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A PROJECT

FOR

VIRGINIA'S

BLACK BELT

This report is being distributed by:
THE VIRGINIA STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

V.S.C.R.C. Publication #1
March, 1965



P R E F A C E

This paper is a report published by the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The report's purpose is fourfold:

1. To familiarize the citizens of Virginia with V. S. C. R. C's history, purposes, philosophy, and plans.
2. To indicate the dire necessity for a Summer Project in Virginia and to help end the myth that Virginia does not have problems.
3. To give V. S. C. R. C's field workers a handy reference source, detailing statistically some of the general facts relating to the status of the Negro in the Fourth.
4. To serve as a guideline for more detailed studies to be made in the near future.

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APPLICATION TO WORK IN VIRGINIA'S BLACK BELT PROJECT

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA
STUDENTS CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee is a relatively new organization, for it was established at the termination of a conference about the Upper South which was held at Hampton Institute on December 3-5, 1964. This conference was sponsored by SNCC in cooperation with Hampton Institute. A Continuations Committee of VSCRC was established with a threefold purpose:

1. To establish and increase communications among college students about the Civil Rights Movement in Virginia by monthly meetings of the elected representatives of the participating colleges and universities.
2. To plan for a Spring Conference.
3. To do research and to plan for a Summer Project in Virginia.

The VSCRC now has representatives from approximately eleven colleges and universities throughout Virginia. In addition, several professors, interested citizens, and representatives of several local and national civil rights organizations have been working with the committee. However, VSCRC is not formally affiliated with any State or national organization. The committee has had three meetings. The January and February meetings were held at Virginia Union College in Richmond, and the March meeting at Hampton Institute. [REDACTED] a field representative of SNCC, has been present at each of these meetings, helping the committee to understand the involvements of a Summer Project. [REDACTED], a student at Hampton Institute, was elected permanent Chairman. b7c

At the January meeting the Continuations Committee decided to contact various organizations, such as NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, AFC, and VCHR, and to determine what their plans were, if any, for Virginia this Summer, and how we might possibly work with them. In February the committee had a long discussion about what the organization wanted to do in the Summer Project, The Philosophy of Social Change - The result of the discussion is the paper in this report, "The Role of the Community Organizer." Also, the committee was able to obtain only limited information from some organizations about their plans for Virginia. The programs of some of the other organizations seemed somewhat indefinite or unacceptable. Therefore, the committee decided to continue to develop its own plans and if programs sponsored by civil rights groups become available later the committee could still work in these projects. Representatives from the colleges and universities were assigned to do research papers on various aspects of the Summer Project, such as Job Opportunities, Freedom Schools, Community Centers, Voter Registration. These research papers were presented at the March meeting. Also, several civil rights leaders from the Fourth Congressional District and state and national organizations discussed the type of projects that could be conducted in the Fourth. At the conclusion of the meeting, the committee voted to begin to make the necessary



arrangements and plans to work in one or more counties of the Fourth.

The Spring Conference will be held at the University of Virginia on April 2-3. The reports presented at the March meeting will provide most of the background material for the discussion groups. Since the program which will be discussed is modeled after the Mississippi Project, several people who have had experience in that project have been invited to attend the conference to advise and lead discussions. Also, a number of Virginia's civil rights and political leaders who attended the March meeting have kindly consented to attend the Spring Conference.

If you would like further information about VSCRC please contact one of the following officers:

Chairman:

[REDACTED]
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Secretary:

[REDACTED]
Hampton, Virginia

Finance Chairman:

[REDACTED]
Charlottesville, Virginia

[REDACTED]
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

If you would like additional copies of this report or the research reports and papers listed below, please contact:

[REDACTED]
Research Unit of V.C.R.C.

[REDACTED]
Hampton, Virginia

The following reports are available:

- Politics and The Movement in Virginia
- Economics and The Movement in Virginia
- Job Opportunities and Related Federal Programs
- A Study of The Negro Farmer in South Carolina (Reprinted from Southern Regional Council, Inc.)
- Freedom Schools
- Community Centers (Reprinted from COFO)
- What's In the Civil Rights Act? (Reprinted from The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights)

Additional Statistical Reports are being prepared.



THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

b7C The questions, what are we going to do when we get into a community this summer, and why are we in this community, i. e., what is our role here? and how are we going to go about doing whatever we decide to do? were raised at the February meeting of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee. One answer, which is a partial reply to all of these, was given by [redacted] representative from SNCC. This paper is an attempt to summarize what he said, what others in the meeting added, and what the basic principles are which underlie this answer. Hopefully, this paper will give some idea of what we want to do and why we feel that we ought to do it. It cannot be taken as an adequate representation of Stanley's position since it is largely drawn from memory and, hence, necessarily transposed to some extent by the author's own ideas. Finally, it should not be taken as the final position of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee since some members may not agree with my interpretation. However, I hope that it can serve as a point of departure for discussion and that it will give some idea of our purpose and ultimate goals. Also, I believe that it can at least get us off to a start in answering the questions outlined above.

Stanley's speech came primarily, I believe, as an objection to our discussion which, at that point, was assuming that we were going into a community to give them something. That is, our attitude resembled what is known historically as the "white man's burden," which has been and still is characteristic of the opinion of the 'western world; especially the white developed nations, toward the non-western world, especially the non-white underdeveloped nations. Only now, this was the attitude of an integrated group of college students toward less educated and poorer people. What we seemed to be discussing was, what programs are we going to choose which will help these people, i. e., what are we going to give them, voter registration, community centers, etc.? In simple language, we were trying to decide for people whom we had never met what was for their good. What we were doing, then, was quite similar to what the southern white planter is doing when he maintains that it is much better for Negroes not to vote because he knows how to take care of them, he knows what they really need, and how to make them happy. It was this assumption on our part of presuming to know what is best for others that [redacted] challenged.

b7C Instead, [redacted] questioned, is not our role more nearly that of a catalyst and a helper? If a community organizer seeks to address the needs of the people, then he is defeating his own purpose if he decides before he goes into the community what its needs are. Although it might seem that this position removes one necessary part of any political or social movement, namely, some sort of structured program, it has a standardized approach to problems without having a particular program which is to be imposed on the people. This formal approach is not a rigid formula, but an aid to thinking out how one can help the community meet its own needs. For example, assume that the community wants the worker, to aid in setting up a voter registration program; how to go about this can be analyzed in the following manner:



<u>Needs</u>	<u>Offers</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Programs</u>
Voter Registration and Education	Find out what you know Find out what they know Classes Information Experience at polls Not able to vote-why What to do	Help them to face problems Demonstrations Help them to deal with problems	Take people to polls Voter registration classes Freedom Democratic Party Mass meetings

One lists the needs which the community presents. Then, one tries to enumerate what can be offered to meet this need. Then one's own function in meeting this need is listed. The final result is a program, hopefully one which places emphasis on the role of the people in helping themselves, and which is designed to build up local leadership and ultimately to eliminate the organizer.

One prime example of this is the development of the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi. People who were denied access to the normal channels of participation in the Democratic Party, (the sole party of import in Mississippi), set up, with the help of organizers, their own party, parallel to the regular one. They held precinct, county, district and state conventions. They voted, caucused and drew up platforms. For the first time in recent Mississippi history Negroes took an active and forceful part in shaping their political destinies. By coming together they developed the sense of solidarity and purpose so necessary to a political movement. Furthermore, a structure with grass roots support was set up so that the people themselves could establish and perpetuate a claim to a permanent role in Mississippi politics.

Other needs and possible answers are listed below:

<u>Needs</u>	<u>Offers</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Program</u>
Food	Welfare Office	Presenting the problem	1. Aid from North a. Communication b. Send representatives to appeal to Northern groups 2. Organization and transportation to Washington to ask for aid.
Community Center	Recreation Dept. Assistance 1. Local 2. State 3. National	Assistance 1. Writing letters 2. Organizing people 3. Securing transportation	1. Get them to send representatives 2. Get them transportation



Job Oppor-
tunitiesSee Gov't.
Bureaus

Demonstrations

1. Mass meetings
2. Newsletters
3. Send representa-
tives to Elected
Officials
4. Provide Infor-
mation
5. Get transportation

The implication of this analysis is that we, as college students, have in our acquaintance with "democratic institutions" and our grasp of academic skills, the means to aid a community to mobilize itself. If we do not know how to go about filling a need--and we very often have--a better knowledge of where to go than we might realize--we have the academic tools or the contacts to find out where to go. Our role is to address the needs of the people, to act as a catalyst, to organize people around the need, and to research and think out methods of meeting this need.

The philosophy of organizing which does not prescribe the needs of the people, but rather tries to discover the needs and adapts to them, does not deny the necessity for forethought about and planning for what the probable needs of the community will be. One can predict, for example, from our statistics on the Fourth Congressional District, that the people there need increased participation in voting, aid to job opportunities, additional legal and medical services, etc. Thus, some things can be done beforehand to prepare and inform the organizer as to how these needs can be met. This we have tried to accomplish by writing research papers which have been duplicated and are available to all organizers. Thus, the idea is to prepare oneself as well as possible to cope with general problems, but to remain prepared to adapt the "answers" to the particular community.

The presuppositions of these principles of social change are that men are capable of governing themselves, that the inherent value and dignity of the individual must be respected, and that democracy and democratic practices can be made to work. The insistence upon no dictating to the community testifies to an awareness of each individual's right to determine his own destiny and of our respect for each person's dreams. The practice of utilizing or attempting to utilize the institutions of government for the betterment of the people reveals an insistence that democratic institutions can and will work.

These principles have very practical applications. For it is simple psychology that human beings will react to any attempt to meet their basic needs of food, shelter, education, etc., with at least as much enthusiasm as abstract appeals to their rights and duties as citizens. Also, by organizing people around basic human needs, one can perform an educational function in demonstrating how the government and other agencies can and to help people to meet their needs. If the agencies



are not functioning correctly, or if Negroes are segregated from or ignorant of the programs, the reasons for their separation can be made crystal clear. The relation of the Negro and poor white's political weakness to his economic exploitation and deprivation are points that can constantly be pointed out. A practical appeal can be used to help in creating the understanding of the roots of the economic and social injustice inflicted upon the poor. Such an understanding is necessary in building indigenous leadership with the vision and the will to suffer the hardships necessary for the achievement of equality.


b7c
Charlottesville, Va.

VIRGINIA'S BLACK BELT
THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT*

The Black Belt extends from Tidewater Virginia along the Atlantic Coastal Plain of the Carolinas, westward across Georgia and Alabama to the Mississippi Delta, and extends up the Mississippi Lowlands into parts of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Also, the Black Belt touches parts of Florida and Texas. The Black Belt is a crescent shaped region. The term "Black Belt" refers not only to the rich black soil of the area but to the human resources of this region, the Negro, who comprises a majority or near majority of the population of most of the counties in the Black Belt. For years Negroes have been tied to the agricultural economy of this section of the South. As agribusiness, the mechanized corporate farm, continues to create economic dislocation, the Negroes have had to bear, as in the past, the greatest economic hardships whether they remained on the farm or moved to the ghettos in the industrial urban areas of the North or South. ("Between 1940 and 1959, the drop in the number of American farms was 39 percent, but the number of farms owned or operated by Negroes was cut more than on-half, from over 700,000 to less than 300,000. Only 23 percent of southern Negro farm workers own their own farms as contrasted with 60 percent of white farm workers. On the other hand, almost half of all tenant farmers and over 65 percent of all sharecroppers are Negroes" - The Economies of Equality, Tom Kahn, p. 25). The Black Belt not only continues to fail to provide the Negro, as well as many whites, with economic freedom, but it also is in this region that the Negro suffers the most blatant violations of their legal, political, and social rights.

Of Virginia's Ten Congressional districts, only the Fourth could be classified as a Black Belt district. The Negro population of the Fourth is 47.9 percent of the total population while the corresponding figure for the state is 20.6 percent. Only seven other districts of the nation's 435 congressional districts have a higher percent Negro population. In the Fourth there are eighteen counties and four independent cities, Franklin, Hopewell, Petersburg, and Suffolk. Of the sixteen of Virginia's ninety-nine counties which have 50 percent or more non-white population, ten are in the Fourth, four in the First, and two in the Eighth.



*Source: Unless otherwise indicated the sources for this report are: Congressional District Data Book (88th Congress); 1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report No. 1-Voting; 1960 Census of Population, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 48, Virginia; County and City Data Book, 1962; SNCC's Outline for Projected Black Belt Project. All statistical data are for 1960, unless otherwise stated. The term non-white and Negro for statistical purposes are the same since Negroes make up all but .1 percent of the non-white population of the Fourth.

District & Representative (89th)	White Population	Negro population	Other Races	Percent Negro
VIRGINIA	3,142,443	816,258	8,248	20.6
1. Downing (D)	299,496	121,557	1,571	28.8
2. Hardy (D)	354,648	137,345	2,298	27.8
3. Satterfield (D)	310,225	107,380	476	25.7
4. Abbitt (D)	183,105	168,754	298	47.9
5. Tuck (D)	250,253	75,550	186	23.2
6. Poff (R)	327,490	51,158	216	13.5
7. Marsh (D)	287,118	25,376	396	8.1
8. Smith (D)	270,287	86,458	716	24.2
9. Jennings (D)	355,105	9,771	97	2.7
10. Broyhill (R)	504,716	32,908	1,994	6.1

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF FOURTH
BY RACE, 1960**

RACE	POPULATION	PERCENT OF POPULATION
White	183,105	52.0
Negro	168,754	47.9
Other	298	.1
T o t a l	352,157	100.0

A vast majority of the people of the Fourth live in rural areas, 72.6 percent. Only the Eighth and Ninth have a smaller urban population than the Fourth. Urban is defined as incorporated towns, cities, villages with a population of 2,500 or more persons. While the figures have not been compiled for the Fourth, the state figure is 46.9 percent of the non-whites live in rural areas as compared with 44.5 percent of the whites in Virginia. The population of the Fourth increased 4 percent from 1950 to 1960 while the state averaged a 19.5 percent increase.



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF FOURTH
BY RESIDENCE, 1960

Residence	Total	Percent
Urban (2,500+)	96,417	27.4
Rural, non-farm	171,763	48.5
Rural, farm	83,977	24.1
T o t a l	352,157	100.0

OTHER POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF FOURTH-
1960

Total population, 1960	352,157
Percent of State total	8.9
Total population, 1950	338,514
Percent change, 1950 to 1960	4.0
Population per square mile, 1960	47.8

In the Fourth, Negroes make up 42.8 percent of the voting age population compared with 18.9 percent for the State. Negroes make up 60 percent or more of the voting age population in one county, 50 percent or more in five counties, and 40 percent or more in four counties and the independent City of Petersburg, and 30 percent or more in six counties and the independent City of Suffolk. (See Tables I, II, III). It is understood that Negroes have made dramatic gains in voter registration in the Fourth, particularly for federal elections, in the 1964 election it was estimated by the Associated Press that the white registered voters still have a 4-to-1 edge over Negroes.

While the Negro voter has great potential political power which is already being developed at the local, district, and state levels, in the Fourth one should consider certain factors in order to obtain a realistic picture. The poll tax which is still required for state and local elections will continue to be an economic barrier to the large numbers of Negroes living in poverty. The educational level of many of the Negroes will be another barrier due to the present registration requirements which still require a degree of literacy. Also, on the state level Negroes, while slightly increasing in total population, are declining on a percent basis relative to the total population. This results from an outmigration of Negroes. (See Table I).



-10-
 Distributa Population of Fourth and Virginia
 by Percent of Voting Age Population, Percent of
 Voting Age Population Registered, By Color, 1960

Region	Percent of Voting Age Population		Percent of Voting Age Population Registered	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
Fourth	57.2	42.8	54.8	18.6
Virginia	81.1	18.9	46.2	23.0

Watkins M. Abbitt of Appomattox was reelected to Congress in 1964. He has served this district since 1948 and appears to have had little or no opposition until 1964. In the 1964 elections, Abbitt's opponent was S. W. Tucker of Emporia who has represented the NAACP in many desegregation suits. Goldwater carried the Fourth by a slight margin while Johnson carried the State. In the previous three Presidential elections, the Fourth was carried by the Democrats while the State went Republican. (See Table IV). In the 88th Congress, Abbitt ranked 6th on the Agricultural Committee, chairing the sub-committee on tobacco and ranked high on several other agricultural sub-committees. He was also 6th on the committee on House Administration, and ranked first on the sub-committee on Elections. This last appointment is strategic to any challenge of Congressional seats - The Mississippi Challenge by M.F.D.P.

VOTE CAST BY MAJOR PARTY OF FOURTH
FOR PRESIDENT

Total vote cast, 1960	60,265
Democratic	34,820
Republican	24,684
Percent vote for majority party	57.8
Total vote cast, 1956	56,913
Democratic	23,522
Republican	23,039
Total vote cast, 1952	51,296
Democratic	27,302
Republican	23,692

FOR REPRESENTATIVE

Total vote cast, 1962	30,642
Democratic	30,642
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1960	39,593
Democratic	39,408
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1958	43,241
Democratic	37,679
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1956	51,512
Democratic	51,434
Republican	



(Representatives, continued)

Total vote cast, 1954	14,744
Democratic	14,728
Republican	
Total vote cast, 1952	23,849
Democratic	23,806
Republican	

In the Fourth there are diversified manufacturing interests, including textiles, garments, wood products, tobacco and peanut processing, chemicals, and optical equipment. The main agricultural crops include peanuts, tobacco, poultry, dairy, and livestock.

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCES BY
INDUSTRY OF THE FOURTH, 1960

<u>Agriculture</u>	21,434
Full owners	8,690
Part owners	4,520
Tenants	5,091
Laborers	3,133
<u>Mining</u>	404
<u>Construction</u>	6,864
<u>Manufacturing</u>	30,361
Durable goods	10,984
Non-durable goods	14,377
<u>Transportation</u>	3,449
<u>Wholesale and Retail Trade</u>	17,795
<u>Educational Services</u>	5,061
<u>Public Administration</u>	5,210
<u>Armed Forces</u>	6,638

Economic conditions vary among the counties and cities of the Fourth. Dinwiddie, Isle of Wight, Nansemond and Southampton counties all significantly increased their population from 1950-60, and median income is also higher in these counties than in the rest of the Black Belt counties of the Fourth.



*For the district as a whole, the median income came to \$3,532 per year. This ranks 405th lowest among the 435 congressional districts. The Ninth is the only Virginia district with a lower median income, \$3,370, ranking 411th lowest among the congressional districts. The median income for the State is \$4,964. However, in this district Negroes followed state and national economic characteristics. Some of these characteristics are:

- a. Far lower incomes than whites.
- b. Widening of dollar gap between whites and non-whites.
- c. Concentration in low paying and/or declining job categories.
- d. Unemployment rate for Negroes twice as high as rates for whites.

In most of these counties, from one-fourth to one-third of all Negro families earned less than \$1,000 per year. For example, 25.8 percent of the Negro families in Amelia earned less than \$1,000; 31.1 percent for Brunswick, 39.4 percent for Cumberland; 21.4 percent for Dinwiddie; Isle of Wight 19.5 percent; 33.0 percent for Greenville; 39.9 percent for Mecklenburg; 20.5 percent for Nansemond; 29.0 percent for Southampton; 33.7 percent for Sussex, and 18.6 percent for Petersburg. For the entire district, 48.1 percent of the Negro families earned less than \$2,000 per year and 80.3 percent less than \$4,000 per year. The median income for Negro families of the Fourth was \$2,095 per year compared with a similar State figure of \$2,780. Only the small number of Negro families in the Ninth district had a lower family median income of \$1,895. The income figures between whites and non-whites is even more revealing when consideration is given to the fact that Negro families are larger than white. (See Table V).

The dollar difference between whites and non-whites is increasing in Virginia as well as the United States, in spite of all the talk about progress. While the dollar difference figures for the Fourth have not as yet been tabulated there appears to be no basis for believing that the Fourth is not following State and national trends. The dollar difference between the median family income of whites and non-whites in Virginia increased from \$1,286 in 1950 to \$2,442 in 1960. (See Table VI and VII)

The Fourth follows State and national patterns of Negroes being concentrated in low paying and/or declining job classifications due to discrimination and the destruction of unskilled jobs on and off the farms by technology and cybernation. In the Fourth, 37 percent of the employed Negro females work as private household workers, maids, and

*All income figures are for 1959.



38 percent of the employed Negro males work as unskilled laborers, and 21.9 percent as semi-skilled blue-collar workers. Blue-collar and unskilled jobs are declining, for they are being eliminated by cybernation while white-collar and service jobs are increasing, (See Table VIII).

Distribution of Employed and Unemployed Persons of the
of the Fourth By Color, Sex, and Major Job Classifi-
cation - By Percent, 1960

Occupational Group	White		Non-White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
White collar	31.6	58.4	5.4	13.4
Blue Collar	36.1	23.1	29.8	19.3
Unskilled Labor, including farm laborers and foremen	7.4	-	38.0	-
Service workers, including private household	2.9	10.1	7.2	55.1
Farmers and Farm Managers	16.5	-	15.7	-
Not classified	5.5	8.4	3.9	14.2
Unemployed	2.4	3.4	6.4	7.9

The trend towards fewer farms, particularly smaller farms, persists in Fourth. From 1954 to 1959 the number of farms decreased by 6,579 in the Fourth of which 1,113 were farms under 10 acres. During this same period, the size of the farms increased from 118 to 139 acres. This economic dislocation will create extreme hardships for those families who will find it difficult to obtain employment in industrial-urban areas because of their low educational level and the scarcity of jobs for which they have the skills.

Distribution of Number of Farms and Amount of Farm land
of Fourth, 1954-59

All Farms, 1959	18,342
All Farms, 1954	24,921
Land in farms, 1959, 1000 acres	2,550
Land in farms, 1954, 1000 acres	2,949

Distribution of Farms by Size of Fourth - 1954-59

Average size, 1959 - acres	139
Average size, 1954 - acres	118
Farms under 10 acres, 1959	1,534
Farms under 10 acres, 1954	2,647
Farms of 1,000 acres and over, 1959	184
Farms of 1,000 acres and over, 1954	194



In education this district has received national publicity resulting from the fact that Prince Edward is located in the Fourth. Other segregated private schools which receive their major financial support from tuition grants in this district are in Powhatan, Amelia and Surry. All these schools will be affected by the recent federal court decision about the tuition grant system. The usual pattern of southern Negro public education persists: A growing disparity between whites and Negroes as the educational scale of achievement is ascended. In the Fourth, the median school years completed for all persons 25 years or older is 8.0. The Fifth and Ninth districts have a lower median figure, 7.5 for each. In fact, the Fifth and Ninth rank third and fourth as the least educational districts in the nation. However, the median school years completed for Negroes 25 years or older in the Fourth is 6.0, which is the lowest figure for all of Virginia's ten districts. The corresponding figure for Negroes in Virginia is 7.2 years. For the entire district, 39.3 percent of the Negroes 25 years or over have completed less than 5 years of school. This figure includes a large percent who have completed no years of school such as Amelia-8.2 percent, Brunswick-7.9 percent, Cumberland-11.5, Dinwiddie-19.7-Greenville-9.2 percent, Isle of Wight-10.9 percent, Nansemond-7 percent, Petersburg-6 percent. Also for the Negro population 25 years or over, 86.4 percent have less than a high school education. The corresponding total figure for all persons in Virginia is 62.4 percent. As a result of inferior education, the Negroes have not been given the necessary skills that would equip them to escape the low paying and/or declining job categories, even if there were enough jobs and discrimination was eliminated. Desegregation of public schools is moving very slowly in Virginia and probably even slower in the Fourth. (See Tables IX and X).

Inferior housing conditions for Negroes are found in the Fourth. A much smaller percent of Negroes own their own homes than whites and the condition of all homes occupied by Negroes is worse. The percent of deteriorating units occupied by whites is 16.1 percent and 33.1 percent for Negroes. For delapidated units the figure for whites is 7.4 percent and 25.4 percent for Negroes. (See Table XI).

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING
OF FOURTH BY TENURE AND COLOR, 1960

Tenure	Total	Percent	White	Percent	Non-White	Percent
	Number		Number		Number	
Owner Occupied	50,495	56.9	34,185	67.7	16,310	32.3
Renter Occupied	38,202	43.1	18,836	49.3	19,366	50.7



4th Congressional District of Virginia

Independent Cities

1. Petersburg 47
2. Hopewell 17
3. Franklin Included in Southampton County
4. Suffolk 37

Numbers- Distribution by % of Nonwhite Population in 1960

OTHER CITIES

5. Buckingham
6. Farmville
7. Appomatox
8. Cumberland
9. Powhatan
10. Amelia
11. Crewe
12. Blackstone
13. Chase City
14. South Hill
15. Lawrenceville
16. Emporia
17. Smithfield

