

Please attach photograph measuring not more than 2"x4"

SCHOLARSHIP

APPLICATION FOR FELLOWSHIP

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

900 South Homan Avenue

Date March 5, 1932

PERSONAL HISTORY

Name in full Velma Fern Bell

Present address 201 N. Blair St. - Madison, Wisconsin

Permanent address 1223 Elm St. - Beloit, Wisconsin

Place of birth Poultney, Miss Date of birth Feb. 28, 1910

Single, married, widowed, divorced Single

Name and address of wife or husband

Number of children Age and sex

Dependents Parents To what extent Part Relation

Father's name Walter Bell Address 1223 Elm St. Beloit, Wisconsin Occupation Mechanic (unemployed at present)

HEALTH OF APPLICANT

Weight 125 Height 5 3 1/2 feet inches Previous illnesses Influenza - 1918 Details and date

Illnesses during past twelve months None

Physical impairment—degree and how long existing None

Most recent complete physical examination—when and by whom February 8, 1932

Wisconsin Memorial Hospital (U. of Wisconsin Student Infirmary)

Physician's recommendations O.K.

Have these been acted upon?

General health of family Good (both parents in declining years)



EDUCATION

Give a summary of your education in the following form:

	Name of Institution	Period of Study	Degrees, Diplomas, Certificates (give dates)
ACADEMIC:			
High School	<i>Beloit High School</i>	<i>1923 - 1926</i>	
Normal			
College or University	<i>Beloit College</i>	<i>1926 - 1930</i>	<i>A.B.</i>
Graduate	<i>U. of Wisconsin</i>	<i>Summer - 1931</i> <i>2nd semester 1931-2</i>	
PROFESSIONAL:			
Music			
Art			
Technical			

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

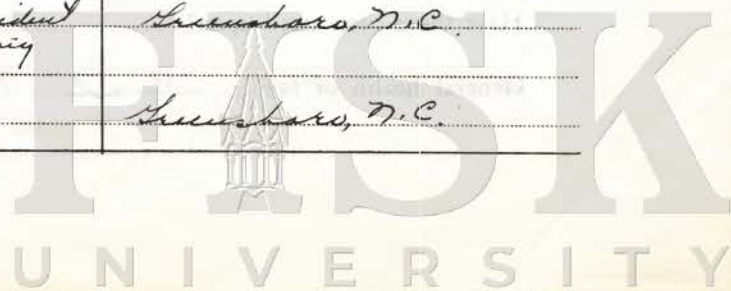
Positions held (professional, teaching, scientific, administrative, business):

Name of Institution or Organization	Title of Position	Years of Tenure (give dates)	Under Direction of
<i>Bennett College for Women</i>	<i>Instructor</i>	<i>1930 - 1931</i>	<i>D.D. Jones (Pres.)</i>

REFERENCES

Submit a list of references from whom further confidential information may be obtained:

Name of Reference	Where and in what way does this person know you?	Address
<i>Dr. L.E. Walden</i>	<i>Beloit College - Uni. Pres.</i> <i>Personal friend</i>	<i>847 College St. - Beloit, Wis.</i>
<i>Mr. L.V. Ballard</i>	<i>Major professor - Beloit</i>	<i>917 Park Ave " "</i>
<i>Mr. Wm. F. Alderman</i>	<i>Dean " "</i>	<i>742 Park " " "</i>
<i>Mr. David D. Jones</i>	<i>Bennett College - President</i> <i>of college while teaching</i>	<i>Greensboro, N.C.</i>
<i>Mr. F. M. Staley</i>	<i>Dean - Bennett</i>	<i>Greensboro, N.C.</i>



Give a list of the scholarships or fellowships you have previously held or now hold:

Rossmore Fellowship at Beloit - 1929-30

Robert Coit Chapin Scholarship - Beloit -

Present position? *Instructor* From _____ To _____ Salary? *\$1,200.00*

Do you seek further training for this or another position? *same* What and where? *same*

Have you positive assurance of a position after completion of further study? *Yes*

If so, what is the position? - *Instructor*

By whom is assurance given? *Mr. David H. Jones*

What course of study do you wish to take? *Graduate work in social service*

For what degree are you working? *A.M. & one year beyond*

What institution offers best opportunity for this study? *University of Wisconsin*

When does the course begin and when does it end? *June 28 - 1932*

Have your credits been accepted without condition? *Yes*

Courses you propose to take:

Major *Sociology*

Minor *History*

What financial assistance can you depend upon from present employer, school, family, or organization? *None*

If you are a student and employed outside of school, how many hours per day do you work? _____

What are they? _____

Where employed? _____ How much do you earn? _____

Will this continue? _____ How long? _____

What is the total amount required for the proposed period of study? *Indefinite \$800-1000*

How much can you provide? *None*



In addition to filling out the application blank, we are asking that you write an essay of not more than five hundred words, stating the major problem in your field, as you see it, and your reason for believing that additional training will enable you to help solve that problem, or, at least to make a contribution as a result of a wider experience. (Please use pages 5 and 6 for this essay.)

We are living in a period of great change. Our population is in a flux, moving from country to city and back again. The frontier has gone and with it the vast opportunities of a virgin country. More and more we are developing into a stratified society with less probability of a rise from one class to another. The machine, which has put out of work millions of workers, rapid drops in the stock markets, overproduction or better, under-consumption, political corruption and world distrust have mutually influenced each other and have combined to produce a period of depression, aggravated by an unrest and dissatisfaction which strains social relationships and which will result in a breakdown of group control unless attitudes & values of individuals are revamped and given to conviction.

All great civilizations have fallen because of over specialization. We are faced with a civilization made top-heavy by materialism, whose collapse can only be forestalled by a development of a technique which will provide for such a nicety of balance between minority and majority groups interest and welfare that both will survive and not one at the expense of another.

Sociology as a field of study does not propose to offer a panacea for the world's ills but endeavors objectively to analyze social relationships, the concepts, attitudes, and sentiments of the individuals who make.

up the social groups in an effort to suggest and foster the best mechanisms and avenues for the expression of individuality in ways congruous with welfare of the group.

Lack of social engineering, the mapping out of a blue print of society which provides for the least amount of individual maladjustment and misunderstanding is, to my mind, the greatest problem of sociology. Without dealing in utopias, it seems that the best minds of our generation should get together and decide on the needs of our society and project a program which will foster the stabilization of industry, the cleansing of politics and the equalization of opportunity commensurate with ability.

Teachers and educators have a unique place in this scheme of social planning because they may be the instruments for transferring to the youth of each generation the proper concepts of social behavior, to help them to see clearly their own prejudices in the clash of differing opinions and remain tolerant. When students have learned to understand themselves, they have gone a long way toward understanding others and when men understand each other they can accommodate themselves and live more agreeably in a group.

As a teacher, one must feel a sense of mastery of the situation, an intellectual position far enough removed from that of the students to make a more accurate incision. As a director and guide, he must know the available information in his own and related fields and must have firmness of conviction resulting from a testing out of principles in a life of experience or vicariously thru contact with those who have.

For this reason, since I have chosen teaching as a profession, I feel that the job can be much more efficiently done if I have advanced training.

SCHOLARSHIP

(Bell. V)

A

June 1, 1929

My dear Miss Bell: The Trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund have decided to grant fellowships to a selected number of Negroes who show promise of leadership or whose scholarship or accomplishment in the Arts is outstanding.

As the President of the Fund, I have been authorized to grant you a fellowship at the rate of \$400 toward your studies at Beloit College for the year 1929-30.

Mr. George R. Arthur, our Associate for Negro Welfare, is writing you in detail regarding our procedure in the matter of payments.

The Trustees and Officers of the Fund take much satisfaction in being able to assist you to continue your studies.

Very truly yours,

EMG

Miss Velma Bell
Beloit College
Beloit, Wisconsin

FISK
UNIVERSITY

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SCHOLARSHIP

P

January 26, 1929

Dear Mr. Holden: Your reference to red tape has touched a sensitive spot. I am therefore writing back without delay to say that we are prepared to provide a scholarship of two hundred dollars (\$200) for Miss Velma Bell for the remainder of this year. The question of what we might do further we should like to postpone until she has gone further with the work of this year and until we can learn something more of her plans for the future.

Social work for her race is a very general purpose. Before the close of her Junior year she will probably have more definite plans in mind. It occurs to me that she might be ready to teach, possibly in one of the Negro colleges of the South or that she might care to go into library work, which is a crying need in Negro institutions. These are merely suggestions of the kind of thing that we are interested in helping students prepare for.

In the letter from Miss Bell to Dean Alderman I was struck by her reference to the difficulty in finding work or scholarship aid at Beloit. I assume that you at the college are doing everything humanly possible for the colored students. We should not want our help to be substituted for assistance that might otherwise be given directly by the college or might be obtained by the student through the college appointment agencies.

At any rate you may count upon two hundred dollars (\$200) for the remainder of this year, payable in any way that you suggest. At your leisure we can discuss the general question of opportunities for colored students at Beloit and of possible aid to Miss Bell for another year.

ERE:MWS

Very truly yours,

x Mr. Louis Edward Holden
Beloit College
Beloit, Wisconsin

x scholarships



Miscell

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

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The Julius Rosenwald Fund is making a review of the Negro fellowships which it has granted during the past seven years. Since an appraisal of our activity thus far in this field will naturally have some effect on future policy, it is requested that all persons who have received fellowship grants from the Fund cooperate by filling in carefully the brief information asked for on the following blank and returning the information promptly to the Fund.

SCHOLARSHIP

Name (Mrs) Velma Bell Hamilton

Position at time grant was made Junior at Beloit College

Specific purpose of the fellowship study Finish college course

Subject studied under the fellowship (or special work accomplished) _____

No specific study.

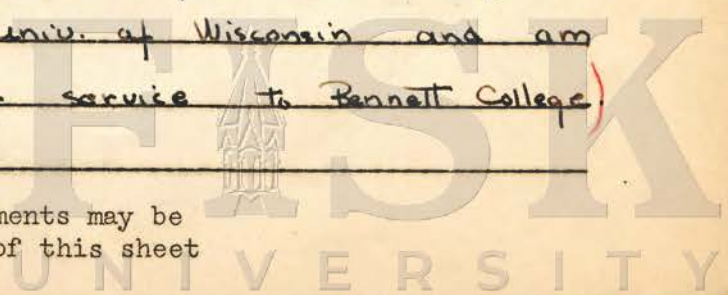
Institution at which fellowship study was carried on (or, if no specific institution was attended, state nature and place of the work carried out under the grant)

Beloit College - Beloit, Wisconsin

Present position or occupation Instructor at Bennett College

Your opinion of benefits received from the fellowship _____

*old 1200
you
received*
The help from the fund came at a time when the question of finishing or not finishing college was an open one. (With this aid I did finish, got a job for a year and a half; went on with graduate work at the Univ. of Wisconsin and am now entering the sixth year of service to Bennett College.)





Velma Bell
1930.

SUMMARY

SCHOLARSHIP

Bell-Velma

In undertaking this project, I have been more and more convinced of the utter hopelessness of any solution of the race problem until the prevailing attitudes are changed. For this reason, no definite outline of action has been proposed but a few facts are presented which are designed to portray things as they are.

Recently the problem has received much attention. Anthropologists have contributed scientific findings resulting from a comparison of tests and measurements of distinct racial types. From these we conclude that there is no biological basis for assuming the superiority of any one race. Historical facts relating to the rise and fall of cultures and finally individual accomplishments of the "down-trodden" races give further evidence of the fallacy of race superiority.

From the standpoint of psychology, groupings on the basis of physiological and economic differences give rise to diverse attitudes toward members of the group and hence a tendency toward different treatment.

The Negro in America is developing a racial consciousness as a result of his achievements and the injustices which he continues to receive. This fact negates the continuance of a policy of indifference toward the present state of affairs. The chafing cannot be abetted by a mere pretence; adjustments must be made and if they are not, it is not a question of who will suffer. We are inextricably mingled in blood and intention and when the crisis comes we shall rise or fall together. The only solution, therefore, is an ethical one; an attitude of fairness and cooperation toward a common ideal.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

OUTLINE

- I. The Problem
 1. A national problem
 2. A world problem
 3. An ethical problem
- II. Anthropological Basis of Prejudice
 1. Measurement of Physiognomy
 2. Measurement of Mentality
 3. Historical Fact
 4. Individual Accomplishments
- III. Psychological Basis
 1. Genesis of Attitudes
 - a. Racial Attitudes of Children
 - b. Group Standards of Adults
- IV. Socio-Economic Basis
 1. Historical Study of Modern Antagonism
 2. Modern Exploitation in the United States
 - a. Introduction of Slaves
 - b. Economic Status after Civil War
 - c. Early Proscription
 - d. Migration
 3. The American Negro
 - a. An Amalgam
 - b. His Progress
 1. Change of Type
 2. Home Life
 3. Professions
 - c. His Racial Consciousness

V. An Examination of Proposed Solutions

1. Deportation and Colonization
2. Extermination
3. Amalgamation
4. Segregation

VI. Racial Aspiration

1. Negro Attitudes
 - a. On Lynching
 - b. On Political Domination
 - c. On Discrimination
 - d. On Racial Capability
2. Practical Application of Ethical Solution

RACE PREJUDICE

The problem of race is a world problem. There was a time when we in America thought that it was one peculiar to us and that it was largely a sectional question. Since the great migration of the last decade when thousands of Negroes have come to the North, East, and West, we know that it is no longer, if it ever was, a sectional question because all the forms of antagonism which have manifested themselves in the South are now being manifest in all parts of the country.

Nor is it an American problem alone. Since the world war, we have heard the cries of pain in race contacts all over the world. The clash of antagonism and the same cry of pain that we hear from the Negro in America, we now hear in China, Japan, India, Haiti, and wherever representatives of Western powers have come into contact with the less powerful and less fortunate races.

Anthropological Basis of Prejudice

It is now important that we recognize that the problem of race is an ethical one. There was a time when we thought perhaps it was biological or psychological. The Anthropologists have studied it for years. "If we wish to discover racial traits", says Boaz in his Anthropology in Modern Life, "we have to recognize that a diversity of these occur in ever race and that they are inherited not racially but in family lines." (1)

On general biological grounds it is important to know whether any one of the human races is in regard to struc-

(1) Boaz "Anthropology in Modern Life" p. 154

tures and function further removed from the ancestral form than another. Although we are not altogether sure about this form (for such a form is purely hypothetical) we may infer some of its presumed characteristics from a comparison of the anatomical structures of man and apes.

The ancestral form we assume, had a flat nose. Bushmen of South Africa, Australians and Negroes have broad flat noses. Europeans, especially Armenians, have sharp, narrow noses. They are in this respect farthest removed from the ancestral form. But other features tell precisely the opposite story. Apes have narrow lips. The lips of Europeans are thin while those of Negroes are very thick. Shall we conclude that Negroes with their flat noses are nearer the ancestral form or that Armenians with their thin lips come closer?

Investigators have gone further than the measurement of physiognomy and external body characteristics. They have studied and compared brains. They have found that the brain is very variable in size and the overlapping of individuals in the race is marked. "The correlation between gross structure in the races of man and their function is so slight that it seems unsafe to infer that the round head, long head, low or high head have any relation to minute functioning." (2)

If we view human life from the larger perspective of time and place, there is no reason to conclude that the potential function or accomplishment of one physical type is above or below the other. "To conclude that races have different psychic potentialities one must rule out historic opportunity.

This we can do only to a limited extent, if at all. So far as we can do so, the evidence is in favor of the theses that race potentialities are not inherently different." (3)

If we take cross-sections of history at specific intervals, race differences appear, but these are not constant, neither do they inhere in certain races only, but pass from one to another. It is like the game of passing the gauntlet from one to the next. If race brought Romans power, why did Roman racial qualities assert themselves only in the centuries following the decline of Greece and not earlier? For all we know, some accident of external influence may have given rise to the culture difference which some would assign to race as a cause. "Anglo-Saxon civilization would not have become what it is save for the historical accident of contact with Greco-Roman culture." (4) Ultimately the determinants of social development lie within the group and its environment and although we can ascertain what a race has done in the past--and its accomplishments differ with each century--who can say when a group, responding to new influences, will take a new trend and violate our fondest anticipations?

There are differences in intelligence among the individuals of any race or group: some vary from the norm and are said to be inferior; others vary in the opposite direction and are exceptional; however, it would seem that we cannot say that the ratio of inadequate brains and nervous systems that function noticeably worse than the norm is the same in every race, nor that those of exceptional excellence are equally frequent.

(3) Willey, Wallis "Readings in Sociology" p. 209

(4) " " " " " " p. 207

From the foregoing, we can see that the description of the anatomical traits of a race in general terms involves faulty generalizations based on the impressions made by the majority of individuals. This is also true with regard to the intelligence of a population. Our characterization of the mentality of any group is based on a conceptualization of those traits which we have observed in a number of individuals in the group and which therefore impress our minds. We are slaves to stereotypes. Thus we tend to think all Scotchmen thrifty, all Italians dirty, all Chinese crafty, and all Negroes easy-going.

While Anthropologists have discovered some differences between human beings of different colors and races, (e.g. hair texture and the color of eyes) they have come to the conclusion that "the fundamental likenesses between human beings are so great and so preponderant that there can be no theoretical ground on which any group can justify its superiority and right to exploit or otherwise injure another group". (5)

Even without these conclusions based on the findings of the Anthropologists, we should know that the problem is an ethical one and that its ethical significance is not submerged by Biological considerations. This is clear because of the individual accomplishments of distinguished members of darker races. No measurement of the heel or the skull, no theoretic study of varied intelligence can deprive these peoples of the basal conviction that they possess as many and as varied sensibilities as the whitest of Anglo-Saxons. They realize that not only can they recognize the best in culture which has been amassed by civilization but that they have had and shall continue to have a unique and valuable contribution to make to

(5) Johnson "Religion on the Campus" Chap.8, p.81

this culture. When Horace says that he is not able to sleep because of the pressure of unwritten poetry; when Walter Hampden says he would need to play Hamlet to keep a contract with his soul, we marvel at the forcefulness of the inner drives of these souls and we pronounce them great. Yet in the same instant we are reminded of the Roland Hayes who "sings because he must" and the Countee Cullen who "hopefully dedicates his "Black Christ" to "White America". The student from Japan or China or India with keen wit and intellect needs strong persuasion to convince him that because his eyes slant in a peculiar way or because he is short of stature or because his skin is brown, he is inferior to his fellow student across the aisle who too often casts glances of suspicion and envy rather than of friendliness in his direction.

Psychological Basis of Prejudice

"Race prejudice is not innate. It is a product of special conditions in a community or in an individual's bringing up. Children, if influenced by their elders, will associate freely with other children of all races without repugnance or feeling of superiority". (6) What, then, makes for the variety of responses and feeling of racial antipathy in our national life?

It has been noted that some children as early as five years of age recognize racial differences in individuals, with an emotional bias in favor of his own and adverse to some other group. "Fear is not only the most frequent emotional counterpart of racial aversion in small children, but also the most vivid and most lasting of all the reactions experienced

in this connection". (7) It is interesting to note, however, that the same fear is usually strongly present in the adult environment of the child and in the great majority of cases, is a deliberate attempt on the part of some older person to implant the particular association between race and the fearful characteristics. At other times the adult is not conscious of any such association and quite guilelessly hands on attitudes which later cause them no small amount of worry as to possible origin. For example, being able themselves to distinguish between truth and fiction, adults will read fairy tales to their children without realizing that attitudes taught by these stories make their impression quite as effectively as those of true stories or deliberate teaching. The story of "Little Black Sambo", for example, has done as much toward planting the seed of Negro inferiority as any other. This personage is pictured as a rather stupid and silly boy doing a series of silly, un consequential things. There is no lesson to be learned, no principle taught. Nevertheless the racial attitude thus begun will be hard to eradicate later on. This fear which is most noticed in small children may be within limits; it may be only certain types of conduct to be avoided.

By association, fear of a quality or a condition which is commonly observed in a number of individuals in the group, becomes fear of the group itself, and in the same manner, through experiences and social influence, this fear may be transferred to a considerable range of objects. The final form is a mode of conduct which is mistakenly accepted as a "natural" fear or prejudice. However, it is a modification of the fundamental

activity which was unfortunately aroused some time before. In the following instance no one had told the child that "colored" and "bad" as terms applied to persons are synonymous, but he had been taught that colored persons were unclean and perhaps infectious. "A five year old, whose parents were unaware of having ever taught or suggested to him any kind of race feeling, was playing at kindergarten with a small colored boy. When the child came too close for his liking he remarked (in a tone of disapproval rather than alarm) 'Look out little black child, don't breve your black bref on me!'" (8) Thus, fear of uncleanliness had become associated with color and an unfavorable attitude was originated.

"With fear we find cruelty, combativeness, and ridicule; these make up the gamut of forms in which racial hostility manifests itself in the pre-school child." (9) There is thence a progressive development of attitudes through the different ages of childhood, and differences in expression seem to correspond to differences in situations and contact which successive age levels afford until, at the time of maturity, "the more privileged American Boys and girls carry within their attitudes germs of conflict". (10) The calling of names characteristic of the ten-year-old at a later age becomes avoidance of individuals and whispered gossip concerning them in adolescence and segregation and discrimination at maturity.

- (8) Lasker "Racial Attitudes in Children" p. 8
 (9) " " " " " " p.11
 (10) " " " " " " p.32

In the previous survey of the many race aversions observed in children even when we limit ourselves to contact only and overlook the variety of forms "we discover that no single instinct, nor even a whole keyboard of instincts can express so mixed an assortment of reactions. Modern psychological research has come to our rescue and confirms our suspicions that much which people have assumed to be born with them in mental habits has really been acquired and sometimes quite painfully in the early years of their life".(11) Considering the staggering weight of prejudices with which adults burden the rising generation, one might almost say that it makes no difference whether a child is born with natural racial aversion or not; "he is sure to have his mind canalized even before he starts going to school into an habitual acceptance of the prevailing attitudes of the group within which he lives. The average child is made to notice outer differences and to accept them as signs of inner differences of value. His very contacts are regulated for him, if not by precept, then by example". (12) So it comes that the child, since his experience is not the same in classroom and Sunday School, or the street and in the playground, at home and in the social center, acquires a mixture of contradictory attitudes toward those of other races which he is quite unable to explain to himself or to others.

Whenever people can be grouped according to language differences, customs, or beliefs, they are set aside as being different. Group prejudices as well as loyalties are thus

(11) Lasker "Racial Attitudes in Children" p. 369
 (12) " " " " " " p.370

built up. When to such outward bases for grouping are added economic motives, the feelings of antagonisms and prejudices are strengthened. Practically every worker, in and around his job, and every employer in his daily routine of management, absorbs impressions and rationalizes experiences in such a way as to form a pattern of attitudes, and if differences of language, specific body odors, habits or opinions enter into these impressions and experiences, a philosophy of race is evolved which may either find expression in formed statements of policy or remain less conscious, a determining influence upon policies. Since we are all dependent, to a degree that we do not recognize, upon our categories (and this is true in a very special sense with respect to our knowledge of human beings) it is not altogether surprising that the worker who is accepted should, in periods of extreme competition, look upon the Negro worker as a pariah or an upstart. He thinks only in the prevailing stereotype. In this way race is used as a rationalization against a condition the cause of which is either individual inefficiency or our present industrial system or perhaps both.

Socio-economic Basis of Prejudice

H. G. Wells has recently come to this conclusion.

"I am convinced that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice, none at all. I write deliberately-- it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world". (13) Race prejudice is not the only root of these evils; their underlying cause is economic jealousy. There is little prejudice against the American Indian, because they are not economic competitors of the white man. Race preju-

(13) Drake "The New Morality" p. 267

dice serves to justify these evils in people's minds and sustains them.

Modern race antagonism dates back two centuries. In the Middle Ages, no such antagonism existed between black men and white men, brown men and white men, and yellow men and white men as exists today. The whole thing is an outgrowth of the colonizing and imperialistic spirit of European nations, beginning with the seventeenth century. It began in economic exploitation. "The European nationalities released from the bond of unity by the Protestant Reformation, launched out in a great competition amongst themselves for world power and world domination. They entered the fields of the darker peoples of the earth first of all in their own interests; they exploited the land and labor of these peoples in a small way before the Industrial Revolution came, but after the revolution they began to exploit with enormous rapidity". (14) After a long career of exploitation these darker people were stamped with the stigma of inferiority.

Of the modern exploiting empires, America is the only one that has a subject class within its borders. When in 1619, as John Rolfe tells us in John Smith's General History, there came "a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars", the Negro problem in all likelihood was first introduced into what was to become the United States of America.

Black slaves were imported into the United States in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries because their labor was profitable to the white population. As industry developed, slave labor remained profitable only in agriculture and chiefly in the raising of cotton, sugar and rice. The

nineteenth century brought change, the factory system, a labor movement and humanitarianism. The impoverishment of Southern soil, however, meant that the status quo could only survive by means of a new slave trade and more aggressive imperialism which would result in the annexation of more fertile land to the United States. On the other hand, this imperialism meant competition with white labor and the new industries in the North. The result was the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves. The previous fixed occupational and social status of the Negro was temporarily disturbed by this emancipation and his reestablishment as a legal citizen nominally on an equal footing with the early settlers themselves. "The question of the economic status of the Negro is of relatively recent concern". (15)

At the end of the Civil War no steps had been taken by the government to define what relation the states lately in rebellion should thenceforth sustain to the Union. Nor had any specifications been made as to the future status and relationship of the Negro to his environment. Local government in the South remained in the hands of those who had so recently waged stubborn warfare for the continuance of slavery. Under these conditions, it was natural that those who were in actual control of affairs and who had used every available means to perpetuate Negro enthrallment should strive to keep the freedmen in as rigorous subjection as possible to their established custom. Within the three years just following the war, the freedman was neither slave nor free but partook of the nature of both. The Black Code as developed was one of the most odious class legis-

lations which has ever disgraced the pages of American jurisprudence. A brief reference to some of its salient features will suffice to illustrate its unfairness. "Negroes were compelled, under heavy penalties, to hire out within a specified time to the white planters at such wages as the latter had determined. They were forbidden to leave their places of employment without the written permission of their employer. Should they quit their places of services they could be arrested by any white man and lodged in the nearest jail to await identification and recovery. The freedmen were forbidden for any cause or provocation to offer resistance to their employer either by word or act." (16)

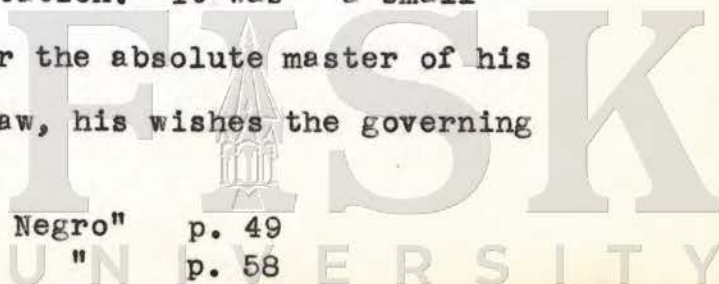
The law further decreed that all plantation workers not in the employ of a white person were to be treated as vagrants and arrested as such. Every adult male was required to pay a heavy poll tax. Negroes were not permitted to hold public gatherings without having first obtained municipal license.

These enactments portray the temper and attitude of the white South immediately after the war. "Theoretically the Negro was liberated by law from physical slavery; but, as a matter of fact, he was merely transferred from responsible ownership and provident care to the negligent oversight of an industrial servitude, and consigned to a condition from which there was neither appeal nor revolt." (17)

The Southern economic unit, from colonial days until the late 19th century was the plantation. It was "a small principality in extent, the planter the absolute master of his own domain, his word the supreme law, his wishes the governing

(16) Thomas "The American Negro" p. 49

(17) " " " " p. 58



influence". (18) The labor on these plantations was divided into three classes; the wage system, payment in kind, and crop sharing. All Classes of laborers are usually provided with subsistence by the owner. Contracts are made for a year and through any voluntary quittance the earnings are forfeited to the owner. In the courts, the planter was the recognized accountant for both parties and since his records were unimpeachable evidence, the Negro was usually the debtor and rarely the creditor of the planter. "Such a life is not one round of balmy sunshine and careless indifference for the industrial serf, who, born in penury and reared in ignorance, ceaselessly begins a year of toil in want and ends it in debt. His shelter is never more than a barren hovel; his luxuries coarse food and scanty clothing; his recreation, the wierd music and emotional enthusiasm of the unlettered; his realities, ploddings of unvarying sameness under the sweltring sun of a Southern sky." (19) Thus the country store, the planter's record, and the Negro's helplessness combined make an annual deficit. However, the landlord did not mind such a matter and in the joy of the harvest might even advance a few dollars; but the understanding was always that the tenant remain on the land the next year. In this way the chains of peonage forced themselves around him.

Meanwhile proscription went forward. Separate and inferior traveling accommodations, meager provision for the education of Negro children, inadequate street and water facilities, and the general lack of protection of life and property made living increasingly harder for a struggling people. "For the Negro of aspiration every day became a long train of indignities

(18) Stone "The Aerican Race Problem" p. 92

(19) Thomas "The American Negro" p. 53

white man. If the Negro's labor was to be exploited, it was necessary that he be without political power, or legal redress in the courts. If he was to be reduced to a peon, socially he must be given a peon's place. Accordingly everywhere there was developed inferior service in all public places and public utilities. During the period there was such crime, discrimination, and mob violence as can hardly be paralleled in the whole history of America. Jail breaking, riots, murder, and discrimination flourished and the conflict grew more and more bitter. The riots were primarily social in character, the call of race invariably being the final appeal. The economic motive has accompanied this, however, and has been found to be of increasing importance. Says DuBois, "The fatal campaign in Georgia which culminated in the Atlanta massacre was an attempt, fathered by conscienceless politicians, to arouse the prejudices of the rank and file of the white laborers and farmers against the growing competition of black men, so that by law black men could be forced back to subserviency and serfdom". (22)

Migration and Prejudice

After the World War immigration was suddenly checked, new industries were established and an American labor reserve sought. The new legislation restricting immigration reflected certain newly defined racial theories and deliberately limited the quota of the South Europeans who had contributed unskilled labor to industry. It was for their places that Negroes were wanted and needed most.

Between 1915 and 1928 over a million Negroes moved from South to North. Invariably the metropolitan centers which had

formerly received the largest number of immigrants showed the largest Negro increases. Southern Negroes were inducted before their northern neighbors. They went first into the lowest grades of work and later gained admission to semi-skilled and skilled types of work. Between 1910 and 1920 there were recorded in the Census of Occupations a shift of 371,229 Negroes from agricultural to industrial work. It was more and more evident that they no longer fitted into the picture. The changing status no longer was consistent with the stereotype.

There is no one thing which is more disorganizing than the rearranging of status. Our habits and customs are formed in harmony with it. This is the reason why it is so difficult for people to look calmly at the race question. "It is not a scientific question but rather a form of social organization, not a theory but a condition". (23)

The tradition of America grew out of a reaction against class domination. However, slavery presented a distinct class organization with an assumption of superiority with rights and privileges on the one hand and the acceptance of inferiority with its duties and limitations on the other. There would be no race question in America unless there was a question about the levels of the two races.

The immigrant has in each of his waves of arrival, gone into the lowest economic levels and has been exploited and dominated as long as he remained there. When he has become Americanized and his children have accepted the traditions and manners of Americans, it has been possible for him to rise out of the rut and in some measure to escape.

The colored races have not been so successful in escaping. The presence of the Negro is known to have resulted from his having been brought into the lowest possible social class, that of the slave. "The habit and attitudes which were generated during the two centuries of slavery constitute a culture complex in both races which does not need color for its explanation, but of which color is an inescapable sign." (24)

"The United States is awakening to the fact that the destiny of the Negro is its destiny, that black and white are inextricably mingled in blood and bone and intention, and that as the white man fails, the Negro fails and as the Negro rises, the white man rises." (25)

Negro an Amalgam

The American Negro is an amalgam, and the application of the term "Negro" to him is purely sociological. He is an example of race crossing of the three primary races of the world, African, Caucasian, and Mongoloid. "The phenomenon of race crossing seems to hold endless fascination for students of population, of race, of genetics--indeed for students of all phases of human development. A maxim which is never challenged in fact, since the fact is self-evident, is that two human groups never meet but they mingle their blood. Because the Negroes were slaves, the law of the masters was paramount; and the masters as in all slave lands, took the slave women for themselves." (26) Of course the offspring of a slave was also a slave and so the mixed bloods were regarded as "Negroes" while the white stock remained free from the introduction of Negro blood. During the

(24) C. Johnson "City Jobs and the Negro" May 15, 1929 Survey

(25) O. Willard "The Crumbling Color Line" Harpers, July 1929

(26) M. J. Herskovits "The American Negro" p. 3

years of slavery it was quite the common occurrence to have one set of offspring in the parlor and another set scouring the pans in the kitchen. To this negro-white mixture was added a third element, since the American Indian peoples throughout the South-west in the early days "mingled with Negroes to a degree that whites usually fail to recognize, though to a Negro, knowledge of Indian ancestry is a matter of pride." (27) This mingling also took place in the West Indian Islands whence came many of those who later formed part of the American community. From this mixture there is being welded, and is already discernible, a definite physical type which we call the American Negro. "It is not like any type from which it has come; it is not white; it is not Negro; it is not Mongoloid; and anyone who attempts a solution of the problem must recognize that he is dealing with a group who is coming more and more to claim a portion of its heritage as Americans, and are identifying themselves more and more closely with the culture of the country which is theirs by birth. It is not the same problem as that of the immigrant who has to be assimilated into a foreign culture." (28)

The American world has as yet yielded this Negro no true self-consciousness, but has only let him see himself through the revelation of the other world. "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at ones self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn

(27) M. J. Herskovits "The American Negro" p. 4
 (28) " " " " " " " " p. 107

asunder." (29) The history of the American Negro is the history of such a strife, this longing to merge his two selves into a better, truer, self without losing either. "He wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face." (30)

Progress of American Negro

Anyone who would understand the Negro of today must take account of his continuous progress, most rapid since emancipation and gathering momentum with each successive decade.

To a large extent the average white person who does any thinking at all about the Negro today carries in his mind a picture of a black man such as is carried on the packages of the well known Cream of Wheat, Gold Dust Washing Powder, and the illustrations accompanying the short stories of Roy Cohen. All these present a definite type, an advance over early and deliberate caricatures of the race which symbolized the white man's conception a generation ago, but even these are about a quarter of a century behind time. "The vanguard of the race where the thinking goes on is represented by a type which, except for color and physiognomy is in all fairness not to be distinguished from the one which would be said to represent the characteristic American as he commonly conceives himself to be". (31)

There was a time when the Negro was said to be conspicuous in public places because of inharmonious dress and boisterousness but that distinction fortunately has almost gone.

- (29) DuBois "Souls of Black Folk" p. 3
 (30) " " " " " " p. 4
 (31) Moton "What the Negro Thinks" p. 32

An early excuse for segregation in theaters and in street cars was the uncouth manners and untimely conduct of colored persons. Today there is a general testimony that among youths of large groups the conduct of colored boys and girls is frequently better than that of whites of the same age while the old disorder among adult Negroes has almost wholly disappeared.

A similar change is taking place in the home life. Perhaps nowhere did slavery work such havoc as in this basic institution. Family ties were not recognized when it came to business. Since emancipation there has been a hard struggle to build up an adequate home life. Traditions had to be developed gradually through years of strenuous effort and persistent sacrifice. The cost in suffering in the attempt to steadily raise the standard of living with a recompense from only the less favorable jobs can probably never be measured. In the face of these handicaps "it has been estimated that a larger percentage of Negroes own their own homes than of any other element in the American population". (32) And, along with modern conveniences and tasteful furnishings, the thinking Negro provides for his home life the satisfaction of home life which intelligence demands. Books, paintings, sculpture, and music are all common adjuncts of the home.

The Negro has been active in the professions, law, teaching, medicine and the ministry. The success of these groups has served not only to give Negroes confidence in the leaders among them, but to increase their confidence in their own people generally.

(32) Moton "What the Negro Thinks" p. 37

As a generalization, it may be said that the foregoing evidences of progress has done more than any other factor in producing the heightened racial consciousness within the Negro race. The segregation and discrimination to which the Negro is subjected has in itself produced a consciousness and, as education and wealth develop higher standards of living, "an increased sensitiveness to the inconsistencies, incongruities and injustices of the situation into which a dominant public sentiment forces them " will heighten and intensify it. (33)

Proposed Solutions of Negro Problem

Since the number of Negroes has been large enough to warrant the situation to be called a "problem", manifold solutions have been proposed by all who for any reason, real or imaginary, felt themselves to be connoisseurs in the sphere of social processes. Most have been impractical, impracticably, or idealistic.

"Deportation and colonization as a solution of the race problem are among the first presented. They are to be dismissed immediately as involving too great expenditure or too great and drastic changes in our present industrial system. Lincoln, in his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, specifically stated that the freeing of the blacks was to enable them to colonize Africa or elsewhere. A project was initiated but failed completely because of disease and desertion." (34) All similar projects are doomed to failure because Negroes themselves do not favor such a movement. "It is evident that the Negro, and not the whites, must decide what the Negro will do for himself." (35)

- (33) Moton "What the Negro Thinks" p. 45
 (34) Nation 50 91 1890
 (35) Johnson "Negro Problem" p. 316

"Another proposed solution has been extermination, either permitted or inflicted. The Negro population is decreasing in proportion as the increase of the white." (36)

It is assumed that nature will solve the problem by a gradual killing off of the race, yet the following seems to discredit this proposition. "One important deduction to be drawn from an analysis of mortality statistics is the futility of hoping that the Negro problem will solve itself merely because the rate of increase among the Negroes may happen to be somewhat lower than among whites. As Dr. Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., has pointed out: 'Even an increase of one percent every two years would aggregate eleven and a quarter million Negroes by the end of the century. On the other hand, if it ever happens that deaths begin to exceed births to such an extent that the population decreases by two percent every ten years, there will remain, two hundred years hence a colored population of about seven million; and if this decrease were maintained, a thousand years hence the race would still be more numerous than the Indian today.'" (37)

How about taking satisfaction in the thought that disease will carry off the race? "But the spirit of permitting people to die without extending a helping hand is the spirit of murder; and besides, does any sane man suppose for one moment that ten million people can die in our midst of disease, and not convey any of that disease to us white people? God has so constituted human society that whether one will or not, we are members one of another, and if one member suffers, all suffer." (38)

(36) North American Review 200: 661 Nov. 1914

(37) American Academy of Pol and Soc. Science. 1928 p. 29

(38) Johnson "The Negro Problem" p. 323

Extermination, therefore, fails as a solution of the problem to fill the bill.

There have been some advocates of amalgamation, the fusing together of the races. "Questions of the desirability of race mixture are inextricably bound up with those of racial equality. A belief in the innate superiority of the group to which one belongs is probably as old as the human species. Most uncivilized tribes apply to themselves the terms meaning "men" or "human beings" with the implication that all other groups occupy a less exalted position. As a rule they make no attempt to rationalize this feeling, but we occasionally find it explained by myths of special favor on the part of some deity. A good deal of the current literature on race seems to be much the same sort of attempt at rationalization, although in accordance with the modern European cult pattern, it is science rather than religion which is invoked." (39) Since these writers are European, the superiority of the white race is taken for granted. However, as we have no proofs of racial inequality or of racial difference in temperaments, there is no reason to conclude a priori that racial hybrids will be inferior to pure individuals of either of their parent stocks.

The Polynesians afford a good example. They appear to be a result of the crossing of at least three stocks which were branches of the Negro, Mongol, and Caucasian stems. "Physically, they are one of the finest groups in the world, their only weakness being a certain lack of disease resistance, probably attributable to their long isolation. Mentally they are

(39) Willey, Wallis "Readings in Sociology" p. 231

as alert and intelligent as Europeans. Wherever they have been given a fair opportunity they have been quick to adopt white civilization and have competed successfully with the whites in the professions as well as the trades. There is nothing to indicate that they are inferior to any of their parent stocks or that hybridization has been other than beneficial in this instance." (40)

On the other hand, amalgamation does not promise to be a practiceable solution because there is altogether too much feeling on both sides with regard to the question. It has often been assumed that freedom of intercourse is sought after particularly by the Negro but abhorred by whites. In this connection, it is well to note that "for one Negro that is advocating social equality, there are ten white men who are practicing it in its most heinous form." (41) It is also interesting to note that marriage into another race is looked down upon with just as much disfavor by the intelligent Negro as by any other self-respecting race. In answer to a letter asking advice on the question of inter marriage appearing in the Crisis, DuBois says, "You are going to have restricted social intercourse, naturally so far as the whites are concerned; but also so far as the colored people are concerned. In this matter they are as prejudiced as the whites." (42)

Still another proposal is segregation. This is a solution of the race problem in the same sense that divorce is the solution to the marriage problem: it solves nothing. It merely

- (40) Willey, Wallis "Readings in Sociology" p. 213
 (41) Johnsen "The Negro Problem" p. 323
 (42) DuBois "The Crisis" Jan. 1930 p. 29

procrastinates and later someone else will have to face the same problem. "The race question in a large, and not merely in a local, sense is fast becoming the world problem. We have to find out how the different races can get along with each other on the same earth. Is not the situation a challenge to a man, to a superior, a christian race? The man who fails to see that we do not solve problems by pushing them aside, is the proverbial ostrich." (43)

In this same connection, it has been proposed (44) that each sovereign state carefully organize in every county and township an enlisted body of Negroes below a certain grade of citizenship. Those who do not progress or who give promise of becoming social burdens are to be taken over by the state. The question may rightly be asked, why not a similar program for the lower whites? Is not the trouble for the most part, between the lower elements of both races? The higher grade Negro certainly presents no more of a problem than its relative class in any group.

Segregation has, in some measure, proved practiceable. One of the most notable examples is Harlem, the black section of New York. Here the Negroes have congregated in a section extending from Eighth Avenue to the Harlem river and from One hundred thirtieth to One hundred fiftieth streets, and there maintain a community of their own. This city has its own churches, its theaters, its newspapers, its clubs and social life. The theaters have colored actors and increasingly, colored artists.

(43) Johnsen "The Negro Problem" p. 325
 (44) American Journal of Sociology 14: 18 - 85

What is significant about all this is that the activities are sponsored by colored people. There are employees in every branch of endeavor, from firemen to librarians.

However well segregation might work in some instances, it would not serve as a national policy because the present distribution of Negroes in the country does not afford enough large aggregations to warrant a gradation, division of labor, and specialization such as is possible in Harlem. Most attempts would result in inferior accommodation and the sort of discrimination which one finds in certain sections of the country where Negroes are regarded as "a creation of God, a 'tertium quid' somewhere between men and cattle." (45)

Most of these solutions have failed completely and largely because the welfare of the Negro has not necessarily been considered in the making of the plans.

Racial Aspiration

"The advance in intelligence, culture, and worldly estate of the race has convinced it by observation and comparison that there is no essential difference between white people and black people to warrant such discrimination as is practiced against Negroes. Therefore, having accepted the white man's standards, he is keenly aware of his failures to consistently apply these standards and that fact sets him thinking, thinking, what is he thinking?" (46) "The Negro today wishes to be known for what he is, even in his faults and shortcomings, and scorns a craven and precarious survival at a price of seeming to be what he is not." (47)

(45) DuBois "Souls of Black Folk" p. 89

(46) Moton "What the Negro is Thinking"

(47) Alain Locke The Commonweal June 19, 1929 p. 181

"Lynching, rule by rope and faggot and tarbucket instead of by orderly and civilized procedures has far too long been a curse to America and an affront to decency and humanity. Against it is needed a larger, more active, more valiant, and more articulate public opinion to restore sanity, truth, and the reign of law. If that organized opinion and action are not forthcoming, sad and terrible days, not only for the lynching states, but for all America seem inevitable." (48)

The Negro insists that the white man's civilization is as safe with a ballot in his hands as it is with a bullet or bayonet.

"Any Negro, every Negro burns with indignation when he pays full fare for a railroad ticket and then has to ride in a crowded, odorous, flimsy, dirty, second coach. There is no one word to describe the complex of his emotions when a Pullman ticket agent tells him that he has no space, and he then going around the corner and calling the agent over the phone is told that there is plenty of space." (49)

It cannot be said too often that the Negro is not looking for special privileges, that he is not asking for any special legislation nor is he seeking entree into any man's private domain. "He feels that it is a libel against his race to say that segregation and discrimination are necessary to protect the white man's civilization, the sanctity of his home, or the integrity of his race. He feels that it is an unwarranted insult both to his character and to his person to establish that there is any place to which the public is admitted that will be

(48) Walter White "Rope and Faggot" Chapter 10

(49) DuBois The Crisis June 20, 1929

defiled by the mere presence of a black man in the enjoyment of equal privileges with others." (50)

At the bottom of his heart the Negro believes that he has capabilities of culture and character equal to that of any other race; he believes that his gifts and endowments are of equal worth with those of any other people; and even in the matter of mingling of racial strains, however undesirable it might seem from a social point of view, he would never admit that his blood carries any taint of physiological, mental, or spiritual inferiority.

Morality, basing itself solidly upon observation of the results of conduct, consciously aims to secure the maximum of attainable happiness for mankind. We have made great strides in developing material devices for man's comfort and security, but we lag considerably in our adjustment of conduct to the complex social situations of our present order. The most cursory observation shows that there is an enormous amount of injustice and misery in the world which could easily be eradicated by the adoption of more intelligent habits of conduct. Among these injustices, those which cry most blatantly for recognition are those connected with the problem of race.

It is not to be hoped that there will ever be a time when there are no problems to solve, no conflicts to resolve; for the very solving of one gives rise to another for which new adjustments must be made. Being ethical, therefore, will not suffice for procuring happiness unless the term is used to mean a product derived from the perpetual striving toward a certain

ideal. It means doing the best we can, here, now, with the knowledge we possess. It is the part each can play in coping with his moral and physical environment.

That there is a scheme in which all nature functions is obvious to the most simple. That we are all creatures of an Omnipotent Presence, most of us admit. Our very religion is based on the belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Is it too much then to suppose that there is a Divine right of humans? With every right, there is a duty, and the duty of humans is the crucifixion of self for the good of the group.

The problem of race, then, is an ethical one and its solution involves the harmonizing of conflicting interests so that they may be integrated in a society whose very existence is dependent on the realization of the best interests of the many. The cry of the Negro is one with that of all the darker peoples. They want freedom from economic exploitation; they want to participate in whatever economic system touches them on the basis of their merit as individuals; they want freedom from political dominations; they want their real interest represented in whatever government rules; they want an education, not one which will fit them for a certain subordinate status, but an education that will fit them to make a living in the world as it is; they want the stigma of inferiority lifted from them so that they may be able to walk down the streets of the world and into the common gathering places of mankind free from contempt. They ought to have unfettered opportunity for the realization of these hopes. Should such attitudes and desires be treated with unreasoning, intolerant prejudice?

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