1944 MM

Name Thelma Davis Ackiss **Field:** History

Chairman, Social Science and Social Research, Houston College for Negroes, 2219, Dowling Street, Houston 3, Texas

Plan of Work

To make a socio-historical study of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, concentrating on race relations, education, politics, religion, and economic aspects.

Requests grant for one year beginning June, 1944. Wishes to work toward Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Applied in 1940 and 1942.

Personal Data Born Wagner, Oklahoma, April, 1906. **Age:** 38
Married - separated, two children.

Undergraduate Work Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, 1919-22.
Howard University, A. B., 1925.

Graduate Work Howard University, M. A., 1936.
Howard University, LL.B., 1931.
The American University, 1936-38.
University of Kansas, summer 1939.

Experience Practiced law, Washington, D. C., 1932-36; history teacher, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma, 1942-43, $2000; chairman, social science and social research, Houston College, Texas, 1943- , $2400.

Accomplishments Member of the bar, District of Columbia.
Coordinator of research, Langston University, 1942-43.

Publications: Co-author of the following: Culture of a Contemporary All-Negro Community, published under auspices of Langston University, July, 1943; Social Classes: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Negro Society, published in Social Forces, October, 1943; Some Ideological Confusions of Negro College Students, Journal of Education, fall 1943.

Fellowships: Howard University, 1935-36, $150.
G. E. B. Fellowships, Fisk University, 1940-41, 1941-42, $500 each.
Rosenwald Fellowship, Langston University, 1943, $1500.

References

Charles Thompson, Howard University
Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta University
A. E. Norton, Houston College for Negroes
Horace M. Bond, Fort Valley State College
Lorenzo Turner, Fisk University

Budget Summary

Total Amount Needed	$2,000
From Applicant	-
From Fund	$2,000

AMOUNT GRANTED

Thelma D. Ackiss

STATEMENT OF PLAN OF WORK

This statement is in support of an application for a twelve-month Rosenwald fellowship, beginning June 1, 1944, which fellowship would be expected to enable the applicant to accomplish two purposes during that period: to complete residence requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in American History at the University of Chicago; and to write a dissertation, later to be published, concerning the role of the Negro in the development of Houston, Texas.

The applicant has already completed residence requirements for the Ph. D. degree at the American University, Washington, D.C., but has, since completing same, been engaged in sociological research in the field of race relations. It has been decided, accordingly, to transfer the credits from the American University to the University of Chicago, where the doctorate can be obtained simultaneously with continued research in the field of race relations, in contact with such specialists as Dr. W. Lloyd Warner, Dr. Louis Wirth, and others.

The proposed study on the Houston Negro community will be socio-historical in method and will attempt to reconstruct salient factors regarding the Negro from interviews, letters, diaries, and documents. Special attention will be directed to the matter of race relations, past and present, and the degree of integration which has been achieved by the Negro. Race relations will include not only those between Negores and whites, but those between Negroes and Mexicans, of whom there are many in Houston. Other major

topics to be included are education, church and religion, housing, health and sanitation, economic opportunity, and court decisions.

It is submitted that an investigation such as is here proposed would be pertinent from several angles. As suggested by Dr. Otis D. Duncan in The Southwest: A Cultural Area in Evolution,* the dominant culture patterns of the Southwest are yet in the process of being formed. This section has distinct regional, racial, and cultural differentiations, and is relatively free from traditionalism. The people of the Southwest do, however, have one common bond--agriculture. Hence, the culture which finally matures must be that "which is compatible with agrarian mental patterns."

In line with the above, Houston is the center of the fertile Texas Gulf Coast section, having more than 200,000 farms. Though the city is the center of one of the most prosperous cotton-raising areas of the world, it is, nevertheless, urban in every sense of the word, having a population of 410,000 -- 22.4 per cent non-white.

A Negro population with the background of contradictions offered by the Southwest, exposed at the same time to urban and rural influences, has not before been the subject of intensive investigation. The agrarian culture patterns of the Southeast are fairly well-known. They have been analyzed thoroughly and well. But the rurban culture patterns of the Southwest, especially concerning the Negro and race relations, remain veiled in obscurity. It is urged, therefore, that a field so unexplored and unexploited provides

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*Southwest Review; Volume XXVII, Number 4; Summer 1942

material for a study which would be both timely and significant--- not only as a contribution in the field of race relations, but as a chapter which has been omitted from the history of Texas and the Southwest.

The applicant has made a thorough search for available data on the subject under consideration. Nothing has been discovered which is enlightening or illuminating; indeed, very little that is even slightly informative. Contact has been made with professors of the social sciences at the University of Houston. They advise that there is a dearth of material in the premises, but they stress the value of such an investigation and offer co-operation on the project. Some date have been found at Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas, and this is now being utilized by the applicant. These data are, however, generally uncoordinated and unorganized.

It should be noted that the Houston study is already in process of accomplishment. That is, material is being assembled by the personal efforts of the applicant and by the members of a class in social research. Other usable data will be available from an economic investigation to be conducted in Houston this winter and spring under the chairmanship of the applicant, sponsored by the Urban League. The Houston Negro Chamber of Commerce, civic clubs, Negro newspapers, and old residents are interestedly co-operating in the total study.

It is not possible to assert definitely at this stage that the study would be complete in final form at the end of a twelve-month fellowship period. It is anticipated, however, that all or most of the necessary data for the study will be compiled by June 1944. In

that event it is relatively certain that this material can be organized and written during that time.

In further support of this application, it is suggested that the fellowship requested would not only be of immense personal benefit to the applicant, but would facilitate the program of the Houston College for Negroes, where the said applicant is chairman of social sciences and social research. The Board of Education of Houston is attempting to staff the college with teachers holding higher degrees in their respective fields and is particularly anxious that the directors of departments receive Ph. D. degrees as soon as possible. The Board of Education, together with the University of Houston (of which Houston College is the Negro adjunct), is interested in the projection of a research program which will include an investigation of the Negro community of Houston. These objectives can be greatly expedited through the fellowship for which application is now being made.

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
OF RECORD
(Not Valid Without Seal)

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Name Thelma Davis Ackiss

Address 1015 N.E. 6th Street, Oklahoma,City, Oklahoma

Admitted September, 1936 on Certificate From Howard University

Entrance Credits B.A., 1925, Howard University

Advance Credits M.A., 1936, Howard University

CREDITS IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

Year	Course	Semester Hour Credits	Grades I	Grades II
1936-37	(Hist.351)The American Colonies	3	B	
	(Ec.Hist.405)History of Amer. Culture	3	B	
	(Hist.545-6)Development of Modern Germany	6	B	A
	(Soc.Sc.603)Literature of Social Science	3	B	
	(Int.Af.405)Principles of International Law	3	A	
	(Hist.402)The American Frontier	3		B
	(Econ.424)Economic Thought up to 1800	3		B
	(Ec.Hist.406)History of Amer. Industry	3		B
1937-38	(Ec.Hist.407-8)Development of American Culture	3	B	
	(Hist.551)European Nationalism	3	B	
	(Hist.531)History of United States	3	A	
	(Pol.Sci.505)Constitutional Law	3	B	
	(Hist.609-10)Thesis in American History	-	-	-
Language examinations (French and German) required for Ph.D. passed in 1937.				
Residence requirements for Ph.D. have been completed.				

REMARKS This transcript is issued to Mrs. Ackiss at her request.

A: Excellent
B: Good
C: Fair
F: Failure
Inc.: Incomplete

Hazel K. Feagans
Registrar

April 12 1940

PRESERVE THIS TRANSCRIPT. A FEE OF ONE DOLLAR IS CHARGED FOR EACH DUPLICATE.

LETTERS OF REFERENCE

Thelma Davis Ackiss

Dr. Lorenzo Turner, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

I have known Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss since the early 1920's when she was an undergraduate student in several of my English classes at Howard University. Since that time she has kept me informed at fairly frequent intervals of her various activities. A short while ago she served for two years as a research assistant in the Department of the Social Sciences here at Fisk University. I have thus been able to keep in touch with her work over a period of many years. Very recently I read two articles of which she is co-author. Both of these deal with aspects of the problem which she hopes to undertake in the Houston area, and in both a sensible and effective approach has been made to the problem. I am confident, therefore, that she is prepared both by training and experience to make her proposed investigation.

I should think that a scholarly investigation of a Negro community so situated as that in the Houston area would serve a most useful purpose at this time. A treatment of such important aspects of Negro life as health and sanitation, education, economic and political opportunities, religion, etc., together with a study of the relations existing in that area between Negroes and whites on the one hand and between Negroes and Mexicans on the other, would not only be of inestimable value to all the citizens of that section but would also greatly facilitate the work of those individuals and agencies engaged in the difficult work of improving relations among racial groups throughout the United States.

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Dr. Charles Thompson, Dean, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

May I state with reference to this individual project of Mrs. Ackiss that I think it is a very desirable one for her own professional development, as well as a possible contribution to the field. On the basis of the information she gives here it appears that her project will be both timely and profitable, not only as a doctor's dissertation but generally. I am sure that her advisers, Dr. Warner and Dr. Wirth of the University of Chicago, will insure the fact that her methods of procedure will be valid and appropriate.

I recommend that Mrs. Ackiss' application be favorably considered.

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Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atalanta, Georgia

This is to advise that I have known the applicant, Thelma Davis Ackiss, for the past five years and am much impressed with her native ability, her qualifications, and her reputation for scholarship. In my estimation the plan of work which she has presented is a sound one and one which should be a contribution to the sparse knowledge of the culture of the Negro in Texas.

The Houston Negro community is well deserving of detailed investigation, both from an historical and a contemporary angle. Its diverse racial elements plus the fact that no study such as this applicant proposes has yet been attempted, appear to make the project very much worthwhile. This woman has assumed a task which is unusually significant. Into this study must go a cognizance of the cultural contributions of not only the Negro but the Mexican, the Indian and the American white. In addition, I am in favor of encouraging persons with

this applicant's training and abilities to continue their scholastic work until the Ph.D. has been received. It seems, therefore, that from all standpoints, this is an application which deserves the serious and favorable consideration of the Rosenwald Fund. I am pleased to give the application my endorsement.

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Mr. A. E. Norton, Acting Dean, Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss is instructor in the Department of Social Science, Houston College for Negroes. As an instructor her preparation is excellent; her personality is strong; 'tact in the classroom is good.

I endorse this application because: (1) We feel that Mrs. Ackiss is well qualified to complete the project which she proposes; (2) The proposed investigation of the Negro community of Houston will be a step forward in the research program of the school, which aspires to establish a research center at this College; (3) Because Houston College is interested in members of the faculty obtaining higher degrees in their specific fields, and this fellowship would, if granted, enable Mrs. Ackiss to complete her work for the Ph.D. Therefore, I give the application under consideration my unqualified endorsement. If the fellowship is granted, the College will allow Mrs. Ackiss a leave of absence for the desired period of study.

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OKLAHOMA NEGROES versus OKLAHOMA "NATIVES"

A Research Note on Intra-racial Cleavage

By Thelma D. Ackiss

This is a report on an investigation of the relationship existing between "Natives" of Oklahoma and the so-called "state-raised" Negroes. The former group is confined to descendents of Negroes who were members of the Five Civilized tribes. Most of the Negro members of these Indian tribes were once slaves to the Indians but were incorporated into the tribes on governmental orders at the close of the Civil War. Natives are classified by the census as Negroes but virtually all of them are also of Indian descent, their forbears having intermarried for otherwise amalgamated with the Indians. The state-raised group includes native or pioneer Oklahoma Negroes who do not fall in the Native category.

The present brief study attempts to explain some of the responsible factors for the lack of cultural integration of these Natives into the Negro society. Such an explanation appears to be relevant because the fact itself has significant implications for race relations and race attitudes in Oklahoma. It demonstrates, moreover, the persistency of cultural traits, as well as the difficulty of establishing a cultural rapport between groups which are influenced by emotional bias.

The first and basic circumstance which has conditioned relations between Negroes and Natives is the Indian background of the latter. The fact that Natives generally bear some blood relationship to Indians could be of small importance, especially in view of the situation that most of them cannot be distinguished from other Negroes. It would seem, in fact, that they might become integrated much more readily than mulattoes, octo-rooms, etc., but such is not the case in Oklahoma. Negroes who exhibit more white physical characteristics than Negroid have had no problem of adjustment, as a group, into the Negro social world, whereas Negro descendants of Indians remain, for the most part, outsiders in Oklahoma.

Several reasons may be advanced for this phenomenon. In the first place, and fundamental to all others, is the virility of the white superiority complex which is shared by the other racial groups. Negroes who are "half-white" or more have no reasonable expectancy of acceptance into the white racial group (except through the dubious device of "passing"), hence, they do not aspire. Negroes who are descendants of full-fledged Indian tribal members, have a more tangible claim on their ancestors, and a recognized connection with them is more nearly within reasonable anticipation, since the Indian too has received discriminatory treatment.

In somewhat the same context Negroes have generally absorbed and adopted the value judgment of the dominant society, and these include a certain stereotype picture of the Indian. Certain habits, such as excessive liquor drinking, have been magnified and classified as distinctly "Indian". Negroes have carried this classification over to include Natives and have ascribed to them all of the reprehensible traits which are ordinarily at-

tributed to Indians. In so doing they have deliberately (whether consciously or unconsciously) attempted to lift themselves up from the lowest stratum of society by placing Natives beneath them. They have likewise released some of the necessarily suppressed emotion which they might, if expedient, direct against Whites in retaliation for discrimination.

The Indian background has, in the meantime, engendered some mental conflict in the Natives. They speak frequently with pride of Indian ancestry and profess to believe that the Indians were the first real Americans, hence are superior to the other races in the United States. As one Native expressed herself, "I'm so glad that I have more Indian blood than any other because Indians are more American than even the white people." But a query arises as to how much of this pride is actual and how much is compensatory for inability to adjust and become integrated into the group life of any "race". It is certainly a fact that the term "Native" is anathema to the whole group of them. It is likewise true that those of them who do achieve middle class Negro status cease referring voluntarily to their Indian ancestry.

Another conditioning factor in the relations between these two groups is the divergency of customs and ideas in respect to matters involving sex. The state-raised Negroes have inherited the conventional, bourgeois American pattern, whereas Natives have inherited and acquired an inter-mixture of ideas and habits. Negroes declare that Natives have "low class" morals and are absolutely unconventional in regard to sex habits. The following statement by a state-raised Negro is typical of the opinions expressed by many

Negroes of the middle class:

> There is just no need of mincing words about those Natives. They are a degenerate bunch. It seldom occurs to one of them to get a marriage license and even if one does, he's likely to have children by his wife's sister or cousin. Even the educated ones are lax. A man will let his father, brother, or any relative sleep in the bed with his wife and himself. In fact he'll let any friend, man or woman, sleep with them if the friend is a Native also. I am not saying that anything wrong goes on but I just don't like and understand such looseness.

Natives are thoroughly impatient with this accusation of "looseness" made by other Negroes. In an interview with a Native middle-age woman who has been living in a common-law union for a number of years, this statement was made:

> These state Negroes are always trying to be like Whites, and what credit do they get? We who are related to the Indians know that the white man doesn't appreciate you any more for taking up his ways. Now in my tribe, if a man and woman live together they are married and that's all there is to it. I don't see why I should try to ape after Whites, or these state Negroes either for that matter. Even those Negroes think that they are better than we are just because they try to act like Whites and we don't.

It is apparent that the cleavage on that point constitutes an area of conflict which cannot be easily resolved. Most of the state Negroes are especially bitter over sexual laxity of Natives, because they feel that Whites judge all Negroes by the conduct of the Natives - thus Natives drag the race down and retard its cultural integration.

A very real sore spot between state-raised Negroes and Natives has involved the 160 acre tracts of land which Natives acquired by virtue of their tribal status. These lands have sometimes proved to be worth small fortunes in oil royalties and the Negroes, together with Whites, have exploited the Natives so ruthlessly that few of them have much remaining. This exploitation has been justified, apparently, on the grounds that Natives were "just like Indians"--ignorant, thriftless, and unaware of how to handle money to their best advantage. It is a fact that many of the Natives who became affluent squandered their money in large cars, pretentious houses, and the like. It might be suggested, however, that such an aggressive reaction was not too inexplicable; that it followed almost inevitably from the frustration necessarily concomittant with occupying a "no man's" racial status.

At present the land and the money of Natives are negligible but the memory of unfortunate experiences still rankles with them. Said a Native man:

> Sometimes I feel like killing myself when I think of how poor I am now and how much I had. At the age of 19 I had so much money coming in that it seemed like it would last forever. Everybody wanted to be my friend and my guardian. I don't know who to trust so I trusted my own race. But these state-raised Negroes sold me out to the Whites. No, they didn't steal as much from me as the Whites but I blame them more because we were both Negroes. Then too, it wasn't their fault that they didn't get more. They're just such fools about Whites that some of them would rather swindle me and do without themselves just so a white man had plenty. Anyway, they cleaned me out and took all my confidence in Negroes. I wish I could move from

> Oklahoma but such land as I have is here-- I'm 41 and I'm afraid to give up what little is left. But I don't associate with these Negroes any more. They say the Natives are low-life, but they couldn't be as low as they are.

The foregoing cleavages are the obvious and most easily discernible ones. There are others which can be ascertained only by protracted contact with Native families and groups. For example, in communities where Natives are numerous they have a tendency to intermarry; to frequent Indian churches if they are available, or cluster into the same church otherwise. Some of them speak their tribal language when conversing with those who understand it. Most of them have some special Indian dishes which they serve their homes. Some of them teach their children that they are "better" than other Negroes in spite of their deviate folkways. Still others strive for education and integration in the middle class Negro group -- and often attain it. They then proceed to ignore Natives who cling to the old customs and traditions and cease to allude to them in anyway.

From this analysis it is evident that the pattern of race relations in Oklahoma has a configuration which is peculiar to that state. There is an alignment for certain purposes of Whites and state-raised Negroes versus Indians and Natives in that order. It serves the purpose of keeping racial tension between Whites and Negroes at a comparatively low level because each racial group can drain off its potential aggressiveness to the other by turning it toward these Indian and Native groups. The presence of a group which they consider "lowest" affords considerable psychic gratification to the state-raised Negroes and constitutes a strong factor in their allegience to the state.

In regard to segregation the alignment becomes Whites and Indians versus Negroes and Natives. This classification is rather loose since Indians do not have an entirely identical interest with Whites in segregating Negroes. Moreover, many Indians do not comprehend the full import of segregation of Negroes because they approve of it on principle, even for themselves. The classification is suggested, however, because Whites do not segregate Indians in commercial establishments, etc. as they do Negroes and Natives. There is, perhaps, a corresponding alignment of Negroes and Natives versus Whites and Indians in the matter of segregation but this too is extremely loose because Natives, except for those which have achieved integration into the Negro society, do not cooperate wholeheartedly with Negroes.

Finally, there may be noticed the alignment of Whites, Indians, and Natives versus Negroes. The state-raised Negroes have interests as a group which automatically exclude the others. The Whites and Negroes, of course, have the traditional race cleavage. The Indians consider themselves nearer to the Whites in blood and usually depend on them in matters of importance. The Natives, who have scant confidence in the sincerity of state-raised Negroes for them, generally appeal to Indians or/and Whites in preference to seeking advice from or a common ground with other Negroes.

VH 18

2219 Dowling Street,
Houston 3 Texas.
January 16, 1944.

Mrs. William Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
Chicago, Illinois.

FELLOWSHIPS

Address: Helena D.

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

I note from your communication that my application for a fellowship has received and will be submitted for consideration. I have contacted the History Department at The University of Chicago and have received an encouraging letter as to my chance to get the Ph. D. in one year of study. It is, of course, understood that my attendance depends upon the action of the fund.

The N. A. A. C. P. of Houston has set aside February 6, 1944, as Julius Rosenwald Day and a large program has been planned at a Baptist church. I have been invited to speak, along with one other person, a

white lawyer whose name I do not now recall. Both speeches are to involve consideration of Mr. Rosenwald's life or his philanthropy but the other speaker and I must conference so that one speech wont duplicate the other. My reason for mentioning this to you is that I thought perhaps there might be some information in your files which would not be otherwise accesible to me; or that on such an occasion there might be some particular angle you wanted publicized. If so, please advise me. Otherwise, I can obtain enough general data for a discussion.

My research is going fairly well. I am doing two articles at present, aside from collecting data for the larger Houston study suggested in my Statement of Plan of Work. One article is The Negro Community: Its Limitations and Its Prospects.

The other article is Changing Trend of Religious Thought among Negroes. It is really an analysis of the results of a questionnaire on religion and the Church which I have administered to 100 students here at Houston College. After this semester I hope to do a case study of a class I am now conducting in Social Research. Dr. Thompson of The Journal of Negro Education has expressed a desire to have such an article submitted to that publication.

In the meantime, two institutional projects are pending for next semester. Mr. Nichols of the Urban League has written to Dean Norton asking that we participate in a study involving Negro business, but I do not yet know the details. A general meeting is to be held in Atlanta in February to make plans and I can tell you more after I attend that meeting.

Mr. A. L. Hulsey, secretary of the National Negro Business League

was here recently and he has persuaded us to undertake a consumer study, under the auspices of the Nat'l. Negro Business League and with the cooperation of the local Chamber of Commerce (Negro). The idea is to find out, by means of questionnaires, what goods Negroes have now that they want to discard after the war & what goods and products they plan to obtain as soon as the war is over; to find out what war-time substitutes they like as well as the pre war goods, etc. Such information would be valuable to manufacturers as well as all business men. I am impressed by the utility of such an investigation and shall try to interest Mr. Herlin of The University of Houston to make a similar study among Whites.

I believe that is all for this time but will let you know what else develops.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Jackson

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FELLOWSHIPS

2219 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas
April 4, 1944

Across, Thelma

Mrs. William Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

I should have written you long since as per my promise concerning the project which I attended at Atlanta the last week in February. Shortly after my return, however, illness prevented my attention to anything but my health. Then I decided to wait until we had the project more or less set up here so that I might be more specific when I communicated with you.

The project covers nineteen cities in twelve states in which twenty colleges are located. Its purpose is to ascertain (1) the present status of business enterprises among Negroes; (2) the status of business education in Negro colleges; (3) needs and problems of business and business education; (4) how to relate Negro colleges more closely to the communities in the development of business enterprises.

The study will be, I think, a very significant one and we at Houston College are pleased to participate. The chief problem is getting a field staff but the schedules are simple, in card form, and I believe we can handle them. I am personally making the case studies of certain business men and I shall do the writing when the data has been assembled. The central office at Atlanta will take care of our statistical work and the publication of material

I am now winding up, or trying to, the three articles which I have been writing and will not attempt any more immediately because this larger study, plus teaching, plus working at gathering historical material on Houston, will be more than enough to occupy me. The study on Oklahoma natives which I sent you has been revised in accordance with suggestions from Dr. Blumer before the American Journal would publish it. I am in the revision stage of an article dealing with the teaching of Negro History (problems encountered) which I have promised to Dr. Thompson of the Journal of Negro Education. The third article, which is also ready for the last draft

is Changing Trend of Religious Thought Among Negroes. It is based on information received from questionnaires (100) which I administered here at the College, and ten to older individuals in the city.

Mr. Mozell Hill was in Houston recently. We had an opportunity to discuss further work on the material we have of the all-Negro communities. He did not encourage it too much because he expects to do his Ph. D. dissertation on the subject. In that case it may be more expedient for us to leave some of that material unused or unpublished until he has at least decided just what he will cover in his dissertation. I have outlined and organized the material for an article which I had planned to entitle, The All-Negro Community: Its Limitations and Prospects. I think I will, when I have gotten off these that are ~~particularly~~ practically finished, complete it, and devote the other time I have for research to matters relating to Houston until a later date.

I cannot think of anything else which would interest you about my work at this time but will let you hear more when something develops.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Ackiss

Thelma D. Ackiss

Langston University
OFFICE OF THE DEAN
Langston, Oklahoma

December 14, 1946

R. P. PERRY, Administrative Dean

FELLOWSHIPS
Ackiss, Julius

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Mr. William Haygood
The Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Haygood:

I should have written to you long since but, although I have been teaching here at Langston since leaving the University of Chicago, my plans are only this fall crystallized to the point that I know definitely that I shall remain permanently in Oklahoma.

I had a good year at the University of Chicago, thanks to the auspices of the Rosenwald Fund. I completed my residence requirements for the Ph. D. and wrote three articles which were published. I sent copies of these articles to the Fund, at least all save one about which I do not recall. I enclose two copies of same in this letter.

My original plans miscarried somewhat by the then unexpected circumstance of getting married again. I married R. P. Perry, Ph. D. in Chemistry from the University of Iowa, now serving as Administrative Dean of Langston University. You can well imagine that marriage called for a few personal readjustments and some long term personal planning by my husband and me -- hence the gap in my communications to the Fund.

You inquired if I had any suggestions regarding fitness of potential Rosenwald fellows. I believe that Julius Hughes, one of our staff members (in the field of Education) has the intention to apply. He has an M. A. from the University of Chicago and is, I should say, the most promising of the younger members of our faculty.

In the meantime, Dr. Foreman of the faculty at A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma, has been corresponding with me about the feasibility of applying for an award to investigate and bring together the unexplored and unclassified material on the Negro in Oklahoma. He and certain other members of the staff there and here recognize the fact that such data are unavailable at present but badly needed. Our Southwestern Journal suffers from a dearth of

such material and it cannot be obtained by individuals, all of whom are full time staff members. A source book, I feel, would obtain a ready publisher. Mr. Brandt expressed himself to me as being eager to publish something on the Negro in Oklahoma. He has since moved to Henry Holt but I doubt that his enthusiasm has waned. Such a volume would be a valuable reference work for schools and libraries, aside from which it would form the basis for a fresh viewpoint in the study of Oklahoma history. To date, the Oklahoma histories do not even recognize the existence of Negroes in the territory or State. I have in mind a work somewhat similar to A. B. Hart's "American History Told By Contemporaries", one volume, of course, whereas Hart has several.

You will be interested to know that race relations between so-called educators in Oklahoma are cordial. Moreover, we (Negroes) are being increasingly invited into the scholarly organizations which have so long maintained a segregated policy. Several of us here at Langston are now members of the Oklahoma Academy of Science. I am at the moment engaged in preparing a paper for a Southwestern sociological society which will convene in Oklahoma City in April. I am making an evaluation of the concept of caste as it has been manipulated by leading sociologists; and am also attempting to present a theoretical frame of reference which may have implications for future use of the term by social scientists.

Thanks very much for responding to Mr. Foreman's letter with application blanks. If I can work out a scheme which seems to have possibilities in the line of making a contribution, I shall surely use them. Thanks also for your interest and the interest of the Rosenwald Fund in my efforts to further the cause of research.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Ackiss Perry

Thelma Ackiss Perry

December 19, 1946

Dear Mrs. Perry: It was very nice to hear from you again and to get caught up on your activities since leaving the University. Thank you for the reprints and let me congratulate you on your marriage to Doctor Perry.

So far, we have received no request for application blanks from Mr. Hughes, and for that reason I am including two sets of blanks in this letter. Perhaps you would be good enough to give him a set should he wish to apply, and the other is for your own use.

While I will be more than happy to receive any application from you, I think it only fair to point out that in view of the fact that you have already had two grants, and in view of the rather special purpose of our program, I doubt whether either you or I should feel too sanguine about the chance. However, this is merely my own personal reaction, since I necessarily cannot predict what action the Committee may take on any specific request, and I certainly do not mean this as a discouragement of your application.

With best holiday wishes for you and your husband, I am

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. HAYGOOD

WCH:LCM
Enc.

Mrs. Thelma Ackiss Perry
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

To Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
6229 South Parkway, Apt. 3.
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 645

Date May 31, 1945

Final installment on fellowship grant - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - $450.00

Ck. #33056

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	42-5	$271.69	
Negro Fellowships	43-11	178.31	
		$450.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	
ejj			Comptroller

Dec
1941

Dear Miss Elridge,

Just a line to advise that my address is now 6229 So. Parkway, apt. 3.

FELLOWSHIPS

Sincerely yours,

(Thelma D. Atkins)

DE

Dear Mrs. Haygood,

This is to give you my new address. It is 6 ~~2 2 9~~ So. Parkway, apartment 3. The telephone number is Englewood 6738. I asked Dr. Perry J. Langston to send you a copy of their publication, The Southwestern. I thought you might like to see it. Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Jackiss.

FELLOWSHIPS

May 5, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: Although you are familiar with the usual fellowship procedure, I thought it might be well to remind you that when you are ready to begin work under your renewal fellowship grant, you will need to let us know to what address we should send the payments and what payment plan you prefer.

May I also remind you again that these fellowship funds are not subject to Federal income taxes.

Yours very truly,

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

DAE:ejj

Mrs. (Thelma D.) Ackiss
2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

To Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
5025 St. Lawrence Avenue, Apt. 2
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 165

Date February 28, 1945

Third quarterly payment on fellowship grant - - - - - - - - - - - $450.00

Ck. #32461

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	42-5	$450.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	
ejj			Comptroller

CROSS REFERENCE RECORD

FIRM NAME OR SUBJECT FELLOWSHIPS ACKISS THELMA D **FILE NO.**

DATE	REMARKS
1/8/45	Joseph A. Brandt, University of Chicago Press, to ERE inquiring about publication of book by Mozell C.Hill and Miss Ackiss.

SEE FELLOWSHIPS HILL MOZELL C **FILE NO.**

DATE

SIGNED

FILE CROSS REFERENCE RECORD UNDER NAME OR SUBJECT LISTED AT TOP OF THIS SHEET, AND IN PROPER DATE ORDER.
THE PAPERS REFERRED TO SHOULD BE FILED UNDER NAME OR SUBJECT LISTED UNDER "SEE"

YAWMAN AND ERBE MFG. CO.
ROCHESTER, N. Y.
FORM NO. 099CR

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
5025 St. Lawrence Avenue, Apt. 2
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 9013
Date November 30, 1944

Second quarterly payment on fellowship grant - - - - - - - - - - $450.00

Ck. #31987

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	42-5	$450.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	
ejj			Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
2215 Dowling Street, Apartment 2
Houston 3, Texas

Payment Voucher No. 8632

Date August 31, 1944

First installment on fellowship grant - - - - - - - - - - - - - - $450.00

Ck. #31527

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	42-5	$450.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	
ejj			Comptroller

1944 MM

Name Thelma Davis Ackiss **Field:** History

Chairman, Social Science and Social Research, Houston College for Negroes, 2219, Dowling Street, Houston 3, Texas

Plan of Work

To make a socio-historical study of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, concentrating on race relations, education, politics, religion, and economic aspects.

Requests grant for one year beginning June, 1944. Wishes to work toward Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Applied in 1940 and 1942.

Personal Data Born Wagner, Oklahoma, April, 1906. **Age:** 38
Married - separated, two children.

Undergraduate Work Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, 1919-22.
Howard University, A. B., 1925.

Graduate Work Howard University, M. A., 1936.
Howard University, LL.B., 1931.
The American University, 1936-38.
University of Kansas, summer 1939.

Experience Practiced law, Washington, D. C., 1932-36; history teacher, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma, 1942-43, $2000; chairman, social science and social research, Houston College, Texas, 1943- , $2400.

Accomplishments Member of the bar, District of Columbia.
Coordinator of research, Langston University, 1942-43.

Publications: Co-author of the following: Culture of a Contemporary All-Negro Community, published under auspices of Langston University, July, 1943; Social Classes: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Negro Society, published in Social Forces, October, 1943; Some Ideological Confusions of Negro College Students, Journal of Education, fall 1943.

Fellowships: Howard University, 1935-36, $150.
G. E. B. Fellowships, Fisk University, 1940-41, 1941-42, $500 each.
Rosenwald Fellowship, Langston University, 1943, $1500.

References

Charles Thompson, Howard University
Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta University
A. E. Norton, Houston College for Negroes
Horace M. Bond, Fort Valley State College
Lorenzo Turner, Fisk University

Budget Summary

Total Amount Needed	$2,000
From Applicant	-
From Fund	$2,000

AMOUNT GRANTED

1944 MM

Name Thelma Davis Ackiss **Field:** History

Chairman, Social Science and Social Research, Houston College for Negroes, 2219, Dowling Street, Houston 3, Texas

Plan of Work

To make a socio-historical study of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, concentrating on race relations, education, politics, religion, and economic aspects.

Requests grant for one year beginning June, 1944. Wishes to work toward Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Applied in 1940 and 1942.

Personal Data Born Wagner, Oklahoma, April, 1906. **Age:** 38
Married - separated, two children.

Undergraduate Work Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, 1919-22.
Howard University, A. B., 1925.

Graduate Work Howard University, M. A., 1936.
Howard University, LL.B., 1931.
The American University, 1936-38.
University of Kansas, summer 1939.

Experience Practiced law, Washington, D. C., 1932-36; history teacher, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma, 1942-43, $2000; chairman, social science and social research, Houston College, Texas, 1943- , $2400.

Accomplishments Member of the bar, District of Columbia.
Coordinator of research, Langston University, 1942-43.

Publications: Co-author of the following: Culture of a Contemporary All-Negro Community, published under auspices of Langston University, July, 1943; Social Classes: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Negro Society, published in Social Forces, October, 1943; Some Ideological Confusions of Negro College Students, Journal of Education, fall 1943.

Fellowships: Howard University, 1935-36, $150.
G. E. B. Fellowships, Fisk University, 1940-41, 1941-42, $500 each.
Rosenwald Fellowship, Langston University, 1943, $1500.

References

Charles Thompson, Howard University
Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta University
A. E. Norton, Houston College for Negroes
Horace M. Bond, Fort Valley State College
Lorenzo Turner, Fisk University

Budget Summary

Total Amount Needed	$2,000
From Applicant	-
From Fund	$2,000

AMOUNT GRANTED

Thelma D. Ackiss

STATEMENT OF PLAN OF WORK

This statement is in support of an application for a twelve-month Rosenwald fellowship, beginning June 1, 1944, which fellowship would be expected to enable the applicant to accomplish two purposes during that period: to complete residence requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in American History at the University of Chicago; and to write a dissertation, later to be published, concerning the role of the Negro in the development of Houston, Texas.

The applicant has already completed residence requirements for the Ph. D. degree at the American University, Washington, D.C., but has, since completing same, been engaged in sociological research in the field of race relations. It has been decided, accordingly, to transfer the credits from the American University to the University of Chicago, where the doctorate can be obtained simultaneously with continued research in the field of race relations, in contact with such specialists as Dr. W. Lloyd Warner, Dr. Louis Wirth, and others.

The proposed study on the Houston Negro community will be socio-historical in method and will attempt to reconstruct salient factors regarding the Negro from interviews, letters, diaries, and documents. Special attention will be directed to the matter of race relations, past and present, and the degree of integration which has been achieved by the Negro. Race relations will include not only those between Negores and whites, but those between Negroes and Mexicans, of whom there are many in Houston. Other major

topics to be included are education, church and religion, housing, health and sanitation, economic opportunity, and court decisions.

It is submitted that an investigation such as is here proposed would be pertinent from several angles. As suggested by Dr. Otis D. Duncan in The Southwest: A Cultural Area in Evolution,* the dominant culture patterns of the Southwest are yet in the process of being formed. This section has distinct regional, racial, and cultural differentiations, and is relatively free from traditionalism. The people of the Southwest do, however, have one common bond--agriculture. Hence, the culture which finally matures must be that "which is compatible with agrarian mental patterns."

In line with the above, Houston is the center of the fertile Texas Gulf Coast section, having more than 200,000 farms. Though the city is the center of one of the most prosperous cotton-raising areas of the world, it is, nevertheless, urban in every sense of the word, having a population of 410,000 -- 22.4 per cent non-white.

A Negro population with the background of contradictions offered by the Southwest, exposed at the same time to urban and rural influences, has not before been the subject of intensive investigation. The agrarian culture patterns of the Southeast are fairly well-known. They have been analyzed thoroughly and well. But the rurban culture patterns of the Southwest, especially concerning the Negro and race relations, remain veiled in obscurity. It is urged, therefore, that a field so unexplored and unexploited provides

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*Southwest Review; Volume XXVII, Number 4; Summer 1942

material for a study which would be both timely and significant--- not only as a contribution in the field of race relations, but as a chapter which has been omitted from the history of Texas and the Southwest.

The applicant has made a thorough search for available data on the subject under consideration. Nothing has been discovered which is enlightening or illuminating; indeed, very little that is even slightly informative. Contact has been made with professors of the social sciences at the University of Houston. They advise that there is a dearth of material in the premises, but they stress the value of such an investigation and offer co-operation on the project. Some date have been found at Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas, and this is now being utilized by the applicant. These data are, however, generally uncoordinated and unorganized.

It should be noted that the Houston study is already in process of accomplishment. That is, material is being assembled by the personal efforts of the applicant and by the members of a class in social research. Other usable data will be available from an economic investigation to be conducted in Houston this winter and spring under the chairmanship of the applicant, sponsored by the Urban League. The Houston Negro Chamber of Commerce, civic clubs, Negro newspapers, and old residents are interestedly co-operating in the total study.

It is not possible to assert definitely at this stage that the study would be complete in final form at the end of a twelve-month fellowship period. It is anticipated, however, that all or most of the necessary data for the study will be compiled by June 1944. In

that event it is relatively certain that this material can be organized and written during that time.

In further support of this application, it is suggested that the fellowship requested would not only be of immense personal benefit to the applicant, but would facilitate the program of the Houston College for Negroes, where the said applicant is chairman of social sciences and social research. The Board of Education of Houston is attempting to staff the college with teachers holding higher degrees in their respective fields and is particularly anxious that the directors of departments receive Ph. D. degrees as soon as possible. The Board of Education, together with the University of Houston (of which Houston College is the Negro adjunct), is interested in the projection of a research program which will include an investigation of the Negro community of Houston. These objectives can be greatly expedited through the fellowship for which application is now being made.

LETTERS OF REFERENCE

Thelma Davis Ackiss

Dr. Lorenzo Turner, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

I have known Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss since the early 1920's when she was an undergraduate student in several of my English classes at Howard University. Since that time she has kept me informed at fairly frequent intervals of her various activities. A short while ago she served for two years as a research assistant in the Department of the Social Sciences here at Fisk University. I have thus been able to keep in touch with her work over a period of many years. Very recently I read two articles of which she is co-author. Both of these deal with aspects of the problem which she hopes to undertake in the Houston area, and in both a sensible and effective approach has been made to the problem. I am confident, therefore, that she is prepared both by training and experience to make her proposed investigation.

I should think that a scholarly investigation of a Negro community so situated as that in the Houston area would serve a most useful purpose at this time. A treatment of such important aspects of Negro life as health and sanitation, education, economic and political opportunities, religion, etc., together with a study of the relations existing in that area between Negroes and whites on the one hand and between Negroes and Mexicans on the other, would not only be of inestimable value to all the citizens of that section but would also greatly facilitate the work of those individuals and agencies engaged in the difficult work of improving relations among racial groups throughout the United States.

- - - - - -

Dr. Charles Thompson, Dean, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

May I state with reference to this individual project of Mrs. Ackiss that I think it is a very desirable one for her own professional development, as well as a possible contribution to the field. On the basis of the information she gives here it appears that her project will be both timely and profitable, not only as a doctor's dissertation but generally. I am sure that her advisers, Dr. Warner and Dr. Wirth of the University of Chicago, will insure the fact that her methods of procedure will be valid and appropriate.

I recommend that Mrs. Ackiss' application be favorably considered.

- - - - - -

Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atalanta, Georgia

This is to advise that I have known the applicant, Thelma Davis Ackiss, for the past five years and am much impressed with her native ability, her qualifications, and her reputation for scholarship. In my estimation the plan of work which she has presented is a sound one and one which should be a contribution to the sparse knowledge of the culture of the Negro in Texas.

The Houston Negro community is well deserving of detailed investigation, both from an historical and a contemporary angle. Its diverse racial elements plus the fact that no study such as this applicant proposes has yet been attempted, appear to make the project very much worthwhile. This woman has assumed a task which is unusually significant. Into this study must go a cognizance of the cultural contributions of not only the Negro but the Mexican, the Indian and the American white. In addition, I am in favor of encouraging persons with

this applicant's training and abilities to continue their scholastic work until the Ph.D. has been received. It seems, therefore, that from all standpoints, this is an application which deserves the serious and favorable consideration of the Rosenwald Fund. I am pleased to give the application my endorsement.

- - - - - -

Mr. A. E. Norton, Acting Dean, Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss is instructor in the Department of Social Science, Houston College for Negroes. As an instructor her preparation is excellent; her personality is strong; tact in the classroom is good.

I endorse this application because: (1) We feel that Mrs. Ackiss is well qualified to complete the project which she proposes; (2) The proposed investigation of the Negro community of Houston will be a step forward in the research program of the school, which aspires to establish a research center at this College; (3) Because Houston College is interested in members of the faculty obtaining higher degrees in their specific fields, and this fellowship would, if granted, enable Mrs. Ackiss to complete her work for the Ph.D. Therefore, I give the application under consideration my unqualified endorsement. If the fellowship is granted, the College will allow Mrs. Ackiss a leave of absence for the desired period of study.

- - - - - -

FELLOWSHIPS

August 24, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: I shall see that payment of your fellowship grant is made in four quarterly installments of $450 each beginning September 1, 1944. The first payment will be mailed to the address on this letter. Before the second installment is due, we shall need to have your Chicago address.

Yours very truly,

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

DAE:ejj

Mrs. (Thelma D.) Ackiss
2215 Dowling Street, Apt. 2
Houston 3, Texas

FELLOWSHIPS

August 22, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: I have passed your letter on to Miss Elvidge, our comptroller. She will send the first quarter's installment to your Houston address. It is quite all right with us if you prefer quarterly payments rather than monthly installments.

I hope that you will drop in to see us after you are settled in Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
VH:RR Acting Director for Fellowships

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
2215 Dowling Street, Apt. 2
Houston 3, Texas

	VH	18	VH	22

FELLOWSHIPS

2215 Dowling Street, Apt. 2
Houston 3, Texas
August 16, 1944

Mrs. William Haygood,
Acting Director of Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4101 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Haygood:

I should have written earlier but I have had to delay making definite plans for personal reasons. I am now able to say that I shall be prepared to start work under my fellowship on September 1. I am making arrangements to enter the graduate division of The University of Chicago at the beginning of the fall quarter.

In regard to the grant, it would be more convenient for me if I could receive it quarterly in advance. I do not know what the disposition of members of the Fund is on this point and, as a matter of fact, I can take care of expenses very easily after the first quarter if my checks are received monthly. But I should like, if possible, to have the check for the first three months on or near September 1, sent to the above address.

My summer work, aside from teaching, has been largely in connection with the Business and Business Education project. It is a long time study and to date we have only managed to bring the first two phases of the investigation near to completion. They include the filling out of schedules and case studies of Negro business men.

If there is any matter connected with my fellowship period or stipend upon which I need to be informed, I shall appreciate your advice.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Ackiss

TDA:c

Thelma D. Ackiss

May 8, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: I am glad to hear that you will be able to accept a renewal of your fellowship.

It will be quite all right with the Committee for you to begin work in September rather than June.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting Director for Fellowships

VH*RR

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(156)

Duplicate of Telephone Telegram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1944 APR 25 AM 9 59

MRS WILLIAM C HAYGOOD=

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND 4901 ELLIS AVE CHGO=

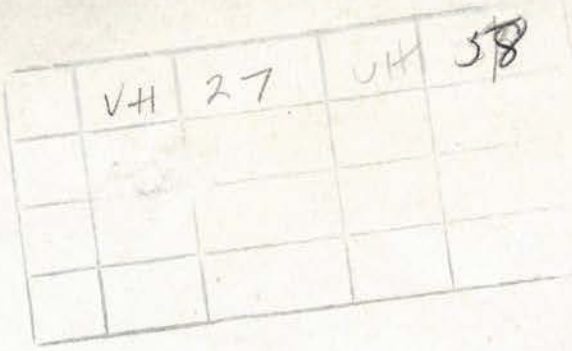
HAPPY TO ACCEPT FELLOWSHIP LETTER FOLLOWS=

(THELMA D)ACKISS.

FELLOWSHIPS

DRE 1/15

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas
April 25, 1944

Mrs. William C. Haygood
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Haygood:

As per my telegram to you, I am very happy to accept the Rosenwald fellowship which the Fund offers. Since making my application for the fellowship I have begun work on the Business and Business Education project of which I recently wrote you. I should, therefore, like to change the fellowship period requested from June to September, 1944 to September 1, 1945. If this plan is acceptable I can get this investigation in fair shape, if not completed, before I begin my other studies. If the plan is not acceptable I can, of course, begin work June 1.

In any case I am very grateful for the opportunity which the fellowship affords, and shall start making arrangements at once to enter school.

Sincerely yours,
Thelma D. Ackiss
Thelma D. Ackiss

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	ERE		ERE	0

FELLOWSHIPS

2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas
February 15, 1944

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My deal Mrs. Haygood:

I should have written before now to thank you for your prompt response to my request for material on the work of the Fund. The audience was most appreciative to have some actual information, especially since the other part of the program was devoted to a discussion of ideals and platitudes. In all, however, the program was interesting and well attended. As a climax to my talk I read most of the article from Mr. Embree's Color and Democracy, from the 1940-42 pamphlet which you sent, and it received a cheering and enthusiastic reception.

We have not proceeded beyond the initial stage of our consumer study because the Negro business study, sponsored by the Urban League, to which we were first committed, is in process of immediate development. Consequently, we shall have to budget our time to give it first consideration. I am to attend a meeting in Atlanta on the 24th of this month with others who will be directing the business investigations in the various communities. After I return I can proceed, and will advise you more definitely of both studies.

I am sure that Mr. Hill has written you of the new venture at Langston --- the quarterly which is to be launched. They have invited me to become a contributing editor and I have accepted.

Thank you again for sending me the material which I needed and which, incidentally, was most enlightening to me.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Ackiss

TDA:c

	VH	2/1	VH	0
FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON DIRECTOR				

FELLOWSHIPS

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

247 HENRY STREET, S.W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 28, 1944

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

Your requests for confidential reports on Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss and Mr. Cashius M. Thomas have come during Mr. Washington's absence from the office. He will return around February 15 at which time this matter will have his immediate attention.

Very sincerely yours,

A. L. Hall
Secretary

h

UH 24 Houston Texas.
~~January~~ UH 21, 1944.

Dear Mrs. Haygood:

This is a hasty follow up to my recent letter. Could you possibly send me a brief resume of the work of the Fund for, say the last 10 years? Nothing elaborate, highly condensed, without a great many details. It will be useful for the speech I mentioned. If you have a printed pamphlet that will suffice.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma D. Dickinson.

January 19, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: Your report of your work as usual is most interesting. The consumer study should be particularly valuable in helping to plan post-war production, and ought to include both Negroes and Whites to get the total picture for the area.

I am sending two biographical sketches of Julius Rosenwald which we have at the Fund. M. R. Werner wrote a full length biography, Julius Rosenwald, published by Harper's in 1939, which could probably be obtained in the library if you are not familiar with it. I am sure that the program for Julius Rosenwald Day will be most interesting.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting Director for Fellowships

VH:AW
enclosures

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss
2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas

January 10, 1944

Dear Doctor Thompson: Last year you sent us a statement regarding Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss who applied for and received one of our fellowships. Mrs. Ackiss is applying again this year and has again given your name among her references. I am wondering if you have been in touch with her during the past year, and if so, if you have anything to add to your former statement. Mrs. Ackiss' project is different from her former one, and you may care to comment on her present plans.

For your convenience I am returning your original reference concerning Mrs. Ackiss and a new form, in case you care to write us further. In any case we shall be glad to have you return all of the material in the enclosed envelope. Needless to say we greatly appreciate your assistance in helping us make a decision on this request for a fellowship.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting Director for Fellowships

VH*RR
enclosures

Dr. Charles Thompson
Dean of College
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

42	2	6	2

2219 Dowling Street,
Houston (3), Texas

November 29, 1943.

Mrs. William Haygood,
Acting Director of Fellowships,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

Thanks for your prompt acknowledgment of my recent letter. I have decided to make an application for a 12 month fellowship, during which period I would like to study at the University of Chicago. I am relatively certain that I could obtain my Ph.D. and that the data which I am now assembling on the Negro in Houston could be used for my dissertation first - then for publication. I shall appreciate receiving an application blank at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

(Thelma D. Ackiss.)

SOME IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AMONG NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

Reprinted from the *Journal of Negro Education*, Fall Number, 1943

Some Ideological Confusion Among Negro College Students

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

THE PROBLEM

A pressing question of the moment, one which is being asked with ever-increasing insistence is: "What kind of a post-war world may we expect?" Materials enough to fill volumes are flooding the presses of the country on the subject, much of it written by individuals who are even now in the declining years of life and who have scant hope of exerting vital influence in whatever society there may be. Manifestly, our most realistic point of contact with the post-war world is through the persons who will have the privilege of making and shaping it—the young men and women who are on the very threshold of adulthood. If we can find out what they are thinking, and especially where lie their most specific areas of mental conflict (in terms of social values), we may at least begin to understand some of the obstacles which they must overcome before they are qualified to assist in molding the world of tomorrow.

Accordingly, we shall present here certain data dealing with the social understanding of 100 students in attendance at a Negro college in Oklahoma, Langston University. In so doing we have in view two major aims. We want to report on a set of *Social Understanding* tests given at this college and to describe the ideological confusion which we have found to exist among our students. And we further expect to point out some of the implications arising from this confusion for teachers of the social sciences.

GENERAL PROCEDURE

The *Social Understanding Inventory* used in this investigation is one of many such inventories employed by the Cooperative Study in General Education of the American Council on Education. The key to the inventory and the problems associated with its determination were worked out by the staff at the central office,[1] augmented by the resident fellows of the cooperative study and several members of the faculty of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago who rendered judgments and furnished advice.

The Inventory consists of 150 statements which Americans use continually in general conversations. They express sentiments, therefore, which characterize our American way of life. In making up these statements academic language was deliberately avoided and ordinary, "every-day" terminology used, since students generally employ vernacular and also react to it as it is employed by their contemporaries.

[1] The staff includes Herbert Abraham, George Cronemeyer, Earl S. Johnson and Christine McGuire, all of the University of Chicago. For a complete description of the Social Understanding Inventory, see Staff News Letter of the Cooperative Study in General Education, Vols. 2-4, Nos. 12-1 respectively, American Council on Education —5835 Kimbark Avenue—Chicago, Ill.

The Inventory is a combined fact and student preference test although neither statements of fact nor of preference are identified as such. It is left to the student to do what distinguishing he may, on the assumption that one must usually make decisions in situations where knowledge (the facts) and opinions (preferences) interact and are frequently indistinguishable.

Of the total of 150 statements in the Inventory, 90 have been classified by the staff into nine groups of 10 statements each. They have identified these groups by the following topical sentences:

(1) The basis of economic class conflict does not exist in America.
(2) Everyone has the opportunity to improve his social position or to better his circumstances, as much as he really wants to.
(3) It is immoral and generally harmful to interfere with "private enterprise."
(4) Private morality, *i.e.*, having a good will and honorable intentions, is alone sufficient for social improvement.
(5) Social control, rationally planned and extensive enough to cover the interdependent world, is either unnecessary or undesirable.
(6) Capitalism is sanctioned by national law and the moral conscience.
(7) Our nation is best, our wars are always just, and aliens are to be regarded with suspicion.
(8) Our world is so chaotic that it is useless to try improving even one's personal situation.
(9) The tradition of the family and church have not changed, and are still adequate guides to the good life.

The remainder of the statements have not been grouped but they, too, represent prevailing values expressed in American society and deal with such phenomena as the government in business, economic fallacies, the "isms" and one concerning the American Negro.

TABLE I

RESPONSES OF 100 COLLEGE STUDENTS AT LANGSTON UNIVERSITY ON THE SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING INVENTORY

Students	Sound Score	Unsound Score	Fact Error	Preferences as Fact
Freshmen (25)	22.8	77.2	27.8	52.7
Sophomores (25)	24.8	75.2	19.5	43.6
Juniors (25)	26.8	73.2	18.7	49.8
Seniors (25)	30.6	69.3	18.5	47.5
Total (100)	26.2	73.7	21.1	48.4

The responses of the 100 students were obtained for each statement in the Inventory with reference to:

(1) "Sound score," *i.e.*, in agreement with the key.
(2) "Unsound score" . . . *i.e.*, *not* in agreement with the key.
(3) "Fact error" . . . *i.e.*, that part of the "unsound score" which records the student's treatment of a false statement as *true* and a true statement as *false*.
(4) "Preference as fact" . . . *i.e.*, that part of the "unsound score" which records the student's treatment of his attitudinal preferences as facts.

General Findings

Table I shows the percentage of agreement (sound score) of the students tested with the key, or with the composite opinion of sponsors of the study as to what are generally the

proper responses to the questions propounded in the Inventory. The percentages of disagreement (unsound score), fact error, and preferences treated as fact are also given. It will be noted that the sound scores are relatively low, the errors of fact considerably high, as is the tendency of our students to treat their attitudinal preferences as facts. These percentage scores, however, are of small concern to us in the present study. We are much more anxious about the matter to which we shall presently turn our attention, namely, the actual confusion which exists in regard to some of the basic ideas and phenomena which are at the very heart of our American way of life.

It was disconcerting, but at the same time revealing, to discover that democracy and the democratic process afforded the largest area of conflict among the students tested. Let us clarify this assertion by illustration. In connection with the statement "Discussing social issues doesn't help to solve them," 48 per cent marked it as true or having a preference for the statement, 45 per cent considered it untrue or not preferring it, and 7 per cent said that none of the above categories described their reaction to the statement. That means that there are 55 per cent or a majority of our group who apparently do not recognize the efficacy of free discussion of social issues as an outstanding advantage of democracy. If they *are* aware that discussion of social issues is a major tenet of democracy, at least 48 per cent cannot agree that it is advantageous. Consequently, in the estimation of about half of our group, we might well abandon it.

Certainly, such a climate of opinion is confused in terms of the democratic values which we, the overwhelming majority of Americans, advocate, and we shall attempt, at this point, to shed some illumination upon the factors responsible for this confusion. Perhaps the largest single influential factor is the reality of minority and segregated group status. In other words, the thinking of the students under consideration is largely subjective in terms of race. Another factor of much importance—and this is partially related to the first—is the low economic status of most of our students. Thus, to the poor and the proscribed, discussion of social issues seems quite futile and unavailing.

There are, however, yet other elements which must be included in the analysis. Fear of discussion of the social issues which most concern them, is a part of the experience of the life pattern of most children reared in the South—especially those of the lower economic brackets. It is a fear which is usually absorbed from the environment, the fear of their elders that they would be penalized by whites if they "said what they thought." This fear involves the dread that the white people of their town will discriminate against Negroes even more if they believe that Negroes want "social equality"; worry lest their parent or parents lose jobs, or have mortgages foreclosed if any word is said to intimate that Negroes are getting out of "their place."

Finally, there is to be mentioned the factor of shame. Some of our poor students are probably reticent of discussion of social issues, entirely aside from the relative merits or demerits

of same. This is true because, to them, poverty carries with it stigmata of laziness and thriftlessness. We discovered that by a consideration of responses to other statements which will be discussed hereinafter.

Now it may well be asked why, if Americans overwhelmingly adjudge free discussion of social issues to be an integral and advantageous part of the democratic process, half of this group thinks otherwise? Why are these students not constrained, as components of the culture, to "follow the crowd" in their value-judgments? The ready answer is that they have not been accepted unconditionally as part of "the crowd." They belong to that "other" group which encounters stubborn resistance when it attempts to achieve "crowd" status. That does not mean, of course, that they do not accept democracy as a social system. It is, in fact, our impression that most of the students who listed the statement as true would vigorously deny that they were in conflict with any fractional part of the democratic philosophy. They are, nevertheless, psychically at variance in this particular, whether on the conscious level or not.

In response to the statement, "You can't have democracy and do away with the profit motive", 40.3 per cent thought it true or expressed a preference for it as over against 51 per cent who disagreed. Of this latter figure, only 20 per cent considered it false as a statement of fact while 31 per cent asserted that they had no preference for the statement. Of the 40.3 per cent on the other hand, 33.3 per cent called it a true statement of fact with 7 per cent expressing a preference for the statement. Thus, we actually have more students among the 100 respondents who express the belief as a fact that you cannot have democracy without the profit motive than we do students who think the exact opposite.

As further evidence, though slightly more speculative, of opinions on the relationship between democracy and economic status, responses to the statement, "Most people on W.P.A. were there because they lacked ambition," were as follows: 30 per cent regarded it as true or expressed a preference, while 40 per cent considered it untrue or had no preference for the statement.

Taking responses to the last two statements in conjunction, it appears that almost half of our students who expressed positive or negative opinions about them believe that some profit, in monetary terms, may be expected in a democratic system, and that if one is not a recipient of this profit it is his own fault. If space and scope of this article permitted, we could, by ascertaining what generally undebatable democratic characteristics were unrecognized as such and what alternatives were emphasized by any given number of individuals taking the test, reveal just what those persons understood democracy to mean. For present purposes, however, we think it sufficient to demonstrate the fact that a great deal of ideological confusion exists and designate the problems connected therewith.

Value judgments of our students were less confused, *i.e.*, more in accord with dominant ideology, on the statement, "If we could pass the right laws we could solve our social problems once and for all." Here, 27 per cent regarded the statement as true or pref-

erential as over against 73 per cent who marked it as false or unpreferential. These opinions show an awareness that laws are merely a legal framework which is impotent without the support of crystallized sentiment. It seems likely, also, that a number of these responses are subjective, based on the frustration of racial status suffered by these students. We suggest this point because Negroes, especially of the South, are peculiarly sensitive on the matter of custom. For example, if a movie house which has hitherto catered exclusively to whites, opens a section for Negroes, they are reluctant to start patronizing it until they have become assured that they will be received without hostility from white patrons. Moreover, such laws as those embodying the "separate but equal accommodation" clauses have been so flagrantly violated that it is highly possible that a number of Negroes have scant confidence in the efficacy of laws for solving social problems, and that their judgments in this respect are motivated more by their own racial experiences than by consensus with the dominant cultural values.

Confusion was strong in connection with the statement, "Consumers and producers have practically the same interests." In this case 59 per cent marked the statement as true or preferring it with 25 per cent on the opposing side. All of these students are, of course, consumers who have no reasonable hope of becoming large-scale producers. We can find but two possible explanations for the 59 per cent who responded to the statement as true. One is that they (or most of them) do not understand what interests producers and consumers have. The other involves the "log cabin to President" philosophy—that everyone has a chance to reach "the top," that every consumer is a potential producer and so, circuitously, interests of producers and consumers are similar.

Without at all making a positive commitment of the factors most responsible for the foregoing statement, we submit it more as cumulative evidence of ideological confusion and suggest that the responses to the statement, "Where there's a will, there's a way" may have some relationship to our second conjecture on the consumer statement. Most of our group is evidently optimistic for 90 per cent express the statement as true or preferential. No one marked it as false; 2 per cent did not prefer it, and 8 per cent did not agree with any of the above answers in regard to the statement. It is also suggestive in this context that 91 per cent of the respondents agree that "After all, this is a pretty good world." If, in spite of low status and disadvantaged position these students consider their world "pretty good" and are confident that "Where there's a will, there's a way," it can only mean that they have an unbounded faith in the democratic system. The query persists, however, as to the depth and breadth of their confusion concerning the benefits reasonably to be expected from living in a democratic state.

Fortuitously enough—and we think that this is a healthy sign—the majority of the students in our group appear to recognize the difficulty of making valid judgments. Eighty-three per cent mark as true or preferential the statement, "It was never harder than it is now for young people to

decide between what's right and what's wrong." These young people are perfectly cognizant of the fact that they are—to put it crudely—"on a spot;" that their value-judgments do not conform to any well-defined institutional norms within their knowledge.

This brings us back to the starting point from which our study proceeded. What problems have our data and analysis revealed that have implications for the post-war economy? The central proposition is that our respondents, a group of Negro college students, give evidence of loose, uncritical, subjective, and sometimes deviate thinking. We have attempted to explain these manifestations of ideological confusion, partly in terms of inferior racial status; and also in terms of other undesirable group-values of the institutional system (undue emphasis on economic affluence as the most desirable goal). Certainly the thinking of these students and others likewise confused, must be clarified and revised if we would safeguard our world of the future from the ills which have beset the present and preceding generations.

It is futile to contend that we are prepared to recommend measures which will clear up the confusion which we have found among students at Langston University. We do suggest, however, that its very existence imposes an obligation upon social science teachers to attempt to alleviate this lack of social understanding. If social science instruction does not have some efficient relationship to the real life experiences of students; if it is isolated from the social environment, it lacks a dynamic and necessary motivation to be of service to American youth. In this regard circumstances will alter cases, but we submit the following broad generalizations as points of departure for social science teachers who are interested in the social understanding of their students. We offer them with some apology because we are not prepared at present to give the results of their utilization, but they have served the useful purpose of contributing a base for the formulation of fresh objectives in the Social Science department at this college.

1. Our entire social structure should be scrutinized and reevaluated in terms of personality-satisfying goals thought to be attainable in a democracy. This is suggested because teachers must realize "where we stand" if they are to aid students in substituting realistic for wishful thinking. We can observe the results of wishful thinking among our students in their identification of democracy with the profit motive, and their consideration of producers and consumers in exactly the same context.

2. There should be a stronger interrelationship between various branches of the social science field so that no one discipline will exist, in the student's mind, in a vacuum, and entirely unrelated to the other social disciplines. If students understand the interrelatedness of the social sciences they can better relate social science study to real life situations.

3. There is involved likewise the problem of enlarging the quantity and deepening the quality of students' experiences; for it is from the limited experiences permitted by their environment that young people appraise and evaluate the phenomena with

which they come in contact. Thus the social science teacher must interest himself in the student as a personality, as a fellow member of the same cultural pattern, rather than confining his contact to the pedagogical task of textbook instruction for a few hours each week.

4. In whatever manner an individual instructor finds it most expedient, students should be imbued with a problem-solving consciousness. That does not mean, of course, that all social science students are to be indoctrinated in reform techniques. It does mean that they should become aware of societal problems, should develop the ability to form *reasoned* judgments, and have some concern with courses of action for dealing with the problems.

Here again, the problems will naturally differ with the situation, but there are some large problems which are common to virtually all students falling within a given category. For example, Negro students are confronted with the reality of "inferior" or disadvantaged status specifically because of race. It appears, therefore, that since this produces frustration and emotional conflict, some attention should be focused on problems arising therefrom by social science teachers, especially in the Negro colleges.

5. Social science instructors should spend some time in the exchange of information and opinions about their students. No one teacher is able, with the pressure of college work, to investigate thoroughly the background of each student, or to have sufficient contact to enable him to meet the needs of each student. A surprisingly gratifying amount of information is received from the interchange of viewpoints among teachers if each teacher is working objectively toward the same goal—the better integration of his students in the total society.

In substance, those are the tentative objectives which we have developed at Langston University as a result of the ideological confusion which we found to exist among our students. As we have intimated, we are in the experimental stage of attempting to shape our program to the best advantage of our boys and girls who will, in turn, help to shape the post-war world. For whatever they are worth we present these data as a part of our effort in that direction.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate: Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss

Report Requested of: Dr. Lorenzo Turner
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. Since it is impossible to consider the applicant's qualifications until all of the references are in, a prompt reply will be appreciated.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Vaneli V. Haygood

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

REPORT

I have known Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss since the early 1920's when she was an undergraduate student in several of my English classes at Howard University. Since that time she has kept me informed at fairly frequent intervals of her various activities. A short while ago she served for two years as a research assistant in the Department of the Social Sciences here at Fisk University. I have thus been able to keep in touch with her work over a period of many years. Very recently I read two articles of which she is

OVER

co-author. Both of these deal with aspects of the problem which she hopes to undertake in the Houston area, and in both a sensible and effective approach has been made to the problem. I am confident, therefore, that she is prepared both by training and experience to make her proposed investigation.

I should think that a scholarly investigation of a Negro community so situated as that in the Houston area would serve a most useful purpose at this time. A treatment of such important aspects of Negro life as health and sanitation, education, economic and political opportunities, religion, etc., together with a study of the relations existing in that area between Negroes and whites on the one hand and between Negroes and Mexicans on the other, would not only be of inestimable value to all the citizens of that section but would also greatly facilitate the work of those individuals and agencies engaged in the difficult task of improving relations among racial groups throughout the United States.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities? Yes.

Signed Lorenzo D. Turner

Position or Title Professor of the English Language and Literature

Address Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Date January 31, 1944

Please return to the Division for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

a.

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate: Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss

Report Requested of: Dr. Charles Thompson
Dean of College
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. Since it is impossible to consider the applicant's qualifications until all of the references are in, a prompt reply will be appreciated.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Vanei V. Haygood

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

REPORT

In addition to the statement which I made concerning Mrs. Ackiss and Mr. Hill on the attached report, may I state with reference to this individual project of Mrs. Ackiss that I think it is a very desirable one for her own professional development, as well as a possible contribution to the field. On the basis of the information she gives here it appears that her project will be both timely and profitable, not only as a doctor's dissertation but generally. I am sure that her advisers, Dr. Warner and Dr. Wirth of the University of Chicago, will insure the fact that her methods of procedure will be valid and appropriate.

I recommend that Mrs. Ackiss's application be favorably considered.

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Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

None of which I am aware.

Signed Chas. H. Thompson

Position or Title Dean of the Graduate School

Address Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Date January 18, 1944.

Please return to the Division for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

a.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate: Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss

Report Requested of: Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Director, School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. Since it is impossible to consider the applicant's qualifications until all of the references are in, a prompt reply will be appreciated.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Vandi V. Haygood

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

REPORT

This is to advise that I have known the applicant, Thelma Davis Ackiss, for the past five years and am much impressed with her native ability, her qualifications, and her reputation for scholarship. . In my estimation the plan of work which she has presented is a sound one and one which should be a contribution to the sparse knowledge of the culture of the Negro in Texas.

The Houston Negro community is well deserving of detailed investigation, both from an historical and a contemporary angle. Its diverse racial elements plus the fact that no study such as this applicant proposes has yet been attempted, appear to make the project very much worthwhile. This woman has assumed a task which is unusually significant. Into this study must go a cognizance of the cultural contributions of not only the Negro but the Mexican, the Indian and the American white. In addition, I am in favor of encouraging persons with this applicant's training and abilities to continue their scholastic work until the Ph. D. has been received. It seems, therefore, that from all standpoints, this is an application which deserves the serious and favorable consideration of the Rosenwald Fund. I am

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pleased to give the application my endorsement.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities? Yes

Signed Forrester B. Washington

Position or Title Director, Atlanta University School of Social Work

Address 247 Henry Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia

Date February 24, 1944

Please return to the Division for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

a

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate: Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss

Report Requested of: Mr. A. E. Norton
Acting Dean
Houston College for Negroes
Houston, Texas

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. Since it is impossible to consider the applicant's qualifications until all of the references are in, a prompt reply will be appreciated.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Vivien V. Haygood

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

REPORT

Mrs. Thelma D. Ackiss is instructor in the Department of Social Science, Houston College for Negroes. As an instructor her preparation is excellent; her personality is strong; tact in the classroom is good.

I endorse this application because: (1) We feel that Mrs. Ackiss is well qualified to complete the project which she proposes; (2) The proposed investigation of the Negro community of Houston will be a step forward in the research program of the school, which aspires to establish a research center at this College; (3) Because Houston College is interested in members of the faculty

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obtaining higher degrees in their specific fields, and this fellowship would, if granted, enable Mrs. Ackiss to complete her work for the Ph. D. Therefore, I give the application under consideration my unqualified endorsement. If the fellowship is granted, the College will allow Mrs. Ackiss a leave of absence for the desired period of study.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities? Yes

Signed A. E. Norton

Position or Title Acting Dean

Address 2610 Elgin Avenue, Houston, Texas

Date February 8, 1944

Please return to the Division for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate: Mrs. Thelma Davis Ackiss

Report Requested of:
Dr. Horace M. Bond
President
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. Since it is impossible to consider the applicant's qualifications until all of the references are in, a prompt reply will be appreciated.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Vanie V. Haygood

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

REPORT

OVER

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

Signed _____

Position or Title_____

Address _____

_____ Date_____

Please return to the Division for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

FELLOWSHIPS

April 19, 1944

Dear Mrs. Ackiss: It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been selected by the Committee on Fellowships of the Julius Rosenwald Fund to receive a grant of One thousand eight hundred dollars ($1,800) to enable you to make a socio-historical study of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, and to pursue work toward the Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago over a twelve-month period.

Will you please let us know at once whether or not you can accept the fellowship? An announcement of the Committee's selections will soon be made, and it can include only those from whom acceptances have been received.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting Director for Fellowships

VH:RR

Mrs. (Thelma D.) Ackiss
2219 Dowling Street
Houston 3, Texas

Renewal
History

SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE "WHITE-SUPREMACY" COMPLEX

THELMA D. ACKISS

Reprinted for private circulation from
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
Vol. LI, No. 2, September 1945
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

This was originally a full length article but, due to the paper shortage, the Journal asked me to cut it. T.D.A.

SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE "WHITE-SUPREMACY" COMPLEX

THELMA D. ACKISS

This is a research note on a campaign letter distributed in mimeographed form by an aspirant to Congress. This letter was apparently intended to procure votes from the "common people" in a state noted for its adherence to the political principle of "white supremacy." The present discussion is confined to two chief purposes: methodological and analytical. The letter is believed to be valuable as illustrating a sociological methodology, and it is also offered as a datum in examining some of the facts relating to the white-supremacy complex. The letter reads:

The NEGRO QUESTION

is getting bad, with Mrs. Roosevelt stirring them up they are feeling like they own the country. You can see it all around you every day. If some good A stateman doesn't tell the government to stay out of our business, it is entirely possible that they will be going to school with white children in a very short time.

The writer is John Doe Tee, native born. A stateman, *A GENTILE*, 45 years old, who served overseas in World War I, married, has a son age 4.

I am a candidate for Congress and am the same kind of person that you are. I live on South Side, mix with common people, know their problems. As a kid I went barefoot same as your child, was mean as the dickens, smoked corn silk cigarettes behind the barn, wiped my nose on my sleeve, and fussed like anything when I had to wash my feet before going to bed. In other words, I am just a plain honest person and am asking you to send me to Congress to be your representative; the representative of the ordinary people.

My opponents have plenty of money for their campaign,, but I am paying my own way and will be obligated to the people only and not to large corporations looking for Special favors.

Won't you please help me to get elected by telling all your friends to vote for me? Your vote counts just as much as a vote from Elite Hill. I and my family are your kind of folks and we are both good people even if we do come from the so-called "wrong side of the tracks."

Yours sincerely,

JOHN DOE TEE
Candidate for Congress

The above letter was widely circulated in neighborhoods known to be inhabited by members of the white group of lower, middle-class status by an individual whom we will call Candidate T. The views expressed not only are his own but also reflect the opinions of the readers of the letter, i.e., his potential supporters.

The sentiments expressed in a political campaign letter, speech, or document can be useful in representing the climate of opinion of a stated group, at a given period, in a specified region or territory. The analysis of them offers a methodology which should make intelligible certain variables which would doubtless be unidentifiable in a purely abstract investigation.

Now, what does Candidate T's letter reveal in terms of the white-supremacy complex? The Negro problem constitutes only one brief paragraph, and that is confined to the vaguest of generalities. The remaining paragraphs, however, serve to describe and suggest some other points of dissatisfaction and frustration which coexist with racial matters in the minds of the proponents of white supremacy. These other points are parts of the total complex. Stripped of surplus verbiage they are as follows: Candidate T, as a man of "the people," understands the problems of common people; he is on the defensive against moneyed groups and large corporations; he is worthy even though he comes from the "wrong side of the tracks."

It appears, then, that the Negro question, as understood in this candidate's letter, and as considered in its dynamic context, is an appropriate but fractional part of the white-supremacy complex. There is a traditional relationship between the Negro and the unsatisfying or insecure position of the southern white masses, stemming from the slavery and postslavery years. Thus the total complex is much more inclusive and much more significant for the whole societal structure than is generally believed. For obvious reasons the Negro problem can be conveniently dramatized. It is useful, moreover, as a deflector of aggression which accumulates as a result of other conditions. Actually, however, it forms only the outer coverage of the social and economic frustrations of a large segment of the population.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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THELMA D. ACKISS

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The sentiments expressed in a political campaign letter, speech, or document can be useful in representing the climate of opinion of a stated group, at a given period, in a specified region or territory. The analysis of them offers a methodology which should make intelligible certain variables which would doubtless be unidentifiable in a purely abstract investigation.

Now, what does Candidate T's letter reveal in terms of the white-supremacy complex? The Negro problem constitutes only one brief paragraph, and that is confined to the vaguest of generalities. The remaining paragraphs, however, serve to describe and suggest some other points of dissatisfaction and frustration which coexist with racial matters in the minds of the proponents of white supremacy. These other points are parts of the total complex. Stripped of surplus verbiage they are as follows: Candidate T, as a man of "the people," understands the problems of common people; he is on the defensive against moneyed groups and large corporations; he is worthy even though he comes from the "wrong side of the tracks."

It appears, then, that the Negro question, as understood in this candidate's letter, and as considered in its dynamic context, is an appropriate but fractional part of the white-supremacy complex. There is a traditional relationship between the Negro and the unsatisfying or insecure position of the southern white masses, stemming from the slavery and postslavery years. Thus the total complex is much more inclusive and much more significant for the whole societal structure than is generally believed. For obvious reasons the Negro problem can be conveniently dramatized. It is useful, moreover, as a deflector of aggression which accumulates as a result of other conditions. Actually, however, it forms only the outer coverage of the social and economic frustrations of a large segment of the population.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SOCIAL CLASSES: A FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO SOCIETY

BY

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

Langston University

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Langston University

IT IS a growing practice among social scientists to categorize Negroes into social classes within their group, which group is conceptualized as the lower layer in a caste or caste-like structure. The writers of this article are in accord with such treatment, but they have been impressed with the vague and sometimes evasive manner in which the problems of Negro social classes and their functional relationship to the institutional life of the community have been analyzed. Some writers appear to be guilty of a gross oversimplification while others fall into the opposite error of complicating the matter almost beyond recognition of the fundamental issues involved.

I

Negro classes are adjuged generally to fall into several rough divisions, approximating the divisions of the whites into classes, based on wealth, education, family prestige, and similar criteria. These classes are not then subjected to the scrutiny which they deserve in terms of how the confusions and contradictions of the American social order influence their formation and existence.[1] Most of the authors of books dealing with Negro personality in the Youth Commission Series have devoted some space to Negro social classes, and they have included skin color as a criterion for social status.[2] The participants in this investigation are convinced, however, that there can be no concrete development of any thesis involving Negro social classes until there has been some "groundwork" study and appraisal of Negro society which does not have the constant impact of the racial organizational mores inherent in the larger cultural pattern.

Accordingly, the major hypothesis presented here is that an all-Negro group, or one which is not under the direct influence of the dominant culture, would exhibit some significant differences in class motivation, structure, and characteristics, from those Negro groups in racially mixed communities. It is proposed, therefore, by an examination of the social organization and structure of Boley, Oklahoma, a Negro community, to analyze the interrelations between classes and within them, the ideas, attitudes, and segments of response which exist just because the Negroes of Boley have built up and maintained their social world in a state of semi-isolationism from whites.

It is not expected that the foregoing thesis will be validated beyond rebuttal in one short article. It is hoped, rather, that by leaving the more familiar, traditional paths mapped out by students of race relations and presenting a socio-psychological interpretation of social classes in an all-Negro community, to provide a new orientation in the premises, which, if realized, will simultaneously be an important frame of reference for more

[1] John Dollard seems to be an exception here, for he has given a rather comprehensive analysis of Negro classes in terms of the caste pattern of American society. See his *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

[2] Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942).

thorough and less superficial attention to problems involving Negro classes in the United States.

Considerations of this sort suggest certain points that should be clarified at the outset. Why, for example was it decided to make this study through the medium of social classes rather than some other phase of the institutional life of the community? Because of a predilection on the part of the writers that rationally plausible social interpretation is possible of achievement, if at all, by the deliberate selection of some phenomenon which is an inevitable part of the social process, as a focal point of research interest. In other words, social stratification is a result of social interaction, a concomitant of community living, a *sine qua non* factor in the entire socializing process. Hence, it becomes imperative, it would seem, to take advantage of the accessibility of such a significant social phenomenon in the formulation of social judgments.

All of that is not to say, of course, that the role of the individual is ignored or even minimized. It simply means that individuals are regarded from a societal perspective; that since individuals of a given class are usually imbued with a similar stock of attitudes, ideas, behavior patterns, etc., as well as having a number of more tangible characteristics in common, the social atmosphere in which the individual abides is a convenient and proper setting for a socio-psychological evaluation.

In this connection, Dr. Park[3] is one of the social scientists who recognizes the merits of analyzing the individual as a member of a functional social unit.

> It is, however, in the nature of political society that every class, caste, institution, or other functional unit should have its own dogma and its individual life-program.
>
> The ideology of a class, caste, or social group seems to perform the same role in the functioning of a collective unit that the individual's conception of himself performs in the function of his personality.
>
> They (the psychiatrists) were, also, among the first to take account of the fact that the individual's conception of himself . . . is always a more or less accurate reflection of his status in one or more social groups.

In a somewhat similar vein, another social scientist has indicted psychologists for limiting themselves to a study of the "isolated" man.

> Even when man is artificially separated from society and viewed outside of his relations to the group, he nevertheless retains its imprint . . . for how is one to explain principles, ideas, thought, and judgment, all of which we possess because they are possessed by others, and which we share with others, if we accept the hypothesis of the isolated man?[4]

It remains, in this brief preamble, to amplify the assertion, previously made, to the effect that an investigation of social classes in an all-Negro community will provide a basic frame of reference for studying Negro classes in a mixed community.

The exclusive application of the latter approach has yielded chaotic results because the constant "social" interaction involved in the symbiotic[5] association of the races in mixed communities tends to obscure some of the very factors which should be revealed. In many instances, it relegates explanations which might otherwise be dynamic, to the realm of mere speculation.

Thus, by way of illustration, suppose it should be determined by research in racially mixed communities, that Negro social classes tended to be highly stratified. Might it then be legitimately assumed, a priori, that the proximity of the white social world had any efficient connection with such stratification? On the other hand, however, if the above determination was made *after*, let us say, classes in all-Negro communities had been found to exhibit a very slight degree of stratification, there would be an incontrovertible relationship between Negro class stratification and the white social world. An adequate framework having been thereby acquired, it would become relevant to describe and analyze this relationship.

Finally, the all-Negro community embodies fewer contradictions than the mixed community. It is less complex, socially, from which it seems self-evident that social as well as personal conflict would be correspondingly less than in communities where both whites and Negroes reside. If that is true, there should be fewer probabilities of making fallacious judgments than there would be in a situation which, from its very nature, is pregnant with the possibilities of conflict.

[3] Robert E. Park, "Symbiosis and Socialization: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Society," *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1939), pp. 8–9.

[4] Maurice Halbwachs, "Individual Consciousness and Collective Mind," *American Journal of Sociology* (May, 1939), pp. 812–813.

[5] Symbiotic relationships in human society mean living together of different races, cultural groups, religious and economic groups with little or no consensus. See Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1942), pp. 132–135.

II

Boley, Oklahoma, a Negro community, is located in Okfuskee County, in the east central part of the State. It connects with the outside world chiefly by means of U. S. Highway 62, which runs east and west connecting Oklahoma City and Muskogee. Okemah, the county seat and an all-white community, is twelve miles east of Boley, and another smaller white community, Paden, lies to the west of Boley. According to the 1940 census, the population of Boley is 942, this figure applying, of course, only to those living within the limits of the town. Within a five mile radius, however, some 5,000 Negroes come under Boley's influence.

The incorporation of Boley on March 30, 1905, at the instigation of the first twenty residents, was the outgrowth of an idea conceived in 1903. It appears that the then president of the Fort Smith and Western Railroad Townsite Company entered into a controversy with some other individuals, centering around the question of whether the Negro was capable of self-government or whether supervision by whites was essential to his survival. It was finally decided to promote the organization of a Negro town site, and one W. H. Boley, the Fort Smith and Western Roadmaster, was active in this respect. The town, which became Mr. Boley's namesake, grew rapidly, aided and abetted by the *Boley Progress*, a newspaper, the primary purpose of which was to attract residents from Texas and Louisiana. In 1912, the population was approximately 4,000, but the war, urban and northward immigration, the depression, and other factors depleted it.

The people of Boley earn their living, in the main, by, farming; hence, from an economic standpoint it might be said that it is an agricultural community. It must be noted, however, that the town has several urban features and characteristics. For instance, the sex composition shows a preponderance of females over males—512 females to 430 males in 1940. The age composition reveals comparatively few children in terms of the number expected in the actual rural community of that size, the predominant age group being from the ages of 20 to 40.

Moreover, the numerous and varied establishments are in striking contrast to what would be expected of a "country" town. There are 44 places of business, 9 churches, 3 cotton gins, 2 schools, a library, a playground, a fairground, a bank, a Masonic Temple, a State NYA Work Experience Project for girls, a second class post office, a private hospital, 4 physicians, 1 dentist, two lawyers, and a CCC camp (recently moved).

Within the city limits of Boley, to which this article is confined, there is little contact with white people except on business matters. There is no evidence that any white person has ever spent as long as twenty-four consecutive hours there. Although a number of Boleyites do some shopping in the neighboring all-white communities, the traditional animosity between residents of these racially exclusive communities still exists.

This short, physical description of Boley is sufficient to proceed after a methodological note, to an analysis of its class organization and structure. Both writers are well acquainted with the research site, each having made several visits of varying lengths in the interest of this study. Prior to that, one of the writers, a native of Oklahoma, had become acquainted with the community of Boley and a number of residents in traveling about the State. The other writer lived in Boley and attended school there for one year, some time after which he used the community as the subject for his master's thesis.[6] Since that time he has made frequent trips to Boley.

The investigational techniques utilized in the following interpretation include questionnaires, several case histories, interviews, county records, documents and reports, and participation in the social life of Boley. From the wealth of materials acquired in these procedures the writers have extracted the minimum necessary to present a true picture of class relationships.

III

As regards social organization and stratification in Boley, it should be pointed out first that their determinants are largely economic in character. There are, for instance, four rough economic divisions, the members of which recognize each other and are, in turn, recognized by others to have certain economic and social interests in common. These divisions include:

1. The *proprietorial class*, which comprises those individuals who own the local businesses, own and operate farms, and who generally have a measure of economic security and independence. Members of

[6] Mozell C. Hill, A Sociological Study of an all Negro Community. Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 1937.

this group often hold key positions in the municipal government.

2. The *professional class* includes physicians, lawyers, teachers, preachers, and dentists.
3. The *laboring class* (landless proletariat), rural and urban, who are permanent members of the community, usually propertyless and insecure.
4. The "*floaters*," who come and go, working at whatever odd jobs are available, do not as a rule, become assimilated in the community social structure. They are included here, however, because there are always enough of them in Boley for the residents to know that they are there and because even in the loose and temporary association which they achieve, they form a sort of "other" group.

There are two possible methods of approach to a further consideration of these economic groupings. They might be broken down into even more refined divisions in an effort to bring out the mobility between them and to show how numerous are the organizations which cut across class lines. But this method would, in the estimation of the writers, furnish a plethora of data which, at this stage, could only serve to obscure rather than elucidate the inferences which might be derived from the major hypothesis of the study.

The approach which it has been decided to use, over-simplifies the social organization of Boley, to be sure, since it concedes, for present purposes, only two extremely rough divisions of Boley society—upper and lower. To appreciate this method, however, one must be continually aware of the fact that this is an initial research effort to arrive at an understanding of an all-Negro community and it can, therefore, expect to do little more than pose in bold relief certain points believed to have significant implications for later, more detailed investigation. The writers are committed to the idea, as they have so intimated earlier in this article, that it is more logical and more scientifically consistent, to begin with the simple aspects of cultural problems and then proceed to the complex.

Concerning these two fundamental divisions of Boley society, the upper or elite class consists of those who have been referred to as proprietorial and professional. These individuals are bound together by a host of factors. In the first instance, they have achieved economic security or a semblance thereof. In the second place, they form an elite group in a truer sense than could be possible for any Negro in a mixed community, because Boley is "their town." They "run" it and there are no invariably "better" white institutions within the community to detract from the psychic security thus achieved. A further cohesive factor is a recognition by the members of the upper class that they are interdependent. They *need* each other more urgently than they would, for example, if there were some white upper class residents with whom certain Negroes could psychologically identify themselves through business contacts or otherwise.

The upper class then identifies itself as a class by means of prestige symbols which are understood as such throughout the entire American cultural pattern—economic resources, education, family status, and leadership. But the investigators have failed to perceive any indications that skin color and Nordic characteristics are criteria, in any sense, for status in the Boley community. It was apparent both from the interviews and from participation in social activities that there is an unfeigned indifference to one's complexion in Boley. This fact is in direct opposition to the views derived by investigators of the Negro in mixed communities.[7]

Instead of identifying themselves with whites, the upper class members of Boley apparently regard white people as their traditional enemies. In almost every conversation with an individual from this group in which the matter of race relations was discussed, the Boleyite remarked on the busi-

[7] Franklin Frazier found that color is a significant factor in the spatial pattern of Negroes in Chicago. *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), chap. 6. He also brings out that color differences among members of the same family create tensions and conflict. See "Certain Aspects of Conflict in the Negro Family," *Social Forces* (Oct. 1931), pp. 76–84. The same author in another publication takes the position that skin color cannot be considered in isolation, but that when it is considered along with social experiences of the individual, attitudes toward skin color grow out of the reactions of others in the community. *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (Washington, D. C. American Council on Education 1942). Similar points of view are substantiated by: W. Lloyd Warner, who describes a southern community as a two-caste system with a class system in each, "Formal Education and the Social Structure," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (May 1936), pp. 524–31; E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture* (N. Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931); Chas. Johnson, *Growing up in the Black Belt*, Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1942; Allison Davis, Donald Young, Ira D. Reid, Robert Sutherland, and others.

ness competition of the stores in neighboring all-white communities, or reference was made to the animosity between the all-white community and Boley. It was discovered, in fact, that unless the subject of race relations was introduced by an "outsider," the community residents seldom discuss it except in the connection just suggested.

The lower class has no organization and little articulation but it is easily recognizable by the simple fact of "not belonging" to the "upper crust." The conflicts and frustrations which generally result from lower class status are compensated for in some degree by the absence of whites. They say, "we are all Negroes here," implying, of course, that since, in the larger society, Negroes are socially immobile, no Negro is "better" than any other. This serves to rationalize their class status and lessen the sharpness of the economic class struggle.

The class is also uniquely conventional among lower class groups. The legal, as distinguished from the common-law family, is the rule rather than the exception in Boley.[8] In this respect the lower class has what might be termed a middle class consciousness; for there are observable in it the same respectability prohibitions and inhibitions and social climbing proclivities which are universally associated with middle class status.

Thus it might be claimed that although class alignments are rather definite and sharp in Boley, and a class struggle in terms of these alignments goes on ad infinitum, there is a minimum of class frustration and personality disorganization as a result, because the all-Negro social structure affords psychological compensations for both large class groups. The nature of these compensations can be best understood by means of a consideration of inter- and intra-class relationships and communication.

IV

Implicit in the whole social structure of Boley is an underlying egalitarian ideology. This so dominates the mental atmosphere and "feeling-tone" of the residents that visitors (the writers, for example) are at least emotionally affected thereby in the initial stage of the visit. Closer observation reveals, however, that the basic idea of equality of all Negroes is derived, unconsciously, no doubt, from the stereotyped conception by whites of a homogeneous Negro group. The Negroes of Boley have taken over this conception, psychically "isolated" it from its dynamic context, and adapted it to offensive use in the interest of community solidarity.

It is not difficult to perceive what an important rôle such an ideology could assume in the maintenance of class stratification with a minimum of conflict. Its import for resignation to lower class status has already been noted, but further stress is not amiss. For just as every white youth once dreamed that, if he studied his lessons and worked hard he might one day be president of the United States, so the son of the humblest tenant farmer believes that he can attain a position of preeminence in Boley. He does not resent the upper class because he visualizes himself as a potential member.

There were observed several factors, stemming from the upper class, which foster lower class aspirations in this respect and bring them within the realm of probability. First, the absence of whites provides Negroes of the upper class with a sense of security which, in turn, facilitates social and general intercourse between the classes. It is notorious that in mixed communities there are invariably upper class Negroes who assume an "Uncle Tom" or "Mammy" rôle in dealing with whites. As a compensation for doing obeisance to whites they exact it from those whom they regard as their inferiors. Such individuals could not condescend to "thee and thou" relations with lower class members. They must, moreover, often exploit the lower class in order to keep impregnable their own class position. Inhibited and frustrated by reason of inferior status, the welfare of the community is secondary in importance to what ego gratification is available.

On the other hand, ego gratification comes to upper class Boleyites through the preservation and progress of Boley. Hence, they cannot exploit the lower class members without cutting off the basis for their own security. Consequently, in unconscious acknowledgment of their dependence on the lower class, they are cordial, friendly, interested, and informal in their relationship with them.

The second palliative factor for lower class

[8] Charles S. Johnson finds among lower class Negro families of the black belt, that legal marriages are not customary and that illegitimacy is no social stigma. Slave patterns still exist among the families. *Op. cit.*, pp. 58–59.

status centers around the pyramid-like structure of the social pattern. While it is a fact that the lower class forms the broad base of the structure, the apex of the pyramid is occupied by one person, the banker, who enjoys a unique and peculiar prestige in Boley. Other upper class members are ostensibly as dependent for economic favors on the banker as lower class members themselves. Furthermore, the amount of money which the banker will have to lend in a given season is largely dependent on the fruitfulness of the crops raised by lower class persons. This interdependence with the banker who tops the social ladder, and this common dependence with the remainder of the upper class upon the banker, provides a collective psychological setting for the lower class which has enough compensatory features to offset the mental conflict which might otherwise accompany lower class status.

So thorough, indeed, is the accommodation, and so strong is the psychic identification of the lower class and the banker, that a number of lower class members have superiority feelings in regard to members of the upper class other than the banker. One lower class informant related with pride that he and the banker sat in the latter's office discussing the prospect for crops while Dr. X waited outside. Another informant, a farm worker, volunteered that the banker would "laugh and grin with these doctors and teachers but when it comes to talking good hard, common sense, he comes to us." These reactions are, of course, defensive, but they break down lower class inhibitions to the extent that an emotional security is achieved. Reactions of this type then become a substitute in the unconscious for lower class aggression which, if present, would militate against the status quo. They fortify the lower class individual's belief that only a few good crops, for instance, stand between him and upper class status, because he is "as good as anybody else anyhow."

Another related circumstance is the fact that there is no large middle class which stands as a hurdle between lower and upper groups. The social structure of Boley has been compared to a pyramid with the town banker at its peak. In close proximity are the doctors, lawyers, teachers, well-to-do business men, and affluent farmers. This group shades almost imperceptibly into the one composed of smaller business units, home businesses, small farmers, etc. It would be a misnomer to call this group a middle class because it is not so conceived in Boley and the people who comprise it do not recognize common interests or common status, nor do they have a "consciousness of kind." They do recognize interests which they share with those at the top of the pyramid and some that they share with those at the base. Accordingly, since, it must be reiterated, the entire social atmosphere is pervaded by the philosophy of equality, these few in-betweens mingle socially both with those who are more and those who are less secure economically than they. And instead of serving as an obstacle between lower and upper classes they form a very concrete link in the chain of social relationships.

The floaters, aforementioned, will not be discussed in this connection since they are but transients and do not necessarily share the dominant ideology of Boley. Those who do remain, however, usually do so precisely because the unity of the all-Negro community appeals to them even though they automatically fall into the low-stratum group.

Perhaps the strongest possible attestation that the lower class Negroes of Boley are not victims of a "permanent frustration" situation is to be sought in their intra-class relations. There is very little anti-social conduct in Boley and crimes such as rape, murder, assault and battery are almost unknown to the community residents except indirectly. The crime rate for Boley, in fact, is the lowest for the State of Oklahoma. The amicability of intra-class relations in the disadvantaged group of Boley appears to support John Dollard's theory of intra-race aggression as a result of caste frustration.[9]

The writers are aware that the foregoing cursory presentation does not in any sense exploit the possibilities of the problems involved. They intend to explore the matter much more deeply, giving more attention to individual personality by means of the life history, in a larger work of which this study is a part.

SUMMARY

The present analysis does, however, appear to bring into focus several points of differentiation between social classes in mixed communities and those in Boley. These points are submitted in specific reference to the fact that this community

[9] John Dollard, *op. cit.*, chap. XIII.

is relatively free from the psychological pressure of white society which may be expressed in the following conditions:

1. The society is marked by an underlying, egalitarian philosophy.

2. There is an absence of color differentiation in the definition and motivation of social classes.

3. There is a minimum of lower class status frustration as evidenced by harmonious relations in inter- and intra-class communication, low crime rate, and conventional sex mores.

4. The lower class is aware of its potency in the economic life of the community but makes no attempt to become articulate as a class group.

5. There is relatively little exploitation of lower class members by those of the elite group.

LANGSTON UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY LANGSTON UNIVERSITY, JULY, 1943

Langston, Oklahoma

Culture of a Contemporary All-Negro Community

Langston, Oklahoma

By

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

SOCIAL RESEARCH UNIT

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FOREWORD

An educational institution of higher learning should be judged upon the basis of the changes and improvements which it brings to the life of the people it is intended to serve. This idea, which is held and stoutly defended by many leading American educators, has been arrived at through years of observation and critical study of educational institutions, and their relations to social living. The acceptance of this view demands that the staff members of higher educational institutions hold an intelligent and positive social outlook.

Langston University presents this study as the first of a projected series of several bulletins dealing with Negro life and education in Oklahoma. The timeliness of the present investigation is occasioned particularly by two factors:

1. There is an imperative need for the college to understand its social setting, in this instance, the Langston community, so that it may use what facilities it has to improve economic and social conditions among the people.

2. The present war crisis has made the college increasingly conscious of the need for future economic and social planning; such planning cannot be effective without a thorough scrutiny of what has happened in the past, and a full realization and a significant understanding of the present situation.

Mr. Hill and Mrs. Ackiss, both of the Social Science faculty of Langston University, in this study, have made an analysis of the living conditions of the people in this all Negro community. It is hoped that the information contained herein may serve as a means of acquainting all staff members with the conditions now existing in the local community and as an aid in formulating a program to remedy certain undesirable conditions.

Thus, while Langston University is immediately interested in improving the environment of the student, it does not overlook the services which it can also render to the local community, the state, and the nation.

G. L. HARRISON, President

Langston University

Langston, Oklahoma

Culture of a Contemporary All-Negro Community

Langston, Oklahoma

INTRODUCTION

This study is the initial effort of the research staff of Langston University to investigate the socio-economic conditions of Negroes in a specific community. The university has inaugurated an ambitious research program which contemplates the compilation of information about the Negroes of Oklahoma which may be useful at present and in the post war period. The national government is making an heroic attempt to collect the necessary information for integrating all individuals and groups of the United States into a unified whole. It can accomplish this purpose with much less difficulty if it has the cooperation of institutions and representatives of the various groups. At least such is the assumption from which this college proceeds.

Incidentally and conveniently the objectives of Langston University dovetail with personal researches now in progress by the writers under a grant from the Rosenwald Fund, which will attempt to explain the dynamics of the societal patterns of all-Negro communities in Oklahoma. Under this award, Langston is one of six communities to be investigated. Accordingly, the present study serves the double function of introducing the university research program and of facilitating the Rosenwald project of Hill and Ackiss.

This project, in its totality, is controlled by the hypothesis that Negroes who live in semi-isolation from the dominant culture, and who are thus relatively free from the psychological pressure of the White society, exhibit different patterns of thought and behavior from those who are conditioned to living in racially mixed communities. Their frustrations as well as their rationalizations and adjustments are different, at least in degree and sometimes in kind. If this thesis is valid, an understanding of the all-Negro community will open a new area for consideration of Negro-White relations.

Several factors influenced the selection of Langston as the research site for this study. First, it was imperative to select Langston, where both the writers are employed as full-time college teachers, if a detailed investigation were to be conducted. This factor alone would not have been decisive, however, had the community not offered some unique features which appeared to make such an investigation worthwhile. For instance, Langston is the location of the only college for Negroes in the state of Oklahoma, hence serves as a point of concentration for a large percentage of the college-age youth of the state. If the research program of the college is to have any implications for the post-war world it should include all available information about the communities in which college boys and girls spend their impressionable adolescent years and in which they reach maturity.

Another factor which makes Langston deserving of investigation is the nature of the social interaction between members of the community and college staff members. This has been so far from satisfactory in

the past as to constitute a definite cleavage. As a result the institution has been hindered from rendering needed services to the community which has, in turn, failed to benefit to the extent which it might have done by the existence of the college.

Moreover, since it may be determined from experience that the community of Langston is unable to alleviate its most pressing problems which react to the disadvantage of the college teachers and students, it appears that the college is obligated to attempt to understand the nature of the problems and to try to achieve a consensus with the town residents who want to improve their surroundings.

These problems involve: (1) lack of an economic base for community living, with the concomitants of poor housing, sewage and other conditions which jeopardize the health of all of the people of Langston; (2) an inadequate local governmental structure, which does not sufficiently cooperate with the county governmental agencies to assure Langston of the county support to which it would ordinarily be entitled; (3) folk patterns of thought and behavior which stubbornly resist social change, and some of which impinge on the consciousnesses of the college youth, retarding their social adjustment to dominant culture patterns.

Identification and Historical Background of Langston

Langston is an incorporated village with a population of 514. It is 11 miles east of Guthrie and 3 miles west of Coyle, Oklahoma. It adjoins the college on the southeast side of the campus, separated by State Highway, number 33. The floating population is much larger at all times than the 1940 census population figure given above due, of course, to the continuous presence of college students and faculty members.

The village is part of the Red Plains, an area of land which is nearly level to rolling, extending through central and western Oklahoma and from south central Kansas to northwest Texas. The Red Plains soils are highly erodible, and this land type is characterized by grayish-brown to dark-brown soils, underneath which are gray sandstones and shales. General farming is carried on throughout most of this area in spite of the fact that the soil suffers from severe sheet and gully erosion. Generally, the climate of the area is characterized by mild winter, during which there are rains of long duration and low intensities, and long drought periods between summer rains.[1]

The organization of the village of Langston dates back to 1891 through the promotion efforts of two Negroes, James Robinson (who became the first mayor) and a man named E. P. McCabe. It appears from the evidence received from early settlers that these two men owned about 160 acres of what is now the southeaht corner of the town. They sold this in lots and purchased another 160 acres of which is now the northeast section of the community. After this disposal the

1. Harley A. Daniel, et al., Investigations in Erosion Control and Reclamation of Eroded Land at the Red Plains Conservation Experiment Station, Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1939-40. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D. C., January, 1943, page 62.

promoters acquired the western part which came to be called College Heights.

During this period the promoters sent "runners" through the Southwest, informing Negroes that the Iowa-Indian strip—the line separating Oklahoma from Indian Territory—would soon be opened for settlement. In the meantime they built a large house to accommodate migrants until they were able to settle. It is generally conceded that McCabe and Robinson were also responsible for naming the community, but the evidence in this connection appears to be based largely on conjecture. It is a fact, however, that the town was named for John M. Langston, a Negro U. S. congressman from Virginia during the fifty-first congress, having served from September 1890 to March 1891.

The fact that the new community was named for a Negro is indicative of the intention of the promoters to found an all-Negro community. This is borne out by information from old settlers to the effect that Whites were discouraged from locating in Langston. Mr. Coyle, for example, wanted to build a wholesale house but permission was refused him. Shortly thereafter, when the Santa Fe railroad sought a right of way through the community and the residents failed to come to agreeable terms, Mr. Coyle arranged for the railroad to have a right of way three miles east of Langston. Immediately a town sprang up there which was named Coyle. The few white families who had settled in Langston moved to Coyle which became an all-White community.

Race relations were apparently amicable since there is much evidence that Whites frequently came to Langston to buy groceries, patronize blacksmiths, etc. Moreover there was a Catholic school in the years before statehood which was taught by Whites but attended by children of both racial groups. There were a number of Indians in the vicinity though not in the community. Most of them sold their land later and moved elsewhere. The only race friction which has come to the attention of the writers involved raids by cowboys and desperadoes from Pleasant Valley, which discontinued after a few years of mass resistance by the Negroes of Langston.

The community did not grow as fast as was hoped by the promoters and early settlers, primarily because, say the old residents, of the opening of new areas of land for settlement. In consequence many restless migrants moved on to ned fields before becoming established.

Langston University was established pursuant to a bill enacted by the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature, March 12, 1897. It began through the efforts and good offices of the people of the community raising enough money to donate 40 acres of land. The school began in 1898 as an Agricultural and Normal School, with 4 teachers and 41 students. By the close of the first school year there were 181 students.

In the early years there was a strong rapport between the college and the community. Many of the community residents had aided the founding of the institution and had a paternalistic interest in its development. In turn, the college president and staff were sympathetic to the struggles and problems of the pioneer community. Faculty members visited community residents; the college presented programs in the village; and in general there was no attempt on the part of the college personnel to alter community patterns. The cleavage between

college and community, which has been previously mentioned, developed later as a result of the expansion of the college, indifference on the part of new teachers to the community people, and bitter resentment by the old settlers at being "left out" of college activities and affairs.

The County Setting

Before consider.ng the organization and structure of the community it is important to understand the economy of Logan County in which Langston is located, especially the socio-economic life of the Negroes of the county. Such a description will, of course, include Langston and thus furnish a general idea of the problems of the members of the community. It is very necessary to observe the reflection of Langston in its county setting because this community is largely dependent for its survival upon Negroes in the county who can earn a living.

By way of illustration, Langston is a rural non-farm community. As such it attempts to serve Negro farmers in the outlying districts with as many of their necessities as possible. Thus the economic situation of the county farmers becomes directly related to the maintenance of business in Langston. The state college for Negroes, through which Langston partially exists, is necessarily interested in the economy of the county from which it draws a number of its students. The college is also interested from the standpoint of improving the agricultural technique of farmers in the county through extension training and otherwise. In other words, neither the community of Langston nor the college can develop much farther than the economy of Logan county will permit. A description of that economy follows.

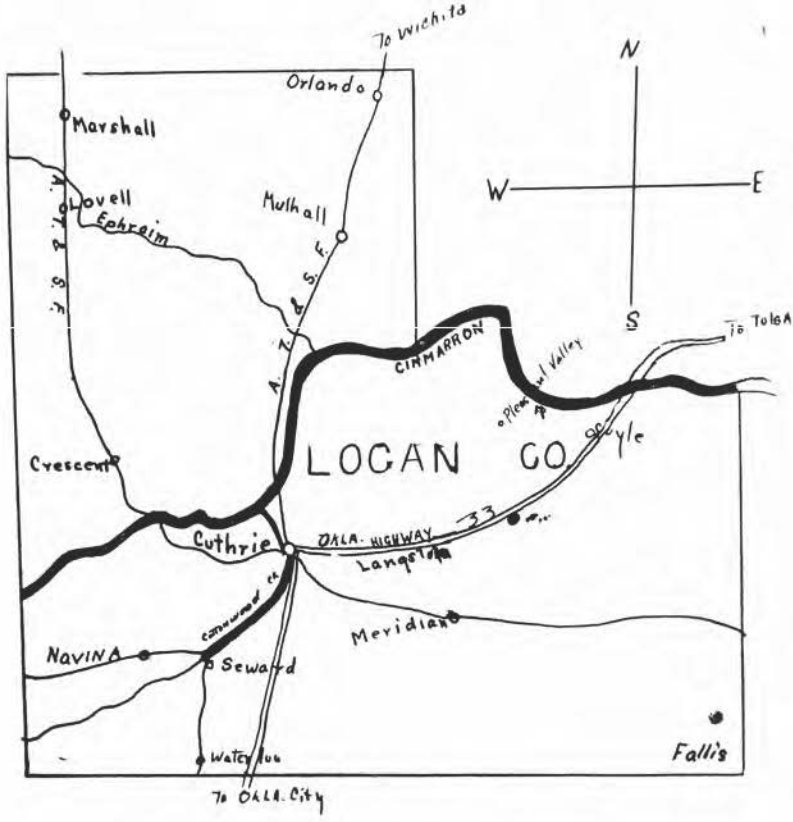
Logan County, in which Langston is located, has been classified as a 1B1 county.[2] This indicates that its basic economy is farming, with cotton as the principal crop, but that there is some industrial diversification and that there is at least one urban area of more than 2,500 inhabitants in the county. The urban area in this instance is Guthrie, Oklahoma, aforementioned, which has a population of 10,018. The total population of the county, according to the 1940 Federal census, is 25,245, of which 5,389 or approximately 21.3 per cent are Negroes. (See table 1).

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION IN LOGAN COUNTY

Total Population (1940)	25,245
Males	12,614
Females	12,631
Total Population (1930)	27,761
Total Negroes (1940)	5,389
Males	2,668
Females	2,721
Total Negroes (1930)	6,487
Per Cent Population Negro (1940)	21.3
Per Cent Population Negro (1930)	23.4
Other Races (American Indians)	23

2. See Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems by Ina C. Brown. U. S. Office of Education. No. 6, Vol.. 1. 1942.



MAP OF LOGAN COUNTY

The census reports 19,833 native and foreign born Whites in Logan County, of which 3,748 are classified as rural non-farm; 8,152 as rural farm, and 7,933 as urban. Of the 5,389 Negroes in the county, 1,126 are classified as rural non-farm; 2,182 as rural farm, and 2,081 as urban. It should be noted that there are 23 Indians in the county who are not included in the foregoing categories. It is significant also in the present context that Langston falls under the rural non-farm class of towns. Thus it becomes important to get a picture of the total economic setting of the entire county with particular emphasis on the rural non-farm population.

The following tables are revealing as to the basic economy of the country. For example, it may be observed in Table 2 that the number of farm units has decreased since 1930 but the average size of these units has increased. During the depression years—between 1930 and 1935—there was a tremendous decrease in the value of farms. In the last few years, however, there has been a slight increase from the 1935 figure. The average value of land and buildings per farm shows the same general trend as that of the value of farms. The value of implements and machinery on farms has slightly increased since 1930.

TABLE II

FARMS, FARM ACREAGE AND VALUE, AND VALUE OF BUILDINGS AND IMPLEMENTS FOR LOGAN COUNTY

Number of Farms April 1, 1940	2,316
April 1, 1935	2,681
April 1, 1930	2,833
Approximate land area acres	478,080
Proportion in farms	86.1%
All land in farms (acres)	411,419
Average size of farms (acres)	177.6
(1935)	162.7
(1930)	144.1
Value of Farms (1940)	$12,491,569
(1935)	11,880,518
(1930)	19,024,625
Value of Buildings (1940)	$ 2,494,031
(1930)	3,559,475
Average Value (land and building per farm)	$ 5,394
(1935)	4,431
(1930)	6,715
Value of Implements and Machinery (1940)	1,310,157
(1930)	1,131,045

Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6 reveal the place which the Negro farmer occupies in the total picture presented above. In line with the general trend of decrease of farm units for the entire county between 1935 and 1940, Negro farm units have decreased from 566 to 373, comprising 44,478 acres. (Table 4) (Table 5). The value of these 373 farms is $800,430 (Table 4), and the value of implements and machinery amounts to $56,156. (Table 6).

It is also apparent from these tables that the per cent of farm tenency among Negroes is extremely high, (68.7). Of the 44,478 acres farmed by Negroes, 26,806 are farmed by tenants and only 10,012 acres or less than 25 per cent are farmed by full owners. (Table 3). The value of all Negro farm land in the county is $800,430; more than 50 per cent ($459,630) of which is farmed by tenants. Full owners control only $212,000 worth of acreage or slightly more than 25 per cent. (Table 4).

Table 5 reveals that all farmers in the county have decreased since 1935. Negro farmers are decreasing more rapidly than Whites, especially tenants. The number of Negro full owners decreased from 120 in 1935 to 96 in 1940 while the number of tenants decreased from 369 in 1935 to 242 in 1940. In fact, the rate of decrease of farmers is much more rapid among non owners than among owners. Croppers have left the farms at a faster rate than any other class of farmers.

The low economic status of Negro farmers is brought out by a consideration of the value of their implements and machinery. (Table 6). Thus the 96 farm owners have $25,003 worth of farm implements and machinery while the 242 tenants own $23,066 worth of such equipment. The 29 croppers have farm implements valued at only $2,090.

TABLE III

FARM ACREAGE 1940 BY COLOR AND TENURE OF OPERATORS FOR LOGAN COUNTY

White	366,941
Full Owners	86,571
Part Owners	97,385
Managers	(not given)
Tenants	181,437
Croppers	7,727
Negro	44,478
Full Owners	10,012
Part Owners	7,260
Managers	(not given)
Tenants	26,806
Croppers	2,909

TABLE IV

SPECIFIED VALUE OF FARMS 1940 BY COLOR AND TENURE OF OPERATORS FOR LOGAN COUNTY (LAND AND BUILDINGS)

White	$11,691,139
Full Owners	3,392,985
Part Owners	2,922,531
Managers	(not given)
Tenants	5,297,623
Croppers	219,355
Negro	$ 800,430
Full Owners	212,000
Part Owners	109,800
Managers	(not given)
Tenants	459,630
Croppers	52,105

TABLE V

NUMBER OF FARMERS (1940) BY COLOR AND TENURE OF OPERATORS FOR LOGAN COUNTY

Number of farm operators (white)	(1940)	1,943
	(1935)	2,115
Full Owners	(1940)	648
	(1935)	655
Part Owners	(1940)	288
	(1935)	240
Managers	(1940)	6
	(1935)	10
Tenants	(1940)	888
	(1935)	1,905
Croppers	(1940)	44
	(1935)	96
Number of farm operators (Negro)	(1940)	373
	(1935)	566
Full Owners	(1940)	96
	(1935)	120
Part Owners	(1940)	34
	(1935)	56
Managers	(1940)	1
	(1935)	1
Tenants	(1940)	242
	(1935)	369
Croppers	(1940)	29
	(1935)	88

TABLE VI

VALUE OF IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY (1940) BY COLOR AND TENURE FOR LOGAN COUNTY

White	$1,254,001
Full Owners	340,021
Part Owners	357,641
Managers	(not given)
Tenants	546,439
Croppers	16,980
Negro	$ 56,156
Full Owners	25,003
Part Owners	6,115
Tenants	23,066
Croppers	2,090

From the preceding data and accompanying tables, it is obvious that the Negro farmer is, as a class, poor, almost landless, restless, and dissatisfied, and virtually barren of equipment for agricultural work. The fact that the farm workers, such as tenants and croppers, are leaving the farms so rapidly indicates a group pessimism about the future which these people might expect on the farm. There is no reason to believe that migrants from the farms achieve economic security by leaving the land, certainly not if they locate in Logan County; for

Negro employment status for the county shows not only general insecurity but a lack of integration of the Negro into the economic life of the county.

Evidence is produced in Table 7 that of the total of 3,799 Negroes over 14 years old in the county, only 1,758 are in the labor force, and of this number only 1,084 are employed (as of 1940). Of this last figure there are 590 wage and salaried workers; the others are either employed on their own account, or are unpaid family workers. There are 312 Negroes in the county who were reported on public work relief (N. Y. A. or W .P. A.) in 1940 and 362 seeking work.

TABLE VII

NEGRO EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN LOGAN COUNTY

	Male	Female	Total
Number of Negroes 14 years of age and over	1,883	1,916	3,799
In Labor Force	1,311	447	1,758
Employed (except on public emergency work)	829	255	1,084
Wage and Salary Workers	373	217	590
Employed on own account	400	26	426
Unpaid Family Workers	52	4	56
Class of work not reported	4	8	12
Employed on Public Emergency Work (W.P.A., N.Y.A. etc.)	233	79	312
Seeking Work	249	113	362
Experienced Workers	226	109	335
New Workers	23	4	27
Not in Labor Force	572	1,469	2,041
Engaged in own home work	14	977	991
In School	124	126	250
All others and not reported	434	366	800

The occupational breakdown of Table 8 of these 1,084 members of the county labor force shows that the majority of Negro workers in this county are farmers, domestic and service workers, and farm laborers.

TABLE VIII

NEGRO EMPLOYED WORKERS 14 YEARS AND OVER BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS AND SEX—FOR LOGAN COUNTY (1940)

	Total Employed Except Public Relief	Professional Workers	Semi-Professional Workers	Farmers and Farm Managers	Proprietors, Managers And Officials	Clerical Sales and Kindred Workers	Craftmen, Foremen And Kindred Workers	Domestic Service Workers	Service Workers Except Domestic	Farm Laborers (Wage Workers)	Farm Laborers, Unpaid Family Workers	Operators, etc.	Laborers, Except Farm	Occupation Not Reported
Male	829	50	....	355	20	11	27	12	85	123	50	27	54	6
Female	255	74	1	10	10	12	1	103	30	1	1	4	....	8
Total	1084	133	1	365	30	23	28	115	115	124	51	31	54	14

In view of the unmistakably low income level of most of the Negroes of Logan County it becomes relevant to describe characteristics of housing and living conditions. In Table 9 it will be seen that there are 1,437 Negro housing units (20.5 per cent of total housing units), of which 685 are owner occupied and 752 are tenant occupied. Thus over 50 per cent of the Negroes in the county are renting.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS OCCUPIED BY NEGROES IN LOGAN COUNTY

Negro Dwelling Units:	
The County	1,437
per cent	20.5
Guthrie	589
per cent	20.2
Rural Non-farm	329
per cent	22.5
Rural Farm	519
per cent	19.6
Negro Owner-Occupied Units:	
The County	685
Guthrie	337
Rural Non-Farm	174
Rural Farm	174
Negro Tenant-Occupied Units:	
The County	752
Guthrie	252
Rural Non-Farm	155
Rural Farm	345

Of the total of 1,437 houses, the census reports that only 322 are not in need of major repairs while 1,023 are in need of major repairs. It is revealing in this connection that 949 of these houses have no running water and only 83 have private baths and flush toilets. Only 284 report electric lights and electric facilities. (Table 10).

TABLE X

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN LOGAN COUNTY

Number of Negro Households	1,437
State of Repair and Plumbing:	
Not needing major repairs	322
With private bath and flush toilet	83
With private flush toilet, no private bath	5
With running water, no private flush toilet	21
No running water in house	213
Needing Major Repairs	1,023
With private bath and private flush toilet	27
With private flush toilet, no private bath	6
With running water, no private flush toilet	41
No running water in house	949

Not reporting repair or plumbing	92
Lighting Equipment:	
Electric	284
Other	1,114
Not reporting	39
Number of persons in household:	
1 person	203
2 persons	347
3 persons	260
4 persons	200
5 persons	141
6 persons	104
7 persons	73
8 persons	42
9 persons	33
10 persons	77
11 or more persons	21
Median number of persons:	
All Negro Households	3.16
Owners	2.83
Tenants	3.46

Of the rural non-farm Negro housing units in the county, 496 reported their estimated rent. Table 11 reveals that 190 of this number are paying less than $3.00 per month rent. The median estimated monthly rent is $3.70. This appears to have significant economic implications for Langston, which is considered by the census as a non-farm unit. hTere are 508 reported owner occupied, rural, non-farm Negro homes, 203 of which are valued at less than $300. (Table 12). The average and median values of these homes are $721 and $405, respectively.

TABLE XI

ESIMATED MONTHLY RENTS FOR NEGRO TENANTS IN LOGAN COUNTY

Number reporting estimated Rent	496
Under $3.00	190
$3.00—$4.00	97
$5.00—$6.00	89
$7.00—$9.00	34
$10.00—$14.00	41
$15.00—$19.00	21
$20.00—$24.00	6
$25.00—$29.00	2
$30.00—$39.00	8
$40.00—$49.00	3
$50.00—$59.00	3
$60.00—$99.00	0
$100.00 and over	2
Median Estimated Monthly Rent (dollars)	3.70

TABLE XII

VALUE OF NEGRO OWNER-OCCUPIED NON-FARM HOUSEHOLDS FOR LOGAN COUNTY

Number Reporting Value	508
Under $300	203
300—499	97
500—699	84
700—999	34
1,000—1,499	46
1,500—1,999	21
2,000—2,499	5
2,500—2,999	2
3,000—3,999	8
4,000—4,999	3
5,000—5,999	3
6,000—9,999	0
10,000 and over	2
Average Value (dollars)	721
Median Value (dollars)	405

The foregoing data are revealing and unmistakably conclusive as to the basic economy upon which the community of Langston rests. It can be seen that the standard of living of Negroes in the county is extremely low. Earning, buying, and tax-paying power per capita is at the very minimum and the wealth of this area is far below the national average. Accordingly, Negroes in Logan County live on a very narrow economic margin of subsistence. These conditions are reflected in the social institutions of Langston, particularly public facilities provided through taxation, which are far from adequate. However, specific analyses of the institutional problems will be presented in other sections.

Economy of Langston

Langston is a poor community. That much is apparent from the material presented in the preceding chapter. It now becomes pertinent to examine more in detail the economic organization of Langston and to discuss the economic "way of life" of the people of the community.

According to the assessor's records, there are 2,968 lots in Langston, on which there are 244 improvements. The highest evaluated improvement on any lot is $1800.00, the lowest $10.00. The value of these lots is $18,636.00. The value of lots, virtually in Langston, but not within its corporate limits, is $1,858, making a total value of $20,494.00. The value of improvements and lots within the corporate limits of the community is $62,155.00; in the unincorporated section, $2,168.00, making a total value of lots and improvements of $64,323.00. The figures for improvements are open to question because it is a fact that many improvements on lots are never reported. Moreover, many reported improvements have later burned or deteriorated to the point where they have no value. Most of the "best" homes of Langston are valued at less than $500.00 and all of the poorest ones at less than

$100.00. Numerous houses have a reported valuation of about $15.00.

Some index of living conditions may be obtained from a consideration of information obtained by Dr. M. F. Spaulding in 1942.[3] He found that 91.1 per cent of the group he questioned had outdoor toilets; only 15.8 per cent had shrubbery around their homes; 5.2 per cent had telephones; 13.1 per cent had refrigerators. On the other hand, however, 66 per cent had their homes screened; 58 per cent had sewing machines; 44.7 per cent had radios; and 71 per cent had poultry.

Another index of the poverty of the community is the low town revenue and budget. There is little revenue from real property taxation since most owners claim tax immunity under the homestead exemption laws. Revenues for town expenses for 1942, as reported to the county clerk, were as follows: Occupation tax, $165.75; police fines, $5.00; inspection and examining fees, $21.00; vendor machines, $40.00; and cemetery burial, $3.00, making a total of $234.75.

The above figures may not give an accurate picture of the revenues collected for Langston because the town officers have not appeared willing to report and discuss finances freely with the county officers. For example, according to the records of the County Clerk, Langston is the only incorporated village in the county which does not register its street and alley cash funds from the State Highway Department with the County. Consequently the County Clerk has no way of checking with Langston as to finances except through the Country Treasurer. Failure to register with the Clerk is not illegal but it is certainly poor business since he (the Clerk) must recommend the town budget to the Excise Board. The budget which the Clerk recommends is submitted by the town clerk or mayor, is supplementary to the list of revenues reported above, and is based largely on the amount of money collected from taxation for the community.

By way of illustration, the Langston Board of Trustees estimated its needs at $818.50 for 1942, and the County Excise Board approved a budget of $554.20. It can thus be readily understood that town expenses are exceptionally low since, out of the budget, must come salaries of town officers and general governmental expenses including street, cemetery, and court upkeep.

The same low revenue pattern which prevails in the local government prevails among individuals of the community. The average monthly income for 17 families reporting an income of the 38 studied by Mr. Spaulding, was $44.81, and for the 38 families was 0.66⅔ cents a day. He found that the earning power was proportional to the education received. Thus for grammar grades, high school, and college, respectively, the average was $27.33, $40.00, and $92.71 per month.

There are 10 businesses in Langston and these are somewhat scattered. There is, for instance, no main street where all of the business places are clustered, giving the village, in that spot at least, the appearance of a town or city. The largest business is a store carrying groceries and general merchandise owned by Mr. I. S. Scott, sometimes called Campus Grocery. This store is eight years old and is fairly

3. M. F. Spaulding, A Survey Study of Living Conditions from 38 Families in the Incorporated Village of Langston, Oklahoma. Unpublished University Bulletin.

modern, having electricity, and large enough to accommodate the merchandise which is for sale. Mr. Scott employs three persons regularly

The only other relatively large-scale business man is Mr. Charles Meeks who owns a grocery and general store and the Collegian Club. The grocery store has two regular employees but generally there are four people clerking. It is electrically lighted but could be larger for the amount of salable goods usually on hand. In neither Scott's nor Meek's stores, are the ventilation facilities adequate or the decorations attractive according to urban standards.

The Collegian Club is a beer garden which is in fairly good condition. There are four rooms, six tables, two booths, and a bar. Beer, carbonated drinks, hamburgers, barbecue, candy, and cigarettes are sold. There is a vendor in the front room. It is electrically lighted inside and out—the neon outside sign being visible from most parts of the town. The furniture is in fair condition, ventilation is better than in any other business place and decorations, consisting of a bar display of drinks, are attractive. The function of the Collegian Club is to promote entertainment for college students but its patronage is by no means confined to students.

The remainder of the business enterprises of the community are of a lesser and more marginal calibre. Usually they are inadequately housed, equipped, and stocked. The two barber shops and the beauty shop are well patronized and the owner-operators do excellent hair work. They are patronized by the college people as well as the residents of the village. Then there are the small eating places, a pressing shop, et cetera, none of which compare favorably with the "better" enterprises as is generally understood in the average college community.

In general, the business men of Langston make a "living" and this is dependent in part upon the support of both the university faculty and student body and the neighboring farmers. One of the proprietors speaks in a bitter vein of the fact that Negroes "just won't trade with Negroes," but that they prefer "to spend their money with Whites."

Most of the old settlers assert that the business of the community has "run down" in recent years. In 1905, for example, the Negroes owned a cotton gin but the problem of getting water was too large to maintain it. It cost $800.00 just to haul water for the gin the first year of its existence, $600.000 the second year, and so in a few years, it failed.

In the early years also, according to the older residents, there were two drugstores, several physicians and lawyers at various periods, and numerous business establishments. As one business man expresses it, "The people used to be more enterprising because it was run under a better system." When questioned as to what he had in mind he was vague but finally suggested that everyone used to pay a poll tax but that they did not now, to his knowledge. On the other hand, as an offset to the more prosperous, earlier years, several old settlers allege that some of the town organizers wrote "fake" warrants in the amount of $20,000, using the local government and the school district for that purpose. Most of the participants in this plot left and the people who remained had to pay for these warrants, a task which was not accomplished until 1915.

Whatever the reasons, it is certainly a fact that there are no professional men, save teachers and ministers, in Langston at present, and there are few successful businesses. The majority of the people who work are laborers, haulers, janitors, carpenters, housekeepers, and clerks in the small establishments.

Farming in the community is not large-scale and is confined, for the most part, to gardening. Of the 38 families studied by Mr. Spaulding, three owned farms. Two of these three were teachers and one was a trucker. Thirty-seven had planted gardens the previous year (1941). Thus all of that particular group considered gardens valuable but the problem lay in increasing the quantity of material canned from the gardens, and improving and enlarging storage facilities for canned goods. Twenty-seven of the 38 families had poultry, fourteen producing enough poultry and eggs for family use, eleven producing enough to sell. Eight families had cows, horses, or goats; four had cows only; six had hogs.

From what has been said it is apparent that Langston has no real economic base. The residents are aware of this and also of the general poverty and economic instability of the community. The dirt streets, lack of fire-fighting equipment, and lack of other modern conveniences are constant irritants and reminders that the village is deteriorating economically, or at least that it has not fulfilled the promise of its earlier years.

Many of the residents had hoped that the oil boom of the early 1930s would bring prosperity to Langston. Elaborate planning was done and the Board of Trustees passed ordinances regulating the drilling of wells, safeguarding property, providing for bonds, etc. In time, however, the whole project collapsed for reasons which have remained obscure to the writers in spite of repeated efforts to understand what actually happened. Some of the old settlers indict the members of the local council and claim that they squandered the money that was received. One of the older informants declared that there was "too much self in the program—not enough collectiveness." It seems to be a majority opinion that most of the people who were involved lost money and that the community achieved no semblance of security from the oil flurry.

More recently there has been an organized attempt to conserve some of the small amount of money in circulation through the Langston Federal Credit Union. This organization was started April 7, 1941, with a membership of 40 and a share balance of about $50.00. The membership numbers 80 persons at present with a share balance of $1,020.00. About 51 loans have been granted amounting to $1,600.00. The Union has not been forced to "charge off" any loans to date. There are now outstanding loans in the sum of about $230.00. Thirty-two bonds have been sold, amounting to $1,800.00. This year (1943) a 1 per cent dividend was declared. The largest share holders in the Union are college faculty members but most of the members are community folk.

In the opinion of several of the leaders of the Credit Union it will, if successful, fulfill divers functions. First of all, it will provide a substantial business for the community. Secondly, it will serve as a

common ground of economic interest to the townspeople and the college faculty members. Then it will not only offer a safe depositing place for surplus cash but it will keep available money for immediate loans so that those who are in other businesses or who need cash can get it without "red tape" or heavy interest rates. Finally, the leaders hope that it will convince the discouraged members of the community that Negroes are capable of saving and manipulating their own money.

The general information presented in this chapter is an index to the economic instability of Langston. The implications of general community poverty for family insecurity and disorganization are strong indeed and can be more thoroughly comprehended by a consideration of its discussion in the following chapter.

Family Organization

The preceding chapter has revealed some general information on economic conditions in Langston but it did not thoroughly disclose the manifestations of those conditions in family life. The present chapter attempts to point out several pertinent factors concerning the Langston family and to emphasize its low socio-economic status as a reflection of the lack of an economic base of the community.

The data which is presented in this connection is taken from a 1941 study of 100 Langston families by the Social Science Department of Langston University. The investigators deliberately selected families who were not directly connected with the college, hence the information is actually representative of families of the community proper. When it is recalled that the total population of Langston is only 514, it is apparent that 100 families are a large sampling. The questionnaire method was used for the investigation.

It is important to note that Langston was founded as a "family" community. The scouting and advertising were done in terms of the desirability of the site for family settlement. There were no attractions to entice the adventurer, the prospector, or other unattached individuals. Thus it was that people generally moved here in family units. So strong, in fact, has been the family sentiment that common-law marriage has never been approved, and has been the exception rather than the rule. From all of this it may be concluded that the Langston family of the early years was characterized by organization, as distinguished from disorganization.

The average size of the 100 families is 3.3 per cent. Four families have 10 children, the largest number for any family, while 26 families are childless. A significant index of the present state of family disorganization is revealed in the fact that 50 per cent of the fathers are separated from their families. These separations have been occasioned variously by desertion, divorce, away working, and death. The only two "separated' mothers are deceased. The irresponsibility of Negro fathers among lower economic classes in rural communities and the complementary stability of mothers has been stressed elsewhere.[4]

4. Charles S. Johnson, Growing Up in the Black Belt, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1941, pages 58-59.

Forty-two per cent of the 100 families own their homes and 58 per cent are renting, paying on the average less than $3.00 per month. Most of the owned homes are in such condition that they would bring about the same if they were rented. Average evaluation of the owned homes is slightly less than $250.000 and the majority of them are mortgaged.

The average number of rooms per family of all of the homes is 3.02 per cent. Ten per cent are two-room units. Only 40 per cent of the houses are painted but most of these are in need of a fresh coat. Less than 10 per cent are "well-kept," having trees, shrubbery, etc. Fifty-two per cent of the homes lack screened windows and doors.

A major index of low economic family status involves the fact that 92 per cent of these homes do not have running water. Seventy-four per cent of the families use water from shallow wells; 12 per cent from cisterns; 4 per cent from springs ;and 2 per cent reported that a creek was the chief source of their water supply. The investigators reported that the water supply of at least 52 per cent of the families seemed unsafe for drinking purposes. Ninety-four per cent have outside privies, the majority of which are of the most crude and primitive type. It follows, of course, that few of the families investigated have inside baths and flush toilets.

None of the homes have central heating facilities and 56 per cent of them were reported to be inadequately heated. Wood is the principal source of heat for 78 per cent of the families while 8 per cent are served by natural gas for heating and cooking. There are other heating problems, such as defective stoves and flues, too few stoves, overheating small rooms and underheating large ones, all of them merging into problems of health and safety.

Every family studied lives in a house which needs some major repairs. Several are entirely dilapidated with leaky roofs, cracks in walls, and holes in floors. A few families are living in abandoned stores and churches. There are no available figures from the questionnaire concerning lighting facilities, but it is known that the majority of the homes are lighted by kerosene lamps. This has important implications for health, including eye strain for children as well as adults. It serves to further illustrate, of course, the low economic status of the families investigated.

Only 22 per cent of the heads of the families are gainfully employed and 12 per cent of this number are self-employed (farmers), while the other 10 per cent are employed in the local businesses at a low weekly wage. (In one case the wage was $2.00 per week).

Thirty-six per cent of the 100 families are either unemployed or work at odd (usually seasonal such as cotton picking) jobs. In four of these 36 families, the head is unemployable. The principal source of income for 42 per cent of the families is public relief. Several heads here are likewise unemployable. A few families are receiving old age assistance and two have a pension for blindness. The average monthly income for these 42 families is less than $25.00. Seventy per cent of

the 100 families investigated are known to either a public or private charitable organization though only 42 cases are active.[5]

There is small expectancy that many of the families investigated will become gainfully employed either in Langston or elsewhere, because in 82 families, neither mother or father have had any occupational training. Thirty-six per cent of the family heads are illiterate —that is, either unable to read and write, or such members as can read and write knowing only simple, bare, rudiments. Consequently, even if some of these disadvantaged families become restless enough to have an opportunity to change locations, those who find work are most likely to be placed in the ranks of unskilled labor. Necessarily then, and almost definitely, they will remain economically insecure and inarticulate.

Few of the families investigated own goods which are often classed as "luxuries." There are 22 automobiles among them, most of which are broken down, obsolete, and constantly in need of attention to keep going. Thirty-two per cent report radios, 8 per cent have pianos, 10 per cent sewing machines, 6 per cent bath tubs, and 2 per cent have washing machines. In this connection overlapping is strong, for there are several families who own automobiles, sewing machines, radios, and bath tubs. Generally speaking, those who have bath tubs have also most of the other luxuries. That still leaves an overwhelming majority without any of these luxury goods.

According to current bourgeois standards, newspapers are necessities rather than luxuries. Among the families in this study, however, it was found that only 22 per cent are subscribers to papers. The Guthrie Leader, a daily, and an Oklahoma City paper, The Daily Oklahoman, are most popular with them, while a few subscribe to The Black Dispatch, an Oklahoma City Negro weekly. Twelve per cent of the families subscribe to magazines of national circulation and these are generally farm periodicals. Such a situation naturally makes for provincialism, lack of social understanding, and social and psychological isolation. It helps to explain the resistance to social change to which reference has been previously made.

In view of the circumstances described above, a question arises as to what interests, hobbies, and leisure time activities the members of these families enjoy. Fifty-six of the families reported some type of hobby, or leisure time activity. In the absence of formal, organized and commercial recreational facilities, most of them engage in talking and exchanging news at the general store, the barber shop, the beer tavern or the beauty parlor. They go to church and they patronize the biweekly movie offered by the college. Other activities listed were singing, listening to music, playing cards, attending meetings and playing with children. Slightly over half of the families have members who belong to organizations, especially fraternal orders and local clubs. Although 28 per cent of the families have some reading matter at home, reading was not listed as a hobby or leisure time activity by any of them and few expressed any interest in reading the material which is available to them.

5. As of 1941, when the study was made. A cursory current survey reveals that poverty is still the chief characteristic of these families.

As has been suggested earlier in this chapter, a number of factors mitigate against the good health of the families of the study. The morbidity rate bears out this suggestion. Fifty-four per cent of the families reported at least one major illness during the year and among most of these there were several. Only 15 families reported no illness during the past twelve months. Of those families reporting at least one major illness, 66 per cent listed patent medicines as the chief method of treating illness, and less than half of those families reported the use of a physician.

Some few who are patent medicine users also occasionally engage the services of an herb doctor and a mid-wife. The most common children's diseases among the families are throat infections, common colds, and communicable diseases usually associated with childhood such as measles, mumps, etc. Adults are afflicted most by respiratory diseases, especially pneumonia, bronchitis, tuberculosis, and influenza. None of these families reported having the services of a dentist or a specialist.

While there were no objective criteria employed in the study to adequately evaluate these families, there was a more or less subjective evaluation made after the data was gathered. Sixty-two per cent of them are rated as being in fair condition, but in need of assistance and rehabilitation; 8 per cent are rated as average in terms of the general standards of the area—not in need of assistance; and 6 per cent are rated above average.

Local Government

This chapter attempts to cover, from an historical perspective, the chief phases of municipal government, emphasizing specifically the character of governmental personnel, sources of government revenue, and the major governmental functions. Sources of data for the information presented include the community ordinance records, justice of the peace record books, city council records, and conversations with residents of the community who have been interested in civic affairs for many years.

The ordinance books of Langston, most of which have been preserved, disclose a definite continuity of local governmental policy from the inauguration of the government in 1891 to the present time. The central governing body has always been the City Council, more often called the Board of Trustees in earlier years. The original governing personnel consisted of a Board of Trustees, a Town Clerk, standing committees which were to be appointed by the Board, a Town Marshal, who appointed one or more deputies to serve under him, a Justice of the Peace, a Town Treasurer, and a Town Attorney. Those are, in general, the designations of the officers who serve the community today.

Elections have always been held in the spring of the year, in the early years by convention. In its formative years the town was apparently dominated by a minority of citizens, for it is recorded in the Council Records of 1893 that the Treasurer was elected by a rising vote of 40 to 9. Voting by secret ballot had, however, been introduced by 1897. Nevertheless, elections have never been held in strict accord

with county regulations and this is, even now, a retarding factor when the community aspires to transact municipal business such as bond floating, which requires county cooperation.

Local governmental positions are, for the most part, nominally paid, as they have been since 1891. For example, the first Treasurer received .50 per year, payable quarterly. At that time the Town Clerk was allowed $20.00 per month salary and the Attorney, $30.00 monthly. As early as 1893, however, salaries of virtually all of the town officers were changed to "a just and equitable" sum, to be determined by the Board of Trustees. It was also stipulated in the same year that members of the Council (or Trustee Board) would receive "such compensation as shall be reasonable, just and equitable."

There were two exceptions to the "just and equitable" policy of payment of salaries. The Marshal was to receive one-fourth of the proceeds from occupation, and other taxes in payment for his service to the community. The Justice of the Peace was to receive his fees from "costs" in the cases which he adjudicated. There are reasons to believe that these fees were small in the early years. The occupation and other taxes were the subject of much confusion and controversy, constantly altered, evidently in response to economic conditions. The earliest available records of the Justice of Peace began in 1926 and only one case is recorded for that year and one for 1927. In neither instance was the fine of the defendants more than $10.00.

Apparently, the "just and equitable" payment of salaries was not satisfactory for in 1896 most of the town officials were allotted a definite amount. Members of the Trustee Board were to receice .50 each per year. The Treasurer was allowed $1.00 per month; the City Clerk $2.00 per month plus additional fees for making certified copies of any public records, and dog taxes issued by him, when such fees were paid by the individual owning them. Salaries were to be paid from the general expense fund, collected from occupation and other taxes. In the meantime, in 1894 a special tax had been laid on dram shops and saloon operators amounting to $42.50 every three months in advance.

Salaries fluctuated continually, usually at a relatively low level, during the years before statehood (1907). After that time the ordinance records made no further reference to them.

Aside from the saloon tax above mentioned (which was cut off when Oklahoma became a "dry state" in 1907) town revenues have been derived from other taxes including occupation, poll, dog license, and peddlers, and from fines. Occupation taxes were the center of much confusion in the years before 1910, since which time the records do not refer to them. These taxes ranged from .50 per month to $1.00 and covered all businesses as well as professional offices.

In 1892 a poll tax ordinance of $1.00 per year was passed, to be levied upon each male, able-bodied resident of Langston over 21 and under 50 years of age. In regard to poll tax an old settler who moved to the community in 1892 said, "Them poll taxes sure made a man feel like he belonged to the town. I don't never hear nothing about them no more but I don't believe any man minded paying 'em." That, of course, is merely an isolated expression of opinion and cannot be taken as representative of collective sentiment. Several other old settlers,

however, "wondered" what had become of the poll tax.

Theoretically, fines have served as a source of revenue for Langston since its founding. Actually, however, according to the testimony of old settlers, few fines were imposed or collected until some time after statehood when bootleggers and reckless drivers became numerous. Thus in 1919 a fine of 5 to 25 dollars and costs was provided for driving through the streets of Langston in an automobile without lights turned on at night.

In connection with fines, two emergency ordinances were passed which appear to have some significance. In 1926 a law was enacted against "selling, bartering, or giving away" intoxicating drinks and fixing a fine for violation of this law at 10 to 25 dollars. Apparently Langston was experiencing a similar "bootlegging" wave to that which was then sweeping the country. In 1937 an emergency ordinance was passed providing a fine of 1 to 10 dollars for persons, firms, or corporations building within the town without a permit. At the same time the office of Building Superintendent was created. The same year an ordinance was passed which required a building permit for all remodeling over $25.00. The records do not reveal why the building ordinance was an emergency measure, nor have the writers been able to ascertain the reason by questioning the residents of the community.

There have been several criminal codes for Langston, each succeeding one hardly more than a replica of the code of 1891, which deals largely with prostitution and gambling. Ten of the 14 sections to the criminal code concentrate on these two phases of crime. Others prohibit the discharging of firearms within the town limits, nudity, indecent dress or behavior in public, and the disturbance of the peace by an intoxicated person. Fines ranged from 2 to 10 dollars in the early years.

In 1893 the crime of assault and battery was added to the code with a penalty of a fine of $2.50 to 50 dollars or imprisonment in the city prison of not more than ten days. The maximum prison sentence of ten days appears to be evidentiary that the assault and battery cases which had thus far arisen were of a comparatively mild character. It could have been, however, that certain circumstances mitigated against the expediency of lengthy jail terms, such as, for instance, lack of a regular prison guard, etc. In 1906 the crime of larceny was added to the criminal code. Punishment was fixed at $2.50 to $50, imprisonment of ten to thirty days, or both.

There are only three ordinances which appear to have as their purpose the protection of juveniles from delinquency. As early as 1892 it was a misdemeanor to sell weapons to a minor. Before statehood saloon keepers were prohibited from selling alcoholic drinks to minors. In 1906 it was made unlawful for minors under 16 to be found loitering about the streets or business establishments after 10 p. m. unless they were on an errand for a parent or guardian. The records of the Council, however, show that there was quite some apprehension over juvenile delinquency, especially during the years of 1914 and 1915. In 1914 a truant officer was appointed in an effort to combat trespassing, stealing, and other infractions of the laws by minors. There is no evidence

which reveals how long this office continued or whether the attempt to curb delinquency met with any success.

The local government has from the start, been interested in passing protective health statutes for the benefit of its residents. An ordinance of 1892 asserted that anything working disparagement to the morals or health of the city was a nuisance and set a fine of $1 to $10 for failure to remove same or cause of same upon due notification. In the same year it was made unlawful to "throw or cause to be thrown" ashes in any street or alley. Likewise an emergency ordinance was enacted prohibiting the hauling away of water from the city wells in use or any to be thereafter constructed.

A number of other regulations having significant implications for the welfare of the people of the community were passed in 1892. Horses, mules, and swine were prohibited from running at large in the city. The Council passed a resolution instructing the town marshal to notify citizens that they must clean their houses. A Dr. Allison was appointed as a health officer. The Council issued $1,000.00 in warrants for building a town prison, digging a town well, and working on the town cemetery. It appears that at this time the dead were being buried in private lots, alleys and streets. In 1901 a smallpox epidemic invaded the community and an emergency ordinance was passed authorizing the marshal to ascertain where cases were housed and to instruct the physician to call, make a diagnosis, and quarantine such houses.

During 1911, 1912, 1913, health and sanitary conditions were the subject of frequent discussions in Council meetings. In 1911 the Council decided to enforce the digging of vaults for outhouses. In 1919 it made a decision that all toilets and alleys must be made sanitary, but the records do not reveal what, if any action was taken in that regard. In 1912, also, the Council ordered that a drinking cup be left at the city well, inferring that previously residents had drunk from the well bucket. In 1912, the question of removing rubbish from alleys was discussed at length but no ordinance appears as a result of such discussion.

Such discussion and regulations have continued intermittently up to the present time, perhaps with an ever lessening intensity. In April, 1940, pursuant to an order by the Council, the community observed a general Health Week, during which a truck was hired and the community trash was cleaned up and hauled away. It is not an exaggeration to declare that the Council has shown a more consistent and constructive interest in health and sanitary conditions than in most phases of community betterment.

The records are meager on the subject of public utilities until comparatively recent years. There is a notation in the Council records of 1908 of a decision to purchase two street lamps. In 1912 the body discussed the desirability of a telephone company. Beginning with 1927, however, when the Council had a "call" meeting of the citizens to ascertain their disposition on the question of water and gas for the community, there has been quite some consideration of these problems. In 1930, the Council drew up a petition asking for a gas franchise, same to be voted on by the citizens.

In September, 1935, a proposal was made at a Council meeting to apply for a loan for water works. An engineer was appointed to make

estimates and the mayor and clerk of Langston were authorized to make the necessary negotiations with the P. W. A. In 1937 the Council discussed bonds for water works, but the town attorney advised delay. In 1938 a contract for a sewer and water project was approved but it was cancelled the following year .

In this connection one of the "progressive" men of the town makes the following expressions:

> The town really does not have the "base" for any municipal improvement such as streets, water, sewage, fire department, etc. Langston has a budget of about $550 per year. Lighting the town costs over $250 and after officials are paid for their services there isn't any money left. The homestead exemption on property keeps the tax extremely low . . . you can't have a fire department or sewer system without water. Our streets cannot be graded because the gas pipes were laid almost on top of the ground.

In general, it might be concluded that the government of Langston has developed by trial and error until it is peculiarly local in its present pattern. Legislation has been enacted most of the time in response to specific needs. This has, from a short time view, been advantageous, in that the governmental machinery has been adequate to survive all local crises and still maintain its dominant position in the institutional life of the town. On the other hand, however, too much emphasis on immediate situations has tended to obscure the basic need of the community to become thoroughly integrated in the county set up. Langston has been thereby somewhat isolated from participation in the benefits which it might have received from county cooperation.

Education

Education in Langston is confined to the instruction offered by the community elementary school and by Langston University. The former is supported by Logan County and the latter is, of course, the state college for Negroes. The major problems of education involve: (1) the inadequate physical plant of the public school; (2) resistance of the community school to the cooperation of the college; (3) failure of the public school staff to keep accurate records of pupils; (4) lack of adequate supervisory service for the public school; (5) and lack of enforcement, by the public school of attendance regulations and related rules which concern juvenile delinquency. All of these matters are a reflection of the poor county setting described in Chapter II.

On the other hand, however, there are several favorable factors connected with the educational organization of Langston. (1) Education is recognized as an important social activity. (2) The college high school is supplementary to the community school. (3) Medical, dental, and nursing services are furnished to the public school pupils.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the disadvantaged position of the Langston child in regard to educational opportunities is, in a broad sense, simply a part of the educational pattern of the South. For example, in a study by the United States Office of Education of 409 southern counties, it was disclosed that only 12 furnished as much

money per capita for the education of Negro children as for the education of Whites. Four of these 12 counties are in Oklahoma.[6]

According to the latest available figures of the United States Office of Education, however, Logan County expends $52.96 for education annually per White child and $36.89 per Negro child in the county. The amount allowed for Whites is low when compared with the national norm. Thus the average white child of Logan County receives less financial educational support than the average in the United States, while the Negro child receives less suppo.t than the maximum offered by the county. Likewise, it should be noted that the average length of the school term for the nation is 180 days but for Logan County the term is 169 days. This situation is basic to the specific problems which will now be considered.

The community school of Langston is located in school district number 4070 in Logan County, Antelope Township. From table 13 it may be observed that there are 105 persons of elementary school age in the community, i.e., between the ages of 5 and 14. The county superintendent records 82 pupils enrolled in the school, whereas the school records 116 pupils. The difference between 105 and 116 pupils can be accounted for by the fact that there are undoubtedly a number of children over 14 still in the elementary grades. The discrepancy between the school records and those of the county superintendent are not so easily explained. It is possible, however, that more pupils have enrolled since a report was made to the superintendent. The significant point is that most children between the ages of 5 and 14 are enrolled in school. In fact, the writers could discover only three youth under 16 years who were out of school. They consisted of one female and two males, who were gainfully employed in the town laundry, and war work.

TABLE XIII

POPULATION OF LANGSTON BY AGE AND SEX

Total Population	Sex	Negro	Indians	Under 5	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	35 & Over	21 & Over
514	M	225	2	22	46	39	20	31	22	20	27	136
	F	285	2	26	59	46	43	35	28	13	37	175
Total		510	4	48	105	85	63	66	50	33	64	311

The Langston public school dates back to the founding of the community in 1891. The building which was constructed at that time is still the site of the school. In 1938 the town officials obtained a federal subsidy for improving the then dilapidated school structure. The present building is frame with native sand stone wings which were con-

6. Ina Corinne Brown, Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems.

structed by the Works Progress Administration. It contains three rooms including an assembly hall which is also used for a class room. The frame part of the building is in dire need of paint as well as the interior.

School furniture and equipment are discarded pieces from the college. Blackboards, seats, and desks are arranged without reference to the age groups served. There is no central heating plant and the gas stoves in the corners of the rooms do not furnish adequate heat for the winter months. Visitors report that on cold days they have discovered a teacher and her class huddled around the stove trying to keep warm. From the appearance of the rooms, janitorial service is negligible, and the unclean condition is intensified on rainy days by the mud which is brought in from the unpaved streets and which settles between the cracks of the old wooden floors. The school plant does not have flush toilets or running water. The pupils drink water out of a bucket from a common drinking cup. The grounds are devoid of landscaping and contain very little playground equipment.

There is no evidence that a school census has ever been taken for the community and the public school has no card index file of school-age children. Records are, in fact, meager, and the only available ones are those required by state and county government agencies.

This merges into the problem of absenteeism and truancy. The county superintendent asserts that Langston absenteeism is the highest for the entire county. Since there is no truant officer or similar official and no school census, the compulsory school attendance law is not enforced. It might be suggested, in this connection, that there is not an efficient, necessary connection between absenteeism and delinquency; for it is a fact that numerous pupils are out of school periodically for economic reasons, such as cotton picking, lack of clothing, etc.

The apparent lack of interest on the part of the teachers in record keeping, absenteeism and like matters, is understandable when it is realized that each teacher has from 35 to 40 pupils. They would not be likely to complain of an over-crowded condition because the addition of another teacher would doubtless result in a reduction of salaries. They have, moreover, the task of teaching defectives, for whom no special provisions are made, along with the normal children.

Another unfortunate feature of the school system is that county administration and supervision are inadequate. The county superintendent of public instruction visits the school periodically, but more as a matter of routine than to advise or consult with the teachers about day-to-day problems. The superintendent with the aid of a small staff, administers all of the rural schools in the county. The magnitude of this assignment detracts, no doubt, from the quality of the supervision. Likewise, as has been suggested in another context, the county officials accuse Langston officials of being uncooperative; and this has perhaps some bearing on the county supervision of the community public school.

The college maintains a laboratory elementary and high school. All of the community adolescents who go to high school attend the university school because the town school does not offer high school instruction. Very few of the community children attend the college elemen-

tary school except, usually, the children of college faculty members. There is a rigid separation between these two school systems and all efforts by "progressives" from the college to integrate and coordinate them, have been unavailing. According to information acquired from interviews, numerous community residents resent any "meddling" with their school by college faculty members.

From the foregoing it is apparent that the college has not exerted the most direct influence on the educational development of the community. It does, nevertheless make a significant contribution in that respect. Regardless of cleavages, many youth who would have stopped school upon completing the elementary grades, have continued through the facilities offered by Langston University. Likewise, many of the college teachers live in the community, teach in the Sunday schools, become patrons of the public school or members of the School Board, etc. Such individuals as those have inspired and interested the youth as well as some adults of the community in higher education.

It may be, indeed, that the defensiveness of the community against the encroachment of the college on its educational prerogatives, goes somewhat deeper than animosity toward the university. When it is considered that virtually all of the Negro rural schools of the county are particularistic in purpose and intent, and that they have been known to resist consolidation despite its advantages, the situation might be resolved into a "tradition versus innovation" conflict—the grim, determined attempt of the village folk to maintain their own standards and prestige symbols at any cost. From that viewpoint the community attitude regarding college "interference" in its educational program would be merely one manifestation of this underlying resistance to social change.

It has been previously asserted that there are some favorable elements of the Langston public school system. One is that the county superintendent has recently (1943) succeeded in having the school accredited. This is, of course, an asset because the county will be obligated to maintain it at least at its present standard. There arises an inevitable query, however ,of whether county accreditation in the light of the many problems which still remain, will preclude necessary attention and overt steps to rectify the present deficiencies of the school system.

The three public school teachers of the community are specifically trained in elementary education, in accordance with state requirements for elementary teachers. They are local products, in line with overwhelming and intensive sentiment in favor of "home town" talent. Two of these teachers hold B. S. degrees in elementary education; and the third has had three years of college training plus a state life certificate for teaching in the Oklahoma public schools. These teachers are well integrated in the society of the community and all of them evince conscientious interest in the welfare of the student body.

The public school pupils of Langston receive scientific health attention through the good offices of the State and County Health Departments. A health nurse makes regular inspection tours of the school, immunizing and vaccinating children against communicable diseases. Pre-school as well as school age children receive free clinical

and hospital care when parents do not have the means to pay for such services. There is also regular medical and dental inspection of the school children. The tremendous advantage of free health service can be realized when it is stressed that: (1) most families of Langston are unable to pay for medical and dental attention; and (2) the community itself has no dentist, physician, nurse, or drugstore.

Finally, the community school is one of the most integrating institutions of Langston. The people are proud of it and of the fact that they have had a public school system since the founding of the town. They take pride in the fact that the educational qualifications of their teachers are equal to those of teachers in the large towns of the state. They use the school for civic meetings and for the transaction of public business. It is, to them ,a symbol of their integration in the American culture and a compensation for community disintegration in some other respects. Many of the old settlers will declare, "Whatever else we have lost, we have always pushed our school forward."

Patterns of Association

There are two specific groups in Langston, each enjoying certain prestige and authority according to its own standards, the cleavage between them defining the traditional cultural patterns of the entire community. The college group is a distinct entity as over against the village group. There are of course, all manner of ramifications within the groups which determine the scope and extent of stratification, attitudes towards newcomers, and social values and sanctions.

Since the college is by no mean a self-sufficient unit, every teacher is a part of the community during his tenure. There are, however a number of teachers who deliberately avoid contact with the community whenever possible. They do all shopping and trading in neighboring cities, refrain from even friendly relations with community residents and, in general, regard themselves as untouched and untouchable by anything in Langston which does not directly affect the university.

On the other hand there is a group of college teachers which is integrated, after a fashion, into the Langston culture. A number of the members of this group own or rent property in the community, support the local churches, buy whenever possible from the village stores, and attempt in various ways to make the townspeople feel that they "belong." That does not mean that this group of teachers socializes with the community residents in preference to their colleagues. On the contrary, most of their association with the real Langstonites consists of civic and municipal activity. Such association as they have is largely with the avowed and acknowledged leaders of the village. This group does have, however, a sort of liaison character between the college teachers who are either hostile or indifferent toward the people of the town and the most respected town residents.

The "upper crust" or elite members of the community are so designated because they are the leaders, however informal, of the village—because all matters affecting the town are thrashed out by them; and because the majority of both the townspeople and college group consider them as "set apart" from the masses. One could hardly, in

every sense, consider this group as a social class. Certainly the group does not consciously so regard itself, but class lines are nevertheless present.

What are the attributes of members of this community group? What are the qualities which set them apart and compel recognition for them? The three most important attributes appear to be a protracted residence in Langston, relative economic security, and aggressiveness. Each member of the "upper" class has at least two of these qualities, some of them all three.

The older residents undoubtedly have much in common and they have a fierce pride in having helped to found the community. Its racial homogeneity is especially appealing to them, a fact which they are happy to discuss with "outsiders." Probably every old settler of Langston has some white "contacts" in nearby communities, but as a group they are defensive and suspicious of Whites. Economic security in this group generally consists of a fairly "good living," such as owning property and perhaps a business, owning a car and radio, having a moderate insurance policy. It is equivalent, perhaps, to the scale of living of the average lower-middle class family in a large city, except that the city family may not own property. The few "newcomers" (of, say, 10 years residence) who have achieved integration into the leader group, have not only demonstrated their ability to make a "good living" but have also been unusually aggressive. They have thus pushed themselves into community affairs in spite of the coolness with which the older leaders regard all new arrivals.

Several social scientists have found that education and light complexions are among the criteria for Negro upper class status. In this ethnocentristic group, however, neither of these is an influenial factor. The educated members of the group do not patronize the unlettered members, nor do the latter appear to be aware of any significant difference between themselves and their educated cohorts. Most of the members of the group are of brown complexion but the color question s simply non existent. Nor is there any occupational differentiation within this group of community leaders. It makes no difference whether an individual teaches school, runs a business, or does carpentering for a living. He is on par with the other members of the group if he has the qualifications enumerated above.

The "masses" of Langston are inarticulate and indifferent to matters of civic interest. But for the aggression of the leaders they would raise few if any issues. Occasionally some dramatic incident will fire the imagination of the bulk of the residents. For instance, when a fire occurs, under the spur of the leaders, the people may become aroused over the fact that the community has no fire-fighting equipment. This is, however, no more than a flare-up or spurt, and it is difficult to maintain interest long enough for constructive action. This large lower class is usually lethargic and quite willing to be excluded from policy making conferences.

The lower class (which hardly regards itself as a "class") apparently lacks the inferiority feeling so common with lower class groups, in regard to the elite. There are several explanations for this state of affairs. First, there is no cohesive group and no common tie to bind

these individuals as a class except the negative bond of lacking the attributes of the leaders. Secondly, the leaders are as democratic in their attitudes toward the masses as they are toward one another. Very literally, residents of Langston do not "look down" on other residents. Such an egalitarian philosophy is in line with similar findings by the writers in an investigation of social classes in another racially homogeneous community, Boley, Oklahoma.

The masses turn a much "colder shoulder" toward the college teachers than do the leaders. The university faculty members are "outsiders" who come in to the community with their emphasis on education and larger culture values, challenging the emotional adjustment (psychic security) which exists among virtually all of the lower class members of the Langston community in relation to the elite. The upper class, on the other hand, has one specific area of conflict with the college. Its adherents appear to think that the school has overshadowed the community. As one of them expressed it, "The folks in the state used to think of the town of Langston first and the college second—now they think of the school first." In spite of this obvious point of frustration there is some overlapping and some recognizable consensus between the town leaders and college teachers, especially those who are integrated in community life.

The largest difference between the college teachers and people of the community exists in reference to social standards, values, and sanctions. In this connection the people of the community, exclusive of teachers of the college, are a unit and form a definite "we" group. As such they are antagonistic to all outsiders; and they always consider the faculty members as outsiders, however long may be their tenure. The social standards of the college teachers are the well known middle class standards of the larger culture. Those of the people of the community are of a "folk" nature, hence are in some respects different.

For instance, a strong bourgeois value centers around the imperativeness of a legal marriage before procreation. Husbandless childbearers are stigmatized as well as nameless children. In Langston, however neither social ostracism nor social condemnation follow childbearing without benefit of clergy. In general, members of the upper class conform to the bourgeois family patterns, but they do not look askance at the folk culture patterns. Neither does deviation from these middle class standards disqualify one from admittance to the leader group.

The community sanctions are deviate when compared to the middle class norm, but the town has certain prohibitions of its own which it rigidly enforces. To illustrate, one informant related the case of a woman who was thought to live and cohabit with her husband and another man at the same time, in the same house. This, it appears, shocked and disgusted a number of the members of the community to such an extent that pressure was brought to remove this woman's name from the church roll. At the same time she was excluded from several social activities in which she would otherwise have been permitted to participate.

In regard thereto, one informant explained, "It just don't seem right for no one woman to be livin' with two men at the same time, an'

if folks around there do things that ain't right we let 'em be by themselves till they do right." When queried as to whether this informant's attitude would have been similar toward a woman living with one man out of wedlock the reply was a non commital shrug and a vague, "Well that's somethin' else again."

It appears that this practice of socially isolating an individual who violates the community standards is a punitive measure of some force. Most of the residents respect and fear it. It is, however, only employed in cases which are considered extreme and diametrically opposed to organized community sentiment of what is right and proper. In the instance cited the culprit was greatly frustrated, according to informants, and exerted every effort to regain the good graces of her townspeople.

The folk culture patterns are thus full of paradoxical and inconsistent value-judgments but they are the reflections of a relentless public opinion. Some of the patterns are of a negative nature but these too are truly expressive of community sentiment. In that regard a fitting example is the indifference of virtually all of the community residents toward the problems of truancy and juvenile delinquency. It is a fact that Langston has no truant officer or similar official with a duty toward delinquent youth. Nor is there any collective sentiment which offers an incentive for youth to attend school. In other words, the community exhibits a high degree of inertia in regard to forcing its youth, through official action or public opinion to follow the conventional channels of getting an education.

The people of Langston, through their leaders, are favorably inclined toward national Negro organizations, especially the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At an N. A. A. C. P. meeting attended by the participants in this study, one of the outstanding members of the community made a plea for support of the organization. His appeal was based on an interpretation of his own which appeared to interest and please his audience. He declared that the Constitution of the United States was hard enough to write and Negroes were not represented in it: but when this war was over there would be a constitution of the world and Negroes had better support the N. A. A. C. P. if they wanted to be represented at the table.

It seemed significant that none of the actual accomplishments of the organization were mentioned. Accordingly, after the meeting one of the writers approached the individual who had presided and started talking about the teacher salary cases which the N. A. A. C. P. was conducting with marked success. The response was vague and indifferent and the leader appeared anxious to change the conversation. The conclusion was inescapable that his chief interest in the organization centered around the fact that it was "for the good of Negroes" generally, without reference to specific cases.

In connection with the cultural patterns of Langston, the matters of religion and religious sentiment deserve some consideration. For the religion of any group is an integral part of its culture and religious manifestations are often indices to patterns of thought and conduct. That is especially true of Langston where prestige in the church is closely connected with community prestige, and where the organized

sentiment of the community is concentrated in enforcing the "will of the people."

There are seven churches in Langston, four of which are active, in addition to the fact that church services are held at the college every other Sunday. Two of the active churches are Baptist, one is Methodist (A. M. E.) and the fourth is a Holiness church. None of the buildings are modern and none of the churches are elaborately decorated with religious symbols. It is understood, however, that the Missionary Baptist church is working toward the construction of a new edifice in the near future. At least three of the present group of ministers (including the college pastor) are trained for their profession.

One of the chief problems of the church appears to be the inability to so integrate itself into the community life that it can aid in solving the community problems. According to the evidence of a number of informants, the church performed more functions in the community before the days of public relief. The Langston residents of today are willing and eager to accept the minister as a spiritual leader but they do not encourage him to lead in civic matters.

There is some cleavage between the town churches and the university church services. Some of the old settlers assert that the college services detract from their Sunday morning services. In this regard the writers found little evidence. That is, most of the faithful attend their own church each Sunday. It is a fact, however, that there is more casual attendance at church in the community on the Sundays when no services are held at the college. There are several possible explanations for this fact. First the college offers more comfortable housing and seating facilities. Then the college speaker is usually a faculty member and he draws some of his colleagues and students who might otherwise go into the village to church. In any case such feeling as exists against the college services seems to be confined to a few of the older people who have other grievances against the institution.

On the other hand the community church has a liaison character in serving as a bond between certain faculty members and community. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is a university group which exerts some influence in the community. Most of the members of this group belong to community churches and take an active part in church affairs. This constitutes an entree into civic affairs and serves as evidence of their good faith and integration into the community.

That is not to say that civic leaders are necessarily church men. Indeed, it apparently makes little difference whether a civic leader is a church member at all if he is a bona fide member of the community. But the Langston University teachers are not considered bona fide community members unless they have taken some overt steps to ingratiate themselves. Those who have so desired have discovered that active participation in church affairs becomes an "open sesame" to participation and influence in other community affairs.

There is no traditional religious sentiment in Langston against card playing, gaming, dancing, and such amusements. In fact, one old citizen recalls that before statehood a saloon and a church were compatibly housed in the same building. There is no evidence that ministers are or have been in the habit of denying church privileges to

"blacksliders," or forcing the issues of church membership in regard to individuals who participate in the amusements aforementioned. The present group of ministers is of the "broad minded" school which looks with tolerance upon most social activity which is temperate and "properly" supervised. None of the present churches make attacks upon the amusement parlors where the "good time" people of the town congregate. One minister suggests that the remedy for undesirable places is control rather than abolishment or attempting to abolish. His control would consist of offering recreation supervised by the church or some other "wholesome" agency, and thus drawing the crowd.

One minister bemoans the all-Negro composition of the population of Langston. He expresses the conviction that a mixed community makes for better municipal features and services. He is a strong advocate of interracial ministerial alliances. Since this particular individual is a newcomer (relatively) to Langston, it is apparent that he is finding it difficult to adjust to a Negro town and bases the partial failure of his program partly on the fact that the colored people have not been exposed to the "more progressive" patterns of mixed communities.

Thus the Langston patterns of conduct and their supporting sanctions and attitudes are unique and peculiar to the community social setting. They have been influenced by: (1) the physical isolation of the community; (2) the "we feeling" of the residents, which is very intense because of the racially homogenous character of the population; and (3) the presence of "foreigners" (university personnel). The physical isolation of Langston forces contact with and dependence on the poor farmers and farm laborers in the surrounding area. Such cultural interaction retards the development of urban patterns among the residents of Langston. The "we feeling," above mentioned, strengthens the grasp of traditional patterns of culture and is largely responsible for the constant "defense" against the infiltration of new folkways.

Basic Trends of Social Change

In a large way the basic trends of the community of Langston have been very similar to changes due to technology in most other rural non-farm communities in the United States during the past fifty years. There is little resemblance now to the Langston of the nineties when individuals deliberately selected homesites close to other homes for the purposes of communication, mutual protection, and mutual aid. During that period people in the community were virtually ex-communicado from all but those who lived in their immediate environment.

The technological factors which have apparently influenced Langston to the greatest degree are transportation and communication. There are several circumstances from which conclusions may be drawn in this regard. For example, in the days before transportation facilities made general newspaper circulation to the community feasible, the residents of Langston supported their own paper. This paper, known as The Langston Herald, ran for several years until about 1910. It is not known to the writers why this paper went out of existence, but it

is a fact that it did so after it became possible for the residents of the community to conveniently secure the larger dailies.

In the early history of the community there were not only many more business enterprises than now exist, but a much greater variety of businesses. From the sheer necessity of its isolation the community was practically self sufficient. Transportation and communication facilities, however, gradually detracted attention from local stores and directed it toward the more colorful offerings found in the larger communities. At present the business outlook in Langston cannot be described with any optimism as was pointed out in chapter three.

No less than business has the church been influenced by the same technological factors. It has been mentioned in another connection that 3 of 7 churches in the community are inactive. It appears entirely plausible, especially in view of information from old settlers, that increased automobile ownership and Sunday pleasure driving have drawn numerous individuals from church attendance to other pursuits. As a corollary to the decline of interest in the church, it has become less potent in exerting influence on youth as well as adults. In regard to all of the above considerations, it must be stressed, there is no claim that transportation and communication are the only causative factors. It is merely suggested that the connection between the disintegration of certain community institutions and the simultaneous rise of technology has been more than accidental.

The fact that automobile ownership has become commonplace has permitted continual egress and ingress between Langston and neighboring communities. This has in turn widened the horizon and broadened the outlook of most of the members of the younger generation of the community. These young people do not share to a great extent the psychic security enjoyed by their elders because they live in an all-Negro community. They are decidedly antagonistic to any sort of isolation whatever.

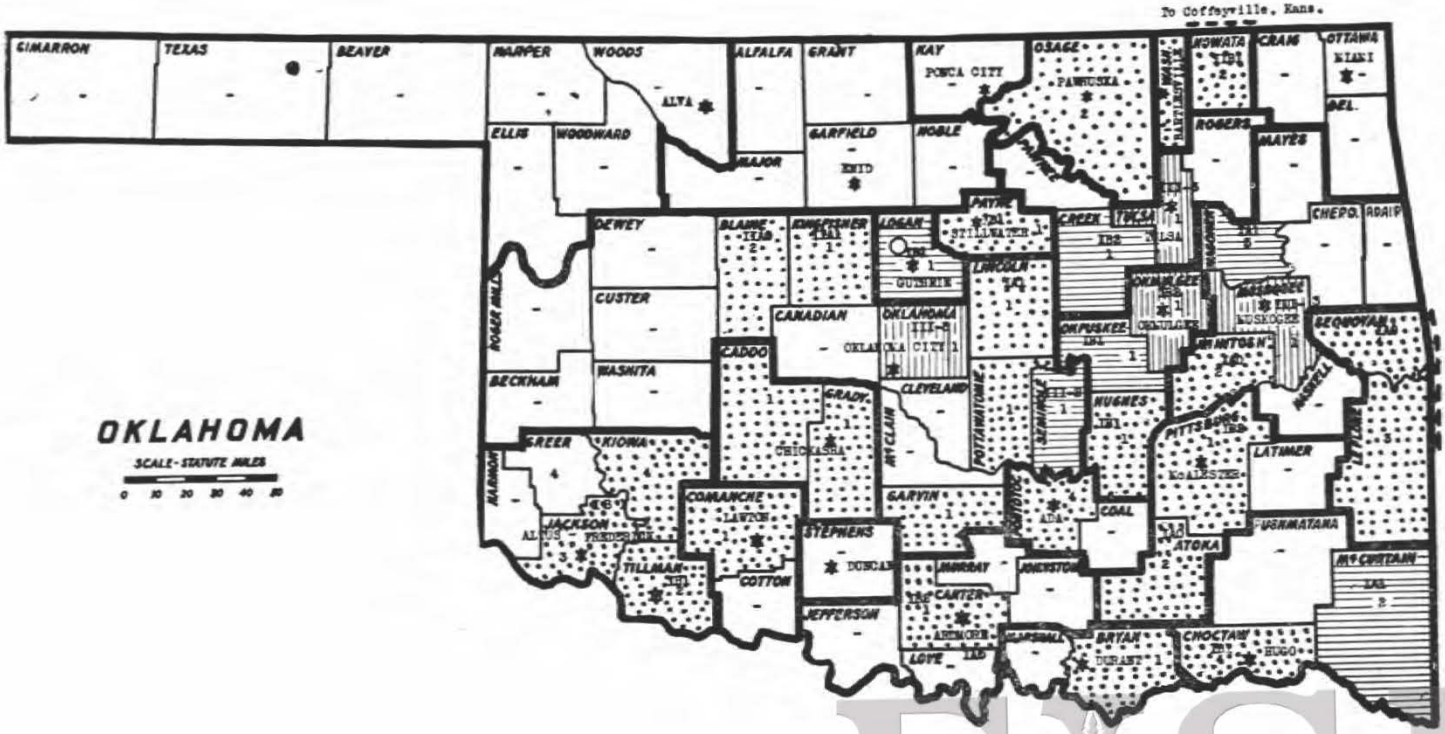
For that matter the elders themselves have not remained entirely uninfluenced by the trend away from isolation. By way of illustration, the writers were in attendance at a recent mass meeting in which the question of redistricting the community was the chief matter of discussion. There was practically a unanimous consensus that Langston should immediately start holding its elections within the county rules so that such situations could be expedited without county challenge. Likewise, the old settlers have been as gracious in their cooperation with the investigators in making this study as have the younger people. This is certainly evidence that the antagonism of the community residents toward the college faculty members has either been overemphasized or it is breaking down.

Still another factor which is serving to integrate Langston into the larger societal pattern, both actually and psychologically, is the war. Its reality is made manifest through the selective service which takes young men from the various homes. Moreover, there is a constant influx of individuals who take the war training courses at the college and many of these individuals become integrated into the life of the community during their training periods. In turn they serve as a

link between Langstonites and the outside world. As a result the motiff of nationalism becomes ever stronger.

From a short time, close-range view, then, it would appear that the community of Langston has failed in its attempt to develop an enterprising, self-sufficient, all-Negro community. That is indeed a fact for the town has none of the earmarks of a community which will grow and few inducements to encourage settlement in it. Viewed from the larger social setting, however, the founding and attempted development of Langston has been a part of the adjustment process of the Negro—a training ground, as it were, in making a living, running a government, and establishing institutions. At one time Langston was a refuge for those Negroes who, as a reaction to the slavery period, wanted more complete segregation than even the Southern mixed community furnished. Today, Langston is inevitably following the basic trend of our whole society—toward integration and away from particularism.

The Black Dispatch Print


To Coffeyville, Kans.
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TEXAS
BEAVER
HARPER
WOODS
ALFALFA
GRANT
KAY
PONCA CITY
OSAGE
PAWHUSKA
NOWATA
CRAIG
OTTAWA
MIAMI
ALVA
ELLIS
WOODWARD
MAJOR
GARFIELD
ENID
NOBLE
ROGERS
MAYES
DEWEY
BLAINE
KINGFISHER
LOGAN
PAYNE
STILLWATER
CREEK
TULSA
CHEROKEE
ADAIR
ROGER MILLS
CUSTER
GUTHRIE
LINCOLN
OKMULGEE
MUSKOGEE
CANADIAN
OKLAHOMA
OKLA. CITY
CADDO
BECKHAM
WASHITA
CLEVELAND
POTTAWATOMIE
HUGHES
SEQUOYAH
GRADY
CHICKASHA
GREER
KIOWA
HARMON
LATIMER
COMANCHE
LAWTON
GARVIN
ADA
COAL
JACKSON
ALTUS
FREDERICK
STEPHENS
DUNCAN
PUSHMATAHA
ATOKA
TILLMAN
COTTON
MURRAY
ARBUCKLE
MC CURTAIN
CARTER
ARDMORE
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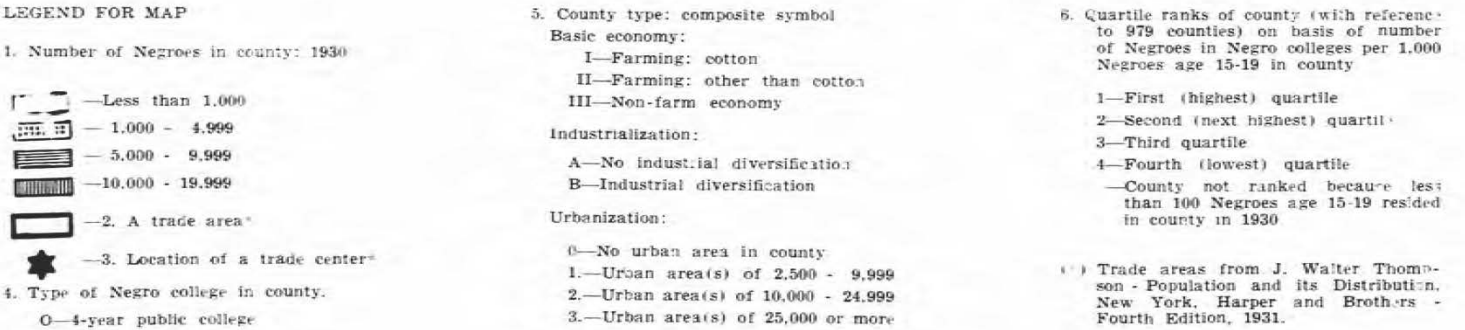

Map of Oklahoma showing the distribution of Negroes in the state. Taken from Ina C. Brown's Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems. U. S. Office of Education Misc. No. 6 Vol. 1, 1942.

Observation of the map aids in placing Logan County in perspective as well as locating the areas of heaviest Negro population. It can be noted that 25 counties have been typed (only those counties with 5 per cent or more Negro population have been typed). Thus, there are 52 counties in Oklahoma with less than 5 per cent Negro population. Four of the 25 counties typed are non-farm counties, 3 are metropolitan counties and 18 are cotton counties.

The total population of Oklahoma in 1930 was 2,396,040 of which 172,198 were Negroes. By 1940 the total and Negro populations had fallen to 2,336,434, and 168,849 respectively.

Analysis of the map will reveal the following: (1) The approximate Negro population for each county, (2) the County Type which includes the basic economy, the degree of industrialization and urbanization, (3) the quartile rank of each county with reference to the proportion of its college age youth in college (ranked with 979 southern counties); (4) the location of state college for Negroes, and (5) the location of trade centers which give some idea of the general direction of communication lines.

SOME IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AMONG NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

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Some Ideological Confusion Among Negro College Students

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THE PROBLEM

A pressing question of the moment, one which is being asked with ever-increasing insistence is: "What kind of a post-war world may we expect?" Materials enough to fill volumes are flooding the presses of the country on the subject, much of it written by individuals who are even now in the declining years of life and who have scant hope of exerting vital influence in whatever society there may be. Manifestly, our most realistic point of contact with the post-war world is through the persons who will have the privilege of making and shaping it—the young men and women who are on the very threshold of adulthood. If we can find out what they are thinking, and especially where lie their most specific areas of mental conflict (in terms of social values), we may at least begin to understand some of the obstacles which they must overcome before they are qualified to assist in molding the world of tomorrow.

Accordingly, we shall present here certain data dealing with the social understanding of 100 students in attendance at a Negro college in Oklahoma, Langston University. In so doing we have in view two major aims. We want to report on a set of *Social Understanding* tests given at this college and to describe the ideological confusion which we have found to exist among our students. And we further expect to point out some of the implications arising from this confusion for teachers of the social sciences.

GENERAL PROCEDURE

The *Social Understanding Inventory* used in this investigation is one of many such inventories employed by the Cooperative Study in General Education of the American Council on Education. The key to the inventory and the problems associated with its determination were worked out by the staff at the central office,[1] augmented by the resident fellows of the cooperative study and several members of the faculty of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago who rendered judgments and furnished advice.

The Inventory consists of 150 statements which Americans use continually in general conversations. They express sentiments, therefore, which characterize our American way of life. In making up these statements academic language was deliberately avoided and ordinary, "every-day" terminology used, since students generally employ vernacular and also react to it as it is employed by their contemporaries.

[1] The staff includes Herbert Abraham, George Cronemeyer, Earl S. Johnson and Christine McGuire, all of the University of Chicago. For a complete description of the Social Understanding Inventory, see Staff News Letter of the Cooperative Study in General Education, Vols. 2-4, Nos. 12-1 respectively, American Council on Education —5835 Kimbark Avenue—Chicago, Ill.

The Inventory is a combined fact and student preference test although neither statements of fact nor of preference are identified as such. It is left to the student to do what distinguishing he may, on the assumption that one must usually make decisions in situations where knowledge (the facts) and opinions (preferences) interact and are frequently indistinguishable.

Of the total of 150 statements in the Inventory, 90 have been classified by the staff into nine groups of 10 statements each. They have identified these groups by the following topical sentences:

(1) The basis of economic class conflict does not exist in America.
(2) Everyone has the opportunity to improve his social position or to better his circumstances, as much as he really wants to.
(3) It is immoral and generally harmful to interfere with "private enterprise."
(4) Private morality, *i.e.*, having a good will and honorable intentions, is alone sufficient for social improvement.
(5) Social control, rationally planned and extensive enough to cover the interdependent world, is either unnecessary or undesirable.
(6) Capitalism is sanctioned by national law and the moral conscience.
(7) Our nation is best, our wars are always just, and aliens are to be regarded with suspicion.
(8) Our world is so chaotic that it is useless to try improving even one's personal situation.
(9) The tradition of the family and church have not changed, and are still adequate guides to the good life.

The remainder of the statements have not been grouped but they, too, represent prevailing values expressed in American society and deal with such phenomena as the government in business, economic fallacies, the "isms" and one concerning the American Negro.

TABLE I

RESPONSES OF 100 COLLEGE STUDENTS AT LANGSTON UNIVERSITY ON THE SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING INVENTORY

Students	Sound Score	Unsound Score	Fact Error	Preferences as Fact
Freshmen (25)	22.8	77.2	27.8	52.7
Sophomores (25)	24.8	75.2	19.5	43.6
Juniors (25)	26.8	73.2	18.7	49.8
Seniors (25)	30.6	69.3	18.5	47.5
Total (100)	26.2	73.7	21.1	48.4

The responses of the 100 students were obtained for each statement in the Inventory with reference to:

(1) "Sound score," *i.e.*, in agreement with the key.
(2) "Unsound score" . . . *i.e.*, *not* in agreement with the key.
(3) "Fact error" . . . *i.e.*, that part of the "unsound score" which records the student's treatment of a false statement as *true* and a true statement as *false*.
(4) "Preference as fact" . . . *i.e.*, that part of the "unsound score" which records the student's treatment of his attitudinal preferences as facts.

General Findings

Table I shows the percentage of agreement (sound score) of the students tested with the key, or with the composite opinion of sponsors of the study as to what are generally the

proper responses to the questions propounded in the Inventory. The percentages of disagreement (unsound score), fact error, and preferences treated as fact are also given. It will be noted that the sound scores are relatively low, the errors of fact considerably high, as is the tendency of our students to treat their attitudinal preferences as facts. These percentage scores, however, are of small concern to us in the present study. We are much more anxious about the matter to which we shall presently turn our attention, namely, the actual confusion which exists in regard to some of the basic ideas and phenomena which are at the very heart of our American way of life.

It was disconcerting, but at the same time revealing, to discover that democracy and the democratic process afforded the largest area of conflict among the students tested. Let us clarify this assertion by illustration. In connection with the statement "Discussing social issues doesn't help to solve them," 48 per cent marked it as true or having a preference for the statement, 45 per cent considered it untrue or not preferring it, and 7 per cent said that none of the above categories described their reaction to the statement. That means that there are 55 per cent or a majority of our group who apparently do not recognize the efficacy of free discussion of social issues as an outstanding advantage of democracy. If they *are* aware that discussion of social issues is a major tenet of democracy, at least 48 per cent cannot agree that it is advantageous. Consequently, in the estimation of about half of our group, we might well abandon it.

Certainly, such a climate of opinion is confused in terms of the democratic values which we, the overwhelming majority of Americans, advocate, and we shall attempt, at this point, to shed some illumination upon the factors responsible for this confusion. Perhaps the largest single influential factor is the reality of minority and segregated group status. In other words, the thinking of the students under consideration is largely subjective in terms of race. Another factor of much importance—and this is partially related to the first—is the low economic status of most of our students. Thus, to the poor and the proscribed, discussion of social issues seems quite futile and unavailing.

There are, however, yet other elements which must be included in the analysis. Fear of discussion of the social issues which most concern them, is a part of the experience of the life pattern of most children reared in the South—especially those of the lower economic brackets. It is a fear which is usually absorbed from the environment, the fear of their elders that they would be penalized by whites if they "said what they thought." This fear involves the dread that the white people of their town will discriminate against Negroes even more if they believe that Negroes want "social equality"; worry lest their parent or parents lose jobs, or have mortgages foreclosed if any word is said to intimate that Negroes are getting out of "their place."

Finally, there is to be mentioned the factor of shame. Some of our poor students are probably reticent of discussion of social issues, entirely aside from the relative merits or demerits

of same. This is true because, to them, poverty carries with it stigmata of laziness and thriftlessness. We discovered that by a consideration of responses to other statements which will be discussed hereinafter.

Now it may well be asked why, if Americans overwhelmingly adjudge free discussion of social issues to be an integral and advantageous part of the democratic process, half of this group thinks otherwise? Why are these students not constrained, as components of the culture, to "follow the crowd" in their value-judgments? The ready answer is that they have not been accepted unconditionally as part of "the crowd." They belong to that "other" group which encounters stubborn resistance when it attempts to achieve "crowd" status. That does not mean, of course, that they do not accept democracy as a social system. It is, in fact, our impression that most of the students who listed the statement as true would vigorously deny that they were in conflict with any fractional part of the democratic philosophy. They are, nevertheless, psychically at variance in this particular, whether on the conscious level or not.

In response to the statement, "You can't have democracy and do away with the profit motive", 40.3 per cent thought it true or expressed a preference for it as over against 51 per cent who disagreed. Of this latter figure, only 20 per cent considered it false as a statement of fact while 31 per cent asserted that they had no preference for the statement. Of the 40.3 per cent on the other hand, 33.3 per cent called it a true statement of fact with 7 per cent expressing a preference for the statement. Thus, we actually have more students among the 100 respondents who express the belief as a fact that you cannot have democracy without the profit motive than we do students who think the exact opposite.

As further evidence, though slightly more speculative, of opinions on the relationship between democracy and economic status, responses to the statement, "Most people on W.P.A. were there because they lacked ambition," were as follows: 30 per cent regarded it as true or expressed a preference, while 40 per cent considered it untrue or had no preference for the statement.

Taking responses to the last two statements in conjunction, it appears that almost half of our students who expressed positive or negative opinions about them believe that some profit, in monetary terms, may be expected in a democratic system, and that if one is not a recipient of this profit it is his own fault. If space and scope of this article permitted, we could, by ascertaining what generally undebatable democratic characteristics were unrecognized as such and what alternatives were emphasized by any given number of individuals taking the test, reveal just what those persons understood democracy to mean. For present purposes, however, we think it sufficient to demonstrate the fact that a great deal of ideological confusion exists and designate the problems connected therewith.

Value judgments of our students were less confused, *i.e.*, more in accord with dominant ideology, on the statement, "If we could pass the right laws we could solve our social problems once and for all." Here, 27 per cent regarded the statement as true or pref-

erential as over against 73 per cent who marked it as false or unpreferential. These opinions show an awareness that laws are merely a legal framework which is impotent without the support of crystallized sentiment. It seems likely, also, that a number of these responses are subjective, based on the frustration of racial status suffered by these students. We suggest this point because Negroes, especially of the South, are peculiarly sensitive on the matter of custom. For example, if a movie house which has hitherto catered exclusively to whites, opens a section for Negroes, they are reluctant to start patronizing it until they have become assured that they will be received without hostility from white patrons. Moreover, such laws as those embodying the "separate but equal accommodation" clauses have been so flagrantly violated that it is highly possible that a number of Negroes have scant confidence in the efficacy of laws for solving social problems, and that their judgments in this respect are motivated more by their own racial experiences than by consensus with the dominant cultural values.

Confusion was strong in connection with the statement, "Consumers and producers have practically the same interests." In this case 59 per cent marked the statement as true or preferring it with 25 per cent on the opposing side. All of these students are, of course, consumers who have no reasonable hope of becoming large-scale producers. We can find but two possible explanations for the 59 per cent who responded to the statement as true. One is that they (or most of them) do not understand what interests producers and consumers have. The other involves the "log cabin to President" philosophy—that everyone has a chance to reach "the top," that every consumer is a potential producer and so, circuitously, interests of producers and consumers are similar.

Without at all making a positive commitment of the factors most responsible for the foregoing statement, we submit it more as cumulative evidence of ideological confusion and suggest that the responses to the statement, "Where there's a will, there's a way" may have some relationship to our second conjecture on the consumer statement. Most of our group is evidently optimistic for 90 per cent express the statement as true or preferential. No one marked it as false; 2 per cent did not prefer it, and 8 per cent did not agree with any of the above answers in regard to the statement. It is also suggestive in this context that 91 per cent of the respondents agree that "After all, this is a pretty good world." If, in spite of low status and disadvantaged position these students consider their world "pretty good" and are confident that "Where there's a will, there's a way," it can only mean that they have an unbounded faith in the democratic system. The query persists, however, as to the depth and breadth of their confusion concerning the benefits reasonably to be expected from living in a democratic state.

Fortuitously enough—and we think that this is a healthy sign—the majority of the students in our group appear to recognize the difficulty of making valid judgments. Eighty-three per cent mark as true or preferential the statement, "It was never harder than it is now for young people to

decide between what's right and what's wrong." These young people are perfectly cognizant of the fact that they are—to put it crudely—"on a spot;" that their value-judgments do not conform to any well-defined institutional norms within their knowledge.

This brings us back to the starting point from which our study proceeded. What problems have our data and analysis revealed that have implications for the post-war economy? The central proposition is that our respondents, a group of Negro college students, give evidence of loose, uncritical, subjective, and sometimes deviate thinking. We have attempted to explain these manifestations of ideological confusion, partly in terms of inferior racial status; and also in terms of other undesirable group-values of the institutional system (undue emphasis on economic affluence as the most desirable goal). Certainly the thinking of these students and others likewise confused, must be clarified and revised if we would safeguard our world of the future from the ills which have beset the present and preceding generations.

It is futile to contend that we are prepared to recommend measures which will clear up the confusion which we have found among students at Langston University. We do suggest, however, that its very existence imposes an obligation upon social science teachers to attempt to alleviate this lack of social understanding. If social science instruction does not have some efficient relationship to the real life experiences of students; if it is isolated from the social environment, it lacks a dynamic and necessary motivation to be of service to American youth. In this regard circumstances will alter cases, but we submit the following broad generalizations as points of departure for social science teachers who are interested in the social understanding of their students. We offer them with some apology because we are not prepared at present to give the results of their utilization, but they have served the useful purpose of contributing a base for the formulation of fresh objectives in the Social Science department at this college.

1. Our entire social structure should be scrutinized and reevaluated in terms of personality-satisfying goals thought to be attainable in a democracy. This is suggested because teachers must realize "where we stand" if they are to aid students in substituting realistic for wishful thinking. We can observe the results of wishful thinking among our students in their identification of democracy with the profit motive, and their consideration of producers and consumers in exactly the same context.

2. There should be a stronger interrelationship between various branches of the social science field so that no one discipline will exist, in the student's mind, in a vacuum, and entirely unrelated to the other social disciplines. If students understand the interrelatedness of the social sciences they can better relate social science study to real life situations.

3. There is involved likewise the problem of enlarging the quantity and deepening the quality of students' experiences; for it is from the limited experiences permitted by their environment that young people appraise and evaluate the phenomena with

which they come in contact. Thus the social science teacher must interest himself in the student as a personality, as a fellow member of the same cultural pattern, rather than confining his contact to the pedagogical task of textbook instruction for a few hours each week.

4. In whatever manner an individual instructor finds it most expedient, students should be imbued with a problem-solving consciousness. That does not mean, of course, that all social science students are to be indoctrinated in reform techniques. It does mean that they should become aware of societal problems, should develop the ability to form *reasoned* judgments, and have some concern with courses of action for dealing with the problems.

Here again, the problems will naturally differ with the situation, but there are some large problems which are common to virtually all students falling within a given category. For example, Negro students are confronted with the reality of "inferior" or disadvantaged status specifically because of race. It appears, therefore, that since this produces frustration and emotional conflict, some attention should be focused on problems arising therefrom by social science teachers, especially in the Negro colleges.

5. Social science instructors should spend some time in the exchange of information and opinions about their students. No one teacher is able, with the pressure of college work, to investigate thoroughly the background of each student, or to have sufficient contact to enable him to meet the needs of each student. A surprisingly gratifying amount of information is received from the interchange of viewpoints among teachers if each teacher is working objectively toward the same goal—the better integration of his students in the total society.

In substance, those are the tentative objectives which we have developed at Langston University as a result of the ideological confusion which we found to exist among our students. As we have intimated, we are in the experimental stage of attempting to shape our program to the best advantage of our boys and girls who will, in turn, help to shape the post-war world. For whatever they are worth we present these data as a part of our effort in that direction.

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CHANGING PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AMONG NEGROES

THELMA D. ACKISS

Houston College for Negroes

I

NO OTHER conclusion about the Negro in America has been so taken for granted as that concerning the innately religious character of his temperament. Great credence has been given to the belief that Negroes are "naturally" inclined toward religion; and frequently the cultural possibilities of the race have been evaluated from premises based on this precise belief. It has been utilized, moreover, in the interest of implying an intercultural rather than an interracial situation. Thus the idea has developed that there is some mystical and "different" quality about the religion of the Negro, due in part to his inherent emotionalism and otherwise to the fact that he is of a childlike, credulous disposition. Ergo, the Negro is unsuitable for complete integration into the general society. Such inferences have arisen from the habit of connecting "Negro religion" with forms expressive of the slavery period when, as is well known, religion was the dumping ground for all of the frustrations, the fears, and the hopes of Negro slaves. These inferences are, perhaps, not entirely illogical in view of the fact that the phenomenon of cultural succession has operated to preserve numerous survivals of Negro religious customs and attitudes of an earlier generation.

It is the leitmotiv of this article, however, that the social milieu in which the Negro lived under the slave system demanded for its maintenance, powerful psychological compensations which were most safely and satisfactorily provided by an exaggerated emphasis on religion. The religious patterns then established have diminished in importance as the need for the compensation which they furnished has lessened.

The last assertion is at once an assumption and an hypothesis. It is the objective of this investigation to produce for it some verification. This will be attempted by presenting data from a simple questionnaire dealing with the church and religion, designed to show the trend of religious opinion among Negroes. These data will be accorded a detailed consideration hereinafter. It should be noted at this point, however, that observation and participation in the social life of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, the site of this investigation, reveal that the Negro population has many more churches, relatively speaking, than the white population.[1] This is a fact which could have some significance for the questions which are raised in this discussion. It must, therefore, be dealt with in a later section of the study.

II

The questionnaires which were administered contained the following inquiries: (1) Are you connected with any church? If so, what denomination? (2) What is the church denomination of your mother? (3) Do you think that church members are more respected in a community than non-church members? (4) Give your opinion about religion and church membership.

[1] This was definitely true in 1939, according to a study by Ira B. Bryant, Jr. for the Houston College for Negroes. It was pointed out that the Negro, comprising 21 per cent of the population, had 204 churches, and the remaining 79 per cent of the population had 236 churches. The study was entitled *The Negro Church In Houston.*

As is observable, the questions, with the possible exception of number 4 require small reflection. The simple organization was deliberate in order to prevent studied responses. In regard to the last query, the respondents were asked to write a short exposition containing one or several sentences, involving the first idea on the general subject which came to mind.

The questionnaires were submitted to two separate groups. One group consisted of ten individuals—two male and eight female—ranging from the ages of 74 to 86. The other group consisted of one hundred students at The Houston College for Negroes, ranging in age from 17 to 40, with 88 percent female and 12 percent male. Twenty percent of the College group were freshmen while 80 percent were above that collegiate level. Thirty percent were between the ages of 16 and 20, sixty percent were between 20 and 30, and ten percent were over thirty.

In regard to the older group,[2] all indicated church connection, either Baptist or Methodist, the latter church claiming only three. All but one of the group had had at least one slave parent although none of the respondents were old enough to have personal memories of slavery. Five of the group belonged to the same church as had both parents (Baptist), but the remaining ones were vague on church membership of parents, not recalling or not wishing to discuss same. It was difficult to get a categorical reply to question 3 because the informants were extremely insistent upon expounding their views. By way of illustration a woman of 81 said, "Yes, I guess so, but what's the difference about what folks think so long as you got the respect of the heavenly Father?" There was, nevertheless, a consensus among members of the group that church members are more respected than nonchurch members.

In regard to the last question each person in the older group expressed similar sentiments. Excerpts from their replies follow:

Lawd, honey, I'm thinkin' that religion and a belief in Jehovah will carry you through all tribilations.

I goes to church when I'm well enough 'cause it's God's house, but I'm praisin' Him in my heart every hour of the day.

I been lovin' God and tryin' to serve Him for fifty years, ever since he struck me down. Yes, chile, I jes fell plum out and when I come to I was bo'n agin—washed in the blood o' the lamb.

A lot of these new fangled preachers don't have the kind of religion I likes. My granddaughter says they tryin' to '*splain* the Bible. But if you'se a true Christian you don't need too much 'splainin' cause yo' Jesus tells you in the still of the night whut you need to know.

The way God has helped us cullud folks bear our cross, I don't see no reason fo' us not to trust Him. When we git to His kingdom, won't be no black and white.

I made my peace with the Lawd a long time ago. When He comes fo me I'm ready to cross over Jerden. I can see my mammy an' my gran mammy, and my little gal that went, all waitin' fo' me on the other sho'. I been servin' my Lawd an' I know tha's a place fo' me in His kingdom.

Such expressions are undoubtedly representative of patterns of thought among Negroes of an earlier generation.[3] Religion is a dominating factor, and it is a personal intimate religion which necessarily relegates the church to an incidental place in the lives of the believers. Heaven is geographically located above the earth, and the anticipation of reaching there is as definite as if one has boarded a train headed for a specified destination. It is a religion involving an unbounded faith in an eternity which will supply all of the good things which the world has denied.

In connection with the second group of questionnaires administered, each respondent indicated connection with some church. The denomination distribution revealed that 52 percent were Baptist, 28 percent were Methodists, 4 percent were Catholics, 4 percent were Presbyterians, 4 percent were Christian Scientists, and 8 percent belonged to a Church of God or Church of Christ. Church membership followed that of the mother when the parents were (or had been when living) members of different churches. For instance, the 52 Baptist students had 50 Baptist mothers but only 36 Baptist fathers. 99 respondents answered "yes" to question 3, indicating that they believed that church members were more respected in a community than nonchurch members. Only one reply

[2] Replies by members of this group were dictates to the writer.

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was qualified. A female between thirty and thirty-five replied, "yes, if they are truly Christian."

In respect to question number 4 the responses were not so varied as might have been expected from so general a query. In fact, 76 of the members of the group expressed the opinions that the church and/or religion were beneficial for every day living, most of the 76 stressing the angle of citizenship and contribution to the community through church affiliation. Only one student made mention of after life. This response—by a female, Baptist, age 29, was, "No one should connect themselves with a church if they do not believe there is a hereafter. Read John 3:16."

The following are sample replies to question 4, extracted from the 76 questionnaires aforementioned:

If a person has religion he is more obedient to the laws of the community.

One who is capable of affiliating in religious as well as social circles is considered more prominent and a more worthy citizen in the community.

People who have religion will be better citizens than those who do not.

If you are a member of a church, it gives you a better standing with the community as well as a clear conscience.

I think before anyone becomes a leader of anything they should connect themselves with some church.

Church membership is one of the essential things of life.

The church can help one in so many ways.

Every person should connect himself with some church so that they will fit themselves for better living and have better social attitudes.

One should belong to church because there is a great need for the fellowship it offers, especially in times of trouble.

The remaining 23 students gave miscellaneous replies of which the following are illustrations:

Religion is a part of culture transmitted from one generation to another.

I think Negroes are more religious than white people.

If a person has religion he should be able to help people who are not Christians.

Churches are our best institutions so we should be glad to support them.

I joined church when I was only 12 because my mother said she never wanted me to die a sinner like my father did.

I have always been glad I joined.

The replies of the college group appear to provide a fair cross section of opinion within the age limits already noted. It is a fact that they are all college students but most of them are thoroughly adult and are also engaged in various occupational pursuits. Some of the respondents are married and virtually all of them are exposed to contemporary social thought in a manner not realized by the average "boarding school" college students. The college is municipal, in consequence of which, its students have received no religious indoctrination from college attendance.

III

The fascination which religion appears to have for the Negro may be traced to the following factors: (1) the traditionalist view of religion as an outstanding social value of the total culture pattern; (2) the lack of opportunity for participating to the fullest extent in other phases of the total culture; (3) the emotional outlet offered by religion, which has deflected aggression against white supremacy into relatively "safe" channels. Religion has thus been a striking element in the acculturation process of the Negro and has played no minor role in his accommodation to the biracial societal structure.

Historically, Negroes received their religious education from the whites, who "converted" them. It should be noted, however, that this education included much more than mere conversion to another faith. It involved an adjustment to a new set of ideas, the most predominant being the superior-inferior positions of white and black peoples. Exactly what, then, did these slavery time Negroes believe about religion that they would take such pride in it? They believed, apparently, that they were an inferior race here on earth, but that through their faith they would obtain a position of equality in the next world. It is possible to obtain some clues to the significant

areas of opinion in this respect from even the small sampling of questionnaires of older people in this article. Note, for example, the respondent who declared that there "won't be no black and white" in the kingdom. Also a belief in Jehovah will carry you through "all tribilations." The "tribilations" are, of course, those centering around lower caste status.

It is indeed significant that none of these old-timers suggested religion as a panacea for present trials and problems. Evidently they believe that problems of the world must be borne with patience to receive compensation for eternity. They accept their inferior status as "a cross," but nevertheless, as a positive fact.

It is possible to ascertain the trend in thought by a reconsideration of the responses of members of the present generation. *Religion* is minimized in favor of the *church* as a social institution. There is no indication from these responses that religion means much more than church affiliation *for a better community integration*, and *for improving one's social or community status*. The consensus of opinion appears to be that church members are the leaders of the Negro community. Accordingly, young people who are ambitious should be connected with a church. One's parents expect it and one may also make a better contribution to his social group through the church than he could otherwise do.

This trend of thought is supported and motivated by the national climate of opinion on the "respectability" of "belonging to church." It is intensified among Negroes by several other factors. In the first instance, it has already been suggested that the Negro community of this city has many more churches, relative to population, than the white community. That is true of most communities. That is not, however, because of the more highly religious character of the Negro, but because of the fact that he has fewer other social outlets. In consequence, the church is correspondingly more important to him for such purposes. Secondly, the prestige rewards which the Negro may reasonably anticipate receiving in any community are meager—in politics, economic life, or any other phase. Therefore, the in-group rewards become more desirable and these generally involve church leadership and dependence on church support. Thirdly, churches have been historically associated with Negro education, Negro uplift, and interracial goodwill. This is true to such an extent that in every conference of interracial leaders, the ministers are the first members who are elected. The inference is, it appears, that these are the most outstanding and reliable members of the race. Many Negro colleges, even nondenominational, are headed by churchmen. This is also true among whites but the effect is not the same as among Negroes because they have in the race numerous economic and political leaders, which fact tends to neutralize the position of religious leaders. Finally, the Negro family has not entirely shed its matriarchal quality. (It has been pointed out that church membership among these respondents follows that of the mother.) For the average Negro woman the church is her chief form of social contact. Sunday is often the only day on which she can "get out," unless to work. She takes great pride in her church membership, and she indoctrinates her children at the earliest possible age to attend and respect the church. Church membership is the badge of the Negro woman's respectability and her conventionality. Nothing makes her feel quite so complacent as to sit dressed in church with all members of the immediate family, in tow.

The above suggested factors concern church membership as distinguished from religion. It would be hazardous to assert that the members of the present generation do not also "have religion." But a logical generalization which seems to follow from an analysis of the questionnaires here considered is that there is an increasing tendency among Negroes to veer away from the type of religious belief which served to rationalize all existing hardships, toward the type which is essentially a phenomenon of the particular nationalistic period of the present.

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THE "INSIGHT INTERVIEW" APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS*

Department of Sociology, Langston University

MOZELL C. HILL AND THELMA D. ACKISS

This article seeks to define partially the culture pattern of an all-Negro community by the examination of personality traits, beliefs, and social attitudes as revealed by interviews with individuals living in the town of Boley, Oklahoma. Our effort is directed toward an understanding of what conceptions the Negroes of this community have of the "race problem"; what feelings and emotions motivate their relationships with Whites and other Negroes; and what connection may be observed between their ideology and their overt behavior. We want to know practically if not explicitly what advantages the Negro, living in semi-isolationism from the dominant culture, has derived or anticipates as a result of his semi-isolation, and what sort of social atmosphere exists in such a community.

Concurrently we suggest the value of the insight interview as a means of comprehending more fully the dynamics of race relations in our present society. We refer, of course, to the type of intensive interview invented by Freud, but turned to the sociological purpose of clarifying cultural relationships and patterns rather than devoted to therapeutic ends. Viewed from this angle, the insight interview is hardly more than a detailed life history except that the interviewer, be he social scientist or psychoanalyst, is quite aware from the outset of the kinds of data which he may expect from the psychoanalytic interview. John Dollard, who has employed this methodology in his own researches, gives the following attestation of its significance (2):

> If community studies are to include a realistic account of the emotional forces of society and are to discriminate accurately the type of participation within specific groups shown by different individuals, then we will find the intensive life history a material aid . . . such material does submit to analysis from the societal standpoint, and it reveals some variables in social life which cannot, perhaps, be discovered in any other way. It is, therefore, genuinely useful as an exploratory tool.

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Several other social scientists have appreciated the impetus given to sociological analysis through the interview and case-study medium (5, 6). And if, indeed, we admit that the individual achieves his place in society by means of socialization we must be willing to go further and acknowledge that he shares, with others in the same society, a collective state of mind or consciousness of which the behavior and attitudes of this individual are a reflection. Park (4) has pointed out that the collective mind is an important area of investigation.

> The collective mind which he (Mannheim) has sought to investigate is not complete unanimity but rather that of a public where there is diversity of sentiments and of opinion. Nevertheless there is in such a public an underlying and more or less unconscious unanimity of purpose and intent.

Accordingly, we submit that the study of individual behavior, in its total social setting, constitutes a basically sound approach. It appears, moreover, that the study of personality is the very core of our problem. We would understand the beliefs, prejudices, values, and attitudes of enough "typical" individuals of this all-Negro community for its climate of thought to become intelligible to us. This objective can be realized, or at least approached, in our estimation, by a socio-psychological interpretation of case histories obtained from persons who are representative of the body of sentiment of certain large community groups. Since this particular town was founded in the early 1900's, we shall present our cases chronologically, in terms of the three generations of its residents.

The three interviews in this section were selected for presentation from a number of life-histories because each of these informants is representative, in his thinking and expressions, of the majority of his contemporaries, as we were able to observe from other interviews, conversations, and participation in the social life of Boley. These cases are significant, in a profound sense, for a comprehension of the social influence of traditional ideas in this particular setting, for each of our interviewees is firmly entrenched in the all-Negro societal pattern. Old Settler, who represents the Boley pioneer, has lived there for nearly 40 years. The other two informants were born in Boley, have never lived elsewhere, and have had limited contact only with the outside (larger culture) world. Space does not permit publication of the complete interviews so we have simply introduced them with condensed, explanatory notes. Our analysis follows each case.

Old Settler

Old Settler is a woman about 60 years of age who moved to Boley a year after it was founded. She came from a southern mixed community where she "worked out" in domestic service for white people. Upon her marriage she and her husband deliberately elected to live in this new, all-Negro community. She says:

> Boley was a real success in those days. All of us who went there had a real spirit—We wanted to prove that Negroes didn't need white people to get along. White folks are all right, that is some of them, but most of them think the Negro don't know very much. Well, we showed them what we could do. We started our own businesses and kept 'em going. Sometimes it was a loss but it was a sacrifice we were proud to make. We ran a newspaper that brought folks flocking to Boley from three or four southern states.
>
> All of us had real spirit. We went to Boley to solve the race problem. We were determined to solve the race problem. Just to show you the spirit of the pioneers—my house was plastered in 1908 and that plastering is still good; only one place cracked and that was because the house settled. No one was interested in personal gain as much as they was in helping the race. Those men wanted to build a town that would be lasting—a place where Negroes could call everything theirs.
>
> We didn't have nothing to do with white people except on business. We didn't want to mix socially with them anyhow. You know Boley was built just so that Negroes could be away from Whites. My husband just *loved* the town in his lifetime for that very reason. I was one proud soul to have a town we could call our own. All the people felt that they were building for themselves and there wasn't a bit of crime. Nobody locked their doors day or night. It was one for all and all for one. Boley would have grown too, to be a great town if "Chief Sam" hadn't come along with something better.[1] He took nearly a thousand of our folks and I don't guess there's hardly a thousand in all now. Of course, you couldn't blame them for following Chief Sam because they were going home—back to Africa.
>
> Things are different now. Negroes themselves are different because so many of them are more interested in personal gain than they are in solving the race problem. Ten or fifteen years ago politics began ruining Boley and making the folks selfish, but there are still a lot there with the old spirit of having a good town just for Negroes. I don't believe Boley will ever break down even though some of the real spirit of a colored town is not as good.

[1]Chief Sam was the leader of a Back-to-Africa movement which took hundreds of Negroes to Africa and dislodged many more.

> One way you can tell that the spirit is not as good is that a lot of those folks who are interested in pushing themselves in politics will run to Okemah (a nearby allwhite town) on any excuse at all. In the olden days we only went there when we had to because it was the county seat. We weren't anxious to be around white folks for fun. We loved our town and our race.

Three basic assumptions may be derived from Old Settler's interview which bring into focus her race attitudes. First, Boley was a success because Negroes proved that they did not "need" Whites. Evidently one basis for her frustration in the mixed community was dependence on Whites. This was tied up with the superiority-inferiority relationship of members of the two races. Thus Negro status would be raised if this "need" of Whites could be obliterated. So she "escaped" from the frustrating situation.

Secondly, Old Settler assumed that Negroes did not "want to" co-mingle socially with Whites. There were two motivating factors to such an assumption. One was that, since race socializing was prohibited by the organizational mores, which she had absorbed in her own personality by means of strict adherence, the idea had become, at least on the conscious level, distasteful. Another was that all segregation because of race was opposed to her concept of democracy. Old Settler could not bring herself to condemn the racial pattern in specific terms, so she rationalized her situation by assuming that she did not fraternize the Whites—not because she was considered inferior and hence was not permitted to, but because she did not "want to."

It is apparent, of course, that such a weak rationalization could not resolve the mental conflict aroused by so powerful a prohibition as the one under consideration. This is borne out in the avoidance behavior of Old Settler—taking refuge in Boley where the problem was non-existent.

In the third place, Old Settler assumed that the solution of the race problem lay in physical separation of Negroes and Whites. Here was a defeatist attitude in this respect and suggests that she had unconsciously accepted the white conception of Negro inferiority because of race. This attitude is emphasized by her evaluation of the Back-to-Africa movement as "something better."

There are several key words in Old Settler's interview which furnish insights into her beliefs, attitudes, and psychic mechanisms of escape. For example, the continual reference to "spirit" is significant because it is compensatory, having also a religious inference. She has deliberately rejected

the dominant cultural values of money and property in favor of a more intangible, but to her, more important and *more lasting* value, i.e., ego gratification. "Spirit," which the Negroes of Boley had, is associated mentally with eternal life, and this compensated for "sacrificing" the privilege of competing in the larger society for wealth and material goods.

Old Settler's references to "building"—even expressions concerning the skill of the workmen in Boley—are merely "collective representations." The underlying idea was the building of self-esteem, the building up of egos which had been damaged by emotional conflict; the building of a "free country" where no problem of race could exist.

Elite Man

Elite Man is of the second generation in Boley—now in his late thirties. His parents were pioneers of the community and he was born on their farm in the vicinity. He received his public education in the schools of Boley and his basic college training in a school situated in another all-Negro community. He has attended a few summer sessions at mixed, northern schools since he has been an adult. He holds a high-prestige and good-paying position in Boley and his home is one of the best in the community. He is an important liaison agent for Negroes in county politics. His wife is a local product and also enjoys considerable prestige. Elite Man says of himself:

> I never have worked or lived anywhere but Boley and I never expect to. Oh, I have had opportunities to go to other places. I could have had a much better paying position in another (northern) state, but I cannot imagine leaving this community. You see, it is not only the place where I earn my living and where everybody respects me; it's a place to which I am attached. There are so many things that I can do for community betterment here that wouldn't count if I did them in a town where there are Whites. You always have that prejudice to contend with. Then too, my experiences in other towns, especially in the South, have served to make Boley dearer to me.
>
> For example, I was passing through a southern city a few years ago when I decided to lay over a few hours and look up an old friend. I happened to get there at night and I had to walk up and down a certain block more than once trying to find the house I was seeking. A policeman had evidently been watching me though I hadn't noticed him. He came up, called me "nigger," cursed, and practically accused me of being "up to something." I was boiling inside but I kept reminding myself that this wasn't Boley while I explained that I was a stranger, looking for the home of a friend. He cursed me again,

> calling me "nigger" every other word, and told me if I couldn't find the place quick I'd better get out of town.
>
> Now I know that incidents like that don't happen to everyone in mixed towns all the time. Maybe some people never have such experiences, but in Boley no one would be bullied and cursed like that, and above all, you would never be called a "nigger," or anything else in that condescending, barely tolerating manner. You may not get rich in Boliey. In fact some people will be broke what ever their opportunities are, but you can at least be a man and call your soul your own. You don't have to cringe and hide when you see a white face even though you are innocent of wrong doing.
>
> Why, in Boley, the white people we deal with treat us as equals. because we don't deal with them on personal terms unless they need us for something (politics usually) and then they don't talk down to us. If they do we get them told. You see, if we needed them, we would have to stand any treatment, like being called "Boy," or "Sam," or by our first names, but thank goodness, in our town we make our terms. So we demand proper respect—and get it. A white man will call you "Mister" if he needs you. Oh, I don't dislike white people. After all we are all human beings. But I know that they think they are superior, because they are white and since I don't think that way I'd rather live in a place where my views won't get me into trouble. Our parents built this town just so we could be men and I for one am glad to live in it.

Elite Man is without doubt a beneficiary of the Old Settler tradition of his parents and his environment. His underlying, basic assumptions are similar as is readily observable. Accordingly, his attitudes would be much the same, but the problems which he faces are those of another generation, hence have a corresponding difference in character. Old Settler "escaped" from Whites because Negroes generally needed them and this appeared to determine the superiority-inferiority character of race relations. By a manipulation of exactly the same psychological symbols, Elite Man employs the technique of avoidance of Whites unless they need him.

Significantly, and in line with the Old Settler ideology, he "solves the race problem" for himself by taking and maintaining refuge in a community where he can be "a man" and call his soul his own. In a mixed community, one may infer, the Negro is inferior, a nonentity, for the Whites possess even his "soul." The idea that the Negro is actually "equal" and could agitate and fight for his equality within the mixed community, does not, evidently, occur to this informant.

There is some connection between his upper class status in Boley and his attachment to the community. Here he is not only superior to most of the

Negroes whom he encounters, but his status gives him the opportunity of meeting Whites on terms of equality, i.e., limiting his contacts to those white people who will deal with him reciprocally. Negroes expect him, as an upper class resident, to "do things" for the community for which they would look to Whites in a mixed community. This affords Elite Man a subtle, yet ego-gratifying identification with Whites which strengthens his opinion of being "as good as they are." In the mixed community he is immediately insecure because he has no choice about the Whites with whom he will deal or in what manner he will deal with them.

Thus his behavioral signs become important in substantiation of his assumptions and in attempting to ferret out his attitudes. He might have left Boley for a better-paying position but he refused. Money was relatively unimportant compared to the frustration anticipated from daily and indiscriminate contact with Whites. Since he could not move freely in the mixed community, he deliberately decided to remain where his feeling of security and equality would not conflict with the white man's concept of Negro inferiority.

Elite Man is highly emotional toward Boley as certain of his words and expressions indicate. Aside from economic and prestige gains, he is "attached" to the place. He can call his "soul" his own. Experiences in mixed community have made Boley "dearer" to him. "Our parents built this town so we could be men." His attachment to Boley is more abiding because it is his only refuge from constant, and to him, terrifying emotional conflict.

College Youth

College Youth was born in Boley about 17 years ago. Her parents moved there shortly before she was born, so she was reared and finished high school in this community. Her forebears are not of the Old Settler tradition, her father having located there because he found a much better-paying position than he had in the mixed community where he was living. In College Youth's words:

> I don't know how well to say that I like Boley because I have never lived anywhere else. The thing I like best about it is you don't have to wonder whether you will be welcome when you go in a public place like you do when you go to *"T"* Town (Tulsa, Oklahoma) and other towns that white people run. In our town we can do pretty much as we please because it is ours. Your own people are not going to hurt your feelings about being colored but white people will.
>
> Of course, some mixed towns are better because there are more con-

veniences, but then you don't have the privileges of the town like you do in Boley. I have a friend who moved to Boley from "*T*" town, and she lived there for only two years. She never did get used to the place because she said there were so many more advantages in "*T*" town. I guess she meant good stores and paved streets and things like that. She said segregation wasn't bad if you were used to it because you just don't expect anything else.

I believe I would like to live in the North if I moved from Boley because there is more inter-marriage. I don't want to marry a white person but if the law allows you to do it you know they couldn't think Negroes are so inferior. I guess I'd rather stay in Boley if I couldn't go North because you don't have to always keep it in your mind that you are a Negro and can't do this and that.

I haven't been around white people much but I know some of them must be all right. My father said those in the town he came from were real neighborly. I don't mind nice white people but I couldn't like one in the same way I like my own people. Nice white people are the ones who don't put you down below them.

College Youth is suspended between two lines of thought. She is of the third generation of Boleyites and the Old Settler tradition has influenced her only indirectly. She has nevertheless become so imbued with the all-Negro complex that she reacts emotionally to Boley in much the same manner as Old Settler and Elite Man.

Her basic assumptions are revealing not only as indices to the emerging attitudes of the youth of the community but in pointing out the virility of the Old Settler tradition. College Youth assumes that white people "run" the mixed southern communities, which naturally suggests that Negroes have no functional part in them. She is more defensive about the disadvantages (largely of an economic nature) of living in Boley than our older informants. At the same time she apparently believes that more of the better things of life, the conveniences, are to be found where Whites are in the ascendancy. Her attitude is doubtful, however, as to whether these conveniences would compensate for continually "having your feelings hurt" because of race.

Another assumption which is interesting, especially in view of the fact that College Youth evidently does not realize its full import, is that a law which permits racial inter-marriage assumes equality of racial status. In this particular instance, she unconsciously challenges the "escape" solution of the race problem and substitutes the breaking down of the sexual race barrier, thus marking this barrier as the most significant stigma of race inferiority. The tremendous importance of the sexual gain to Whites

in segregating Negroes has been recognized by social scientists, which recognition has posed an inevitable connection between sexual equality and "social" equality (1).

"I don't want to marry a white person" appears to be a simple verbalization, lip-service to the cause of race loyalty, fostered by the Old Settler attitude against intimate contact with Whites. The salient point is that she would like to live where she could inter-marry if she moved away from Boley (and she nowhere indicates that she intends to remain in Boley throughout her lifetime as does Elite Man). If she leaves there she wants to contact the "nice" white people, the "neighborly" ones; that is, those in whose neighborhoods Negroes would be acceptable; those who do not "try to put you down below them"; or those between whom and Negroes there exists a consensus.

What have these interviews, representing the collective opinions of the three generations of the Boleyites, taught us about race attitudes in this all-Negro community? In other words, what sort of social atmosphere have we found in terms of Negro-White relations and the current patterning of society? The answer to these questions must be sought in an explanation of the following points: (*a*) the racial beliefs which were transplanted from the mixed community to Boley that became an integral part of its traditional social climate; (*b*) the influence and limitations of such tradition on succeeding generations as ascertained from consensus and divergence of opinion and behavior.

The founding of Boley, it will be recalled, occurred in the early years of the twentieth century, when the hostile southern reaction to the years of the Reconstruction Era was still strong, and before the propagation of the doctrine of "equality of opportunity," later to be popularized by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and similar organizations. The Old Settlers were acutely aware of the fact that emancipation had not solved the race problem and they grasped for a solution at the only other possibility within their limited horizon—separation of the races, based unconsciously on the colonization proposals of the slavery period. We can understand something of the depth of the frustration experienced by these people when living in the mixed community by the degree to which they were motivated by the mechanism of "escape." Old Settler comments upon the numbers who joined the Back-to-Africa movement and remarks that this was "something better" because they were going "back home."

Thus these early settlers had unwittingly accepted their inferiority and the inferiority of all Negroes as an incontrovertible and established fact. They were not "at home" in the mixed community because they were "inferior" and frustrated in it. This idea then—that Negroes were a homogeneous group, statically inferior in relation to the white group—was absorbed from the caste-like structure of the dominant culture and transplanted as part of the social heritage of Boley. It was manipulated so as to secure adherents to the "cause" of solving the race problem; so as to stimulate race pride, and to produce community solidarity in matters connected with the larger society.

In adapting this belief to their undertaking of establishing an all-Negro community, Old Settlers invested it with a fatalistic character having stronger assumptions of caste than existed in the general culture. This is apparent from the fact that neither Old Settler or Elite Man suggest methods of solving the race problem within the mixed community, such as pressure techniques, interracial coöperation, racial propaganda, miscegenation, etc. However, the power of this traditional belief is lessening, for College Youth does not accept it unqualifiedly. She would, nevertheless, avoid militant aggression for "rights," but seeks contact with "nice" white folks who won't "put you down below them."

Another traditional attitude which has pervaded the social atmosphere of Boley concerns the value of racial integrity as over against pecuniary, personal gain. The attitude of "racial integrity" was perhaps taken over indirectly from the sexual barriers erected between Whites and Negroes in the mixed community as a means of preserving the purity of the white race. That was its dynamic motivation, but its adaptation was turned to the realistic end of compensating for lower economic status.

There are several evidentiary statements in the interviews which show the limitation of this belief and the contra climate of opinion which is evolving. First, Old Settler admits and deplores that "things" are different in the last few years. Then, Elite Man apparently enjoys contacting white people who need him (and, by implication, those from whom he receives some material gain), and finally, College Youth does some wishful thinking about the "conveniences" of white communities.

Space does not permit an analysis of all of the attitudes or elements which go to make up the social atmosphere of Boley. Nor does the material presented here warrant a conclusive statement, since our investigation is not completed. It may be tentatively said at this point, however, that the expe-

dient which the Boley pioneers adopted to solve their race problem—grouping themselves together—had an effect of alleviating the tension to which they were subjected in the mixed community. The aggression which this tension motivated was expended in the building up of Boley and the net result was a maximum of personality adjustment to the all-Negro surroundings. At present the complete psychic dependence of the residents of Boley on the Old Settler spirit is languishing and there are indications of dissatisfaction with the traditional acceptance of isolation from Whites as a solution to the race question. The youngest generation experiences some conflict because of the difficulty in reconciling the Boley pioneer ideology with the goal of modern Negro youth—to achieve equality of opportunity in the larger society. The members of this all-Negro community are less isolated than formerly and the problems which Negroes face in the dominant culture are making such inroads there that attitudes on the race problem are more wavering and undetermined than they were a generation or more ago.

In conclusion, it is essential to inquire whether and in what manner the methodology which we have attempted to employ has engendered a better understanding of Negro attitudes, feelings, and beliefs. We think that its largest contribution lies in the fact that it has focused attention on the irrational, emotional and psychic quality of race prejudices. It may be reasonably deduced from our analysis that Negroes are also racially prejudiced, albeit defensively. In spite of the fact that our interviewees represent an extreme illustration of the influence of race cleavage, their sentiments and emotional reactions tell us a great deal about the inferiority manifestations of Negroes in general.

This methodology, moreover, bridges the gap between the stereotyped, factual, community survey, and the personality-culture community study. While we have not, in this brief article, integrated our personality-culture material into all of the factual data which we have accumulated on Boley, such a course could be pursued with much profit. It is, in fact, our intention to do so in subsequent studies, emphasizing the informational rather than the methodological aspect of the research.

Finally, it is not our claim that we are "discovering" the benefits to be derived from the insight interview. Harold Lasswell (3), among others, has strongly commended it to Social Scientists. We do submit that it has been too infrequently utilized in the study of race relations to which it espe-

cially lends itself, and that it has not previously been used in connection with a Negro group which lives in semi-isolation from the general society.

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EXPERIENCES IN THE PROFESSIONAL IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS

By William H. Martin

This paper is based upon the results of an intensive study dealing with the administration, development, and appraisal of a co-operative plan for the in-service professional improvement of high school teachers.[1] Forty-one teachers, the staff of the Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, Little Rock, Arkansas, were involved in this study for the school year 1943-44. It sought to perform a four-fold purpose: (1) to report practices utilized to promote the in-service professional improvement of teachers in the Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, Little Rock, Arkansas; (2) to describe the development of the program; (3) to appraise the practices in terms of their contributions to professional improvement, to improving the conditions under which students learn, and improvements in the growth of pupils; and (4) to propose recommendations for a continuation of the program based upon a study of the data, coupled with suggestions collected from the faculty and students of the school.

Historical Background

Public secondary education for Negroes in Little Rock, Arkansas was begun in 1869 when Union School, one of the earliest secondary schools for Negroes in the South, became an integral part of the newly-created Little Rock Public School System. The high school for Negroes was moved in 1902 and again in 1908 before the Paul Laurence Dunbar High School was dedicated in 1930. Upon the opening of the Dunbar High School, secondary education was extended to provide a program of post-secondary education at the junior college level.

During the period 1930 to 1943, some emphasis was placed upon the in-service improvement of the teachers. Some specific means utilized during this period were: (1) visiting days for teachers, (2) institutes, (3) extension and evening school attendance, (4) curriculum study and revision, (5) teachers' meetings,

[1] William H. Martin, "The Development and Appraisal of a Program for Promoting the In-Service Professional Improvement of Negro Teachers." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1944.

(6) research and experimentation, (7) supervision, (8) scholarships and leaves for study, and (9) committee work. The program prior to the present study, however, had not been undergirded by a defensible philosophy of education which was consistently applied. However, there was evidence that some of the procedures provided a basis for the growth of the staff and led to the improvement of the program of the school. As an example, it was found that departmental meetings had provided opportunities to study and attack problems, to propose plans, and to carry these plans into execution. Moreover, between 1930 and 1943, the mathematics department sought to improve the effectiveness of the department by conducting several studies.

During this period, the preparation of the staff was upgraded by extension and evening school study, by providing leaves of absence for study, and by credits earned by staff members who participated in the statewide curriculum program. Supervisory activity had vacilated from democratic supervision to the more inspectoral type. Committee activity had been ineffective in many cases because the assignments were limited to a few teachers and because many of the committee did not have clear-cut functions.

Underlying Philosophy

To provide guidance and direction in administering the program for the year 1943-44, the writer developed a statement of his philosophy of education which grew out of the conviction that such a statement must reflect the finest ideals of the social order out of which it emerges. In consequence, such democratic values as individualism, equality, and freedom were reinterpreted in terms of the meaning which must be ascribed to them at the present time. In this statement, the learning process is viewed as being involved in the solution of problematic situations; while the purpose of the school is concerned with promoting the optimuni development of boys and girls who attend the school. This philosophical position implies that a program of in-service education should seek to further the realization of the democratic ideal by providing teachers and pupils with opportunities for participation in activities directed toward moving the program of the school forward. One of the most important obligations of the principal is to promote the in-service improvement of teachers. In fulfilling

this obligation, the principal should substitute leadership for authority and lead teachers to face problems which have meaning for them, the solutions of which will bring about changes in teachers, and provide positive improvements in the school program.

The Development of the Program

The plan of in-service professional improvement which was developed at the Paul Laurence Dunbar High School during the year 1943-1944 proceeded in terms of a democratic frame of reference. It took into account the prior necessity of creating an environment where teachers and pupils could carry on a way of life characterized by shared living. From the beginning teachers were encouraged to propose courses of action, to adopt plans, and to put plans so adopted into operation.

Observations made early in the year revealed that teachers assumed responsibilities with a degree of caution, that there was very little interest in curriculum study, and that teachers were severe in their criticisms of the general faculty meetings. These problems were reduced in number and intensity gradually as teachers began showing interest in all aspects of the program of the school.

The staff members participated in planning teachers' meetings, investigated problems associated with their classroom work, developed a tentative philosophy for the school, appraised themselves relative to their effectiveness as classroom teachers, and cooperated with various organizations in the community. These experiences provided the teachers with many opportunities to take leadership in staff activities, to place value on the experiences that they were acquiring, and to effect improvements in arriving at solutions to school problems through democratic action.

The staff provided enriched experiences for the students by securing pupil participation in administering certain aspects of the program, providing opportunities for students to propose and initiate programs directed toward improving the school, providing opportunities for students to acquire work experiences, placing emphasis upon health and physical education, taking classes on study trips, encouraging students to assist with the planning of their curriculum experiences, and utilizing resource persons in the community with classes.

Specific means utilized to promote the improvement of teachers were: (1) participation in the administration of the school, (2) daily bulletin, (3) teachers' meetings, (4) supervision, (5) individual conferences, (6) small group conferences, (7) informal chats and discussions, (8) committee work, (9) research, (10) professional reading, (11) curriculum study, (12) self-appraisal, (13) inter-visitation, (14) use of community resources, (15) community participation, (16) salary increases, (17) correspondence and extension study, (18) child study, (19) institutes of instruction for new teachers, and (20) social activities.

An Appraisal of the Program

As a basis for appraising the project two fundamental assumptions were postulated, each of which was derived and validated in terms of a democratic philosophy of education. A brief discussion of these assumptions follows:

A major test of the effectiveness of a program of in-service education is the extent to which changes are brought about in teachers. Since adherence was given to a set of democratic values, teacher growth was viewed in terms of the extent to which teachers developed qualities necessary for shared living. This involves developing competency in participating in activities directed toward achieving common goals and purposes, in using the method of intelligence in attacking and finding solutions to problems, in gaining insight leading to better ways of teaching boys and girls, in developing an attitude of critical open-mindedness, and in effecting improvements in human relationships.

A good program of in-service education will provide increasingly better conditions under which boys and girls learn. Providing conditions for better learning may be viewed in relationship with the development of the democratic personality. In order to provide situations for more effective learning, the curriculum must accord boys and girls more opportunities to acquire meaningful experiences. In the process, provision must be made for releasing their potentialities to the end that they may become more competent in participating in a program of shared concern. Instead of learning experiences being restricted to memorizing trivial details in textbooks, opportunities must be afforded for ac-

quiring direct experiences through study trips, work experiences, and other means of curriculum enrichment. Learning must be bound up in use.

In utilizing these assumptions as a basis, some clues as to the extent to which learning conditions were improved as well as changes in faculty thinking were found. Neither the appraisal nor the set of recommendations which grew out of the study was regarded as final. The appraisal represented an essential feature of an on-going experience; the recommendations were submitted to the participating faculty for acceptance, rejection or modification.

The staff members appraised the topics discussed in teachers' meetings in terms of their contributions to their professional improvement. Topics valued highly included: improving attendance, philosophy of education, defining secondary education, school-community relationships, and problem cases. These topics discussed, according to teachers' statements, made them aware of emerging trends in education; the need for knowledge of these trends as one basis for re-thinking the program of school; and of the soundness of the viewpoint that it is a prior obligation of the school to gear its curriculum to emerging demands.

During the year 1943-1944 there was a thirty per cent gain in library circulation among staff members. The teachers' reading was not restricted to sources in education and psychology but included titles in the fields of history, economics, biography, and fiction. In the area of human relationships the teachers' reading was restricted almost wholly to books on race relations.

Eighty-one per cent of the teachers made home contacts which, according to their statements, provided a clear-cut picture of the students' background and provided a basis for a more sympathetic consideration of their needs. Additional community contacts were made by nineteen or fifty-one per cent of the teachers by delivering speeches before non-school community groups. According to statements made by one or more staff members, speeches delivered before school and community groups strengthened teacher-parent relationships, aided in making new friends for the school, stimulated teachers to do research along civic and community lines, and tended to broaden the teachers' experiences.

Approximately eighty-nine per cent of the teachers participated in curriculum discussions, while about half of the teachers aided in drafting a tentative statement of the philosophy for the school. Teachers believed that curriculum study stimulated their thinking, caused them to clarify the role of the teacher in the school, and made them aware of the need of curriculum study as a basis for gearing the program of the school to present and post-war needs.

In general teachers, students, and parents believed that conditions under which children learned during the year improved beyond those of other years. Statements made by parents and teachers supported this generalization. The students noted changes in the program which they felt were significant. Thirty-five per cent noted changes in personnel; eighty-six per cent valued the increase in activities; thirteen per cent regarded the enrichment of the curriculum as significant; and five per cent noted better pupil-teacher relationships. In appraising the program, derogatory statements occurred only fifteen times in a total of 151 statements of students.

The appraisal data warranted the following generalizations:

1. As a general rule, teachers exhibited concern over the necessity of growth while in service.

2. The relationship that exists between teachers and pupils and teachers and parents improved as a result of the fact that teachers changed their professional attitudes.

3. There developed increased initiative and cooperation on the part of the staff which eventuated in heightening the efforts of the teachers to work on enterprises connected with the achievement of common goals and purposes.

4. Teachers exhibited an awareness of the relationship existing between the school and community as well as the great reservoir of vital learning experiences which the community can provide.

5. Teachers improved in taking leadership in staff activities, involving finding solutions and proposing courses of action which benefit the total school program.

6. An overwhelming number of teachers became more open-minded and responsive to the emergent nature of the school program.

7. The staff, as a whole, exhibited concern over keeping abreast of recent trends in education through professional reading.

8. Teachers included in this study grew more reflective with respect to the implications of a philosophy of education for practice.

9. The staff strengthened its faith in democracy as a way of life and gains were made in making this philosophical position implicit in daily living.

10. Most of the teachers showed a deepening interest in teaching and exhibited a desire to improve teaching skill by research and study.

11. Perceptible gains were evidenced in the growing competency in dealing with situations involving human relationships.

12. Students exhibited a willingness to shoulder the responsibility which accompanies democratic living.

13. Students exhibited more interest in school as shown by better attendance and better discipline on the part of students.

14. Because of the gradual change in atmosphere and growth of children, parents became more interested in school.

15. Specific means that contributed to the growth of the pupils included: increase in activities, enrichment of the curriculum, changes in personnel, better pupil-teacher relationships, increased interest of the staff with regard to meeting the needs of the pupils entrusted to its care.

16. The staff provided experiences which aided in furthering the development of democratic personalities by utilizing democratic practices in various kinds of situations; in classes, in assemblies, in homerooms, in clubs and in conferences.

17. Students were encouraged beyond other years to think through problems that confronted them.

Proposals For a Continuation of the Program

Upon the basis of suggestions of the staff members of the school, student opinion, and other appraisal data recommendations were made for a continuation of the program. It was not the intention of the writer to break at this point from the over-arching democratic frame of reference which guided this study. The proposals were made to provide a basis for faculty planning and deliberation in matters pertaining to the in-service improvement of the staff.

It was proposed that:

1. The curriculum study program be continued; that it be directed by a steering committee to be selected with a representative from each department; and that sub-committees be selected representing the following areas of faculty interest: (1) adolescent growth and development, (2) youth problems, (3) philosophy, and (4) evaluation.
2. Emphasis be placed upon the personality development of the teacher by: (1) aiding out-of-town teachers in making effective adjustments, (2) devoting study to mental health, (3) providing social activities, and (4) improving professional ethics.
3. Teachers and pupils be accorded increasingly more opportunities to cooperate in the administration of the school program by the organization of a faculty council, and through more faculty participation in shaping school policies.
4. Continuing emphasis be placed upon school-community relationships by home visits, community participation, and the utilization of teaching resources in the community, and the participation of patrons in developing the program of the school.
5. An Annual Planning Conference be held Thursday, Friday, and Saturday preceding the opening of school.
6. Funds be secured to purchase books and magazines of special interest to teachers.

7. Supervisory activities center upon the cooperative development of a form to appraise teaching; that inter-visitation be encouraged; that periodic supervisory conferences be held involving teacher and principal and/or supervisors in order to discuss and propose solutions to instructional problems.
8. Teachers increase their interest in the Arkansas Teachers' Association by assuming their part in developing its program.
9. Plans be devised to provide opportunities for selected teachers to attend national meetings by underwriting the expense attached to such attendance.
10. Teachers be stimulated to attend summer school, and that requests be made for out-of-state aid for this purpose. It is recommended further that the possibility of organizing extension courses be explored with view to aiding teachers in studying areas of interest upon which curriculum study will be based.
11. Teachers assist in preparing bulletin materials.
12. Plans be worked out to secure leaves of absence for teachers to study during the regular term on problems, the solution of which will effect improvements in Dunbar's program.

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION IN THE NEGRO COLLEGE

By Thelma D. Ackiss

The design of this article is to describe and analyze some of the problems connected with teaching Social Science in the Negro College. Special reference is had to the Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas, where the writer is a teacher. The problems to be discussed are interrelated with the following factors: (1) the setting of the institution, (2) the municipal character of the school, (3) the racial composition of the students and faculty members, (4) the sectional homogeneity of the students.

If at the outset there are formulated a few goals for the teaching of social science subjects, it will be easier to point out the obstacles which have been encountered because of the above mentioned factors. In that regard it may be said that the members of the social science staff have intended: (1) to guide the student in the acquisition of significant information about the subject or subjects which he pursues; (2) to assist him in understanding this subject matter in terms of real-life situations; and (3) to sharpen his thinking so that he becomes capable of forming objective, unbiased opinion on matters relating to societal living, especially those of the society in which we live today.

In other words, this staff assumes that social science instruction has been inadequate unless the student who has been exposed to it has acquired a certain minimum information in the field studied, including a rather broad, overall picture of the specific subject. Furthermore, the knowledge thus acquired should be of a dynamic character which is applicable to any analogous situation which he encounters; and the student should have developed the ability to divest himself of his prejudices, at least for the purpose of evaluating contemporary, cultural phenomena.

Obviously, however simply stated, such a goal could not be too easy of accomplishment. When attempted with a provincial Negro group in a setting which is incompatible with objectivity of thought, it becomes an even more arduous task. In this connection it might be noted that the city of Houston, Texas, is so located that it is not too readily accessible to other states or to certain parts of the same state. Thus, to an even greater degree

perhaps than some other city colleges, this institution caters to its own residents and persons from the neighboring small communities.

The school is an adjunct of the University of Houston, the white municipal college. It is particularly sought by teachers and prospective teachers in the environs of the city. Some of the students are housewives who attend college for "cultural" purposes rather than as an incident to pursuing a career. In any event, a majority of the four hundred students are adults, and at least 95 percent of them are Texans by birth or by long adoption. Many are working in the city and virtually all of them are well integrated in the community, holding memberships in churches, fraternal organizations, clubs, etc.

In this as in other municipal colleges the school spirit is more lukewarm than otherwise. Unlike the average boarding school student body composed of adolescents with unformed or half-formed opinions about the social order, the student in the municipal college enters school because he has a definite objective which he quite well appreciates. His patterns of conduct are well set and well defined, and he generally does not aspire to leave the city in which the college is located. From the viewpoint of the social science instructor, this factor may be simultaneously an asset and a disadvantage. Its advantage may be found in the fact that the student is already accommodated to his surroundings and, accordingly can apply to actual situations the information he assimilates in his courses with comparative ease. The great disadvantage lies in the fact that the student has usually become so provincial that he has no facility and seldom the incentive for viewing social phenomena from a broad perspective.

By way of illustration—in a recent American Government examination, in a question asking the general requirements for voting in the United States, a large majority of the class members included payment of one's poll tax as a prerequisite. Since Texas is notoriously a poll tax state these students apparently were unable to dissociate state requirements from national and view the whole question in its larger setting. Again, it has been observed that this group of students does not expect that national laws and Supreme Court decisions will necessarily operate in this state.

They find it hard to comprehend, for instance, that the Mitchell Supreme Court decision on equality of accommodations in interstate travel, has reference also to Texas because, they say, the state Jim Crow laws are always enforced here.

The course in Negro History offered an excellent opportunity to examine the attitudes and opinions of some fifty odd students on that particular field of study. In reply to the question, "Why are you studying Negro History?", a number of interesting responses were tendered, of which the following are samples.

> One reason I am studying Negro History is to get acquainted with some of the things which Negroes have done to make history. Because I am a Negro myself I am interested in worthwhile Negroes and what they have done.
>
> I am taking this course because I think it will have a tendency to inspire me more definitely in the knowledge of the great contributions which our race has made. It will enable me as a teacher to impart to Negro youth the desire for great achievements.
>
> We as a race do not know what we should know about the Negro and his contribution to civilization.
>
> Since slavery the Negro has advanced more than any other race. He is learning more and more to come together and work for the advancement of the colored race. Through Negro History we can become better acquainted with the Negro.
>
> The study of Negro History enables me to become better acquainted with the progress the race has made through the ages. We started out with nothing and up to the present we have reached heights we had no dreams of.
>
> All Negro students should feel obligated to take Negro History because it will give encouragement for the future progress of the race.
>
> Negro History helps us to appreciate the accomplishments of our race.

The foregoing excerpts reveal the frustration which these students experience by virtue of lower caste status. They show how intense are their desires to believe that the Negro merits more consideration than he is accorded under the segregated pattern of race relations; the aspiration to compensate, as it were, for the stigmata which accompany racial "inferiority."

What problems, then, do these revelations raise for the teacher of Social Science? It would appear that the most glaring matter concerns the subjectivity of the students, or, to put it negatively, their lack of objectivity. This may be accounted for not only in terms of the race consciousness which is engendered by reason of racial "herding", but in terms of a larger pattern of thought, namely, the custom of thinking of all history as dominated by the "great man" theory. Too often is historical instruction imparted on the basis of "our heroes" and this system of thinking carries over into specified historical fields, the result being an analogous pattern of thought or mind-set in any given branch of the subject.

The teacher then finds himself confronted with the problem of overcoming this general tendency to idealize all historical characters. Moreover, he must attempt to steer the Negro student away from the emotionalism and the defensiveness which prevent him from viewing the historical data of his race with detachment. This places the instructor in the anomalous position of advising social science students to regard social science phenomena with objectivity at the same time that they try to understand these phenomena in terms of real life situations.

Such advice sounds more inconsistent, however, than it actually is. For example, the racial philosophy of Booker T. Washington (which happens to be a topic in the Negro History course aforementioned) may well be evaluated in connection with its merits or demerits for the situation which obtains here in Houston, Texas. The teacher's chief point of caution would involve trying to prevent the student from beginning his evaluation with the preconceived dogmatic notion that Booker T. Washington was a hero, *just because* his name happens to be nationally known and because he occupies a space in history text books.

The above and related matters might be more facile of clarification were it not for the fact that the teacher, himself, is also an active participant in the caste-like culture, therefore, he is likewise, though perhaps to a lesser degree, emotionally weighted with the same circumstances which tend to bias the judgment of the student. The Negro teacher of social science subjects has generally disciplined his thinking to insure at least a measure of objectivity in

dealing with social phenomena. But his objectivity is subjected to a constant challenge by reason of the circumstance that he is ever conscious of his disadvantaged position in the whole society.

Accordingly, it appears that the Negro teacher of Social Science in a college such as is here considered has several possible worthy goals at which to aim, none of which are trivial in character: (1) He must remain on continual guard against his own biases and emotional reactions. (2) He must develop a technique for posing problems for student consideration which will provoke reasoning and thought, in an effort to combat the tendency of "taking for granted". (3) He might attempt to meet the problem of provincialism by using illustrations, for social problems, of national and international significance in addition to those which are local. (4) He should encourage the interchange of ideas on the part of the students with (a) faculty members, (b) community leaders, (c) students and members of the white group.

The teacher is unable to accomplish or even approach those and similar aims unless he has previously developed a theoretical framework for his social science teaching. In our particular culture this would necessarily include a "philosophy of democracy" which would be applicable to the situation occupied by the Negro. Thus the tenets of democratic ideology, as opposed to other operating systems of thought, should be made clear without doubt. The Negro problem should not be evaded but should be discussed in realistic terms. At the same time it ought to be pointed out that the Negro problem is but one of a series of problems concerning various groups which are disadvantaged under the democratic system as it now operates. It would remain, of course, for the student finally to evolve his own philosophy; but logically it should not exclude a consideration of attaining for himself as a Negro, or himself as a member of a low socio-economic status group, the full measure of opportunity which should be expected under the democratic process.

Then, in connection with the municipal college student in the South, there is another factor with which the teacher of Social Science must deal. As suggested earlier, a majority of the students are employed in the city where the college is located. Most of the others aspire to employment in the city school system. They

are, consequently, very cautious of expressing themselves with freedom, especially if the topic happens to involve race relations. It appears that they fear reprisals of one kind or another. Such repression is naturally antagonistic to the development of a scientific attitude and it tends to reenforce the frustration already experienced by virtue of inferior status.

In this case the teacher meets an obstacle which hardly admits of a solution while the status quo is maintained. The instructor can, however, encourage and promote concerted action whenever it is indicated. Once a large body of Negroes understands the power of group pressure, a number of group disadvantages can be overcome with comparatively no risk to any individual. So, although it seems very improbable that many *individual* Negroes in the South will venture to express their opinions freely in the immediate future, *groups* which demand consideration will be able to make free expressions.

Finally, in regard to freedom of speech, the social science teacher can encourage students to assemble and compile social science data as well as address themselves to social problems for the purpose of publication. In writing of social phenomena the student not only receives the benefit of free expression, but he also acquires a bounty of information which enables him to recognize and understand the fundamental values involved in the problems investigated. This is a necessary step in developing an objective attitude.

The scope of this article has been limited to an analysis of problems connected with social science instruction in a particular college in the Southwest. It is not suggested by the writer that all problems have been dealt with, or that discussion has been exhausted on those which were posed. It is assumed that the problems included are common to other institutions of learning, which have a number of features identical with those possessed by the Houston College for Negroes. That is one justification for writing this article; that, and the hope that its appearance will stimulate a more thorough and intensive analysis of problems such as those which have been considered, than this writer has made herein.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE HYPOTHESIS OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN MENTAL ABILITY

By William E. Anderson

1. *Introductory Statement*

Does the evidence of experimental science support the hypothesis of racial differences in mental ability? The purpose of this paper is to find, if possible, through an examination of the literature of investigation, the answer to this question. It has been limited to that phase of the hypothesis which relates to the American Negro who during the past half century has been made for both psychological and sociological reasons the subject of frequent inquiries. Since many of these studies have been interpreted to his disadvantage, the writer thought it altogether fitting and proper to re-examine the evidence.

The Negro, regardless of his individual wishes, must accept one of two viewpoints. The first is an hypothesis that he is inferior, as stated by Pintner who says: "Our conclusions can be briefly summarized by saying that all results show the Negro decidedly inferior to the white on standard intelligence tests."[1]

The second or opposite viewpoint challenges the hypothesis of Negro inferiority. According to Klineberg: "There is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality . . . in the present state of our knowledge. . . . We have no right to assume that they exist."[2]

In further support of this view it is interesting to note that at the 1938 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, a resolution was unanimously adopted, which reads in part as follows:

> "(1) Race involves the inheritance of similar groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science. . .

[1] Pintner, Rudolph, *Intelligence Testing: Methods and Results*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, p. 443.

[2] Klineberg, Otto, *Race Differences*, Harpers, New York, 1935, p. 342.

(2) Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation, or linguistic heritage.''[3]

These statements constitute concurrently a definite clash of opinion and a frame of reference from which our discussion may proceed.

It is the writer's opinion that a democratic society must obviously accept as a basic concept the principle of individual differences. Likewise, it is obligated to be broad enough to accept these differences as being due to cultural rather than somatic influences, provided of course there is sufficient evidence to support the position. "Cultural differences between social groups may be reflected in responses to the items of an intelligence test and may accordingly, throw some light upon adventitious learning in the young child."[4]

The Negro constitutes such a cultural group in America. He holds, ceteris paribus, a significant and worthwhile position in American life. It is, therefore, nothing less than fair to him to appraise any dictum which does violence to his status such as Pintner's conclusion, quoted in paragraph two of this article.

2. *The Concept of Intelligence*

"There is little agreement," according to Sorenson, "even among psychologists on a definition of intelligence. . . . Intelligence has been variously defined as the ability to do abstract thinking, the capacity to learn, the ability to respond to terms of truth and fact, and the ability to adjust one's self to one's environment."[5] Intelligence is likewise conceived of as functional. The justification of this position lies in the fact that we are measuring the behavior of the "ego." An intelligence test consists of a series of carefully graded tasks selected from the experiences of children or adults and designed to elicit certain responses from the children or adults to whom the test is administered. This approach

[3] Hollingworth, Leta S. and Witty, Paul A., "Intelligence As Related to Race" *The Thirty-Ninth Yearbook*, National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1940, p. 257.

[4] Brown, Fred, "A Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Jewish and Scandinavian Children," *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 64 (March, 1944), p. 68.

[5] Sorenson, Herbert, *Psychology in Education*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1940, p. 134.

regards intelligence, in the language of Stoddard, as a "theoretical composite whose elements may be operationally tested."[6]

What then is intelligence? So far as this paper is concerned Stoddard's definition is sufficient. Says he, "Intelligence is the ability to undertake activities that are characterized by (1) difficulty, (2) complexity, (3) abstractness, (4) economy, (5) adaptiveness to a good, (6) social value, and (7) the emergence of originals, and to maintain such activities under conditions that demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces."[7]

Certain postulates may now be set down anent the measurement of intelligence: 1. To measure intelligence it is necessary to measure a certain amount of social or educational attainment. This postulate has the support of Freeman, Penrose, and Stoddard.

"Whereas most people once assumed that tested intelligence measured the "native" factor more than the "nurture" factor, they must now concede that it is greatly determined by cultural influences to which the testee is exposed. There is nothing new or strange in this doctrine, and anyone who has thought through the implications of a measuring device whose most reliable part is the vocabulary test, will have realized years ago that aside from the broadest limits of idiocy and genius, the "native" factor in intelligence may be effectively masked by differences in experience."[8]

Penrose has recently stated:

> "Adverse factors in the environment, which operate at any time after a child is born, are responsible for mental impairment in a certain number of cases. Some of these environmental factors are more often operative in the high-grade and others in the low-grade group. They must be appreciated before the hereditary factors can be intelligently discussed."[9]

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[6] Stoddard, George D. *The Meaning of Intelligence*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1943, p. 4.

[7] Stoddard, George D., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[8] Freeman, G. L., "A Methodological Contribution to the Nature-Nurture Dilemma in Tested Intelligence," *Psychological Review*, Vol. 47, 1940, p. 267.

[9] Penrose, L. S. "Inheritance of Mental Defect," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 52, 1941, p. 260.

As Stoddard states it, "all intelligent activity draws heavily upon social inheritance. The child and the man work symbols and relationships, with goals of knowledge that are handed down. What is here called intelligent behavior, as mediated through a specific organism would be strange indeed in the absence of a cultural heritage."[10]

1. A test of intelligence to be valid for comparative purposes must be constructed upon the basis that the tasks presented represent common factors in the life of the individual or individuals to be tested.

2. Conditions under which the tests are given should be conducive to optimum results.

3. All factors known to the art of testing or experimental procedure and pertinent to achieving results of scientific value should be carefully ascertained and controlled.

4. The results should be reported in either statistical or scientific terms commonly used by and therefore meaningful to students of education and psychometric procedures.

3. *Studies of Racial Intelligence*

There are many studies of racial intelligence. This paper confines itself to a consideration of those which relate to the Negro. Between 1895 and 1928, according to Garth, "The American Negro had been a subject of investigation in 40 of the 104 studies reported."[11] The total number of Negroes studied approximated 25,000. This number taken from a population of nearly 13,000,000 is indeed a small sampling.

The largest group of Negroes tested and reported upon in one study was 18,891. This group represented Negro draftees in World War I. The mean score of the Negro draftee in terms of mental age was 10.4 years as compared with the white draftee of 13.1 years. (See Table I for a summary of typical studies.)

Before embarking upon the task of the study of racial differences, one should recognize the mystical connotations of the

[10] Stoddard, George D., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[11] Garth, Thomas Russell, *Race Psychology*, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931, p. 57.

word race. The term "race" is no longer regarded as a valid classification device by many sociologists and anthropologists, and its use is generally restricted to discussions in which a convenient abstraction is needed. As Linton[12] points out, "Races are creations of the investigator and creations with regard to which all its creators are by no means in agreement."

This fact will become obvious to the reader as he proceeds to analyze the literature pertaining to racial studies. One should by all means read Paul Radin's excellent treatment of racialism in his monograph: *The Racial Myth.*

4. *Analysis of the Data*

The results of typical studies of Negro intelligence can now be briefly analyzed. These studies have followed two approaches, namely: (1) The inter-race and (2) The intra-race method. The first method is very simple. Two contiguous groups of subjects are selected, one composed of whites and the other of Negroes.

In only a few instances do the investigators indicate the methods used in securing the samples, the statistical devices used for equating the groups, and how variables are accounted for or controlled. This naturally brings up the question of validity, which will be treated, but more about that later.

TABLE I

A SUMMARY OF TYPICAL STUDIES OF RACIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Date	Investigator	Race	Number of Cases	Test	Results Median or Mean	Comments
1897	Stetson	Whites Negroes	500 500	Memory Tests		Negroes excelled Whites
1913	Baldwin	Whites Negroes	37 33	Learning		Negroes less accurate
1913	Strong	Negroes Whites	125 225	Binet		Negroes 29% retarded
1915	Pyle	Negroes	500	Psych. Tests		Whites excel Negroes
1917	Sunne	Negroes Whites	126 112	Binet Yerkes		Whites overlap 1 yr. older mentally
1919	Trabue	Negroes	8,244	Army		Whites better than Negroes

[12] Linton, R., *The Study of Man*, The Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936.

		Negroes	55		IQ 103	Av. 1.18 P. E.
1920	Derrick	Whites	75	Binet	IQ 112	Whites better
		Negroes	3,000	Gen. Int.		Negroes overlap Whites: rural
1921	Haggerty	Whites	13,000	Delta		19.9% city, 14.3%
		Negroes	500		IQ 103.7	Negroes 3.7
1923	Clark	Whites			IQ 100	points better
	Witty and			Standard Achieve-		No essential difference in young
1927	Decker	Negroes	220	ment		Negroes
	Peterson and	Whites	490			Northern Negroes speedier than
1929	Lanier	Negroes	561	Various		Southern. Equaled whites in rational learning.
1933	Beckman	Negroes	1,100	Binet	IQ 96	
				Binet	200 1	103 Negro
	Jenkins			McCall	190 0	Children of
	and			Multi-	180 0	superior mental
1935	Witty	Negroes	539	Mental	170 0	ability
					160 1	
					150 9	
					140 18	
					130 29	
					120 45	
				Otis Calif.		
1944	Anderson	Negroes*	139	Test	IQ 103.4	Highest: 123

* Anderson, William E., *A Study of the Intelligence Personality Traits of Negro High-School Pupils.* Unpublished Doctor's Field Study III, Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado, 1944.

The findings from studies using the inter-race methodology tend to indicate a variation in the achievement (total responses to test items) of white and Negro groups. Some of the reports indicate that the white groups excel on all segments of the tests, others on certain parts but not on the tests as a whole. Others report that Negroes exceed the whites on the tests, but for the most part on either certain kinds of tests or on certain parts of a test.

These tests further show that there is an appreciable degree of overlapping, that is to say, a number of cases in the Negro group exceed the mean or median score of the white group. This median score has been reported as having a range of from 4 to 50 per cent. This can be interpreted to mean that individual differences exist within the two groups. Jenkins[13] says:

[13] Jenkins, Martin D., "The Intelligence of Negro Children," *Educational Method*, Vol. 19 (November, 1939), p. 107.

"A composite of all the studies concerned with Negro-White comparisons reveals that the lower and upper limits are approximately the same for white and Negro children, i.e., some Negro children are as dull as the dullest white children, and some Negro children are as bright as the brightest white children."

Likewise these tests disclose that environmental influences have some bearing upon the IQ scores. When Negroes are selected from northern cities where they have lived all of their lives and are compared with groups from the South, the scores of the Northern groups[14] are always higher. Likewise Northern Negro groups score higher than Southern white groups. Socio-economic status manifests itself in the results.

The second approach is the intra-race method. The problem in this procedure is that of the differentiation of environmental factors or the proper evaluation of nurture and nature. Since the studies which have attacked the problem from the effect of environmental influences reveal that they are pervasive factors, the matter is often quite complicated. The results, however, appear conclusive.

The intra-race techniques have exploded the myth of the relationship of blood mixture and superiority. "The relationship between test scores and physical traits, denoting greater or less amounts of Negro blood, is so tenuous as to be of no value in drawing conclusions as to the comparative native ability or relative intelligence of the Negro compared to the white."[15]

Thompson[16] sought to clarify the voluminous but inconclusive evidence on racial differences in mental ability through an inquiry to eminent scholars in the field of psychology, education, and science. His replies came from seventy-seven psychologists, twenty-two in the field of education, and thirty sociologists and anthropologists. Ninety-six per cent of them stated that racial differences in mental ability did not have the support of scientific investigations. Thompson, accordingly, concludes:

[14] Long, Howard H., "The Intelligence of Colored Elementary Pupils in Washington, D. C.," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 3, 1934.

[15] Herskovitz, M. J., "On the Relation Between Negro-White Mixture and Standing in Intelligence Tests," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 33 (March, 1926), p. 41.

[16] Thompson, Charles H., "Conclusions of Scientists Relative to Racial Differences," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 3 (July, 1934).

"The data reveal unmistakably that it is the general conclusion of scholars engaged in the field of racial differences and closely allied fields of experimentation that there are no inherent mental differences between American Negroes and American whites, nor is there corroboration of the mulatto-hypothesis—that Negroes with more white blood are inherently different from Negroes with less white blood—which is a fundamental corollary of the racial difference theory."

On the phase of non-intellectual traits no significant differences have been found. Bond[17] was unable to detect any distinct Negro group and concluded that "Differences which appear in the course of the investigation may be due to either inherited racial strains or to the type of isolation to which the factor of race consigns the entire group."

5. *Summary and Conclusions*

Recourse to the original data and to periodical literature in which the original experiments were described will disclose to the reader that there is no unanimity of opinion as to the existence of racial differences in mental ability. Although Pintner[18] concluded that there was, he evidently either misconstrued the facts or reported his bias. He states on page 436 in his own book:[19] "There is considerable overlapping between the groups. . . The difference between the average white and the average Negro is not very great, but it is quite definitely present." Although, in the tabulation of suggestions made by different writers on page 441, he reports suggestions in which Negroes excel whites, he nevertheless uses the word "all" in his conclusion. Moreover, his (Pintner's) failure to list the Clark[20] study which revealed that Negroes exceeded whites and which must have been available to him, since it occurs in at least one other publication,[21] indicates an element of bias.

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[17] Bond, Horace Mann, "Investigations of Non-Intellectual Traits of a Group of Negro Adults," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 21, (Oct.-Dec., 1926).

[18] Pintner, Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 1, supra.

[19] Pintner, Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 1, supra.

[20] Clark, W. W., "Los Angeles Negro Children," *Educational Research Bulletin*, Los Angeles City Schools, 1923.

[21] Gilliland, A. R., and Clark, E. L., *Psychology of Individual Differences*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1931. p. 191.

Only a cursory reading of much of the literature will show that in many instances the sampling was either poor or inadequate. Considered therefore with respect to the tendency to generalize on only a few cases, it was illuminating to note the tabulation of the studies made between 1917 and 1925.[22] With the exception of the Army test results, twenty-three of the studies range in numbers tested from 23 to 250. Yet these are studies used as the basis for generalizations relative to the intelligence of the Negro.

The question raised here is not so much a matter of number, but the adequacy of sampling. Davis[23] has stated quite succinctly in this connection: "that mere numbers are not a guarantee of proper sampling. The sample may be adequate in size and yet not be representative. But when the question of reliability is raised, the significance of a measure of reliability is conditioned upon a sufficiently large number of cases." And, as Lindquist[24] further says: "the important problem in educational research is the proper selection of the sample about which inferences are to be drawn regarding the population which the sample has been taken to represent." Davis concludes: (1) "Most studies so far reported are worthless as indicating anything regarding the comparative mental ability of races; (2) Most of our present techniques give measures of differences due to weaknesses in educational opportunities rather than differences in mental ability; (3) There is need of a revaluation of the problems and methods of studies pertaining to racial differences."[25]

The conclusions of other investigators who do not support the racial differences theory are: (a) According to Yoder[26]

> "It may be correctly concluded that the consensus of competent scientific thought, contemplating the inability of mental testers to define intelligence, the inadequacy of all attempts to take such factors as education, social status, and language

[22] Garth, T. R., *op. cit.*, p. 3, supra.

[23] Davis, R. P., "Basic Considerations for Valid Interpretation of Experimental Studies Pertaining to Racial Differences," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 23 (January, 1932), p. 24.

[24] Lindquist, E. F., *Statistical Analysis in Educational Research*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940, p. 1.

[25] Davis, R. P., *op. cit.*, p. 11, supra.

[26] Yoder, D., "Present Status of the Question of Racial Differences," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 19 (1928), p. 470.

into proper consideration and the deficiencies of testing conditions, finds no proof of racial inferiority or superiority and eliminates the usual methods of determining such standing from the field of scientific usefulness.''

(b) Witty and Lehman,[27]

> ''For the present it may be said, therefore, that (a) individual differences among the members of a given race are always much larger than the so-called ''race-differences,'' and that, therefore, (b) any sweeping statement of the intellectual status of the so-called inferior races would be premature. Until qualitatively and quantitatively different types of data are assembled, these two propositions will stand. In all probability they will stand for some time to come.''

(c) Jenkins[28]

> ''Results from extensive and thorough research have demonstrated, of course, that there are differences between the races, and in sub-groups within the race—not that there are true racial differences in innate or inherited intelligence.''

(d) Garth,

> ''The author is convinced after an examination of the literature that we have never, with all our searching, found indisputable evidence for belief in mental differences which are essentially racial.''[29]

And in further support of this view, Garth writes (1937):

> ''Any differences so far found in these traits (mental) abilities) must be of necessity laid at the door of differences in experience and the environmental factors, racial ideals, and social status. In fact, any differences so far found may be due to one of two factors, the factor of selection or the factor of nurture.''[30]

Conclusions

From the foregoing analysis these conclusions may be reasonably drawn.

[27] Witty, Paul A., and Lehman, H. C., "The Dogma of Superiority," *Journal of Social Psychology*, (August, 1930), p. 414.

[28] Jenkins, Martin D., *A Socio-Psychological Study of Negro Children of Superior Intelligence*, Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1935.

[29] Garth, T. R., *Race Psychology*, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931, p. 24.

[30] Garth, T. R., "The Hypothesis of Racial Differences," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 2 (1937), p. 231.

1. Many investigations upon which conclusions have been drawn to the effect that the Negro is inferior mentally to the white man have been based upon inadequate sampling.

2. A large per cent of the authors of textbooks either failed to examine the studies to which they referred in order to get all the facts, or they were content to report their bias.

3. Although the intelligence tests used were, ceteris paribus, valid instruments for measuring intelligence, they were invalidated in many instances through improper administration and application.

4. The proportion of the mixture of White-Negro blood has no effect on intelligence scores.

5. Even in the cases where mathematically definite differences were discovered, adequate allowances were not made (as far as the reports indicate) for circumstances which affected adversely the responses of those tested.

6. Additional research made in strict conformity with experimental procedure should be undertaken before further specifically categorizing conclusions are drawn regarding racial differences in mental ability.

7. The present popular view of racial differences in mental ability is not supported by scientific evidence.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES†

By Otis Durant Duncan

An obvious fact is that the problem of utilization of natural resources begins and ends in the population situation. It is people who determine what things are to be considered as resources, who get resources in the raw state, who convert them into capital and consumer's goods, and who use them. The socioeconomic pattern under which people live is as important as the numerical size of the population in determining the ability of a community to utilize natural wealth. It should be profitable, therefore, to examine the population prospect of Oklahoma and try to form a clear conception of its human potential for utilizing the material resources of the State.

The first step is to review the population trend in Oklahoma and to estimate the direction it will take in the future. The data (Table I) show that the growth of population in Oklahoma has been rather erratic from the beginning and that its proportionate

TABLE I. TREND OF POPULATION IN OKLAHOMA*

Year of Census	Oklahoma Population	Percent of Change
1943	1,987,941**	—14.7
1940	2,336,434	— 2.5
1930	2,396,140	18.1
1920	2,028,283	22.4
1910	1,657,155	10.1
1907	1,414,177	78.8
1900	790,391	—

* Source: Otis Durant Duncan, Recent Popu'ation Trends in Oklahoma, OAES Bull. No. B-269, 1943, p. 11.

** Estimated Civilian Population, Nov. 1, 1943, U. S. Bur. Census, Series p-44, No. 3.

increase has decreased rapidly since 1920. Since 1930 the State has experienced an actual loss of 17.0 percent in civilian population, a decline of 14.7 percent having occurred between 1940 and 1943,

† This paper was read at the meeting of the Oklahoma Academy of Science in Stillwater on December 2, 1944, and is published as a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

according to Census Bureau estimates based on the issuance of food ration books.

So far as can be determined, the depression of the decade beginning in 1930 and the droughts and dust storms which occurred between 1934 and 1937 were the major immediate causes for the initial decline in Oklahoma's population. There were, however, significant causes back of these which were manifested in the following symptoms: (1) A decline in lead and zinc production, because of a decreased demand, after 1925 until stimulated again by the present war, (2) a decline in the prosperity of agriculture, particularly from 1929 until the entry of the United States into World War II, and (3) the passing of the big oil booms which ended with the completion of the Oklahoma City field soon after 1930. From 1889, Oklahoma had been overbuilt and overexpansive in its prospects. It was unavoidable that the general cultural and economic maturation of the State would be accompanied by a declining rate of population growth as adjustments and balanced proportions evolved among all these factors.

The loss of civilian population experienced by Oklahoma since 1930 has been a phenomenon of depression emigration, which since 1940 has been accentuated by horde-like movements to war munitions factories in other states and by induction of persons into the armed forces. The rate of natural increase, while following in the direction of the national trend, has remained relatively high, and with the usual favorable balance of interstate migration the State should have had around 2,750,000 inhabitants by the present time. This means that the movement of people out of Oklahoma has been heavy enough to offset both the immigration and the natural increase, which implies actually a greater loss than is apparent from a superficial glance at the census figures.

What will be the future growth of population in Oklahoma? For the rates of increase which prevailed between 1920 and 1930 to be resumed, several things must happen: First, the economic opportunities which existed in those years, and before, must be regained. Search for opportunity is the essence of migration. Second, new jobs must be found for the war veterans who will come home. Otherwise, Oklahoma will continue to lose population. Third, if the State hopes to have a long sustained growth of

population, it must find more, not fewer, farms on which children may be reared. Fourth, the economic base must be enlarged both horizontally and vertically. Otherwise, it will be idle to speculate about an increase of population in Oklahoma, and further losses will be inevitable.

What are the prospects for changes in the economic pattern so that population will be induced to stay in Oklahoma? 'In general, the boom days are gone. Oklahoma now has nothing to give away. Both agricultural and mineral production must face the problem of increasing capital unit costs as an immediate prospect. Manufacturing has lagged, except for milling, oil refining, meat packing, and more recently aircraft fabrication. As late as 1939, Oklahoma contributed only 0.5 percent of the value of manufactured products produced in the nation, and had only 0.4 percent of the country's manufacturing employment. If airplane production be called a heavy industry, it offers the most promising potential in the heavy industry field because the ships can be flown out of the State in spite of discriminatory freight rates. Aircraft plants are here, and other plants are not.

Oklahoma has only one direct railway line to a major terminal market for the types of products it has to sell. Oil and gas pipe lines, of course, mitigate this situation somewhat. The rail transportation system of the State is laid, and is not likely to be enlarged, which means, with the exceptions noted, that Oklahoma manufactured products are at a disadvantage in reaching northern and eastern terminal markets. Therefore, the small markets of third and fourth magnitude cities are the main outlets for perishable produce originating here.

With an existing difficult market and transportation situation, the industrialization of Oklahoma would be problematical, even if all the rivers of the State were dammed up to produce hydroelectric power. Motor trucks and air transport can be used to supplement the transportation Oklahoma now has, but the problem of distance will remain because other areas nearer the big markets will resort to the same improvements and will be able to maintain their advantage.

The experience of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas, all of which are culturally older states than Oklahoma, may be used as a guide in estimating the future growth of population in Oklahoma. Texas has more population than Oklahoma only because it is bigger. Kansas with a little larger area has a slightly smaller population, ordinarily, than Oklahoma. Arkansas with a smaller area and much less natural wealth has proportionally about the same size of population as Oklahoma. Missouri is the only state bordering Oklahoma which is more populous in proportion to area than Oklahoma. From these analogies, it seems scarcely probable that Oklahoma can soon expect to have a population much in excess of two million people. Perhaps within 25 years the figure may reach 2.5 million, and with economic developments beyond reasonable expectations it might have three million inhabitants by the end of the century. To reach such a figure, however, the population of Oklahoma must increase for the next 56 years at a rate out of all proportion to the predicted future trend for the nation as a whole.

There is no factual basis for supposing that a majority of the "Okies" who went mostly to California between 1934 and 1940, or the thousands of war workers who moved to other states from 1941 to 1943, will return to Oklahoma. Congress is now anticipating legislation to convert many of the war munitions plants into peacetime factories. That will check the back flow of population because the workers will stay where the opportunities for employment are located. The two aircraft and the few other munitions plants located in Oklahoma will not be able, when converted to peacetime uses, to pull workers away from other areas in large enough numbers to restore the population losses which have already occurred. The Oklahoma war veterans will return home and stay long enough to find out whether or not they can get jobs. However, if all the surviving recruits Oklahoma has sent into the armed forces between 1940 and 1943 return, Oklahoma will still sustain a loss of population of 250,000 or more due to recent emigration. Again, the only way to regain population losses is to provide work so that migratory labor will return and so that the natural increment of population will not leave.

TABLE II. PERCENT OF OKLAHOMA GAINFUL WORKERS EMPLOYED OR IN LABOR FORCE BY INDUSTRIES FOR CENSUS YEARS.*

Occupational Classes	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	29.1	37.0	45.0	57.8	70.1
Trade and Transport	21.8	19.3	15.9	12.1	8.4
Mfg. and Mech. Ind.	13.6	12.8	15.3	11.0	5.8
Domestic and Personal	8.6	8.5	6.3	5.8	10.3
Extractive Industry	5.0	7.3	5.6	1.7	1.6†
Professional	9.9	5.9	5.0	3.4	3.5
Not Reported	12.0	9.2	6.9	8.2	0.3

* Source: Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
† Mines and quarries only.

The manner in which a state employs its population is probably as important from the standpoint of utilizing its natural resources as the total number of people within its borders. Data show (Table II) that the occupational pattern of Oklahoma, which was built mainly upon agriculture, has been shifting for a long time to nonagricultural industries. While agriculture employed 70 percent of the gainful workers in Oklahoma in 1900 it employed only 29 percent in 1940, and not all of those workers could be regarded as actually employed on the farms. Trade and transportation and the professions have shown substantial proportionate gains in employment, while manufacturing in Oklahoma has had only an unsteady, precarious growth in employment.

At the present time adequate statistics are not available to show the situation of current employment in Oklahoma, but it is very likely that agricultural employment may have decreased to not more than 20 percent of the total number of gainful workers, and that manufacturing, trade, and transportation have taken up the loss sustained by agriculture. Domestic and personal service is a field of employment which has probably given up disproportionately large numbers of workers to go to wartime industries. Extractive industries in Oklahoma have always been overestimated as sources of employment, although employment in them has been a rather good barometer of prosperity and depression. In 1940, it must be remembered, the total labor force of Oklahoma was 22 percent above actual employment, and the greatest lacks of

specific employment opportunities were in manufacturing, the professions, domestic and personal services, and greatest of all, of course, in unclassified labor. While what has been said here does not comprehend the total employment situation in Oklahoma, especially under wartime conditions, it gives a retrospective view and indicates the points at which the greatest needs for employment opportunities usually exist.

There are some other population factors which should receive mention. First, due to the declining birth rates and the increased expectancy of life, Oklahoma's population is aging rapidly. This is accentuated by the fact that the state was populated largely by young adults in the first few decades of the century. At present, the number of recipients of public assistance just about keeps pace with the total census count of persons 65 years of age and over, an indication that for a time the burden of old age assistance will be heavy upon the employed worker. Second, Oklahoma has had in its early years a heavy preponderance of males in its population, and more especially in the productive years of adult life. Male workers have been abundant at all times and women have been scarce. Migration and the war, as well as the maturing of the population, are bringing about a change. The number of men is shrinking in proportion to the female population, and the marriage and birth rates are expected to be affected accordingly. The operation of these forces is calculated to increase the proportions of children and aged persons in the population and the proportions of the population who must consume goods but who will be unable to work.

Trends in the social composition of the Oklahoma population are significant. Between 1890 and 1940, the proportion of Negroes stood at about 7.0 percent while that of Indians declined from 24.9 percent to 2.7 percent of the total population. Foreign born nationality groups are rapidly becoming statistically negligible. The proportion of the adult male population who are married is increasing perceptibly. The proportions of the divorced in both sexes are declining in spite of the fact that Oklahoma has a very high annual divorce rate. This suggests that those who are divorced marry again shortly thereafter. There is a strong trend toward urbanization which portends a depressing effect upon the birth

rate. Levels of educational achievement are rising markedly among all elements of the population, and this should result in a marked improvement in the quality of workers available for Oklahoma industry generally. Oklahoma is rapidly taking its place in the front ranks of the states of the Union in the production of literature, art in all forms, civic leadership, and in scientific achievement, all of which is an indication of growing intellectual and cultural maturity and of social consciousness.

With these factors as they are, the future prospect is that the population of Oklahoma will not exceed 2.5 million for the next generation. A smaller figure is more likely in the absence of what are now unpredictable economic developments. Three million people will comprise the upper limit of population growth for many years under the same circumstances. For Oklahoma to regain its 1930 population will not be a small task. It is, therefore, necessary to recognize that with an appropriate organization of effort two million people can make as effective a use of their resources as several times that number with lower wages, purchasing power, and levels of living.

In conclusion, let it be said that the guiding principle in the utilization of natural resources of Oklahoma should be that of extending economic opportunities within the ranks of the laboring people to the end that they may have stable employment, greater purchasing power, and rising standards and levels of living. There will be labor to produce if there is wisdom to organize and to direct the economic machinery in the interest of the common welfare. If the state is to maintain its place in the national economic and social life, it must learn to make a more effective use of its resources and develop a state-wide economy of abundance for all based on complete political and economic democracy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRENCH CULTURE IN LOUISIANA

By A. D. Bellegarde

1492 marks an era of prosperity and glory in the annals of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella had encouraged many exploration trips. So when Columbus appealed to them for help, he received their financial support. He was given three caravels, men and supply to undertake the mission of finding a Western route to India.

He sailed from Palos and landed after weeks on the shores of an Island called "Guanahani" by the natives and which he re-christened "San Salvador." Proceeding on his journey, he successively discovered "Ahiti" which he named "La Isla Espanola" (Hispaniola), "Cuba" which he called "Juana," the Northern Coast of South America, the Peninsula of Yucatan, etc.

Jealousy and misfortune caught up with Columbus and he fell into disgrace.

Later on, other Spanish explorers continued the explorations started by Columbus, entered more deeply into the interior of North America through Mexico, and took possession of these new territories on behalf of the Spanish sovereigns. Yet, most of them were seemingly primarily interested in finding gold, other precious metals and in some cases even the "Fountain of Youth" rather than in establishing permanent settlements.

De Soto for example asked to be taken without delay to these places newly discovered where he was to find immense riches. On his way to take possession, however, he found instead combat with enemy Indian tribes, dangers, maladies, and disappointment in what became to his followers "Desolation and Death Country."

In spite of this nominal possession, Spain let it be known that she was keeping her rights over such lands discovered and would not tolerate any intrusion.

Stimulated by Spain's successes, the government of France in the XVII Century with Louis XIV and his minister Colbert encouraged and helped those who were interested in exploratory voyages.

In 1625, French pirates who became known as "Buccaneers" because of the method used to preserve the meat of animals that had been killed (from the word "Boucan" or big fire) established themselves off the small Island of Tortuga on the northern coast of Espanola. From this foothold, they began a constant and peaceful infiltration of the Spanish possession to the extent that in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick, the western part of the island became the French colony of "St. Domingue."

At one time this jewel of the French Colonial Empire had a combined exports and imports value of 140,000,000 dollars.

The year 1682 saw a 38-year-old French explorer by the name of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, covering some 5,000 miles of land in the Mississippi Valley amidst natural obstacles, dangers of all sorts including resistance from some fierce barbaric and anthropophagic Indian tribes. He established on behalf of the King of France some permanent settlements, then left for France to report his conquests. While there, he sought permission to start an expedition, the purpose of which was to find the mouth of the Mississippi River. It was an audacious and dangerous voyage inasmuch as the region was very little known then. No map of that time was too precise or definite as to its extent or its configuration. The distance from the mouth of the river to the Mexican Border was different on almost every map. It was reported varying between 100-800 miles.

Some Spanish explorers had on various occasions navigated part of it, hence the various names: Rio Escondido, Rio de los Gigantes, Rio de Espiritu Santo, Rio de Loro (River of Gold instead of Rio de Lodo, River of Mud), etc.

Upon his return to the New World with the King's permission, La Salle began his journey, and the territory discovered then was named "Louisiana" in honor of Louis XIV. This new French colony comprised the vast plains of Texas, the entire Mississippi Valley from the frozen Northern regions to the burning shores of the Gulf and from the Alleghanies to the denuded summits of the Rockies.

Upon taking possession of Louisiana, La Salle is reported to have said: "By virtue of a commission from His Majesty Louis

XIV, I am taking official possession on behalf of my Sovereign and His Successors to the throne of France of this country of Louisiana with its harbors, ports, seas, bays, straits, etc."

Then again he left for France to report on the newly acquired colony. In the summer of 1684 he sailed with some 400 colons en route for Louisiana. Chased by some vessels of the Spanish fleet, he was forced to take refuge at Matagorda Bay on the Coast of Texas. This accidental landing in that bay was later to form the basis for the claim by the United States to the territory of Texas.

As said before, the Spaniards were merely explorers crossing new territories, taking possession of same on behalf of their Sovereigns, but not too concerned with establishing permanent settlements.

The French were primarily colonizers. They were true pioneers recognizing the economic values of their discoveries as well as the advantages of waterways for commercial purposes. In establishing a permanent settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi River for example, La Salle had very definite purposes in mind such as: Developing the fur trade; controlling the entire Mississippi Valley; providing a base commanding the Gulf and in case of war with Spain for attack on the coveted mines of New Spain.

This settlement firmly established, La Salle joined by one of his lieutenants, Tonty, started for the hinterland. It was a tough expedition and his soldiers became quite discontent, and when unable to endure any more revolted and assassinated him.

His successors, Bienville and Iberville, in 1710 established a new settlement on the present site of the city of Mobile which was named St. Louis. Continuing the exploration, Bienville, in 1718 founded the city of New Orleans.

In 1789, there broke out in France the Great French Revolution with its principle of equality for all men and abolition of slavery. The colonists of St. Domingue, however, refused to abolish slavery. Toussaint-Louverture rose with an army of Negroes and Mulattoes, defeated the French troops, invaded the Spanish part of the island and united the two under his command.

On June 13, 1798, the Congress of the United States of America authorized the suspension of commercial relations with France and her dependencies. Toussaint then opened negotiations with the United States and succeeded in getting President Adams to obtain from Congress an exception for St. Domingue. Edward Stevens was sent to Port-au-Prince as Consul-General with powers to negotiate an agreement.

Toussaint then turned to internal policies. He assumed both civil and military power, issued a Constitution; but in 1800 a treaty between the United States and France contained a clause which listed St. Domingue as a part of the French Colonial Empire.

By that time also the successes of Napoleon Bonaparte had led him to dream of a vast colonial empire and America as a part of it with St. Domingue as a springboard and base of operation. It is with that project in mind that he sent his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, and an army of 10,000 veterans of his European Wars to subjugate Toussaint Louverture and return the colony under the French banner.

The determination of Toussaint's Negro troops aided by yellow fever decimated Leclerc's army to the extent that his successes were not lasting. This great army which Bonaparte intended to use as a nucleus for his colonial conquest in North America, that army was almost completely destroyed. Leclerc exercised some reprisals against certain American ships which had carried supplies to the rebels and expelled the American Consul Lear.

Leclerc died shortly after his victory over Toussaint. That death together with the Spanish intendent's order regarding the right of deposit at New Orleans convinced Jefferson that something had to be done right away. Thus his letter to the American Minister in France, Robert Livingston: "The cession of the Spanish possessions in Louisiana to France by the treaty of San Ildefonso and the Floridas works most sorely on the United States. New Orleans is the one spot on the globe the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy, for it is through there that ⅜ of the produce of our territory must pass. It is therefore imperative that we secure the island of New-Orleans and the Floridas."

Livingstone was instructed to feel out Bonaparte on the possible purchase of these territories.

On March 2, 1803, James Monroe was sent as Plenipotentiary to help in the negotiations.

Plans had been made by Bonaparte as to his expedition to Louisiana. The date was set for the latter part of September, 1803. Marshal Victor was to be the military commander and M. de Laussat the civilian prefect.

The plan aborted with the disaster of St. Domingue. M. de Laussat, however, did sail for and reached Louisiana.

On Monday, April 11, 1803, Napoleon summoned his minister of finances, Barbe de Marbois, and is reported to have said: "It is not only New Orleans which I will cede, but the whole colony without any reservation."

Official negotiations were then started between the American Plenipotentaries and M. de Talleyrand and M. de Marbois.

Weeks passed, and finally on April 29, 1803, an agreement was reached. The sum of 80,000,000 francs was to be the price of the purchased colony. Documents however, bear the date of April 30 as the date of the agreement, but the affixing of signature took place on May 2.

The words of Livingstone on that memorable occasion with their tingling enthusiasm are well known: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives. From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank."

The French policy had been one of making friends with the natives, providing school as well as church and recreation facilities. Of course the colonists represented mostly a cross section of French society with members of the nobility and a large representative merchant class. Finding themselves far away from the gaieties of Paris in what they called a "terrifying wilderness," they attempted to reproduce their native customary life. Hence the splendor of some of their settlements. Among those New Orleans which became known as the "Paris of America."

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, for example, governor of Louisiana from 1743 to 1753 modeled the official life of the city on the life of Versailles. Not to be outdone, private individuals competed against each other in the splendor of their social functions.

From the year of its foundation to 1803 the population of New Orleans grew by leaps and bounds. In 1818 with a population of 20,000, it had three elaborate theaters built at a cost of between 100,000 to 200,000 dollars, each seating about 700.

A conflict between the Spanish and French cultures has characterized the life of Louisiana. When the colony became part of the United States, of course, a third element entered the picture. The descendants of the Spanish and French, proud of their ancestral culture at first resorted to a great amount of snubbing and thoughts of cultural superiority. Situations at times reached almost the riot stage in some cases and quite often on such trivial matters as "Should a French or English quadrille be played at a dance." The conflict extended to almost every field of activity and the outcome was that the so-called "American elements" wrested control of business, commerce, etc. from the Creoles leaving to them control over the cultural and social life.

The New Orleans way of living as exemplified by the Creole civilization was the talk of the nation. The number of these Creoles of course has decreased a great deal through immigration, intermarriage, etc. Yet the French influence predominates in quite a few activities, Cooking, the Mardi-Gras, Catholicism, language, etc. It is not uncommon in some sections of the city of New Orleans to hear spoken the French of the colonial era.

The kind of French spoken there is mostly derived from the "Language commun" or popular language of France rather than from the classical. To that local French are added dialectical expressions and characteristics of various regions of France. Of course this is not too odd if we think that the French settlers came from all over France. Yet the "Cajun-French" for example does not seem to come from any one particular section of the mother-country. The grammar used in that dialect is quite simplified. The vocabulary contains both standard French words and expressions as well as variants, plus others borrowed from

English, Spanish, American-Indian and African dialects. The dialect of the Negroes from the French West Indian Islands, especially Haiti, is represented honorably in the modern Creole spoken in Louisiana.

Any visitor today visiting Louisiana is still able to capture that influence and spirit of the old French settlers. A good many factors will remind him that France's influence existed and still exists. There are quite a number of old family names, names of streets (Vieux Carre, Canal, Rue Royale, etc.) restaurants, shops, etc. He will hear French spoken in some of these places. He will be able to see some of the remnants of French architecture and in some instances taste the flavor of a century old culture in spite of the 141 years which have elapsed since the transfer.

OLD-TIME NEGRO PREACHING: ITS PURPOSES AND AN INTERPRETATION

By William Harrison Pipes

I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discover the purposes and to give an interpretation of old-time Negro preaching as it is reflected today in Macon County, Georgia—a county, says Arthur Raper[1], whose colored people are most typical of Negroes throughout the United States. The conclusions—based upon the writer's recording of eight sermons and numerous photographs of ministers, churches, and congregations—should be true of all preaching which is called "old-time" or "old-fashioned." (These two words refer to the preaching of present-day Negro ministers who still speak to some extent in a manner similar to that of the uneducated and emotional colored preachers of the past, of the day of slavery.)

When Phillips Brooks said that the purpose of a sermon should be "the persuading and moving of men's souls",[2] he most certainly did not have in mind, specifically, old-time Negro preaching. Yet, old-time Negro preachers, like John Jasper and Black Harry, did seek in their sermons to move the souls of men, and with such success that there were screams and shouts on the part of the audience. Also, imitating white ministers who addressed the slaves, these old-time preachers sought to persuade and to instruct their hearers along the road to an escape from their world by having them look forward to a future life; but they sought, primarily, to impress the audience. The purpose of preaching in Macon County, as a whole, is still in the vein of old-time preaching.

What are the purposes, the topics (subject-matter), and the modes of persuasion represented in the preaching which was recorded in Macon County, Georgia? Are these elements typical of old-time Negro preaching? What new influences have entered?

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[1] Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. 10.

[2] Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, (New York: Dutton and Co., 1894), p. 110. Another writer said that "the primary intention of preaching is the reformation of mankind . . ., a reformation of life and manners . . ., to restore the sinner to the likeness and favor of God" (W. Gresley, *Ecclesiastes Anglicanus*: New York: Appleton, 1843, pp. 9-10).

These are the questions which this paper will attempt to answer, with particular emphasis being placed upon the purposes of the sermons.

For this study eight sermons were recorded. The ministers delivering the sermons, and the titles of the sermons recorded were as follows:

I. E. L. Wynn, "Thou Shalt Love the Lord Thy God."
II. A. J. Woodson, "God's Mysteries upon the Mountains."
III. S. J. Johnson, "John the Baptist—A Voice Crying in the Wilderness."
IV. A. M. Reeves, "The Danger of Neglect."
V. Elder[3] Edge, "Why We Come to Church."
VI. Elder Griffin, "Elijah, the Man of God."
VII. Elder Fulse, "Elijah."
VIII. S. J. Johnson, "Pray!"[4]

II. Purposes

The primary, immediate purpose in Macon County sermons is to impress and to arouse the audience. That is to say, to bring about shouting, excitement and complete emotional abandon.[5] Ministers and members refer to this climactic state as "getting happy", "letting the spirit have its way", "having a good time", *et cetera.* The ministers give many indications and implications that the "arousement" is the main purpose. One minister, pointing to the outside of the church where the writer was busy with the recording apparatus, gave, he thought, an excellent illustration of the unemotional condition in which he did not want his congregation to be and, at the same time, implied that the purpose of preaching was to get the "spirit" to move his hearers:

> "See dat feller out dere? He look so fat, he look so pretty—and de spirit won't tech him nowhere . . . . Don't let dat happen to yer!" (VIII, 79).

[3] In the Primitive Baptist Church the minister is called "Elder."

[4] Reference to passages to be found in the eight sermons which were recorded in this study will be made by means of symbols: "VIII, 79," for example, means Sermon Number VIII, page 79 in the writer's transcriptions.

[5] This is emotional escape of pent-up feeling. The purpose of winning souls to Christ has not been lost entirely, but it is a remote purpose.

On another occasion this same minister is aware that the purpose of his sermon is to "stir up" the audience, and he is aware that they also know this:

> "Not feeling good; been on road. . . . Got headache. . . . You all tired. Been gwine to it. Since you been gwine to it and am tired and I been gwine to it and I am tired, don't 'spect too much. . . ! (III, 26).

Now what could the audience "expect" that a tired preacher could *not* give them other than a spectacular, strenuous "whoop-em-up" sermon? If there is still doubt as to what this preacher's purpose is, there can no longer be any when he says:

> "Goin'ter take my time. Ef I don't raise no bristles, it's all right with me." (VIII, 73).

"Raising bristles" here can only mean shouting and getting "happy." And when the Reverend Mr. Johnson fails to get response from his "cold" audience, he rebukes them for not helping him to work toward his purpose:

> "I ain't got no need to come here; no one's a Christian here. Benches can't say 'Amen.' You all can hear, can't yer?" (III, 29-30.)

Another minister refers to the purpose of the sermon, and evidently he too has "arousements" in mind:

> "Whatever fer you all this evening, just hold yer cups, and whatever fer yer all, yer git it. . . . So jest keep everything waiting and we'll see what's gwine to come to you." (V, 56).

Elder Griffin refers to this purpose of working up the emotions as "making it":

> "I don't—I haven't felt good all day. Gonna 'make it' all right" (VI, 58).

A. J. Woodson (II), Elder Fulse (VII), E. L. Wynn (I) and A. M. Reeves (IV) also sought, in varying degrees, to arouse the audience. Dr. DuBois was quite right when he said that the object of the old-time Negro sermon was to produce frenzy or shouting, "when the spirit of the Lord passed by, and, seizing the devoted, made him mad with supernatural joy . . ., the effect varying from the silent rapt countenance of the low mourner and moan to the mad abandon of physical fervor—the stamping, shrieking, and shouting, the rushing to and fro and wild waving of

arms, the weeping and laughing, the vision and the trance."[6]

The sermons show that there is present, also, the (now remote) purpose of persuading the listeners to become Christians, or to become better Christians. For example, after having aroused the audience to shouting, one minister, pointing to the happy confusion, tries to persuade the sinner to join the ranks of the redeemed with these words:

> "Don't you feel lonely sometime in the world by yourself? Give me your hand [sings it]. Won't He lead you? [Talking to the happy and responding Christians:] Won't He take care of you? My—my Lord! I done tried! I know He *do* take care of you. . . . Gwine to sing and open de doors of the church"[7] (III, 43).

It is obvious that the minister's purpose here is to persuade sinners to become converts. One of the best examples of persuasion (and it illustrates the attempt to escape from reality) occurred in a sermon at the Mount Calvary Baptist Church. The listeners are tired, having packed peaches during the entire week, and until two and three o'clock that Sunday morning before coming to church. Yes, they are tired, sleepy and somewhat bitter for having to live such a hard life. The minister tries to persuade them to believe that they suffer in this manner because of incontrollable conditions in the South. He tells them that the Devil, knowing that Christ was hungry, took the Master up onto a mountain and tempted Him by asking Christ to turn rocks to bread; then the minister says:

> "You know, sometimes a feller take things off people; he wouldn't do it, but it's conditions. . . If conditions didn't have us so 'tight', have us going, don't you know you wouldn't work all day and all night Saturday?" (III, 31-32).

And this minister discusses love in persuading the audience to escape from the troubles of this life:

> "If it [love] isn't sufficient to lead you through the ordeals of everyday life, it isn't sufficient" (I, 10).

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[6] W. E. B. DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1903), pp. 191-192.

[7] "Open the doors" is a figurative way of saying that the church is now ready to accept new members.

The Reverend Mr. Wynn, as in the quotation above, is evidently trying to persuade his audience to be more religious, to love God better when he says:

> "Though times and conditions change, the Law is the same: 'Thou shall love the Lord thy God with thy whole strength' " (I, 6).

Then he proceeds to persuade the audience that loving God is not sufficient within itself, but that loving God should make one a better member of the church:

> "God speaks of love. Love that is sufficient to get you in church, have you sign your name and take your obligation[8] isn't sufficient love if it doesn't hold you there" (I, 10).

These quotations show the old-time purpose of persuading the listeners to become better Christians.

The Reverend Mr. Johnson, as we have seen, has the purpose of arousing his audience emotionally, but he also feels that the minister's purpose should be to instruct the listener concerning the Gospel:

> "So you are the flock. Den, well, the preacher oughta feed you. Ain't dat right? He oughta feed you wid whut? De Gospel. . ." (VIII, 76).

Such, then, are the purposes of old-time Negro preaching in Macon County, Georgia. To arouse, "stir-up", to excite the emotions as a means of escape is not altogether a religious purpose. There is still some attempt to persuade the sinner to come to Christ (this was a very important characteristic in early old-time Negro preaching). But the emphasis here is only a secondary one. The purpose of instructing the audience unemotionally is entering, especially on the part of the more educated Negro preachers. Raper was right when he said that, in Macon County, Negro preachers usually have as the purpose of their sermons personal right-living and shouting: "It is unique to find a rural Negro preacher who understands and talks about present day community and social needs."[9]

[8] "Obligation" here refers to the paying of "dues." This minister, like so many others, always seems to have the economic purpose in the background. "The more members I have, the more money I *should* get; the more members that pay their dues, the more money I *do* get" seems to be the thought.

[9] Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

There seems to be another, underlying, purpose to all old-time Negro preaching in Macon County: the purpose of getting as much money from the audience as is possible.[10] The minister wants to make his audience shout and "have a good time" so that they will call him a "good preacher" and will not hesitate to give money in the "collection." Even his persuasion and instruction point toward the end that a good Christian meets his "obligations"—pays his dues. Perhaps the minister is not to blame too much for this, since his pay is very small; he himself often regrets the necessity of emphasizing money. One minister shows this when he says that John the Baptist was a real preacher, one who "didn't set no point on no money . . . , nothing but holding up Jesus. . . . Some people ain't wont to preach unless they git lot of money" (III, 36). Yet, this same minister, four weeks later, lifted his arms above the "collection" and said, "Blessed be the cheerful giver, for he shall be made fat" (VIII, 73). The fact remains that, unlike the original old-time Negro preacher, the present day minister wants the audience to "cross his palm"; he is seeking money primarily and souls secondarily; the original minister of this type seems to have sought souls primarily. This new emphasis on money does not mean that the original importance of shouting in old-time Negro preaching has been lost. Shouting is as important as ever, because if there are no "arousements", the people say that the preacher is "no good" and he is soon discharged, or receives very little pay if he is not discharged.

III. An Interpretative Summary[11]

Among Negroes in the United States today, old-time preaching (the uneducated Negro's emotional type of preaching which has descended from the Negro's religious practices during the days of slavery) is still one of the most vital elements in the black man's existence. And there are two basic explanations for the importance of old-time preaching among Negroes: (1) the Negro today, as during the days of slavery, possesses an emotional,

[10] The writer has seen as many as five "collections" (asking the audience for money) at one preaching occasion. And each "collection" is a long, drawn-out affair. The minister stands in the pulpit looking down at the collection table, occasionally leading a song (and always encouraging the people to give) while the deacons plead for more money.

[11] This interpretation is based upon the entire study of Negro preaching in Macon County, Georgia and not merely upon the sermons interpreted in this paper.

superstitutious nature which traces its origin back to the jungles of Africa; and this emotional nature has always been one that must have an outward expression; (2) the Negro has found himself without normal outward expression due to domination by powers beyond his control: in Africa, the jungle and tribal custom; in America before the Civil War, slavery; in the "Black Belt" (and in other parts of the United States), the plantation system and "divine white right." In Africa and in America the Negro has needed a means of emotional escape from an "impossible world"; old-time religion has been the way out.[12]

As to the rhetorical constituent of *invention,*[13] there are three principal observations: (1) the chief purpose of old-time Negro preaching is to "stir-up", to excite the emotions of the audience as a means of escape from an "impossible world"; (2) the subject-matter or ideas of old-time Negro preaching are still taken mainly from the Bible (from which, ideas of God, Heaven, sin, *et cetera,* tend to formulate the Negro's principles of emotional religious escape from the world of reality); but education and enlightenment are bringing into the preaching new ideas, which are at variance with the ideas of old-time Negro preaching, and the outcome promises to be the death of old-time Negro preaching; (3) the modes of persuasion of old-time Negro preaching show that pathetic appeal is most important, but ethical appeal runs a close second; some emphasis should be placed upon the logical argument in the preaching, for there are evidences (especially on the part of the more educated ministers) of both inductive and deductive reasoning at some of the less emotional points of the sermon.

The *style* of old-time Negro preaching (1) is basically a simple one: short words that are familiar to the audience (with a long word thrown in occasionally for effect); simple, elliptical sentences (which, however, are joined by conjunctions so as to help main-

[12] See W. H. Pipes, "Two Basic Causes of Old-Time Negro Preaching," *Southern University Bulletin,* 30:55-84, May, 1944.

[13] The writer does not intend to restrict, to a very great degree, old-time Negro preaching to classical standards of rhetoric. However, no better units of organization than *Invention, Style, Disposition,* and *Delivery* seem to present themselves. Therefore, we are concerned with the interpretation of the element of the Macon County, Georgia sermons which has to do with, as Cicero conceived it, the *invention* of what is said (Cicero, *De Oratore,* Bohn Edition, p. 242). This might include, among other things, a discussion of the purposes of the sermons.

tain the rhythmical flow of words in delivery); slang and Negro dialect (the language of the audience); (2) is figurative, with the frequent use of the metaphor which is based upon the experience of the audience or which is drawn from the Bible; (3) is narrative, to be heard rather than to be read; (4) shows that the amount of poetic, Biblical prose is decreasing, perhaps because education is bringing in new, scientfiic expressions, a condition which is unlike the old complete dependency upon the Bible.
mons follows the traditional divisions into introduction, statement, discussion, and conclusion, but the organization of these parts throughout is unique. (1) The introduction is used to set the stage emotionally, so to speak, for the climax to come later; (2) the statement continues this atmosphere-setting activity in that it is usually Biblical; (3) the discussion only has the appearance of organization, for it is really a series of digressions aimed to arouse the emotions of the audience (the more educated minister *does* use some logical organization in the discussion); (4) the conclusion is omitted entirely if the emotional climax is of sufficient intensity to make articulate speech impossible; usually the conclusion serves as a means of emphasizing the text and as an opportunity for persons to join the church; the conclusion also allows the emotions of the preacher and the emotions of the audience to return to normalcy. The arrangement, as a whole, does not meet the requirements of logical organization; but, for the purpose of the old-time sermon, the arrangement is excellent. The arrangement, it should be stated here, is made while the minister is speaking (which shows something of the preacher's use of his memory; memory does play some part in old-time Negro preaching).

The last constituent of traditional rhetoric is *delivery*. (1) The delivery is entirely impromptu; (2) it is rhythmical, which stirs the emotions of the minister and of the audience; (3) it gains effect by the change from conversational speaking to rhythmical speaking; (4) the delivery is made effective by the preacher's appearance, his sincerity, his bombastic gestures, and his many movements about the pulpit; and (5) the old-time preacher's delivery is aided by the minister's masterful modulation and control of his excellent voice.

Conclusion

Old-time Negro preaching today is still a vital part of the Negro's existence; it is preaching that is still the soul-expression of a frustrated people. But because doors to education and doors to new opportunities of normal expression are being opened wider and wider to the black man in the United States, the degree of frustration is being lowered; the result of this process, if it continues, is to be oratory's complete loss of one of the most peculiar types of public speaking that perhaps the world has ever known: old-time Negro preaching.

AUTHORS AND BOOKS

THE DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO AUTHOR

By Nick Aaron Ford

The issues raised by Dr. Harry A. Overstreet in his two articles—"Images and the Negro" and "The Negro Writer as Spokesman"—which appeared in two issues of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* August 26 and September 2, 1944, respectively, deserve serious consideration. As a Negro observer, I wish to compare my own thinking on the subject with that of Dr. Overstreet. With the following statement I agree:

> It is inconceivable that whites should ever do full justice to Negroes so long as they retain the images of them which they have held in their minds. . . . The image of the Negro as a kind of clown, with comic turns of speech and ludicrous behavior, has robbed him of dignity. The images of him as lazy, childishly dependent, and dishonest have excused us from having confidence in him; while images of him as vicious and sexually irresponsible have put him outside the pale."[1]

In a little book entitled *The Contemporary Negro Novel,* published in 1936, I said:

> For fifty years the Negro has been the joker in American literature. His idiosyncracies have been exaggerated and distorted beyond their natural due. Certain phases of his social and religious life, which to him are sacred, have been seized upon by unsympathetic word jugglers and turned into sentimental comedy. He has been looked upon as the funmaker of the world, rather than a thinker whose thoughts are frozen within him by the coldness of an unfriendly environment. Even his ignorance and lack of social caste, elements over which he has had absolutely no control, have been exploited by unscrupulous writers to further degrade him in the eyes of his fellowmen.[2]

I further agree with Dr. Overstreet when he says:

> The Negro writer of fiction is inevitably a spokesman for his people. He is not free to write what he pleases. Such freedom is reserved for the whites. It is of little moment if a white novelist depicts white characters who are wholly despicable. Every white reader knows that such characters are in a minority and that the white race as a whole will go on quite safely in spite of them. Not

[1] Overstreet, "Images and the Negro," *SRL* XXVII: 5 (Aug. 26, 1944).
[2] Ford, *The Contemporary Negro Novel* (Boston: Meador, 1936), pp. 97-8.

so if the Negro writers depicts Negroes who are despicable. The white reader will be likely to shake his head: "Nigger blood. Bad business."[3]

In 1936 I made the following comment:

What objection can the Negro have to the representation of the life of his race at its worst? Does the white man object when thieves, prostitutes and fools of his race are exhibited before the gaze of mankind?

To be sure, the white man does not object. For him there is nothing to fear. His place in the vanguard of civilization is assured, and there is a current belief that he is superior to all other races within his domain. What harm then can a book of fiction do to a people thus secure? But to the Negro it can do much to reinforce the already prevalent doctrine of race inferiority. It can do much to convince many unfriendly fellow-citizens that their vague and unsupported opinions concerning this stepchild of American civilization is absolutely true. If the Negro is to rise in the estimation of the world, he must be continuously presented in a more favorable light even in fiction.[4]

It is evident that, as well as Dr. Overstreet, I realize the necessity of creating new types of Negro character in fiction to offset the uncomplimentary stereotypes currently in vogue. But the solution is not so simple as Dr. Overstreet seems to indicate. He believes that there are "at least seven kinds of Negro that might serve as fictional characters to build an image convincing to whites and a source of pride or at least understanding to the Negroes."[5] His list includes (1) the made-by-the-white-man-Negro, (2) the skilled Negro, (3) the genius, (4) the hero, (5) the organizer, (6) the public-minded Negro, and (7) the Negro working successfully in cooperation with whites in the interest of non-racial projects.

It cannot be denied that each of these hypothetical characters can be legitimately portrayed in fiction. But that any one of these may be made "convincing" to whites and at the same time "a source of pride or at least understanding to the Negroes" is hardly possible in the present state of Negro-white thinking. Some specific analyses will serve to illustrate the point.

[3] Overstreet, "The Negro Writer as Spokesman," *SRL*, xxvii:5 (Sept. 2, 1944).
[4] Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.
[5] Overstreet, "The Negro Writer as Spokesman," *SRL*, xxvii:6 (Sept. 2, 1944).

Dr. Overstreet admits that Richard Wright has presented in *Native Son* the kind of character that fits his first requirement. Bigger Thomas is the result of the white man's creation. He has grown up in an environment that will make any man a criminal, and white people are responsible for that environment. But I cannot agree with Dr. Overstreet that the average white reader is *convinced* of his share in the creation of Bigger. Only the liberals, or those who had open minds to begin with, see in Bigger the image of their own creation. Even the average Negro sees nothing of the sociological implications and accepts Bigger as just a "bad nigger." A large number of Negro readers heatedly condemn Mr. Wright for giving white people another excuse for classifying Negroes as inhuman brutes. Negroes have said, "Bigger is one man for whom lynching would be justifiable." Mr. Wright succeeded in creating the most interesting and the most gripping novel ever written by an American Negro, but he did not succeed in *convincing* whites of their responsibility or of creating a *source of pride* or *understanding* for the Negroes.

Mr. Wright's failure to achieve what Dr. Overstreet believes such a presentation should accomplish is due to the dilemma in which every Negro author finds himself. To convince the average white reader that a Negro character is genuine, the writer must endow him with some characteristic that is associated with the Negro in the mind of the average American. Otherwise the reader refuses to become interested in the presentation. If the writer succumbs to this expectation, many of his readers will praise him for his objectivity, but will accept his characterizations as further proof of the Negro's difference from the majority pattern and therefore his unfitness for full equality. If, on the other hand, the author ignores this expectation and presents his characters as normal, law-abiding, conforming citizens, the few readers who will be interested enough to read such a book will gain a fairer impression of the Negro as a race, but will condemn the author for trying to imitate white writers. Furthermore, if a fictional characterization pleases white readers it will, in all probability, displease Negroes, and vice versa. The Negro reader wishes to see his *likeness* to other Americans portrayed in fiction; the white reader wishes to see his (the Negro's) *unlikeness* emphasized. This is one dilemma of the Negro author.

If a Negro author, as most of them do, sets out to prove a thesis which is calculated to improve the status of the race, he is faced with a second dilemma. He must manipulate his material to create the kind of impression he desires with a minimum of risk to the reader's misunderstanding. But at the same time he must use many undesirable techniques, which *per se* weaken or complicate his original thesis almost to the point of frustration, in order to insure a large audience. In other words, he may attract a vast audience to hear his thesis if he encumbers it with enough horror or salacious material to make its final effect almost negative, or he may keep it clear of emasculating elements and attract only a small coterie of readers. This was the dilemma that confronted Richard Wright in *Native Son.*

One can hardly read *Native Son* thoughtfully without concluding that Mr. Wright attempted to establish two main points: (1) that inequality of opportunity for the Negro in America is responsible for the criminal tendencies among members of the race, and (2) that Communists are more sincerely interested in the welfare of the Negro than democrats or republicans. But in attempting to establish his thesis he allowed so many vicious elements to creep in to mar the clarity of his design that the effect in the mind of the average reader is directly opposite to his intentions. Instead of seeing in Bigger's crime the effect of poor housing, lack of educational opportunities, and ambition thwarted because of color prejudice, the average reader sees in it the danger of coddling Negroes, as Mr. and Mrs. Dalton may be accused of doing, and the unwisdom of employing Negroes with a police record. The fact that Bigger was brutal and mean by nature, as is illustrated in the episode in which he makes a member of his youthful gang lick a razor-sharp knife blade, knocks out much of the environmental theory for the average reader. The willingness of the Communist Jan to forgive Bigger for the false accusation he made against him and his genuine interest in supplying the unfortunate man with legal aid and all the human comfort possible in the moment of his greatest need are overshadowed in the minds of many readers by the fact that the whole tragedy could have been avoided if Jan had not earlier "contaminated" Mary with his communist doctrine of a classless society.

Why did Mr. Wright think it necessary to add the horrible crime of mutilation to the accidental act of strangulation? Or the fiendish murder in cold blood of Bigger's sweetheart? The answer, I think, lies in his desire for an audience. He knew that such unspeakable horror would attract a vast number of readers. Given such an audience, he felt he could add enough favorable propaganda in the speech of the defense attorney Max and the cross-examination of Mr. Dalton to convince a reasonable number of the rightness of his thesis. For, he reasoned, what does it profit an author to construct a perfect argument unless he has a sizeable audience to judge it? Mr. Wright's dilemma is common to every Negro author. It is interesting to note that all but one of the seven kinds of Negro characters listed by Dr. Overstreet have been portrayed in novels with incomparably less success than that achieved in *Native Son.* The "skilled" Negro is portrayed by James Weldon Johnson in *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man,* the "genius", by Jessie Fauset in *There Is Confusion,* the "hero" by Arna Bontemps in *Black Thunder,* the "organizer" by W. E. B. Du Bois in *Dark Princess,* and the "public-minded" Negro by Walter White in *The Fire in the Flint.* But none of these productions has caused more than a slight ripple upon the surface of American fiction. Scarcely a handful of readers remembers today the name of the main character in any one of the foregoing list.

It appears, therefore, that the solution of the problem involving the Negro character in American fiction is more complex than Dr. Overstreet suggests. It probably lies not in the variety of characters portrayed, but in the manner of portrayal. So far as the Negro author is concerned, the solution lies in the discovery of a larger number of writers with a genuine talent for fiction comparable to that possessed by Richard Wright. A genuinely gifted writer can transform any material into interesting and significant creations. Furthermore, such a writer will find ways to bring about this transformation so urgently needed. What Dickens did for the English poor, Hugo for the French, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky for the Russian, a gifted writer can do for the American Negro. Richard Wright is one who shows great promise. For a first novel, *Native Son* is unusually significant. Probably with his sec-

ond attempt Mr. Wright will straddle the dilemma with even greater skill.

What The Negro Wants. Edited by Rayford W. Logan. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944, Pp. 352.

This volume is a *must* for all students interested in understanding the needs of the American Negro. Fourteen able scholars have written independent statements concerning the desires of Negroes, all agree on the principal needs, but few concur on method of attack. It is no secret that the Negro wants social equality and justice, but a debatable question as to how the Negro may attain and maintain respective goals.

The radical contributors favor physical demonstrations which would focus national attention on almost every form of racial discrimination. These writers believe in the principles of the March on Washington Movement and see it as tangible evidence of mass education. The conservative writers warn that there is the danger of needlessly stirring up trouble; hence, non-violent coercion is suggested as the best method in the long run. Conservative writers would want the simple anthropological facts taught in both colored and white schools and thus hope to "reason out" prejudice. In the reviewer's mind the slow progress of the conservatives and liberals may be best—for the ignorant learn slowly, and great prejudice and ignorance go hand in hand.

Space prohibits a detailed review of each statement except to call particular attention to the one by Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. The autobiographical section is of interest and the seasoned judgments of a great leader stimulating. In general, the book is well edited and contains a short biography of each of the contributors. Unfortunately, the book does not contain a subject index. There is marked progress being made when an outstanding university in the South publishes a volume on *What The Negro Wants!*

—Edward C. McDonagh

Prejudice: Japanese-Americans. By Carey McWilliams. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. Pp. 337. $3.00.

Mr. McWilliams, an outstanding champion of minority groups, defends the cause of the Japanese in America in his book. Special

emphasis is given to the distressed condition of American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

American citizens of Japanese ancestry are classified as a group without a country, and without a culture. Although they are "Japanese in features, they are Americans in ideas". Still, they are not wanted in America, and they are "regarded as a dubious lot in Japan and are suspected by the authorities of harboring dangerous thought".

In illustrating how the Japanese problem has developed in the United States, McWilliams lists the following: (1) how prejudice is developed by in-groups toward out-groups; (2) how lies, irrational and dishonest statements might serve to develop the opinions and the attitudes possessed by a majority group toward a minority group; (3) how propaganda can be used, by a few interested persons, to mislead others and to develop stereotyped views concerning a group; and, (4) how problems that start out as local problems can become national, and even international in scope.

It is impossible for anyone who believes in the principles of democracy to read this book without being touched. It is difficult to read the book without asking: Is this a book describing the actual activities that have been carried out in the United States, "the home of the free and the brave," or is it an imaginative novel? Yes, it is difficult to believe that it is real and not imaginative.

As a champion, McWilliams supports his cause throughout the book. For this reason, anyone knows that much could be said on the other side. Nevertheless, the book represents a valuable addition to the literature concerned with the problem of race relations in the United States, and should be studied carefully by all who are interested in this problem.

—E. S. Richards

Russia and the Peace. By Bernard Pares. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. xi, 293. $2.50.

This book, by an Englishman who has spent many years studying the history and problems of Russia, gives an understandable interpretation concerning what should be expected from Russia during the peace settlement following World's War II. The writer

presents a brief history of many of the problems that must be settled in a satisfactory manner if peace is to be based on sound principles.

Throughout the book, the reader can detect the theme that Russia under Stalin is working toward a different objective than Russia under Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky is pictured as an internationalist who emphasized world revolution, Stalin as a "home statesman" interested in internal improvement. Since Stalin's advance to power, the program for internal improvement has predominated in Russia. In order for this program to continue, Russia must maintain internal peace and peace with the other nations of the world. Thus, according to Sir Bernard, it is to Russia's advantage to work for a peaceful world.

In spite of this desire for peace, the writer emphasizes that Russia will not give up all of her present claims, since some of these are important if internal improvement is to continue. This suggests that other nations must be careful in imposing their plans on Russia if peace is to be obtained. The Yalta agreement seems to indicate that this view is partially accepted by England and the United States.

Some of the views, circulating in England and the United States, concerning Russia are elucidated in the book. The writer points out that many of these are false views that have been circulated by Russian emigrants who were forced to leave Russia during the Revolution, or because they were opponents of the Soviet Union.

The writer makes it clear that if peace is to become a reality Russia must be included as a party to this peace. He suggests that a better understanding of Russia is essential for peace. To foster a better understanding he recommends serious and sympathetic study of the history of Russia by all concerned. According to Sir Bernard, it is by studying the history, language, and problems of Russia that we will be able to eliminate the fear which has served as a barrier to the understanding of and cooperation with Russia. Only by the removal of this barrier can Russia serve as one of the agencies of peace in the world of tomorrow.

—E. S. Richards

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

The serious shortage of Negro nurses and the equally serious shortage of schools and facilities for nursing education were emphasized at a conference on Nursing Education sponsored by the National Nursing Council for War Service at Dillard University on December 1 and 2. This was the first conference of its kind ever held in the country; and outstanding nursing educators, College Presidents, Deans, Counsellors, and Teachers of the country discussed ways by which educational resources can be more fully utilized for the education of Negro nurses.

Among specific points brought out by the conference were: There are only 2000 Negro student nurses, a dangerous low in enrollment for the health needs of America's largest minority; that there is a great need for establishing in a few stragetic centers additional adequate schools and facilities where nurses can be educated on a professional level; that Negro students are now being admitted more generally in well established schools heretofore closed to them; that plans should be instituted in small hospitals for the training of practical nurses; that the needs for more hospitals for Negroes cannot be separated from the total health needs of the group which ramifies into the problem of adequate nurses and educational facilities; and that finally the urgent need of nursing education for Negroes needs publicizing in order that students and the general public will know the needs of the country in this field.

Presiding over the conference was Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle, Consultant, National Nursing Council for War Service. Among the speakers and discussion leaders at the conference were: Dr. Charles Thompson, Dean, Graduate School Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Ira de A. Reid, Director, Social Studies, Atlanta University, Atlanta; Mr. A. W. Dent, President, Dillard University; Miss Rita Miller, Chairman, Division of Nursing, Dillard University; Miss Alma Gault, Dean, School of Nursing, Meharry Medical College, Nashville; Dr. David D. Jones, President, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina; Miss Hilda Davis, Dean of Women, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama.

Research in Southwestern Colleges

The education of Negroes calls for an understanding of the historical and sociological framework within which the Negro's life is set. No educational program for Negroes can be realistic unless factors which affect his economic and social existence are taken into account. These factors must be taken into account both in institutional adjustments to existing situations and in the help given students in meeting economic and social problems in their own lives. Moreover, an effective approach to state and national planning for the education of Negroes must reckon with the many varied factors which affect Negro life and the situation in which Negroes find themselves today. Several of the Southwestern colleges recognize the importance of this thinking and most of them are making research studies and adjusting study programs to meet this challenge.

The research staff at *Langston University* is engaged in a study of the *socio-economic status of Negroes in Oklahoma.* The data collected from the study are being set down and analyzed in terms of the following outline: (1) Resources, natural and human; (2) Institutional Organizations in terms of (a) Family life, (b) Education, (c) Religion, (d) Political Participation, (e) Health and Nutrition, (f) Recreation, (g) Crime and Delinquency; (3) Race Relations—interracial interaction; and (4) Implications for Education.

Additional research projects at Langston are going in the fields of Agriculture, Home Economics, English, Education, Chemistry, Student Personnel and Sociology. The institution is also making a study of its graduates and former students.

Arkansas A. M. and N. College, Pine Bluff, is studying conditions which exist among Negroes in the rural areas of Arkansas. In this study fifteen hundred copies of a survey form were sent to leaders in twenty-seven counties throughout the State. These leaders were largely engaged as teachers of agriculture, teachers of home economics, ministers, extension agents, regular school teachers, etc. A letter was sent these leaders along with the survey forms in which they were requested to survey all types of families and not confine their survey making to any one group. It

was felt by the committee that if some owners, some renters, some sharecroppers, etc., were included in the study it would serve to give a cross-section picture of conditions among Negroes in the rural areas of Arkansas.

At *Lincoln University* (Missouri) several research projects are under investigation. Listed by titles these studies include the following:

A Study of the Psychological Testing Results of Entering Freshmen at Lincoln University, 1920-1944.

Performance of Lincoln University Sophomores in the Cooperative General Culture Test.

The Arthropoda of the Oak-Hickory Forest of Missouri with Special Reference to Stratification.

The Basal Metabolic Rate of the American Negro.

The Abolition of Slavery in New England, 1700-1789; and the New England Slave Trade, 1638-1788.

The Improvement of Teaching and Learning in the Intermediate Grades.

A Program of Education in Public School Agriculture for Negroes in Missouri, based upon an Analysis of the Economic and Social Activities in Selected Rural Communities in Southeast Missouri.

Another interesting project going at Lincoln University is one involving the construction of an integrated curriculum in secondary education. The primary purpose of this project is to reorganize existing courses in education and psychology which are offered majors and minors in secondary education into a more practical and integrated curriculum than at present obtains—one that will, by providing proper relationships, serve as a means of realizing as completely as possible the objectives of the Department of Education. Corollary to this aim is that of obviating the possibility of unnecessary duplication of elements that may appear in traditional compartmentation of a subject matter. Moreover, the present study is designed to effect an organization of subject matter that will represent a complete and functional learning procedure for prospective high school teachers.

This curriculum is intended to furnish to prospective teachers opportunities:

1. To gain a thorough acquaintance with boys and girls of secondary-school age.
2. To formulate a philosophy of education in relation to adolescents and to the society of which they are a part.
3. To discover the nature of the agencies which carry on the work of education, the function of the school and its curriculum as a whole, and the place of the various subject fields in the total curriculum.
4. To develop the art and science of teaching and to become familiar with the role of the teacher in the community, in the school's administration and in the classroom.
5. To enter the profession of teaching with an understanding of the status, ethics, organization, major problems and opportunities of the profession.

On the basis of the objectives stated above and in compliance with the purposes of the study, the following steps have been outlined as the investigative procedure:

1. An analysis of courses currently offered to determine the extent to which they may be integrated into a composite curriculum.
2. A survey of the offerings and of the preparation of the personnel of the College of Arts and Sciences to find what contributions the various departments can make to the preparation of the secondary school teachers.
3. Organization of existing courses into instructional divisions or areas.

The five instructional areas or divisions or courses listed below are intended to correspond to the five functional interpretations of the objectives of the Department of Education. Titles of these courses are tentative; however, they appear to suggest the functional nature of the proposed courses. Traditional subject matter organization of courses that will be combined to form the new integrated courses are enclosed in parentheses following titles of the proposed reorganized courses.

(a) Secondary Education I: Understanding the Adolescent (Psychology)

(b) Secondary Education II: Formulating a Philosophy of Secondary Education (History , Philosophy, Principles and Administration)

(c) Secondary Education III: The Curriculum and Its Technique (Curriculum, Visual Aids, and Extra-Curricular Activities)

(d) Secondary Education IV: Measuring the Growth of Adolescents (Tests and Measurements, Statistics and Guidance)

(e) Secondary Education V: Applying Knowledge of Adolescents (General Theory of Teaching, Directed Teaching, Materials and Methods)

This study represents an adaptation of the University of Rochester Study which was published recently by the American Council on Education, and is being directed at Lincoln University by Professor Sidney J. Reedy of the Department of Education.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

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