

FROM PATERNALISM TOWARD PARTICIPATION:  
A STUDY OF ATTITUDES AFFECTING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NEGRO TO HIS GOVERNMENT  
(WITH REFERENCE TO RECENT TRENDS IN MANHATTAN, KANSAS, AND ABILENE, KANSAS)

by

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## INTRODUCTION

Attitudes affecting the relationship of any sizable group of American people to their government might furnish a subject for study. This study is concerned with attitudes affecting the governmental relationship of the Negro people of two cities of Kansas--Manhattan and Abilene. These communities, however, are not isolated from the common American life. They are a part of the United States of America.

Beginning with an electorate restricted to those somewhat privileged, by reason of wealth, education, and reputation for high moral standards, the United States has, throughout its history, extended the right to vote to an ever increasing number of its adult citizens.<sup>1</sup> Participation in the process of government, once believed to be the privilege of the few, is now conceived as the responsibility of the many. It is true there are many who do not participate, but this is largely due to lack of inclination to do so, and is frequently mentioned as a cause for regret. Democracy functions best, it is generally believed, when citizens participate fully. It is not possible, however, for the actual business of government to be carried on by the whole of society; it becomes necessary for some of the citizens to act for the whole. In a democratic government a certain equality of all citizens is assumed, yet in practice differences may be observed.

Key quotes an Italian political thinker as saying that, "In all societies ....two classes of people appear--a class that rules and a class that is ruled."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a full account of this development, see Harold F. Gosnell, Democracy, The Threshold of Freedom, pp. 12-123.

<sup>2</sup>Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class, p. 50. Quoted by V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, p. 5.

Key comments that even

....in democracies there are certainly those who rule and those who are ruled. However, the credentials of membership in a democratic "ruling class" are neither explicit nor formalized; the lines delimiting the group are not sharply drawn; and admission to the circle of the influential is barred mainly to those without the wit or the will to compel their acceptance.<sup>1</sup>

This thought helps to make clear what is meant by the frequently repeated statement that although the Negro is a citizen, he is limited to a second-class citizenship. Although, as Key says, the credentials are not explicit or formalized, in almost every community in America there is a kind of tacit agreement that one of the credentials is that one be white.

For, throughout the years, the political process has tended to by-pass one group of Americans, even in regions where their numbers were a significant proportion of the total population. In fact, until recently, it was only in places where their number was politically insignificant that they were allowed to participate at all. That group is the Negro American.

The American political system has accommodated itself with fair success to white immigrants regardless of their national origin. The Negro, however, has presented a far more difficult problem for a democratic political order. The normal political processes broke down at the time of the Civil War, a war fought between white ostensibly about the Negro. From the time of the Civil War onward, the status of the Negro was continuously an issue in American politics, an issue to which there seemed no solution.<sup>2</sup>

At first illiterate and wholly unprepared to participate in political affairs, the Negro people have changed a great deal during the years since the Civil War, until today there are in many communities some Negro people who meet requirements for admission to the circle of the influential. More and more white people are taking the stand that the color line is out-moded.

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<sup>1</sup>Key, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

The traditional place of the Negro in American society, his traditional relationship to the government as a permanent member of the class that is ruled, is no longer firmly supported by the traditional beliefs and attitudes toward Negro people. Many of the Negro people themselves are showing evidences of the "will to compel their acceptance."<sup>1</sup>

An examination of some aspects of city life may reveal whether such attitudes are present in the two communities considered in this study, and give some indication of the degree to which attitudes of people in these communities support that demand or call for a continuation of the tradition.

#### THE TRADITIONAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

##### Slavery

An individual's relationship to his government is determined largely by attitudes--his own and other people's. The present relationship of the Negro to his government can best be understood against a background of historic attitudes toward Negro people in this country and the practices which were associated with these attitudes.

At the present time it is somewhat difficult to understand the point of view which made it possible for society to tolerate slavery. At the time that slavery was instituted on this continent, however, slavery was an institution with the sanction of centuries of history behind it. Even a wise and thoughtful man could uphold it. Aristotle supplied the reasoning, if anything were needed to convince men of the wisdom of its practice. Slavery was

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<sup>1</sup>The NAACP, in its persistent struggle for equality on all fronts, committed to the use of legal measures only, but determined to press on until full equality is granted, is one of the best examples of this.

the logical outcome of natural differences.

'Those men therefore who are as much inferior to others as the body is to the soul,' Aristotle wrote in his Politics, 'are to be thus disposed of, as the proper use of them is their bodies, in which their excellence consists; and if what I have said be true, they are slaves by nature, and it is advantageous to them to be always under government.'<sup>1</sup>

According to this point of view, men had only to find those who were by nature suited to be slaves and place them in bondage, and this would result in benefit to society. In the people of Africa, with their more primitive culture, the Europeans discovered the "slaves by nature" whom they needed to exploit the wealth of the New World. Gosnell notes that it was by reason of their more primitive culture patterns that the Negroes found themselves at a disadvantage when they first came into contact with white groups.<sup>2</sup> Advocates of Negro slavery put forth the proposition that it was an institution beneficial to all concerned. The practice of slavery was not difficult to justify, in the early years.

By the time of the American Revolution, however, it was becoming somewhat less defensible. Although some slaves were being imported each year,<sup>3</sup> there were by this time a great many who had been born in this country. The American-born slaves knew nothing of primitive life. The only culture they knew was an American culture. It was, of course, a slave culture, but it had aspects in common with American culture in general. It could no longer be said that no Negro could learn anything. Some had been taught to be craftsmen, and others trained to domestic service. And, skilled or unskilled, many

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Alphaeus T. Mason, Free Government in the Making. Readings in American Political Thought, p. 483.

<sup>2</sup>Gosnell, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>3</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 118.

of them had accepted the same religious teachings as their masters. These American-born slaves could no longer be looked upon as wild, primitive beings from a distant jungle. Even though unequal in opportunity and in attainment, they were nevertheless fellow-Christians and fellow-Americans.

Moreover, the political thought of the time contained a great deal that was anti-slavery in its implication. The practice of slavery was not in line with the best thinking of many slave-holders.

Revolutionary figures like Madison, George Mason, Patrick Henry, and Jefferson, their minds rooted in concepts of natural law, saw chattel slavery in sharp conflict with the Principles of the Declaration of Independence. Among the charges Jefferson leveled against the King in the original draft of it was that he had evinced determination 'to keep a market where men should be bought and sold' and 'has at length prostituted his negative to suppressing any legislative attempt to prohibit and restrain this execrable commerce.' 'What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man!' Jefferson exclaimed later on, 'who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and, the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose....I tremble for my country when I reflect God is just.' Washington, a more temperate critic, could still avow, 9 September, 1786, 'I never mean.... to possess another slave by purchase, it being my first wish to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country, may be abolished by law.' Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson freed their slaves in the wills that disposed of their estates.<sup>1</sup>

As slaves, Negroes took no part in the formal processes of government.

The Constitution does not even mention slaves or slavery.

'Somehow,' reflects Kelly Miller, 'the fathers and fashioners of this basic document of liberty hoped that the reprobated institution would in time pass away when there would be no verbal survival as a memorial of its previous existence.'<sup>2</sup>

The framers of the Constitution did have to take into consideration the fact that a large part of the population of the southern states was made up

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 484.

<sup>2</sup>Nyrdal, op. cit., p. 86.

of Negro slaves. Whether or not to consider the slaves as part of the population when taxation or representation was based on population figures became a problem. This problem was resolved by compromise, and Article I, Section 3 of the Constitution was written:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.

The system of slavery was itself a form of government. The Negro was "always under government" in the sense in which Aristotle had spoken. Unless convicted of a crime, the slave had no direct relationship with the white people's government.

While a practical means of terminating slavery, of bringing the practices in line with attitudes, was being sought, circumstances arose which made the greater number of influential people in the South desire to reverse the process. With a greatly increased demand for cotton, slavery became too valuable an institution to be destroyed. It must be defended by a better rationalization.

A judge in the South Carolina Court of Chancery, Harper seemed to Southerners especially well qualified to place slavery in the proper perspective of their social life. In his Memoir, which Charles A. Beard accepted as 'one of the most important pro-slavery arguments in the history of the controversy,' Harper makes States' Rights central to the structure of his thought and southern interests paramount. For him slavery marked the progress, not the retrogression, of our civilization. It is the order of nature. The slave is 'born to subjection as he is born in sin and ignorance.' It is as natural that some men should exploit other men 'as that other animals should prey upon each other.' Slaves were wealth, both as property and as creators of capital, and to this extent slavery benefits civilization: 'Property -- the accumulation of capital, as it is commonly called -- is the first element of civilization.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 487.

At the same time that William Harper asserted that slavery was the basis of civilization, George Fitzhugh was proclaiming that it was infinitely more humane than the system of industry, which in the North was exploiting labor in a manner deserving of criticism. In sharp contrast is his idyllic picture of the life of the slave.

The Negro slaves of the South are the happiest, and, in some sense, the freest people in the world. The children and the aged and the infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessities of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care nor labor. The women do little hard work, and are protected from the despotism of their husbands by their masters. The Negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, not more than nine hours a day. The balance of their time is spent in perfect abandon. Besides, they have their Sabbaths and holidays. White men, with so much of license and liberty, would die of ennui; but Negroes luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose. With their faces upturned to the sun, they can sleep at any hour; and quiet sleep is the greatest of human enjoyments.<sup>1</sup>

The white man, Fitzhugh admits, would not enjoy slavery. The Negro, he asserts, is happy as a slave. It is difficult to reconcile the two statements, unless there is a fundamental difference between white man and black. For the white man to justify Negro slavery, a belief in racial differences is a most useful concept. The difference in skin color and in characteristic facial features between the masters and the slaves lent credence to the idea. Further support was found in the conduct of the slaves. Even those who had been born in America, although they knew nothing of primitive culture, did not conduct themselves like educated white men. Under the limitations of slavery, it was not possible for Negroes to adopt American culture patterns, but only to adapt themselves to serving Americans. The ruling group did not desire to see in the Negroes those characteristics they considered desirable

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 507.

in their sons and daughters. There was a different set of characteristics which was deemed suitable for a Negro. He must, above all, show humility, and great respect for white people. A slave who was unusually industrious, one who desired a stable family life or a good education, was very likely to find his owner's plans for him coming into conflict with his own desires. Most slaves found it wiser to take life a day at a time with little thought for the morrow. Slaves of mixed blood, as well as those of exclusively African descent, frequently exhibited the submissiveness and the irresponsibility of a people without hope for freedom. These came to be accepted as the marks of an inferior "race".

Some people looked to the Bible in support of pro-slavery sentiment. Fitzhugh, for example, admits that Southerners have selfish reasons to support the institution of slavery, but goes on to say: "We have, however, almost all human and divine authority on our side of the argument. The Bible nowhere condemns, and throughout recognizes slavery."<sup>1</sup> Another argument based on Biblical authority pointed to the story of Noah and his three sons, from whom all the people of the world were said to be descended. Many Southerners believed that humanity was divided into three "races" at this point in its development and that the Negro was "an outcast among the peoples of the earth, a descendant of Noah's son Ham, cursed by God himself and doomed to be a servant forever on account of an ancient sin."<sup>2</sup>

In accord with this view, any person who had one or more Negro ancestors was a member of the despised "race". In some countries a strain of white blood is considered important enough to mark the possessor a person of the

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1188.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 85.



more privileged group. In the United States, a person who is known to have even one Negro ancestor is generally considered a Negro, regardless of his appearance. Many states have laws defining the Negro in this way.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty of correctly classifying such people as to "race" is an example of the difficulty that confronts anyone who attempts to hold a scientific theory of race. The unsophisticated may claim that it is perfectly obvious that races exist. Certainly it is plain that there are differences between people, and that some are more alike than others. Any attempt, however, to classify the peoples of the world as to race meets with grave difficulties. The Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Rhode Island University, Brewton Berry, criticizes the whole concept of race under the title, A Southerner Looks at Race. Berry points out that in order to classify people as to race, hereditary physical characteristics must be examined: "Which is most important? Skin color, hair, the nose, or the skull?"<sup>2</sup> Scientists must agree on criteria.

That is precisely what the scientists have never been able to do; and for that reason hardly two of them agree as to the number and composition of the races. Thus one scholar makes an elaborate classification of twenty-nine races; another tells us there are six; Huxley gives us four; Kroeber, three; Goldenweiser, five; and Boas inclines to two, while his colleague, Linton, says there are twelve or fifteen.<sup>3</sup>

The absence of a direct relationship to the government left the slave in a condition of complete dependence upon the ruling class. This was at a time when all women were denied many privileges now acknowledged to be their rights.

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1198.

<sup>2</sup>Brewton Berry, A Southerner Looks at Race, Reprinted from Common Ground, Vol. II, No. 3, Spring, 1942.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

The white man who owned slaves was expected to govern his family and his slaves<sup>1</sup> in the best interests of all concerned. The manner in which many of the slaveholders exercised this large grant of power, this privilege of governing, has brought about a somewhat peculiar situation whereby any suggestion that the Negro be given more power of any kind--better jobs, unsegregated education, or even the right to vote--is met with the objection that it might lead to intermarriage. The foundation for this mental association of the Negro and sex was laid during the era of slavery, when sex relations between white men and Negro women were not unusual. At the same time the slave owner closely guarded the women of his own group from a like relationship with Negro men. In later years a large number of the slaves were known to be of mixed blood.<sup>2</sup> Even so the inferiority of the whole "race", and the unsuitability of any "Negro" as a husband for any white girl were beliefs that were almost universally accepted throughout the slave states. This association of the Negro and sex was not so pronounced in the North. Lincoln represented the attitude of those who rarely came in contact with Negroes.

It is 'counterfeit logic,' he suggested, in a paragraph still significant, 'to insist that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone.'<sup>3</sup>

The master of a slave woman could do as he chose. If his decision

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1340.

<sup>2</sup>After careful examination of available data, Myrdal came to the conclusion that the exact proportion of white, Indian, and Negro--or other African--inheritance present in the American Negro people today cannot be determined, but that the best available evidence and expert opinion indicate that about seventy per cent of them have some white blood. Op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>3</sup>Mason, op. cit., p. 488.

differed from Lincoln's, neither she nor the other slaves could do much about it. His arbitrary power prevented protest. Despite the rosy picture of life on the ideal plantation presented by some writers, with its courteous ladies and gentlemen of leisure and their devoted slaves, the fact remains that even at best, force was in the background, and the use or the threat of force kept the slaveholder master.

The social pattern of subduing the Negroes by physical force was inherent in the slave system. The master, himself, with the backing, if needed, of the local police and, indeed, of all white neighbors, had to execute this force and he was left practically unrestricted by any formal laws.<sup>1</sup>

Slaves commonly accepted the authority of the master. Those who were the most passive were praised as good slaves. An occasional objector was "bad". If punishment did not bring a change of attitude, he was sold. It was essential to the slave system that each slave be subservient. Slave-owners became even more conscious of this after the insurrection led by Nat Turner in 1831. Turner and his followers killed 54 white people before the insurrection was put down. There were relatively few insurrections, but they served to warn the slaveholder to keep close watch on his slaves.

Gosnell gives a general statement of the relation of the Negro slave to government. He says:

According to the Constitution of the United States, a Negro slave was counted as three fifths of a person for purposes of apportioning representatives in Congress among the various states. In other words, a slave was regarded as being that was not quite a man. Standing between the slaves and free white persons were the free Negroes, who were "free" but did not have the full rights of citizenship. Before the Civil War, all Negroes were deprived of any voice in elections, except for a scattered number of free Negroes in the New England States. All the northern states outside of New England barred even free Negroes from participating in elections by the insertion of the

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 558.

word "white" in the qualifications for voting.

During the slave period, the political influence of the Negroes was at a low ebb, but it was not absent. The white planter class lived in fear that some of the Negroes might become revolutionary on the model of those in the West Indies. The history of the successful, ruthless, violent revolutions in Santo Domingo and Haiti struck terror into the hearts of the Southerners. These misgivings were greatly heightened by Negro insurrections in the United States.... [and] became part of the tradition of the South, and so strengthened the view that the Negro must be kept in his place.

The repression which followed the insurrections did not prevent some slaves from escaping to the northern states and becoming abolitionist and suffragist orators. Notable among these was the mulatto, Frederick Douglass, who escaped from Maryland when he was twenty-one years of age and became an agent for a Massachusetts Antislavery Society.... Despite many difficulties, he spoke in various parts of the United States and in England.<sup>1</sup>

#### Slavery Abolished

On December 18, 1865, slavery ceased to have legal sanction in the United States. On that date the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution went into effect. It stated simply:

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Up to the Civil War, the federal government had accepted as citizens the persons having citizenship in one of its states. Any person wishing to vote in a national election was required to meet the standards of the state wherein he resided. The matters of voting privileges and of citizenship, except in the case of naturalized citizens, were left to the states.

The Dred Scott Decision, made in 1857, had ruled out the possibility

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<sup>1</sup>Gosnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

of conferring citizenship on native-born Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

When it was desired, at the close of the Civil War, to confer citizenship upon the Negro people, an Amendment was added to the Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment became effective in 1858. Section 1 read:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

An effort to assure Negro citizens the same voting privileges as white citizens produced the Fifteenth Amendment, which was proclaimed on March 30, 1870. Article XV reads as follows:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

When the slave was declared a free man, his status became a matter of public concern. Declaring a man free, and placing in his hands legal power equal to that of others, does not guarantee that he will exercise it. He may place it in the hands of others, to exercise for him.

During the period immediately following the Civil War the government of the South was in the hands of people who had not been leaders or strong supporters of the Confederacy. Some of these were Negroes, but not many of the Negroes elected to office were former slaves. They were people who had been educated in the North, and they came, like the white "carpetbaggers", to help run the Reconstruction governments. Cooperating with them were Southern white

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<sup>1</sup>Ferguson and McHenry, The American System of Government. p. 197.

people who had not been in sympathy with the Confederacy. Most of the Southerners who had had previous experience in government were disfranchised.

It is not surprising that the governments of the Reconstruction Period were bitterly criticized. White people who participated were either "carpetbaggers" or "scalawags," depending on their Northern or Southern origin. It has been described as an era of "black domination" and a period of very corrupt politics. Ralph Bunche, as quoted by Myrdal, says:

There was no "black domination" but there were Negro carpetbagger and scalawag governments operating, in the presence of federal troops, under the dominance of Congress. The North had a variety of conflicting interests, some selfish, some altruistic, with respect to the South and considered that its victory gave it the right to satisfy these interests. The bulk of the Negroes were ignorant peasants who played only a feeble role in the political drama of the period.<sup>1</sup>

The critics who say this government was a failure are answered by those who counter that its most glaring defects were the common weaknesses of governments of this era.<sup>2</sup> During the Reconstruction Period the Negroes were guided, with a minimum of force, by white persons many of whom were sympathetic to their demand for education for democracy. In the past, public education had been limited to the North. Under the Reconstruction governments, a public school system for both white and Negro was begun. Private schools for Negroes were supported by Northern churches. The period was too short to demonstrate whether such a policy could succeed in fitting the Negroes for effective participation in democratic government. In 1877, the federal troops were withdrawn, suffrage was restored to the former Confederates, and the experienced politicians of the South again took control.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 1315-1316.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 1314-1315.

<sup>3</sup>No date has been found on the restoration of suffrage to Confederates, but by December, 1879, Southern Congressmen were powerful enough in Washington to prevent Congressional action to aid the Exodusters.

Under slavery there had been a certain amount of tension, but, in general, the attitudes of both master and slave were reflected in the practices of the time. Power was wielded tyrannically, and injustice occasionally brought forth outbursts, but they were quickly repressed. That these were so few, and so feeble, indicates that the slaves themselves in large part either had accepted the belief that they belonged to an inferior race, or had seen the advantages of pretending to do so. On the rare occasions when a slaveholder's authority was challenged, he was upheld by his belief in the superiority of his own group and also by his sense of responsibility to that group. To let a slave become disrespectful or disobedient would involve not only personal humiliation, but would also be an offense against his own group. It would encourage this slave in conduct not suitable to a slave in his contacts with other white persons. The example of a slave who dared to take such an attitude might influence other slaves. For this reason the relations between master and slave must fit the "master-slave" pattern. Anything else would be detrimental to the whole slave society.

When the Constitution of the United States had been amended to give the Negro full citizenship, he enjoyed the legal status necessary to the establishment of practices which Northern sentiment considered proper. The great majority of the Negro people, however, continued to live in the South, where the practices of slavery had been rather strongly supported by public opinion. Opinion had not changed very much.<sup>1</sup> In order to bring practices into line with attitudes, the South quickly took measures designed to thrust upon the Negro a place in society very similar in practice to that which prevailed under

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 444.

slavery. It was a position from which he was permitted to ask humbly for favors, but never to claim any rights. Since the slaves were unprepared for freedom, the Southerners held this to be the only practical course. The Reconstruction Period may be viewed as a temporary interruption in the traditional pattern, as an unsustained effort to give the Negro a new status in American society. It was not supported by attitudes of respect, but only by federal law and the presence of federal troops. The traditional pattern had suffered only a momentary suspension, not a collapse.

### Segregation

The intent of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution had never been acceptable to former slave holders. When they returned to control in the South, they did not have sufficient power nationally to repeal the hated provisions; therefore they set out to find ways to evade them. Although they wished to be considered conservative, in the sense of supporting an ancient and honorable tradition, they had to oppose the law to do it.

The highest law of the land said that the Negro was a citizen of the United States, and that no State might deny to him the equal protection of the laws. It declared also that his right to vote must not be denied to him. Such statements seemed ridiculous to the Southern white man. To him, a Negro was still a being not quite a man--three fifths of a man, perhaps, but not enough of a man to take seriously in a court of law, and certainly not enough of a man to vote.

Robert R. Moton, the late principal of Tuskegee, cites the case of "a distinguished Episcopal clergyman, a friend of mine and by everyone recognized as a friend of the race, who used to say that he always felt like laughing whenever he heard the principal of Hampton



Institute, where he was a frequent visitor, refer to a coloured man as 'Mr.' To him, he said, it sounded just like saying 'Mr. Mule': it seemed no less ridiculous."<sup>1</sup>

It was not so much a desire to rob the Negro of his rights as a complete inability to agree with those who said the Negro had such rights, that led the South to circumvent the recent Amendments. They might agree that a Negro had a right to food, shelter, and clothing—of a kind suitable to his low station, of course—and also a right to be free from abuse—unless he asked for trouble; but to agree that the Negro had a right to vote was as impossible as to agree that a mule ought to have that privilege.

The South faced the problem of economic reorganization. During Reconstruction there had been talk of land reform but the federal government had not taken effective steps to provide it. If such steps had been taken, they would have met with great opposition by the white people of the South. A liberal Southerner of the older generation with great political experience, Josephus Daniels, tells this story:

When I was eighteen I recall asking an old Confederate, "What was so bad about the promise to give every Negro head of a family forty acres and a mule? Wouldn't that have been better help than to turn the ignorant ex-slave without a dollar over to the mercy of Republican politicians, white and black, who made political slaves of them? And if each Negro had been given a piece of land, for which Uncle Sam would pay the Southern owner, wouldn't it have been better for the white man and the Negro?"

The old man looked at me as if I were a curious individual to be raising such an unheard-of question. "No," he said emphatically, "for it would have made the Negro 'uppity,' and, besides, they don't know enough to farm without direction, and smart white men and Negroes would have gotten the land away from them, and they'd have been worse off than ever....The real reason," pursued the old man, "why it wouldn't do, is that we are having a hard time now keeping the nigger in his place, and if he were a landowner he'd think he was a bigger man than old man Grant, and there would be no living with him in the

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

Black District....Who'd work the land if the niggers had farms of their own?"<sup>1</sup>

A few Negroes did secure farms of their own. There was a slow rise in Negro small-scale landownership for many years, but the Negro landowner was exceptional. Most of the freedmen were landless and relatively unskilled. They were accustomed to work in the cotton fields. The fields lay idle, the workers were unemployed. The problem of the South was to get the Negroes back into the cotton fields. Some attempts were made to hire laborers, but money was scarce, and a more profitable system was soon devised.

This was a crop lien system, by which land was rented to the Negro. The landlord provided a simple dwelling. He extended credit, not only for the rent, but also for food, clothing, and whatever was needed for the production of the crop. The tenant promised the landowner a share of the crop-- a third, a fourth, or even half--for the use of the land. When the yearly crop was sold, a reckoning was made, and the tenant received whatever was left from the proceeds of his share of the crop after deductions had been made for his purchases through the year. The books were kept, of course, by the landowner. It was a system admirably suited to provide him with almost as complete control over the Negro as he had had before the slaves were freed. The man who has promised to pay for his living when the crop is sold has an obligation to stay until the crop is produced. The sharecropper who thought otherwise soon learned that the community would not permit him to leave his job until the landowner was willing to let him go.

Theoretically, the Negro was a citizen of the United States, and had rights like other men. Practically, he could be controlled almost as completely

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

by his landlord as he had been by his owner. The landlord could even use physical punishment, if he chose. The federal government, with its democratic Constitution, had no direct contact with the large number of Negro people who became sharecroppers. The government they knew was the white man's government. In the main, they were governed without law. If law were needed, it would be provided at the local level. Here there was no thought of equal rights. At the county courthouse he was not considered a citizen of the United States, but an ex-slave. He was not expected to participate in the government, but to be "kept in his place" by it.

One of the main concerns of the landlord and the local government was to keep the people from moving. The Negroes had been told that they were free. They had hoped to receive a chance for an education, and to improve their condition in the world. As sharecroppers, they worked at hard labor for only the barest necessities of life. It was not always easy to convince them that they should remain where they were.

A study<sup>1</sup> has been made of the Exodus, a movement of Negroes to Kansas, during which about 60,000 Negroes moved to Kansas within two years. In those same years, 1879 and 1880, Ohio and Indiana also received groups of Negroes seeking greater opportunities. In Kansas, their arrival created an immediate problem. They arrived in such numbers and in such a needy condition, that Kansas towns were unable to care for them properly. An appeal to the federal government brought no help. Congress did, however, appoint a committee to investigate the causes which led to the emigration. A letter from Representative Haskell in Washington to the Governor of Kansas, John P. St. John,

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<sup>1</sup>Lee Ella Blake, The Great Exodus of 1879 and 1880 to Kansas, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Kansas State College, 1942.

explained that nothing could be done there because of the pressure from Southern congressmen. "The Southerners are wild over the exodus and they hope and pray (apparently) that enough of the poor creatures will come to want, to deter the rest from leaving."<sup>1</sup>

One Southern representative laid the blame for the Exodus on Northern agitators: "They've had their emissaries down here, and deluded the 'niggers' into a fever of emigration, with the purpose of reducing our basis of representation in Congress and increasing that of the Northern states."<sup>2</sup>

The planters hastily called meetings to consider what could be done. On March 28, 1879, such a meeting was called, and it was decided to write to San Francisco to find out whether they could get a thousand Chinese laborers to replace some of the Negroes who had left. They were told this was not possible. Some of the Exodusters returned, telling of great hardship. The enthusiasm for life in Kansas apparently subsided.

This incident is but one illustration of the discontent of the Negro-- due in part, says Blake, to experience with participation in government during Reconstruction and subsequent disfranchisement<sup>3</sup>--and of his lack of political power. Those who had resolved to exploit him were in control locally, and those few who wished that he could have his rights were able to do very little politically. Some help was rendered by private groups, but what they were able to do could help only a few. The great majority remained in a state of virtual peonage.

State laws were written to defend the planters' interests, as they saw

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<sup>1</sup>Blake, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

them. There were laws which made it illegal to leave until a debt was paid, laws which forced vagrants into labor, and even laws which made a tenant a criminal when he was judged negligent in his duties.

The court was a good place for the planter to get laborers. The police would round up Negroes who weren't busy and assess them a fine. The planter would offer to pay the fine if the man would work it out. Sometimes he was faced with the alternative of being sentenced to a chain gang if he refused the planter's offer. Thus the courts assisted the planter in his effort to get cheap labor.<sup>1</sup>

Although many of the freedmen earned their living by farming, some looked elsewhere for a livelihood. Myrdal speaks of the Negro as having almost a monopoly on most other types of unskilled work as well as farm labor, for a few years after the Civil War.

Unskilled work was tainted with inferiority. Negroes were the domestics and the laborers. Negroes were also, to a large extent, the craftsmen and the mechanics. They were carpenters, bricklayers, painters, blacksmiths, harness makers, tailors and shoemakers. For even skilled labor was degraded, and whites had often been denied the opportunity of acquiring training since so many masters had preferred to work with slaves. The high price paid for skilled slaves had encouraged their training in the crafts.<sup>2</sup>

Now that they were no longer slaves, Negro artisans were on their own. Competition from white job seekers, not very great at first, increased as the years went by. The tendency was for Negroes to be crowded out of any occupation that white people considered desirable. When labor-saving machines were introduced or some other change was made which made the work less strenuous or less dirty, in many cases it changed from a "Negro job" to "white

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 228-229.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 280.

man's work."

The full import of this change can be seen only by taking into consideration the status drive of the white worker. Wherever the white worker is conscious of low status yet is able to reassure himself that he is still above one group at least--the Negro--he puts up a vigorous protest against being equated by anyone as on a par with the Negro. Seeing a job that is desirable and displacing a Negro in that job places such a person in an intolerable position. Until white persons are filling all similar jobs in his community he feels that his own status is open to question. Thus the necessity arises for classifying each type of work as being either suitable for Negroes, or acceptable for white persons. This pressure is strongest in the South, but with the migration of southern workers to other parts of the country it has appeared elsewhere also.

The freedman encountered another obstacle in his effort to find employment when he applied to the businessman whose employees met the public. Quite often the businessman preferred to hire a white worker if his abilities were at all comparable to the Negro applicant's, because no one ever objected to being served by a white person, because he was white, but occasionally a customer would object to service from a Negro.

A Negro lad in Minneapolis, Minnesota, had successfully prepared himself in the excellent vocational school of this Midwestern city to become an electrician. As he had been told before he started to take these courses, he encountered difficulties in getting apprenticeship training and employment, in spite of the best personal recommendations and in spite of assistance from the local Urban League. Most of the contractors declared that they themselves had nothing against engaging him. They were not prejudiced, they explained, but they had to abstain on account of occasional customers who were prejudiced.

I made some inquiries and found that most housewives I questioned did not mind. A few stated that they felt they rather wanted to have white workers around in the house when something was to be repaired. They did not realize how their slight and unmotivated bias had the

cumulated effect of closing employment opportunities to great numbers of Negro youths.<sup>1</sup>

The change from slavery to freedom placed the Negro in a position where no one (except during the brief period--1865-1872--when the government, through the Freedmen's Bureau,<sup>2</sup> performed this function for some Negroes) was directly responsible for seeing that he had an opportunity to engage in productive labor. It is true that no one took this responsibility for the white person, either, but with economic power concentrated in the hands of the white group, a condition existed where very few white persons lacked contacts which were helpful to them in gaining employment. The freedman, on the other hand, unless he maintained a connection with the family who had owned him as a slave--and many of them did this--was likely to have no personal contact with people who were hiring workers.

Even when he was in free competition with white persons who likewise had no contact with the employer, he often met a less friendly attitude on the part of the employer or his representative simply because they thought of him as belonging to a distinctly different group. In addition, there was the pressure from the status-conscious white laborer, and the general unwillingness of the businessman to risk offending the public. None of these people felt any responsibility for the Negro's unemployment. Most of them were probably unaware that many Negroes who desired employment had not found it. They were quite willing for the Negro to work--somewhere else.

The white Northerner can feel that the Negroes ought to be in the South. The white urban worker can likewise feel that the Negroes should be in the country, and the white farmer that they should not

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 1292-1293.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 224.



compete for the land. An individual employer or a local trade union may bar Negroes from a particular shop and claim that the Negroes should be somewhere else.<sup>1</sup>

The Negro was in a very difficult situation. On the one hand were those who desired to exploit his labor by employing him at low wages, and excused their policies on the ground that he had no capacity for anything but the most menial of occupations; and on the other hand were those to whom it was not inconceivable that Negroes should do well in many fields of endeavor, but who preferred not to experiment with Negroes in their own businesses.

This left the Negro with very little economic power. Under the circumstances, some Negroes were isolated from the government, at the national level, which proclaimed their equality as citizens, and left to the mercy of a government, at the local level, which took advantage of their economic helplessness. Others, especially in the cities of the North, became dependent upon government as they looked to the city to provide the living they could not earn. Still others turned to crime and became a problem to law enforcement officials at all levels.

Those who did get jobs in Northern cities had a much different relationship to the government. In fact they were related to the government in much the same way as most other citizens. In the North, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were fairly well carried out. No one objected to a Negro voting. He was not very likely to hold office, but occasionally one who had proven himself capable was chosen to fill a government position, either by being elected or by being appointed by a white official. This normal relationship to the government depended upon a normal economic relationship to the community. To be without a job did not take away the privilege of voting

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 385.



but it made it largely meaningless since the one matter of most immediate concern to him would not be touched upon by those in political power. Those in economic power would see to that, as they did in the days of the Exodus.

There is a close correlation between economic power and political power, as MacIver shows in Democracy and the Economic Challenge. He sees power divided into three aspects--economic power, political power, and social status.<sup>1</sup>

Attitudes of white people toward the freedman ranging from disrespect to indifference adversely affected the Negro in each of these aspects. In the South, the attempt of the ex-slave to live like a free man when he was regarded by society as hopelessly inferior set up tensions that were resolved by adjusting practices to suit that belief in inferiority.

Gosnell tells in concise form how political power was wrested from the newly enfranchised voters.

Once the pressure of the Federal troops was gone, the Southern whites employed the harsh political methods that are used by a dominant culture group to subordinate a group that is regarded as inferior. Force in the form of tar and feathers, whipping, other forms of torture, and killing, was applied vigorously. In addition, all types of fraud were employed: gerrymandering, inadequate voting facilities, dilatory tactics, withholding of returns, fraudulent election counts, ballot box stuffing, padded lists, and discriminatory enforcement of the election regulations. Social pressure, such as business ostracism, unofficial banishment, and segregation, was used to keep the Negro from the polls. Finally, bribery in all its forms was employed. Colored voters were paid to stay at home, or, where a poll tax receipt was necessary in order to vote, these receipts were used as admission fees to circuses and other entertainments. With their lack of organization, leadership, education, and economic independence, the Negroes could not withstand these pressures. They were eliminated as effective elements in the electoral process of the Southern States.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time that the South was making plain to the ex-slave that

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. MacIver, Democracy and the Democratic Challenge, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Gosnell, op. cit., p. 95.

his vote was not desired, he was being taught other lessons as well. Taken together they indicated the social status of the freedman. These lessons may be described as disciplines in subservience and segregation. To the Southerner, the freedman was still a "nigger" and nothing the federal government had done had made any difference in his real position in society.

The primary question concerning a free Negro was the same as it had been about the slave--What is his attitude toward white people? is he subservient? If he passed that test, they were ready to go on to less important matters. However, if he showed signs of believing Negroes had rights, that they could claim to be in any sense on a par with white people, he was regarded as one who might need to be taught a lesson.<sup>1</sup> If an occasion arose on which he seemed to challenge white supremacy he might well forfeit his life. The solidarity of the white group protected even murderers from legal justice in such cases. Knowledge of the power in the hands of the whites, and the habits of obedience established during slavery, helped to deter the Negroes from retaliating. In addition to this, there was the moral advantage to be gained by refusing to strike back.<sup>2</sup>

In their contacts with white people, the freedmen were required to conform to the old "master-slave" relationship as far as possible. As a general rule, they were not expected to initiate contacts with white people unless it was to ask them for a favor. The paternalistic aspect of slavery which enabled Fitzhugh to describe the system as one of great benefit to the slave had its counterpart in the new social order. Granting a favor to a person considered inferior is one means of demonstrating superiority. Some of those

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1195.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix I.

who insisted most forcefully upon "keeping the Negro in his place" exhibited a feeling of responsibility to help Negroes in need and to protect them in time of danger. This applied principally to individual Negroes personally known to them.<sup>1</sup>

In line with this paternalistic aspect of the tradition, it was considered proper for a Negro to come to the home of a white person for help, but he must use the back door. On the other hand, if a white person went to a Negro's home he was expected to go to the front door.

When a white man enters a Negro's house, he cannot be expected to show any signs of respect. He will enter without knocking; he will not remove his hat; he will not stand up when a Negro woman enters the room; he may even insist that the Negro occupants stand in his presence (the old-fashioned Negro will not presume to sit down anyway unless asked).<sup>2</sup>

The location of Negro homes had social significance. Those Negroes who worked as servants usually lived near those for whom they worked. If they did not have a room in the house of the employer, they found a little house on a side street or on the alley behind the employer's home.<sup>3</sup> It would have been considered highly improper for a Negro, even if he had had the money, to buy a home next-door to a white family. The Negro must keep in the background.

Negroes who moved to town settled in groups. Economic necessity limited them at first to the areas of poorer housing. Custom decreed that even those individuals who acquired sufficient money to think of better housing should remain in the Negro section. As part of the pattern of humility, a Negro must live in a Negro residential area. These areas sometimes bore names that

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 459 and p. 680.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 613-614.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 621.

might suggest, even to a stranger, that they were for Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

Negro slaves had commonly attended the same churches as the whites, being seated in a separate section, often a gallery. In some places, however, where there were enough interested slaves or a group of free Negroes, Negro churches had been organized. After the Civil War, the whites discouraged the Negroes from attending white churches, and they turned to building up more churches of their own. In this they were helped by white and Negro missionaries from the North.<sup>2</sup>

The missionaries were active in the field of education as well. Education, quite naturally, had not been generally considered necessary for a slave. On the one hand was the belief that the Negro was so inferior that he was not capable of learning; on the other was the fear that he might prove to be capable, and then claim a better position in society. Both forces operated against the education of the Negro.

The educated Negro was a rarity. The more usual sight was the entirely untutored and ignorant Negro or the Negro who had used his native ability to take advantage of the only learning available to him, the learning of the plantation, the completely extra-curricular, omnipresent education that is within arm's length of any man awake to life around him. This was the education of the slave in the South.<sup>3</sup>

Myrdal points out that the lack of education was not limited to Negroes, but included most Southern white people as well.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Blake (op. cit., pp. 63-64) gives as names of Negro sections of Topeka: Tennessee Town, Jordantown, Sandtown, and Mudtown; of Kansas City: Rattlebone Hollow.

<sup>2</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 859-861.

<sup>3</sup>R. I. Brigham, "Negro Education in Ante Bellum Missouri", The Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXX--October, 1945--No. 4, pp. 410-411.

<sup>4</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 887.

The Reconstruction governments laid the basis for a public school system in the South for both whites and Negroes. In all Southern states the great American principle of free public schools for all children was written into the new constitutions or other statutes.<sup>1</sup>

The effort to re-establish the old pattern of relationships of domination and subjection did not support the idea of Negro education, but there was a greater tolerance toward education than there was toward suffrage.

The Restoration governments only continued what their predecessors had organized for the whites. The Negroes were severely discriminated against; in many parts of the South Negro education deteriorated for decades. This period of reaction was a most crucial time for Negro education....

The great wonder is that the principle of the Negroes' right to public education was not renounced altogether. But it did not happen. One explanation is the persistency and magnanimity of Northern philanthropy. But this activity was pursued under the indulgence of the Southern state and municipal authorities. And, though their own contributions to Negro education in many regions were not much more than face saving, the important thing is that face saving was deemed necessary and that the Negroes' statutory right to public education remained unassailable in the South.<sup>2</sup>

Here was an important challenge to the old tradition, which had been supported by laws forbidding anyone to teach Negroes to read or write.<sup>3</sup> Now the law provided for free public education for all children, Negro as well as white.

Many Southerners were still of the opinion that education merely spoiled a good field hand. In line with the attitude that Negroes were by nature suited to a lower social position than white people, Southerners generally discouraged them from going to school, but many of those who had a very great desire to learn were given an opportunity to do so at such schools as Fisk,

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 888.

<sup>2</sup>Loc. cit. The clauses underlined were in italics.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 887.

Atlanta, Howard, and Hampton, which were founded and supported by Northern churches. Negro children did not attend schools established for white children. Many Negro elementary schools were partially supported by contributions from the Negroes themselves.

Negro education, some thought, should be of a particular kind.

If the white Southerners had to permit the Negroes to get any education at all, they wanted it to be of the sort which would make the Negro a better servant and laborer, not that which would teach him to rise out of his "place."...General S. C. Armstrong, a Union officer during the Civil War, had established Hampton Institute in the Tidewater region of Virginia as an "agricultural institution." He wanted to see continued the skilled artisan tradition that had existed among Negroes before the War. His most famous pupil, Booker T. Washington, founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and became the apostle of industrial education for Negroes....his message was extremely timely in the actual power situation of the Restoration. It reconciled many Southern white men to the idea of Negro education, and Washington has probably no small share in the salvaging of Negro education from the great danger of its being entirely destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

The Negro was to have his own churches and his own schools. He was to engage only in certain lowly occupations. He must always act as though all white people belonged to a superior race. If a Negro from the North visited in the South and happened to talk with some white people, they thought him very rude, simply because he talked naturally, as one person to another. The Southern Negro spoke to white people in much the same manner as the slave had spoken to white people. There was a kind of etiquette which applied to conversation between members of the different races. It was permissible for them to discuss the way the employer wanted a certain job carried out, so long as the employee was properly respectful; or to inquire formally as to the other's health, as long as the employer kept a patronizing manner; but there were many things which a Negro and a white person did not discuss with each

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 889.



other. An example of a subject that would have been considered in bad taste is politics, either national or local.

The apparent purpose of this etiquette of conversation is the same as that of all the etiquette of race relations. It is to provide a continual demonstration that the Negro is inferior to the white man and "recognizes" his inferiority. This serves not only to flatter the white man, but also to keep the Negro from real participation in the white man's social life.<sup>1</sup>

This strong desire to keep the Negro from participation in the white man's social life continued through the years. Although the freedman had, for the most part, accepted the role thrust upon him by pressure and by violence, and had adjusted his mode of life to fit the concept of belonging to an inferior race, the white man remained fearful that he would not long continue in that role. Laws were devised to support and strengthen the separation of the two groups.

For a period of nearly 70 years, the concept of Negro inferiority was strong enough and widespread enough to support the elaborate caste structure and to continuously add to it. In 1944, Myrdal wrote:

Every Southern state and most Border states have structures of state laws and municipal regulations which prohibit Negroes from using the same schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, railroad cars, railroad stations, sections of streetcars and buses, hotels, restaurants and other facilities as do the whites. In the South there are, in addition, a number of sanctions other than the law for enforcing institutional segregation as well as etiquette. Officials frequently take it upon themselves to force Negroes into a certain action when they have no authority to do so. The inability of Negroes to get justice in the courts extends the powers of the police in the use of physical force. Beating and other forms of physical violence may be perpetrated by almost any white man without much fear of legal reprisal.<sup>2</sup>

Determination to keep the Negro from sharing in the common life, including

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 612.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 628.

government, brought a kind of stagnation to Southern politics. Political thinkers were not at liberty to discuss policies freely. They must always present a united front both at home--to the Negroes, and at Washington--to the more liberal sections of the country. Besides that, they must think first how each proposal would affect the status of the Negro before considering whether it would be good for the city, the state, or the region.<sup>1</sup>

In 1914, Garner, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, after explaining that he considered the Southern white people justified in acting as they had to preserve their civilization, expressed the opinion that they had accomplished their purpose and might profitably turn their attention to other matters.

....The motive which has held the white voters of the South together since the Civil War has been the motive of self-preservation. For a long time it was the declared purpose of the dominant party at the North to force upon the Southern states the rule of a numerical majority when that majority was an ignorant race; under these circumstances the Southern white people were justified in standing together in political matters and in sacrificing their individual convictions on national questions in order to prevent such a catastrophe. To have divided their strength would have been fatal to the very existence of their civilization. For the present, the supremacy of the white race is well established....In every Southern state where there is any considerable negro (sic) population, the negro race as a whole has been disfranchised, and the rest of the country has acquiesced in, if it has not entirely approved, all the devices by which it was accomplished.... The truth is, the white people of the South now have the sympathy of the great mass of the people throughout the entire country....<sup>2</sup>

Garner's statement of the situation at that time may or may not have been correct, but some of the things he has said throw light on the present situation. In the first place, he speaks of Negroes as having been in the past "an ignorant race". The efforts of many Negro people to overcome this real

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<sup>1</sup>James W. Garner, "Southern Politics Since the Civil War," which is Chapter XV in Studies in Southern History and Politics, pp. 368-373, 381-382.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 373-374.



difficulty in the way of effective citizenship--and also of normal participation in society--together with the aid given them by white people who believed in their capacity to learn--have by this time borne fruit. The result is a renewed tension, a revival of the old debate. That debate was once between the North and the South; to a certain extent this is still true, but now there are many exceptions. The people of the whole country are interested in the relation of the Negro to American society in general. A recent article in the *Scientific American* reports:

There can be little doubt that on racial segregation people honestly expressed their deeply felt opinions. They were not at all reluctant to talk about the subject to the interviewers, and they consistently showed a livelier interest in this topic than in almost any other public question on which people are polled....In contrast to most issues, on which anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent of the public have no opinion or can't make up their minds, on questions about racial segregation the "Don't know" group is never higher than 4 per cent. Almost everyone knows exactly where he stands on the matter.<sup>1</sup>

Current popular magazines for some time have been presenting the matter for consideration. While it is probably still true that, as Garner wrote, as in 1914, "the white people of the South now have the sympathy of the great mass of the people throughout the entire country," there are certain indications that the Negro people also have the sympathy of people everywhere, and that a great many question whether any system of segregation can be equitable.

A partial list<sup>2</sup> of popular magazines carrying articles concerned with integration issued during the two and two-thirds years from October, 1954 to May, 1957, includes *Colliers*, *Life*, *Look*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *U.S. News and World Report*. Among the men who have contributed one or more articles

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Hyman and Paul Sheatsley, "Attitudes toward Desegregation," *Scientific American*, December, 1956, 195:6, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix III.

are Robert M. MacIver, James F. Byrnes, Hodding Carter, and Alan Paton.

The interest has become so general that it seems not unreasonable to characterize the present period as a time of transition in American society. Forces at work to raise the status of the Negro throughout the period when traditional "master-slave" relations were rarely challenged have made themselves felt with increasing strength since the First World War. Since World War II they have received impetus from abroad.

#### THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

##### Segregation Challenged

Among the reasons for current interest in race relations is the threat of Communism. There are at least two ways in which the demand for equality for the Negro may be related to Communism. Communists, like the supporters of American democracy, have a great deal to say about equality. They criticize American democracy for not providing real equality for the Negro. Incidents of racial injustice are widely publicized by the Communist press--when they occur in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Government officials have been put in a very difficult position by the fact that the democracy that is practiced at home is not always consistent with the democracy that American representatives talk about in international affairs.

This is not to say that the United States has a policy of one kind of democracy for domestic use and another for export. The discrepancy comes about partly because the goal has been set very high, so that in practice people find

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<sup>1</sup>Walter White, How Far the Promised Land?, pp. 5-12, 178.

it necessary to be content with a working arrangement that is not pure democracy, but a modification in the light of circumstances. It arises also from the fact that people tend to follow precedent, and therefore do not always revise their approximations of democracy to utilize changes that have made it possible to come much closer to democracy than had been feasible in the past.

In the case of the American Negro, at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation and, a little later, when the Constitution was amended in an effort to secure for him the legal right to participate in political affairs on an equal basis with other citizens, he was not able to use this legal right because of inexperience and lack of education. Today, although there are still many Negroes handicapped by insufficient educational opportunities, there are others who could be exercising the rights of citizenship but are not permitted to do so because of a pattern established to deal with an earlier situation.

The attack by the Communist press, though aimed at destroying American prestige abroad, served to point out to the American people themselves that certain discriminations exist that are not compatible with democracy. Reaction was varied, but out of the discussion that has been going on--stimulated to a certain extent by Communist comments on the position of the Negro in American society, but affected by a number of other influences as well--has come the realization that the traditional approach is not the most democratic approach that is now feasible. Just what is the most democratic arrangement now feasible is not yet clear. The very fact that democracy, not totalitarianism, is the system under which the United States works, makes it necessary to consider the many differing points of view concerning the place the Negro should take in American society in the years ahead. Yet the belief that democracy guarantees

an equal opportunity to all argues strongly in favor of a considerable change in the traditional status of the Negro.

A second relationship between Communism and the desire for integration is worthy of notice. One of the methods of the Russian Communists--by which they have attempted to further the Communist cause throughout the world--has been to stir up strife wherever possible. They have sometimes found racial tensions useful for this purpose. Thus it is not always possible to distinguish between an "incident" created by a Communist and one involving race pride. For example, a dark-skinned student from a foreign land meets with discrimination which he protests. Some observers assume that this is an isolated incident. Others see in it an example of Communist activity. Some of these latter tend to discount any protest against racial injustice as not really a protest against unfairness, but only an attempt on the part of Communists or their sympathizers to make trouble. Others differ with them to the extent of seeing the injustice itself as the thing that offers Communism a weak place to attack, and seeing the protest as a positive step toward eliminating the injustice, and the weakness.

The Communist propaganda is by no means the only stimulus to action. Communist news agencies make many charges which the western world consistently ignores. But on this point the Communists have been criticizing the United States for tolerating conditions that the people of the United States could not logically defend. It was not only the Communists who were saying this was a weak place in our democracy.

A considerable number of American people had been interested for a long time in improving race relations. The work of Tuskegee Institute and several other fine educational institutions for Negroes had produced a substantial body of capable, educated Negro people. Many Negroes were no longer content

to remain in the rural South.

The upheaval in Southern agriculture prior to the First World War, the mass migration to cities and the North, and the War itself, all acted as stimulants to the rising unrest of the American Negro people. Urbanization and mobility are inimical to the traditionally peaceful and innocent accommodation of rural Southern Negroes. The War, too, made the whites place a higher value on democracy as "the American Way of Life." As part of this revival of democratic ideology among the whites, there was a certain amount of talk about lack of democracy at home which must be eliminated....

The Negroes wanted to fight in that War, too. And they were needed: 400,000 Negro men were drafted. But they often found themselves segregated in labor camps or as servants. They met discrimination everywhere and derogatory rumors about their behavior as soldiers were spread.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, the war forced men into relationships they would not have chosen, relationships in which they had experiences that they found hard to reconcile with traditional attitudes and beliefs. Lasker tells the story of Captain G., whose father, dying after a fight with Negro bandits, had made him swear to avenge his death by enmity toward all Negroes. During World War I, Captain G. was assigned to train a group of 20 Negro men. He told them plainly that he did not want the job and left the room. They could see that they were in for a rough time. After a bitter discussion, they accepted the advice of a quiet-spoken youth who advised, "Let's play square-soldier for the man and trust in God." Captain G. was not easy to win over, but their ability to discipline themselves and to carry out the most difficult orders without complaining led him to the conclusion that here were real men, worthy of respect.<sup>2</sup> Captain G. had an experience which would cause him to ask some questions about the place of the Negro in American life.

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 745.

<sup>2</sup>Bruno Lasker, ed., And Who Is My Neighbor?, quoted by Edwin Leavitt Clarke, The Art of Straight Thinking, pp. 47-50.

He was one of many. Some of them later excused themselves for following the traditional pattern by saying that the Negroes they knew and respected were unusual cases. It has been found that people who change their attitude toward individual Negroes may still retain former prejudices toward Negroes in general.<sup>1</sup> Even so, the traditional pattern had been broken, here and there, and many would not be able to forget that.

The years immediately following World War I were years of reaction. People were tired of making sacrifices to improve the world. They wanted to have fun. They were concerned about making a living, and eager to "return to normalcy." Southern whites were concerned lest the Negro soldiers might be reluctant to return to a subordinate position.

It is commonly observed that after the First World War many lynchings of Negro soldiers--sometimes in uniform--were openly motivated by the fear that they had gotten 'wrong ideas' about their social status while serving in France.<sup>2</sup>

In the cities of the North there was trouble, also. Negro workers' new footholds in industry were contested by anxious white job-seekers in the post-war depression. There were race riots in many places.<sup>3</sup>

But despite the setback, some people of both races continued to work for better relations. Church groups were interested. The Urban League, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and The Commission for Interracial Cooperation studied, made recommendations, sought relief from injustice through legal action, and attempted to gain public support for the removal of restrictions.

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<sup>1</sup>Merton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, Interracial Housing, in American Social Patterns, edited by William Petersen.

<sup>2</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 563.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 1409.



Typical of the work of the NAACP is the removal, by means of appeal to the courts, of segregation in buses operating across the country. In October, 1944, Mrs. Irene Morgan took a Greyhound bus for a trip from Virginia to Baltimore, Md., and was arrested for refusing to obey the driver's request to move to the rear seat. She was convicted of violation of Virginia's segregation laws and of resisting arrest. Her case was carried by the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP through the Virginia courts and up to the Supreme Court of the United States. On June 3, 1946, the Supreme Court ruled that state segregation statutes place an undue burden on the carriers, and therefore do not apply to interstate passengers on interstate motor vehicles.<sup>1</sup>

Needless to say, this ruling did not immediately end all attempts at segregation of travelers. A federal agency that was frequently called upon to render decisions on instances of alleged discrimination was the Interstate Commerce Commission. The ICC generally upheld the traditional patterns. The official interpretation of the ICC of the word "equal" in "separate but equal" led them to excuse many instances of inequality. For many years the ICC dismissed every charge of discrimination brought to their attention, on the grounds of a ruling made in 1909 that colored passengers have no right to complain of accommodations actually inferior to those furnished white passengers on the same train, so long as these accommodations are not worse than the worst accommodations furnished to whites on any train operated by the carriers. In recent years, however, the attitude of the ICC has indicated an awareness that the traditional attitude of the public toward matters of this kind is no longer universally upheld. Walter White, of the NAACP, commented in 1955:

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., p. 174.



Despite its abysmally poor record, however, a succession of carefully authenticated cases was presented to the ICC. It is the specific duty of that agency to correct gross abuses. The commission continued to evade the issue and to avoid action, but it became less arrogant in its rulings as a result of public pressures and court decisions. If the ICC did little to correct injustice, it did not do as much as formerly to protect and bolster it. One cause of its change in attitude may have been the growing public opinion that more liberal members, including a Negro, should be named to the commission to replace those who were so manifestly biased in behalf of segregation.<sup>1</sup>

The statement that public opinion existed in support of the idea of appointing a Negro to the ICC is worthy of notice. It is an indication of a public awareness that educated, capable people were to be found among the Negroes. If a Negro had been appointed to the ICC, many white people would have applauded the move, just as in many places in the North the public approved the appointment of one Negro to an otherwise all-white board of one kind or another, and supported the rights of Negroes to representation in Congress. Other examples were the inclusion of Negro ministers in local ministerial associations when their numbers were much smaller than the number of white ministers, the visiting Negro speaker during Brotherhood Week, the Negro ladies invited to participate in special services being held by the ladies of a white church, and the invitation to the teachers of the Negro school to attend the banquet of the local teachers' association. These contacts were pleasant gestures. They showed that many Americans had come to believe that they ought not discriminate, and were happy to find easy ways to demonstrate that they "were not prejudiced." However, they did little or nothing to assist the Negro with his two very serious problems--housing and employment--or to admit Negroes into American society on the same basis as others, since the Negro in these situations was generally looked upon as the

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., p. 173.

representative of a race, rather than just another person who happened to be interested in whatever the group had convened to discuss.

Of some effect in preventing discrimination in public places were the small, interracial groups of people who selected a specific area of discrimination in their own community and sought to secure equal treatment for all. In the North the laws were often on the side of equality<sup>1</sup>, but proprietors of restaurants, hotels, and other establishments supplying services to the public found many ways of discouraging Negroes from patronizing them.

Most New York restaurants have for many years served Negroes along with white people, though many of them have found ways to lead their Negro customers to inconspicuous tables, to delay serving them, and otherwise to embarrass them. This too is changing.

In 1949 a small group of people living in the eastern part of mid-Manhattan, in an area that was about to house the United Nations offices, formed The Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan and made a careful survey of every eating place [in that area]....Sixty-two representative restaurants chosen from two hundred and forty-eight medium-priced eating places in the area were then checked by having both white and Negro members of the committee eat in them. A Negro team entered each restaurant first, and a white team followed a few minutes later.

In 42 per cent, or 26 of the 62 places tested, the Negro pair met obviously inferior treatment in various ways. They were led past empty tables to be seated next to a kitchen or a lavatory or in a place where they would be less visible to other diners; or they were treated rudely, made to wait out of turn for a table; or service was delayed; or they were hurried through their meal and made aware that their quick departure would be welcomed.

After the survey the committee instituted efforts to improve the situation. Conferences were held with restaurant associations and individual restaurant owners, and many of them gave pledges to discontinue discriminatory practices.

In 1952 a check was made on the same restaurants....It was found in 1952 that in only 16 per cent of the restaurants was there any noticeable difference between the treatment given white patrons and that accorded to Negroes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 418.

<sup>2</sup>White, op. cit., p. 176-177.

There is less discrimination in new forms of public service than in the older forms. This may be due in part to the growing feeling against segregation but seems in some cases to be encouraged by the nature of the accommodations. The customers of a hamburger drive-in or a frozen custard stand do not eat together; they merely drive, or walk, to the serving window, buy their food and eat it in their own cars. Negroes often prefer to go to such a place for a meal or a treat, rather than risk embarrassment in a restaurant or drug-store. For reasons of the same kind, those who can afford it frequently travel by air.

Air travel has, from the start, been less segregated than the older forms of transportation, but even the airlines are not without traces of the evil. Toilet facilities are still separate in most of the cities of the South. Negro passengers are not served in many airport dining rooms, though the Knoxville City Council voted in 1953 to accord equal facilities to all. In Houston and Memphis limousine service to and from airports is not available to Negroes.

Negroes today [1955] press forward toward total abolition of segregation in travel. On the basis of gains won in this field, it is not unlikely that all separation based on race will be eliminated on public carriers within a few years.<sup>1</sup>

#### Differences Over Residential Segregation

The past fifteen years have seen full integration in the armed services of the United States, the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools, a vastly improved status for the Negro in employment and trade-union relations, increase in the life expectancy and general health of American Negroes--in short, remarkable progress toward full democratic equality in all fields save one, where progress has been spotty and isolated, and where the reactionary enemies of enlightenment seemingly remain firmly entrenched. This field, in which it is difficult to see much concrete evidence that any general advance has been made, is housing.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., p. 176-177.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

The problems of Negro housing are closely associated with the practice of residential segregation. Although residential segregation is looked upon with favor by many people, Deutsch and Collins state some drawbacks.

There are many reasons why residential segregation can be considered to be of central importance to intergroup relations in general. First of all, residential segregation brings with it, as a natural consequence, segregation in many other areas of living. Racially segregated neighborhoods tend to bring with them segregation in schools, recreational centers, shopping districts, playgrounds, theaters, hospitals, leisure-time facilities, etc. Thus one result of residential segregation is that prejudiced whites have little opportunity to see Negroes in social contexts which bring out the fundamental "condition humaine" of Negroes and whites. They do not see Negroes, for example, as school children disliking homework, as expectant mothers in their first pregnancy, as tenants complaining about their landlords, or as breadwinners facing a contracting labor market.

Residential segregation is important in yet another way. Next to employment discrimination segregation is probably the most significant way by which Negroes, as a group, are disadvantaged. In the North residential segregation of Negroes has always resulted in increased competition for a limited number of dwelling units, with the consequence that they have invariably paid higher rentals for poorer accommodations. With limited incomes high rentals have resulted in severe over-crowding and rapid physical deterioration of the houses. The economic and psychological burdens resulting from these conditions have contributed notably to a high incidence of delinquency, broken homes, emotional instability, and the general brutalization of life.<sup>1</sup>

The burden which residential segregation places upon the enterprising Negro may be seen by comparing Mr. Black's situation with that of Mr. White. Both are poor, yet have growing incomes. They both live in crowded sections of town, where children play in the streets and the rate of juvenile delinquency is high. Each of them has a family. Mr. White prospers a bit and begins to look for a home in a more desirable neighborhood. He wants his children to get away from the worst influences of the city. Mr. Black has the same desires for his family, but if he takes his savings and goes to look for

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<sup>1</sup>Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, "Interracial Housing", pp. 8-9, in American Social Patterns, edited by William Petersen.

a house he is told he must look only in area where there are other Negro people. Mr. White may choose freely, limited only by his economic resources. Mr. Black must choose within a very limited area, in most cases already well-populated. If he should buy a home outside that restricted area, he would be accused of not liking his own people; he would be considered lacking in modesty; and he would very likely be shown that he was forcing his way in where he was not wanted.

Knowing that there are many Negro families they would not care to have for next-door neighbors, white people fear to open the housing market for all.

Alan Paton says, "There is hardly a community in America where the purchase of a house by a Negro in a hitherto 'white' section does not cause resentment, leading at times to violence."<sup>1</sup> Advocates of residential segregation point to what has happened in area after area of the large cities, where property values deteriorated as Negroes moved in. White people who see Negroes moving into homes near theirs often

...move out of the neighborhood with almost panic speed. For this reason Negroes are dangerous for property values, as well as for neighborhood business, and all whites are aware of this fact. In describing the succession of Negroes down the South Side of Chicago, an informant said, "This was not an incoming of the Negroes, so much as an outgoing of the whites. If one colored person moved into the neighborhood, the rest of the white people immediately moved out."

Such a situation creates a vicious circle, in which race prejudice, economic interests, and residential segregation mutually reinforce one another. When a few Negro families do come into a white neighborhood, some more white families move away. Other Negroes hasten to take their places, because the existing Negro neighborhoods are overcrowded due to segregation...if there were no segregation, this wholesale invasion would not have occurred. But because it does occur, segregational attitudes are increased, and the vigilant pressure to stall the Negroes at the border-line is kept up.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Colliers, Oct. 29, 1954, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 623.



Myrdal points out that many of the Negroes could not afford to buy homes in white neighborhoods, and that those who could are not the kind of people that the segregation laws are designed to keep out.

The presence of a small scattering of upper and middle class Negroes in a white neighborhood would not cause conflict (unless certain whites were deliberately out to make it a cause of conflict), and might serve to better race relations. The fact is neglected by the whites that there exists a Negro upper and middle class who are searching for decent homes and who, if they were not shunned by the whites, would contribute to property values in a neighborhood rather than cause them to deteriorate.<sup>1</sup>

Public housing projects have had to choose between a policy of segregation and one of integration. In recent years there have been a number which have tried integration. It has worked well in Washington, D. C., where a campaign was undertaken to prepare people for the innovation. It was reported in 1954 that

....eighty-seven per cent of all public housing in the District of Columbia--as distinguished from suburban housing--operated under an integrated policy, and this was expected to apply shortly to all such projects. White families had gone into housing formerly restricted to Negroes and Negro families into buildings originally intended for whites--and none of the dire predictions of disorder had been fulfilled.

'Not a single racial incident has occurred as the integration program has gone forward in public housing,' Colonel Johnson reported.<sup>2</sup>

This seems to have been on the same pattern as the school integration in Louisville. In each case the interracial pattern had a voluntary aspect. People in Washington seeking low-cost housing were told it was available--on an integrated basis--and many of them accepted it. In Louisville, integrating the schools meant that in some areas there would be all-white schools, in some there would be all-Negro schools, and in the majority there would be mixed

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 625.

<sup>2</sup>White, op. cit., p. 145.

student bodies. The parents were given the privilege of asking to have their children transferred to a school in another district if they did not care to have them go to the one to which they would ordinarily have been assigned.<sup>1</sup>

The demand for more and better housing for Negro people has kept ahead of the supply. Walter White says that

....during the decade and a half 1940-1955 in which the American Negro was, in most fields, making the most signal advances in his history, his natural desire for a decent home of his own was continuously thwarted by short-sighted economic interests.<sup>2</sup>

In June, 1957, in an article entitled, "Who Needs a Home?", appearing in the magazine, The Methodist Woman, Margaret Bender said:

The shift of the non-white population from rural areas to industrial centers has been accompanied by an extraordinary increase in their income. From 1946 to 1954, the number of non-white families having incomes of \$3000 to \$4900 increased 168 per cent as against a 13 per cent increase for white families. Similarly, the number of non-white families with incomes of \$5000 and above increased 256 per cent as against 183 per cent for white families during the same period.<sup>3</sup>

The increasing ability of Negroes to pay for housing is seen also in this statement, which appeared in the article, "City of Washington in Trouble", in the July 6, 1956, issue of U. S. News and World Report: "Negro incomes are steadily rising. In five years, the average has increased by more than \$1,100. Some Negroes have become wealthy; more and more are getting better jobs."<sup>4</sup>

These recent statements would indicate that the number of middle and upper class Negroes in some communities who desire homes outside segregated areas is now much larger than Myrdal had anticipated, and that the proportion of Negro

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. News and World Report, October 5, 1956, pp. 46-50.

<sup>2</sup>White, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>3</sup>Margaret Bender, "Who Needs a Home?" in The Methodist Woman, June, 1957, p. 444.

<sup>4</sup>U. S. News and World Report, op. cit., p. 54.

to white residents in desirable unsegregated areas would be likely to be higher. Since the Negroes would still, however, be persons who had met the qualifications of ability and performance necessary for securing and holding a responsible position, there is no reason to suppose that they would be undesirable neighbors. Speaking of the nation's capital,

The trend, certain analysts say, is toward economic equilibrium between the races; they feel that desegregation will in time spread the Negro over the whole Washington area, that white families in the years to come will again find the District an attractive place to live.<sup>1</sup>

Washington is but one of a number of cities where interracial housing is being tried.

It is estimated that there are now forty open occupancy projects built by private industry with the help and encouragement of the FHA. These are not concentrated in any geographic area. Outstanding examples are: (1) the planned, integrated community now being developed around the Ford Motor Company's new assembly plant at Milpitas, California to house more than 1,000 families. The homes in this development will sell for from \$11,000 to \$13,000. (2) Concord Park Homes, near Philadelphia, is one of the first integrated housing projects to which FHA gave support. Houses are priced at \$12,000 to \$13,500. The sponsors of this project also are providing, through a similar project, homes costing between \$17,000 and \$22,000 in nearby Greenbelt Knolls. (3) There is a proposed 230-unit program in the \$12,000 to \$17,000 price range in Kansas City, Missouri--to be the area's first racially integrated project.<sup>2</sup>

In some housing developments, it has been considered best to conform to the public's seeming preference for residential segregation by setting aside one part of the project for whites and another for Negroes. In other developments, units have been assigned without regard to race.

Deutsch and Collins made a study of four housing developments in which there were both white and Negro families. The two developments in Newark,

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. News and World Report, p. 54, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Bender, op. cit., pp. 27-28 (443-444).



New Jersey, were segregated, and the two in New York City were unsegregated.

The integrated projects were characterized by a friendlier, more cohesive social atmosphere. The white housewives in the integrated projects knew each other better, liked each other better, and did more things together; in other words, not only did they have closer relations with Negroes, but also with the other white people in their project....There was some evidence to indicate that the housewife in the segregated project, by shunning activities in which Negro tenants might participate, lost opportunities for friendly social relations with members of her own race as well. Relations between Negro and white housewives in the integrated projects were preponderantly friendly, while in the segregated projects most housewives did not have any relations with the Negroes in the project.<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence that the general pattern of residential segregation is not merely a spontaneous outgrowth of popular attitudes, but is instead the result of a definite policy, established to deal with the problem of minority housing, and widely developed in the literature that deals with the subject of real estate.

Before 1930 real-estate selling and management were largely unorganized affairs, in which real-estate agents and property owners operated individually or through local associations. With the formation and continuously growing strength of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), which consisted in 1950 of eleven hundred member boards with 45,539 members paying annual dues of \$420,000, the situation changed markedly.

Associated with the NAREB are such organizations as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Home Builders, the United States Savings and Loan League, the National Association of Lumber Dealers, and others. In combination they have set up what President Truman called the most dangerous lobby in Washington.

Radio and television, the press, college textbooks on selling real estate, "city planning" and real-estate management, the real-estate lobby's incessant pressure on federal legislation--all constantly and without compromise, though often subtly, reiterate the sacred principle that members of "undesirable races" shall never be allowed to live in "good" neighborhoods inhabited, or suitable for habitation, by whites....

"A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy of any race or

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<sup>1</sup>Deutsch and Collins, op. cit., p. 35.

nationality....which will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

Real-estate agents who have been adjudged to have violated this rule by selling property to members of "undesirable" races have been expelled from the Association....

...."realtors" [is] a title that is copyrighted by NAREB and may be used only by its members.<sup>1</sup>

Not all those who sell real estate are realtors. Alan Paton tells of one who is not. In the magazine article previously referred to, he describes an interview with a Negro man who, calling himself a "realist", sells real estate. This man expressed "the simple view that an American should be able to live where he is able to buy."<sup>2</sup> He was not overly concerned about the unwritten restriction against selling property in desirable locations to members of minority groups because he believed that, "You can't go on doing what is wrong."<sup>3</sup> The "realist" reported that he had recently been asked by the owner of a house to bring prospective Negro buyers after dark, but that he did not care to do business in that way. When asked whether he belonged to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this realist replied, "Yes, I am....but I think the time has come for us to change our name. We should now be The National Association for the Advancement of All People."<sup>4</sup>

It is difficult to see how anyone can oppose an attitude like that. It makes the title "realist" seem more honorable than its supposedly more

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., pp. 128-130. Portion in quotes from "Code of Ethics", NAREB.

<sup>2</sup>Paton, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup>Loc. cit.

dignified counterpart.

A realtor who deserves to be called a realist resides somewhere in California. He "....sold a piece of land in a "white" section to a Negro. Though the neighbors tried to stop it, the colored man built his house and moved in, and lives there today without incident."<sup>1</sup>

The white realtor had subsequently met the disapproval of other realtors; both he and his son had lost business because of this incident. He did not care to say very much about it, but it was clear to Paton that he "had broken the unwritten law out of his loyalty to America. He wanted to see his country worthy of the moral leadership of the nations."<sup>2</sup>

The American public is not of one mind on the question of residential segregation. The National Opinion Research Center reports that in the North in 1942 only 42 per cent did not object to residential proximity. In 1956, 58 per cent did not object. The South by 1956 had moved from 12 per cent to 38 per cent, to bring the national average to 51 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

Those who favor segregation have two major weapons. First there is the immense pressure, the hidden power, inherent in their virtual control of the real estate industry. And secondly, there is the possibility of resort to violence in instances when the population pressure breaks through the segregation bar and residential integration threatens to become a reality in some area formerly reserved for whites only. Pro-segregationists in the Chicago area have resorted to violence on two well-known occasions in recent years.

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<sup>1</sup>Paton, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Hyman and Sheatsley, op. cit., p. 37 (graph).

In 1951 a Negro family attempted to move into an apartment they had rented in Cicero, a suburb of Chicago. Mob violence, approved by the police, ensued. The mob smashed and burned all the furniture and personal belongings of the Negro family.<sup>1</sup> In another case it was the threat of violence that was employed. The Chicago Housing Authority had at first followed a policy of segregation.

In 1950 the CHA declared that there would be no racial discrimination in its projects; "the laws of the state of Illinois make it a criminal offense." Thereafter, Negroes moved into a number of new developments, but no Negroes moved into older CHA projects in "white" neighborhoods....

....on July 30, 1953, the Donald Howards came to Trumbull Park, hitherto an all-"white" project. It was Mrs. Howard, who does not look like many Negroes look, who got the apartment. Suddenly the CHA realized that its ideal had been fully translated into practice. There were Negroes at Trumbull Park.

....in the weeks that followed, the Howards lived as very few human families have had to live. There were people in South Deering [the suburb in which Trumbull Park was located] who were determined to get them out. They milled about in front of the Howards' apartment; many times a day, and every day, they fired off giant fireworks, which are known as aerial bombs and are forbidden by Illinois law. They shouted insults and smashed windows; they were kept back by hundreds of policemen on duty day after day....In the end, tried beyond their strength, they moved away.

But before the Howards left, the CHA had moved ten other Negro families into the project....

I met Mr. Herman King, one of the colored tenants, a veteran....

"We nearly moved out once," he said, "Then we thought of all the work done to get Negroes in. I wasn't prepared to see it wasted. So I felt obligated to go on. I didn't come in as a crusader. I came to get a place to live. I'm a man of principle, but no man wants to die for it if he can live. But I'm going to stay. I had to become a crusader after all...."

I met a Sunday-school teacher who doesn't teach any more. She had always taught children that they must love their neighbors, but how could one love men who, by choosing to live in a white project, had destroyed its peace? Why couldn't the Negroes go away when they saw

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., pp. 134-136.

what they had done? Did they think one liked to live with fear and police and bombs? She still believed in the commandment, but she couldn't teach it here.<sup>1</sup>

Abrams supplies some figures on the violence that accompanied the disturbances.

There were 165 fire alarms in the neighborhood from July 30, 1953, to April 10, 1954, 86 of them false. There were 41 fires in sheds, garages, and barns, 8 in the Trumbull Park project and 13 of "undetermined origin," 9 of them ascribed to arson or attempted arson.<sup>2</sup>

Paton and Abrams both wrote at a time when the struggle was still going on. A photo by Religious News Service appeared in the Gospel Messenger for April 27, 1957. It showed a group of people sitting in a living-room. Some were white and others, including a small child, were Negro. Beneath it was this legend:

Members of the "Walk and Pray Association" living in a Chicago housing project meet in the home of a Negro member to offer prayers of thanksgiving that after nearly four years Negro families living in the area can walk the streets of the community without fear.<sup>3</sup>

Whether this was the Trumbull Park Group has not been determined, but the group pictured had been under community pressure to abandon interracial housing somewhere in the Chicago area since the time trouble began in South Deering, and now feels that the threats are at an end.

Fanatic advocates of segregation sometimes resort to violence. They once were able to use the courts and law, but those forces are now tending toward the other side. The police at times have been accused of siding with the mobs, but at least part of the time they protect the people being attacked, and when the case gets into the courts the law-abiding generally are upheld.

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<sup>1</sup>Paton, op. cit., p. 72, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>p. 7. The Gospel Messenger is the official organ of the Church of the Brethren, a Protestant religious sect, and is published in Elgin, Illinois.

In the case of the Cicero riot

....the United States Attorney General ordered an investigation. Indictments were then obtained against the town president, the fire chief, the town attorney, and three policemen. The charges were dismissed against the town president and fire chief. Later the police chief and two policemen were fined a total of \$2500.<sup>1</sup>

This is not full justice, certainly, for many more people were responsible for the flagrant disregard for law and order which was shown in the damage inflicted on the building,<sup>2</sup> but it places the censure on the officials who permitted the riot, rather than on the landlady who rented to the Negro family.

Civil rights issues cannot be lightly dismissed by the courts, since they are now in the focus of attention. Vanderbilt University began in January, 1956, to publish the Race Relations Law Reporter, to present court decisions, legislative enactments, and commission regulations, together with the opinions of attorneys general, in all cases where there is an issue of race, color, or national origin.

Communist interest in racial tensions in the United States has already been mentioned. Others abroad are also watching the developments here. Paton says that the people of South Africa are deeply interested; that pro-segregationists are hoping that segregation will be maintained in this country, while others are hoping to see it overcome.<sup>3</sup> White tells of being questioned repeatedly by the people of India concerning the place of the Negro in American society.<sup>4</sup> Roland E. Wolseley, professor of Journalism at Syracuse University, spent fourteen months in India as a Fulbright lecturer. He says:

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<sup>1</sup>Abrams, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

<sup>2</sup>In the amount of \$20,000, according to Abrams. Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Colliers, October 15, 1954, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup>White, op. cit., pp. 3-9.

No matter what specialty they may represent, no matter how remote they may be from the race problem, Americans in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and other countries in Asia always are asked questions about the relations of the Negro and the white in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Britain is aware of the changes taking place. Alistair Cooke, in the Manchester Guardian Weekly for June 14, 1956, describes the effort of the Roman Catholic Church to make available to Catholics of the South the scientific information necessary to make wise decisions about race problems; he says, "the Church has taken a stand hardly less absolute than the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People."<sup>2</sup> He writes with evident approval of the integrationist objectives of both the Catholics and the NAACP, and points out the significance of the Catholic refusal to argue with the Communists on this issue. People who say the NAACP is a front for the Communists can hardly take the stand that the Church is a Communist-front organization.

The NAACP has done a great deal to secure justice in the courts of the land. Individual Negroes rarely have the means to appeal a case decided against them in a lower court, but with the support of the NAACP, a case involving a typical form of discrimination can be appealed to a higher court where a decision in favor of the Negro will establish a valuable precedent.

Another force employed by the integrationist forces is the power of public opinion. White sees definite progress in this area. He cites the public response to the 1951 Cicero incident, which resulted in widespread indignant reaction. From all over the country, people sent money to replace the furniture

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<sup>1</sup>Roland E. Wolseley, "The Race Problem as Seen From Overseas," Gospel Messenger, February 12, 1955, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Alistair Cooke, "The Ordeal of the South, Part 6, The Roman Road," The Manchester Guardian Weekly, Thursday, June 14, 1956, p. 12.



destroyed by the mob. He links the changing public attitude to the work of people opposed to residential segregation.

Fifteen years earlier there would undoubtedly have been protests and indignation against the treatment the Clarks received in Cicero. That these would have been less widespread, less voluble, and less effective, is certain. All over America today, in both North and South, non-governmental organizations and individuals are working quietly and effectively to build up public sentiment in support of the right of any American to buy and peacefully to occupy a home anywhere, without exclusion because of race, color of skin, or religion.<sup>1</sup>

Civil Rights Associations, Human Relations Councils, and similar groups frequently hold forums and lectures, and in this way help to inform the local public of measures which have been successful elsewhere. Discussion groups talk over local problems and consider what course might be taken to safeguard the best interests of all. This is a situation in which calm discussion is very fruitful, because of the large part played by fear in many of the cases in which innocent people, both Negro and white, have suffered.

A responsible realtor can avert a selling panic. An incident several years ago in Schenectady illustrates the point. A Negro professional man answered an owner's advertisement of a house for sale in an upper middle-class neighborhood. Selling to a Negro was the last thing that would have occurred to the owner and his wife. But they liked the applicant personally and did not object to his color. News of the sale threw the neighbors into a state of sustained panic, only a few degrees short of hysteria. A woman realtor received no less than a dozen telephone calls from frightened men and women. Some wanted to sell at once; others asked what they should do. "Don't do anything," each caller was advised. "Nothing is going to happen to you or to your property. If you like the neighborhood, stay where you are." The advice was taken. Nobody sold, and today the neighborhood is as sound as ever. There was an initial period of awkwardness when the new owner moved in. The Negro handled himself well. He kept the house and garden in perfect condition, responded cheerfully but casually when neighbors finally began to say, "Good morning," and before long he was swapping plants and vegetables and going to the neighborhood church.<sup>2</sup>

The work of promoting better human relations is often supported by leaders

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<sup>1</sup>White, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Abrams, op. cit., pp. 277-278.



of church, school, and community, as well as by people who represent groups often discriminated against. The Anti-Defamation League is an example of a Jewish organization which provides films, posters, and other materials for local groups interested in promoting brotherhood. Denominational headquarters of many churches provide a like service.

In this transitional period, it is essential that each community examine its own situation. The population pressures vary widely from place to place but are likely to occur to some extent wherever there are minorities, because the national growth in both population and income is widespread. In communities where the need is not yet acute, provision may be made for orderly expansion to take care of future growth.

Community action on housing provides an opportunity for people of different backgrounds to work together in a democratic manner. In some communities action on housing may be left largely to the NAACP or to another group organized in behalf of the Negroes. In some places groups may organize to protest the property values of their own homes. Local associations of realtors will be concerned with preventing interruptions to the orderly processes of business. These are all legitimate objectives; they are all in harmony with the general good; and they are not incompatible. However, if each group considers only its own needs, there may seem to be a conflict of interests. One group may even take steps that will interfere with the interests of some other group. The community which can bring together representatives of various points of view and get them all to listen to each other has taken an effective step toward setting up a new equilibrium in an area of potential conflict.

Considering the resources, material and human, of this country, it seems not unreasonable to set up an objective of adequate housing for all. If there

were a serious shortage of land or building materials, or if it had been found that people of different race or religion could not live in harmony in adjoining homes, there might be serious doubt whether it would ever be possible for all the citizens of the United States to be properly housed. But this is not the case. Community planners will undoubtedly meet many difficulties, but these do not appear to be insurmountable.

A similar statement may be made concerning the status of the Negro in American society. Today in a state of transition, the place of the Negro, it can be confidently predicted, will not remain a cause of constant concern.

#### THE NEW EQUILIBRIUM

To say that a period is transitional implies that a new balance is expected to emerge, a new "tradition" is expected to be set up. The exact form of any emerging society is hard to predict, but it can be stated with considerable confidence that it will be of a kind that is suited to the opinions and attitudes that hold sway, and that they will be based to a great extent on such facts as are commonly known or easily observable now.

In many places all over the country a great many people have already abandoned the old views of the abilities and rights of the Negro people.

Ralph McGill, of the Atlanta Constitution, says:

Segregation by law no longer fits today's world....Segregation is on its way out, and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them a great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change.<sup>1</sup>

In every community, large or small, attitudes should be examined, and practices brought up-to-date--that is, brought in line with current attitudes

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<sup>1</sup>As reported in Life, September 17, 1956, p. 120.

and beliefs.

The National Opinion Research Center has sampled the opinions of the entire United States over a period of 14 years on such questions as the intelligence of Negroes, opinions of school integration, integration of transportation, and willingness to reside near Negroes.

As might be expected, age and education show a definite influence on an individual's attitude toward racial segregation. In both the North and the South it is the younger people who are most ready to accept integration. They account in part (but only in part) for the general shift in sentiment over the past 15 years.<sup>1</sup>

They found that "the long-term trend is steadily in the direction of integration. It has moved far in 15 years, and it may be accelerating."<sup>2</sup>

This study supports the thesis that a major cause for the shift in attitude toward segregation is a change in people's beliefs about the Negro. In June, 1942, they found a national average of about 40 per cent believed that Negroes could learn things just as well as white people if they were given the same education and training. In April, 1956, the national average was nearly 80 per cent. The white South had moved from 21 per cent in 1942 to 59 per cent in 1956.

These reports deal only with the opinions of white people. They show that there are still many white people who desire segregated schools (52 per cent), segregated transportation (40 per cent), and segregated residential areas (49 per cent). These people are not all in the South. For the North, the pollsters report 39 per cent opposed to school integration, 27 per cent opposed to integration of transportation, and 42 per cent opposed to

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<sup>1</sup>Hyman and Sheatsley, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

residential segregation.<sup>1</sup>

In all parts of the country, governments face difficult problems. Local, state, and national governments must deal constantly with the demands of various groups in many areas of life. This is one of the issues which is most pressing today.

Opponents of integration, like the South African exponents of apartheid, maintain that there is a fundamental difference between Negroes and white people. Many Negroes and whites insist that this is a mis-reading of the facts. White people are sometimes bewildered by attitudes like those of Negro leaders in Greenville, South Carolina, "...who have become apathetic to civic improvements designed specifically for Negroes on the ground that the improvements tend to entrench segregation further."<sup>2</sup> Alan Paton reports that, "The cry of the Negro is no longer, 'Let my people go'; it is 'Let my people in.'"<sup>3</sup> This is not a new cry, but one that has long been ignored. In Dusk of Dawn, published in 1940, W. E. B. DuBois wrote:

It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. It is as though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and persuasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression and development; and how their loosening from prison would be a matter not simply of courtesy, sympathy, and help to them, but aid to all the world. One talks on evenly and logically in this way but notices that the passing throng does not even turn its head, or if it does, glances curiously and walks on. It gradually penetrates the minds of the prisoners that the people passing do not hear; that some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world. They get excited; they talk louder; they gesticulate. Some of the passing world stop in curiosity; these gesticulations seem so

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<sup>1</sup>Hyman and Sheatsley, op. cit., graph on p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Life Magazine, September 17, 1956, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Colliers, October 29, 1954, "The Negro in the North", p. 70.

pointless; they laugh and pass on. They still either do not hear at all, or hear but dimly, and even what they hear, they do not understand. Then the people within may become hysterical. They may scream and hurl themselves against the barriers, hardly realizing in their bewilderment that they are screaming in a vacuum unheard and that their antics may actually seem funny to those outside looking in. They may even, here and there, break through in blood and disfigurement, and find themselves faced by a horrified, implacable, and quite overwhelming mob of people frightened for their own very existence.<sup>1</sup>

This is the protest of a man of intelligence and education against a system of segregation which insisted he had more in common with any person of similar complexion than he could possibly have with people of the American society in general. White people frequently point to the Negro society with its own schools and churches and declare that "Negroes are happiest among themselves." After an extensive investigation, Myrdal asserted--in italics-- that "social segregation and discrimination is a system of deprivations forced upon the Negro group by the white group"<sup>2</sup> and cites as evidence of this the one-sidedness of the application of the rules. White people may use colored facilities or visit colored institutions but Negro people are not permitted to cross the line. When exceptions are made it is with the attitude that they are being granted an exceptional privilege. There is a tendency for white society to exclude all Negroes, to place them in a separate caste.

Many white people, perhaps most white people, will say quite sincerely that they have no intention of shutting anyone up in a dark cave, and that, in their communities, the Negro person is just as free as the white person; they have their part of town, and we have ours; we don't care to attend Negro schools or churches, and we don't think they would be comfortable in ours. They would say of their communities, as Mayor Cass says of Greenville,

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<sup>1</sup>Gunnar Myrdal quotes Du Bois in An American Dilemma, p. 680.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.. p. 575.

"There is no race trouble here,' he says, 'and won't be, unless an agitator comes in and stirs it up.'"<sup>1</sup>

Yet leading local Negroes in Greenville, as elsewhere, are unwilling to take steps which might strengthen the system of segregation; and many Negro leaders are asking that the separation be discontinued.

Segregation of the Negro people has been largely an effort to protect white people from contact with undesirable Negro people. It assumes a homogeneity among the Negro people which, if ever true, is certainly not true today. If a municipality provides separate swimming facilities for white and Negro bathers on the grounds that Negro bathers are more likely to be diseased, healthy Negroes are being exposed to dangers from which white people are supposedly being protected. However, since some white people may also be diseased, separation of the races has not in itself protected anyone, but may have been a positive hindrance, by distracting attention from the necessity of taking other, more effective, measures against the spread of disease.

The new tradition will not fail to take into consideration the differences among Negro people. There is some indication that the individual Negro will more and more be accepted on his own merits and less and less be required to carry the stigma of the real or imagined deficiencies of his whole "race."

The experience of those who have worked in the field of interracial housing, and that of the armed services with integrated forces, both provide evidence that Negroes and white people of similar standards and abilities have no more difficulty getting along with each other than people ordinarily have with those of their own color.

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<sup>1</sup>Life Magazine, September 17, 1956, p. 9.

Experience seems to show also that at times trouble does arise between groups when one group is white and the other Negro if they are close enough to come in contact occasionally. Thus the feeling between the races is not as good in housing projects where they are separated as it is in open occupancy projects.

Isolation of races into separate areas of the same project has tended to emphasize a line of demarcation, i.e., a "place" each race is to respect. An unwritten rule soon insinuates itself under which Negroes are not to cross the line. This pattern accentuates the differentiation and generates jealousies and hostilities.<sup>1</sup>

The army had a similar experience. Groups of white soldiers had clashed with Negro units at times, but after integration it was a different story.

Detailed official analyses, backed by statements of hundreds of field commanders, showed that racial conflict--once a critical military problem that led to repeated bloody riots--had all but vanished. With Negroes and whites no longer grouped separately, there was apparently little motive for racial "gang" conflict.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the armed services and the housing developments, a certain selected part of the populace was involved. The armed services reject all who do not come up to a certain standard. Those who participated in the housing project were people who were earning about the same wages. The problem of the future may be to find ways to provide freedom, yet guide people of like standards in finding each other. Economic factors function selectively. Perhaps no other selection is needed. In fact, that too is a rather artificial distinction. Perhaps the basic unity of mankind makes unnecessary the search for new ways to draw the line between those who are like us and those who should be kept at a distance. At any rate the color line no longer can be said with much logic to do this. The white American seldom asks himself

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<sup>1</sup>Abrams, op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>2</sup>Lee Nichols, Breakthrough on the Color Front, p. 7.

how much he is losing by segregation, though he may think of it as working a hardship on the Negro. Actually, the color line is causing white Americans to lose a great deal in the way of potential friendship, pleasant business association, and contact with others of similar interests.

Segregationists are themselves inclined to agree that theirs is a lost cause. When Gallup Poll interviewers recently asked Southerners, "Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations?", only one in three answered, "No, the day will never come."<sup>1</sup>

#### MANHATTAN

Manhattan is a college town, but Kansas State College is not Manhattan. The Chamber of Commerce says there are 33 manufacturing firms. Some of these are processing plants. They include firms concerned with the processing of feed and the processing of rook. The principal products of other Manhattan manufacturing firms include dairy products, bakery goods, and farm machinery.

Thus Manhattan is not concerned solely with the progress of the college. However, that the college is of importance to the town is seen in their relative sizes. The 1950 Census gives the population figure for Manhattan as 19,056.<sup>2</sup> The enrollment at Kansas State College varies, but reached a total of 6,526 in September, 1956, as it continues a general upward trend.<sup>3</sup> There is a second college in Manhattan, making it doubly a college town. The Manhattan Bible College enrollment is a little less than 100. (The Chamber of

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<sup>1</sup>Hyman and Sheatsley, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>1950 Census of Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 16, Kansas.

<sup>3</sup>Enrollment figures furnished by the registrar's office give the enrollment for the past six semesters, excluding summers, as: 5385, 5113, 5977, 5683, 6526, 6172.



Commerce figure, no date specified, is 87.)

Two of the three radio stations and one of the two daily papers are campus activities. Other campus activities that are of interest to many people in the town include athletic events, dramatic presentations, musical programs, and lectures on a variety of subjects.

The wide lawns and tall shade trees of the campus have their counterpart in the well-kept lawns and the nicely shaded streets of the town. Attractive houses of worship add to the picture, for one passing through. Those who stay learn that the churches in Manhattan are contributing to the community as only churches can do. The Chamber of Commerce says that there are churches of twenty-five different denominations. Some extent of the variety of religious emphases included may be seen in this partial list: A.M.E., Assembly of God, Baptist (four kinds), Christian, Christian Science, Church of the Nazarene, Congregational, Episcopal, Friends, Jewish Community, Lutheran, Methodist (three kinds), Mormon, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and United Presbyterian. Two or more of the smaller groups meet at different hours in the Danforth Chapel, on the campus.

Manhattan is a pleasant town. It has neither the rough, dirty, noisy clamor of many an industrial city of the mid-twentieth century, nor the indolent, sleepy atmosphere of a small town that may be described as "dead." The Municipal Building, opened in July, 1955, is entirely modern. It provides office space for the city in stream-lined comfort, as well as a fine auditorium which has been used, during the past two seasons, for Manhattan High's basketball games. Spectators at these games need not perch on rows of bleachers, but may be seated comfortably in theater-type seats, arranged in tiers to provide the observer with uninterrupted view. It is typical of Manhattan that this fine new building was not erected so close to the street

that there was no room for landscaping. Instead it was set back from the street far enough to permit an effective setting of grass, trees and shrubbery. Manhattan is a growing town. The 1940 Census gave its population as 11,659.<sup>1</sup> By 1950 it had increased 63.4 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

Manhattan has a recreation program that is carefully planned and energetically carried out. Under the authority of the Recreation Enabling Act passed by the Kansas State Legislature in 1945 and amended in 1949, Manhattan has set up a tax-supported Recreation Commission. At the budget hearing in 1956 it was reported that \$27,085.02 had been spent from July 1, 1955 to June 30, 1956, and it was proposed that \$29,207.41 be budgeted for the 1956-1957 year.<sup>3</sup> The Chamber of Commerce says there are eight parks. The elementary schools have their own playgrounds. The parks and playgrounds provide most of the facilities for the summer recreation program set up for all ages by the Recreation Commission.

Like other cities, Manhattan has some problems. The Manhattan Mercury recently called attention to one of them in bold headlines, "Col. Adams Tells City It Is Time For Local Action." Thirty-two inches of space were given to explaining the action Col. E. C. Adams, Kansas City Chief of the Corps of Engineers, recommended for preventing a recurrence of the flood of 1951, during which the Kansas River, which flows along the southeast corner of Manhattan, left its banks. Col. Adams was speaking to the members of the Rotary Club.

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<sup>1</sup>World Almanac, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup>U. S. Census, *op. cit.*, Table 10.

<sup>3</sup>Mimeographed Budget, Manhattan Recreation Commission.

This organization is one of many Manhattan organizations concerned with civic improvement. Some of them have given considerable thought to the demand for housing. The Gross Addition, situated to the northeast of the rest of the city, took care of a part of the recent demand for low-cost housing, but the houses now being built there are a little larger, cost a little more, and are probably out of the reach of many who would like to buy a home. This is a very attractive community, although it lacks the shade trees of the older parts of town. The homes in the part first developed are small, but they present an interesting variety of color and detail, are set well apart, and are being nicely kept.

Plans are under way for the development of several other areas. Within the past year, the Mercury has carried articles telling of the approval by the City Commission of plats for two new additions near town and three subdivisions. Another proposed subdivision was referred back to the owners to see if other near-by owners would plat theirs. It was the thinking of the Commission that more orderly development could be had that way.

It has been the custom at Kansas State College for many years to depend upon the community of Manhattan to provide a large portion of student housing. At the present time approximately 2500 students are housed with families in private homes in the city of Manhattan. This number and many more will continue to be needed in the future. However, the rapid increase in enrollment far outstrips the development of any additional housing in private homes.<sup>1</sup>

The number of married men enrolled at the college has been increasing, thus increasing the demand for apartments far beyond the capacity of the college to provide. The number of married men enrolled in Kansas State College for the past five semesters is as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>Unpublished bulletin furnished by the Housing Office, entitled, Student Housing, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas, p. 1.

Fall Semester	1954	800
Spring Semester	1955	935
Fall Semester	1955	1060
Spring Semester	1956	1200
Fall Semester	1956	1410

Beginning the fall semester of 1956, the college had 288 temporary barracks and 82 trailer lots for privately owned trailers. <sup>1</sup> New units being constructed are partially offset by the necessity for discontinuing the use of older units.

Construction of the men's residence hall on the Elliot tract will result in discontinuing 168 temporary units and 30 trailer lots....A probable discontinuance of 120 temporary units in 1961, because of age, will result in the drop for the total for 1961. Thus with an estimated increase in married students, fewer on-campus places will be available in 1961, than in 1956!<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that the Office of Student Housing of Kansas State College anticipates a growing need for rooms and apartments in the town.

In addition, many of the soldiers stationed at Fort Riley, scarcely ten miles away, seek living quarters for their families in Manhattan.

Under the title Housing Scarcity, the Manhattan Mercury carried this item: "The Housing Service Office, 120 N. 4th, reports there is a scarcity of apartments in the \$65 and \$70 range which will accept children and also a scarcity in the listings for colored families."

This not only attests to the demand for housing in Manhattan, but the fact that there is a separate listing of apartments for colored families demonstrates that residential segregation is a factor that must be considered

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<sup>1</sup>Student Housing, Kansas State College, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Loc. cit.

when dealing with housing in Manhattan.

Those in charge of the college housing report that they have no more difficulty placing colored students than white students, but that it is embarrassing to have to explain to them that they must look in a certain part of town. The facilities that the college has are open to all students, so long as they last. One of the new apartments for married students in Jardine Court is occupied by a Negro couple, and in the dormitories they have students of many races. A tendency has been noted, however, for white students to enroll earlier than Negro students. One year they set aside a certain part of the dormitory for Negro students, in order to make certain that the rooms would not all be assigned before the expected Negro registrations came in. One of the Negro students came to the Office for Student Housing to talk it over, and to explain that the students would rather not have it done that way. Since then they have assigned rooms as called for, without making such reservations. Personnel of the housing office stated that there are a few landladies near the college who accept colored students, and that a great many students live in the part of town which is understood to be the Negro section. While that is not adjacent to the campus, it was felt that the distance was not so great as to be prohibitive—"Many white students come a greater distance, but the objectionable feature is the discrimination involved."

It has been the custom for Negro families coming to Manhattan to find homes in the southeast part of town, the part where Negro people have lived for many years. This section of town is believed by some people to be badly overcrowded. It contains homes of considerable disparity, having some attractive, well-kept houses, together with some houses that are in need of repair or replacement. In some cases these two kinds of houses stand side by side.

Many of the nicer houses are along Yuma Street between Manhattan Avenue and Sixth Street, or on the side streets leading from Yuma north to Colorado in this area. A few Negroes own homes on Colorado Street. This section for the most part is in a B residential district, a zoning which permits multiple-unit dwellings. South of Yuma, however, lies a section which has been zoned F, heavy industrial, probably because of its proximity to the railroad. This is the part of town which contains the least desirable dwellings, yet it cannot be said that all the houses in this section are undesirable. They are occupied, in the main, by people of either Spanish-American or Negro families.

While this poorer part of Manhattan is not comparable to the poorer parts of many other cities, it compares very unfavorably with other parts of Manhattan. Moreover, Negro servicemen (and Negro students, unless they are fortunate enough to get accommodations at the college) are sometimes forced to seek homes in this less desirable part of town because it is against the unwritten rule to rent to them in other parts of town.

The result, therefore, is that some of the temporary residents of Manhattan who are people who would ordinarily occupy nice homes find it necessary to live in much poorer surroundings while in Manhattan.

Negro families who are more permanent residents are affected in somewhat the same way. However, there are factors which operate to make their position somewhat different. In the first place, they have an attachment to the community which would give them reasons for wishing to live there, as long as living conditions are not too unsatisfactory. In the second place, those who have the financial means to purchase a nice home frequently have established themselves with the people of the city to the extent that they might find the

rule modified in their cases.<sup>1</sup> Most of these people, perhaps all of them, are now living in comfortable, attractive homes, but the feeling that they may not be welcome to purchase a home elsewhere in Manhattan, that it is doubtful whether they would be considered by many of their fellow-townsmen to be desirable as neighbors, is in itself an indication that they do not have quite the same relationship to the city of Manhattan as the white residents, since any of the white people who wish to purchase property in any part of town, including the southeast, are at liberty to do so.

In practicing residential segregation, Manhattan is not unique. This custom is common in the cities of the North and West, as well as in the South. It is frequently explained that many white people of Southern origin now live in Kansas. However, the segregation laws which are so common throughout the South are lacking. The city of Manhattan has no ordinances requiring segregation in any form. If the relationship of the Negro to the city government is in any way different from the relationship of a white person to that government, some evidence of the difference should be apparent when certain aspects of the city's services are examined. A clearer picture requires an examination of the attitudes of the people of Manhattan, both white and Negro, concerning the relationship that they consider to be proper.

In many places segregation is being challenged; in some areas of life, and in certain communities, the attitudes which had been supporting that tradition have been found to have withered away, and new practices have been found to be acceptable to the community. Inasmuch as a democratic government

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<sup>1</sup>A Negro woman who has lived in Manhattan for many years told of a case in point. She and her husband were offered the chance to buy a house on an all-white street not far from the Negro district, after they had demonstrated that they could, and would, keep up the property they owned.



is based upon a theory of equality among its citizens, it is faced with an extremely difficult task if society insists upon permanent inequality. The attitudes of the man on the street in Manhattan directly affect what the local government can do in many situations. The attitudes of the leading people of the city have an even greater effect on city policy.

Some of the questions that arise are: Shall Negroes be employed by the city? In what capacity? Shall they be voters and officeholders? Shall they serve on juries? Shall they be employed as policemen? Shall they use the same recreational facilities? Shall they attend the same schools?

If the public attitudes reflect favor of segregation policies, another question arises. Is it an attitude that requires that the government look out for the interests of the handicapped group, or is it an attitude that asks the government to make sure the disadvantaged group remains that way?

If city officials could have an accurate picture of the attitudes of the people of Manhattan toward the current trend toward integration, it would not solve all their problems, but it would throw considerable light on the exact nature of a number of those problems.

This study is not a quantitative measure of opinion. It can serve to show some of the attitudes that Manhattan people have expressed, but a much more extensive investigation would be required to reveal with any certainty the sum total of Manhattan opinion. Certain indications of wide divergence in the views of Manhattan residents may be discovered, however, and possible areas of tension noted.

The method of this investigation was that of observation and personal interview. A few interviews were held early in the period of investigation--which ended about a year after it began--in order to learn something of what was thought by a few of the people who had shown an interest in race relations

in Manhattan or who had been in a position to observe the attitudes of white and Negro people in their contacts with one another in Manhattan. Then for several months little was done except to select from the Manhattan Mercury the items that might bear on the study. Then began a new series of interviews. Most of the interviews were centered around a set of questions that developed and was revised somewhat during the course of the interviews. A copy of the questions in the form in which they were addressed to the greater part of the persons interviewed will be found in Appendix IV. A few forms were filled out by individuals and mailed to the investigator, but these were exceptional cases. The usual procedure was to talk with a person about the questions and to take notes on his comments. These interviews were held with school officials, ministers, civic leaders, businessmen, and a few others in positions of leadership in Manhattan. A few were Negroes. The majority were white. This was due to the fact that the majority of people in positions of leadership in Manhattan are white. It would be strange if it were otherwise, considering the fact that the entire non-white population of Manhattan in 1950 made up only 3.2 per cent of the total.<sup>1</sup>

A second set of questions<sup>2</sup> was used for two purposes. The first purpose was to compare the attitudes of white people, taken at random, with those of Negroes, selected the same way, with respect to what they expected, or thought they were receiving, from the government. The second purpose was to see whether there is a consciousness of race prejudice in Manhattan. This group of persons were stopped on the street or discovered in their yards or on their

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. Census, op. cit., Table 10.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix IV, Set 2.

porches. In order to discover as wide a range of views as possible, the questions were asked in various parts of the city. Some lived near the campus, others were found in a recent addition to the city, or on the eastern edge of town, or just south of the main business district. The Negro people questioned were found in the residential district.

Without exception, Negro leaders endorsed the policy of permitting all citizens to rent or buy wherever they are financially able. No objection was expressed to restricting communities to those willing and able to meet certain standards, provided the requirements were administered impartially, with no consideration of race. No one anticipated a sudden exodus of residents from the Negro section to any other part of town if such a policy were adopted.

The attitudes of white leaders toward residential segregation presented a spectrum. There were those who saw it as natural and desirable; others who considered it temporary, but necessary for the present; and still others who were ready to see the policy abandoned at once, although most of them stipulated that community standards should be safeguarded by requiring conformity from all residents of a given area.

Suggestions for meeting a need for Negro housing were given thoughtful consideration by nearly everyone. Two or three white leaders doubted the need exists at present. Others believe it does.<sup>1</sup> The question of the preservation of property values loomed large. Some believed that they could be protected only by continuing segregation. Most of these added, however, that steps should be taken to provide for adequate housing. The present Negro district,

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<sup>1</sup>One of these had taken a school census of the Negro district and had observed overcrowding.

Another had been working with the problem of low-cost housing in general, as a city problem.

they thought, should be improved or enlarged, and a new area be developed especially for Negro families.<sup>1</sup> Others felt that by means of building codes, or other restrictions of a similar nature, communities could maintain their values without insisting that all residents be white.

The possibility that violence at some time might break out was given as a reason for preferring segregation.<sup>2</sup>

Some believed that the question of human rights was involved. Those who looked at it in this way tended to endorse the immediate removal of restrictions based on color, but others said they were convinced of the right, yet wanted the restrictions retained--sometimes on the ground that the Negroes would be uncomfortable if it were removed.<sup>3</sup> It was suggested that Negroes be permitted to live wherever the community was not opposed to it.

The variety of attitudes revealed on the subject of residential segregation in Manhattan places this aspect within the transitional period. However, the generally objective manner in which this subject was discussed suggests that the tension is not great.<sup>4</sup>

Residential segregation usually results in the segregation of school

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<sup>1</sup>Negro attitudes in Manhattan favor the improvement of the existing district. No support was discovered for the development of a new area for Negroes. There may be some who favor it, but those interviewed either ignored or actively opposed that suggestion.

<sup>2</sup>The statement was made that if they were mixed all through and trouble between the races came, it would be a mixed-up affair.

<sup>3</sup>It was felt that Negroes are generally not comfortable in the presence of white people. The attitude was that this is not a desirable situation, and that it is one that, by the influence of Christian principles, may be overcome with the passage of time.

<sup>4</sup>There were no Negro demands for the removal of restrictions, nor any observable white resentment that the suggestion should be made.

children. Manhattan was not one of the eleven cities<sup>1</sup> in Kansas that had a legally segregated system at the time the Supreme Court decision declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. It was the custom, however, for Negro children of elementary school age to attend the Douglas School. With very few exceptions,<sup>2</sup> teachers and pupils alike were Negroes.

Prior to the opening of school on September 4, 1956, a map of the elementary school districts of Manhattan was published in the Manhattan Mercury. An explanation was printed beneath it.

Manhattan Elementary School Districts--It is necessary to establish definite district lines in order that the Manhattan Elementary Schools accommodate every child in the district in the best possible way. All parents are invited to cooperate and enroll their children according to the boundary lines.

The boundary lines for each of the other five elementary schools were given. Concerning the Douglas School, it was stated:

Douglas--Since Douglas School does not have geographic boundaries, any children living in the Woodrow Wilson district may elect to attend either Douglas or Woodrow Wilson, and any child living in the Theodore Roosevelt district may elect to attend either Douglas or Theodore Roosevelt.

Most of the Negro children enrolled at the Douglas School. A few made a different choice.<sup>3</sup> While the great majority of the children who have attended

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<sup>1</sup>Your Government, Bulletin of the Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, Nov. 15, 1955, Vol. XI, No. 3, "Racial Integration in Kansas Schools."

<sup>2</sup>During the school year 1955-1956 a white child was enrolled.

<sup>3</sup>School officials cite the few exceptions as evidence that there is no enforced segregation. A parent whose children attended a white school expressed satisfaction. Not only were the children made welcome in the classroom, but they were accepted by the Cub Scouts and their parents were given a favorable reception by the PTA. She explained that she believed Negro children of Junior High age often found it difficult to adjust to the situation presented by an integrated school, and she wished her children to make the adjustment during the elementary years. "If they get used to other people's ways and customs early they will adjust better."

the Douglas School were Negroes, not all of them have been.

Several school officials were interviewed. They reported satisfaction with the relationships between white students and Negro students, both in Senior High School and in Junior High School, where most students first experience integrated classes. There is no segregation in seating, or in the athletic program, or anything of that sort. When students have an opportunity to elect one of their number it is not unusual for them to choose a Negro student.<sup>1</sup>

One faculty member reported, however, that the Negro students are ordinarily not assimilated into the various groupings of the student body in such a way as to lead students to think of one of them as first of all a member of that particular school group or activity and secondarily, if at all, as a Negro. At the present time, students tend to think (or act as if they thought) of him as a Negro member of the group. Although that often means, in the Manhattan schools, that the individual receives courteous consideration, it leaves the Negro students as a kind of group within a group, more like guests in the home than members of the family.

There are some indications that this is less true, however, in the field of athletics.<sup>2</sup> In a football uniform a boy is more likely to be regarded as one of the Manhattan team, and less likely to be thought of as "our Negro football player," while in many other activities the reverse is true.

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<sup>1</sup>A Negro boy was elected Captain of Patrol Leaders at the Roosevelt School last year (1956-1957), and the Football King of the Senior High was a Negro, too.

<sup>2</sup>One qualified to speak for this department made this statement: "In athletics and in physical education....there is no, I repeat, no malice or discrimination shown any individual because of his color. If he is the best he plays, if he needs disciplining, he gets it, if he deserves commendation, he gets that, too. Our boys accept them as one of the students and that is all."

It was stated that group tension did sometimes occur among the students.<sup>1</sup> Ordinarily it is not between a group of Negro students and a group of white students that such feeling arises.<sup>2</sup>

Racial questions have been known to confront school officials when someone from outside raised an issue. Various officials cited different groups-- Negroes who move to Manhattan from other cities, foreign students and civil rights groups,<sup>3</sup> and also people in town with attitudes that favor segregation.<sup>4</sup> It was not indicated that any of these had influenced the school very much.

According to a school official the school system is now considering the possibility of integrating the elementary schools, rather than continuing the present arrangement of voluntary separation, but feels the Negro community is not yet ready to give up their school.<sup>5</sup> When full integration takes place the

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<sup>1</sup>A school official reported, "We had a slight episode a year ago in a fight between white and colored boys, but it was settled." The mother of a high school girl believed the white boys were attempting to teach the Negro boys not to make annoying remarks as white girls walked by.

<sup>2</sup>One school official commented, "We have much more trouble between various white individuals and factions than we do between white and colored," while another stated, "When they come to the Junior High, if there is any feud, it is between different groups of colored children. There seem to be two groups in the Negro community."

<sup>3</sup>It was reported that a group was once concerned over the possibility that teachers at Douglas School were being paid less than teachers at other elementary schools in Manhattan. Their investigation showed that they were being paid just as much.

<sup>4</sup>Anonymous letters to the principal, said another official, protested the election of a Negro student to a post of honor.

<sup>5</sup>Attitudes of some Negro people tend to bear out this statement. Their suggestion was that it be enlarged and improved to serve an integrated district.



Negro teachers will not be overlooked, he said, but their applications<sup>1</sup> will be given full consideration, and those who meet the qualifications will be assigned to integrated classrooms. There is an awareness on the part of school officials that the integration of teachers requires tact,<sup>2</sup> but it is being done with considerable success elsewhere, it is believed.<sup>3</sup>

The attitudes of community leaders on the subject of an integrated faculty were not indicative of a very wide range of opinion. Four of those questioned objected to the employment of a Negro teacher for a class in which there were no Negro children, but all four said they had no objection to the employment of a Negro teacher for a class in which there were both white and Negro students. Others interviewed felt that the parents' wishes in the matter should be considered, but unless there was parental objection they saw no reason for taking race into account in the selection of teachers. "It depends on capability, not color," one clergyman commented.

A former school official expressed the feeling that it is not the school which should be expected to take the lead in integration. "It should begin

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<sup>1</sup>They may not wish to apply for a position on a newly integrated faculty because they may feel the public would be watching to see whether they might prove to be unsuccessful. This attitude was expressed by a young Negro wife and mother, formerly a teacher, who recently came from another Kansas town to attend a meeting in Manhattan. When it was mentioned that schools in some cities were willing to employ Negro teachers on a trial basis, she said, "I would never want to try anything like that. I would be so self-conscious that I couldn't do my best."

<sup>2</sup>One said that it is likely to be successful "if the teacher doesn't come in with the wrong attitude, and try to change things overnight," and "if the children will accept the teacher."

Another said that the school must "move carefully" and that the teacher must be "of equal competence and socially acceptable."

<sup>3</sup>Atchison was cited as an example of a place where some initial objections seem to have given way to agreement.

in the churches."

Community leaders expressed some differences of opinion as to the role the churches should play. To the question, "Do you feel that the church should take a stand?" (on integration) one lady answered, "Not loudly," and there were others who agreed with her. Some said the church should not take a stand. Others were very sure that it should. Those who said the church should take a stand were not entirely agreed on what that involved.<sup>1</sup>

Evidences of differences of opinion on the role of the church were not so apparent among Negroes consulted. They agreed--even though their worship in a number of different church buildings would seem to indicate a lack of unity among Negro Christians similar to that which divides white Christendom--in interpreting Christianity as involving belief that all persons are equal in the sight of God.<sup>2</sup> They said that their churches were not intended to be Negro

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<sup>1</sup>One clergyman who said the Church should take a stand reports no Negro members, and says he doesn't know what would happen if one should apply. He thinks accepting a few is not difficult but that we haven't really accepted the concept of integration until we are ready to accept a large group into fellowship. He wonders what it would do to a church to accept as many as 75 Negro members at one time.

The pastor of a neighboring church reports with pleasure that just last year in their congregational meeting, attended by about 80 members, they passed, with only 1 negative vote, a resolution which proposed that the "Church go on record as welcoming all people to fellowship regardless of social position or race," He added that open doors don't mean they all flock in.

Another pastor says, "Yes, but with limits....I came from the Southwest where ideas are somewhat different than here."

Another from the same region reported, "Our church hasn't had much colored work except in foreign fields."

The pastor of another church endorsed full integration.

<sup>2</sup>One Negro Christian reported that she had little faith in groups outside the church accomplishing much to better race relations. She said that in the common faith we are all sisters and brothers. "Some say, 'It takes time.' It takes God's love in your heart. Time isn't necessary....It's backbone to do what you know to be right. And prayer is needed, too. Can't accomplish much in a group that tries to bring it about without prayer."

A Negro lady at church was asked, "Is everything all right as it is?" She shook her head and answered, "But the change has to come first in people's hearts. That's where the trouble is, isn't it?"

churches, but churches for all people. On the other hand, some Protestants agree with the Catholics that the role of the clergyman is essentially that of a priest. He is to lead the individual in an experience of worship, rather than preach to him about his relationship to other people.<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent that many attitudes toward race relations are expressed by the various churches of Manhattan individually. Those organizations that speak for the most of them collectively include representatives of both white and Negro churches. As described by Negro representatives, relations are cordial. Businessmen do not object to serving Negro members along with white members at dinner meetings.

As to what position the churches of Manhattan are taking, white community leaders expressed considerable difference of opinion; many felt that they were not in a position to know about other churches but could tell something about what their own church was doing. The questionnaire contained a list of four differing positions<sup>2</sup> the churches might be taking, and each one of the four received some votes. Differences among the churches are due in part to a difference in interpretation as to the function of the Church in the life of the individual. Some Protestants regard a minister as primarily a prophet,

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<sup>1</sup>One pastor explained, "Our church does not go into the social gospel as much as some. As a church we do not go into political affairs. We teach Christian principles, and leave it to people to apply." On the other hand, he said there must be no discrimination in the church itself. Negroes sometimes attend the services in his church, and no one scorns them. No one pays any particular attention to them, but neither do they to anyone else. People come to the church to worship, not to be sociable. As yet, no one has ever objected to the presence of Negroes among the worshippers. If someone should say they wouldn't come if the Negroes came, he would say, "We shall miss you."

<sup>2</sup>Appendix IV, Set I, No. 3, (b).

calling his people to follow in a crusade for social justice.<sup>1</sup>

During one of the early interviews, it was explained that the NAACP had been working on the problem of discrimination in Manhattan drugstores, restaurants and other places where food is served to the public.<sup>2</sup> One of the questions addressed to community leaders in the later interviews was, "In your opinion, should people who operate restaurants, barber-shops, theaters, hotels and motels be permitted to make distinctions because of color?"

There were those who felt they should have that right because they were engaging in private enterprise,<sup>3</sup> and others who felt that being in the business of serving the public required them to serve persons regardless of race.<sup>4</sup>

A question of opinion was addressed to those interviewed after the final revision of the questionnaire. Several of those asked did not care to hazard a guess. The question was: "Do you believe those businessmen in Manhattan who have made distinctions in the past would make less money if they served

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<sup>1</sup>"It's all right to preach brotherhood," said one layman. One pastor who was mentioned by others as being active in the drive for integration reported that his church had taken a public stand against discrimination in eating places, including a pledge not to withdraw patronage from places serving all races.

<sup>2</sup>The NAACP had prepared a display card with the names of the 14 places which agreed to cooperate. The card indicated that persons would be served regardless of race, color, or creed.

<sup>3</sup>"The government shouldn't interfere with private enterprise," in the words of one. Others agreed but added that "businessmen should make distinctions on something other than race."

<sup>4</sup>The opinion was offered that it is "not a matter of money, but of prejudice, when they are excluded."

It was suggested that "Chamber of Commerce action would make it even and not hurt anyone."

all customers without regard to color?"<sup>1</sup> Of those who did reply no one expressed the belief that most businesses would lose money permanently. Some said one or another probably would, or that they might for awhile. Those who answered seemed to think the people of Manhattan have little desire for segregation of this kind.

The Negroes interviewed did not think owners should be permitted to discriminate, and the opinion was given that they would not lose money if businesses were opened to all.

The attitudes of the city officials toward the Negro have a direct bearing on his relationship to the city. During the course of this study, several visits to the Municipal Building were made in order to learn something about this. The "official" attitude was one of complete impartiality, but there are different standards by which impartiality may be judged. Impartiality may mean integration or it may mean an effort to provide equivalent services for two groups of citizens--one white, the other Negro. There seemed to be certain indications that the impartiality of the Manhattan City Commission was to a certain extent of the traditional, "separate but equal," school of thought. The provision of a separate swimming pool for Negroes was one such indication.

The question of the use of separate pools arose by way of an article in the Collegian.<sup>2</sup> In an interview with a representative of the City Commission,

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<sup>1</sup>One businessman with some experience with such a change of policy stated the business did not lose money, but that they lost the goodwill of some of their competitors, as well as that of a few customers of long standing. Very few colored people came in, but a number of white people came who had not patronized them previously.

<sup>2</sup>"Unwritten City Policy Prohibits Negro Use of Play Facilities," Kansas State Collegian, July 19, 1956, tells how one Negro college student secured the permission of the acting City Manager to swim in the municipal pool.

the history of Manhattan's two pools was explained somewhat as follows. In 1939, at the time the main pool was built, it was decided to build a smaller pool in the south part of town with the expectation that the Negro people would use that pool. It was opened to them free of charge. The city employed people to take charge at each pool. It had been the custom, when a Negro came to the municipal pool, to "fully inform" him of the other pool, and tell him he could swim there without paying the fee which was required of swimmers in the municipal pool. The Collegian was rather critical of this arrangement. It contained the statement, "Meantime, the 'unwritten policy' continues to be enforced against any other American Negro who wants to swim in the pool."<sup>1</sup> This, it was stated by a spokesman for the City Commission, was not true. The Commission feels it is not in a position to refuse use of the pool by American Negroes, it was explained, but if Negroes insisted on swimming there, the city could close the free pool, and all would have to pay. It was added that the experience of other cities leads the Commission to believe the separation necessary to operate the pool profitably from a financial standpoint.

It did not become necessary to close either of the pools during the summer of 1956. Interviews late in May, 1957, revealed that the city policy with regard to the swimming pools had not been clear to some residents, but not many such people were discovered. The city policy had rather substantial opposition,<sup>2</sup> but a considerable number of people approved it;<sup>3</sup> and many others

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<sup>1</sup>Kansas State Collegian, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>The opposition came almost exclusively from churchwomen and clergymen. This was the first time in this study that any such division along occupational or interest lines was apparent. In the questions discussed up to this point, opposing attitudes tended to draw some support from each of the three general groups--clergymen, businessmen, and educators--which made up the bulk of the persons interviewed.

<sup>3</sup>Although generally qualifying their approval by adding such phrases as "under present circumstances" or "for the time being". One man added also, "and permanently a a a ed "

reported no opinion.

There were attitudes supporting the traditional, segregated pattern; forces demanding change;<sup>1</sup> and others which had not yet declared themselves. A time of tension until the attitudes could be brought into some sort of agreement, and practices adapted to the attitudes, seemed in prospect. However, there was one powerful force believed to be on the side of the innovators.<sup>2</sup> The United States Supreme Court had declared that "separate but equal" facilities were not really equal. The City Commission took that into consideration when they were deciding the local policy with regard to the use of swimming facilities.<sup>3</sup>

The Manhattan Municipal Pool opened the 1957 season apparently committed to a policy of non-segregation. For letters to parents, describing the family plan for the purchase of season tickets to the pool had been sent home with pupils of the Douglas School.

The city's policy, however, had not been changed. Information secured from personnel of the city manager's office in July, 1957, disclosed that the City Commission is making every effort to provide facilities equally good for

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<sup>1</sup>In addition to those already mentioned as favoring change were those Negro people who desired it. The Negro people who were interviewed all stated that the policy should be changed. The suggestion that there should be integration at both pools came from several of them.

<sup>2</sup>Believed, that is, by the makers of policy. MacIver reports the stabilizing effect that a definite, authoritative policy in the background can exert on a situation where attitudes and practices are in a somewhat ambiguous relationship. (Robert M. MacIver, The More Perfect Union, p. 58-59, 238).

<sup>3</sup>This statement is made on the basis of a telephone conversation with a member of the personnel of the City Manager's Office, July, 1957. Whether or not they considered also the case now on the docket of the Kansas Supreme Court, Boyd Vs. Fort Scott, which involves the question of segregated swimming in that city, has not been determined. (See letters in Appendix V.)



Negro citizens as those for white citizens. In the event that white persons should come to swim at the Douglas Pool<sup>1</sup> the attendant is to inform them of the Municipal Pool. Both pools are kept in excellent condition. Water samples are taken from both pools and tested for bacteria. Bacteria count for the Douglas Pool is sometimes lower than that for the Municipal Pool.

The use of swimming facilities in Manhattan is still a potential source of tension. Official recognition of the federal government's view that there is an underlying denial of privilege in the fact of separation does not mean acceptance of that idea as true, and it does not provide adequate support for integration of the Manhattan swimming pools.

Whether or not tension develops in Manhattan over the issue of integrated swimming depends in no small measure on the attitudes of Manhattan's swimmers. If Negroes swim in the Municipal Pool, and white swimmers continue to patronize it in sufficient numbers to pay for the operation of the pool,<sup>2</sup> integration will be effected. It is not likely that the City Commission or others interviewed who favor separate swimming would be seriously disturbed by such a development.<sup>3</sup> If, on the other hand, Manhattan Negroes continue to swim at the

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<sup>1</sup>There would seem to be some possibility of this (though custom would operate against it) since there are white families whose homes are closer to that pool. Also, there is no fee for swimming there, while a small charge is made at the Municipal Pool. If white swimmers would evidence a desire to use the Douglas Pool, a new force tending toward integration would be added to the situation. At least one white child, the boy who attended the Douglas School in 1955-56, has been permitted to swim there.

<sup>2</sup>One of the community leaders interviewed, in a position to know something of city policy, rather than approve or disapprove the swimming pool policy, said it had been discontinued, and added--"If the white people stay away, and the pool runs at a loss, it will be closed."

<sup>3</sup>For two reasons--(1) It is doubtful whether many of the people whose objections to integrated swimming have been reported are swimmers themselves; and (2) for the past two years the country club has operated a swimming pool.

Douglas Pool, either by preference or in deference to the attitude of the Commission, Manhattan may have separation of swimmers by race for many years to come. A third possibility, although very unlikely considering (1) the attitudes of Negroes interviewed, (2) Manhattan's past record of harmonious race relations, and (3) the common belief that Manhattan's young people are less intent on separation than their elders, would be that Manhattan Negro swimmers would attend the Municipal Pool in large numbers and that the white swimmers would protest.

It is still too soon to predict the probable time that will be required to effect a new equilibrium in this area. Traditional attitudes are still much in evidence but the transitional period has arrived. This period may be relatively short if young people prefer integration.<sup>1</sup>

Events thus far in the 1957 swimming season indicate very little demand for integrated swimming. Both pools were opened as usual. Most swimmers went to the pool they had previously attended. On the first hot days of the season a few Negro children of elementary school age came to swim at the larger pool, but most of the Negroes cooled off nearer home. No one seemed to notice much.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In this study no attempt was made to discover attitudes of young people. The focus of attention was upon people in positions of leadership, and few young people were included. Many of those interviewed, however, referred with evident approval to the young people as being "less prejudiced".

<sup>2</sup>On July 7, a Negro woman whose son, of elementary school age, swims in the Municipal Pool frequently, agreed that all had been peaceful at the pool thus far. She contributed an interesting exception to the old policy by revealing that the boy had taken swimming lessons in that pool before the restriction was lifted; he had often gone swimming there, too, with his white friends and classmates from the parochial school.

Consideration of the provisions made by Manhattan for Negro residents<sup>1</sup> should include mention of the recreation center. The Recreation Commission and the city cooperate in maintaining Douglas Center, a recreation center in the Negro residential district. The director of the center said that servicemen of all races were welcome there. Servicemen's parties elsewhere in the city are limited to white only, she said.<sup>2</sup> Douglas Center is used not only by servicemen but by the community as well. It provides a convenient place for meetings of various groups, such as the Boy Scouts and the local branch of the NAACP.

The situation with regard to the city's program of organized summer recreation is somewhat parallel to the situation in the school system. Personnel of the Recreation Commission reported that the Commission neither fights nor promotes de-segregation.<sup>3</sup> They do, however, urge children to use the playground nearest their homes.<sup>4</sup> The ball teams are integrated, and it is not unusual for some of the Negro men to act as coaches.<sup>5</sup>

In many of its services to the public, the city of Manhattan makes no attempt to provide separate facilities for Negroes. In that event, Negroes are welcome to use the facilities available to others. The Manhattan parks,

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<sup>1</sup>And also for Negro soldiers from near-by Fort Riley. The Center was erected during the war to provide USO facilities for Negroes, according to personnel of the city manager's office.

<sup>2</sup>Interview, June, 1956.

<sup>3</sup>Interview, summer, 1956.

<sup>4</sup>It was stated that at Luckey and at Roosevelt there were one or two colored children, while there were three or four white children at Douglas.

<sup>5</sup>There was one colored coach in 1956; some years there were three or four, it was reported.

with their picnic tables and play facilities, are equally available to all.

The same may be said of the city library. Out of thirty white people and twenty-one Negroes questioned, only one, a young Negro woman, expressed any doubt that they would be welcome at the city library.

Everyone questioned, regardless of race, showed confidence in the police force. One member of the police force is a Negro ex-serviceman. Personnel at the police station reported no reason for supposing the Negro part of the population requires more than its share of police attention.<sup>1</sup>

The Negro citizen's relation to the court seems to be fairly normal, also. Personnel of the city manager's office reported in an interview during the summer of 1956 that colored citizen's names were placed, along with others, on the list from which jurors are drawn. At least three were called to jury duty during the past year. Of these three, one asked to be excused because of his work, and two served--one as a juror, the other as an alternate.

When asked whether, if brought before the court, they would expect a fair trial, 30 white persons said yes. Twenty out of 21 Negro persons also said yes, though one of them later indicated some doubt.<sup>2</sup>

No great differences in voting habits were found. Some of each group reported that they were registered voters and in each case a lesser number said they voted in all elections. Some reported that they are or had been registered voters elsewhere. In view of the small number questioned, further comparisons seem unjustified.

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<sup>1</sup>A community leader interviewed had had experience as prosecuting attorney. He cited as an illustration of the fine local situation that he had no more trouble with Negro than white.

<sup>2</sup>The twenty-first, a Negro man estimated to be over 75 years of age, said if it was a case between white and colored, he wasn't sure.

Manhattan is normally Republican.<sup>1</sup> Figures for Negro voting are not available, inasmuch as the boundaries of voting districts are drawn in such a way that the Negro vote is counted along with a part of the white vote. Some Negro voters live in Ward 1 and others in the first precinct of Ward 4. In the primary election in August, 1956, votes reported<sup>2</sup> for candidates for U. S. Senator in Ward 1 were 75 per cent Republican. In Precinct 1 of Ward 4 they were 74 per cent Republican. For the whole city, they were 80 per cent Republican. In the general election in November, 1956, in the presidential race, the city was 77 per cent Republican and 23 per cent Democrat. Figures for Ward 1 and Precinct 1 of Ward 4 were 64 - 36 and 69 - 31, respectively. In the gubernatorial race the city was 48 per cent Republican and 52 per cent Democrat. Figures for Ward 1 and Precinct 1 of Ward 4 were 38 - 62 and 40 - 60.

While the fundamental, basic character of the right to vote makes it imperative that this privilege be exercised by Negro people as well as others, the power inherent in the votes of such a small proportion of the population, particularly in view of the comparative weakness of the minority party, is not likely to be great enough to have much influence on government. A further limitation is seen in the fact that most of the wealth of the city is in the hands of the white people.<sup>3</sup> The comparative helplessness of the Negro minority may be seen in this example: If a candidate should take the stand that unpaved

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<sup>1</sup>On Wednesday, August 8, 1956, the front-page story of the local election in the Manhattan Mercury concerned Republican races only. In some cases it was mentioned that the successful candidate would be opposed by a Democrat, in other cases that there would be no opposition in November.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Gosnell makes this observation: "So long as there is great disparity in incomes, equal suffrage will not mean equal political power." Op. cit., p. 48. He says also: "The winning of the right to vote was only the beginning of a long struggle for economic opportunity." p. 49.

streets which had been a part of the city for more than twenty years should be paved at city expense, he might get 100 per cent of the Negro vote and still be roundly defeated.

The problem of surfacing and resurfacing the streets and of keeping them free from debris is a constant problem in any town. Manhattan's abundance of shade trees makes the city's street-cleaning task even harder than that of many other towns. No other aspect of government touched upon brought forth as much criticism. That is not to say that the people questioned were impatient with the city fathers. They usually included in their remarks that they thought those responsible were doing the best they could, or something to that effect. At the same time, about a third of the white people questioned expressed some dissatisfaction with the condition of the streets, and a considerably higher proportion of the Negro citizenry admitted that they considered the streets in front of their homes poorly cared for. It is possible, of course, that the 51 people selected at random to answer these questions did not constitute a representative sample of public opinion. Perhaps the most that can safely be said is that there are some people in Manhattan who consider other city services more nearly satisfactory than the street maintenance service.

In Manhattan, unpaved streets will be paved by the city if the district in which they are located votes in favor of the improvement. Property owners will then be taxed to cover the cost. There are several districts in Manhattan which have authorized the paving of certain unpaved streets and plans are underway to pave these streets.<sup>1</sup> In the Negro residential district, none of

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<sup>1</sup>This information by courtesy of the Office of City Engineers. A map of the city was marked by office personnel, showing unpaved streets and indicating which of these are scheduled for improvement in the near future. See Appendix V for a map with similar markings.

the unpaved streets--of which there are a considerable number--have been scheduled for paving. Since these streets could be paved, if enough property owners were willing, on the same basis as streets in other parts of town, responsibility for failure to pave the streets belongs to the property owners, of course. Possible factors having a bearing on this might be (1) a higher rate of absentee landlordism in this area, and (2) a lower income level for residents of the area. No attempt was made during the present study to learn whether either of these assumptions about the area is based on fact. During interviews with community leaders, little if any mention of absentee landlordism was made, but, in connection with the problem of housing, local businessmen referred to the generally low incomes of people living in this area.<sup>1</sup>

In respect to the attitudes expressed concerning the functioning of various parts of the city government almost no signs of race tension were discovered. The citizens questioned revealed confidence in the impartiality of the city administration.<sup>2</sup>

However, when it came to office-holding or employment by the city government--getting away from services provided, over into the area of active participation in government--more uncertainty was seen. On the question of equal

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<sup>1</sup>The suggestion that the housing need be taken care of partly by means of a non-segregated development was met with the practical objection by one that "I'm afraid it wouldn't be too successful because the Negroes couldn't afford to buy houses." Another said, "It almost has to be restricted to Negroes, or whites who can afford perhaps five dollars per month more than the Negroes will quickly take advantage of it."

However, low standard housing does not invariably indicate low income. Deutsch and Collins (*op. cit.*, p. 8) in a passage cited earlier in this work speak of "higher rentals for poorer accommodations." One local businessman referred to the extremely high rent a Negro of his acquaintance had told of paying.

<sup>2</sup>With the exception, as reported, that at least two individuals (Negro) expressed some doubt as to whether the court would be impartial.



consideration for a city job for which they were qualified, only twenty-four of thirty white persons gave an unqualified affirmative.<sup>1</sup> Negro people who were asked the same question gave eleven affirmative answers out of twenty-one.<sup>2</sup> Again the numbers are so small as to have little significance, but they may be said to reveal that there are some people in Manhattan who have the feeling that, even if they were fully qualified for a position with the city government, someone else with no better qualifications would probably be hired instead. This is indicative of an attitude that affects a citizen's relation to his government, and may become a source of tension. Correctly or not, these citizens are identifying themselves with the group of those who are ruled.

Leaders were questioned about whether it is probable, possible, or impossible that a well-qualified Negro could be elected to office in Manhattan. Most people said possible. One Negro interviewed answered probable, as did five white people.<sup>3</sup>

The people questioned along the street were not asked whether a Negro could be elected, but what they considered their own chances to be. Was there a strong possibility, a slight possibility, or no possibility that they would be elected to office? Most people were inclined to be pessimistic. Nineteen

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<sup>1</sup>Reasons given included: poverty (1), sex (1), age (2). One other person gave no reason for a negative answer, and one replied that he did not know what his chances are.

<sup>2</sup>Only one stated race as the reason, another implied it by saying, "not for some jobs;" four gave a negative answer without supplying a reason; two were doubtful because of age, and another, who was still young, answered "doubtful" also; one gave almost an affirmative answer by saying, "Probably."

<sup>3</sup>Other white persons who answered said either that it was doubtful, or that it was not impossible but that the candidate would have to be very outstanding.

out of thirty white people and thirteen out of twenty-one Negro people said there was no possibility that they would ever be elected to office. Six Negro and nine white answers were "slight." One white person inserted "fair", and one young Negro woman answered "strong." One Negro woman answered, "I don't know." No answer was recorded for one white woman who answered most of the other questions. This does not seem to indicate that people of Manhattan anticipate a very active relationship to their government--unless they are too modest to admit it.

Indications are that this is not an area of tension. Most Negro citizens, like most other citizens, apparently have no immediate plans for announcing their candidacy for an office; and if at some future time sentiment should arise in favor of placing one of the Negro leaders on the school board, (or in some other responsible position), their candidacy would not greatly disturb any of the persons interviewed; many of them would probably vote for him (or her) unless the Negro candidate was opposed by a white candidate they especially wished to see elected.<sup>1</sup>

It seems likely that a Negro candidate would receive favorable attention in the press. Regular examination of the Manhattan Mercury from about June 1, 1956, until about May 15, 1957, for items connected with Negro people, produced quite a lot of material.<sup>2</sup> Besides news of Negroes and of race relations elsewhere, there was an abundance of material on local affairs. It seems almost as though a special effort were being made to see that Negro people are included in community affairs and to make that fact known. If this is the

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<sup>1</sup>A school official and a civic leader made similar statements to the effect that the white boys and girls seem to have a tendency to throw their support to the Negro candidate in any case where they have no favorite candidate.

<sup>2</sup>Appendix II.

case, it may be related to the fact that it is felt by some community leaders that people who are not long-time residents of Manhattan and do not understand the local situation are sometimes inclined to play the role of crusaders and attempt to "improve" things which are quite satisfactory to community leaders in general, and which they believe to be satisfactory to most Negro residents as well. Several of the white persons interviewed expressed this view.<sup>1</sup>

Even though Negro residents receive favorable attention on the front page of the paper, they do not rate so well on the page that lists employment opportunities. Even advertisements for cooks and dishwashers sometimes bear a "white only" reservation.

Junior High School personnel report that when the ninth grade students are placed with local businesses for their annual experience program there are many firms which will not accept a Negro student for training.

The problem of finding a job is not an easy one for many Negro young people. Myrdal<sup>2</sup> describes the employment problem that confronts the Negro high school graduate in the small northern community, pointing out that the difficulty arises following graduation.

A Negro leader, school officials and others agreed that there is little

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<sup>1</sup>A community leader stated that the "situation in Manhattan is good. I feel that the Negroes of Manhattan think so, too, except when the civil rights people stir them up."

Another reported that "outsiders came to me asking why Negroes couldn't eat in restaurants."

The situation is "entirely satisfactory" to a civic leader, "with the exception of radicals who come here and try to promote something." He added, "Someone is always setting up test cases."

<sup>2</sup>On page 1260 of An American Dilemma, he says, "Although a service club would help a Negro boy to complete his high school course, its members would not give him a job after his schooling was over."

opportunity for Negro high school and college graduates in Manhattan.<sup>1</sup>

The Chamber of Commerce welcomes into membership those Negro businessmen who wish to participate, according to Chamber of Commerce personnel, but their numbers are very limited. Manhattan schools train a lot of young people, not only Negro, but white as well, who are forced to leave town to find work.<sup>2</sup> In one respect, then, this is a community problem, rather than a racial problem. However, Negro people in many cases expressed the belief that there was often an attitude on the part of the employer that kept him from even considering the application of a Negro. Others felt that if a Negro were fully qualified an opening might be found. Some of the Negroes stated that all jobs should be open to qualified persons, regardless of race. The same statement was made by a considerable number of the white persons interviewed.<sup>3</sup> Some white people said that they were not aware that there are fields Negroes are excluded from. Some felt that the Negro people of Manhattan are fairly prosperous. One felt they might not be able to qualify for some kinds of work--that the very fact of being a Negro sometimes made it impossible to be successful in certain fields dealing with white people.<sup>4</sup> Another

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<sup>1</sup>A businessman reported, "Our more enterprising Negroes don't stay in Manhattan."

A Negro leader expressed the opinion that if they had stayed "the white people would not object to integration."

A school official said, "The percentage of Manhattan children--white and Negro--who go elsewhere for employment is quite high."

<sup>2</sup>One school official reported, "Probably the same per cent of white go elsewhere. The percentage of both that stay is quite small."

<sup>3</sup>One local pastor expressed it this way, "All occupations should employ according to ability."

<sup>4</sup>This would be true in cases where the white person's prejudice prevented him from placing full confidence in someone he knew to be a Negro. It would not bar Negroes of light complexion. Myrdal (*op. cit.*, p. 685) says: "In the Northern and Border states it seems to be relatively common for light-skinned Negroes to "pass professionally" but preserve a Negro social life."

expressed the view that "Employment should always be at the discretion of the employer."<sup>1</sup>

Investigation of attitudes concerning the employment of Negroes revealed that the people of Manhattan have many conflicting opinions in the matter. There is no reason to suppose that people were not equally sincere in, and equally convinced of the "rightness" of points of view that seemed to be in direct opposition to one another. When economic interests are involved, as they are in the question of employment, people tend to place great emphasis on the issues involved. These are things that matter. The old tradition of menial work for the Negro still has strong support in Manhattan, but it is not universally held. The belief that Negroes cannot do other kinds of work is hard to hold in a college town where Negro students doing graduate work are not unusual. The transitional period leading toward economic acceptance of the Negro as a fellow-worker on the same level may involve considerable tension, even in Manhattan. What seems more probable, however, is that the city will continue to lose many of its finest young people to other cities

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<sup>1</sup>Men who had had experience in employing others pointed out that, in selecting employees, a businessman has to consider other things besides whether the applicant can do the work. One wondered whether if he chose a Negro secretary, persons coming to his office would be affected. He was inclined to think it might be an interesting experiment. Another had had the experience of employing a number of people to work side by side. During the war, he had white workers, including a few Mexican people, when two Negro girls applied. He was willing to employ them. The Mexican help reported they would walk out when he consulted the wishes of the workers. In this case, he was able to overcome the objections by pointing out that he would not be able to continue filling orders from the army if he discriminated in employment. He believes, "FEF should have a little more power--difficult to say how much."

which offer them greater opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt was made to discover the general attitude of each of the people contacted on race relations, and to learn what they thought of the Manhattan situation. Those interviewed with the questionnaire were asked first to say whether they considered integration to be desirable or undesirable; secondly, whether it was proper for government to deal with the integration question;<sup>2</sup> and, after a number of questions about specific issues, how they would evaluate the racial situation at the present time--entirely satisfactory, fairly satisfactory, or unsatisfactory. The final question was whether, during the past five years, the situation in Manhattan had remained about the same, shown improvement, or become less satisfactory. The first nine questions<sup>3</sup> asked of the person on the street did not mention Negroes or race relations. The tenth, and final, question was, "Have you noticed any signs of race prejudice in Manhattan?"

Few people cared to make a definite statement that integration was undesirable. Many answered that it was desirable under certain conditions or to a limited extent. One claimed that Manhattan had always been more or less de-segregated. A considerable number saw integration as an objective toward which society is moving, but one difficult of attainment, and requiring time

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<sup>1</sup>If Manhattan takes no steps toward bringing economic opportunities for Negroes into line with such opportunities elsewhere, it appears inevitable that the city will seem oddly old-fashioned in this respect to Negro people who come here to study or to be near Fort Riley. There are certain indications of this already in the frequent references by townspeople to the satisfied condition of the local Negro people and the disturbing influence that is brought to bear on them by Negroes who come to Manhattan from other places.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix IV, Set 1, No. 2 for exact wording of question.

<sup>3</sup>Set 2, Appendix IV.

to be worked out.<sup>1</sup>

There were a few who felt that this was not a proper function of government. None of these were Negroes. There was strong support for government action. Even those whose answers to other questions revealed a somewhat traditional attitude in general in some cases took the position that the government should be the guardian of the interests of all its people, including the Negro people. More than one expressed the thought that for the government to discriminate against the Negro would be undemocratic.

In evaluating the situation in Manhattan, community leaders expressed a range of opinion from "entirely satisfactory" to "unsatisfactory," but those who took the middle position and answered "fairly satisfactory" were in the majority. Most of the Negroes questioned seemed to feel that there was room for improvement but only a few showed evidence of much dissatisfaction. The Negro leaders interviewed were divided about evenly on whether the situation was "fairly satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory."

The white people who said the situation was unsatisfactory were people whose other answers showed an attitude of approval of a greater degree of integration, although some expressed certain reservations. It was evident that they meant unsatisfactory to mean that current practices were too traditional to fit their own attitudes, rather than current practices too liberal

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<sup>1</sup>Some were waiting, as patiently as possible, for a desired change. One white leader said, you "can't move any faster than the community," and another, "Too rapid movement is often harmful," and still another, "as rapidly as possible, but there are certain areas where it would be unwise to force it." One Negro leader, although he remarked that integration is "far past due," also said, "The slower it comes about the more lasting it will be."

On the other hand there were a few who said it would take time and seemed to find that thought reassuring. One said, "It is a slow process and will probably take a hundred years. It's better that way." Another said it would "take time to work out," and thought the present situation "satisfactory."

to fit their beliefs.

Most of the Negroes who said conditions were unsatisfactory are engaged in professional work and would be thrown into competition with whites for their jobs if full integration were effected. Myrdal found some opposition to integration on the part of people in this situation.<sup>1</sup> Negro professional people in Manhattan gave no indication of such a feeling. Concern for those with whom they worked was one factor that tended to offset the thought of personal advantage or disadvantage.<sup>2</sup>

The answers of people on the street indicated that Negro people are more aware of race prejudice than white people, over half of whom answered that they had seen no signs of race prejudice in this city. However, not all Negroes reported seeing signs of prejudice. There were differences of opinion among Negroes,<sup>3</sup> as well as among white people.<sup>4</sup>

Thus a great variety of attitudes was found in Manhattan.<sup>5</sup> There are

<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp.794-795.

<sup>2</sup>This was evidenced by the expression of concern for the children of the very poor Negro families. One leader said something like this: "These children start out in life with two strikes against them. It's bad enough to be handicapped by the conditions of poverty, but even if they overcome this handicap they're still up against another big problem. Even if they get the money for it, they can't go to the lunch counter and get service just like anyone else.

<sup>3</sup>These are some comments made by Negroes: (1) "Manhattan is very prejudiced;" (2) "I haven't seen it;" (3) "Not too bad, but could be improved;" (4) "Not so far;" and (5) "Yes, things could be better." A G.I. husband and wife reported, "People in Manhattan are nice."

<sup>4</sup>To the same question, (Have you noticed any signs of race prejudice in Manhattan?) white people answered: (1) "No, we have a colored student living with us;" (2) "No, although I haven't bent over backward for equality. I have no strong prejudice;" (3) "I'm not thrown in with that. It's pushed too much in the papers;" (4) "Some--not a lot;" (5) "No, all have a fair chance here;" and (6) "No, they don't do much intermingling here, though."

<sup>5</sup>Some of the persons who were interviewed had come to Manhattan from the Southwest. One of these reported receiving an anonymous telephone call protesting his renting to "Negroes" when he rented an apartment to Puerto Ricans. He remarked: "Kansas is a mixed-up state. There is public acclaim for integration, but private feeling against it."



indications that new attitudes are being promoted by some and resisted by others. Organizations interested in the improvement of the city in some cases are focusing attention on one of the areas of greatest potential tension--housing.<sup>1</sup> Their study in this area may lead to further consideration of its twin problem--employment.<sup>2</sup>

The attitudes described--and perhaps others not revealed in the present study--affect the relationship of the Negro people of Manhattan to their government. The present policy seems to be based on the traditional attitude that it is the responsibility of white people to make the decisions, and of Negro people to cooperate. This view considers Negroes as a group, not as individuals. It is obviously impossible for a whole "race" to measure up to the standards that are quite necessary for admission to the ruling class.<sup>3</sup>

Until the people of Manhattan are ready to look upon people as people and not as members of a race there will be a certain amount of tension; some of it will be within the minds of those who try to hold fast to the tradition of a "race" fit for servitude while they look upon a significant number of Manhattan citizens--and ex-citizens who make a name for themselves elsewhere--who are supposed to belong to that group but do not fit the pattern. Certain individuals have already gone a long way toward full acceptance by the white

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<sup>1</sup>Several people suggested the city should make a careful study of all the factors involved. Community leaders say housing is being studied.

<sup>2</sup>The League of Women Voters, according to an officer of the group, has recently studied FEPC, and the women found it an interesting subject.

<sup>3</sup>Just as it is impossible for a whole race to qualify for admission to an unusually attractive residential area. This can be seen in true perspective by supposing there were a rule that no white person could move into a certain exclusive area until all white people kept their lawns mowed.

community.<sup>1</sup> Some tension may be anticipated between white individuals or groups with opposing opinions. Some may be expected to arise between different groups within the Negro community, where some are winning the respect<sup>2</sup> of white people while others fall far short of the standards of the white community.<sup>3</sup>

Local people anticipate a long period of transition; this study has revealed little to support a different view.<sup>4</sup> If an emergency were to arise, it

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<sup>1</sup>One of these said that her family had never met discrimination in Manhattan. She told of her children's friendships with white children.

Another described some of her family's pleasant contacts with white people in various organizations, and said, "I have no personal reason for dissatisfaction."

A third, who had been almost alone in believing a qualified Negro would find a job opening in his particular field no matter what field he chose, (saying, "Probably all fields are open if Negroes will qualify and apply") said of the general situation--"There is too little faith that something can be accomplished."

<sup>2</sup>A minister whose other answers indicated a preference for separation of the races commented that Negroes are "shown more respect here, because their conduct has demanded it. The Negro section of Manhattan is the neatest and best kept of any town I've lived in."

<sup>3</sup>That there are wide differences among the Negroes of Manhattan, and that, due to the present tendency of the public to evaluate the conduct of Negro people as a race, this places a strain upon the Negroes with high standards, is suggested by the remark of one businessman that the "best people among them are taking care of the things that could have been a problem;" and also by the comment of a Negro leader who said, "There are some who ought not to make contact with the white people. They are undesirable and give a bad name to Negroes."

<sup>4</sup>Contacts with people of both races seemed to suggest a different reason for a time of preparation, however, than the one most commonly given, that the Negro is not prepared culturally and educationally. In Manhattan there are evidences that a considerable number are fully prepared but many white people need time to adjust their attitudes.

might be much shortened.<sup>1</sup> No one reported that the situation had grown worse within the past five years; some thought it had remained about the same; most thought there had been improvement.

Persons interviewed who commented on their belief that there has been improvement gave evidence of defining improvement in terms of a greater degree of integration. The national interest in integration has not gone unnoticed in Manhattan,<sup>2</sup> although some reported a belief that interest in this matter was not very strong locally.<sup>3</sup> A desire to go along with the national movement was expressed,<sup>4</sup> but one of those interviewed, although he considered the policy of the federal government a proper interpretation of its responsibility, suggested that it was not necessary that the national policy be put into effect

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<sup>1</sup>Those who believe the present situation is satisfactory gave no evidence of wishing to exploit the Negro. If a need could be seen, it seems quite probable that the people of Manhattan would favor taking steps to meet the need. One Negro leader asserted, "If integration should come about overnight there would be less objection in Manhattan than anywhere else in Kansas." A Negro woman reported that in 1951 the flood evacuees were not separated by race but cared for on the basis of common need.

<sup>2</sup>Two local white men, both originally from the Southwest, volunteered comments on integration in the army. Said one, "The army is doing a good job, doing it in a quiet, harmless way--no speeches, etc." The other reported, "A serviceman said recently that Negroes were getting most of the promotions by charging segregation if not promoted."

Another community leader said, "The barriers are breaking down. The war has made a difference." In the choice of teachers she believed "personality and the person" should be the deciding factors. "At Fort Riley there are colored over white, if personality is all right--of a kind to hold respect."

<sup>3</sup>A community leader said that the situation has shown improvement "I think, although I haven't noticed much about it." Another reported, "The people here are disinterested."

<sup>4</sup>A local businessman who believed that the situation had remained about the same commented, "There is more talk because of the talk nationally, but not much change, really. To help the national situation much we should move toward 'satisfactory'". (From the present situation which he had described as "fairly satisfactory" rather than "Entirely satisfactory.")

completely in every community at this time.<sup>1</sup> However, the examiner noted that it was not only those whose general attitude seemed to favor greater participation who seemed to feel that greater participation could be described as improvement.<sup>2</sup> There is some indication that the current of opinion is carrying many people along, somewhat reluctantly, toward an acceptance of the Negro as a participant in American society.

An aspect of the situation worthy of notice is the high degree of courtesy and of the wish to be considered reasonable found on the part of both Negro and white people of the city. The Negro people's desire for increased participation appears to be far greater than their demand, which is diminished in some cases by a feeling of helplessness<sup>3</sup> and in other cases by a sense of appreciation for the degree of consideration Manhattan has already shown.<sup>4</sup> It may be quite a long time before the people of Manhattan to any great extent agree with the Negro leader who said, "People are just people."

In the meantime, the relationship of the Negro people to the government

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<sup>1</sup>This white clergyman explained, "The government is instituted for the protection of people's rights....This includes Negroes....However, expediency has to be considered. What do the colored people themselves want? There is no point in enforcing the Supreme Court decision in every local situation. It took a long time for the Magna Charta to come into effect."

<sup>2</sup>A businessman who did not put himself on record as considering integration either desirable or undesirable said conditions are "improving all along." The pastor of one of the leading denominations said that integration is desirable but that "we have not yet reached the point where it is either to their advantage or ours to live side by side," thus taking a stand in favor of residential segregation, yet said that the situation has shown improvement in recent years.

A businessman who said integration was undesirable, nevertheless saw improvement, and gave as evidence, "restaurants that serve everyone."

<sup>3</sup>One said, "It was like this long before I came along."

<sup>4</sup>Like the one who said, "I have no personal reason for dissatisfaction."

can more nearly be described as dependent than as a position from which any of them who should meet the other requirements for leadership could move into the circle of the influential.

#### ABILENE

Abilene is somewhat unusual among towns of the midwest in its preoccupation with the past. One of the most recently constructed buildings, a point of interests for tourists from all over the nation, is the Eisenhower Museum. The people of Abilene are proud of the fact that Dwight Eisenhower grew up in Abilene. His boyhood home is maintained by the "Eisenhower Foundation,"<sup>1</sup> and kept open to the public in much the same manner as the homes of many other outstanding historical figures have been.

Besides being the boyhood home of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, for which the 60-acre city park was renamed before he ever thought of entering politics, Abilene has an unusually colorful history. It dates from the Pioneer cattle days when Abilene was the western terminus of the old Kansas pacific railroad and the northern end of the famous Texas or Chisholm cattle trail. The railroad pushed on west, after a few years, and the city calmed down. There were no more celebrating cowboys shooting up the town. Dreams of becoming the state capital and a city of 50,000 population soon faded.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950, Abilene had a total population of 5,775, an increase of 1.8 per cent over the 1940 figure.<sup>3</sup> Of this number 1.9 per cent or 105 persons were

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<sup>1</sup>The full name is "The Eisenhower Foundation Organized to Promote citizenship and to Honor Veterans of America's Wars, Inc." It was granted a non-profit corporation charter by the State of Kansas on July 23, 1945.

<sup>2</sup>This paragraph adapted from literature supplied by Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>3</sup>U. S. Census, op. cit., Table 11.

Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

This pleasant little Kansas town, with a legend of having been more important in the past than it can hope to be in the future, has two flour mills, two alfalfa mills, two elevators and a feed manufacturing plant. Its business district is a convenient shopping center for farm families from a wide area. Many of its residents are retired farmers. It boasts two homes for the aged and one orphanage.

Abilene has an excellent public library, several fine churches, and modern public schools. Along its quiet, tree-lined streets stand attractive homes, many of them displaying a style of architecture that is reminiscent of the past.<sup>2</sup>

The Negro people of Abilene are living in modest but comfortable homes in a part of town that is not completely built up yet. Several homes are on a street that is built up on both sides, but others not far away are in an area that seems almost rural. There is some objection to this part of town as being too near the railroad, but it is also near the park and swimming pool, and near the new high school.

The Chamber of Commerce was consulted as to racial segregation in rental housing.<sup>3</sup> It was reported that most of the rentals are for white, but that there have been very few applications from colored.

The pattern of residential segregation seems to have the support of public opinion in Abilene. Evidences of this were found in (1) the report of

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. Census, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>An unusual number of the older houses are large houses, set in spacious lawns. Nicely kept, they have something of the air of executive mansions, rather than private homes.

<sup>3</sup>A bulletin board in the office listed apartments for rent.

Chamber of Commerce personnel that a woman who rented her upstairs to a colored soldier and his family drew protest from her neighbors; (2) the report of a white family who live in the Negro part of town that people told them they were very foolish to buy property in that location; (3) the report of a white woman that several years ago there was serious overcrowding of families of colored soldiers in the Negro section, but when she mentioned this as a reason for renting apartments in other parts of town to Negroes, other women objected at once and said that the Negroes must be kept separate or there would be mixed marriages.

None of the Negro people interviewed seemed particularly concerned about this limitation. They did not mention any class differences among Negro families of the town which would lead to pressure on the part of some for the privilege of moving to a different neighborhood. Observation suggests that this is a middle class community, without fringes of either upper or lower classes.<sup>1</sup>

There seems to be no reason at present to expect tension over the traditional pattern of residential segregation in Abilene, except as it may become a part of a general desire for integration. It is possible that residential segregation might disappear, if the prediction of one young man is correct, by a movement into the area by white people desirous of living near the new high school. This could take place without Negro residents moving out, since there is much vacant land at present. White people who might visit the neighborhood in search of desirable building sites would not be discouraged by the appearance of the Negro homes, which are well-kept.

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<sup>1</sup>On the northern edge of town, in a section otherwise occupied by white people, is one Negro family which was not interviewed. They may fall into one of these "different" classes.

There are at present about twenty Negro families in Abilene. There is no Negro school. One school teacher who had taught there for many years said there were usually one or two children in each grade. A Negro mother reported that the small children get along together seemingly without noticing race.<sup>1</sup> In the high school, Negro boys have frequently excelled in athletics and have been rather prominent in the student body for this reason. It is reported that white girls in Abilene have sometimes been attracted to these Negro athletes but pressure of public opinion has always prevailed. The students sometimes choose Negroes in school elections.<sup>2</sup> A school official agreed that things are so harmonious between the races in Abilene schools that there is no need of discussing the situation.

Whether the community would accept a Negro as a teacher is somewhat doubtful. Some people expressed a feeling against it.<sup>3</sup> Others, including the Negroes interviewed, saw no objection to hiring Negro teachers. It is probable that the question will not come up--in the near future, at least. Having had no Negro school, Abilene has no Negro teachers to consider. It is rather unlikely, but a possibility, however, that a local Negro will return to Abilene and apply for a position after preparing to teach. Abilene Negro

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<sup>1</sup>Her little boy and a white friend played together a great deal until about third grade. Then one day the white boy called the other a "nigger". For awhile they kept apart. Later they began to play together again.

<sup>2</sup>A year or two ago, they elected a Negro to be Cowboy Joe, a high honor which always goes to an outstanding athlete.

<sup>3</sup>One community leader said Negro teachers ought not to be employed for mixed classes "if the whites predominate." It seemed to him that this is not an auspicious time for hiring Negro teachers. "I do not think it would be wise to, in view of the feeling that is so prevalent today. Because trouble has occurred, people are more sensitive to it right now."



young people are highly capable.<sup>1</sup>

A school official stated that the faculty has no hesitancy in dealing with Negro students because of fear of being accused of mistreating a minority. The Negroes are "thoroughly assimilated." They "know the town traditions." Indications are that the Abilene schools have found a kind of equilibrium of their own. The Negro children are permitted to get an education there, and to participate in school activities. It is understood that they are a separate social group. There are so few of them that this leaves them very much isolated socially, but the Negro children are not a problem to the school, and the school does not concern itself with the problem of the Negro children to find a place in the life of the town.

In a situation that looks like integration, the traditional demand for separation, supported by traditional attitudes in the community, works quietly to keep the Negro outside the influential group.

Community leaders and Negro people interviewed in Abilene report the churches not much interested in race relations. Most of them believed the white churches of Abilene preferred to continue the limited segregation which prevails today. The Negro people reported that their churches are actively supporting integration. The Negro churches are very small, two of them being of the same denominations as white churches in town,<sup>2</sup> and the third a Holiness group.

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<sup>1</sup>A young man who graduated from the Abilene High School a few years ago is now a member of the integrated faculty at Atchison, and was voted the outstanding teacher of the year. (1956-1957)

<sup>2</sup>The pastor of one of these was interviewed. He and some of his laymen interpret Christianity as brotherhood, but not all agree. A Negro woman of the same denomination said, "I don't think I would be accepted as an equal in the white \_\_\_\_\_ church." None of the people who are believed to feel this way were interviewed. One white woman said that a neighbor of hers was annoyed when some Negroes attended her church.

A few people believed the churches were in favor of integration, but not at all active in promoting it.<sup>1</sup> There is an active interdenominational youth group in Abilene which puts on an elaborate Easter pageant each year. This group includes representatives from the Negro churches.<sup>2</sup> This group, which has many other activities throughout the year, takes a positive stand for integration, but older people discourage anything other than discussion.<sup>3</sup> This does not mean that the older church people will have nothing to do with Negro Christians in their churches, but that they limit brotherhood to special occasions,<sup>4</sup> and when it comes to affairs in town, they prefer not to challenge the tradition.

Although there are individual Christians who believe the traditional attitude toward Negroes is unchristian, the churches, like the schools, show very little evidence of tension.

Discrimination in eating places in Abilene is believed to be rather widespread. Those interviewed could not be certain, of course, that a given place would refuse service, just because they had never seen Negroes eating there. There were certain instances, however, that revealed the policy of some eating

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<sup>1</sup>One white woman commented that the churches were in favor of integration "enough to talk about brotherhood, but not to practice it. We teach children in the Sunday School to be friendly but then the parents don't back it up."

<sup>2</sup>One Negro minister is an adult adviser to this group.

<sup>3</sup>A local businessman reported, "Two years ago youth church groups got all fired up and proposed a boycott of restaurants. They were counseled not to and gave it up." He was of the opinion that "Anytime you choose up sides and make an issue you create resentment."

<sup>4</sup>The Negro women participate in the World Day of Prayer services, often taking a leading part. On special occasions Negro guests eat with others in meals at one of the churches.

places.<sup>1</sup> Most of the Negro people prefer to eat at home anyway, most of the time, and don't try to get service in town; but they feel the stigma.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some pressure from townspeople on the business man to refuse service to Negroes.<sup>3</sup>

That Abilene adheres to the old southern tradition concerning Negroes serving meals but not sharing them is demonstrated by a local hotel.<sup>4</sup>

The barber shops are believed to be for white only.<sup>5</sup> Overnight accommo-

<sup>1</sup>A waitress in a restaurant along the highway on the outskirts of town reported that Negro patrons were served there, but that she had witnessed an incident involving a Negro soldier in a restaurant in town. A young waitress had served both the Negro soldier and the white soldier who was with him, when a more experienced person said, "Oh, you can't do that. The Negro will have to eat in the kitchen."

A Negro woman said that Negroes used to be served at a certain drugstore in town, but some of the young people got to acting up (drinking) and now they won't serve them. But they don't stop the white young people who act the same way, she added.

A businessman said there were two places in town where Negroes can eat.

A Negro mother said some of the boys went into a hamburger stand and were asked, "What do you want?" The boys answered, "Hamburgers." They were permitted to buy them but made to feel unwelcome.

<sup>2</sup>"Where so many have been hurt here in Abilene," said one Negro woman, "is that they are all homeowners, pay their taxes, and don't get a chance to use restaurants, hotels, theaters, unless in a group."

<sup>3</sup>Another place served Negro boys once or twice and then they were told there had been complaints from other customers and the manager would rather they wouldn't come again.

A community leader interviewed said, "I'd rather not sit in the same booth with them."

<sup>4</sup>President Eisenhower was entertained at the hotel when he made an appearance in Abilene some time ago. For this very special occasion, they had one of the local Negro women take charge of the dining room.

<sup>5</sup>One woman reported, "The Negro barber in Abilene died. \_\_\_\_\_ went to Salina for a haircut last week."

dations for Negroes who are traveling are sometimes a problem.<sup>1</sup> The policy of the theater with regard to seating Negroes was not clear to those with whom it was discussed, but one report indicated that the community has a preference for segregated seating.<sup>2</sup>

The swimming pool in Eisenhower Park, the only public pool in Abilene, was for many years restricted to white swimmers only.<sup>3</sup> Since 1955, the restrictions have been relaxed to a certain extent. During the summer of 1956, Negro boys and girls were frequently observed in the pool. A young swimmer told of seeing one he supposed to be a serviceman swimming there. An interview with the manager of the pool disclosed that some restrictions on Negro use of the pool remained, however. Since the community was small, the personnel in charge of the pool were able to distinguish local Negro children and admit them, while turning away strange Negroes.<sup>4</sup> The question is sometimes

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<sup>1</sup>Although Chamber of Commerce personnel reported that Negroes stay in the hotel and are served in the coffee shop, a Negro woman who lives alone and has room to accommodate someone else reported that she has sometimes been asked whether someone she didn't even know might stay there while in Abilene. She believed such people had only the jail as an alternative place to spend the night. She reported, however, that the jail was clean, and the police helpful to Negro people.

Local motels were visited, and operators reported differing policies. Only one said people of all races were accepted on the same basis.

<sup>2</sup>One white woman reported seeing a Negro in a uniform indicating considerable rank enter a partly empty theater and take a seat by himself on the main floor. As the theater filled up, the seats near him remained vacant.

A Negro family said TV and the Drive-In theater had made it possible to avoid risking embarrassment at the theater in town.

<sup>3</sup>A Negro woman recalled that her father, who died forty-two years ago, she said, had said while helping to construct the swimming pool that it would be nice if the colored children would get to use it, too.

<sup>4</sup>The manager was asked whether they ever had to turn anyone away from the pool, and he replied that they did, explaining that they occasionally find someone who makes a nuisance of himself and has to be asked to leave. "And we don't let all our Negroes in," he added. "We admit the school children--the children we know, but not the adults." Asked whether Negro servicemen were permitted in the pool, he explained that men who have lived there more than a year are eligible.

asked, "Are you a resident of Dickinson County?" Some Negro people believe that white people who come to swim are never asked where they live, and they feel the Negro people do not even yet have the use of the pool on quite the same basis as white people, who may take their friends from other places swimming when they come to visit.<sup>1</sup>

While Negro people meet limitations in some areas, in others no indications of discrimination were found. The picnic tables and play facilities in the park are used by both white and Negro people. The library is open to all. Questions directed to persons at the court house concerning Negroes serving on jury brought forth the information that most of the work of the court concerns such things as divorce cases and the settlement of estates, for which no jury is needed. It was also stated that Negroes were very seldom brought before the court.<sup>2</sup> No Negroes reported any difficulty in voting.<sup>3</sup> The local newspaper publishes items concerning local Negro people.

The tradition is still strong in the case of employment, however. A local Negro family operates the town garbage service; a few jobs as custodians are held by Negroes;<sup>4</sup> a few Negro women are employed in household service,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>One woman reported that their pastor's home is in Wichita and his son came to spend his summer vacation with her in Abilene. The first time he went to the pool, he was turned away, but after she had written a letter of explanation, he was admitted.

Another said that when her nieces were visiting her, they were turned away, and that when their church entertained Negro churches from Salina and Manhattan at a picnic in the park, the swimming pool was not available for the use of the children.

<sup>2</sup>As far as could be recalled, in recent years no Negro had faced charges. The comment was made, "You know, we have some pretty nice Negroes in Abilene!"

<sup>3</sup>One Negro woman said there were not only no restrictions on voting but transportation to the polls is provided for those who desire it.

<sup>4</sup>It was reported, however, that some of the best of these jobs are held by white people.

<sup>5</sup>One reported a very good relationship with her employers. She said they taught her to drive the car, and have her sit at the table with them for meals.

but this is reported to be less common than in the past; employment at Fort Riley is a slight possibility;<sup>1</sup> farm work and odd jobs are sometimes open to Negro people; but there is no opportunity for the young person graduating from high school to find suitable employment,<sup>2</sup> and scarcely enough menial work available to support the present population.

Consideration of the general situation in Abilene may well begin with the fact that those people who were simply found in their yards or on their porches, and asked, "Have you noticed any signs of race prejudice in Abilene?" could have been classified as to race by a blind questioner. The only Negro who answered in the negative added immediately--"but I haven't lived here long." White people, in the main, gave a negative answer. Some went on to support it.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, a few negative answers were followed by comments that tended to weaken them,<sup>4</sup> and other people reported there was a little prejudice.

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<sup>1</sup>One Negro man who had worked at Fort Riley for a time said that he met discrimination there, too. While employed there, he was injured; when he was able to work again, he applied for lighter work for which he was qualified, but he did not get it. He says, "The government is prejudiced, too."

<sup>2</sup>Stories were told of at least a half-dozen young people whose parents live in Abilene who are making good elsewhere. One is a pianist in a large city; one is a high school teacher in an integrated school; others are in the service or employed by the government.

It was reported that an outstanding athlete had thought of becoming a coach, but was advised against preparing for it because of the difficulty he would encounter in getting a position.

<sup>3</sup>One said, "When they go to school they get along fine;" while another said, "They play on the football team;" and a third, "They work together some in the churches." (This last comment, however, was from one who was aware of exceptions to what she considered an unprejudiced situation, for she said, "No, except in eating places.")

<sup>4</sup>One said, "No, I don't get out much. In my little circle I haven't;" and another, "No, not any more than there has been."

One stated there was very little reason for prejudice.<sup>1</sup>

The people who were interviewed considered integration at least not undesirable. Most of them answered, "desirable,"<sup>2</sup> but a few gave no direct answer.

There was considerable difference of opinion on the part which the government should play in integration. Some of the white people who said the government might properly deal with this matter expressed agreement with the suggestion that city government might well concern itself with integration to the extent of passing local ordinances.<sup>3</sup> The view that local government was the one most concerned was suggested by one who doubted that the federal government should act at this time.<sup>4</sup> There was considerable support among

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<sup>1</sup>One white woman, estimated to be over 75 years of age, answered, "Not much. We have a wonderful set of colored people here. They have very well-behaved children--better than some of the white children."

<sup>2</sup>One community leader said, "Necessary," while another stated, "It needs to be recognized," and two other persons did not make their position clear.

<sup>3</sup>The difficulty likely to be encountered by anyone who tries to get the city government to take any action against discrimination was illustrated by one of those who supported this view. He told of an incident in an Abilene restaurant about five years ago which had involved the Chamber of Commerce. At that time the Chamber of Commerce had issued a number of advertising booklets through city hostesses selected for each ward. The booklets listed business establishments which would welcome the holders of booklets. Many of the places of business had a gift for each one who brought in a booklet. One local restaurant offered one free meal. The minister of one of the Negro churches, having received a booklet, went to the restaurant, taking along his family, with the intention of purchasing the extra meals. At the restaurant, however, they were refused service. The Negro minister then took the matter to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, who planned to accompany the Negro family to the restaurant for a meal. Influential members of the Chamber of Commerce warned the Secretary that if he valued his job, he would be wise to let the matter drop.

<sup>4</sup>The community leader referred to recommended that something be done at the "local level first."

those interviewed for the matter to be kept out of the hands of government.<sup>1</sup>

Negro people generally agreed that the government should act, but there were two opposing points of view. Some believed that action by the federal government was the most likely to be effective,<sup>2</sup> while others believed that local action, perhaps not even by the government, would accomplish more.<sup>3</sup> One expressed the conviction that Negroes, by being loyal, tax-paying citizens, merited more help from the government than they were receiving.<sup>4</sup>

Some indication of the effect the stand taken by the federal government has had on traditional attitudes in Abilene was revealed early in the study, in separate interviews with two white women who preferred separation of the races, but were in doubt as to their legal right to discriminate on the basis

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<sup>1</sup>One who gave every evidence of full support of integration said, "This is personal."

Two community leaders whose other answers indicated only mild support for integration also commented on the undesirability of government action. One said, "There is no reason for any government action with a small minority such as we have here;" while the other stated, "This is a matter of education."

<sup>2</sup>One commented, "It's the only way to get much done."

<sup>3</sup>A high school boy said, "A lot can be done by the people, without passing a law," and one of the adults perhaps expressed the same idea by saying, "No," to action by the federal government and commenting that, "Local can do more."

<sup>4</sup>This Negro leader said, "Negroes pay taxes and Negro soldiers serve in the armed forces, yet the trains run right by the colored church, and the streets are not kept up."



of color.<sup>1</sup>

It is not customary to evaluate a white person immediately upon learning his "race." Instead, judgment is reserved until many more facts are ascertained. The things one may wish to know about the person may be considerably different, depending upon whether he is being considered as a possible neighbor, a prospective employee, or a potential friend. Negro people ask that they be given the same consideration.<sup>2</sup>

Even though responses from white people in Abilene for the most part gave little indication of any inclination to make as complete a change of

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<sup>1</sup>Along Highway 40, in Abilene, there are places which provide overnight accommodations for motorists. A woman in charge of one of these, when asked whether she ever rented to Negroes, replied, "No, I don't want to get mixed up with anything like that. A carload of Negroes stopped here once, but fortunately we had no vacancy." She told of recent patrons from St. Louis who said they had rented and paid for a cabin in a motel in town, but, upon discovering the cabin next to them was occupied by Negro people, they decided to leave without even asking for their money back. She told of the incident as something she couldn't quite believe actually happened in Abilene. "I don't think any motel in town would keep Negroes, but that was what they said." She went on, then, to express the hope that she would not be breaking the law by refusing to rent to Negro people. "Do you know whether there is any law that says you have to keep them?" she asked. "Well, if you find out there is one, I wish you'd let me know. I wouldn't want to get into any trouble."

Another who didn't want trouble discussed the possibility that Negro people might be served in a restaurant. She said she would try to choose a place that was not right next to Negroes. She felt that she would be uncomfortable if a Negro came in and sat next to her, but she would not feel at liberty to get up and leave--"Now that the law says we are equal. And the Bible, too, I guess."

<sup>2</sup>One of them said, "We want color forgotten. We want just to be treated as a first-class citizen. We want to be able to buy a cup of coffee or a coke."

Another said, "There has always been the dividing line. It seems a necessary evil now, but things are getting better."

A third said, "I have seen white people uncouth and dirty getting served while they refused service to neatly dressed, polite Negroes. A person who is acting civil should be served. We should see people as persons."

One told of growing up in a rural community in Kansas. He said he was not aware of prejudice there, but when he left the home community, he met the color line. "I used to wonder", he said, "what the trouble was--whether I had done something I shouldn't have."

attitude as would be involved for many in considering the person without regarding the color, there were several responses that suggested that to be identified as an "Abilene" Negro is to be pointed out as an exceptionally fine sort of colored person.<sup>1</sup>

Attitudes expressed in Abilene indicated that that is about as much recognition as can be expected in Abilene now, or in the foreseeable future.<sup>2</sup>

Instead of the tension of transition, comments indicate a strong traditional pattern that is firmly based upon familiar attitudes. Whether traditional beliefs underlie these habits of thought is somewhat more questionable. Not often was there a mention of the cultural lag.<sup>3</sup> However, the possibilities of Negro participation in government, except for the exercise of suffrage, would seem to be remote. While there were a few exceptions, the attitudes discovered at work in Abilene were of the sort to require Negro citizens to remain in an independent relationship to their government.

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<sup>1</sup>Some of the statements quoted previously support this. Here is one made by a school official, called upon unexpectedly for a brief statement on the racial situation: "We are very fortunate in Abilene in having both a limited number and a fine type."

<sup>2</sup>A strong supporter of integration, who feels himself part of a rather helpless minority, commented: "Integration won't get far in Abilene. There are too many 'nice' people."

One who finds the situation in Abilene "entirely satisfactory" warns, "Someone coming in could make trouble if they tried to gain advantages quickly for the colored people." He says, "The best way to gain advantage in this area is through sympathy. The American people are strong for an under-dog."

Another community leader stated that the situation, "To my knowledge, is entirely satisfactory. To my knowledge, there has been no problem."

Still another said that conditions had "remained about the same," for the past five years, and added, "Small town mores are set."

<sup>3</sup>One local pastor commented, "Northern people don't know the uneducated Negroes....If we could educate the children--get them in school and keep them there, much of the problem would disappear." (Considering the comments of the other people interviewed in Abilene, it seems that this comment must have referred to the general situation, rather than the local scene.)

The citizens of Abilene are proud of its past. To be a center of tourist trade would no doubt be acceptable. But it was reported that the disadvantages of industrial development are clearly recognized. At present there is a plentiful labor supply and rather low wages are paid, it was reported.<sup>1</sup>

Abilene is a pleasant town. It has an excellent library, modern schools, the stream-lined new Dickinson County Courthouse, the restful, gracious Brown Memorial Home, and the spacious Eisenhower Museum--and, according to attitudes discovered during this study, at least--government faces few problems here.

A local businessman reported, "A town of this size hasn't much to work up to. The group of dominant people are old, established, dignified people, who are not eager for industrial development."

It appears doubtful that they are eager for anything that involves change.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The volume and tenor of current publicity concerning the national trend toward integration; the very evident gains made in transportation, admission to schools of higher learning, and equalization of opportunity in the armed services; and the direction and consistency of the opinions rendered by the Supreme Court on cases brought before it within the past three and one-half years concerning racial segregation in all fields of American life which involve public utilities or the use of tax money; these things suggest changes which may well affect every American community, and bring about a reevaluation

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<sup>1</sup>This report was borne out by the 1950 Census Report that the median income in Abilene was \$2,167, and that 44.9 per cent had an income of less than \$2,000.

of the place of the Negro in American society, and with it, a less dependent relationship of the Negro citizen to his government.

On a national scale, there are many evidences of this development from paternalism to participation. In many cases where it has gone only a short distance from complete paternalism toward complete participation, the direction nevertheless is the same. More slowly here, more rapidly there, the movement continues to be toward participation.

Traditional practices are still quite common, however. Traditional attitudes and patterns of thought are necessary to support the practices consistent with paternalism. Although for many years these traditional practices, attitudes, and patterns of thought were satisfactory to the greater part of American society they have been challenged by a growing minority, which today is larger than ever before. (With the possible exception of the period of the American Revolution.)

Society is becoming aware that Negro people need not be ignorant, irresponsible or poverty-stricken. The public is beginning to believe there is truth in the idea, so long rejected, that to give Negro Americans equal opportunity is to provide for greater good for the nation as a whole. The benefits of admitting Negro people to full citizenship hold great promise for the whole society, and not alone for the group admitted.

As patterns of thought concerning the Negro undergo development, changes in attitude emerge. Tensions arise when these new attitudes come into conflict with traditional established practices. In this study, an attempt was made to learn something of the attitudes that may at this time be found among the people of the two cities that were studied. The attitudes of community leaders and of capable Negro people were of primary concern, but the attitudes of

others in the community were also relevant.

These attitudes were briefly examined for indications of (1) the impact of the national trend on local matters, (2) the extent to which local trends were in line with the national trend, and (3) the areas in which considerable dissimilarity of opinions indicated possible tension within the community. On the basis of this simple analysis, an effort was made to determine whether each community is now in a transitional period--whether it is showing evidence of moving away from paternalism in the direction of participation.

Attitudes disclosed during the study indicated some awareness of the national trend toward integration. Although the impact which this has made on attitudes or practices appears to be very slight, it seems to have been consistently in the direction of fuller participation.

In the city of Manhattan, the traditional attitudes and habits of thought concerning the place of the Negro in American life are under constant challenge by the presence of Negro college students of evident capability. Negro citizens who are able to command respect by meeting the standards of the white society present a similar challenge. Each of these groups, and at times both groups in unison, acts to call attention, from time to time, to practices which are in need of revision, in order to bring local practices in line with the movement toward integration. They have had some success in accomplishing their objectives. Other groups within the community do not welcome these innovations; they postpone them whenever possible; but at the same time they take the position that paternalism must not mean exploitation, and many of them agree that it is participation toward which society is moving.

Manhattan shows evidence of being in the transitional period. Progress toward participation is believed by most people interviewed to have been going forward slowly for some time. It is delayed to a certain extent by the

practice of expecting Negro people to form a separate society of their own within the community, to take unto themselves each Negro person who comes to Manhattan as a student or service-man, and in certain matters to deal with the city government as a group. There are large areas, however, where the Negro citizen is dealt with on an individual basis, and is able to take part in the life of the community just as other citizens do.

With the exception of a few statements showing awareness that federal law now supports equality, no evidence was found that Abilene has entered a period of transition. The traditional practices, attitudes and beliefs appear to be strongly established. Deeply conscious of the past, community leaders indicate no particular desire to make a name for the city in the future. For this reason, to preserve the status quo is believed by some to be of primary importance. Attitudes of many white people support the tradition of an all-white society. As Negro young people go elsewhere to seek opportunity, the virtual disappearance of the small Negro community is not unlikely.

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It has been a great privilege to make this study. It is quite impossible to make an adequate statement of appreciation for all the help that has been given, or even to list all those who made a contribution of value.

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The Chambers of Commerce of Manhattan and Abilene have been very helpful in supplying information concerning their respective cities.

Without the help of community leaders and outstanding Negro people of both Manhattan and Abilene this work would have been impossible.

The Rev. E. C. Smith, of Abilene, devoted considerable time and effort to making clear some of the respects in which the situation looks different when viewed from the other side of the color line. Among others who helped a great deal in this respect were Mrs. Washington, of Abilene; and also Mrs. Joan Miller, Mrs. Clara Webster, and Mrs. Guy Allen, of Manhattan.

These people and many more of both towns displayed great readiness to cooperate. The friendliness of the people approached made the work of investigation a pleasure.

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**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX I

## NEGRO PASSIVE RESISTANCE

The Negro people have exhibited patience and restraint under injustice. Individual Negroes have taken up arms against the oppressor, but, in the main, they have had no following among the Negro people.

Moton, himself a Negro, says:

The careful observer will discover another characteristic of Negro psychology--his quick perception of physical disadvantage and his equally quick adjustment to secure the moral advantage. In all the agitation concerning the Negro's status in America, the moral advantage has always been on his side, and with that as a lever he has steadily effected progress in spite of material disadvantages.<sup>1</sup>

It was more than prudent to suffer offenses without retaliation. It was supremely wise. The exploited have a moral advantage over the exploiter. The injured group which meets violence with violence loses that moral advantage, and to a certain extent justifies the oppressive measures of the group in power.

A contrast of the white man's relations with the American Indian and the Negro shows that the Indian's violent objection to exploitation placed him in a weaker position than the Negro's, who took injustice quietly and went on making the best of life as it was.

The white man said to the Indian, "I am a better man than you are." The Indian stood silent and erect, watching for an opportunity to put an end to the life of this arrogant intruder. Occasional Indian massacres stiffened the white man's resolve to wipe out the whole group, and led to the saying that the only good Indian is a dead Indian.

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<sup>1</sup>Robert R. Moton, What The Negro Thinks, quoted by Myrdal, op. cit., p. 43.

When the white man said to the Negro, "I am a better man than you are," the Negro bowed and answered, "Yes, sir, yes, sir!" The white man concluded that he had established his point, but he has often had an uneasy suspicion that the Negro was laughing at him behind his back.

For the white man knows that he hasn't lived up to his own code, and that his failures have been particularly striking in connection with the history of the Negro in America.

Deeply religious and intensely democratic as are the mass of the whites, they feel acutely the false position in which the Negro problems place them. Such an essentially honest-hearted and generous people cannot cite the caste levelling precepts of Christianity, or believe in equality of opportunity for all men, without coming to feel more and more with each generation that the present drawing of the color-line is a flat contradiction to their beliefs and professions.<sup>1</sup>

The Negro knows that in refraining from violence, he is, by the white man's own standards, the better man.

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<sup>1</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 42. Taken from The Souls of Black Folk, W.E.B. DuBois.

## APPENDIX II

## NEGRO NEWS IN THE MANHATTAN MERCURY

Regular examination of the Manhattan Mercury from about June 1, 1956, until about May 15, 1957, produced 135 clippings. No doubt many other items were overlooked.

In the Manhattan Mercury for Sunday, December 23, 1956, was a page of pictures entitled, "Headliners of 1956." Considered important enough to be included in this review of outstanding events of the year was a picture entitled, "Desegregation." The camera had recorded a scene in front of the courthouse in Clinton, Tennessee, while National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets held a crowd at bay. Within the period that the Mercury was examined, there were at least a dozen other pictures or articles on the same general theme. In the December 23 issue there was a summary, month by month, of important news events. Six items of race relations interest were mentioned, including the attempt of Autherine Lucy to pursue her education at the University of Alabama, and the integration of 12,500 Negro and 35,000 white students in the schools of Louisville, Kentucky, without violence. Thirteen items were clipped dealing with judges or with court action in connection with racial tension. Eight articles dealt with bus boycotts in three Southern cities. Twenty-eight told of civil rights or the Negro vote as it referred to Congress or the President. Four described outbreaks of violence in four Southern states against Negroes or white people working for integration. Four concerned legislation in the South enforcing segregation in athletics, while seven concerned the careers or public statements of well-known Negro athletes. Six items told of three cases of violent crimes involving Negro criminals. There were eleven miscellaneous articles dealing with: number of Negroes in

federal jobs, American Communist support of Antisegregation, consideration by Pope Pius XII of an African Negro for the post of cardinal, and other interesting news items involving Negroes.

Turning now to the consideration of local news items, one article announced the coming and another reported the address of Hodding Carter, who in a speech before a K-State Assembly told of serious racial tension in Mississippi. The United Church Women of Manhattan held a panel discussion including as members of the panel a graduate student from the Philippines and another from Nigeria. Another article included a picture of the group. In fact, the Mercury included a large number of college or local non-whites in its pictures, although many newspapers have a policy which bans or greatly restricts the use of pictures of Negro people. Including two from Fort Riley and two of visiting Negro basketball players, there were thirty-three pictures of Negroes or of mixed groups. Among some of the pictures were these: a teacher of the Douglas School announced her engagement and her picture accompanied the article; later she was shown as photographed in her wedding gown; two other Negro brides were similarly honored; three pictures of children of the Douglas School engaged in a number of activities were published; a front page picture on May 3, 1957, showed five Junior High School students who had been chosen to act as school officials during "Boys and Girls Week;" one of the principals was a Negro boy; pictures of Senior High athletes, of Girl Scouts, of winners of local prizes, participants in grade school contests, Cookie League champs, the Senior High Football King--all showed white and Negro children and young people together. The Sertoma Club put on a community drive for funds for park improvement in the form of a minstrel show. Performers, whose pictures were published, included the choir of a local Negro church. There were three pictures of Negro ministers. A total of

forty-eight favorable articles and pictures were found dealing with something concerning the Douglas community, the college, or Fort Riley, and mentioning Negro people or their activities in one way or another.

## APPENDIX III

EXAMPLES OF INTEGRATION ARTICLES APPEARING  
IN POPULAR MAGAZINES, 1954-1957

- Colliers: October 15, 1954 - The Negro in America Today, by Alan Paton  
 October 29, 1954 - The Negro in the North, by Alan Paton  
 November 23, 1956 - The Ordeal of Bobby Cain, by George McMillan
- Life: September 3, 1956 - Segregation, by Robert Wallace, with acknowledgments to a number of scholars and institutions.  
 September 10, 1956 - The Coming of Jim Crow, by Robert Wallace  
 September 17, 1956 - The Voices of the White South, by Robert Wallace  
The Halting and Fitful Battle for Integration,  
 (No author given)  
 September 24, 1956 - The Restraints: Open and Hidden, by R. Wallace  
 October 1, 1956 - Last Part: Background of Segregation, by Billy Graham and a round table of Southern Churchmen  
School Battle Turns to Law.
- Look: April 30, 1957 - Eight Klans Bring New Terror to the South, by Fletcher Knebel and Clark Mollenhoff  
A Rare Lesson About Love (White couple unwittingly adopts Negro child)  
 May 28, 1957 - A Georgia Minister Offers a Solution for the South, by Robert B. McNeill.
- Saturday Evening Post:  
 July 24, 1954 - Chief Justice Earl Warren's Greatest Moment, by Beverly Smith  
 December 17, 1955 - Racial Crisis in the Deep South, by Hodding Carter
- U.S. News and World Report:  
 April 20, 1956 - \*Political Revolt in the South, by Alex McCullough  
 July 6, 1956 - \*City of Washington in Trouble  
What to Do About Group Prejudice in U.S., Excerpts from The More Perfect Union, by Robert M. MacIver  
 October 5, 1956 - Voluntary Integration Plan, an interview with Dr. Omar Carmichael  
Teachers' Views on Mixed Schools, Congress hears about D.C. integration  
Guns Cannot Promote Education, by James Byrnes  
What is the Law of the Land?, by David Lawrence

\*Not primarily concerned directly with integration, but dealing with it as one aspect that arises in connection of the discussion of another topic.



## APPENDIX IV

## SET 1

SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CITY OF MANHATTAN  
AND THE TREND TOWARD INTEGRATION

At the present time there is a great deal of public interest in integration. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that the public schools must not be segregated schools. Cases have come up regarding segregated swimming pools, segregated seating in buses, etc. There seems to be a definite trend toward integration.

1. Do you consider this trend desirable or undesirable ?
2. Is this matter one that may be dealt with by our federal government?  
Yes No (Or do you consider it outside the sphere of government?)  
(b) If you consider it a proper function of government, to what extent would you suggest that the city government concern itself with the matter?  
1. Not at all 2. Enough to carry out federal rulings  
3. To the extent of passing local ordinances
3. Do you feel that the church should take a stand? Yes No  
(b) Which do you believe best describes the attitude of the churches of Manhattan  
1. In favor of a limited segregation  
2. In favor of integration  
3. Actively opposing any further integration  
4. Actively supporting the trend toward integration
4. Would you have any objection to employing Negro teachers for classes of white children? Yes No  
(b) For classes in which some children are white and some are Negro? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you know of any types of employment from which Negroes are excluded? (In Manhattan) \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) Are there some of these which you feel should be open to any qualified person? \_\_\_\_\_ If so, what are they? \_\_\_\_\_
6. In your opinion, should people who operate restaurants, barber-shops, theaters, hotels, and motels be permitted to make distinctions because of color? Yes No  
(b) Do you believe those businessmen in Manhattan who have made distinctions in the past would make less money if they served all customers without regard to color?  
In the case of: 1. a restaurant \_\_\_\_\_ 2. a barber-shop \_\_\_\_\_  
3. a theater \_\_\_\_\_ 4. a hotel \_\_\_\_\_ 5. a motel \_\_\_\_\_
7. How do you feel about the policy of providing free swimming at the Douglas Pool for Negroes and discouraging Negroes from swimming in the Municipal Pool? Approve Disapprove No feeling
8. Do you feel that any citizen should be permitted to purchase a home anywhere in the city? Yes No  
(b) Do you know of any instances where this hasn't been the case? \_\_\_\_\_

9. It has been said that more housing for Negroes is needed in Manhattan. If this is true, which would be the best way of meeting this need:
- (1) permitting Negroes to rent, buy, or build in every part of the city where they could maintain the standards of the neighborhood with regards building codes, property appearances, etc.?
  - (2) Setting aside a certain new area to be developed for Negroes?
  - (3) Careful rebuilding within the present Negro district to make more efficient use of space and provide good housing for more people?
  - (4) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Do you feel that the city of Manhattan should do something to further the solution you have indicated? \_\_\_\_\_ If so, what? \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) The present Negro district is in an industrial zone, and there is some dissatisfaction over the junk yards and other undesirable businesses that form part of the industry located there. In your opinion, does this call for some action on the part of the city? Yes No No opinion
- If yes, have you suggestions? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Do you think a well-qualified Negro could be elected to office in Manhattan?
- Probable Possible Impossible \_\_\_\_\_
11. Keeping in mind what you would consider an ideal situation for all concerned, how would you describe the racial situation in Manhattan?
- Entirely satisfactory Fairly satisfactory Unsatisfactory
- (b) Within the past five years has it
- Remained about the same Shown improvement Become less satisfactory

(Note: In questions 2(b) and 9(a) one answer does not necessarily exclude the other answers given, or a suggestion of your own. Use the back of the sheet if more space is needed.)

## APPENDIX IV

## Set 2

1. Have you ever failed to use the library because you felt you weren't welcome?
2. If a bicycle had been stolen from some member of your family, would you report the theft to police? If not, why not?
3. If you were brought before the court for some offense, would you expect a fair trial?
4. If you applied for a job with the city, would you expect as much consideration as other applicants?
5. What possibility is there of your becoming at some time an elected official?  
Strong                      Slight                      None
6. Are you a registered voter?                      If not, why not?
7. If you are a registered voter, do you vote in all elections?  
If not, why not?
8. Does the city take good care of the street in front of your home?  
Good                      Fair                      Poor  
How does this service compare with this service in other parts of the city?  
About the same                      Better                      Worse
9. Are you satisfied with the city schools? Do other Manhattan citizens get more from them?
10. Have you noticed any signs of race prejudice in Manhattan?

GORDON N. JONES, CHAIRMAN

WICHITA

CHESTER L. MIZE, JR.

ATCHISON

REV. J. RUSSELL BROWN

KANSAS CITY

BEN E. SCHAFER

TOPEKA

HOWARD W. BREWER

WICHITA

STATE OF KANSAS



MALCOLM B. HIGGINS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

MILLS BUILDING TOPEKA, KANSAS

TELEPHONE 3.3429

May 16, 1957

Mrs. Dorothy Lloyd  
Detroit  
Kansas

Dear Mrs. Lloyd:

Thank you for informing us of the correct spelling of your name. We are glad that the mailman has been delivering our correspondence even though your name was misspelled.

I have inquired of the Clerk of the Kansas Supreme Court regarding the Fort Scott swimming pool case. This case which you referred to is on the Supreme Court Docket for hearing sometime in September or October unless, of course, the court should decide to change this to an earlier date. The case is docketed as Boyd Vs. City of Fort Scott.

Although I have no information concerning an announcement that the city is opening its swimming pool to Negroes this summer, there is a possibility the city has so decided, and if so, the case before the Supreme Court maybe dropped. I would suggest for further information you write to Mayor William Rardin of Fort Scott and Mr. Joe Arkle, leasee of the Fort Scott pool, and ask them to supply you with the latest information concerning the use of the swimming pool this summer. Perhaps a letter to the Editor of the Fort Scott Tribune newspaper would also provide you with information you can use in your thesis.

If I can be of any further assistance let me know.

Sincerely yours,

*Malcolm B. Higgins*

Malcolm B. Higgins  
Executive Secretary

MBH:njh

**WILLIAM RARDIN**

**MAYOR**

FORT SCOTT, KANSAS

May 23, 1957

Mrs. Dorothy Lloyd  
1441 Laramie Street  
Manhattan, Kansas

Dear Madam:

For several years Fort Scott has had two swimming pools. One was operated free to the negroes.

This year we are opening only one pool on a trial basis for both whites and negroes.

Yours truly,

*William Rardin*  
WR

Mayor

WR:vs



**CHURCHES**

- 1 First Christian ---- D-2
- 2 Christian Science -- DE-2
- 3 College Baptist ---- F-4
- 4 First Congregatnl. -- D-3
- 5 First Baptist ---- D-3
- 5a Central Baptist --- E-3
- 6 First Lutheran ---- D-4
- 7 First Presbyterian -- D-3
- 8 St. Luke's Lutheran -- D-6
- 9 First Methodist ---- D-3
- 10 St. Paul's Episcopal -- C-3
- 11 Seven Dolors Catholic C-3
- 12 Seventh Day Advent. E-3
- 13 Church of God ---- C-3
- 14 Nazarene ---- E-3
- 15 Wesleyan Methodist -- C-4
- 16 Church of Christ --- D-3
- 17 God in Christ ---- C-3
- 18 Pilgrim Baptist ---- C-3
- 19 African Methodist -- C-2
- 20 Shepard Chapel ---- C-4
- 21 Free Methodist ---- D-3
- 22 United Presbyterian -- D-4
- 23 1st Assembly of God E-3
- 24 Latter Day Saints -- E-5

**Student Centers**

- 25 Wesley Foundation -- E-5
- 26 Christian Stud. Fdn. -- E-5
- 27 Westminster Found. -- D-5

**COLLEGE BUILDINGS**

- A—Anderson Hall (Admin.)
- AG—Waters Hall (Agriculture)
- AI—Animal Industries
- AL—Aeronautical Laboratory
- AS—Eisenhower Hall (Arts & Sci)
- AU—Auditorium
- C—Calvin Hall (Home Economics)
- CB—Classroom Barracks
- CH—College Hospital (Students)
- D—Dickens Hall (Botany)
- DB—Dairy Barns
- DC—Danforth Chapel
- E—Seaton Hall (Engineering)
- ED—Holton Hall (Education)
- EX—Umberger Hall (Extension)
- F—Fairchild Hall (Zoology)
- FH—Ahearn Field House (Gym)
- FT—Feed Technology Wing
- GR—Greenhouses
- HM—Home Management Houses
- I—Illustrations Building
- K—Kedzie Hall (Journalism)
- L—Farrell Library
- MS—Military Science Building
- N—Nichols Gym (Radio KSAC)
- NW—Northwest Dorm. (Women)
- P—Stock Judging Pavilion
- PH—President's Home
- PP—Power, Heat & Service
- R—Farm Machinery Hall
- S—Engineering Shops
- SA—Bushnell Hall (Animals Lab)
- SE—Southeast Dorm. (Women)
- SU—Student Union
- T—Thompson Hall (Cafeteria)
- V—Veterinary Hall
- VH—Dykstra Veterinary Hospital
- VSH—Veterinary Science Hall
- VZ—Van Zile Hall (Women Dorm)
- W—Willard Hall (Phys. & Chem.)
- X—Mathematics Hall
- XX—Chemical Engineering

**MANHATTAN, KANSAS—STREETS**

- Allen Road ---- H-2
- Anderson Avenue --- E-5, 6
- Beck Street ---- H, G-2
- Bellehaven Road --- E-8
- Bertrand Street --- F
- Blaker Drive ---- H, I-2
- Bluemont Avenue --- E
- Bluemont Circle --- F-2
- Bluemont Drive --- F-2
- Campus Road ---- F, G-6
- Canfield Drive --- E-7
- Cedar Acres Drive -- F-8
- Cedar Bend ---- E-8
- Cedar Drive ---- C-6
- Chris Drive ---- C-7
- Clafin Circle ---- F-6
- Clafin Road ---- F
- College Avenue --- F-7
- College Hts. Road -- E-6, 7
- College Street --- D-6
- College View Road -- F-7
- Colorado Street --- C
- Cornelia Court --- E-7
- Delaware Avenue -- C, D-6
- Denison Avenue --- E, F-6
- Edgerton Avenue --- D-7
- Ehler Road ---- F-2, 3
- Eighth Street --- 3
- Eighteenth Street -- 5
- Elaine Drive ---- F-6
- Eleventh Street --- 4
- Elling Drive ---- E-7
- Elm Lane ---- B-6, 7
- El Paso Street --- C
- Evergreen Avenue -- D-6
- Fairchild Avenue -- D-5
- Fairchild Terrace -- D, E-6
- Fairview Avenue --- D-5
- Fair Lane ---- B-5
- Fifteenth Street --- 5
- Fifth Street ---- 2
- Fourteenth Street -- 5
- Fourth Street --- 2
- Fremont Street --- D
- Frey Drive ---- I-3
- Glenwood Lane --- E-7
- Goodnow Avenue --- E, F-7
- Grandview Terrace -- D-7
- Grandview Drive --- D-6, 7
- Green Avenue ---- H, I-2
- Griffith Drive ---- I-3
- Hanly Street ---- H-2, 3
- Harris Avenue --- E-6
- Harry Road ---- F, G-6
- Hartford Road --- F, G-7
- Hayes Drive ---- G, H-2
- Hillcrest Drive --- F, G-7
- Houston Street --- C
- Humboldt Street --- D
- Hunting Avenue --- E-6
- Indian Mound Lane -- E-8
- Jardine Drive ---- G-6
- Jarvis Drive ---- F, G-6
- Jay Court ---- E-7
- Judson Street --- G, H-2
- Juliette Avenue --- 3
- Karla Lane ---- E, F-8
- Kearney Street --- E
- Laramie Street --- E
- Leavenworth Street -- D
- Lee Street ---- E-7
- LeGore Lane ---- F-4
- Lincoln Drive --- H-3
- Longview Drive --- C-6
- Lookout Drive --- E-8
- Manhattan Avenue -- 4
- McCollum Street --- F-6
- Meadomere Court --- E-7
- Meadow Lane ---- F-3
- Michael Road ---- E, F-8
- Midland Avenue --- E-7
- Montgomery Drive -- E-6
- Moro Street ---- E
- Ninth Street ---- 3
- Northview Drive --- H, I-2
- Oak Street ---- C-6, 7
- Oakdale Drive --- D, E-7
- Osage Street ---- D
- Park Drive ---- D-7
- Pierre Street --- C
- Pillsbury Drive --- C-1, 2
- Pine Drive ---- C-6
- Pipher Lane ---- F, G-7
- Platt Street ---- F-6
- Pomeroy Street --- F-4
- Pottawatomie Avenue -- B
- Poyntz Avenue --- D
- Quivera Circle --- E, F-6
- Quivera Drive --- E, F-6
- Ratone Lane ---- F-3
- Ratone Street --- F
- Rebecca Road ---- F-8
- Ridge Drive ---- C-6, 7
- Riley Street ---- B
- Rockhill Road --- C-5, 6
- Scheu Drive ---- C-6
- Second Street --- 2
- Seventeenth Street -- 5
- Shelle Road --- B, C-7
- Sixth Street --- 3
- Sixteenth Street --- 5
- Skyline Drive --- F-3
- Sloan Street ---- H, I-3
- Strong Avenue --- G-2
- Summit Avenue --- C-7
- Sunny Slope Lane --- F-4
- Sunset Avenue --- 6
- Sunset Lane ---- D-6
- Sycamore Lane --- F-8
- Tecumseh Road --- F-7
- Tenth Street --- 4
- Thacker' Street --- E-6
- Third Street --- 2
- Thurston Street --- E
- Timberlane Drive --- E-8
- Todd Road ---- F-6
- Twelfth Street --- 4
- Vail Circle ---- F-8
- Valley Drive ---- C-6
- Vattier Street --- E
- Vista Lane ---- F-4
- Walnut Drive --- C-6, 7
- West Osage Street -- D-5
- Westview Drive --- D, E-7
- Westwood Road --- C-6
- Wickham Road --- D, E-6, 7
- Wildcat Ridge --- E-8
- Willard Place ---- E-7
- Williston Road --- F-4
- Woodland Street --- F-8
- Wyandotte Avenue --- 1
- Yuma Street ---- C

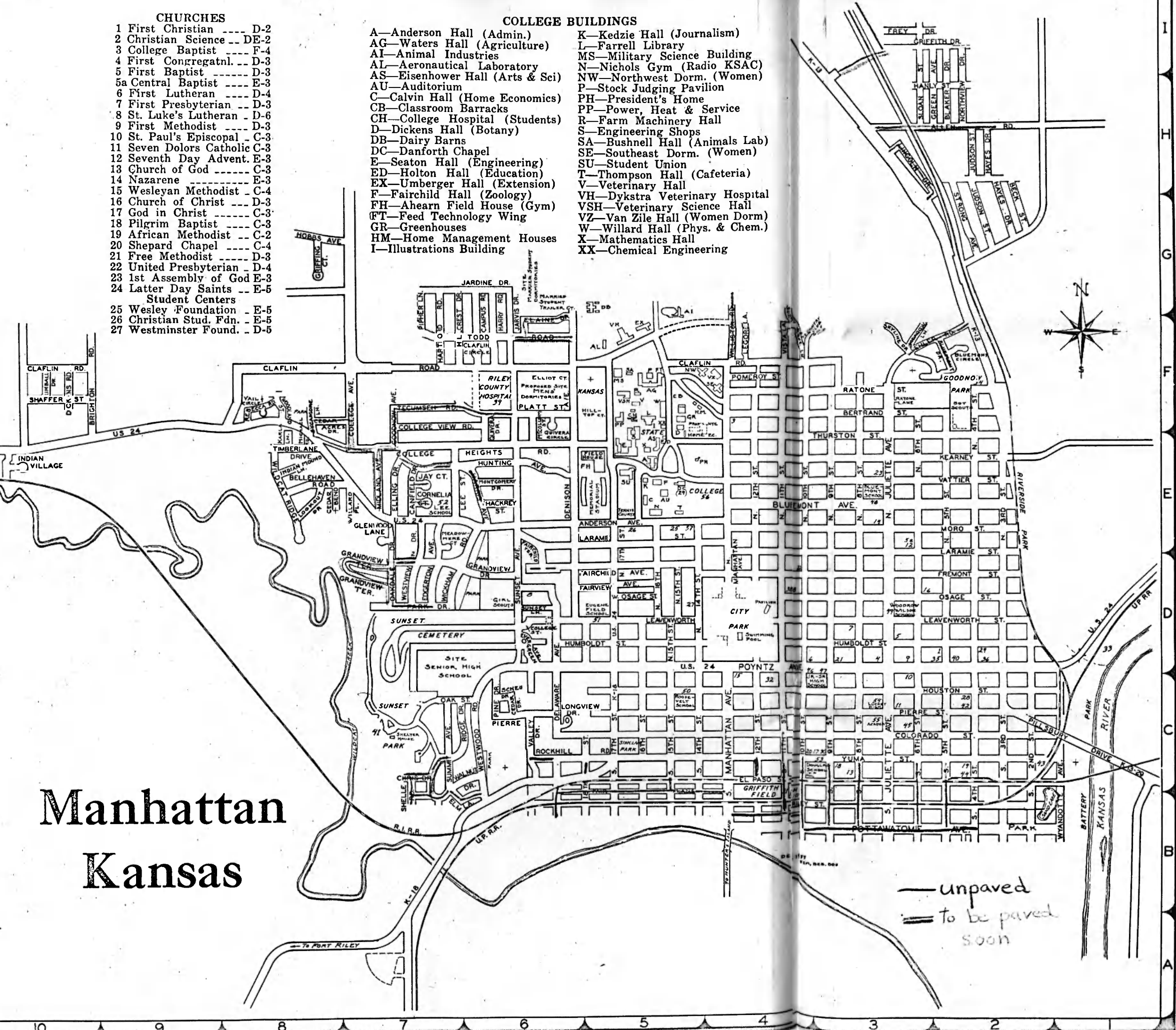
**PUBLIC BUILDINGS**

- 28 U. S Post Office -- C-2
- 29 Community House -- D-2
- 30 Douglas Center --- C-3
- 31 Griff. Fld., Fair Gr. B. C-4
- 32 Fire, Police, City Hall & Auditorium -- C-4
- 33 Sewage Dis. Plant -- D-1
- 34 Water Plant ---- F-2
- 35 Library ---- D-2
- 36 Chmbr. of Commerec D-2
- 38 St. Mary Hospital -- D-4
- 39 Riley Co. Hospital -- F-6
- 40 Court House ---- D-2
- 41 Sunset Park & Zoo -- C-7
- 42 Bus Station ---- C-2
- 43 U. P. Station ---- C-3
- 44 R. I. Station ---- C-2
- 45 County Jail ---- C-3

**SCHOOLS**

- 46 Senior High School -- C-4
- 47 Junior High School -- C-3
- 48 Bluemont School --- E-3
- 49 W. Wilson School -- D-3
- 50 T. Roosevelt School -- C-5
- 51 E. Field School --- D-5
- 52 Lee School ---- E-7
- 53 Douglas School --- C-3, 4
- 54 Luckev High School C-3
- 55 Sacred Heart Acad. -- C-3
- 56 Kansas State College E-5
- 57 Manhattan Bible Col. E-5

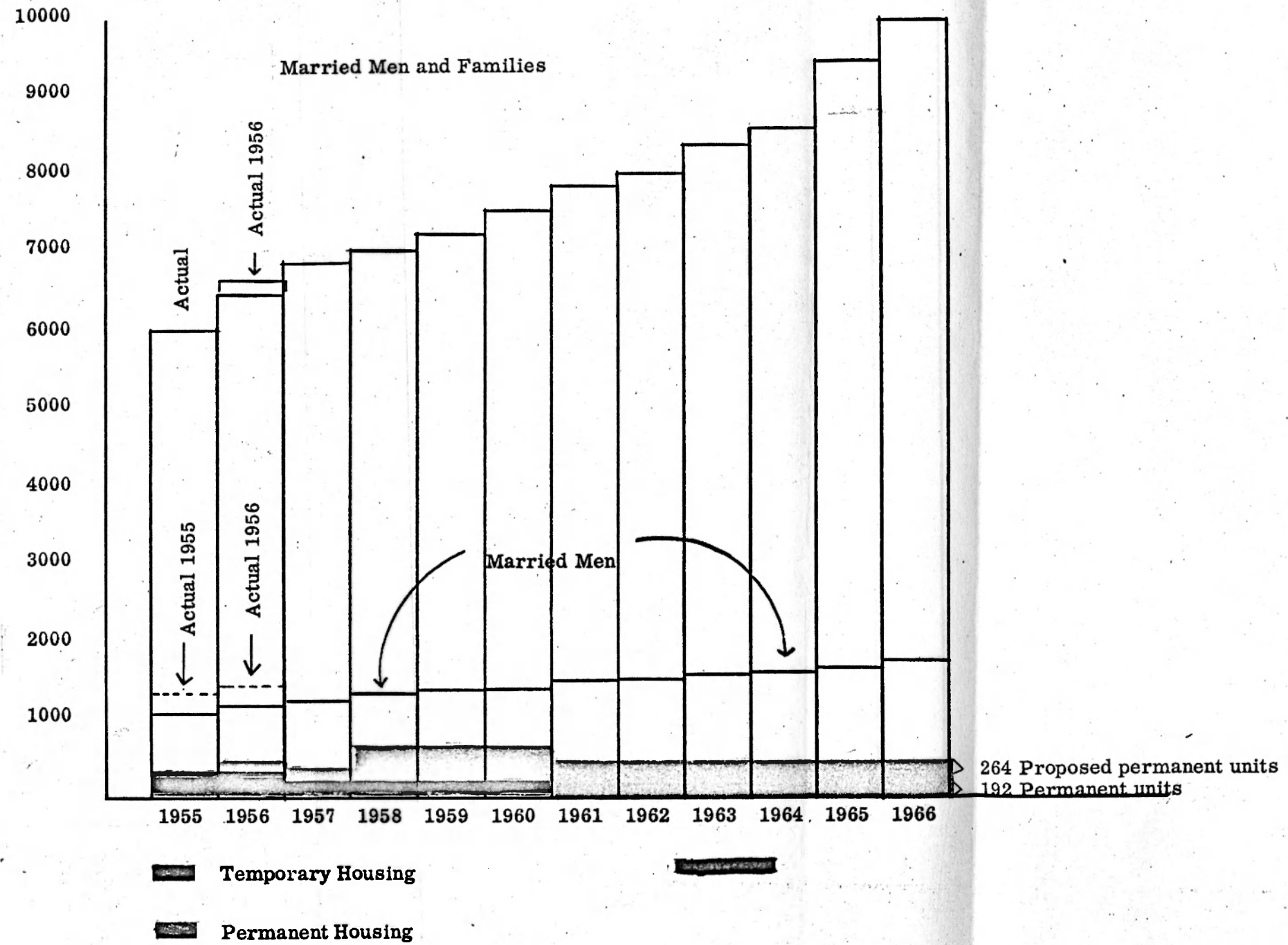
# Manhattan Kansas



— unpaved  
 - - - to be paved soon

APPENDIX VI

Student Housing at Kansas State College  
Manhattan, Kansas



The central purpose of this study of Manhattan and Abilene was (1) to determine attitudes affecting their Negro citizens' relationship to government, and (2) to examine these attitudes and consider some of the implications.

A secondary purpose developed early in the study. That purpose was to secure historical background and a broad view of the current situation in the United States in order to provide perspective for the examination of attitudes discovered at the present time in these two communities.

In accordance with these complementary purposes, the thesis itself is divided into two parts of about equal size, the first half dealing with the background material, the second half describing the attitudes discovered in Manhattan and Abilene, and examining them against the background supplied by the first half of the study.

The procedure involved collecting relevant material from many sources. A series of interviews with people in Manhattan and Abilene was begun early in the study. Books, pamphlets, current magazines and newspapers were scanned for pertinent material. Most of this literature bore only an indirect relation to the two cities being studied, but a great deal of it was very helpful, nevertheless.

During the final period of intensive investigation two sets of questions were developed. The first set was used to guide the course of interviews with community leaders and outstanding Negro people. An attempt was made to get answers in a form that would facilitate comparison of attitudes; additional comments that made clear the exact opinion of the person being interviewed were welcomed, and were recorded on the same or an additional sheet. The second set of questions was addressed to unidentified persons in various parts of town. Responses of white and Negro people were recorded on separate sheets. An



attempt was made in this way to discover attitudes toward the government, and to learn whether it was believed that Negro people had a place in the life of the city which was significantly different from that of other people.

In Manhattan, the findings revealed a considerable range of opinion; but lacking a sense of urgency, and accompanied by a fairly high degree of willingness to adjust personal attitudes to the general good, the varying opinions did not appear to produce tensions in any way comparable to those reported from many other American communities in recent months. Viewed against the historical background, Manhattan is seen to be traditional in many respects, but not entirely so. There are indications that Manhattan, like many other American communities today, is in a period of transition; and that, although Manhattan is not moving as rapidly as many other communities, the direction is the same. That direction is away from a traditional position in which Negro people had a completely dependent relationship to government, through a transitional period of readjustment of attitudes and practices to the proven capabilities of many Negro people, to a period of restored equilibrium on a new basis. In the new equilibrium, the relationship of the Negro to his government is expected to be one of participation to the degree that his own desires and capabilities permit. A few evidences of limited participation in government by Manhattan Negro people at the present time were discovered. A situation in which full participation is possible has not yet been realized.

In Abilene, not enough evidence of change was discovered to warrant a statement that that city is in a period of transition. The attitudes found in Abilene were, for the most part, traditional.