

The University of Chicago

Department of Sociology

March 15, 1937

Mr. Raymond Paty,
Director of Fellowships,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Paty,

Mr. Horace Cayton has asked me to write you in connection with his candidacy for a Rosenwald fellowship. I am indeed happy to do this.

One should bring to such a candidacy, as I see it, three things: an intelligent social point of view, sound scholarship, and fine personal integrity. In all of these Mr. Cayton qualifies in the highest degree.

Mr. Cayton's choice of problem will, I am certain, meet the most exacting criteria for large social significance and he will bring to its investigation a thorough and comprehensive preparation. He has already given what I feel to be adequate proof of his ability to master the details of research. His thinking shows the kind of discipline indispensable to creditable and useful research work. He has a rare sense of what is significant both as to what constitutes the core of a problem as well as the methods for dealing with it.

Personally Mr. Cayton is a sensible, genial and thoroughly well-balanced individual. He has an enviable genius for working with others which quality is, I feel, an important one in the task of social investigation. He has a wide acquaintance with all types of people; I know of none who do not speak highly of his personal integrity.

I cannot but feel that Mr. Cayton presents an exceptional pattern of qualifications to support his candidacy. His ability and character will, I feel certain, meet any test which the committee may demand. I am more than happy to commend him to you without reservation.

Very truly yours,

Earl S. Johnson
Earl S. Johnson
Assistant Professor of Sociology

FISK

UNIVERSITY

The University of Chicago

SCHOLARSHIP

Department of Anthropology

Chicago, Illinois
March 15, 1937

	RRP	18	RP ackl-

Mr. Raymond Paty
Director for Scholarships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Paty:

It has come to my attention that Mr. Horace R. Cayton has applied for a Rosenwald Fund scholarship through your office and I wish to write this letter of recommendation in his behalf.

Mr. Cayton spent a great deal of time in my office using our archives and discussing the problem of politics and graft when I was research director for the American Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology. He is a practical and sophisticated person. I would say that among all the graduate students I met within eight or nine years around the University of Chicago, Mr. Cayton is the most practical, the most experienced, and the most informed when it comes to investigation of crookedness in politics. He is a student of Sociology, and the members of the Department of Sociology can give the best judgment of his work as a scholar. I know that Professor Park of the Department of Sociology thought a good deal of Mr. Cayton, and mentioned him and his work to me frequently.

If I can be of any service to you and Mr. Cayton in the negotiations for a scholarship, please tell me what I can do and I shall gladly do it.

Yours very respectfully,

John Henderson



NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE
INTERIOR BUILDING
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1937

FELLOWSHIPS

Mr. Raymond Paty,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Paty:

Not written to

I have a letter from Mr. Horace R. Cayton thanking me for some statistical material that I forwarded to him and mentioning that he used my name as a possible reference in application for a Rosenwald fellowship. As two other applications have recently been referred to me for comment, I assume that I may have been excused from commenting on Mr. Cayton's application. Others in Chicago are probably more familiar with his work than I am, although I have made considerable use of unpublished material supplied me by Mr. Cayton and have found it of considerable value.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Lorimer

Frank Lorimer, Technical Secretary
Committee on Population Problems

For the Chairman

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
SEATTLE

FELLOWSHIPS

March 16, 1937

Mr. Raymond Paty,
Director for Fellowships,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Mr. Paty:

Mr. Horace R. Cayton informs me that he is applying for a fellowship from the Julius Rosenwald Fund to assist him in completing the work for his doctor's degree. As his first teacher in sociology I am glad to be able to write a word for him. I can say without hesitation that Cayton is the most interesting student that I have had in fifteen years of college and university teaching. In the four or five courses that he had with me he was always able to make a report to the class in which they were vitally interested. In other words he has not only had experience with many aspects of life, but also has a remarkable gift from getting the more stimulating aspects of these experiences across to a group. I think he would make a very stimulating teacher of sociological subjects. At the time of the Christmas meetings I met Mrs. Cayton and think that she will be a big help to him.

Sincerely,

Norman S. Hayner

N. S. Hayner

NSH:JMO

FISK
UNIVERSITY

The University of Chicago

Department of Political Science

FELLOWSHIPS

Chicago, Illinois
March 19, 1937

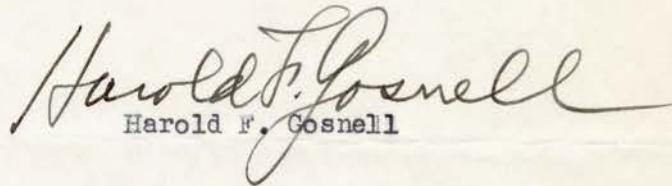
Mr. Raymond Paty
Director for Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago

My dear Mr. Paty:

Mr. Horace R. Cayton informs me that he has applied for a Rosenwald Fellowship in order to make a study of the Negro Upper Class group similar to a study which he is supervising in Chicago.

Mr. Cayton was my research assistant in connection with my study of Negro Politicians for two years. I found him to be extraordinarily useful. He has energy, initiative, intelligence, and remarkable social abilities. His range of experience has been very broad and he has a well developed sense of objectivity. I do not hesitate to recommend him most highly.

Yours very truly,


Harold F. Gosnell

FISK
UNIVERSITY

SSHOLARSHIP

March 20, 1933

My dear Mr. Cayton: We should be pleased to send your letters of recommendation to Dr. Donald Young of the Social Science Research Council. Since the Julius Rosenwald Fund was unable to award you a fellowship grant it would be against the policy of the Fund to recommend you without some request from Mr. Young himself. We should be glad to send your letters to him or return them to you. If Mr. Young should write us concerning our impression of you we should then be very glad to write him in detail. It has been a policy of the Julius Rosenwald Fund to answer only letters for recommendations and not to write the letters without a request from the person or persons considering the applicants.

Very truly yours,

GRA:VH

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
601 Social Science Bldg.
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

GEORGE R. ARTHUR

MAR 21 1933

FISK
UNIVERSITY

STATE OF ILLINOIS
HENRY HORNER, GOVERNOR
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
SPRINGFIELD

FELLOWSHIPS

A. L. BOWEN
DIRECTOR, THE DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE, SPRINGFIELD

INSTITUTE FOR JUVENILE RESEARCH

907 SOUTH LINCOLN STREET
CHICAGO
TELEPHONE MONROE 3900

PAUL L. SCHROEDER, M. D.
DIRECTOR, THE INSTITUTE FOR
JUVENILE RESEARCH, CHICAGO

March 23, 1937

	RRP	23-		

Mr. Raymond Paty
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Paty:

I have been informed that Horace R. Cayton has made application to the Rosenwald Fund for a fellowship for the coming two years. It has been my pleasure to know Mr. Cayton for seven years and I should like to submit this short recommendation in his behalf.

Mr. Cayton is a young man of very exceptional ability. He has had very thorough training in the social sciences and extended actual experience in research work. In this work he has demonstrated unusual intelligence, great skill in investigation, an attitude of caution and precision, and an appreciation of the theoretical values and limitations of his findings. I do not know of any young man whom I could with greater assurance recommend for consideration.

In the event that he should be fortunate enough to receive one of your fellowships, I am sure that his work will be thoroughly satisfactory and a credit to the Rosenwald Fund.

Very sincerely yours,

Clifford R. Shaw

Clifford R. Shaw

crs:lb

FISK
UNIVERSITY

SCHOLARSHIP

April 15, 1937

Dear Mr. Cayton: 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 eighteen hundred dollars to assist in carrying forward your plans for study in the field of sociology at the University of Chicago. A plan covering the details of payment under this grant will be arranged to fit your particular needs.

Please let me know at once if you accept this grant. Official announcement of the Committee's selection for the year will be made soon and can include only those acceptances which have been received. We shall appreciate your regarding this notification as confidential until the full list is announced.

Very truly yours,

RP:U:JW

RAYMOND R. PATY

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

The University of Chicago

Department of Anthropology

Chicago, Illinois
April 18, 1937

FELLOWSHIPS

	RRP	20		6

Mr. Raymond Paty
Director for Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Paty:

I am happy to accept the grant which has been offered to me by the Committee on Fellowship. I hope that my work during the coming year will justify the confidence which the Committee has shown in me.

Yours very truly,

Horace R. Cayton
Horace R. Cayton

HRC:JBS

8961

The University of Chicago FELLOWSHIPS

August 6, 1937.

	RRP	9	RP	810.
	Merrill			0

Mr. Raymond Paty,
 Director of Fellowships,
 Julius Rosenwald Fund,
 4901 Ellis Avenue,
 Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Paty:

I am writing to inquire if it would be possible for me to obtain an advance on my scholarship at the present time. This advance would allow me to meet certain obligations, and to make certain financial arrangements which would benefit me a great deal during the coming year.. If such an advance is possible I would like to request the sum of one hundred dollars (\$100.00). I will appreciate anything which you are able to do for me in this matter.

Yours truly,
Horace R. Cayton
 Horace R. Cayton.



Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue

CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton

Room 204, Social Science Building

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 8961

Date August 9, 1957

First payment on fellowship granted 4/15/57 - - - - - \$100.00

Ck. #8961

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	36-51	\$100.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by
AM		



Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 5537

Date September 30, 1937

Second payment on fellowship granted 4/15/37 - - - - - \$450.00

Ck.#18272

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	56-31	\$450.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by
AM		



Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4655 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 6020

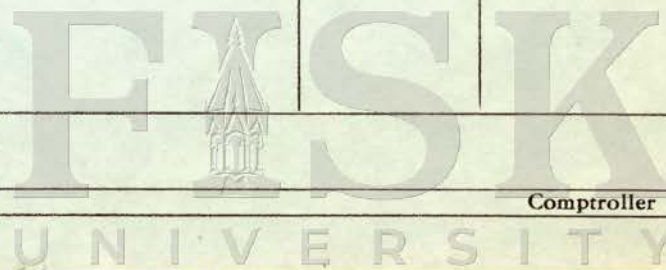
Date December 16, 1937

Third payment on fellowship granted 4/15/37 ----- \$450.00

Ck.#18805

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	36-81	\$450.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	Comptroller
-------------------	------------	-----------	-------------



FELLOWSHIPS

January 13, 1938

Dear Mr. Cayton: As I told you yesterday, our fellowships are normally for one year, but our Fellowship Committee will consider renewals in exceptional cases. In applying for a renewal, please submit the following information to us before February 1, 1938:

- A. A statement containing (1) a preliminary report of the work that has been accomplished during the tenure of your fellowship, and (2) a plan of work for the ensuing year. (Please submit five copies of this statement.)
- B. The names of two or three people under whom you have worked during your Fund fellowship.
- C. The amount requested from the Fund.

Very truly yours,

RP:MLJ

RAYMOND R. PATY

Mr. Horace Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

1938

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

Age

Candidate Horace R. Cayton

Special Field **Sociology**4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Plan of Work

RENEWAL

Renewal of fellowship for 1938-39 to complete research problem, write dissertation and prepare for preliminary examination for Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Digest of Application

<u>1937 Grant</u>	\$1800
-------------------	--------

References

Dr. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago

W. Lloyd Warner, " "

Dr. Robert Redfield, " "

Budget Summary

Total amount needed

From applicant

From Fund \$2200

Committee Notes

Granted

Huace R Cayton

(1) I am interested in making a study of the Negro upper class. This study would be historical, statistical and sociological in nature. It would attempt to trace the process by which a small group of the more energetic and favored Negroes were able to emerge from the great bulk of the population and establish themselves in a functional class relationship to the rest of the group. To note where and under what conditions the social classes among Negroes have become more highly elaborated and to study the forces and circumstances which tend to retard the development of such differentiation.

The present social structure in some of the northern cities as well as some of the southern cities will give insight into the possibilities for development which might vary with (1) location, i.e., southern or northern, (2) size of city, (3) size of Negro population within the city, etc.

The study would also describe the behavior, attitudes and the social world of the upper class Negroes, and the ideology which they have developed to justify their positions. The extent to which these functional classes have contributed to conflicting interests within the group; and the social movements which have originated with this class will also be examined.

(2) I have outlined the study and have made the accompanying analysis of the problem in my leisure time during the past year. I believe it would take two years to finish the study and complete the work for my degree.

(3) I would like to spend the first year at the University of Chicago. During this period I would try to cover the literature on the

subject and finish my residence work for my degree. The statistical work for the study would also be done during the first year.

In the summer of the first year I would like to spend some time at the library of Congress and at the Schomberg Collection in New York as the University of Chicago does not have a very large Negro collection.

During the second year I would like to do field work in Chicago, New York, Detroit and several southern cities of varying size.

(4) This study has been encouraged by persons in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago and by Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Robert Park at Fisk University. In view of this, I would judge that the possibilities for publication would be fairly good.

added



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of Dr. Louis Wirth

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

I have a very high regard for the candidate's intellectual ability and integrity. Since he has been one of my students and research assistants for some years, I believe I know him thoroughly. During my acquaintance with him I have been pleased to see him broaden his interests, perfect his skills of investigation and analysis, and mature his outlook. Mr. Cayton is a young man of attractive personality, a diligent worker, and a person of sound judgment. He has a wide experience and good training, combined with shrewd insight and broad sympathies.

In my judgment Mr. Cayton is well prepared to undertake the research project for which he seeks a fellowship. I have read a number of preliminary statements by him which convince me that he is dealing with a significant problem, both in social science and in the understanding of race relations and specifically the Negro. From the point of view of social science what he is seeking to do is to analyze the process of social-economic stratification, which takes place in any society in which there is a certain degree of freedom and of division of labor. An analysis of the conditions under which certain elements in a society obtain privileges and preferred positions, acquire education, wealth, social prestige and power, the role played in this process by race, descent, individual characteristics, and social circumstances should be a matter of great concern to those who are attempting to understand not only our own society but are attempting to formulate general principles of social organization.

OVER

The project is no less significant for the understanding of race relations and the Negro. Whereas even in slave days the Negro constituted something of a caste and at the same time showed great differentiation within his own group, such as the differences between free Negroes and slaves, domestic slaves and field slaves, in his progress since abolition the Negro has become highly differentiated, so that within his own group there are enormous differences in status which may be related to differences in color, family lines, education, occupation, and location. To trace these differences and to clarify how they come about, what tends to minimize and to accentuate them, is a significant problem of great practical importance. I am confident Mr. Cayton can make a contribution to these questions.

His plan to spend the first year at the University of Chicago in theoretical study and in order to cover the literature and the statistical analyses seems to me a sound one. After having supplemented this by a study at the Library of Congress and in New York he should be prepared to devote his second year to field work in major urban-Negro settlements of the North and the South. I think he should also attempt to get, during this second year, some additional field experience in the rural and small towns and communities of the South, where he has already spent some time in the past.

With such encouragement as a fellowship would provide, I have every hope that Mr. Cayton will develop into an outstanding scholar and specialist on the Negro.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

I know of no personality handicaps.

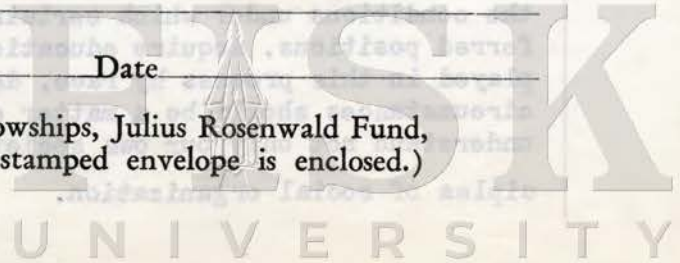
Signed Louis Werthe

Position or Title Associate Professor of Sociology

Address University of Chicago

Date

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)



added

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of Dr. Lloyd Warner

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

I recommend the project.

20

Lloyd Warner

Assistant Professor, Anthropology & Sociology

University of Chicago

Date *March 11, 1937*

These reports, Raymond Day, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate _____
Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of _____
Dr. Lloyd Warner

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of the applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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 _____
W Lloyd Warner

Position or Title _____
Assistant Professor, Anthropology & Sociology

Address _____
University of Chicago

Date _____
March 11, 1937

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)

UNIVERSITY

1

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

copy

Name of Candidate _____ Horace R. Cayton _____

Report Requested of _____ Dr. Robert E. Park _____

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

all

I know Horace Cayton very well. If I remember rightly he is the grandson of Hiram Revels, the first colored senator from Mississippi. His father lived in Seattle and ran a newspaper there, and was a man who had the respect of the community, from all I can hear. Cayton got his college education at the University of Washington. He studied Economics. Before that time he had had a varied experience knocking about the country. For a time he was a police officer. I think he made his way through college by keeping Bertillion records. He came on later to Chicago and made a very good record there. He has also made a study of the Negro in Industry under Charles Johnson, which is soon to be published. He is now working for Dr. Lloyd Warner, of the Anthropological Department at Chicago.

Cayton is a very bright and intelligent man and he is particularly capable in making contacts and getting information from all sorts of people. He talked over this study with me while he was here teaching last year, and he reported on it I believe also in the Race and Culture seminar in Chicago. I think he will do a good job if he is given two

OVER

UNIVERSITY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

years in which to complete the task. He should get just the sort of mental discipline that he needs to establish his status in the intellectual world.

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of Dr. Robert E. Park

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

So far as I know the candidate is entirely free from any personality traits that would handicap him in undertaking this task.

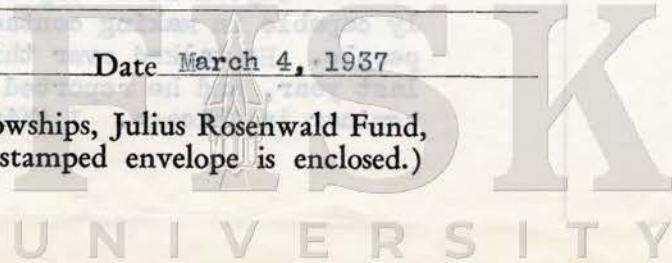
Signed Robert E. Park

Position or Title Prof. Sociology Emeritus, Univ. Chicago

Address University of Chicago

Date March 4, 1937

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

900 SOUTH HOMAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SCHOLARSHIP

Confidential Report on Candidate for Scholarship

Name of Candidate Mr. Horace Cayton, student at University of Chicago

Report Requested of Dr. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago

The above-named candidate has applied to this foundation for a scholarship to enable him to secure further training in Sociology, and has given your name as a reference.

We should appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this candidate's abilities and personal characteristics. In what way and when have you known the candidate and his work?

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Associate for Negro Welfare #

George R. Arlauer

REPORT: I have known Mr. Cayton as a student for about nine months. He impresses me as an unusually promising man. His work with me has been of outstanding merit. He shows a superior capacity for collecting data, for the interpretation of it and for seeing its significance. He has organizing ability. He has been diligent in his work and has maintained a scholarly and sympathetic interest in what he has taken up. His past record, as far as I know it, indicates that he has had a wide range of experience and suitable preparation for graduate work.

As a personality Mr. Cayton impresses me very favorably. He shows poise and makes acquaintances easily. His fellow-students esteem him and he has adapted himself readily to the University.

His research on some aspects of urban life with special reference to the Negro appeals to me as important and worth continuing.

I feel convinced that he would profit greatly by the aid a scholarship or fellowship would offer and that the Fund in his case would be making an excellent selection.

Sincerely

Louis Wirth

9

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Horace R. Caton

Report Requested of Dr. Robert Redfield

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

I think very highly both of the candidate and the project. Among young Negro students of the Negro, he seems to me one of the best. He has an excellent grasp of the subject-matter in his field and of the principal problems in it. In connection with the supervision of research work on this campus, he has shown an ability to assemble facts, to analyze them and supervise assistants, ^{as good} as can be found among mature graduate students known to me. I would expect Cayton to take his place at the forefront of Negro sociologists. I wish especially to add that his dependability and efficiency have very much increased in the past two years, and that he should not be judged on the basis of his qualities several years ago.

Position or Title
Address
Date
These return envelopes may be used for the Julius Rosenwald Fund.
4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.



OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate

Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of

Dr. Robert Redfield

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

Negro students of the Negro excellent group of the subject-matter in his field and of the principal problems in it. In connection with the supervision of research work on this campus, he has shown an ability to assemble facts, to analyze them and supervise assistants. He can be found among Negro graduate students known to me. I would expect Cayton to take his place at the forefront of Negro sociologists. I wish especially to emphasize that his ability and efficiency have very much increased in the past few years. He should not be judged on the basis of his work in the past.

Signed

Robert Redfield

Position or Title

Professor of Anthropology

Address

University of Chicago

Date

Mar 4, 1937

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)

OVER

UNIVERSITY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of Dr. Robert Redfield, Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Raymond Patz

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

See Ina Corinne Brown's folder

FISK
UNIVERSITY
OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
1901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate _____
Mr. Harold R. Clayton

Report Requested of _____
Dr. Robert Hebbel, Department of Anthropology

University of Chicago

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

Raymond Paty
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

for the committee

Signed _____

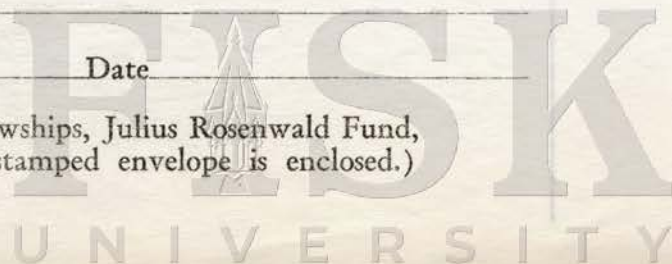
Position or Title _____

Address _____

Date _____

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)

OVER



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. Horace R. Cayton

Report Requested of Professor Lloyd Warner, Department of Anthropology

University of Chicago

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Raymond Patz

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

FISK
UNIVERSITY
OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate _____
Mr. Horace B. Peyton
Report Requested of _____
Professor Lloyd E. Brown, Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of the applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Raymond Paty
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

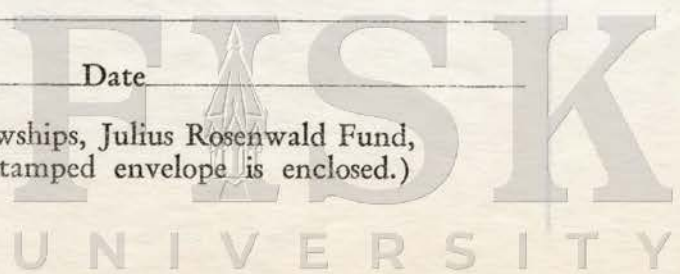
Signed _____

Position or Title _____

Address _____

Date _____

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)



OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. Horace R. Cayton
Report Requested of Dr. Louis Wirth
University of Chicago, Illinois

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of this applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Raymond Pats
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

With reference to Mr. Cayton's capacities, qualifications and promise, I can only repeat the comments I made in my original letter last year in support of his application for a fellowship. I consider him an unusually promising candidate.

I am not competent to speak about the progress of his work during the last year, since I have not been in intimate touch with it.

I can say, however, that he has been the most active agent in the community in making available and interpreting the facts concerning the Negro housing situation in Chicago. If he is able to carry out the plans he has made for the year 1938-39 as indicated on page 4 of his application, a renewal of his fellowship would, it seems to me, be amply warranted.



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate _____

Report Requested of _____

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

We shall appreciate a frank statement of your opinion of the applicant's abilities and personal characteristics, and an appraisal of his plan of work. An early reply to this inquiry will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for an adequate review of the large number of candidates who apply for grants.

Your reply will be held in strictest confidence.

Raymond Paty
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

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?

I am not competent to speak about the progress of his work during the last year, since I have not been in intimate touch with it.

I can say, however, that he has been the most active agent in the community in making available and interesting the last's concerning the Negro hour.

Signed

Louis Wirth

Position or Title

Associate Professor of Sociology

Address

University of Chicago

Date *Feb 20, 1938*

(Please return to Raymond Paty, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)

FISK
UNIVERSITY

OVER

Harace R. Clayton

(1) I am interested in making a study of the Negro upper class. This study would be historical, statistical and sociological in nature. It would attempt to trace the process by which a small group of the more energetic and favored Negroes were able to emerge from the great bulk of the population and establish themselves in a functional class relationship to the rest of the group. To note where and under what conditions the social classes among Negroes have become more highly elaborated and to study the forces and circumstances which tend to retard the development of such differentiation.

The present social structure in some of the northern cities as well as some of the southern cities will give insight into the possibilities for development which might vary with (1) location, i.e., southern or northern, (2) size of city, (3) size of Negro population within the city, etc.

The study would also describe the behavior, attitudes and the social world of the upper class Negroes, and the ideology which they have developed to justify their positions. The extent to which these functional classes have contributed to conflicting interests within the group; and the social movements which have originated with this class will also be examined.

(2) I have outlined the study and have made the accompanying analysis of the problem in my leisure time during the past year. I believe it would take two years to finish the study and complete the work for my degree.

(3) I would like to spend the first year at the University of Chicago. During this period I would try to cover the literature on the

subject and finish my residence work for my degree. The statistical work for the study would also be done during the first year.

In the summer of the first year I would like to spend some time at the library of Congress and at the Schomberg Collection in New York as the University of Chicago does not have a very large Negro collection.

During the second year I would like to do field work in Chicago, New York, Detroit and several southern cities of varying size.

(4) This study has been encouraged by persons in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago and by Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Robert Park at Fisk University. In view of this, I would judge that the possibilities for publication would be fairly good.

This study can be looked upon as an analysis of the disorganizing effects of migration as reflected in crime, political corruption and especially vice, when race prejudice slows up, or stops, the process of succession. The first part of the study will be statistical and devoted to an analysis of the invasion process, both ecological and economic.

This will be followed by a consideration of succession within the group itself and the development of a heterogeneous community. The effects of the slowing up of the process of succession as reflected in such community organizations as the economic, social, political and religious institutions will be noted.

The third part of the study will deal with the relation of the Negro community to the larger community. This will be a description of the general competitive process which brings the Negro into the existing economic and ecological division of labor and tends to make the Negro community the area for certain border-line activities of the community as a whole. Likewise a description of the financial and political interests, especially those outside of the community, which tend to make these conditions hard to dislodge, and an account of the various movements for change both within and without the community will be given.

- I. Origin of the Community.
 - A. Sources of the population.
 - B. Process of selection involved in migration.
- II. Pattern of settlement.
 - A. Historical settlement pattern.
 - B. Expansion of the community.
 - C. Concentration with increase in numbers.
- III. Economic invasion.
 - A. Resistance to invasion.
 - B. Penetration at the weakest point of the economic organization.
- IV. Succession is stopped or slowed up by race prejudice.
 - A. Prevents movement away from disorganized areas.
 1. Succession takes place within the community.
 - B. Prevents movement into higher economic groups.
 1. This is also accompanied by succession within the community.
 - C. Permits the entrenchment of conditions characteristic of the invasion period.
 1. Disorganized activities which would have been eliminated with movement out of the area and movement into higher economic groups, became, to some extent, entrenched in the community.
 - a. This is reflected in the economic, political, social and religious institutions.
- V. Relations with the larger community.
 - A. Negro community becomes the locale for certain border-line activities.
 1. Ecological position in reference to the community as a whole.
 2. Financial interests help to maintain these conditions.
 - a. Interests of people outside of the Negro community.
 - b. Interests of some within the community.
 3. Political interests help to maintain these conditions.
 - a. Political interests of people outside of the community.
 - b. Political interests of some within the community.
 - B. The pressure for change.
 1. Movements for reform within the Negro community.
 2. Movements for reform from without.

Sources of materials to be used for the study.

1. Literature in the field and a review of previous studies such as:

The Negro in Chicago.
Chicago Commission on Race Relations.
Negro Home Ownership.
Monroe Work.
The Negro Family.
E. Franklin Fraser.

2. Census material.

3. The use of personal interviews.
(Some of the material gathered by Dr. Gosnell in his study of the Negro in politics.)

4. The use of data from various social agencies.
Committee of Fifteen.
Urban League.
United Charities.
Chicago Crime Commission.
Illinois Vigilance Committee.

5. Government and Municipal documents.
Civil Service Commission.
Venereal Disease Clinics
Morals Court.
Etc.

6. Newspaper file.
The Chicago Defender. 1915-1932.
The Chicago Whip. 1925-1932.
Daily papers.

SCHEDULE I --- Room and Board

September 1937 to June 1938

During this period my work would be carried on at the University of Chicago and I would be living at home. Room and board would amount to approximately \$75 a month. For nine (9) months.....\$675.00

June 1938 to September 1938

During this period I would be working at the Library of Congress in Washington, and at the New York Public Library in New York. Room and board would amount to approximately \$100 a month. For three (3) months.....\$300.00

September 1938 to December 1938

Field Work in New York City. Room and board approximately \$100 a month. For four (4) months..... 400.00

December 1938 to April 1939

This period would be spent in Field Work in three southern cities yet to be chosen. Room and board would amount to approximately \$80 a month. For four (4) months..... \$320.00

April 1939 to September 1939

The study would be organized and written in these remaining months. Room and board would amount to approximately \$75 a month. For five (5) months..... \$375.00

Total for Room and Board..... \$2070.00

SCHEDULE II --- Clothing

The estimate for clothing is based upon the following monthly expenditures:

Laundry	\$6.00
Shoe Repairs	2.00
Cleaning)	
Pressing	5.00
Repairs)	
New Clothing	12.00
	<u>\$25.00</u>

For twenty-four months..... \$600.00

SCHEDULE III --- Insurance

Insurance at \$100 a year, for two years (For self and family.)..... 200.00



SCHEDULE IV --- Tuition

Three quarters at the University of Chicago at \$100 a quarter..... \$300.00

SCHEDULE V --- Books

It would be necessary to purchase a certain number of the most indispensable standard works and to obtain a great number of Governmental Reports, Year Books and Who's Who Publications, however it is impossible at the moment to estimate the number and expense of these items. I have already purchased a number of the standard works and Governmental Reports. And on the basis of this I would judge that for the two-year period approximately \$75 would cover expenditures for this item.

SCHEDULE VI --- Transportation

This item cannot be stated exactly at the moment as the southern cities have not been chosen. The following amount of travel would probably be necessary:

- Chicago to Washington
- Washington to New York
- New York to Durham
- Durham to Charleston, S.C.
- Charleston to Atlanta
- Atlanta to Detroit
- Detroit to Chicago

I would use my own car. Approximately 4000 miles would be travelled between the various cities and allowance should be made for about 1000 miles within the cities. Allowing .05¢ a mile for maintenance and repair this item of the transportation cost would amount to..... \$250.00

Garage at the rate of \$15 per month for the period in the field eleven (11) months would amount to..... \$165.00

Garage at the rate of \$7.00 a month for the period spent in Chicago thirteen (13) months..... \$ 91.00

Total..... \$506.00

SCHEDULE VII --- Miscellaneous

The following estimates are tentative and cover such miscellaneous items as can be foreseen at the moment:

- Typing manuscript..... \$100
- Stationary and supplies..... 50
- Postage..... 15

\$165

TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR PROJECT..... \$3916.00



Amount Applicant can provide:

Although I do not have any cash to contribute I do have a car and would need only gas and oil for transportation. I also have a small library and collection of material which will obviate much expenditure for this item. In addition my wife will be able to give me some clerical and stenographic assistance.

Amount requested from Fund:

As I do not know the policy of the Rosenwald Fund in granting fellowships I have hesitated to put down the total estimated cost of the study. I would be able to devote the entire stipend granted in the manner outlined in the above statement.

If the total amount requested exceeds that which the Fund customarily grants I would, on the approval of the Fund, first attempt to obtain a personal loan, or reduce in some manner the scope of the study.

LETTERS OF REFERENCE

Horace R. Cayton

Dr. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago

(1937) I have a very high regard for the candidate's intellectual ability and integrity. During my acquaintance with him I have been pleased to see him broaden his interests, perfect his skills of investigation and analysis, and mature his outlook. Mr. Cayton is a young man of attractive personality, a diligent worker, and a person of sound judgment. He has a wide experience and good training, combined with shrewd insight and broad sympathies.

(1938) With reference to Mr. Cayton's capacities, qualifications and promise, I can only repeat the comments I made in my original letter last year in support of his application for a fellowship. I consider him an unusually promising candidate.

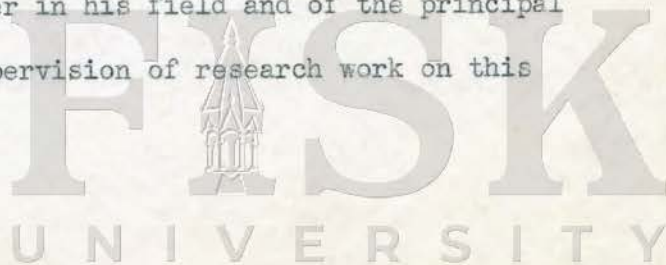
I am not competent to speak about the progress of his work during the last year, since I have not been in intimate touch with it.

I can say, however, that he has been the most active agent in the community in making available and interpreting the facts concerning the Negro housing situation in Chicago. If he is able to carry out the plans he has made for the year 1938-39 as indicated on page four of his application, a renewal of his fellowship would, it seems to me, be amply warranted.

- - - - -

Dr. Robert Redfield, University of Chicago.

(1937) I think very highly both of the candidate and the project. Among young Negro students of the Negro, he seems to me one of the best. He has an excellent grasp of the subject matter in his field and of the principal problems in it. In connection with the supervision of research work on this



Letters of Reference - Horace Cayton

campus, he has shown an ability to assemble facts, to analyze them and supervise assistants as good as can be found among mature graduate students known to me. I would expect Cayton to take his place at the forefront of Negro sociologists. I wish especially to add that his dependability and efficiency have very much increased in the past two years, and that he should not be judged on the basis of his qualities several years ago.

(1938) There is little I can add to what I said last year in support of the fellowship applications of Miss Ina Corinne Brown and Mr. Horace R. Cayton. I regard them both as exceptionally qualified and promising students of the Negro. My contacts with Mr. Cayton during the past year have been rather casual. My impression is that he is succeeding in making his office a center of materials for the study of the American Negro.

- - - - -

Mr. Lloyd Warner, University of Chicago.

Mr. Horace Cayton is making one of the most comprehensive and detailed studies that has been done of the northern Negro. It will compare favorably with Dr. Charles Johnson's earlier study of Chicago. He has made splendid progress on the study which will later be turned into a doctor's thesis; however, he needs another year or two to complete the work. The research he is doing is important not only because of its results but also because of the methods he is using (combination of ecology, social structure, and statistics). The work has not only scientific value but also is of a practical significance insomuch as he is beginning to devise means by which he can relate the results of the work to many of the critical problems of the Negro in Chicago. I am thinking particularly of the problem of housing, the

Letters of Reference - Horace Cayton

many problems which are faced by the social agencies, and other institutions which deal with race relations.

He has made satisfactory progress on his language requirements for his doctor's degree.

After all it seems to me that the fundamental purpose of giving Rosenwald fellowships to Negroes is to more adequately prepare the candidate for taking his place in the social world around him and making his contribution to our knowledge or to the solution of some of the problems which face the Negro. With this in mind I believe it most important that Mr. Cayton be given another year. It seems to me that with the Negro becoming more and more urban we are going to need more people of Cayton's qualifications to think about the Negro's problems and to help us to act more intelligently about them.

Fellowship Renewal

Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, January 31, 1938

Mr. Raymond Paty
Director of Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Paty:

The following statement covers (1), my activities under the present fellowship; (2) the plans which I would like to follow for the year 1938-39 in case my fellowship is renewed; and (3) a statement of what I hope to follow as a career after I have obtained my degree.

I. Statement of Activities under the Present Fellowship

My work under the present fellowship can be divided into four interests.

A. Research on my dissertation

With the aid of workers on a W. P. A. project I have been able to make material progress on my research problem. I have gathered all available statistical data on the Negro in Chicago, as well as a mass of interview data and a number of life histories. This work has been carried on under the direction of Professor W. Lloyd Warner. The results of the research will, I believe, constitute a contribution (1) in that it will test Mr. Warner's hypothesis of caste and class in a northern urban situation; (2) it may make some methodological contribution to the problem of combining the techniques of social anthropology, sociology and statistics, and (3) the materials from the research will be of use to persons with practical and remedial interests in the Negro community.

B. Preparation for foreign language examinations

I have set as one of my tasks for this year the passing of my language requirements. To this end I have been studying French for the past four months. As languages are very difficult for me I have secured the services of a tutor twice a week and have purchased a set of linguaphone recordings. My French is progressing very slowly but I feel sure that I shall be ready to

take the examination in this language the next time it is offered, (in March.)

I will then begin work on German and hope to be in a position to take this examination either in the Spring or at the beginning of the next school year. I will follow the same procedure in learning German, i.e., hire a tutor and study with the aid of the linguaphone recordings.

C. Interest in Community Problems

1. The Housing Problem--

Although I had determined not to engage in any community activities I was drawn into the housing discussion through my research interests. I was first solicited for aid by Mr. George O. Fairweather who wanted material on the problem. As housing was a pressing community problem, and as I had pertinent material, I could not justify to myself an indifference to the situation. Proceeding on the assumption that Mr. Fairweather was interested in some remedial action for the Negro community I prepared for him the following material:

- a) Outline for an extended research on the question of housing in the Negro community showing the relationship between housing conditions in this area and in other parts of the city.
- b) A plan for a limited dividend housing project for the upper income groups of the Negro population.
- c. A statement of facts for members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago on (1) the nature of the housing crisis in the Negro community; (2) the effect of the restrictive covenants, and (3) a plan for stimulation of private building, rehabilitation, and federal housing in the Negro community.

After I became convinced that nothing constructive would develop from this relationship I felt it necessary to lay the facts before as many persons as possible so that they might realize the seriousness of the situation. To this end I engaged in the following activities:

- a) Preparation of four articles which were published in the December and January issues of the Beacon and the Opportunity magazines.

- b) Made approximately thirty talks to social and civic organizations throughout the city. In addition I participated in two debates with Mr. Fairweather on campus, where we discussed the social desirability of the University's real estate policy.
- c) The preparation of a statement of facts and a conference with the Chicago Housing Authority.
- d) Preparation of material concerning the Jane Addams Housing Project for the Chicago Housing Authority and Miss Carr of Hull House.

2. The Unemployment Relief Problem--

On the request of Community leaders I prepared a study of the differential rate of return of Negroes and whites to private employment. This study was planned to answer questions revolving around the fact that 40 per cent of the present relief load in Chicago is Negro although Negroes constitute only about 7 per cent of the general population of Chicago. It has as its purpose a survey of (1) the available supply of Negro labor in Metropolitan Chicago as indicated by the "employable" Negroes on the relief rolls; (2) an estimate of the extent of possible re-employment of the group by private industry; and (3) the effect which their continued or increased migration from the South will have upon any possible equilibrium between the demand for and the supply of Negro labor in Chicago.

This study has been submitted to the Works Progress Administration. If it is approved it will (1) provide valuable data for ascertaining the role which the Negro in Chicago will play in the program of private social organizations of the community and in the relief situation, and also will endeavor to appraise the possible harmful effects of a continued migration of southern Negroes to the North; (2) furnish work for two hundred Negroes and bring \$200,000 into the community in salaries. I will act only as a member of an advisory committee to this research if it is approved.

D. The Revision and Completion of the Study of the Effects of the New Deal and Negro Labor

In 1934 I was associated with Doctor George Mitchell in the above study. Recently this study was approved for

publication and it was necessary to bring the material up to date as field work was stopped in June of 1935. In addition it was necessary to revise the entire manuscript in view of the suggestions which the various readers have made. The first two sections of the manuscript are completely revised and ready for final typing and the new sections will be written within a relatively short length of time.

II. Plans for the Year 1938-39

If my fellowship is renewed I would plan to accomplish the following things during the next year:

- A. Complete my research problem and write my dissertation.
- B. During the year I would devote six months toward preparing for my preliminary examinations.
- C. In either the Spring or Summer quarter of 1938 I would take my preliminary examinations. This would mean that I would then have to take only my oral examinations on my thesis before receiving my degree.

III. Plans for the Future

My general interest centers about a plan to combine both practical and theoretical research. I should like to be in a position to do extensive research on the problems of the urban Negro of the North. Beginning with the present research of Chicago I should like to organize and catalogue all the data which we will gather and make it available in a form which would be of use to all persons who wish to do work on this subject whether theoretical or practical. During this year I have realized that there is not a single agency or organization, including the University of Chicago, that has any assembled and organized body of factual material concerning the Negro population of the city. If such material were gathered at a central place, and made available to interested persons, this would provide a factual basis for the working out of such problems as housing, relief administration, public workers, and intra-state migration, insofar as they concerned the Negro population. Such public agencies as the Chicago Relief Administration, the Chicago Plan Commission, the United Charities, the Illinois State Employment Service, and many others, as well as students who wish to do research on the problem would find this of value.

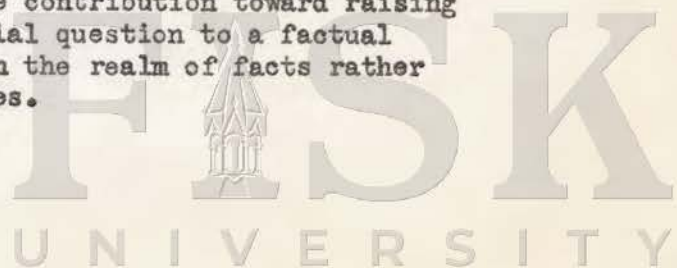
Since I am familiar with this factual material I should like to act as a technical assistant to all public agencies in the community that may have occasion to deal with the problem. The

usefulness of such a service may be indicated by the following example. On the West Side of Chicago there are two Negro communities about one mile apart. The Lake Street community has a population of 9,776 persons, and the Maxwell Street community, 13,320 persons. Between 1930 and 1934 there was a noticeable tendency for these two communities to grow together. If this movement continues, in a relatively few years the entire area will be predominantly Negro. This will affect such institutions as Hull House and the West Side Y.M.C.A. If those institutions are to successfully relate themselves to the population which they are supposed to serve, it will be necessary for them to re-orientate their programs in terms of a Negro population. Knowledge of this fact, as well as a description of the characteristics of the population and their problems could be given to these institutions from our materials.

My hope, then, is to establish a clearing house for material on the Negro in Chicago and set up procedures so when new materials are gathered they can be included in the archives. I hope that after this plan is accomplished in Chicago, that it may be extended to other northern cities and finally, that an institute may be established to gather and release material on the Negro for all northern urban cities in the country.

In addition to this "fact finding" I should like to make some theoretical researches on the material gathered. In this I would welcome the opportunity to present these researches in various universities and colleges. For example, if it were possible I would like to, from time to time, teach a course on the Urban Negro in the Sociology Departments of the University of Chicago, Columbia University and Fisk University. I should be able to present to academic research persons the theoretical implications of these materials. If formal courses do not prove possible, much of this material can be made available to such groups as the Race and Culture Seminar of the University of Chicago and the Race Relations Seminar at Fisk University.

I feel that I have made considerable progress during the time that I have worked under the present fellowship, both in the amount of field data gathered and in learning research methods. This, incidentally, is the first time since leaving grammar grades that I have not had to completely earn my own living while I attended school, and my present fellowship the first fellowship I have ever held from any institution. If I were to name what seems to me my most important accomplishment during the year, I should point to the fact that I was instrumental in two cases (in housing and in the relief-employment situation) to make some contribution toward raising a delicate and rather dangerous interracial question to a factual level so that discussion could proceed in the realm of facts rather than in terms of current racial prejudices.



Mr. Raymond Paty - 1/31/38

6.

In view of the expenses which I have and will incur in concluding my research, the expenses incidental to fulfilling the language requirements and taking courses in preparation for my degree, and the family expenses I shall have for the coming year, I would like to request a renewal of my fellowship for the sum of \$2,200.

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton

Horace R. Cayton

PLEASE RETURN
TO
JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, January 31, 1938

Mr. Raymond Paty
Director of Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Paty:

The following statement covers (1), my activities under the present fellowship; (2) the plans which I would like to follow for the year 1938-39 in case my fellowship is renewed; and (3) a statement of what I hope to follow as a career after I have obtained my degree.

I. Statement of Activities under the Present Fellowship

My work under the present fellowship can be divided into four interests.

A. Research on my dissertation

With the aid of workers on a W. P. A. project I have been able to make material progress on my research problem. I have gathered all available statistical data on the Negro in Chicago, as well as a mass of interview data and a number of life histories. This work has been carried on under the direction of Professor W. Lloyd Warner. The results of the research will, I believe, constitute a contribution (1) in that it will test Mr. Warner's hypothesis of caste and class in a northern urban situation; (2) it may make some methodological contribution to the problem of combining the techniques of social anthropology, sociology and statistics, and (3) the materials from the research will be of use to persons with practical and remedial interests in the Negro community.

B. Preparation for foreign language examinations

I have set as one of my tasks for this year the passing of my language requirements. To this end I have been studying French for the past four months. As languages are very difficult for me I have secured the services of a tutor twice a week and have purchased a set of linguaphone recordings. My French is progressing very slowly but I feel sure that I shall be ready to

take the examination in this language the next time it is offered, (in March.)

I will then begin work on German and hope to be in a position to take this examination either in the Spring or at the beginning of the next school year. I will follow the same procedure in learning German, i.e., hire a tutor and study with the aid of the linguaphone recordings.

C. Interest in Community Problems

1. The Housing Problem--

Although I had determined not to engage in any community activities I was drawn into the housing discussion through my research interests. I was first solicited for aid by Mr. George O. Fairweather who wanted material on the problem. As housing was a pressing community problem, and as I had pertinent material, I could not justify to myself an indifference to the situation. Proceeding on the assumption that Mr. Fairweather was interested in some remedial action for the Negro community I prepared for him the following material:

- a) Outline for an extended research on the question of housing in the Negro community showing the relationship between housing conditions in this area and in other parts of the city.
- b) A plan for a limited dividend housing project for the upper income groups of the Negro population.
- c. A statement of facts for members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago on (1) the nature of the housing crisis in the Negro community; (2) the effect of the restrictive covenants, and (3) a plan for stimulation of private building, rehabilitation, and federal housing in the Negro community.

After I became convinced that nothing constructive would develop from this relationship I felt it necessary to lay the facts before as many persons as possible so that they might realize the seriousness of the situation. To this end I engaged in the following activities:

- a) Preparation of four articles which were published in the December and January issues of the Beacon and the Opportunity magazines.

- b) Made approximately thirty talks to social and civic organizations throughout the city. In addition I participated in two debates with Mr. Fairweather on campus, where we discussed the social desirability of the University's real estate policy.
- c) The preparation of a statement of facts and a conference with the Chicago Housing Authority.
- d) Preparation of material concerning the Jane Addams Housing Project for the Chicago Housing Authority and Miss Carr of Hull House.

2. The Unemployment Relief Problem--

On the request of Community leaders I prepared a study of the differential rate of return of Negroes and whites to private employment. This study was planned to answer questions revolving around the fact that 40 per cent of the present relief load in Chicago is Negro although Negroes constitute only about 7 per cent of the general population of Chicago. It has as its purpose a survey of (1) the available supply of Negro labor in Metropolitan Chicago as indicated by the "employable" Negroes on the relief rolls; (2) an estimate of the extent of possible re-employment of the group by private industry; and (3) the effect which their continued or increased migration from the South will have upon any possible equilibrium between the demand for and the supply of Negro labor in Chicago.

This study has been submitted to the Works Progress Administration. If it is approved it will (1) provide valuable data for ascertaining the role which the Negro in Chicago will play in the program of private social organizations of the community and in the relief situation, and also will endeavor to appraise the possible harmful effects of a continued migration of southern Negroes to the North; (2) furnish work for two hundred Negroes and bring \$200,000 into the community in salaries. I will act only as a member of an advisory committee to this research if it is approved.

D. The Revision and Completion of the Study of the Effects of the New Deal and Negro Labor

In 1934 I was associated with Doctor George Mitchell in the above study. Recently this study was approved for

publication and it was necessary to bring the material up to date as field work was stopped in June of 1935. In addition it was necessary to revise the entire manuscript in view of the suggestions which the various readers have made. The first two sections of the manuscript are completely revised and ready for final typing and the new sections will be written within a relatively short length of time.

II. Plans for the Year 1938-39

If my fellowship is renewed I would plan to accomplish the following things during the next year:

- A. Complete my research problem and write my dissertation.
- B. During the year I would devote six months toward preparing for my preliminary examinations.
- C. In either the Spring or Summer quarter of 1938 I would take my preliminary examinations. This would mean that I would then have to take only my oral examinations on my thesis before receiving my degree.

III. Plans for the Future

My general interest centers about a plan to combine both practical and theoretical research. I should like to be in a position to do extensive research on the problems of the urban Negro of the North. Beginning with the present research of Chicago I should like to organize and catalogue all the data which we will gather and make it available in a form which would be of use to all persons who wish to do work on this subject whether theoretical or practical. During this year I have realized that there is not a single agency or organization, including the University of Chicago, that has any assembled and organized body of factual material concerning the Negro population of the city. If such material were gathered at a central place, and made available to interested persons, this would provide a factual basis for the working out of such problems as housing, relief administration, public workers, and intra-state migration, insofar as they concerned the Negro population. Such public agencies as the Chicago Relief Administration, the Chicago Plan Commission, the United Charities, the Illinois State Employment Service, and many others, as well as students who wish to do research on the problem would find this of value.

Since I am familiar with this factual material I should like to act as a technical assistant to all public agencies in the community that may have occasion to deal with the problem. The

usefulness of such a service may be indicated by the following example. On the West Side of Chicago there are two Negro communities about one mile apart. The Lake Street community has a population of 9,776 persons, and the Maxwell Street community, 13,320 persons. Between 1930 and 1934 there was a noticeable tendency for these two communities to grow together. If this movement continues, in a relatively few years the entire area will be predominantly Negro. This will affect such institutions as Hull House and the West Side Y.M.C.A. If those institutions are to successfully relate themselves to the population which they are supposed to serve, it will be necessary for them to re-orientate their programs in terms of a Negro population. Knowledge of this fact, as well as a description of the characteristics of the population and their problems could be given to these institutions from our materials.

My hope, then, is to establish a clearing house for material on the Negro in Chicago and set up procedures so when new materials are gathered they can be included in the archives. I hope that after this plan is accomplished in Chicago, that it may be extended to other northern cities and finally, that an institute may be established to gather and release material on the Negro for all northern urban cities in the country.

In addition to this "fact finding" I should like to make some theoretical researches on the material gathered. In this I would welcome the opportunity to present these researches in various universities and colleges. For example, if it were possible I would like to, from time to time, teach a course on the Urban Negro in the Sociology Departments of the University of Chicago, Columbia University and Fisk University. I should be able to present to academic research persons the theoretical implications of these materials. If formal courses do not prove possible, much of this material can be made available to such groups as the Race and Culture Seminar of the University of Chicago and the Race Relations Seminar at Fisk University.

I feel that I have made considerable progress during the time that I have worked under the present fellowship, both in the amount of field data gathered and in learning research methods. This, incidentally, is the first time since leaving grammar grades that I have not had to completely earn my own living while I attended school, and my present fellowship the first fellowship I have ever held from any institution. If I were to name what seems to me my most important accomplishment during the year, I should point to the fact that I was instrumental in two cases (in housing and in the relief-employment situation) to make some contribution toward raising a delicate and rather dangerous interracial question to a factual level so that discussion could proceed in the realm of facts rather than in terms of current racial prejudices.

Mr. Raymond Paty - 1/31/38

6.

In view of the expenses which I have and will incur in concluding my research, the expenses incidental to fulfilling the language requirements and taking courses in preparation for my degree, and the family expenses I shall have for the coming year, I would like to request a renewal of my fellowship for the sum of \$2,200.

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Renewal file

	RRP	4	RP	

Horace R. Cayton
 4635 South Wabash Avenue
 Chicago, Feb. 3, 1938

Mr. Raymond Paty
 Director of Fellowships
 Julius Rosenwald Foundation
 4901 Ellis Avenue
 Chicago

My dear Mr. Paty

I find that I have failed to mention the persons who are acquainted with my work during this year. I would like to refer you to Doctor Louis Wirth and ~~Doctor W. Lloyd Warner~~ of the University of Chicago, and ~~Doctor Charles S. Johnson~~ of Fisk University.

Robert Redfield

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton

Horace R. Cayton



Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 6453

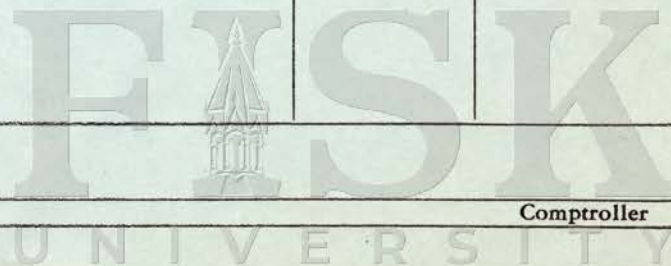
Date March 31, 1938

Fourth payment on fellowship granted 4/15/37 - - - - - \$450.00

Ck.#19509

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	86-31	\$450.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	Comptroller
-------------------	------------	-----------	-------------



FELLOWSHIPS

April 16, 1938

Dear Mr. Cayton: 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 renewal grant of Fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) to assist you in carrying forward your study of sociology in accordance with the plan of work which you submitted to our Committee.

A plan covering the details of payments under this grant will be arranged to fit your particular needs.

Please let us know at once if you accept this grant. An official announcement of the Committee's selections for the year will be made soon and can include only those from whom acceptances have been received.

Very truly yours,
RAYMOND R. PATY

RP:McK

Mr. Horace Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

HORACE R. CAYTON

FELLOWSHIPS

April
25th
1938

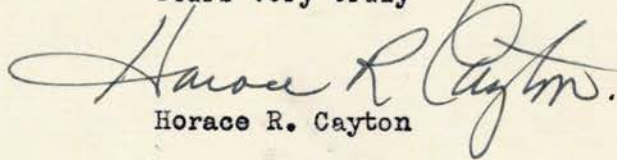
	RRP	26	RP	0

My dear Mr. Paty

I accept with pleasure the appointment for fellowship for the year 1938-39.

I will be very pleased to abide by the suggestions which you and Mr. Emery made to me the other afternoon.

Yours very truly


Horace R. Cayton

Mr. Raymond Paty
Director of Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

9

June 30, 1938

Dear Mr. Cayton: The enclosed check for
 \$350 represents the final
payment on your fellowship grant of \$1,800 for
1937-38. For your information a schedule of the
payments made on this grant is given below:

August 9, 1937 - - - - -	\$100.00
September 30, 1937 - - - - -	450.00
December 16, 1937 - - - - -	450.00
March 31, 1938 - - - - -	450.00
June 30, 1938(Enclosed) - - -	<u>350.00</u>
	<u>\$1,800.00</u>

Kindly let me know how you
would like to receive your grant of \$1,500 for the
coming year.

Very truly yours,

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

DE:AM

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

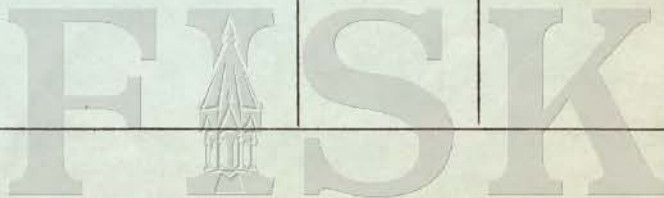
Payment Voucher No. 6809

Date June 30, 1938

Final payment on fellowship granted 4/15/37 - - - - - \$350.00

Ck.#19731

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	36-31	\$350.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller

HORACE R. CAYTON

FELLOWSHIPS

September

28th

1938

	GMR	29	Embree 0
	ERL		ERL 0

Mr. George M. Reynolds
 Director of Fellowships
 Julius Rosenwald Fund
 Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Reynolds

I regret extremely that I have not been able to come to see you but I have been suffering from a severe cold for some time and upon the advice of my physician I have remained indoors as much as possible. He further advises me that I should try to go away immediately for a week or so and take a rest. I, therefore, will be out of town for the next week and a half or two weeks.

I realize that you wish to complete the plans for all of your fellows for the coming year and in view of the fact that I will not be able to see you soon, I would like to make the following suggestions for my fellowship.

Last Spring, in talking to Mr. Embree, I stated that I would complete my languages before I started on my new fellowship grant. I have been able to complete one of my languages and am well on the way with the other but have not met the agreement which I made. I have, however, written up approximately four hundred pages of manuscript which will be used for my dissertation and have cleared up two of my course requirements since I talked to Mr. Embree. As I have such a good start on my thesis I would like to take the next two months to complete the first draft of it and finish up my other language.

This suits me ERL

Until that time, with the permission of the Fund, I will not draw on my new allotment. Fortunately, I am in position to maintain myself during that period. I hope these plans will meet with your approval.

I will call your secretary for appointment just as soon as I return.

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton



FELLOWSHIPS

HORACE R. CAYTON

March

	GMR	31	DNR 7

4635 Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
October 28, 1938

Mr. George M. Reynolds
4900 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

On my return I phoned you at your office and found that you were out of the city. I hope that you will be able to give me an appointment on your return so that we might go over my fellowship situation.

As I indicated in my last letter to you, there is certain work I wanted to complete before beginning this year's fellowship. In addition Mr. Warner, with whom I have been working, has become suddenly ill and has requested that I help him on an important study for a period of a month or so.

I would, therefore, like to request that the Fund allow me to wait for a period of six months before accepting my fellowship so that I can complete this small job for Mr. Warner and remove my one remaining language requirement. It might interest you to know that I have written about 450 pages on my thesis manuscript, and with my language completed I feel confident of securing my degree by the end of the fellowship.

I wish to express to you and the Fund my appreciation for the help in the past and feel sure that if it is possible to make such arrangements I can keep all obligations under the grant.

Very truly yours,

Horace R. Cayton
Horace R. Cayton

HRC:JJ

FELLOWSHIPS

November 7, 1938

Dear Mr. Cayton: I have read with interest your letter of October 28 in which you say that you do not wish to begin work under the terms of your fellowship for about six months. I have discussed this matter with Mr. Embree, and it will be satisfactory for you not to begin before that time. We will want you to get in touch with us at the end of that period and advise us regarding your plans.

I shall be delighted to see you at any time that you can come by the office. I shall be out a good deal during the next few weeks so it would be well for you to telephone for an appointment.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE M. REYNOLDS

GMR:MLU

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

HORACE R. CAYTON

FELLOWSHIPS

4635 Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
November 11, 1938

Mr. George M. Reynolds
Director of Fellowships
Rosenwald Fund
4900 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

	GMR	15 GMR	a
	DE	DE	

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 7th. I appreciate more than I can say the consideration which the Fund has given me in allowing me to wait six months before taking up my fellowship. This will allow me to complete the work which has arisen due to circumstances quite beyond my control.

I would like very much to have an opportunity to talk to you, but as you indicated that you will be busy for the next few weeks, I will phone you after that time.

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton
Horace R. Cayton

HRC/dJ

10 11 24

FISK UNIVERSITY

The University of Chicago

Department of Anthropology

FELLOWSHIPS

Cayton, Horace

April 1, 1939

Rept

Mr. George M. Reynolds
Director of Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4900 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

X

	GMR	3		0

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

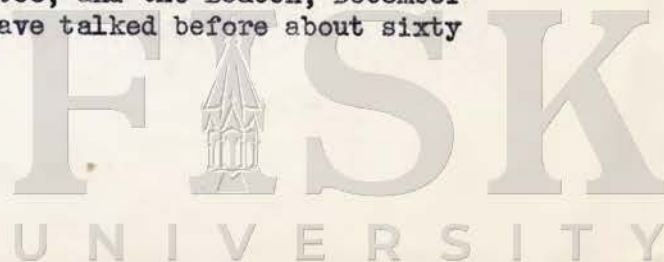
At the request of your office I am giving you a statement of my activities while a Fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Fund during the academic year, 1937-38. My activities during the period of my fellowship fell under three general headings: (1) research and further study, (2) revision of a manuscript for publication, and (3) activity in the field of housing. I will comment on these three things briefly.

(1) I was able to define the problem which I intend to use for my doctor's dissertation. I am enclosing a copy of the Bulletin for Social Research in which there is a summary of the talk that I gave for that organization, entitled "The Problem, and Objective Methods of Study of the Negro Community in Chicago." In this paper I have outlined the scope of the study as well as the methods which I hope to employ in analyzing the problem. I can, if you wish, submit a much more lengthy paper which deals with this subject and from which the present article is in condensation.

During this period, also, I began preparation for my preliminary examination, covering the fields of community organization and institutions, and the field of general historic sociology.

(2) I was able, during the year, to revise and bring up to date a manuscript on Negro labor which had been written some years ago. This work is now being published by the University of North Carolina Press and should be released any day. I collaborated in this study with Dr. George Mitchell, now Assistant Administrator of the Rural Resettlement in the Department of Agriculture. Because of Dr. Mitchell's pressing duties, it was necessary for me to revise not only my section, but his as well. In my own section I wrote three additional chapters dealing with the development since 1935.

(3) Although it was not strictly in line of my duties as a fellow, the fact that I was working with certain population data dealing with housing problem drew me in the general controversy over housing which came to a head last year. During the period I wrote four articles on this problem (Opportunity Magazine, December 1937 and January 1938, and the Beacon, December 1937 and January 1939). I estimate that I have talked before about sixty

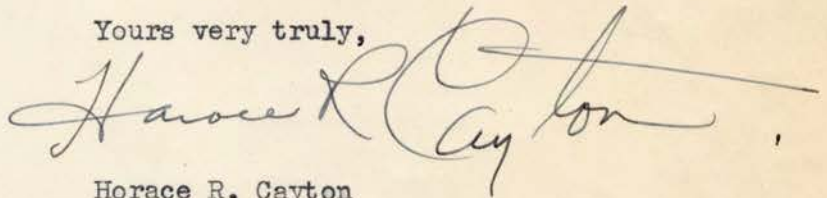


April 1, 1939

different groups which included: the Chicago Housing Authority, the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, the City Council of the City of Chicago, and the Judicial Committee of the State Legislature. I served on committees, as a person with knowledge and factual material, which waited on members of the City Council, the Mayor, the Governor, and various members of the State Legislature.

I feel that during this time I made a small contribution in that I was able to bring some factual material to the controversy, and to sharpen public opinion, both in the Negro community and throughout the city to the importance of this problem.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Horace R. Cayton". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Horace R. Cayton

FELLOWSHIPS

The University of Chicago

Department of Anthropology

April 17, 1939	GMP	18	56	0
	DE		56	

Mr. George M. Reynolds
 Julius Rosenwald Fund
 4901 Ellis Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois

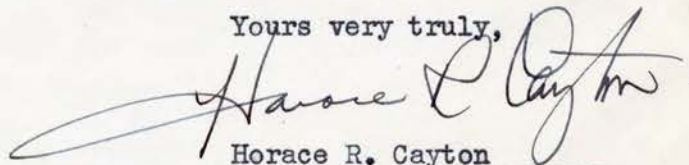
My dear Mr. Reynolds:

I plan to finish all of my obligations to Mr. Warner by July 15th. I have been advised to take at least a month's vacation, and my wife and I have planned a trip which will take us away from the city during that time. This month will give me an opportunity to work on my other language, so that I will have all of that out of the way by next year. When I return, approximately September 15th, I would like to begin work on my fellowship.

Next year, I plan to take one or two courses with Dr. Warner, although I have all the course work necessary for my degree. The rest of the time will be devoted to writing up a portion of this present research for my dissertation, under the direction of Dr. Warner, and studying for my preliminary examinations.

I have written Dr. Warner to this effect and he will, no doubt, get in touch with you.

Yours very truly,



Horace R. Cayton

HRC:EC

FELLOWSHIPS

The University of Chicago

Department of Sociology

Cayton - Horace R

July 13, 1930

GMR	14	<i>gmr</i>	
<i>see</i>			14
<i>DE</i>		<i>DE</i>	

Mr. George Reynolds
 Julius Rosenwald Fund
 4901 Ellis Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

I am leaving this week for a vacation trip and will be gone approximately two months. I have saved just enough money to take a third class passage to Europe and I expect to spend one month in the German speaking section of Belgium working on my language.

I have resigned from the Works Progress Administration and will have nothing but a purely advisory relationship to the project which will be definitely limited to one hour a week. I have no other obligations and am determined to engage in nothing but the task of fulfilling my requirements for a degree during the next academic year.

I am sorry to admit that I have not passed my German test as I had promised Mr. Embree I would do before I accepted the Fellowship. I have tried to study but this job has been so large that I just have not had the time or energy. I feel that I can, in the month that I spend abroad, pick up enough of the language to pass the examination. I would like to request the indulgence of the Fund in this matter for when I return in October I will have to depend upon the Fellowship for support. If it is possible, I would like to have the first quarterly amount of the Fellowship (or it can be arranged in monthly payments if the Fund prefers) on October 1st.

Let me thank you for the many kindnesses you and the Fund have shown me in the past.

Yours very truly,

Horace R Cayton
 Horace R. Cayton

hrc/tc



FELLOWSHIPS

July 14, 1939

Dear Mr. Cayton: In the absence of
Mr. Reynolds I am answering
your letter of July 13. The plans you report
seem to me excellent. We stand ready to begin pay-
ment on your fellowship on October 1 as you suggest.
Our best wishes for a pleasant visit in Europe and
for a very successful year at the University.

Very truly yours,

ERE:JW

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
Department of Sociology
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

(COPY)

(COPY)

Chicago Urban League
3032 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Office of
Executive Secretary
A. L. Foster

July 14, 1939

Mr. Horace Cayton
4635 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago

My dear Mr. Cayton:

I have been reading "Black Workers and the New Unions", and wish to comment on a statement which appears on pages 403-404. In this statement you use the Chicago Urban League to illustrate your point that the Urban League movement "has on several occasions made verbal statements in support of trade unions and then sponsored counter activities in critical situations". You related to the controversy over the Negro pullman porters movement and imply that this organization repudiated Mr. Jones' statement of endorsement, and that this repudiation resulted in the Pullman Company making a contribution to the Chicago Urban League.

In these statements you do not relate the facts. Records of this office and also of the Pullman Company will show that the Chicago Urban League did not receive a contribution from the Pullman Company in 1926; had not received such a contribution for several years; has not received a contribution since that time. As a matter of fact, no contribution has been received by this organization from the Pullman Company since I became its Executive Secretary in 1925, and as far as we are able to determine, the Company made only one gift and that was in the earliest history of the Urban League movement in this city. Incidentally, instead of repudiating Mr. Jones' statement, we went on record as approving it. On pages 406 and 407, in writing of the recent attempt to organize the steel industry, you state that "so antagonistic was that organization (the Chicago Urban League) that its officers not only refused to aid the campaign, but actively worked against it." This statement is entirely false. No officer nor employee of this organization has at any time been authorized to issue any statement against the unionization of steel workers, or to work actively to prevent it, and we can readily prove that

(COPY)

(COPY)

FISK
UNIVERSITY

(COPY)

(COPY)

.....#2

To Mr. Cayton

July 14, 1939

From A.L.Foster

The League did not oppose this movement. It may interest you further to know that the Chicago Urban League did not organize any of the Workers' Councils, referred to in your statement.

You could easily have ascertained these facts by conferring with me or responsible officers of this organization. I hate to think that you would deliberately vilify the Chicago Urban League, or that you would knowingly mis-represent facts which appear in a book which will be used widely by students of economic and labor problems, labor leaders, etc.

Obviously, this matter cannot go unchallenged, and I think that it is only fair for me to state that I am asking our Board of Directors to take formal action which will bring about the proper adjustment.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed)

A.L.Foster

(CC for Mr. Earl B. Dickerson) Executive Secretary
President.

ALF:OC

FISK
UNIVERSITY

5700 Prairie Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
July 17, 1939

Mr. A. L. Foster, Executive Secretary
Chicago Urban League
3032 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Foster:

I was glad to get your letter of July 14. In Black Workers and the New Unions I tried to do a conscientious job of research, and certainly did not wish to deliberately vilify the Chicago Urban League. The passage to which you refer concerning the organization of the Pullman Porters Union on page 404 of my book was taken from Spero and Harris, The Black Worker (pp. 141-142), as is indicated by footnote 40. The paragraph paraphrases Spero and Harris' account and in it there are two direct quotations. As this book has been recognized and accepted as one of the outstanding books on Negro labor, published in 1931, it seems to me that objections to their representations would have been made public at the time of its publication. Although I searched the literature thoroughly I found no refutation of this story. As the material is quoted directly from that publication, and as I acknowledged in the footnote the source of the material, I cannot feel any responsibility for having used it. I am extremely sorry if this does not report the facts of the case, but I am surprised that it has been allowed to go unchallenged until now. In any case this argument is with Spero and Harris and the University of Columbia Press, as I took no authority from the statement in quoting it.

The reference on pages 406-407 as to the antagonistic attitude of members of the Chicago Urban League toward the organization in steel is documented on pages 407 and 408. This material quotes a responsible officer of your organization. Footnote 47 at the bottom of page 408 states that:

I suppose I should have informed you that Mr. T. Arnold Hill of the national office is not in accord with the contents of my letter, and feels rather strongly that I should not have committed this office to the open shop policy of the steel industry.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

A. L. Foster
Chicago Urban League

Page Two
July 17, 1939

My interpretation of this material is that it represented an antagonistic attitude toward the organization of Negroes in the steel industry. This is, I realize, a matter of interpretation, but it is one which, I believe, a reasonable person could make.

I would like to call your attention to paragraph one on page 411 which states:

The Chicago branch changed, to an extent, its attitude and and A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the branch, made a public statement in support of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. He appeared (with Van A. Bittner, director of the Chicago area) on the program of a mass meeting to draw more workers into the union.

I am very interested in getting the reactions of a number of persons toward the material in the book, and I would welcome any criticisms or comments you would care to make on other sections of the work. I believe that in the future it will be necessary to clear much of the muddled thinking which has characterized discussions of unions and union activity in the Negro community. It is my hope that this work might provoke discussions which will, to an extent, accomplish this. In view of this I am most anxious to get your reaction to the general thesis which we have outlined in the study.

Respectfully yours,

HORACE R. CAYTON

HRC/b

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

HORACE R. CAYTON
4639 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

July 17, 1939.

ERE	18	ERE	0

Dear Mr. Embree:

Thank you for your letter. It certainly will my vacation more enjoyable to know that I will have the fellowship waiting for me. I hope that I will not fall down on another such obligation.

I am enclosing a letter which I received from Mr. A. L. Foster which might interest you.

Yours very truly,

Horace R. Cayton.

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Western Union Telegraph Company

Payment Voucher No. 289

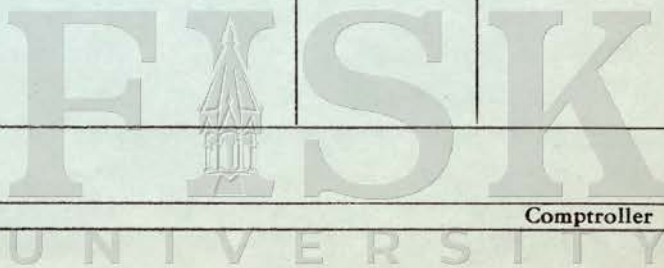
Date September 28, 1939

Payment to be wired to Mr. Horace Cayton, Tudor Hotel, 304 East 42nd Street,
New York City ----- \$100.00

First payment on fellowship granted 4/16/38.

Ck. #21895

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$100.00	

Prepared by DAE	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller
--------------------	------------	-----------	---

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

~~Bureau of Old-Age Insurance~~

September 25, 1939

Dr. Edwin R. Embree,
President, Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Dr. Embree:

In our searching for a competent negro to conduct research studies relating to the administration of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program as it particularly affects negroes, the name of Horace Roscoe Cayton has been suggested. As Mr. Cayton was previously a fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, I presume that you are familiar with his qualifications and may also know from first-hand contact something about his personality and suitability for the kind of position we need to fill.

We require a man with good training in the social sciences who can work effectively with comparatively little direct supervision in obtaining information through field interviews with this Bureau's field office managers, employers of negroes, leaders of negro groups, and individual negro wage earners, to discover points where our administrative practices fail to accord negroes the same service as whites.

The investigator will be expected to write his own reports in a form requiring little editing. He may also be assigned other problems such as how proposals to extend or contract coverage would affect negroes because of their usual occupations or other special circumstances.

You will recognize that for this position resourcefulness and tact required for all research interviewing are equally important with intellectual and technical competence and that, perhaps above all, objectivity is essential. From what knowledge you have of Mr. Cayton I would appreciate learning how you would appraise his fitness for such work.

Very sincerely yours,

John J. Corson
John J. Corson,
Director

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

miss - 0

File 14:A

September 29, 1939

Dear Mr. Corson: In reply to your letter of September 25, I am glad to be able to report that I have a very high opinion indeed of the research ability of Horace Roscoe Cayton. I am not sure that you can get him since I know he is eager to complete his work for the doctor's degree at the University of Chicago this year. If he is available, I think you will be very fortunate.

It is fair to add that Mr. Cayton has a rather forthright personality. I think he will be tactful and resourceful in interviewing. While there may be a little doubt on this score, I should myself be quite willing to appoint him to a task which involved carefulness as well as research ability.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN R. EMBREE

ERE:JW

Mr. John J. Corson, Director
Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance
Social Security Board
Washington, D. C.

FELLOWSHIPS

Hotel Tudor
New York, N. Y.
September 29, 1939

Mr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
3901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

	ERE	10-2	ERE	2

My dear Mr. Embree

Thank you a great deal for the check which I received about an hour after I talked to you on the 'phone. I am leaving tonight or tomorrow for Monteval where I shall pick up my car and attempt to cash in my Canadian Pacific steamship tickets. I shall call on you at the Fund as soon as I return.

Yours very truly

Horace R. Cayton
Horace R. Cayton

hrc:srd

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton

Payment Voucher No. 312

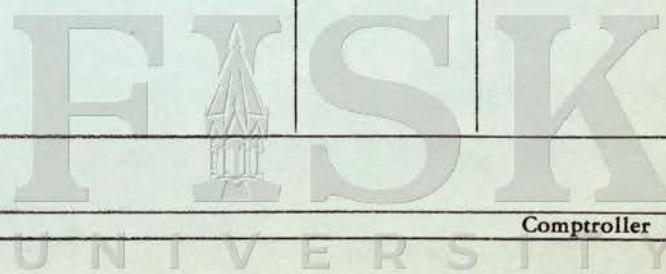
Date October 10, 1939

Second installment on fellowship granted 4/18/38 - - - - - \$400.00

Ck.#21923

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$400.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	Comptroller
-------------------	------------	-----------	-------------



Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4655 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

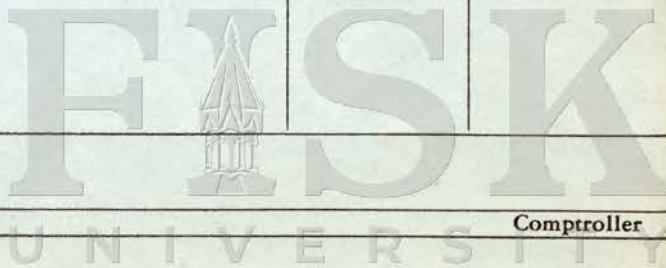
Payment Voucher No. 335

Date October 31, 1939

Third installment on fellowship granted 4/16/38 - - - - - \$100.00

Ck.#21965

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	57-8	\$100.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Horace R. Cayton


Payment Voucher No. 482

Date November 14, 1939

Fourth payment on fellowship granted 4/18/38 ----- \$250.00

Ck.#22065

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$250.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Horace R. Cayton

4635 South Wabash Avenue

Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 451

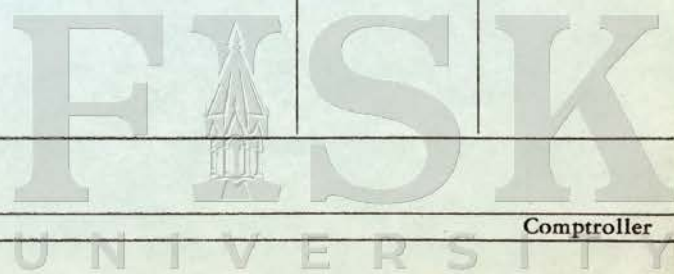
Date November 30, 1939

Fifth installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$100.00

Ck.#22105

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-3	\$100.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
-------------------	------------	-----------



Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Horace R. Cayton
4655 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 562

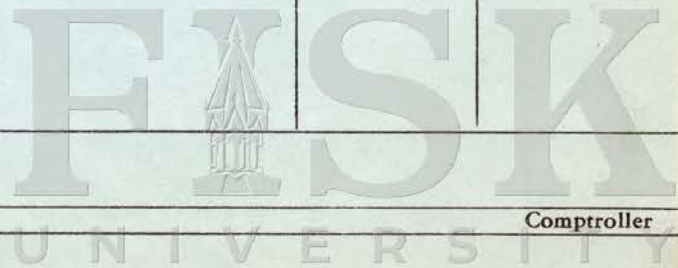
Date December 18, 1939

Sixth payment on fellowship granted 4/18/38 - - - - - \$100.00

Chk.#22221

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$100.00	

Prepared by McK	Checked by	Posted by	Comptroller
--------------------	------------	-----------	-------------



FELLOWSHIPS

December 13, 1939

Dear Mr. Cayton: Enclosed you will find our check for \$100 covering the January 1 installment on your fellowship grant. Because so many Fellows will probably be leaving their school addresses for the holiday season, we are mailing the January instalments early.

I am wondering whether you have been able to locate the money that was transferred to you in Europe by cable. You will remember that we advanced \$250 to you in November, which was to be refunded when you received this money.

Very truly yours,

DE:RW

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

HORACE R. CAYTON

• 4635 Wabash Avenue
• telephone Drexel 3487
CHICAGO

December 15, 1939

P

	De	18	56	.
	MLU		Mee	o

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Miss Elvidge:

Unfortunately, I lost the fellowshin check which I received yesterday. I will follow your telephone instructions and let you know if I recover it.

I regret to say that the two hundred and fifty dollar check is still tied up in an almost unbelievable amount of red tape involving the offices of the American Counsel, the French Government, and the American Express. I have assurance that payment will be made, eventually, and I wonder if you would mind if I carried this over for a month or two until it can be straightened out.

Thank you for the kindness which you have shown me. I seem to be able to become involved in every possible sort of difficulty.

Yours very truly,

Horace R. Cayton
Horace R. Cayton

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO

THE CHECK DESCRIBED BELOW DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN PAID BY US SINCE THE LAST STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT WAS RENDERED. IF A REPLACEMENT CHECK IS ISSUED, PLEASE USE NEW DATE AND NUMBER, AND DO NOT MARK "DUPLICATE." ALSO, IF AT ANY TIME STOP ORDER MAY BE CANCELLED, KINDLY ADVISE.

ADVICE TO:

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 12/15/39, 1939

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVE.

CHICAGO ILL.

FELLOWSHIPS

IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE DRAWER AGREES TO HOLD THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO HARMLESS FOR SAID AMOUNT AND FOR ALL EXPENSES AND COSTS INCURRED BY IT ON ACCOUNT OF REFUSING PAYMENT OF THE CHECK HEREIN DESCRIBED, AND FURTHER AGREES NOT TO HOLD THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO LIABLE ON ACCOUNT OF PAYMENT CONTRARY TO THIS REQUEST IF SAME OCCUR THROUGH INADVERTENCE, ACCIDENT OR MISTAKE.

YOUR REQUEST OF 12/15/39 TO STOP PAYMENT ON CHECK NO. 22221 DATED 12/13/39
FOR \$ 100.00 ISSUED TO HORACE R. CAYTON

WILL HAVE OUR ATTENTION SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ABOVE.

UNIVERSITY

BOND AGAINST LOST CHECK

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS THAT I _____

of the City of _____ County of _____ State of _____
am held and firmly bound unto the Julius Rosenwald Fund, a corporation, organized and existing

under the laws of the State of Illinois, in the sum of _____ Dollars (\$ _____)
good and lawful money of the United States of America, to be paid to the said Julius Rosenwald
Fund or its successors or assigns, for which payment well and truly to be made, I bind myself
and my respective heirs, executors, administrators, and successors, by these presents.

Sealed with my seal and dated this _____ day of _____ A.D., 19____.

THE CONDITION OF THIS OBLIGATION IS such that whereas the Julius Rosenwald Fund has de-
livered to the said _____ a certain check on account _____
_____ drawn on the said Julius Rosenwald Fund and payable to the order of said
_____ at First National Bank of Chicago, said check being for the sum of
_____ Dollars (\$ _____), and said check being dated _____
_____ and numbered _____; and,

WHEREAS, the said check which is the property of said above bounden _____
_____ has been lost, destroyed or stolen and cannot now be produced by _____; and,

WHEREAS, at _____ request and upon _____ promise to indemnify and hold, save, and
keep harmless the said Julius Rosenwald Fund and its successors or assigns from and against all
acts of _____ in regard to the said lost check, including all loss, costs, damages, and
attorney's fees, incurred on account thereof and to deliver up the said check if ever found
by _____ to be cancelled, the said Julius Rosenwald Fund has delivered to the said
_____ its one check in lieu thereof, said check being for the sum
of _____ Dollars (\$ _____) being in like tenor and effect as the
said above described lost check.

NOW THEREFORE, if the above bounden _____ his heirs, executors, ad-
ministrators, and successors, or any of them, shall well and truly indemnify and hold, save, and
keep harmless the said Julius Rosenwald Fund and its successors or assigns from and against all
acts of the said _____ in regard to the said lost check, including all loss,
costs, damages, and attorney's fees, incurred on account thereof and also shall deliver or cause
to be delivered up the said lost check promptly and forthwith when discovered or recovered to the
said Julius Rosenwald Fund to be cancelled, then this obligation to be void, otherwise to remain
in full force and virtue.

Signed, sealed, and delivered
in the presence of



FELLOWSHIPS

December 20, 1939

Dear Mr. Cayton: Enclosed you will find the customary form required when a check is lost. Kindly sign it and have your signature witnessed by two individuals and return the bond to me. On receipt of this form I shall be able to issue you a duplicate check.

Very truly yours,

DE:McK

DOROTHY A. ELVINGE

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

The First National Bank of Chicago

Chicago, 12/23/39 1939

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVE.
CHICAGO ILL.

Your favor of the 12/22/39

asking us to cancel stop payment request on
Check No. 22221 for \$ 100.00
has been received.

OK to Honor Copy to

Yours respectfully,

R. F. Newhall, Cashier.

	DE	12/26	DE	.

FELLOWSHIPS

December 22, 1939

Gentlemen: This letter is to confirm our telephone conversation of this afternoon. Please release the stop payment order placed against check #22221, issued to Horace R. Cayton, dated December 13, 1939, for \$100.00.

Very truly yours,

DE:McK

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

First National Bank of Chicago
Stop Payment Department
38 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

HORACE R. CAYTON

- 4635 Wabash Avenue
 - telephone Drexel 3487
- CHICAGO

December 22, 1939.

no Bill 0

Mr. George M. Reynolds,
Director for Fellowships,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

I am writing to state that the recent article in the Chicago Defender concerning my appointment as Director of the Good Shepard Community Center was in error. The ground will not be broken before February or March and the building will not be completed until nine months after that date. This will allow me sufficient time to fulfill my obligations to the fellowship.

Horace R. Cayton.
Horace R. Cayton.

	GMR	15	5 th	0

FELLOWSHIPS

4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
January 12, 1940

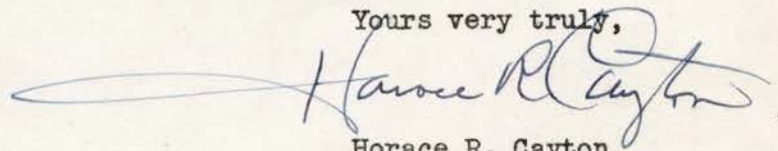
Mr. George M. Reynolds
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

I am enclosing the letter which I just received from Reverend Kingsley in regard to my appointment as director of the Good Shepherd Community Center. I think it will clear up the misunderstanding the recent newspaper publicity might have caused.

Will you be kind enough to return the letter after you have read it.

Yours very truly,



Horace R. Cayton

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To
Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 742

Date January 31, 1940

Seventh payment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$100.00

Ck.#22423

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$100.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
-------------------	------------	-----------



Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4655 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois


Payment Voucher No. 875

Date February 29, 1940

Eighth payment on fellowship granted 4/18/38 - - - - - \$100.00

Chk. #22600

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	57-6	\$100.00	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller
DAE			

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 981

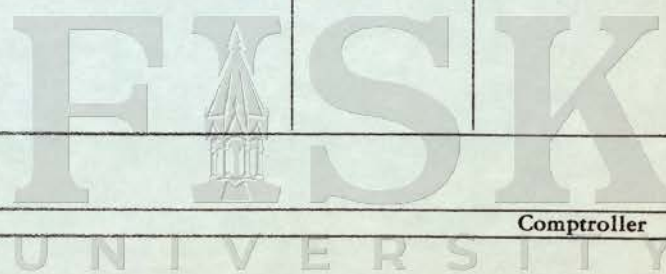
Date March 29, 1940

Ninth installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$100.00

Ck. #22709

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-8	\$100.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
-------------------	------------	-----------



Comptroller

FELLOWSHIPS

30 00

April 4, 1940

Dear Mr. Cayton: This will acknowledge receipt of the two memoranda which came this morning. I will discuss them with Mr. Reynolds and the members of the Fellowship Committee. I am very much afraid that we cannot help on either of the proposals. But at any rate you may count on careful and sympathetic consideration.

Very truly yours,

ERE:JW

Edwin R. Enghart

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4635 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Filed 4/26/46

FELLOWSHIPS

MEMORANDUM

DMK 4/14
LSP:O

TO Dr. Edward Embree, President Julius Rosenwald
Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue
FROM Horace R. Cayton
RE: Institute for the Study of the Negro in the
Urban North

In this memorandum, I will outline my idea concerning the proposed institute for the study of the Negro in northern urban places.

Since the turn of the century there has been a steady flow of Negro migrants to northern cities and probably one and one-half million to two million Negroes have migrated northward. Previous to this migration there had been a sharp difference between the position of the Negro in his social structures of the South and his position in northern cities. In the North there had been a rather fluid society and successive waves of foreign born people had rapidly moved through the social hierarchy over a period of years. The introduction of a large number of Negroes presented a difficult situation. Not only did this ethnic group find it impossible to employ the mechanisms for social mobility existing in the system, but in most instances were only to a limited degree integrated into the lower levels of the social, economic and political

structures of the societies. With the post-war depression, a series of race riots from Tulsa, Oklahoma to Chicago, Illinois indicated the extent to which this rapid influx of Negroes into northern and border states had created social problems.

The Adjustment of
Negroes in Cities

It is not necessary to give an extended catalog of the types of social problems and the areas of tension in social relations which exist in most northern cities. In Chicago, the city with which I am most familiar, three of the most basic problems are those of residential segregation, unemployment, and health. These basic problems have consequent ramifications in social and personal disorganization and mal-adjustment. The spacial distribution of Negroes throughout the city has caused great inter-racial tension and has created a severe housing problem within the community and an intense feeling of racial prejudice as is indicated in the development of restrictive covenants as a legal method of enforcing segregation. Incidentally, this problem of residential segregation was one of the basic factors which caused the race riot of 1919.

Probably even more basic, as an explanation of the Negro's disadvantaged position, is the extent of unemployment and the relegation of Negro workers to

the lowest paying positions in the industry hierarchy. In Chicago, for example, although Negroes constitute only 7% of the population they are 40% of the relief population. It has been estimated that over 50% of the total Negro population of the city are either on relief or employed by the Work Projects Administration. The press has begun to characterize all Negroes as burdens upon the state and local community and movements are springing up to try to force Negroes to return to the South.

The enormity of the health problem in Chicago is made vivid by a few comparisons between the Negro and the white population. The death rate per thousand persons for the native whites is 10.6 and for the Negro 20. This is true, in spite of the fact that Negroes are a younger age group than is the total population. The infant mortality rate, which reflects the lack of proper maternal care, sanitation, and housing, also shows the disadvantaged position of the Negro. For every one thousand live births in the native white population 40.1 babies die before they become one year of age. For every one thousand live births in the Negro community 80 will die. The rate of natural increase and natural reproduction which is obtained by subtracting the death rate from the birth rate shows

that native whites have a rate of 7.6 while Negroes have a negative rate of 2.9. The Negroes are therefore increasing at a decreasing rate and if there were no migration this population would die off over a period of years.

The personal and social disorganization which has resulted from overcrowding and densely packed Negro areas, the lack of employment and the ability to maintain a standard of living which would insure health and decency, as well as the isolation from many other community agencies, is appalling. There is a tremendous differential between the rates of the Negro and the white population in regard to the incidence of syphilis, tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases. Further demoralization of the Negro population is shown in the high juvenile delinquency and insanity rates.

Need for the Study of
the Preparation of
Factual Reports

These problems of the adjustments of the urban Negro are not, at the present time, receiving the attention of scholars

which their importance warrants. There are several institutions, Fisk University, the University of North Carolina and others that are dealing with the problems of the southern Negro. However, there is no institution which is specifically engaged in the research on the Negro in northern cities. If the beliefs of a number of

students, whose opinion it is that there will be continued migration of Negroes to the cities, is true the future areas of most severe inter-racial tension will shift northward to an urban milieu.

Problems of the Institute

Theoretical Studies

The institution which I had in mind would have a research program which would deal with both

theoretical and practical problems. In Chicago, Redfield the anthropologist, interested in the study of primitive people, and Wirth the sociologist interested in urban life, have begun to work out a frame of reference, a configuration of concepts and techniques, for the study of the social structures of the many varying types of societies ranging from folk societies to urban civilization. This seems to me to be one of the most important developments in the social sciences for it brings together the methods and concepts of the social anthropologist and the sociologist. This development is of great importance to the study of the Negro's problem for two reasons. First, as Negroes are concentrated in highly rural and highly urban localities, it provides a frame work whereby the Negro in the United States can be studied as a whole. Second, it is important because the Negro in America is the most convenient phenomena on which to test these hypotheses.

Students of the Negro do not have to go to Mexico or to Australia to study folk people. In Chicago and New York are to be found among Negroes, some of the most sophisticated of city dwellers. The rural Negroes living under the "Shadows of the Plantation" are our only folk people. The study of the Negro within this frame of reference would contribute much to the theoretical problems which have been raised concerning the differences in the social structures of folk and urban societies and the processes of social changes and acculturation. Negro society is a micro-cosm in which theoretical generalizations could be tested for a society which, with our present methods of research, might be too large and unwieldy to study intensively. For this reason such a research program as outlined in the above should receive the support of not only persons interested in the Negro, but of scholars interested in the broader and more theoretical aspects of these problems.

Fisk University has, over a period of years, gathered considerable data concerning the Negro in the "deep" south. Dr. Charles S. Johnson's book, Shadows of the Plantation, is a study in the tradition of the rural sociologist of folk people, Powdermaker, Dollar, and Gardner and Davis have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the Negro in the

small southern cities. There has not been, however, a comprehensive study of the Negro in a large urban northern community since The Negro In Chicago published in 1922. It is the opinion of the writer that if an adequate statement on the Negro in Chicago can be developed from the materials already gathered we would have detailed descriptions of various social structures, and the positions of Negroes within them, for societies which would range from the urban civilizations of the North to the caste-like social structures of the rural and small towns of the South. Development of such a statement would then be one objective of the proposed institution.

Research on "practical"
and Administrative Problems

Even more important would be contributions which this institution could make in the working out of some program of action in regard to the many social problems which confront Negroes in cities. It would be the aim of the institute to make continuous research in the social life of the northern urban Negro. A study would be made of situations where the Negro has made adjustments within his own group and with the larger community in which he lives, as well as those situations in which he has failed to make a proper adjustment. Those problems of mal-adjustment will include such items as crime,

delinquency, contagious diseases, unsanitary conditions, open conflict with other groups for jobs, residential areas, and those socially unhealthy conditions out of which such occurrences as the Chicago race riot of 1919, the economic boycott of the South Side in the late 20's and the Harlem race riot of 1935 have arisen. Only through an understanding of the position of the Negro in the northern cities, which can be obtained through unbiased scientific material, can we gain the information and insight necessary for dealing intelligently with these social problems. The institution would at no time formulate policies, but would always act as a disinterested advisor on the basis of its factual findings. It is obvious that such an institute would provide the social situation whereby representatives of the two groups could meet and discuss problems with a minimum of bias. The character of the institution and the facts collected would raise these discussions from an emotional to a factual basis.

One of the first tasks would be the Publications preparation of a definitive statement of the position of the Negro in the social structure of Chicago and an analysis of the internal organization of the Negro community. A mass of data has been collected which, with a minimum of assistance, could be put into shape for publication within a nine month period. Following this academic

presentation of the problem the institution would then interest itself in getting to the reading public of several levels, material in pamphlet form which would deal with the several social problems which are of vital concern to the community. This material, as has been indicated, would then be used both as scientific data which would have great theoretical significance when placed in the frame of reference which has been suggested by Wirth and Redfield, and would be of immediate practical value if brought to bear upon social problems.

The institute could have a very modest Staff beginning. Arrangements have been made with the Good Shepherd Community Center to provide space for the organization. In addition, there would be sufficient salary to at least support the director until other funds were available. Some stenographic assistance would also be available.

In addition to this limited and part time staff, the research activities could be aided by the work of graduate students and fellows connected with such institutions as Fisk University, the University of Chicago and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. From the wealth of data which has been already gathered theses upon discrete subjects bearing upon Negro life in urban communities could be developed. Students from these organizations might find, not only data, but some

assistance, advice, and guidance in the development of subjects which would interest them, academically and at the same time contribute to the continual analyses of data bearing on the Chicago scene.

Cooperation With Other
Institutions

The institute would have some informal connection with the University of Chicago which would allow the interchange of materials, ideas and professional advice. As has been indicated, graduate students of that institution who wished to work in the field of the Negro would find ample data and facilities for working on their problem.

A much closer relationship would be sought with Fisk University however. Arrangements might be worked out whereby the director could be affiliated with the Social Science Department of Fisk and, for a certain portion of the year, give a series of lectures at that institution on urban sociology, the urban Negro and social pathology. In addition, it would be desirable for Dr. Johnson to give direction and guidance to the entire research program of the institute. Some method could also be worked out for providing graduate students with data on urban northern places and, where possible, supervised field experience. The institute might also give valuable assistance to Fisk University's Social Science Department by supplementing any research program by furnishing data

on the urban North. Most important, of course, would be the possibility for collaboration in a theoretical study, as outlined in the above, under the direction of Dr. Johnson.

The institute would cooperate with numerous other institutions and agencies within the city and throughout the country. A permanent archive of data would be kept available to the agencies, students and the general public. At the present time, there is no place where such material is gathered, catalogued and made available to research students, federal, state and municipal agencies or remedial and civic organizations.

Filed 4/26/40

FELLOWSHIPS

MEMORANDUM

TO Dr. Edward Embree, President Julius Rosenwald
Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue
FROM Horace R. Cayton
RE: Request for support of Institute.

I have been interested for the past four years in two related projects: (1) the preparation of a definitive statement on the Negro in Chicago which would utilize the wealth of material which has been gathered by the Government at the cost of approximately one-half million dollars, (2) the establishment of a small institute for the study of the Negro in urban places.

Both of these projects are related, for in writing the first study the primary data would be organized in a manner which would make it possible to rewrite specific sections in pamphlet form for distribution by the institute to a wider reading public. Likewise, the material, in the same process, would be organized into a permanent archive which would be available to any person wishing to work on the social problems of the community either from a purely research or an administrative point of view.

The request which I am making is for assistance in both of these projects. If I had stenographic and re-

search assistance for a period of nine months I would be able to finish the book and would at the same time, have organized all of our primary data in the fashion indicated in the above. A half-time appointment for myself would also be very helpful during the first year at least, but I would not press this point if I could be provided with stenographic and some research assistance. There would also be the necessity for some money for supplies, etc.

I would really like to request that the institute, which would have as its first objective the preparation of the book, be underwritten for a period of five years. But, I am afraid that such a substantial request might endanger the possibility of the more limited grant.

Since talking with you I have been able to formulate my plans for the future a little more clearly. I believe that I will accept the contract which the Good Shepherd Community Center has offered me and acquiesce to their request that I accept a full time position for the present at least. Within two or three years they will be able to pay me a fairly adequate salary. In addition, I will keep trying to obtain support for a small institute which could, for the time being, be connected with the Center as it is willing to furnish space and some facilities. I will look upon the appointment as a permanent position with the hope that the institute

and I can establish a closer connection with Fisk in the near future.

I would therefore like to request:

- (1) the underwriting of the Institute for the next five years, or
- (2) that I be granted sufficient money to write the first book and organize the archive of data, which would involve stenographic and research assistance (and if possible half time salary for myself) for a period of nine months.

I realize that my behavior in the past might seem rather erratic. However, for the past four years I have been motivated by the obsession of accomplishing these two objectives, even when it has endangered my future academic position, the fulfillment of obligations and even my health. I am afraid that this obsession will continue until I have accomplished them or it is demonstrated to me that they cannot be accomplished. In this endeavor my behavior has been constant and unswerving.

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton

4635 South Wabash Avenue

Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 1134

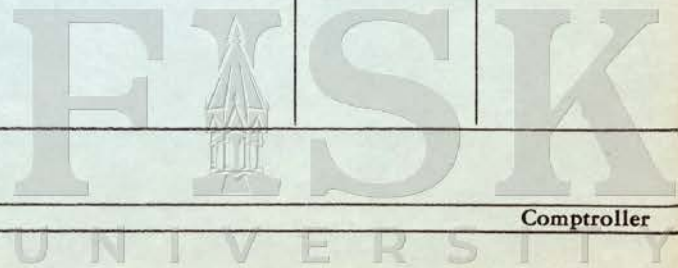
Date April 30, 1940

Tenth installment on fellowship granted 4/16/38 - - - - - \$100.00

Ck.#22889

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	37-3	\$100.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	Comptroller
-------------------	------------	-----------	-------------



Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Horace R. Cayton
4685 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Payment Voucher No. 1262

Date May 31, 1940

Final payment on fellowship awarded April 16, 1938 - - - - - \$50.00

Ck.#25060

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
Negro Fellowships	87-3	\$50.00	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
-------------------	------------	-----------



Comptroller

HORACE R. CAYTON

GMR	24	MAO		

• 4635 Wabash Avenue
 • telephone Drexel 3487
 CHICAGO

October 23, 1940

Mr. George Reynolds
 Julius Rosenwald Fund
 4901 Ellis Avenue
 Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Reynolds:

In answer to the questionnaire which you sent me and which I have, unfortunately, mislaid, I wish to state the following:

(1) Publications:

"Negro Housing In Chicago," April 1940
 published by the Council For Social Action.

(2) Present position:

Director of the Good Shepherd Community Center.

The Good Shepherd Community Center has purchased the property of the Chicago Orphans Asylum at 51st & South Parkway and will begin operating on January 1, 1941. Work at the Center will be educational and cultural. The Center is supported by a number of civic and philanthropic organizations. The Center will be non-denominational and non-sectarian in character.

Yours very truly,

Horace R. Cayton
 HORACE R. CAYTON

HRC s

Parkway Community House

5120 South Parkway

Chicago 15

ATLANTIC 1020

FELLOWSHIPS

April 3, 1946

	ERE	4/4	ERE	0

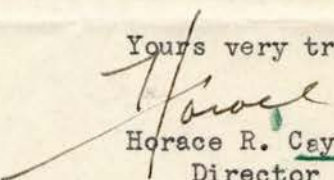
Mr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Edwin:

It was very thoughtful of you to suggest your writing to Yaddo. Thanks.

Recently Mr. Drake and I were written up in the magazine Current Biography. Since both of us have been recipients of Rosenwald Fellowships and as Black Metropolis was helped in a crucial period of its history by a grant from the Fund, I thought you might want a few copies of this write-up for our dossier.

Yours very truly,


Horace R. Cayton
Director

HRC:mc

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FORMERLY GOOD SHEPHERD COMMUNITY CENTER

Sociology

Please fill out and return in order that we may complete our records on former Rosenwald Fellows:

Name: (HORACE R.) CAYTON

Present position: DIRECTOR

PARKWAY COMMUNITY HOUSE

Address: 5120 SOUTH PARKWAY

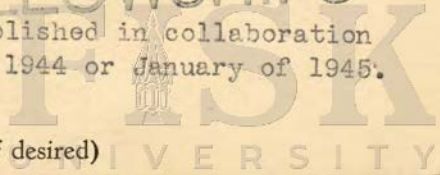
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Significant recent activities:

FELLOWSHIPS

BLACK METROPOLIS: Book to be published in collaboration with St. Clair Drake December of 1944 or January of 1945.

(Use additional sheet if desired)



4/28/95 SUN

Cayton Demands Fast Action Against Racial Bitterness

Forebodings of racial bitterness to come were voiced yesterday by Horace R. Cayton, director of Parkway Community House, in an address to the Council of Social Agencies at the Standard Club.

"The integration of the Negro throughout the entire social system of America," he said, "is important not only from our democracy, but to the democracy of the world. We are facing a crisis of race, and there is a necessity for immediate action."

There is a new mentality among American Negroes, he declared, which makes them believe they have a right to all the privileges and rewards of society.

Cayton referred several times to Marshall Field's book "Freedom is More than a Word," to emphasize his point that we should be "tough-minded" and realistic in looking at the racial problem and in finding some rational way of solving it.

Story Of 'Bronzeville' Told In WGN Broadcast

Chgo. Defender 3/16/46

The story of "Bronzeville," defined by Horace Cayton in his book "Black Metropolis" as a "complex city within a city," was told Thursday night over station WGN in its weekly broadcast series of the "Chicago Story."

The problems faced by 350,000 Negroes packed into Chicago's Southside was told in narration by historian Fred Sullivan and dramatic sketches. Major objectives of colored Chicagoans were listed as better housing and fair employment practices.

Background music was furnished by the Metropolitan Community Church Choir, under the direction of J. Wesley Jones.

The vital role played by Negro

scientists, doctors and businessmen in making Chicago great was also portrayed. In addition, there were scenes depicting Provident Hospital and the city news room of the Chicago Defender.

The program ended on a hopeful note, citing the work being done to promote interracial harmony by the Urban League, the NAACP, American Council on Race Relations and similar organizations and agencies.

The script was written by Robert Lucas of the Chicago Defender staff and produced by Jack LaFrandre of WGN.



FELLOWSHIPS

Horace R. Cayton

St. Clair Drake

CAYTON, HORACE R(OSCOE) Apr. 12, 1903- Sociologist; author

Address: b. Parkway Community House, 5120 South Parkway, Chicago

DRAKE, (JOHN GIBBS) ST. CLAIR Jan. 2, 1911- Anthropologist; author

Address: b. c/o Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, New York Public Library, 104 W. 136th St., New York

Out of more than five years of collaborative research by two Negro social scientists has come a study of Negro life in Chicago, a study critics have pronounced "a landmark of research and scientific achievement" and "one of the best studies of urbanization that American scholarship has produced." This volume, *Black Metropolis*, is the work of St. Clair Drake, anthropologist, and Horace R. Cayton, sociologist, both of whom have had long experience in their respective fields.

The men who wrote the biography of Chicago's Black Belt both came originally to that city for university study. Neither is native to the region, Drake having been born in the South and Cayton in the Northwest. The elder of the collaborators, Horace Roscoe Cayton, Jr., was born on April 12, 1903, in Seattle, Washington. His father, a mulatto, had migrated from the South in search of a free life and in Seattle had met and was married to Susie Sumner Revels, daughter of one of the only two Negroes ever elected to the United States Senate. The elder Cayton became prominent in his new home as a newspaper editor and publisher and as a political force in the city. With his sisters and brother, young Horace was brought up in a stimulating, cultured atmosphere. While the boy was attending Coleman Grammar School financial reverses forced the family to move from their comfortable home to a poor neighborhood, composed largely of recent immigrants. There the boy quickly made friends and at grammar school was elected president of the student body. When Cayton entered Franklin High School he encountered race prejudice for the first time, while at a freshman dance. This incident is related by Arna Bontemps in his book, *We Have Tomorrow* (1945). After the first bitter shock of experiencing discrimination, his old relationship with his white friends became strained. "When little things went wrong—as they do with high school kids—Horace found himself wondering, 'Has this anything to do with my being colored?'" Finally, in his junior year, confused and unhappy under the problem of prejudice, he sought an escape. He went to sea, signing up as messman on a coastal steamer bound for Alaska. During the succeeding four years his travels



Arnl

HORACE R. CAYTON

took him to the cities of Alaska, to California and Wyoming, Mexico, and Hawaii. These years were crowded with adventure and searching thought: he came to know people of all races while working on ships and in fields.

At the age of twenty Cayton returned home eager to prepare for what he saw as his life-work—helping young people who were beset by the same prejudices he had faced. For more than a year he studied at a YMCA preparatory school before entering the University of Washington. While studying sociology there he supported himself by working on the county detective force. In his senior year he met Robert E. Park, the eminent sociologist of the University of Chicago, who was impressed by the student and suggested he continue his work at the Illinois institution. After receiving his B.A. in 1932, Cayton therefore left for Chicago, where he became research assistant at the university. Two years later the young sociologist was appointed special assistant to the United States Secretary of the Interior. In 1935 Cayton became instructor in economics and labor at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. After a year of teaching in the South he returned to Chicago to head a research project under the Works Progress Administration which dealt with the Negro in that Midwestern city (1936-39). This research, co-directed by W. Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago, marked the embryonic period of *Black Metropolis*. Awarded a Rosenwald Fellowship

Reprinted from *Current Biography* January 1946

FISK
UNIVERSITY

in 1939, Cayton traveled abroad for a while, but with the outbreak of war in September he returned to the United States.

The year 1939 saw the publication of Cayton's first book, written with George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions*. A study of the position of Negroes in industry, the volume proposed to "show how prejudice forms and is formed by economic relationships." Three industries were chosen as types to be analyzed: iron and steel, meat packing, and railroad car shops. The study also dealt with the participation of Negroes in unions and closed with the chapter, "Program for Negro Labor." Highly recommended by most critics, it was called a "must" book for all concerned with the Negro, the labor movement, and American democracy. The following year, 1940, the sociologist became director of Chicago's Parkway Community House, the largest institution of its kind, where he has since been applying his science to the many problems of a large Negro community.

The co-author of *Black Metropolis*, John Gibbs St. Clair Drake, Jr., was born in the small town of Suffolk, Virginia, on January 2, 1911. His father had immigrated to the United States from Barbados, British West Indies, and while studying at Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg, was married to Bessie Lee, also a student. The elder Drake became a Baptist minister, and when his son was two years old he became the pastor of a church in Harrisonburg, Virginia. Then, two years later the family moved again when the minister decided to join the many Negroes who were migrating northward. The Drakes settled in Pittsburgh, where the minister's parishioners were principally steel and electrical workers. St. Clair, as the boy was called, entered grammar school, to remain through the seventh grade. During his childhood he lived in a mixed neighborhood, and while his knowledge of race prejudice was vague he recalls at least one fight he had when insulted about the color of his skin. From his father the boy learned how to handle tools and he developed an interest in woodworking. He also became a lover of books, and, encouraged by his mother, read many of the volumes in his father's large library. As the son of a preacher, he saw the church "from the inside" and this knowledge later proved valuable when Drake made the study of religious behavior his special subject. In his father's strict Baptist household no card playing or dancing was permitted, and motion pictures were also taboo. Drake says his father wanted him to consider himself a West Indian and brought him up to admire the British Empire, but subsequent experiences were to change the views of both father and son.

In 1923 the youth accompanied his father on a trip to the old home in the West Indies. Drake now credits his visits to the Virgin Islands, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Granada, and St. Lucia with having first stimulated his interest in anthropology. Meanwhile, his father, appalled by the poverty of the people of the Indies and incensed by the attitude of the British ruling class, developed an antagonism toward the British Empire. He became associated with the movement led by the Jamaican Marcus Garvey,



Arnl

ST. CLAIR DRAKE

who, from his headquarters in the United States, fought for the freeing of Africa from imperialist domination and for an independent West Indian Federation. When the Drakes returned to the United States after a year of travel, the father resigned from the ministry to work as a traveling international organizer for the Garvey movement, and the son went with his mother to live in her home town in Staunton, Virginia. Here he attended high school until 1927 while he perforce learned "the facts of Southern life." Of his first contact with the Negro press, he remarks: "It was rather exciting, this learning that one is a Negro and what it means—also rather frustrating." He was no longer living in a rigid Baptist atmosphere, and like other high school boys he now enjoyed dancing and going to the movies with his friends. At this time, with the encouragement of his teachers, he began to write poetry, generally about nature, and in 1927 he edited the school yearbook. Upon graduation—he completed high school in three years—he entered Hampton Institute, in Virginia.

Majoring in biology and minoring in English, Drake also took many education courses to enable him to teach later if necessary. As a collegian he took part in debating, edited the school paper, and played intramural soccer and tennis. To meet expenses, he worked as a laboratory assistant and waiter. During this period he became familiar with the modern school of militant Negro poetry, especially the work of Langston Hughes⁹⁰, Claude McKay, and Countee Cullen. In 1931 he received his B.S., with honors, and the Calliope Medal for the highest scholastic average over the four years.

After graduation Drake made a chance contact which he says changed the whole course of his life—he joined the "peace caravans" sent out by the Society of Friends to win support for disarmament and world cooperation. Sent

to Haverford College in Pennsylvania for a training period, he was one of three Negroes among two hundred white students. "For the first time since my Pittsburgh school days," Drake says, "I was meeting white people of my own age as equals." The speakers at the college included many Quakers and such eminent men as Norman Thomas³¹ and W. E. B. Dubois³². Of this experience Drake has said: "A whole new world had opened before me—the world of the Left-liberals who dealt with Negroes as part of a larger socio-economic problem and who did not approach them as missionary wards but as collaborators in building a new world." Throughout the summer of 1931 Drake and a friend toured the South for this movement, speaking in schools, churches, and squares, distributing leaflets, and obtaining signatures for the petitions. It was a period of learning and adventure; the two met sharecroppers, saw the caste system in operation, and "just missed the lynching rope on numerous occasions." His observations quickly taught Drake that "Negroes were not interested in peace, but were primarily interested in justice."

Upon his return to Philadelphia Drake was offered a scholarship for one year of study at the Pendle Hill School, a Quaker "retreat" in Pennsylvania. He accepted, agreeing also to serve as speaker and consultant to the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends. That year he visited many Quaker schools, speaking on Negro poetry and "acting as Exhibit A for social studies classes that wanted a real, live, Negro to question about the Negro group." Drake almost became a Quaker himself, except for the fact, he explains, that he "found that even so liberal a group as the Society of Friends couldn't quite free itself of the incubus of American race prejudice." His desire to discover "just what made people tick" stimulated an interest in sociology which developed together with the more practical desire to fight social injustice.

From 1932 to 1935 Drake was a high school teacher at Christiansburg Institute in Cambria, Virginia, a small boarding school where for three years he taught a variety of subjects, directed plays, coached the soccer team, and led prayers in the chapel. During this period he read a great deal—communist and socialist literature, religious and philosophical writings—and wrote articles and book reviews for Negro and Quaker magazines. In the summer he went North to work with the American Friends Service Committee summer camps. Then in 1935, on the invitation of a former professor, Drake became a research assistant in anthropology at Dillard University in New Orleans. In this position he spent much of his time in Adams County, Mississippi, where he did research on a study of class and caste divisions among Negroes and whites. He also worked secretly with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Farmers Union, work which at times endangered his life. During the summer of 1936 he took courses in sociology and anthropology at Columbia University and later that year he taught those subjects at Dillard. But Drake wished to do more graduate work, and in 1937 therefore entered the University of Chicago on a Rosenwald Fellowship for further anthropological studies.

At the university Drake met Horace Cayton, who was beginning his WPA research, and after a year of study Drake, too, joined the WPA research staff as superintendent of a project studying the Negro church and volunteer associations. After three years of graduate work and research Drake, in 1940, became associate director of the Illinois State Commission on Conditions of the Urban Colored Population, a position which enabled him to collect further data for *Black Metropolis*, which was now taking form. In 1941 he returned to New Orleans to resume his teaching at Dillard and was soon involved in the struggle of the wartime community, where Negroes were denied decent jobs in the booming war industries. In the summer of 1942 he returned to Chicago, bitter against those who talked of destroying fascism abroad but refused to fight it at home. He and Cayton were now working together on the manuscript of their book, and to bring it up to date Drake went to work in a Chicago war plant. For a few months he worked as a machinist's helper, learning firsthand much about Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism in the factories. Then Drake decided to join the merchant marine because, he says, "I did not intend to be shoved around in my country's uniform and I did not intend to submit to segregation in the Army." As a pharmacist's mate, first class, Drake served as a statistician in charge of X-ray statistical work. He expects to return to the University of Chicago to complete his graduate work on his discharge from service in early 1946. (For a period, in 1945, he worked on a research project with Lawrence D. Reddick, curator of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature.)

When Cayton and Drake decided to combine the anthropological and sociological techniques in a study of the urban Negro, they used the material gathered originally under the WPA project as well as a large amount of data which each author collected by himself. Cayton studied the upper and the upper middle-class strata of society while Drake's province was the lower class—and from their notebooks came several chapters of *Black Metropolis*. The completed book, which was published in October 1945, contains an introductory chapter by Richard Wright³³. The Negro novelist wrote: "*Black Metropolis* is a scientific report upon the state of unrest, longing, hope among urban Negroes, and in writing it Drake and Cayton were working within the compass of the most normal ideas and moral imperatives of the West. A greater claim than that no American can make for the right to be heard."

Before examining the contemporary scene in the second largest Negro city in the world, the authors trace the historical development of Chicago from its first settler, a Negro, through the years of Negro migration from the slave states and the period between the two world wars to the present. Detailing the life of the Negro in "The Black Ghetto," they reveal the operation and effect of the color line, which is sharpest in employment and housing. The well-documented description of upper-, middle-, and lower-class life, covers many aspects of everyday existence. In the opinion of Wright, it is more than a picture of Negro frustration for it shows how "any human beings can be-

come mangled, how any personalities can become distorted, when men are caught in the psychological trap of being emotionally committed to the living of a life of freedom which is denied them." Cayton and Drake point out the danger of racial outbursts in the postwar years and offer a program of prevention in their concluding chapter, "Of Things To Come." The authors also emphasize that the problem of the Negro is no isolated issue, but one which involves the entire nation and the world. Sounding the "One World" theme, they state: "The problems that arise in Bronzeville's Forty-seventh Street encircle the globe."

Black Metropolis was received with unanimous approval by the critics, who considered it an important contribution to American social history. Generally compared to such works as *Middletown* by Robert and Helen Lynd, and *American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal, it was called "a landmark not only in race studies but in the broader field of social anthropology." In the *Weekly Book Review* Arna Bontemps found the book "a living portrait, a true likeness easily recognizable in a thousand details"; while in the *Nation*, Bucklin Moon called it "a rare combination of research and synthesis, a book to be deeply pondered." Writing in *PM*, Walter White¹² described it as "a lusty, raucous tale of a racial giant fighting to break his ghetto bonds." While this reviewer pointed out minor inadequacies, he emphasized the enormous value of the work. In an otherwise favorable review in the *New Republic*, Thomas Sancton noted "proportionately too much repetitious material," and, similarly, Lewis Gannett¹³ in his *New York Herald Tribune* column said the book "cries and groans for a popular condensation." Harry A. Overstreet, writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, called *Black Metropolis* "a book for all Americans to read, since the facts it presents—unfavorable though they are to most

of us—are essential to a full, critical knowledge of ourselves." Of the same opinion, Louis Wirth in his *New York Times* review added: "Especially in the field of race relations . . . this volume makes a great contribution to the building of the future America and the free world."

Both authors have written articles for various publications and both are working on new books. Cayton, who has been labor columnist of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, has contributed to the *Nation*, the *Chicago Sun*, and the *American Journal of Sociology*. His immediate writing plans include a history of Negro journalism and a biography of his family. Articles and a few poems by Drake have appeared in *Crisis*, *Opportunity*, *Christian Century*, and the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. He has three projects in progress: an autobiographical book, "White Folks I Have Known"; a study of nationalist movements in Asia and Africa, for which he plans a research trip to the Orient; a work on the economic factor in race relations to be written in collaboration with his wife, who holds a doctorate in sociology. (Drake has been married to the former Elizabeth Dewey since June 1942.) Cayton, who is unmarried, is a big, muscular man, almost six feet tall, weighing two hundred pounds. Of slight build, Drake is about five feet five, and weighs one hundred and fifty-eight pounds. The sociologist makes a hobby of collecting books, music, and paintings. Drake is an enthusiastic tennis player, and his special reading interest, he says, is Asiatic and African periodical literature dealing with the rise of nationalist movements.

References

- Bontemps, A. *We Have Tomorrow* (1945)
Bontemps, A. and Conroy, J. *They Seek a City* (1945)

The Negro's Challenge

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

[Last week James Boyd, a Southern liberal, urged the Negroes to be patient and to avoid policies which might provoke explosions. Below, a well-known Negro newspaperman replies in an article which, although completed some time before the riots in Detroit, provides a significant commentary on those and other recent racial disturbances. Our own views on the problems discussed in these two articles and on the recrudescence of mob violence directed against minorities will be found in the editorial section.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

THE United States stands frozen and paralyzed before its Negro problem. The divergent and contradictory streams of thought in its culture prevent it from even conceiving of a rational approach to a solution. The United States thinks of itself as a political democracy but knows that it maintains a semi-caste system within its social order. It believes itself to be a good nation, dedicated to the brotherhood of man, but it has never fully included the Negro in its political, economic, and social system. Now, facing the problem in an acute stage, it is unable to plan or to act to meet the impending crisis.

The Negro problem is not new in this country. But since the war, as a result of the conflict of ideologies, it has become a world problem, and the United States must now do something about it. It must act not merely for moral reasons, to right the social injustices involved, but for motives of self-interest, indeed, of self-preservation.

We are fighting a yellow nation which has challenged white imperialism and ridiculed the so-called democracies for clinging to the notion of white superiority. We have a yellow nation as an ally, and we are desperately trying to hold in check the brown people of India. Japanese references to our treatment of the American Negro embarrass all of our attempts at psychological warfare. Every time a Negro is lynched here, the Japanese broadcast the event to China, India, and South America. The stupid racial policy of the Anglo-Saxon nations was an important factor in their defeat in the Pacific. The United Nations will have the task after the war of setting up a new balance of power based upon a moral order which, to be workable, must include yellow, brown, and black people. How can America share in this when it does not include its own black citizens in the moral order prevailing within its own boundaries?

There is another reason why the contradiction of caste and democracy must be resolved. To develop its maximum striking power, in the factories, the fields, and the armed forces, the nation cannot ignore one-tenth of its people. The sheer need for man-power is opening more and more opportunities to Negroes. But though many advances have been made, millions of Negroes are still idle or working in non-essential industries because Northern farmers refuse to employ them, many defense plants limit their participation by a quota system, and the armed forces relegate them to limited services.

And how about the Negroes; how do they feel? Many white persons who have inquired have been frightened by the answers they obtained. A change so profound that few persons realize its fateful meaning is taking place in the mentality of the American Negro. He has experi-

enced of late an upsurge of feeling which has given him a new sense of his own dignity and of his relationship to world events.

The forces bringing about this change antedate our participation in the war. Negroes throughout the United States were aware and resentful of the rape of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie was to them a hero, and relatives of his in this country addressed numerous Negro audiences. Various Negro newspapers first developed mass circulation through the appeal of the Ethiopian issue and the rise of Joe Louis.

In the present conflict the Negro is finding the problems of the Chinese, the Indians, and the Burmese strangely similar to his own. In this sense the Negro has become more international-minded than the rest of the population. His sympathy with other colored peoples was aroused long before the general population had begun to question America's policy of isolationism. He came to have a certain respect for the Japanese, who had successfully fought three white nations, though his hope for the representation of dark people in the Allied peace rests with the Chinese. Realizing more acutely than whites the global significance of a guaranty of democratic rights and privileges to all peoples of the world, he has broken out of his caste-bound mentality, transcended his purely racial point of view (which led him only to despair), and now sees his position in society as identified with that of the darker races of the world.

The war has confronted the Negro with a situation which has forced him to sharpen his thinking and define for himself the role which he wishes to play in American civilization. The conflict between the pressure which was forcing him into a caste position and the slogans for democracy which raised his expectation of complete citizenship have developed in him a new critical consideration of his position in the social structure of the country and a new attitude toward the theory and practice of democracy. At first this new capacity for critical analysis seemed to be expressed in a series of complaints. Brought up sharply against the paradoxes of democracy, the Negro in this initial stage of the development of a line of action could do little more than articulate his discontent. But in the crucible of frustration and despair he is developing a new and positive line of thought which holds hope for black people and for the institution of democracy. He is adopting a point of view that is not inconsistent with the expressed aims of the United Nations.

The change in the Negro's mentality has come about so rapidly that few people—even Negroes—realize its extent. It is expressed in his refusal to accept segregation without complaint even in the armed forces—numbers of Negroes have gone to prison rather than fight in a Jim Crow army—in impetuous individual defiance of cultural patterns of racial subordination, in the hysterical oratory of excited speakers for Negro rights. But underneath all this is a determination to become a full citizen, to plan and think for himself regardless of past friends and old leaders.

The basic issues in the Negro's struggle have changed. While at first Negro demands were simply for Negro rights, now they are for democratic rights for all peoples throughout the world. While at first many Negroes were

sullen and wished to see this country brought to its knees and made to realize that without them the war could not be won, and while at first they wished to withhold their participation until certain concessions were granted, now they are demanding the right to participate in every phase of the war so that they can also participate in the peace. Demands for concessions have given way to demands for equality.

As for the white people, many are reacting to the Negro's new attitude with fear or hate. In the South, and often in other parts of the country too, they fear that their prerogatives are being challenged. They are infuriated by the Negro press and in terror of the emotions which they sense behind the mask-like countenance of their once humble black servants. Southern Congressmen form alliances with reactionary Northern Tories to stifle all legislation which might help ease racial tensions; middle-class people form leagues to maintain white supremacy; the former Southern liberals caution Negroes to be patient; and the *Lumpenproletariat* whips itself up into a lynch mood. Of course, the Wendell Willkies, the Pearl Bucks, and the Bishop Sheils are trying to cope with the problem, but they are a minority.

In the face of these conflicts and tensions the Administration is bankrupt. As a matter of fact, the government cannot openly take cognizance of the Negro problem. The logic of our democratic culture forbids definitely assigning to the Negro a subordinate status, while the Southern poll-tax Congressmen block any positive propaganda of action for national unity. Officially the Negro cannot be given even a promise of liberation which will make him willing to wait and hope as the English expect the people of India to wait and hope. The myth of democracy is, indeed, often used to prevent the employment of the most elementary mechanisms for racial adjustments. A case in point was the attempt of Southern Congressmen to eliminate the race-relations division of the Federal Housing Agency, because "this is a democracy and we don't need to consider the Negro as different from anyone else."

Many white liberals, North and South, appalled at the situation, have counseled the Negro to be patient. They have pointed out the gains which have accrued to him during the last three Administrations and reviewed the progress the Negroes have made in the past three hundred years. They assume that because of their past friendship Negroes should have faith in them and in their analysis of the possibilities and dangers of aggressive action by Negroes at this moment.

What many white liberals do not realize is that they are measuring the gains with an obsolete yardstick. At a time when peoples are being liquidated or given equality overnight, gradualism has little meaning. With a world revolution in progress one group of people cannot be held apart from the stream of thought and told to have faith in education and good-will. To ask the American Negro to go slowly is to attempt either to slacken the international pace of social change or to isolate the Negro from the world forces in which he is engulfed.

The direct antithesis of this so-called gradualism should not be thought of as an eruption of violence. Such an eventuality may result from too rapid change, but if it does, the explosion is not the measure of the pressure exerted by the Negro to rise in status; it is the measure of the reaction of whites against his rise. Changes in race relations should be thought of as a continuum, and to make gradualism, which is a rate of speed of change, and explosion, which is a possible result of too rapid change, opposite poles is to confuse the analysis of race relations.

The likelihood of success for a non-violent change is determined to a large extent by the social circumstances prevailing when the change is attempted. A minority finds its best opportunity to advance at a time when its claims for equal rights and privileges are in accord with the social aims of the dominant group. Since America is just now deeply concerned not only with living up to democratic principles at home but, together with other United Nations, with guaranteeing democracy to all peoples everywhere, the present is a logical time for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Those who want Negroes voluntarily to relinquish their claims to democratic rights and privileges are either not willing to put their ideologies to the test of reality or are denying by inference that this global war is being fought for the right of peoples everywhere to be free.

The Negro is in many respects making a more rational analysis of contemporary events than many who would give him counsel. The struggle in which we are engaged is one against oppression—whether from the tyrannical forces of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, or from the colonial imperialism of the British Empire, or from the racial imperialism of the United States. To win a cheap military victory over the Axis and then to continue the exploitation of subject peoples within the British Empire and the subordination of Negroes in the United States is to set the stage for the next world war—probably a war of color.

The manner in which the present war is prosecuted will determine the peace which is achieved and the new world order which is established. Writing the peace is not a process that begins with the declaration of an armistice. The movement of men, the opening of fronts, the political deals made during the war shape the peace long before the diplomats sit around a table. The participation of China, of India, and of all the dark peoples, including the American Negro, will constitute a moral claim which cannot be ignored by the United Nations.

When two worlds are at war—the world of fascism and the world of democracy—any hope for the brotherhood of man can arise only out of the struggle of people united for a common end. To insure a victory for the common man, who has too often been mobilized to fight for a noble objective only to find himself cheated by selfish interests when a military victory was won, the essential elements of brotherhood must be achieved during the struggle itself. Brotherhood is both the means and the end of the struggle. This to many people is as rational as is the theory of gradualism or counting small gains. The Negro by refusing to accept gradualism may be helping America to save itself, helping to establish the new world order which must eventually come if Western civilization is not lost to fascist reaction.

This is not a program of action except in the most general sense. Any "pat" solution—any formula—should be regarded with great caution. Perhaps the first step toward a solution should be the realization that the problem of the American Negro is a world problem, that it is part of the problem of all the common people of the world. Somehow, through some mechanism, there must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoples. The present war must be considered as one phase of a larger struggle to achieve this new moral order. Nothing must blind us to the necessity of securing the larger victory. In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL DOCUMENTS

Ruth Shonle Cavan
Rockford College

For the purpose of this paper a case study may be defined as a description of the attitudes and conduct of a person, together with a historical account of the development of these attitudes and conduct.

The analysis of case studies depends in part upon the purpose for which they were secured. The sociologist has tended to adopt the methods of the clinic, which accepts all types of cases and treats each one as unique, with the main purpose of remedying some personality difficulty. In contrast to this, the purpose of the case study for research is to test some hypothesis. The scientific point of view assumes that each case is not unique, but that general patterns may be found. Thus the research case study seeks the general, the common, the universal: the typical rather than the unique.

Since the purpose of the research case study is to establish uniformities in human behavior, it is necessary to have a number of cases. One case, no matter how carefully prepared, is not convincing. The sociologist cannot afford to present one case and assume that conclusions drawn from it are valid. Only a number of cases carefully compared will reveal what is common to all cases, therefore what is significant, in contrast to what is incidental.

The completeness of the case study depends upon the problem being studied. It is not always necessary to have an account of the subject's entire life. The material should be organized around the problem being studied and should be limited to data bearing upon the problem.

Although the life history of the subject is undoubtedly the heart of the case study, personal data are not necessarily limited to material secured from the subject. Observation, the reports of others, and test scores all yield valuable information and are sources little used by the sociologist.

If cases are to be compared in order to establish general patterns and laws of conduct, a certain uniformity should be observed in the fields of experience covered by the cases. The day seems to have passed when sociologists may collect life histories

hither and yon and construct an analysis of behavior upon them. Rather, life histories should be collected with a definite purpose in view to test a stated hypothesis. The writer has experimented with guided interviews in order to secure uniformity. Paragraphs of questions are made out on each principal field to be covered in the interview. These questions define the field to the interviewer and at the same time suggest opening questions to put to the subject.

In this program, what is the place of the spontaneous life history? It seems undesirable to limit case studies to spontaneous life histories. Such emotional outpourings come chiefly from people with unsolved problems and also with some gift of verbal expression. Those who have had few problems or who have successfully solved them, as well as the inarticulate, are apt to be overlooked. Hence general conclusions based only upon spontaneous life histories might not be valid.

The way in which case studies are secured determines to a great degree the way in which they are used. In general, cases have been used in four ways: as an illustration of a preconceived conviction on the part of the interviewer; as a unique individual case - usually presented without any real analysis; as a method of giving insight; and as one of a series for careful analysis. The last seems the most sound. Here certain criteria are selected and applied independently to each case. As objectively as possible the investigator determines what processes are found; what types of behavior are represented in each case. Afterwards, this analysis of individual cases may then be compared so that uniformities and general laws may be discovered.

In conclusion, the process of using personal documents would consist of formulating a hypothesis to be tested; selecting the fields of experience in which the hypothesis might be tested; selecting the subjects to be interviewed; interviewing them with reference to the selected fields; selecting criteria for the analysis of the cases; analyzing each case independently; comparing the cases for uniformities and general patterns.

THE PROBLEM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

Horace R. Cayton
University of Chicago

The general problem of the research is interpreted as an analysis of the principles of "class" and "caste" in organizing the relations between Negroes and whites in Chicago.

The place of the individual in most societies is determined either by "social competition" the most important form of which is class or by "fixed status" (one form of which is caste). There is a sharp contradiction between the principle of fixed status, by which an individual is assigned a permanent role by inheritance or by external assignment and that of free competition in which the individual has the possibility of changing his position by becoming vertically mobile.

Recent investigations such as the one made in Natchez, Mississippi, under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner have attempted to define Negro-white relations in terms of the organization and structure of the society. To these students of the problem it appeared that relations between Negroes and whites in the South were regulated by a caste system. Our problem is to analyze these relations in Chicago.

The introduction of large numbers of Negroes during the World War and after into the relatively mobile class society of the North brought new and acute problems of social adjustment and an attempt to give the Negro migrants a fixed status position, and prescribe the area of their social competition.

A cursory examination of the Negro community reveals a fundamental Negro-white dichotomy, expressed through a predominantly separate "social" life and expressed spatially in an extreme concentration of Negroes in a "Black Belt" with restricted spatial mobility outward. In the economic and political structures there is no dichotomy between Negroes and whites, but Negroes for the most part occupy the lowest position in these hierarchies, and usually play a subordinate role wherever they participate in the total structure. However there is evidence that Negro-white relations are also based to an extent upon a class principle. Because of the influence of the democratic logics of the society the attempt to reduce the Negro to a non-competing fixed status group has not found any expression in law and dogma. Exegamy is far from unusual in the community. Certainly the duties, privileges, obligations, and opportunities are unequally distributed, but there is nothing like the rigid line which is found in the South. In Chicago,

a white man could conceivably be arrested by a Negro policeman under a law introduced by a Negro legislator, be prosecuted by a Negro state's attorney before a Negro judge and kept imprisoned by a Negro guard. The labor movement in Chicago has incorporated thousands of Negroes within its ranks with white workers who have organized to meet a common economic problem on a class basis.

Thus we find existant in Chicago two general and conflicting principles of social organization by which Negro-white relations are regulated--caste and class. The interests of the research lie in analyzing the functioning of these principles in Chicago, pointing out the fields of social life characterized by each, in examining the trends in the society operating to strengthen or weaken either principle. The study hopes also to be able to indicate to some extent the influence of urban versus rural areas in regard to the functioning of the principles of caste and class.

To achieve the major ends of the study, three major tasks will be undertaken. (1) To describe and analyze the position of the Negro and the nature of Negro-white relations in the total society. (2) To describe the Negro community, its development and structure. (3) To analyze the effect of Negro-white relationships upon the development and structure of the Negro community.

Such a general conception of the task has involved the integration of three main methodological approaches; the methods and concepts of the ecologist, the cultural anthropologist, and those who have used the life history as a means of analyzing modern communities. Three major sources have been utilized in assembling data for the research: statistical data, interviews, and life histories. At the present time ten research assistants are collaborating in analyses of the many substructures in the community. A staff of selected white collar W.P.A. workers has done the clerical and field work in assembling the data.

The research hopes to provide comparative material for work already done in the South and elsewhere, and to make some contributions to the methodology of social anthropology which will aid other researches in large urban centers, as well as to gain insight into Negro-white relations in Chicago, to lay the basis for further studies on Negro-white relationships in the United States.

RESEARCH ON THE URBAN NEGRO

ELAINE OGDEN McNEIL AND HORACE R. CAYTON

Reprinted for private circulation from
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. XLVII, No. 2, September 1941

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

ELAINE OGDEN McNEIL AND HORACE R. CAYTON

RESEARCH ON THE URBAN NEGRO

ELAINE OGDEN MCNEIL AND HORACE R. CAYTON

ABSTRACT

Since the Negro's position is an essential part of the social structure in the South, a structural approach is generally sufficient for studying Negro-white relations. In the North, however, the social structure does not depend on keeping the Negro (or other "aliens") in a given place; and the status of minority groups has been marked by rapid changes. The nature of urban life and the differences in the sentiments of northerners as against southerners are examined as explanation of these changes. It is found that fixed status rather than free competition tends to govern the Negro's position in social relations based on primary contacts, while competition is allowed in other spheres. The interaction of social distance and free competition thus determines his position in the social structure at any given moment. By devising indices of fixed status and free competition, Negro-white relations in various societies may be directly compared.

The most fundamental and rapid social changes in America today are occurring in the cities, and it is in the cities that more and more Negroes are now coming to live. The increase in urbanization has been greater in recent decades for the Negro than for the white population, the percentage increase between the years 1920 and 1930 for the Negro population being almost 46 per cent, and that for the white population about 24 per cent.¹ The present interest of social scientists both in urbanism and in race relations has motivated our attempt to formulate a theoretical framework in which to study the Negro population of large urban localities.

Several of the recent investigations of Negro communities were made in the "Deep South," in localities characterized by stability in the social order and small population aggregates.² These studies have in common the so-called "structural approach"; they have indicated the place of the Negro in the social structure and the myths and sanctions which keep him "in his place."³ In the study which we have been making of the Chicago

¹ The percentage of the 1890 Negro population which was urban was 19.4; by 1910 this proportion had increased to 27.4 per cent; and two decades later, in 1930, the census reported that 43.7 per cent of all Negroes lived in urban places.

² Among these studies are John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937); Hortense Powdermaker's *After Freedom* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); and *Deep South*, by Allison Davis and Burleigh and Mary Gardner, under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner (in press).

³ Powdermaker modifies the strictly structural approach. After pointing out the necessity of analyzing the social structures of both the white and Negro communities, she states: "Yet what we deal with in this hybrid community is less structure than a process, a complex of actions and interactions to which structure forms a background itself hardly static." (*op. cit.*, p. 71).

Negro community,⁴ the perspectives and methods employed in the research on the southern Negro were re-examined to ascertain their adaptability for our problems. Analysis of the social structure was of great value in showing the present social differentiation within the Negro population and the relations between the social structure of the entire city and the Negro community, as well as laying a basis for comparable studies in other cities.⁵ It soon became apparent, however, that our research problem also required an analysis which would reveal the changing position of the Negro in the structure. The necessity for an additional approach, different from that used by students in the South, arose out of the radically different nature of the setting of the study.

In the Deep South the Negro occupies a "caste" position, according to some of the recent studies mentioned above. It is on the subordination of the Negro that the social order depends. Maintaining the Negro in his traditional place is essential for the smooth functioning of the economy, the political system, the educational system, and other parts of the social structure.⁶ The study of the South at various periods of its history shows that Negroes and whites have lived side by side for generations, and yet Negroes have always been separate from whites in the structures of the society.

In the North, on the other hand, the economy, the political system, and the educational system were not designed to subordinate or segregate the Negro population; their stability does not hinge on "keeping the Negro in his place." Again in contrast with the South, the North has experienced

⁴ St. Clair Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community"; Estelle Hill Scott, "Occupational Changes among Negroes in Chicago," and Mary Elaine Ogden (McNeil), "The Chicago Negro Community: A Statistical Description" (reports of the Work Projects Administration, District 3, Chicago [mimeographed]); and other unpublished monographs on various aspects of the Negro community of Chicago, sponsored by the Institute for Juvenile Research and administered by the Work Projects Administration.

⁵ W. H. R. Rivers points out that comparative studies demand a structural approach ("The Ethnological Analysis of Culture," *Nature*, LXXXVII [1911], 358-60).

⁶ In describing the social order of the South, Reuter states: "The selection and placement of population and the economic structure were determined by the character of the natural area. The racial status and division of labor were essential parts of the system. The political system was formed as a tool of the economic interests. The social and moral order developed as a natural outgrowth of the economic and political arrangements. The ideological system arose immediately and inevitably from the system itself" (Edward B. Reuter, "Competition and the Racial Division of Labor," *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, ed. Edgar T. Thompson [Durham: Duke University Press, 1939], p. 54).

successive invasions by various foreign-born groups which have entered the structure as subordinates, but with the passage of time have become dispersed throughout it. For example, the Irish of the past century in Chicago were looked down upon and ridiculed by the native whites, but today the Irish have achieved positions of power and prestige in the various hierarchies of the society.⁷ Analysis of the position of Negroes in the total society of Chicago shows that there are levels in the substructures of the society (e.g., the economic, the political, and the "social") beyond which Negroes are not found.⁸ In the economic structure most Negroes are found in the lower levels of the hierarchy, performing unskilled work. In the political hierarchy, while there may be Negro aldermen, there is not a Negro mayor. On the other hand, it can be shown that there are certain places in the social organization of the city where Negroes have developed a separate structure of their own, the most striking of which is the system of social classes which parallels that of the whites.⁹

A further contrast between the Deep South and an urban center such as Chicago is found in the realm of sentiments. All over the South the Negro's status is "fixed" to a large extent; there is repression against any attempt to change that status and a belief permeating the entire society of his innate inferiority and the eternal necessity of preserving the color line. The social logics of the North do not so compulsively emphasize

⁷ During the fifties, according to Bessie Louise Pierce, "competition from cheap Irish labor was dreaded just as later that of Negro labor was feared. The attitude of labor toward the Negro, therefore, was not entirely racial" (*A History of Chicago* [New York: Knopf, 1940], II, 185 n.).

⁸ Park states in his recent paper on race relations: "It seems, then, that one may think of race relations as existing not only on different levels, that is (1) ecological, (2) economic, (3) political, (4) personal and cultural, but one may think of these different levels as constituting a hierarchy of relations of such a nature that change upon any one level will invariably have repercussions, not immediately, but finally, upon every other" (Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35).

⁹ An interesting development in Negro-white relations is seen in the rise of "bi-racialism." Living in a segregated community, and isolated from participation in parts of the white social structure, Negroes have capitalized on this segregation and isolation by developing a race consciousness and a race pride and by voluntarily building up a separate economic structure, hoping thereby to parallel the white structure and to offer greater economic opportunities for Negroes. See Charles S. Johnson, *The Economic Status of Negroes* (summary and analysis of the materials presented by the conference on the Economic Status of the Negro, held in Washington, D.C., May 11-13, 1933, under the sponsorship of the Julius Rosenwald Fund [Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1933]), p. 14.

white American supremacy—the population is too heterogeneous for the support of this racial doctrine. The expediencies of city life, the characteristic mobility, anonymity, and secondary relationships of individuals, the division of labor and the consequent interdependence of the city population¹⁰ do not present a favorable setting for the tremendous expenditure of attention and energy seen in the South to keep the Negro “in his place.”¹¹ The implications of these differences are that Negroes have fuller participation in northern city life than they enjoy in the rural areas and small towns of the South.

If any one process characterizes urban life it is the intense competition which is evident in all spheres of life and which leads to great extremes of wealth, power, and prestige. Cooley, in his essay entitled “Personal Competition,” describes the general relation between social conditions and the intensity of competition in the following propositions: “The intensity of competition varies: (1) with the degree of personal liberty; (2) with the rate of social change; (3) inversely as the efficiency of the selective agents.”¹² There is no doubt that both the degree of personal liberty and the rate of social change are greater in the city of the North than in the rural South, and especially as these factors affect Negroes. The “selective agents” in the South are certainly efficient—so efficient that Negroes are not allowed to compete for many of the values of the society there. This is true to a much more limited degree in the North.

For the Negro, and other “visible” groups, race distinctions serve to limit the effectiveness and areas of competition. Race antipathy, the vague sense of insecurity which results from contact with strangers,¹³ is further reinforced by the tradition of the South in the case of Negro-white relations. Color and cultural differences are bases for barring Negroes (and other “alien” groups) from certain neighborhoods in the city and from intimate social participation with “whites.”¹⁴ Race con-

¹⁰ Louis Wirth, “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

¹¹ B. Schrieke, *Alien Americans* (New York: Viking Press, 1936).

¹² C. H. Cooley, *Sociological Theory and Social Research* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), pp. 168-69.

¹³ Robert E. Park, “The Bases of Race Prejudice,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXXXX (November, 1928), 11-20.

¹⁴ It is apparent that to posit all “whites” against all “Negroes” as two contrasting groups is an oversimplification. Among whites as among Negroes, extreme differentiation of attitude toward the “opposite” race is found, not the least significant of which is indifference.

flikt arises in the northern city when Negro competition is felt keenly enough, at which point color becomes a symbol of unwanted competition. It is when the numbers of colored competitors threaten coveted residential space, economic gains, political power, or other values of the society that race conflicts arise.¹⁵

In the Chicago study it seemed fruitful to regard the position of Negroes from two viewpoints: Negroes as competitors and Negroes as a fixed-status group. In certain areas of social life Negroes participate as competitors; in other spheres, they are noncompetitors. In the first kind of area, competition is regulated by custom and convention; but in the other areas competition does not exist—the principle of fixed status there determines the position of Negroes.¹⁶

The competition of Negroes for space, for jobs, for political power, and for social recognition in Chicago is recognized both by Negroes and by whites. Underlying these, there is, of course, the struggle for existence, a basic and unconscious biological process which, however, is modified by economic factors as well as by the demographic characteristics of the ethnic groups—for example, age-sex distribution and marital condition.¹⁷ Competition for space is a basic ecological process, which, in a city where race and ethnic segregation occurs, may be regarded as competition between the ethnic groups. Negroes are limited in their competition for jobs by lack of training and skills, and probably only in times of labor short-

¹⁵ Some clue to the intensity of the competition between Negroes and whites for land, jobs, and status which has resulted in conflict is to be found in the number of brutal race riots which, within a brief period, followed the Negro migration to the North. Johnson points out that in East St. Louis the riot was over Negro workers who had menaced jobs of white workers; the Chicago race riot was caused by the conflict of Negro and white workers in the Stock Yards for jobs and the competition for space in Hyde Park; the riot in Arkansas rose out of a desire to curb the tenants' demand for more for their cotton; and in the Atlanta riot of 1906, a chief incitement to violence was the menace to the economic security of whites by Negro carpenters and bricklayers (Charles S. Johnson, "Race Relations and Social Change," in Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 286).

¹⁶ It is important to emphasize that the attempt of whites to limit the competition of Negroes is directed not only against them, but against all groups of potential competitors who are "visible" in appearance or language, or culturally of a lower standard of living and hence identifiable as competitors. Because of the Negro's higher degree of visibility and the tradition of slavery the Negro is perhaps more limited in his ability to compete with whites than other "non-white" groups. See Robert E. Park, "The Nature of Race Relations," in Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-45; and Charles S. Johnson, "Race Relations and Social Change," in Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-303.

¹⁷ S. J. Holmes, *The Negro's Struggle for Survival* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

ages are Negroes competing with whites on equal terms. Some Negroes, however, have obtained positions of economic power in the city. The political power of Negroes is fully realized by Chicago politicians and by Chicago Negroes themselves, and in politics Negroes have made gains which could not have been attained through other means. Negroes, however, do not belong to white churches or social clubs, nor do they marry into white families;¹⁸ and there is a system of social classes among Negroes which is separate from other systems of social classes which exist among whites.

The Negro is ever attempting to widen the sphere within which he may be allowed to compete. Each new achievement of a Negro—whether it be the winning of a world's title in sports, or a new appointive position in the city government—is hailed by the Negro press as a step forward. New migrants are amazed and delighted to see Negro policemen, to have a Negro alderman, to see a Negro employee in the public library. After a while these gains of the Negro in the North are taken for granted and the Negro loses more and more of the "caste mentality" which he could not avoid developing in the South and comes to think of himself as being able to advance his status beyond any allowed him there.

However, in social relations based on primary contacts, race antipathy serves to preserve the color line. In intimate social relations with whites based on nonutilitarian motives, Negroes are barred, for here the sentiment of race prejudice inhibits the development of primary relations, and the mores of the society crystallize the belief in the undesirability, if not the danger, of intimacy with persons of different racial origin. Whites may not want to eat with Negroes, to live in the same neighborhood with them, or to marry Negroes, but whites will work with Negroes for mutual gains and will compete with them for prestige in sports, scholarship, or political power—for economic interdependence, collective action, and competitive co-operation are characteristic of city life, just as is social distance.¹⁹

Social distance fixes the role of the Negro in certain spheres of social life; competition allows him to widen the area in which he participates. It is the interaction of these two processes which determines his position in the social structure at any given moment, and the direction of the proc-

¹⁸ Interracial marriages do not represent marriages between "families" in the sense that the families encourage or sanction such marriages. On the contrary, interracial couples are generally ostracized by both Negroes and whites.

¹⁹ See the discussion by Park of "sentiments" and "interests" in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), chap. i.

esses can be fully perceived only by a structural analysis of the society in which the processes are taking place. The rise of separate Negro social structures is a response to the fixed status of Negroes enforced by whites in the areas of social life where primary contacts predominate. In the relationships so characteristic of city life—namely, the secondary, impersonal, instrumental relationships, where other persons are regarded as means rather than as ends in themselves—interests rather than sentiments motivate behavior and thus Negroes are not barred from competition. But even in these instrumental relationships, competition is not as effective for Negroes as for whites in determining place in the social structure, for Negroes are subject to race antipathies and are thus limited in their mobility. On the other hand, the Negro's position in the various parts of the social structure is continually changing, responding to changes in economic conditions (prosperity, depression), to change in political administration (conservative, liberal), as well as to pressure by Negroes themselves or by agencies or groups interested in raising the Negro's status.

A fruitful method of studying Negro personality was found in the analysis of the individual effects of the principles of fixed status and free competition in operation in the society. In the northern city, influenced by the democratic ideology and the freedom of city life, the Negro lives in two worlds—the white world and the Negro world. He becomes aware of the contradiction between the ideology of democracy and free competition and the fixed status to which he is assigned by whites. While in the South, there is little doubt as to how he ought to act, in a city like Chicago he is often not at all sure. He may work for a white man and receive recognition for his skill and capabilities, but he must not “marry the boss's daughter.” He may be awarded a degree from the university, but he cannot expect to practice medicine in a white hospital, be pledged to a white fraternity, or attend the Senior formal dance—at least not under ordinary circumstances. But there is no strict rule to guide him. White northerners are themselves often uncertain as to how to act with Negroes, what to expect from them, and how far to treat them as equals.

The marginal personality²⁰ of many Negroes is the result of their dual position in society, because of the fact that in a supposedly democratic society they are allowed to compete for some values but are not allowed to compete for others. If their status were unalterably fixed and explicitly

²⁰ We do not believe that all Negroes in Chicago are “marginal,” but “marginality” is more characteristic of Negroes in Chicago than in a stable southern community.

defined in all aspects of social life, Negroes would perhaps become accommodated to this situation. If, on the other hand, Negroes competed fully and equally in all spheres of life, they would not develop a mentality different from other persons in the society. In either case the marginal man would disappear, for this personality arises out of the confusion which exists in the minds of persons in a society characterized by the principles of both fixed status and free competition.

In conclusion, the position of the Negro in the South is embodied in the structure of the society, and his continued subordination, therefore, is necessary to insure its smooth functioning. To the extent that his position remains consistent with the social structure, a structural analysis is adequate as a method of study.²¹ In the North, the social structure does not depend on the subordination of the Negro, and rapid changes in his status have occurred within a relatively short period of time. Therefore, in addition to a structural analysis, it is necessary to study the processes and the sentiments sanctioning the processes which allow the Negro to change his position in the structure.

From the intensive investigation of Chicago and of other cities of different functional and regional types, a number of "indices" of free competition and fixed status which determine the Negro's place in the structure might be devised which would make possible a comparison of Negro-white relations for the cities studied. The various studies of Negro-white relations could then be placed in a continuum, the two poles of which would be the ideal types of communities characterized by free competition and fixed status. It would then be possible to bring into one general framework the studies of the caste-like societies of the Deep South, of the contrasting urban societies in Chicago and New York, and all other variations of this dimension which might exist.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

²¹ It must not be assumed, however, that even the rural parts of the South are completely stable at the present moment.

URGES MAYOR TO APPOINT CAYTON ON HOUSING BOARD

Chi Defender 5/21/38

Mayor Edward J. Kelly is being urged by prominent citizens and several organizations throughout the city to appoint Horace R. Cayton, for five years connected with the social science division of the University of Chicago, to one of the two vacancies now existing on the Chicago Housing Authority. These vacancies were made through the ineligibility of John R. Fugard and William Carney, both white, who reside out of the city and cannot serve because of a government ruling.

Mr. Cayton's name was proposed when it was cited that the Race needed representation on the board due to the fact of the acute housing shortage on the South Side. He has had experience in housing and is an expert in the field of population. He has been in addition a special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, an instructor in the Department of Economics, Fisk University, and a fellow of the Rosenwald Fund. He is recognized throughout the country as an expert in the field of urban problems

and race relations.

The Chicago Housing Authority has supervision over all government housing projects that will be built in Chicago. The proposed South Parkway Gardens project comes under its jurisdiction. Other cities that have already built their housing units have Race members on their boards. Recently, Mayor Schltz of Louisville, Ky., appointed Attorney Everett Harris, a Race member, to the Louisville Housing Authority.

When informed that Mayor Kelly was considering the appointment of Mr. Cayton, Dr. Louis Wirth of the department of sociology, U. of C., said: "It goes without saying that the Negroes of the city are among the poorest housed of our population and present the most acute and complicated housing problem. There is therefore good reason to have someone on the Authority who has a scientific knowledge of this problem, who enjoys the full confidence of the Negro community, and at the same time is sufficiently objective to see this problem in the perspective of the city as a whole. It is not only, therefore, in the interests of the Negroes, but also of Chicago that someone like Mr. Cayton should be nominated for membership on the body."

AUTHORITY ON HOUSING PREDICTS RACE RIOT IF RESTRICTIONS CONTINUE

Pittsburgh Courier 3/26/38

CHICAGO, March 24—Horace F. Cayton, who is doing special work at the University of Chicago, and is an acknowledged authority in the new field of "Housing," predicted another "race riot," unless something is done about restrictive covenants, either legally or arbitrarily, at the Woman's Advisory Committee of the South Central Branch, United Charities, Monday at a noon-day luncheon.

"This second 'Race riot' will be laid at the door of the business office of the University of Chicago," he stated. "There is, right now an attempt by subterfuge to compress the Negro group and push them off the Lake Front by the University's business office which is dominated by the Chicago Real Estate Board.

"There are sufficient homes on the South Side for 140,000 people and into these there must be crowded 190,000," averred Mr. Cayton.

A lengthy discussion of the Gregory report (a State relief investigation) was covered by Prof. Wayne McMillen, University of Chicago, Department of Sociology.

CONSOLIDATED
PRESS CLIPPING
BUREAU
CHICAGO, U.S.A.
SOUTHWEST DIVISION

OK. CITY, OK. BLACK DISPATCH
OCT 21 1939

Flees Europe



HORACE R. CAYTON

Noted Chicago sociologist, Rosenwald Fellow and director of a recent Federally sponsored Land Use Survey in Chicago, who has just returned from a trip to Europe suddenly ended by World War II. He was studying social, economic and housing conditions in the British Isles and on the Continent of Europe (ANP).

FELLOWSHIPS

FISK
UNIVERSITY

COMMUNITY IN CHARTS, MAPS SEEN BY 500

1/14/39

Work Of WPA Research Projects Is Put On Exhibition

Chicago Defender

Approximately 500 persons attended the exhibit held Tuesday at the Church of the Good Shepherd, 5700 Prairie avenue, of the survey of the Race community carried on by Works Progress administration white collar projects during the past two years.

The research on the community covers physical and social aspects of the community. Included are housing, vital statistics, population growth, juvenile delinquency and other forms of disorganization, associations and churches, the family, social classes, business, labor, politics and education.

The exhibit consisted of maps, charts, graphs and tables and finished manuscript on these subjects. Samples of interview material and statistical processes used for analyses of data were also shown.

Arrangements for the exhibit were made by Miss Hazel Hayes, Miss Joy Schultz, Miss Elaine Ogden, Chauncey Spencer and Harry Jones.

In charge of the various parts of the exhibit were the following research assistants and supervisors: Ecology and population, Miss Elaine Ogden; associations and churches, St. Clair Drake; community studies, Miss JJoy Schultz; business, Joseph Semper; occupations, George McCray; family, John Given; Bibliography, Mrs. Elizabeth Wimp; politics, Elmer Henderson; newspapers, Miss Elizabeth Johns; and statistics, Miss Juanita Simpson and Sylvanus Tyler.

Hostesses at the tea table during the afternoon included Mrs. Robert R. Taylor, Mrs. Joe Louis Barrow, Miss Vivian Harsh, Mrs. Lillian Summers, Mrs. Lillian Procter Falls, Mrs. Earl Dickerson and Mrs. Ruth Moore Smith.

Background music was furnished by the Federal Music project headed by Mrs. Mabel S. Hurdien. Assisting with tea were maids furnished by the Household Demonstration project of the Works Progress administration.

AT WPA EXHIBIT



Marva Louis Barrow was one of several outstanding women to pour tea at an exhibit of the work being done by a WPA research project at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Tuesday. Prof. Lloyd W. Warner, white, research director of the University of Chicago and Horace R. Cayton, superintendent of the project, holding tea cup, discuss progress of exhibit as Mrs. Barrow looks on. —WPAphoto.

The projects are co-sponsored by Professor W. Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago, the Institute for Juvenile Research, and the Illinois State Employment service. Horace R. Cayton is the superintendent.

It was through the efforts of the Committee for Re-employment that money was raised to pay the rent for housing the projects and it is this committee which is largely responsible for the success of the project.

ISK UNIVERSITY

First Public Exhibition Of WPA Race Research Project In Chicago To Open On Tuesday

Tuesday, Jan. 10, has been set for the first public exhibit of Works Progress Administration projects, sponsored by Prof. W. L. Warner of the University of Chicago and the Institute for Juvenile Research, which have been in operation for the past two years in a comprehensive survey of the Race community in Chicago.

The exhibit will be held at the Church of the Good Shepherd, 5700 Prairie avenue, from 2 to 6 p.m. and tea will be served.

The research covers all aspects of community life, including housing, vital statistics, associations and churches, politics, the family, social classes, juvenile delinquency, business and labor.

The study has attracted considerable attention during the time it has been in progress. Last summer three of the research supervisors were asked to read papers at the Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research, held on the campus of the University of Chicago.

At this meeting Horace R. Cayton, superintendent of the projects, St. Clair Drake, instructor on leave from Dillard university, and Estelle Hill Scott, former research director at Fisk university, presented some of their findings.

A few weeks later Mr. Cayton was asked to appear before a research group in Los Angeles, Calif., reporting on the study.

Professor Warner, co-sponsor of the projects, has been requested to address the Midwest Sociological Society convention, meeting next March, on certain aspects of the study.

Among the social scientists who have examined the work of these projects and who have expressed keen interest in the study are E. Franklin Frazier, professor of sociology at Howard university; Charles Johnson, head of the department of sociology at Fisk university; A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League; Robert E. Park, emeritus professor of the University of Chicago; T. Arnold Hill, research director of the National Urban League, George E. Haynes, secretary of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Louis Wirth, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, and others.

Last year, a public-spirited committee assisted in raising funds to provide housing accommodations for these projects, in an undertaking which received considerable attention and support from the community itself.

The group carrying on the research represents an unusually high level of education and experience. Approximately 90 per cent are members of the Race. Fifty-eight per cent of all the 200 workers have had some post high school education.

Over a quarter of the personnel have received degrees from accredited institutions of higher learning, and another third have attended business school or college. Several have their master's degree.

The supervisors of these projects were chosen for their positions by their educational qualifications and their experience in social research. There are seven Race and four white supervisors.

Most of these supervisors have had graduate work in social science and all had had experience in research before coming on the projects. Some have been promoted to supervisory status after demonstrating their ability in other sections of the research.

Exhibits will be given of the work on six projects. The first project was set up to study the cultural aspects of juvenile delinquency in the community.

Later on, projects were set up and approved to study migration and mobility, churches and other associations, and the occupational status of black citizens in Chicago.

In turn these studies led to two



Horace R. Cayton, superintendent, conferring with one of the aides above. The statistical section which tabulated figures on Survey below.

more—a bibliographical study, and a detailed study of the occupational characteristics and trends in occupational opportunities for members of the Race in Chicago at the present time.

The study of juvenile delinquency included statistical, interview, and autobiographical data. This project, at one time employing 132 persons, established a large fund of material which is being used for basic data in studying other aspects of Race community life.

The occupational study ascertained the trend in numbers and proportions of Race members gainfully employed at each census year since 1890, compared these trends with the occupational status of the whole Chicago population at these years, and analyzed the age, sex, and marital conditions of Race gainful workers.

The problem of the adjustment of the migrant Race population in Chicago to metropolitan urban life and the relation of mobility to social adjustment were the central interests of another project.

The importance of this study is evident when it is remembered that 80 per cent of the Race citizen now living in the city were born outside the state of Illinois.

A fourth project is interested in the churches and other associations of the Race population. These associations include social, political, civic, and cultural societies and clubs.

The bibliography which is in process of being compiled will be the only comprehensive annotated bibliography of the literature on the Race in the world.

This project has been recently started under the supervision of the former librarian of Manual Training School in Bordentown, N.J.

The newest project is on occupational characteristics and trends in occupational opportunities for members of the Race in Chicago at the present time.

The exhibit will include charts, maps, graphs, photographs, and over 5,000 pages of completed manuscripts.

50,000 Chicago Negroes homeless on South Side

(This is the first of a series on housing for Negroes in Chicago's South Side.)

By HORACE CAYTON

Fifty thousand Chicago Negroes have no homes.

This striking revelation comes from a thorough study of the city's jam-packed, steel-bound, little Black Belt into which almost a quarter

of a million Negroes are segregated with virtually no means of escape.

Here are the facts:

1. There are at least 200,000 persons to be housed on the South Side.

2. There are housing facilities for 150,000.

This condition, in which an extra 50,000 persons are bidding

(HORACE CAYTON is Sponsor's Representative for WPA Projects conducting a survey of Negro life in Chicago. He is a Rosenwald Fellow, and formerly a teacher of economics at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.)

for homes, in addition to the normal competition, has resulted in the following critical situation:

1. The rent in the Negro area has been driven to abnormal heights.

2. Negro families are forced into every available kind of shelter, regardless of health considerations, safety from fire and disease.

SHORTAGE NOT NEW

The housing shortage in the Negro community of Chicago is no new phenomenon. In the 34-year period, 1900 to 1934, the Negro population has increased from 30,000 to 236,000.

During this period the community has expanded southward from a small settlement near the outskirts of the Loop district to 71st St. and has thus extended its boundaries approximately seven and one-half miles. In the area between Cottage Grove and Wentworth Aves., 12th and 71st St. are to be found nearly 200,000 persons.

The entire movement of the community southward has been attended with a great deal of friction and the Negro population

has had to literally fight for the space which it occupies. At no time has the community had an area sufficient to accommodate the persons who were forced to live there.

"The Negro in Chicago," a survey of race relations which was made after the riot of 1920, reported that in 1917 only one out of every thirteen applications for houses made by the Negro migrants who were coming to the city could be furnished.

SEARCH FOR SPACE

A typical example of the overcrowding during that period is shown in the experience of a family who had just come from the South:

... "They searched for weeks for a suitable house. At first they secured one room on the South Side in a rooming house, where they were obliged to provide gas, coal, linen, bedding and part of the furniture. After a few weeks they got two rooms for light housekeeping for \$10.00 a month. The associations as well as the physical condition of the house were intolerable.

"They then rented a flat on Carroll Avenue in another section. The building was old and run down. The agent for the property, to induce tenants to occupy it, had promised to clean and decorate it, but failed to keep his word. When the Jones family asked the owner to make repairs, he refused flatly and was exceedingly abusive."

The problem of overcrowding, the doubling-up of families, the keeping of lodgers and boarders, which has resulted in high juvenile delinquency, adult crime, death and infant mortality rates, consequently had become a chronic problem in the commu-



Trophy-bound is Miss Jacqueline Cochran, leading woman aviatrice, hitching her slacks as she steps into her new speed plane. She's after the Bendix transcontinental trophy again, on Sept. 2.

nity. The situation in 1928, just before the depression, as far as the shortage of housing for the Negro community was concerned, was much more serious than is the present situation in other parts of the city.

CONCENTRATION

Negroes in Chicago have, in the past 34 years, become more and more concentrated into solid Negro areas. In 1910, 24 per cent of the total Negro population lived in areas in which 95 per cent of the people were white. In 1934, however, only three per cent of the total Negro population lived in such areas.

In 1910 the area with the highest concentration of Negroes was one in which the Negro population was between 60 and 69 per cent of the total. In 1934, however, 87 per cent of the Negroes lived in areas which were over 70 per cent Negro in population and 69 per cent in areas which were between 90 and 99 per cent Negro.

Negroes cannot live outside of the area which has been created by the antagonism of the real estate interests, and as the Negro population has been increasing, the result has been that the number of Negroes in the area has far exceeded the housing facilities available.

FELLOWSHIPS

No water or toilets in many Negro homes

(This is the second of a series on tragic Negro housing on the South Side.)

By HORACE CAYTON

If you go to the 4000 block on Indiana Avenue—
You will find a building inhabited by several Negro families.

Only three of the four floors of the structure are at all habitable

Even to use that word "habitable" in regard to those three floors is stretching the point.

There is no running water. There is no toilet for these families. The floors and stairways give every sign of being decayed and are apparently unsafe. The building is falling to pieces, and the roof of the third floor is what was formerly the floor of the fourth floor.

Why do these families stay there? Why don't they move? These are natural questions. They have to receive an unnatural answer.

HIGH RENTALS

These people feel forced to remain here because of inadequate funds for rentals. They also find themselves unable to locate better quarters when ready money is available for them.

This is the tale that can be told all over and over again about the South Side. In spite of the high rents, the property values have depreciated in the community.

Most of the property is held by absentee landlords, (about five per cent is owned by the occupants) and as these absentee landlords know that their property will be rented regardless of its condition, little or no attempt is made to repair or improve the property.

The over-use of the buildings caused by the doubling up of families, combined with the refusal of the absentee landlords to repair or maintain the property, and their failure to exercise

proper tenant selection have been prime factors in the deterioration of property values in the community.

HANDICAPS

Some few illustrations of what this means in handicaps to human beings can be given—although these conditions can be found throughout the South Side.

Cases which are not unusual or uncommon:

A four-story building in the 3800 block on State Street originally consisted of apartments of six rooms each; each apartment has been converted into several small kitchenettes whose rentals range from \$10 to \$25 for one-room apartments. On some floors as many as five and six families share the same bath and toilet facilities. Some of the toilets do not have outside ventilation. Ventilation is especially bad in the one-room apartments. In some of the living rooms there is hardly any daylight. Large garbage cans stand in the hallways on each floor, adding to the general unsanitary condition of the building.

Deaths of three children from tuberculosis occurred in a family living in a basement flat of a building in the 700 block on 42nd Street. A fourth member of the family is now in the tuberculosis ward at Cook County Hospital. This basement is considerably below street level and has practically no ventilation. The temperature is kept unusually high, as the pipes necessary to heat 50 or 60 flats in the building pass through this basement apartment.



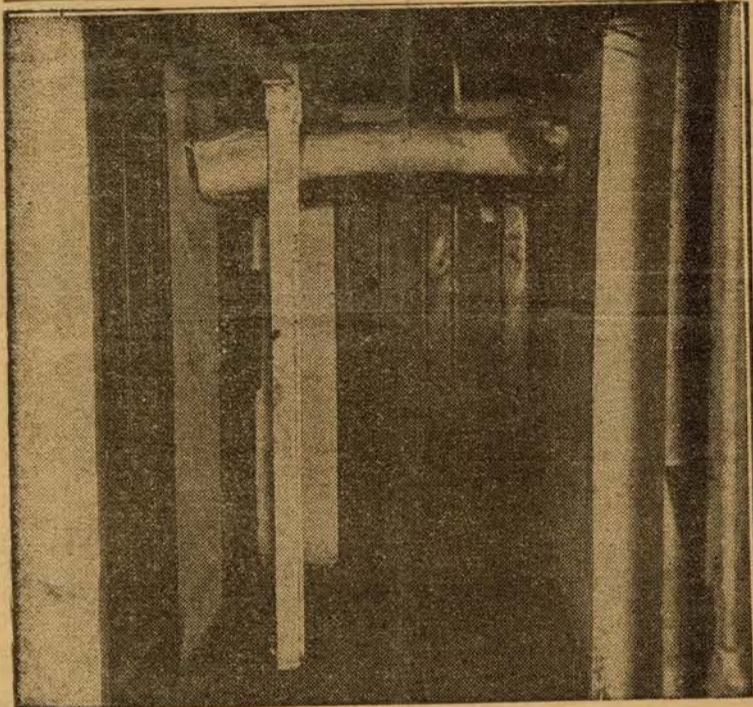
7 Negroes in 2 tiny rooms — \$24 a month

(This is the third of a series on Negro housing on the South Side.)

By HORACE CAYTON

In the 3900 block of Michigan Avenue, 108 persons live in 28 kitchenettes.

Among these many families, let me call your attention to a typical case.



Basement bins used as apartments on the South Side are shown above.

This is a family of seven, living in a two-room kitchenette. It requires little imagination to understand what this entails—right now in this hot weather of the dog days.

Four of the children sleep in one of the two beds of the house. The apartment has no pantry, and food is prepared in a room which is also used for sleeping.

The windows are broken and have been repaired with a piece of tin. Toilet and wash-bowl facilities (there is no bathtub) are shared with all the other families living on the same floor. The toilets are also used as public rest rooms by passers-by.

As has been indicated, these conditions have characterized the Negro community for some years.

CRISIS GROWING

They express in human terms the "housing crisis" which is growing month by month on the South Side. High rents—this family pays \$24 per month for these two rooms! — plus run-down buildings, many unfit for habitation—that is the general picture of the Negro community.

Why do we have this intense "housing crisis?"

It has arisen from various factors which have come into force since 1928 and have intensified the already serious situation.

Speculation stands out as a major cause of the difficulties confronting the Negro people.

In the area north of 39th Street much of the property is held for this purpose.

A careful check has not revealed a single instance where any amount of capital has gone into the creation of new living units since the depression. On the other hand, a number of buildings have been torn down or allowed to fall into decay.

It was found in one block that since 1928 available living units in this block have decreased 20 per cent.

Deterioration of this area has had two effects: first, it has decreased the already limited supply of the houses in the community; and second, it forced large numbers of Negroes who resided north of 39th Street southward, overtaxing the already limited facilities of the southern section.

Another factor which has operated to intensify the problem has been the increase in the Negro population. Between 1930 and 1934 the Negro population increased by approximately 4,000 persons. This, if anything, is an under-estimation of the actual situation.

The newcomers obviously have had to settle within the boundaries of the already established Negro community and have contributed to an increased demand for housing.

To summarize, we might say that where prior to 1928 the community had a serious shortage of housing facilities, since 1928 there has been a continued decrease in the supply of these facilities and a continued increase in the demand for them.

NEGROES CAN TIP UNIONIZING SCALE IN MEAT INDUSTRY

Rosenwald Fellow's Book Reveals Position as to Labor Rivalry.

BY FRANK L. HAYES.

Negro workers today can tip the scale in deciding whether the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L., or neither, will win the present struggle to organize the meat-packing industry, Horace Cayton, research worker and Rosenwald fellow at the University of Chicago, writes in a new study just published by the University of North Carolina Press.

The book, entitled "Black Workers and the New Unions," is the first on Negro labor published since the formation of the C. I. O. and therefore in many respects the most up-to-date treatment of its subject between covers. Cayton collaborated on it with George R. Mitchell, assistant administrator of the Farm Security Administration. The book contains material gathered by the authors in a study for the Department of the Interior.

Surprising Conclusions Reached.

Timely is Cayton's section on the packing industry, which contains surprising conclusions.

"Negro workers can by their numbers and importance determine whether the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. will be victorious and even whether the industry can be organized at all," says Cayton.

What does this observation mean for Chicago, which Cayton calls "the nation's most important meat center," and which Sandburg termed "hog-butcher for the world?" "Chicago is also," he writes, "the most important center for Negro workers in the industry. In 1930 Chicago had 17.5 per cent of the total laborers in the industry, but 22.3 per cent of the Negro laborers."

Cotton Fields to Industry.

The leap of thousands of Negroes from the cotton fields into industry, one of the most important phenomena of recent years, is well illustrated in meat packing. The 1930 census showed 18,426 Negroes in that industry. While Negroes made up 11.2 per cent of the total workers, they forced 13.1 per cent of the semi-skilled, 20.1 per cent of the maintenance employees, and 21.7 per cent of the laborers.

In this city, Negroes were 27.3 per cent of the laborers and 32.4 per cent of the operators. In four cities, Chicago, Omaha, St. Paul and St. Louis, together, they were 36.7 per cent of the laborers and 28.9 per cent of the operators.

Times have changed since these Negro workers were taken for granted as a predictable nonunion element, Cayton tells the story.

First Hired During Strikes.

Negroes began to be hired for meat packing in large numbers during strikes, says Cayton. They were hired increasingly during the war. The race riot of 1919 checked efforts to organize them.

"It seems probable," Cayton declares, "that one of the most important causes of this riot arose out of the conflict between union workers and packing house employers for the allegiance of Negro workers." This theory diverges from packers' testimony to good feeling in the plants, quoted by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. The commission discovered only one serious case of violence in the Stock Yards during the riot.

Enormous Union Growth.

Wherever truth lies in this matter, Negroes by 1918 formed 20 per cent of packing house labor forces and before the NRA had contributed fewer than 200 members to the international roster of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. This was despite the tradition of that A. F. of L. union that it made no discrimination between races and skills. But in 1935 the Amalgamated claimed over 5,000 Negro members in Chicago alone. Today, Cayton finds, Negroes are numerous in both the Amalgamated and in the Packing House Workers Industrial Union of the C. I. O.

In competing for Negro members, the C. I. O. says: "The assistant director on our union's international executive board is a Negro; tie that!" The Amalgamated comes back, "We have four Negro national organizers, and 15 of the 140 delegates to our last convention were colored."

Then there's the Amalgamated's prize exhibit, Chicago Local, No. 116, with 60 per cent white and only 35 per cent Negro membership, but with a president, vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary and an organizer who are Negroes.

Any way you look at it, the tug-of-war is on.

NEGRO INFLUX TO CITY A MYTH, ALDERMEN TOLD

"The myth that 1,000 or 2,000 Negroes are entering Chicago each month from the South to get on relief and live here hinders plans to improve schools and recreation facilities and housing in the congested Negro areas," Horace Cayton, fellow of the Rosenwald Foundation, late yesterday told a subcommittee of the City Council housing committee.

"When we ask for more schools we are told additional schools would soon be filled with children of the Southern invaders."

Dr. Cayton was asked if there were not a great many Negroes coming from the South because of the differential in relief and WPA rates.

"Perhaps 3,000 a year," he said.

"The number of 'poor whites' coming to Chicago from the South and getting on relief here is much larger than the number of Negroes. They also add to the congestion in the already crowded sections of the city in which the poor live. The Negroes suffer additional overcrowding because they cannot leave the restricted areas."

Ald. Earl B. Dickerson, 2d ward, chairman of the subcommittee, announced that weekly hearings on the problem of housing the 300,000 Negroes in Chicago would be held during the summer.

COMMUNITY SHOULD SUPPORT THIS PROJECT

LOWSHIPS

For the past two years a project under the direction of Horace R. Cayton, has been studying various aspects of social life on the South Side of Chicago. This study is unique in its approach, and the scope of study is greater than any community survey yet attempted. It represents the highest standards of social research. The project is a justification for the entire white collar program of the Works Progress Administration, and is a credit to the Race.

The study which is a survey of social conditions, will do much to enlighten members of the community, as well as the city at large, on conditions concerning housing, migration, health and educational facilities among Race members. It will make possible the development of a program of social reconstruction, for factual information necessary for the development of an ameliorating program that has not been previously available. As the project will give to the community and the social agencies this important factual data, its worthwhileness from the point of view of community development cannot be underestimated.

Our community can be justifiably proud of this work. It has furnished over the period of the past two years, work for approximately 225 white-collar workers who otherwise would have had no employment. It has trained persons in office routine and preserved the skill of those who would have lost it over a period of idleness. From the project a number of persons have received training which has enabled them to take jobs in private industry and civil service.

From the point of view of salary, its influence has been community wide. On the completion of this fiscal year three quarters of a million dollars will have been spent, over ninety-five per cent of which has gone for wages. This sum has done much to support Negro business and institutions, such as churches, lodges, clubs as well as the 255 families directly affected. With its payroll of nearly \$30,000 a month, it represents the largest employing group in the community.

It is interesting to note that the whole development has gone on, to a large extent, without the general knowledge of the community. Last year the committee for Re-employment raised the necessary amount for the rental of Good Shepherd Church. This expense has previously been supplied by the sponsors but after the amount became so large it was impossible for them to support the effort unassisted. For this valuable community service the members of the Committee for Re-employment deserve the heartiest praise.

With the exception of this group, the general community has not extended to the project the support which such an effort deserves. The exhibit which was recently held should make apparent the necessity of such a project for persons of this area. It should make most persons in this community realize that its support is an absolute necessity and that everything to ensure its continuation should be done. The Chicago Defender heartily endorses and appreciates the efforts of the Works Progress Administration and the sponsoring group for the benefits which this community has derived from this effort and pledges itself to do all to support the program in the future.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Pitts Courier 10/21/39
CHICAGO, Oct. 19. (By Albert G. Barnett for ANP)

—Horace R. Cayton, nationally known sociologist, housing expert and Rosenwald fellow, who last May concluded a federally-sponsored land-use survey of Chicago, arrived home last week after an exciting voyage across the Atlantic on the SS. President Roosevelt. Because of the U-Boat and floating mine menace, the boat required ten days for the crossing, usually made in about half that time.

Conh, Ireland was the point of departure for Cayton and his wife who accompanied him on the trip. They were in Paris, he said, when on September 2, all Americans were instructed to report immediately at the U.S. Embassy under the evacuation order.

In the resulting excitement and rush for visas, tickets, etc., at both Paris and Bordeaux—whence they sailed for the Irish port—the Caytons lost all their baggage and because he had to buy two new tickets for the return passage, Cayton used up all his funds, finally arriving in New York harbor with fifteen cents and a glowing appreciation of the welcoming statue at the harbor's entrance.

Cayton held round trip tickets from Montreal, Canada, but they were voided by the French evacuation order as no transportation was available on the Canadian steamers. All their luggage, he said, still remains scattered in Edinburgh, Scotland, hotel and in Bordeaux. So crowded with refugees was the train from Paris to Bordeaux, they, with about ten others, had to stand on the train platform for the entire trip.

For the voyage home, under President Roosevelt's instructions, the big steamer had American flags painted on its sides, fore and aft, kept them brightly illuminated with flood lights, and other flags waved in the breeze atop flagpoles.

Despite his curtailed trip, Cayton returned with many striking impressions, chief among them being his conclusion that French and British black colonial troops—especially the French—will play a big part in World War No. 2. The black warriors he said are treated with the utmost respect and every effort is made to make them feel welcome in whatever community they happen to be.

In Cannes, Cayton saw 10,000 Senegalese troops, en route to the western front, and in Bordeaux, two regiments arrived during his stay.

White South Africans he encountered in London and elsewhere, Cayton says, are the most prejudiced of the continentals—except Germans. He compares the former with the rabid Negro-baiters of South Americans. As to socio-economic conditions on the continent, he says there is not much difference in the economic level of the poorer classes, as between Europe and America.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

workers, and the CIO are the only organized forces which are energetically and effectively fighting for the unemployed millions against the cuts of relief, the WPA and the PWA.

In this question there can be but one logical position for the Negro and that is side by side with Lewis and his group. Not since the days of the Knights of Labor has organized labor articulated so well the problems of Negroes.

Lewis told the convention that he had requested President Roosevelt sometime ago to call a conference of the representatives of labor, business and farmers to "at least talk about the problem, even if they wouldn't do anything about it." The convention went on record approving the calling of such a conference.

DELEGATES STAND BEHIND LEWIS

The most spectacular speech given before the convention was that in which Mr. Lewis condemned the last term of Roosevelt's administration and predicted that if he ran again he would go down to ignominious defeat.

The official summary of the 1938 convention stated that "it was a toss-up who was the more popular with the miners—John L. Lewis or Franklin D. Roosevelt." When Lewis dropped his bomb-shell into the convention the hall was silent and tense.

But if there was a question as to the relative popularity of the two men in 1938, there was none in 1940.

Two days after this speech a resolution was offered to the body which was to put in the hands of the executive board the responsibility for any political action on the part of the organization.

The debate which followed illustrated the democratic procedures which characterize the union. Delegate after delegate spoke, some favoring the resolution, others opposing it—all were favorable to Roosevelt, but all were loyal to the wishes of John L. Lewis.

The sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the miners were expressed by Haywood Banks, a Negro delegate from Piper, Ala., when he took the floor and stated, "Folks, I am for Mr. Roosevelt, but more for our executive offices."

E. D. Hosey, another Negro delegate from Minde, W. Va., though favoring the resolution, stated that he did not want the public to get the opinion that the miners were against Roosevelt. Thomas Farmer, still another Negro delegate from Morgantown, W. Va., brought the house down when he shouted into the microphone:

"President Lewis knows what he is talking about. My whole heart is back of Mr. Lewis and the executive board. I'll support Mr. Lewis until hell freezes over. If he don't want Mr. Roosevelt, then I am not for Mr. Roosevelt. If he wants Senator Wheeler, I am for Senator Wheeler."

The resolution was carried with an overwhelming majority so that no party could take labor's vote for granted.

NEGRO DELEGATES SOLID IN SUPPORT

The Negro delegates were unanimous in their approval of the resolution. Wilfred Dickerson, a young Negro unionist from West Virginia, said:

"The convention sees the importance of not giving support to any political party. The results of this conference will be the laying of the ground-work for a great political labor party. Through such a labor party the laboring man—Negro and white—will get the best type of representation."

John Hempfield, of West Maryland County, Pa., stated: "It would not have been wise to endorse a candidate at this time. Let Lewis keep them guessing."

The Negro delegates liked Roosevelt personally, even better than did the white delegates. However, it was evident that their primary loyalty belonged to their union.

To this observer, it seemed that through the United Mine Workers and the other CIO organizations Negro workers will have a greater participation in the choosing of the next Presidential candidate than they will through the regular political organizations.

Further, labor will raise issues as to the candidates' stand on such vital questions to the Negro population as social security, unemployment, the right to organize unions, civil rights, and housing and health measures, rather than the appointment of a Negro to some office or the distribution of campaign funds. Perhaps the unions might even protect the Negro workers against the propaganda of many of their own "so-called" leaders.

THE QUESTION OF NEGROES IN UNIONS

The question of whether Negroes could join the miners' union is no longer open to debate. They can join the union and enjoy full equality with other members — or they can find employment in some other industry. The coal industry in this country is now organized, ninety per cent of the coal-pro-

in addition to being elected delegates, held office in their local lodges. In some instances, they had been elected even when the local was predominantly white. Others held elective positions in Southern lodges. Hartford Knight, from Birmingham, Ala., for example, was a former president of Local 6009 in Birmingham. At the time he was elected president the lodge membership was equally divided between Negro and white members.

TEAGUE SERVES ON RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

In the convention, Thomas Farmer, of District 30, was a member of the Committee on Officers' Reports. On the powerful Committee on Resolutions, Robert Teague from District 20 was placed.

Further evidence of the role which Negroes are playing in the United Mine Workers of America was evident in the number of Negroes who held important appointive positions from the International Office.

Among the important officials of the district organizations, the writer talked to the following: W. H. Nelson, Charleston, Va., compensation adjuster of the Compensation Bureau; B. H. Jenkins, district representative and vice-president of the West Virginia State Industrial Council; Nelson Beatty, district representative for District 17 (West Virginia); Harry James, district representative for District 17; Fred Stubbs, district representative for District 17; Johnson, district representative for District 5 (Pennsylvania); Hartford Knight, district representative for District 20 (Alabama) and Thomas Starks, international representative.

All of these men hold important and responsible positions and deal with both the Negro and white membership and the mine operators. Their salaries range from \$2,000 to \$3,600 a year.

BREAKING DOWN RACE BARRIERS

To the writer, this convention was the most democratic gathering he had ever attended. The entire emphasis of the meeting was on the protection of democratic principles in government. Several resolutions were upon the question of civil rights and the extension of our democratic institutions to include the Negro.

The relations between the races were at all times most cordial. Delegates from West Virginia and Alabama had their banquets together and informed the managers of the hotels that they would tolerate no discrimination of their brothers.

At the convention, whites and Negroes mingled freely and without tension. Negro delegates, in the debates, argued their points with their white opponents without show of undue deference or antagonism, and were received just as were other speakers.

ALABAMA DELEGATES RIDE TRAIN TOGETHER

Most interesting was the delegation from Alabama. District Rep-

resolution was offered to the body which was to put in the hands of the executive board the responsibility for any political action on the part of the organization.

The debate which followed illustrated the democratic procedures which characterize the union. Delegate after delegate spoke, some favoring the resolution, others opposing it—all were favorable to Roosevelt, but all were loyal to the wishes of John L. Lewis.

The sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the miners were expressed by Haywood Banks, a Negro delegate from Piper, Ala., when he took the floor and stated, "Folks, I am for Mr. Roosevelt, but more for our executive offices."

E. D. Hosey, another Negro delegate from Minde, W. Va., though favoring the resolution, stated that he did not want the public to get the opinion that the miners were against Roosevelt. Thomas Farmer, still another Negro delegate from Morgantown, W. Va., brought the house down when he shouted into the microphone:

"President Lewis knows what he is talking about. My whole heart is back of Mr. Lewis and the executive board. I'll support Mr. Lewis until hell freezes over. If he don't want Mr. Roosevelt, then I am not for Mr. Roosevelt. If he wants Senator Wheeler, I am for Senator Wheeler."

The resolution was carried with an overwhelming majority so that "no party could take labor's vote for granted."

NEGRO DELEGATES SOLID IN SUPPORT

The Negro delegates were unanimous in their approval of the resolution. Wilfred Dickerson, a young Negro unionist from West Virginia, said:

"The convention sees the importance of not giving support to any political party. The results of this conference will be the laying of the ground-work for a great political labor party. Through such a labor party the laboring man—Negro and white—will get the best type of representation."

John Hempfield, of West Maryland County, Pa., stated: "It would not have been wise to endorse a candidate at this time. Let Lewis keep them guessing."

The Negro delegates liked Roosevelt personally, even better than did the white delegates. However, it was evident that their primary loyalty belonged to their union.

To this observer, it seemed that through the United Mine Workers and the other CIO organizations Negro workers will have a greater participation in the choosing of the next Presidential candidate than they will through the regular political organizations.

Further, labor will raise issues as to the candidates' stand on such vital questions to the Negro population as social security, unemployment, the right to organize unions, civil rights, and housing and health measures, rather than the appointment of a Negro to some office or the distribution of campaign funds. Perhaps the unions might even protect the Negro workers against the propaganda of many of their own "so-called" leaders.

THE QUESTION OF NEGROES IN UNIONS

The question of whether Negroes should join the miners' union is no longer open to debate. They can join the union and enjoy full equality with other members—or they can find employment in some other industry. The coal industry in this country is now organized. Ninety per cent of the coal-producing areas are at present under contract.

The question today is not whether Negroes should join the union, but what role they should play in the organization. The role they are playing in the United Mine Workers of America was evident from their behavior at the convention.

NEGROES AT CONVENTION

Negroes were everywhere in evidence in the convention. Of the 2,400 delegates, approximately three hundred were Negroes. Nearly one hundred delegates came from West Virginia. Other large delegations were from Pennsylvania, Illinois and Alabama.

A good proportion of these men,

in addition to being elected delegates, held office in their local lodges. In some instances, they had been elected even when the local was predominantly white. Others held elective positions in Southern lodges. Hartford Knight, from Birmingham, Ala., for example, was a former president of Local 6009 in Birmingham. At the time he was elected president the lodge membership was equally divided between Negro and white members.

TEAGUE SERVES ON RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

In the convention, Thomas Farmer, of District 30, was a member of the Committee on Officers' Reports. On the powerful Committee on Resolutions, Robert Teague from District 20 was placed.

Further evidence of the role which Negroes are playing in the United Mine Workers of America was evident in the number of Negroes who held important appointive positions from the International Office.

Among the important officials of the district organizations, the writer talked to the following: W. H. Nelson, Charleston, Va., compensation adjuster of the Compensation Bureau; B. H. Jenkins, district representative and vice-president of the West Virginia State Industrial Council; Nelson Beatty, district representative for District 17 (West Virginia); Harry James, district representative for District 17; Fred Stubbs, district representative for District 17; Johnson, district representative for District 5 (Pennsylvania); Hartford Knight, district representative for District 20 (Alabama) and Thomas Starks, international representative.

All of these men hold important and responsible positions and deal with both the Negro and white membership and the mine operators. Their salaries range from \$2,000 to \$3,600 a year.

BREAKING DOWN RACE BARRIERS

To the writer, this convention was the most democratic gathering he had ever attended. The entire emphasis of the meeting was on the protection of democratic principles in government. Several resolutions were upon the question of civil rights and the extension of our democratic institutions to include the Negro.

The relations between the races were at all times most cordial. Delegates from West Virginia and Alabama had their banquets together and informed the managers of the hotels that they would tolerate no discrimination of their brothers.

At the convention, whites and Negroes mingled freely and without tension. Negro delegates, in the debates, argued their points with their white opponents without show of undue deference or antagonism, and were received just as were other speakers.

ALABAMA DELEGATES RIDE TRAIN TOGETHER

Most interesting was the delegation from Alabama. District Representative Hartford Knight stated that of the forty-seven delegates from that district nineteen were Negroes. All of the delegates came up on the train together.

"We all slept in the same car—a Negro below and a white man above or the reverse, and we all ate together in the dining car."

"The union," continued Knight, "is doing more to break down race prejudice than any other organization in the State. It has brought about a better understanding between the races because in the union Negroes and whites associate together."

Several things stood out vividly to an observer of this convention:

First, there will be in this

Miner Chief Gives Views To Reporter For Courier

country a tremendous struggle between ~~organized~~ labor and the reactionary forces which oppose it. The CIO and its most important international—the United Mine Workers of America—have made phenomenal gains during these past few years and labor is now on the march—taking the offensive against the coming reaction.

Second, the Negro can and has found an important place for himself in the CIO movement, and especially in the United Mine Workers. The alternative to joining organized labor in these industries will be, eventually, their inability to obtain employment. While on the other hand, the unions have so far scrupulously maintained absolute racial equality. The fight for union democracy, if there is to be one, must take place with the structure of the union organizations.

Third, the CIO is becoming a positive force in national politics, and is not satisfied to follow the A. F. of L. policy of rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies. Labor now demands a voice in the policy-forming agencies of the government and has outlined its demands and platform to which candidates must address themselves.

Fourth, the fundamental needs of the Negro population, both as Negroes and as poor people, are finding political expression in the demands of the CIO. Negro unionists (and their number is increasing) are turning more and more to their union organizations for political leadership. An alliance between the great body of Negroes and the progressive union organizations may in a relatively short time be possible. Those Negro leaders who see the trend and concern themselves with these fundamental economic problems will receive the support of the masses—the others will find themselves bankrupt of a program in the face of this vigorous and aggressive movement. We will have in the near future, perhaps, the development of a labor party. A party which would include the unemployed, and the Negroes. Or we may have, with the victory of the reactionary elements, a form of American fascism. In this struggle which will and must include the Negro, the powerful figure which towers ~~above~~ all others is that of the bushy-eyebrowed, lion-mained JOHN L. LEWIS.



Busy though he was, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, took time out at the Columbus convention to give Horace R. Cayton, well-known labor writer who covered the convention for The Courier, a special message for the working people who read The Courier. Bread and jobs are the chief problems of the Negro worker, asserted Mr. Lewis.

UNEMPLOYMENT, POLITICAL ACTION, UNITY, FEATURES OF UNITED MINE WORKERS' CONVENTION AT COLUMBUS

By HORACE R. CAYTON

(Author of "Black Workers in the New Unions")

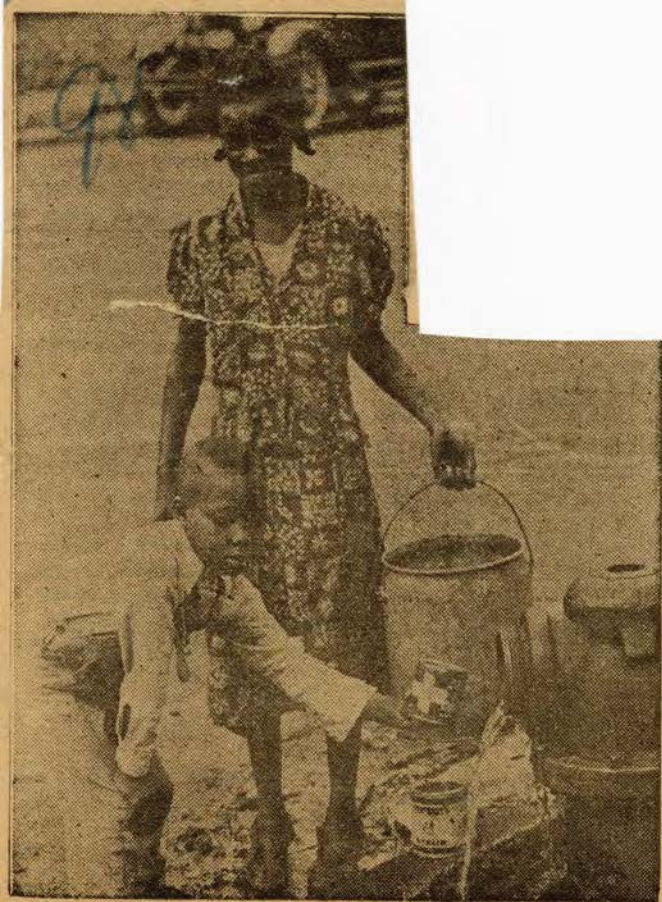
(See PICTURES, FULL PAGE, 12)

(Copyright 1930; reproduction expressly prohibited.)

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Feb. 8.—Nearly three thousand delegates, representatives of 600,000 miners, white and black, met here in their golden jubilee last week in the heart of the richest nation on earth and confronted as their most challenging problem unemployment affecting ten million hungry and without shelter in this land of plenty.

From the shadows of the spectre created by this vast army of unemployed emerged a haunting, taunting reality, the fact that steadily more and more men, white and black, from among the ranks of the poor are being put out of jobs and that no important attempt has been made to stop the flow of men from jobs to idleness or to reverse the current and put men back to work.

It was this reality which impelled John L. Lewis, leonine president of the great United Mine Workers to belabor the responsible agencies in the federal government and outside government for failure to act, to try for a solution of the problem.



Shortage of 50,000 Negro homes in Chicago force families to depend for their water supply at a city fire hydrant, having no water in their apartments. (See story on Page 3.)

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Thus the major problem before the conference of the United Mine Workers of America was that of unemployment; the most important decision taken by the conference was to refer political action, including the third term issue, to the executive committee (which means Mr. Lewis), and the outstanding characteristic of the convention was the unity of the organization.

That the largest and strongest union in the world should be addressing itself to the problems of unemployment, is preparing to take an even more active role in politics and, in spite of its phenomenal growth, is a unified body is a matter which should be of great concern to Negroes throughout the country.

UNEMPLOYMENT MAY BE CHRONIC FOR RACE

No more pressing problem confronts the Negro than that of unemployment. In Chicago, for example, although Negroes constitute approximately seven per cent of the total population, over 40 per cent of the relief population are Negroes and it is estimated that over 50 per cent of the total population of the city are on relief or the WPA.

Some students of the problem believe that the Negro will constitute the greater proportion of the chronically unemployed group and will thus be the target for the reactionary elements in the country who wish to fight an economic problem by employing race hatred as was done in Germany.

Lewis and the mine workers were concerned with this problem because they knew that the CIO movement, being strongest in the mass production

Algo 11/3/46
Horace Cayton
Speaker at
Lincoln Univ. Mo.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Oct. 19.—Horace Roscoe Cayton, co-author of "Black Metropolis" will address the 10 o'clock convocation Nov. 7 in Page auditorium at Lincoln university (Mo.) His subject will be the Psychology of Race." The sociology club will sponsor the program.

Mr. Cayton, a native of Seattle, Wash., received the B.A. degree from the University of Washington. He was research assistant at the University of Chicago from 1932 to 1934, then served as special assistant to the United States secretary of the interior.

Awarded a Rosenwald fellowship in 1939, Mr. Cayton, co-author of "Black Workers and the New Union," traveled abroad until the outbreak of war in September of that year. Previously—during his junior year in high school—he went to sea, traveling in Alaska, Hawaii and several cities in this country.

In 1940, he became director of Chicago's Parkway Community house, largest institution of its kind, where he has since been applying his science to problems of a large Negro community.

Cayton Works

Chgo. Def. 9-21-46

On New Books

Horace Cayton, director of the Parkway Community House, and co-author with St. Clair Drake of *Black Metropolis*, recently returned from a six week stay at "Yaddo," a creative artists' workshop outside Saratoga Springs, N.Y., disclosed that he has begun work on two new books.

Cayton, a grandson of Hiram Revels, Negro Senator of Reconstruction days, told the *Chicago Defender* in an exclusive interview, that the six weeks he spent at "Yaddo" were the most productive of his career. Undisturbed by telephones, radios, and the affairs that usually crowd his busy life, the author and sociologist applied his time to a series of philosophical essays on race relations, and an autobiographical novel.

One of the first Negroes to visit the estate was Langston Hughes. This year Ulysses Kay, a composer and Cayton, were chosen for the signal honor.

A hard-hitting—and entertaining— study of a black metropolis

P.M. 11/11/45

BLACK METROPOLIS: A STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE IN A NORTHERN CITY. By St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. With an introduction by Richard Wright (Harcourt, Brace, \$5).

By Walter White

WHEN I read Richard Wright's statement, in his brilliant introduction to *Black Metropolis*, that this book is "a landmark of research and scientific achievement," I wondered, remembering Gunnar Myrdal's monumental *An American Dilemma*, if Mr. Wright's statement might not be overpraise.

It is not too much so. For to call *Black Metropolis* a Negro *Middletown* is only part of the truth. No conscientious historian of Chicago or the industrial Middle West, or, indeed, of American society, can neglect in the future the magnificent job which St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton have done. [Mr. Drake is a trained anthropologist who studied at the University of Chicago and spent five years gathering material for the book, and Mr. Cayton, the director of Chicago's Parkway Community House, has also written other books on the Negro.]

There are minor inadequacies in the book, it is true. But they merely emphasize the enormous care and work which have gone into the writing of a lusty, raucous tale of a racial giant fighting to break his ghetto bonds.

Let us dispose of some of the shortcomings. Few factors have fomented Negro race consciousness as much as the segregation and mistreatment from which Negro soldiers and sailors have suffered during a global war for "freedom." *Black Metropolis* does not, in the opinion of this reviewer, pay sufficient heed to the fury which disintegrated Negro communities has been in the breasts of all classes of Negroes nor to the deepening of their opposition to the pattern of segregation.

Most of the material in the book was gathered under the much-maligned WPA and other research projects. This only took the authors up to the opening of the war, and that fact is probably responsible for the sketchy treatment of the accelerated

war years. It is unfortunate that at least one chapter of this 800-page book could not have been given to the enormous changes which the war has caused.

New world-mindedness

Black Metropolis, perhaps wisely, is restricted to being an honest, entertainingly written and hard-hitting picture of the struggle of a minority to live in a single city. That limitation has possibly prevented the authors from dealing adequately with the almost unbelievable growth of world-mindedness among Negroes in the heart of what used to be known as the insular city. Today the Negro in Chicago, as in every other part of America (including the backwoods of Mississippi), sees his problem as not only important nationally, but also as a part of the exploitation and oppression of two-thirds of the earth's people because they have brown, yellow or black skins.

Five dollars is considered, by most Americans, a lot of money for a book. But

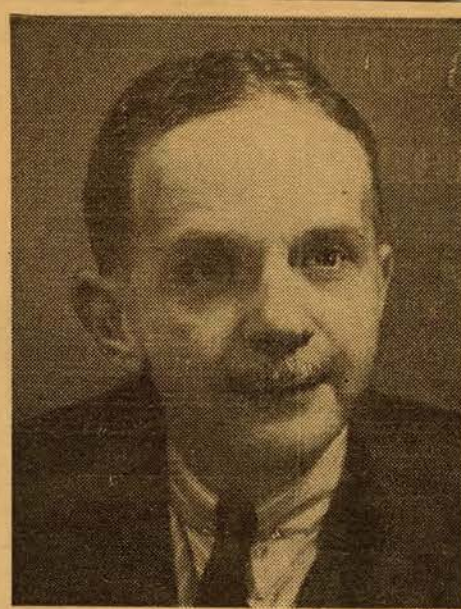
Richard Wright's introduction alone is worth that sum. It is one of the most thoughtful analyses of the malady of race prejudice which this reviewer has read. In words that lash and enlighten, Mr. Wright pictures the problem of race against the national and world struggle between the forces of freedom and of fascism.

Those Americans who believe that the Negro-white problem in the United States is static instead of kinetic will be jolted on learning, from Mr. Wright, the extent to which the focus of the so-called Negro problem has shifted from the agricultural South to Northern industrial centers since World War I, a shift which has given the Negro the potential balance of political power in 18 pivotal states with 281 electoral votes.

The increasing integration of the Negro into the organized labor movement and the transition from docility to aggressive, and sometimes effective, protest are but a few of the racial phenomena which Mr. Wright also mentions and of which America is becoming increasingly aware.

Most socio-economic studies are dull as dishwater. *Black Metropolis*, this reviewer is thankful to report, is more readable than many contemporary novels. It is going to be liked by neither the extreme right nor the extreme left. A good many Negroes will be infuriated by some of its revelations about sex life, policy rackets, churches and other organizations. But none will be able to refute much of these revelations.

With admirable brevity, *Black Metropolis* crowds into less than a hundred pages of extraordinarily readable prose the historical background not only of the Negro ghettos of today's Chicago, but also of the Chicago of earlier years. One sees here a picture of the waves of migration of the foreign-born, who first settled near the center of the city but moved outward to



Walter White, whose review of *Black Metropolis* appears at the left.

less crowded and more pleasant areas as their economic status improved. But the Negro, because of his color, is penned in a ghetto, no matter what his economic status may be. When he sought to escape the kind of overcrowding which produces Bigger Thomases, he was met in Chicago by mobs and bombs.

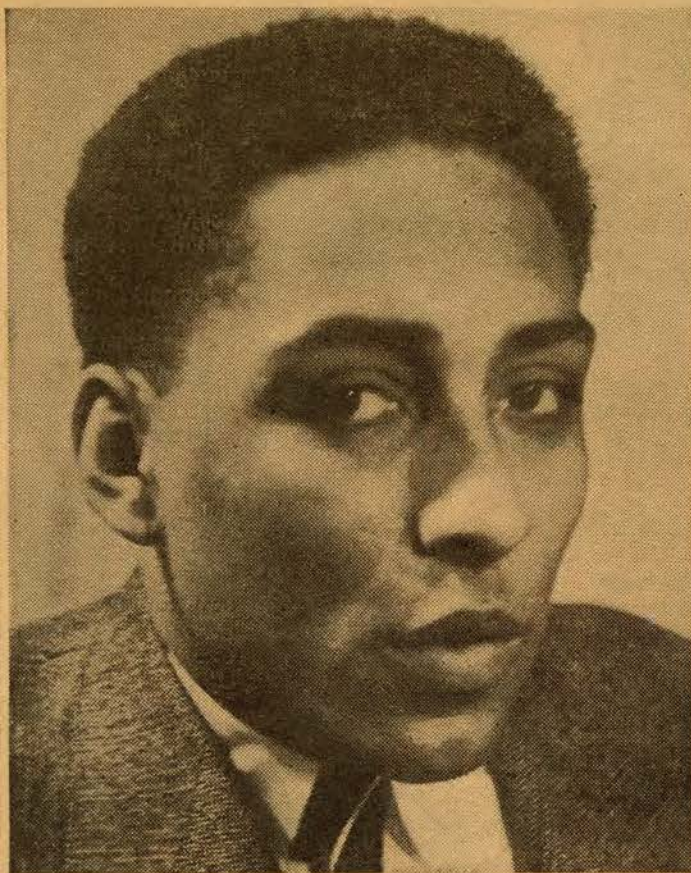
With skill and humor

With skill, superlative industry and ability and with humor, Messrs. Drake and Cayton have told the story of the Negro's fight for jobs, of his struggle against both employers and trade unions for employment above the mop-pushing, spittoon-cleaning level, and of his struggle to find comfort or escape in social groups, religion, liquor or sex. The result is like a stage-set where the front of a house mate details of what goes on behind. The story is as fresh as the latest newspaper, and sometimes, as in the chapter entitled *Of Things to Come*, it is a bit ahead.

A lot of smug misconceptions about the Negro will be abolished for the open-minded reader of this book. For example, a good many people accept, and laugh at, "policy playing" as being a "Negro trait." But when Messrs. Drake and Cayton, in a revealing chapter called *Business-Under a Cloud*, quote a loyal church member as saying laconically, "It takes policy to keep some people eating. That's all there is to it," one has no difficulty in understanding why a good many Negroes, hemmed in by job proscription, will seek any way out of an economic morass.

Black Metropolis is not just another book about the Negro. It is a first-rate account of the effect of American prejudices that had best be read and understood if we are to escape racial schisms which may rend America as effectively as the newest atomic bomb.

Photos by Arni



St. Clair Drake (left) and Horace R. Cayton, two Chicagoans who have written a lusty study of their city's racial problem.

SK
UNIVERSITY