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EDUCATION AND THE  
SEGREGATION ISSUE

A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR THE  
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REGENERATION  
OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO

by

JOSEPH WINTHROP HOLLEY

How to face the thorny problem of desegregation in public schools with dual race practices? The South, despite its great stake in blue-printing a timetable for classroom integration, has no uniform plan for accepting the Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision or for rejecting public school desegregation. Against the kaleidoscopic background of shifting views, customs and opinions on school segregation, Dr. Holley offers a sound and moral program to solve the South's long preoccupation with the problems of segregation.

In this important book, Dr. Holley does not accept the "wait-and-see" policy, nor does he bow to the easy solution that it would be a good thing if troublesome mores could be willed or wished away. His explicit program is an economic as well as social project predicated on the interdependence of the two races in the South and the recognition that the amicable and fruitful functioning of the races is geared to a Southern economy that realizes its own strength and limitations. Such a program is the outgrowth of Dr. Holley's thesis that the destiny of the South is interwoven with the Second Coming of Christ. This challenging approach is presented in Dr. Holley's previous volume, *Regnum Montis*, published in 1954 (William-Frederick Press, New York 1, \$3).

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*EDUCATION AND THE SEGREGATION ISSUE*

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*To the memory of my beloved son, JOHN CALVIN,  
and his wife, WILLIE MAY, now deceased.*



*Few men ever had more faithful and loyal  
children than these. God bless their memory.*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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*YOU CAN'T BUILD A CHIMNEY FROM THE TOP*  
*WHAT IF THE SHOE WERE ON THE OTHER FOOT?*  
*— SLAVERY IN REVERSE*  
*REGNUM MONTIS*



# EDUCATION AND THE SEGREGATION ISSUE

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A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR THE  
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEGENERATION  
OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO

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## FOREWORD

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I HAVE twice read the manuscript of this book, and enjoyed the second reading quite as much as the first. *The book is downright great.* Along with *You Can't Build a Chimney From the Top*, the first book in this series, and other teachings and works by the author, it will, I believe, surpass in results the works of Booker T. Washington.

Why do white people, who claim to have the brains, leave it to the Negro educator to do all the thinking on a subject that is of transcendent importance to both races? No white man has ever begun to do the thinking that the author of this book has done on this subject. He has laid down a pattern in the pages of this great book that blazes a pathway to economic, industrial, social, political, and spiritual freedom, not only for his own people but all others similarly situated.

Two men, both Negroes, stand out brilliantly as leaders in the solution of the Negro problem in the South. They have thought longer, worked harder, and accomplished more than all others combined. If the problem is ever solved — and it will be — the solution will be based on the thinking and work of these two men. One of these men was Booker T. Washington, and the other is Joseph W. Holley.

The lives and works of these men are strikingly parallel. Both had obscure beginnings. Both are of mixed ancestry. Both are self-made. Washington founded Tuskegee in Alabama, and became its first president. Holley founded the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute (now Albany State College) in Albany, Georgia, and he became its first president. Both dedicated themselves to the cause of Negro education in the South. Both dedicated their activities along the same general lines, that of training the Negro youth in such a way as to

## FOREWORD

make his services in demand and to make him indispensable in the economy and in the social order of the South. Booker T. Washington has long since gone to Heaven. Joseph W. Holley is still alive and fighting and writing.

In this new book Dr. Holley preaches a hard doctrine. But so does Christianity preach a hard doctrine. In these papers, Dr. Holley explains the principles involved, and outlines a program of education for the economic and social regeneration of the Negro in the South. His principles are not new — every one has been tried and proven. The same principles worked to make the Negro's position economically sound at one time. His position certainly is not sound now. Some program of regeneration must be used. It is not a question of whether to use this program or some other. No one has offered another. This is the only program. It is written in such a forceful way that a child can understand it. And it is my hope and prayer that this book may find willing readers throughout this great country and that much good may be done where its truths are made known.

R. H. Foy

## INTRODUCTION

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IT HAS BECOME commonplace to speak of the progress of the Negro, from slavery into full citizenship, as through progress were a natural growth, inevitable and effortless — Topsy-like. The truth is that this concept goes somewhat wide of the mark. Negro progress is never effortless; unplanned growth is never beneficial. Like a malignant cancer whose uncontrolled multiplication of cells can spell out death to healthy tissue, the simultaneous opening of many doors hitherto closed to the Negro may result in the confusing stagnation of purpose that spells death to race progress.

Dr. Joseph Winthrop Holley has had a unique opportunity to observe and evaluate the nature and significance of Negro progress. His has been the virtue so praised by Matthew Arnold — of “seeing life steadily, and seeing it whole.” Imbued deeply with a sense of the appropriate and the timely, he knows that some movements are not forward, and that some doors stand open to things other than progress.

In the ninety-odd years of Negro emancipation, there have always been voices raised in warning; too often the warning has not been heeded until the lesson has been written in letters of blood and characters of fire. Booker T. Washington suffered the unreasoned hostility that is always the part of the prophet. Joseph W. Holley should get a better hearing.

In this book, Dr. Holley brings to bear more than half a century's experience of critical insight upon the problems of the Negro. His conclusion, that education for Negroes by Negroes is failing in its job, is bitter medicine. But it is the simple truth.

Strong corrective measures are needed. Every horticulturist knows that when a tree is to be pruned it must be pruned in-

## INTRODUCTION

telligently, and it must be pruned impassively. Let the dead branches fall where they may.

“Every branch therefore, that bringeth forth not good fruit, is hewn off, and cast into the fire.” So readeth the Scriptures.

May Dr. Holley continue his good work as pedagogical gardener in the orchard of American education.

JAMES E. ANDREWS

## PREFACE

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THIS IS the fourth in a series of books on a subject in which I have been interested and on which I have labored for a little more than half a century. Though I have analyzed here the racial problems of education with special attention to the situation in Georgia, I am confident that this analysis has similar application throughout our great Southland and that my conclusions apply for the whole of our country, South and North.

An authority in the field of education, who read an excerpt from the manuscript of this book, said, "This is the best program of education I have ever seen, and it should be put in the white colleges forthwith." Another says, "This book is downright great. It lays down a pattern in its pages that blazes a pathway to economic, industrial, social, political, and spiritual freedom, not only for the blacks, but for the whites as well. If both the poor whites and blacks had been given the training represented in this great book at the close of the War Between the States, there would be no race problem in the South today."

Former President Conant of Harvard University is advocating the same kind of training for all the youth of the nation.

The first book of the series, *You Can't Build a Chimney From the Top*, has elicited praise from the highest authorities, and the second printing is selling briskly at the present time. One authority says of it, "It is the most important volume ever written on the American Negro." Another, "There is a liberal education within its pages." Indeed, Sir Winston Churchill has suggested that an English publishing house be contacted with a view toward producing a British edition.

The second book, *What If the Shoe Were on the Other Foot? — Slavery in Reverse*, is meeting with high praise. The Chancellor of the University System of Georgia says, "I have

## PREFACE

read this book with a great deal of interest. You have set forth in it some facts and principles with which everyone ought to be familiar; you have presented your material in a very readable and fascinating style."

Of the third book, *Regnum Montis*, Rutherford E. Douglas says, "You have made a contribution to the spiritual needs of the church and the world. Your interpretation of the Bible gives Christ the pre-eminence in all things." The Honorable T. Hicks Fort, prominent Southern judge, says, "This book is brilliant, informative, and highly intriguing. It is a must for everyone who appreciates good reading and it should be in the library in every home where the best literature is appreciated."

I want to add a word of appreciation and thanks to the following persons who have aided me in producing these works.

H. T. McIntosh; Mrs. Richard Cherry; Mrs. Mildred Almond; B. F. Wells, Jr., and his efficient secretary; Dr. Herman Caldwell, Chancellor of the University System of Georgia; and the Honorable T. Hicks Fort, who has proved to be a lifelong friend and admirer and of considerable help to me in all my work in the great State of Georgia.

J. W. H.

## CHAPTER ONE

### NEGRO EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

#### *The Minimum Foundation Program and the Strayer Survey*

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NEGRO EDUCATION in Georgia has been carried on for nearly fifty years by the educational foundations, spearheaded by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. In the earlier years, this supervision was confined largely to the public schools, but, with the organization of the Board of Regents in 1933, the work in the colleges came under the influence of the agents of the Rosenwald Foundation.

The overall picture of achievements under the management of the foundations has been described by the Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, the Hon. Fred Hand, and by General Sandy Beaver, a former chairman of the Georgia Board of Regents.

Mr. Hand, in an address to the House, said, "Negro education in Georgia is a disgrace. What the Negro child gets in the sixth grade, the white child gets in the third grade." This discrepancy, of course, is mainly a reflection of the difference in facilities. It is, more subtly, a reflection of the difference in expectations on the part of society.

General Beaver, speaking to the Board of Regents in regard to Negro education on the college level, said, "What Georgia is doing for the Negroes is peanuts compared to what is being done in the states around us."

The Minimum Foundation Program for Education and the recommendations of the Strayer Report on the University System of Georgia offer hope for the correction of this situation; they promise to give the Negroes a training that will be

equal, if not actually superior, to that which is given to the whites. The truth of the matter is that the courses that will be offered under our Minimum Foundation Program will not only provide the student with all the fundamentals of a sound high school education, but also provide him with a thorough training in some useful trade, so that, when he receives a certificate, he will be prepared to do a worthwhile job, and in addition will have a literary background that will carry him as high as his capabilities and means will permit.

Dr. Strayer, in making his recommendations, and the Chancellor, in putting the recommendations into effect, realize that education is a *business* — a *serious business*. The taxpayers of the state are investing their hard-earned money in men and women, with the object in mind of having them become educated, useful citizens.

In order to implement properly the Strayer program, the Chancellor has employed two of the most outstanding experts to be found in the field of education. Three Negro units have been raised to the level of the other four-year colleges in the University System of Georgia. The salaries of the presidents, professors, and instructors in these units have been placed on a parity with the salaries paid to comparable institutions for white students.

Interestingly enough, the Chancellor's report for 1950-51 shows that the University System graduated in that academic year 4900 young people; of that number, the Negro units graduated 584. Of these 584 graduates from the Negro colleges, 554 became teachers and the other thirty have gone fishing. Yet only 700 white students graduating in 1950-51 have become teachers. Where are the others? The answer is that they are in industry.

Why do these figures show no Negroes in industry? The reason for this is that there are nine Negro colleges in the state and all of them are specializing in training teachers.

In Georgia, there are 700,000 Negroes living in the small towns and rural districts, and mechanical farming is dislodging

them by the thousands and driving them to the already overcrowded industrial centers.

There are 400,000 Negroes in the urban centers, and only one in four is prepared to do a first-class job in any field of service.

The tragedy of it all lies in the fact that every single one of our Negro colleges is specializing in training teachers (and a few doctors and preachers). Even Hampton and Tuskegee, which should be doing the work of a Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an agricultural college with all of its implications, are conferring masters degrees in education and in the social sciences. The cry now is for Ph.D.s instead of J.O.B.s. The situation is such that, under the past leadership and training, or lack of it, the Negro people stand today without a foothold in a single basic industry in the country. Every Negro could leave every city, town, and farm in the country today and these economic centers would go on just as well without us. We must plant ourselves firmly in the soil and in the fundamental and basic industries of the country, or we will be lost in the battle for economic security.

No one today loves the true welfare of the Negro people of this state more than I do. Let others rant of scholarships and fellowships, of trusts and foundations — I have given fifty years of my life to the causes in which I believe.

Yes, I have lived for and fought for the Washington-Carver ideals; in previous years, both of these men were constant visitors and advisors to me in my work. When, however, I look back over a half-century of service given unselfishly by two of our people's greatest men, with my mite thrown in, I wonder after all if such service has paid off. Have we, has America, appreciated the work done by these noble and humble men? Have their ideas been put into effect?

For example, a group of well meaning individuals have banded together to raise \$25,000,000 to undergird, build up, and perpetuate thirty-one independent colleges working almost entirely in the South. I wonder if these generous-hearted

people, who want to aid their fellows who are down, have stopped to consider that they were asked to invest in thirty-one factories — factories engaged in molding men's characters and sending them out as leaders — material and spiritual — of some 15,000,000 or more of their own people.

Similar factories have been at work for about three quarters of a century and should be able to give concrete evidence of the value and worthwhileness of their products. "By their fruits shall ye know them." Are the fruits borne by these institutions such as to justify an investment of twenty-five million dollars? All of these gentlemen have been and some of them now are still engaged in business. Did they invest in their business enterprises without some evidence or prospect of tangible returns? The answer is almost certainly in the negative. And why should they now undertake to invest in moral and spiritual things unless there is the reasonable assurances that their investment will return the dividends that they expect?

The Negro colleges should certainly be able to do as the white colleges do, that is, to train men and women along all lines of endeavor and especially so that they will be able to make a living by working with their hands. Jehovah said to the fallen pair in the garden of Eden, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Paul, reiterating the same principle 2000 years later, said, "He that does not work, neither shall he eat."

## CHAPTER TWO

### *A PROGRAM FOR NEGRO EDUCATION*

---

NO PROBLEM of internal United States policy has excited more attention in this atom-minded age than the question of state responsibility for the education of Negroes in the South. Agitation for equalization of educational opportunity for whites and Negroes has led to bitter charges, equally bitter replies, and to recent Supreme Court decisions.

Too often, the well meaning but poorly advised minority group has been made the dupe of Communist organizers and other subversive radicals who fatten on any and every kind of dissension within the ranks of the American people. These agitators care little for the ultimate improvement of instruction for either white children or black children. They serve only the interest of demagoguery, and their own selfish pocketbooks.

An honest dilemma exists in the problem of Negro education in Georgia. When, on July 20, 1949, the Regents of the Georgia University System entered into formal contract for an impartial survey of the sixteen units of the University System, they laid the groundwork for the Strayer Report, and the far reaching blessings envisioned in the Minimum Foundation Program for Education. However, the Strayer Report was the occasion not alone for rejoicing, but for the sober realization that much work needs to be done to bring Georgia's schools to the level that enlightened democracy insists is indispensable for the maintenance of our way of life.

I have labored fifty years in Georgia toward the fulfillment of just such a program for Negroes. As a pioneer in the field of higher education for Negroes, I have been appointed Consultant on Negro Education in the State of Georgia.

It is a position of much responsibility and deep public trust. The one holding this position must sponsor a program of penetrating vision — a program such as will be of benefit not only to its immediate recipients, but to the state, to the South, and to the nation as well.

Such a program must begin with a resolute facing of the facts of our educational situation. We must take stock not only of what we hope to achieve in the realm of education, but of what we are able to pay for the desired improvement. Much of the distress and confusion which has accompanied the muddle of national governmental policy is the result of the lack of intelligent appraisal and planning in the light of the capacity to perform; and so we find socialistic panaceas pluming like Icarus — on waxed wings to destruction.

The first stipulation of any enlightened program for Negro education in the South is that integration of the races in the schools of this state would be an anomaly, completely insupportable by fact or logic. There is at this time an absolutely immovable barrier of public opinion based on the thoughts and feelings of both white and Negro people that will inevitably negate the efforts to bring about an integration of the races in the schools.

Neither the intelligent Negro nor the magnanimous white wants such an integration. Those who give lip service to this proposal are either political bravoes or deluded sophisticates who have never come to grips with the problems of the South firsthand.

There are two excellent reasons why the proposal must be rejected. The first reason is that it would result in the denial of employment to many qualified Negro teachers in the South and this would, in turn, deal an economic death blow to our precarious progress in that profession. A second reason is the fact that the smoldering resentment which would come from the forced mixing of unlike groups would very likely explode to plunge this region into the most disastrous bath of blood that the country has known since the Civil War.

The second stipulation of this program for Negro education is that the emphasis in the education of our people must be shifted to the actual needs of the vast majority of Negroes residing in the area. This means that the specific goals of agricultural competence, as well as competence in other vocational technologies, must take precedence over the vague benefits of art, literature, and philosophy. This is not to deny the validity of cultural studies; it is only to remind ourselves that a man must be able to shelter, feed, and clothe himself and his family and to provide medical care for them before he is ready to relax at a concert or browse among the classics of some museum.

A third stipulation of this program for Negro education is that the control of the state-supported schools must remain with the people whose tax money pays the bill. We have seen with tragic frequency how the introduction of supposedly benevolent federal funds has been followed hard by the tentacles of bureaucratic control. Under the guise of gracious fraternalism, fellowships and grants have been made by organizations outside our realm for the sole purpose of perpetuating a confusion and strife in educational circles that would prevent the people of each state from putting into effect those practical policies which alone can save them. It is unnecessary to name these organizations; they will recognize this description of themselves. A hit dog always whimpers.

No matter how sugar-coated it is, a laxative pill still makes the bowels move. Professional agitators in the field of Negro education parade their wares under a variety of disguises, but inevitably the apple which has been sold to us as a nourishing fruit has contained a deadly potion which has kept us sleeping, lo, these many years.

Our people have long been characterized by a messianic complex. They have always waited and looked elsewhere in supine expectation for economic, social, and political deliverance; thus they have been easy prey for every peddler of nostrums and panaceas who has come along. Like the proverbial donkey

gazing toward distant green fields, they are starving slowly to death while the good things lie untouched beneath their very noses.

Deliverance has never come easy; magic carpets are scarce and hard to come by. The path to economic stability and security is not the rainbow arching high and pointing to an illusive pot of gold. Success comes through self-sacrifice, enlightened persistence, and self-adaptation to the task near at hand.

Sixty years ago, a truly great Negro educator stood in our capital city of Atlanta and thrilled an audience with a time-honored declamation urging the Negro to "cast down your bucket where you are." I was then at the beginning of my preparation for work in the field of Negro education. Now, as I stand at the close of my active public career, even as when I stood at its threshold, I echo that great man's words, "Cast down your bucket where you are."

Until we learn to work with our hands as well as with our heads, we shall remain the economic bondsmen we were in our fathers' time. Until we stop dreaming on a distant star, we shall scarcely be fit to live upon this good green planet of reality.

There is, truly, a place for the arts, a time for equality, a season for the trappings and embellishments that many of us love so well. But equality must come from within, and the time is *not* now ripe. Until the child has grown to manhood's stature, he makes himself ludicrous in man's attire.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF STATE-SUPPORTED EDUCATION FOR NEGROES*

---

THE PROBLEM of state-supported education for Negroes in the South is neither more nor less than the fulfilling of the obligations inherent in our national pledge that every citizen should be able to secure for himself and his children the blessings of liberty and prosperity. Southern citizens, white and black, have a right to expect that their tax-supported institutions will further those aims. What is too often forgotten is that the background and aptitudes of a people living in a particular region determine in large measure the types of training that hold the greatest values for them.

A nation's wealth lies in the prosperity of its citizens. This is as true of the sovereign State of Georgia as it is of the most regal and ancient monarchy on the face of the earth. The aim here is that the more than one million Negroes of Georgia should contribute their fair share toward maintaining the wealth and prosperity of the state. Unless they are adequately trained in the vocations and in the professions which will lead them into a fuller and richer life, they will become wards of the state rather than its useful citizens.

Our first move, therefore, must be to take inventory of our needs and resources in terms of the human potential. This has already been done, and done admirably, by a Committee of Experts who have recorded their findings as a part of the Strayer Report. The details of this Report, along with the essential features of the Minimum Foundation Program for Education, which is related to it, will be found in chapter five of this present work. What is important here is that the Report

revealed the economic and social needs of Georgia citizens in a way that makes the future program of the state-supported school system the most awe-inspiring challenge in three centuries of endeavor.

Two thirds of the Negroes of Georgia depend upon agriculture and its by-products for their living. Seven hundred thousand rural Negroes look to the land — and to the beneficence of their white neighbors — for their daily bread. The futility of any educational program which does not take these facts into account becomes readily apparent. It is in the field of agriculture and its allied sciences that we must train the majority of our youth; if we do not do this, we shall not be serving their best interests, or our own.

When I came to Georgia, fully half a century ago, I found my Negro brethren depending then, as now, upon the products of the soil. There have been many changes in those fifty years, but these changes have been chiefly in the field of technology. Fundamental human needs remain the same, although the processes of farming have changed, and changed radically. The invention of the mechanical cotton-planter and the invention of the weed-killing flame-thrower, to mention only two, have given us machines that bid fair to displace as many workers as did the cotton gin or the power loom of years past. Crop rotation, contour plowing, selective breeding for hybrid strains, quota-acreage, and demand-marketing have made of farming a big business from which those without education and some financial resources are being slowly but ruthlessly squeezed.

The tragedy is that the state needs these small farmers and their energies. What we must do is to channel their abilities into mechanized farming and scientific animal husbandry. This is the first real job of our colleges.

There are those who belittle and deride the far-seeing program which we are putting into effect. This group includes the false prophets, the timorous, the faint of heart, those with selfish and mercenary motives. There is a species of self-styled educator who brings his tailor-made program with him and cuts

the man to fit the suit. I have heard many voices raised in denunciation of me and of my work during my lifetime; but always, if you listened long enough and hard enough, you could hear the clinking in their pockets of the coins placed there by the selfish masters who hired them.

The effectiveness of our educational program depends, then, not only upon the vocationally impelled direction we have given to it, but also upon the sincerity and steadfastness of purpose on the part of the teachers and administrators into whose hands we commit it as well as our children.

I have mentioned the rapid strides that have been made in the fields of technology. I am thinking now of radio, television, auto mechanics, printing, electrodynamics, biotics, and chemical research. It is evident that the list could as well include nutrition, home management, nursing, marketing, budgetary economics, architecture, decoration, and a hundred other skills. These are technological vocations that offer rewarding livelihoods to young men and women who are adequately trained for them.

For example, along the banks of the mighty Savannah River, there is now rising, near Augusta, the most ambitious project ever attempted in the history of mankind. There, within our own state borders, a nuclear fission plant is taking shape, one goal of which is the production of the terrible hydrogen bomb. To this center of employment are flocking thousands of technically trained men and women of the state and region. How many of them are graduates of the Negro units of the State University System?

Economic prosperity is a desideratum for the student-products of our school system, and such prosperity is likewise a goal for the state that pays the bill for the education of its future adult citizens. This is especially true for the products of our Negro schools, for experience has shown that a disproportionate burden, in terms of relief, penal costs, and medical and mental rehabilitation, has been imposed upon the state by its Negro citizens. What helps the Negro to become a useful citizen, therefore, helps Georgia both materially and morally.

Historically, Georgia has been slow in coming to an awareness of the educational deficiencies of its citizenry. At the present time, however, great strides are being made in supplying the money and materials that are fundamental to progress. One of our concerns must be that these great advances are being made in the right direction. In the last twenty years, for example, the expenditures authorized for two Negro units of the University System (Fort Valley State College and Savannah State College) have risen to such a degree that the current appropriation for these two units alone is more than the total state allocations to the twenty-six schools (white and colored) of the University System in 1933. But money and materials in themselves are not enough. Purpose is paramount in our plan.

Our purpose is, and must be, to prepare our Negro students to earn a better living. To accomplish this, we must give them selective training in those vocations in which they are most needed. The fields of cultural pursuits offer very little, presently, in terms of economic security; they are either already overcrowded, or they are being superseded by competing interests. Literature, music, art, and philosophy are fine; but what our young men and women need first is bread and meat on the table and money in the bank.

Traditionally, every Negro college graduate has turned out to be either a teacher or a preacher. It was thought that to wear overalls and to have soiled hands was somehow utterly inconsistent with having a college degree. Today, unfortunately, too much of that philosophy still persists. Our schools are still turning out teachers and preachers and lawyers and artists; and these race professionals are steadily joining the ranks of the unemployed and the disillusioned.

The true goal of education — indeed, of human endeavor generally — is the achievement of satisfactions in terms of individual welfare, comfort, and progress. These satisfactions are based, first and always, upon the realization of the fundamental human needs for food, clothing, and shelter. What I insist upon is that these fundamentals come first. You cannot

satisfy the emotional needs of man, or his social needs or his religious needs, until you have first provided for his physical needs. Our Lord never in His whole ministry preached the Kingdom of God to people on empty stomachs. He first and always ministered to physical needs before He even raised a question about spiritual matters. You can't successfully instill culture into a people whose primary and basic needs for meat and bread, jobs, housing, insurance, and medical attention have not been met. *You can't build a chimney from the top.*

The function of state-supported education is to meet the fundamental needs of its citizens. No one would say that it should not go farther — *if it can*. But that it should squander its efforts in hopelessly diverse and unrelated aims *before* those goals are realized is the height of sheer stupidity. It is like the man who, with fifty dollars to get his son a suit of clothes, goes to a swank haberdashery and spends the whole fifty dollars for a silk top hat, dressing his naked offspring in all the regal magnificence of the solitary stove-pipe!

Now, the greatest tragedy of trying to help people is that many times your greatest opposition is from the people who stand to gain most from the program for which you are fighting. My people have stood on the outside looking in on luxury for a long time. They have seen rich people lolling about in fine automobiles with velvet-and-damask-lined fittings. As a result, they think that the height of good living is dining on caviar and humming bird brains instead of corn bread and collard greens with a dish of side meat!

The State of Georgia has just so much money — and no more — to spend for its school system. Though it may not be as much as the state wants to spend, it still represents the hard earned tax dollars of the citizens of Georgia; and the citizens want a dollar's worth of education for every tax dollar they put into their school system. They don't want finery and frippery until the basic needs of the boys and girls of the state are met. They don't want silk hats until the boy has a decent suit and shoes to keep his feet out of the mud.

Progress is a rocky road that leads upward by slow degrees. He who would climb this uncertain trail does well to be sure of his footing before each successive step. Not only are state funds for education limited; equally limited, in terms of opportunity to use new training, is the individual who proposes to undertake the mastery of it. A need exists, therefore, for taking the most precise inventory of the vocational opportunities that are open to our people. Not what we *want*, but what we *need* and what we can use — that must be our principal concern.

Now, in order that the state may be able to provide its citizens with what they need, those citizens must demonstrate their economic resourcefulness, and create the economic wealth from which the state may draw support for its institutions and services. For the state is nothing more or less than the sum total of its people, acting in unison for the realization of their long-term goals. If the people are strong, the state is strong. If the people are weak, vacillating, and dependent, the state will manifest the same flaccidity. Strength begets strength. For a state, economic integrity is a delicately balanced plank which has as its fulcrum the unfolding economic potential of its humblest citizens. The slightest shift at the base produces magnified reverberations at the top.

Our people — my people — have been too long accustomed to stand with arms outstretched, imploring others to help them to achieve what can come about only as the result of their own labors. He who would eat from a plate at the dinner table should put his own portion into the pot.

The sad truth is that the economic potential of the Negro has for long years past been small. The chief commodity with which he has been able to trade is his labor. Many of us are disposed to accept that ante-bellum stereotype of an arrogant Southern aristocracy greedily fattening itself upon the unrequited toil of the black masses, like some sleek octopus gorging itself upon a decaying carcass of the subterranean depths. This picture, conjured up by jealous Northern tycoons of a century past, had its measure of truth in its time. But it was not

wholly true even then; and it is not at all true now. Let's see what the facts are:

Historically, the production of wealth has been the result of a judicious combination of human labor exerted upon the natural resources of a territory, usually symbolized as "land." Because the earliest human societies were undoubtedly agrarian, the symbolic unit, "land," in the economic equation has tallied with the practical application of the formula: "Land plus Labor equals Wealth." The domestication of animals, with its resulting science of animal husbandry, did not disturb the validity of the formula — indeed, its component factors became even more significant — for herds of sheep and cattle are only extensions of "land," in the same sense that trees and mineral resources also are products of the land upon which they are found. Moreover, the factor of human labor became increasingly significant as the complexity of animal husbandry developed.

It was not until the onset of the Industrial Revolution, usually considered to have had its inception about 1832, that the new emphasis upon the age-old economic factor, "labor," made itself felt. The rapid multiplication of mechanically made items for those that were once produced on the farm and in the home threatened to erase, or at least to drastically minimize, the significance of human labor in the economic equation. Although time proved groundless the excessive fears of pessimistic humanists, an inevitable shift in the practical utilization of human labor did occur. It is this shift which so profoundly affects the economic destiny of my people.

Mere physical strength, endurance, or tenacity — the chief assets upon which my people traditionally relied — became progressively less important as machines took over jobs that required the routine, the merely arduous, or the socially unpleasant. Peoples by the thousands, white and black alike, were forced out of those occupations where machines could be employed to do the work quicker, or better, less expensively. Paradoxically, the impact of this change was most severe not

among the blacks, who are traditionally at the bottom of the financial ladder, but upon unskilled white laborers whose economic status was not protected as was that of the Negro slave. It was not until the protective barrier of slavery was removed that the full weight of economic pressures was brought to bear upon Negro labor; and wherever the force of those pressures was unimpeded, the relative economic picture for the darker brethren has grown progressively more somber.

Significance should be attached to certain early developments in the field of education for Negroes which bear both on the overall problem of Negro employment and on its temporary preoccupation with what are undoubtedly merely subsidiary issues. The earliest cleavage in the philosophies underlying the school problem appeared to center around the dispute as to whether Negroes should be educated for the professions or for the vocations. While the problem did not originate with the founder of Tuskegee Institute, the controversy swirled in hottest ferment around Booker T. Washington and his doctrine that education for the black man should be for his hands as well as for his head and heart. Mr. Washington incurred the bitterest animosities among his own people — even as also I have done — because of his realistic appraisal of the existing needs of the Negro and his best prospects for the immediate future.

The two professions for which Negroes were first trained were those of teaching and the ministry. Indeed, it became almost axiomatic that every educated Negro became either a teacher or a preacher; and it will become clear to the reader why this early trend was both natural and proper. Negroes met with less success in the professional fields of medicine and law, though it would be a mistake to minimize the heroic accomplishments of the few who did rise to early prominence in these fields. There were negligible numbers of Negroes in the other professions, such as dentistry, the fine arts, and mechanical engineering. It was not until comparatively recent times that there have been financially successful Negro ventures

in literature, painting, music, architecture, and the technological sciences.

Early concentration of training for Negroes in the fields of teaching and the ministry was inevitable because it was in these fields that the need was most urgent and the capabilities of Negroes most peculiarly suited to the training of their own people. The vast illiterate hordes of freedmen were neither welcome nor welcoming in mixed schools during the week nor in the white churches on Sundays. Although there developed early patterns of A.M.A.-sponsored schools in which white teachers taught black pupils, and although white preachers served colored congregations, there was a dominating trend toward the supplanting of these white workers by hastily trained Negro teachers and preachers.

That this trend did not have a parallel in other professions was due to a variety of factors. First, the natural antipathy for intimate personal contact with a people racially and socially different expressed itself more forcefully in the fields of medicine and law than in the fields of teaching and preaching. Also, Negroes were stymied in medicine and law to a great extent because the initial capital outlay necessary to enter practice was more than aspiring black neophytes could muster. Despite the urgent and obvious need for medical and legal protection among Negroes, the financial obstacle deterred Negroes from flocking in large numbers into these fields. And it must be remembered that state examining boards did little, and are still doing little, to receive Negro doctors or lawyers on an impartial basis into their professions. It may have been in part due, perhaps, to the early recognition that the often technically inferior Negro practitioners would adversely affect the health of the entire community (it is only a recent realization that an ignorant minority in the fields of education, religion, or politics is as contagiously dangerous as an improperly treated colony of smallpox patients!).

Second, the development of the fine arts and the minor professions has been historically a cultural aftermath in societies

whose basic needs have first been met, and who have had the time and the economic surplus to develop a leisure class. Painting, music, sculpture, acting, and the like have not been characteristic of social groups whose economic endeavor is at the bare survival level. Since the Negro is patently unable to derive economic sustenance from such a leisure class within his own group, the Negro artist must make his appeal very largely to the white group, or he will not eat. Is it any wonder that the artistic look has thus become the *hungry* look!

Finally, there are fields which have remained closed, or nearly closed, to us for highly technical or strategic reasons. Competent research in television, radio, radar, atomic energy, geopolitics, jurisprudence, industrial administration, and the like is limited as far as Negro participation is concerned, and will remain so for an indefinite time to come. The top military, scientific, and industrial personnel will be drawn chiefly from non-Negro groups until such time as our social, economic, and political weight makes itself felt by reason of our numerical and intellectual importance in the total life of the nation. The right to enter such inner councils must be earned.

It is obvious that the function of the school systems of this country must be to bring our people to full readiness to participate effectively in their role as children of destiny. Each step must be taken in the full realization of present needs and of ultimate objectives. And our present need is for vocational efficiency.

The displaced workers, the early victims of the Industrial Revolution, were faced with the necessity of reeducating themselves to fill jobs of technical intricacy for which mere physical strength could not suffice. To the degree that they were able to make this adjustment, they were able to survive the economic upheaval which threatened for a time to erase their means of livelihood. What has long been obvious to the rank and file of American labor — and most of my people are and always will be laborers — is now becoming painfully obvious to all of us

as the next necessary step in the program of Negro education. *Our people must be trained to survive.*

Economically, survival for my people means, primarily, education for the basic jobs necessary to modern agriculture and modern industry. Accordingly, a redirection of our educational philosophy becomes inevitable. This principle was fully recognized by the Strayer Committee and had the enthusiastic approval of the Chancellor of the Georgia University System.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF BLACKS AND WHITES

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SOCIOLOGISTS have preached for many years that all mankind is related by ties of mutual needs, and that the seeming self-sufficiency of the modern city or rural dweller reeks of the miasma of self-delusion. An interdependence exists, they proclaim, that links the rich man with the poor man, the farmer with the clerk, the laborer with the employer. But scarcely a word is said about that interdependence which is the strongest of all in the American economy — the interdependence of the black man and the white man in the South.

We who live and work in the South have long known, of course, that the best interests of both the white race and the black race lie along parallel courses. Progress for one group means progress for the other; no man can keep another in a ditch unless he remains there in the ditch with him. Occasionally some of us have forgotten this axiom; but the saving philosophy is embodied in a quotation from Booker T. Washington: "I will let no man make me stoop so low as to make me hate him."

Margaret Mitchell, in *Gone with the Wind*, paints a vivid picture of the ante-bellum patterns of mutual trust and reliance which existed between master and slave. Instance after instance could be given of the loyal black servant who gave his life for that of his master; who stayed on the plantation from which all others had gone off to war, harvesting crops, protecting the women and children even though his own blood might be spilled in the effort. The saga of the black mammy who suckled two babes, one white and one black, is a symbolic story of the South and its historic racial concord. The parallel paths do not

meet; the literal fact does not obscure the symbolic legend. White man and black man *can* live side by side, if each knows his place and his responsibility toward the whole society. It takes many kinds of people to make a world.

The fable of the discontented pendulum, which ceased to swing back and forth in the clock because the dial got the credit for telling time, contains a lesson we might all do well to remember. It takes all parts of the machine, working together, to accomplish anything. As the apostle Paul put it, are not we all members of one body, is the eye greater than the hand because it can see, or the mouth greater than the ear because it can speak? Who is there to say whether it is better to serve in the mansion or out in the fields? Does not the sunlight fall upon all of us equally; are we not all made wet by the rain — does not death claim us with equal impartiality?

The interdependence of the white man and the black man in the South is not predicated upon anything more or less than the recognition of differences in function, as there are differences in heritage. One is not made the less for being a black servant, so long as he is a *good* black servant. There is no servitude more exacting than that required of a king.

It is no myth that the destiny of the black man in the South can best be worked out in harmony between the white man and the black man working in unison for the good of both. People from other sections of the country do not understand — do not want to understand — the historic patterns of beneficent good will that have characterized the white man's attitude toward his black brother, or the unswerving and undemanding loyalty that the black man has in turn given him. From this pattern both have benefited. Every departure from the pattern has been marked by ill will, recrimination, and actual hostilities. For purposes of their own, outside agitators have seized upon the natural complaints of the economically depressed to exploit dissension and to foment strife between the races. This has been especially true in the labor union; it is becoming increasingly true in the field of education.

Dependent as the black man is on the white man in the South, the white gentleman needs his black brother just as much. The economy of the South is geared to the amicable functioning of the two races in the traditional manner, each realizing its own strength and limitations. Formerly, this racial pattern could be stated in a "brains-plus-brawn" equation, in which the white man furnished the managerial skill and the black man furnished the labor. But the contemporary emphasis upon technology is threatening to upset the old equilibrium and is menacing the stability of the labor potential as an important trading factor of economic production. The sharp cleavages between laborer and manager are tending to disappear, and with them are going some of the old easy tolerance based upon tacit and mutual recognition of the coincidence of racial and economic lines of endeavor. Black men, in increasing numbers, are streaming over the line of demarcation between capitalist and laborer; white workers are beginning to feel pressures that force them into a financial status inconsistent with their old racial elevation. Animosities born of the unpredicted clashing of interests of the new hierarchic structure are bubbling up; and their envenomed repercussions have set the old social system quaking.

That a realignment of the old economic picture will come about is inevitable. That it will involve an instantaneous elimination of racial segregation is unthinkable.

The factors which militate against the present overthrow of the traditional separation of the races are deep seated and unassailable. First, there is the sociological principle that people tend to mingle with their own kind and to avoid association with others. This principle holds true even in societies where there are no racial differences; similar folk tend to band together and to establish "norms" of appearance and behavior which are then used as justification for excluding all marked disparities from the group. This principle is as old as the dawn of human history. It is handed down in folk tale and myth; it is the child's story of the "Ugly Duckling" and the "Half

Chick." It is the adult lament of Jonah and Job. To be different from others is to be set apart from others. The swan in the midst of ducks, the landlubber Jonah in the midst of sailors — these become pariahs from the moment that their differences are discovered. The more obvious their differences, the more certain and swift will be their separation from the others.

There is no difference more obvious among men than the difference that springs from the color of a man's skin. Discrimination based on skin color is neither moral nor immoral — it is un-moral, inevitable. Moreover, color discrimination does not confine itself to racial groupings. Subtle shadings in natural pigmentation are augmented by artificial tanning sessions with chemicals and sun lamps; or are alleviated by bleach creams and indoor retirement. The temporary blondes, brunettes, and redheads are singled out for doubtful distinction, so long as their difference from their neighbors remains significant.

But sun tans and hair tints are momentary differences among people and fluctuate too rapidly to be of much consequence. They disappear and reappear like the foam-flecked ripple of a surging wave. Characteristics such as speech and religion and place of national origin — these are more enduring traits and so they become more easily the landmarks of distinction and separation. But one may change his religion, or learn to speak a new language, or live so long apart from his native clime as to lose all easy identification with it. The one great hallmark among human beings that a generation or a century can scarcely suffice to erase — the one great hallmark of distinction — is race. And so it is *race* that becomes the dividing line among men in the South, the dominant theme of variation in the human orchestra.\*

An important thing to remember is that the individual who is different receives the opprobrium and disavowal of the group only so long as he tries to insist upon being what he is not.

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\* This theme is explored in my book, *What If the Shoe Were on the Other Foot? — Slavery in Reverse*, William-Frederick Press, New York 1, N. Y., 1953; \$1.50 a copy.

The swan is beautiful among swans; but the raven fails miserably in its masquerade as a peacock. The frog, who is quite competent as a frog, destroys itself in its effort to puff itself up as big as an ox.

Now the economic picture has changed somewhat. The distribution of the tools of economic production is no longer made on the basis of lines. Some black men are sitting at tables now; some white men have to subsist on crumbs. But the black men sit at black tables in their own black houses; and the white men are determined that the crumbs that they eat shall not be the crumbs that fall from the black tables.

Out of this welter of change and confusion has been brewed a deadly distillation of mistrust and hatred. Only the patient application of the time-honored salve of racial understanding can dispel the noxious fumes. Neither the white man nor the black man can set aside the facts of unchanging biological inheritance.

It is easy enough to show that the black man is dependent upon the white man in the South. But it is a more difficult task to show that the white man is equally dependent upon the black man. Although the white man is the father of abstract thought, he is the most difficult of all to be convinced by abstract principle. The truth will often have to knock him down before he will see that it has been standing beside him all the time. Immersed as he is in the world of business, he has little concern with abstract ethics until it begins to pinch his pocket-book.

The black man is as much an ally of the white man in the South today as he was a hundred and fifty years ago during slavery. Booker T. Washington, in his famous Exposition Speech to which I have already referred, quotes an applicable quatrain:

*The laws of changeless justice bind  
Oppressor with oppressed;  
And close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to fate abreast.*

The destiny of the two races in the South is inextricably linked in their community of backgrounds and purposes. Living side by side, they will prosper together, or die together. Separate as the fingers on one hand, they are still parts of one indivisible body. What hurts one group hurts all.

The scriptures say that the strong should bear the infirmity of the weak. Equally does the white man suffer from the poverty of the black man; and both are lifted up in the well-being of the other. It cannot be gainsaid that the twelve million blacks residing in the South constitute a prospective market for which many merchants compete. Money in the hands of these buyers quickly finds its way into the coffers and tills of white businessmen. It is well known that Negroes will buy anything and everything, in complete disregard of their total financial positions. So pronounced has this trend become that the Cadillac automobile, once regarded as the carriage of the wealthy, has become the conveyance of the black charmaid and the dusky janitor. This is not because this car costs less than before or because the serving class earns more. The Negro with money simply will spend it for whatever strikes his fancy. He may have a headache after the party is over; but he had a super-sized binge while the party was on.

It is not in the purchase of luxuries alone that the black man has proved himself a good customer. Fond of bright colors and fancy eating, the black man has also been a steady buyer of hominy grits and denim overalls. Ill-housed, ill-educated, and in poor health, he is a hungry prospect for real estate, insurance, medical and dental attention, books, movies, and culture of every kind. To the supplying of these wants a respectable proportion of the total Southern economy is directed. Any factor influencing the buying power of these people becomes, therefore, a matter of concern to white and black alike.

But these are abstract concepts and, as I have already observed, abstract truths are difficult of perception. I offer a

concrete, close at hand example of the interdependence of white and black men in the South:

In February 1940, an ominous quiet hung over Albany, Georgia. It was the night of a Joe Louis fight, and the white people and the black people alike had their ears glued to their radios. Out in the night the dark sky frowned and the wild February wind moaned through the young palm trees bordering Broad Street. Between the college campus and the town, the Flint River snaked a sullen, leaden course beneath the angry sky, an unwitting boarderline to impending destruction.

My radio sputtered and crackled strangely as our household at length retired. My wife had put little Josephine (she's a young lady now) to bed early, and I stood listening to the unnatural quiet as the horizon quivered in the shimmer of incessant, distant lightning. We had not been abed more than an hour when I heard it — a rebellious, ugly, frightening roar, low-pitched but deadly, as though a dozen locomotives had gone mad and were charging in angry concert upon the sleeping town. In an instant I knew what it was. Tornado!

It is futile to try to describe the fury of that storm. In the bright glare of the next morning, Albany lay in ruins. A broad swath of incredible destruction had been gouged through the city by the rampaging winds. Hundreds were homeless, property valued at millions of dollars was destroyed; the dead were still uncounted. Curiously, the tracks of death wavered at the edge of the Flint River, turned east and lost themselves in the countryside beyond. Except for a rumped chimney on my own house and a scattered shingle or two from nearby roofs, east Albany was unscathed.

To the rescue and the herculean task of rebuilding the torn city came the American Red Cross. But there were other hands, black hands, that came hurrying to touch and soothe the windlashed scars of the south Georgia city. I shall never forget the tireless devotion of black men and women in that time of crisis. Many of my white neighbors will never forget them either, or cease to thank God for them.

The time of emergency may dramatize the interdependence of the two races in the South, but it is day-to-day living that really confirms it. It is a matter of routine that the work-a-day world finds black hands doing every useful kind of labor, from driving a truck to preparing hors d'oeuvres for a fancy dinner party. Despite the ballyhoo, no other section of the country offers all the opportunities available to the Negro in the South; and nowhere else does the Negro acquit himself at his tasks so well. The industrial centers of Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and New York gain more attention because of their spectacular concentrations of workers and production; but they have also their concentrations of misery and squalor, of slum living and social frustration. Recent riots in Cicero, St. Louis, and Detroit prove that racial bigotry follows racial arrogance as surely as the sunflower follows the sun.

Some months ago I had occasion to chuckle over the criticism of some upstart sociologist purporting to describe me and my work in the scurrilous black tabloids which trade upon sensationalism. This chortling youngster, fashioned in the matrix of political double-dealing, is but a brainless parrot mouth-ing indictments which recoil upon himself. The proof of success is succeeding — and I am still here.

The question of what should be the proper relationship between the white man and the black man has been a sore spot with many of us during all the years since emancipation. I still consider the formula which was presented in my earlier book, *You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top*,\* as eminently satisfactory:

Ideally there should be brotherhood among human beings; God is our Father; we are adjured to love one another and be one another's keepers. Yet, Arabs and Jews are fronting each other . . . in Palestine, dealing out death and destruction, spurning cooperation. India, having gained the boon of independence, has its streets

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\* William-Frederick Press, New York 1, N. Y., 1948; \$3 a copy.

littered with the dead of its irreconcilables. After a thousand years of smoldering effort, Southern Ireland finally shook itself free from England; and even then the bad feeling did not die, for the same old bitterness prevailed during the recent war in the face of common danger.

Ideally all the Christian churches should be one; yet the demands of various types of minds create and maintain many denominations.

Ideally there should be a workable federation of nations; but the ideologies of East and West have already split the world into two camps.

Most of us agree that all these are goals to aim for; even if we cannot find accord as to method or speed or faith in ultimate complete success. There is exhilaration in playing leapfrog with the stars in our thoughts; but programs and progress have to be anchored to solid earth and in mass psychology. Practically, we are limited to the world of things as they are, and not as we would have them.

In the Southern states there are special conditions of comparative numbers of Negroes and whites and inbred psychological attitudes and customs that constitute as deep seated a problem as the tangled situations in Ireland, Palestine, and India. Tact and time are necessary parts of the cure.

Your type? how long?

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IMPLEMENTING THE STRAYER REPORT

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IMPLEMENTATION of the Strayer Report depends upon the presentation and adoption of a plan — *a modus operandi*, a blueprint of procedure which will be both realistic and forward looking, a formula which will take into consideration both the budgetary limits of proposed expenditures and the desirability and worthwhileness of the goals toward which we point our efforts. Such a blueprint is what I propose here:

First, we should agree that what we wish to develop is an education system which will prepare Negro students to fit economically into the vocational channels which are open to them and for which society has a present or an imminent demand. This does not necessarily mean that we shall preclude the professions and the fine arts; but it does mean that we shall make a realistic assessment of the actual potential market for our graduates in those fields and tailor our efforts in those directions.

Second, we should reiterate the feasibility of dividing the curricula of the three Negro units of the University System of Georgia in such a way as to eliminate the wasteful duplication of procedures and services which bring on the consequent ratholing of the taxpayers' money down unproductive abysses. Such a division will be made according to the following formula:

- I. The approach shall be through a JUNIOR and SENIOR DIVISION.
  - A. JUNIOR DIVISION (freshman and sophomore classes)  
In this division, the student is drilled in the fundamentals

of education so as to prepare him for good work in the professional or SENIOR DIVISION of his college. This division should also provide for terminal courses in Vocational Education, so that the student who, for one reason or another, may not wish to go to college will have a sufficient training in some trade to make a success of life. This DIVISION, therefore, becomes a kind of training and testing ground. Training in the basic principles and processes of education, and a testing of the student's capabilities (and here is where vocational guidance will be needed) will determine whether he should go on with college work or go to work immediately.

#### B. SENIOR DIVISION

It goes without saying that courses leading to a degree on the baccalaureate level should be provided:

Agriculture and homemaking — at Fort Valley

Business administration, trades and industries, and technology — at Savannah

Sciences and education (teacher training) — at Albany

Degrees higher than the baccalaureate or its equivalent may reasonably be contemplated for our future curricula, depending largely upon our ability to do a first class job in those fields into which we presently project ourselves.

II. There should be an EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL similar to the University System Council, whose function should be to deal with problems affecting our own people, but under the direct control of the Chancellor. Such a Council, if properly organized and directed, could be of great value in working out the problems of race relations in education and other matters which affect us here in Georgia.

*Composition of the Council* — The EDUCATIONAL COUNCIL may well consist of the following membership:

The Consultant on Negro Education of the University System; the Director of Instruction; the Presidents of the Negro colleges or the Administrative Deans of these units; the Heads

of Departments or Divisions in the colleges; and such other key persons as may seem wise to the Chancellor.

All three units should provide basic courses in Education, and the Trades and Industries. In this phase, the three colleges are regional, each serving its own area and all offering the same curriculum. Students who finish these courses are prepared to be advanced to the SENIOR DIVISION for work in their special fields; namely, agriculture and homemaking (Fort Valley); business administration and technology (Savannah); arts, sciences and education (Albany).

If the heads of these Negro schools fail for any reason to put the Strayer Program into effect, they will force a major disaster upon the Negroes in Georgia, and will consign to a rat-hole the \$50,000 which Governor Talmadge allocated at the request of the Consultant. Thus will the plans and hopes of over one million needy people be blasted. They will then never be able to get an economic foothold in agriculture and in the other basic industries in this country, and they will tell the world that there is no interest in the things for which Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver lived and died.

Here, then, in broad general outline, is the work province of the Negro Division of the University System.

For example only, a further subdivision of the curricula at one of three member units is suggested herewith:

### *The College of Agriculture at Fort Valley*

#### *A. Agronomy*

Preparation of seed, selection and hybridization

Ploughing, planting, rotation of crops, and revitalization of soil

Harvesting and marketing crops

Truck farming

#### *B. Animal Husbandry*

Dairy farming

Production and marketing of beef cattle

Ham and egg production

Selective breeding and care of animals

*c. Horticulture*

Courses in forestry generally

Landscaping as a vocation

Fruit and nut growing

Mechanized farming

*d. Home Economics (homemaking)*

personal development

general housekeeping, infant care, and homemaking

teaching home economics in junior and senior high schools

teaching in the field of home economics extension

family economics and related activities.

The curricula in agriculture are designed to train workers to support themselves, and to contribute to the welfare of the nation, in the following specific fields:

teachers of vocational agriculture

extension workers

research workers

farmers

farm managers

graduate work

fields requiring similar training

The aim in the Division of Home Economics is not only to give the student a thorough training in the fundamentals of homemaking, but to stimulate interest in continued studies and to cultivate social responsibility and social graces.

From the realistic standpoint, we can hardly expect the instantaneous and harmonious adaptation of our present efforts to the projected revision outlined here. What is needed is a firm hand at the administrative helm, coupled with an unimpeded

vision of the goal to be achieved. No truly worthwhile objective is attained without difficulty. The pathway to the stars leads through a rock-strewn terrain, and he who labors thereon arrives not heavenward without his share of toil.

To put this program into effect, it will take the *wisest co-operation, expert teamwork, fullest sympathy, and the greatest tolerance.*

*Our race's greatest weakness is its failure to work together.*

It is, of course, too ambitious a program to attempt to set forth within the limits of this chapter the details of the organic structure which would evolve out of this philosophic revision of our school system. However, the minimum of organizational structure may be indicated:

*The College of Agriculture  
(Fort Valley)*

Administration — President or Dean  
 Director of Instruction  
 Headmaster of Agriculture  
 Headmaster of Homemaking  
 Headmaster of Research in Agriculture.

*The College of Arts and Sciences, and Education  
(Albany)*

Administration — President or Dean  
 Director of Instruction  
 Headmaster of Arts and Sciences  
 Headmaster of Teacher Training and Educational Administration  
 Headmaster of General Extension  
 (There will be a Division of Trades and Industries, and Technology, and a Division of Business Administration, both with Headmasters.)

*The College of Trades and Industries,  
Technology, and Administration  
(Savannah)*

Administration — President or Dean  
Director of Instruction  
Headmaster of Trades and Industries  
Headmaster of Technological Sciences  
Headmaster of Business Administration.

## CHAPTER SIX

### *THE PROBLEMS TO BE FACED*

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AN INTELLIGENT APPRAISAL of the problem of Negro education in Georgia demands some knowledge of the special conditions and backgrounds which obtain among the colored communities of this commonwealth. Precisely in the same manner that a wise physician adopts an approach in ferreting out the details relevant to his patients' complaints, so the prudent educator tailors his school system to fit the capacities and potentialities of his clientele, scholars, and their neighborhoods.

Basically, all education develops out of a recognition of a fundamental lack in the social structure. But today's educational systems are too often the anachronistic legacies of a time which exaggerated the professions out of proportion to present day needs. Teachers and preachers, lawyers and doctors, these were the goals toward which ninety per cent of our college graduates were wont to strive. Today, however, the field of medicine is probably the last remaining field of the four which has not seen a surfeit of disillusioned young neophytes rush impetuously out from college portals to embittering and sterile frustration and defeat.

Our age has seen a revolution in social values — a replacement of old professional goals by technological ones. Our schools must be geared to meet the changing demands of the times. And this changeover must be more than a superficial and bland retitling of a degree on a sheepskin — there must be a grass roots upheaval in educational philosophy affecting every school child and every grade level from the kindergarten to the graduate school.

The problem is to raise to useful citizenship eleven hundred

thousand Negroes in Georgia. Seven hundred thousand of these reside in the small towns and rural districts of the state, depending upon agriculture and its by-products, plus the good will of their white neighbors for their daily bread and medicines.

Four hundred thousand Negroes are living in the already overcrowded urban centers, according to authorities, and not more than one in four is prepared by training and disposition to do a first class job at anything. Crime among these immigrants to the metropolises is increasing by leaps and bounds; and, worst of all, no concerted effort is being made to transform this mass into useful citizens.

### *The Minimum Foundation Program and the Negro*

The creation of a Minimum Foundation Program for Education, and the appropriation of ample funds to put it into effect, is one of the most significant accomplishments of our generation — for it is by this program that our second emancipation will be achieved. This can be true, however, only if the funds are used in the proper manner.

Those who are to implement this program must understand several important factors:

First, they must have an adequate conception of the magnitude of the problem confronting them.

Second, they must possess the insight which will lead them to realize what the basic and fundamental needs are.

Third, they must know what procedures are necessary to provide a remedy for the situation, and they must be prepared to apply the remedy with courage and without fear or favor.

Fourth, they must visualize the tragic consequence of failure to carry out their plans and purposes to a successful and satisfactory conclusion.

Finally, they must accept the fact that a school, like a factory, must be judged not by its building and its faculty, but solely and completely by the products it sends out into the world.

*The Effect of Machine Farming in Rural Areas*

Mechanized farming is dislodging the Negroes in the rural areas and driving them to the already overcrowded urban centers. Quoting from my book, *You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top*, we find expert corroboration from Rev. Kenneth D. Miller, Ph.D., president of the New York City Mission:

The impact of Northern urban life upon the Negroes who have come up from the South has had the effect of dislodging them from their religious foundations and casting them adrift among the unchurned masses of the city.

The overcrowding of the Negro district, the wretched housing conditions prevailing, and the fact that so many mothers work all day, breaks up the solidarity of the home and leaves the boys and girls at the mercy of the demoralizing influences of the streets. To such underlying social conditions are traceable the crime and delinquency that are all too characteristic of the Negro area; and when religion, that greatest of all restraints to evil, is removed, the result is disastrous for the Negro and the communities in which he lives. Add to this the rankling caused by economic discriminations, and you have a Negro population that is confused, dismayed, discouraged, and bitter.

Dr. Miller might have taken the readers on a survey of the night clubs, taprooms, and other places of amusement and asked what can be the end of this burning of the candle at both ends and in the middle.

The situation he describes concerning our people in the congested centers is rather discouraging when it is taken into consideration that so many of our best trained men and women are living in those areas, and yet so little is being done to improve their overall condition. Juvenile delinquency is growing at a rapid rate among our people; and the evident remedy for this is to be found only in the home, the school, and the churches. (The Jews have given a splendid example of how

to handle the youth of the race. The Jewish home is a sacred place, with the result that there are fewer divorces among the Jewish people. Jewish boys and girls do not frequent taprooms and houses of ill fame. The Jewish people are seriously devoted to the worship of Jehovah, and bring their children up to fear and serve God.)

It is hardly possible to separate the economic life of a people from their moral and spiritual life. I quote from an article by Victor Riesel in the *Atlanta Journal* of October 19, 1946. Speaking of the Rust cotton picker, Mr. Riesel says:

Head south out of Memphis into the lush Mississippi Delta if you want to see the South's biggest labor story breaking on a cotton and pecan plantation here.

Drive south, as I've done, past miles of cotton fields dotted with Negro pickers bent double as they drag their white bags behind them. Roll past the tent-like, tarpaulin-covered trucks which carry the pickers out to King Cotton. Push past rice fields, a new crop for this part of the South. Go on past the plantations with their clusters of gin mills, commissary, warehouse, racing stables, and sharecroppers' shacks, their crazily tilting roofs held up by thin wooden poles.

You turn right on the road into John T. Fargason's Clover Hill Plantation and you find history being made by shy, white-haired, six-foot John Rust, inventor of the cotton picking machine. In ten years, Rust's mechanical pickers will do the work of one million farm hands, who will then hit the road for the big cities.

And the big cities of America will be forced to care for these Okies and Arkies. There just won't be enough jobs for them anyplace.

Speaking on the same subject, Senator George predicts that this change will take place within ten years.

Guy B. Johnson, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, speaking of the cotton picker, says, "The mechanical

cotton picker and the flame-thrower for controlling weeds will bring on a problem of displaced workers that promises to be serious even if industrialization of our region continues to develop and provide new jobs."

We should face and prepare for this great change now, and not wait until we are in the middle of it. My own opinion is that, unless something is done effectively and soon, the march of the sharecroppers and small farmers — white and black — will be cityward, and at an accelerated rate.

For a great many years I have tried to get the leaders, both white and colored, to see this thing and prepare to meet it. Sharecropping, whatever its merits and demerits, as an effective agency in the life of the rural South, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and this applies to the small farmer also.

It is a problem that definitely requires the attention not only of the state government, but the federal government as well. For this movement will affect seven million Negroes who are living in the small towns and country districts of the South. And this is to say nothing of the poor whites who live in the same areas.

The first fundamental step is to provide, with no further delay, sound elementary education and thorough training in technical and professional skills for those who are about to lose their present means of livelihood.

The situation cannot be handled by self-designing politicians. A solution can be found only in the combined thought and action of the best men in the nation. The more I have seen of it, the more I have become convinced of its seriousness, and of the necessity for *prompt, decisive, and effective action*.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SEGREGATION

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YOU CANNOT legislate tolerance. The state cannot; neither can the federal government. It must grow from a seed in the heart. It seems to me that many of those who now favor drastic measures against the Southern states if they do not abandon segregation overnight are the same individuals who, years ago when repeal of the prohibition amendment was being sought, saw the impossibility of legislating temperance.

Swift revolutions may be engineered in the physical world. Edison did it in one field; Ford and the Wright brothers in others. But even Jesus Christ with all His wisdom and divinity has not remade the mind and the spirit of the world in two milleniums. He has influenced the course of civilization and made men better in these two thousand years, but the world still falls far short of Christianity, and in spite of the Prince of Peace we are just finished fighting two world wars and are worrying now about a third. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." To change the minds and hearts of men requires years and decades and centuries — and much wise thinking.

Federal laws to enforce non-segregation will react disastrously if they arouse resentment against the Negro and if they result in friction between the white men of the Southland and the white men in the North. There are those in the world today who would be glad to have the Southern white people and the federal government in bitter disagreement over this issue, to have the Negroes and the whites in this country, especially in the South, at loggerheads. There are explosive possibilities here which would benefit those who are interested in our confusion and destruction. I am sure the Committee on Civil Rights wishes

to be the friend of my race, but this does not lessen the danger of much of what it has recommended. I hope I may be pardoned for suggesting that they do not understand the circumstances. Their report, if followed, would do great harm to the Negroes and to the whites as well.

It is common knowledge that the upswing of radical agitation of the race question in recent years has set back evolution in the South by decades. Lynching, which had practically died out, has lately been on the increase. Some of the kindly understanding which formerly existed between the two races has been lost. There is an old saying, "the more haste, the less speed."

Aesop understood how men's minds work. He has a story about the North Wind, the South Wind, and the Man with a Cloak. The swift harshness of the one merely drove the man to gather his garment closer about him, while the gentleness and warmth of the other gradually prevailed on him to take the garment off. This is the same truth that the modern minstrels offered: "You can push me, but don't shove me."

I favor segregation just as long as the conditions exist which warrant it. I pledge myself to work to change these conditions, as I have already been working for over half a century. This is not a compromise. It is an attack at the roots.

The United States Supreme Court has recently outlawed segregation in the public schools, and many have asked my opinion concerning the decision and, in each case, I refer them to page 225 of my book, *You Can't Build A Chimney from the Top*. A recent issue of *Time* carried a rather striking illustration of President Eisenhower standing in front of President Lincoln. And, I imagine, if Eisenhower had turned his ear back, and asked Lincoln what he thought of the decision, he might well have referred him to this same page on which I quote Lincoln's views not only on segregation but on all questions affecting Negro citizenship in America.

His views are repeated from the *Atlanta Constitution*: "I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in

any way the social and political equality of the white and black races. I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors out of the Negroes; nor of qualifying them to hold office; nor to intermarry with white people. There is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid the two races from living together on terms of social and political equality. Inasmuch as they cannot so live, there must be the position of superior and inferior; I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." That's Lincoln on segregation.

Had President Eisenhower returned to Washington by way of Hyde Park and asked the late President Roosevelt the same question, he too might have been asked to read the last paragraph on page 225 of the book, where he would have found the following quotation from the *Macon Telegraph*: ". . . the deed [conveying some of Mr. Roosevelt's property] reads as follows: 'neither the land herein conveyed, nor any part thereof, shall be sold, rented, or otherwise disposed of, to any Negro, or any person of African descent, or to a corporation or association (N.A.A.C.P.) owned or controlled by Negroes.'"

You can't build a chimney from the top.

We have said little or nothing about Christianity and practical religion being taught and practiced in our schools and colleges.

Albany State College from the very beginning made the Bible one of the basic courses to be taught and practiced both by the teachers and students. The first daily "vacation Bible school" was organized by the school; all of its students were required to teach the Bible to the young people in the counties from which they came; our teachers would teach in the sabbath schools in the community and the surrounding country.

Morning and evening prayers and mid-week prayer meetings were essential features of our program, and teachers and students alike enjoyed every service. And, while the school was supported almost entirely by Presbyterians, it was nonsectarian

and there was never any proselyting. Our motto was to make the best Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian of all who came to us, and it is my conviction that the best antidote for communism is the genuine religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. My good old mother used to sing, "If you want to make old Satan run, fire off your gospel gun."

Speaking of communism, President Eisenhower said to a recent graduating class at Dartmouth College, "We have got to fight communism with something better and not try to conceal the thinking of our own people. They are part of America, and even if they think ideas that are contrary to our own, their right to say them, their right to record them, and their right to have them in places where they are accessible to others is unquestioned or it is un-American."

Is that true?

First, are these ideas American? Did not these ideas originate with Karl Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky?

Second, is it fair to allow their ideas to be printed on our presses, placed in our libraries, schools, and colleges and not allow America to place her ideas behind the Iron Curtain? Nay, President Eisenhower, what is good for the goose should be good for the gander.

We must defeat the plans and purposes of those who would destroy this country by boring from within by worming their agents into our industrial, social, and even our church organizations. We must cleanse our schools and colleges of every vestige of subversive influence and propaganda. Our schools and colleges must ever be and remain shrines of Christian democracy.

This does not mean that communism should not be discussed in our schools and colleges, but it does mean that these discussions should be conducted by men who are rooted and grounded in the basic principles that have made this the most prosperous country in all the world. Communism spells no good for America and her allies and it should be defeated at all hazards. This is, at least <sup>nominally</sup> normally, a Christian nation and all who come to our shores seeking a richer and fuller life for

themselves and their children should leave their atheistic and communistic ideas behind them and join hands and help to make this great country a haven of peace and prosperity for all.

The Pilgrim Fathers were guided by spiritual values which had their origin in Evangelical Christianity, and American history would have no meaning, no happy significance, apart from faith in God. The Mayflower Compact began with the words, "In the name of God, Amen." Our first coin carried the inscription, "In God We Trust."

The English Puritans of New England, the Anglicans of Virginia, the Scotch Irish and the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Dutch and Scandinavians, all had one thing in common, namely, a virile faith in God. This fusion of religious interest produced the moral and spiritual strength that was destined to bring forth the greatest republic on the face of the earth. And if this nation is to survive — and pray God it may — we must return to the "faith of the Fathers," which we hope is still living.

The creative power of Christianity is reflected in the establishment of our great educational institutions. All of these great agencies of human uplift and betterment had their origin in the Christian faith; Harvard and Yale were founded by Bible-loving Christians of Congregational persuasion; Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania were started by Episcopalians; Princeton was organized by Presbyterians; Duke University and Northwestern were organized by the Methodists; the University of Chicago began as a Baptist College; Notre Dame was founded by Catholics; the University of California, now a state institution, was launched by two old-fashioned gospel preachers; and our own great University of Georgia, though a state institution, was founded by a minister of the gospel and for one hundred years of its illustrious history was presided over by gentlemen of the cloth.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *VIEWS ON THE WORLD CHURCH ASSEMBLY*

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THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES is one of the many councils that have been held over the years beginning with the one held in Jerusalem in the days of the Apostle Paul. This council was presided over by the Apostle James, and Paul and Barnabas were present. The question before the council was circumcision and the place of the Gentiles in the new church that was set up following the Pentecostal outpourings of the Holy Spirit.

The Evanston Council last year announced as its main theme: "Christ — The Hope of the World." This gave hope that the discussions by the learned divines gathered from all over the Christian world would center around the coming of our beloved Lord, concerning which the Bible tells us that it is near, very near. But instead, the deliberations had more to do with affairs of the state rather than of the church. For example, the Council adopted ringing declarations "calling for the living together of East and West and placing the church adamantly against racial segregation."

The Assembly accepted reports which appealed to the Communist and non-Communist nations to recognize the fact that they must learn to live together, in spite of the fact that "two cannot travel the same road except they be agreed."

The Communists say:

Religious ideals have no place in communism. Racial and social equality are cardinal principles of communism.

Does the World Council accept that teaching?

There have never been but two forces at work in the world, namely, the forces of righteousness led by Jehovah, God; and the forces of evil led by the devil. Hence, we are either on God's

side or on the side of the devil. There is no middle ground.

The Council was almost blasphemous when it came to segregation, for it termed racial segregation as "an unutterable offense against God to be endured no longer." Let us see.

There was segregation in Egypt where Jehovah prepared a race through which the Saviour of the world was to come, and to do that the blood of that race had to be pure. After four hundred years' sojourn in Egypt, there is no sign of the mixing of races. Moses, in the house of an Ethiopian priest for forty years, did marry into the family, but when Jethroe took his daughter and her children to the border of Midian, where the children of Israel were camping on their way to Canaan, we hear no more of this mixed family.

The worst beatings the Jews took during their whole history were to keep them from mixing their blood with the nations in whose land they had come to live.

In building the Temple, ample provisions were made for the segregation of the Gentiles from the Jews. Segregation could not have been much of an offense to God, for His Son brushed it aside as of no great importance when it confronted Him in His ministry. For example, on one of His many journeys, He comes hungry, thirsty, and famished to Jacob's well. He sends His disciples to buy food and He takes His stand at the well. Soon a woman comes to the well to draw water. To her He says, "Give me to drink." In amazement she answers, "Why, thou being a Jew, asketh water of me, a Samaritan woman, seeing that the Jews have no dealings with Samaritans?" He might have said, "Cut that out!" But Jesus asked, "Where is thy husband?" She replied, "I haven't any husband." Jesus said, "You have spoken the truth. You have had six husbands and the one you now have is not your husband." Off she went to the village, crying, "Come and see a man who has told me of everything I have done. Is this not the Messiah?" And everybody forgot segregation.

Another incident is about the Syrophenician woman, a Greek. She comes to the Master for a favor and He calls her

a dog. But she turns it off as of no importance. To her plea, He said, "It is not meet to give the children's bread to the dogs." She answered, "Yes, Lord, that is true, but the dogs under the table get the crumbs that fall." The Master replied, "Guna (Woman), thy faith has made thee whole. Go, thy child is well and freed of her adversary."

I guess if the World Council had seen these two cases, it would have passed out via ecclesiastical evaporation. Is it not significant that in the announcing of the gospel at Pentecost each nation heard the good news in its own language? Is it not significant that in giving the gospel or good news to the world, it went definitely along racial lines? The Romans, the Greeks, the English, the Germans, the Russians, the French, the Irish, the Americans all heard the good news in their own languages.

Segregation is strictly American; it came to the front after World War II, and is definitely of Communist origin. And you tell me that the devil isn't at the bottom of it? The devil never was as busy as he is today, or as successful. For he knows his time is short.

The Council urges a merger with the Communists as a means of avoiding a disastrous third world war, when the Bible plainly teaches that there *will not be* another world war until the close of the thousand years' reign of our Lord. Then will come the Armageddon, "The battle of Almighty God." (Read my book, *Regnum Montis*.\*)

We are only to have "wars and rumors of wars," which are the signs of the approach of the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."

A few days ago, I was driving Chancellor Caldwell over the Albany State College campus, pointing out where the state is to erect a number of new buildings. We came to a spot where I want the state to erect a chapel or church building, where the coming generations of young Negro men and women, who will

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\* William-Frederick Press, New York 1, N. Y., 1954; \$3 a copy.

be trained for leadership, <sup>in or of what?</sup> may come together for religious worship, and where as individuals they may come for prayer and meditation. The Chancellor agreed with me that in these experiences the individual finds that wisdom which passeth understanding, the strength to overcome all obstacles, and the certainty and peace of mind that are the secrets of true happiness. He agreed to lend his efforts toward the erection of such a building so that Albany State College will have every facility for a well rounded educational program, including those facilities and influences that are conducive to spiritual as well as intellectual development.

Yes, the church and the school must be one and inseparable, for, as Emerson, speaking to Americans and of America, said:

*She fears no skeptic's puny hand,  
Nor heeds the bigot's blinded rule,  
While near the church spire stands the school.*

**ABOUT THE AUTHOR . . .**

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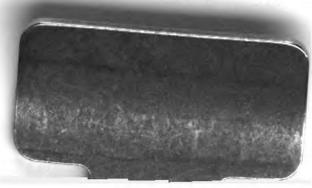
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