

Bruno Lasker

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

March 22, 1924.

Miss Frances Ingram,
Neighborhood House,
428 South First St.,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Miss Ingram,

Since I had the pleasure of meeting you last May I have become secretary of a Commission on Race Relations (in the wider sense as embracing all national and ethnic groups in America) under the auspices of the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life. I know that, however incompetent you may think me of filling that position, you will be interested in learning what this body is trying to do in a field in which so many organizations are already at work.

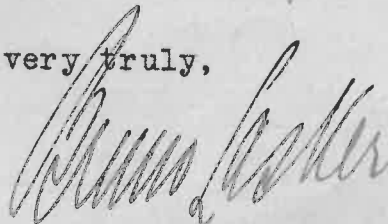
Enclosed you will find a preliminary statement of objects which I think more or less expresses the spirit of the enterprise. This commission is now engaged in building up a study course based entirely on actual happenings with the intention that study groups, Bible classes, and so on, will take up these stories, analyze them as regards their meaning, look for evidences of a similar nature in their own environment, and proceed towards some practical steps in the direction of finding solutions.

Two principles have entered into this project, first, that it must be realistic, that is, not deal with race relations in the abstract but in concrete situations; second, that it must be democratic, that is, based on the experience of the widest variety of people who are asked to participate from the very first step, namely, the contribution of material for the study course itself.

I am sending you under separate cover a collection of sample stories showing more or less the kind of thing we are trying to get. I should be most grateful if you would kindly see whether you can out of your own experience contribute some episodes or incidents that would describe some of the many ways in which race problems manifest themselves in the United States. I am making this request very earnestly because it is only by participation of just such busy people as yourself that we can hope for success.

I am,

Yours very truly,



BL:ES

Enc.

Bruno Lasker .

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

April 28, 1924.

Miss Frances Ingram,
Neighborhood House,
428 South First Street,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Miss Ingram,

Of course one does not expect settlement workers to be good correspondents. I have been in that position myself and know what it means to get requests for cooperation from everybody.

However, I had hoped that you might be interested in the subject of my letter of March 22nd. Perhaps the enclosed reprint of an article in The Survey will remind you of that request and possibly stimulate you to action.

If you are coming through New York on your way to Canada, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours very truly,

BL:ES

Enc.

Bruno Lasker

types of organizations, such as women's clubs, labor unions, church federations, Rotary clubs, industrial managers associations, parent-teacher associations, Bible classes, student associations, and the like—is regarded merely as an introduction to local search for parallel situations, with an emphasis in discussion on the solutions of the local problems and those parts of the solutions in which the members of the discussion group, either as a group or individually as members of other groups, can take effective part.

But that lies in the future. The immediate task is that of collecting enough material for one general study course composed entirely of stories of actual experiences. To this the readers of this article are earnestly invited to make their contributions.

Facts Wanted

THE Commission on Race Relations of the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life invites any one who has come in contact with a problem of race adjustment to tell of that experience exactly as it has come to him, whether it be a single incident witnessed in the street or a long-continued episode with intricate problems in the solution of which he has felt some concern. Where the mention of names and places is likely to cause injury or embarrassment, they may be suppressed and the circumstances be disguised in other ways necessary to prevent identification. Each story should be complete in itself, with as much detail as may be necessary to make it clear. Sometimes, to give more color to the narrative, it may be possible to reproduce conversations or to describe the environment that is influencing the attitude of this or that group or person. Such contributions should be addressed to The Inquiry, 129 East 52 Street, New York.

What Happens on Your Street?

IT is no longer a novelty to be invited to a conference without set speeches, and even without set questions for discussion except the general topic. The idea is that for the purpose of getting a really animated discussion, leading to agreements which in turn will lead to common action, it is best to have the participants in the conference themselves decide what aspects of the subject interest them most and have them present these in the form in which they naturally come to them. With modifications, this method is also being applied increasingly to longer study courses. Such reliance on the interests and experience of the study group is, of course, not possible where the object is to put over or "sell" some definite idea of program. The propagandist will always have to insist on set speeches and expertly prepared texts.

A somewhat novel experiment along democratic lines is now being carried out by the Commission on Race Relations of the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life. The object of this commission is to encourage and assist inquiry into the nature of the relationships between different racial and national groups in America with a view to the discovery of such specific measures as may be needed to conserve good will, remove misunderstandings, make for better adjustment and avert conflicts. Hitherto, in such an undertaking, it has been customary to call in an expert to make a survey, to present a logically worked out scheme, and to recommend how the various problems should be met. The method of this commission is different. It believes that problems of race relations are problems of mental attitudes,

Reprinted from The Survey for April 15, 1924

and that it is more useful to find out what people of all walks of life *think* are problems in which race is involved than to make ex cathedra pronouncements as to what problems are biological, economic, concerned with historical animosities, with differences in cultural traditions, or falling into other such ready-made classes. It is therefore concentrating its efforts on gathering records of actual experience and submitting these to analysis and study—again not only by experts in social psychology but by all sorts of people of intelligence and good will.

Thus the commission is promoting at present a unique educational experiment: the building up of a study course by the same people—men and women, young and old, native and foreign-born, white and black and red—who later on will be asked to make up the student body.

Any one who has come in contact with a problem of race adjustment is asked simply to tell what happened. And the bulk of these happenings will make up the material of the study course. In this way, stories that illustrate a common form of discrimination against, let us say, Orientals, in one part of the country, will be placed side by side with stories of a similar nature in another section where, however, the sufferers are some group of South European immigrants or American Negroes. Too often people engrossed in a particular problem of group relationships consider it unique and question the ability or right of those in other sections of the country who have had no part in the experience of theirs to help in its solution. To find their story repeated with slight variations by some one with a similar problem in a totally different racial environment will be an eye-opener.

Again, there are many ways of tackling the same problem in group relationships. The commission does not propose to set itself up as an adjudicator between the different forms

of action; but rather to tell of the various experiments in such graphic detail as may be necessary to visualize them and let those who are studying and discussing these records in all parts of the country report what *they* consider the most practical solutions and those most likely to lead to a finer spirit of mutual tolerance and fellowship between the different racial and national groups. And this is not merely a gesture; no agency or specialist today is possessed of a wide enough range of information to be able to say with certainty what an institution devoted to the welfare of native Americans should do when the complexion of the neighborhood is changing and the old constituency is moving out; or how in practice (it is easy enough in theory!) the friction can be avoided that so often comes when colored families purchase homes in a white neighborhood; or how the cultural differences between different national groups living in the same neighborhood can be bridged most quickly and effectively.

By putting questions such as these up to people of the most varied experience concretely and realistically in the form of telling incidents, the commission is combining functions of research and of education in a way that is certainly democratic; how effective it will be, of course, remains to be seen.

But this is not the whole plan. With the two functions named it is proposed also to combine that of social action (remedial, preventive, conservational, as the case may be). Like the Councils and Committees of Race Cooperation in the South which have been so remarkably successful in stimulating cooperation of white and Negro in concrete projects of community betterment, the commission believes that the best kind of education is that of experimental doing. So the study course—and eventually it is hoped there will be study courses adapted to the special interests of different

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
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Sights -
Stewart's Basement
Bread base - 3.25
4.25
Piano - put away
except Tuesday.

March 16, 1925.

Dear Miss Ingram,

A study of attitudes of people of a given racial or national group to the members of other groups, now in process under the auspices of the Commission on Race Relations of The Inquiry, has already revealed that many of these attitudes are fixed early in life and are difficult for a grown-up individual to trace by self-examination.

For this reason, we are now attempting to promote a special inquiry into the attitudes of children as a basis for an examination of the whole process of education in tolerance. Again, as in the method followed in connection with our larger and more inclusive inquiry into race attitudes (see the study outline "And Who Is My Neighbor?") we desire to create material for study and discussion cooperatively by asking parents, teachers and others interested in children to discuss the subject and send us concrete illustrations of the forms in which such attitudes in children show themselves and the problems for parents and educators as they see them. From this material a special committee of the commission will then endeavor to construct a study outline which may be used as a basis for discussion by parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, women's bible classes and other interested groups.

The enclosed preliminary draft is intended merely to open up the subject and to suggest the kinds of questions which probably should enter into the first part of such an outline before the problems can be successfully formulated and possible solutions for them be usefully considered.

Will you, with this draft and with the sample illustrations given, conduct a discussion with some interested group with which you may be connected for the purpose of eliciting and reporting to us more and better illustrations and securing expressions, based on personal experience, as to the questions which should enter into a study outline for widespread inquiry?

As there is considerable demand for study material on this subject, I should be especially grateful if you could conduct such a discussion and report upon it as soon as possible, certainly within the next two months. Please let me know whether we may count on your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Bruno Lasker

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN

I. WHAT ARE THE SITUATIONS IN WHICH RACE ATTITUDES APPEAR?

1. In what forms do adverse attitudes of children to those of other racial or national groups show themselves?
(Fear? Hostility? Cruelty? Unfairness? Patronage? Ridicule?)
2. At what ages do the different attitudes noted first appear?
3. Do these attitudes change at different ages,
 - a) as regards intensity and number of incidents in which they show themselves?
 - b) as regards the way in which they show themselves?
4. What kinds of situations bring children of different groups together?
(For example, how are they seated in class? Are they mixed in small project groups at school? Do they mix in the school yard, in play on street or playground?)
5. How do these situations differ in the sort of contact that is involved?
(For example, is the nature of the contact the same in school and Sunday school? In class room and school yard? In settlement club and swimming pool?)
6. Do these situations change as children grow older? If so, what is the connection between such changes and the changes in attitudes at different ages noted under question 3?

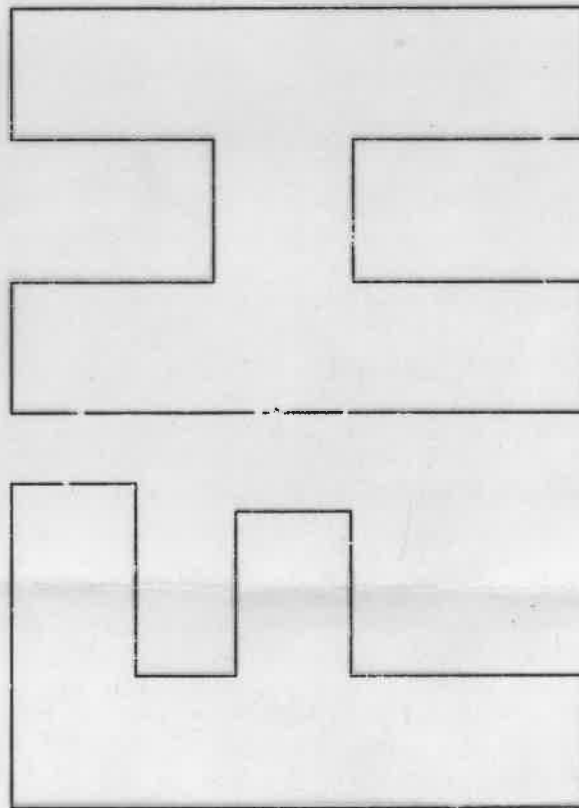
II. HOW DO THE RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN COME ABOUT?

1. In what forms do adverse attitudes of children toward those of different race or nationality give rise to the widespread belief that they are "natural" or "instinctive"?
2. How, and at what age, do children find out that there are group differences as distinct from individual differences between people?
3. To what extent are children's race attitudes conditioned by their specific personal experience?
 - a. By their personal observation of the behaviour of children or grown-ups of other groups?
 - b. By specific unpleasant experiences in contact with individuals of other groups?
4. To what extent do they represent the absorption of attitudes current among the adults of their own group? What are the influences of talk which children overhear at home, school, church or in the neighborhood in which

- a. derisive names are applied to members of other groups;
 - b. their cultural efforts are humorously depreciated;
 - c. the discussion of other groups is marked by an emotional tone;
 - d. no mention of any kind is made of the existence of other groups in the community?
5. What are some of the institutional influences on the attitudes of children to those of other race or nationality?
- a. Segregation (such as separation in residence areas, in conveyances, schools, churches, etc.); or
 - b. Exclusion (from employments, schools, civic rights, amusements, restaurants, hotels, clubs, etc.);
 - c. Association of race or nationality with a specific social status or a limited range of occupations?
6. What are some of the more specific "educational" influences on the attitudes of children to those of other race or nationality? As, for example,
- a. Teaching in school, Sunday school, organized recreation?
 - b. Books (school books, story books), and pictures?
 - c. Movies?
 - d. Ceremonies, plays, songs, pageants, exhibitions?
 - e. Newspapers (comic supplements) and other miscellaneous reading?
7. What characteristic associations between race or nationality and mental or moral qualities do children absorb from these environmental influences and sources of information?
- a. Association of mental or moral inferiority with distinctive physical characteristics, such as skin color, beard, length of hair, large or small figure?
 - b. Association of inferiority with the countries of origin of certain national or racial groups, with their history, political organization, religion?
 - c. Association of inferiority with foreign language or with different manners and habits, clothes and diet?
8. When and how are adverse attitudes of children to other racial or national groups reversed or modified?

III. WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS?

1. What are the effects of adverse attitudes to those of different race or nationality?
 - a. Upon children of the exclusive group?
 - b. Upon children of the group excluded?
2. What are children made to feel they will lose by free association with children of the other group?
3. What are they made to feel they will gain by such association?



SOME ILLUSTRATIVE INCIDENTS

1. Illustrative of situations in which race attitudes appear:

- a. A man of national reputation for his activities in promoting mutual understanding between different classes and peoples one night overheard his little girl in her evening prayer ask the Lord to bless her father and mother, brothers, and sisters, the teachers and all the children at the school "except that new colored girl in my class."
- b. A similar story was told by one of the foremost Negro leaders recently. His six-year old daughter who goes to a mixed school said she would not play with such and such children because they were "dagoes!"

Compare, in contrast, with the following:

- c. On the other hand, a Jewish girl, asked by a woman who had just moved into the neighborhood to which of two public schools she had better send her young child, recommended ----- school because there the "Wops" were more or less segregated. However, she had reasoned the matter out and was not speaking from prejudice: ----- school being the larger of the two, she said, had so many pupils that each grade was subdivided into several classes, so that the children from the better homes who usually were "smarter" as a rule were put into those classes that got on fastest while the "foreigners" who had language difficulties were in classes that did not advance so fast.
- d. The parents had been at the Christmas "assembly" at school proudly to watch five-year old Johnny. It was natural that at dinner afterwards the celebration was discussed. One of them remarked on the fact that Henry, a class-mate of John's of Jewish parentage, seemed to have enjoyed the singing of the hymns and a little religious address by one of the teachers quite as much as the Christian children. All at once John flared up: "Don't you call Henry a Jew - he is a friend of mine!"

Why did John object to having his friend called a Jew?

2. Illustrative of contacts that shape attitudes:

- a. A child, just over five years of age, has been attending a Sunday school in which there is a Chinese girl who is "made a good deal of" by the teacher. The result is that little Mary talks very often about the Chinese and asks all sorts of questions about the way the Chinese do things. She seems to have already a decided attitude of friendliness toward the Chinese people.

On the other hand, she was overheard to remark: "I don't like Italians." It was found that the experience which lay behind this was that some Italian street laborers had been passing the house several evenings in succession and had apparently made a very unfavorable impression on her by their personal appearance. She said, "Italians are dirty," and again, "Italians talk so funny. Their talk doesn't sound like ours."

- b. Bessie, a girl of fourteen, heard her father tell of an experience in a restaurant which, contrary to the law, had refused to serve a colored man. She remarked she certainly would not like to eat in the same place with Negroes. Asked to give her reason, she said she often found colored people ill-mannered on the street cars. The father suspected that this was a rationalization and that really the child merely reflected attitudes current among her school friends, but to provide the child with an opportunity to correct impressions gained from too limited a contact with people of the dark races, he took the first opportunity to invite some refined colored people to the home.

3. Illustrative of educational influences:

- a. Mrs. Anne Biddle Stirling, chairman of the Interracial Committee of Philadelphia, not long ago wrote in the course of a newspaper article:

"About three years ago our committee made a survey of the high schools of Philadelphia with the idea of getting at the exact situation with regard to interracial teaching. We found among other things that a book written by a Missourian was being used in which, according to the sub-heads, stress was laid upon the "inherent vicious tendencies" of the Negro race, the danger of a "reversion to barbarism and pauperism" and much more, and paying no attention whatever to the enormous handicaps under which the Negro has labored nor what he has accomplished in the last fifty years.

"This volume was being used as a book of reference in the schools. As was to be expected, the classes had absorbed the idea that the colored people were a heavy liability upon the United States, and, in short, everything unpleasant biologically that could be imagined. It took some time but this book was finally banished from the schools."

- b. The Southern writer George Madden Martin, in a recent report on the history of the Negro in public school texts to the Kentucky Inter-racial Conference, says among other things:

"In no text-books that your committee has examined is the American Negro shown, in a creditable sense, to the pupil, white and colored, as a people, a race group, with a past and authenticated history of their own in Africa. Again, no text-book that we have examined tells the pupil that practically every people in the world have been enslaved by some other people, at some period in their history; no text-book that we have examined explains to the pupil, white and colored, that slavery is a condition imposed, endured, not necessarily merited.

"Your committee, in a word, has found no school text-book which, first, presents and considers the Negro as a race group, with the rights and attributes of such a group, and next, as a slave group, contributory to the economic development of America."

- c. It was Easter morning on the second-class deck of the S. S. Olympic enroute to America. A New England mother was quietly reading the story of the Crucifixion to her three children. In the midst of the story one interrupted and asked--"So it was a bunch of Jews who killed Jesus?"

The mother started to nod assent when her eye fell on the occupants of several adjacent steamer chairs and, like a flash, she said--"Yes, it happened to be Jews who killed Jesus, but He Himself was a Jew. If He had been living in America today, it would have been Protestant Christians like ourselves who would have killed Him."

4. Illustrative of association of racial with cultural qualities

a. A student writes:

I have always been more or less associated with Negroes, in school. When I was too little to remember much or to have formed any active dislike, a Negro laundress was working at our house. Lunch was announced and Mother, as a matter of course, prepared a place at our table for her. When my older brother returned from school, he refused to eat at the same table with a Negress. Mother was very angry and embarrassed, but it was a question of excluding her own son or a stranger and a member of another race; so the next week the Negress ate in the kitchen. She offered no protest and seemed to take it for granted. She expected the latter and not the more familiar intercourse with her employers which she had at first been offered.

b. From the New York Herald Tribune for February 3, 1925:

The parents of 160 children carried out their threat yesterday to boycott Public School 5, Webster Avenue and 188th Street, the Bronx. Only sixteen of the 176 pupils transferred on Friday from Public School 33, an imposing new structure at Jerome Avenue and Fordham Road, reported at the fifty-year-old Webster Avenue building.

Although the reason given by the parents for their aversion to Public School 5 was that the equipment of the red-brick structure was antiquated and unsafe, Miss Elizabeth Rottger, the principal, said eighteen of the mothers had told her they did not care to have their children associated with the other pupils there. She pointed out that her school drew many of its pupils from that part of the Bronx, east of the Grand Concourse, where there are many Italians, and that, west of the Concourse, there are a large number of more prosperous Jewish people....

5. Illustrative of permanent effects of early impressions:

A colored girl, about nine years old, was quite a problem of discipline in a Philadelphia school. In fact, she was considered a mischievous child by her teacher. At that time there was no segregation, and all the other girls in her class were white. One day, in scolding her about her conduct, the teacher said, "What's the matter with you? Do you think you are as good as these white girls?" The colored child, giving no thought to the import of the question, spontaneously replied, "Why, certainly I do." Upon which the teacher expressed great surprise.

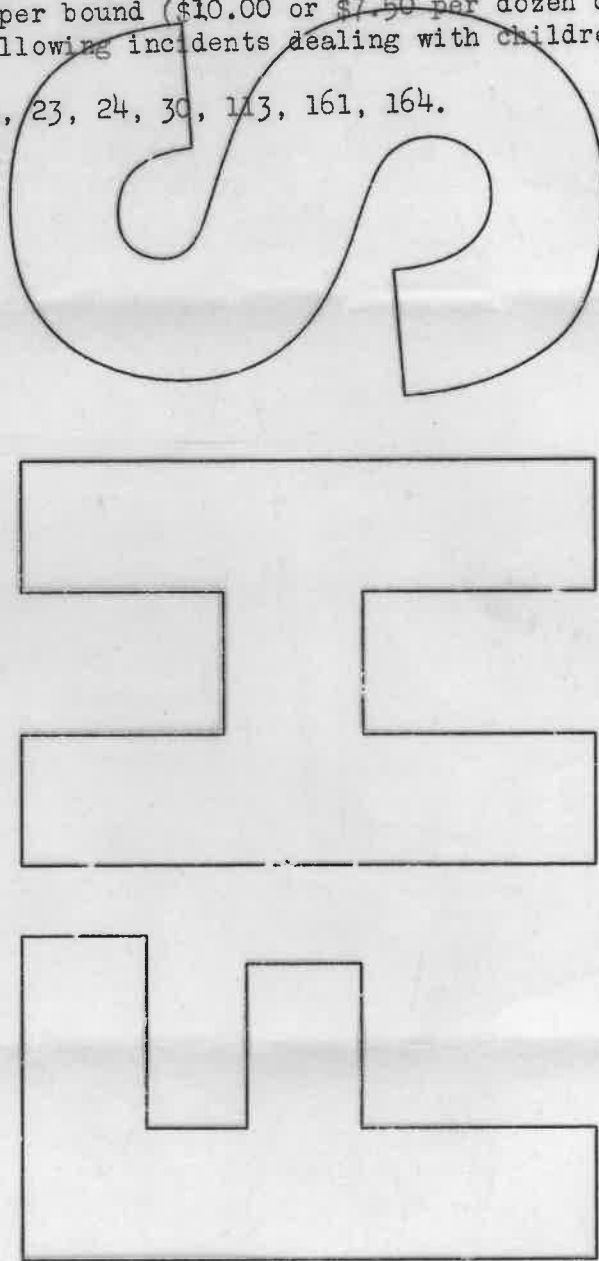
The girl is now a mature woman and says that on that day there awakened in her a sense of race rivalry, that she set out then to let no girl in any of her classes excel her in her work, and that there began to burn in her the fire of racial resentment.

For other and more fully developed illustrations see

"AND WHO IS MY NEIGHBOR?"

an Outline for the Study of Race Relations in America, distributed for
The Inquiry by Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, at \$1.00
cloth bound or \$.75 paper bound (\$10.00 or \$7.50 per dozen copies)--
more especially the following incidents dealing with children:

Nos. 2,6,8, 15,16, 19, 23, 24, 30, 113, 161, 164.



April 11, 1925.

Mr. Bruno Lasker,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York City,
New York.

My dear Mr. Lasker:

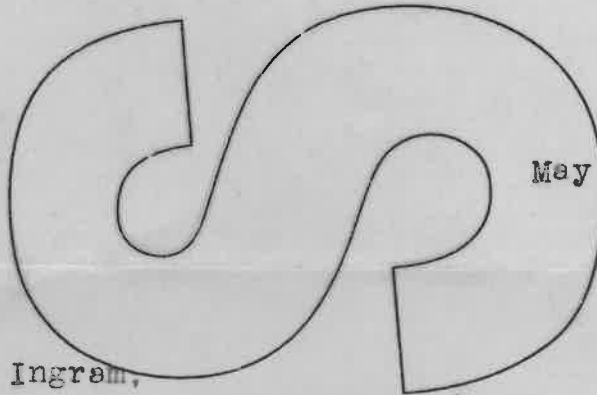
I will be very glad to take up with the
Louisville group the inquiry proposed by you, into
the attitude of children as a basis for an examination
of education in tolerance. I will send you any
material I may have within a couple of months.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Ingram.

Bruno Lasker

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700



May 5, 1925

Dear Miss Ingram,

You will recall my letter of March 16, with which I sent you a questionnaire on Race Attitudes in Children. I asked you, if you had a chance to do so, to discuss this subject with a group of parents or teachers and to tell us how they look at the problems raised. I also asked for concrete illustrations of the kind of incident or experience on which the stated views might be based.

We are planning to use the replies to this questionnaire for a larger study outline, and this we should like to have ready for some of the many summer conferences and institutes that start in June. So, while we shall be grateful for supplementary information later on, we are just now in immediate need of material on this subject to weave into this study outline.

For this reason, I shall be most grateful if you will kindly answer our questionnaire as far as you can and as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

BL:CP

Bruno Lasker
Secretary of the Commission
on Race Relations
of the
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE
CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE (THE INQUIRY)

June 25, 1925.

Mr. Bruno Lasker,
129 E. 52nd St.,
New York City,
N. Y.

My dear Mr. Lasker:

You will please find enclosed the material I promised to send to you some time ago. During my absence from Louisville the members of the Neighborhood House Staff discussed your questions and the enclosed is the result.

I have asked the playground instructors to keep the first question in mind,- In what forms do adverse attitudes of children to those of other racial or national groups show themselves? (Fear? Hostility? Cruelty? Unfairness? Patchage? Ridicule?), - for the next month and bring in some more stories for you.

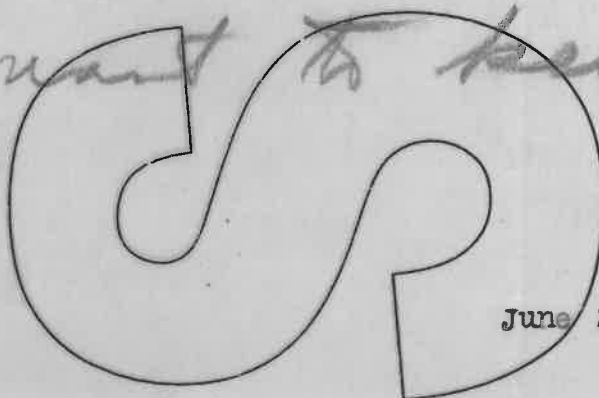
Hoping that this material will be of use to you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Frances Ingram.

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

The workers have seen this
Do you want to keep it?



RM

June 29, 1925.

Miss Frances Ingram
Neighborhood House
428 South First Street
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Miss Ingram:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 25 with its enclosures. Mr. Lasker will be away from the office until the middle of July, but upon his return he will see your letter and report.

Your contribution to our material seems particularly valuable in its ~~arrangement and selection of facts~~. If at any future time, from the playground instructors or like sources, you should collect further data on this subject we should be very glad to see it, even though it may be too late to use it in the first outline on Race Attitudes in Children.

Please extend our thanks to Miss Frost and to all who helped in the discussion. With warmest appreciation of your interest, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Catherine Porter
Catherine Porter

CP:P

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN.

I. WHAT ARE THE SITUATIONS IN WHICH RACE ATTITUDES APPEAR?

1.(q) In what forms do adverse attitudes of children to those of other racial or national groups show themselves?

(a) In almost every case girls show these attitudes sooner than boys and to a greater degree because they mature sooner and are more snobbish. There is no genuine fear except in the case of gypsies and negroes. This is not from personal contact usually but from threats, among the more ignorant parents, of "Come here or I'll call the black man" or "If you aren't good, those gypsies who passed to-day will take you with them. They like to steal little children."

There is not any hostility between different nationalities here except where it has been instilled by the teaching of parents who fear intermarriage. This does not appear noticeably until adolescence.

Cruelty is not shown.

Unfairness appears in no greater measure than there would be between children of the same nationality except in the case of treatment of low American children, of foreigners. This is probably the result of our adult "American Bride" which so often proves to be false pride as with these children who often have less culture behind them than the average foreigner.

The above applies to patronage.

There is ridicule when the child has a selfish gain in view. Often an Italian and a Jewish boy will be playing together. They are buddies but as soon as they fight they call one another by names ridiculing their parents' nationality. Ridicule is almost without exception the result of lack of understanding. It depends somewhat on the nationality of the child and his station in life.

2.(q) At what ages do the different attitudes noted first appear?

(a) Fear - One year or younger. (Example under II(a))
Hostility - Six years up. Calling names and playing in own group.

Cruelty - None

Unfairness - In games by choosing own nationality but this
Patronage - Seven or eight years up (disappears when skill is shown. Sex figures in this also.)

Ridicule - Ten or eleven years and up when feeling can be put into words instead of action.

3.(q) Do these attitudes change at different ages?

- a. as regards intensity and number of incidents in which they show themselves.

Boys from 10 to 12 show it to a great extent more because they love to fight than because of race hatred.

Boys from 12 to 14 show it less because at that time they are more interested in skill than in class distinction.

Girls beginning at 12 or 14 develop intense hatred as adolescence begins and parents fear intermarriage. Often the parents do not tell the girls the real reason but teach ridicule and hate. With age the feeling increases.

- b. as regards the way in which they show themselves?

Boys and girls six to ten years of age begin to group according to nationality. This is true more in clubs and classes than on the playground because there is more intimate contact in clubs than on the playground. Whenever there is an argument names are flung freely at the enemy whether they mean anything to the child or not.

EX.- In a club made up principally of ten year old Syrian girls, two Italian girls who had played with the Syrian girls all summer applied for membership. The Syrian children declared in no uncertain terms, "We would much rather break up our club than let those two girls in." Their argument was "We play with them on the playground and we have to go to school with them but in a club it is different." This indeed was not a bad argument. Clubs are different.

The leader did not sympathize with this attitude but since these particular Syrian girls needed club life so very much the two girls were not taken in but the leader has worked for seven months now attempting to change this attitude; not by criticism but by developing a group consciousness which will in itself will not tolerate such an attitude.

EX.- A Jewish girl came to a party here. In talking to the head resident she observed, "This is a nice place, isn't it?" "Why do you ask that, do you hear anyone say anything to the contrary?" "Yes, I do." "Why do you think they say it?" "Because so many Niggers come here", was her immediate reply.

EX.- One worker who had two clubs of rather difficult ten year old boys, one with a majority of

Jewish boys and the other principally American, saw that these boys were together a great deal outside of club time. They fought, of course, but they felt no real racial or national hatred. At the beginning of the year there was a great deal of competitive feeling, but at the end of about eight months they were amalgamated into one club on the argument that by joining forces they would have two gymnasium periods instead of one. This could never have been accomplished by mentioning nationality but when it was done for their own individual gain the boys were eager to be together.

EX.-A Jewish gang and an Italian gang were always "at war". Finally a worker took the two leaders by the nape of the neck and said, "Would your two gangs ever join in anything?" One leader replied promptly, "Sure, in fightin' niggers."

EX.-Some ten year old girls were practicing for an operetta. At one rehearsal some American children were there, children of a higher type than the Jewish children in it and very popular generally. At the next rehearsal these children were not there; the leader did not know why. She asked about their absence when one child piped up with, "Let's not have light heads in this, let's just have Jewish heads."

EX.-When Mary was being courted and her "beau" took her to the movies, it was not an unusual sight to see beau, Mary and mother walking down the street; Mary very much "dressed and behatted" and her mother with no hat on at all or a shawl around her head. The young man seemed to take it as a matter of course.

EX.-All our boys from 12 to 15 play together on the playground. Their popularity depends on their skill in baseball, chiefly. In the fall, however, two clubs were begun; one including only Jewish boys and in the other about half of the membership were Jewish and the other half Syrian. The former flourished but somehow the latter seemed to be dying a slow death. It was finally voted that the two should be combined. All the Jewish boys from the mixed club came but the others never came again. They never offered any explanation of the matter and when questioned only smiled. Whether they withdrew voluntarily or whether they were made to feel that they were not wanted is still a mystery. Nothing, however, was every said in the club at the meetings.

EX.-The girls here from 14 up are very tolerant when they are having a good time. They enjoy social

gatherings with other nationalities but we can never get the sanction of their parents. Italian girls' night clubs are a failure because girls over 14 cannot go out at night without their father or, in more tolerant families, with their mother. At our mixers only Jewish boys come and girls of nationalities other than Jewish. This has been a real problem in forming young peoples social groups.

EX- One of our oldest and most active clubs is a young men's athletic club of boys from fifteen to twenty-two years including Italian, Jewish, American, Syrian, and French boys. There is good group consciousness and the club and athletics are the chief interests therefore nationality is never mentioned. Whether a boy "can play ball" has, however, often caused an active discussion. These boys have always played together. They call one another "Wop""Dago""Jew" but never in a derisive spirit.

4. What kinds of situations bring children of different groups together?

(Colored and white children are segregated in school but no distinction is made with other nationalities.)

Girls - Mix in schoolyard, not on street, on playground in game groups but not when playing alone, except occasionally.

Boys - Mix in schoolyard, not on street because in most cases in this district certain nationalities live on certain streets, on playground in large groups but often the large group is broken into smaller groups by choosing back and forth. Almost every game we give has to be adapted so that there is a penalty for choosing back and forth. On the other hand, this happens at other playgrounds between friends of the same nationality so that it is not a striking example of race prejudice.

EX- There was, at one time, a group of Italian boys of about eight years who had the reputation of always "scrapping" among the boys of other nationalities, but in their own they could play for an entire day without one word of dissention. This group, with the addition of several Syrian boys and a few Americans is one of the most successful young boys clubs in the House, at the present time.

5. How do these situations differ in the sort of contact that is involved?

In groups of close contact intolerance is shown to a greater extent, especially in clubs. In large groups there is less shown because there is more discipline and therefore less personal freedom.

6. Do these situations change as children grow older? If so,

what is the connection between such changes and the changes in attitudes at different ages noted under question 3?

In groups in our settlement they are not forced together but because we are trying to make them all good citizens we encourage mingling as much as possible for a happy harmony. When there is parental objection we do not attempt associations, however, because we have found that we do more harm than good and the life standards and customs of the parents cannot be changed in a day. As children grow older parental teaching is replaced by individual experience and ideals and in almost every case here there is a more broad-minded outlook than in childhood when the parental control is greater.

II. HOW DO THE RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN COME ABOUT?

L.(q) In what forms do adverse attitudes of children toward those of different race or nationality give rise to the widespread belief that they are "natural" or "instinctive".

(a) Because children get the idea so young from parents or other prejudiced adults that adults who try to trace prejudice cannot remember when they were without it.

EX- When George, a four year old Syrian boy, gets angry he calls other boys, of any nationality, a "Wop" or a "Jew" whichever comes into his head. He knows that it makes his temporary enemy "mad" and that is his purpose.

EX- Edwards, the colored servant here, was sprinkling the sand-pile. Because he would not allow one of the boys, aged five, to sprinkle the boy called him a "Jew".

Most of us cannot remember beyond our sixth year except in an unusual instance and if either of these boys were to try to trace their prejudice when they grow up it would probably be impossible.

2.(q) How and at what age do children find out that there are group differences as distinct from individual differences between people?

(a) At about six years when the child enters school. Here his relationship broadens from the family and neighborhood group to the school and community group. He notices difference in coloring, dress, speech, habits, home, customs, etc. as given on page 3 example 3 where light heads and Jewish heads are mentioned.

3.(q) To what extent are children's race attitudes conditional by their specific personal experience?

(a)(q) By their personal observation of the behavior of children or grown-ups of other groups.

- (a) They get wrong attitudes from adults and then when they see displeasing evidence of that nationality their prejudice is confirmed. In our cosmopolitan neighborhood this has little to do with it. A young child naturally admires the banana man and the organ grinder until he hears his parents or someone of his own group criticize these other nationalities.
- (b)(q) By specific unpleasant experiences in contact with individuals of other groups?
- (a) Has much to do with older child's attitude when he comes in contact and receives bad impressions from another nationality but he would not condemn the national group for the bad impression made by one member if it were not that he already had some definite prejudice.
4. To what extent do they represent the absorption of attitudes current among the adults of their own group? What are the influences of talk which children overhear at home, school, church or in the neighborhood in which
- (a)(q) derisive names are applied to members of other groups;
- (a) Taking the most impressionable child (10 to 12 years) of our neighborhood personal contacts have much to do with attitudes, but adult prejudice helps bring bad personal contacts with other races and nationalities.
- (b)(q) their cultured efforts are humorously depreciated;
- (a) Adults in our neighborhood are interested and appreciate cultured efforts of other foreigners except some low American parents who seldom appreciate any culture.
- (c)(q) the discussion of other groups is marked by an emotional tone;
- (a) If there is a close relationship between parents and children it has a marked effect, especially with Jews who have always been persecuted by Christians in the old world. It will die, however, when there is a good contact.
- EX- A former head resident here helped a very devout Jew when he was in very serious trouble. The Jew had been persecuted all his life in the old country. When his case had been completed he remarked to one of his fellow countrymen, "Mr. Blank is too fine a man to be a Christian."
- (d)(q) no mention of any kind is made of the existence of other groups in the community;

- (a) There is no prejudice unless a child has been taught directly or indirectly the wrong attitude or through wrong personal contacts with other nationalities he has received the wrong attitude.

5. What are some of the institutional influences on the attitudes of children to those of other race or nationality?

In school difference is too often shown, often more by the teacher than by any of the children. In our institution we try as much as possible to create understanding except when there is too much opposition in the home.

EX- A new girl had come to our playground. One of the workers was filling out an application blank for the office. To convince the worker that she was eligible the girl finally said, "I don't mind mixing with the Jews."

- (a)q.Segregation - (such as separation in residence areas, in conveyances, schools, churches, etc.)

- (a)There is entire segregation of colored people in some residence areas, not on street cars, on interurbans, in schools and in churches. Other nationalities are not segregated but often live in certain areas because of public opinion, snobbishness, personal friendships, and economic standing.

EX- Mrs. Monsaur, a Syrian woman in our neighborhood, lived in an impossible tenement house over a store. There were six in the family living in only three rooms. She could afford to rent a cottage about a mile from this place where there would be a yard and many more conveniences but because all her friends lived in this neighborhood she said she would rather do without the many comforts and conveniences of the other neighborhood.

(However, most of our neighbors move into the very best neighborhoods as soon as they can afford all the comforts that go with it.)

- (b)q.Exclusion (from employments, schools, civic rights, amusements, restaurants, hotels, clubs, etc.)

- (a)There is exclusion of colored people from certain employments, schools (University of Louisville) not in civic rights, in one floor amusements houses and at white amusement parks but not in public parks. There is exclusion in restaurants, hotels and clubs. Other nationalities are excluded from employment, but in department stores under Jewish management, Jews are given preference; in some only Jews are hired but this is as much for salesmanship ability as for likes and dislikes. In schools there is not actual exclusion but intolerable snobbishness. Full civic rights are given but many are not naturalized. There is no exclusion in amusements, restaurants, and hotels.

In social clubs there is exclusion as well as in country clubs. In our work, however, there is none except in the case of negroes.

(c)(q) Association of race or nationality with a specific social status or a limited range of occupations?

(a) In small social groups national groups stay together. Where there is the fear of intermarriage, parents force segregation. In business there is no line drawn but certain nationalities deal with their own nationality in preference to others. In Louisville the Jewish business center is Preston Street, the Syrian, Jefferson Street, and the Negro Walnut Street. Most of the Italians have their business houses on Jefferson Street and live on a certain section of Madison Street.

6. What are some of the more specific "educational" influences on the attitudes of children to those of other race or nationality?
As for example,

(a)(q) Teaching in school, Sunday School, organized recreation?

(a) In schools patriotism incorrectly taught brings prejudice. In Sunday School tolerance is taught but not often practiced. We encourage understanding and discourage snobbishness but cannot be too arbitrary for our own good and the good of our neighbors. With patience, however, it can be attained as in example on page 2 at the bottom.

(b)(q) Books (school books, story books), and pictures?

(a) In our library we have books and pictures showing the art and beauty of other countries to over-balance the sordid side of everyday life. In reading and telling stories we give authentic phrases, words, settings, etc. By an annual folk festival given by The Louisville School of Social Work we are leading hundreds of our leading citizens as well as members of our own clubs and classes to an appreciation of customs, costuming, and beauty of foreign dancing.

(c)(q) Movies?

(a) Most movies encourage tolerance because the hero is the hero no matter what nationality he is. The classics being produced in pictures are doing valuable work. South Sea pictures and other cheap ones do show prejudice and the pity is that so many of our neighbors see these instead of the better ones.

(d)(q) Ceremonies, plays, songs, pageants, exhibitions?

(a) Ceremonies, because of their beauty and solemnity en-

courage tolerance. Plays are generally good, but plays such as "All God's Children Got Wings" and "Abie's Irish Rose" are not a help. Songs are an educational influence for good unless in the case of fanatical interpretation of patriotic songs. Pageants are not detrimental because beauty is universally the same. The same applies to exhibitions.

(e)(q) Newspapers (comic supplements) and other miscellaneous reading?

(a) Good, usually large, newspapers are tolerant but in comic supplements wrong impressions are given. The Italian banana man whose cart is always being turned over by bad boys, the German Katzenjammer Kids, the red nosed German and the Englishman with the monocle have given all of us definite prejudices. Cheap or small publications are often detrimental because they take one side of a question where a large newspaper gives news as facts.

7. What characteristic associations between race or nationality and mental or moral qualities do children absorb from these environmental influences and sources of information?

(a)(q) Association of mental or moral inferiority with distinctive physical characteristics, as skin color, beard, length of hair, large or small figure?

(a) Visitors to our settlement think all dark people are Italian and all light are American. Many look upon foreigners as immoral or subnormal because they have large families. Large men, to them, are German because of impressions from the comic supplements. Children think of Jews as shrewd or as trying to get something for nothing for the same reason.

(b)(q) Association of inferiority with the countries or origin of certain national or racial groups, with their history, political organization, religion?

(a) Armenians are sympathized with because of war publicity but as a group they are underhanded and very difficult to work with. Polish people are always referred to as inferior because of their checkered history as victor and vanquished. They are stolid but other characteristics will make up for this. Americans are looked up to because of their history and political organization.

(c)(q) Association of inferiority with foreign language or with different manners and habits, clothes and diet?

(a) Whenever children here want to imitate a Jew they use their hands when they talk. Children in our neighborhood enjoy foreign food. Often when a child comes in

with a piece of foreign food "like we eat in the old country" the other children yell "halvers on that, Joe" or "You know me, Mike". They only make fun when they associate ideas with the comic supplement where Italians eat endless spaghetti, etc. If a boy doesn't remove his hat at once, "He must be a Jew".

8. When and how are adverse attitudes of children to other racial or national groups reversed or modified?

- (a) Through process in games, in music, and in art. Also through club teaching of general ideals and broad-minded citizenship, correct parental teaching, school teaching and religious teaching of tolerance. An important method is through good game leadership. In play, because of its universal appeal, men can get closer together than in any other way.

III. WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS?

1. What are the effects of adverse attitudes to those of different race or nationality?

(a) Upon children of the exclusive group?

These children become snobbish, they feel superior, form their own groups and thus have formed an impassible barrier to real refinement and culture.

(b) Upon children of the group excluded?

Some become inhibited and soon acquire an inferiority complex which is the cause of so much delinquency among foreign children. Those children who have a strong will hate the exclusive group with a blind hate and wait anxiously for a chance to "get even"

EX- Pauline was taken in the Busy Bee Club, a club of ten year old Syrian girls, because she had played a great deal with these children on the playground. In some way she was soon made to feel that she was not wanted and dropped out of the club. After that time whenever the club was to have a party or a picnic she did everything in her power to make it a failure. On several occasions she even tried to break up a club meeting. Now she cannot be induced to enter any club. This unfortunate experience will probably ruin her club life for all time.

Some Americans say "Limit imigration, foreigners do not make good American citizens". If we face facts squarely, where does the fault lie?

2.(q) What are children made to feel they will lose by free association with children of the other group?

- (a) That they will lose their standing with their own family and friends. They are also afraid that they

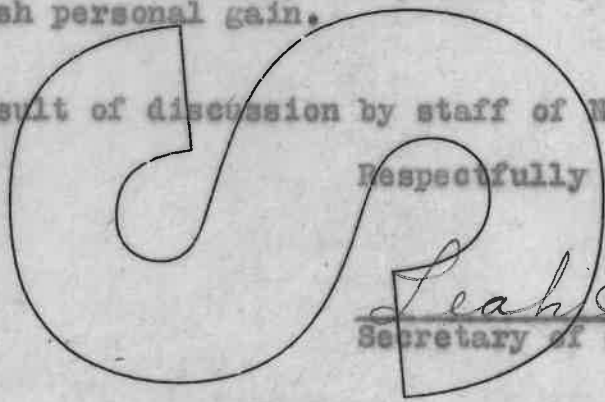
will lose pride in their own people.

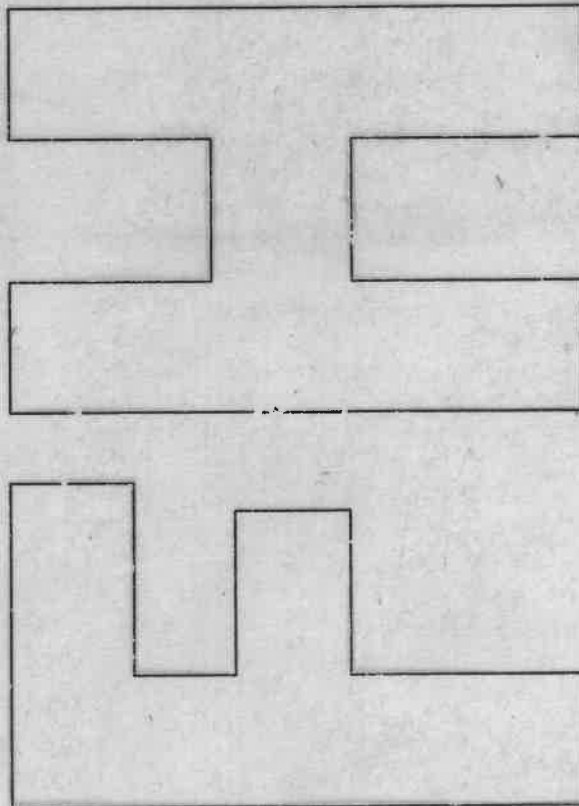
3.(q) What are they made to feel they will gain by such association?

(a) They do it chiefly for personal gain; often a selfish personal gain.

Result of discussion by staff of Neighborhood House

Respectfully submitted,


Leah S. Frost
Secretary of discussion



July 17, 1925

Mr. Bruno Lasker,
129 E. 52nd Street,
New York City,
New York

My dear Mr. Lasker:

Enclosed you will find some additional stories reaped from our playground, under heading one of your questionnaire -

I. What Are the Situations in Which
Race Attitudes Appear?

1. In what forms do adverse attitudes of children to those of other racial or national groups show themselves?

It might help you and give you a deeper insight into our stories to know the exact situation here, which is different than on any other playground in the city. Our playground attendance is made up of Russian Jews, Syrians, Italians and Americans, along with other nationalities in smaller numbers. The resulting conflict from their close contact in play entails many problems. For instance, if our Syrian or Italian girls have a game scheduled here they always appear and almost invariably win, but if there is a game scheduled at another playground, each girl has some very important duty at the last moment which will prevent her going.

As a matter of fact, it is a reflection of the training of ages, for in Syria and Italy a girl is looked down upon if she leaves her home unaccompanied at any time. Only years and years of education can overcome these standards and although the children think their parents old-fashioned, they would not, for a moment, admit the real reason why they cannot do as American and Jewish girls do.

We hope that these may supplement our questionnaire in such a way as to be of value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Hostility

A young Jewish boy had been placed on guard at the door of the shower room while the instructor went in to the house to turn on the switch. The boy had been given orders to let no one in, and he was trying to carry out his orders when one Syrian girl insisted upon getting into the shower room.

When the child had been refused admittance her aunt became furious and would listen to no explanations and began to call the boy names - "You dirty Jew, don't you touch my niece." The boy answered - "You had better wash your neck before you call me a dirty Jew. I know I am a Jew, and am proud of it, but I cannot and no one else can be as dirty as you."

As a matter of fact this boy, who is quite superior to the Syrian woman in question has lived across the street from her for many years and he knows that in her family there is no modesty shown because there is absolutely no privacy.

Hostility

Johnny, a Syrian aged five, and his boon companion, Angelo, an Italian, had been playing quietly in the sand pile. The two had apparently given no thought to their different nationalities until Angelo, turning around quickly had accidentally knocked over the house that Johnny had labored over. One word brought on another and such phrases as "Wop" "Arab" and "Jew" were being flung back and forth. Finally Angelo asked the "teacher" which was the better, an "Arab" or a "Wop". Upon being assured that both were equal, peace reigned for the time being and both children went back to their play of building sand houses.

This illustrates the point that children do not pay any attention to race differences until they become angry.

Unfairness

On the playground one evening, the children asked to play Punch Ball, a favorite game, especially among boys twelve to fifteen years old. Sides were chosen. It was soon seen that although the sides were very uneven, all the Syrian boys were on one side and all the other nationalities on the other.

Whether this was done consciously or not is yet to be found out because nothing was said before choosing.

Unfairness

On another evening the girls chose sides for Punch

Ball; the adolescent Syrian girls. Soon after they had begun to play an Italian girl wanted to play. She was the same age and of equal ability as the other players, but one of them piped up indignantly, "Can't you see just Syrian girls are in this game." To have put the Italian girl in would have broken up the game.

Patronage

"Oh, teacher", cried nine year old Johnnie, "what do you think that boy said about you? He said you were a Jew." When the instructor informed the child that she was a Jew, he just didn't seem to understand.

Here was this nine year old youngster who was ready to stand up for the teacher because he thought that she had been insulted by this boy who said she was a Jew.

Patronage

The six-year old daughter of a student in the Recreation Department of the Louisville School of Social Work was playing in the sand pile on the playground. One of the instructors remarked that she had on a very pretty dress. "Oh, yes", she remarked, in an off hand way, "Mary made it", pointing to the colored nurse, "It's pretty good for her, isn't it?"

Ridicule

An American boy of about ten years of age, entered the Neighborhood House playground. His eyes immediately fell on a couple of little girls of about twelve years of age, who were playing Jacks. One was a Syrian and the other was of Italian parentage. The little Syrian girl was a child of very black hair and dark complexion. The boy immediately said, "Huh, you're Dagoes." Altho they immediately became, they called back in rather a playful strain,

If we are Dagoes,
You are a Wop,
We eat spaghetti
And you eat slop.

At this juncture the playground instructor came along and stopped the flow of poetry.

*Jew, Jew
and his slave
and don't know what to
do - do - do.*

*was some
play
the host of
the girls
called back
in playful
strain*

Bruno Lasker

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

July 21, 1925.

Miss Leah S. Frost
Neighborhood House
428 South First St.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Miss Frost,

I am most grateful for your letter of July 17 and your further information and stories. Wherever I go, people praise the realistic way in which we have gone at the subject of race prejudices, so the credit for what our commission is doing really belongs almost entirely to such splendid correspondents as yourself, who give us an insight into the situation as it is in every-day America.

Yours sincerely,

Bruno Lasker

BL:CP

P. S. This is also an acknowledgment of your fine statement sent by Miss Ingram on June 25, which my secretary acknowledged in my absence.

Bruno Lasker

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

December 11, 1925.

Miss Frances Ingram
428 South First Street
Louisville
Kentucky.

Dear Miss Ingram,

As perhaps you know, one of the major projects upon which I am engaged at present is the preparation of a study outline on Race Relations in Industry. In connection with this Mr. Nelson of Union Settlement, New York, asked me to draft for him a questionnaire that might serve as an outline for discussion by a young men's group and which at the same time might produce for us interesting information from the experiences and attitudes of young workers.

It has occurred to me that you also might like to have a batch of these papers for use by a senior group. If so, let me know how many you can use and I shall be glad to send them to you.

Yours sincerely,

BL:CP
ENC.

Bruno Lasker

THE FELLOWS I WORK WITH

An Inquiry Into Race Relations in Industry*

A number of groups and classes in different parts of America are getting ready to study the question of race relations in industry. To do this they need to know more about the way wage-earners are getting on together. Will you help to get at the facts by answering the following questions? You need not sign your name.

1. Indicate by placing a cross (x) in the appropriate square if you would willingly

	Have employed under you	work with	work under
Canadians			
Poles			
Chinese			
Germans			
Armenians			
Swedes			
Mulattos			
Italians			
Jews			
Mexicans			
Japanese			
Negroes			
Scotsmen			

2. Do you believe that people of all races and nationalities should have an equal chance to earn a living in America?

a. Would that imply that an employer should give no preference to persons of a race or nationality that is said to be best able to do a certain sort of job?

* Note: Where these sheets are used for group discussion, will the leader please see that the way of marking the paper and the meaning of the questions are thoroughly understood by everyone?

As regards question 1., explain that making a cross means "yes" and making no cross means either "no" or "not sure." For example, a paper marked

1. Indicate by placing a cross (x) in the appropriate square if you would willingly

	have employed under you	work with	work under
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As regards question 1., explain that making a cross means "yes" and making no cross means either "no" or "not sure." For example, a paper marked

	have employed under you	work with	work under
Canadian	x	x	

would mean that the individual would be willing to have a Canadian work with or under him, but not willing, or not sure how he would like, to have him for a boss.

b. Can you think of some actual instances in which such feelings have shown themselves among wage-earners and how they have come about? If so, write them just as you would tell the fellows about them on the back of this page. (Just give the facts as you see them - never mind the "style.")

6. Do you believe that a trade union must necessarily try to organize all those who belong to a given trade, irrespective of their color or of the country they or their parents came from?

a. What in this respect is the actual practice of labor organization in your line of work?

b. What is the effect, if any, of that practice on the strength or weakness of organized labor?

Please state the nationality of your father.....

and of your mother.....; what kind of work you do...

.....; and your age.....

Thank you.

This article, reprinted from THE SURVEY for October 15, 1925, is an earnest appeal for cooperation in a nation-wide study of the part played by racial and national attitudes in industrial organization, management and practice. Please send suggestions to THE INQUIRY, 129 East 52nd Street, New York.

Race and the Job

THERE is a good deal of justification for the statement frequently heard that America knows no classes. In the sense of a rigid demarcation that acts as a barrier between manual and mental workers or capitalists and wage-earners, a class division does not exist among native American whites. Where we do see a distinction that has hardened into the consciousness of class, it is almost always associated with national or racial differences. Occasionally a visitor to one of our industrial cities in the East inquires whether *all* the work is done by foreigners; and I have come across visitors to the South who exaggerated their impressions to the extent of saying that "no southern white ever works at all."

More common, throughout the country, are lines invisible so that it is not easy to find out on what ethnological principles, if any, the workers are recruited into or barred from different employments—even though it may not be difficult to ascertain the existence of discriminations on such grounds. Now and again there is a disturbance of normal conditions, as in the case of a strike when the line of eligibility to jobs may shift one way or the other, or in the case of a sudden large increase in the size of a group which attracts notice to it. In such events we often learn for the first time of preferences or discriminations that may have existed for years, and of a strange mixture of experiences and prejudices behind them.

It is nearly always some adverse circumstance with its concomitant outburst of temper—the introduction of black-legs, the appearance on the streets of numbers of people who look different or speak a different language, a new competition for homes already scarce, a disregard of long-established customs and habits of behavior—that makes the community first aware of a problem in group relationships. Slumbering prejudices are fanned into flame when suddenly a group of "foreigners" threatens a wage standard, or when a "shipment" of southern Negroes arrives at the order of an industrial concern and is seen as the forerunner of a whole avalanche of cheap labor and socially undesirable neighbors. But the larger cause of friction between different national and racial groups, where it exists, does not usually lie in such dramatic happenings that focus attention, but rather in conditions which may be observed all the time. Practically every worker, in and around his job, and every employer in the daily routine of management, absorbs impressions and rationalizes experiences in such a way as to form a pattern of attitudes; and if differences in language, unpleasant smells, habits, or opinions enter into these impressions and experiences, a philosophy of race is evolved which may either find expression in formal statements of policy or remain, less conscious, a determining influence upon practices.

From the contrast of these attitudes—not only as between

employers and workers but also as between different types of workers—new conflicts develop, and the divergence of view-point itself may give rise to new policies of industrial management or of labor organization. Again, racial or cultural attitudes cut across economic interests, and not infrequently we may see the members of a given group depart widely from the generally accepted traditions. For example, the most tolerant and liberal policy of an industrial concern not infrequently is contradicted by the actions of plant superintendents or foremen whose personal preferences rather than the deliberate intentions of the firm rule the actual practice in this matter of race distinction. The same is true, of course, also of organized labor. The instructions of Internationals and declarations of brotherly love passed at A.F. of L. conventions may be, and often are, totally disregarded in local situations. In short, the prevailing temper of the community rather than the reasoned interest of either capital or labor often govern the behavior of both toward the potential wage-earner of dark skin or foreign speech. Let me give an example of each:

In one department of a middle western plant, white and colored girls are employed side by side. There are eighteen white girls and nine colored ones. Some time ago, when trade was brisk, there were twenty colored girls. When the rush season was over, some of the colored girls were discharged and others, including the colored supervisor of the department, were transferred. Asked why only colored girls were eliminated from the shop while all the white ones remained, it was explained that the firm desired to maintain a due proportion of white workers as a concession to the prejudices of some of the customers.

A report from a city in Ohio states that the growth of the Ku Klux Klan is dividing the workers. Segregation has been applied to processes upon which previously native American and foreign-born workers of several nationalities had been jointly engaged, with the result that organization, especially of the unskilled workers, has been practically wiped out. In illustration of this condition a worker employed in one of these plants writes: "The foreman came and placed me at another job that was identical with the one at which I had been working. He made no explanation other than to say that he thought I would like this work better. After working for a while, my curiosity got the better of me and I inquired why I had been moved. The supervisor replied, 'We are going to keep the white men on this side of the shop and the Hunkies on the other.'"

To understand all these conflicting programs and practices, with the larger economic and cultural spheres of interest back of them, is a task upon which as yet very little work has been done. It requires not so much large generalizations or a consensus of a kind that might be obtained over a wide area by means of questionnaires as an intimate view of specific situations, with all the pertinent facts as regards conditions and motivations, such as only local studies and self-analyses on the part of industrial plants or communities can produce. Take, for example, the following letter from

From a city of mixed industries:

"**M**ORE interested in lying out in the sun than in doing their day's work," was the opinion of Spanish and Portuguese workers expressed by employment managers. One of them said that if these nationalities were mentioned at a meeting of managers, the remark was "sure to get a laugh from the crowd." Nevertheless, investigation among the Spaniards and Portuguese themselves and among community workers revealed that they had no special difficulty in securing employment and, in fact, were making progress in entering employments previously closed to them. It appeared that the derisive attitude of certain employment managers was largely a survival from earlier days when these groups had had difficulty in adapting themselves to the industrial life.

Western trade unionist which is probably typical of similar conditions in many places:

Some years ago [writes a molder] I was working at my trade at a fairly large foundry in a city of Nebraska. The molders, like other crafts, have through long years of experience built up an apprenticeship system which works to the great advantage of those who undertake to learn a trade and want to be real mechanics. So, in this shop with quite a number of molders there were a number of apprentices, most of them Italians.

Now, I for one hold no ill-will or malice toward anyone because of his creed, color, or nationality; and it so happened that the majority of molders in this shop were of the same frame of mind. Therefore, the Italian apprentices were at times treated as brothers, and when they had finished their time were admitted to the union.

In negotiation with the firm for an increase in wages, the molders were compelled to strike. After being out a week—being the custom to call the apprentices out later—the molders called upon the apprentices to lay down their tools. They refused.

Here the members of a craft had for years been training these men of a foreign nationality, as was their duty; these had been serving terms varying from six months to almost four years when the strike was called, yet refused to identify themselves with their fellow-workers and acted as a closed national group. Thus quite an ill-feeling grew up, and when about a year later I left the city, there had developed a positive case of prejudice against Italians.

At once a number of questions arise which lead from the immediate occasion of the friction—the difference in the

From a steel town:

FOREIGNERS will work on the job with Negroes; Americans won't. But the foreigners in general do not like to live in the same neighborhoods with Negroes. . . . The attitude toward the Negro in the mill is reflected in the town, though it takes on a more serious emphasis. There is discrimination by city officials and in construction work. The superintendent of schools says: "Of course, there never could be a Negro teacher here." And, the stand having once been taken in the town, the prejudice is infinitely more difficult to overcome than in the mill which started it and which, should the occasion arise, will unquestionably give added opportunities to Negroes whether white workers like it or not.

understanding of native and Italian workers of the implications of their loyalty to the union and to the employer—into underlying conditions during normal times:

Had the Italian workers really been treated as "brothers" by their native fellow-workers, or was there always a sense of difference in the attitude toward them?

Had the Italians become insufficiently adjusted to American industrial conditions to understand the seriousness of their obligation toward their fellow-workers?

Had the employers, perhaps, gone out of their way to win the loyalty of the foreign-born workers in order to use them later as a weapon in combats with organized labor?

Was the occurrence really the cause of ill-feeling against the Italians in the community, or was it merely a rationalized explanation for a feeling that had arisen independently of this occasion?

Is it in the interests of employers that such a feeling should exist in the community?

What can the union do to prevent the spread of anti-foreign prejudices and ensure the loyalty of foreign-born workers to the union in the future?

Obviously, to answer such questions as these a full understanding of the local situation is required, and not merely generalities either in the shape of pious sentiments or of statements which, though true on the whole, may not be true of this locality. On the contrary, the correct interpretation of a specific experience of this kind and, better still, a critical survey of the general situation from which it arises and an appraisal of measures taken to deal with it will be of benefit to everyone who has to face similar occurrences and conditions. Readers of *The Survey* need not be convinced of the value, in the social-educational process, of both local

From a textile center:

THE foremen have different degrees of power in the mills. In some they definitely determine the employment policy; in others they carry out a rigid plant policy. Native American foremen, as a rule, are willing to employ all groups: Scottish foremen are clannish and give preference to Scots; Hollanders have a majority of Dutch wherever they can because of their religious and community attitude; Italians employ largely Italians because they can understand their orders; Jewish foremen will hire workers of any nationality. . . . In practically every case, the debarment of Negroes from mill employment is taken for granted.

studies and object lessons in experimental action. For this reason, the Commission on Race Relations of *The Inquiry*, which is now promoting study along these lines, hopes that many individuals and groups, throughout the country, will cooperate in that venture by undertaking a local project of inquiry—without waiting for a special occasion of industrial strife.

Several such projects are, in fact, under way. In one instance, a group of students, working during the summer months at a famous plant, have made themselves responsible for a cooperative study of the racial policies of that plant as they work out in practice. A municipal university has appropriated a small sum to enable a teacher of sociology, with the aid of students and of a committee of social workers, to make such a study of a group of industries in the community—a study with which since some of the most important employers

as well as labor leaders have associated themselves. In a small city specializing in one industry, our commission has taken advantage of the fact that an industrial investigator was working in one of the mills to gain first-hand experience and secured an intimate picture of the attitudes toward each other of the workers of different races and nationalities, as well as an account of the various policies followed by the employers. In a community of mixed industries the interest in the project proved so great that within a very few weeks a competent investigator was able to unravel some of the most perplexing racial attitudes in the local industries and their causes. In a steel town, a former industrial editor of *The Survey*, with the cooperation of everybody from the head office in Pittsburgh down to the last straw boss, secured the first clear picture of the total impact of the newer race policies. Several individual plants are under investigation by, or with the cooperative participation of, the firms themselves to get at the psychology of the workers and at the effective-

From a large northern industrial city:

NATIVE Americans, who make up only a little over four-tenths of the employes of the plants studied, provide over five-sixths of all the office workers and very nearly six-sevenths of all the foremen. The Poles, who make up three-tenths of all the workers in these plants, furnish only eight of the 647 office workers and about one in eighteen of all the foremen. The Italians show a similar tendency. The Negroes provide about one-fifteenth of the employes of these plants but do not furnish a single foreman or office worker.

ness of the management policies in this matter of racial attitudes.

In so far as the commission has itself taken a hand in these studies, it has done so hesitatingly and with the sole purpose of priming the pump. The real job can only be done by interested groups, mainly for their own reasons and purposes and only incidentally as contributions to a national fund of information. The small samples from reports on these two pages will give a glimmer of the significant and, in some cases, rather startling information that is gradually flowing from such local inquiries. Every one of the reports received so far—and other evidence already available in published form—suggests that there is here a fund of human experience that has not got of itself into the consciousness of the community.

Obviously, these little shreds from the notebooks of investigators give no adequate picture of the variety of that experience or of the different ways in which similar attitudes, whether formulated in programs or filtered into habitual behavior, work out according to the variety of psychological backgrounds. Occasionally there are bits of humor, as when an official of a ministers' association, after vociferously deploring the race prejudices of certain local trade unions, had to admit that his own union did not include the local Negro ministers.

What is most needed today is a more realistic knowledge of the psychology of the workers themselves. Often employers discriminate against certain groups in the belief that a majority of their employes demand such tactics, that

From a plant employing colored women, recently come from the South:

THE colored women rarely express real dissatisfaction. They speak of the prejudices against them, their low wages and the needs of their families, the hardness of their lot—but they show no rebellion. When I asked if she would not prefer to work in a different department where piece rates are higher, one woman replied, "In God's good time." Another woman, commenting on the fact that they had only had three days' work the previous week, remarked: "It doesn't seem fair—but the Good Man knows best." The women were quick to rebuke criticism, and one quoted the twenty-third Psalm. It seemed wrong to them to be "judging." They were confident they would receive their reward.

doing otherwise would lead to trouble; and all too often these impressions of the office as to the feeling in the shops are totally erroneous. I am reminded of a case, during the labor shortage of the war, when some hundreds of Negroes were brought into a plant: The management hurriedly built screens across the dining hall so that white workers would not have to sit down with the colored ones. On the second or third day, these screens were completely broken down because the white workers were far more concerned in a rapid service than in asserting their racial superiority.

But to get at the root of the prevailing race attitudes among industrial workers implies a knowledge of them also as citizens and neighbors, as parents and churchmen, as members of their own national group and as individuals with different tastes and ideas—which, again, are constantly being modified by new impressions and experiences. In short, arising out of a general concern with the fundamentals of American race attitudes as a piece of specialization within a more limited field, this study inevitably leads us back again into the need for a better comprehension of the subject of race attitudes and race conflict as a whole. It is therefore, a project that should appeal not only to those with direct interests in industrial management but also to the much larger number of people who are looking for a way out of what looms up more and more as, perhaps, the largest of American domestic problems.

BRUNO LASKER

From an automobile plant:

A FOREIGNER of dark skin had been stationed in the yard to keep men from riding on the end of the switch train. A "white" man, called by him to task for such a violation, turned in his badge, saying he would not take orders from a Negro. The superintendent succeeded in convincing him that any man placed by the company in authority must be respected. Soon after, the foreigner came into the office and wished to quit, because "Americans would not take orders" from him. Here were two men ready to throw up their jobs because of mistaken generalizations!

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Dec 16 - 1925
Miss Ingram

The following would like copies of
the questionnaire "Race Relations"

Leah Frost - 1 copy for Sunday School group
Miss Postick - 2 copies - Ordered under name of N.H.
Rebecca Baer - 1 copy - for supper group at
Y.M.H.A. - However Miss Baer
cannot present the paper
or be responsible for it.

What about ordering a few of the copies? Hazel White

December 16, 1925.

Mr. Bruno Lasker,
129 East 52nd Street,
New York City,
N. Y.

My dear Mr. Lasker:

Thank you very much for offering to send
me the questionnaire you drafted for Mr. Nelson of
the Union Settlement. Please send me about a dozen
copies. I will use them with several groups here.

With best wishes of the season, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frances Ingram.

507

129 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK
TELEPHONE - PLAZA 4700

December 29, 1927

Miss Frances Ingram
Neighborhood House
428 South First Street
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Miss Ingram:

At the suggestion of Mr. Paul L. Benjamin, I am writing to ask your cooperation in a study of Conflict in Community Life, upon which we have been engaged for something like a year. I enclose a copy of the original statement of this project in the form of an article reprinted from the Occasional Papers of The Inquiry, formerly known as the National Conference on the Christian Way of Living.

Our object during the past year has been to obtain case histories of as large a number and variety of group conflict situations in local communities as we could secure. Such a situation seems to have developed in Louisville in connection with Dr. Colvin and the University. While we have obtained some information from Mr. Benjamin and through Louisville newspapers, it is very fragmentary.

Would you mind, as a contribution to this study, setting down briefly the origin and subsequent development of the situation as you have observed it; the various groups and group interests involved; the concrete instances of misunderstanding of issues, together with instances showing cooperation? Social attitudes are, of course, an important element in the group conflict situations with which the study is concerned.

I hope your compliance with this request will not put you to great inconvenience. If you do not feel disposed to write me your observations of the history of this situation, I shall not press you, although, of course, I would greatly appreciate any information which you might give. Let me add that any information that I secure will not be used in such a way as to identify the informant or the community.

Sincerely yours

Helen Mayers
Helen Mayers
for The Inquiry

Conflict in Community Life

A NEW INQUIRY PROJECT

THE study-project previously announced and here described relates to what for brevity's sake may be called *community ethics*, though more directly to *community behavior* as revealed in *group conflict*. The enterprise carries into the field of community relationships the experimental methods and techniques and questing attitude characteristic of the Inquiry, with its explorations of every-day experience for new values and its testings of value by new and accumulating experience. It is a cooperative undertaking in social and—by necessary implication—ethical discovery.

By "community" we mean the so-called "local community," more or less self-sufficing and autonomous; and we think of the local community chiefly in its functional aspects, that is, as a functional entity with reference not only to other communities, but to the interplay of all the psycho-social forces operative within itself. The study takes cognizance of the individual—but of the individual as the possessor of "social selves" as numerous as the groups which represent the many-sidedness of his vital interests; it is directed to the problems of adjustment between individuals living and striving together as members of many groups but of one community.

Individuals live, move and have their being in the groups of various sorts and sizes, organized and unorganized, temporary and permanent, to which they belong by accident or choice, and through which they express and seek to satisfy their needs, desires, purposes and interests, whether "selfish" or "altruistic." The functional adequacy of the community depends upon the way in which these groups, of appropriate number and character, function together in serving and promoting the interests of each and all. Community morale depends upon the way in which conflict of groups is regarded and handled—on the degree of integration of group interests in the community scheme and process entire.

We are concerned with the ethics of community life, but not primarily with ethical rules or codes. As ethics, though ultimately a matter of individual conduct, has little or no meaning apart from action in social situations, we propose to study social situations; and the situations deemed most significant for the present inquiry are those which involve group conflict. Moreover, it is only under conditions of community morale that "the good life," which is merely one's share of the common life, can be fully realized.

Communities as they confront their own problems, particularly this problem of conflict and its adjustment, are to be the subject of this study. The question is not whether conflict is good or bad, but rather, what to do with it, how to handle it; how to acquire such understanding and control of it that it shall be an integrative rather than a disintegrative force; how to discover and employ cooperative techniques for conflict so that community progress will be furthered, not frustrated. Maybe we shall find that the community without conflict is the

education is self-education; but self-education need not be haphazard and aimless—indeed it has its methods and techniques, still further to be discovered and developed in the community field. The community, in order to know itself, must study itself. It is not enough to have "surveys" made, or even to make self-surveys, productive as these may be of facts useful in reaching decisions on specific proposals of community action—such as a proposal to broaden Main Street or to find and adopt suitable measures for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Quite as important as knowledge of community facts is knowledge of community processes—the processes of group representation and conflict, and of group and conflict adjustment.

Our study-project contemplates not merely outside study of conflict situations, but community self-study during the process of conflict adjustment. An experience of ethical significance is afforded by cooperative thinking and acting in concrete, developing situations on the part of *individuals* concerned therein as members of diverse local groups. But *community* self-study is evidently a requisite to the solution of the conflict problem. For, no particular case of group conflict in the community stands by itself alone, but each is intimately bound up with a great variety of factors in the past and contemporaneous life of the community as a whole. The particular conflict, in other words, does not begin or end in itself, but in origin, course and consequences is part and parcel of a larger history.

Community behavior in any given situation is conditioned by all the community behavior that has gone before, and communities differ in many important respects. Some communities seem to have the conflict habit. How do they get that way, and how may they get the other and better way? Not by solving one specific case of conflict intelligently, though that helps, but by developing mores, skills, and attitudes which constitute a lasting community asset. "The salvation of the democratic community," says Joseph K. Hart, "is in the released wisdom and cooperative enterprise of all members of the community." The problem of community conflict is the problem of the whole community—and its wholeness.

Types of Contemplated Studies

The Inquiry has already been concerned with the problem of conflict and its adjustment, but not hitherto as primarily a local-community problem. Nor has there been adequate study of the local community from the standpoint of group conflict. Sociological analysts, it is true, have addressed themselves to group conflict in community life, but they have seldom provided an opportunity whereby the local people participating in the adjustment of conflict situations might also participate in their orderly analysis and thus consciously contribute to organized knowledge of the technique of conflict adjustment. To

on case studies of conflict situations, and suitable for the use of local discussion groups and as a source-book in academic courses. It is not the purpose to make sociologists or social psychologists of Mary Jones and Henry Smith, but to help them help themselves toward a more intelligent appreciation of the personal, practical meaning of citizenship in the local community, and to illumine their responsibilities and opportunities as participants in, and contributors to, the community life. The discussion book is to deal with "community relationships," but in such a way as to bear reference, by suggestion and application, to "my share in my community."

Examples of social conflict arising in local communities and presenting a community problem are those having to do with racial segregation, control of dance halls, the question of Sunday movies, establishment of a public playground, the location of a new school-house, a centralized budget for local charities, the organization of another church, industrial disputes, and partisan political squabbles. Among issues giving rise to complicated and far-reaching conflict situations already under study, the following may be mentioned: "Shall this community organize a parent-teacher association?" "Shall we vote for incorporation as a village, and shall the people living west of the railroad tracks be included?" "Shall the citizens of this community acquiesce in the dismissal of the school superintendent by the local board of education?" "Shall our public library be moved to a new location?" These controversies involve group alignments and loyalties on the basis of race, religion, economic status, ownership of property, personal and organizational rivalry, irrelevant issues, and obvious misconceptions of the main issue. They also illustrate different facets of the common problems, such as an insufficient meeting of minds and integration of interests—divisive and disruptive strife, for the most part, rather than creative discussion and cooperative achievement to which all contribute.

It is planned to devote a preliminary period to the further accumulation of materials. During this time three communities of differing size and type will serve as laboratories for the study of developing conflict situations. Local people concerned in these situations, and interested in the discovery and application of cooperative techniques for conflict adjustment, will act as participant observers. An outside observer, representing the Inquiry, will work in close association with them. The method of study known as "participant observation," though much discussed by sociologists, is still without established rules of procedure and tests of validity, and awaits development by experimentation. As a term, it possesses varied connotations; as a method, varied possibilities. In the present instance, we are as yet unable to describe the exact relation to be borne by the "outside observer" to the inter-group group studying the local community from within.

To a large extent, however, this assistance will take the form of a relaying service—making available to the local people such resources of information and technique as have been acquired by the Inquiry and other agencies. Here the knowledge gained by the various commissions of the Inquiry in study of racial, religious and industrial conflict will be invaluable; while other aids include the techniques of conference and discussion, the technique of measuring "social distance," and the experiences of other communities in studying themselves and resolving their conflicts. But this project will be the community's own

project. What is conceived is a study-action process within the community, going on with reference both to the specific question at issue (such as Sunday movies) and to the problem of conflict and its adjustment on the basis of full representation of all interests. It is this process with which the Inquiry is concerned—people in the community thinking and doing for themselves, cooperatively, in the face of conflict situations regarded not as obstacles, but as means to community progress.

During the same period, data regarding other communities and their conflicts will be gathered from varied sources throughout the country by interviews, correspondence, questionnaires and conferences. The object will be to collect as large a number and variety of conflict case histories as possible, though some will necessarily be incomplete. These will be analyzed with a view to classification of conflicts, interpretation of their nature and value, and comparison of community experiences in achieving or attempting their adjustment. There is scarcely any limit to the number and variety of the types of group conflict coming within the scope of the study, except that the situations must be such as to lend themselves, in greater or less degree, to analysis and solution from a local-community standpoint. It is planned, moreover, to study conflict at different levels of intensity—to take into account not only instances of overt, active conflict, but also the less spectacular divisions of group interest which may not eventuate in open clashes, but which nevertheless exert a profound influence in community affairs.

Cooperation Needed

In order to obtain the desired information in sufficient quantity and quality it will be necessary, in due course, to prepare an outline indicating the essential items that constitute a "case history" as such. The form and content of the group-conflict case history have never been worked out for the purposes of reporting and comparison. Provision should be made for recording data showing the main question at issue, the subsidiary issues and the times and ways in which they arise, the different types of interests and groups involved, the succession of events, the meetings and conferences held, the points at which experts are brought in, the who's-who of local leadership, and so on. It is believed that study of all the data to be obtained from widespread sources, including the laboratory communities, offers possibilities of improving the terms and categories employed in the literature of group conflict.

For the conduct of this study of group functions, group processes, group conflict and group adjustment in the local community, a secretary and an advisory committee have been appointed. Friends of the Inquiry should assist the secretary and committee by suggesting the names of communities in which some group might be formed for the purposes of laboratory experimentation, in accordance with the plan here described in brief, and by calling attention to interesting cases of group conflict which might be added to the collection of cases for extensive study of conflict phenomena. We have not as yet adopted a hard-and-fast definition of "community" or of "conflict," hence any material will be welcome that seems to the reader to be relevant on the basis of his own interpretation of these terms. Comment on the general idea and plan of the study is also invited. Correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary for Community Study, the Inquiry, 129 East 52d Street, New York City.

Conflicts That Lead to Better Things

The Inquiry's Committee on Community Study Asks for More Help

This article is reprinted from THE INQUIRY for February, 1927, and this copy of it sent to you, in the hope that you will be able to contribute case material bearing on community conflict. If you can do so, or if you desire more information, please write to the Secretary for Community Study, The Inquiry, 129 East 52d St., New York.

ALL THE tongues in Crowelltown were wagging. The school superintendent had been discharged by the Board of Education on the ground of incompetence. Almost the whole community entered into the ensuing fight between the partisans of the superintendent and those of the board. One leading participant in the squabble reported that the affair was a personal contest for domination between the superintendent and the board chairman. By another we were told that it was a battle between the Ku Klux Klan and the Catholics; by still another, that it was a political feud between two rival bosses, and that the superintendent and board chairman were only incidental figures. Study of the situation seemed to reveal that all our informants were right—and also wrong.

While the struggle was at its height a public mass meeting was held. This was dominated by the partisans of the superintendent whose friends had organized a campaign committee. A citizen of prestige in the community, and of cooler head than some of the rest, suggested at this meeting that a committee representing both sides and the neutral element be formed to canvass the questions at issue and try to arrive at a fair conclusion. Mob feeling ran so high that the proposal was quickly shouted down—so quickly, indeed, that among more than a dozen persons who attended the meeting we were afterwards able to find only one (besides the man who made the proposal) who remembered its ever having been made at all!

Among the residual products of the strife are the loss of morale among the teachers, even among the janitors—yes, and among the children—and the difficulty of the superintendent's successor in doing justice to himself and his administrative job, increased bitterness among old factions in the community, and the appearance of new personal and factional hatreds. The schools and the community will be a long time recovering from this experience; in all probability it has left seeds of dissension that will produce trouble later, unless—

Here the story ceases—except for the fact that further inquiry reveals that these recent difficulties grew out of misunderstandings and maladjustments and battles of long ago. The story is likely to continue much in the same way through further instalments if a new factor does not enter into it. That factor is the type of self-study of the parties to the conflict which the Inquiry is endeavoring to promote.

To clarify the meaning of the term "conflict" in this connection, allusion may be made to the common error, as we think, of employing war as the classic example of group conflict. But war is more properly regarded as an outcome of conflict. True conflict is conflict of mind-sets and attitudes, desires and interests. Some event (or series of events) brings international conflict to a crisis and necessitates some sort of action. War is one sort of action

from which it has resulted. It is often possible, and very desirable, on the occasion that precipitates the conflict situation, to deal cooperatively, then, with the differences and avert a community-disrupting fight.

A conflict situation in the local community, therefore, may be said to include the following elements:

1. An underlying divergence of attitudes and desires, mind-sets and interests, on the part of two or more groups of people;
2. An event or proposal of community significance which brings this underlying divergence, or conflict, into play;
3. A problem presented to the community and its leaders by the conflict situation thus created.

What shall we do? No. 1 implies the existence, or readiness-to-exist, of conflict groups within the community; these may, or may not, be already self-conscious. No. 2 implies that some purpose or project of concern to a number of people is balked or hampered, runs counter to the desires of other people sufficiently numerous or powerful to make themselves felt. No. 3 implies a choice among various courses of action—particularly, between a fight in which one side wins and the other side loses, and cooperation of the parties concerned to the end that all group desires be fully expressed and critically tested through a discussional process. In the second case, the effort will be, more especially, to find a solution of such a nature that there will be maximum satisfaction of all the legitimate group desires represented and validated by the discussion, and that all parties, so far as possible, will have a stake in the solution as contributors as well as beneficiaries.

The community-study project promoted by the Inquiry [described in the issue of these papers for May, 1926] has for the major purpose the testing out of opportunities of this kind and the gradual development of methods for dealing with them. The interest shown in it by readers has been gratifying, and a number of promising situations, or situations inviting study, have been brought to the committee's attention. At the present stage of this inquiry, further contributions are desired of case material bearing upon conflict situations in local communities—preferably in communities not too large or complex to defeat efforts to trace the sources of trouble.

The concern—as was set forth at greater length in the previous article—must of necessity be with the history of conflict situations: how they arise; what interests and interest-groups are involved; what events have affected or are likely to affect their development, and how; what attempts have been made or are being made at cooperative adjustment; why this attempt succeeded and that one failed; what have been the general and specific effects on the community. All the what's, who's, how's and why's that one can think of in connection with such situations are relevant data.

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So, in the local community, the adjustment of conflict is not necessarily the same thing as the settlement of a row. In settling the row, however, opportunity may be taken to get back into its underlying causes and to find a way of adjusting the real differences of viewpoint and purpose

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What shall we do? No. 1 implies the existence, or readiness-to-exist, of conflict groups within the community; these may, or may not, be already self-conscious. No. 2 implies that some purpose or project of concern to a number of people is balked or hampered, runs counter to the desires of other people sufficiently numerous or powerful to make themselves felt. No. 3 implies a choice among various courses of action—particularly, between a fight in which one side wins and the other side loses, and cooperation of the parties concerned to the end that all group desires be fully expressed and critically tested through a discussional process. In the second case, the effort will be, more especially, to find a solution of such a nature that there will be maximum satisfaction of all the legitimate group desires represented and validated by the discussion, and that all parties, so far as possible, will have a stake in the solution as contributors as well as beneficiaries.

The community-study project promoted by the Inquiry [described in the issue of these papers for May, 1926] has for the major purpose the testing out of opportunities of this kind and the gradual development of methods for dealing with them. The interest shown in it by readers has been gratifying, and a number of promising situations, or situations inviting study, have been brought to the committee's attention. At the present stage of this inquiry, further contributions are desired of case material bearing upon conflict situations in local communities—preferably in communities not too large or complex to defeat efforts to trace the sources of trouble.

The concern—as was set forth at greater length in the previous article—must of necessity be with the history of conflict situations: how they arise; what interests and interest-groups are involved; what events have affected or are likely to affect their development, and how; what attempts have been made or are being made at cooperative adjustment; why this attempt succeeded and that one failed; what have been the general and specific effects on the community. All the what's, who's, how's and why's that one can think of in connection with such situations are relevant data.

It is not necessary again to prescribe in detail the kinds of conflict or conflict-situation which the committee would like to hear about. There is still need for more unselected material for certain purposes of the inquiry; and all observations on the nature and processes of conflicts in the community which the reader may have gathered will be gratefully received. In case the study may seem unduly interested in the destructive aspects of conflict, it should be added that stories of actual conflicts with happy endings—and the how of them—will be especially welcome.

THE INQUIRY

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ELIZABETH ROSS HAYNES
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ETHEL SMILEY
ELIZABETH WATSON

Secretary

February 6, 1929

Miss Frances Ingram,
Neighborhood House,
428 South 1st Street,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Miss Ingram:

I am not sure that you have ever seen a copy of the occasional papers which we publish from time to time, usually monthly, here at the Inquiry.

The Inquiry itself is a group of men and women who, for the past five years, have been, rather quietly, making studies in various problems of human integration - for the most part racial, industrial, religious, and international.

The Inquiry idea has grown so steadily, and its studies (especially the tools it has created for discussion in the fields mentioned above) have become so widely significant as a contribution to discussion material and technique, that I am sending you a copy of the January number of the "Inquiry" in hope that it may contain material which will be of service to you.

Among other things, it contains a discussion outline on conflict in family life, with a comprehensive bibliography on the main problems of such conflict. It also describes an Inquiry project for measuring committee processes in industrial relations.

If you wish to be put on the mailing list for this year, please fill in and return the enclosed slip. There is no subscription price, but we haven't a great deal of money, and a contribution of a dollar or two to the publication cost, is earnestly requested.

Yours very sincerely,

August Pratt

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THE INQUIRY

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ELIZABETH WATSON

Secretary

February 18, 1929

Dear Inquirer:

The Inquiry is anxious to make itself and the Inquiry idea more cooperatively real to its fellow Inquirers.

For that reason we're taking the liberty of asking you to join us in getting out a significant piece of Inquiry work, Professor Alfred Dwight Sheffield's "TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE".

This book reports the process and findings of an experiment in problems of group leadership carried out at Columbia University in 1927. It is significant because it shows the deep penetration of the attitude of self-questioning into a field of activity which is basic with all of us who have to work in concert with our fellow beings--and there are precious few of us who do not get our daily work done, and learn our lessons through collective functioning, whether it be through committees, clubs, study circles, conventions, conferences, or what not.

You, as an active Inquirer in the field, are in a far more strategic position than we in the workshop. Though our Occasional Papers come to you in the nature of a workshop report, we have always felt that you are as much an Inquiry worker as we. Your part is essential for a well-rounded, finished job.

Our problem here, as is the case with related booklets of the Inquiry -- with Creative Discussion, Gearing in for Common Tasks, All Colors, The Worker and his Job, Business and Ideals, Are There Too Many Churches in Our Town, Community Conflict -- is not simply to promote the circulation of educational materials but to promote a general sharing of the experience of those who are using them. We are eager to hear, therefore, how this and other booklets seem to meet your needs, what points you would suggest, in the light of your own experience, for changes and additions to be made in later issues, what projects of co-operative education you feel to be in need of new materials, etc.

What you can do for this latest Inquiry tool will take little of your time, but will mean much to the success of our "inquiry" idea.

To give you a brief picture of "TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE" a small leaflet is enclosed.

This material is the property of The Filson Historical Society and cannot be reproduced without permission

Specifically, you can greatly increase the scope and usefulness of your Inquiry workshop by:

1. Carefully considering this book in relation to its usefulness in your own work, organization, and field.
2. Giving us, as definitely as possible, the names and addresses of other key people who should know about "Training for Group Experience", and whose knowledge of its existence would promise wide distribution and use.
3. Suggesting, or giving the Inquiry access to, important lists which are known or available to you.
4. Ordering your copy now, and placing an order for copies to be used by those in your organization, committees, groups, conventions, conferences, etc. whose position of responsibility will enable the report to prove of the utmost value.

To save you time and trouble an "Active Inquirer" sheet is enclosed.

It will take very little of your time to give us a hand in this adventure. Your active cooperation will help enormously to broaden the scope of the Inquiry idea, and to solve this perplexing problem of working together.

Do let us hear from you at your earliest opportunity.

Yours very sincerely,

George W. Pratt Jr.

For the Inquiry

TIME SAVER FOR ACTIVE INQUIRERS

A Few Minutes of Your Time Will Save Weeks
of Ours, and Will Help Greatly to Expand the Idea
of Earnest Inquiry.

Please Jot Down Suggestions and Return to

The Inquiry, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

From:

Name:

Address:

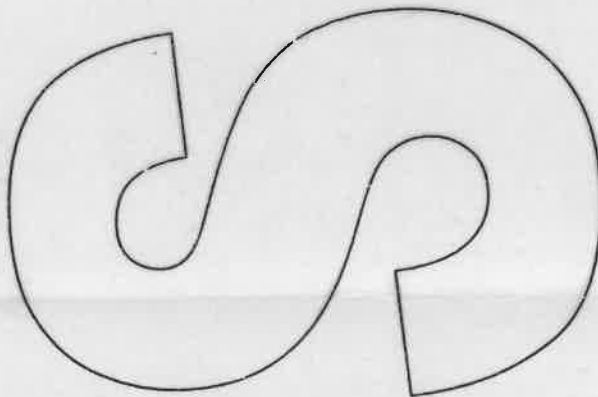
Organization, etc:

1. Below are listed the names and addresses of people
who should know about "TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE", and
whose work ~~and connections promise a wide field~~ for its
distribution and usefulness.

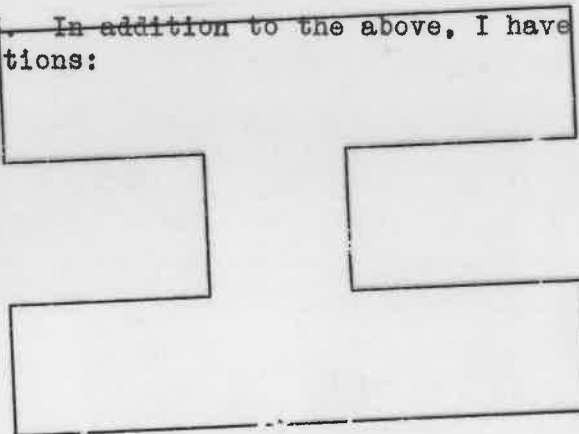
I have checked (x) those with whom I personally shall
be glad to ~~take up the matter of wider distribution~~ for the
book, and I shall discuss the question of its use with my own
organization (groups, committees, boards, classes, etc.)

See next page.

2. I suggest that you send letters or announcements to the following lists (membership, subscription, etc.). Those checked (x) I can secure for you myself.



3. In addition to the above, I have the following suggestions:



4. Please send me (with bill)
(for cash enclosed) _____
copies of Professor Alfred Dwight Sheffield's "TRAINING
FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE".

(In cloth only at \$1.50 each; special prices for
lots of a dozen or more.)

A business reply envelope is enclosed
for your convenience. It requires no stamp.

AN ORDER FOR INQUIRY BOOKS

Please send me ☐ for cash enclosed ☐ with bill _____ copies of Professor Sheffield's
 TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE. (Cloth, \$1.50 per copy)

Other INQUIRY publications widely used as tools for group discussion:

Creative Discussion	50 cents per copy	copies
And Who Is My Neighbor?	Cloth, \$1.50; paper, \$1.00	"
All Colors	Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 1.00	"
What Makes Up My Mind On International Questions?	Cloth, \$1.00; paper, .75	"
Community Conflict	Price not yet determined	"
The Worker and His Job	Paper, 75 cents per copy	"
The Fairfield Experiment	Paper, 40 cents per copy	"
How Catholics See Protestants	Paper, 25 cents per copy	"

(DISCOUNTS ON QUANTITY ORDERS)

Organization or
Special Interest

Name

Address

OP15

(Use enclosed envelope and mail. No postage is required.)

FIRST CLASS
 PERMIT No. 1806
 (Sec. 384 1/2 P L & R)
 NEW YORK, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

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3c. POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY
 THE INQUIRY

129 EAST 52D STREET
 NEW YORK, N. Y.

RESULT

THE results of their cooperation have been such that the Inquiry is now under request from many quarters to continue the enterprise as a piece of educational pioneering especially addressed to the complex institutional life of our day. Before committing itself, however, to repeat this special service, the Inquiry offers the present book by way of interpreting the project—believing the resources for developing it to be now so promising that other educational agencies will be encouraged to take it up for the scientific advancement of group experience in all parts of the country.

"We Americans seem committed to a policy of organization and association-making; we are inveterate 'joiners.' Action and emotion without attendant thinking sum up most of the things that are open to just criticism. This *Record of Training for Group Experience* does more than show how these evils may be averted. It discloses how the great and constantly growing array of organizations may be converted into constructive agencies of precisely the type of education a democracy most needs. This book and its companion volume are welcomed as pioneer undertakings that open and explore a new territory."

—JOHN DEWEY
In his Introduction

ORDER FORM

THE INQUIRY
129 EAST 52D STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Please send me { with bill { _____ copies of
for cash enclosed {

"TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE."

Price, in cloth, \$1.50. *

Name _____

Street and Number _____

P. O. Address _____ State _____

* Special prices for lots of a dozen or more.

TRAINING FOR GROUP EXPERIENCE

A Syllabus of Materials
from a Laboratory Course
for Group Leaders

By ALFRED DWIGHT SHEFFIELD

*Distinctive Group Experience
in Life Enrichment Through
Group Thinking at Its Best*

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Problems of the Conference Assembly

The Conference Institute

The Convention

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Questions of Method and Procedure

III. DISCUSSION AS THE REDIRECTION OF EXPERIENCE

IV. OUTLINING A TRAINING COURSE FOR GROUP LEADERS

The Analysis of Group Functioning

Practice in Discussion-Leading

Readings from Social Science

WHY IT WAS DONE

FOUR YEARS of joint study between the Inquiry and various national organizations with public programs have impressed many minds with the sense of enrichment and power that can accrue from group-thinking at its best. Wherever a board, committee, class, club, conference or assembly has to explore a new situation, involving the strain of unadjusted conditions and desires, its members realize the need in our modern life for an art of group relationships. All our life-enriching interests—interests of work, culture, recreation, religion—are nowadays sustained by the mutual stimulus and enhancement of shared purposes and pooled resources. Those agencies, therefore, that seek for society increases of spiritual energy and vision are paying a close regard to the motivations and forces which spring into being or take direction from the forms of interplay within and between groups. Particularly they see in the conduct of group discussion a growing democratic technique—one that directs the insights and findings of social science upon the processes by which people generally take counsel together for the redirecting of their own experience.

This conviction recently led to a concerted effort among leaders in a number of national agencies. Having taken part in maturing the idea, they proceeded to cooperate in a laboratory course that should test its value.

Accordingly, a semester of study of group leadership was planned at Columbia University under the leadership of Professor Harrison S. Elliott and members of the Inquiry staff.

The course was carried out in the spring semester, February 2 to May 21, 1927, with sixty-eight students.

THE INQUIRY

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ELIZABETH WATSON

Secretaries

April 27, 1929

Miss Frances Ingram,
Neighborhood House,
428 S. First Street,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Miss Ingram:

Mr. Paul L. Benjamin of Louisville, Kentucky, who has been using our Inquiry studies, has asked me to send you the enclosed material, in the belief, I imagine, that you will find the studies equally effective in producing eager participation by members of groups with which you are working.

You probably have seen some of the Inquiry work before, but this year's publications are really especially important because they embody, collectively, the richest results of previous Inquiry research in human relations.

Each of our studies is a carefully prepared tool for group discussion. They cover the major fields of human relations problems, and are designed primarily for use in study-circles, forums, discussion groups, and the other forms of church, school and community gatherings where men and women are seeking a deeper insight into these problems.

One in particular, "Training for Group Experience," seems to be answering an exceptionally urgent need, especially for leaders of group activity in their communities. Undoubtedly its popularity is due to the fact that it is the first comprehensive attempt to outline the vast possibilities emerging from present country-wide changes in conference and group technique.

It will, perhaps, interest you to know that these studies are not the product of a small group, but embody broad participation. Your criticism and suggestion, and the fruit of your experience in their use constitute the basis for our future work.

Sincerely yours,

George D. Pratt Jr.
George D. Pratt Jr.

GDPJr
DG

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THE INQUIRY

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May 31, 1929.

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Secretaries

Dear Miss Ingram:

Two of the most recent publications of the Inquiry owe much to the contributions made by neighborhood workers and, in their turn, are intended as helpful tools in settlement work.

Race Attitudes in Children, in addition to its more than thirty direct references to settlement experience, throws light on many of those problems which arise when children of different racial and national backgrounds are brought together, or where the settlement has to have a policy as to desirable and undesirable contacts between them. You will probably recognize some of your own difficulties in those that are described; and we hope that some of the successful experiments made by other settlements in creating mutual appreciation and cooperation between members of different groups will suggest to you methods that are appropriate for your neighborhood and your house also.

Community Conflict proposes new ways of dealing with those clashes and frictions between different groups and interests that occur in every settlement neighborhood. Here also you will recognize some of your own problems; and here also we hope that some of the suggestions made for dealing with them will strike you as worth trying out next time the need arises.

In fact, both books are written partly from settlement experience and partly with the object of handing on to the younger settlement residents and workers the methods of dealing with group diversity which have slowly been built up and developed by those who have been long engaged in efforts to create a more harmonious community life.

The third enclosure is a more general description of some of the books and pamphlets which the Inquiry has prepared for purposes of group discussion. Many senior clubs and other settlement groups have already been stimulated by these books, and many study programs have been suggested by them. You can see sample copies of these books and pamphlets at the Chicago conference, if you are not yet acquainted with them. Some of them ought to prove useful in the preparation of programs for next winter.

Yours truly,

Helen J. Mayers

Helen J. Mayers

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National Conference on
the Christian Way of Life.

129 East 52nd Street
New York City

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

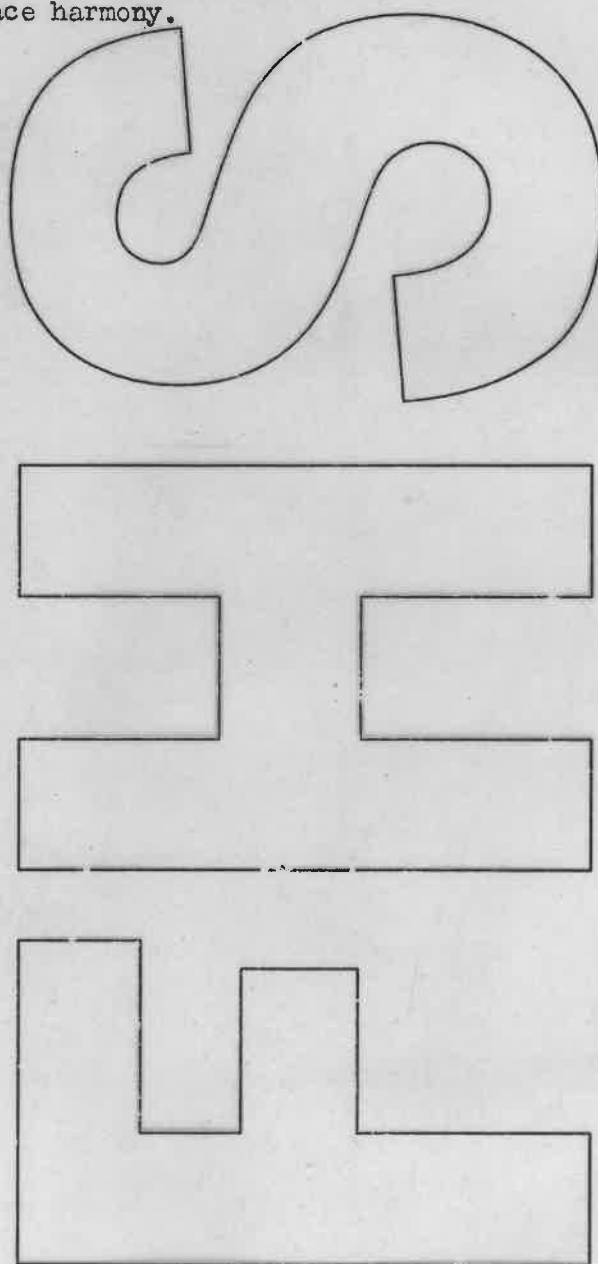
Objects

(Tentative Statement)

1. To encourage and assist inquiries into the nature of the relationships between different racial and national groups in America, so that the evidences of harmony and of successful adjustments between them may be appraised and the nature and origin of existing or threatening misunderstandings, maladjustments and clashes between them may be located;
- II. To make available for those participating in such inquiries material which would enable a comparison of their experience and personal knowledge with the wider experience of the world in race relations and with scientific knowledge concerning the underlying facts;
- III. To stimulate, on the basis of such studies and with the aid of examples from the practical experience of communities and groups - and more especially that of organized Christianity
 - (1) the discovery of specific measures by which goodwill between racial and national groups may be conserved and misunderstandings be removed, maladjustments be remedied and clashes be averted;
 - (2) the examination of such measures (a) in the light of the principles of life and conduct enunciated by Jesus and in the light of the history of the Christian Church, (b) in their bearing, more especially, on the resources available in the Christian community;
 - (3) the choice of concrete measures, possibly experimental, by which those taking part in these studies may themselves actively apply their findings.
- IV. To make the results of these studies and concrete measures contributory, by means of regional, national and international conferences, to a common fund of Christian conviction and dynamic energy in the working out of the larger problems inherent in race relations.

February 5, 1924

For this section are needed a long string of anecdotes and biographical sketches of people in different walks of life, including the humblest, who have consecrated themselves to the cause of race harmony.



National Conference on the
Christian Way of Life

129 East 52nd Street
New York City

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

SPECIMEN SHEETS

of illustrative incidents and situations
for a study course on race relations

Here's democracy for you!

It is the purpose of the Commission on Race Relations to base the material for study and discussion which it intends to issue next fall not on any preconceived notion as to what the race problems in America are but on the actual experience of correspondents in every part of the country, and abroad, with episodes in the relations between different ethnic and national groups which contain a problem. The purpose of the following pages is to show in concrete samples the kind of information that is needed to make up such a study course.

How it happened

The incidents here related and the form in which they appear are offered as (not altogether satisfactory) samples, not as models. While it is not desired to limit contributions in scope or form, each item should contain more than merely the description of a situation, namely some incident displaying the factors of cause, action and effect. While there is no general rule as regards the amount of detail needed to make each such account a complete unit, it must be sufficient to enable a discovery of the causes and attitudes, an analysis of the course of the event and at least a rough appraisal of its actual or probable consequences.

This reminds me...

While for purposes of preliminary arrangement these samples have been grouped in line with a topical classification, this classification may for present purposes be disregarded; the only concern just now is that these stories should remind the reader of others, and that he should be encouraged to write them down and send them in. There should also perhaps be more of an indication on the part of the recorder than appears in most of these samples of the particular points in the episode where to him the problems seem to lie that should be discussed.

Just like that time when...

That a particular type of incident or situation is already represented among these specimens should not discourage the reader from sending in more of that kind. The deepest understanding of a problem often comes from a recognition that with slight variations it arises in totally different communities. Especially in the section dealing with evidences of preventive and remedial action, the largest educational value is likely to come from a comparison of similar problems that have arisen in various communities but have been dealt with differently.

Now it can be told

Where the mention of names and places is likely to cause injury or inconvenience, they may be suppressed and the circumstances be disguised in other ways necessary to prevent identification.

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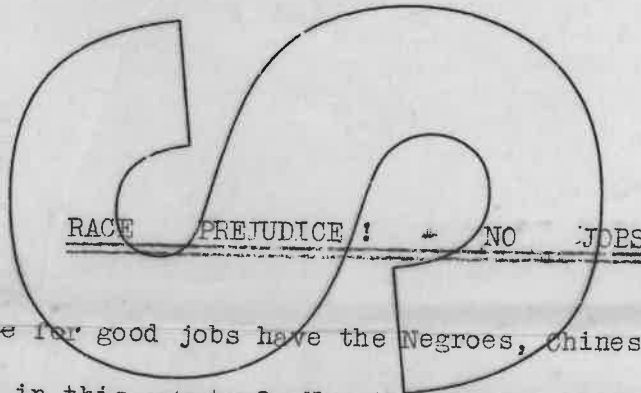
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JOHN N. WASHBURN
ELIZABETH M. WATSON
KATHARINE WAY



What chance for good jobs have the Negroes, Chinese, and 'foreigners' who are already in this country? Now that the problem of jobs is acute, The Inquiry offers RACIAL FACTORS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, a unique analysis of how race affects economic opportunity and factory efficiency.

Actual factory conditions are discussed. Different industrial methods for handling race problems are compared, and constructive general plans presented for securing racial justice for workers. Ways are also suggested by which churches, schools, and social organizations can further industrial justice by enlarging their programs for decreasing race prejudice.

The Inquiry is now making special group offers of its race books as shown on the enclosed order blank, and hopes you will be able to take advantage of them for yourself or for the library of any organization with which you may be connected.

The summer is the time to look for new ideas for community programs this fall. Inquiry books will give you sound and stimulating suggestions.

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KATHARINE WAY

Dear Inquiry Friends:

Have you noticed our new book on Harper's list, "Racial Factors in American Industry"? As a friend of the Inquiry, you will be pleased to hear what Raymond Fosdick says of it: "I doubt if a more thought-provoking and more significant book has been published in many months. If the Inquiry had resulted in nothing else than this one volume it would have justified its purpose."

But Professor MacIver has reminded us of a major job that still remains to be done: to study systematically what makes for success or failure in conferences. Another prominent educator has commented that the proposed study is directed at the point of most significant change in current American life.

The Inquiry is now prepared to put its plans for a study of conference methods into full operation. A brief description of the scope and methods of our study is enclosed. We believe that our Inquiry friends who are engaged in conducting conferences through their organizations will find both the methods and the results of the study of great practical value. We hope it will also interest a large number of Inquiry friends who are in the predicament of many socially-minded people today, who are aware of the great waste in poorly planned conference and committee meetings, and yet continue to attend them. All who are interested to join and support our project will be put on a special mailing list to receive materials for observing and evaluating conferences, and may consult with the appropriate staff member on conference problems.

We are earnestly calling on those who have known our work in the past to cooperate with us in this attempt to give the greatest possible carry-over of the Inquiry's experience and concern in group process. To carry out our plans we need \$60,000 in 1931. We have been promised by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., fifty cents for every dollar we raise from others. You can see that it will require a good deal of effort to secure \$40,000 in order to qualify for the \$20,000 proportional gift.

We are writing to you as one of a list of Inquiry friends from whom we hope to secure subscriptions of from \$5 to \$10, which would assure us of about one-fourth of the sum needed. An early response to this appeal by those who have known our work will enable us to forecast what support we may expect. May we hope that you will mail us a check today? Please don't limit the sum to the amounts suggested above if you can give more; but be assured of our appreciation of smaller amounts as well.

Very sincerely yours,

Lucy P. Gregg
(Mrs. A. J.)

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National Conference on the
Christian Way of Life

129 East 52nd Street
New York City

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

S P E C I M E N S H E E T S

of illustrative incidents and situations
for a study course on race relations

Here's democracy for you!

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Now it can be told

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SPECIMEN CASES

A. Evidences of apparent harmony between different racial groups

1. Complete assimilation

No cases in hand. One or two good descriptions of such situations wanted.

2. Partial intermixture with mutual toleration

No cases in hand. One or two good descriptions of such situations wanted.

3. Segregation with mutual tolerance and cooperation

EXAMPLE:

During the winter evenings when it was disagreeable out of doors, I would get permission for four or five negro boys and girls to play with me in the library or in the nursery. Here we would play games: jack-straws, blind-man's buff, checks, checkers, pantomime, geography puzzles, conundrum matches, and spelling bees. Frequently I would read the negroes fairy stories, or show them pictures in the magazines and books of art. I remember how we used to linger over a beautiful picture of Lord William Russell bidding adieu to his family before going to execution; and how in a boyish way I would tell the negroes the story of his unhappy fate and his wife's devotion. Another favorite picture was the coronation of Queen Victoria. How we delighted in 'Audubon's Birds' and in the beautifully colored plates and animals in the government publications on natural history. The pleasure was by no means one-sided. To our hotchpot of amusement and instruction the negroes contributed marvellous tales of birds and animals, which more than offset my familiar reminiscences of Queen Victoria and Lord Russell."

From Winston, "The Relations of the Whites to the Negroes," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XVIII, P. 106. This incident relates to the period before Negro emancipation.

More examples are needed.

B. Evidences of Disharmony

1. in the form of common misunderstandings

- a. of the biological facts
- b. of anthropological facts
- c. of historical facts

No cases in hand. Send in some telling examples of cases in which ignorance of such facts has led to serious or merely ludicrous errors in attitude and action.

- d. of demographic and sociological facts

EXAMPLE:

This story of the experience which came to an Oriental student in America is contributed by the head of a religious organization:

This student was very fond of children. He often visited in our home and enjoyed playing games with our children and going for walks with them in the park. He was always generous, thoughtful and kind.

One night, about 11:30, I was called out of bed by the ringing of the telephone. My Oriental friend was on the wire. He said he had been arrested and was to be arraigned immediately in night court; would I come right down. I hastened into my clothes and went with all possible speed. I could not imagine what had happened. The boy was telling his story to the magistrate as I arrived:

Earlier the same evening he had come out of his apartment house to take a walk. A young American girl, perhaps 12 or 14, had come down in the same elevator with him. She was a sweet little girl with two flaxen braids down her back, and with his love for children he had admired her. After leaving the elevator, they walked across the apartment foyer to the front door, and the student, naturally, opened the door, as he would have for any lady, and said, "Isn't it a pleasant evening," or something like that.

The little girl's father was waiting for her outside, and it came out subsequently in the father's testimony that he had sent the child into the house on an errand. Having seen the Oriental speak to his daughter, he asked her the nature of the remark and went up to the student forthwith and said, "I was going to have you arrested." The student was amazed and said, "What for?" And he replied, "For speaking to my daughter." They walked along together, the student explaining that he had said nothing improper to the girl, that he was merely going out for a walk, had held the door open for her and simply said, "Isn't it a fine evening?" The father said, "I don't care, you had no business speaking to this little girl, and I am going to teach you Orientals a lesson." They went along some time, discussing the matter, the student in no way seeking to avoid him or to run away, until finally they encountered a policeman, whereupon the father charged the student with making an offensive remark to his daughter and requested that he be arrested.

This was all brought out in the testimony, at the conclusion of which the magistrate asked if there was anyone present who knew the defendant. The writer came forward, recounted his acquaintance with the young man, the many times he had been in his home, and that to the best of his knowledge he was a man of character and goodwill. Whereupon the magistrate acquitted the prisoner with this statement to the parent:

"It is apparent to me that the defendant is innocent of the charge which you have made against him. As a father you were

quite right in looking out for the best interests of your daughter, but you must remember that every Oriental in this country is not of the character so often portrayed in the press, but that there are in our American universities scores of these young men, from good families, often-times sent to America at government expense. You must not generalize and think that because they may look alike, all Orientals are alike in education and character as they are portrayed in these prejudiced newspaper accounts."

Then he turned to the student and admonished him to be careful not to repeat his action in the future as he might be misunderstood!

The Filson Historical Society

2. in the form of traditional attitudes

a. to physical appearance

EXAMPLE:

I happened to find myself in a town in which so much excitement and indignation was being expressed that it seemed likely for a time that there would be a lynching. The occasion of the trouble was that a dark-skinned man has stopped at the local hotel. Investigation, however, developed the fact that this individual was a citizen of Morocco and that while travelling in this country he spoke the English language. As soon as it was learned that he was not an American Negrin all the signs of indignation disappeared. The man who was the innocent cause of the excitement, though, found it prudent after that not to speak English.

Booker T. Washington, "Up from Slavery".

b. to political and religious backgrounds

Needed illustrations of race prejudice where a particular race is associated with obnoxious religious beliefs or practices and where a particular race is associated with obnoxious forms of government; or in which the political sins of the fathers are visited upon their children.

c. to foreign languages

Illustrations are needed of situations in which a hostile attitude to a race is clearly caused or influenced by inability to understand its language

d. to cultural standards

EXAMPLE:

A community service director in Colorado writes:

In the vicinity of X there are more arrests for stealing money among the Mexicans than in any other group, although they are in a minority. There are two reasons for this:

First: the persons that are arrested here are largely drifters who have no home; and some of them are almost directly from Mexico where the standards are entirely different from our American standards. Down there they respect the fellow that can steal and get away with it without being caught. They often respect the fellow that can bully some poor fellow out of something. They make heroes out of such men as Villa, Zapata and others who go about over the country taking

what they want regardless of former ownership - be it a poor woman or a rich man. In other words, a great many people of Mexico are ignorant of their moral obligations to their fellow men and the rights of others. When such people come over here, it is impossible to instil into them in a day American ideals and customs. It means a process of long training and education in the principles for which we stand.

Second: It is human nature to do to a certain extent what you are expected to do. The Americans who expect these people to steal, regard them with suspicion and mistreat them, generally get what they expect. In New Mexico, seventeen years ago, we moved into a section of the country where there were twenty-five Mexican families to one white family. Many of these Mexicans, in fact most of them, were American citizens and owned property of some kind. We lived among them for ten years and never had a bit of trouble with them. We seldom lost anything through theft, though we have often left the place all day with nothing locked. We have a tool shed open most of the time, close to the road. Many of the Mexicans pass every day and would have ample chance to steal, but they very seldom do. On the other hand, another white family, not so very far away, does not dare leave the place for a minute without having everything under lock and key. The Mexicans hate these people; and I believe that the watchfulness which these have to exert over their belongings is largely due to their mistreatment of the Mexicans. That mistreatment is largely contempt. When Mexicans go there to work, they are treated more like animals than like human beings. Consequently they shirk as often as they have a chance. I have had from two to ten of these Mexicans working on the farm for us all the time. It is very seldom that anything is taken. We treat them kindly and always justly, respect their rights, treat them, in fact, as we would treat anybody else, and expect them to be honest.

The Mexicans respect the law when some of their own members are the representatives of the law. They realize that they are Americans and have the rights of citizenship. However, wherever you find a group of white citizens who mistrust these Mexicans and look at them with suspicious eyes, there is always more or less violation of the law. If you do something for them - especially those who have the largest portion of Indian blood or are full-blooded Mexicans Indians- they will never forget it as long as they live and can never do too much for you; but if you injure one of them, he will be your enemy and will cheat, rob and even kill when your back is turned.

At Y. there is considerable friction between some of the whites and the Mexicans. There are some places in the town where in times past it was unwise for an American or white to go because of Mexican hostility. I went up there one day, and there were a lot of the fellows around. When they

saw me coming, immediately some of them wanted to jump on me; but there were some there who knew me and headed off the other fellows by saying, "Es un Amigo a los Mejicanos," and all hostility immediately ceased. I talked with them for a while, had them sing me some songs with guitar accompaniments and, after having been there for about an hour, went my way with the friendliest salutations.

Time and again I have known of fights between the races thereabouts, and almost invariably it had started by some American or white (many of the Mexicans also are Americans by birth) calling them "greezers" or other names.

A concrete illustration of honesty and friendliness on the part of Mexicans who are justly treated is a man whom my father helped considerably at one time and who lived on a little hill. My brother, a few years later, got stuck in the Rio Grande in mid-winter when ice was floating down the river. This man went down the river, stripped and went into the water, working in the ice water for over an hour to help my brother out. Another man spent three days to look for a lost cow for another white man who had been kind to him, when he might have earned a wage, and refused to accept payment. Would many white men do these things just from gratitude for kind treatment?

The following illustration shows why Mexicans often are resentful: The first sergeant of my company in the army was a Mexican, born and raised in the United States, therefore an American. Nevertheless, he was called a Mexican and treated as such, as though he were not worthy of any honor, though he bore arms for his country willingly. He has told me many times that he thought the Americans who treated him as a "greezer" not worthy of the name of American.

e. to social statusEXAMPLES:

The most prominent colored woman of the place (a small town in Alabama) was denied the right to answer a call over the long-distance telephone from her husband, because, when she answered the operator's query, she replied, naturally and without premeditation; "Yes, this is Mrs...." And because she called herself Mrs. , she was not allowed to talk over that phone.

From William Pickens, "Bursting Bonds."

* * *

In one of the suburbs of New York a large plot of land on a rough hill side sloping down to the railroad tract had been sold to a Negro developing corporation. Within a year or two, some twenty homes were built, some of the two-decker variety but most of them individual cottages. All have gardens, many of them garages, and one of the homes has a tennis court. Some of the colored residents are better dressed than their white neighbors with whom several of the men and a number of girls, apparently office workers, commute into the city.

A white woman, living in the high-class residential colony on the opposite hill, hearing of the arrival of so many colored families, had a good idea. One morning she knocked at the door of the Negro home nearest the station and asked where she might find a cook. The colored woman who had opened the door tactfully replied: "Yes, servants are difficult to get and to keep these days, aren't they? I have had three in less than two months! "

* * *

In the same suburb it occurred to a political office speaker that the "colored vote" had not been sufficiently cultivated, especially among the newer residents. When it came near election time, he called therefore on a member of the Negro colony who had been pointed out to him as the most influential. This man and his wife, to show their neighborly goodwill, at once agreed to call a meeting at their house.

This meeting, when held, was followed by a chicken supper in which the visiting white politicians participated. It was both courtesy and political diplomacy on their part to have their hostess appointed one of the watchers at the poll on election day.

When the colored woman presented herself at the school where the voting took place, she found several white women in attendance as watchers who were sitting along one side of a long table and chatting to the electors. One of them put a chair close to the door of the large room for the colored

8.
woman, gave her a list and pencil and asked her to check off the colored voters only, as they took care of the white ones. None of them exchanged a word with her all day long.

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There were two young refined Negro men in a northern community who had been well received by the community and with seemingly no prejudice. They were an intimate part of the social life of the community, attended dances and went to social affairs unrestrictedly. When the war-time migration of Negroes to the North began, this community received a quota of common laborers. Simultaneously with the appearance of these low-grade Negroes, the doors of the erstwhile friends of the cultured Negroes were closed to them much to their surprise and bewilderment.

From Erle Fiske Young, "Race Prejudice"

3. In the form of taboos and discriminations

a. civic (political)

EXAMPLE:

The following account is contributed by the executive officer of a neighborhood organization in an eastern manufacturing city:

On Halloween night 1922 at about 7:30 p.m. a young Portugese, repeatedly taunted by three American boys and hit with stockings filled with soot, finally turned upon them and gave a young Irish-American, whom we will call Pat Milligan, a slight cut on the shoulder. The Portugese immediately ran away.

Three nights later Milligan, visiting Portugese lodging houses with two policemen, picked out Carlos R. as his assailant. Carlos was taken to jail and later bailed out by his brother, who at once enlisted the services of the only lawyer he knew, a young man of limited attainments and experience whom he had met through the factory where he worked.

The lawyer made very little investigation. Deciding apparently that this client was guilty, he expended his energy largely in an attempt to persuade him to plead guilty. This Carlos refused to do, declaring always that he was innocent.

On the day before the trial his friends enlisted Mr. P., the executive of the neighborhood association. He had no time for investigating the matter further than one visit to the Portugese lodging house. After talking with Milligan before the trial, he found the boy so firm in his identification - which had perhaps been strengthened in his own mind by constant repetition during three or four months of waiting - that he too suggested to Carlos that he plead "non vult". Again Carlos was firm in his declaration that he was not guilty.

At the trial Milligan and his friends testified that on the night of the cutting they were talking with Mary B.----- in front of Milligan's home next door to the store of Carlos' brother, that a Portuguese appeared, hurled an obscene epithet in "Spanish" at the girl and passed on across the street. Milligan, they said, followed him and demanded an apology, struck at the Portuguese and received the knife thrust in his shoulder.

Mary B-----, put upon the stand, declared that she was talking with the three boys as they described but that she saw no Portuguese at the time and knew nothing of the stabbing until after it had occurred. (This testimony she repeated in several other interviews. Its significance was completely ignored by those who were handling the case.)

When asked about the validity of the identification, the plaintiff and his mother vaguely indicated that they had known Carlos for some months as a familiar figure on the street. The judge, impatient at a suggestion from Carlos' lawyer that the identification was not complete, interrupted to point out that the man had been a familiar individuality to them as the brother of the storekeeper next door. (No one seemed to realize in this connection that Milligan and his friends after three days of inquiry about the neighborhood - Who was "that" Portuguese? - had sworn out a "John Doe" warrant.)

Carlos' defense rested upon an alibi. He presented at least a dozen witnesses, fellow lodgers, who agreed that he was in the house eating supper, playing cards and learning to play the mandolin from about 6:00 o'clock to 8:30 on the evening in question. (All were agreed that the cutting occurred about 7:30). The judge declared later that the testimony of these witnesses was invalidated because they "agreed too well."

Unfortunately these witnesses were obliged, with one or two exceptions, to talk through an interpreter. The assistant prosecutor, who conducted the case, took advantage of this by trying to confuse the witnesses and then by laying an elaborate trap for them. To each witness he put a few questions, such as the immigrant invariably learns always immediately upon his arrival in America - for instance, "Where were you born?" "How long have you been in the United States?" "Where do you work?" "What wages do you get?" "Have you money in the bank?" The women stared blankly at him, even though he raised his voice and several times bellowed a repetition of his question. Most of the men knew this catechism and so fell into his snare; for, later addressing the jury he claimed this as a proof that they pretended ignorance of English in order to be allowed to use an interpreter.

The most striking piece of testimony (but a part which was ignored completely by all the representatives of the law) was that of two boys - one American, the other born in Spain

but educated in a public school in the same class with Milligan - who declared that they witnessed the fight and that they saw - beyond possibility of a doubt, another Portuguese than Carlos stab Milligan. The American boy said that although he had often seen the other Portuguese, he did not know his name. The Spaniard testified that he recognized him as a young man named Gomez, similar in appearance to Carlos, who lived in one of the neighboring lodging houses.

The attorney for the defense made a very weak plea in which he seemed to yield entirely the suggestion of mistaken identity and to base his arguments entirely upon the claim of self-defense.

The prosecutor, summing up the case for the jury, said among other things: "I leave it for you to decide whose word you would more readily take - that of fellow Americans or that of foreigners who have been in the country for years and can't speak English, or if they can speak it, pretend not to understand it." He repeated the story of the insult, adding, "and Mary B----'s testimony agrees with that of the boys."

The judge's charge was colored by such statements as: "you have a right in making your decision to judge whether the testimony of witnesses may be discounted by the fact that they are protecting a fellow countryman."

"The twelve good men and true" brought in a verdict of "guilty" with a recommendation for mercy.

Later, Mr. P. met a member of the jury who claimed that he alone was responsible for the clemency plea. He had stoutly maintained that the Portuguese had ample justification in self-defense, but was unable to influence his fellow jurymen farther than the suggestion that the judge temper his verdict.

After the trial, Mr. P. hoping to find testimony that would bring about Carlos' release, or at least would make the sentence of the judge, to be pronounced a week later, a very mild one, set about an investigation of his own.

He interviewed a neighbor of the principals in the case - Portuguese herself but thoroughly "Americanized" by many years in the public schools - who testified to the good character of Carlos, described the frantic attempts of the Milligan family to learn who "that Portuguese" was, and recalled seeing Carlos at about 9:00 o'clock Hallowe'en night, when the street was seething with excitement over the attack of young Milligan, quietly dealing out sugar and tobacco in his brother's store.

He saw the two boys who testified that Carlos was not the offender. Both of these had seen the other Portuguese, Gomez, several times earlier in the evening harassed again and again by the three American boys and had been witnessed when he finally defended himself.

The Spanish boy had talked with Gomez (Spaniards and Portuguese can usually understand each other's language), and Gomez had said; "I wish they'd let me alone. I don't want to hurt them, but I can't stand much more and I am afraid my temper will make me do them some harm." After the stabbing, he said, Gomez ran toward the high board fence back of the Portuguese lodging house.

Mr. P. visited two of these Portuguese lodging houses, one on the second floor in which Carlos lived and the other on the floor above it where Gomez lived. At the first the lodgers repeated the account, just as it was given at the trial, of Carlos' movements on Hallowe'en night and described the midnight visit of Milligan and the police.

At the other place the landlord and his wife and several boarders told how in the morning a few hours after Carlos' arrest Gomez took his lunch and started out as if going as usual to the factory, but never returned. He had always been very prompt about paying his board, but this time he left a bill of almost a week unpaid.

One boarder, who spoke English well and seemed very intelligent, said that he had happened to be late to his dinner on Hallowe'en night and so sat alone at about 7:30 (the time Milligan was stabbed). Suddenly the back door was burst open and Gomez rushed into the room panting for breath and evidently under great excitement. He stood there a moment as if trying to collect himself. Then he went into his room and closed the door.

Mr. P. took this testimony to the judge and the prosecutor. He urged them to send an investigator down to the Portuguese lodging houses to look into the matter and bring them a report. This they were unwilling to do. The prosecutor suggested summoning Milligan and questioning him farther; but if he did this he failed to report results. Mr. P. felt that this would be futile and did not urge it.

The judge was approached repeatedly, but it was impossible to shake his conviction that Carlos was guilty. He said: "The Spaniards have always been an inferior people." He seemed not to understand that Portuguese and Spanish are not identical. "The punishment of this man," he insisted, "may show these people that they mustn't carry knives and that they mustn't live by themselves in foreign colonies."

The one concession the judge was willing to make was the postponement of sentence against Carlos for one week so that some attempt might be made (by Carlos' friends, for the judge himself offered no help in the matter) to locate and perhaps bring back Gomez. This delay was later lengthened to two weeks by the personal request of the Portuguese Consul General ("merely" the judge declared, "as a matter of courtesy to the Consul.")

Meantime Carlos' brother reported a rumor that a visitor some weeks before had said that Gomez was living at F., Rhode Island. Mr. P. with one of the local Portuguese leaders made a trip to F. They learned that Gomez had been living there, they located the house in which he had lived, but were told that he had just left town. It has been reported from two sources since then that Gomez, supposing Mr. P. was a detective, was hiding there at the time of their visit. When Mr. P. suggested to the judge that he go to F. to find Gomez, he was told that Gomez could not be brought back unless a warrant had been sworn out for his arrest and that he would then have to await the action of the May Grand Jury three months later. The judge rejected entirely the suggestion that an affidavit of guilt from Gomez would indicate the innocence of Carlos and should thus save him punishment. "If Gomez is guilty," he said, "produce him. Tell the Portuguese they must hand him over to the law. No affidavit would amount to anything. Any foreigner will swear to anything if without suffering himself he can save a fellow-countryman."

Carlos, himself on bail and awaiting sentence, went to F. trying to bring back Gomez. He located the factory at which Gomez was working and planned to meet him there when he came to work the following morning.

Then he telephoned to Mr. P. through a Portuguese friend asking him to complete arrangements for Gomez' arrest. He promised to telephone further particulars later in the day. This time unable to reach Mr. P., he telephoned to the young lawyer who had defended him. This time the lawyer took a hand effectively. He visited the Milligan family and gained their consent to let Patrick, accompanied by his mother, go to F., identify Gomez if possible as his assailant, and swear out a warrant for his arrest. When they were all ready Carlos telephoned that Gomez, evidently warned of his presence, had failed to appear at the factory. So this hope was given up.

The local authorities, including the judge, the chief prosecutor and his assistant, who tried the case, declared there was nothing they could do. If Gomez could in some way be brought back he might plead guilty and be dealt with at once, possibly with leniency. Otherwise he would have to be held three or four months to await the action of the May Grand Jury.

The prosecutor's office was as certain as to the judge of Carlos' guilt. The Chief Prosecutor, speaking of the alibi presented by Carlos' friends, said; "You can get any of those foreigners to swear to anything to help a fellow countryman. Why, any time there is a fight you can get twenty Assyrians to come to court and testify for a friend." (The Assyrians come not from Portugal but northern Persia!)

His last resources having failed, also the patience of the judge, Carlos came to the Court House to receive sentence. He

was tremulous with nervousness, his lips quivered, and the blue veins throbbed at his temples. "It is too bad," his brother said, "for Charlie to have all this trouble when he didn't do it. If he had done wrong he would have to stand for it - but he didn't do it. What he's afraid of now is that he'll have to go to jail. He's scared to death about that. He says he don't care how big a fine he has to pay so he don't get sent to prison."

The judge had declared obstinately that he was determined to impose a jail sentence "to teach these fellows." But he relented and made it only \$300. fine. To poor Carlos who for four months had been haunted by fear of the penitentiary this seemed the height of clemency. His face beamed with happiness, and for many days he bore the look of one whose heart has dropped a great load. But the \$300, added to the fees for his attorney (who charged \$200 but was given only \$100 by Carlos' indignant brother), his own loss of work, two days' pay for his "cloud of witnesses" and other costs of trial must have mounted up to about \$500, which represents twenty weeks work in the factory.

An appeal to a higher court was possible; but that involved expense that was out of the question. "If Gomez has any man in him, he'll come back and give himself up," said the assistant prosecutor. "Would you come back," said Mr. P., "to a court room where the prosecutor preaches race prejudice to the jury?" "Mr. P.," said the assistant prosecutor, "I have a right to say anything to win my case!" "Yes," said Mr. P., "even if it may send an innocent man to the penitentiary for seven years!"

Mr. P. then decided to try the case in the court of public opinion. A letter to seven leading ministers of the town brought response from only one minister, who alone could not accomplish anything.

A detailed account of the case, made as dispassionate and matter-of-fact as possible, was prepared and offered to the local papers. One paper refused it entirely ("libel suit", they said). The editor of the other paper, though he warned of the danger of action for libel, was willing to print it, but was "called off" by the publisher.

A similar account was sent to a large number of papers and magazines outside. One rather radical publication, a thousand miles distant, printed the matter in full. Two others wrote back some time later that they would give space to it if it were reduced to three hundred words. It seemed impossible to so condense the account and not misrepresent the case.

Some local men showed some interest in the case; but indifference, timidity or professional ethics prevented their giving help beyond advice and recommendation.

Meanwhile down in the boarding houses and lodging houses there was much discussion. It is thought by some that the Hallowe'en trouble was responsible for an attack on the Portuguese the following New Year's night which lead to a real race riot.

The Spaniards, identified with the Portuguese by their similarity of language and of physical characteristics, were drawn to a common cause with them. In fact these two groups of men, the latest comers and hence the object of a common persecution, have been forced to lay off their old-world antagonisms and to "march to Fate abreast."

The standpoint of these two nationalities may well be represented by a discussion which took place at the Spanish Club one night at about the time of Carlos' trial.

Said one man, referring to the charge that "foreigners" crowd together in colonies instead of becoming a part of the national life, "The Americans don't want us to live among them. Of course it is less lonesome for us to be with people that speak our language and come from our own country, and, besides that, we find that we are not welcome among any other people."

"Of course we oughtn't to fight with knives," said another, "we have laws against that in Spain, and men are punished there if they use knives; but when three men attack one man, how can he defend himself with his fists? I've been attacked upon the streets without provocation by three or four American men and I know. I never used a knife, but I've wished I had one."

"Yes," said another, a very quiet, refined young fellow, "I've never been attacked myself; but it's only because I stay in my room most of the time at night, especially on holidays. I don't want to get into trouble, and I don't want to hurt anybody. But" - and an unwonted gleam leapt into his eye - "I always have this little knife in my pocket." He took out a little penknife and opened up its shining blades. "I never go out without this, and if any one attacks me, I'll use it!"

This is an unusually complete example. We also need shorter stories and anecdotes illustrating how traditional race attitudes affect civic rights and relationships.

b. vocational

EXAMPLES:

From a letter written to a friend by a southern labor inspector.

... The greatest need is for intelligent leadership in

labor organization. In one shop I went to last month some of the men went on a strike for a few days for a silly reason and, of course, lost hopelessly.

It came about this way: Buckets of molten lead or iron are passed from man to man. A. holds the bucket and says, "Who's turn is it?" A Negro says, "It is Mr. B's turn." C. says, "You're a liar, it's D.'s turn." But the Negro insists that it is B.'s turn. At that C. picks up an iron rod and knocks the Negro unconscious, and almost burns him to death with the hot iron.

The superintendent discharged C. who had a bad reputation for picking fights if he gets a chance and of making things generally unpleasant. A committee of white laborers came to the superintendent wanting to know what he intended to do about the Negro when he got well. The superintendent said he intended taking him back on the job. At this the white men struck - simply because the superintendent would not discharge the Negro. Of course, there were enough who stayed on the job, and the others completely lost out and in true humility came back to work a few days later.

This is what I mean by complete lack of intelligent leadership. They never think of striking for shorter hours, higher pay or better working conditions.

* * *

Going across country on foot we came to a small manufacturing village. We decided to try our luck at the factory, which proved to be a woolen mill, and found employment. Our work was sorting old rags and carrying them in wheelbarrows into a hot oven, in which the air was almost suffocating. Every time a person went in it he was obliged to run out as quickly as possible, for the heat was unbearable. Unfortunately for us, the crew was composed almost entirely of Russians, who hated us from the first day, and called us "dagoes." I had never heard the word before; I asked Louis if he knew its meaning, but he did not. In going in and out of the oven the Russians would crowd against us and make it hard for us to pass. One morning as I was coming out, four of the men hedged me in. I thought I would suffocate. I finally succeeded in pushing out, my hand having been cut in the rush of the wheelbarrows.

The superintendent of the factory had observed the whole incident. He was a very kindly man. From his light complexion I think he was a Swede. He came to my rescue, reprimanded the Russians, and led me to his office, where he bandaged my hand. Then he called Louis and explained the situation to us. The Russians looked upon us as intruders and were determined not to work side by side with "the foreigners," but to drive them out of the factory. Therefore, much as he regretted it, the superintendent was obliged to ask us to leave, since there were only two of us, as against the large number of Russians who made up his unskilled crew.

So we left. My bandaged hand hurt me, but my heart hurt more. The kind of work was hard and humiliating enough, but what went deeper than all else was the first realization that because of race I was being put on the road.

From Constantino M. Panunzio, "The Soul of an Immigrant."

In this section we need more cases displaying not only race discrimination between fellow workers but also discriminations on the part of employers and as part of employment policies.

c. educational

EXAMPLES:

The following correspondence passed between two schools in a large eastern city:

Postcard:

Dear Sir:

We have heard rumors that one of your players is colored. At a meeting of our basket ball team it was decided that it would be unwise to compete against a team playing such a man. If this is true and you are able to replace your man by a white person for our game scheduled on January 29th at your court at ten o'clock A.M., kindly advise me immediately.

Trusting that you fully understand our position and looking forward to a speedy reply, I am

Sincerely

....
Manager

Letter in Reply, addressed to the headmaster of the school:

Dear Sir:

We have received word from the manager of your basketball team that the team has decided "that it would be unwise to compete against a team playing" a colored man. As a matter of fact, ..., the colored boy in question, is disqualified at present on account of his academic standing; but we do not think we ought to take advantage of this fact to avoid the issue. This school holds among its fundamental principles that there shall be no discrimination against any individual because of race or color. If the stand taken by your basket ball teams is representative of your school as an institution, I believe we must vindicate our principle before our own school and yours by declining to play with your school the game scheduled for Saturday of this week. May I ask you to do me the favor of notifying the manager of your basket ball team?

It may be of interest for you to know that the colored boy ... is the son of an Episcopal minister of this city, a man of learning and refinement.

Sincerely yours

....
Superintendent

Six girls were waiting for their faculty advisers. All were proclaimed freshmen by the length of their faces. Five of them drifted together; the sixth stood a little apart.

Kate, one of the five, came from a family and a home in which you might expect, any minute, to fall over a stranger who had come to a committee meeting; a home where you were intimate with the idea of a lady weeping at a church social because nobody had said he was glad to see her. Kate was used to meeting and thinking about "outsiders." So she left the group and joined the girl who stood apart. She probably had not noticed that the girl was a Negro until she joined her. Her impulse had been purely social; an awkward situation had appeared and she was trying to relieve it. Susan responded to Kate's friendly overtures and was apparently soon assimilated into the group.

The college is a very large one and the two girls did not see each other again for several weeks. Then they met on the steps of the chapel

"Have you a date?" said Kate, carelessly.

The first purchase of every freshman at this college is a Chapel Date Book. In it you write the names of the girls who offer to join you in chapel. Dates are made for weeks ahead.

"Have you a date?" said Kate.

"No," said Susan. Her face was wistful.

Again prompted by a purely social instinct, Kate pulled out her date book and said,

"I have today, but let's make two or three."

It was impossible not to notice that the book in the hands of the Negro girl was entirely blank.

Kate was not particularly observant, but it was forced on her attention some weeks later that, on the occasions when she went to chapel with Susan, none of her friends saw her, though by this time the place was swarming with her friends. Gossip from the gymnasium said that Susan always had to march with the teacher. Chairs next to her in class always stood empty.

Kate spent a good deal of time thinking about the matter. Finally, with a good deal of repressed anger, she said to a sympathetic listener:

"I don't mind the un-Christian part of this business. Making a whole freshman class Christian is likely to take a thousand years anyhow, and that's none of my business. But I must say I don't like the rudeness of the performance."

Her eyes grew hard with indignation.

"Here's a girl admitted by the college; she's working well and she stands well. She's here because no Negro college can offer her as good an education; but she's handicapped by her color, and the girls won't speak to her. Think of her courage in staying here!

"But think, too, of the outcome. When she goes back to her own people to teach, what kind of contribution will she be able to make to racial understandings? What kind of feelings will she have toward white people when we treat her in this way?"

"Have you talked to her about it?"

Kate stared. "Of course not," she said. "She happens to be a lady and does not talk about herself."

"Isn't there anything you can do?"

"That's just the tough part. If she were white, I should not give her a second thought. I don't like her especially - at least not more than lots of white girls whom I dodge when I can. But if I am even decent to her she will think perhaps that she has found a friend. When she learns the truth, the lie might cut worse than the rudeness of the other girls. I am sure I don't know what to do about it!"

Well, what is the answer? Should the college have refused the colored girl admission in the first place? Having been admitted should she be regarded as an actual member of the student body?

From The Survey, September 15, 1923.

d. marital

EXAMPLE:

Annabelle was reared up in a suburb of Chicago where few colored people lived, and her white neighbors were very much attached to her and the rest of her family. Close by there lived a very respectable white family where there was a male child just about Annabelle's age, and often Joe and Annabelle played together and picked daisies in the nearby fields.

They grew up knowing one another intimately and when they were twenty years of age they were still good companions and neither one seemed to feel or to know that the other belonged to a different race. Joe's people had prospered financially, but Annabelle's father was trifling and her mother supported the family by acting as a domestic for wealthy people who lived near. She found it very difficult at times to earn a living and to keep together her family of five children.

The other colored girls living in this community were more prosperous than Annabelle and had had the advantage of much more education and contact with the world. They went

to parties, occasionally to the movies, had nice clothes and above all the constant supervision of their parents. Annabelle did not have all this, and she found it very convenient to take all of her troubles to Joe who sympathized with her and urged her to place her confidence in him.

Within a short time Annabelle suddenly realized that she was about to become a mother. She dared not tell her father, for she knew of his temper, and she could not think of telling her mother who had so much confidence in her and who already found her burden very heavy. She found work in the city and immediately got in touch with the Child Placing Society.

An investigation was made, and it was found impossible to return Annabelle to the suburbs for confinement and she was placed in a hospital in the city. Finally a lovely baby arrived, and Annabelle knew that the child would have to be given for adoption, for Joe had turned from her and there was no chance of a marriage between them. He felt that she should have known that he as a white man would only be interested in a colored girl to a certain extent, but marriage - never.

The society encouraged her to take her mother into her confidence, and she did and was eventually forgiven. Joe was apprehended and made to pay the baby's board bill in the boarding home in which it was placed. A mental and physical examination both of the mother and of Joe was made and showed both in good physical and mental condition. The baby thrived in its boarding home, and although it was very attractive Annabelle could not be persuaded to keep the child. She gave it to the society for adoption. The society placed the child in the home of a prosperous contractor whose wife was childless and whose home had been incomplete for many years, and Annabelle went back home. She is now trying hard, I believe, to live down the misfortune of her past.

From an article in Opportunity, Jan. 1923.

The following analysis of this story shows how one experienced teacher is using a comparatively slight case, from the point of view of detailed description, to analyse attitudes, problems and attempted solutions.

The story of Annabelle published in the first number of "Opportunity" was the subject of a very earnest and live discussion some days ago in the class room of The Atlanta School of Social Service at Morehouse College. It was thought that perhaps the readers of "Opportunity" might be interested in learning the prospective usefulness of such a study as teaching material.

Case histories of work with colored families and individuals are rarely published, and like Oliver Twist the

class asks for "more."

Bearing in mind the brevity of the history and lack of full data which might have shown further light on what the writer justly calls a very complex situation, it was thought that enough outstanding facts were given to enable us to view the treatment accorded this unfortunate girl from the case-work viewpoint.

From these outstanding statements it seems that Annabelle was sinned against in several ways:

First she was sinned against by the social group in which she lived. For apparently none of the people who claimed to be attached to her family, her mother's employer, for instance, the church, or school, or social agencies which must have been near, felt any responsibility toward seeing that the "trifling" father became any less trifling, and that the mother had an opportunity to be a real mother in that home and so prevent the second catastrophe brought about by Joe, who was probably also neglected by his family - though the writer dubs his people as "respectable" and well-to-do.

This social neglect seems proved by the fact that both Annabelle and Joe were found to be normal physically and mentally.

That the final unfortunate thing happening to this girl was the loss of her baby. The child placing agency seems to have been lukewarm in its efforts to insist that she keep it, for we read: "Finally a lovely baby arrived, and Annabelle knew that the child would have to be given for adoption (Italics ours), for Joe had turned from her."

How did Annabelle know that? And we question further: Was the baby placed in a boarding home without its mother? As Annabelle was a healthy mother, should she not have nursed the baby through its first year? Would she not have loved the baby and wished to keep it with her from the hour of its birth until she went home to her parents? Was her final refusal to keep the child based in any way upon the knowledge that the society would place it if she did not keep it?

Another sober thought occurs in regard to this story: Suppose Booker T. Washington had been taken away from his mother, if such a thing could have happened, in Franklin County, Virginia, in 1858!

From an article in Opportunity,
April, 1923.

e. social

EXAMPLES:

The superintendent of a Playground Association in an industrial city of the middle west writes:

Our biggest problem from a recreational standpoint has been to know what to do concerning games between colored and white teams of adults. Children mix on all teams in our section of the country without much friction, but after high

school age, colored men and women are rarely seen mixed with white players. For instance, the schools of our city do not draw any race lines, and we have about ten thousand colored people in a population of about 125,000.

Five years ago, when we started a city football league for men, there was one team composed entirely of colored players who wanted to enter. A few white teams objected mildly, but by talking to the managers personally, we overcame the objection. The colored team was well coached and disciplined, and at the end of the season some of the white managers who at first had objected said that the colored team was the whitest aggregation of sports in the league.

The next season the colored boys won the city championship over about eight white teams. Then the colored section of the town became intensely interested and proud of their team. So, the third season the team had a huge following and felt a tremendous responsibility to win. Perhaps they could not take defeat in as sportsmanlike a way as at first.

Anyway, feeling gradually grew to fever heat. The last game witnessed some free fights, and the following season the white teams absolutely refused to allow colored teams in the league. It is to be noted that this did not happen at the end of the second year when the colored boys had won the city championship but at the end of the third season.

A rather similar evolution took place with young women's basket ball under the Girls Athletic Federation. There was very little objection at first. Colored girls got better and better, won a north side championship after a year or two, played another year and then were voted out of the federation by a kind of universal players' boycott. This year, trying my best, I have been unable to get them a single game, even outside the federation.

In baseball for both men and women the colored teams are now barred, in spite of the fact that when they played audiences were large and collections good. Along this last line, the feeling has not extended to professional circles in that field our former men's colored football team has been invited to play two games with our professional team; and both sides made money; and no trouble arose. But in amateur circles the cleavage is complete in all sports.

Have you, asks the superintendent, any suggestions of procedure or any criticism? We feel that the ideal thing would be to have colored players on white teams as has often happened in our high schools where the colored players were popular. But practically white managers never ask colored players to play on their teams in the federation; and therefore, if the ideal were adhered to, they would never have a place in the sun.

We have seriously considered forming colored leagues, but the better element of colored people hate to start that, because they feel that if it is once started the custom can never be broken. So, right now we are keeping some colored teams -- both men and women -- in shape by playing practice games among themselves, but without any publicity and without joining a league.

A Pennsylvania minister who has faced a similar problem a few years ago, on hearing of this case, suggested that part of the difficulty may perhaps be that some of the colored athletes, swelled by their success, have assumed an over-bearing attitude; and that the complete ostracism might, perhaps, have been overcome if in time someone had exerted a little educational influence on the men.

But since the experience was the same with men and women, and the boycott extends to baseball as well as football, this does not seem to have been the largest cause. Another community worker suggests:

The case seems to me to involve rather intricate psychological situations: at first the colored teams had to excel in order to be respected; later their very success seems to have become a new cause for antagonism. Had they started gradually to lose games, there may have been no difficulty. Of course, deliberately to lose games for any end whatsoever would have been dishonest and in the long run far worse in its effect on the minds of those who knew of the deception.

Some people in a case like this would counsel patience in the belief that time solves all problems. But it is difficult to see how a complete breach can be healed unless there are a few contacts to start with. Does not the difficulty arise from something that has nothing to do with athletics but from conditions in the community of which the Playground Association may not even be aware? Can we have playgrounds without race lines when the color line is tightly drawn in other relationships in the community?

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Fresno, California, a city of more than fifty thousand population, lies in the midst of an extremely prosperous and rapidly developing agricultural district where raisins and fruit are the most important crops. The foreign residents of Fresno were estimated in 1919 to number twenty thousand or more, one third of the total population. With their children included, they would constitute more than one half. In the report on "Fresno Immigration Problems" by the State Commission on Immigration and Housing of California it is said that 55 per cent of the public-school children have foreign-born fathers. Armenians, Russian-

Germans, Italians, Mexicans, Germans and Japanese form the largest groups; but there are considerable numbers of Danish, Portuguese, Chinese, Swedes, Hindus and Greeks.

One quarter of the city is notably "American", filled with houses of the characteristically comfortable and attractive California type. The adjoining quarter on the same side of the railroad track contains a number of less prosperous native-born and various other nationalities, but they are still comfortable. On the other side of the track, separated as it were by a great social gulf, live most of the newer incomers, some, like many of the Russian-Germans, in tiny houses, others in crowded tenements or "barracks".

Lines of social cleavage are sharply drawn about the Armenians, who are probably the largest single group of foreign-born in Fresno. They came to California a generation ago and have been successful in farming and in business. Gradually they have moved from the "other side" of the railroad track to the portion of the city which they now occupy. They want contact with native-born. Their prosperous members endeavor to buy houses in the American quarter, but cannot do so. A prominent resident in Fresno said that a native-born neighbor of his could have sold his property to an Armenian for 50 per cent above its ordinary value, but he refused to do so, and would have been socially ostracized by his friends if he had. In the high schools, the native born children are rarely allowed to mingle socially with Armenians.

From Michael M. Davis, Jr., "Immigrant Health and the Community."

Other cases are wanted to show the handicap experienced in efforts to make the playground, the community center or the social organization of the church a common meeting-ground of the races.

4. in the form of maladjustments

a. between old residents and new

EXAMPLE:

Less friction is noticeable in the schools than anywhere else, although a schoolboy's honor seldom extends beyond the limits of his own kind. In social clubs, which are more personal affairs, the nationalities seldom mix. The Jews and Italians get along with each other better than either does with the Irish. The dignity of Irish lads is somewhat compromised by associating intimately with Jewish or Italian boys, and their wit makes them schoolboy leaders. One Irish club voted an Italian boy a member because he was a "good fellow", and then upon further consideration voted him out

again because he was an Italian. They feared that companionship with him would open the way to companionship with other Italian boys. Jewish boys in the same way would not vote an Irish boy into their clubs, and an Irish boy would not on his life be voted in. The seriousness that pervades a Jewish boys' club is depressing to the Irish spirit. This is aptly illustrated by the remark of the twelve-year old members who, becoming disgusted with an endless debate over parliamentary procedure, exclaimed, "I can't idle away my wastin' hours. If you want me to belong to this club you must do something."

From "Americans in Process -
North and West Ends, Boston."

More illustrations are needed of the real problems which arise when a community, or a section of a community, finds its cherished traditions threatened by the incoming of large numbers that do not share them.

b. between immigrants and their new environment

EXAMPLE:

Joe Tregar landed in the United States with all his earthly possessions tied up in a small shawl. His face had that grayish color so often seen in the Slavs. He looked thirty, instead of twenty, which was his age when I first saw him. At home, he worked on the land with his father and brothers. Their poverty was beyond the ken of prosperous Americans, but they were happy together in their slow, unemotional fashion. The migration of Joe was a great event. He was the youngest and the others were to follow him as soon as he could send home their passage money from the land of golden streets. But some way or other the money was not forthcoming. Joe never got in step with the New World. His first work was cleaning machinery in a factory in a big city - he who had spaded up earth on the banks of the Vistula, and the earth was calling to him here, for his spade was needed. But no one told him, and his friend cleaned machinery, those great big inhuman wheels that hardly stop. How was Joe to know they were not dependable, like the ground where the dull peasant had dragged his slow feet along since childhood? He had never learned to be quick - there was no need of quickness there - but the great savage belting could not know that, and jerked off his left hand while he was thinking of moving away.

They kept him in the hospital for a while. Then he had a weary time finding work, because the fear of machinery had entered his soul. Sometimes he cried out for the land where no machines disturbed the stillness, and there was no haste anywhere. He was only one of the many who are plunged in the whirlpool of American industry to sink or swim as best they can. His English is too broken to be reproduced here, and I must, therefore, tell his story for him.

Joe finally got a job as doorman in a factory, and his business was to let no strangers in at any time, nor employees but except at noon and night, or when they presented a pass, which he could not read. The sitting pleased him, and he remained there with no thought of promotion, or request for higher wages, till the war came. Then it was discovered that he could neither read nor write nor speak intelligibly the language of his adopted country; and he was very much below par physically. He was not stirred by the war; there was not even a spark of emotion when he learned of the involvement of his own people. He stumbled later into the knowledge that men were scarce, because so many had gone into the service; and soon he found himself growing rich with the high wages of odd jobs.

In the heyday of his seeming prosperity, he met and married a girl of his own tongue, and they started together down the road to poverty. Little Tregars came as fast as the laws of biology allow, and some of them went sooner than the laws of hygiene should permit. Yet, notwithstanding this latter fact, there were more mouths to feed than Joe could provide for. He left home a few months ago and has not been heard from since. That was the easiest way. His financial burdens have been shifted to the shoulders of a charitable society, and the name of Tregar will not die out.

From Annie Marion MacLean, "Our Neighbors"

c. between institutions and changing population

EXAMPLES:

The following case illustrates the need, where immigrants come before American courts, of ensuring for them not only competent interpretation but also, if possible, sympathetic previous inquiry into their case by someone familiar with their language:

... In the next case (in a police court) an Italian woman complains that the defendant, another Italian, had done something to her little girl - no one can find out what. The chief clerk happens to know a little Italian, translates a few words, and gives up. It turns out that she is speaking the Sicilian dialect. No one in the court knows that language; the chief clerk tries again, and in a few seconds the case is discharged. The mother leaves the court boiling with rage.

All signs, adds the observer, indicate that she will be in court again before long, for taking the law into her own hands.

From Kate Holladay Claghorn, "The Immigrant's Case in Court."

... The doctor's first and peremptory order is to take a bath - not once but frequently. Then he cannot understand why his orders are not carried out. The suggestion of frequent bathing is not such a great shock to a native American. He at least knows our bathing customs and is familiar with city water supplies and bathtubs. But to the newly arrived immigrant such a suggestion may indicate lunacy or evil intent. Roberts (in "The New Immigration") has cited some vivid examples, of which the following is one, of the attitudes some immigrants have toward frequent bathing:

A young Pole was induced to go into the swimming pool in a Young Men's Christian Association; after that he kept away from the building, and the secretary went to find out why he stayed away. The mother of the lad met him, gave him a piece of her mind, that he dared make her boy take a bath in winter time: "Did you want to kill him?" Thousands of immigrants from southeastern Europe do not appreciate the value of personal cleanliness.

From Michael M. Davis, Jr., "Immigrant Health and the Community."

d. between old and young.

EXAMPLE:

A noted violinist came to New York. The local Czech community, proud of its renowned countryman, gave an evening in his honor. If not contrary to the terms of his contract with the manager, the violinist consented to play.

On the great day the Bohemian Hall was crowded with people eager to do homage to the artist who contributed to the fame of his country's music. Every one was pleasantly expectant when the artist arrived in company with his manager, carrying the magic violin under his arm. The violinist played a bar or two of the national anthem Kde domov můj, putting into the simple air all the feeling of which a Czech musician away from home is capable. At that moment, tense with emotion, women were seen to press handkerchiefs to their eyes. But it was interesting to note the unequal effect of the anthem on the hearers. While the old folks were visibly moved by the appealing tones that reminded them of the fatherland, the young people listened coldly, critically.

In the orchestra sat an elderly man, a staid citizen, father of several children, all of whom had been born in the metropolis. As the violinist struck the first bar of the Kde Domov Můj, the old gentleman's frame was seen to shake and his eyes grow moist. His son of about sixteen, who sat next to him, was also aroused by the music, but in a different way. He turned to his father and remonstrated: "Father, why do you weep? Why do you make such a show of yourself?"

Are Cech children not interested in the birthland of their parents? Or, to state the case more pointedly, are they indifferent about their ancestry? The answer is simple: the American Cech youth - American not only by cold statistics, but by sympathy as well, for all that is born in America belongs to America-- are neither better nor worse than the children of Swedish, French, or Irish parentage. Their schooling is American, their mother tongue English. The spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, happily blended with distinctive Slavic traits, is their spirit.

From Thomas Capek, "The Cechs in America."

5. in the form of serious clashes

EXAMPLE:

Johnstown's name had frequently held the front page because of disaster. "The Johnstown flood" followed a heavy rain-fall some years ago. More than once the City has been shocked at some disaster in the mines or mills; a crowded depot platform collapsed during President Grant's visit to the City. Recently the name of the City was again in the headlines in connection with a tragedy that came near developing into a horrible racial clash. Johnstown is known by its citizen at least, as "The Friendly City." This friendly feeling saved the day and nullified a serious mistake of its Mayor.

Johnstown is a steel town of a hundredthousand people, where steel is made and wealth accumulated. The City is built on a narrow flat along the river and is surrounded on all sides with hills some five hundred or more feet high. These hills are pierced by valleys. Up those miniature canyons are settlements often isolated from the main part of the community. The people in general are hard working and industrious. They are doing what they can to make their City deserve the name, "The Friendly City."

Here are located the big Cambria Steel Works, recently made a part of the Bethlehem Steel Company. The steel business has been good during the past two years; additional workers, mainly unskilled, were in demand. Failing to secure a supply of unskilled immigrant labourers the Company looked to the South for workers. During the past two years, so it is estimated something over one thousand Negroes have come from the South into the City. In addition there were several hundred Mexicans. These workers, so it is asserted by every one, were brought by agents under promises of different kinds. Negro residents of the City claim that the agents of the Steel Company used false promises to bring Negroes, such as brick houses, wages of sixty cents an hour and other advantages.

The Company has installed an elaborate system of welfare work within its plants. It has reduced the accident rate very materially. Anyone can see, however, that little is done outside the mills for the living conditions of the workers and their families.

The transients and single men live in barracks or "bunk houses" that are in a wretched condition. Here hundreds of workers have been crowded together without provision for comfort and recreation. What wonder that many Negroes engaged in gambling and bootlegging. The Mayor asserts in justification of his "orders" considered later in this report that many of these Negroes were bad men from the South, ex-convicts, paroled prisoners and undesirables generally. The only evidence he offered was one letter from the South which quoted the boast of one Negro. The Negro pastors of Johnstown agree that the Negroes from the South were an unusually religious group and were not all to be classed as undesirable citizens.

It is needless to recount the various little incidents leading up to the tragedy of the past few weeks. The Mayor and others assert that there is much rum-running and bootlegging in the various sections of the City. In the Rosedale section there was a Negro who had been known as a "bad man" and had given the Police some concern. He was frequently drunk and when in this condition threatened dire things on the police. On the night of August 30th, 1923, he shot officer Grachen. Detective May, a steel company policeman telephoned for help. Two County officers responded and both were shot by the Negro as they were getting out of their automobile. Captain Fink of the City Police Department in the police patrol, led his men to Rosedale. The patrol wagon with a number of officers arrived; the patrol stopped under an arc light and the officers began to get out. The Negro concealed in the shadows, fired upon the officers as they came down until one of the policemen crept up the side of the house and shot the Negro dead. In all two officers were killed almost instantly and four others seriously wounded, one dying at the hospital later.

This outrage aroused the people of the city and feeling ran high; crowds gathered in the Street anxiously awaiting news from the hospital. There was talk of reprisals and a spark might have started a conflagration; but good sense prevailed. At first it was supposed that a riot had occurred and that a number of Negroes had done the shooting. A score and more of Negroes were arrested and charged with being "suspicious persons." They were fined and ordered to leave town. These men, the police admitted, had no connection with the shooting.

Early newspaper reports and even the stories of the policeman stated that the shooting was done by at least two Negroes. But investigation showed that this was not the case; the police officers all declare that the murder was the crime of a single, drink-crazed man. The colored citizens of the City deplored this crime and disavowed any complicity on the part of any. They asked that there be fair judgment and no condemnation of the innocent with the guilty. There were many respectable and law-abiding Negro residents of Rosedale who immediately voiced their profound regret for the outburst of lawlessness, one of their spokesmen asserting in the press that they wished it publicly known that "The respectable colored people take no part whatever with murderers and other criminals of our race." A few days later, a Negro clergyman, as spokesman for some representative voting colored citizens, made a statement of their position and that of their white friends, with whom they were in touch, to the effect that there was no hostile feeling between the better classes of either race. "The issue, when boiled down, rests with the lawlessness elements of our City." He further stated that it was "the general consensus of opinion of Johnstown's rational, unprejudiced citizens, both white and colored, that the cause of the recent deplorable occurrence in Rosedale was the laxity of the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment...." The trustees, members and friends of the leading Negro Church, Cambria Chapel, A.M.E. Zion, expressed sorrow for what had occurred and asked that "city and county authorities put forth every effort - in which we assure them our cooperation - to close the places of vice, dissipation, and the sources from which drugs are procured."

The Johnstown Ledger of September 1 reported that last night (the night following the shooting) "Rosedale saw three fiery crosses of the Ku Klux Klan burning on the Prospect Hill at different periods of the night. Each of the three burned for about fifteen minutes, with 50 persons enrobed in white encircling them." There was considerable suppressed excitement in the City for some days; but no overt act of violence on the part of any one.

On the evening of September 6, the Mayor's office called the editorial man on "The Johnstown Democrat", the morning paper of the City, and asked that a reporter be sent to his office. The next morning an interview with the Mayor appeared in which the Mayor is quoted as ordering "the immediate removal from Johnstown of every Negro who has not been a local resident for at least seven years." The newspaper further quoted him to the effect that the city would proceed at once to ban future importations of Negro and Mexican laborers into Johnstown. He added that he wanted the removal of the Negroes carried out at once.

That this action of the Mayor was regarded as an "order" by every one, is evident. The Mayor himself did not object at

the time to the statement in the press that he had issued orders. Later, when inquiries began to come from the Governor, from the Mexican Consul and from others, he explained that he simply gave advice to the Negroes and Mexicans. He requested them for their own good to leave the City. On September 7, he was quoted as saying that from 1500 to 2000 had already left. "The Johnstown Democrat" of September 8 contained a number of references to passing events. It quoted various police officers to the effect that hundreds of Negroes were leaving and more were ready. The people of the City regarded the Mayor's words as the equivalent to an order. From the first many questioned whether he had any right to issue such order.

"The Johnstown Democrat" of September 8, also contained a report that twelve crosses were burned the preceeding night in different sections of the city. Spokesmen from the Klan were quoted as saying that they approved of Mayor Cauffiel's order; and that the Negroes might take the fiery demonstration as a warning.

The Mayor is again quoted in the press as late as September 14, as saying: "For their own sakes I am ordering all newly arrived Negro citizens and Mexicans to leave town..... I have worked over our Negro problem and have kept on the job night and day during the last week trying to find a solution. My mind is made up. The Negroes must go back from where they came. They are not wanted in Johnstown.

Immediately upon the publication of these statements in leading dailies in other cities individuals and organizations outside of Johnstown were stirred to action. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a telegram of protest both to the Mayor and to Governor Pinchot. The Federal Council of Churches, through its Commissions on the Church and Race Relations, and Church and Social Service, sent telegrams to both the Mayor and the Governor. The Governor reported to the Advancement Association that he was making official inquiry of the Mayor for the facts, and gave assurance that he would protect citizens in their constitutional rights with all the power of the State. The Pennsylvania Federation of Churches and the Federal Council's Commission on the Church and Race Relations sent representative to Johnstown to study the situation. Rev. Samuel Z. Batten of Philadelphia represented the Pennsylvania Federation and Dr. George E. Haynes, the Federal Council. The newspapers reported that because Mexican citizens had been included in the Mayor's attentions, the Mexican Embassy at Washington had made representations to the State Department about the danger to Mexican citizens and that the State Department in turn ask the Governor to investigate.

Interviews on the ground with the Chief of Police, the Mayor, and leading white and colored citizens, brought out the facts as above stated, corroborating local newspaper

reports. During an interview the Mayor denied emphatically that he had ordered Negroes who were not seven-year residents to leave. He said that he "advised them to leave for their own good." He stated that on the night following the shooting of the officers the center of the City was crowded with angry citizens and that automobiles ready to go to Rosedale lined the streets; and that he had to use every power of persuasion upon these men in the name of the good reputation of the City, to prevent their going en masse to shoot up and burn Rosedale. He asserted that should Captain Fink, still in a critical condition in one of the city hospitals, die, he feared an uprising of the white people to burn and shoot up Rosedale and another Negro settlement known as Franklin; that the City had only fifty-four police and that even with the help of the police of a local steel company, little could be done against thousands of armed, angry citizens. He stated that he had prohibited the sale of firearms.

The Mayor, also, has denied publicly that he had ordered the Negroes to leave town. At any rate, his order was so interpreted by white and colored citizens and by the Negro citizens in Rosedale, many of those in the settlement where the shooting occurred departing forthwith. A local resident there who knew the situation preceeding the tragedy, estimated that between four and six hundred Negro men who have lived in the bunk houses and tenements had gone, many of them leaving good jobs in the steel mill and coke ovens near by. From the testimony of a considerable number, there did not seem to be any support among respectable citizens in the locality for any general, drastic order for law-abiding Negro citizens to leave. Colored citizens quite naturally condemned the Mayor's attitude.

The question arises, what has been the effect of these incidents upon the permanent relations between law-abiding Negro citizens and their white neighbors? Both from testimony of local white and colored citizens and first-hand observations on the ground, there appears no prospect of any serious friction, and every indication of harmony between the substantial citizens of the two races in the community. The apprehension that has arisen among the colored people in other places about the danger of going to Johnstown for work, apparently has no large foundation in fact. Negroes were observed moving freely about different parts of the City. More than a dozen cases of colored men at work on the same jobs with white men, were observed. There were not outward signs of friction as Negroes went in and out of business places, waited on corners and boarded street cars or went in and out of their homes or restaurants in the blocks where they lived. Already the interest of some of the leading citizens has been aroused and steps are being taken to bring about closer friendly contact between the better classes of the two races.

The President of the Ministerial Alliance has invited Dr. Haynes to return November 11-12 for addresses and special conferences with civic, social and religious leaders of white and colored people with a view to starting interracial activities which will forestall any general ill-will between the races in Johnstown, will stimulate cooperation between them and foster measures to care for negro newcomers and law enforcement for all.

A Report by S. Z. Batten, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Churches, and George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The above illustration is rather longer than others in this sample collection. The reason is that a situation of actual conflict obviously contains the largest number of elements of disharmony. Indeed, most of the cases in the five sections of division B. will include phenomena of the kinds previously listed; i.e. they are cumulative. Several cases at least as full as the above report are needed to illustrate the combined impact of these phenomena.

C. Evidences of efforts to preserve or create harmony; directed towards

1. conservation of existing harmony

a. without functional changes

No cases in hand. Illustrations are needed here of efforts to counteract influences which threaten to destroy the apparent harmony of a community composed of different racial groups.

b. by transforming A 2 into A 1 or A 3 into A 2.

No cases in hand. Illustrations are needed here of efforts to convert mutual tolerance into assimilation in ways that avoid domination of one group by the other; illustrations further of efforts to substitute a friendly living together for the "peace" of segregation and non-intercourse.

2. removal of misunderstandings

a. through general educational measures

No cases in hand. Illustrations are needed of educational efforts to create greater harmony by removing common misunderstandings and superstitions as regards the biological, anthropological and other facts of race.

b. through specific measures to overcome specific misunderstandings in specific groups.

No cases in hand. Illustrations needed of situations where antagonism seems to arise from the ignorance or superstition of some specific group as regards some particular matters related to race and of efforts to dispel it.

3. changes of attitudes, through

a. inculcation of general principles of tolerance.

No cases in hand. Illustrations needed of educational attacks on intolerance as contrary to Christian or democratic principles.

b. creation of contacts between groups to dispel mutual ignorance

EXAMPLE:

The Xavier Road Playground and Recreation Center at Oxnard, California, according to authoritative local testimony, including that of the chief of police, has done not a little to improve the morale of the Mexican people who live in its neighborhood. But of even greater value has it become in overcoming prejudice between them and their American-born fellow-citizens.

Americans come to the playground to pitch horseshoes, the game of the middle-western farmer which is rapidly becoming the game also of all east and west. But often they stay to watch the Mexicans play their national game, rebote. One writer says:

"Anglo-Americans cheering for a magnificent stroke of skill and nerve at the rebote court will do more in three seconds to Americanize Latin-Americans than ten carloads of propaganda could accomplish in as many years... Rebote courts, such as the one Community Service invited

the Mexicans to build, where Americans applaud the Mexican's national game, say by implication: We value you for the roaring good chaps you are - and mean it."

* * *

The strain of the financial burden suggested a new scheme of money-raising which has since become familiar and has touched both the hearts and the pocket-books of great numbers of listeners. The "Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University had already illustrated before Northern audiences the peculiar poignancy and pathos of the Negro "spirituals" and had even been tempted to sail to Europe to promote their cause by their singing.....

"We start for Washington tonight," wrote General Armstrong on February 3, 1873. "You may hear of us in the papers. I have the whole responsibility on my shoulders, and the entire management of the company."..

These singers took their school-books with them on their journeyings, "studying and reciting as they journeyed, and on their return finished their school course with credit. Almost without exception they made excellent records in after life." With some individual changes the company stayed in the field for two years and a half, giving about five hundred concerts and traversing thousands of miles through eighteen states and Canada.

Mrs. Natalie Curtis Burlin, in the foreword to her "Negro Folk-songs", says: "...We of the white race are at last awakening to the fact that the Negro in our midst stands at the gates of human culture with full hands, laden with gifts."

From Francis Greenwood Peabody,
"Education for Life - The Story
of Hampton Institute."

c. assimilation of cultural standards

EXAMPLE

To develop young Mexicans, intelligent, unselfish, devoted to their people, yet American in spirit and aim, was the purpose of an experiment on Catalina Island. Over fifty young Mexicans ranging from twelve to twenty years of age, some from homes of poverty, some from homes of comfort, some from factories, and some from berry fields and orange groves, sailed into Avalon Bay and pitched their tents along the beach on the leeward side of the island. Dr. McLean had had some fear that the Mexican boys would not enjoy camping. The love of the out of doors is not rooted in them as it is in

Anglo-Saxons. They had been wont instead to find their pleasures in theatres and dance halls of cities and towns. But the fear proved groundless and though this was the first camp in this country ever conducted exclusively for Mexican boys, and though camping was an entirely novel experience to them, their enjoyment was as keen and their spirit as dauntless as that of experienced campers.

..... The Los Angeles Library had furnished a collection of forty books - volumes of biography, nature study, and science, as well as stories such as "Tom Sawyer" and "Treasure Island".

Baseball games, played as hotly and as vociferously as by any young Americans, track meets, and hikes made up the afternoon program. Their ball games required a man of no little courage as umpire. And they carried their hikes through with that grit and perseverance which we sometimes like to think we monopolize as Anglo-Saxon.....

Thus far this camp was very much like any other camp. It had the same love of sport, and the same aversion to dish-washing. But there was something in the spirit of the leaders of this camp, and in their purpose and method, that made it different.

.... Constantly were they in the company of the young Americans, their leaders. And in those few days perhaps more of the real meaning of the American character and spirit came to them than in all the previous months or years of their residence within our borders.

Of the camp boys, two will serve their people as ministers, one as an engineer, two as physicians, two or three perhaps as teachers. But what of the remaining two-score or more boys? The years alone can tell. A friendly influence entered their lives, and lives are sometimes transformed by friendship.

From Fred Eastman, "Unfinished Business
of the Presbyterian Church"

d. assimilation of social status.

EXAMPLE:

Among the small number of slaves owned by my father and mother in my early childhood the one we thought most of and trusted most and loved best was named Allen Atkins. It is that man's son, born in the midst of the Civil War in the village of Haywood, N. C., who is here today as a member with you and me of this executive committee and as the honored representative of one of the churches constituting this council. He was educated at St. Augustine Normal and Collegiate Institute, at Raleigh, which is recognized as perhaps the best institution of its kind for the

education of colored people that is conducted by the Episcopal Church in the South. Soon after graduating at this institute Mr. Atkins founded the institution at Winston-Salem, now some thirty years ago, of which he has always been the head and which is now the property of the state of North Carolina. The fact that the state should be willing to take over the property and retain Professor Atkins so long at the head of it is the highest possible compliment to the character of the school and to the executive ability and moral worth of its president.

From an address delivered by Dean
W. F. Tillett, of Vanderbilt University,
at a meeting of the Executive Committee
of the Federal Council of Churches.

e. spread of common civic and national loyalties

EXAMPLE:

The Boston Post of June 27 had the following report:

"The Protestants,.... of Charlotte, N. C., declared to Mayor Curley in a letter: "The Boston Post of June 5 carries the announcement that you have selected Charles C. Dogan, honor pupil of English High School, to read the Declaration of Independence from the balcony of the Old State House in connection with the July Fourth Exercises.

"Being former Bostonians and still residents of Boston in spirit if not in body, and further, knowing the Negroes as we know them, we protest such an appointment on the grounds of a deliberate insult to the Boston school boy and the average Bostonian.

"The South would not allow such an appointment to be made, and we believe, knowing both sides as we do, that what this section of the country, will not tolerate should not be accepted by the city of our birth.

"We make the above protest aware that the question of race has never been settled, but we believe, as all here do, in the supremacy of the white race. May we have the honor of hearing from you?"

Mayor Curley answered, in part:

"I have seldom received a letter from any source so lacking in good manners, so devoid of Americanism, so destitute of all knowledge of the principle and practice of our government and so offensively stupid and impertinent...

"When men claiming birth and former residence in Boston are guilty of the gross discourtesy you have committed... they become at once deserving of scorn and contempt.

"Charles C. Dogan was selected for the honor conferred on him for excellent reasons: he has shown a competence and

capacity in the generous rivalry of school life to make him a worthy choice; he is an 'honor pupil', that is to say, a pupil of more than ordinary attainments; his choice has the approbation of his fellow pupils; and his selection to read the immortal Declaration is an expression of our recognition of the services of his race in Massachusetts to human freedom and democratic government. One of his race died in the streets of Boston in defense of human rights - Crispus Attucks - and Boston has raised a monument to his memory on Boston Common; and thousands of his race fought and died to preserve the Union in the War of the Rebellion, and to 'make the world safe for democracy' in the World War. Any man of any race, color or creed who is willing and worthy to serve the Flag and die for the Republic, is worthy to have his place in the Sun of American Democracy."

The newspapers of July 4 report:

"Young Dogan, dressed in the uniform of his school regiment, read distinctly the Declaration, first heard by Boston people from the same balcony in 1776. He was loudly applauded. Troop 9, Colored Boy Scouts of Cambridge, was present. Patriotic selections were played by the Coast Artillery Band, and the soldiers stood at attention while the Declaration was read."

Opportunity, September, 1923.

f. teaching of common language

EXAMPLE:

Out in a small lumber and farming town in the timber region of Washington is a clean-cut, black-moustached, likable Pole who works for \$3.25 a day in a nearby lumber mill and owns a ten-acre farm where he hopes later to settle down. Though having one of those impossible "zckwy" Polish names, he is known to all the neighborhood simply as "John", the leader of his people. He is the head of the local branch of the Polish National Alliance, vice-president of its northwest section, and recently one of the two delegates from that district to the triennial national gathering of the whole Alliance. He has the true spirit of America - the "get up and go" style. ...

A competent workman, speaking English quite well, though having learned it himself, he is also a wise parent. As his wife only recently came to America and speaks but little English, there is a rule in his household that the children are to speak only Polish at home and only English when not at home. Thus they learn both languages well.

From Archibald McClure, "Leadership of the New America."

g. stress on religious unity.

EXAMPLE:

From a letter:

Some seven years ago the Home Mission Board established a mission at a remote outpost of the Navajo Reservation in X. Arizona. The board built a house for a missionary and a house for an interpreter. A good man and his wife were sent to take charge of the work. Meeting these missionaries a short time after the commencement of their work, I tried to point out to them how necessary and how useful a small hospital might be at X., since the nearest resident physician and hospital is the one maintained by the government at the headquarters of the division of the Navajo Reservation, eighty miles from X. The only reply I received from this Christian friend of the natives was: "Sir, I came here to preach the gospel."

These people preached the gospel to the Navajos of that region for some three years. Other good people have tried their hand at the job since. Still the Navajps suffer and die for lack of a little attention to hygiene and a little care that could be readily furnished by educated, sympathetic men or women who really desired their welfare. Today the condition is still unchanged. The need is great but the Mission Board is not even furnishing a "preacher", and the plant lies idle. I know of no Navajo that has been converted or helped to live better by the thousands of dollars that the Mission Board has spent in that locality.

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A remarkable fraternization service between a Mexican congregation and an American congregation was held in the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles some months ago. There were present about 250 Mexicans and probably twice that number of Americans. The hymns were sung antiphonally, the Americans singing the first verse in English, the Mexicans singing the second verse in Spanish, and so on.

When the time for the sermon came, the Mexican pastor addressed his congregation in their own tongue, and this was the burden of his address: "I have heard you speak of this city saying it is not the 'city of angels' but a city of devils, for there are those here who oppress you and scorn you and treat you as though you were not human. In the future when you speak of Americans do not think of those who do such things but rather of Christian Americans like these who have invited us to worship with them in this service."

Then it came time for the American pastor to address his own congregation. "When you think of Mexicans," he said, "do not think of a few who rob and steal and kill. Unfortunately there are a few Americans who do that sort of thing too. But think of Christian Mexicans like these, your brothers."

From Fred Eastman, "Unfinished Business of the Presbyterian Church."

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When, some 25 or 30 years ago, a famous church in one of our great cities established a chapel in another part of the city, it was with the idea of ministering to the immediate neighborhood, then consisting almost entirely of a German-American population. As this population through the years advanced in the scale of life and moved to other and better sections of the city, an Italian population took its place, so that today there are about 65,000 Italo-Americans in the neighborhood of the parish, though there are still quite a number of German-American families left.

About seven or eight years ago, the church started work for its Italian neighbors, so that today it has a membership equally divided, about six hundred German-American and the same number of Italo-American families. Three English-speaking services are held every Sunday - 8 a.m. Communion, 11 a.m. general, 8 p.m. general - and one Italian-speaking service at 4 p.m. The total attendance of the three English-speaking services is equal to the attendance of the one Italian-speaking service.

Both congregations have children's choirs - twenty in the English-speaking and forty in the Italian-speaking. The Sunday school has about 400 or more children, two-thirds of which are Italo-American. Confirmation classes are made up from the children as representing congregations rather than as representing Sunday School. That is, in the Sunday School classes the nationalities are mixed - the grading done according to age, not nationality - in the church services the nationality has been emphasized.

In other words, the boys and girls attending the same public schools and training to be our future citizens and leaders in America, understanding English better than Italian, through the Confirmation classes are being recruited into an Italian-speaking congregation. It is evident that with such an arrangement the goal has been competition as to which group might crowd out the other.

Use of a children's canteen, of gymnasium and swimming pool, and children's play hour are without distinction by nationality. All definitely organized clubs, on the other hand, are made up of one nationality or the other; and the children have not been allowed to mix in these clubs when they have wanted to do so.

All the workers are "American", with the exception of one "Italian" minister; yet the staff has divided itself into "American workers" and "Italian workers". The Italian minister, through outside influences, has been encouraged to build up an independent piece of work. Thus the deaconess for "Italian work" refuses to take an "American" girl into her Sunday School class or into any of her clubs because she fears "contamination". In spite of this segregation, she has a difficult time with her class and clubs of girls in that they show great lack of respect for her opinion on almost all matters.

When the suggestion was made to this worker that the division of activities should be made according to the age of the girls rather than the nationality of their parents, and it was explained that divisions by nationality had been overcome in many social settlements, she answered: "Oh, but this is a Church!" This one worker has carried her separatism to such a point that the boys and girls known as "Americans" have developed a dislike for every member of the "Italian" working part of the staff.

In general, the members of the staff are inefficiently trained for their jobs, very antagonistic towards each other and not very open-minded or willing to be convinced that the situation might be changed.

Several Italo-Americans have asked why they cannot sing in the English choir instead of the Italian. Italo-American boys have asked why there were not allowed to go to the same Confirmation class as "Bill" or "Sam". "American" girls, the younger ones, have asked why they cannot join Concetta's club - and vice versa. Older girls have tried for two or three years to get together but say that "certain workers" have always prevented them from doing so. The same thing has been experienced by the older boys and young men.

The following program has been proposed for developing fellowship between the two national groups within the church:

1. An entire change of the personnel of the staff, with special emphasis on
 - a. that a trained boys' worker, and not a minister, have charge of all boys' clubs and activities;
 - b. that a trained girls' worker, and not a deaconess, have charge of all girls' clubs and activities.
2. Do away with the term "two congregations" - have instead one congregation with English-- and Italian-speaking services.
3. Have Confirmation classes made up according to ages and all taught in English. Also have Confirmation services for children in English.
4. Organization of a "Gym Council" made up of young men of both nationalities to discuss all problems connected with the use of swimming pool and gymnasium. This Council has already come into being as the result of an uprising of the young men against the over-emphasis on nationality.
5. Organization of a "Girls' Council" to discuss the possibility of arranging for joint lectures, classes and social affairs by the two groups.
6. Arrangement for daily, short classes in English for mothers at the summer camp for mothers and children in the hope that this study will be continued in a social

way during the winter, so that these mothers will have more in common with their children. In this connection, several of the English-speaking mothers have expressed their desire to know some of the Italian mothers and have them come to their English-speaking Mothers' Club.

The biggest problem in this case, according to the investigator, is that of the staff. A young man, in a discussion of ways in which a better spirit of friendliness might be brought about in the church and its activities, said: "We have three ministers here, and each of them pulling in a different direction and working against the others. Do you think we can expect from our members what we don't see in those who should set an example?"

4. removal of taboos and discriminations

a. by legislative action.

Illustrative cases will be welcome more particularly in this section which describe how some voluntary group through educational and other measures has brought about a change of laws discriminating against another racial group in their state or community; also of course of cooperative action of racial groups to that effect.

b. by administrative action

EXAMPLE:

In a large, rapidly growing southern city, the public school system has been deplorably outgrown. Inadequate and overcrowded schools were the lot of both white and colored children. An effort on the part of the reform party to secure the assent of the voters to a bond issue for the construction of new schools by means of a referendum failed by a narrow margin.

Investigation showed that the colored voters who held the balance of power had thrown it against the bond issue. Persons interested in the project approached white members of the local interracial committee and asked them why the Negroes had voted against the bonds. The reply was, "We don't know, but we shall be glad to give you a chance to find out at first hand."

A meeting was accordingly arranged with a few representative colored leaders and the question was put to them. They replied: "Why should the colored people vote to tax them-

selves for a school bond issue in view of the whole history of the school system and of other municipal enterprises in this city, unless they have an assurance that they will get any benefit from it?"

As a result, the city administration entered into a definite agreement that a fair proportion of the proceeds of the bond issue of \$ 4 000 000 should be devoted to schools for Negro children. Another referendum was taken, this time with positive results. Out of a net return of \$3 800 000, five splendid colored schools, the equal of any in the city as regards construction and equipment, are now nearing completion at a cost of about \$1 200 000.

c. by group action

EXAMPLES:

Morgan College needed a new site. President Spencer has been trying for years to secure one. Finally a site of more than eighty acres, with a few stone buildings convertible to school uses, was secured far out on Hillen Road but within the corporate limits of Baltimore.

It would make a story by itself to recite how much opposition developed to the location of a Negro college. White people who lived miles from the proposed site were duped by real estate companies and other selfish interests into opposition to the institution. Circulars were passed around saying that chicken thieves, criminals and rapists were coming into the neighborhood - that is, a Negro Christian College, of the best boys and girls of the state.

Half of the trustee board of Morgan College were white men, who knew well the character of the institution and its need, and who fought for it. Among these was the president of the board, Dr. John F. Goucher, founder and president emeritus of Goucher College for white girls. The school was not without friends among other whites who knew its history, and who knew human nature. Opposition was finally overcome, and we located the school on one of the best university sites in the whole country.

From William Pickens, "Bursting Bonds."

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In X County, Kentucky, Negro strawberry growers were not permitted membership in the Strawberry Growers' Association. As it often the case in such situations, the fear that colored growers, ineligible to membership in the organization, would accept lower prices than the cooperative in the market did not add to the friendliness in the relations between the two races. The matter was brought to the attention of the local interracial committee. This committee,

after inquiry, took it up with the officers of the association. For some of these this was the first contact with a group composed of white and colored people working in the interest of both. Their eyes were opened to the fact that the exclusion of colored growers from their association was no more for their own welfare than for theirs. The rules were therefore amended, and Negro growers were invited to join.

Other more circumstantial illustrations of such group action and its effects are needed.

d. by individual action

EXAMPLES:

A man from a prominent college in New York State told me of a Negro classmate. "He was a pleasant, intelligent fellow from the South," he said, "and while I never knew him well, I was always glad to see him. One day, at commencement time, when we were all having our relatives about, he boarded my car with a young colored woman, evidently his sister. Without a thought I rose, lifted my hat, and gave her my seat. Never again shall I see such a look of gratitude as that which lighted up his face when he bowed in acknowledgment of my courtesy. It revealed the race question to me, and yet I had performed only the simplest act of a gentleman."

From Mary White Ovington, "Half a Man".

* * *

.....The dining of Dr. Booker T. Washington with President Roosevelt on October 16th, 1901, which aroused such feeling in the South and was the text for much criticism of that section by the northern press, finds a curious parallel in the entertainment of the negro prince Khama, "a Christian and a man of high personal character," by the Duke of Westminster in London, 1895, the news of which "excited disgust and annoyance among the whites of South Africa."

From John Moffatt Mecklin,
"Democracy and Race Friction."

* * *

The following case illustrates the ineffectiveness of individual action in a complex situation:

.....It was at this time that I conducted my first Americanization class. The class was under the supervision of a special committee, the chairman of which was a manufacturer, and the general manager of his own factory. There

was in the city some five thousand Italians, from whom was drawn the larger part of the working force of this particular factory of our chairman. We made every conceivable effort to get a goodly number of Italians to attend the class, but succeeded in securing only thirty or forty. We taught two main subjects: English and Citizenship. In the latter course I endeavored to expound the principles of our democracy by outlining the history of our country. Now the pupils showed increasing interest in learning English, but showed a feeling of indifference, if not of hostility, toward our course in Citizenship. Fearing that there might be something wrong with the method I was using, or in the general approach I was making to the subject, one evening putting all books aside, I asked the men to tell me frankly just what was the difficulty. Among the pupils was a very intelligent young man, a graduate of a technical school in Italy. He started the discussion, pointing out that this instruction about democracy was all well and good as mere talk, but that it did not have any relation to real life. "Look at us," he said, "we work long hours for only a pittance, and see the treatment they give us in the shop. The boss kicks us and calls us "D-- dagoes," and all that in the shop of the man who gives you the money to run this class...."

So far as those present were concerned, he had struck the right chord, for they all took sides with him, and a few had other interesting facts to reveal and accusations to make. This was all startling news to me. The statements and the complaints impressed me so deeply that I decided at the first opportunity to take up the matter as tactfully as possible with the chairman of the committee, who was the employer directly involved in these charges. I wanted to discover the real facts in the case.

One day I had occasion to go to the office of the chairman on a matter of business, and among other subjects, the conversation turned to the Americanization class. He first broached the subject by making a complaining remark regarding the "lack of interest in America on the part of your countrymen." This was my opportunity to discover how far the men had any reason for fault-finding. I had not fully believed all they said and was fundamentally in sympathy with my own and their employer rather than with them. I said something like this: "Pardon me, Mr.---, I do not know what more we can do to attract the men to the class. We have tried every possible method to no avail. In fact, from what the men tell me, our Americanization work has no interest for them or any effect upon them. They have criticized us and have complained of our inconsistency; they have said that the ideals of democracy which we are endeavoring to inculcate do not agree with the undemocratic way in which they claim they are treated at their work. Their attitude was so evident that one night recently we put away all books and I asked them to state their grievance. They frankly spoke

of their difficulties. They know that you are personally supporting my work; they say that they are being ill-treated in their work and that I am in league with you in hoodwinking them - - - They say that they do not receive enough wages to keep them in decent existence; some of them say that a portion of their wages is being taken from them weekly by the "boss". Under these circumstances I find it exceedingly difficult to teach them our American principles. They shrug their shoulders and remain completely indifferent, if not antagonistic, to all that I try to teach them. I wish you would give me your advice."

I had been perfectly calm in saying all this, and really expected that we would talk over the matter frankly. To my utter amazement Mr. --- became incensed. The only advice he would give me was: "Damn the dagoes, let them go back to their rat holes"- and with that he was about to dismiss the whole subject. For the first time in my life my sympathies were turned toward the man under. I said, "Mr. --- I am sorry that you take that attitude toward the matter. Please remember that when you have trouble in your factory, when you hear of labor difficulties of various kinds, when you hear of I.W.W.'s and anarchism, of bombs and the like, that it is the spirit back of your 'damn the dagoes' that is responsible in no small measure for these difficulties." The Americanization class ended right there, for I could see no use in trying to do anything along that line with such an atmosphere existing around our work.

From Constantine M. Panunzio, "The Soul of an Immigrant."

5. correction of maladjustments

a. by legislative action

No cases in hand.

b. by administrative action

Cases needed to illustrate the action of state and municipal authorities in helping newcomers to adjust themselves to the environment of their new home.

c. by group action

EXAMPLES:

Saint Mary's in the City of E---- is a downtown parish. The English-speaking population is disappearing and the foreign-born is moving in. The survey shows that there is a colony of Greeks large enough to maintain a priest; a smaller Serbian group, too few and poor to maintain services; a group of Armenians in touch with similar groups through-

out the city; a large Italian community, about sixty per cent non-church goers; some Slovaks, Hungarians, and others.

At the council of heads of parish organizations, it is determined to begin work with the Serbian and Italian groups. The men are first approached. A young lawyer, J., is chosen to inaugurate this work. He finds a helpful mate in the Assistant editor of the Serbian paper. The latter is able to find six men who are willing to be convinced that their discontent with American conditions is due to a misunderstanding. J. is able to interest an equal number of men of Saint Mary's. The two groups meet and determine to work for a better understanding. Interests grow and need of meeting larger groups of Serbians arises. It is found that the Serbians have no opportunities for social relaxation other than the saloons, coffee-houses and socialist gatherings. A room in the parish house of Saint Mary's is placed at their disposal. It is no longer possible to supply one member of Saint Mary's for each Serbian, but the men are trying to maintain a personal acquaintance with four or five. It is interesting to note that the original Serbian group has become so closely identified with the movement that they are acting as parochial representatives in the approach to their brethren. The girls and boys have been reached through other organizations working in the same manner, and a similar work has been started among the women. Serbian festivals are now observed by fitting celebrations in the parish building; naturalization is always made a banner occasion in the life of the new citizen, and church services always have Serbian attendants. Eight naturalized men have so mastered the English language that they have been admitted as members of the larger interracial group.

From a pamphlet of the Division for Work among Foreign-Born Americans of the Department of Missions and Church Extension of the Episcopal Church.

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In almost every case of serious race friction in our large cities, the competition of white and colored for homes has played its part. Too often the subject is considered in its many ramifications too late to conduct reforms in a spirit of helpful cooperation, that is after the deterioration of proper neighborhood through the incoming of Negroes of a low social status or the purchase of homes by Negroes in neighborhoods where deterioration as a result is feared have already created an atmosphere of friction.

The Interracial Conference of Baltimore has made a serious move to lessen congestion and improve housing conditions for Negroes at a time when the problem has not become

as yet acute through the immigration of large numbers of Negroes from the South. While the motive was not one of fear but a genuine desire to improve living conditions of Negroes for the sake of the city as a whole, nevertheless the effect of the action taken on race relations was preventive of antagonism and a wholly desirable by-product.

The immediate occasion for the action taken by the Conference was recognition of the fact that with increasing congestion rents paid by Negroes in many cases were going up to a level beyond the means of working men and that the Negroes, unaided by sympathetic advice and help from their white-citizens were unable to remedy this condition. A committee on housing was appointed, with J. R. Cary, a local banker (?), as chairman.

After canvassing the situation, this joint committee of Whites and Negroes decided that the most natural and satisfactory way out was to make available for Negroes homes in the immediate neighborhood of the streets already occupied by them which were being vacated by white families moving to the suburbs, and to improve other existing housing facilities. This meant need for investment; and two years ago a corporation was formed under the name Homemakers' Building and Loan Association to give assistance in the purchase and improvement of homes.

This type of organization has long been established and become familiar in Baltimore. Stock is sold on the usual instalment plan or fully paid for in \$100 shares. At the start capital was secured for the most part by full payment for stock on the part of well-to-do whites while most of the Negro members pay at the rate of twenty cents a week. Dividends have been paid at the rate of 6 per cent from the start; this was made possible by a gift of clerical work which kept down expenses. Half of the directors are white and half are Negroes; three of the white members have unusual experience in real estate.

In the two years of its existence ending October 31, 1923, the association had accumulated in fully paid and instalment stock \$25,722. With the aid of loans from other institutions, the association in these two years has purchased a property and converted it into an apartment house for three tenants at a cost of \$6000 and has invested in properties for sale to stockholders \$33,000.

"The significant feature of the work of the Association," says Mr. Cary, "is the method by which it sells the properties to purchasers, for it does not require them to purchase and then mortgage to the Association as is the usual custom. It buys the property itself and puts the purchaser in the house with a contract of sale which provides for weekly payments on the basis of rent.,....

"In the event of the purchaser being unable to carry through his contract, the Association has in mind a constantly increasing sum to cover expenses until there is a re-sale; the expense and unpleasantness of foreclosure of a mortgage is avoided, and the risk of loss is reduced to a minimum. On the side of the purchaser the earnings which would have gone into rent are steadily buying a home, the cost of carrying it being also reduced to actual figures free from profit."

So far the association has done no actual building, nor has it been able, with the small capital at its disposal, to provide homes for the economically weakest group. However, there are two prospects of early developments along these two lines. Mr. Cary writes:

"We have done little, but we have gone far enough to satisfy us that our plan is sound, and we have a steadily growing fund of confidence on the part of the Negroes. I hope we shall be able to do some building this year, even at present high costs, because the old houses in good condition are not becoming available fast enough to meet the demand for improved homes for those Negroes whose enlarged incomes are making it possible to buy homes of the better sort.

"We have had no difficulty in getting white friends to buy fully paid stock to help along, and we have about \$6000 of that sort of help. I think I can get as much more as I need, but possibly the quiet way in which we have worked has been helpful. We have avoided publicity, have done nothing to arouse bad feeling; but I do not know what would be the effect of a building project. If we used vacant land in a colored section, there could be no objection."

As soon as a good flow of funds from home purchasers is assured, "it is the purpose of the directors to work out plans for dealing with a group of smaller earning power to whom houses must be rented, certainly for a time, until the reduction of rentals enables them to have a margin for savings."

It should be mentioned that this sound cooperation between Whites and Negroes is paralleled by cooperation between the city authorities and private enterprise in Baltimore by which, under plans recently adopted, some of the worst conditions are being corrected by the use of condemnation proceedings, and congestion is lessened by the provision of wider streets and breathing spaces under the provisions of a new city plan.

d. by individual action

EXAMPLES:

The Rev. Francis A. Bimanski, one of the chaplains of Cook County Hospital, Chicago, a devoted worker among the

Polish people, felt keenly their isolation and loneliness in the great hospital. He also appreciated the difficulty experienced by the visiting staff, the internes and the nurses in securing the necessary medical or social information from patients who spoke no English. So he set himself, in the face of many obstacles, to remedy this defect.

He made a beginning by taking some simple questions and answers which had to be frequently asked. In order to ascertain the primary complaint of the patient, he developed the phrase: "Pains? Where? Show with fingers." Raising the money himself, he had a little slip printed with this heading and its translation into Polish and half a dozen other languages, phonetically written so that anyone could come somewhere near pronouncing the words, near enough, at least for the patient to understand. Any person who has tried to elicit the symptoms of a patient who can speak no English will appreciate the practical value of this.

Carrying on the same idea, he worked out a series of other practical questions, translated and printed phonetically in several languages. Some of the prints were made on large sheets which could be posted in a ward or a clinic. ...

In every one of his leaflets, Father Bimanski included something about the people or peoples concerned. His practical experience had led him to the conviction that knowledge of a people, and respect and sympathy for them, are the foundation for happier work with them, and for better results in professional service.

From Michael M. Davis, Jr. "Immigrant Health and the Community."

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...About this time the experiment was being tried for the first time, by General Armstrong, of educating Indians at Hampton. Few people then had any confidence in the ability of the Indians to receive education and to profit by it. General Armstrong was anxious to try the experiment systematically on a large scale. He secured from the reservations in the Western states over one hundred wild and for the most part perfectly ignorant Indians, the greater proportion of whom were young men. The special work which the General desired me to do was to be sort of "house father" to the Indian young men--that is, I was to live in the building with them and have the charge of their discipline, clothing, rooms and so on....

...On going to Hampton, I took up my residence in a building with about seventy-five Indian youths. I was the only person in the building who was not a member of their race. At first I had a good deal of doubt about my ability to succeed, I knew that the average Indian felt himself above

the white man, and, of course, he felt himself far above the Negro, largely on account of the fact that the Negro having submitted to slavery--a thing which the Indian would never do. The Indians, in the Indian Territory, owned a large number of slaves during the days of slavery. Aside from this, there was a general feeling that the attempt to educate and civilize the red men at Hampton would be a failure. All this made me proceed very cautiously, for I felt keenly the great responsibility. But I was determined to succeed. It was not long before I had the complete confidence of the Indians, and not only this, but I think I am safe in saying that I had their love and respect. I found that they were about like any other human beings; that they responded to kind treatment and resented ill-treatment. They were continually planning to do something that would add to my happiness and comfort. The things that they disliked most, I think, were to have their long hair cut, to give up wearing their blankets, and to cease smoking; but no white American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man's clothes, eats the white man's food, speaks the white man's language, and professes the white man's religion.

When the difficulty of learning the English language was subtracted, I found that in the matter of learning trades and in mastering academic studies there was little difference between the colored and Indian students. It was a constant delight to me to note the interest which the colored students took in trying to help the Indians in every way possible. There were a few of the colored students who felt that the Indians ought not to be admitted to Hampton, but these were in the minority. Whenever they were asked to do so, the Negro students gladly took the Indians as room-mates, in order that they might teach them to speak English and to acquire civilized habits.

I have often wondered if there was a white institution in this country whose students would have welcomed the incoming of more than a hundred companions of another race in the cordial way that these black students at Hampton welcomed the red ones.

From Booker T. Washington, "Up from Slavery."

6. prevention of serious clashes when passions have become aroused.

No Case in hand.

7. Melioration of the effects of clashes that have taken place

EXAMPLE:

Immediately following the Chicago race riot, the labor unions of the city took a hand in efforts toward peace. Unionists of both races were exhorted to cooperate in bringing about harmonious relations, and meetings for this purpose we

were planned by trade-union leaders. Probably the most effective effort of union labor was the following article in the New Majority, the organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, prominently displayed:

FOR WHITE UNION MEN TO READ

Let any white union worker who has ever been on strike where gunmen or machine guns have been brought in and turned on him and his fellows search his memory and recall how he felt. In this critical moment let every union man remember the tactics of the boss in a strike when he tries by shooting to terrorize striking workers into violence to protect themselves.

Well, that is how the Negroes feel. They are panic-stricken over the prospect of being killed.

A heavy responsibility rests on the white portion of the community to stop assault on Negroes by white men. Violence against them is not the way to solve the vexed race problem.

This responsibility rests particularly heavy upon the white men and women of organized labor, not because they had anything to do with starting the present trouble, but because of their advantageous position to help end it. Right now it is going to be decided whether the colored workers are to continue to come into the labor movement or whether they are going to feel that they have been abandoned by it and lose confidence in it.

It is a critical time for Chicago.

It is a critical time for organized labor.

All the influence of the unions should be exerted on the community to protect colored fellow-workers from the unreasoning frenzy of race prejudice. Indications from the past have been that organized labor has gone further in eliminating race hatred than any other class. It is up against the acid test now to show whether this is so.

From "The Negro in Chicago",
report of the Chicago Commission
on Race Relations.

8. adjustment of individual careers

a. to handicaps such as those described

EXAMPLES:

A Y.M.C.A. executive gives the following thumbnail sketches among others:

A.K. is a Hawaiian boy, color dark brown, age 26, profession mechanic, graduate of grammar school and mechanics school, Honolulu. He has been a member of the Y.M.C.A. in Honolulu. He has an honorable discharge from the United States army after four and a half years of service. He married a German girl and has a child, one

year old; his wife and child are still in Germany.

A. K. had a fine letter from his former captain, recommending him. We sent him to a large automobile firm, but they telephoned back to say, "we do not want any niggers down here." We made several other attempts to place him but failed in each case because of his color.

We learned that A. K. had passed a Civil Service examination for the Customs service; so we finally sent him with a letter to the Customs House here. They employed him, and, I think, he is still on the job.

M.J., an Anglo-Indian, is very dark but has an exceptionally winning personality. He comes from Calcutta and is university-trained. He took out a membership in the Y.M.C.A. and was well received by all. He applied for a position with one of the large life insurance companies, was accepted, made good and is now district manager. He has had no difficulty in seeing the very best people in New York City.

* * *

There is a special and permanent fitness in the Italian's choice of abode just next to the great fruit and vegetable markets. The citizens of Boston owe a great debt to the Italians for organizing and developing the retail fruit trade throughout the city. The Italians have, in fact, created a wholesome appetite for fruit among the mass of the people. Believing in their goods, they have special skill in selecting, arranging and caring for it. Even the newest immigrant with his pushcart, makes his wares attractive and unwittingly acts as the dietetic missionary of the back streets throughout the city.

From "Americans in Process -
North and West Ends, Boston."

b. to service in the cause of race harmony.

EXAMPLE:

Fifty years ago Dr. Charles H. Cook might have been arrested for having no visible means of support, for he started his work on the Pima Reservation with nothing at all except a boundless faith in God and human nature. He had no salary and no material equipment. He had read an article by an army officer depicting the needs of the Pima Indians of Arizona, and appealing for missionaries to come and help them. Unable to find any board or church that could send him, Dr. Cook had struck out "on his own." He had journeyed part way by train, and the rest of the way on foot and by mule and by ox train. Four months it took him to reach the Pima agency. There in the fullness of time he received an appointment as a Government teacher, and then he went to work in earnest.

He soon found that he had before him not only the task of bringing the Indian into fellowship with God in the Christian way, but he must needs fight against the white men who were encroaching upon the Indians' lands and es-

pecially upon their water rights to such an extent that the Indians would have starved to death if they had not had his strong leadership. Dr. Charles L. Thompson describes the struggle:

"The white man came to the borders of the reservation and the Indian as always must suffer. Settlers on the banks of the Gila River above the reservation in ditch after ditch took off its waters until almost none was left for those Indians who had always been self-supporting and self-respecting; whose lives had been lives of peace and industry; who had stood with the Government against the Apaches in time of war, and who had every claim on the Government for protection from the ravages of the incoming white population.

"The soul of Dr. Cook was stirred to vigorous action. He appealed to mission boards, to churches, and to the Government to save his people. It was a long, hard fight with robbers who had stolen the waters which alone make possible the very existence of the Indian. But they had a man to deal with who counted on the reserves of the Almighty. And in good measure he was permitted to see the victory before he laid down his armor.

Fifty years have passed since that heroic beginning. Dr. Cook has been called to his reward, and Rev. Dirk Lay, a stalwart young giant with the mind and heart of the true prophet, has taken up his work. Today twelve churches with a membership of 2000, and with a Sunday-school enrollment of more than 2000, are visible results of the missionaries' efforts. The small mission Dr. Cook built has been supplanted by a magnificent stucco building erected by the Indians themselves. At the fifteenth anniversary service held a few months ago, 600 Pimas crowded this building, and one of them, Edward Jackson, twenty-seven years a native helper, was ordained a minister, and conducted the Communion service with reverence and dignity.

Through all these years the rights of the Indians have been increasingly protected, and gradually, through the faith and practical helpfulness of Rev. Dirk Lay, they have established a modern agricultural community. Recently a great financier thought highly enough of the integrity of these Christian Indians to back them to the extent of half a million dollars with no legal security for the development of their farms.

From Fred Eastman, "The Unfinished Business of the Presbyterian Church."