

National Conference on the  
Christian Way of Life

129 East 52nd Street  
New York City

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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!

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.

## 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."

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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.

\* \* \*

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 led 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.

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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

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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 Cech 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 pleasurably 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 muj, putting into the simple air all the feeling of which a Cech 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 Muj, 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, isttheir 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 the 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 fire-arms.

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 preceding 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."

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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 E. 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 was 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".

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.....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."

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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 neighborhoods 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 the 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.

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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."