946, the Department of Education was co-sponsor with several other community organizations of a four-day Race Relations Institute.
2. In 1947, a staff committee with the cooperation of other agencies, prepared a pamphlet called *Better Inter-Cultural Relations* which was addressed primarily to teachers with the purpose of stimulating them to "disseminate the facts of history, anthropology, psychology, and biology in order that children may learn that there is no point to any superior racial claim, and that all races have made their contribution to man's advancement."
3. During the same year, the Coordinating Council Parent-Teacher Organization was established as an integrated group concerned with over-all educational problems in the community.

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<sup>1</sup>Speech by Dr. Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent, Baltimore Public Schools, "Integration in the Baltimore Public Schools" delivered at the community conference on "Community Responsibility for Intergroup Understanding," December 5, 1953, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lemmel directed that all committees, regardless of size, that had to do with any aspects of the school system be integrated. It was his feeling that all people should have a part in making decisions and planning programs which affect them and by which they are expected to be guided. Consequently, all committees are not only integrated, but also contain horizontal and vertical representation from all levels in the Baltimore School System. — many of these committees are chaired by Negro teachers and supervisors.”

4. In 1946 the Baltimore Public School Community Study was initiated by Dr. Harry Bard, Assistant Director of the Curriculum. This is a voluntary, in-service, after school workshop for teachers concerned with the relationships between school and the total community and it systematically deals with human relations problems within this broader framework. By 1952 this program had reached 1,200 teachers, representing almost thirty percent of the entire educational staff of the public school system.
5. In addition, there are almost a hundred in-service training workshops for credit, all of which are integrated and many chaired or supervised by colored staff members.
6. All administrative and supervisory meetings are cooperatively planned and conducted by members of both groups.  
While it was (until the desegregation policy was initiated) the primary responsibility of Dr. Houston R. Jackson to see that decisions made at the Board of Superintendents' level and the Board of School Commissioners' level were implemented in the Colored Division, he participates on terms of equality as an assistant superintendent in dealing with policy matters concerning all schools.
7. Since 1951 examinations for teachers have been planned, administered, and processed on a completely integrated basis.

In addition to these efforts at the extra-pupil level, some significant beginnings were made at the pupil level. These may be listed briefly as follows:

1. In September 1952, 14 Negro boys were admitted to the (A) Curriculum at the Polytechnic Institute on an integrated basis.
2. Some teachers of both groups have arranged extra-curricular trips to schools of the opposite group to observe programs and school projects.

3. White and colored schools have had exchange programs.<sup>1</sup>
4. Annual debates are conducted between Douglass High School and Baltimore City College and Dunbar High School sponsors annually a Latin Convention to which all schools teaching latin send representatives.

#### ASSESSMENT BY TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS 1954 —

At the direction of the Education Committee, teachers and principals were questioned in order to determine the scope and current status of intergroup education in the Baltimore Public School System and the readiness of the system to cope with the problems of desegregation. Questionnaires were distributed to a random sample of all classroom teachers and all principals in the system. While these questionnaires were distributed through the Superintendent's office, a statement from the Board of School Commissioners advised all who received them that the return of the questionnaires was voluntary and their replies confidential. This study was planned and virtually all field work completed prior to the Desegregation Decision. The findings of this study are based upon replies from five percent of the teachers and 59 percent of the principals employed by the System during the school year 1953-1954.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this study was to obtain the views of teachers and principals as to the desirability of an intergroup education program in the System, the adequacy of the present program, and the degree of readiness in terms of teacher preparedness and adequacy of materials to administer an effective program. Information was also gathered on attitudes toward both teacher and pupil integration.

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<sup>1</sup>For example — during Negro History Week and Brotherhood Week panels composed of mixed groups have discussed problems common to all groups and during United Nations Week combined assemblies are held in the secondary schools to which each secondary school sends representatives.

<sup>2</sup>A ten percent random sample of all regular and special substitute teachers was drawn from the alphabetical list found in the *Directory of Public Schools of Baltimore, Maryland, 1953-1954*, p. 94-175. Of the 5,039 such teachers listed (pp. 80 and 82), 247 or 4.9 percent replied. Of this group, 125 were white; 89, colored; and 33 did not designate race. It should be noted that special substitutes are full-time classroom teachers whose responsibilities to pupils are essentially the same as regular teachers but who have not completed all formal requirements and thus can not be certified by the Board of Education.

Questionnaires were sent to all (162) principals in the System of which 96 or 59.26 percent replied. Of this group 32 were white; 38, colored; and 26 did not designate their race.

Of the 245 teachers indicating their religious preferences, 12.5 percent were Catholics, 10.2 percent, Jewish; 75.9 percent Protestants; and 0.8 percent indicated other faiths. Of the 96 principals giving such information, 12.5 percent were Catholics; 10.4 percent, Jewish; and 75.0 percent Protestant.

In order to ascertain an indication of the position of this program in the curriculum, teachers and principals were asked: "Does inter-group (human relations or inter-cultural) education have a regular and accepted place in your school?" Three-fifths both of the teachers and principals answered in the affirmative and two-fifths in the negative. Less than two percent of either were uncertain in their views. Of the 237 teachers responding, 60.7 percent answered *yes*; 38.0 percent *no*; and 1.3 percent were uncertain. Of the 95 principals replying to the same question, 59.0 percent answered *yes*; 40 percent *no*; and 1.0 percent were uncertain. A larger proportion of the Negro than white respondents stated that inter-group education had a regular and accepted place in their schools.

The detailed distribution of responses to this question by race follow:

	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Yes .....	51.2	75.9	54.8	63.2
No .....	47.1	24.1	41.9	36.8
Uncertain .....	1.6	0.0	3.2	0.0
Number responding ..	121	83	31	38

In order to determine the prevailing opinion as to the desirability of such a program, the question was asked: "Do you think such emphasis is desirable in your school situation?" They were asked to indicate whether it was *indispensable*, *highly important*, *important*, *of little importance*, or *unnecessary*. More than four-fifths of all teachers and principals rated such an emphasis *indispensable*, *important*, *highly important*, and/or *indispensable*. Of the 232 teachers responding, 15.9 percent answered *indispensable*; 30.2 percent *highly important*; 36.2 percent *important*; 6.0 percent *of little importance*; and 11.6 percent *unnecessary*. Of the 85 principals responding to this question, 11.8 percent termed intergroup education *indispensable*; 29.4 percent, *highly important*; 48.2 percent, *important*; 7.1 percent *of little importance*; and 3.5 percent *unnecessary*.

Negroes attached somewhat more importance to such programs than whites. Among the teachers, 94.2 percent of the Negro and 74.8 percent of the white; and among the principals, 97.2 percent of the Negro and 86.2 percent of the whites believed that such programs were *important*, *highly important*, and/or *indispensable*. The detailed distribution of replies by race follows:

	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
1. Indispensable .....	21.8	11.3	16.7	10.3
2. Highly important .....	32.2	28.7	36.1	20.7
3. Important .....	40.2	34.8	44.4	55.2
Sub-total (1-3) .....	94.2	74.8	97.2	86.2
4. Of little importance .....	3.4	8.7	2.8	10.3
5. Unnecessary .....	2.3	16.5	0.0	3.5
Sub-total (4-5) .....	5.7	25.2	2.8	13.8
Number Responding .....	115	87	29	36

It is a significant fact, particularly during this period of transition from a segregated to a desegregated education policy that approximately two-fifths of both teachers and principals stated that intergroup education did not have a regular and accepted place, while over three-fifths of them felt that such an emphasis was desirable in their school situations.

While it is recognized that the use of the special project is by no means the only means of conducting a successful intergroup program, a measurement of the extent to which this method was used during a year period provided one index of the importance of the subject in the curriculum from the point of view of the teachers and principals involved. Both groups were asked: "During the current year, have you completed any special project in intergroup education?" About one-fourth of both teachers and principals alike answered in the affirmative while virtually all of the remainder had not completed any special project during the year. No principal and two teachers were uncertain as to their answer to this question. To be more specific of the 241 teachers responding to this question, 27.4 percent answered *yes*; 71.8 percent, *no*; 0.8 percent were uncertain. Of the 91 principals, 24.2 percent had completed such a project; 74.7 percent, had not; and none were uncertain.

The experience of both white and colored principals and white teachers were similar. In all of these cases, three-fourths had not completed any special project while the proportion of Negro teachers completing a project was 34.1 percent.

The detailed distribution by race is —

	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Yes .....	24.4	34.1	25.0	21.6
No .....	74.8	64.7	75.0	75.7
Uncertain .....	1.8	1.2	0.0	0.0
Dont know .....			0.0	2.7
Number Responding .....	123	85	32	37



It may be concluded from these findings that the intergroup education program is not comprehensive, that the scope of the program does not fully reflect the importance attributed to such an emphasis by teachers and principals, and that the emphasis given by Negroes is somewhat greater than that by whites.

These inadequacies may be traced to some extent to limitations in the preparedness of teachers and the availability of adequate materials for such courses. In order to appraise the readiness of teachers to conduct such courses, teachers and principals were asked to indicate whether they felt that "in general teachers are prepared to conduct an adequate program of intergroup education and whether some type of teachers in-service training or re-education is necessary to assure the greatest possible success in this effort."

Almost one-half of the teachers and more than one-third of the principals felt that teachers are not prepared while the remaining half of the teachers and two-thirds of the principals were split almost equally between those who felt uncertain as to whether teachers are prepared and those who felt that they are prepared to conduct an adequate intergroup program. Of the 240 teachers responding to this question, 27.9 percent answered in the affirmative; 47.5 percent, in the negative; and 24.6 percent were uncertain. Of the 90 principals responding, 32.2 percent answered *yes*; 35.5 percent *no*; and 32.2 percent were uncertain.

The extreme differences between the opinions of white and colored to this question are noteworthy and may shed considerable light upon the deficiencies of past programs. Only 16.3 percent of the white teachers and 12.9 percent of the white principals felt that teachers are prepared to conduct such a program. Negro teachers and principals were more optimistic, approximately one-half of each of these groups considered them ready. A note of limited confidence in the level of preparedness is reflected in the answer of white and colored alike in the large proportion, ranging from one-fifth to two-fifths of the replies, of those who were uncertain as to whether teachers are prepared or not. The detailed distribution of answers by race is listed below:

OPINIONS —	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
Teacher Preparedness	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Yes .....	16.3	47.1	12.9	51.4
No .....	62.6	23.5	45.2	24.3
Uncertain .....	21.1	29.4	41.9	24.3
Number Responding .....	123	85	31	37

Almost two-thirds of the teachers and three-fourths of the principals felt that some type of in-service training or re-education is necessary to assure that the greatest possible success is achieved in conducting an intergroup education program. The racial differences in replies were much less pronounced than in the answers to the previous question. Of the 231 teachers responding, 64.1 percent felt that such in-service training was necessary; 19.5 percent, that it was not; and 16.4 percent were uncertain. Of the 76 principals replying, 77.6 percent felt it necessary; 13.2 not necessary; and 9.2 percent were uncertain. It is significant that less than 10 percent of any of these groups felt that in-service and re-education training was definitely unnecessary and that a much smaller proportion of both white and colored principals held this view. The racial distribution of the answers to this question is significant:

OPINIONS — Need for In-service Training	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Yes .....	62.1	72.3	71.4	83.3
No .....	18.1	16.9	10.7	13.3
Uncertain .....	19.8	10.8	17.9	3.3
Number responding .....	116	83	28	30

The feeling of inadequacy and lack of preparedness on the part of the teachers and principals receives some justification from the inventory of formal or specialized training in intergroup education which they had had. Seventy percent of the teachers and 55 percent of the principals stated that they had received no formal or specialized training in intergroup education. A larger proportion of Negroes, both teachers and principals, than whites have received some form of such training, e.g., 75.2 percent of the white and 55.7 percent of the Negro teachers; and 57.1 percent of the white and 44.6 percent of the Negro principals have had no such training. The remainder of each of these groups has had one or more courses including such types as formal specialized post-graduate courses, workshops or institutes, have participated in in-service programs sponsored by the Baltimore Public School System, have had formal courses as a part of teacher-training education, etc. For the 72 teachers who had received one or more types of formal training, in-service programs sponsored by the Baltimore Public School System were by far the most frequently named, while workshops and institutes were next in quantitative significance. Among the principals, workshops and institutes were the major sources, while in-service programs of the Baltimore System and post-graduate courses shared equally the second position of importance. Of the 72 teachers participating in formal courses, 46 or 63.89 percent received in-service training sponsored by the Baltimore Pub-

lic School System; 29 or 40.28 percent attended workshops or institutes; 18 or 25.00 percent had post-graduate courses; 7 or 9.72 percent had formal courses as a part of their teacher education; and 13 or 18.05 percent had other types of training. Of the 47 principals that had some form of training, 17 or 36.17 percent engaged in workshops or institutes, nine or 19.15 percent were in in-service programs of the Baltimore System; nine or 19.15 percent had post-graduate courses, three or 6.38 percent had formal courses as a part of their teacher education; seven or 14.89 percent had other types of courses while two or 4.25 percent did not specify the type of training obtained.

It will be noted from the following distribution of the teachers and principals who obtained some form of intergroup education training by race that workshops or institutes and post-graduate courses assumed a much greater importance among Negroes than whites:

	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Types unspecified .....	0.00	0.00	6.67	3.85
Post-graduate .....	6.06	41.03	13.33	23.08
Workshop or institute .....	27.28	46.15	26.67	42.30
Part of teacher education .....	9.09	7.69	6.66	7.69
Baltimore Public School System .....	57.56	58.97	26.67	11.54
Other .....	0.00	28.21	20.00	11.54
Number Responding .....	32	39	15	26

In order to obtain an assessment of the quality of the material resources available for such courses from the persons responsible for intergroup education, teachers and principals were asked; "How would you rate the library (books) of your school for a good intergroup education program?" They were asked to use the scale *very good*, *adequate*, *fair* and *inadequate*. Less than half of either teachers or principals rated them *adequate* and/or *very good*, the teachers were slightly more optimistic than the principals, and both white teachers and principals were considerably more optimistic than their Negro counterparts. Thirty-three percent of the 235 teachers and 36.6 percent of the 90 principals rated their library resources *adequate* and/or *very good*. Fifty-four and three-tenths percent of the white and only 27.3 percent of the Negro teachers gave a similar rating while 41.6 percent of the white and 24.3 percent of the Negro principals similarly rated their libraries.

The wide range of ratings given teachers and principals suggests that the quality of these resources may vary widely from school to school, that

the standards or adequacy vary widely among the persons giving the ratings, or a combination of both. Of the 235 teachers replying to this question, 10.2 percent answered *very good*; 32.8 percent, *adequate*; 23.8 percent, *fair*; 31.1 percent, *inadequate*; and 2.1 percent, *don't know*. Of the 90 principals responding to this question, 7.8 percent answered *very good*; 28.8 percent, *adequate*; 35.6 percent, *fair*; and 27.8 percent *inadequate*. A similarly wide range of ratings is apparent in the answers to this question, according to race.

Opinions as to the adequacy of library resources by race follow:

	PERCENT OF —			
	TEACHERS		PRINCIPALS	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Very good .....	12.1	8.0	12.9	2.7
Adequate .....	42.2	19.3	38.7	21.6
Fair .....	18.1	31.8	25.8	40.5
Inadequate .....	24.1	40.9	22.6	35.1
Don't know .....	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total .....	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
Number Responding .....	116	88	31	37

In order to obtain an understanding of the character of the intergroup education programs administered in the schools, certain queries were directed to principals only. First, each was asked how long his school had such a program. Since 30 percent of the principals did not answer this question, limited inferences can be drawn from the answers. Of the 56 replying, 19 or 33.9 percent reported that they had no such program. Of the remaining 37, 20 or 53.06 percent had had such programs for three years or less, while 14 or 37.84 percent had conducted them for between five and ten years.

They were then asked "How extensive is the (intergroup education) emphasis?" They were asked to check one or more of the appropriate arrangements listed below. The distribution of principals answers follow:

	<i>Total</i>	PERCENT OF —	
		<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
All teachers in a concerted effort .....	21.28	17.07	22.73
Counselors only .....	2.13	2.44	0.00
Teachers individually .....	51.06	34.15	45.45
Outside committee .....	6.38	24.39	13.64
No direct supervision .....	9.57	7.32	13.64
Other .....	9.57	14.63	4.54
Number responding .....	94	41	44

It is apparent that the most frequently used arrangement was for each teacher to handle her own program without outside cooperation or guidance. This was true in both white and colored schools. Next in importance for all schools and for Negro schools was for all of the teachers to work in a concerted effort, while in the white schools the use of an outside committee was second in importance.

The principals were next asked: "Who is responsible for leadership in this program?" Following is a list of tentative modes of direction and the percentages of schools employing each:

	<i>Total</i>	PERCENT OF —	
		<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Principal .....	7.41	14.28	5.71
Principal and teachers .....	50.62	50.00	40.00
School Committee .....	20.99	14.28	31.43
No direct supervisor .....	16.04	17.86	17.14
Outside Committee .....	2.47	3.58	2.86
Other .....	2.47	0.00	2.86
Number responding .....	81	28	35

The most frequently used arrangement was to place joint responsibility in the principal and teachers.

Next the principals were asked to indicate the techniques used in their intergroup education programs. Table 3 lists the various methods used and indicates their relative importance. It seems significant that the rank order of importance of the various methods for all schools — white and colored — was about the same.

The wide variety of audio-visual aids was most frequently mentioned, "discussion as problems arise in the classroom" was next and the use of "programs on special occasions" was a close third in importance.

**TABLE 3**

**Techniques Employed in Intergroup Education Programs in the Baltimore Public Schools, 1954**

	All Schools		White Schools		Colored Schools	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Audio-visual aids.....	51.37	1	41.10	1	63.00	1
Movies.....	15.18	(a)	14.44	(a)	17.00	(a)
Pictures.....	14.01	(b)	13.33	(b)	16.00	(b-c)
Bulletin Boards.....	12.84	(c)	6.67	(c)	16.00	(b-c)
Radio.....	7.78	(d)	4.44	(d)	13.00	(d)
Diagrams.....	0.78	(e-f)	1.11	(e-f)		
Murals.....	0.78	(e-f)	1.11	(e-f)	1.00	(e)
Discussion as problems arise in class room.....	21.01	2	21.11	2	21.00	2-3
Program on special occasions, e.g., musical, dramatic, etc.....	17.90	3	17.78	3	21.00	2-3
Inclusion of materials on racial, religious, and nationality groups in curriculum in proper place and order.....	15.56	4	16.67	4-5	14.00	4-5
Occasional programs.....	14.40	5	16.67	4-5	14.00	4-5
Inter-school projects or visits.....	11.67	6	10.00	6	13.00	6
Inter-group, human relations, and inter-cultural books.....	10.12	7	8.89	7	11.00	7
Panel discussions.....	3.11	8	4.44	8	3.00	8
Other.....	2.72	9	4.44	9	3.00	9

## Concluding Statement by the Education Committee<sup>1</sup>

In the opening paragraphs of this report, attention was called to the fact that the decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down on May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in the Public Schools, effectively solved most of the problems in the field of Education which this Committee was expected to study. This is particularly true in view of the forthright action of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City ordering the implementation of the decision, as of the beginning of the school term of 1954-55.

Some of the materials in process of collection when these decisions occurred are now largely academic and have therefore been omitted. For in the Baltimore Public School System there are no longer White Schools and Colored Schools, and hence no minority group whose interests must be protected and advanced. Other data of a statistical nature, however, are of value in the opinion of this Committee, as indicative of the point of departure in the progress of Baltimore from the old to the new.

The completely favorable action of the Board of School Commissioners which is responsible for the educational welfare of three-fourths of the Baltimore pupils below college level, is certain to affect profoundly the attitudes and actions of the organizations which promote the education of the remaining one-fourth. It must be remembered in this connection, as pointed out above, that 96.5 percent of the Negro pupils are enrolled in the Public Schools and only 3.5 percent in Private Schools.

The Committee is confident that restrictions in Education, based upon race and color, in private elementary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities both public and private will soon follow the pattern set by the public school. Indeed, since the decisive action of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners, the University of Maryland has discontinued its former policy of segregation; and Johns Hopkins University is increasing each year its enrollment of Negro students. Loyola College decided against segregation some years before the decision of the Supreme Court and now enrolls a large number of Negro students.

The Committee feels fully justified, therefore, in omitting much of the data collected for the purpose of making effective its arguments for equality of treatment for the Negro minority in a segregated situation. For there is no segregated situation and hence equality of treatment is necessarily inherent in the basic reform instituted by the most important educational authority in the city.

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<sup>1</sup>Statement by Dr. Dwight O. W. Holmes, Chairman for the Committee.

## Summary

### GENERAL POPULATION TRENDS

1. The population of Metropolitan Baltimore increased by about one-third from 1,083,300 to 1,480,000 during the period 1940 to 1953 while that of Baltimore City grew from 860,456 to 963,500, an increase of 12 percent during the same period. The Baltimore Metropolitan rate of growth exceeded that of the country as a whole (14.5 percent).

Between 1940 and 1950, the population of suburban Baltimore increased about seven times that of the City proper. However, while about four-fifths of the non-white population (almost totally Negro) growth of Metropolitan Baltimore took place in the City, less than one-fifth of the net growth in white population was in urban Baltimore.

Almost one-half of the population increase of the Metropolitan area resulted from in-migration and the rate of non-white growth was greater than that of the whites.

### IMPACT OF POPULATION MOVEMENTS UPON EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES UNDER SEGREGATION LAW

2. The movement of whites to the suburbs and Negroes to the inner-city undoubtedly increased the concentration of white school population in the newer and Negro in the older school facilities not *because* of race but primarily as a result of the prevailing socio-economic groups represented among these two racial groups.

During World War II and the early post-War years, the legal requirements of segregated school facilities greatly accentuated the difficulties of equalizing the physical facilities available to white and colored pupils. While such facilities were virtually frozen by war restrictions, the white school population was declining and the Negro pupil population was rapidly rising. After 1947, the prospects were further diminished by the addition of a rising white pupil population.

An analysis of the elementary and secondary school population of Baltimore City reveals the following salient findings:

- (a) Almost one-third of all pupils in Baltimore schools are Negro and more than one-third of the public school pupils are of this racial group i.e., 28.31 percent and 35.92 percent respectively.



- (b) Three-fourths of the Baltimore school population below the college level is in the Baltimore Public School System and one-fourth of them is in various non-public institutions, the largest group being Catholic. A much larger share of the Negro than white population is in public schools, i.e., public, 96.50; private, 3.44. Thus, the destinies of Negro pupils are closely linked with developments in the Baltimore Public School System.
- (c) The rate of increase in the Negro school population was much greater than that in the white. This increase was confined to public schools. Between 1946 and 1953 the relative growth of the Negro population in public schools was almost four times that of whites, i.e., Negroes, 33.53 percent and whites 9.62 percent. This growth was three times as high at the high school as at the elementary level, i.e., 68.53 percent and 23.69 percent, respectively.
- (d) A much larger share of all Negro pupils in the public school system was at the elementary than at the high school level, i.e., 72.32 percent and 27.68 percent, respectively. But their proportion in high school was increasing, i.e., 21.93 percent in 1946 and 27.68 percent in 1953.
- (e) The Negro's share of both the total public elementary and total high school populations increased in 1953 over 1946, i.e., elementary schools, from 35.42 percent to 37.79 percent; high schools, from 22.62 percent to 31.80 percent.

#### STANDARDS OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

3. During the decade of 1943 to 1953, disparities in the availability of staff and physical facilities to the average Negro and white pupil were narrowed despite the economic obstacles described.

- (a) The average number of pupils per staff member (pupil staff ratio) for Negroes was higher than that of whites but the discrepancy at the elementary level was relatively small as compared with that at the high school level.
- (b) The median class size decreased in white elementary and secondary schools by 4.8 and 3.2 pupils, respectively, while it decreased slightly (1.6 pupils) in Negro elementary schools and increased significantly at the high school level, i.e., by 5 pupils per class.
- (c) The incidence of part-time enrollment, an index of extreme

crowding, has fallen much more heavily upon Negro than white pupils both in number of students affected and in the proportions of the net rolls of Negro and white schools involved. However, the fluctuations in the number of pupils affected from year to year in the face of the constantly expanding enrollment, particularly of Negroes, reflects a continuous struggle of the System to eliminate this serious obstacle to effective education.

- (d) With the close of World War II, rehousing facilities aimed at reducing the disparity in physical facilities available to white and colored pupils were initiated. The net value of these facilities allocated for Negroes was approximately three-fifths of the total, i.e., net value of facilities for Negroes, \$12,063,693; for whites, \$7,019,684.

#### PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE

During the period 1946 to 1953, the Baltimore Public School System has persistently sought to equalize its expenditures per pupil for current purposes and to improve the position of colored schools relative to whites as to total capital outlay by a more than proportionate per capita expenditure on construction and re-allocation of existing school facilities. Expenditures per Negro pupil in 1953 were at least 94 percent of parity with whites in current expenses (except at the high school level, 76.55 percent); and in capital outlay and salaries at both elementary and high school levels. This represents an improvement in the Negro's relative position over that in 1946.

#### WEALTH PER PUPIL

Despite these efforts, the consequences of past racial policies and their application were still in evidence in June 1953. At that time, the value of school property available to the average Negro student was about one-half of that used by his white counterpart. However, between 1946 and 1953, this proportion had increased from 38.42 percent to 47.55 percent and while the value of school property per white pupil belonging (excluding equipment) had decreased from \$596 to \$592.32 that per Negro increased from \$229 to \$281.63.

On the other hand, the quality of human resources available to Negro children appeared, on the average, to be superior to that available to whites in terms of formal educational attainment and years of teaching experience.

ASSESSMENT OF READINESS TO MEET THE  
PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION

The adoption of the late Dr. William H. Lemmell, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1946 of the administrative policy that integration of public school activities in those areas not prohibited by law should be pursued, prepared the ground for the expeditious desegregation of the system which closely followed the Decision of May 17, 1954.

An assessment of the readiness of teachers and principals to meet the problems of integration may be gleaned from answers to questions directed to a representative sample of these groups during the spring of 1954.

(a) Two-fifths of both teachers and principals stated that intergroup education did not have a regular and accepted place in their schools but more than three-fifths of them felt that such an emphasis was desirable.

(b) About one-fourth of both groups indicated that they had completed a special project in intergroup education during the school year, 1953-1954.

(c) Almost one-half of the teachers and more than two-thirds of the principals felt that teachers are not prepared to conduct an adequate program while nearly two-thirds of the teachers and three-fourths of the principals were of the opinion that some type of in-service training or re-education is necessary to assure that the greatest possible success is achieved in conducting an intergroup education program.

(d) The apparent feeling of inadequacy for the task on the part of many receives some justification from the inventory of formal or specialized training in intergroup education completed. Seventenths of the teachers and about one-half of the principals had received no such training.

(e) One index of the quality of material resources available for such a program is the quality of the school library for this purpose. Less than one-half of either teachers or principals rated their library facilities *adequate* and/or *very good*. Teachers were slightly more optimistic than principals and both white teachers and principals were considerably more optimistic than their Negro counterparts.

(f) The administrative emphasis of such programs took several forms, two of which accounted for about three-fourths of the plans listed by principals, namely, "teachers individually" and "all

teachers in a concerted effort." Other arrangements in descending order of their quantitative significance are: no direct supervision; other arrangements, not specified; outside committee; and counselors only.

(g) Responsibility for the leadership of this program was vested in a group within the school in the majority of the cases, i.e., in principal and teachers and in a school committee in the schools represented by the responding principals. Other patterns of leadership in descending order of frequency of use include: no direct supervisor; principal; outside committee; and other arrangements.

(h) Among the several teaching techniques employed in intergroup education programs, by far the most frequently used was one or more of the various forms of visual aids, i.e., movies, pictures, bulletin boards, etc. Some forms of visual aid was in use in one-half of the schools. One-fifth of these relied upon discussions as problems arose in the classroom. Other methods in descending order of their frequency of use include the following: programs on special occasions e.g., musical, dramatic, etc.; inclusion of materials on racial, religious, and nationality groups in curriculum in proper place and order; occasional programs; inter-school projects or visits; intergroup, human relations, and intercultural books; panel discussions; and other methods.