

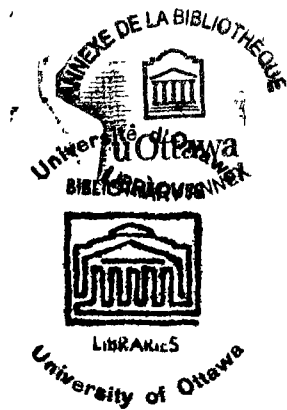
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THE NEGRO PROBLEM  
IN  
THE UNITED STATES

By

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## PREFACE

Practically every American town and city has its race conflicts. The degree of prejudice is somewhat proportional to the size and number of conflicting groups. No matter what the population of the town is it has its "Polack" section, "Guinea" section, "Nigger" section, etc. In many instances the struggle is carried on to preserve one select group from another, within a larger group. In New England towns the Yankees and Swamp Yankees are constantly battling the second and third generation children of immigrants. In the northern areas it is the French-Canadian, in the middle and southern the Irish, Italian, Polish and Negro. One will find the farther south he goes the greater is the discrimination against the Negro. In the smaller northern towns there are very few colored people and consequently the necessity for counteracting his influence is negligible. However, progress south will show an increasing number of Negroes and a gradual sense of discrimination. In New York, Chicago, Syracuse and other medium and large sized cities of the north and west, the Negro, although he is restricted to certain areas in which to live, is tolerated in everyday life. Below the state of Pennsylvania, out and out lines are drawn. Here is the land of lynching parties and "Jim Crow" laws.

To what extent is the Negro discriminated against in business, the armed forces, the schools and college and by the average man? How can this blot of injustice be expunged from the American way of life? These questions I have tried to answer in the pages to follow. However, no solution will function merely because it looks good on paper. It must become a part of a mal-functioning society or its value is completely lost.

The ideal of individual liberty is on trial today, and in some parts of the world people are fighting and giving their lives for this cause. These words may sound a bit dramatic but they are far from it. The truth is that there are a group of willful men who believe that the good of a community should be put above individual liberty. These men are fanatical in their beliefs, and will stop at nothing but a show of power superior to their own to realize their ideals. They stoop to deceit, lying, cheating and numerous other petty devices to undermine the dignity of the individual, and render him merely a beast of burden. True, the forces that believe in the dignity and equality of man have many black sheep within their ranks, and there are many others who scoff at the less fortunate members of their group. Thus the fight must continue in two phases: against the hypocrites from within and the fanatics from without. Democracy is on trial today, and I believe it will win as it has always in the past. Nevertheless the adherents cannot sit smugly back and rest on past laurels. There is, and always will be, improvements to be made

and the Negro problem is one that cannot be procrastinated. I believe that the best method of solving the problem is the democratic way in which every single individual takes a part. Thus the extremes of the totalitarian are avoided.

The greatest good to eliminate racial, social and religious discrimination is coming from the educational institutions of America. The most important remedy for the Negro problem is education and more education. Learning in the schools is good, but not enough. The people must be taught in the offices, mills, homes, churches, and wherever they can be reached. The job will be long and arduous, but if individual dignity is to survive it must be continually fought for.

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## THE NEGRO IN HISTORY

The towering mountains, sweltering plateaus, thick forests and sweeping deserts of the "Dark Continent" were being exploited by civilized man from the beginning of recorded history. The Egyptians of the early Dynasties are known to have sent expeditions to discover the sources of the Nile. These parties brought back with them not only stories of their experiences, but some of the material wealth of the land they were probing. In many instances captured Negroes were part of the booty.

The Greeks and Romans preferred white slaves rather than black. Thus the interest in the supply of savage labor in Africa remained dormant until the coming of Prince Henry of Portugal. The Mohammedan conquests, in a few instances, did, however, utilize the savages in their immediate vicinity.

The navigator Prince of Portugal was the first western ruler to introduce black slaves to the reawakening continent of Europe. He and his followers poked their way down the West coast of Africa bit by bit. At the time of Prince Henry's death in 1461 the men under his patronage had sailed as far as Sierra Leone.

The Papal Bull of 1493 gave the unexplored and undiscovered territories of the Eastern world to the Portugese

and of the Western world to the Spanish. Thus the race for new found land was on. Africa fell under the domain of Portugal, so naturally it was she who first developed the slave trade in that continent. Later England, The Netherlands, America and other progressive countries got their hands on this brutal business.

#### African Background.

More of the land mass called Africa lies within the torrid zone than any other continent on the earth. South America is a close second. The north and south extremities are quite arid and the middle zone is extremely humid. However, high mountains and plateaus in the northern part of the Sudan, the southern part of the Cattle Zone, the central section of West Victoria, and on the northeast coast make these area moderately temperate.

Harris divides the population of Africa into the following seven groups.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Semitic family along the north coast and in Abyssinia.
2. The Hamitic family, largely in Sahara, Egypt, Galla and Somali Land.
3. The Fulah and Nuba groups in the western, central and eastern Sudan areas.
4. The Negro systems, in western and central Sudan, Upper Guinea and the upper Nile regions.
5. The Batu family, everywhere south of about six degrees lat. except in the Hottentot domain.

1. Harris: "Africa, Slave or Free", p. 5.

6. The Hottentot group in the extreme southwestern corner of the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape.
7. The Malayo-Polynesian family, in Madagascar.

The native religion of Africa changes from one tribe to the next. It ranges from strict monotheism to loose emotional forms of polytheism. The following is a summary of the average religion of the native Negro: God, to them, is the maker and creator, but has gone off and left his people to the mercy of the good and evil spirits. Thus the supreme power is looked on as an absentee God who knows little and cares less about his subjects' daily lives. The idea of one Supreme Being is so engraved on their minds that the notion of atheism is completely foreign. (Some tribes believe in polytheism).<sup>2</sup>

There are three types of spirits: (1) Those that have not been created by God and exist along with but not equal to the Supreme Being, (2) Those that are created by God but play a small part in religion, (3) Those that are the souls of departed, whose numbers are infinite and whose powers are governed only by the human imagination.

Each person is believed to have a soul spirit and a body spirit. Thus the cause of unconsciousness is the fact that the soul spirit has left the body and only the body spirit remains in the subject. After the body spirit dies the soul spirit still has need of food. It is necessary to keep the grave well stocked. The soul spirit, however, has need of only the essence of the food. Some tribes believe in dream spirits. These have the ability

<sup>2</sup> Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P. 43-69

to wander about even while the subject is alive.

The subjugating of the African Negro was a gradual process. It evolved out of the customs of the native inhabitants, the local environment and the brutish greed of European civilization.

The first captives, in wars between the native tribes, were slain. Gradually, however, the notion that the eating of ones enemies enhanced the consumer with the power and abilities of the devoured, gradually crept into the mores of the land. This was the beginning of cannibalism, and it has been perpetuated to this day. The humidity and heat of the land made work rather irksome. Therefore, some of the war captives were put to work on these less desirable tasks. Furthermore, natives of little material wealth, would give or sell themselves to a well to do tribe. Criminals and debtors were also shackled to involuntary servitude.

The west coast of Africa had numerous conditions favorable to slavery. There were many small warring tribes, the soil and climate were excellent for agriculture, and as stated above, the humidity and heat made work irksome.<sup>3</sup> From the Sengal River, 17° N. Lat. to the Beguella River, 13° S. Lat., farming was carried on on a small scale. Because there was no outlet for excess production, the numerous slaves on hand could not be completely utilized. Such a situation gave rise to the exportation of the Negro.

<sup>3</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P. 72

### The Slave Trade.

Portugal was the first European nation of modern times to indulge in the African slave trade. In 1474 a group of merchant adventurers of Logas formed a company for this express purpose. Later that same year they brought to Logas one hundred and seventy five men, women and children. Prince Henry divided the booty, taking a few for himself.<sup>4</sup>

With the sanction of the Navigator Prince of Portugal the race for human flesh was begun. The slave influx increased rapidly and within a decade there were one thousand Negroes in Portugal. In an agreement made with Spain in 1502 the Portuguese landed four thousand slaves annually.

Naturally, with such rich returns being offered by the slave trade, Portugal would soon find herself with a few competitors. The curtain on the English venture into this field was pulled back by one Captain John Hawkins. His success, with Spanish hostility and the weather, was rather limited. "The Company of Royal Adventures of England Trading into Africa" followed in Hawkēn's unsuccessful footsteps. They took out a charter in 1663 and immediately put their enterprising ideas to work. In 1713 they, along with other English companies, agreed to send one hundred fourty four thousand slaves to the Spanish possessions in the New World, at thirty three and a half crowns a head.<sup>5</sup> The Dutch also had their little part in the slave trade.

<sup>4</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P. 75

<sup>5</sup>Ibid: P.76-77

By 1595 they had established ports on the Gold Coast and were sending many Koromantes, Ashantis and other Gold Coast Negroes to North and Central America.<sup>5</sup>

The principal tribes that served as the raw material in the African slave trade were the Sengalese, Mandingoes, Ibas, Efik, Iboni, Ibani, Koromantes, Wudyahs, and various groups of the Bantus from Kameroun, Gaboon, Loango and Angola. Most of the Negro slaves came from a narrow zone that made up the Gold Coast.<sup>6</sup> In some instances slaves were gotten from the Congo and other inland areas. The hardships incurred in marching the captives to the port, however, acted as a buffer toward such practices. Livingstone, while in the heart of Africa, came upon a recent slave catching scene and describes it as follows:<sup>7</sup>

"Wherever we took a walk human skeletons were seen in every direction, and it was painfully interesting to observe the different postures in which the poor wretches had breathed their last. A whole heap had been thrown down a slope behind a village, where the fugitives had often crossed the river from the East, and in one hut of the same village no fewer than twenty drums had been collected, probably the ferryman's fee. Many had ended their misery under shaded trees, others under projecting crags in the hills, while others lay in their huts with closed doors, which when opened disclosed the mouldering corpse with poor rags around the loins, the skull fallen off the pillow, the little skeleton of a child

<sup>5</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" Pp. 76-77

<sup>6</sup>Ibid: P. 78

<sup>7</sup>Blackie: "Life of Livingstone" P. 329

that had perished first, rolled up in a mat between two large skeletons..." The most successful method for obtaining slaves for export was to stimulate jungle kings with such articles as gems, powder, cutlasses, coral, silver, etc. In return the benefactor, with the help of his fellow tribesmen, would go out on sorties and return with captives from native tribes.

The trip to the west was one of terrible suffering for the Negro captives and even the hardened emotions of the coffle drivers were tried. Mungo Park, one of the earlier slavers, writes a most graphic description on the horrors of the slave coffle.<sup>8</sup>

"A deeply rooted idea that the whites purchase Negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or for selling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey toward the coast with great terror; inasmuch as the Saltees are forced to keep them in irons and watch them very closely to prevent their escape, they are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left leg of the other into the same pair of fitters. By supporting the fitters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks, with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night a light iron chain passed around their necks". The forced marches of these coffles sometimes covered twenty five miles in one day. Exhausted slaves were killed and left to the jungle and the beasts that prowled therein. Under such trying conditions it is quite possible to see why only one captive

<sup>8</sup>. Park: "Travels" Vol. 1, P. 484

in five made the coast.

If the conditions with the coffle did not eliminate the weaker Negroes the "Middle Passage" surely would. Out of every nine Negroes that were put aboard the slave ship at the Gold Coast, only one was taken off upon its arrival in the New World. The slaves were packed aboard the snips in cells three feet high. In some instances as many as two hundred and twenty six Negroes were stuffed into two hundred and eighty eight square feet, with little or no ventilation.

Britain, by far, was the largest trader in slaves. By 1753 Liverpool alone had eighty seven ships operating out of her s shore installations, and carrying some twenty five thousand slaves annually. Furthermore, during the year 1771 the number of slavers bound for this port was reported at one hundred and seven, with a capacity for twenty nine thousand, two hundred and fifty negroes.<sup>9</sup>

### Slavery in the United States

The conditions in America, after it had been well established as a settlement, were quite favorable to the use of slaves, in the southern part especially. The climate was good, there was much tillable land, and labor was scarce.

The first Negroes to be imported to what is now the United States came on a Dutch slaver. It discharged twenty Negroes on the Virginia coast in 1619.<sup>10</sup> As the decades passed more and more Negroes were sent to the American colonies. The profits in this trade were so large, companies found little trouble

<sup>9</sup> Phillips: "American Negro Slavery" P. 32

<sup>10</sup> Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P. 118

in obtaining capital to set themselves up in business. By 1776 the famous Yankee Schooners were carrying on their three cornered runs. Rum and manufactured goods were traded in Africa for a Negro cargo. The slaves were taken to the West Indies and the South and there exchanged for sugar, molasses, tobacco, cotton, etc. These raw goods were then sailed to the middle Atlantic states and New England, to be processed. The vicious circle was completed by the transport of the manufactured goods to the Gold Coast to be used in payment for Negro captives. This same style of trade was also followed by other European nations.

Rhode Island was by far the busiest colony as far as the slave trade was concerned. One hundred and three ships were built in the decade of 1698-1708. Not until 1774 was a law passed by the governing body of that colony restricting the slave trade enterprise. Pennsylvania, due to Quaker influence, passed an Act as early as 1712 restricting the importation of slaves and Indians altogether.<sup>11</sup> The attitude of the newly formed American Republic is clearly shown in Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence. "George III has waged cruel war against humanity itself, violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the person of distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. Thus piratical warfare, the approbrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King

<sup>11</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P.118

of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative of suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit, or restrain, this commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting these very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he had deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he obstructed them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another." <sup>12</sup>

The anti-slavery attitude gained momentum soon after the Revolutionary War. Massachusetts passed a law in 1780 prohibiting slavery. In 1788 the participation in the slave trade was forbidden altogether. Rhode Island prohibited slavery in 1774 and the slave trade in 1788. Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont followed suit immediately. New York began a gradual abolition in 1784. <sup>13</sup> However because of southern opposition the Congress of this period was unable to pass any law prohibiting slavery. After much argument the Congress of the United States succeeded in making an anti-slave trade bill law. Fear of insurrections due to incoming free Negroes from the West Indies, and a fear that further large importations of Negroes would drive the market price down, lessened southern resistance to the anti-slave trade bill. The enforcement of this anti-slave law was a slipshod thing. It was left up to the individual States

<sup>12</sup>.Mumford: "Virginia's Attitude Towards Slavery and Secession" Pp. 19-20

<sup>13</sup> Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" P. 125

and thus was administered irregularly. Furthermore, national administration was so vacillating that forty thousand were smuggled in between 1808 and 1820; and by 1837 this figure reached two hundred thousand annually.<sup>14</sup>

President Monroe, in 1823, tried to get a bill through the Congress. This bill was an agreement with England to stop and search all suspected slavers on the high seas. Congress amended and mauled it so much that the rulers of the British Empire refused to have anything to do with the revised law. Consequently, by 1850 at least half the illegal slave ships were flying the flag of the United States.

The southern part of the United States offers excellent conditions for the use of slaves. It can grow year round crops such as tobacco, sugar cane and cotton. These crops require wide stretches of land and large numbers of inexperienced laborers. Furthermore, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 made it possible for the southern farmer to increase his cotton production tenfold. Previously it was necessary to laboriously pick the seeds from the freshly harvested cotton boll. On the other hand conditions were utterly adverse for the use of slave labor in the north. The farms were small and required an experienced hand to make them produce. Furthermore, the crop was an annual affair, and during the winter months there was little use for laborers. Climatic and agricultural difference divided the country into two different type economies, and consequently into two conflicting moral camps.

<sup>14</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" Pp. 128-130

The admission of Missouri into the Union was the first problem to test the opposing powers. The Missouri Compromise, the first of a number leading up to the Civil War, settled the dispute tentatively. It was agreed "that in all the territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36°30' north latitude, not included within the limits of the states contemplated by this act...slavery shall be and is hereby and forever prohibited."<sup>15</sup> Clay's Compromise of January 29, 1850 delayed the war for a precious few more years. California was admitted to the Union as a free state, the status of the rest of the Mexican Secession was left to the ultimate choice of the future settlers, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, and it was agreed that there would be no interference by the National government with the local practices of the Slave States.<sup>16</sup> The most important part of this bill, and probably the most irritating as far as the North was concerned, was the Fugitive Slave Law. Previously the power to return runaway slaves rested in the state governments; consequently while the southern states were quite strict in this matter, the states above the Mason-Dixon Line, in many instances, showed a large amount of laxity. This law put the power of returning captured runaway Negroes in the lap of the government in Washington.<sup>17</sup> The Missouri Compromise was repealed four years later by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. This latter bit of legislation stated that all territories north of the 36°30' north parallel would have the right

<sup>15</sup>Wilson: "Division and Reunion" Pp. 131-133

<sup>16</sup>Ibid: P. 134

<sup>17</sup>Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" Pp. 135-136

to decide their own status, whether free or slave, It also extended the Fugitive Slave Law to the western territories. The passage of this bill was a legislative victory for the South and completely stunned the North.<sup>18</sup> Three years hence, while the North was still licking the wounds inflicted by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, The Supreme Court dealt it another setback in the form of the Dread Scott Decision. This ruling clarified the Fugitive Slave Law. It maintained that the Negro slave was to be considered as private property and must be honored likewise. Thus if a master should bring a colored slave into free territory the status of the colored man would not be changed. Furthermore, all Negroes "on the loose" in free or slave territory were to be considered as lost property and handled as such.<sup>18</sup> Despite the defeats the northern anti-slave men incurred in the Senate and House of Representatives, the election of President Lincoln more than evened the score. For the South this was the final and deciding blow. To them the Republican Party was the symbol of the destruction of the slave system. Soon after the Northern election victory of 1860 South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana withdrew from the Union. The remaining slave states soon followed suit.<sup>19</sup>

Needless to say, from a military standpoint, "The War to Free the Slaves" was a success. The North's reconstruction of the defeated South fell far short of the mark. Many intelligent and responsible southern men were refused the power to vote or hold office. Consequently unscrupulous adventurers filled the vacuum

<sup>18</sup>.Weatherford: "The Negro from Africa to America" Pp.135

<sup>19</sup>.Ibid: Pp. 136-7

and led the newly freed but dazed Negro. Some of these "Carpet Beggars" were well meaning but the majority had but one aim, get all they could and with any means at their disposal. The southern White man, beaten to desperation, countered with an anti-Negro and anti-everything else - the organization called the Ku Klux Klan.

After the Civil War many acts of State and Federal legislators freed the Negro. National reconstruction of this period was supposed to put the emancipated Negro on his feet and make him a responsible citizen. However, as happens in most wars, the people soon forgot the injustices they had fought to rectify. The northern business men returned to the factories, the mid-western farmers went back to the fields, and the politicians in Washington returned to their political squabbling. Within a decade no one but the southerner was immediately interested in the Negro problems of the south.

The emancipation of the Negro, plantation slaves freed for the first time the white farmers and the poor whites. They entered the cotton growing system and took over the lands of the now impracticable plantations. Some of them migrated to Texas, Oklahoma and the less fertile sections of Georgia.<sup>19a</sup> These poor whites and white farmers soon became an important element in the southern population. They rallied under the leadership of violent spokesmen who stressed a racial policy of white supremacy. Fear of competition from cheaper Negro agriculture labor spurred the white farmer on. Judge Benjamin Tilliman of Quit-

<sup>19a</sup> Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization", P.12

man, Georgia, summed up their philosophy that stands as a written symbol of that era:<sup>19b</sup>

"The Negro bears about him a birthright of inferiority that is as unalterable as eternity. He who in the morning of creation, set the shifting sands as a barrier to the mad wolves of the mighty deep...has also set his seal upon the Negro forever in his black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, flat nose, double layer of skull, different anatomy as well as analogy from the white man. His stupid intellect has fulfilled the prophecy, uttered thousands of years ago, but no less true today, 'a servant of servants shalt thou be!'"

From 1881 to 1907 every southern state enacted laws separating the races on railroad cars, trolley cars and in the schools. These laws excluded the Negro from jury service and the voting poles. The poor whites became politicians and thus controlled the official actions of the various southern states. They worked by evading the Amendments to the National Constitution, intimidating, circumventing procedure and moving towards the codeification of their common law.<sup>19b</sup> All legislation that was enacted had the express purpose of securing for the poor white an economic advantage that the old system had denied them. As a repercussion six hundred Negroes migrated enmasse under "Pap" Singleton to Kansas in 1879 in order to escape the servitude this new order imposed on them, and a decade later thirty five thousand went to Arkansas.<sup>19c</sup> Cotton being a slow and difficult crop to grow, needed both money and exper-

<sup>19b</sup>. Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization", P.12

<sup>19c</sup>. Ibid: P.14

ience. To add to these difficulties the boll weevil cut severely into the cotton yield. Thus only the wealthy could possibly maintain a farm and develop new land. This requirement excluded practically all the Negroes. The colored man began to tramp about the south seeking a vent, and gradually he surged southward and westward. The old plantation lands gradually lost a large number of their Negro tillers. With the coming of World War I he moved into the industrial centers of the north. Within a decade more than one million had migrated into the northern cities. This brought on new economic and social complications and with a similar situation existing because of World War II the melting pot of racial assimilation is about ready to boil over.

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY.

While the head of the average middle class American White family is worrying about the possibility of getting a new car during the coming year, or if he will be able to send his oldest son to college next September, the anxieties of the average Negro father are more fundamental. He worries about his ability to hold his job, feed his family properly on his meagre salary, and keep his children away from the undesirable spots in the neighborhood where he lives.

The lot of the Negro is not a pleasant one. Although the Fourteenth Amendment freed him from involuntary servitude, his White brother never seems to rid himself of certain malformed ideals. Because the Negro's skin contains an excess of pigment, he is forced to shoulder most of the undesirable burdens of modern industry. In the shipyards he sprays the hulls with a poisonous lead compound. In the defense factories he takes care of the toilets or does the less desirable back breaking chores. Only during periods when needs are pressing is he elevated by his White overlord.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 1,400,000 additional workers would be needed between April 1941 and April 1942, for expanding American industry. Because of the national

emergency shipbuilding would need 323,900 more men, aircraft 408,000, ordnance and machine tools 29,000, and other defense plants 384,000.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, millions of men were being drafted into the military services of the Nation, to aggravate the situation. Despite the appalling need for skilled and non-skilled workers, the Negroes, who make up one tenth of the country's population, were continually refused employment by industry. Ninety seven per cent of the metal trades in New York would not hire colored workers,<sup>21</sup> and the Tampa Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which is located in the heart of the colored belt, was unable to use Negro help because of contract commitments with a local union.

In May 1941, six prominent men including Governor Lehman of New York, Lieut. Governor Charles Poletti, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Mr. Lessing Rosenwald and Father Ryan drew up a statement for industrialists which they professed to defend: "Concern for democracy in Europe lacks reality and sincerity if our slurs and politics disregard the rights of minorities in our own country." Despite the efforts of many able and sincere leaders faulty tradition still remained a buffer to progress. Not until late in 1941 would the Newport News Shipbuilding Company, one of the largest on the Atlantic Coast, allow jobs to skilled and semi-skilled Negro workers; and then only because the Virginia State Employment Office and the United States Housing Administration intervened.

It was obviously necessary that the National government

<sup>20</sup>.Office of Production Management, Labor Division P.M. 729 Release  
July 15, 1941

<sup>21</sup>."P.M." May 7, 1941.

would be forced to take official steps to alleviate the pressing need for labor, whose ranks were being continually depleted due to conscription. In the summer of 1940 the Office of Education issued a statement in an attempt to eliminate discrimination and increase production. "In the expenditure of federal funds for vocational training for defense there should be no discrimination on account of race, color or creed."<sup>22</sup> Most of the schools and corporations complied in various degrees with the dictates of the United States Office of Education, in fear that their appropriations from the Federal Government would be cut off. In October of the same year the United States Office of Education kept its anti-discrimination program in high gear by following up its August statement with the following: "No trainee under the foregoing appropriation should be discriminated against because of sex, race or color; and where separate schools are required by law for separate population groups, to the extent needed for trainees of such groups, equitable provision should be made for facilities and training of like quality."<sup>23</sup> Later that year, to halt a threatened march on Washington by thousands of colored workers, President Roosevelt issued an executive order which specified that special measures should be taken to make sure that no discrimination was made in the administration of training programs because of race, creed or color or national origin, and no contractor thereafter could discriminate because of race, creed, color or national origin.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, he established within the Office of Production Management the Committee on Fair Employment

<sup>22</sup>.Supplementary Statement to Misc. 2400,N.D.1,U.S.Office of Education,August 15,1940.

<sup>23</sup>.H.R.10539,First Supplemental Civil Function Act,1941.

<sup>24</sup>.Johnson: "Patterns of Negro Segregation" Pp.110-111

Practice, whose duty it was to investigate complaints on the violation of the above order. This Committee contained two Negro and three White members.

The Spokesmen for the Catholics of America advised the Catholic population to give the President of the United States their full support in his undertaking. Several articles by Catholic writers were published with the express view of adding impetus to the President's drive against race prejudice. The following is an example taken from "The Inter-Racial Review" of March, 1941.<sup>25</sup> "The present emergency demands an immediate reform. The age old pattern of anti-Negro prejudice must not become a part of our National defense program. To allow this would be a grave injustice to loyal Americans. It would endanger national unity. It would seriously impair the international influence and prestige of American democracy. Democracy must function democratically."

The C. I. O. and A. F. of L. also pitched in. Sidney Hillman reported that because of field operations from his office 2,500 carpenters were employed in military camps at wages from eight to twelve dollars a day. Furthermore, thousands of colored plasterers, brick masons, cement finishers, painters, plumbers and many more non-skilled laborers had been employed in the construction program, although for only a limited period.<sup>26</sup>

Despite all these efforts, tradition still held the whip hand. Some of the barriers were let down but expediency was generally the rule whenever trouble, because of white dominance, was encountered.

<sup>25</sup>."Interacial Review", March 1941, P.36

<sup>26</sup>.Office of Production Management, Labor Division, P.M.797  
Release July 39, 1941, Pp. 3-4

The supply of Negro manpower is adequate only the demand for it is lacking. According to statistics presented by the Negro Urban League, from the census of 1940, 12,000 Negro brick masons, 33,000 Negro carpenters, 2,000 Negro electricians, 8,000 Negro machinists, 22,000 Negro mechanics, 19,000 Negro painters, 4,000 Negro chemical workers, 25,000 Negro iron and steel workers, 63 architects, 351 technical engineers, 25,000 Negro clerks, were immediately available.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the number of Negroes with superior qualifications was rapidly on the increase. In 1941 4,800 received degrees in engineering, chemistry, miscellaneous sciences and liberal arts, and more than 56,000 Negroes completed trades, industrial, professional and clerical courses. In addition, 56,000 registered for defense training courses.<sup>28</sup>

In 1930 3,662,893 Negro males were gainfully employed. There were 1,492,555 in agriculture, 123,898 in general labor, 109,586 being employed as servants, 108,241 working as chauffeurs, truck and tractor workers, 93,714 as porters (except in stores) and 72,382 as janitors and sextons.<sup>29</sup> Because of an increasing demand for more skilled workers during the intervening years these figures have been greatly altered. More and more Negro males are gravitating to the shipbuilding, metal, aircraft, building constructions and other trades that World War II necessitated. The following is a table abstracted from "The Negro Handbook of 1942". The figures, though limited, give an indication of the shift of the Negro worker from the unskilled tasks to skilled and semi-skilled positions. They are based

<sup>27</sup>. Special Research Report No.1, "The Negro Worker, American Management Association." P.4

<sup>28</sup>. Ibid: P.5

<sup>29</sup>. Ibid: P.6

on placements by public employment offices in ten major defense industries during the period of October 1940-March 1941.<sup>30</sup>

	Total of Place- ments, White and non-White	No. of Non-White# male placements.	Percentage Non-White placements to total placements
Ship and boat building and re- pairing	10,674	1,500	14.1
Industrial chemicals	10,322	1,218	11.8
Iron, steel and their products	30,103	1,472	4.9
Machinery, except electrical	29,674	624	2.1
Automobiles and automobile equip- ment	10,889	272	2.5
Petroleum refining	4,998	482	9.6
Non-ferrous metals not elsewhere class- ified	5,982	112	1.9
Railroad equipment	2,795	100	3.5
Miscellaneous chem- ical products	1,665	89	5.3
Aircraft and Parts	27,651	68	.2

#Almost all non-white placements are Negro.

Despite this desirable, though limited trend, as late as June 1942 the Bureau of Employment Security maintained that "Over 500,000 Negroes who should be utilized for war production are now idle because of discriminating hiring practices of war industries."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>.Abstract from table in "The Negro Hand Book". 1942, P.88  
<sup>31</sup>.The Labor Market, Bureau of Employment Security, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D, C. June 1942, P.9

The traditional prejudice against the Negro in the United States is not leveled at the male alone. The colored female runs into discrimination which is just as harsh. In the past, whenever she applied for work she found the field limited to such jobs as maid, cook, laundress or agriculturist. At present, because of abnormal conditions, she is breaking into the industrial world. In many instances such positions as laboratory technician, nurse, stenographer or personnel worker are being offered her. In many industries one will find her operating a milling machine or lathe, or she might be making radio parts or parts for precision instruments.

The census of 1930 revealed 1,840,642 Negro women were gainfully employed, 727,342 as servants, 495,284 as agriculturists, 47,546 as laundry operatives, 14,976 as cigar and tobacco workers, 12,816 as hairdressers and manicurists, and smaller numbers as elevator tenders, general laborers, janitresses, cleaning, dyeing and pressing shop workers.<sup>32</sup> Her opportunities during the last decade have shown some increase. In 1942 the War Manpower Commission announced that sixty four large sized defense production plants in eighteen states were employing Negro women on skilled and semi-skilled operations. These companies included aircraft factories, ship yards, ordnance plants and other defense industries.

Both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have been endeavoring to eliminate inequality due to race indiscrimination in the ranks of labor. The two Unions are members of the Fair Employment Committee. The C. I. O. at a convention in Boston in 1942

<sup>32</sup>. "The Negro Worker", Special Report No. 1, American Management Association. Pp. 7-8

reaffirmed its stand on discrimination against Negroes. A text of the Resolution:<sup>33</sup>

Whereas, discrimination against workers because of race, religion or country of origin is an evil characteristic of our Fascist enemies,, we of the democracies are fighting Fascism at home and abroad by welding all races, all religions and all peoples into a united body of warriors for democracy.

Any discriminatory practices within our own ranks against Negroes or other groups, directly aids the enemy by creating division, dissension and confusion. Such discrimination practiced in employment policies hampers production by depriving the nation of the use of available skills and manpower.

Therefore, Be it resolved that the C. I. O. now reiterates its firm opposition to any form of racial discrimination, and renews its pledge as a wartime duty, to carry on the fight for protection in law and in fact of the rights of every racial and religious group to participate fully in our social, political and industrial life.

A west coast delegate maintained that this resolution was not merely wishful thinking. He cited several definite examples maintaining that one Los Angeles airplant plant had 1,000 Negroes on the production line. Furthermore, 15,000 colored men had been admitted to the Union he represented at the conclusion of a recent drive.

<sup>33</sup>."The Negro Worker" Special Research Report No. 1, American Management Association. P. 14

In a progress report of the National Urban League the following account concerning the modification of restrictions against Negro workers by many trade unions appeared.<sup>34</sup>

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) have worked out a plan in several cities for upgrading the jobs of Negro union members and increasing Negro employment in war plants where the union has influence;....the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFOFL) in New York City has cooperated with the Regional Labor Supply Committee in placing Negro workers in war jobs; the United Automobile Workers (CIO) has taken prompt disciplinary action against White union members who oppose the employment of skilled Negro workers; following an order of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the International Association of Machinists, which has <sup>barred</sup> Negroes from membership in almost everyone of its locals, adjusted the Union's closed shop agreement with the Consolidated Aircraft plant in San Diego, California, and approved the employment of qualified Negro machinists in Cleveland, Ohio, the local union of the same international had admitted several Negroes to employment on closed shop jobs and union membership as well.

The question has often come up as to whether the Negro has the intelligence to carry on a White man's job. Qualified laymen have answered this question in both the affirmative and the negative. However, a reasonable conclusion cannot be based on such subjective data. One must remember that individual experiences gives one specific samples of the Negro

<sup>34</sup>. July, 1942. P.4

class. Thus, in any case, only spot conclusions about separate personalities can be made. Rather is it possible to evaluate the Negro's intellectual capacity by standard intelligence tests. Environmental factors, social hindrances and cultural opportunities must be considered. One researcher who has studied and compared the comparative performances of Negroes and Whites on batteries of intelligence tests over several decades made the following conclusions:<sup>35</sup>

- (a)"Our findings together with other data furnish definite evidence that Negroes differ among themselves as individuals considerably more than they differ from Whites as a group.
- (b)"Negro youth of the higher social levels achieve, on the average, higher intelligence scores than do those of the lower social levels when these levels are...expressed as occupations of fathers, education attainments of parents and communities in which they live.
- (c)"The evidence presented in the present body, and other relevant data, led to the conclusion that reported Negro-White difference in intelligence test performance is due in all probability to the Negro's position in the American social system."

An important factor to an employer is the ability of the Negro to produce at levels set by White standards. The earning capacity of any manufacturing concern is directly linked with the output per individual employee. Therefore, if the Negro lags in this capacity, obviously to meet White competition

<sup>35</sup>.Candy: "The American Caste System and the Question of Negro Intelligence".  
The Journal of Educational Psychology, March, 1942. P.170

he would have to get less hourly wages. Before one concludes that the colored man is a poor producer let him first review the facts. One writer cites a study made by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, which was made some years ago. Of one hundred and three firms reporting on the comparative efficiency of Negroes and Whites, the following distribution was revealed.<sup>36</sup>

Rating	No. of Firms	No. of Negroes Employed
More Efficient	11	5,102
Equally Efficient	68	12,631
Less Efficient	24	2,729

From the above figures we may conclude that there is some difference of opinion on this subject. The results do, to some extent, follow the curve of probable distribution, however. The heads of most of the firms concluded that the Negro worker is just as an efficient producer as his White brother. A few managers decided that their Negro help is superior to the White, and a slightly larger number put their white employees above the Negro. In a study by the National Industrial Conference Board back in 1940, the following results were reached.<sup>37</sup> Of one hundred and two reporting companies five rated Negro productivity higher than White, eighty five equal to White, and twelve less than White. Except for a greater amount of bunching in the middle these latter figures lead one to the same conclusion as the former.

A sore point in the hiring of Negroes by management is the amount of segregation necessary. The attitude of many

<sup>36</sup>.Feldman: "Racial Factors" in American Industry". P.97

<sup>37</sup>.O'Connor: "The Use of Colored Persons in Skilled Occupations". P. 158

managers toward the Negro question, taken from a personal viewpoint, is quite sympathetic, but in the business world where competition is keen and the slightest change in the dynamic activity of a going concern can put it into the red, the leaders of industry are slow to make radical changes on the spur of the moment, and especially where labor is concerned.

The lavatory and cafeteria are the first places of conflict whenever the black and white man is amalgamated. In the northern part of the United States some feeling is present, but both classes manage to utilize the same facilities. However, below the Mason-Dixon Line the Negro has his own wash room and restaurant. Whether this is morally right or wrong is not the question. The average Southerner has his own convictions, and it will take many years of patient educating to change them. To force him to put aside certain "Jim Crow" laws is inviting complete hostility to any attempts toward reform.

So far most all attempts to eliminate the color line has come from the top. The two largest American labor unions have encouraged their White members to be open minded towards the colored worker, and have made discrimination laws; the Government of the United States has endeavored to give the Negro an equal chance. However, the power of the American unions and the United States Government rests with their individual members and citizens. If any progress is to be made it must start from the bottom.

When the employer is taking on Negro help he must

realize the above fact. Hasty action on his part may cause an explosive situation. The Negro must be sold to the American worker in a single, honest and sincere manner. How may this be done? The union is an excellent organ for achieving this task. Several prominent colored residents of the district concerned could be invited to speak at union meetings, union publications could run articles concerning the plight of the colored worker, and lastly and most important, Negroes could be admitted, with ability the only basis of discrimination.

In non-union concerns the problem of using Negro labor is slightly more complicated. Here management would be responsible for the project. The foreman should be instructed to put the workers in the correct frame of mind. Naturally this plan might not be realized, simply because the foreman himself might not be in the right frame of mind. However, to expect tolerance one must be tolerant.

Any Negro indoctrination plan to be successful will take much time and effort. A mere stab in the dark by the willing executive is simply not enough. His progress must be slow and gradual. Whenever opposition is encountered tact must be used. He must remember that he is trying to eliminate ideas that have been imbedded in the minds of his workers from childhood. These cannot be handled in the same manner as workers' grievances, which, although they are always present, change from day to day. Now the manager is dealing with grievances that are part of man's mental pat-

tern towards society. It took centuries to put it in there and unless a correct line of attack is followed it might take centuries to eliminate it.

The employer must remember that the Negro race follows the same pattern as any chance grouping of people. A large majority of the Negroes are only average, but there are some exceptionally good and some exceptionally bad ones. The first colored workers that are hired by any business concern should come from the superior members of this class. There are many excellent local and national organizations that would be of great help at this point. The National Urban League is one example. After these Negroes are hired they should be dispersed throughout the plant. To make them work together would automatically discriminate against them and thereby defeat the purpose of the plan.

One must remember that man, as an individual, is altruistic towards others. Only when he sees his security or the security of his group threatened does he become selfish and brutal. By placing the right Negro in the right place his fellow White workers will come to know and respect him within a few months. Sooner or later, if this White worker has any intelligence at all, he will realize that his prejudices are the result of ignorance of the facts. Now is the time to hire the average Negro worker. Always be careful to have the Personnel Department weed out the undesirable. One rotten apple will spoil the whole barrel. No poor worker is any good, white or colored, to any firm in any way.

At this point some of the White workers will probably start to grumble. They will say that all the "niggers" are taking over the jobs of the White man. This is a problem that requires much caution in solving. This attitude should not be allowed to spread. The manager should combat it with every means at his disposal, taking care, however, not to cause a feeling among the workers that they are being forced to do something against their will. A campaign might be organized using sympathetic White workers to counteract the misgivings of the malcontents. Reason must be the keyword of this drive. The calm and reasonable man will reign victorious over the emotional outbursts of the fool. Violence or even threats of violence should be avoided. When the confidence of the White worker has been attained, victory is at hand. Always remember, though, any new movement to be successful, must begin at the bottom. The common man will always be heard and pass the final judgment.

## THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES

The attitudes of the Military Services of the United States is merely a reflection of civilian customs. The ultimate goal of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard is to fight with the maximum of efficiency. Their organizational set up, boot training of personnel, battle maneuvers and drill, and treatment of service men and women have this end point in view. Therefore it is obvious that the Military Services are not the place, according to the majority of high-ranking officers, to carry on campaigns against irregularities which exist in civilian life. One can hardly sympathize with the Military leaders on this point. However, the moral of the troops is just as important to an efficient fighting force, as is expedient efficiency. Regardless of how efficient a fighting force may be, if the personal factors of the fighting men are not taken into consideration, the whole setup might break down under battle conditions, like the dropping of a delicate watch on a concrete pavement.

The United States Army was made up of millions of men with divergent personalities. As many as ten states were sometimes represented in one platoon. In order to weld such a perplexity of individuals into a harmonious fighting force, a consideration of individual mental traits had to be taken into

account. Thus, so as not to cause friction with the southern element, the Army is organized on the pattern of the segregation of Negroes. As a rule they are accommodated with separate barracks, mess halls, service clubs, churches and movie theatres. Naturally this is strange and sometimes provoking to the northern Negro who is not used to such strict separation. Of course the southern Negro takes it in his stride. He is used to being bossed around by the White folks.

Even though there is a segregation in the United States Army, the Negro quarters, in most cases, are just as adequate as the White. However, when the Negro soldier leaves his camp, if it is located below the Mason-Dixon Line, he runs into "Jim Crow" laws. As he steps outside the Post gate he is confronted with crowded busses headed for town. Naturally he will not be able to get a ride until all the prospective White passengers are satisfied, and this entails several hours of impatient waiting. These discriminatory practices were not only leveled at the colored soldier, but were also felt by his family and friends on their visits. During the war years transportation was hard to obtain. Furthermore, the lucky ones encountered many inconveniences enroute. Toilet facilities for the Negro travelers were inadequate, and in some instances nonexistent. Because they are not given access to the dining car on the southern railroads, they had to be satisfied with a sandwich washed down with a glass of milk or soda at their seats in the day coach.

.The geographical placement of colored personnel by

the Army had many social repercussions. While the southern Negro in the North was quite content to live in a land of relaxed restrictions, the case was reversed with the northern Negro in the south. Unaccustomed to discrimination, southern style, his first few months of indoctrination were rather troublesome. After several beatings he found it more practical to fall in line.

The case of the southern colored soldier in the North has more lasting significance. No longer is he satisfied with the White man's justice. He now realizes that he too has a right to equality. Northern bred officers find it difficult to understand and handle the enlisted Negro from the South. He does not realize that the colored man of the South may be arrested for things that are quite incidental, and thus obtain, through no fault of his own, a criminal record. Furthermore, badly equipped schools and poorly paid Negro teachers work a hardship on the education of the southern Negro. Many times the northern officer talks over the head of these people without realizing it.

The Negro is a family man and he carries this trait with him when he is inducted into the Army. He sends a good portion of his monthly pay check home, especially if he comes from below the Mason-Dixon Line. Before coming into the Army the colored man of the South had a few rags which served as clothing, and pork and corn bread made up a good part of his diet. In the Army he was given two or three uniforms, two pairs of shoes, three well balanced meals a day, and numerous

little everyday necessities. Included with this was his monthly salary of fifty dollars or more. Because he had almost everything he could hope for he thought it only proper to send something back home to help his folks enjoy a slightly better living.<sup>38</sup>

The Army Officers Candidate Schools offer an excellent example of the manner in which the races live without benefit of segregation. Here the Negro and White students work, study, eat, have military training and billet together. The following is an account of an authoress who visited these schools.<sup>39</sup>

"At Camp Hood some of the faculty of the Officers' Candidates' School told me that in a recent class a Negro had been voted by his classmates as the most popular man in his class. At Fort Riley the faculty of the Officers' Candidates' School felt that the Negro All-American football player, Jack Robinson, had been better liked than any other Candidate in the school.

"In the drills the Candidates are Company Commanders in turn, so frequently a Negro commands the White Candidates, as I saw in a parade at Camp Hood"

The southern White boys of these Candidates' Schools treated their Negro fellow students amazingly well. Their ambition to become officers was probably the reason for this attitude, but it does show that it is possible to make even the

<sup>38</sup>.Wilson:"Jim Crow Joins Up." P.23

<sup>39</sup>.Ibid: P.27

most die hard white supremacy advocates treat the Negro with equality. "There are two southern boys in my hut," said a Negro candidate at Fort Monmouth. "I thought I had better keep away from them but they always treat me as well as can be".<sup>40</sup>

Toward the end of the war the Army had a Signal Corps school of mixed personnel at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, a Cook and Bakers' School at Fort Jay, New York, and several others.

The enlisted Negro from the South is rather confused at taking orders from colored officers. He doesn't know just what to make of it. All his life the white man had been telling him what to do; hardly ever did one of his colored brothers rise to lead him. Furthermore, the Negro soldier believed that the white officers could get things for him when the colored officer could not. When interviewed, many Negro soldiers maintained that they preferred white officers to colored. The authenticity of these statements is somewhat doubtful, however. Fear of reprisal or an attempt to win favor is generally the reason for such responses. Situations like these tend to make the lot of the colored Army officers difficult.

The United States Navy has always been notorious in its handling of Negro personnel. Despite this the colored man has played a prominent part in naval history. Seamen during the Revolutionary War, the war of 1812, and the Mexican War made up ten per cent of its fighting strength. During World War I Navy enlistments numbered 435,938. 5,328 of this number were Negroes.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.29

<sup>41</sup>.Ibid: P.46

Previous to World War II the only rating open to the Negro sailor was mess attendant. In 1922 when the Naval Disarmament Agreement went into effect the Navy stopped recruiting Negroes. Phillipinoes were used instead. When the Phillipine Islands approached independence in 1932 the top ranking brass in the Navy realized that the source of supply for mess boys would be cut off and they began again to recruit Negroes.<sup>42</sup>

In 1942 the Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, announced that Negroes would be recruited as apprentice seamen and would not be allowed to receive commissions. The Negro Press, The National Urban League, The Presidents of Negro Colleges, and many northern newspapers protested this Act.<sup>43</sup>

The first separate Negro camp was set up as a part of of the Great Lake Naval Training Station. It was called Camp Robert Smalls, after a Negro naval hero of the Civil War. It was hoped that forty five per cent of the recruits trained here would be able to go to further technical and advanced training, and the remaining fifty five per cent would be sent on general detail. However, it was found that upon completion of their indoctrination courses, only twenty five per cent of the graduates were capable of further training. The causes for this situation were numerous. The morale among the boots was low. The Negro civilians gave their sailor counterpart the cold shoulder and went so far as to call them "nigger sailors". In Waukegan and Lake Forest, towns nearest the training station,

<sup>42</sup>.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.46

<sup>43</sup> Ibid: P.47

The Negro churches refused to help them with U. S. O.'s. The situation at St. Julia's Creek, Virginia, where some Negro sailors were sent on detail, was similar.<sup>44</sup>

The Navy Department decided to break a great tradition on February 23, 1944, and allow 22 Negro commissions, 12 from the ranks and 10 from qualified applicants in civilian life. This was merely a token gesture, there being more than 30,000 commissioned officers at that time.<sup>45</sup>

Poor opportunity for Negroes with superior ability is the main reason the Navy is only able to lure the inferior colored applicants. Whether he is a skilled lawyer or a common laborer, the Negro rate in the Navy is Mess Attendant. On one or two occasions during my two years in this branch of the service, I saw a Negro Quartermaster or Yeoman.

In the Navy, unlike the Army, the men are cramped in close quarters aboard ships. Furthermore, men from all over the country bunk toe to toe. In such a situation there is no room for personal dislikes. This makes an exceptionally difficult in the placing of the Negro bluejackets. On the larger cruisers, aircraft carriers and battleships, they are allotted separate compartments. They use their own toilet facilities and because they are all mess boys, they eat in the galley before they serve the officers. On the smaller destroyers, mine sweepers and their like, separation is generally impossible. The Negro mess attendant sleeps in the same compartment as his White

<sup>44</sup> Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.29

<sup>45</sup> Ibid: P.52

shipmate and there is no friction. Therefore I maintain that necessity will break down any color blindness.

At the draft board the Negro got his first taste of military discrimination. Connecticut was the only state with a large Negro population that drafted its population without regard to color. Most of the other states of the Union maintained separate White and Colored quotas.

Although the Army was asking for 50,000 volunteer nurses in 1944, it accepted only 219 qualified Negroes. On July 13th of the same year it realized its mistake and made the statement that in the future nurses would be accepted without regard to race or color. Furthermore, a basic training center was established at Fort Huachuca.<sup>46</sup>

No colored women were accepted in the Waves, Spars, Wasps or the Women's Auxiliary of the Marine Corps during the first part of the war. In a reply to protests Navy Secretary Knox gave in, and during the summer of 1943 issued a plan for the accepting of these women in the auxiliary branches under his jurisdiction. On October 19, 1944 the colored women were allowed to join the Waves for unsegregated training for both officer and enlisted women.<sup>47</sup>

The policy of the Army Air Force was one of the most serious points of racial discrimination during the war. The Negro Judge, William Hastie, Dean of the Law School of Howard University, and Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, resigned

<sup>46</sup>.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.91

<sup>47</sup>.Ibid: Pp. 91-92

his government post because of the disregard of his repeated protests. The Judge's statements, that were published immediately after his resignation, are summarized as follows:<sup>48</sup>

"The Air Command, which considers itself the elite of the Army, apparently never wanted Negro personnel, and therefore did not cooperate with Judge Hastie by giving him information, or by discussing proposed projects with him. Forced by the War Department's policy to admit Negroes 'as an experiment', the Air Command complied only in this way. In a segregated Advance Flying School at Tuskegee, Negroes were trained only as pursuit pilots, the most difficult branch of Aviation Service. Pilots have to fly from field to field on missions and be received at officers' mess wherever they are sent, and therefore cannot be segregated as can pursuit squadrons. The Air Command, in several instances rejected trained Negro aviators who volunteered as service pilots. One was a veteran of the Spanish War and author of several recognized books on aviation. Another had delivered his sixth bomber to England as a civilian ferry pilot before volunteering in our forces."

The All-Negro 99th Pursuit Squadron, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Benjamin Davis, Jr., finished their training at Tuskegee Advanced Flying School in May 1942. They were made to mark time for a whole year despite the fact that fighter squadrons were deperately needed as protection for bombers. In the Italian campaigns they distinguished themselves in the pre-

<sup>48</sup>.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". Pp.93-94

cision bombing of the Island of Pantelleria in June 1943. General Arnold, Chief of the United States Army Air Forces, commended them on their assistance in making the landing below Rome. He said, "The result of the 99th Fighter Squadron during the last two weeks...are very commendable...My wishes for their continued success."<sup>49</sup>

In the Marine Corps most of the Negro personnel were used in Labor Battallions. Although a few did remarkably well in the baptism of fire at Guadalcanal and bloody Saipan, in this Corps they experienced many of the same difficulties as did the Negro soldier in the Army.

Serious friction flared up at Vallejo, California, between Negroes from nearby Mare Island Navy Yard and White marines, an incident where both groups were probably to blame. The Marines told the Negroes not to cross a certain line, which they promptly did. Side arms were drawn and both sides received casualties, none fatal, fortunately.<sup>49</sup>

Colonel Woods, in charge of the Marine Corps at New River had the following to say concerning the Negro Marines under his command.<sup>50</sup> "We feel we have no problem here...We do not think of these new recruits as of a different race...We think of our job as just that of making Marines." Other White officers reinforce this opinion by maintaining "it is the tradition of the Corps that no Marine lets another Marine down. These Negroes are getting just the same training as yours. They are living up to every ideal of the Corps. You are not to think of each

49.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P. 57

50.Ibid: P.58

other as black or white. You are all Marines."<sup>51</sup>

The Maritime Service was created in 1936 by the United States Government to subsidize the Merchant Marine of this country by supplying ships and training officers and men. Schools were organized for apprentice seamen and officers in a totally un-segregated pattern. The same barracks, mess halls and class rooms were used by Negroes and Whites.<sup>52</sup>

The Maritime Service, unlike the Navy, has followed a practice of offering qualified Negro applicants Officer's ratings. Furthermore, these Negro officers command both white and colored sailors. At the up-grading school in the Headquarters of the National Maritime Union in New York City, and at the Officers' Candidate School in New London, Connecticut, there is always a fair percentage of Negroes.

Why the Merchant Marine is able to run without benefit of racial segregation, and the Navy isn't, is confusing. After spending two years in the latter service it is my opinion that the high ranking officers just don't care to have any confusion break up their organizational patterns. An example of Navy stubbornness is the torpedoing of the U. S. S. Indianapolis by a Jap submarine. In the investigation that followed it was brought out by the Navy Department that the Cruiser was following a zigzag course at the time it was torpedoed. One congressman on the investigating committee maintained that the speed of the modern submarine renders zigzag tactics impractical. To this a second investigating congressman replied that the Navy has been zigzagging

51. Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.58-59

52. Ibid: P.104-105

for two hundred years and it will keep on zigzagging for two hundred more.

There doesn't seem to be any definite reason for the success of the Merchant Marine's non-segregation attitude. A middle aged Negro, who at the time was a candidate in one of the schools, offered the following explanation.<sup>53</sup> "It's like this...Seafaring men always seem very rough...And shipping together they've learned to judge each other for what they can do, not by what the color of their skin appears to be. Out at sea you all have to fight the elements together even when there's no enemy around. Out there you get to know each other for what you really are."

From the time of its founding in 1937, the National Maritime Union has maintained an attitude of non-discrimination. The Union newspaper, "The Pilot", has reported many cases where the Union has put pressure on steamship companies who do discriminate against colored sailors. The present secretary, Frederic C. Smith, is a Negro, and many members of the executive board are colored.

The United States Merchant Marine had, during World War II, three ships christened after prominent American Negroes. Furthermore, all three were commanded by Negro captains. They were the S. S. Booker T. Washington under Captain Mulzac, the S. S. George Washington Carver under Captain O'Hara, and the S. S. Fredric Douglas under Captain Richardson. A good portion of the crews of these ships were Negro. No exact figures can be given because personnel transfers in the Merchant Marine were numerous

<sup>53</sup>.Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". P.107

but it is safe to say that it averaged about one quarter colored and three quarters white.<sup>54</sup>

The treatment the Negro Soldiers received overseas in many cases was both strange and brutal. One regiment that was sent to an old English university town were perplexed at the attitude of the natives. Men and women crossed to the other side of the street, children hid behind their mother's skirts, and what was even more strange, the kids did not ask the colored soldiers for candy or gum. After a few days they learned the cause of this treatment. When the word came that Negro troops were to be sent to the area, white American troops had informed the natives that Negroes were illiterates, had tails, and their color was due to a disease.<sup>55</sup>

The Army alone was not entirely responsible for the harsh treatment of the Negro soldier. There are many cases on record where White troops, both men and officers, personally aggravated the Negro's military existence. Clashes between colored and white soldiers would sometimes result during the mixed dances. Others occurred on the streets and in the pubs. The American white soldier seemed to become aggravated at the sight of colored boys escorting the English girls. An order was finally issued to all commanding officers of British units, and especially to the commanders of the WRENS, ATS and WAAFS. The first section of this order contained a highly condensed history of the American Negro. It stressed the point that he had been a slave in the United States for two hundred and fifty

54. Wilson: "Jim Crow Joins Up". Pp. 107-108

55. White: "ARising Wind". P.16

years. It did not mention the part played by the British slavers in that trade. It also mentioned the social distinctions in the United States between the White and the Negro. The order proceeded to "suggest" that because some American Whites resented the sight of mixed couples, British military units, especially service women, should stop associating with Negroes in public. "This does not preclude the entertainment of Negro friends in your homes or other private places," it concluded.<sup>56</sup>

At the end of the war many Negro soldiers preferred to remain in England, France and Germany. They did not care to return to the United States and take up again the life of an inferior human. They preferred to remain in a country where people would look straight at them and treat them as equals.

The treatment the Negro soldier receives from both official and unofficial Army sources does not appear to be justified. On the Boston Common today stands the statue of Crispus Attucks, a Negro. He is the first martyr of the American Revolution. Under the immediate command of General Washington, in August 1788, there are reported to have been 775 colored troops, and it is estimated that there were 4,000 more in the Continental Army. Furthermore, a company of Negroes fought the Battle of Bunker Hill.<sup>57</sup>

The War of 1812 also had its share of colored recruits. On October 24, 1814, New York passed an act authorizing the raising of two colored regiments, and 2,000 Negroes were enlisted.<sup>58</sup> During the Civil War more than 180,000 Negro soldiers fought on the side of the Union. On the Confederate side they were used

56. White: "A Rising Wind". P. 30

57. Haynes: "Trend of the Races". Pp. 99-100

58. Ibid: P. 102

for labor details and other non-combatant services.<sup>59</sup>.

Some of the first troops to go forward in the Spanish-American War in 1898 were the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantries. They were all Negro. The 10th Cavalry came to the aid of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt during his first battle in Cuba. The Colonel publicly expressed his appreciation for their valor.

The job done by the Negroes in the first World War is also commendable. Besides fighting, they supplied music in the camps and in the Army, they worked remarkably well in the labor battallions, and did more than their share on the farm.

Truely, if any suppressed group deserves an even break it is the Negro. Despite the fact that he has always been given a raw deal whenever he has been called on to help in the overthrow of America's enemies, he has gone to the task willingly. For well over two centuries he has fought for the ideals of democracy, even though he was the forgotten child of the greatest democratic nation.

The military services of the United States are controlled by politics. All Army and Navy policies and undertakings are executed with an eye toward Congress. The finances to run the War and Navy Departments are made available by the Upper and Lower Houses. Within themselves, the Army and Navy, with their ironclad traditions, are almost impregnable. Thus the only way to change military policies is to bore from without. They crumble, like sand castles, in an onrushing tide, whenever

<sup>59</sup>. Haynes: "Trend of the Races". P.103

political pressure is brought to bear. Only recently, because of ex-G.I. pressure on Congress, the Army is being forced to rearrange its whole court marshal system. Furthermore, because of civilian pressure on the law makers, both the Army and Navy Departments have been abolished, and one Department of National Defense has been substituted. The reasons for these changes are not important. What is important is that through political pressure they were made possible.

To rectify injustices leveled towards the Negro by the Armed Services, the same form of attack should be executed.

Just as the Army and Navy must follow the dictates of the politicians, so the politicians must follow the dictates of the people who elect them. It always comes back to the same place; whenever there is a change to be made it must be the people who make it. This is the advantage in living in a democracy. No single man tells one where to go, what to do and how to think. The people alone are responsible because they have freely elected their own leaders. To attack a social injustice the people must be attacked. It can't be done by strong armed methods, intrigue, discrete or any other petty device. Tolerance can only be obtained through education. Intolerance is the child of ignorance.

## THE NEGRO IN EDUCATION

The situation feared by colonial planters was that their Negro slaves might gain a little intelligence. South Carolina, while still under British rule, was the first colony to pass legislation against the instruction of Negroes. In the year 1740 its lawmakers "made it an offense, punishable by a fine of one hundred pounds, to teach or cause to be taught, any slave, or to employ one as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever." Georgia followed South Carolina in 1770 with a similar law. It provided in addition to a five hundred dollar fine, imprisonment in the common jail, and a whipping on the slave instructed or the free person of color. Laws similar to those of South Carolina and Georgia were enacted by Mississippi in 1823, Alabama and Virginia in 1832, North Carolina in 1835 and Missouri in 1847. The border states of Kentucky, Delaware and Maryland did not oppose the education of Negroes, but limited their facilities to only White children. Illinois and Ohio school laws specified White children throughout, and there was no mention of colored persons. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Pennsylvania permitted Negroes to attend the public schools, but their treatment was so harsh they themselves petitioned for separate schools.<sup>60</sup>

In 1750 Anthony Beneget established the first school for Negroes in Pennsylvania. He taught in it free of charge. Later

<sup>60</sup>. Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization". P.225

he interested the Society of Friends in the education of the Negro, and in 1770 a special committee hired an instructor. Due to Quaker influence Negro educational institutions multiplied rapidly in Pennsylvania. By 1859 in Philadelphia alone there were 2,321 Negro pupils in various public and private schools.<sup>61</sup>

After the emancipation of the slaves the more responsible southern citizens realized that some sort of means was necessary to educate the newly freed Negro. However, there was much objection to the Freedman's Bureau because it was administered by northern teachers, whose ideas conflicted with the southern social doctrines. After the removal of the Reconstruction governments, laws were passed more to the liking of the southern attitude. During the first five years following the war 4,239 schools were established with 9,307 teachers and 247,333 pupils. The Negroes maintained 1,324 schools and bought 592 buildings for this purpose. The Freedman's Bureau provided 654 school buildings, and along with elementary schools, established 74 high and normal schools which handled 8,174 students. In addition, 61 industrial schools handling 1,780 students were established by the Bureau.<sup>62</sup>

By 1860 there were 7,441,830 Negroes living in this country. Only about three per cent of this number, as reported by the census, were able to read and write. By 1870 about eighty per cent of the Negro population was still illiterate. The literacy rate among southern Negroes increased greatly between 1880 and 1920. In Louisiana, for example, the number of illiterate Negroes decreased by more than two hundred per cent, and in Mississippi by more than three hundred per cent.<sup>63</sup>

61. Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization". P.225

62. Ibid: Pp. 227-228

63. Ibid: P.230

The main reason the high number of Negro illiterates decreased so rapidly was because of the schooling opportunities offered them. True, the educational facilities of the Negro, on the average, are inferior to those of the Whites, but the fact remains that they do exist and are quite adequate in fighting illiteracy in the Negro race. The following table indicates the effect adequate educational facilities have on the illiteracy rate of the southern states.<sup>64</sup>

Percentage of Illiterates and Children in School and Out for Both Races in Eighteen Southern States.

State	Percentage of Native Illiterates		Percentage in School		Percentage Out of School	
	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes
Texas	3.0	17.8	93.7	88.7	6.3	11.3
Oklahoma	2.3	12.4	87.3	88.0	12.7	12.0
No. Carolina	8.2	24.5	85.1	83.8	14.9	16.2
Missouri	2.0	12.1	81.4	78.7	18.6	21.3
Georgia	5.4	29.1	89.5	74.2	10.5	25.8
Virginia	5.9	23.5	84.8	72.7	15.2	27.3
Tennessee	7.3	22.4	80.3	71.6	19.7	28.4
W. Virginia	4.6	15.3	80.6	70.8	19.4	29.2
Arkansas	4.5	21.8	73.4	69.6	26.6	30.4
Delaware	1.8	19.1	70.1	67.1	29.9	32.9
So. Carolina	6.5	29.3	77.2	65.8	22.8	34.2
D. of Columbia	---	8.6	65.5	61.9	34.5	38.1
Maryland	1.8	18.2	69.5	61.2	30.5	38.8
Florida	2.9	21.5	81.3	60.9	28.7	39.1
Kentucky	7.0	21.0	65.0	60.9	35.0	39.1
Alabama	6.3	31.3	84.9	58.8	15.1	41.2
Louisiana	10.5	38.5	70.3	57.9	29.7	42.1
Mississippi	3.6	29.3	68.9	53.0	31.1	47.0

This table reveals that states like Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, with a high percentage of Negro illiterates, also have high non-attendance percentages.

The elimination of illiteracy depends on many factors;

64. "Negro Year Book". 1925-26, P. 292

a willingness on the public's part to fight the deficiency, a more efficient coverage by both rural and city schools, more government subsidation in the less prosperous areas, and an increase in facilities for adult education.

Probably the best method of attacking the Negro problem in this country is in the schools. The school system is second only to home environment in character forming. The pupils the student associates with, the subjects he takes, the extra curricula he indulges in, and all parts of his school life, are important foundation blocks for his future life.

There is little discrimination in the school systems in the northern states. In the seventeen southern states separation is clearcut and complete. Furthermore, the allocation of federal and state funds are shockingly unequal. In 1922-23 the government in Washington allocated \$5,000,000, in 1934-35 the amount reached \$10,000,000, and in 1935-36 \$16,000,000 was appropriated. In the distribution of these funds the White man has always received the lion's share. In the seventeen southern states, who received the \$16,000,000 for White and Negro land-grant colleges in 1935-36, 25% of the population between the ages of 18 and 21 were Negroes. Despite this fact they received only 5.4% of the allotment.<sup>65</sup>

The differences from the amount Negroes should have received, if distribution were according to population, and what they actually got from 1928-1935 ranges from \$13,800 in West Virginia to \$809,000 in Mississippi.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup>.U.S.Senate Committee on Education and Labor,"Hearings on Federal Aid to Education Act 1939 (S1305), March,1939,Pp.204-209

<sup>66</sup>.Ibid: P.209

Discrimination in the distribution of funds for Negroes and Whites is far greater than the above figures imply. The following is a table showing the annual cost per Negro pupil in the ten southern states as compared to the annual cost per White.

Cost per Negro and White Pupil in  
Average Daily Attendance, Based  
on Current Expenses, 1935-36#

<u>State</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
Missouri	69.96	59.78
Maryland	59.52	78.73
Oklahoma	50.32	42.78
Florida	22.83	64.82
North Carolina	18.77	36.25
Alabama	10.90	37.64
Arkansas	10.77	28.66
South Carolina	10.63	48.00
Mississippi	9.30	44.65
Georgia	8.75	42.53

#Statistics of the Education of Negroes, 1933-34 and 1935-36

U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 13, P.15

The economy of the south may be divided into distinct areas with definite characteristics. Of 1,104 southern counties, 551 may be classified as cotton. In 1930 the median expenditure for colored teachers' salaries, which is a major portion of education expenditures in these cotton counties, was a little over half that in other farm counties, and approximately two fifths

that in the larger cities. Merely thirty eight of the five hundred fifty one cotton counties spent more than \$15.00 annual-ly per Negro pupils. Furthermore, only thirty eight cotton counties spent less than \$15.00 annually per White pupil.<sup>67</sup>

The little money that is allocated for Negro education is further cut by White administration. Out of the \$15,000 appropriated to the Green County Board of Education by the State of Georgia in 1928, about half was diverted to White schools. In 1933 the Green County colored schools received only \$5,000 of the \$21,000 stipulated for them. A similar situation occurred in Macon County, Georgia.<sup>68</sup>

Further discrimination of white and colored teachers salaries in the southern states is brought out in the following:<sup>69</sup>

Average Annual Salaries of White and Negro  
Teachers, Principals and Supervisors  
1937-1938

State	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Alabama	\$827	\$393
Arkansas	620	377
Delaware	1650	1548
Florida	1146	542
Georgia	876	352
Louisiana	1165	499
Maryland	1623	1308
Mississippi	630	215
North Carolina	984	674
Oklahoma	1039	891
South Carolina	943	373
Virginia	1025	558

Because other states are not listed here one should not draw the conclusion that they are not also guilty of paying Negro

<sup>67</sup> Charles S. Johnson and Others: "Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties." Pp 24-25

<sup>68</sup> Raper: "Preface to Peasantry". Pp. 310-311

<sup>69</sup> D. T. Blose & H. F. Alves: "Biennial Survey of Education in the U. S. "Statistics of School Systems", 1937-1938, U. S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, P. 137

teachers less than White for similar services. Below is a table showing the monthly salaries for teachers according to sex and color for the state of Tennessee:<sup>70</sup>

Average Monthly Salaries of Teachers  
in Tennessee Schools by Color  
and Sex, 1939-1940.

Type of School	<u>White</u>		<u>Colored</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Country Elementary	\$82.86	\$77.27	\$53.96	\$64.95
" High School	127.61	98.95	87.77	73.66
City Elementary	129.89	92.81	38.42	64.06
" High School	154.44	119.48	104.08	92.40

The constitution of the state of Kentucky provides that there should be no discrimination in the distribution of funds. Furthermore, statutes provide that the school district shall pay teachers to a schedule, which takes into account quality of service, training, experience and other factors approved by the Board of Education.<sup>71</sup> In reality the constitutional and statutory provisions are rarely followed. This is more obvious in the case of elementary school teachers than high school teachers. In addition it is more obvious for elementary school teachers in independent urban school districts than for teachers in country districts. For example in the elementary schools of independent districts the average annual White teacher's salary, who has had 101.33 semester hours of college

<sup>70</sup>.State of Tennessee:"Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Scholastic Year Ending June 30,1940, Pp.126-127 and 170-171

<sup>71</sup>.Meece:"Negro Education in Kentucky", Pp.103-104

training and 9.37 years of experience, is \$1,063; whereas that of the Negro teacher, with approximately one and one half years of college training and an average of 1.35 years more experience is \$881, only about .83 as much.<sup>72</sup>

In areas where the largest differential in salary was found, superintendants were asked the reason. Although the answers represent their personal opinion, the majority indicated the cost of living as the reason, while some specified public pressure and expediency.<sup>73</sup>

Transportation of school children is another sore point of White discrimination in the South. For example, forty eight per cent of the total number of students in South Carolina, from 1935-36, were Negro. Despite this fact they received only \$3,642 of the \$860,379 spent for student transportation, or less than one half of one per cent.<sup>74</sup>

Following is a table comparing the percentage of Negro students to Whites in the schools of nine southern states, and the percentage of the transportation expenditures they received.<sup>74</sup>

Percentage Negro of Total School Enrollment  
and Percentage for Negroes of Total Transportation  
Expenditures. 1935-36

<u>State</u>	<u>Percentage Negro of Total Enrollment</u>	<u>Percentage Spent for Negro Pupils of Total Transportation Expend- itures.</u>
Alabama	35.1	1.7
Arkansas	26.8	2.2
Florida	31.1	1.5
Georgia	38.3	0.5
Maryland	16.9	6.8
Missouri	5.8	5.1
North Carolina	30.9	3.5
Oklahoma	7.7	8.8
South Carolina	48.5	0.4

72. Meece: "Negro Education in Kentucky." Pp. 110-111

73. Ibid: Pp. 130-126

74. Bloise & Caliver: "Statistics of the Education of Negroes"  
U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 13, P. 26, 57

It might be noted in the above table that the larger the percentage of Negroes in the state school systems, the lower the percentage of total transportation expenditures do they realize. South Carolina, with the student enrollment consisting of 48.5 per cent Negroes, spends only 0.4 of the total transportation bill for them; whereas Oklahoma, with a colored school population of only 7.7 per cent, spends 8.8 per cent of her total transportation bill in their behalf. Furthermore, Oklahoma, with the least percentage of colored students, spends a higher percentage of her transportation appropriation for them, than any of the other eight states. South Carolina, with the greatest percentage of Negro students, spends the smallest percentage of her total transportation appropriation on them.

If the nation ever expects to raise the various standards of the Negro population, discrepancies such as this will certainly have to be eliminated. In the south, where the largest proportion of the Negro population lives, the least is being spent to educate and give them a sense of personal responsibility. In some instances the denial of facilities and an almost complete failure to provide basic instruction is in evidence. In sixteen southern states that have separate facilities for the instruction of Negroes, there were, in 1938-39, eighty seven counties which had no colored high schools despite the fact that the Negro population made up twelve per cent or more of the population in each of these counties in 1940.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup>. Caliver: "Secondary Schools for Negroes", "School Life" 25:380 (July 1940)

Most of the public schools in the north do not segregate the Negro with separate facilities. There are, however, many southerners living in this area, and some northerners who advocate segregation of the races. Moreover, there are a few Negroes who support separation on the following grounds:<sup>76</sup> (1) Mixed schools attend only the needs of the White students; (2) the social discrimination practiced against colored students in mixed schools is warping their personalities; (3) there are gains from segregated schools in larger administration and teaching positions for Negroes; (4) it is better to have segregated schools, which are fully controlled by Negroes, than mixed schools in which Negroes have no voice or administrative offices. This, to my way of thinking, would not solve the Negro's problems and might in many ways aggravate and magnify them. By maintaining separate schools for Negroes one would be building a wall between the races that might some day become unsurmountable. To understand the Negro the White public must come to know him personally, and where is a better place than in the class room. Here the child, in the formative stages of life, could learn first hand the fact about the Negro. There would be no intervening personality with a prejudiced viewpoint.

The treatment of the Negro in the northern states varies. For example there is a growing movement in New Jersey for the maintenance of separate schools. In a study of this state, made by Reid, it was discovered that separate schools increased from 52

<sup>76</sup>Beale: "The Needs of Negro Education in the United States", "Journal of Negro Education". 3:10 (January, 1934)

to 66 between 1919 and 1930. Furthermore, Oak observed that this number had reached 70 by 1935. During the same year he maintained that the northern part of the state was not interested in segregated schooling, but from Princeton southward to Cape May, nearly every city or town of moderate size had dual educational systems in the grammar schools. South of Elizabeth there was not a school which ran a class including White pupils and a Negro teacher.<sup>77</sup> The courts of New Jersey are acting as a buffer towards the advance of discrimination and segregation. They handed down an adverse decision against the Board of Education of Trenton in favor of Negro students using the High School swimming pool. Furthermore, Negro leaders in Trenton, Camden, and Atlantic City have successfully insisted upon their right to attend the nearest school, White or Colored.<sup>78</sup>

In New Haven, Connecticut, there is no noticeable segregation in the school system. However, one detects a slight amount of discrimination in the personal attitude of the White pupils towards their fellow Negro pupils. According to Warner, there are Negro children in four out of every seven schools in this city, and in no school is the Negro seated or classified by race. In addition there is no distinction shown in school extra curricular activities such as sports, glee club, plays, class officers and the like. The relations between the two races are much more restrained in the senior High School than is noticed in the lower grades. Negro teachers handle White and Negro

77. Wright: "The Education of Negroes in New Jersey", P.185

78. Ibid: P.134

students alike in their classes; but it has been reported that colored parents object to having their children taught by Negroes. This attitude probably springs more from pride than objection, however. The relations between White and Negro teachers is quite friendly. Probably the only conspicuous discrimination is shown by the school board, in its reluctance to appoint Negro teachers in numbers proportionate to the size of the Negro population. Furthermore, there has been no Negro teachers appointed to the junior and senior high schools.<sup>79</sup>.

The Negro veteran who intends to take advantage of the "G. I. Bill of Rights" presents a special problem. Because of his background he has a greater need for primary and secondary education than his White brother. Furthermore, upon applying to an institution of learning he will find it difficult to obtain admittance due to certain discriminatory practices. Just about all the White universities in the south refuse Negro students admittance, and a very large number of them in the north have quota systems which limit Negro enrollment.

There are a number of Negro colleges and universities in the southern states which can handle the Negro veteran. However, because there is a high concentration of Negro population in this area, the facilities of these institutions are quite inadequate. It is quite possible for these Negro universities to better adapt themselves to the pressing demands of the large number of would be Negro students by utilizing the equipment acquired

<sup>79</sup> Warner: "New Haven Negroes", Pp. 277-280

during the war years, and by obtaining surplus war equipment and property. A joint committee which was formed at the United States Office of Education Conference,<sup>80</sup> assumed this as one of its responsibilities.

As stated previously, the Negro student has greater need of primary school, high school and vocational training. There are a few who are fitted for college, but due to poor educational opportunity in the past, a large number are lacking in the fundamentals of education. The need of the Negro to earn a living is far more pressing than his need to enjoy life. Naturally one follows the other, but in the complexities of modern civilization, although the former can't buy happiness, when used properly is a step towards security and happiness.

At a recent conference sponsored by the United States Office of Education, it was decided that there was a lack of vocational high schools throughout the country, and especially in the south. One conferee maintained that in the whole southern area there could probably not be found a Negro vocational high school which had a program "commensurate with the needs of the Negro". The causes for this situation are many, some old and some new. Some of the inadequacy may spring from a controversy that has been with the Negroes for some time, that of cultural versus vocational training. In some cases nearby colleges prevented the installation of war production surplus in order that

<sup>80</sup>. Caliver: "Education for Victory", January 3, 1945.

they could obtain the material themselves. The main course of this shortcoming is the distaste the southerner has for providing any sort of Negro aid.<sup>81</sup>

The discharged Negroes leave the Army and other branches of military service with much more than they went in with. Travel to broaden their view points, both collectively and singly, mechanical, clerical, administrative and many other types of qualifications, which they enhanced themselves with while on their tour of duty, both high school and college credits obtained from the various schools and the Armed Forces Institute, are only a few. Unfortunately, because of race feeling in their native land, many a Negro veteran will not be able to use the qualifications he earned, and learned, during the pressure of an emergency. As the years pass the employer, with his thoughts on more earthly things, will not ask him what he did or where he had been, rather what can he do. The White veteran will have the same situations to face, but the Negro, unlike the White ex-G.I., has a second strike on him because of the color of his skin.

The problem of the returning Negro veteran is no different than that of his White brother. Simply stated there is no problem at all. He has spent years under all types of conditions and regulations, which in some cases he only had a few hours to develop himself to. He will come back a little more outspoken than when he left, and a little more intolerent of intolerance. His tastes will no longer be those of an adolescent. Many years of

<sup>81</sup>. Caliver: "Post War Education of Negroes", Pp.36-37

physical and mental torment because of quick change in environment will in some cases make him slightly cynical. He will be a little more critical of the courses he chooses and those that are required of him. His goal in academic work will not be the final mark, but what benefits these marks will be to him in later life. He will be a practical man and one who knows his way around.

The institution of learning that is accepting Negro ex-G.I.'s should strengthen and emphasize those curricular ideas that offer to ideals and life values, the meaning of democracy and other forms of government, the problems confronting a democratic government, the position of the American Negro in the American way of life in the past, present and future, and the relation of the Negro problem to other minority group problems, both in the United States and throughout the rest of the world.<sup>82</sup>

The curtailing of many normal practices during the war years has caused dislocations in the lives of many individuals. Many students were forced to discontinue their normal education because they were drafted. Furthermore, there were many citizens who were taken into the military services direct from the shop, office and other places in American industry. When the veteran student returns to his studies he finds that during the intervening years of war he has grown a little older, and his ways and attitudes are a little out of place in a teen age environment. In the case of the Negro veteran this is especially true. Because

<sup>82</sup>. Caliver: "Post War Education of Negroes", P.39

educational facilities have never been quite adequate for him, he now has man size ideas and only an adolescent education. With such a situation the need for adult Negro education is a pressing issue. Some of the provisions in the "G. I. Bill of Rights" make it possible for the colored worker to get on the job training, for which he gets, at present, \$65.00 a month from the government. However, because of their lack of training and experience, the needs for adult training in the fields of civic education, occupational adjustment, and parent education, must be especially emphasized.<sup>83</sup>

Military experience shows that there is need for occupational adjustment among adult Negroes along the following lines.<sup>83</sup>

- (1) More intelligent selection of occupations.
- (2) Increase in provision of counseling and training facilities in schools and colleges.
- (3) Opening up of apprenticeship opportunities.
- (4) Extension of evening, part time and on the job training.
- (5) Increase in the rate of change in the attitude of Negroes toward the value of vocational training.

Both the state and federal governments have a responsible part in the success of the Negroes' future. In some cases that exist in the south where the local and state governments care little, and do less about Negro education, they think that the federal government should defray the expenses. The Negro is a civilized man but unless he receives civilized treatment he will become a product of faulty environment.

<sup>83</sup>. Caliver: "Post War Education of Negroes". P.55

To solve the problem of discrimination against the Negro in American institutions of education on paper is possible, but to induce society to follow such a solution is something else entirely. The American Negro was a slave for over two hundred years and a free man for fifty years. The attitude of the southern White has remained the same as before the Emancipation Proclamation. To try to change this in a decade would be inviting failure, but the fact still remains that whatever benefits one people will benefit the entire nation. To raise the lot of the Negro he should be offered a decent education. The educated Negro is not to be feared. It is the Negro that lacks sufficient background that is found in the penal institutions. A larger number of Negroes are arrested per capita than Whites. This is clearly seen from the following table which compares the percentage of Negro arrests to the percentage of the total population in ten cities during the year 1922.<sup>84</sup>

	<u>Number of Negro Arrests</u>	<u>Total Arrests</u>	<u>Per Cent Negro Population to Total</u>	<u>Per Cent Negro Arrests</u>
Cincinnati, Ohio	3,638	25,495	7.5	14.2
Atlantic City, N.J.	2,869	6,864	21.3	29.4
Columbus, Ohio	4,630	10,481	9.4	29.8
Cleveland, Ohio	6,763	25,156	4.3	21.1
Milwaukee, Wisc.	1,582	30,985	0.5	4.84
Detroit, Mich.	7,112	25,065	4.1	22.1
Minneapolis, Minn.	432	10,834	1.0	3.83
Washington, D.C.	38,016	53,302	25.1	41.6
Wilmington, Del.	2,115	6,442	9.8	25.0
Baltimore, Md.	24,597	108,745	14.8	22.5

According to the above figures the Negro adults of the ten selected cities have a higher rate of arrest than the percentage of their population should warrant. Juvenile delinquency among the Negro population is also high. The following table compares

<sup>84</sup>. Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization", P.315

the percentage of Negro juvenile cases to the percentage of Negro population.<sup>85</sup>

	<u>Estimated Negroes in Total Population Per Cent</u>	<u>Negroes in Total Juvenile Cases Per Cent</u>
Richmond (average 1921-24	31.5	41.0
Chicago (1925)	5.0	16.0
Indianapolis (1923)	12.0	35.0
Gary (1925)	14.0	41.0
Dayton (1923)	6.0	27.0
Memphis (1925)	31.0	48.0
Charleston (1925)	47.0	75.0

Among the causes for such a high rate of juvenile delinquency among Negroes are lack of proper supervision and lack of supervised recreation. The public school cannot alter the home environment of the Negro child, but surely it is able to take him in hand during the school hours. As long as the Negro child is held back in the schools of the land, he will be handicapped in future life where he will have to compete with a better fitted White man.

In most of the northern states the problem can be left to the local and state authorities, but in the south, where discrimination is so much a part of daily life, it will necessary for the Federal Government to intercede. In a democracy all elements of the population must have equal opportunity to obtain a proper education. Otherwise the ship of state will be dragging an anchor of under privileged people as it sails on.

<sup>85</sup>. Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization", P.333

## SOME CAUSES OF RACE PREJUDICES AND THEIR SOLUTION

To alleviate the animosity of the White man towards the Negro in the United States, the so called Negro problem should be broken down. The various phases should be treated both individually and collectively. The personal, social, political, economic and other attitudes of Negroes and Whites should be considered. One must remember that a remedy is not a cure. The cure must come from within the subject, which is the American people in this instance. The will of the individual must be great enough to surmount past prejudices. Any suggestion that is offered is a catalyst towards the gradual change that is now in progress.

Personal prejudices grow with age. The rapidity of this growth and the heights it will reach depends on the personal factors of the individual concerned and the environment in which he lives. The following chart shows the changes with age, but in prejudice and not in favoring attitude. Such districts as New York City, urban Georgia, rural Georgia and urban Tennessee are demonstrated. One must remember, however, that the conclusions are only chance expectation. Within each district the attitude of individuals may differ markedly. One of the two squares represents the attitude of a small Negro group, and the other that of a small White group in a New York High School.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup>.Pressey & Robinson: "Psychology and the New Education",  
Pp.270-271

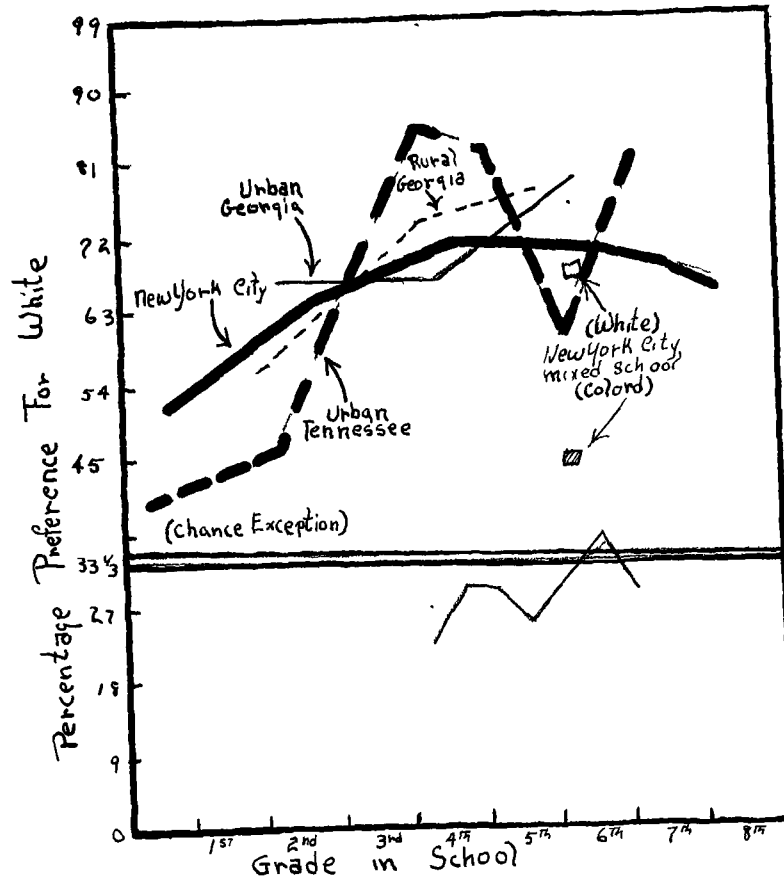


Chart shows race prejudice in different groups, showing that attitudes toward an issue are specific with the group studied.

From the above chart one notices that the average White child of urban Tennessee has an innocent preference for colored children until the first half of his second year in grammar school. At this point in life a discriminatory attitude creeps in, and in less than a year his feeling toward the Negro becomes remarkably low. Both home and school training are generally the cause of this attitude. The child at this stage of development has very little background, and therefore learns without criticizing. In other words, he is acquiring a background to enable himself to

criticize future teachings.

In New York City the discrimination pattern is similar except for the fact that the attitude toward the Negro does not fluctuate as much as it does in Tennessee. The reason for this is that the feeling of the average White parent of New York City is not as keen toward the Negro as his counterpart in Tennessee. Furthermore, the public schools of New York state do not officially discriminate against the Negro as do the public schools of Tennessee. (see page 54).

In urban and rural Georgia the parents' attitudes are reflected in the child's offerings much sooner because these are areas of ardent discrimination. The schools do have some effect but the home environment seems to be one of the chief causes of anti-Negro attitudes in the grammar school children.

It is harder to eliminate the prejudices in the mature mind than in the children in the early grades of Grammar school. With the exception of adult education there is very little one can do to change the domestic environment of the young child. However, the ideas he grasps in the public schools can be controlled by government administration. Of course this should not be done to distort the truth, but for that matter the teacher should not be allowed to teach what he thinks best. It is very possible that he too has some imperfections. A White teacher with an anti-Negro attitude, which most White teachers have to some degree, could easily transfer his attitude to his pupils. Restraining the teacher might prevent him from molding the minds of the little ones completely. However, a positive attitude will give one better

end results. By inaugurating courses in tolerance in the grade and high schools, much of the friction between the races in this country could be eliminated. The problem of eliminating attitudes of prejudice in the adult mind is far more difficult. However, there are a number of methods which could be used to tone them down. The cinema, newspaper, magazine, radio and their like could be used in an anti-prejudice campaign. Such a drive would involve a large sum of money. Thus the undertaking of such a campaign by an organization with limited funds would be out of the question.

The fact still remains that the American public is very sensitive to what it sees in the movies, hears on the radio, and reads in the newspapers and magazines. This is proven by the fact that excessive amounts of money are spent by business men each year in these facilities of communication for advertising. Surely if it is well worth while spending a few extra dollars to increase the sales on soap and breakfast cereals, it should be worth while spending similar amounts to increase the rate of tolerance of one citizen toward another, or must profits always be shown on the right hand side of a balance sheet.

The effects of the printed word on college students will be understood after reading the following quotation:<sup>87</sup>

"...fifteen editorials favorable to a politician from abroad who was visiting the United States, and fifteen unfavorable editorials were 'planted' in the 'Daily Iowan'. Certain of these editorials were given to students as part of what they were told was a 'long-time investigation of the psy-

<sup>87</sup>-Pressey & Robinson: "Psychology and the New Education", Pp.278-279

chology of reading'. Half of each class read favorable editorials and half unfavorable ones, along with all the other editorials in the paper, neither group knowing what the other was reading. One section read fifteen of the 'planted' editorials, a second read seven, and a control group read none. Pre-tests showed no knowledge of the visitor, but end tests showed ninety eight per cent of the students who had read the favorable editorials to have become favorably biased toward him, whereas eighty six per cent of those who read unfavorable matter were prejudiced against him. Seven editorials were as effective as fifteen". The following chart shows how clearly the groups had been separated.<sup>88</sup>

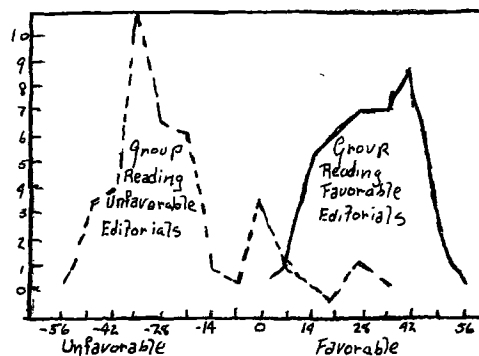


Chart shows scores on a test of attitude toward a visiting politician, as affected by editorials unfavorable to him. The second group read favorable editorials.

<sup>88</sup>. Pressey & Robinson: "Psychology and the New Education". P.279 .

Results the same as the above were obtained when a group of high school students were shown a pro-Chinese film.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence that the radio is more favorable than the printed page in influencing opinion, and a personally delivered speech is most effective of all. To sum up, "everyone is subject to a constant barrage of attitude - and ideal forming material in the movies, radio, print, and also in advertising, cartoons, gossip - a constant flood of matter such as never before beat upon young minds anywhere."<sup>90</sup>

With the radio, moving pictures and newspapers playing such an important part in the molding and attitudes of the average American, no wonder the Negro is viewed in such an unfavorable light. He appears on the screen as a ridiculous or frightened character. One hardly ever sees him in a sober and respectable part. He is either a servant, chauffeur, butler or a happy go lucky jitter bug. The newspaper is equally at fault. For example, in articles and news stories involving Negroes, the fact that he is a Negro is usually made known. However there are very few cases where an individual Italian-American, German-American or Polish-American is pointed out by anything but his Christian name and surname. One often sees headlines such as "Negro holds up cigar store, gets \$150.00", but who has ever read "Englishman holds up cigar store, gets \$150.00." The script writers and the newspaper reporters collectively have nothing against the Negro race, it is merely the profit motive that

<sup>89</sup>•Pressey & Robinson: "Psychology and the New Education".  
Pp.277-278

<sup>90</sup>•Ibid: P.279

drives them on. The American people, when they pay fifty cents to see a picture, want to be entertained, not instructed. In like manner the editor of a newspaper realizes that sensational news and not truthful news increases circulation, and he acts accordingly. It's the American dollar that is the end, and the average American business man will use any means within the law to get it.

The treatment of Negroes is of two distinct patterns. In the states below the Mason-Dixon line he is discriminated against both socially and by law. In the other states of the Union he encounters social discrimination. Therefore, in the treatment of the Negro problem the area under consideration should be taken into account. According to some authors the chief causes of race antagonism are<sup>91</sup> conflict of economic interests, differences in tradition, customs and "temperament", the fear of contamination of racial stock, and conflict of political interests. However, all of these may be observed within given races. The rich and poor are constantly striving for more wealth, the New England Yankee shuns the newly arrived immigrant because the latter's family background lacks American tradition. The socially prominent intermarry to keep their class from dying out, and there are White Republicans and White Democrats. In short, the above causes exist also within races.

It might be pointed out that the feelings of antago-

<sup>91</sup>.Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization".P.356

nism within a race are not as keen as those existing between races. For example, it might be quite a blow to a prominent business man to have his daughter marry a common laborer, but the shock of her wedding a colored doctor would be much greater. One may conclude from the above reasoning that antagonism between the races is the same as within races, but magnified.

The Chicago Commission on Race Relations recently attempted a study on racial attitudes. They attempted to isolate and explode current beliefs concerning the Negro race. They traced stereotyped opinions about the colored man to contributions of the stage, in gossip, literature, jokes and pseudo-scientific literature. They also sought the opinions the Negro had about himself, and those of the White population towards the Negro. Their conclusions were as follows:<sup>92</sup>

"We are convinced by our inquiry: (a) that means involving or approaching deportation or segregation are illegal, impractical, and would not solve but would accentuate the race problem and postpone its just and orderly solution by the process of adjustment; (b) that the moral responsibility for race rioting does not rest upon hoodlums alone, but also upon all citizens, white or black, who sanction force or violence in interracial relations, or who do not condemn or combat the spirit of racial hatred thus expressed; (c) that race friction and antagonism are largely due to the fact that each race too readily misunderstands and misinterprets

<sup>92</sup>. "The Negro in Chicago". A Study in Race Relations and Race Riot. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations. P.694

the other's conduct and aspirations.

"We therefore urge upon all citizens, White and Negro, active opposition to the employment of force or violence in interracial relations and to the spirit of antagonism and hatred. We recommend dispassionate, intelligent and sympathetic consideration by each race of the others needs and aims; we also recommend the dissemination of proud or trustworthy information about all phases of race relations as a useful means for effecting peaceful racial adjustment.

"Since rumor, usually groundless, is a prolific source of racial bitterness and strife, we warn both Whites and Negroes against the acceptance or circulation by either of reports about the other whose truth has not been fully established. We urge all citizens, White and Negro, vigorously to oppose all propaganda of malicious or selfish origin which would tend to excite race prejudice.

"We condemn the provocation of fostering of race antagonism by associations or organizations ostensibly founded or conducted for purposes of patriotism or local improvements or the like."

From this conclusion one realizes the gravity of the situation. It resembles a truce between two opposing factions that will be broken by an overt action from either side, and the battle will be on again. Furthermore, publications like "The Birth of a Nation" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" produce emotional attitudes that aggravate the crisis.

The situation, fortunately, is not hopeless. Many religious, public and private organizations are doing excellent work to relieve the tension. The National Urban League, which was founded in 1912, has done noteworthy work by fostering better understanding between Whites and Negroes. It has helped the southern Negro coming north during the war years, to adjust himself to the new environment. It is attempting to improve opportunities, gain recognition and raise the status of the Negro in industry, community, government and other phases of American life. The attitude by which it works is expressed adequately by one of its founders, Mrs. William H. Baldwin, Sr., when she said; "Let us work not as colored people nor as White people, for the narrow benefits of any group alone, but together as American citizens for the common good of our common city, our common country."<sup>93</sup>

"A right, in the moral sense of the term, may be defined as an involuble moral claim to some personal good. When this claim is created, as it sometimes is by civil authority, it is a positive or legal right; when it is derived from man's natural nature it is a natural right. All rights are means, moral means, whereby the possessor of them is enabled to reach some end. Natural rights are the moral means or opportunities by which the individual attains the end appointed to him by nature...this end is right and reasonable life...Just as his intellectual, volitional, sensitive, nutritive and motive faculties are the positive

<sup>93</sup>•Johnson: "The Negro in American Civilization", P.365

or physical agencies by which he lives and acts as a human being, so his natural rights are the moral faculties requisite to the same end." His fellow men "must hold themselves restrained from hindering him in the reasonable exercise of his faculties. His powers of intellect, will, sense, nutrition and motion will be of little use to him if his neighbors may licitly deprive him, whenever it may suit their convenience, of his external goods, or his liberty, or his life."<sup>94</sup>

No one will deny that the Negro is an intellectual, volitional and sensitive being. Because he is endowed with these faculties he has an equal right to the same end - right and reasonable life - as any other being with similar faculties. However, the White man has not restrained himself from hindering the Negro in the exercise of these faculties. In 1922-23 the Federal government allocated \$5,000,000 for the education of the southern Negro. This money was allocated to the Negro for his education by civil authority and thus he had a positive and legal right to it. However, in the distribution of these funds the white man kept a large amount for his own use. The differences from the amount the Negro should have received and what he actually got from 1928 to 1935 ranged from \$13,800 in West Virginia to \$809,000 in Mississippi. It is obvious that such white practices are out and out refringements on the Negro's legal and positive rights. Discriminatory practices of a similar sort exist in education, industry and the armed forces.

<sup>94</sup>.Ryan and Boland: "Catholic Principals of Politics", P.365

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The hindering of the educational faculties of the Negro retards his intellectual development and is therefore an infringement of his natural rights by the White man. The doctrine of natural rights also insists "that the individual is endowed by nature, or rather by God, with the rights that are requisite to reasonable development of his personality."<sup>95</sup> Refusing the Negro equality in business, government, education and in society as a whole, certainly retards and hinders this development. By denying him equal social integrity the White man classifies him as an inferior, and thus infringes upon his natural rights as a rational being.

The attitude of the White man towards the Negro varies in the different sections of the country. The social status of the Negro as a class is influenced greatly by the personal attitude of the average White in each area. This is made clearer by viewing the reactions of a southern Negro and a northern Negro under the same conditions. For instance, during the war many northern colored soldiers got into a considerable amount of trouble when they were transferred to the south. They encountered rules of segregation that were new to them, and seemed unfair. At first they revolted, but later fell in line because of the overwhelming odds against them.

Naturally, with these various forms of race relations throughout the land, the methods of attacking the Negro problem would have to be based on local White attitudes.

In the northern rural and suburban areas the feeling

<sup>95</sup> Ryan and Boland: "Catholic Principals of Politics". P.27

between the races is not so acute simply because there is little social contact. Race strife is unlikely to break out in this type of locality and therefore speed is not a factor in solving the Negro problem. These people should be taught through the schools and churches to understand the Negro's plight. Through patient understanding they will become an influence on their urban neighbors.

The work of Reverend Harold Purcell in elevating the standards of the southern Negro is proof that individual attempts, at solving the Negro problem, are not futile.<sup>96</sup> At the time he started his project he was living in Montgomery, Alabama, where he was convalescing. One afternoon while he was idling about the city he came across Shuffle Alley, one of Montgomery's black-family slums. By investigating further he found the squalor in this area appalling. In the entire alley there was but one privy and a lone water pump. Upon poking his head into an open doorway he discovered a half dead Negro lying on a heap of rags and no one around to attend him. The next door<sup>a</sup> one-roomed shack housed seven persons, one of them a small girl crippled and wasting away with tuberculosis.

This experience was so appalling to him that he said, "I am changing my whole way of life; from this instant to the grave. I know the doctors think I am washed up, old for my time. Well I'm going to fool them. What a job - to doctor these poor people, feed and clothe the children and teach them

<sup>96</sup>. Osler: "The Beggar of St. Jude", "The Catholic World", September, 1946, Pp. 501-505

their lives are not hopeless - St. Jude's Mission is going to be."<sup>97</sup>

The next day he sought permission to carry out his pledge. Bishop Tollen of Mobile authorized a start. He rented a house, and with Joe Bennett, a willing volunteer, put it in shape within a week. By the second week two doctors were giving one night a week to the dispensary these two had set up. However, the Whites of the neighborhood were incensed at the invasion of the Negroes and forced Father Purcell to curtail his activities.

Refusing defeat, the priest, on a policeman's hint, rented a house of questionable reputation in a colored section, it being the only one available. He named his new venture the City of St. Jude, and built a tiny altar in the dance room.

His next step was to get to New York City where he rented a room and typed hundreds of begging letters:<sup>98</sup>

"One cent will buy a dose of medicine. One nickel will buy two diapers. We need shirts, stomach bands, nightgowns. Another nickel will buy twelve cotton swabs or one pint of milk. Eight cents a loaf of bread, a can of corn or tomatoes, some rice, corn meal, spaghetti, beans or potatoes. Ten cents will get one child a square meal, properly balanced to correct malnutrition. Send us clothing, new or old, bolts or remnants, we can use anything."

<sup>97</sup>. Osler: "The Beggar of St. Jude", "The Catholic World", September, 1946, P.502

<sup>98</sup>. Ibid: P.503

The results of these letters were startling. Boxes of canned food, clothing, letters stuffed with money, and bales of everything imaginable began arriving.

Later he got four young nurses and two of Montgomery's best physicians, Dr. Daniels a Protestant, and Dr. Weil a Jew, to help him, and soon after the colored Dr. Adair joined his organization. After he got a little money he erected a two story social center.

Nun nurses took over after the volunteer nurses completed the time they had promised to him. Furthermore, by this time around three hundred boys and girls were attending classes. These children received one square meal a day which included a pint of grade A milk, strong soup, green vegetables, an occasional slice of meat, peanut butter sandwiches and a few sweet things from homes all over the land.

The children wear donated clothes that are crisp and clean. Father Purcell is teaching them to maintain their self respect by keeping them in a presentable appearance, and by conveying to them such ideas as the following:

"And don't ever hate the White folks...If they treat you wrong you act right anyway. Sooner or later we are going to change the way things are, but not by hate - you hear me? - By love kids!"<sup>99</sup>

On Alabama's highway No. 32 he built the Church of St. Jude. It is an impressive building with a blue tile roof and

<sup>99</sup>Osler: "The Beggar of St. Jude", "The Catholic World", September, 1946, P.504

a large Crucifix of pure white Italian Carrara. What is more amazing is that the Reverend Purcell, by pernicious handling, cut the construction price of the church tremendously. For example, it was estimated that the Crucifixion would cost \$10,000, but by contacting a sculptor in Italy to make it for him he saved \$8,200.

A year later he opened the Home for incurables in the country, fifty miles from the church and social center. Here the crippled, paralyzed and feeble of Shuffle Alley and other slum sections were attended to and able to enjoy life. Furthermore, last autumn he opened a high school next to the church. On the side of it a giant piece conveys to those passing the following thought:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal".

When asked by Mr. Oursler what the biggest cause for race antagonism was Father Purcell replied; "The basic problem is not economic; it's not political or social. It's as simple as this - we need to educate better mothers. With good mothers we can do anything, whether the mothers are black or white."

The Reverend Harold Purcell is an example of the good one individual can do toward eliminating the race problem in the United States, when he has the will and ambition to carry out his convictions. This priest's successes are not of a local nature. Certainly he has inspired others that the

undertaking is not futile. From this simple beginning one hopes that race tolerance throughout the nation will become the active concern of more and more able leaders. Never let it be said that the simple offerings of a single person will pass without effect. As soon as this defeatist attitude is overcome, a snow balling effect will be started and go far in erasing race intolerance.

## CONCLUSION

The Negroe's forefathers, like those of the White man, migrated to this country from other lands. Religious persecution, economic distress, and the hope for a better life, lured the White man to the New World. The Negro on the other hand was forced aboard ships and transported across the Atlantic like so much cargo. His future, unlike the White man's, was complete despair. He is the only class of humanity that entered North America to be completely exploited. True, there were a few indentured servants that were shipped from England, but they were required to work a stipulated period and then were free. The Negro received no such bargain, he remained a slave until death.

The Civil<sup>War</sup> was supposed to have been fought to free the slaves, but today a large part of his freedom exists on paper only. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were designed to guarantee the colored man civil rights. However, from 1890 to this day laws have been passed in all the southern states which defranchise the Negro. At present well over 5,000,000 adult Negroes are prevented from voting at local and national elections.<sup>100</sup> Certainly the Negro has not asked for this treatment either by act or thought. The White man brought him forcibly to the New World, fought a war to free him,

<sup>100</sup>. "Crisis", June, 1925, P. 62

and created the social barriers that now hold him down, and all the while the Negro stood on the side lines, an innocent spectator of his fate.

If the number of generations one has in this country is any preference to citizenship, the Negro stands head and shoulders over eighty per cent of the population. After the slave traders were put out of business, during the latter half of the eighteen thirties, Negro immigration dropped off to almost nothing.

Only during a period of crisis has the Negro been able to better his lot. During the lull between World War I and World War II he held down such positions as chauffeur, janitor, unskilled laborer and many other menial tasks. Because there was a great demand for skilled and semi-skilled workers during the national emergency that just passed, he was permitted to hold down highly technical jobs in shipyards, industrial laboratories, iron and steel plants, automobile factories and aircraft plants. This gain was not fostered by ability but by necessity. However he does have ability equal to the White man. His success at war production is proof of that, only the opportunity is lacking.

Both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. have maintained a policy of non-discrimination between the races. Therefore, as far as the official records of the Union are concerned, the Negro has an opportunity equal to the White man's to prove himself. Although this attitude is noteworthy, its application

is only possible if the White Union members adhere to the principles set down, and from my experience with the working class adherence is going to take a lot of education.

In June 1942, while doing some construction work in a local plant, I had a conversation with a Union carpenter whose Negro prejudices were rather extreme. I asked him why he was so dead set against the colored man. "After all," I maintained, "he is a human being just as you and I, subject to the same feelings."

The carpenter replied, "Well he's black and I don't like black people."

I told him that was easily explained, although it was a poor basis for discrimination. Continuing I maintained that the White man is pinkish in color simply because the blood shows through the transparent surface of the skin. An excessive amount of dark pigment in the Negro's skin renders the above effect impossible.

"Well", he continued with his baseless line of prejudice, "the nigger's not equal to the white man."

I showed him where the Negro, when given the opportunity, is capable of doing jobs equally as well as the White man. In addition I said that if there is any inequality between the Negro and the White man it is because of the former's environment. My working companion admitted that my arguments sounded convincing but added that anything I said would not change his mind. "The nigger just isn't any good, and that's all."

This man's attitude, although a little extreme, is typical of the majority of the White supremacy advocates. They

just don't like the Negro and that's all. When they were young they listened to their parents run down the colored race, in their teens they heard and uttered baseless statements detrimental to the colored race, and in middle age they continue in the same rut. In themselves these people are harmless but their courage increases with the number of sympathizers they hang with. Furthermore, they are dangerous because they pass their bigoted ideas on to the younger generation.

If you, the reader, think you are justified in disliking the Negro, ask yourself why. If in all sincerity, you can't name a few objective reasons for this attitude, you'd best look into the past to see how you attained such a view point. Be honest with yourself.

World War II was the greatest test of unity between the races. New situations were encountered and new conditions of assimilation were forced on the two groups. Aboard the smaller ships of the navy they lived in the same compartment, and in some cases bunked head to toes. Despite this situation, which would certainly never have existed in civilian life, the two classes got along reasonably well. The White service man put up with the Negro in such instances partly because of the insistence of the military brass in Washington. It solved nothing and in some cases aggravated the question. It aggravated the Negro question because the White people were forced to associate with the colored people in many ways that were contrary to their prejudiced judgments. The take it or leave it methods of the

high military brass were only successful as long as the problem was kept within the services. It caused bitterness toward the colored man despite the fact that he was an innocent victim. However, as it has been stated previously, the primary object of the armed forces is to win battles and not solve social problems. To the military mind, justice, feeling and humanity are merely incidental trivials that have to be put up with.

The schools, both public and private, in the United States, are one of the most important factors in eliminating the race problems. Here young minds are guided and ideas of the future citizens are formed. Unfortunately there are many cases where class prejudices in administration take preference over tolerance and common sense. As it has been shown, all the southern states maintain independent facilities for the races. In the northern and western schools, although the Negro is not separated, there is a certain amount of social discrimination in the class room, and it becomes greater as the child progresses.

Illiteracy among southern Negroes is relatively high. Furthermore, their schooling facilities are less adequate than those of the southern Whites, which in turn are low when compared to national standards. As I have previously stated, the elimination of illiteracy depends on many factors: a willingness on the public's part to fight the deficiency, a more efficient coverage of both rural and city schools, more government subsidation in

the less prosperous areas, and an increase in the facilities of adult education. To alleviate the race problem something definitely should be done on this score. It is not enough to educate the White man to treat the Negro as an equal. The Negro, in the areas where his facilities are lacking, should be aided to equality.

During World War II the Negro made advances in many phases of American life. He got better jobs, the White man's respect for him increased, his weekly salary increased notably, his military status was improved, and in many ways his standard of living was improved. However, all these gains were partly due to the crisis that existed. Now that the war is over and living conditions have returned somewhere near normal, what is the trend of the Negro status? Will he have to return to his old way of life or can he hope to view the future with hope rather than despair?

According to the Connecticut Interracial Commission, which came into existence during the transition of industry from normal to wartime economy:

"The whole social and economic outlook in our Connecticut communities is in process of a progressive and significant change, more or less pointedly so for minorities." Negro enrollment at the University of Connecticut is at an all time high. The New Haven Hospital, in 1943, was the only hospital to employ a Negro as a staff nurse. Today the Hartford Hospital has three, St. Mary's in Waterbury and the Norwalk General Hospital have one each. Furthermore, New

Britain's General Hospital has employed Negroes, as has St. Raphael's of New Haven.

In the field of education Connecticut has nineteen regular Negro teachers, and many substitutes and students. The state has eighteen regular Negro policemen, five having been hired since last January. There are thirty one colored stenographers listed and the demand for them is still unfilled. G. Fox and Company of Hartford has so successfully eliminated White worker resistance that over five per cent of its personnel is colored. Such commercial stores as Sage & Allen and Davis Leventhal of Hartford, and Shartenberg's of New Haven have been employing Negroes in positions of higher responsibility for some time. By utilizing two Negro personnel officers, James L. Mitchell and Edward H. Gain, the Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven has been able to employ several hundred Negroes with much success.<sup>101</sup>

This progressive trend is not merely local but nation wide. Many large stores in Binghamton, New York, have been hiring Negroes in other than menial jobs. A report from Tuskegee Institute maintains that lynchings are on the down grade. Six out of every seven potential lynchings have been prevented by the resourcefulness of the guardians of the law.<sup>102</sup>

Though the future looks encouraging there are still

101. "The Sunday Herald", Aug. 17, 1947, P. 17

102. Ibid: August 10, 1947, P. 26

many injustices to be righted. The greatest offender is still the south. Constant vigilance and a continued struggle by both White and Negro must be maintained to keep this favorable trend alive. It may take time, patience and effort, but continue we must for the hope of a better America.

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