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CAMDEN AND ENVIRONS

By Albert P. Blaustein

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PREFACE

In collecting material for this report, the author interviewed top administrators in the school systems involved and those who have complained of alleged segregation in those school systems. Starting with New Jersey Commissioner of Education, Frederick M. Raubinger, the author spoke with school board members, superintendents, principals and teachers. He also met with representatives of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights and with National, State and local officials of the NAACP. Their observations are included here. Unless otherwise cited, quoted statements were made during the course of interviews.

The author wishes to extend personal thanks for the gracious cooperation he received from persons interviewed. Particular thanks go to Dr. Anthony R. Catrambone, Camden's Superintendent of Schools, who directed that a number of statistical studies be prepared especially for this report.

April 1, 1963

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School segregation in New Jersey is a story with many contradictions. The State is proud of its laws against discrimination and of its record in eliminating racial prejudice from its educational system. (The famous Princeton Plan 1/ was named after the New Jersey town where it is generally believed to have been first employed.) 2/ Yet, at the same time, New Jersey is a State which has both all-white schools and all-Negro schools. De facto segregation still exists, and it is also alleged that de jure segregation still exists in the State.

This South Jersey report, which includes a study of nine cities and towns in the Camden metropolitan region, shows the continued existence of segregation in fact, if not by law.

What was written about New Jersey and its schools in the past remains in some measure true today, notwithstanding the undoubted accomplishments of the State Division Against Discrimination (now Division on Civil Rights) which has been working in this area since 1945. As one observer has said: 3/

> New Jersey provides in microcosm a picture of many facets of race relations of the nation--the point of cleavage and agreement between Northern and Southern policies, the myriad variations in specific practices within each of these. For the present period of accelerated change in the basic patterns of public education in the nation, it is especially illuminating to look at the developments in a state where the interplay of social forces considered "Southern" and "Northern" are apparent...particularly in those areas affecting elementary education.

And in the words of another commentator: 4/

> These /New Jersey/ practices vary from the complete segregation of /Negro/ children in the elementary schools of some of the southern counties of the state to situations in certain of the northern counties where there is complete integration of Negro children in the regular schools, which are staffed with teachers appointed according to merit and without regard to their racial identity. Between these two extemes there exist varying combinations of segregation and integration... .

What these combinations are and what is being done about them in South Jersey's largest metropolitan complex is the subject of this study. In some ways the study is unique, for neither the history of South Jersey segregation nor the nature of community responses to that segregation can be

considered typical. In other ways, however, the Camden study has points in common with existing metropolitan areas throughout the North and West. For this is a story of a comparatively large industrial city, marked by a continually growing Negro population and a movement of its white population to the nearby suburbs. It is the story of the segregation problem in a number of these suburbs as well.

Nine very different municipalities in this area are discussed in this report. The main story, of course, is the story of what has happened and what is happening in Camden City itself. This is supplemented by the school segregation report about Woodbury, a city in a neighboring county in the metropolitan region which has long resisted attempts at integration. It is supplemented by reports on 7 of the 37 municipalities in Camden County.

There are special reasons why these particular seven communities were selected for study. For it is peculiarly these seven which provide valuable lessons in analyzing the segregation problem. Most of the 37 municipalities in the county have virtually no Negro populations at all--and thus virtually no story to tell. Others are so far from the core city that they are not considered part of the metropolitan complex. These seven are different.

Here are the stories of what has taken place in the second and third largest municipalities in the County, Pennsauken and Cherry Hill. Sheer size makes their stories important; and so does the fact that they have both taken steps to do something about segregation, but in very different ways. Included here is the story of what is happening in the county's richest municipality (one with few Negroes) and in one of its very poorest municipalities (one with a high Negro population). Both are representative stories. Also selected for this report is Haddon Township, a white community unique in having a delineated Negro section. And the story is also told about segregation problems in a very unusual municipality (Lawnside) which is virtually all Negro, and the white municipality (Haddon Heights) which provides the secondary education for the Lawnside children.

Camden is approximately the 100th largest city in the United States. This industrial municipality is experiencing population shifts common to most northern cities. It has its all-white and all-Negro schools, and increasingly segregated teaching staffs. The school authorities are aware of the problems and have a desire to do something about them. Whether this attitude is being carried into action is the real issue.

Pennsauken, until recently, was the second largest municipality in Camden County. This industrial town admittedly maintained what approached de jure segregation in its school system as late as the school year 1961-62. The Pennsauken story is one of slow and reluctant action to conform with State policy.

Haddonfield is Camden County's richest and most "aristocratic" community. This town is extremely sensitive about any references to race relations problems. There is no evidence of overt discrimination, but, on the other hand, it is extremely unlikely that any Negro teacher will be hired by the Haddonfield school system.

Haddon Township is a nearly all-white municipality, containing a small but entrenched Negro enclave. Haddon Township denies the existence of any racial discrimination in its school system, yet charges of discrimination persist. Whether or not these charges can be substantiated, this is another municipality which is unlikely to employ a Negro teacher in the near future.

Berlin Township is one of the poorest municipalities in the county, and also has one of the highest percentages of Negroes (17.5 percent) in the area. There is now only one elementary school in the township, a school which some say is "unavoidably integrated."

Lawnside is unique in being an all-Negro community. Lawnside maintains a single elementary school which is as segregated as a school can possibly be. The community leaders have a keen awareness of the undesirability of such segregation and aspire to do something about it. What can be done constitutes the problem.

Haddon Heights is an all-white community. Haddon Heights is one of several municipalities in Camden County which has segregated all-white elementary schools for the simple reason that no Negro children live there. Haddon Heights was included in this study because it provides the high school education for Lawnside pupils.

Cherry Hill is now second to Camden City in population. It is the county's new and progressive township. Not only is there an absence of racial discrimination in its school system, but there appears to be a tacit "color consciousness."

Woodbury, although geographically and economically a part of the metropolitan region, is located in neighboring Gloucester County. Woodbury provides a text book example of segregated education as a result of community pressures to maintain segregation.

Before discussing the school systems of these various cities and towns, it is necessary to have some understanding of the geography of the region. A brief excursion into the history of school segregation throughout the State is also required to understand the South Jersey story.

CAMDEN GEOGRAPHY

Camden City, second largest municipality in the Philadelphia standard metropolitan statistical area, is located due east of Philadelphia Center City, across the Delaware River.

"Camden County spreads out on each side of the City of Camden for more than ten miles along the waterfront. Then, like the tail of a fish, it extends southeastward for 26 miles toward Atlantic City. Altogether the county covers an area of 225 square miles... ." 5/

Most populous of South Jersey's 10 counties (with a 1960 census figure of 392,035) Camden County is seventh in population among the 21 counties of the State. 6/ Camden City is the fourth largest city in New Jersey, with a 1960 population of 117,159. 7/ Only Newark, Jersey City, and Paterson are larger. 8/ The city is 103d in size nationally, with roughly the same population as Lincoln, Nebr.; Madison, Wis.; Rockford, Ill.; Kansas City and Topeka, Kans.; Trenton, N.J.; Canton, Ohio; Dearborn, Mich.; Hammond, Ind.; and Scranton, Pa.

The growth of the county and city--and the relative size of their Negro populations--are reflected in the following table:

CAMDEN COUNTY

Census Dates	White	Nonwhite	Total	% of Nonwhite
1940	237,693	18,034	255,727	7.1
1950	277,875	22,868	300,743	7.6
1960	355,885	36,150	392,035	9.2

CAMDEN CITY

Census Dates	White	Nonwhite	Total	% of Nonwhite
1940	104,995	12,541	117,536	10.7
1950	106,972	17,583	124,555	14.1
1960	89,267	27,892	117,159	23.8

Source: 1950 Census, Vol. II-30, tables 10, 12; 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, tables 13, 28.

There are 37 municipalities in Camden County, known variously as cities, towns, townships, villages and boroughs. Eight of these are discussed in this report. According to the 1960 census, the racial composition of these eight communities is as follows: 9/

Municipality	White	Nonwhite	Total	% Nonwhite
Camden City	89,267	27,892	117,159	23.8
Pennsauken	32,257	1,514	33,771	4.5
Cherry Hill	30,934	588	31,522	1.9
Haddon Twp.	16,991	108	17,099	0.6
Haddonfield	12,927	274	13,201	2.1

Municipality	White	Nonwhite	Total	% Nonwhite
Haddon Heights	9,254	6	9,260	0.06
Berlin Twp.	2,775	588	3,363	17.5
Lawnside	60	2,105	2,165	97.2
County Total	355,885	36,150	392,035	9.2

Woodbury, the ninth city in this report and the only one not located in Camden County, had the following 1960 population statistics: white, 10,863; nonwhite, 1,590; Total, 12,453; percent nonwhite, 12.8. 10/

Three of these sets of figures require additional comment because of population changes and shifts during the 1960-63 period. Camden City still has approximately the same population as was reported in 1960; it may even have the same ratio of whites to nonwhites. The nature of this population is ever-changing. The flight to the suburbs continues; fewer whites remain in the city than in 1960. Counteracting this decline is the continually increasing migration of both Negroes and Puerto Ricans (the latter classified as whites) into the community.

By 1963, Cherry Hill's population had exceeded that of Pennsauken. Some estimates placed the population of fast-growing Cherry Hill as high as 40,000. In the meantime, Pennsauken had grown to approximately 36,000.

By 1963, Lawnside has lost virtually all its white population. There may be as few as three white families left in the community.

A map on page 52 and appendix A provide additional data on the geography of Camden County and the racial composition of its municipalities.

"In New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania there were segregated schools before ratification [of the fourteenth amendment] and segregated schools after ratification. Although the debates were never recorded in either New York or New Jersey, the actions of both states would seem to indicate their understanding that the amendment had nothing to do with schools." 11/ Before that time, "a law passed in 1850 permitting a township in Morris County to set aside a separate school district for colored children established a legal [sic] precedent for segregation in public schools." 12/

New Jersey first passed nonsegregation legislation in 1881, but with little effect. This was true despite an 1884 judicial decision, based on that statute, which ordered a school district to admit Negroes to an all-white school. The statute was clear and to the point: "...That no child, between the age of five and eighteen years of age, shall be excluded from any public school in this state on account of his or her religion, nationality or color." 13/

At that time the city of Burlington maintained four public schools, one solely for Negroes and three for whites. A Negro named Jeremiah H. Pierce applied to the school board for the admission of his four children to the public schools nearest his residence. They were then attending the Negro school. In the litigation which followed, it was conceded that the sole ground for exclusion was the fact that Pierce was a Negro. On the basis of the 1881 statute, the court ruled that the exclusion was unlawful, and issued a writ of mandamus to compel admission. The judgment was unanimously affirmed by New Jersey's highest court in the following year. 14/

In the words of one commentator, the 1881 law "not only did not eliminate segregation in the Southern section [of New Jersey] but failed to prevent an increase in this practice. Separate schools for Negroes continued to grow in number until the fifth decade of the present century." 15/

In that fifth decade, New Jersey took positive steps to eliminate school segregation. The first of these was the passage of the 1945 Law Against Discrimination. 16/ Among its provisions was the following: 17/

> There is created in the State Department of Education a division to be known as "The Division Against Discrimination" [changed in 1960 to "Division on Civil Rights"] with power to prevent and eliminate discrimination in employment against persons because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States by employers, labor organizations, employment agencies

> or other persons and to take other actions against discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, as herein provided; and the division created hereunder is given general jurisdiction and authority for such purposes.

Since this was essentially a provision dealing with discrimination in employment, the Division Against Discrimination (DAD) did little in the area of school desegregation in its first years of existence. Then came the adoption (effective January 1, 1948) of the new New Jersey State constitution and its article 1, section 5.

> No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military rights, nor be discriminated against in the exercise of any civil or military right, nor be segregated in the military or in the public schools, because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin.

By enacting this constitutional mandate, "New Jersey /became/ the first state in the nation to outlaw segregation in the public schools or the state militia in its basic charter." 18/ Then, "immediately after the opening of the New Jersey legislature in January /1948/, the commissioner of education assigned the task of implementation of the school desegregation provision to the Division Against Discrimination (DAD)...The division's first move...was a complete survey of the public schools to determine to what extent, where, and how racial segregation was practiced." 19/

Sixty-two school districts, encompassing 292 schools, were surveyed. And it was found that 52 of those districts had one or more all-Negro schools with all-Negro teaching staffs. In nine of these districts, the DAD concluded that school segregation was solely the result of residential segregation in the community. "The separate schools in the other 43 districts were attributed to deliberate segregation policies." 20/

Significantly, the 52 communities having segregated schools were in New Jersey's 10 southern counties, including Camden.

A great variety of segregation practices were in evidence. Of the 292 schools, 55 enrolled only Negroes and 82 were exclusively for whites. 21/

> Six school districts maintained separate buses for the two groups. Two school boards paid tuition to segregated schools outside their districts for their colored pupils. There were fixed boundary lines applicable to Negro and white pupils in 124 schools while for 163 schools no such lines existed. For

> transfer purposes, 131 schools observed boundary lines; 152 did not follow this practice; 2 made exceptions and 7 provided no information in regard to transfers...Thirty-four segregated schools were in exclusively colored neighborhoods. At times school officials deliberately located buildings in Negro settlements. Other officials placed colored children in separate rooms in otherwise all white buildings. Stills other provided separate facilities for the races. Gerrymandering served as another tool for effecting separation of pupils.

Since that time New Jersey has made great strides toward desegregation-integration. At least New Jersey has made great strides in eliminating de jure school segregation. Commissioner of Education Frederick M. Raubinger does not deny the possibility that an instance or two of de jure segregation may still exist; but he makes the definite statement that he knows of no such practices. "Gerrymandering is out," he asserts, "and by-passing schools by bussing pupils is likewise out."

Response to the DAD survey was immediate. Of the 43 districts which were reported to have segregated schools as a result of "official sanction," 30 made immediate plans to desegregate their schools by the beginning of the 1948 fall term. The DAD "continued to consult with the administrative officers of the remaining school districts. One by one these officials began to cooperate. Some boards had to wait until plans and funds could be made available for new building programs. In only four cases did the DAD encounter outright opposition." 22/ And in these four cases as well, there is now desegregation.

For the most part, de jure school segregation in New Jersey came to an end by the beginning of the academic year 1950-51. But that was only for the most part. It was not until 1960, for example, that Commissioner Raubinger "personally" closed the Negro school in Elk Township. Located in Gloucester County, south and west of Camden County, this particular Negro school had grossly inadequate facilities. In Commissioner Raubinger's words, the "opportunities were obviously unequal." Further, there was ample classroom space in the nearby all-white schools.

And Pennsauken, one of the municipalities included in this report, did not close the last of its Negro schools until the beginning of the academic year 1962-63.

In most instances, de jure segregation was ended voluntarily. School authorities "accepted" State law on the subject willingly or after some "discussion" or "persuasion." However, under the law the Commissioner of Education has power to withhold State aid from school districts which do not comply with desegregation directives. Certainly this was an implied threat in all discussions on the subject. Yet it was seldom necessary--as it eventually became

necessary in the Elk Township situation--to withhold such funds to accomplish desegregation.

Whether all de jure segregation is now a thing of the past is still a matter of some dispute. Commissioner Raubinger, as previously noted, knows of no such practices. However, Philip M. Savage, secretary of the NAACP tristate region encompassing New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, believes that such segregation still exists. He says that he has reports of "extensive and deliberate segregation and other educational inequalities" in New Jersey's public schools, including those of Camden. Local NAACP leaders, he says, have "also reported discrimination restricting employment of Negro teachers and limiting Negro teachers to assignments in predominantly Negro schools." 23/

But the possible existence of de jure segregation is no longer the important problem in South Jersey. What is important is the issue of de facto segregation. And that involves questions of policy--policy of today and policy for the future.

"Color blindness" versus "color consciousness" is the core of almost all disputes involving racial discrimination in the schools of the North and West. Until recently, the Negro community asked for policies based on color blindness--an absence of color consciousness in designating school boundaries, in employing and assigning teachers, etc. But when color blindness resulted in all-Negro schools and a preponderance of teacher assignments in accordance with the racial composition of the schools to which teachers were assigned, Negro leaders turned to color consciousness to rectify such situations.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the various municipalities of Camden County. In Camden City color blindness was applied to the neighborhood school policy. Even without gerrymandering, this has resulted in all-Negro schools in all-Negro neighborhoods and all-white schools in all-white neighborhoods. And the white teachers have sought and obtained assignments to the schools with preponderantly white student bodies. Negro leaders now ask Camden City to re-examine and, to the extent possible, redraw the school boundary lines to achieve integration. For the absence of gerrymandering does not necessarily mean that the present lines are legally valid. Innocent or not, they do perpetuate segregation, and thus there is a serious legal question whether such boundaries can be judicially permitted to stand.

Negro leaders also assert that Camden City should forcibly (a word subject to many definitions and qualifications) assign more Negro teachers to white schools and vice versa. This would require a policy of color consciousness. Whether and to what extent Camden is following either or both of these practices will be discussed in the section of this report dealing specifically with that city's schools.

The issue is likewise present in the smaller outlying municipalities in the county. The position taken by the school authorities in the essentially all-white suburban communities is that they must be color blind in their teacher employment practices. For the most part these municipalities (for example, Haddonfield and Haddon Township) have hired only white teachers over the years. It is, of course true that this <u>may be</u> indicative of color consciousness. And so Negro leaders argue. Assuming however, for the sake of argument, that these municipalities have only employed the best applicants and that all of the best applicants have been white, it would then follow that the policy of color blindness has been in effect. Should these communities now become color conscious and attempt to hire qualified Negro teachers? Should this policy be pursued in order to give both white and Negro pupils some interracial experience as part of their education? Negro leaders say yes. School authorities for the most part

disagree. Most of them take the position that such a policy is unconstitutional--just as it would be unconstitutional to deny employment to a Negro on racial grounds.

Just how these conflicting policies are being administered in the various localities will, of course, be discussed in the sections devoted to such municipalities. But such discussions merely point up the basic policy conflict. Thus far the pronouncements of the Supreme Court do not require affirmative action to compel integration. But what are the specific guide lines on this subject now enunciated for New Jersey?

Strict adherence to the organization of schools on a neighborhood basis, which inevitably results in segregated schools, is advocated by many school administrators. It is the traditional approach in New Jersey.

Here in summary is the position of the New Jersey Negro leadership, as set forth in a 1961 NAACP leaflet designed for statewide action: 24/

> Recently many New Jersey NAACP Branches have been confronted by the problem of segregated schools in their communities. The New Jersey State Conference hereby directs that increased attention be given such schools because of the serious danger which segregation in any form poses for Negro children. This must become a stepped up drive to eliminate these schools WHEREVER they exist. /Emphasis in original/...NAACP policy /is to/...oppose the neighborhood school concept wherever its misuse maintains the segregated school.

This has been augmented by an NAACP appeal to New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes "to deliver informally a 'clear and positive statement of public policy' in an effort to end de facto segregation." 25/

That Governor Hughes is aware of the existing situation and desirous of doing something about it is unquestioned. In a recent letter concerning the education reports prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights, he made this observation: "Surely there is much value in sharing the experiences of other communities in dealing with the perplexing problem of 'de facto' segregation in the public schools." 26/

Whether New Jersey's governor has enunciated the requested "clear and positive statement of public policy" on the subject is a matter of interpretation. At the time he was asked to make such statement, in early 1962, it is reported that he "replied it would be better for such a policy to emanate from education commissioner Frederick M. Raubinger." 27/ But Commissioner Raubinger has pointed out that he cannot promulgate such policy. And properly so. For under the New Jersey statutes, "the commissioner shall decide...all controversies and disputes arising under the

school laws." 28/ Since he sits in a quasi-judicial capacity on charges of racial segregation brought against school boards, he has declined to make generalized statements which might be construed as a prejudgment. Nevertheless, Commissioner Raubinger has not been reluctant to make his general views known.

It was generally believed in early 1962 that the Governor's position was that New Jersey could not change its established neighborhood school concept just to prevent segregation, and that only a change in residential patterns could provide a solution. On February 20, 1962, however, Governor Hughes stated, "It seems to me there is a middle ground between open enrollment and the rigid pattern of neighborhood schools." 29/

This was amplified in a brief address delivered at a meeting of the State Federation District Boards of Education on December 8, 1962. The following is taken directly from his prepared remarks:

> ...Thomas P. Cook, Counsel to your organization, excellently summarized the policy of this Administration and noted that--"every board of education has a legal duty to eliminate 'de facto' segregation."
>
> Tom Cook's analysis correctly states the fact that the neighborhood school concept remains as the basic educational policy. However, we must remember that with all its virtues the neighborhood concept must be reasonably applied so as to assure that fundamental objective of American life--equal educational opportunity under the law; for all children. As I previously stated: "While the preservation of the neighborhood school policy is essential, where it collides with the concept of equality in education opportunity, its adaptation to circumstances to prevent 'de facto' segregation is not only necessary, but normally feasible."

Commissioner Raubinger, as previously noted, has declined to make a policy statement in this area. But what he has said is that the Governor's position has "great weight as guide lines" for future action. Further, it is known that the commissioner has informally advised local boards of education to take a second look at the situations in their communities, and "use their ingenuity" to do something about racial problems, providing they do not "violate other educational considerations." He has also said that it is proper for local school authorities to be race conscious in their practices and procedures in order to "accomplish objectives which will improve education." At the same time, the commissioner has indicated that he does not advocate a "forced mix" of whites and Negroes in the schools.

Significant also is Commissioner Raubinger's position on new school construction.

Every school district which has exceeded its debt limit--and nearly every school district has--must have a Department of Education hearing on all proposed buildings and additions. My staff has been alerted to keep integration in mind in deciding on whether construction approvals should be granted.

So much for policy. And so much for geographical background and historical considerations. What must now be analyzed is the impact of history, geography, and policy on the educational systems of nine selected municipalities in the Camden metropolitan area.

CAMDEN CITY

The NAACP is now urging a special independent investigation of the Camden school system to determine what steps can be taken to achieve maximum integration. From one point of view, such investigation is a must. For there is no disagreement as to the educational advantages of integration, and no denial that de facto segregation exists throughout the city. From another point of view, such investigation would appear to be meaningless. For Camden school authorities profess to be perfectly aware of the extent of segregation in their educational system, and assert that they are taking every feasible action to promote desired integration. Whether enough is being done is the real issue.

One thing, however, is certain--and this is important, Camden's Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Anthony R. Catrambone, does not want segregation in the educational system which he heads, And it is quite apparent that he has been busily at work attempting to find solutions. He may be criticized for his failure to discover such solutions, but he cannot be criticized for his failure to try. As far as taking affirmative action to foster or maintain segregation is concerned, Dr. Catrambone pleads not guilty. His position is simply stated: "Racial segregation is one of the most serious problems faced by the city school administration, and I would be more than stupid to create my own problem."

Pupil Segregation: Statistics

Maps and population tables are essential in understanding the nature and extent of de facto segregation in Camden City. In 1960, Camden had a population of 89,267 whites and 27,892 nonwhites, making a total of 117,159. 29a/ The percentage of Negroes--a percentage which is continually increasing--was 23.8. But Camden's school population of 18,902 is now 44.6 percent Negro. Here are some additional school population figures, specially prepared by superintendent's staff for this report:

There are two senior high schools in the city. One is 49.5 percent Negro and the other has a Negro percentage of only 8.9. Of the four junior high schools, two are more

than half Negro, one is 96 percent white and the fourth has one lone Negro pupil in a student population of 565.

Elementary instruction is given in 28 different schools. In six of these schools there are no Negroes at all, and in a seventh there are only 6 Negroes as compared with 468 whites. On the other hand, five elementary schools are 90 percent or more Negro and another two schools have Negro percentages of between 80 and 90 percent. This covers exactly half of the city's elementary schools. The percentage of Negroes in the other 14 "integrated" schools ranges from 78.1 percent down to 19.7 percent. Detailed tabulation on Camden's school population are set forth in appendix B.

Maps on pages 53-54 illustrate the segregation pattern. And it is quite obvious that the pattern corresponds with the racial composition of the neighborhoods in which the various schools are located.

Northeast of Cooper River is the area known as East Camden, an area with a very small Negro population. For the river has served as a barrier against intracity population migration. At the same time, it has provided a logical (and never criticized) school district boundary line. Two of the four junior high schools are located here: Davis which is 4.0 percent Negro and Veterans Memorial which is 0.2 percent Negro. Also located in East Camden are six elementary schools--four of which are all white and the other two of which have Negro percentages of 1.3 percent and 19.7 percent.

Similarly, the southern part of Camden is largely an all-white area, reflected in the absence of Negro pupils in the Yorkship Elementary School and the percentage of only 22.5 in the H. B. Wilson Elementary School. Central Camden, on the other hand, is largely Negro. Thus the high percentage of Negroes in Powell (100.0 percent), Sumner (99.8 percent), Fetters (91.6 percent), Liberty (91.2 percent), Whittier (99.1 percent), etc.

(Note that appendix B provides pupil population breakdowns on 28 elementary schools, but only 25 school areas are shown on the elementary school map. This is because Camden Junior School and Catto Opportunity School are city wide "special" schools and thus, of course, have no boundary lines. Veterans Memorial is the third school where elementary instruction is given and where no boundaries are shown. This is because Veterans is essentially a junior high, merely providing classroom space for some of the sixth grade children who normally would be attending now overcrowded Sharp and Washington Elementary Schools.)

Pupil Segregation: Past and Present

No one blames the current school administration for the creation of Camden's segregated schools. There are no charges of gerrymandering. Agreement exists that

segregation is essentially the result of housing and history. But this is not the whole story. This does not answer the question of whether school authorities are now maintaining segregation.

The NAACP's position on the relationship between "creating" and "maintaining" segregation is clear: 30/

> Obviously, schools located in the centers of vast segregated residential areas of the big cities are a result of housing patterns. But in many communities and even in the "fringe" districts of the large cities, zone lines have been drawn in such a manner as "to contain" Negro pupils in separate schools. This kind of zoning...takes advantage of segregated housing and does not constitute inevitable or innocent segregation but reflects a deliberate intent to maintain racially separate schools.

How does this apply to Camden? The most knowledgeable spokesman for the local Negro community, a man honored and trusted by the Negroes of South Jersey, is Camden physician Ulysses S. Wiggins. He is revered by the community. President of the NAACP's Camden County Branch since 1941, Dr. Wiggins has been in the forefront of every local battle against racial discrimination for more than 20 years. Although not infallible, whatever errors he makes are due to his militant position against every kind of segregation. Hence, if Dr. Wiggins says that there is no gerrymandering of school zones in Camden, his statement should be accepted without question.

Testifying at hearings in Camden held by the United States Commission on Civil Rights on October 15, 1962, Dr. Wiggins said: 31/

> Now, as to the de facto segregation, or whatever you want to call it, that definitely is here and of course as we know, it's due to residential patterns. But according to the Supreme Court decision of '54, it states that segregation for any cause is inherently discriminatory and there's no such thing as "separate but equal." Consequently, regardless of the cause, it would be unconstitutional according to my understanding; and under those conditions, we will try to correct it by whatever means at our command.... /By/ some means, we have to break this form of segregation.

While Dr. Wiggins advocates an investigation to see if some version of the Princeton Plan might be applicable in Camden, he is mainly concerned with bringing about a change in housing patterns. "That would have more effect than any acts of the school authorities," he asserts. Dr. Wiggins is fearful that with the exceptions of East Camden and the Fairview section (where Yorkship School is located), Camden will eventually become a Negro city.

Another important Negro leader who blames the situation on residential patterns is J. Arthur Jones, one of the two Negroes on Camden's nine-member Board of Education. He goes further than Dr. Wiggins in denying the efficacy of rezoning as a means of ending school segregation. "Zone lines must be drawn to protect the school facility and not to bring children together," he says.

The de facto segregation of 1963 is also a result of the de jure segregation in the days before 1948. For the de jure segregation of the past helped to create the racial composition of Camden's neighborhoods. And, at the same time, the de jure segregation of the past governed the location of many of the schools. In a number of instances, the city built a white school and a Negro school just a short distance apart--making it extremely difficult for the 1948 Board of Education to establish school areas in accordance with the neighborhood concept.

Camden had seven officially designated Negro schools prior to the academic year 1948-49. Only one has since been torn down. The others were Powell (now 100.0 percent Negro), Sumner (99.8 percent Negro), Whittier (99.1 percent Negro), Bergen (82.8 percent Negro) and what are now the special schools, Camden Junior and Catto Opportunity.

But Negro leaders did not wait until 1948 to try to do something about these segregated schools. 32/

> As early as 1945 /when the Division Against Discrimination was established/ the Camden branch of the NAACP, under the leadership of...Dr. Wiggins, had been urging parents to send their children to the schools nearest their homes. In August 1946, the branch published a statement outlining the situation in Camden and the representations which had been made to the Board of Education for the transfer of some Negro teachers to schools staffed entirely by white instructors...The branch again appealed to parents to assist in integrating the pupils of the system. By 1947 more than two hundred colored children had been transferred out of the segregated schools.

In 1945 one Negro pupil was admitted to Parkside School--the son of Walter L. Gordon, then principal of Sumner School and now, as principal of Hatch Junior High, the top Negro educator in the Camden system. All the other Negro children in the neighborhood had to walk six or seven additional blocks to Whittier School.

After the New Jersey State constitution (with its article 1, section 5) was approved by the voters, discussions were held on how best to comply with its school segregation mandate. The then Superintendent, Leon N. Neulen advocated adoption of a grade-a-year plan to achieve gradual integration. The Board of Education, however, decided on immediate redistricting, sending children to the schools nearest their homes. There were virtually no complaints with the zoning lines which were subsequently established. As Dr. Wiggins

puts it, "Response to the required 1948 change was in good faith." And in the words of Principal Gordon, "Everything was started off right and Neulen did one of the best jobs in the State."

> The school districts in use in 1947 were deemed obsolete since they had been operative at least as far back as 1931. The school board directed that they be redrawn on the basis of nearness to school; after that was done, in some instances the boundaries were "bent" to meet the most serious dissatisfactions arising in small fringe groups. Once the new districts were announced, the next administrative step was to see that the transfer privilege was not used to defeat the integration goal...Some said that during the first year...the board was accused of being too lenient with transfer privileges, but most informants agreed that after the initial stages, the policy of refusing transfers on the basis of race alone was more uniformly enforced. 33/

Of course there were accommodations during the transitional period. Children who did not live within the new boundary lines were usually permitted to finish the sixth grade at the elementary schools which they had been attending. But this is a thing of the past.

There are no charges of gerrymandering, school closings, or transfers designed to perpetuate segregation. Dr. Wiggins believes that all the 1948 lines were properly drawn, except possibly in the Powell school area. This is, however, a very minor complaint. And, significantly, it involves a boundary problem which is of admitted concern to the superintendent, and one which he has been trying to do something about. "But nothing can be done because of the peculiar location of the school itself," says Dr. Catrambone. There is general agreement that the superintendent is correct. Some complaints were also made when Fetters school was required to give up its 7th and 8th grades. A number of white students who otherwise would have continued at that school were assigned instead to junior high. Thus there was increased segregation at Fetters, now 91.6 percent Negro. But this step was unavoidable; the school no longer had sufficient classroom space for eight grades and a kindergarten.

But the absence of gerrymandering does not, in and of itself, make present boundary lines legally valid. The simple fact is that the 1948 rezoning did not achieve desegregation. Perhaps it makes no difference that rezoning could not accomplish such desegregation. There are other approaches which have been used successfully to end segregation, and which might have been attempted in Camden. If housing patterns and school locations precluded desegregation through the neighborhood school plan, perhaps Camden was obligated to try other plans.

One recent action of the board in regard to transfers will probably result in increased pupil segregation. But this action has been praised rather than criticized. Presently, Sumner Elementary School, with only one white pupil in a student body of 551, includes only kindergarten through 4th grade classes. Most of the children then go to Bonsall Elementary School (50.3 percent Negro) for the 5th through 8th grades; the rest go to Mickle (78.1 percent Negro) for these grades. Then all of these children attend Hatch Junior High for the 9th grade, before going on to Camden High. However, if they are pupils in the college preparatory program, they may go to Bonsall or Mickle for only the 5th through 7th grades, transferring to Hatch at the 8th rather than the 9th grade. This has resulted in unpleasant relocation experiences for the pupils concerned. Dr. Catrambone reports that the Sumner pupils who go to Bonsall feel unwanted, and that they are having educational problems not faced by the Negroes who have all their elementary training at Bonsall. Thus Dr. Catrambone is now trying to make adjustments so that Sumner will have its own 5th grade in 1963-64 and 6th the following year.

Sumner will, of course, remain a virtually all-Negro school. The biracial experience the children in the Sumner area now have will be lost. The other educational advantages, however, probably have greater weight.

Other boundary bending, boundary changes, school closings and transfers have tended to promote integration--although integration was not necessarily the objective of the action taken. One of Dr. Catrambone's first acts after he became superintendent in 1956 was to convert the four-room, all-Negro Catto School into a special school for children with disciplinary problems. (The school is now 50.0 percent Negro.) Children at that school were assigned to the predominantly white Cramer School, now 19.7 percent Negro.

Boundary bending has been criticized in regard to the high school dividing line. Here, however, the objections have come from the white community. And Dr. Catrambone insists that the present line be maintained. As the boundary now exists, a large percentage of the children who live in the Cramer Elementary School area attend Camden High School, now 49.5 percent Negro. If that line were straightened out (see junior and senior high school map), those pupils would all be attending Woodrow Wilson High School, which is only 8.9 percent Negro. Clearly a boundary change would foster segregation. Further, it is the student body from the Cramer area who make up the largest percentage of college preparatory students at Camden High; if these pupils were transferred to Woodrow Wilson, Camden High would be almost entirely a school for business instruction and training in industrial arts. As it is both high schools have virtually the same percentage of students in the different curricula. Here are the figures on this point, as of November 1, 1962:

Curriculum	Camden High		Woodrow Wilson High	
	No. of Students	Percent	No. of Students	Percent
College Preparatory	405	30	426	29
Business Education	617	45	637	44
General Course	199	14	190	13
Practical Arts, etc.	144	11	195	14
TOTALS	1,365	100	1,448	100

Some Negro leaders have criticized the high school dividing line, but not from the viewpoint of gerrymandering. They have taken the position that the line could be further "bent" to zone more children from the Dudley and Cramer areas in Camden High. This undoubtedly could be done. Whether it would be advisable to take such action in view of the peculiar location of the schools is another matter. In any event, Woodrow Wilson will inevitably become more and more integrated as the Negro population continues to grow in the Cassady, Cooper, and Read areas.

In recent years, the most talked about controversy with regard to boundary lines involved the Sumner-Bonsall-H. B. Wilson area. A Negro child who had completed the 4th grade at Sumner was assigned to attend the 5th grade at the Bonsall school, which is 50.3 percent Negro. His parents objected on two grounds: their home was closer to the H. B. Wilson Elementary School (only 22.5 percent Negro) and white children on the same block were actually attending H. B. Wilson. When the matter was investigated, it was found that other white and Negro children in the same locality were not attending the same school. Action was taken. Boundary changes were made for the 1962-63 school year which have resulted in more children going to H. B. Wilson from what was once the Sumner (Negro) area. And planned boundary changes for 1963-64 will see more formerly Sumner area children attending Bonsall. This, of course, will result in further integration.

Superintendent Catrambone accepts full responsibility for being unaware of the situation which caused this controversy. But he acted as soon as the matter came to his attention. Boundary changes for both 1962-63 and 1963-64 "were primarily designed to prevent overcrowding," he says, "but an important factor in making these changes was the goal of achieving additional integration."

Pupil Desegregation: The Future

The future of pupil desegregation in Camden depends mainly upon the nature of the ever-changing housing pattern, involving such factors as urban redevelopment. It also depends in large measure upon attitude. What can, may or

will happen depends upon a realization of the problems of today and a readiness to do something about them.

During the initial fight for desegregation, Dr. Wiggins reports that he had "no help from the Board of Education and all too little help from the Negro community." "We could not even get the one Negro on the board to ask for a resolution on discrimination," he says. As far as the Negro community is concerned, there is definitely a change in attitude. There is now a concerted drive on the part of a strong, united, and informed NAACP branch to move ahead to achieve integration. But what about the board? Here views differ.

Tristate NAACP Secretary Savage makes this statement:

> There is no open sentiment on the Board against Negroes. No one wants racial discrimination. Yet this is a Board which does not have a real and full understanding of the educational needs of Negroes today. They are prone to accept the values and mores of their community rather than to meet the challenge. They are prone to assume that the problems do not exist or that they cannot solve them.

Similar statements are made by other observers. "These are good people on our Board," says Principal Gordon, "yet most do not appear to be aware of the extent of the problems. They don't stop to think about them." Dr. Wiggins labels the board members as "ostriches in regard to segregation." And Negro board member Jones says in summary that "the school system is very much the victim of its environment and the white people of Camden have never thought about doing anything about segregated education."

Stronger criticism is forthcoming from Charles A. Ashley, field representative of the Division on Civil Rights of the New Jersey Department of Education, who lives in Camden and does much of his work in that area. "In any event," he concludes, "the school authorities are against changing the status quo. They want to avoid headaches. They act only when pressures are brought."

Board president John J. Horn disagrees. "As far as I know," he says, "there is no racial prejudice and no racial discrimination. We are all well aware of the fact that we have a school system with many Negro pupils and teachers, and we discuss this situation and their problems frequently--freely and openly. Nothing is hidden. We know what is going on."

Dr. Catrambone scoffs at such charges. He points out that he spends too many hours working on these problems to be unaware of them. And he denies that he is against change. Here is his position in a policy statement specially prepared for this report:

> The general policy subscribed to by the Camden Board of Education for the housing of pupils in the elementary public schools is that of the neighborhood concept. It is our belief that young children enjoy better security and are better adjusted in their early school years by keeping them closer to their homes. This is psychologically and educationally sound and has been an accepted practice throughout the State for many years. Any imbalance in the ethnic characteristics of the groups within schools stems from the gregarious nature of these groups.
>
> Adherence to the neighborhood concept is financially feasible and administratively efficient.
>
> The selection, employment, and assignment of teaching personnel are made on the basis of qualifications for the job directed towards maximum benefit for the Camden Public School System.
>
> The Superintendent of Schools, in carrying out his responsibilities, has adhered to these policies and abided by the New Jersey State Statutes. At the same time, the Superintendent and his staff know that an integrated school system is very desirable and are continuing active efforts at reaching this goal.

As one of Dr. Catrambone's chief assistants has said, "we will be as color conscious as anyone wants, provided it is consistent with good education."

Assuming the proper degree of awareness, the requisite desire to achieve pupil integration and the resources necessary to accomplish this objective, what can and should be done? One thing is certain: There will not be what Commissioner Raubinger calls a "forced mix." New Jersey is too wedded to the neighborhood school philosophy to initiate such practices as cross-city busing--especially in a city such as Camden where none of the children are on double shift and there is comparatively little overcrowding. Nor has affirmative action of this type been recommended. Similarly, there have been no recommendations for a free transfer policy or any inclinations on the part of school authorities to consider such a plan.

NAACP executive Savage makes a modest proposal: "There should be an independent investigation of school zoning to see what boundary lines can be adjusted to achieve maximum integration. The Board should be made fully aware of changing housing patterns and alter lines in accordance with those changes. Boundaries should not be sacrosanct." Dr. Catrambone denies the need for this "independent investigation." He argues that both boundary lines and housing patterns "are continually being studied." He has made some changes in the Sumner lines which foster integration, and he asserts that he is ready to make more for that purpose. "But we can't change boundaries on a month-to-month basis," he declares. Furthermore, there is serious doubt that such

boundary changes will have much effect on existing segregation. Neither Dr. Wiggins nor Principal Gordon believes that much can be accomplished in this way. Other approaches must be considered: such as site selection in new school construction and participation in the city's urban redevelopment program.

Camden's long overdue redevelopment program will inevitably bring about some changes in housing patterns. And the new highways which have been recommended as part of the program will constitute "logical" boundary lines which will necessitate the rezoning of school districts. It is questionable, however, whether any integrated schools will result. What is proposed is a reorganization of the city into 18 separate neighborhoods with populations of between 6,000 to 8,000--each an integral "service area" with its own elementary school. In order to accomplish this, new housing is being recommended for various areas which will force certain population shifts.

One section scheduled for immediate redevelopment is north Camden. But this is where the schools are already integrated. Nothing in the plans will result in the movement of Negroes into the schools of East Camden or Fairview, or the movement of whites into the central part of the city. Willard Cooper, Camden's Director of Planning and Renewal, is in favor of integrated education. He has worked with Dr. Catrambone and other representatives of the school system in preparing his redevelopment program. Awareness of the segregation problem exists. But solutions to that problem have not been forthcoming. Director Cooper dreams of transforming old and run down Camden into a beautiful, modern city. He has not been thinking, however, in terms of achieving integrated neighborhoods or integrated schools.

Four new elementary schools are in the planning stages. It is hoped that construction on two of these will begin in 1964 and construction on the other two in 1965. That depends upon the Camden electorate, beginning with the results of the May 1963 referendum. The schools are desperately needed, for present facilities are inadequate. The schools now serving these areas are either too small or too old, or both.

One of the proposed 1964 schools will be on a site near Central, replacing both the present Central School (built in 1877) and Liberty (built in 1856). Such construction will also necessitate a change in the boundary lines around the Broadway School. The second 1964 school will be on the site of the present Cassady School, eventually replacing Cassady (built in 1907), Cooper (built in 1874) and Read (built in 1887). One of the 1965 schools will be on the present Bergen site, replacing Bergen (built in 1891) and Fetters (built in 1875). The second 1965 school will be in south-central Camden. It will not replace any of the existing schools, but will necessitate a reexamination of the Sumner and H. B. Wilson boundary lines.

Such construction will have but little effect on presently existing pupil segregation. The new schools in both the Central-Broadway-Liberty area and the Bergen-Fetters area cannot help but be predominantly Negro. The new school in the Cassady-Cooper-Read area will be integrated, but that will not constitute any change. Besides, the nature of the Cassady-Cooper-Read pupil population is bound to shift. This is the growing Puerto Rican neighborhood, and it is also the neighborhood of the expanding Rutgers University campus and the area where city planners have recommended the construction of new town houses and high-rise apartments. No one can predict the future racial composition of this neighborhood. Only the new school in south-central Camden will result in increased student integration.

It is not the fault of school authorities that new construction will not bring about integration. School maps have been studied time and again to see if other locations might be chosen which would serve the pupil population and reduce segregation. But no one who has examined Camden's school needs has been able to come up with any better site selections.

It appears impossible to do anything about pupil segregation in most of Camden. One suggestion proposed by Dr. Catrambone shortly after he became superintendent in 1956, which was then turned down by the board, merits reconsideration. Dr. Catrambone recommended that the city have but one high school--and that an addition be built to Camden High for that purpose. Woodrow Wilson would be turned into a junior high. This would solve the problem of segregation on the high school level, but as yet there are no proposals which would accomplish integration in the junior high and elementary schools.

Teacher Segregation: The Situation

Although Negro leaders may concede that pupil segregation is the fault of housing patterns over which the school authorities have no control, they are convinced that the racial composition of Camden's teaching staffs is the result of "administrative segregation." And even though they concede that little or nothing can be done about pupil segregation, they are convinced that action can be taken to achieve integrated faculties.

Whether or not teacher segregation is anybody's "fault," and whether or not teacher segregation can be ended, the fact remains that it not only exists but is increasing. To a great extent white teachers are serving under white principals and teaching white pupils; most Negro teachers are serving under Negro principals and teaching Negro pupils. In the 28 schools in which elementary instruction is given, 7 schools either have no Negro teachers or only one Negro teacher. In another 6 schools there are either no white teachers or only one white teacher.

The biggest controversy at present concerns the relative number of Negro teachers in the two high schools. Camden High, with a student body that is 49.5 percent Negro, has 61 whites and 11 Negroes in its 72-teacher faculty. But Woodrow Wilson, with a student body that is only 8.9 percent Negro, has 69 white teachers and only 2 Negro teachers--and both of the latter are in the industrial arts department. Camden school authorities admit that they were lax in being unaware of the facts until they were called to their attention in late 1962.

Detailed statistics on the number of white and Negro teachers in each school were specially prepared for this report by the superintendent's staff. They are set forth in appendix C.

What is even more disturbing than the degree of teacher segregation is the fact that it is increasing. And what is still more disturbing is the fact that the racial composition of the teaching staffs has been continually changing to approximate the racial composition of the pupil populations in the various schools. Statistics on these aspects of teacher segregation were prepared for this report by Field Representative Ashley of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights. Here are some excerpts from his study:

Increasing Segregation

Broadway School -- pupil population 60.9 percent Negro.

1960: 9 white teachers; 9 Negro teachers.
1963: 2 white teachers; 16 Negro teachers.

Fetters School -- pupil population 91.6 percent Negro.

1954: 6 white teachers; 12 Negro teachers.
1958 to date: 1 white teacher; 14 Negro teachers.

Central School -- pupil population 72.9 percent Negro.

1955: All white teachers.
1963: All Negro teachers.

Changing Racial Composition

Bergen School -- pupil population 82.8 percent Negro.

1954: 12 white teachers; no Negro teachers.
1963: 6 white teachers; 7 Negro teachers.

Bonsall School -- pupil population 50.3 percent Negro.

1954: 22 white teachers; no Negro teachers.
1963: 10 white teachers; 13 Negro teachers.

Cooper School -- pupil population 30.7 percent Negro.

1955: 19 white teachers; no Negro teachers.
1963: 11 white teachers; 8 Negro teachers.

Mickle School -- pupil population 78.8 percent Negro.

1953: 19 white teachers; no Negro teachers.
1963: 7 white teachers; 12 Negro teachers.

And it is almost true that Whittier, Sumner, and Powell have always had all-Negro faculties. There was one white teacher at Whittier (99.1 percent Negro) and two white teachers at Sumner (99.8 percent Negro) during the school year 1954-55. But these have since left. One white teacher--the first in the history of the school--joined the Powell faculty in December 1962. This school has an all-Negro student body.

On the other hand, Superintendent Catrambone points out that there are Negro teachers in all of the secondary schools and in all but 2 of the 28 schools where elementary instruction is given. And, as he rightly states, these 2 schools which do not have Negro teachers should not be considered in any evaluation of the situation. One is the three-teacher "special" Catto Opportunity School and the other is the four-teacher 6th grade program given at Veterans Memorial Junior High. Thus it can be said that there are Negro teachers in all the schools, even those with predominantly white pupil populations.

In 5 of the elementary schools with predominantly white student bodies, however, there is only one Negro teacher. There are: 34/

	Number of Teachers		
School	White	Negro	Percent Negro Pupils
Dudley	12	1	0.0
McGraw	11	1	0.0
Yorkship	16	1	0.0
Davis	14	1	1.3
Cramer	14	1	19.7

And in 8 of the elementary schools with predominantly Negro student bodies there are no white teachers or only one or two. These are: 35/

Number of Teachers

School	White	Negro	Percent Negro Pupils
Sumner	0	16	99.8
Whittier	0	24	99.1
Central	0	12	72.9
Powell	1	7	100.0
Fetters	1	14	91.6
Liberty	1	8	91.2
Broadway	2	16	60.9
Camden Junior	2	11	58.7

This, of course, has every appearance of token integration, as some Negro leaders contend. But this charge Dr. Catrambone hotly denies.

Summarizing his evaluation of the teacher segregation situation, Dr. Wiggins made these statements: 36/

> Schools located in heavily populated Negro areas are being almost exclusively served with Negro teachers and even Negro substitute teachers.
>
> The school board cannot be blamed when schools become filled with Negroes, but when the staff becomes all-Negro, then the school board is at fault.
>
> We have watched while white teachers have transferred from /Negro/ schools and vacancies filled with Negroes. This does not happen by accident.
>
> The existence of all-Negro teaching staffs constitutes "administrative segregation."

These statements charge the school authorities with fostering or at least permitting the existence of segregated faculties. Implicit in these statements are allegations that race has been a factor--a factor improperly used--in teacher assignments and transfers. Such charges and allegations Dr. Catrambone emphatically rejects as false.

Teacher Segregation: Assignments and Transfers

Superintendent Catrambone has given three reasons--which he states are the only reasons--for the present racial composition of Camden's teaching staffs:

(1) Testifying at hearings conducted by the New Jersey Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on October 15, 1962, he made this statement: 37/

> In 1956 /when he became superintendent/ there were 666 teachers and 33 administrative-supervisory employees /in the Camden school system/. Of this number there

were approximately 157 Negro teachers /23.6%/ and 5 Negro administrative-supervisory employees. As of today, there are 692 teachers employed and of this number 256 or 36.9% are Negro.

On January 20, 1963, there were 259 Negro teachers out of a total of 698, or 37.1 percent. (see appendix C.) This increase of more than 100 Negro teachers in less than 7 years amounts to 65 percent.

(2) "Many of our former teachers are no longer teaching in Camden," says the superintendent. This is obvious since there are 70 fewer white teachers in the city than there were in 1956. As to why they are no longer teaching in Camden, Dr. Catrambone gives several reasons: Some have been promoted, others retired; some have accepted positions in other systems or in business and industry; and some have resigned to go back to school, or because of marriage, children, or other personal reasons.

(3) On October 12, 1962, Dr. Catrambone was quoted in the Camden Courier-Post as stating, "The unfortunate fact is that we have assigned white teachers to schools in Negro areas and these teachers have refused the teaching assignments." 38/

This widely quoted statement has been somewhat misinterpreted. By the word "assigned," Dr. Catrambone meant only that they had been offered an initial appointment which they refused. This, he points out, has nothing to do with transfers.

In giving these reasons, the superintendent denies that there has been anything which might be called administrative segregation. Nevertheless the charge persists. But what is this charge? Some accuse the school authorities of (1) color consciousness in pursuing an assignment-transfer policy which inevitably results in teacher segregation. Others accuse the school authorities of (2) a combination of color consciousness and color blindness which results in no policy at all, thus encouraging, or at least permitting, teachers to segregate themselves. Still others accuse the school authorities of (3) color blindness in failing to take affirmative action to end such segregation.

NAACP tristate Secretary Savage makes the first charge: "Negroes have no choice in assignments," he says. "They are automatically assigned to Negro schools or not hired at all. They have no freedom in transfers. They cannot get transfers to white schools, and present assignment practices preclude them from even asking."

Dr. Wiggins and Principal Gordon make the second charge. They contend that prospective white teachers who turn down assignments to Negro schools are permitted to wait for assignments to subsequent openings in white schools. They also contend that the lack of a definite transfer policy

permits white teachers to transfer out of schools when they become predominantly Negro. Principal Gordon also says that the absence of rules on the subject results in the involuntary transfer of Negro teachers from white to Negro schools (Cramer to Sumner and Dudley to Liberty) as well as the voluntary transfers of white teachers to white schools.

Field Representative Ashley of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights makes the third charge. "The basic thing that is wrong is the absence of plans," he says. "There is no definite attempt to achieve the integration of faculties." In his testimony at the hearings conducted by the New Jersey Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, he conceded that pupil segregation was explained by the location of certain schools "in heavily Negro populated areas." Then he went on to say: "However, with the assignment of teachers it appears evident that this explanation does not suffice since it is undeniably within the responsibility and authority of the school administration to control teacher assignments." 39/

Superintendent Catrambone refutes the charge that assignments are based on race. He denies the allegation that white teachers who refuse assignments to Negro schools are kept on waiting lists. He denies--save in one instance--that he ever directed or permitted a transfer on racial grounds. He contends, further that although he is under no legal obligation to do so, he has in fact acted affirmatively to bring about faculty integration. That he has not done more is because he believes that "doing more would be educationally unsound." Negro board member Jones supports the statement of his superintendent.

Here is the way teachers are hired and assigned in Camden, according to Dr. Catrambone. Prospective teachers submit applications to the superintendent's office at any and all times during the year. (The application form makes no mention of race.) At irregular intervals, these applications are screened and appointments are made to interview likely candidates. At the same time, the applications are processed, college records and references are checked, etc. Thereafter, the candidates are evaluated. Usually this results in a decision that 6 or 8 candidates are qualified and should be offered contracts. Screening, processing, interviewing, and evaluating are done by Dr. E. Wallis McKendree, Director of Curriculum Services, and 4 of the 5 coordinators in the system. The latter are in charge of the primary grades (k-3), intermediary grades (4-6), secondary grades (7-12) and special instruction. (The 5th coordinator is responsible for teacher recruitment.) Candidates are telephoned and asked whether they are still available. Applicants who indicate their availability receive contracts. Finally, those who sign the contract offered assemble at a general meeting in August to receive their school assignments--assignments made in accordance with need and other educational factors.

The procedure appears on the surface to preclude racial considerations. But it is quite obvious that race could be a factor. Dr. McKendree denies that it is. "We don't work that way," he says. Yet it is freely admitted that an interviewer might ask a question of this type: "Are you ready to work with dedication with the problems common to city schools? Certainly this is at least a hint that an assignment might be made to a Negro school.

And what about the educational factors which finally govern assignments? According to Dr. Catrambone, these include "age, background, experience and size." When queried about size, he replied, Yes, size. We can't send a little girl to a school where she may have serious disciplinary problems.") We have to do some human engineering in deciding which teachers can best take care of given pupil needs," says the superintendent. Surely in this sort of matching it is highly unlikely that the fact of being a Negro never constitutes pertinent background or experience.

Not every teacher is willing to accept his assignment. Dr. Catrambone and his staff have been forced to recognize the "unfortunate fact" that some white teachers will not go to schools in the Negro areas. And replacements must be found for the assignments refused. But it is not true, again according to the superintendent, that those white teachers are placed on waiting lists for subsequent vacancies. "We don't play musical chairs," he says. When a teacher refuses an assignment, a permanent record is made of that fact; the word "Declined" is written on his application and the application is placed in a dead file. "We have not hired any person who has previously declined an assignment," asserts Dr. Catrambone.

Superintendent Catrambone will admit to only one instance of color consciousness in the teaching appointments he has made. It happened last year when he assigned a white teacher (after preliminary discussions and encouragement) to the Powell School. Powell, which has a 100 percent Negro enrollment, had never before had a white person on its teaching staff.

Transfers have had little or no effect on the racial composition of Camden's teaching staffs, according to Dr. Catrambone. This is mainly because there have been so few of them. Many of the few are made in order to fill vacancies, following administrative decisions to have fewer classes in one school and more in another, after enrollment is known. The second largest number of transfers results from the request of principals. Dr. Catrambone believes that there have been fewer than 10 personal requests for transfers during the nearly 7 years he has been superintendent. He remembers granting only 3 which he claims were hardship cases. In only 1 of the 3 personal requests for transfer did the action of the superintendent affect the racial composition of a faculty. That was when he transferred the last white teacher out of Central School. "I

just had to do it," he says. "She threatened to resign if I did not honor her request."

Dr. Catrambone is willing now to be color conscious in making new teacher assignments to Woodrow Wilson High School. That school, as previously noted, has 71 teachers, only 2 of whom are Negro. This fact has given rise to criticism and the superintendent earnestly wants to appoint more Negroes to this faculty--provided, of course, they are qualified. Commissioner Raubinger has indicated that it is perfectly proper to take such action. He sees nothing wrong with making assignments to achieve balanced teaching staffs.

(There were 6 Negro teachers at Woodrow Wilson just a few years ago. There is no racial significance in the fact that 4 of them have left. One was promoted to guidance counselor another left to obtain an advanced degree, another was dismissed, and the fourth, a shop teacher, was transferred to another school where his skills were needed.)

However, this willingness to be color conscious in regard to the Woodrow Wilson situtation does not herald in any new assignment policy. Dr. Catrambone made his basic position clear at the open meeting of the New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights: 40/

> The most important among the many things which I must do in carrying out my primary responsibility, is to obtain the best persons available to do the teaching job. If I were to place a teacher in a school building to teach just because she was of the white race, or vice versa, regardless of her teaching capabilities, I would be doing a disservice to the pupils.

There is definitely a point beyond which the school authorities will not go to achieve teacher integration. They will not heed the pleas for compulsory transfers. They will not adopt the proposed rotating assignment plan. "It is not a question of how many teachers would quit," asserts Dr. Catrambone, "it is simply that we cannot move teachers willy-nilly just to get integration." Again: "For example, we can't just switch teachers from Camden High to Woodrow Wilson. The Camden High principal and teachers would scream." Besides, according to both the superintendent and board member Jones, it would be unfair to disrupt so many teachers. Says Jones: "It would be downright cruel to transfer some old white lady teacher who has always taught in a white school and put her in some tough class with disciplinary problems."

There are, however, certain indications that teachers segregation might at least be reduced in days to come. Certainly the construction of 4 new schools, replacing 7 old schools, will result in more integration. A new program is underway in one of the New Jersey colleges to encourage prospective white teachers to undertake the challenge of

teaching culturally deprived children. The success of such a program will undoubtedly be a step toward integration. Even more important is the fact of changing attitudes. With an ever-growing consciousness of the desirability of integration will come the practices and procedures to attain such a goal. More white teachers will be encouraged to go to Powell and other Negro schools; more Negro teachers will be sought for posts at Woodrow Wilson and other white schools.

TEACHER PROMOTIONS

It is generally believed that Negroes hold more executive positions in the Camden school system than in any other system in New Jersey. Yet there are complaints about the lack of promotions, with considerable justification. All the Negroes who have been promoted to principal are in predominantly Negro schools, for the most part staffed by Negro teachers.

The fact that Camden has so many Negro principals is not necessarily an indication of "progress." Camden has always had many Negro principals. Even prior to 1948, six elementary schools were headed by Negroes; and now Negroes are in charge of seven schools. And this does not mean seven principals; one principal directs two schools and the head of one of the elementary schools is a teacher-in-charge rather than a principal. This is reflected in the following table:

NEGRO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Schools	1947	1963	Percent Negro Pupils 1963
Powell	Principal	Teacher-in-charge	100.0
Sumner	Principal	Principal	99.8
Whittier	Principal	Principal	99.1
Fetters	---	Principal Fetters-Bergen	91.6
Bergen	Principal	Principal Fetters-Bergen	82.8
Central	---	Principal	72.9
Broadway	---	Principal	60.9
Mount Vernon (now Camden Junior, a special school	Principal	---	58.7
Catto Opportunity (now a special school)	Teacher-in-charge	---	50.0

Nor have Negroes been appointed to any of the top posts in the headquarters hierarchy. The superintendent, the director of curriculum services, and all five coordinators

are white. There is, however, one Negro among the seven subject supervisors: the supervisor for industrial arts.

The highest position held by a Negro in the Camden school system is that of junior high principal, and for the State of New Jersey that is a very high position indeed. When Walter L. Gordon, long time principal of Sumner School, became principal of Hatch Junior High in 1959, he was reputedly the first Negro in the history of the State to become principal of a secondary school. And it is believed that he is still the only Negro in New Jersey to hold that high an academic post.

More than one Negro leader has taken credit for this appointment and, at the same time, more than one Negro leader has criticized it. The basic credit, of course, must go to Mr. Gordon himself. His record has been outstanding and he is highly regarded by all in the Camden school system. Everyone agrees that he is doing an excellent job as principal at Hatch. Dr. Wiggins claims that his appointment was due in part to NAACP pressures to have a Negro promoted to the higher grades. J. Arthur Jones says that the appointment was the followup on his campaign pledge when he ran for office as a member of the Board of Education--a pledge, as he puts it, "to raise the iron curtain that exists between Negro principals and secondary education."

Here is the story on the "criticisms" connected with that appointment: Gordon was originally slated to become assistant principal of Camden High, a post which paid the same salary as he was receiving as an elementary school principal. Jones claims that this was part of a plan to "pigeonhole" Gordon because Gordon had been such an outspoken foe of segregation. Dr. Catrambone denies this. He says that he felt that Gordon "could serve the school system best" as the number two man at Camden High. In any event, Gordon turned down the proffered assistant principalship, and was then considered for the post of junior high principal. Thus the eventual appointment has been criticized as having been reluctantly made.

Just about this time, the post of principal at Pyne Poynt Junior High became vacant. This was a new school, constructed just 2 years earlier. And this was a school which had a predominantly white student body. It did not then have the 52.4 percent Negro population that it has today. Hatch Junior High, on the other hand, had a much larger Negro student body. It still has; the percentage of Negro students is now 68.7 percent. What the school authorities did was to transfer the principal of Hatch to Pyne Poynt and make Gordon the new principal at Hatch. Dr. Wiggins claims that Gordon had been discriminated against because Pyne Poynt was a more desirable school and it was there that the actual vacancy occurred. Other Negro leaders register a more fundamental criticism. They object to the fact that a Negro was made principal of a largely Negro school--and that a Negro was not chosen to head that school until it became largely Negro.

Since that time a Negro has been chosen for the post of assistant principal at Pyne Poynt. And there is likewise a story in connection with this appointment. The white assistant principal at Hatch died last August. The school authorities then transferred the white assistant principal of Pyne Poynt to the Hatch vacancy, and promoted a Negro teacher to the Pyne Poynt position. Again, the new appointee was not selected to fill the vacancy which actually occurred. This time there were no complaints from the Negro community; there certainly would have been criticisms if a Negro assistant principal had been sent to join a Negro principal at a largely Negro school.

It is difficult to deny the existence of color consciousness in the decision to retain a white assistant principal at Hatch and move a Negro assistant principal into Pyne Poynt. Certainly race must have been a factor; it must have been realized that such a decision would promote faculty integration. And while Dr. Catrambone insists that the appointment was based on the needs of the school system, he does not pretend that he was oblivious to racial considerations in making his recommendations.

SUMMARY

There is much yet to be done in bringing about an end to racial segregation in the schools of Camden City. It is generally agreed that there are too many segregated schools and too many segregated teaching staffs. And it is likewise generally agreed that such segregation is educationally unsound. School authorities profess that they are aware of the problems and are doing everything possible to solve them. Some Negro leaders concur. But most Negro leaders contend that school authorities are neither sufficiently aware nor sufficiently motivated to reach basic solutions. They charge that school authorities are not doing enough. And they feel that they must continue to criticize and continue to pressure in order to get action.

Color blindness and color consciousness are now both present in Camden City. This is generally agreed. It is also agreed that both are required to maintain a sound educational system. The problem is when to be color blind and when to be color conscious. On this question views differ.

PENNSAUKEN

So flagrant had been the school segregation in Pennsauken--and so recently has anything been done about it--that it is difficult to report anything but progress in that township. For while there still may be vestiges of racial discrimination in the administration of the Pennsauken school system, this is completely overshadowed by the concerted action which has now been taken to achieve integration.

In September 1962, the superintendent simply failed to reopen the township's two all-Negro schools. All the

teachers and pupils in those schools were placed in virtually all-white schools. Only one of the all-Negro schools had a principal; she was given a letter indicating her seniority and promised the next principalship vacancy in the system. And that was that. At the same time, the first Negro teacher was appointed to the faculty of Pennsauken High and a Negro teacher was assigned to an elementary school where there had formerly been no Negroes either in its 18-member faculty or among its 550 pupils.

Desegregation had been a long time in coming. It did not come without complaints and pressures, nor without opposition. But these problems are now in the past.

Until recently the second largest municipality in Camden County, Pennsauken had a 1960 population of 33,771. 41/ This included 1,514 nonwhites who live primarily in three small communities. In 1947, each of these communities had its own all-Negro school and all-Negro teaching staff at that school. Jordantown school was closed in 1953. The Booker T. Washington and Homestead schools ceased regular instruction in 1962. Washington became a special 27-pupil school for slow learners and Homestead was converted into a maintenance building.

The township has approximately 6,400 pupils with about 1,800 at the high school and 1,000 in the junior high. It is estimated that 120 of these secondary school students are Negro. There are some 3,600 pupils at the 10 regular elementary schools, and approximately 200 of them are Negro. It is true that all, or virtually all, of these Negro pupils are presently attending only 3 of the 10 schools. But the schools are comparatively large and all Negro pupils are enrolled in schools with white children.

When Jordantown was closed 10 years ago, the students were assigned to the Pennsauken No. 5 School which now has about 70 Negroes among its more than 450 pupils. When the Washington and Homestead schools were closed last year, the 140 pupils involved were assigned to the schools nearest their homes and zone lines were redrawn accordingly. This put about half the Negro children in the 550-pupil Roosevelt school, which previously had about 10 Negroes, and put the other half in the 275-pupil Delair school, which had been virtually all-white.

In 1953, the Jordantown teachers, including the principal Althea R. Gardner, were assigned to the Pennsauken No. 5 school. Only Mrs. Gardner accepted the assignment; she retained her seniority status and in the following year became the principal of that school. For most of her principalship she has been in charge of an all-white faculty of about 13 teachers. Another Negro joined the teaching staff this year. In September 1962, the six teachers who had been at Washington and Homestead were assigned by and large to the schools of their choice. The principal, Barbara Davis, like Mrs. Gardner, retained her seniority and looks forward to being a principal again when a vacancy occurs.

But there was one major difference between the school closings of 1953 and 1962. It is a difference in attitudes. For in 1953 there was trouble. The then Superintendent of Schools, William R. Stover, says that he closed Jordantown "before it was practical" to do so. "I acted ahead of the times," he claims. "It was difficult to convince the community that such a step should be taken." Mass protest meetings were held. White parents refused to send their children to the Pennsauken No. 5 school. And crowds gathered at the schoolhouse to bar Mrs. Gardner from entering. She remembers vividly the support she received from the white women of that school's PTA who escorted her through the crowds and "protected the doors" until the crowds dispersed. The school closings of 1962, however, occurred without incident.

Much credit for ending Pennsauken school segregation must go to the superintendent, Howard M. Phifer, who assumed his present duties in July 1961. This was nothing new to him. He had likewise integrated schools in his last post. And he did in Pennsauken what he believed "had to be done." "It was educationally sound to close those schools," he says. "Negro children as well as whites must be prepared for junior high and that is not the time when they first should be thrown together." One of the reasons for closing Homestead was the condition of the building, a condition which resulted in a formal complaint by the Negro community.

Queried about the present situation vis-a-vis racial discrimination, Mrs. Gardner responded: "I just don't know if there is a problem."

HADDONFIELD

Haddonfield is the "class" community of Camden County. Cherry Hill is on its way to becoming wealthier, but Haddonfield is the town with the history and the traditions--and the pride. Its population is essentially conservative and an old-line aristocratic attitude pervades. While there appears to be no concrete evidence of racial discrimination in its school system, there is a feeling that the school authorities are overly sensitive on this point. A former Board of Education member sums up the situation this way: "Nothing is being done against Negroes, but it is unlikely that the town will buck any color line for a long time."

The 1960 census reported a Haddonfield population of 13,201, including only 274 nonwhites. 42/ There are nearly 3,000 pupils in its school system, consisting of a high school, a junior high, three elementary schools and a special school. Less than 25 of those pupils are Negro. Half of them are in the two secondary schools; the other 12 or 13 are in one of the 3 elementary schools--the Central Elementary School--which has a pupil population of more than 400. Obviously every Negro child attends school with whites. Further, practically every Negro in the community

lives within four blocks of Central and no other school is closer. From all appearances, pupil segregation just does not exist.

This was not always so. Like so many New Jersey municipalities, Haddonfield once had its own de jure segregated Negro school. It was in fact an important school, at one time providing education for Negro children who lived in communities that did not have their own Negro schools, and preferred paying tuition to Haddonfield to accepting Negroes in their own schools. But by the time this school was closed in 1948, it had only 13 pupils and one teacher--the only Negro teacher in the city. That teacher was Teressa M. Dansbury, who retired in 1962 after 46 years in the Haddonfield school system.

"They were stuck with me and they didn't like it," declares Mrs. Dansbury. She claims that she was "suddenly" offered teaching posts in several other communities, all of which she refused. "After that I got an offer to retire with full pay," she says, "but they couldn't work it out." Mrs. Dansbury never became a regular teacher in the Haddonfield system. Because of her special training, she was designated as the remedial reading teacher and worked with pupils in all the elementary schools. With her retirement, the city is now without a single Negro teacher among the more than 130 in the system.

The Superintendent of Schools, William W. Reynolds, states that "if qualified, the Board will consider a Negro teacher as a candidate for one of the faculties. But observers say that it is unlikely that Haddonfield will soon have another Negro teaching in its schools.

Only one complaint has ever been made in regard to pupil segregation, because all but one Negro family in town live in a primarily Negro area near Central Elementary School. Dr. B. S. Waugh, a Negro physician, is the one who lives in a white neighborhood, near the fashionable Elizabeth Haddon Elementary School. When his daughter was ready to enter school some 10 years ago he made a special trip to the superintendent's office to request the assignment of the child to Central. The request was granted. In view of present sensitivities, it is doubtful whether a similar request would be granted today. But then again, in view of community attitudes, it is doubtful whether any Negro will be moving into any of Haddonfield's white neighborhoods for some time to come.

HADDON TOWNSHIP

Haddon Township is somehow involved in a school segregation situation which would not by any stretch of the imagination be considered a school segregation problem. While there exists a charge of gerrymandering, this is probably the most innocent example of gerrymandering that could be cited for any school district at any time. For there is nothing in

this township remotely resembling a segregated school. There just couldn't be.

As in all but 6 of Camden County's 37 municipalities, the Negro population of Haddon Township is less than 500. In 1960, the nonwhite total was officially recorded at only 108 and it is certainly no larger today. And this constitutes a mere 0.6 percent of a population of some 17,099. 43/ Whatever segregation could possibly exist involves a bare two dozen Negro families, living in a small enclave known as Saddlertown. And it involves no more than 9 elementary school children, for there are only 13 Negroes among the 2,221 pupils in this school system and the other 4 are in the junior or senior high school.

Saddlertown, once a terminal point on the underground railway, has been an all-Negro neighborhood for more than a century. It is generally reported that the land was set aside for Negroes by a wealthy white man from Haddonfield who desired to assist the former slaves in establishing their own homes, and that the area was named after a leader of the Negro group named Sadler.

The 9 Saddlertown elementary school children all attend the Stoy Elementary School, one of five elementary schools in the township, which has some 300 white pupils. And Stoy is within two blocks of Saddlertown. Nor are there any complaints about its facilities; a modern nine-room addition to the school was constructed in 1956. Some Negroes complain, however, that Van Sciver Elementary School is still nearer and still newer than Stoy. Why are the Negro children still assigned to Stoy? Van Sciver is virtually in Saddlertown's backyard, without even a street between the school and the Negro residential area.

The superintendent, John Brown, knows the geography but is surprised at the Negro complaints. He explains that when Van Sciver was opened in 1957, Saddlertown children were already at Stoy and he saw no point in transferring them to another school. Then when younger brothers, sisters and friends became of school age, he thought it was logical to send them to the same school as the older children. He is convinced moreover that the Negro parents wanted to send their children to Stoy. "But I would just as soon have them go to Van Sciver," the superintendent said. "All they have to do is indicate that they want to go there." He says the matter is so minor that he would not even have to bother to change the school district boundary line.

The superintendent's views were received with some surprise in Saddlertown. It may result in action. One Negro parent said that he would express the preference "and see what happens."

Most of the complaints in Haddon Township, however, charge racial discrimination in teacher employment. As in so many similar communities, this charge is hard to

disregard and just as hard to substantiate. Certainly there are no Negroes among the 108 teachers in the school system, and no Negroes have even been added to the rolls for substitute teaching, although there have been Negro applicants. Whether there have been qualified Negro candidates at the times vacancies existed in their fields or at the grade levels in which they had training and experience is another question. There is disagreement on this point between the school authorities and the Negro leaders. Two Negro teachers applied and were advised that there were no openings at the time. Both are now teaching in the Cherry Hill system and are happy and well thought of there. Neither doubts that vacancies in fact did not exist when they applied. Yet third-grade teacher Josephine Wilson applied for both a regular position and for substitute teaching more than 2 years ago, and elementary teachers have since been employed in Haddon Township. The other Negro applicant is secondary school history teacher, Calvin Woods, a Stoy graduate well known to the superintendent. In response to an inquiry about him the superintendent said: "We would like to have him teaching with us."

Whether a Negro teacher will be hired by this school system in the near future is a matter of doubt. The president of the Board of Education, Kenneth N. Schenck (making it clear that he is speaking for himself and not the school system) says that if a certain type of teacher were wanted race would be immaterial. His position is, however, that, all other things being equal, a white teacher would be preferred. 44/ He can see no advantage in having a Negro teaching an all-white student body, and he dismisses as "one man's opinion" the view that a biracial faculty promotes democratic values and that it is, therefore, educationally sound to have members of both races on teaching staffs. He also predicts that there would be "trouble" in the township if a Negro teacher were employed.

BERLIN TOWNSHIP

Unlike Haddonfield and Haddon Township, Berlin Township is a very poor municipality with a comparatively large Negro population. Its problems differ from those previously discussed. This community of 3,363 has 588 Negroes (17.5 percent), almost all of whom live in the section known as East Berlin. The township has neither a high school nor a junior high, and all the children must attend a regional school for their education beyond the 6th grade. The West Berlin Elementary school is the only school in the township. It now has 478 pupils, including approximately 125 Negroes.

Only 10 years ago Berlin Township had two elementary schools: the present West Berlin School for whites and the East Berlin School for Negroes. There was, however, integration in the 7th and 8th grades which were taught at that time only in West Berlin. Many complaints had been made about the East Berlin facilities, described this way in a study published in 1953: 45/

> This two-room building is located out in the woods, has a leaky roof, and is heated by two pot bellied stoves. Very little in the matter of materials for instruction is provided. The outdoor lavatories are without doors.

In another study, published a year later, the same author reported on what happened to that school: 46/

> In 1953 in East Berlin where the facilities for colored children were about the worst encountered in the state, a fire of undetermined origin on the opening day of school forced the housing of fifty-five Negro children in the regular /West Berlin/ school. This phenomenom accomplished without incident what years of discussion by state and local school officials had failed to do up to that time.

Rumors persist in Berlin Township that Negroes started the fire, but these rumors have never been substantiated.

The teaching faculty now at West Berlin School numbers 18, 2 of whom are Negro. The administrative principal, Claudio E. Arrington, says that the township would be only too happy to hire more Negro teachers "if we could only get them." No one questions the validity of this statement. Berlin Township is having more trouble than most municipalities in attracting teaching candidates.

The days of the East Berlin School seem far in the past and there is no longer anything remotely resembling racial discrimination in the operation of the school system. The principal has received only one complaint based on race in 4 years he has been in his present post--and that complaint was made by a white parent.

LAWNSIDE AND HADDON HEIGHTS

Lawnside is just about as segregated as a town could possibly be. The 1960 census showed a Negro population of 2,105 as compared with only 60 whites, 47/ and since that time the number of whites has declined. There are only three or four white families now living in the community. Its one elementary school, with classes from kindergarten through the 8th grade, has 15 teachers and 413 pupils, all of whom are Negro.

Haddon Heights with a 1960 population of 9,254 whites and only six Negroes, 48/ might be expected to be just as segregated, but it is not. The reason it is not (and the reason why these two municipalities are considered together) is because the Negro children from Lawnside attend Haddon Heights High School for their secondary education. There are approximately 90 Negroes in that school in a pupil population of 1,100. And this year the high school employed its first Negro instructor, a teacher of Spanish and history. However there are no Negro teachers or pupils either in the

Haddon Heights Junior High School nor in any of its three elementary schools.

Lawnside has had a long history as an all-Negro municipality, 49/ but it no longer wants this distinction. That is the view expressed by its mayor, Hilliard Moore, who is a teacher in the Camden City school system. Essentially a residential community whose population works in Camden and Philadelphia, Lawnside has a great deal of vacant land and is trying to attract light industry and new housing developments. The mayor believes that this would result in the beginnings of a white population.

Both the mayor and the principal, Daniel T. Malone, would like to have white teachers and pupils in the Lawnside Elementary School. The principal says that he has employed white substitutes and has advertised and spoken to placement agencies in his attempt to get white teachers. To date he has had no success. As far as pupils are concerned, the present situation is an increase in segregation; in 1957 there were seven white pupils at the school. The families who lived in a part of Lawnside which adjoins what is now Cherry Hill, considered themselves part of the Cherry Hill schools. But the superintendent of Cherry Hill, newly appointed in 1957, refused to permit this practice to continue. The children, however, did not remain at the Lawnside school for long. Most families moved and at least one family sent its children to the Catholic school.

The converse situation does not exist in Haddon Heights. There is no search for a Negro population to bring about school integration. On the other hand, there is little objection to the Negroes now at the high school. The Haddon Heights superintendent, Leonard B. Irwin, considers them "excellent members of the student body" and points up the fact that a Lawnside child was valedictorian a few years ago. The high school likewise praises the relationship between the schools of these two communities.

The Lawnside situation points up a somewhat different legal problem. An all-Negro municipality cannot help but have an all-Negro pupil population. But why should an all-Negro municipality exist? Township boundary lines are as artificial as the boundary lines within a municipality separating school zones. Perhaps it is the ultimate responsibility of the sovereignty--the State--to prevent the existence of boundary lines which result in segregated schools, regardless of what type of boundary lines they are. Perhaps it is the responsibility of the sovereignty to reorganize township lines to achieve nonsegregated municipalities. Or, more practically, perhaps it is the obligation of the sovereignty to combine two or more municipalities into a single school district so that desegregated schools might be possible. Indeed, the State of Michigan required the Oak Park School District to annex an adjacent all-Negro school district. 50/

CHERRY HILL

Community leaders in fast-growing Cherry Hill have said that they have no time to be color conscious. Superintendent of Schools Paul Jones declares that race is never considered either in pupil placement or in teacher employment. "We take them as they come," he says. Yet there is a distinct feeling that the Cherry Hill school system has been color conscious--but in ways which have drawn nothing but praise from Negro leaders. For there appears to be a concerted effort in the schools to make Negroes welcome, as teachers or as pupils.

This attitude is in marked contrast to the racial discrimination which exists in housing. The 1960 census showed a white population of 30,934 as compared with a Negro population of 588. 51/ Present estimates place the total near the 40,000-mark, making the township the second largest municipality in the county. But this is due to the growth of the white population; the number of Negroes has remained constant.

Thus there are only about 100 Negroes among the more than 8,200 pupils in the Cherry Hill schools. But there is no gerrymandering and pupils all attend the schools nearest their homes. Perhaps Negroes in the schools have received a little more than their share of guidance and other assistance. For example, there has been an extra effort to obtain college scholarships for Negro high school graduates. The president of the Board of Education, John H. Gauer, points out that this effort has not been made on the basis of race, but on the basis of need or the fact that certain of the graduates have been particularly deserving. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that Negroes have been helped rather than discriminated against in the township's schools.

Although there are only a dozen Negro teachers in the system, the percentage is far higher than the percentage of Negro pupils. There are Negro teachers on the faculties of both the senior and junior high schools and in six of the nine elementary schools. Several teach in schools where the student body is all white. The superintendent denies that he would purposely try to find a Negro teacher for a white school, but it is obvious that he is not opposed to making such an assignment. At least two of the teachers, as previously noted, had applied in Haddon Township and had been advised that vacancies did not exist. It is of course true that more vacancies reasonably could have been expected in larger, faster-growing Cherry Hill. The fact remains, however, that they are there and are well satisfied with their positions, while Haddon Township has yet to employ its first Negro teacher.

WOODBURY

Woodbury has long been the prime target in the Camden area for charges of school segregation. It still is. Camden City presents the far more serious problem because of the

larger number of school children involved. Woodbury, however, presents the most obvious example of an existing segregation situation. And there is little evidence that those in authority plan to do anything about it.

No one pretends that Woodbury has been color blind in the administration of its school system--to say nothing about being color conscious in order to achieve integration. On two occasions in the recent past, the State Department of Education had to "force" the city to take certain specific action in order to reduce segregation. Woodbury did what it had to do. The question now is whether the law requires it to do more. Woodbury school authorities say "no." They admit the existence of a segregation situation but deny that they have caused it; they do not feel that there is anything wrong which necessitates further action.

"Opinion of Woodbury is flavored by the past and not the present," contends Superintendent Warren J. McClain. "There is no question but that extreme segregation was practiced here," he says. But he claims that the situation has changed.

The situation, both past and present, has centered about the Carpenter Street Elementary School. That was the de jure segregated school in the days before 1947. Negro children living closer to other schools had to pass them on their way to Carpenter. Negro pupils who lived too far away to walk to Carpenter were sent at the expense of the city to a Negro school in a neighboring township. This was changed in 1948; school district lines were drawn. But there was gerrymandering. Finally, in 1954, after numerous protests, meetings and hearings, certain of the Carpenter boundary lines were "squared-off." Further, Carpenter had 7th and 8th grade classes at a time when the other four elementary schools ended with the 6th grade. This meant that the Negro children were segregated for 2 additional years before they could attend the city's only junior high school. That also led to protests, meetings, hearings--and change. So much for the past. Here is the situation today:

Woodbury is 12.8 percent Negro. Its 1960 population was 10,863 whites and 1,590 non-whites. 52/ It has 3,391 children in its schools, of whom 1,967 are in the senior and junior high schools. Segregation exists only among pupils on the elementary school level. The map on page 55 outlines the elementary school boundaries. The number and race of the elementary school pupils and teachers as of February 1, 1963 is given below:

Elementary School	Total Enrollment	Negro Enrollment (Estimated)	Total Principals-Teachers	Number Negro Teachers
Carpenter Street	177	177	7	7
Central	242	12	9	0
Evergreen	403	30	14	0
Walnut Street	254	12	11	0
West End Memorial	348	20	14	1
TOTAL	1,424	251	55	8

Thus Carpenter remains the all-Negro school and serves 70 percent of the Negro elementary pupils. It is no longer officially designated as Negro and its gerrymandered boundary lines were corrected long ago. Only in 1954, when its boundaries were "squared-off," did Carpenter have any appreciable number of white pupils. There were 28 as the school year began, but the number decreased rapidly as families moved from the neighborhood.

What of the future? It seems obvious that the school boundaries could be redrawn to promote desegregation. But do the school authorities have a constitutional duty to do so? A change in boundary lines would seem, among other things, to necessitate additional classrooms at the small Carpenter Street School. Is such construction required? Certainly there would be community opposition. Woodbury is a small city, no more than 2 miles long and 1 mile wide. As a practical matter, some variation of the Princeton Plan could be adopted to reduce the racial imbalance in the schools. What are Woodbury's legal responsibilities in regard to such a step? Thus far such action is not legally required.

Woodbury's response to pupil segregation involves no affirmative action to change the present situation. The Board of Education makes this clear in a formal preamble to its description of elementary school boundary lines, approved January 27, 1960. This preamble has been criticized as "an excuse and a rationalization." It reads in part:

> WHEREAS, in the absence of evidence showing prejudice or discrimination, a Board of Education may make reasonable by-laws for determining into which of the schools the children shall be admitted...
>
> 1. The Zones for the elementary schools shall be as follows:...

Charges of racial discrimination are also made in regard to teacher assignments. Carpenter Street School has never had a white teacher. The other schools with two exceptions have never had a Negro teacher. Prior to 1956, Carpenter had a domestic science department. When this training was discontinued at the elementary school level, the teacher was assigned to teach home economics in the secondary schools. The other exception is Bertha Waples who was transferred from Carpenter to the West End Memorial School in September 1962.

"The superintendent asked me if I would go and I said I would teach any place I was sent," reports Miss Waples. The fact is that she was anxious to leave the segregated school. She had previously requested a transfer from Carpenter and had been advised that there were no vacancies. Miss Waples said that she is well satisfied with her new position and has met with no problems. "The parents seem extremely happy," she says.

NAACP Secretary Savage has been urging other Carpenter Street teachers to request transfers. New Jersey Civil Rights Representative Ashley reports, however, that "it is apparent and has been stated that the Negro teachers are fearful of repercussions if they should attempt to effect transfers, although some are desirous of doing so."

Teacher segregation in Woodbury will probably continue for a long time to come. There are no indications of a new policy of color blindness. There is, however, some evidence that color consciousness might lead to the hiring of one or two Negro teachers for special assignments. The superintendent says that he tried to find a white teacher for the Carpenter Street School and has a willing candidate, but investigation revealed that the applicant would not have made an adequate teacher. Further more, the superintendent says that he would like to have a Negro physical education teacher at the high school when a vacancy occurs in such post. He believes that such a teacher could have a "good influence on the Negro boys." He has also said that the Negro home economics teacher will probably be replaced by another Negro upon her retirement. These, however, are the only indications that something has or will be done about teacher segregation.

Thus Woodbury remains the town that has both pupil and teacher segregation. No voluntary change is expected.

CONCLUSION

So this is the Camden metropolitan area and its school segregation story. This is the situation now existing in the 100th largest city of the United States and in eight of its neighboring suburbs. This describes the situation in towns both large and small; in towns both wealthy and poor; in towns that have only a few Negroes; in those which have a substantial percentage of Negroes; and in one that is virtually all-Negro.

This is the study of a large city faced with an almost unsolvable school segregation problem. The same can be said for one of the smaller towns, the all-Negro municipality. In some of the towns perhaps no problems exist. In others, the response to existing segregation has ranged from resistance to conscious attempts to promote integration.

In short, the story is a varied one. There is no one thing that must be done or might be done. On the amount of affirmative action required to achieve integration, the law is still in a state of flux. And even if the law were settled, it would have to be applied in diverse situations by school authorities and communities having diverse attitudes.

The basic conclusion is that there are no conclusions. But from each school segregation story comes a lesson in experience which provides a guide for the future. And it is this combination of guides which is so useful. As New Jersey's Governor Richard J. Hughes has said, "Surely there is much value in sharing the experiences of other communities in dealing with the perplexing problem of 'de facto' segregation in the public schools."

FOOTNOTES

1/ "Where two schools exist, one in a Negro, the other in a white neighborhood, one is assigned to children from, for example, kindergarten to third grade, the other to children from fourth to sixth grades. Children of both races then will attend each school." Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law 248 (1959).

2/ It was in fact used by the Salem, N.J., school system earlier.

3/ Williams and Ryan, Schools in Transition 120 (1954).

4/ Wright, The Education of Negroes in New Jersey v-vi (1941).

5/ Know Your County . . . Camden County, Office of Public Relations, Board of Freeholders, Camden County 2 (1962).

6/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32A, table 6.

7/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32A, table 8.

8/ Ibid.

9/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, tables 21, 22.

10/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, table 21.

11/ Blaustein and Ferguson, Desegregation and the Law 63 (1957).

12/ Wright, "Racial Integration in the Public Schools in New Jersey," 23 J. Negro Ed. 282 (1954).

13/ Public Laws 1881, ch. 149, p. 186. This statute has since been rewritten and is part of the present Education Law. See N.J. Rev. Stat. 18:14-2.

14/ Pierce v. Union District School Trustees, 46 N.J.L. 76 (1884), aff'd. 47 N.J.L. 348 (1885).

15/ Wright, supra note 12 at 282.

16/ N.J. Rev. Stat. 18:25-1 et seq.

17/ N.J. Rev. Stat. 18:25-6 (1945).

18/ Wright, "New Jersey Leads in the Struggle for Education Integration," 26 J. Ed. Soc. 401, 406 (1953).

19/ Williams and Ryan, supra note 3, at 122.

20/ Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools 75 (1954).

21/ Wright, supra note 12, at 283.

22/ Wright, supra note 18, at 408.

23/ NAACP Urges Boycott of Some Schools in N.J., Philadelphia Bulletin, Oct. 14, 1962

24/ Attacking Segregated Schools in New Jersey, State Conference of Branches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Quarterly Meeting, Sept. 30, 1961, Trenton, N.J., p. 2.

25/ "Hughes Suggests 'Princeton Plan' as Approached to School Segregation After Meeting with NAACP," Jersey Journal (Jersey City), Feb. 21, 1962, p. 22.

26/ Letter from Governor Richard J. Hughes to the author, Dec. 28, 1962.

27/ Hughes, supra note 25.

28/ N.J. Rev. Stat. 18:3-14.

29/ Hughes, supra note 25.

29a/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, table 21.

30/ NAACP, The Jim Crow School--North and West 5-6 (1962).

31/ "Open Meeting of New Jersey Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights, Oct. 15, 1962, Camden, N.J." 73-74 (transcript of taped recording).

32/ Wright, supra note 18, at 407-408.

33/ Williams and Ryan, supra note 3, at 129-30.

34/ Information taken from app. A and C.

35/ Ibid.

36/ See "City Has Trouble Placing White Teachers in Some Schools", Camden Courier-Post, Oct. 13, 1962.

37/ Supra note 31, at 134.

38/ Supra note 36.

39/ Supra note 31, at 113-114.

40/ Supra note 31, at 133.

41/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, table 21.

42/ Ibid.

43/ Ibid.

44/ As regards the constitutionality of racially based teacher policies, see Braxton v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County, Fla., Civ. No. 4598, S.D. Fla., Aug. 21, 1962, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 675 (1962); Tillman v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County, Fla., Civ. No. 4501, S.D. Fla., Aug. 21, 1962, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 687 (1962). In these cases the school authorities were enjoined from assigning school personnel on the basis of race. The official policy of New Jersey is embodied in N.J. Rev. Stat. 18:25-4 which reads:

> 18:25-4. Obtaining employment, accommodations and privileges without discrimination; civil right.
>
> All persons shall have the opportunity to obtain employment, and to obtain all the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any place of public accommodation, and other real property without discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or age, subject only to conditions and limitations applicable alike to all persons. This opportunity is recognized as and declared to be a civil right.

45/ Wright, supra note 18, at 411.

46/ Wright, supra note 12, at 284.

47/ 1960 Census, PC(1)-32B, table 22.

48/ Ibid.

49/ "Although a number of colored people had settled in this locality at a much earlier period, the village was not regularly laid out until about 1840 . . . . [A] n abolitionist, living in Haddonfield, who had advanced ideas of the future condition of the Negro, purchased a tract of land . . . . In accordance with his purpose, to give a Negro a village of his own, the place was appropriately called Free Haven . . . Many of the settlers came from the vicinity of Snow Hill, Maryland, from which circumstances came [that] name."

POWELL, The History of Camden County, New Jersey, 708-09 (1886). The Reading Railroad had its Lawnside station in this area and in 1926 the municipality was incorporated as Lawnside Borough.

50/ See 1962 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, Education, pp. 132-34. The Delaware an all-Negro school district was dissolved after a Federal court ordered the school officials to justify its all-Negro characteristics. Evans v. Buchanan, 207 F. Supp. 820 (D. Del. 1962), 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 665 (1962).

51/ Supra note 47.

52/ Ibid.

Appendix A

CAMDEN COUNTY

1960 Population Count
*Included in Camden Study

Municipality[1]	Census Tracts[2]	White	Nonwhite	Total
Audubon Boro	56-57	10,433	7	10,440
Audubon Park	48	1,713	0	1,713
Barrington	66-67	7,905	38	7,943
Bellmawr	68-70	11,839	14	11,853
Berlin Boro	87	3,574	4	3,578
*Berlin Twp.	88	2,775	588	3,363
Brooklawn	53	2,503	1	2,504
*Camden City	1-24	89,267	27,892	117,159
Chesilhurst	90	183	201	384
Clementon	86	3,766	0	3,766
Collingswood	42-45	17,321	49	17,370
*Cherry Hill Twp.[3]	32-37	30,934	588	31,522
Gibbsboro	76	2,135	6	2,141
Gloucester City	49-52	15,473	38	15,511
Gloucester Twp.	82-84	17,197	394	17,591
*Haddon Twp.	38-40	16,991	108	17,099
*Haddonfield	61-64	12,927	274	13,201
*Haddon Heights	58-60	9,254	6	9,260
Hi-Nella	81	474	0	474
Laurel Springs	79	2,028	0	2,028
*Lawnside (with Tavistock)	65	60	2,105	2,165
Lindenwold	77-78	7,219	116	7,335
Magnolia	73	3,702	497	4,199
Merchantville	31	4,067	8	4,075
Mt. Emphraim	54-55	5,433	14	5,447
Oaklyn	46-47	4,776	2	4,778
*Pennsauken Twp.	25-30	32,257	1,514	33,771
Pine Hill (with Pine Valley)	85	3,938	21	3,959
Runnemede	71-72	8,381	15	8,396
Somerdale	74	4,818	21	4,839
Stratford	80	4,306	2	4,308
Voorhees Twp.	75	3,733	51	3,784
Waterford Twp.	89	3,769	40	3,809
Winslow Twp.	91-92	7,606	1,536	9,142
Woodlynne	41	3,128	0	3,128
TOTAL		355,885	36,150	392,035

1. Two of Camden County's 37 municipalities are essentially "incorporated" country clubs. Pine Valley has a total population of 20 and Tavistock has a population of 10. Census tabulations include Pine Valley with Pine Hill and Tavistock with Lawnside.
2. CJ number series. Preceded in the census tabulations by the numeral "00".
3. Formerly Delaware Township. Name was changed subsequent to the 1960 census.

*Source: Camden County Planning Board, Population in the Camden Urban Region (1962).

Appendix B

CITY OF CAMDEN

PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS
(As of January 20, 1963)

School	Grades	PUPILS White	Negro	Total	Percent Negro Pupils
Camden High	10-12	684	671	1355	49.5
Wilson High	10-12	1253	122	1375	8.9
Davis Jr. High[1]	7-9	593	25	618	4.0
Hatch Jr. High	7-9	304	668	972	68.7
Pyne Poynt Jr. High	7-9	573	630	1203	52.4
Veterans Memorial Jr. High[2]	7-9	564	1	565	0.2
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS					
Bergen	K-6	50	241	291	82.8
Bonsall	K-8	330	334	664	50.3
Broadway	K-6	241	375	616	60.9
Camden Jr.[3]	Spec.	74	105	179	58.7
Cassady	K-4	267	224	491	45.6
Catto Opportunity[4]	Spec.	17	17	34	50.0
Central	K-4	126	327	453	72.9
Cooper	K-6	395	175	570	30.7
Cramer	K-6	379	93	472	19.7
Davis[1]	K-6	468	6	474	1.3
Dudley	K-6	429	0	429	0.0
Fetters	K-6	46	500	546	91.6
Liberty	K-4	28	289	317	91.2
Lincoln	K-6	108	136	244	55.7
McGraw	K-6	367	0	367	0.0
Mickle	K-8	134	479	613	78.1
Northeast	1-3	168	213	381	55.9
Parkside	K-6	139	656	795	82.5
Powell	K-6	0	244	244	100.0
Read	K-6	296	139	435	32.0
Sewell	K,4-6	238	231	469	49.3
Sharp	K-6	533	0	533	0.0
Sumner	K-4	1	550	551	99.8
Veterans Memorial[2]	6	142	0	142	0.0
Washington	K-5	517	0	517	0.0
Whittier	K-8	8	862	870	99.1
H. B. Wilson	K-8	433	126	559	22.5
Yorkship	K-8	558	0	558	0.0
TOTALS					
High Schools		1937	793	2730	29.0
Junior High Schools		2034	1324	3358	39.4
Elementary Schools		6492	6322	12814	49.3
GRAND TOTAL		10463	8439	18902	44.6

1. Davis is both an elementary school and a junior high--grades K-9.
2. Veterans Memorial is both an elementary school and a junior high--grades 6-9.
3. Special school for slow learners.
4. Special shool for disciplinary problems.

Appendix C

CITY OF CAMDEN

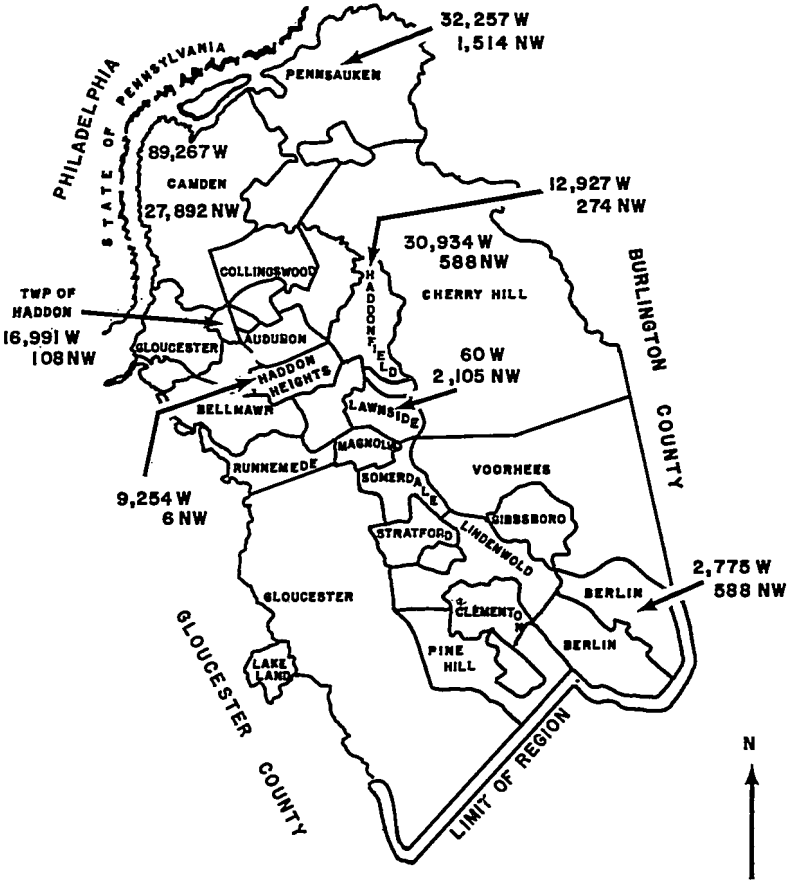
TEACHERS
(As of January 20, 1963)

School	Grades	Negro Principal	TEACHERS White	Negro	Total	Percent Negro Teachers	Percent Negro Pupils
Camden High	10-12		61	11	72	15.3	49.5
Wilson High	10-12		69	2	71	2.8	8.9
Davis Jr. High[1]	7-9		26	6	32	18.8	4.0
Hatch Jr. High	7-9	x	23	20	43	46.5	68.7
Pyne Poynt Jr. High	7-9		30	20	50	40.0	52.4
Veterans Memorial Jr. High[2]	7-9		22	5	27	18.5	0.2
		ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS					
Bergen	K-6	x[5]	6	7	13	53.8	82.8
Bonsall	K-8		10	13	23	56.5	50.3
Broadway	K-6	x	2	16	18	88.9	60.9
Camden Jr.[3]	Spec.		2	11	13	84.6	58.7
Cassady	K-4		8	5	13	38.5	45.6
Catto Opportunity[4]	Spec.		3	0	3	0.0	50.0
Central	K-4	x	0	12	12	100.0	72.9
Cooper	K-6		11	8	19	42.1	30.7
Cramer	K-6		14	1	15	6.7	19.7
Davis[1]	K-6		14	1	15	6.7	1.3
Dudley	K-6		12	1	13	7.7	0.0
Fetters	K-6	x[5]	1	14	15	93.3	91.6
Liberty	K-4		1	8	9	88.8	91.2
Lincoln	K-6		4	4	8	50.0	55.7
McGraw	K-6		11	1	12	8.3	0.0
Mickle	K-8		7	12	19	63.2	78.1
Northeast	1-3		6	5	11	45.5	55.9
Parkside	K-6		15	6	21	28.6	82.5
Powell	K-6	x[6]	1	7	8	87.5	100.0
Read	K-6		8	3	11	27.3	32.0
Sewell	K, 4-6		7	5	12	41.7	49.3
Sharp	K-6		13	3	16	18.8	0.0
Sumner	K-4	x	0	16	16	100.0	99.8
Veterans Memorial[2]	6		4	0	4	0.0	0.0
Washington	K-5		13	2	15	13.3	0.0
Whittier	K-8	x	0	24	24	100.0	99.1
H. B. Wilson	K-8		13	5	18	27.8	22.5
Yorkship	K-8		16	1	17	5.9	0.0
Demonstration Teachers: Art, Music, Physical Ed.	-		6	4	10	40.0	-
		TOTALS					
High Schools			130	13	143	9.1	29.0
Junior High Schools			101	51	152	33.6	39.4
Elementary Schools			208	195	403	48.4	49.3
GRAND TOTAL			439	259	698	37.1	44.6

1. Davis is both an elementary school and a junior high--grades K-9.
2. Veterans Memorial is both an elementary school and a junior high--grades 6-9.
3. Special school for slow learners.
4. Special school for diciplinary problems.
5. Bergen and Fetters elementary schools have same principal.
6. Teacher-in-charge; not technically a principal.

Racial Composition of Selected Municipalities

Camden Urban Region, 1960



COUNTY TOTALS

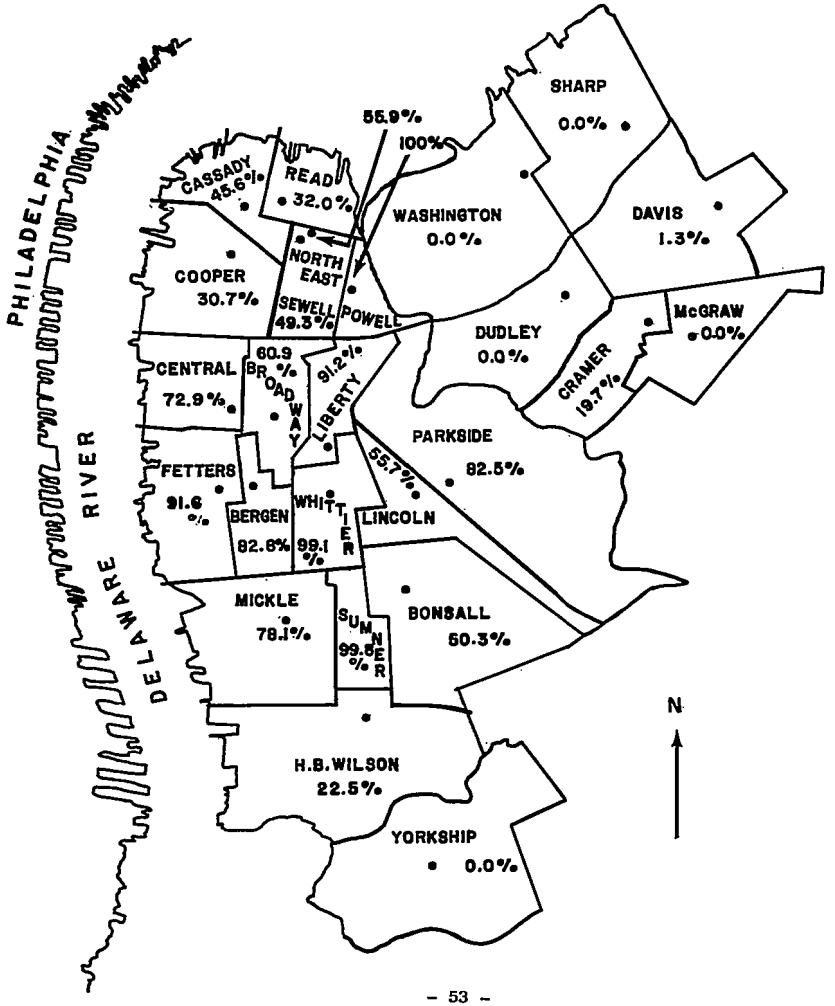
WHITE	(W)	355,885
NON-WHITE	(NW)	36,150
TOTAL		392,035

Percent of Negro Composition of

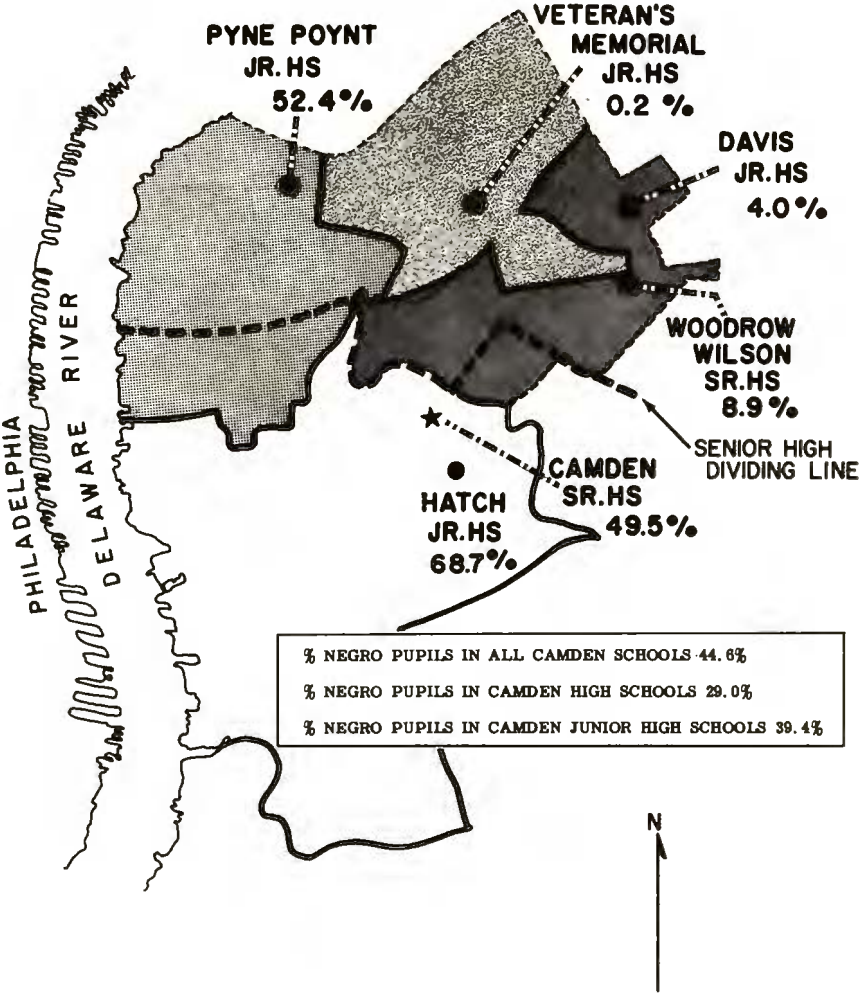
Camden Elementary Public Schools

% NEGRO PUPILS IN CAMDEN 44.6%
% NEGRO PUPILS IN CAMDEN
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 49.3%

JANUARY 20, 1963



Percent of Negro Composition of Camden Junior and Senior High Schools



Woodbury, New Jersey
Elementary School Attendance Areas
1962-1963