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# Burge in the *Color Line*

By James N. Rhea

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## 2 Million Negro Migrants Bring New Problems North

Nearly two million Negroes moved from the South into the Northeast, the North Central States and the West between 1940 and 1950.

This migration doubled the nonwhite population of 30 metropolitan areas in these regions.

Are racial tensions increasing as a result of this situation? What has the migration meant to public schools? What has been its impact on housing? How are the new Northerners and Westerners faring economically? What is the political significance of these shifting populations?

To get answers to these and related questions, The Providence Journal and The Evening Bulletin sent James N. Rhea on a coast-to-coast survey of major industrial centers.

He spent an average of a week in each of the following cities: New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Richmond (Calif.).

He talked with hundreds of ordinary folk of both races, with public officials, social workers, labor leaders and businessmen. What they told him he tried to evaluate in the light of his own experience.

Rhea is a native of Johnson City, Tenn. After being honorably discharged from the Army in 1945, he resumed his education at the University of Michigan. He was graduated in 1947 and since has followed closely the development of race relations in America. He joined the staff of these newspapers in June, 1950, after three years with The Journal and Guide in Norfolk, Va.

This is the first of a series of articles reporting his answers to the above questions and related ones and giving his personal observations about them.



James N. Rhea

## Negroes Are Optimistic, Dissatisfied With Gains

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## Negroes Are Optimistic, Dissatisfied With Gains

One day in the war year of 1943 J. C. Farr figured he'd had enough of Beaumont, Texas. He quit his job with a metal company, carefully wound up his affairs and headed for God's Country.

God's Country is what some southern Negroes call the North or West or any other non-Southern region. In Farr's case it was Richmond, Calif. He moved there lock, stock, barrel and family.

"Well, I reckon I wanted a better deal for my kids," he told me a few weeks ago in a Richmond real estate office where he was arranging to "buy some sort of place of my own."

Farr had a distant look in his eyes and his brown face was drawn with seriousness as he went on to explain:

"Yeah, I supposed I needed a better job and a chance to live where a man's color don't weigh so much it slows him down. Had friends out this way. One day I got to thinking real hard-like about my whole life. So here I am."

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"Why, the entire colored population of Bastrop, La., moved up to

the bay area," a San Francisco social worker said. "Everybody in town came up, including the Baptist preacher. I'm darned if they didn't have the same congregation and the same church officers they had back in Bastrop."

### Red Carpets Out Again

Negroes are still settling throughout the East, Midwest and West. A few years ago the red carpets were hauled back inside slowed-up factories. They're out again now, with Korean war production and general military output keeping high the need for manpower.

It has been estimated that 2,000,000 Negroes move into California each month. In the past 10 years a quarter million Negroes were added to the population of New York City. Boston's colored population almost doubled, from 23,679 to 40,057. The nonwhite population of Providence went from 6,600 to 8,681.

"If the migration keeps up at its present rate, the urban population of some of these cities is going to be solid Negro," said a public official in Chicago.

He was discussing the fact that most Negroes are forced to settle in the older central sections of cities. These sections swell and then burst from sheer pressure of numbers and their residents spread into previously all-white areas.

Many white families are moving out to suburbs, partly from race prejudice and partly in keeping with a popular trend.

#### Only Ones Moving "In Droves"

Negroes are not the only seekers of new soil. But their shifting is more significant than that of other groups because of America's race prejudice. Furthermore, as a Cleveland Urban League official put it, "They are the only ones migrating in droves."

In the early World War I and World War II periods many Negroes moved squarely into an inferno of race riots and other forms of violence instead of the Utopia of relative freedom they had expected.

Remembering this, Hodding Carter and others have warned that the current shifting may sharpen non-Southern race friction points to more Southern-like edges.

The Christian Century for Nov. 21, 1951, editorialized:

"Episodes like the Cicero riots (July, 1951) suggest that the new centers of Negro life are no better equipped sociologically and spiritually to deal with the issue than the South has been."

#### What Are the Facts

What are the facts?

1. The big non-Southern cities have made their greatest recent gains in human rights simultaneously with the unprecedented increases in their Negro populations.

2. No responsible officials or civic leaders believe these population increases will mean new large-scale, bloody riots.

3. There are serious tension spots, especially in housing, which demand constant attention.

4. Negroes with whom I talked are optimistic, but they are just as restless and dissatisfied as ever with the numerous remaining areas of discrimination.

5. The number of organizations dedicated to promoting equality

and racial harmony is increasing steadily.

6. Negroes are getting better jobs than they've had before—but they still lag far behind white groups in economic opportunity.

7. Because of real estate prejudices, Negroes still compose the highest percentage of slum dwellers.

8. Negroes are using such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to press harder than ever for equal opportunity in all areas.

#### Negroes Agree

There is no such thing as an aggregate "Negro opinion," any more than there is a "white opinion" or "short man's opinion." On some issues of the American racial situation, however, Negroes agree in general. Here are a few things that those with whom I talked believe about America in 1953:

1. The country is beginning to understand that racial discrimination is not only contrary to its professed ideals but is impractical—and dangerous from an international standpoint.

2. Legislation for "civil rights" would be a mere step to a beachhead from which the drive for true equality could be speeded up.

3. The rank and file of the American people are beginning to take their ideals more seriously than ever before.

#### The First Big Exodus

The first big exodus of Negroes from the South came in the World War I period. Obviously industry was expanding. The end of European immigration had created manpower shortages. The first big push let up after 1924, but Negroes continued to leave the South in smaller numbers.

In the early days one didn't have to depend on statistics for a picture of what was happening. Writers and others used to sit around the

big northern railroad terminals and identify Negroes just arriving in the South by their timid mannerisms, their crude luggage, their rustic dress and by the "new northerners" at the stations to welcome them.

You can still stand in these terminals and see migration as a living, dramatic phenomenon—but often you'll need the expert guidance of a red cap or other experienced person. The majority of newcomers nowadays carry no cardboard "luggage" and wear no starched overalls.

Even the 1953 South is not the same as that of 1923.

#### 'Right Beside White Girl'

J. C. Farr shrugged off the sociological terminology of The Christian Century and started talking about his daughter Evelyn, who goes to college, and another daughter who works as a stenographer "right beside white girls."

The J. C. Farris all over the country will tell you of hotels and restaurants which a few years ago would have been alarmed at the prospect of serving Negroes but now admit them freely.

They will refer you to department stores and public offices and tell you to look for brown faces where there was none five years ago or year before last—or even last year.

All this is coming about through what Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has called the "bloodless revolution of ideas."

However, progress is not fast enough to deserve the tribute paid it by a Detroit Negro leader who was informed while I was in his office that a certain bank had asked for a Negro teller. He jumped with joy, trembled with excitement, stretched out his arms in praise of the Lord, and exclaimed:

"Oh, my good brother, it is here!"

"What is here?" I asked.

"The millenium," he said. "We've cracked another bank. Our day has arrived."

I waited for him to calm down.

"Speak, man!" he said. "Has our day not arrived?"

"I doubt it," I said.

When he had cooled off a bit, he doubted it, too.

## Fight for Racial Equality Easier Than for Oldtimers

Negroes leaving the South today will find in other regions opportunities they would not have found five years ago—or even last year.

Almost every day there are reports of new gains in human relations.

These changes are not just happening. They are the result of long, hard work by thousands of Americans of all races, colors and creeds.

But for Negroes the changes have been especially costly. They have cost the lives of men like Harry T. Moore, killed on Christmas Day, 1951, in Florida because of his fight for equality. It costs money to support such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the most powerful "civil rights" proponent in the world.

And there is a high personal cost



for hundreds of talented Negroes who have sacrificed their broad personal ambitions for the tiresome, frustrating task of fighting the "race battle."

Wayne L. Hopkins, aging head of the Philadelphia Urban League, said to me:

"You know, son, some of us oldtimers who have worked so hard to bring about some of these changes are so tired now we can't enjoy them."

#### Indication of Progress

The fact that it is far easier now to fight for racial equality than it was when the "oldtimers" were starting out is itself an indication of progress.

The American people are becoming more sophisticated about race. No longer are Negroes and their white allies who make noise about equality in the North considered dangerous radicals—except by an element of super "patriots" who think that any sort of change is bad for the country.

An honest train companion said to me:

"Mister, the truth is I just don't like Negroes, never have, never will. But it's getting so I've got to at least pay lip service to the great gospel of equality if I want to keep out of arguments with my friends."

The number of hotels, restaurants and amusement places that accept Negroes without fuss has increased steadily. How recent much of this is was emphasized by a Negro maid's comment to me in one hotel.

"Negroes who stay here are usually big shots with a lot of fame," she said. "Mind if I ask your name, sir?"

I saw nothing special about the hotel. It was—well, just a hotel. But I told her my name and assured her I had no claim to fame whatsoever.

#### "How Things Change"

"My how things change," she

said. "Getting so just plain colored folks stop here."

A rather backhanded tribute was paid to progress by a white bellhop in the same hotel. He did not realize that his voice was carrying across the hall to where I was settling my bill when he said to another bellhop:

"Niggers never had it so good till now! Just look at 'em, living in rooms!"

One insignificant change threw me completely off balance. To understand why, a little background information is necessary.

There was a time when I could not feel at ease on Woodward Avenue in Detroit. There were too many places where Negroes were not welcome. You were never sure of your ground.

But in December, on the evening of my first day on this assignment in Detroit, I left city hall and started up Woodward. I was tired and hungry, and decided to turn into the first restaurant that looked inviting.

#### Old Uncertainty Returns

The old uncertainty about downtown Detroit returned. At the moment I did not feel like arguing for any rights. I just wanted to eat. It was a long way to my hotel, and I had another stop to make.

Then I began to reason that if I had seen changes in Philadelphia and Cleveland there must be some in Detroit, too. I went on looking for an appealing restaurant.

The place I decided was most inviting also seemed the most familiar. As I started in, I realized why. This was the place from which I and three white classmates at the University of Michigan had been chased out with noisy ceremony six years before.

Memory rolled backward swiftly, churning up a sort of bitterness I thought I had rid myself of. Getting kicked out of that restaurant was one of the most unpleasant pieces of discrimination I had ever

experienced. Not because discrimination was anything new for me, a Southerner; but because of what the manager or his agent had said to my fraternity brothers.

He told them he would serve them if they would send me out. They told him a hot place to go, and he then berated them for having no more race pride than to go out to dine with a Negro. He said the four of us "must be Communist troublemakers."

#### Anger Came Later

After much table-pounding and shouting and even a bit of enraged crying, the white fellows followed me out.

"This is best," I said. "This guy will say we're drunk and creating a disturbance, and then he'll call a cop. You know how Detroit cops go along in a thing like this." I was not angry. I was humiliated. Anger came later.

All that happened in April or May of 1946. And in December, 1952, I found myself entering the place again, neither knowing nor caring about the current policy. I had forgotten what I was in Detroit to do. I was ready to settle an old score—with a lecture about race and war and communism. I sat down right in the center of the room, steadied the chip on my shoulder and waited for someone to ask me to leave. It was sort of a western movie scene—a hostile stranger waiting for someone to make a hostile move.

A waitress made the first move when she thrust a menu under my nose with such a flourish it startled me and jarred the chip off my shoulder.

"Okay, sir," she said.

I stared at her.

"Huh?" I said.

"It's on the menu," she said.

Confused, I stared at the menu, and blurted out something about ham and eggs. (As I did so I remembered that the boys had ordered ham and eggs the night we got kicked out.)

#### Presence Meant Nothing

She brought the food, but I couldn't eat it. I ordered coffee, and sat there wondering if the man who had made all the fuss in 1946 was still around. He was—standing near the cashier, watching the customers. I watched him until our eyes met. I tried to make mine say, I know you. His said nothing at all. I realized my presence as a Negro meant nothing to him now.

I drank half the coffee, paid my bill and started out.

"Oh, sir!"

I turned. The waitress was holding out my briefcase.

"You forgot something," she said.

Taking the briefcase from her hand, I became a reporter again. I went out to the street. For the first time I paid close attention to the city's Christmas decoration. Somewhere a carol was being sung over a loudspeaker. I entered the hustle and bustle and enjoyed it. At a corner I bumped into a woman waiting to cross the street. When I apologized, she said: "If any more people come to Detroit, they'll be walking two deep."

I sauntered on, for the time being no longer a "Negro," just a fellow on Woodward Avenue.

\* \* \*

Such experiences, I think, account for much of the optimism I noticed about Negroes all around the country.

They do not suggest that Negroes are no longer angered and humiliated in Detroit or anywhere else. Detroit especially.

## New Jobs Give Migrants Relief from Oppression

When the J. C. Farris talked with census workers in 1950, they didn't discuss their reasons for leaving the South.

Census workers of course were concerned primarily with the purely statistical facts of migration, such as the following:

"Between 1940 and 1950 the non-white population more than doubled in 30 standard metropolitan areas in the Northeast, North Central states and the West. The high rate of increase in many of these areas, of course, involved only a relatively small number of non-whites."

This paragraph is from a government pamphlet titled "1950 Census of Population—Advance Reports." The pamphlet explains further:

"Nevertheless, the nonwhite population of standard metropolitan areas in the North (that is, Northeast and North Central states combined), and the West increased by almost two million during the decade."

Another publication, about housing of the nonwhite population, casually offered an explanation for the northward-westward movement. Industry drew Southern Negroes just as it did other population elements, the pamphlet suggested. This is the usual explanation.

It is too simple an answer. Rather, it is half an answer.

From my talks with the "new" Negroes of the North and West I conclude that job opportunities did not simply "draw" them out of the South. The jobs gave them a chance to escape Southern oppression without starving.

"I wanted a better deal for myself and my kids," J. C. Farr said.

He placed general opportunity before specific economic opportunity as a factor in his decision to leave Texas. Other Negroes talk as James White talked to me.

### Treatment Different

White, 55, came to Cleveland last August from Pine Bluff, Ark. He is a bellhop.

"It wasn't money," he said. "I liked the different treatment. My wife and I decided we ought to enjoy a few of life's good things that only Northern areas can provide, before we're too old."

"I lived in Pine Bluff 25 years before coming here. Before that, I lived in New Orleans. I always made a good living. Well, we came to Cleveland on our vacation and right away we figured this was a place we could have a pleasant life, and that's it."

Listen to a woman barber in San Francisco:

"Sure, I came here from Texas in 1942, and let me tell you, fellow, I'm going to stay away from Texas. Down there I didn't know what freedom meant. To the white folks a colored woman down there is just Jane or Sue or whatever her first name happens to be. Up here she's Miss or Mrs. Somebody. Of course, I make a better living here, too."

### Jim Crow Rules

I heard this indictment of the Southern attitude toward Negro women frequently. Its clearest expression came from Miss Alva Maxey, a Chicago social worker.

"In Atlanta, my home town, I got on a Jim Crow coach one day, not thinking too much about it," she said. "I noticed Mrs. Rufus Clements, wife of the president of Atlanta University, sitting quietly across from me—Jim Crowed de-

spite her fine education, deep culture and wonderful character and personality. All at once I began to cry.

"More than ever I saw that the white South didn't care how fine a person a Negro was. They were going to shove you off to yourself like a dirty animal anyhow. I looked at Mrs. Clements and said to myself, 'Alva, some day that will be you, getting old, dignified, educated—and Jim Crowed.'

### A Little Angry

"Well, I am a third generation representative of educated Negroes, all of whom have done all right in the South economically. That wasn't enough for me. I made up my mind then and there that I'd never stay in the South. So here I am."

Miss Maxey had become a little angry as she talked. Her voice had a stinging edge.

"That isn't all, fellow," she said. "Take a look out that window at the South Side slums. In coming here, I had to consider the lesser of two evils."

Then there was the salesgirl in a Philadelphia department store. She came from Virginia, and had taught school in her home town.

"I guess I averaged about as much pay teaching as I did around here at first," she said. "But I got sick, just plain sick, of hearing that white school superintendent call me by my first name before all the children when he visited my class-

room. You see, to him I was not someone with a professional job to do. I was just a colored gal in a classroom. So I turned thumbs down on him and all his kind. Don't run away with wrong ideas now, fellow, Philadelphia is not Utopia."

She paused, thinking of a way to express exactly what she meant.

"Quote me as saying that the North is far from heaven, but the South is surely hell," she said.

The best example of pure economic calculation I came across was in Cleveland. A professional man, once associated with Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, was asked why he left such a good job.

He was quoted as saying he thinks the sun is about to set forever on the day of Negro schools in the South. He wanted to get out and get established in something permanent while he was still young. He studied statistics from several major cities, concluded that Cleveland had more Negroes earning four thousand dollars and upwards a year than any other city in the country, and went there.

Wherever people gather in the thickly populated Negro districts the talk almost invariably gets around to differences between North and South.

In restaurants, taverns, barber-shops, poolrooms, clubs or private homes you can hear enough to suggest that job opportunities are no more than the immediate vehicle that Negroes use to fulfill long-time desires to ride out of the South.



## Best Help Newcomers Get Is from Urban League

I jokingly asked a Negro newspaperman in Newark how life had been affected by the newcomers.

"They started me to carrying a pistol," he joked back. "Everywhere I look in the third ward here I see a strange face. I don't know these folks and I've got to be prepared for any eventuality."

In a way, there is a good deal behind such joking. Few cities know much about their specific "migration problems." The same newspaperman who made the joke observed seriously:

"How much our new citizens are able to contribute to the community depends partly on how much the communities contribute to them in understanding and help. You know, foreign immigrants have all sorts of aid services, and the problems of Southern migrants and foreign immigrants are similar. Yet, aside from the Urban League, there's no special organization to help them adjust."

One reason so little has been written about the new migrants is that the 1950 census reports caught many of the big migration centers by surprise.

### 49.9% Increase in 10 Years

A high-ranking Philadelphia official knew so little about what was going on he suggested that the 10-year increase of 49.9 per cent in the Negro population there might be due entirely to births.

Newark has some alert city officials, but its health department in its 1950 annual report underestimated the Negro population of about 74,000 by almost 25,000.

Some cities tried to keep track of population growths by checking school records for new children. With the constant shifting of

pupils, these records were not very reliable indices.

The newcomers in all the cities have a few general characteristics that are obvious. Most of them are wage-earners. Most are relatively young, although older folk have followed younger relatives from the South, and in many instances have just "picked up and gone" on their own.

Of the cities I visited, Cleveland seemed to know most about what was going on. For my money, Cleveland is the most socially alert city in the country.

It has an army of hard-working, hard-headed social workers who are always on the hunt for something new to study.

### Newspapers On Job

Cleveland's daily newspapers consider community relations top news. Its Community Relations Board, headed by Frank Baldau and Roosevelt S. Dickey, is an aggressive, far-sighted organization that is not afraid to pull the tail of a sleeping dog.

The city's minorities, at least its Negroes, are among the most highly organized in the country. Cleveland is a good bit higher on the scale of human relations than most of its sectional sister cities.

That Cleveland should produce a social agency with curiosity enough to ask newcomers to give detailed survey information about themselves is not surprising.

The agency, the Central Areas Community Council, is directed by Mrs. Katherine Williamson, who also is an area field worker for the Cleveland Welfare Federation.

Cleveland is something of a social barometer for the nation, Mrs. Williamson likes to point out. She says

the ratio of various minority groups to the total Cleveland population for some time has been roughly the same as the ratio of the groups nationally to the total population of the country.

### "Ought to Be Significant"

"Therefore, whatever we do here ought to be significant," she jokes.

She said that her survey of new Clevelanders would be rejected by any bona fide social surveyor because, "We sampled a very small percentage of the Central Area's 105,000 Negroes."

The study is worth noting, however, because it touches what I think are national trends in several instances. It also serves as a guide for other cities interested in sizing up newcomers as a group.

The council collected from schools the names of new pupils, and then sent volunteer workers into new homes with questionnaires.

The survey showed that the reasons for the current northward push are "less specific than those for the migration during the World War I period."

In World War I, Mrs. Williamson noted, economic strangulation, mob violence and other forms of anti-Negro behavior in the South pushed Negroes out. To this she adds labor recruitment by Northern industry.

### Element of Transiency

But in the present movement there is an element of transiency, she concluded. "If it gets too cold up North, I'll go back home," she quotes some newcomers as saying.

With this point of her survey I disagree. Only a small percentage of the migrants with whom I talked have considered returning to the South.

Mrs. Williamson found that more skilled and professional Negroes are coming to Cleveland now than in the World War I era. This is true of other places, and reflects the fact that there has been a great

increase in the percentage of educated Negroes since the earlier migration period.

"There are physicians, teachers, draftsmen and a wide assortment of other such persons who before were practically unheard of," Mrs. Williamson said.

Migrants no longer come directly from the farm in great numbers, the survey showed. Their claims to previous urban experience are reinforced by records showing histories of X-rays and other community enterprises not generally found in the rural South.

### Church Controls Weaker

"Many of them have thus had slum backgrounds before hitting Cleveland," she said. "This means that too many young ones are already oriented toward the cheap taverns, the worst sort of night-clubs and other undesirable places."

Church controls are weaker among the new migrants than they were among the old, she concluded. The average person in her sample had a seventh grade education.

Migration has not tapered off, either—at least not in Cleveland. The 1951 school newcomers outnumbered the 1950, and the 1952 outnumbered the 1951.

\* \* \*

There is no agency or group of agencies that has the personnel or the money to help newcomers from the South with all the problems of adjustment to new environment.

The best work is still being done by that old hand at solving Negro migration riddles, the National Urban League. (The best league branch I have seen is right here in Providence.)

Most league branches are always short of funds and staff. They couldn't begin to work out all the community problems arising from migration, but they go a long way by seeking new job openings, establishing neighborhood clubs, promoting housing campaigns and serving as general trouble shooters.

# Detroit Race Riot Used As Anti-U.S. Propaganda

During World War II the United States was embarrassed by several racial outbursts, of which the most notorious was the Detroit riot of 1943.

There was trouble in Harlem; Beaumont, Tex., and Philadelphia.

These explosions did not take place in a vacuum. Like most upheavals of their nature, they sent out advance notices, which many persons interpreted and reported to responsible officials.

Often enough the officials considered their warners alarmists and told them to get on with the war and shut up.

Our domestic troubles were promptly reported in the world press. And the propaganda use to which our enemies put the news was demonstrated to me in Japan, where I served with the early occupation forces.

"What about the Detroit riot?" English-speaking Japanese asked me when they learned I had no apologies for racial discrimination in America.

That is the question that big industrial cities all around the country had to face as the war progressed. Negroes and Southern whites were crowding northward and westward. Stages for more tragic dramas were being set.

The more that responsible citizens looked at Detroit, the more they realized positive efforts had to be made to keep down tensions. They pondered more deeply on that maxim about an ounce of prevention, and came up with some pretty good answers, discussed in a subsequent article.

The stage is still set for tragedy—but cities have done pretty well at keeping the bad actors off it. When the cities relax their efforts,

one word ought to snap them alert again:

Detroit.

## How It Happened

How and why did it happen there? The answer goes into the early development of the city, which has had national prominence for only a relatively short period of its 250 years.

The migration of workers from all over the country to the auto and allied industries of Detroit crowded the housing market, set up economic tensions, sent old Detroiters scurrying to suburbs. The city was left to the new rich, the industrialists and to workers, exploiters, racketeers.

Industrial development shot forward. Human relations retrogressed. It became profitable for some enterprisers to set race against race.

"If you white workers want to strike and organize unions and carry on, we can find Southern Negroes eager to work," it was said.

Detroit might have seen how things were going when a Negro, Dr. Ossian Sweet, killed a member of a white mob that had tried to run him from a new home, George Schermer, who recently resigned as director of the Detroit Interracial Committee, has observed. (Sweet was exonerated.)

But Detroit learned nothing.

With the Roosevelt administration, unions achieved new status. Negroes, previously considered a threat to white workers, became union members. On a common economic front, Negro and white workers worked together. Out of the shops, however, little had changed.

When industry went into high gear to meet World War II de-

mands, an unprecedented mass of Southerners rushed into the city. Obviously, housing became a more crucial issue.

Labor and civic and religious groups and the City Housing Commission asked for 10,000 war housing units. After some wrangling, a start was made with plans for 500 white units and 200 colored.

There was more wrangling about where the units for Negroes should be built. Some "respectable" Negroes didn't want migrants in their area. Whites didn't want Negroes near them. Finally a site east of Ryan Road was selected.

An angry mob of about 3000 whites met the first 25 Negro families that tried to move into the units on Feb. 28, 1942. They turned over trucks and broke car windows. A few hundred Negroes gathered and lined themselves opposite the whites. The Negroes did not move into the units, however.

This, called the Sojourner Truth Riot after the name of the project, got world press reviews. The press had no way of knowing the affair was the mere dress rehearsal for an all-star drama of intolerance.

Race relations literally went from very bad to VERY WORSE. Negroes and whites elbowed each other in stores, on trolley cars, on jobs. White workers started protesting the upgrading of Negroes. The newspapers kept running accounts of everything Negroes did—race labeling their news.

Negro and white leaders who saw what was coming begged Mayor Edward J. Jeffries to do something officially to smooth things out. The mayor told them group relations were the business of church and civic groups, but not of government.

But persons of good will kept trying to improve things. Negroes tried to get race specifications dropped from war housing regulations. The city council voted it

would not change the racial character of any neighborhood. Negroes lost all faith in the city administration.

## 33 Dead

And on June 29, 1943, the explosions started. Their toll: 33 dead, hundreds critically injured, war production set back by an inestimable amount, millions of dollars lost in property damages.

Currently the ears of the world are more sensitive than ever to rumblings of disorder in America's backyards. Communist philosophy throughout Asia has become mixed with anti-white philosophy. Most prominent of our colored ideological opponents are the Chinese and factions of the Indo-Chinese.

When Irving H. Bartlett, holder of a Ph.D. degree from Brown University, was preparing to set out on an instruction mission to Pakistan last summer, a Pakistan diplomat advised him:

"Find out all you can about the details of this country's race question before you go. They're going to ask you all sorts of questions about that."

Recently James N. Williams, executive secretary of the Providence Urban League, received from Bartlett a letter noting that the diplomat's advice had been well-given.

Comment on such places as Kenya and South Africa is unnecessary for newspaper readers.

Because of all this, those who deal professionally with human relations in this country know that they not only are keeping their respective cities out of trouble but are helping to keep America out of trouble.

Official circles have been a little slow to take this approach in racial matters. Such Negro leaders as Walter White and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for years have pointed out that two-thirds of the world's peoples are colored and that they watch America for examples of the brotherhood democracy preaches.



## Removing Causes Is Best Way To Prevent Race Riots

After the 1943 race-riot dead had been carted away in Detroit, cities all over the country began to show new concern for the living.

It doesn't take a sociologist to figure out the causes of race riots. They are likely to explode any time a race in power refuses to recognize the ordinary human aspirations of a minority race.

But it takes a magician to figure out how to prevent riots without removing the causes.

In the early and middle 40s, one city after another established human relations commissions and expected them to be social magicians. Many officials didn't want race trouble, but they didn't want any basic changes either.

### No Gifts for Magic

Most of the men who headed these commissions were simple, idealistic Americans with no gifts for magic. They did have, however, the old American gift for arguing with officialdom.

They heartily probed into matters which were "none of their business," plunged head first into "seas of controversy." Few citizens know them well enough to appreciate them; they work behind the scenes.

"Where is your human relations commission?" I asked an elevator operator in an office building in a midwestern city.

"Human relations commission? Never heard of it," she said.

On the eighth floor of that building a small group of people was assembling statistics, writing pamphlets, telephoning officials and doing numerous other things all calculated to help citizens get along together in that city.

If these commissions did no more than show to minority groups that

their cities officially recognize injustices done them, perhaps they still would represent some sort of progress. But they do much more than that.

Three days after the riot, Mayor Jeffries of Detroit appointed an Inter-racial Committee. Chicago, where the handwriting of race trouble never leaves the wall, quickly did likewise.

The next year committees were named in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, St. Paul and Los Angeles.

Committees later were named in other cities where Negro and Southern white migration had been especially heavy. In 1947, commission executives formed the National Association of Inter-Group Relations.

By 1948, the American Council of Race Relations could boast of 41 public human relations agencies and 664 private organizations active in some form of inter-group work.

Of the 41 public agencies, however, fewer than a dozen had full-time staffs and well-defined programs.

These agencies differ in structure and power. A few administer the local fair employment ordinances and other anti-discrimination measures. Among these are the boards in Philadelphia, Cleveland and Youngstown.

The Philadelphia commission has the distinction of being provided for in the new city charter.

Among the cities which have commissions established by ordinance but without administrative powers are Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Toledo, Chicago, Denver, Kansas City and St. Louis.

Cities whose agencies are non-

statutory but have some sort of semi-official status are Detroit, Milwaukee and New York. Seattle has a Civic Unity Committee supported by the Community Fund.

### Functions Differ

San Francisco has a Voluntary Council for Civic Unity with a full-time staff. Several smaller cities have commissions of one kind or another.

The "human relations" commissions should not be confused with the boards which deal specifically with employment discrimination. Their functions are much broader than that.

They trace rumors of race trouble, push for smooth integration in housing, recreation and other areas; collect all sorts of population data; fence and shadow-box with officials about what needs to be done to make cities livable in general.

They have done much of their best work in projects for instructing police in human relations. An illustration from Providence might emphasize the need for such programs.

Once in a criminal court that I was covering here a young woman who appeared to be white was charged with being a disorderly person. Specifically, the offense was this: sitting in a parked car before midnight in a brightly-lighted sub-business district with two soldiers, who happened to be Negroes.

The charge officer, who was not the court's regular arraigning officer, made no effort to conceal his disgust with her choice of companions. He shouted emotionally that she had been rooming with a "colored" family. He said:

"If she were my daughter, I'd know what to do with her!"

Now there is nothing in Rhode Island law that says the races of persons before a court are of any consequence.

Besides the subtle indictment for

associating with Negroes, the only evidence brought against the defendant was a statement that "police have been watching her for some time."

The girl was found guilty. I have forgotten the sentence; it was a light one.

Such incidents explain why some minority groups are touchy about police and courts, even in the North.

There is no doubt that Detroit police set race relations back many years in the city when they officially placed the blame for the big riot on Negroes. The report not only was untactful, but was far from true.

Police have sided with white persons trying to keep Negroes out of certain neighborhoods in many instances, most notorious of which is the Cicero, Ill., riot of July, 1951.

But the new police instruction is changing all this. In 1951, Frank Loescher, director of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, conducted a course for about 1400 officers. Among these were 1050 recruits.

### Providence Police, Too

Philadelphia also gives courses for personnel of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, using particular incidents to illustrate each point raised.

In 1946, the Rhode Island Seminar for Human Relations, the regional branch of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, began to participate in the training of police recruits in Providence and East Providence.

Perry S. Lusk, director, said the organization furnishes speakers, and films designed to expose various stereotypes of national, racial and religious minorities.

Detroit started this training less than a year after the riot. There each new police recruit gets from eight to 10 hours of instruction.

I got an idea of the results when a police captain telephoned a ten-

sion specialist while I was in his office at the Inter-racial Committee headquarters.

#### Aid, Not Interference

"Seems a Negro boy broke into a white home in a transitional area," the specialist said. "We've had good relations out there and the captain wanted to know if we knew of anything lately that might cause trouble to start from a single incident like this. We don't know a thing."

The commissions do not interfere with police functions. They realize that with the increase in Negro populations old sore spots of

racial tension are being aggravated, and that ultimately citizens look to police for order.

The educational work of these commissions is supplemented constantly by that of colleges and universities. The annual institute of human relations conducted by the University of Chicago has a special section devoted to police instruction.

The human relations commissions, the police forces, and other organizations co-operating with them deserve much credit for keeping the numerous tension incidents in recent years from bursting into full-scale riots.

## Human Relations Improved In U.S. Since World War II

There probably are more potentially explosive racial situations in the country today than there were at the time of the Detroit riot.

The Korean war period is producing its own trouble spots before those left over from World War II have been erased.

The riot in Cicero, Ill., in July, 1951, probably got as much publicity as the Detroit affair. What kept the Cicero riot from taking the full turn of tragedy that was potential in it? And what has kept other tensions, some latently more explosive than those which burst out in Cicero, under control?

#### Relations Improved

One answer is that human relations throughout the country have improved steadily since World War II despite recurrent anti-Negro demonstrations.

Even while their homes were being bombed in some sections,

Negroes were moving by thousands into others without molestation. Their economic opportunities were improving. Accommodation in public places was widening for them.

The American people as a whole, bombarded as never before by human relations information from hundreds of organizations, have shown more disapproval of violent bigotry than ever before. The press has sharpened its censure of such bigotry.

Police, charged with the ultimate responsibility for keeping down racial or any other violence, have begun to accept human relations training as a legitimate part of their professional preparation.

#### Smugness Unjustified

Negroes understand how these new forces are working in their favor. Consequently, they are not disposed to retaliate in kind when the anti-Negro demonstrations occur.

There is nothing in this encouraging situation to justify public smugness, however; the possibility of large-scale, bloody clashes has been more real than many persons may think. Consider a bit more about Cicero:

"Cicero was just about to be no more," a Negro told me in Chicago. "If those fools had not been silenced when they were, some of us from the South Side here would have gone over there and wiped that little town off the map as clean as an atomic bomb would have done it."

In that mob that burned and wrecked for three days were a goodly number of Chicagoans. They came from some of the city's worst tension areas. They had declared themselves something of a roving goon squad to keep Negroes "in their place" anywhere in the general area.

One may while away a morbid hour speculating on how many undertakers would have been needed in Cicero if the Negroes mentioned above had gone to fight the goon squads.

#### Able to Keep Peace

Many a Cicero resident probably owes his life to the improving human relations in Chicago. Negro organizations, the Chicago human relations board and police were able to keep peace in the Negro community. They kept the three-day orgy of hate from spreading into Chicago.

They had the co-operation of the riot victim himself: Harvey Clark went on the radio and urged Negroes to remain calm.

Another incident that had the makings of a first-class battle took place in March, 1952. In some ways it was potentially more dangerous than the Cicero affair because with it was the actual marshaling of Negro forces.

It started when Wilbur Gary, 42,

moved into a new house at 2821 Broadway, San Pablo, Calif. San Pablo is adjacent to the Rollingwood section of Richmond, the country's best current example of a town thrown completely off balance by population shifts. Many Southerners live in all-white Rollingwood.

#### Had Done Well

Gary, a contractor, had done pretty well for himself since moving with his family from Abilene, Kas. The family had been living in a government project in Richmond.

"I wanted my family to have a decent home," Gary told me. "It was Mar. 7, I think, when we first went out there to clean up our new place and get ready to move in."

A crowd of white neighbors gathered. At first they just stared quietly. Then they started jeering. They began to stone Gary's house.

"There were about 12 at first," he said. "They gathered rapidly and soon there were at least 150 of them. They kept throwing rocks and shouting insults at me."

"There was a sheriff around some place, but he seemed to get a kick out of the whole business. He didn't try to send anybody away."

"My wife and I had not expected anything like this. Luckily, our children were in school. Somehow an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People got in to us, and we decided to stick it out unless it became a matter of our lives."

"Now, there were plenty of white people on my side. Some were out there arguing with the mob leaders. Some seemed sort of standing by to see what would happen. And all the time as the mob got louder and louder a white minister was trying to make his voice heard. He was talking about democracy and brotherhood and what it ought to



mean to be an American. You know, all that."

For hours, Richmond's Negro community didn't know what was going on. Then at 10:30 a radio broadcast told the story. This was the beginning of events that might have mushroomed Detroit style. Negroes hurried to Gary's home, formed a protective guard. At least one gun was seen.

Whether it was the cumulative effects of the minister's harangue or the appearance of the Negro defenders that persuaded the mob to disperse is a matter for speculation.

"I'm inclined to give that minister a lot of credit," Gary said, smiling. "That man put up a filibuster against folks bothering me that would have done credit to some of those guys in Washington!"

#### No Monopoly

Numerous other tension demonstrations have strained the changing racial climate in the Korean period. No one section of the country has a monopoly on them.

Last February, Sing Shing, a Chinese, abandoned plans to move into a white neighborhood in South San Francisco after a referendum among the neighbors had gone against him. Los Angeles has had home-bombings and many minor acts of hoodlumism against Negroes.

In Philadelphia, a church building was extensively damaged by fire two weeks after a Negro congregation had bought it.

Minor flareups have occurred in Cleveland's Hough area, where Southern white migrants and Negroes are meeting. The area is about 80 per cent white.

"I don't think there is anything like a dangerous Detroit situation developing. It is just the natural growing pains of an area in transition," said Arnold Walker, execu-

tive secretary of the Cleveland Urban League.

#### Violence Expected

Chicago, perhaps, leads the country in the number of anti-Negro demonstrations since World War II. A certain amount of violence is expected there every time a Negro moves into a white neighborhood. Like the South, the city sometimes measures progress not by how much good has been done but by how little bad.

For example, the Chicago Human Relations Commission sites as progress the fact that in 1948 the city had 78 racially inspired attacks against property but only 42 in 1951. In 1948, reports the commission, Chicago had 32 bombings, arsons, or attempted arsons. In 1951 there were nine reported incidents of this nature.

The city faces an extremely delicate situation as Negroes move into a large district west of the South Side ghetto, says Fritz Pollard Jr., staff member of the Commission on Human Relations. (He is the famous athlete and a son of the noted Brown University athlete.)

#### District Spawns Gangs

It was from this section that most of the white participants in the 1919 Chicago riot came, Pollard said. And from this district, he added, gangs have gone to stage disorders in other sections in the past few years.

Both Chicago and Detroit have alert human relations commissions that have done much to smooth out tension wrinkles. Their efforts have been facilitated by favorable economic circumstances since World War II.

A period of economic stress may be the ultimate test of recent gains in race relations throughout the country. Such a period may provide the only challenge to officials of various cities who say:

"More Negroes or less Negroes, we'll never have bloody race clashes in this country again."

## Lot of Gains, but Still 'Lot of Hatred' in Detroit

Detroit, Mich., is still one of the nation's most socially backward cities. Many other cities have profited more by its sins than it has. The 300,507 Negroes in its population of 1,545,847 are still roped-off from many areas.

Public discrimination is disappearing, but there is still enough of it around to keep Negroes grumbling. Many Negro leaders say the daily newspapers still regard the Negro community as something that is and ought to be outside the main currents of popular affairs. One daily there recently hired a Negro writer, however.

Ridiculous class lines have developed within the Negro community itself. The city has produced an amazing number of Negro racketeers and professional hacks who exploit the great mass of slum-dwellers.

The most enlightened leadership from a social point of view seems to come from labor and allied groups. However, religious groups individually are setting good examples in human relations.

#### Named Moderator

Recently the Detroit Presbyterians elected the Rev. William H. Molbon, pastor of a 620-member Negro church, moderator for 1953. The Presbyterians reportedly have begun a program of integration of congregations in the city.

Charles J. Wartman, editor of the militant, well-written Michigan Chronicle, a Negro weekly, sums the city up this way:

"Detroit has as good a deal as you can get—under a segregated society."

George Schermer, a white, gave some indication of what is wrong

with the place in a statement explaining his resignation as director of the Mayor's Interracial Committee and announcing his acceptance of a position in Philadelphia:

"There is a big job left to do—to get at the basic patterns of discrimination, and build really sound and long-lasting channels of intercommunication and co-operation. Those who make the policy decisions for Detroit do not seem to see this. They want to keep tension down. They seem not to want to solve any basic problems. They have failed to give us a statutory base from which we could operate effectively.

#### "Tools to Work With"

"On the other hand, the City of Philadelphia has incorporated provisions for a Commission on Human Relations in the new charter. There is a fair employment practice ordinance. There is a substantial budget. The administration there is keenly interested in getting a good job done. There are tools to work with. It represents the greatest possible challenge to a person with professional interests in the field.

"That is why I feel I should leave Detroit, even though it means tearing my family away from a home, a neighborhood and a city which we love and enjoy . . ."

Someone with an odd sense of humor dubbed Detroit's main Negro ghetto "Paradise Valley." The ordinary Negroes whom I met there talked a confusing mixture of optimism and bitterness. In a tavern I asked a group of auto workers what they thought about progress in the city. They laughed, then a studious-looking man about 40 said:

"You don't want to talk to us.

You want to talk to the colored people up on Boston Boulevard or Chicago Boulevard or some of those places."

"I know they've progressed," I said, "but how about you?"

"Go see the boys in the NAACP. They're a good group."

"I saw them. How about you?"

"Me? Well, I'm trying to get out of a foundry. The white folks won't let me out. My back hurts. That what you mean? Well, now, I can go down town to the movies. Look, man, the white man still gets all the breaks in Detroit and don't let anybody kid you about it. Am I telling him straight, men?"

The others nodded. At first they had been grinning and joking. Now they looked sullen and serious.

"Were any of you guys around when the riot came off?" I asked, trying to see if they were still sensitive about it.

This provoked laughter.

"Dig this joker," said the studious-looking one. (Translation: "Listen to this silly fellow.")

"You guys are union men," I said.

"The union doesn't tell the man (boss) who to hire at the gate," one said.

"Well, don't you get a fair shake on jobs?"

#### Systematized Hatred

They looked at me and laughed as one laughs at a child or an extremely naive person. I sensed in these men a hatred that had become systematized, channeled into a philosophy that made them able to live with it. Their hatred was behind their brittle laughter, in the cryptic, half-answers to my questions, in their amusement at my naivete.

"Go down to Atlantic City and talk to Reuther. Reuther's a great one for talking about these things. He can talk all right, brother—and that's all." (Walter Reuther, president of UAW-CIO and of the national CIO, was at the national

union convention in Atlantic City then.)

"You're all leftwingers out of Local 600," I joked.

"If we're leftwingers, does that mean that what we say is wrong?"

"I wouldn't be the judge of that," I told them, and went out to a waiting taxi.

I told the driver to go down Hastings Street and he said if I got out there he would keep going. A few years before a college buddy had offered to give me five dollars for every block I walked on that street after dark. (To this day he owes me 10 dollars.) We were afraid of such streets then.

But driving slowly down the street this time I saw nothing to fear. I had a different perspective on the place. During the night a light snow had fallen and it made the area look more drab and bare than I had remembered it. The half-clothed Negroes looked too wretched to deserve their reputation as "the city's worst." I mentioned this to the cab-driver.

#### "You're Crazy"

"You're crazy," he said. "Tonight they'll wake up and come streaming out of these joints with knives and razors flashing every which direction."

Then the white cab driver said something that surprised me:

"Somehow we got to get people out of places like this, Mac. Get 'em out some place where they can breathe and feel like human beings. Then maybe they'll stop acting like this. Things ain't right, Mac."

Some time ago Arthur Kornhauser of Wayne University made a study of the attitude of Detroiters toward Detroit. He concluded that housing is the number one concern. Race relations was second. Seven per cent of those surveyed thought race relations were good, 51 per cent fairly good, 30 per cent not good, and 12 per cent bad.

Most white people who revealed prejudices thought relations were

getting worse. Eighteen per cent of whites favored full acceptance of Negroes. Twenty-eight per cent were neutral about this. Fifty-four per cent were opposed to acceptance.

Of the white people surveyed, the younger groups showed the least prejudice. White Southerners were no more anti-Negro than other whites. The poor, uneducated white groups were the most averse to equality. Old-line white Detroiters considered Southern whites more undesirable than Negroes.

#### Since 1947

Regardless of attitudes, Detroiters have got along without violent conflict incidents since 1947. Negroes moving into new neighborhoods do not meet the planned violence they once met.

Alex Fuller, executive vice president of the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, thinks that good economic conditions are doing more than anything else to keep down tension.

"But Detroit is a city of many strains," he said. "When things are good you've still got to keep watching. We have made a lot of gains around here in labor."

Then he added, "There's a lot of hatred in Detroit!" He looked as if he were frightened by his own words.

I remembered that look a few days later when Harvey Clark, victim of the Cicero riot, stared at me with the most anguished expression I have ever seen and said:

"There's a lot of hatred in Chicago!"

## Family That Lost Everything To Mob Now Has Cozy Home

The two Clark children lay on their living room floor and quietly watched television.

"That's rather silly," mumbled Michele, 9, about some piece of comedy.

"It's funny," said Harvey 3rd, 7. "Well, I don't hear you laughing," the girl said.

The boy gave her an indignant glance, pointed his feet at the ceiling, cupped his chin in his hands, adjusted his elbows on the floor and, snorting in disgust at girlish opinion, went on enjoying the show.

Mrs. Harvey Clark Jr., a soft-voiced, pretty woman, sat knitting either the sleeve of a sweater for the boy or the leg of a sock for her husband. Harvey Clark Jr., the husband and father, was talking with a friend on the telephone and

he kept making gestures to show me he wanted the friend to hang up.

This is the small family whose every possession was destroyed by a mob in Cicero, Ill., in July, 1951. A mob of thousands threw firebrands all over the "white" apartment into which the family had tried to move. Harvey Clark was beaten. His furniture was burned. His marriage license was burned. The pictures of his children were burned. His family Bible was burned. The mob attacked Negroes, police and National Guardsmen with pieces of iron, stones and brickbats.

I don't know how I expected the Clarks to look after that ordeal, but I do know I was not prepared for this calm, cozy atmosphere, this "typically American" family scene.



Suddenly Mrs. Clark said to the children:

"Say, you two, it's time you were in bed."

The children protested mildly. Harvey Clark ended the telephone talk and repeated his wife's orders to the children, who looked at each other and giggled and then stood up. The girl went promptly out, followed by her mother. In his personal language the boy said something conveying how tough it is to be a kid. Then he teased his father with a forward step and a backward glance at television, and went out.

#### "It Doesn't Make Sense"

"They're pains, man," said Clark, a slender, handsome fellow of 29 whose face has an intense, eager expression. He fooled with the television set until he found a program more suitable to grownup tastes than that the children had been watching, then sat on a divan opposite me.

"It doesn't make sense," I said.

He knew what I meant.

"You don't know," he said. "That's what I kept telling myself all the time that mess was going on, that it didn't make sense. All my life I've tried to treat people right. All I wanted was a decent place for my wife and kids and me. You see, I was paying high rent then for a livingroom, bedroom and kitchen and bath. We had to share all that with another small family. It was the best deal we could get on the South Side. I had searched for months when a Negro real estate man told me about a place. You know how I jumped at the chance."

#### Praise for the Press

I told him I was sorry to bring the business up again, that I supposed he was tired of talking to reporters, and he said:

"If talking about it will do any good by cutting down the chances of a thing like that happening to somebody else, I don't mind. But as for talking to reporters—listen, the

press was wonderful during the whole affair. They really went to bat for us and I'll never forget it as long as I live. It made me feel better to know that so many could take the right slant on a thing like that. There was a time when—

"Well, I'll start where we left off. This place I was offered was right on my bus route, you see. I was a bus driver at the time and had to commute 20 miles a day to my starting point. I figured this was a special bonus in the deal—save me all that time.

"I didn't know anything about that place I was moving into. You see, out there the numbers run so you can't tell when you leave Chicago and enter Cicero. But when I showed up at 6139 West 19th Street and tried to move in, two plainclothes policemen greeted me. Johnetta — that's my wife — was with me. They told us we'd have to get a moving permit from the chief of police. The kids were in school. The cops ran us away from the place.

#### Federal Court Injunction

"A crowd gathered and started making remarks about Negroes. I talked right back when I got angry about the attitude of the cops. They didn't like my kind of Negro. They didn't like the sort of Negro who wants to stick up for his rights.

"The chief told me he wouldn't jeopardize the lives of the white families in the apartment building for the likes of me. Then he worked himself into a frenzy and started kicking me around. Johnetta and I left. We put our furniture in storage and then I went to see the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"We got an injunction in federal court against anyone's molesting us when we tried to move in again. That judge made such a powerful statement about my rights and about what American courts will not stand for till I was certain no-

body would dare bother us after that.

"You see. I have great respect for laws and courts.

"There was a big mob in the courtroom, there to protest anything that might mean I'd try to move in again. Well, I tried to move in again. You and the whole world know what happened then. For three days the madness went on. I am sort of lucky in a way—I mean, lucky that nothing happened to her (Johnetta) and my kids. The kids never saw any of it. We had taken them to my wife's relatives in Gary. Johnetta was there with me the first day. She was almost hysterical. I guess I was too angry to be scared at first."

Mrs. Clark came in again and quietly resumed her knitting.

"Yeah, all we had accumulated in 10 years of marriage was destroyed. All we salvaged was what was on our backs. One thing that broke my heart was when they shoved our piano from that third floor to the ground and made it a part of the bonfire. Damn, we raked and scraped to get that piano for Michele!"

#### No Piano for Child

I looked around the apartment. The furniture was new and comfortable. It had been bought with money given by many Americans who had been shocked by the whole Cicero business.

## Housing Has Sparked Trouble In Major Racial Outbursts

All the major cities have fine distinctions as to where black and white shall live.

The word that has come to be applied to traditional Negro sections is ghetto, long used in Eu-

But there was no piano.

"How do you feel about America and the Chicago-Cicero area now, Clark?" I asked.

The question surprised him, and he thought over his answer.

"I feel good about America!" he said. "I even feel good about Chicago. You see, America didn't do that to me—it was just some of the scum of America! I bet for every person who was in the mob we got letters and telegrams and phone calls from people trying hard to show how bad they felt about it. One of the best letters came from a girl in Georgia, of all places. I see all this looking back. At first, of course, I saw nothing, nothing but what they had done to us."

He got up and fooled with the television set again, all the while explaining how a local court freed 44 mobsters. Then, he said, a federal grand jury indicted four officials and three policemen for conspiring to deprive him of his constitutional rights. The indictments are pending, along with Clark's suit against the township.

When he turned from the television set his face suddenly took on an expression of agony and he said:

"There's a lot of hatred in Chicago!"

The family now lives in the comfortable Rosenwald Apartments on Chicago's South Side.

All the tenants there are Negroes.

rope to define historical Jewish areas.

Its adaptation is appropriate, for no formal edict could have confined Negroes in separate areas more effectively than the policies of real

estate interests, bankers, government agencies and private citizens have.

A walk along the southern end of Camp Street in Providence is a walk along Central Avenue in Cleveland or Central Avenue in Los Angeles. The only difference is in the number of Negroes and their institutions.

#### Harder Than Ever

The pressure of shifting populations always has worked against the assignment of neighborhoods by race. It is working against it harder now than ever.

The significance of the push for living space as a factor in racial conflict appears from a glance at the list of major flareups in recent years. In each outburst the core of trouble was housing.

Indeed, many students of race relations think group harmony is impossible as long as Jim Crow housing continues. They point out how the segregated groups build up their own institutions, for convenience if nothing more. What they can't build, outside enterprisers build for them.

Thus in regions where no laws prevent the mingling of the races in public places there is the "Negro" church, "Negro" theater, "Negro" restaurant, "Negro" playground and, in effect, the "Negro" school.

The dominant group comes to accept these institutions as parts of the natural order of things. Communication between dominant group and minority group is superficial. Nobody really gets to know anybody. Stereotypes are built up. Suspicions are aroused. Something goes wrong and the newspapers headline: RIOT SLAIN TOTALS 33.

The grouping of persons of a particular race or nationality in the same neighborhood seems to be of voluntary origin. As new Negroes came into cities they tended to settle near other Negroes for guidance,

just as European immigrants tended to settle near persons who spoke their language.

But the European groups are white. As they improved their economic conditions and began to feel sure of themselves, they could change neighborhoods and blend with the older settlers if they desired.

The Negro's color identified him as one who had been assigned to the lower levels of the social order. By the time he began to fret about the shabbiness of his traditional area, sharp lines had been drawn against him in other districts.

#### Some Better in South

(Incidentally, some Southern cities have less neighborhood segregation than some Northern ones. In my home town, Johnson City, Tenn., Negroes and whites have lived side by side in several neighborhoods for as long as I can remember.)

By what devices were Negroes shut out of the "better" neighborhoods?

Cleveland had its "Van Sweringen Covenant," which prevented the sale of property without the consent of the original owner.

Other cities had neighborhood clubs which determined who should live in their boundaries.

There was a leasehold system, demanding that an occupant lease land for 99 years and not sell without permission from the community's overseers.

There were co-operative agreements, brokers' agreements, mortgage agreements, so many agreements that a list of them all would be pointless.

Real estate interests wholeheartedly supported these arrangements. In 1943 the National Association of Real Estate Boards put out a publication entitled "Fundamentals of Real Estate Practice." It advised:

#### Newsworthy Clause

"The prospective buyer might be a bootlegger who would cause con-

siderable annoyance to his neighbors, a madam who had a number of call girls on her string, a gangster who wanted a screen for his activities by living in a better neighborhood, a colored man of means who was giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites. . . . No matter what the motive or character of the would-be purchasers, if the deal would instigate a form of blight, then certainly the well-meaning broker must work against its consummation. . . ."

Some alert newspapers decided this little clause was newsworthy in 1947 and published articles about it. The board of real estate interests then deleted the color reference. However, it was November, 1950, before the association got around to deleting from its code of ethics this passage:

"A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighborhood."

#### "Inharmonious"

Branches of federal housing agencies early got into the act. The Underwriters Manual of the Federal Housing Authority advised brokers against admitting "inharmonious" racial groups to some neighborhoods.

What paved the way for Negroes to expand into other areas was a Supreme Court decision in December, 1949, that restrictive covenants could not be enforced by the courts.

After this ruling, federal and local housing agencies and real estate organizations deleted what racial references remained in their published procedural guides. They have not stopped discriminatory practices, however.

Few cities in this country have less discrimination than Provi-

dence. Yet I searched for months before I could find an apartment here—even when vacancy signs were going up all around the city and newspaper advertisements pleaded for tenants. The policy of rental agencies was either to lie outright as soon as they learned I was colored, or to make vague excuses.

#### FHA Denies Charge

FHA officials deny that they support real estate prejudices, but Negroes in several cities say they do. In Cleveland a Negro city hall employe, a veteran, tried to get several agencies to lend him money to build a home in a restricted neighborhood. The agencies told him he would be unable to get FHA insurance there.

I asked one FHA official point blank: "If I plan to build a home in a certain exclusive neighborhood here, will you issue a commitment?"

He looked confused, then answered that he would.

"But you'd have trouble getting funds to build there," he said.

To reinforce various neighborhood racial barriers, much false "information" has been spread about Negroes as tenants and neighbors.

"It has been claimed that Negroes are more destructive than other groups," said Dr. Charles J. Ennis, Los Angeles real estate man. "What they don't say is that the destruction is largely caused by forced overcrowding. Two feet can make more tracks than one foot. Two children normally may be expected to do more damage than one child."

#### Fall in Values?

Another contention is that property values in good neighborhoods will always fall when Negroes move in.

About this Belden Morgan, Los Angeles real estate appraiser, wrote in the March, 1952, edition



of The Review of the Society of Residential Appraisers:

"... Whites who hold on to their property are often able to sell at prices substantially higher than prevailed prior to the "invasion" (of Negroes). The old law of supply and demand asserts itself. The limited property available to Negroes coupled with the desperate need by the Negroes for adequate housing and their intense desire to better themselves exerts a pressure on the price structure that doesn't exist in the older white neighborhoods."

In 1951 the bureau of business and economic research of the University of California started a study of the effects of Negro movement

on the housing market in San Francisco.

#### Argument Unsupported

In a preliminary report published last July, the study group reported that the market situation does not appear to support "the argument that the entrance of Negroes into a white neighborhood depresses property values."

The report said there is some indication that property values may increase slightly when Negroes enter a neighborhood.

This simply means that some Negroes are willing to pay more for old houses than some white persons for whom new housing is available. It also, perhaps, reflects extensive remodeling done by Negroes who are excluded from the new house market.

## Break-Up of Negro Ghettos Follows Pattern in Cities

While walking around the slums of Chicago's South Side one afternoon I came upon a small boy standing very still in an alley watching a rat as big as a kitten search for food at the base of an overflowing garbage can. This immediately reminded me of the powerful rat-killing scene from Richard Wright's "Native Son."

"Don't make friends with rats," I said to the boy. "They may be sick and you may catch it."

He gave me an impudent stare.

"Him sick!" he said. "Fat as he is."

"Your mother wouldn't like you to play with rats," I said.

He waved a hand impatiently, gesturing for me to go away and mind my own business.

"My mama'd be glad if I killed

ever' rat in the worl'," he said.

Later an Urban League social worker told me:

"It may sound like old stuff, but it's true that in some of the worst sections here human beings and rats carry on continuous warfare. The casualties are especially high among rat-bitten babies."

We looked out her office window. Stretching before us were block after block of old, old buildings, fronting on broken, dirty sidewalks. An old fat lady came to a third story back porch and leaned over a rickety railing. I halfway expected to see the railing give way and her plunge to the trash-littered courtyard.

It slips up on you as you come from the Loop. Suddenly you are aware that you have left sky-

scrapers and the panoramic neon signs blocks behind and entered the great migration center, the famed and ill-famed "Black Metropolis."

#### They All Look Alike

As you look around, it strikes you that you are back where you started—and all the places you've been. The signs of decay are the same. The smell of old damp wood, of food cooking in tight quarters, of garbage left standing too long by city workers. It is the same in a short stretch of Providence's North Main Street, in the Hastings Street area of Detroit, in the center of Harlem.

\* \* \*

"Where on earth do you put all these people?" I asked Earle Fisher, a friend from Providence who is housing director for the Greater New York Urban League.

Earle shook his head sadly, and threw up both hands.

"Here in New York," he said, "agencies concerned with the population increase figure that by 1960 there will be a million Negroes and 750,000 Puerto Ricans. I find families in Harlem doubled, tripled, quadrupled. Oh, you get Negroes moving out to St. Albans in Long Island, mostly professional people and that sort.

#### Beginning of Trend

"We've got some families out of the ghetto into limited dividend projects built with state subsidy of some sort, but by private builders. All of these are out of this area, so you might say it is the beginning of a trend out for the ordinary folks. Let's hope. We've got some into co-op housing too, especially in Queens, where there is more room for expansion.

"Of course, the New York City Housing Authority is building projects. It all poses a terrific relocation problem. A million Negroes, that'll take houses, huh!"

\* \* \*

The public attitude toward racial ghettos is changing. A few years

ago New Yorkers used to think the noisy night clubs interspersed throughout the squalor and misery of Harlem's slums were "exotic." It was quite fashionable to go Uptown "and be a clown."

#### Magistrate is Shocked

Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh said last October after a tour of Harlem houses:

"I am shocked. No one would believe this without seeing it. No one would believe such a condition exists in New York City. Such conditions cannot be tolerated. This is a serious fire hazard. This condition must be corrected. These people are entitled to live in places that are at least fit for human habitation."

In other cities these sentiments are being expressed as it becomes apparent that Negroes can no longer be confined to their old areas.

What is the break-up pattern? To me, it seems this:

First, Negro areas expand on their fringes. One Negro gets into a house on the all-white fringe of the ghetto. White neighbors move out, then another Negro moves in. It is here that most tension develops, because the white people in these areas compete with Negroes for jobs and prestige. Their educational level is usually lower than that of whites in the "better" sections. It is they who once occupied what are now the main Negro sections.

Second, Negroes gradually are crossing entire neighborhoods and moving into high-status areas. Because the education of these Negroes and their new white neighbors is higher than the general level of either race, tension incidents here are fewer than in the fringe areas.

#### Real Estate Racketeers

Considerable real estate racketeering attends these movements. For example, in Cleveland a Negro

and a white man spread rumors in an all-white area that Negroes were moving in. They were trying to create a selling panic. They would buy homes cheaply and sell them to Negroes dearly, they figured.

In Newark, the majority of the 74,964 Negroes live in the third ward. They are expanding into the 14th. There is a scattering of them in the seventh ward. Some are moving into two middle class districts not adjacent to the third ward.

Philadelphia has several Negro and predominately Negro areas. There are, say, 60,000 Negroes in South Philadelphia, 100,000 in North, 80,000 in West and scatterings in Germantown, Frankford and other districts.

The majority are concentrated in 41 census tracts where the population is more than 50 per cent colored. There seems to be a widely held belief that Negroes are spreading out all over the city to make "pepper and salt" neighborhoods.

#### Most Negroes Remain

The facts do not sustain this, says Mrs. Dorothy Montgomery, head of the Philadelphia Housing Association. The traditional Negro sections have absorbed most of the population increase here just as they have in other cities, she explained.

About 105,000 of Cleveland's 158,759 Negroes live in the large central area. About 36,000 have pushed into the adjacent Glenville area, and perhaps 13,000 into the Mt. Pleasant section.

In central Detroit Negroes are rapidly pushing into white neighborhoods, creating temporary "mixed" ones. An estimated 26,000 homes passed from white to colored between 1940 and 1950.

"In Detroit, movement has occurred in so many different directions that one may safely estimate that 50 per cent of the dwellings in the city lie in areas where racial change is an accepted fact. This is

significant when compared with the fact that in 1950 only 12.6 per cent of the city's homes were actually occupied by non-whites," reports George Schermer, until recently head of the Detroit Mayor's Interracial committee.

The main movements in Chicago also run true to the pattern of widening traditional Negro areas. However, the 1950 census revealed that Negroes live in all but 160 of the city's 935 census tracts.

#### Many Families "Jump"

The Chicago Human Relations Commission reports that in the past several years from 12,000 to 15,000 Negro families "jumped" outside their traditional areas.

The West Coast seems to afford the best housing for minority groups. Los Angeles probably has more new, modernistic apartments for Negroes than several other large cities combined. In many sections there are rows and rows of new bungalows owned by Negroes—but there are also 69,000 substandard dwellings, in which minority groups are a majority.

While the West Coast Japanese were in relocation camps during World War II, Negro migrants moved into the "Little Tokyos." This created a tough problem when the Japanese started returning after the war.

Many Japanese did not return to the coast, however, but took advantage of the opportunity to live in other sections of the country.

#### Groups Ignore Each Other

Those returning squeezed into the ghettos beside the Negroes. The majority of San Francisco's Negroes live in the Fillmore district, once a solid Japanese area.

The two groups get along well—if ignoring each other is getting along. There are signs of integration around the playgrounds, schools and restaurants. Carey McWilliams, in "Brothers Under

the Skin" described this integration as "weirdly unreal."

I walked around the district asking Negroes how they liked living beside Japanese and Japanese how they liked living beside Negroes, not necessarily expecting to hear the truth from either.

"They've got to live somewhere," the Japanese said. "They're people, like we are."

"They've got to live somewhere," the Negroes said. "They're people, like we are."

Nobody made a speech about how the colored brethren ought to stand together in this world.

## Violence Is Widely Reported, Kindness Too Dull for News

One of the first Negro families to move into a Los Angeles district decided to hold a tea for the neighbors.

Not only did 50 white neighbors attend, but several came early enough to help prepare refreshments.

Negroes moved thickly into a Detroit neighborhood on the edge of which was an all-white Episcopal Church.

Now Negroes not only belong to the church; they sing in the choir and teach in the church school.

#### Took Up Collection

In another Los Angeles section hoodlums damaged the new home of a Negro family. White neighbors took up a collection to repair the place.

The story of violence in transitional neighborhoods is told at once. But for every act of violence there are numerous acts of kindness that are too dull and ordinary to make print.

The term "transitional area" does not imply that a neighborhood is changing from white to "mixed," but from white to Negro. In many instances, however, there are signs that neighborhood integration will continue.

A white family, say, for years has believed all the derogatory

stories about the behavior of Negroes. Then they suddenly find a Negro family moving next door to them. For the time being, the white family can find no suitable place to move. They stay and watch their neighbors.

This Negro family is well educated, quiet, clean, law-abiding. They water the lawn and pick up bits of paper. They go shopping and return with books and beans and beer. They watch television. They mind their own business.

#### No Documents, Only Eyes

This is the setting for delightful dramas in human relations all around the country these days. It needs no documents for proof, only eyes.

It would never have occurred to me that this same setting may not always promote good human relations if a young white doctor of philosophy in a large Midwestern city had not asked me:

"What do you think of interracial marriage?"

I told him I was in his office to discuss migration, and not to meddle in the private affairs of citizens.

"I don't see where that has any bearing on the subject," I said with all the disgust I could muster, and started to rise. It had been a long time since any man of intelligence



had nauseated me with that old chestnut.

"Wait a minute," the researcher said. "I'm going to show you its bearing on the subject. Do you know that this issue poses a very real fear question for folks around here?"

"Of course," I said.

#### "Don't Marry Strangers"

"Now, we don't marry strangers as a rule, only friends and neighbors, is that correct?"

I shrugged.

"Now, take the pressure to keep even your most advanced Negroes out of the better neighborhoods. With many of my people it's no more than an attempt to dodge a social situation that might mean the wrong people become too friendly. Therefore, they're going to fight to keep Negroes crowding into the same old areas."

That's what the scholar said, for what it's worth.

Scholars to the contrary, the various human relations commissions are doing excellent work in transitional areas. They co-operate with established organizations in the areas, with Negro organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, and with church groups to promote desirable neighborhood practices.

Take, say, the Oakland-Kenwood-Hyde Park area of Chicago. Before the Supreme Court ruled against court-enforcement of housing restrictions, this area had been "protected" by a covenant.

#### Tried to Shift Stress

The Chicago Human Relations Commission tried to shift the emphasis from the covenant to a "community conservation agreement," providing for standards of occupancy and property maintenance without regard for race.

The new agreement failed, but the sporadic incidents of violence in the area ceased. White residents stopped expressing fears about the

entrance of Negroes. Several programs like this are working in Chicago.

Detroit's Negroes have met practically no violence moving into new areas recently, largely because the Inter-racial Committee and other organizations conducted a "softening up" campaign after World War II when it was obvious to all that Negroes had to spread out.

Police were advised that the movements would begin. Whereas before the war they used to side with the opposition, they now stand by to protect Negroes at their new homes if necessary.

Just as that Episcopal Church in Detroit has undergone a change in membership, numerous stores, restaurants, taverns and other business establishments in transitional areas throughout the country have had changes in patronage.

On 12th Street between Atkinson and Eddison Streets in Detroit is Brenner's Grocery Store. I asked a member of management how business was.

"Good," he said. "Very good."

"The neighborhood seems to have changed rapidly in the past few years," I said.

"Racially, yes. But that hasn't meant any change in my business. The colored folks moving in buy just as much as their white neighbors."

"What's the race ratio?" I asked.

"About 50-50," he said.

He explained that 10 years ago the neighborhood was about 99 per cent white, then volunteered a detail of attitude:

"For my part, I don't care who lives where. I'd as soon serve one group as another. I'm just making a living."

Some of his white customers care who lives where, though. On the fancy bouvelards a few blocks away lawn signs shout: FOR SALE. The signs are more than they seem. Each is a possible herald of un-

planned design for American cities in the future—black centers, white peripheries.

"The greatest social dilemma nowadays is how to stop the white folks from running," said Wayne L. Hopkins of the Philadelphia Urban League.

\* \* \*

#### Some Follow Trend

It ought to be emphasized that not all white families who move from urban neighborhoods are running from Negroes. Some are following a trend. Everybody who can buy a little place in the suburbs does so these days.

\* \* \*

Last summer the first postwar project of the Philadelphia Housing Authority was completed and occupied. Arch Homes, in West Philadelphia, was the city's first project to admit tenants under the non-discrimination regulations of 1950.

The project opened with 37 white and 40 Negro families. The white persons totaled 170, the Negroes 170. The first baby born in the project was white, the second colored.

"We have an ideal situation there," said a member of the housing authority. "Best-run place in the city, and there is no manager as such. The tenants have formed clubs. They have social activities. Trouble is a word no one has occasion to use around there."

The accent is on integration in public housing in most non-Southern areas these days, however, only a minority of projects have passed beyond the token or planning stage.

The source for this is "Open Occupancy in Housing Programs of the Public Housing Administration," published by the administration. It states that as of September, 1952, there were 823 public housing projects in 23 non-Southern states which have gone

on record as favoring integrated units. Of the 823 projects, 210 were completely integrated, the publication stated.

#### Rapid Integration

Newark, N.J., has set an example of rapid integration. In May, 1950, the New Jersey legislature amended the public housing law to forbid discrimination. At that time Newark had four all-white projects and four in which the races lived in separate buildings.

Housing authority officials held several conferences with the Essex County Intergroup Council, the Newark Civil Rights Commission, and other organizations. Then the authority announced that integration was coming out of the talking stage.

By October, 1952, 258 Negro families were living in what had once been all-white sections, and 64 white families in what had been all-Negro.

"At only one project was there any apparent tension in regard to the integration program," reported Miss Ailene Simkins, supervisor of tenant selection for the authority. "At Bradley Court there were rumblings in the neighborhood, and some of the tenants were reported to have threatened to move out. A few protest meetings were held. The matter was ironed out satisfactorily with the help of Ed Rutledge, race relations adviser for the Public Housing Administration."

About 150 cities throughout the country are affected by state laws against discrimination by housing authorities.

#### Frontier Area

What about housing on the nation's expanding industrial frontiers?

One such frontier is Bucks County, Pa., where U.S. Steel has put up a new half-billion-dollar plant

that is attracting numerous steel-consuming industries.

Here, within a few years, a new city will spring up, William Levitt, builder of entire towns (segregated ones), has undertaken the country's largest house-building job on several thousand lower Bucks County acres.

There will be a mile-long shopping center, schools, churches, recreational centers, parks.

Adjacent to this new Levittown the Danheerst Corp. is building "Fairless Hills," with funds reportedly advanced by U.S. Steel itself.

The county has been classified by the federal government as a critical defense area—but Levitt has made it clear his homes will be for white only. "Fairless Hills" has not said what the pattern there will be. It has been estimated that 20 per cent of the area's workers will be Negroes.

If the projects draw race lines, Negro workers will have to commute from Philadelphia, Trenton and other cities, which already have housing shortages. Paradoxically, U.S. Steel has assured the steelworkers union that fair hiring will be practiced in the new plant.

## Job Equality Got Impetus From War-Time FEPC Order

In June, 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, made a vow that alarmed President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If the government did not enforce its policy against the discrimination of Negroes in expanding war industries, Randolph said, he and several prominent associates would lead 50,000 Negroes in a protest "March on Washington."

France had fallen to Hitler. This country had been declared in a state of emergency. Realizing the domestic and international implications of Randolph's plan, the President on June 25, 1941, issued Executive Order 8802, establishing a Committee on Fair Employment Practices. He said:

"No nation combatting the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude huge segments of its population from its defense industries. Even more important is it for us to strengthen our unity and morale

by refuting at home the very theories which we are fighting for abroad."

### New Emphasis

Through the hole thus punched in industrial job barriers rushed tens of thousands of Negroes to jobs they had never held before.

In 1946, FEPC's congressional supporters protested mildly while Southern filibusterers talked the agency to death. However, fair employment philosophy and purpose lived on to attain new emphasis in American social thinking.

Negroes, organized labor, church groups and some politicians began to press for legislation against job discrimination by private firms as well as by public agencies. No national FEPC law has been passed, but 11 states and at least 22 cities outside them now have fair job boards.

The states are Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New

York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin.

The main cities are Phoenix, Ariz.; Richmond, Calif.; Chicago, Ill.; Sioux City, Ia.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Akron, Campbell, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Hubbard, Lowellville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Warren and Youngstown, Ohio; Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia and Sharon, Pa., and Pontiac and River Rouge, Mich.

### No Race Trouble

Leaving aside philosophical pros and cons, you see the following facts clearly:

1. Industries governed by fair-hiring legislation are giving minority groups jobs they never had before.
2. No race trouble is resulting from this action.
3. Numerous employers who oppose FEP legislation have made honest attempts to alter discriminatory hiring policies to show that "we can do what's right without government interference."

In 1948 it looked as if the Cleveland City Council was going to adopt a fair-hiring ordinance. The Cleveland Board of Commerce worked up a voluntary hiring plan and asked that it be tried for a year. The council agreed.

The board tried hard to make the voluntary plan work, but at the end of the year admitted it had failed. The board then requested that the Cleveland City Council pass a job ordinance and the council promptly passed one.

4. In keeping with point 3, minority groups in non-southern areas which have no fair-hiring laws are enjoying unprecedented job opportunities.

### Grim Prophecies

Despite these agencies, forces for job equality might have died in an unhealthy economic climate.

As a matter of fact, they seemed rather ill in some regions during the reconversion period just after World War II.

Many cities had hoped their outside workers would go back where they came from after the war. Grim prophecies had been made about the unemployment that would come with the shutting down of huge plants.

What about a city like San Francisco, for instance, where the Negro population alone had climbed from 5000 to near 50,000?

San Francisco knew what it was up against. The Kaiser shipyards across the bay in Richmond and other wartime operations that had absorbed armies of migrants had closed down.

Before the war the little colony of Negroes had been supported by a few railroad services. Even during the early part of the war their job opportunities hardly had broadened beyond stevedoring and other tough water-front jobs.

If the old San Francisco had had only a handful of services for 5000 Negroes to perform, how was the new San Francisco going to find jobs for 10 times as many? Part of the answer was obvious. A good bit of job discrimination would have to go.

### Relieved Itself

Migrants who once had carried home fat pay checks started drifting into welfare offices. To make things worse, Japanese were returning from relocation camps.

In one way, the situation relieved itself. Service industries had expanded with the population, and into these went many of the newcomers who had been machinists and welders, or make-do machinists and welders.

Said Tarea Hall Pittman, field secretary of the West Coast Regional Branch of the National As-



sociation for the Advancement of Colored People:

"Many who fancied themselves welders or something during the war found out they couldn't have held such jobs in peacetime even if they had been offered to them. It is one thing to drill a hole where somebody tells you—and quite another to be left on your own with a professional job of welding to do."

San Francisco frankly didn't know what to do with its new Negroes and some citizens made a common-sense suggestion—to call in the country's top migration specialist, the National Urban League. Seaton Manning took over as executive secretary of the new branch in 1946. Donald Glover became its industrial relations secretary.

### 3-Point Program

"It looked like Negroes were in for a rough time around here," Glover said.

The league worked out a three-point program:

1. Secure the jobs Negroes had got in civil service during the war.
2. Try to get them into such industries as banking, retail merchandising, and similar white collar pursuits.
3. Break down barriers in the construction industry.

Many civic and business leaders co-operated. Negro faces began to be seen in new places.

Then Manning and Glover took a look at the practices of the public employment service.

"It would help if you re-interviewed some of your Negro applicants," they told the service. "We figure that a good many Negroes who came here from the South have construction skills."

The re-interviewing program turned up Negro carpenters, brick masons, plasterers. The AFL building trades union reluctantly admitted a few, then more. The number rose to about 4000. The em-

ployment service stared wide-eyed, and started re-interviewing the general public for unlisted skills.

The service set up a temporary unit to handle Negro employment. At the end of the first year, it reported that 85 per cent of all referrals had been placed. (This unit has been abandoned.) San Francisco had bridged the gap.

### Reuther Complains

Meanwhile, other cities were struggling with the same problem. Even in those with fair employment ordinances there were signs that prewar job-discrimination patterns were returning. Advocates of FEPC worked harder to get a national bill passed.

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, CIO (now president of the CIO as well), on June 18, 1947, complained to a Senate subcommittee on anti-discrimination legislation:

"Discrimination in hiring is shown by the falling ratio of non-white placements to the total in Detroit since the war's end. Detroit's non-white population increased from 7.7 per cent of the total in 1940 to 12.9 per cent in March, 1946.

"And unemployment among non-whites is considerably higher than among whites. Both of these factors would lift non-white placements substantially above the prewar proportion if hiring were non-discriminatory. Yet the proportion is heading downward, toward prewar levels."

FEPC enthusiasts were not the only ones trying to hold off a return to general job discrimination. In local communities the new human relations agencies (These are FEPC enthusiasts, too), church groups, civic organizations and some independent do-gooders kept fighting on a general non-discrimination front that covered employment.

That reaction was never a major

characteristic of the period between the end of World War II and the outbreak of the Korean War is shown by the number of new openings Negroes were entering in baseball, public service, journalism, the theater, education, and engineering.

On June 25, 1950, the Korean War started. With the entrance of U.N. forces, this country went on a new production boom. President Truman issued Executive Order 10308, providing for a Commit-

tee on Government Contract Compliance.

The committee sees to it that non-discrimination clauses in contracts between private industry and government are respected.

This is the background for the story of the current employment of Negroes.

"Discrimination is still the general rule, on many levels," Negroes all around the country are saying, "but there are more openings than ever before."

## Industrial Boom Weakens Racial Barriers to New Jobs

In January this nation had 60,524,000 employed persons, the most in any January in our history.

A glance at the help-wanted advertisements in newspapers of any of the booming industrial centers will show manpower needs. The industrial frontier still is expanding.

In this salutary economic climate Negroes are prospering along with other Americans. Those who remain in the South are getting better jobs than ever before. Those still leaving the South for the relatively greater freedom of other regions are finding ready openings.

Negroes all over the East and West report that racial job barriers are being broken continuously. This does not mean that a qualified Negro is hired as readily as a white person, for frequently the break in the race barrier is but a token one. It does mean progress.

### Walter Reuther Quoted

In any attempt to evaluate these occupational changes, however, it is only common sense to point out this: Any sound businessman will put a Negro in a high position be-

fore he will see production suffer for lack of manpower.

Once again Walter Reuther stresses a cold fact that ought to be kept in mind by anyone looking at Negro job gains. In 1947 he told an FEPC subcommittee in Washington:

"The Negro is the marginal element in the labor force. When times are good and labor scarce, a relatively large proportion is able to find jobs. When times are bad, the proportion of Negroes hired shrinks."

Whether five years have altered the truth of this is a matter for debate. But it is a matter of record that during the industrial cutbacks of about two years ago Negro workers suffered proportionately more than others.

### Many Gains to Be Permanent

There seems little doubt, however, that many of the gains will be permanent. Once Negroes are accepted in various white collar categories where there is slow turnover, they are "in." Moreover, permanency is assured wherever the

attitudes of employers have changed basically.

M. Albert Linton, president of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia, has said:

"Thus far our employment of members of 'minority' groups appears to be working out satisfactorily. Their inclusion is helpful in enlarging the numbers from which any selection may be made.

"It is essential that careful planning precede the introduction of new groups into organizations. With such planning, problems which have arisen prove to be minor ones."

Arthur C. Kaufman, executive of Gimbel Brothers in Philadelphia, observes:

"When the Gimbel management decided to accelerate a program of upgrading Negro members of the staff into selling and clerical positions, the first Negro upgraded to a sales position was a floor cashier. Gradually we introduced other Negro sales people throughout the store.

"Instead of criticism, we received congratulatory letters from the public. There was absolutely no reaction on the part of our sales people."

The latter statement tells a long story. Much of management's resistance to hiring Negroes has been based on the belief that the public would object. In most instances the public has proved to be delightfully color blind when integration takes place.

#### Drifting Out of Old Services

With new fields before them, Negroes are gradually drifting out of many of the old services which for a long time were their special province.

"They are leaving those for any white people who want them," one official joked.

In the past 10 years the number

of Negro foremen and craftsmen has increased by 105 per cent, transportation and communications workers by 57 per cent and construction workers by 95 per cent. These high percentages reflect the relatively small number of Negroes in these fields before. A Negro foreman is still a rarity most places.

It would be pointless to list all the new job fields Negroes have entered in recent years. A few examples from different cities will show the general trend.

The Chicago Urban League reported a blanket request for 18 electronics workers from a single company. Calls for trained white collar workers in Loop offices are made constantly. A Negro engineer in Chicago (or anywhere else for that matter) has no trouble getting placed.

#### 189 New Firms Hire Negroes

Sydney Williams executive secretary of the Chicago league, said that in 1951 alone 189 firms hired Negroes for the first time.

In Cleveland a machine plant, wanting to make certain that its promotions are by merit only, set up an examination system on the civil service model. In the first promotions under the new system three Negroes went to jobs Negroes had not held before.

Even Detroit is beginning to feature glimpses of brown faces in white collar classifications downtown. There are a few bank tellers, and, in at least two stores, salesgirls. Negroes are getting more high bracket jobs in industry, there, too. However, Negroes there say a strong FEPC is needed.

Providence banks and other industries employ Negroes in positions of serious responsibility. Providence hospitals have used Negro medical personnel.

Perhaps the best recent example of Negro entrance into top public service occupations is the appointment of Joseph Bibb as director of

public safety for the State of Illinois. Such advances, however, are more political than occupational.

Government promotion of equal employment is not through fair employment legislation alone. New York, California and Illinois have outlawed the acceptance of discriminatory job orders by public employment agencies.

A California study showed that between November, 1951, and March, 1952, less than one per cent of the job orders received had racial specifications, as compared with 67 per cent in January, 1951.

"It is slowly getting so there is some sort of stigma attached to job discrimination," said Harry Ross, an official of the UAW-CIO fair employment practice division. "Management knows and we know that with the international situation what it is civil rights must be the number one point on the nation's agenda of unfinished business."

Apparently the stigma does not fix itself to discrimination on the managerial level of business. Perhaps New York has set the pace for the country in the move toward job equality; and yet, Ramon Rivera, industrial relations secretary of the Greater New York Urban League, can say authoritatively:

"As you approach the higher levels of managerial hierarchy, you'll find out where exclusion really begins to take place."

This exclusion, as well as that in certain white-collar areas where both sexes work, and the failure to promote according to merit make up the major complaint subject in employment for Negroes these days. There still are complaints of discrimination by labor unions, particularly AFL locals in some crafts.

For example, the Teamsters Union on the West Coast discriminates. (It may do so elsewhere for all I know.) The union in San Francisco controls bartenders and related specialists as well as certain

vehicle operators. It excludes Negroes, Mexicans and Orientals.

Union officials say they fear the admission of new members would put some old ones out of work. The excluded groups say the union fears the admission of new members would make old ones "do some work for a change."

\* \* \*

#### Fewer Complaints Reported

Fair employment boards report decreasing complaints, obviously suggesting that fewer minority group members are meeting discrimination.

The reports of these boards, however, are not an accurate gauge of employment discrimination. Many Negroes who told me about discrimination either didn't know how to file complaints with the boards or were cynical about them. The boards should do a better job of spreading information and education among the workers. Most of them recognize this.

Have special efforts been made to promote harmony between white Southerners and Negroes in non-southern industry? Says old-line union man Harry Ross of UAW:

"We had to ride herd on those Southern white guys. Those guys didn't want to practice intolerance because they were bad union men. They wanted to do it because they were just a little confused, to speak mildly, about how democracy works. Well, we had to un-confuse some of those guys."

It pays off. When Attorney General Biddle was investigating the Detroit riot in 1943, he said:

"It is extremely interesting that there was no disorder within the plants where colored and white workers worked side by side on account of the efficient union discipline."

\* \* \*

#### A Rhode Islander Speaks

There's a Rhode Islander in Cleveland who has something to



say about migration, at least as it relates to Cleveland industry.

Howard Whipple Green, a Woonsocket native, is a social statistician and a member of the Cleveland Health Council. He can use statistics to show almost anything about how the city is developing.

Green's figures tell him migration of Negroes will be very good for Cleveland in the long run because, "the foreign-born labor has decreased steadily since 1910." Negro migrants have taken over the tough jobs immigrants used to do, he said.

## Northern Schools Ignore Work of Negro Leaders

When J. C. Farr talks about how he left Beaumont, Tex., for the frontier-like city of Richmond, Calif., he can't keep from mentioning his children.

"My daughter Evelyn is in college," he says proudly. "She studies hard, going to be real smart some day, that girl is."

Evelyn probably would have gone to college if she had stayed in Texas. There are some who say that proportionately more Southern Negroes attend college than Northern. I have not seen the figures.

But J. C. Farr knows that his children will have better educational advantages in the North than they would have had in the South.

Negro newcomers to the North and West point out that Southern schools still separate by race. This means, they say from experience, that Negro schools are inferior to white ones in the South.

### Psychological Advantages

They also say their children will have certain psychological advantages by escaping the badges of segregation Southern schools would pin on them at a sensitive age.

Some Southern Negroes express surprise that certain school practices in the North and West are, as one Detroit migrant put it, "in

effect like some of the Southern practices."

Negroes in most of the big cities complain that teachers are not assigned on a basis of need. As a rule, they say, Negro teachers are assigned to schools made all colored by residential segregation or to those where the percentages of Negro students are high.

A high percentage of the all-colored schools are elementary. This means there are few Negro high school teachers.

### No Chance for Advancement

"I'd like to be a teacher," a frustrated teen-age girl with a straight A average told me, "but my aunt can't get promoted because she has to teach at a colored school with no openings and I don't want to get into something where I can't advance."

Newcomers also complain that Northern Negro children grow up without realizing that "Negroes have participated in the great events of history, and without any understanding of the racial struggle in America."

In the South, they say, Negro teachers spend extra time acquainting students with such men as Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henri Christophe and Frederick Douglass.

"But in the North they know

nothing about these world figures and many others because textbooks, North and South, as a rule either slur over such things or don't mention them at all," one parent said. She said she thinks this omission promotes a sense of inferiority in Negro pupils.

### Distortion Is Charged

More than this, some Negroes believe that certain textbooks distort racial matters positively.

A guide sheet used by a 4-B instructor in one Providence school states that South African natives are happy and that unity and peace prevail in the country under the kind treatment of natives by the government.

About this a white parent said to me:

"Why, if a little Negro boy who has to live in a ghetto should read that, it wouldn't encourage him much. Negro children know South African natives are Negroes. Naturally they would link an endorsement of the situation there with an endorsement of the situation here."

A few weeks ago I talked with a Negro college freshman who was disturbed deeply because he did not get a bid from a fraternity. There are no Negro fraternities at his college.

I jokingly asked him if the way he ties his shoes or spends his money had anything to do with his not receiving an invitation.

"I think it was my race," he said, and expressed bitterness that great institutions would "put up with organizations that use their prestige and then draw race lines."

On the level of higher education in the North, Negroes for a long time have felt that professional schools, particularly medical, have quota systems for minority groups.

Schools have made some progress in human relations in the past few years. Non-Southern schools have worked hard to meet the special

burdens imposed on them by the shift of populations. Some have become aware of their sins of omission against minority groups and have cautiously begun to make amends.

One of the burdens of in-migration is overcrowding. Paradoxically, many cities where migration has been heavy have experienced only slight increases in school populations beyond those normally expected from birth. Several things explain this.

In the first place, many families are leaving city limits. In the second, many of the newcomers are young, single people. In the third, many migrant children, like those of other low-income groups, quit school as soon as they are old enough.

### Congestion in Schools

But where many migrants move into areas faster than old residents move out, congestion in schools obviously occurs. It also takes place in new residential areas where the building of schools has not kept pace with the settling of families. In many places, too, overcrowding is a long-time problem that has simply been agitated by migration.

"Our schools are bursting at the seams," said Herman Browe, an assistant superintendent of the Detroit public schools.

"Migrants are moving into the older areas of the city, thus overcrowding the schools in that area," said Dr. Lynn Hilton of the building survey department of Chicago public schools.

"Overcrowding is a serious problem here, but we have a building program under way to alleviate it," said Mrs. Jane Hood, an assistant to the superintendent of public education of Los Angeles public schools.

### Stabilization Problems

Migration has caused certain stabilization difficulties. While some Negroes continuously move into old

areas, others and many whites move out. Thus numerous children study for a short time at one school and then enter another. As Negro children increase in some schools, white parents try to transfer their children to others. Some white teachers ask to be transferred from schools that are becoming colored.

"Because teachers in Philadelphia have been able to get transfers easily, there has been a rapid

turnover in schools in the Negro areas," said a Philadelphia official.

The Newark school board once froze all transfers until the whole transfer issue could be studied.

Migration also has re-enforced non-official patterns of segregation at schools, tended to lower standards in some areas, and hastened the planning of human relations projects. All this will be discussed in the next article of this series.

## Housing Discrimination Causes School Segregation in North

A Negro complained to me that he had thought he would get his children out of segregated schools by leaving the South, but that the Northern school they were attending was "for colored only, or so close to it you can't tell the difference from a glance at the playground."

It had not occurred to him that he had actually helped strengthen unofficial patterns of school segregation by moving into an area of the city where white residents were saying:

"Too many Negroes are coming in here. Let's get out and leave the whole section to them."

In most of the cities I visited, some schools for a long time have been all-Negro or predominantly Negro because of housing discrimination. The Doyle Avenue and Benefit Street schools in Providence fit into this pattern.

In the big cities, as Negroes move into previously all-white areas some schools become integrated for the first time; but as white persons turn these areas over to Negroes entirely, new all-Negro schools result.

In several cities school boards

have brought about school segregation by gerrymandering districts. The odd-shaped areas on school district maps show this.

This makes things difficult for administrators interested in promoting human relations training in schools. It is easier to give such training when you have different ethnic groups represented than when you don't.

Why are school officials beginning to consider it their duty to give such instruction?

The answer is that they don't want to see their wards grow up to get their heads blown off on battlefields — not necessarily foreign battlefields, but those in Detroit, Chicago, or East St. Louis.

Listen to Herman Browne of the Detroit school board:

"We are beginning to educate for democracy here. We're interested in the total world situation. I think the schools should teach children respect for all the racial and national cultures in the world. My own people were from the old country, Polish-German extraction. They couldn't speak English at first. I know what it means to be

considered different and misunderstood."

Each Detroit school now has a race relations representative. Meetings are held once a month to discuss problems. Children are encouraged in interracial projects, children who had not been born or who were toddlers when a different type of interracial project was being carried out in 1943.

From Chicago, Eleanor T. Dunagan, director of the department of education of the Commission on Human Relations, reports:

"... In the public and parochial schools, in our colleges and universities, at the level of people in the community, throughout the civic and professional human relations agencies, the years from 1949 to 1952 have witnessed a great gain in awareness that adequate human relations education is our profound business..."

The Chicago program is based on the principle that human relations is part of the school program on all levels and in all activities.

### Human Relations Program

Dr. Watt A. Long, associate superintendent, and Dr. Lewin Bowman, director of the bureau of research of the San Francisco schools, are enthusiastic advocates of the human relations approach. Theirs is a broad view. I kept referring to their program as race relations training and they kept telling me to use the word human instead of race.

"It is not only race and nationality," said Dr. Long. "It's a lot of little things. There are differences made because a kid is not well dressed or maybe he is crippled. We want to get at all those things which undermine the well-being of pupils."

The pamphlet, "Feelings Are Facts," published and widely distributed by the National Conference

of Christians and Jews, was prepared originally by the San Francisco public schools. It was written by Margaret M. Heaton.

Here is a paragraph from its instruction to teachers:

"In America, stereotypes about groups of people have done great harm. They have been used, not only as descriptive terms, but as sources of false information. Such stereotypes as 'Negroes are dumb and like to be clowns,' 'Japanese are imitative in all they do,' 'Italians are noisy,' often prevent these groups from getting jobs and opportunities which they deserve."

And another:

"Thus a teacher trying to shift group feelings must follow certain steps. First, diagnose the sources of tension. Second, accept the expression of negative feelings. Third, plan activities that release new energies and fresh enthusiasms. Fourth, provide opportunity for learning new skills."

### In-Migrant Problems

A passage from the foreword by Dr. Long is worth repeating because it sheds considerable light on the whole question of migration and schools:

"The particular stresses which brought this pamphlet into being were the problems that San Francisco schools were meeting in providing for children of in-migrant families from all over the country, and particularly an understanding of the feelings of Negro children from the deep South.

"Many teachers were troubled by the defensive attitude of all in-migrant children, and by their need for better orientation in the school and community. Furthermore, aggressiveness on the playground, quarrels over name-calling, sometimes planned, sometimes voluntary segregation of students caused parents and community leaders great concern. Incidents of various sorts



brought to light school situations unwholesome for all children . . ."

#### Academic Standards

How has migration, both colored and white, affected academic standards in schools in non-Southern regions?

Most Southern schools, Negro and white, are inferior to schools in other sections. Especially are rural Southern schools backward. The pupils who come from these may be classified in a particular grade, but tests may show they be long far below it.

Last year the principal of one junior high school in a Cleveland transition area reported that of 78 migrant children tested, 32 had I.Q.'s below 70. This was attributed to environmental and early training factors.

Another child was reported ready for the 11th grade by the Southern school she had attended. By Cleveland standards she was for the 5th. Because she was older than 14, she was placed in the 9th grade, where she does fairly well. Cleveland officials try not to send a child older than 14 back to elementary school.

#### Classes for Retarded Pupils

Schools have placed some migrant children in special classes for retarded pupils in general. They

have also worked out ingenious tutorial projects for them.

In one Los Angeles school, native children thought their own education was being jeopardized by the influx of students from schools where the standards were lower. They formed an organization devoted to instructing their less fortunate fellow pupils.

"They were good at it, too," said Mrs. Jane Hood, assistant to the superintendent of public education, "and the new children took full advantage of it. That in itself was a delightful experience in human relations."

Some schools have reduced the size of classes so that more individual instruction can be given. This, and other special projects, means extra work for teachers, at a time when there is a fairly widespread teacher shortage.

New students don't seem to create special problems of discipline, except those resulting from congestion. They seem to adjust easily to their new schools. Younger Negro children from the South, of course, have not had time to develop "segregation" complexes that would make their adjustment to integrated schools especially difficult. Older ones often have a tendency to group together. The more socially alert teachers seek subtle ways to start them mingling with other races.

## Negroes Share in Health Gains; Still Subject to More Hazards

The health of the entire nation is improving steadily, despite shortages of physicians, hospitals and research facilities.

As they have shared in all long-range gains of the nation, Negroes are sharing in the health gains. But their status at the bottom of the social order keeps them subject to many more health hazards than other ethnic groups.

For instance, the tuberculosis rate among Negroes has dropped rapidly in recent years, but it is still high because the percentage of Negroes who live in slums is high.

#### Progress Slowed?

It might be expected that a large increase in the population of a disadvantaged group in a particular locality would slow health progress in general there.

This is not the case, say health officials in cities I visited. Obviously the task of disease control and prevention has been made more difficult—but health officials have worked harder, used their staffs more economically.

In some instances unscheduled increases in health staffs have been made. In others medical personnel have been transferred from relatively safe areas to more congested ones.

"There is no room in this town for anything," said Mrs. Kathrin Maxwell, Detroit director of health education. "And so, the last to come always gets the worst of everything. But our health problem has improved a great deal."

"The improvement in the very worst areas far outstrips that of the other areas because we worked

harder where the need was greatest. Take area 6, one of the worst slum areas. We have brought the TB rate down steadily there."

#### Health Guilds

She went on to explain how the city has set up non-discriminatory health guilds. They spread health information by districts.

Other health officials report that the TB rate among underprivileged groups is their biggest community health concern.

"The rate is falling, but would fall faster if housing were better for these groups," said Dr. Aaron H. Haskins, Newark health director.

In many health categories Dr. Haskins has reason to be proud of Newark. As an example of what can be done in a city where the population has increased rapidly in the worst areas, Newark serves well. Here's an excerpt from the 1951 annual report:

"The estimated Negro population of Newark is 50,000." (Underestimated by almost 25,000. Dr. Haskins didn't have census figures when the report was made. That means the city's record is even better than his base percentages show.) "Although the various mortality rates in this group are rather high, the natural result of economic, educational and housing handicaps, a study of the past 14 years is rather encouraging. The tuberculosis rate, for example, has decreased from 388 per 100,000 fifteen years ago to 166 in 1951."

#### Infant Mortality

"... Infant mortality in those few years has fallen from 89.5 to 42.1 per 1000 living births or a re-

duction of approximately 52 per cent and the lowest on record . . ."

This is typical of reports in many areas. The improvement reflects the wide use of the new "wonder" drugs. Venereal disease is decreasing steadily in most sections.

It would be interesting to measure the improvement in the health of newcomers resulting from better facilities in the large cities. Many came from Southern sections where health standards are considerably lower than in other areas. If they live in unsanitary ghettos now, many lived in them before leaving the South. So these ill effects cancel.

"You could see the effects of rickets and other malnutrition disorders in them, white and colored alike," a San Francisco social worker said. "During the war when there was lots of manpower and the pace for an individual was not a killing one in factories, they could keep up. Some, however, were not in physical condition to compete in peacetime work when the pace was rapid. Their children will have better health because they can afford more milk, more doctors and more everything, to say nothing of the better health programs in schools and the advanced child care programs."

#### Medical Discrimination

Discrimination against Negroes in many hospitals, medical schools and clinics continues to conspire with the ghettos to undermine their health and thus threaten the health of all other groups, however.

Here are excerpts from a report by the commission on health of the National Urban League:

"... The life expectancy of the Negro male is 57½ years — the white male 65. The life expectancy of the Negro female is 61 years, white female 70.

"... There are about 4000 Negro physicians in the United States, roughly 2 per cent of the total. . . . There is about one Negro physician

for every 3500 Negroes—the white ratio is 1 to 850.

"... Out of 79 medical schools, Howard and Mehary (the two Negro schools) produce about 130 Negro physicians yearly—the other 77 produce about 15.

"... Of 567 hospitals in 37 Urban League cities there were 19 Negro resident physicians in mixed hospitals; none at all in most of the 37 cities.

"... In 35 Urban League cities responding to a survey there were 566 hospitals—313 accepted Negro patients; 162 of these accepted Negroes on an integrated basis, 20 on a quota system, and 95 restricted Negroes to private rooms."

#### Trends Changing

Trends just being noticed may alter these percentages in the next few years, according to a report released last April by Dr. Franklin C. McLean, secretary of the National Medical Fellowships Inc. and chairman of the medical session of the fourth Chicago Conference on Civic Unity.

The report said Negroes are "being found in increasing numbers on the medical staffs of hospitals, as students in unsegregated medical schools and on their faculties."

It says there are "unmistakable" signs that the pattern of isolation and segregation in medicine is disintegrating in enough places to "hold out the prospect for an even better outlook for the future."

One sign of change was the admission of Negro nurses to the American Nurses Association in 1950. In 44 states membership is open to any qualified nurse.

The isolation of the Negroes and the shortage of Negro doctors have put Negroes at the mercy of medical exploiters in a few cities.

In one city Negroes complain of overnight "get-rich-quick" hospitals where patients get assembly-line treatments and then "die like flies."

A Cleveland Health Council offi-

cial said many newcomers don't respect sanitation rules in the city.

"They move into the congested areas and continue to dump waste into alleys, throw dishwater out windows and scatter garbage around just as they did in the rural South," he said.

This probably is true. Still, not all the trash bulging from cans and falling to litter up neighborhoods is the result of carelessness by residents.

City cleanup personnel can be pretty indifferent to Negro areas at times.

## Discrimination Is Old Story Among Races in California

"Hey, Okie, if you see Arkie,  
Tell 'm Tex got a job fer 'm,  
Way out in Californy!"

—Hill-Billy work song.

California is the romantic show piece of the country. There, the sun works overtime. There, soil and sea yield greater economic returns to their workers than elsewhere.

Song and story have praised California's yellow and black and white gold—that is, the precious metal, the oil and the cotton.

The state's major racial groups have the same color designations as its golds—"yellow," black and white.

This land of seeming enchantment has produced some of the ugliest racial stories in American history. For a long time it followed a program of studied persecution of Orientals and Mexicans.

Franklin Williams, hard working chief of the NAACP's West Coast regional bureau in San Francisco, thinks it makes no sense to consider the position of Negroes on the West Coast without first looking at the other non-white minorities.

#### Envious Farm Groups

It was envious California farm groups working with some lawmakers and a section of the press that sparked the move to get 110,-

000 persons of Japanese descent uprooted from their homes in three West Coast states and placed in relocation camps during World War II.

Carey McWilliams has written that few ethnic groups have made a more important contribution to California culture than the Chinese, but that today Chinatown itself is the only visible evidence of this contribution.

And Chinatown itself is not "exotic." It is a notorious slum.

California is moving away from the "yellow peril" position in group relations. Apparently the steady movement of Negroes into the state has not provoked any widespread "black peril" notions.

Officials are sensitive about the state's record of intolerance. When I brought up the Negro question, many Californians would preface their remarks with something like this:

#### "Getting Along Fine"

"We're getting along fine out here. We welcomed our Japanese back with open arms."

Usually, I had said nothing at all about the Japanese at that point.

Negroes in the three cities I visited, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Richmond, say their lots are improving, but they hasten to point out that the millenium has not ar-



rived in California as some Easterners seem to think.

How did large masses of Negro migrants fit into the general racial scheme in California?

Tarea Hall Pittman, field secretary for the West Coast regional branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, comes from a pioneer Negro farm family. She was born in Bakersfield at the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley in the southern part of the state.

What follows is her summation of the story of California Negroes from around the 1920's until the big migration during World War II.

"Until 1920, or close around that time, the Negro population of the state was scattered, with the largest concentrations in the Los Angeles area and the Bay area. Negroes were fairly well integrated, inconspicuous. There were several land-owners, ranchers and all that.

#### "Farther North"

"Then cotton came in from the southern gateway through Arizona. Negroes followed the cotton. Segregation started appearing. In El Centro, about 250 miles south of Bakersfield, a school was established for Negroes only. They said the new Negroes wanted to be segregated.

"Then cotton crept farther North, to Bakersfield. Negro migrants followed, as there were then no mechanical pickers.

"At the same time, all along the coast, industry was expanding. Now we began to get two types of migration; agricultural and industrial. Shack towns started going up. With the poor Negroes came the poor whites. As the poor whites prospered, they felt it their duty to keep the Negroes 'in their place,' as they say in the South. The migrant whites literally swamped the native whites. We had a Negro problem on our hands.

"Now the region had already decided what to do with other colored groups. The Mexicans and the Orientals had been shoved off into ghettos. Negroes found themselves having to crowd into areas on the fringes of these other minority ghettos.

#### "By the Carload"

"During and after World War II, Negroes came in by the carloads. (The Negro population of Los Angeles went from 63,000 to 171,000; of San Francisco from 4800 to 43,000, and of Oakland from 8000 to 47,000. Richmond, across the bay from San Francisco, had the largest general population increase and the largest Negro increase of any urban center of more than 10,000 in the country. The total population in 1940 was 23,000. Now it is 101,000. The Negro population went from 408 to 14,000.)

"A large number found war-housing. In places like Richmond, shack towns went up. You know the rest of the story."

The rest of the story has been partially told elsewhere in this series. One thing ought to be added: "Super-patriotic" organizations are working hard to undermine gains in group relations, especially in the southern part of the state.

#### "America Plus"

One of the most energetic of these organizations is "America Plus," whose national chairman is, or was, State Senator Jack B. Tenney. The organization has published a pamphlet called "Eyes Front America," which contains the following:

"Civil wrongs, perpetrated in the name of civil rights codes, against the rights of the owners of hotels, restaurants, apartment houses and other public accommodations, to choose their own guests, patrons and tenants must be abolished.

"The American employer must again be given his right to employ whom he wishes, provided he does

not violate his own employment contracts with employee groups. . . ."

And this:

"The American neighborhood must be given the right to protect its own property values and to fix its own standards of culture, congeniality and happiness through its own association voluntarily created to achieve those ends."

#### Directed by Thomas

Among the organizations which have warned the public against the un-American philosophy of "America Plus" are the San Francisco Labor Council, the Greater Los Angeles CIO Council, the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, the Young Republicans of San Francisco and the Los Angeles Daily News

One of the country's most effective agencies working to counter all forms of hate propaganda and discrimination is the Los Angeles County Conference on Human Relations, directed by executive secretary George Thomas.

Some aspects of the California anti-Communist crusade seem to be weakening the will of some minority group anti-Communists to speak up for their own rights. Schoolteachers, especially, seem to have been intimidated.

I asked a teacher whom I have known all my life about race relations. After some general observations, she suddenly asked what paper I write for. I told her again.

#### On Her Mind

"I thought maybe you'd be hooked up with the Daily Worker," she said laughing. No one had said anything about Communism, but it was on her mind.

"And just why should you think that?" I asked, as if I had taken her remark seriously.

"Oh, you used to be sort of radical when you were in college," she said, "talking about race all the time!"

"Is race talk radical?" I asked.

She saw the absurdity to which the subject was leading, and laughed.

There is ample ground for her attitude. Race has been linked with communism in a sample instruction sheet circulated among textbook investigators by the Los Angeles Citizens' Committee on Education.

A subcommittee of this organization says that in checking a book for subversion the following questions are significant:

"Does it (the book) teach that NO race, including the white race, should have aspersions cast upon it?"

#### Most Anything

"Does it accentuate or build racial differences?"

The instructions do not cover definitions of "casting aspersions" and "building racial differences." Presumably the reviewers must rely on their own attitudes.

This could mean that a textbook stating that some white persons in South Carolina intimidate Negro voters is slanderous of the white race and therefore subversive. It could mean most anything.

The real danger is not in the questions themselves, but in the fact that positive attitudes toward race equality should be considered at all in a search for subversive doctrine, it seems to me.

## Migration Helped Restore Political Power to Negroes

By 1900 the political power which Negroes had held during the reconstruction period was all but gone.

Former slaves or their children who once had flocked to Southern polls under tutelage of Northern friends and elected their own representatives were blocked by new legal restrictions.

Violence against them was studiously exercised by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan. Their will to participate in the affairs of citizens was almost broken.

Perhaps the turn against them had come in 1876. In that year, Northern Republicans backing Rutherford B. Hayes for president agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South in exchange for enough electoral votes to win the disputed election from Democrat Samuel J. Tilden.

Moreover, with the passing of Frederick Douglass, Negroes lost their most militant spokesman. Their leadership passed to a man who apparently thought his race ought to remain outside the practicalities of democracy, Booker T. Washington.

### Rise of Educated Leaders

However, during this general period of reaction new forces were stirring. There was the rise of educated and militant Negroes, headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, destined to dispel the Booker T. Washington philosophy and to agitate for the ballot and other rights.

And there was the Southern Negro's growing awareness that the North offered him a better deal than the South. More and more he began to act upon this awareness and move North.

It was the Great Migration during World War I and afterward

that brought Negroes back into political power. They spread out in such key political cities as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit.

An indication of the shift of Negro political influence from South to North during a quarter-century span was the election of Oscar De Priest to Congress from Illinois in 1928.

### Switch From GOP to New Deal

The Negro voters' first loyalty was to the Republican Party for historical and sentimental reasons. By 1936, however, they had lined themselves with other economically insecure elements in the New Deal column.

They since have intensified their adherence to the Democratic Party. In the recent election they showed more solidarity than any other Democratic segment.

In terms of pure group gain, this buildup of Negro voting strength in key cities has meant much to Negroes. It has popularized the civil rights issue and created a climate in which they have advanced economically and socially.

In terms of racial political gain they hold on to congressmen from Illinois and New York, to representatives on legislative benches in several states and cities, and to fairly high appointive officials nationally and locally. However, in my opinion, what they have gained in these terms is not commensurate with the political power they wield.

### Balance Theory Doubted

The Negro vote is sometimes considered a "balance." This reference seems inaccurate without qualifications covering a variety of special circumstances.

Samuel Lubell, journalist, author and political analyst, disagrees

with the whole balance of power theory in Negro voting.

Lubell says the Eisenhower election undermines the theory. The Negro vote bloc was an especially decisive one only as long as the Democratic coalition held together, he thinks.

He also believes that Negroes are about to be "isolated" again politically.

By this he means that parties will become less sensitive to pressure from Negroes as a bloc.

Speaking of the Democrats, he said:

"In the last few years, the presence of Negroes in such large numbers has been setting up inter-party tensions.

"Some voters are leaving the party because they feel it has gone too far in the championship of Negro causes.

### Counteralignment in South

"It has reached the point now where a counteralignment is taking place, starting in the South.

"The more the Northern Democrats play up to the Negroes, the more the South balks. This has become an issue on which both sides are lining up."

Lubell sees Negroes continuing to vote Democratic, at least through the next election. He points out that they gave Stevenson more votes than Truman and Truman more than Roosevelt at any time.

However, Lubell thinks, the Republicans are not going to accept as a fact any continuing solidarity of Negroes in the Democratic Party.

"The Republican margin was not large enough for them to write off any group," he says. "To get along with all groups is, of course, the objective of politicians."

The Rev. Archibald J. Carey Jr.,

Chicago alderman and influential Republican, says he has noted, at least in Chicago, some tendency on the part of new Negroes in a neighborhood to vote the neighborhood trend. Carey also sees Republican strength developing among some young Negro groups.

### Local Political Effects

Perhaps the most obvious political effects of continued migration are local. In cities that have ward systems, the population increases mean more Negro representatives in governing bodies as they spread out into previously all-white wards.

For example, from a new ward created in 1947 Chicago Negroes have elected an alderman to make their total three. Carey says Negroes undoubtedly will be elected from two other wards in the next elections.

A similar situation is developing in Cleveland. Said Frank Baldau, director of the Cleveland Human Relations Commission:

"We ought to have an interesting time in Cleveland 10 years from now when its comes to legislation before the city council."

The city has four Negro councilmen, one named fairly recently by the council to replace a deceased incumbent. Negroes are spreading into several new wards where they are expected to outnumber white residents in a few years.

The vote list in Negro and predominantly Negro precincts in the big cities does not stretch measurably as migrants move in.

Apparently newcomers undergo a period of adjustment for several years before they turn to politics. Even when they do, the percentage increase of those actually voting does not appear to keep pace with the percentage increase of those eligible.



## An Evaluation

In the past ten years race relations in this country have moved up several degrees on the measuring rod of equality. In the non-southern states this fact is all the more significant because it has been accomplished despite the agitations of population shifts.

But a goal of true racial equality is not yet in sight.

At their best, the gains in employment and in personal relations between whites and Negroes are little more than indicators of what is possible in the United States.

Some of them are effective arguments to those who say the American people will not respect laws governing certain areas of human relations. Others are cogent rebuttals to the argument that "time is not ripe" for casting Negroes in various new social and economic roles.

The majority of recent breaks in race barriers should be taken for what they are—limited openings through which the more fortunate Negroes are struggling, often one at a time. The masses of Negroes still do not participate in the higher economic and cultural affairs of this nation on a level anywhere near equality.

It seems to me that one of the more encouraging developments in the new turn of racial affairs is the fact that more and more Americans are facing their shortcomings squarely. In the past advancement has been hindered by hedging, apologizing and rationalizing among informed statesmen as well as among the rank and file.

There is still hedging, apologizing and rationalizing; but it becomes less of a hindrance as new voices call it to question. Whoever speaks against equality now cannot hide within the borders of Mississippi or California or Rhode Island. He is heard by the whole world.

*James N. Rhea*

*(Editorial announcing Rhea series.)*

## The Rhea Series

These newspapers begin this afternoon publication of a series of articles written by staff reporter James Rhea and labeled "Bulge in the Color Line." We suggest that they will be well worth following.

For a long time now, the South has been the happy hunting ground of newspapermen interested in the lot of our Negro citizens. One white reporter a few years back stained his skin with walnut juice and passed himself off as colored on a tour through Dixie. A number of Negro journalists have investigated the same area. Some of these jobs have been sober and some sensational, some thorough and some superficial.

So far as we know, however, no newspaper has addressed itself nationally to what is the newest, the most dramatic and certainly the most significant development in the recent history of American race relations. This is the great wartime and postwar migration of Negroes from the South into the urban centers of the North, the Middlewest and the Far West, and the consequences of that trek.

This was Jim Rhea's assignment. Himself a native of the South but a graduate of the University of Michigan, he spent more than two months on the road, visiting cities from New York and Philadelphia to Los Angeles and San Francisco, checking his own reportorial impressions against the knowledge of experts in the field, soaking up the experiences of Negro migrants and those among whom they have come to live.

The result, we think, is an exceptional piece of journalism—balanced yet penetrating, thoughtful and thought-provoking, absorbingly interesting.

In this time, when America as the leader of the free world is in a sense on trial before the whole world, few aspects of our national life attract more avid attention from both friend and foe than our racial relationships. Here is a careful yet exciting, critical yet hopeful, picture of how the black man and the white are learning to live together in the United States. We commend it to your special attention.