

Race and Diversity

African Americans in Architecture Education

African Americans have contributed richly to the practice of architecture in the United States. They have left their mark on a very wide range of buildings, from the iconic sea island huts of Georgia and South Carolina to the construction of the nation's Capitol and White House; from the intricate wrought ironwork that embellishes the French Quarter in New Orleans to the design of Philadelphia's Museum of Art and Harvard's Widener Library; from Madam C. J. Walker's New York Villa Lewaro to the iconic addition to the Beverly Hills Hotel and the Theme Building at the Los Angeles International Airport; from Atlanta's Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violence, Detroit's Museum of African American History, and Baltimore's Reginald Lewis Museum to the campuses of Duke and Howard universities. Yet given that "[a]rchitectural education, like most other professional education, is based upon a kind of universality of cultural expression representing mainly that of the pre-dominant white American culture," "people of color have long faced major challenges in securing enough knowledge to attempt, much less succeed in, the practice of architecture. It is these challenges, and their determination to meet them, that makes the story of African American architects essential to a comprehensive understanding of the architect's journey in North America.

Figure 218  
Robert Robinson Taylor with fellow architecture students at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, c. 1892



The experience of architects of color is not only that of African Americans themselves. It is that of the American experience in general. This article briefly traces the major places that African Americans have obtained their architectural knowledge and the ways they managed to keep their dreams alive in the face of great odds.

Pioneers in the field

In the profession's infancy in America, the typical route to the title "architect" was a bifurcated one. One road involved formal education at an institution of higher learning, the other involved informal education as an architect's apprentice. As the former was well beyond the financial means of most aspirants, the majority chose the latter. In the postbellum United States, despite being granted the rights of citizenship, African Americans found both these established paths severely constrained. Nonetheless, a handful gained access to institutions of higher learning. Among the earliest to graduate from an American architecture school were Robert Robinson Taylor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and William Sydney Pittman at Drexel, both of whom would go on to become educators; Vertner Woodson Tandy at Cornell; Julian Francis Abie at the University of Pennsylvania; and George Washington Foster, Jr., at Cooper Union. Figures 218, 219 Remarkably, Abele and another young African American student, Francis Robertson, also went on to study abroad: Abie at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and Robertson at Karlsruhe University in Germany. Just as rare was it for an African American to secure an apprenticeship with a major firm. Calvin Brent was an exception, working in the Washington, D.C., office of Thomas Ploymann as early as 1873.

For the overwhelming majority of African Americans, however, the dream of attending an architectural institution of higher learning or working in the office of an established architect was either deferred or went unrealized. For these aspirants, both roads were, indeed, the ones less traveled, and those who did succeed in becoming practitioners managed to make a way out of no way. The "third road" they created entailed some version of independent or augmented self-education. Joseph Bledgett, for example, who designed and built many homes throughout the southern seaboard, most notably in the Sugar Hill section of Jacksonville, Florida, did so with no training other than that which he acquired on his own. Samuel Patao, who established successful practices in both Kentucky and Indiana, and Horace King, whose designs for everything from bridges to courthouses were in high demand throughout the South for over half a century, were likewise primarily self-educated, although both received some supplemental instruction through the International Correspondence School of Scranton, an early long-distance learning institution based in Pennsylvania.

The hucsus—the "golden age" of African American architecture education

The unique democratic experiment that was the United States reached a certain level of maturity by the end of the nineteenth century. Despite a widespread sense of optimism about the future, though, some aspirations were clearly freier to flourish than others. Although cultural attitudes and social policies shifted rapidly during this volatile and formative period, including those affecting the education of African Americans, the landmark case of Plessy v. Ferguson, which became the law of the land in 1896, had long-ranging consequences. Establishing the principle of "separate but equal," it had the effect of dissuading majority institutions of learning from admitting even small numbers of people of color for decades to come.

In response to this reality, the flawed and ultimately untenable "Negro" or "Normal" schools emerged. While a full discussion of this system's merits and demerits is beyond the scope of this article, it is necessary to note its critical importance in the history of the American architecture profession. This was particularly the case at the postsecondary level. It was here that what are now commonly referred to as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HCBUs) established the often interchangeable labeled mechanical or industrial arts and building or construction trades programs. These programs provided people of color with accessible and consistent



Figure 219  
Julian Abie, "A Metropolitan Cathedral," elevation study for Class A project in the advanced graduate class in architecture, University of Pennsylvania, 1902

formal training in a field that was all but impossible to enter otherwise. The first such program was established at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (now Hampton University) in 1871. It was followed by programs at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1892 (now Tuskegee University), Florida Agricultural and Mechanical (known as FAMU) in 1910, Howard University in 1911, Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical in the 1920s, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in 1928, Southern Agricultural and Mechanical University in 1946, and Morgan State University in 1971. In 1890 Coffin College of Agriculture and Mechanics Institute for Colored Students (now Coffin University) was the earliest to offer a course specifically designated as "architectural," namely architectural drawing. At the secondary-school level, institutions like Armstrong and McKinley Technical High Schools in Washington, D.C., founded in 1871, established industrial and manual training programs that would feed HBCU programs in future decades.

Within the social and cultural milieu of the first half of the twentieth century, the role of the HBCU in the development of a black professional class was critical



**Figure 220**  
Mechanical drawing class, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia, c.1899–1900

on a number of levels. As W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, “[hecu] founded itself, and rightly, upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said: ‘What can be done to change the situation?’”<sup>72</sup> Clearly there was an immediate need to develop professionals who could assist in shaping the new and maturing communities of color in a rapidly modernizing American society—what Du Bois described as a “training in technique and methods such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country.”<sup>73</sup> At the same time, it was imperative that such training enable people of color to dispel the widely held belief that African Americans were inherently deficient in the kind of intellectual ability required to become professionals, whether doctors, lawyers, or architects.

In this highly scrutinized context, HECU programs came to be headed by strong, visionary, and purposeful practitioner-educators. These men saw the training of the black architect not just as a job but a calling. Among

the most notable were Robert Charles Bates and William Wilson Cooke at Coffin, Albert Grant Brown at West Virginia Colored Institute, Robert Robinson Taylor and William Sydney Pittman at Tuskegee; Howard Mackey, Walter Hazel, and Albert Casati at Howard; William Moses and John Spencer at Hampton; Henry Thurman at Southern; and Louis Fry, Marshall Brown, and Simon Wiltz at Prairie View. They set the standard for the education of both the future black practitioner and the future black professoriate. Despite the minuscule number of African American architects practicing across the country at the inception of the HCU system,<sup>74</sup> they were determined to build a professional class of formally educated architects using the best avenue available, namely the architecture programs within their schools. As men of practice, they focused primarily on producing technically proficient practitioners and stressed mastery of fundamentals. Figure 220 They envisioned the black architect as someone fully grounded in all aspects of the profession; he had to be competent enough to go from concept to construction.<sup>75</sup> The importance of these men and their programs cannot be overstated.<sup>76</sup> Even though not all practitioners or educators of



**Figure 221**  
John Saunders Chase enrolling in the M.Arch. program at the University of Texas at Austin, June 1950. He became the first African American to attend and graduate from the architecture school.

color were products of HECUs during this period—Paul R. Williams, for example, a prolific and highly influential African American architect, attended the University of Southern California, while Clarence “Cap” Wigginton, the first municipal architect of color in the United States (for the city of St. Paul, Minnesota), did an apprenticeship in the office of the Nebraska architect Thomas R. Kimball<sup>77</sup>—for the overwhelming majority of aspirants, these programs were the doorway to the field for the next hundred years.<sup>78</sup>

#### African Americans in majority institutions

The civil disturbances of the 1950s and ‘60s—the frustrated responses to what the Kerner Commission famously described in 1968 as the nation’s creep toward “[t]wo societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal”<sup>79</sup>—left the country both shaken and chastened with respect to its treatment of people of color. National and international attention brought to light the lack of basic civil liberties possessed by African Americans, causing most people to acknowledge that the birthright of first-class citizenship promised to all citizens had been poorly and capriciously kept. This acknowledgment, embodied in the Great Society program under the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, resulted in a nationwide effort to address systemic inequities in

basic life opportunities and services, from health care, employment, housing, and transportation to education. Specifically in the area of education, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 established and funded new programs at the preschool, elementary, and secondary levels; many of them—like Head Start, school lunch programs, and federal funding for classrooms, libraries, and labs—are still in effect today. At the postsecondary level, various local and national efforts emerged and eventually coalesced, oftentimes peacefully, at other times under threat of legal, political, or civil action.

Together they had the effect not just of bolstering universities, community colleges, and the system of HECUs around the country, but of providing students of color with greater access, financial and otherwise, to majority institutions of higher education. Figure 221

The demand for greater access in the 1960s found especially sympathetic ears in the halls of Ivy League and other selective schools of architecture. These institutions soon began to admit a sizable number—relatively speaking—of students of color, and many African Americans benefited from their concerted recruitment efforts.<sup>80</sup> Doors at majority institutions also gradually opened for practitioners of color to teach.<sup>81</sup> Yet these initiatives caused considerable anxiety and controversy inside and outside architecture programs nationwide, and the vast majority of American programs did not alter their admissions or hiring in any significant way.

Of those African Americans who graduated in these years, most ended up going into private or public practice. A few, though, chose to become educators. Among them were E. Donald Van Purnell and John Delgado at Southern; Richard Dozier at Tuskegee and FAMU; Anthony Johns at Morgan State; and Harry Robinson at Howard. Meanwhile James Cheffers at the University of Michigan; Sharon Sutton at the University of Michigan and the University of Washington; Rubia Fellows at Arizona State; Julian White at Louisiana State; J. Max Bond and Gary McNeil at Columbia and City College of New York; Rodner Wright at Mississippi State; Brad Grant at the University of California at San Luis Obispo; and Josef Stag at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee established academic careers at majority institutions.<sup>82</sup> Figure 222 Another group, taking advantage of the academy’s efforts at inclusiveness, succeeded in continuing the legacy of the practitioner-educator: John Spencer, Hilward Robinson, and Melvin Mitchell at HECUs; Bond, Harry Simmons, Karl Thorne, Ray Huff, and Norma Shlake at majority institutions. Some also entered the ranks of top administrators: Dozier, Mitchell, Van Purnell, Robinson, Grant, Johns, and Lomie

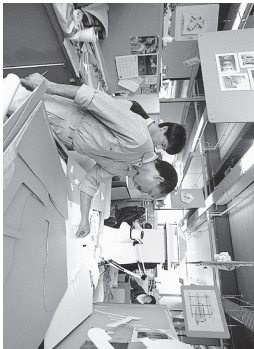


Figure 222  
James Charters in design studio at the University of Michigan, c. 1970–71

Wilkinson at Hecus, Bond and Wright at majority institutions. These trailblazers seized the long-overdue institutional opportunities afforded to them, laying the foundations for the broader menu of career choices that would be enjoyed by the next generation.

#### The situation today

The turn of the twenty-first century has seen African Americans slowly find their way onto faculties at majority architecture schools across the country, building on decades of hard-won efforts to overturn ill-informed notions of race, rights, and ability and on their predecessors' pioneering legacy.<sup>2</sup> What makes the current moment particularly noteworthy with respect to the new cadre of African American educators is the way they have broadened the heritage of the no-nonsense practitioner associated with the early HBCU programs. The members of the present generation are variously pursuing careers as administrators, theorists, and historians, and they are exploring emerging areas of visual media, cultural criticism, community and sustainable development, and computer modeling and digital technology. A comprehensive list of these educators is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>3</sup> Yet it is clear that they have been able to expand—and in many cases, obliterate—the formerly narrow perceptions of faculty of color, bringing rich and unprecedented sensibilities to their schools. Their work is providing unique insights into what it means to be an American, an architect, and an African American architect; and beyond this, into what it means to create an architecture that legibly reflects the complex experience of a nation still deeply conflicted about its racial past yet optimistic enough about its future to elect its first African American president in 2008.

#### Future prospects

We began by stating that the story of the African American architect is in many ways the story of the African American people. While this remains generally true, African Americans are still woefully underrepresented in academia, despite substantial gains elsewhere in American society. As Lee Mitgang, coauthor of the most recent major survey of architecture education, put it, "[t]he race record of architecture education is a continuing disgrace."<sup>4</sup> While the window of opportunity that has opened is real, it is unfortunately just that—an aperture facilitating the passage of only a small percentage of highly determined and gifted strivers. This is particularly clear when compared to the academy's greater record of success in addressing gender and age disparities. The small number of African Americans on architecture faculties today is indicative not of the pool of talent available but rather of the market and those who control it.

In the words of another recent analyst of architecture's record on racial diversity, some fifty years "after the dawn of the civil rights era, architecture remains among the less successful professions in diversifying its ranks—trailing, for example, such formerly male-dominated fields as business, computer science, accounting, law, pharmacology and medicine."<sup>5</sup> The statistics bear this out: according to 2007 numbers, less than 100 African Americans were teaching at over 110 majority architecture schools in the United States.<sup>6</sup> Although in sheer numbers there are more people of color on faculties than ever before, the total is still staggeringly low for a people who make up thirteen percent of the population.<sup>7</sup> To put an end to what Mitgang did not hesitate to label "apartheid" in architecture schools will take a much more concerted and active effort on the part of academic institutions, deans, chairs, directors, and faculties.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime, faculty of color will no doubt continue to do what they have always done: make a way out of no way.

Craig L. Wilkins

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Sime, "Architecture and the Black Community," *Towards the Development of a Relevant Architectural Education*, Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976, 33.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. D. Bos, excerpts from "The Black Architect in America," in *Black Architects: A History of the Profession in America*, ed. Robert R. Taylor, Jr., 1935, *The Crisis*, August 1933, 178.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Richard K. Doxer, "African American Architects in the Art Deco Era," *About*, May 25, no. 5 (May 1977), "The 1920 Census reported 195 black architects, draftsmen, designers and engineers, but by 1960, the number had increased to 230 ... a conservative estimate would be 35–45 African American architects practicing in 1921" (6).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> I write "he" in this case since at the time "she" was not part of the equation. In fact, the numbers of women of color in architecture have gradually improved over the generations.

<sup>7</sup> See Robert R. Taylor, "From 'To Be' to 'To Do': The Life of Robert Robinson Taylor," 1883–1942, *National Archives and Records Administration*, <http://librarians.archival/military/black-architects/>.

<sup>8</sup> On Robert Robinson Taylor, see Clarence G. Williams, "From 'To Be' to 'To Do': The Life of Robert Robinson Taylor," 1883–1942, *National Archives and Records Administration*, <http://librarians.archival/military/black-architects/>. As one of the pioneers in the education of African American architects and one of the largest architects' and engineers' associations in the United States, the National Association of Black Architects (NABA) would train a cadre of prominent practitioners as well as design and construct the majority of the buildings on the Tuskegee campus. This led Tuskegee trustee Robert R. Taylor to remark that the dearth of faculty of color: "Two examples of this effort were the Black and Latin Workshop (law) studio formed in the late 1970s at City College of New York and last year (1991), founded in 1988 and later to become the Black Workshop, in which the students selected and lived their mentors themselves and set their own educational agenda. It was from this workshop that the first African American architect emerged in academia. For more on this, see Doxer, "The Black Architect at Yale," *Design Quarterly* 82/85 (1970); Craig Wilkins, *The Aesthetics of Enquiry: Notes*

*Design Intelligence*, December 18, 2007. According to Albanian-born architect and author Shari Bialek, "Community Design Centers: An Alternative Practice," *The Stone Standards for Urban Design* (2003), 4:111–4:118, and Anthony Schuman's contribution to this volume, while most student-based efforts were not as aggressive or autonomous as the law effort, the latter are representative of "institutional" or "Black Power" sentiments that were held by African American communities inside and outside academia in the 1960s.

<sup>9</sup> See Donald Van Purnell, John Deagelo, Henry Robinson, Doxer, and Robert R. Taylor, Jr., *Black Architects and Their Education: A Demographic Study*, "Working Paper no. 1, Center for the Study of Architecture, Art & Planning, College of Architecture, University of Michigan," 2008. According to Mann and Grant, six of the top ten non-HBCU universities granting degrees to African American students in their disciplines were Ivy League or Ivy League affiliates. The top ten were: Columbia, 58; Harvard, 49; among "public Ivy League": University of California at Berkeley, 34; The University of Michigan, 34; The University of Wisconsin, 29; top ten were Georgia Tech, 59; Chapman (52); City College of New York, 59; and Pratt Institute, 60).

<sup>10</sup> In addition to faculties and administrative positions becoming more progressive about hiring students of color, the Black Workshop is an example of this effort: were the Black and Latin Workshop (law) studio formed in the late 1970s at City College of New York and last year (1991), founded in 1988 and later to become the Black Workshop, in which the students selected and lived their mentors themselves and set their own educational agenda. It was from this workshop that the first African American architect emerged in academia. For more on this, see Doxer, "The Black Architect at Yale," *Design Quarterly* 82/85 (1970); Craig Wilkins, *The Aesthetics of Enquiry: Notes*

on Race, Space, Architecture and American Architecture: Careers in the City of Minneapolis Press (2007); Shari Bialek, "Community Design Centers: An Alternative Practice," *The Stone Standards for Urban Design* (2003), 4:111–4:118, and Anthony Schuman's contribution to this volume. While most student-based efforts were not as aggressive or autonomous as the law effort, the latter are representative of "institutional" or "Black Power" sentiments that were held by African American communities inside and outside academia in the 1960s.

<sup>11</sup> E. Donald Van Purnell, John Deagelo, Henry Robinson, Doxer, and Robert R. Taylor, Jr., *Black Architects and Their Education: A Demographic Study*, "Working Paper no. 1, Center for the Study of Architecture, Art & Planning, College of Architecture, University of Michigan," 2008. According to Mann and Grant, six of the top ten non-HBCU universities granting degrees to African American students in their disciplines were Ivy League or Ivy League affiliates. The top ten were: Columbia, 58; Harvard, 49; among "public Ivy League": University of California at Berkeley, 34; The University of Michigan, 34; The University of Wisconsin, 29; top ten were Georgia Tech, 59; Chapman (52); City College of New York, 59; and Pratt Institute, 60).

<sup>12</sup> On the pioneer figures, see, in addition to the works cited above: Kerren Hunter, *Paul R. Williams, Architect: A Legacy of Style* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1997); *Structural Inquiry: Black Architects in the United States* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Melvin Mitchell, *The Crisis of the African-American in Architecture and Urban Planning* (Lincoln, Neb.: Wiles Club Press, 2001); David Vessier Taylor, *Cap Wiggins: An Architectural Legacy in Law and Stone* (St. Paul, MN: Historical Society Press, 2003); *Black Architects in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Dick Wilson and Wesley Henderson, eds., *African American Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2004); Carson Anderson, "The Architectural Practice of Wether Woodson Tandy: An Evaluation of the Professional and Social Mission of Black Architects, 1883–1942," in *Black Architects: A History of the Profession in America*, ed. Robert R. Taylor, Jr., 1935, *The Crisis*, August 1933, 178.

<sup>13</sup> An incomplete list of these at majority institutions would include: Robert R. Taylor, Jr., *Black Architects: A History of the Profession in America*, ed. Robert R. Taylor, Jr., 1935, *The Crisis*, August 1933, 178.

<sup>14</sup> Lee Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education: Four Decades of Change at the University of Michigan," *Architectural Record*, May 1972, 125.

<sup>15</sup> Kerren Hunter, "Paul R. Williams, Architect: A Legacy of Style" (New York: Princeton University Press, 1997); *Structural Inquiry: Black Architects in the United States* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Melvin Mitchell, *The Crisis of the African-American in Architecture and Urban Planning* (Lincoln, Neb.: Wiles Club Press, 2001); David Vessier Taylor, *Cap Wiggins: An Architectural Legacy in Law and Stone* (St. Paul, MN: Historical Society Press, 2003); *Black Architects in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Dick Wilson and Wesley Henderson, eds., *African American Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2004); Carson Anderson, "The Architectural Practice of Wether Woodson Tandy: An Evaluation of the Professional and Social Mission of Black Architects, 1883–1942," in *Black Architects: A History of the Profession in America*, ed. Robert R. Taylor, Jr., 1935, *The Crisis*, August 1933, 178.

<sup>16</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>17</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>18</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>19</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>20</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>21</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>22</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>23</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>24</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>25</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>26</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>27</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>28</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>29</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>30</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>31</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>32</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>33</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>34</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>35</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>36</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>37</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>38</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>39</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>40</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>41</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>42</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>43</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>44</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>45</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>46</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>47</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>48</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>49</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>50</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>51</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>52</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>53</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>54</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>55</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>56</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>57</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>58</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.

<sup>59</sup> Mitgang, "Sowing the Soul of Architecture Education," 125.

<sup>60</sup> *Statistical Data Report*, 2007. The number does not include HBCUs.