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Race discrimination as a factor in Negro family disorganization

Murchison, Imogene Ford

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Thesis

RACE DISCRIMINATION AS A FACTOR IN NEGRO FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

by

(Mrs.) Imogene Ford Murchison

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I
The meaning of family disorganization . . . . . 1
History of the Negro family . . . . . . . 2
The Negro in Africa
Negro family in America during slavery
Negro family during reconstruction period
Race prejudice . . . . . . . . . 6
Its origin
As it exists today
Disorganization of Negro family compared with other races 8

PART TWO

THE ECONOMIC PHASE

CHAPTER I
RACE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE NEGRO FATHER IN
EMPLOYMENT
Industrial Status of the Negro . . . . . . 11
Labor unions . . . . . . . . . . 13
Creates limited field of labor
Causes unemployment
Types of employment for Negroes . . . . . 23
Inadequate incomes
Effects on family relations
CHAPTER II

MOTHERS WHO MUST EARN

Why mothers earn ........................................... Page 27
Percentage of Negro women workers .............. 29
Types of employment ........................................ 29
Inadequate leisure
Inadequate salaries
The effect of employment on mothers .......... 33
The neglect of children ................................... 34

PART THREE

EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

INADEQUATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES

Financial support of schools ....................... 37
Buildings and equipment ............................... 38
Rural schools
Urban schools
High schools
Crowded conditions and inadequate teachers ..... 44
Causes of retardation among Negro children .... 46
Higher education .......................................... 48

PART FOUR

PUBLIC WELFARE

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC FACILITIES

LIBRARIES for Negroes ................................. 52
Inadequate amusement for Negroes
Public playgrounds
Public parks
Segregated theaters
Boy scouts and other organizations

CHAPTER II
THE HOUSING PROBLEM
Segregated neighborhoods
The effect of poor housing upon the inmates
Excessive rent

CHAPTER III
DISCRIMINATION IN THE COURTS
The Negro in Crime
The causes of crime
The effect of crime on the family

PART FIVE
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PART ONE

INTRODUCTION
The disorganization of the Negro family offers a perplexing problem for the sociologist of today. There are many factors in family disorganization that may justly be applied to the Negro family; many factors outside the race over which the Negro has no control and many factors for which he is responsible contribute to the high rate of family disorganization.

This thesis is intended to give an adequate treatment of race discrimination as it affects the Negro family. With little consideration one might discard race discrimination as a factor having very limited effect on Negro family disorganization. A thorough study of the subject reveals the tremendous effect that race prejudice has on the family. It affects the family in as many ways as it affects the individual members that make up the family. Race discrimination forms a partial basis for such causes of family disorganization as poverty, illiteracy, poor housing conditions, delinquency and crime.

In order to understand the disorganization of the Negro family it is necessary to go beyond the present social order and review the sociological background of the Negro family both in America and Africa.

Meaning of: Family Disorganization

The establishment of the family is the process of building up organized attitudes in which all concur. Family disorganization represents the converse process in which the common interest and organized attitudes are broken up. There is no common interest or purpose. When the family has lost its unity it has lost its weapon for the control of family disorganization.

1. Mowrer, E. "Family Disorganization" - P. 4, 131
Divorce and desertion are but forms of family disorganization and may be taken to indicate the completion of the process of family disorganization.

Twentieth-century disorganization is a part of the movement toward individualism. This movement has been strongest in cities where there is a greater opportunity to escape the restraints of customs. It is true that certain forms of family disorganization may be traced beyond this rise of individualism. Death and other circumstances have always disrupted the family. Nearly all ages of society have made some provisions for divorce. ¹

Negro Family In Africa

The African Negroes represent many tribal groups, and because of this fact we find many customs and mores governing sex, marriage and family customs. The reliable data is still fragmentary; mostly being based on reports of missionaries and travelers. The accounts are subject to a degree of biased errors. A further difficulty to the understanding of the African origins of the American Negro family results from the fact that present native family organization is in many cases disorganized through the tribal inter-mixture as a result of foreign contracts and missionary activities. Despite this fact the Negro family life seems to be fairly well organized. ²

Among most of the African tribes the rules controlling the sex behavior of unmarried girls are rather strict and imply that a great deal of importance has been attached to the idea of female chastity. ³ These moral ideals have their importance in the forming of the basis of a family. No race or tribe as a whole can be found to adhere strictly to a high moral

¹. Ibid - P. 4-5
². Reuter, E. B. "The American Race Problem" - P. 197
³. Ibid - P. 197-198
code but the lower the moral standard the lower the moral of the race or tribe will inevitably be.

With the African family, marriage gives the husband exclusive marital rights over the woman. The formal rule against adultery is very strict; it is a ground for divorce and may be punished by the death of the woman. Marriage is universal among most tribes. The settlement of marriage is purely a property arrangement. The age of marriage is low, generally at the first sign of puberty. 1

The reasons for polygamy in Africa are social and economic. There are fewer men than women on account of the large number of men that are killed in their frequent wars. Where the death rate of males considerably exceeds that of females, plurality of wives becomes a means of maintaining population. 2 Polygamy is the rule where there is sufficient wealth to support it. The number of wives serves as a measure of man's wealth, as marriage is based on purchase. 3

"Their ideas of right and wrong differ in no respect from our own except in their professed inability to see how it can be improper for a man to have more than one wife." 4

Women occupy an inferior status. They are considered as property, owned by the husband or father and subject to purchase or exchange the same as other property. Paternal affection is rather highly developed among most of the tribes. The fathers are generally indulgent and possess a great deal of love for their children, yet they are more apt to rule by force. 5

1. Ibid - P. 198
4. Livingston, Zambesi, P. 309
The American Negro family life is not socially inherited from the family in Africa. The customs and family moves of the African Negro were thoroughly disorganized during the period of American slavery. The slave trade destroyed the family connections and upset the already established moral standard. Because of these disorganizations it is impossible to connect the Negro family life with the African past. During the period of slavery any restrained or high type of sex life was not to be expected and did not exist.

The recognition of the slave family was at the will of the master and subject to disturbance or destruction by him. In some places there were legislative enactments forbidding the separation of mothers and young children but in general slave families could be, and were, frequently broken up by the sale and transfer of slaves.

Slavery did not develop the type of character conducive to a high order of family life. It did not provide the conditions that were necessary for the institution. This system offered no chance for the development of responsibility. The dependence of the slave on the master for food and clothing and all other necessities of life destroyed any tendency toward responsibility or self-reliance. There was no incentive for the development of decent home and family life or for development of ideals of self-restraint or purity.

In a sense there was no legal marriage or legal family. In many cases there were no marriage performances. In cases of marriage ceremonies they were not of such a nature as to impress the Negro with the sanctity of the relationship in marriage. Marriage was in general nothing more than
sex association with the consent of the master. The breaking of this tie was subject to the will of the master as well as the forming of the union. There were no civil rights connected with these unions; fornication, adultery, bigamy carried no punishment, for such was a common practice fostered by slavery. Illicit sex relation between the races was established if there was relation.

High birth rates were an economic advantage for the slave owner. The greater reproduction the larger the profit. Sex irregularities of the slave woman were encouraged. In many cases slave women were purchased because they were known to be good breeders. Slave families of from fifteen to twenty-five children were not unknown.

The typical home was a one room log cabin, generally without windows. The single door served for light, ventilation, exit and entrance. The cabin gave no privacy; all ages and both sexes occupied a single room.¹

Negro Family Life Following Emancipation

The period following the emancipation of the slaves was one of general disorder and readjustment. For the past two hundred and fifty years there had been no family ties among the Negroes. The organization of the family had to be developed among the Negroes, as slavery had offered no opportunity for its development.

Freedom gave an opportunity to develop a stable sex and family life; yet it also offered opportunity for unlimited sex indulgence and family disorder. The early part of the period following slavery was one of great family disorganization. Due to lack of established ideals, the native driving force took sway. Sex promiscuity was fairly general.

¹ Reuter, E. B. Op. Cit., 216
Out of the sex promiscuity of the post-war days there gradually appeared an increasing number of stable families. Along with stable families naturally developed higher ideals and personal sex standards. The development was slow as the chances for decent life were few.

Family ideals are acquired by the individuals only as a result of training and the development of other qualities. The families became more and more organized as education and better home conditions made possible the more careful rearing of children.  

**Origin Of Race Prejudice**

There has been a prevailing popular opinion that race prejudice was instinctive. The study of modern sociologists and psychologists has disclosed the fact that there is no biological basis for race antagonism - it is not rooted in primitive instinct. Race prejudice is the result of suggestion and education of the adults. If race hatred were instinctive, children without any experience of race discrimination would abhor members of other races. The conclusion of the sociologist is that race prejudice is not biological but socially "inherited".  

**Race Discrimination In America**

Race prejudice against the Negro in American is a heritage from slavery, yet it is a development of freedom. During the days of the bondage of legal slavery, the Negro accepted his position with little opposition. He was of a minority race with no training; racial unity was especially curtailed by the management of the slave owners to avoid uprisings.

1. Reuter, E. B. "The American Race Problem" - P. 204-206
2. (Oldham, J. A. "Christianity and the Race Problem
   Mathews, B. "Clash of Colon" - P. 212, 122
As long as he accepted this level there was no place for racial antagonism. The personality of the Negro was the least of the consideration. He was a means to an end, he was no longer desired when he had ceased to be an economic advantage. By the courts he was considered as property.

The sudden emancipation of the slaves destroyed the economic and social organization of the South. The caste order that the institution of slavery had developed was left without legal support. The former master and the former slave were made legally equal.

There was no outstanding change in the relationship of the Negro and the white man until the generation that survived slavery had passed off the scene. The freed man in most instances continued to look upon the white man as his master or superior, and the white man in turn continued to look upon the Negro as his inferior. But with the death of the old masters and their former slaves, the basis of the old order disappeared and a new order made its appearance. That sentimental bond weakened, the relation of the races took on a different meaning with those individuals who had not known slavery.

The change in legal status brought the Negro and the white laboring class into individual competition and increased the traditional hatred of these groups. There were added sources of friction as the Negroes advanced in wealth, education and self-respect. The servile attitude of the Negro was known and accepted, the independent and self-respecting Negro was intolerable.

As the races drifted apart in sympathy and understanding, prejudice increased. This prejudice was in part a prejudice of race and in part a

1. Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problem" - P. 148-149
prejudice of caste. The fear of the Negro was partly a vague uneasiness respecting his behavior. "In the South the important prejudice was against the Negro out of his traditional status. There was a fixed conception of the place of the Negro in the social order and a dislike for him in any other relation.... The caste prejudice is not a dislike of the Negro as a person but a dislike for him in certain relations. The prejudice expresses itself as an intolerant insistence upon the customary caste relations."  

There was an effort to re-enslave or curtail the Negroes' freedom by disfranchisement. There was grave effort to keep him in "his place" by not allowing him to participate in community life.

The attitude toward Negroes is quite different in countries where they have not been enslaved. In countries where the attitude toward the Negro as an inferior, or a slave, has not been handed down from generation to generation, the Negro's acceptance on an equal social and economic basis is not intolerable.

Comparison Of The Disorganization Of The Negro And White Families

The common way of measuring family disorganization is in terms of divorce, desertion, poverty, child delinquency and illiteracy. There is no accurate measure for family disorganization - yet accurate statistics may be obtained on some of the phases of family disorganization.

Divorce is only a legal acknowledgment of what has already taken place in the family. The mere fact that the divorce records show a higher

1. Ibid - P. 147.
percentage of divorce in the United States than in Europe does not certify that there is more disorganization in the United States. The mere fact that divorce records show more divorce cases among the Negro families than among the white families does not necessarily mean that there is more family disorganization.

Yet the Negro family has every indication that there may be more family disorganization, considering the pressure that is brought to bear on the Negro family because of discrimination. There are many factors involved that encourage family disorganization. The percentage of Negro mothers working out of the home exceeds that of the white family. The child delinquency rate is found to be higher in percentage. Poverty, unemployment and discrimination result in poor housing conditions. Discrimination encourages illiteracy and limits opportunity for development. Considering further the short history of the American Negro family, we may say that it is in the embryo stage and has had little time or opportunity for complete and proper adjustment.
Chapter 1 - Discrimination Against The Father In Employment

The economic factor plays no small part in family disorganization. Property is necessary for the development of human personality. The reports of investigations show that the percentage of family disorganization is greater among families that are forced to live on the poverty level than among those families where the necessities of life, in addition to some recreations, are possible. The percentage of Negro dependents upon charity is probably higher than of other races. This is due largely to the unequal distribution of labor.

The Negro is compelled to meet the usual difficulties of labor as well as the opposition of the white working man. The progress that the Negro has made has been under the handicaps of discrimination and this discrimination has increased, rather than decreased, as the Negro has entered the skilled and semi-skilled industries. The history of the attitude of organized labor in the United States is ample evidence of that fact.

"In spite of the handicaps of the Negro worker, which include, besides his color, traditions that have arisen regarding his lack of native mechanical ability and a large list of undesirable characteristics that are supposed to be inherited in his racial heritage, he shows a persistent tendency to move forward into any field of occupation where an opportunity is given him." 1

1. Dutcher, D. "Negro In Industrial Society" - P. 40
Industrial Status of the Negro

In order that the problems of Negro workers and organized labor may be seen more clearly, it is necessary to outline the industrial status of the Negro group. The pressure that slavery exerted upon the white laboring class began to be released by the end of the nineteenth century. Jobs that were classed as "Negro jobs", and which no white man would accept, are now steadily being filled by white workers. The increased competition between the two groups has led to the exclusion of the minority group in practically all occupational lines except domestic service and agriculture.

In the North we find that the foreign immigrants are replacing the Negro in the unskilled industrial positions while the German, English, Irish, Swedes and Greeks are making severe inroads upon the traditional occupations as domestic workers, caterers, bootblacks, butlers and other jobs that were commonly held by Negroes. Thus we find the Negro being reduced to a most insignificant status in all occupational groupings other than agriculture and domestic service.

The 1920 census shows that the 11,650,000 Negroes in the United States, representing 9.9 percent, do approximately 12 percent of all the work. If, however, the chances for occupation were equal to that of other groups, we would find a change in the occupational distribution. On the basis of the amount of work to be done, the statistical chart will show that the Negro is over-employed in agriculture and domestic service and under-employed in other occupational classes that offer a
PART 11

ECONOMIC PHASE
greater advantage for higher economic status. The amount of under-
employment among Negroes increased in Trade, Public Service, Prof-
essional Service and Clerical work between 1910 to 1920. 1

**TABLE 1**

Percent of Underemployment and Overemployment of Negro Workers in Major Occupational Groupings 1910 and 1920 and Percent of Change in these Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Groupings</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1910 - 1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraction of Minerals</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Service</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and Personal Service</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Work</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Negro Membership in American Labor Unions - Ira DeA Reid
Labor Unions

In the early days of the labor movement, fostered by the American Federation of Labor, the democratic sentiment was so great that there was little evidence of any discrimination of color. Local unions and national trade organizations manifested a liberal spirit.

Gradually local unions changed their attitude toward the Negro worker; thus the policy of the American Federation was being trimmed to suit local conditions. Its democratic welcome was changed to the policy of separation along racial lines. Foreigners were accepted in the regular union organizations but Negroes were segregated into separate labor unions. 1

The federal convention passed a resolution condemning the statement that the union was placing obstacles in the way of the Negro worker. It was stated that affiliated unions had no right to segregate Negroes. This resolution was passed at the convention of 1897.

In spite of these resolutions, discrimination was actually in practice and this practice seriously affected the economic status of the Negro. It was in 1900 that the President of the Labor Union suggested that local unions composed of Negroes be established and separate central bodies composed of Negroes should be established where it was deemed necessary.

The Convention of 1902 provided for this step constitutionally. Thus, another step was taken in the separation of the races in their

labor organization. We get an idea of the difficulties the Negro
family encounters economically when we consider that the trade
unions, which control the best paying jobs, exclude him.

Today no less than twenty-four national and international
unions, ten of which are affiliated with the American Federation
of Labor, exclude Negroes from their membership through provision
in their constitution or ritual.

The policy of the American Federation of Labor forbids any
affiliated organization to retain in their constitution any discrimi-
nation against Negroes. The boilermakers and machinists accomplish
this exclusion by a pledge which forms a part of the ritual and binds
each member to propose only white workers for membership to the Union.2

Many unions affiliated with the Federal Union have not exercised
the caution exercised by the machinist.

The railway and steamship clerks admit "all white persons." The
dining car conductors require that their members be of "caucasian race".
The sleeping car conductors restrict their membership to "white males
sober and industrious." The railway conductors make their requirement
for entrance "any white man" who can satisfy the additional requirements.
The locomotive engineers, express workers, expressmen, firemen and en-
gine men, railroad workers, switchmen, railroad telegraphers, commercial

1. Ibid - P. 259
2. Wolfe, F. E. "Admission to American Trade Unions" - P. 494
telegraphers, train dispatchers, trainmen, both unions of yardmasters, mates, masters and pilots, and the Neptune Associates specify that their members must be white.

The Wire Weavers Association not only requires that their members be "white" and "Christian" but requires foreigners to pay an entrance fee of one thousand dollars.¹

As a result of exclusive policies adopted by these unions, not less than two hundred and twenty-five thousand Negro workers are denied trade union affiliation and its attendant benefits.

There are unions which permit affiliation through auxiliary bodies, although full privilege of membership is denied.

A special provision is made for the Negro members in the Constitution of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. It provides that colored workers "shall be entitled to all the benefits and protection guaranteed by the Constitution to members and shall be represented in a grand lodge by delegates of their own choice selected from any white lodge in the area where they are employed." Nothing in this section operates to prevent Negro employees from maintaining a separate lodge for social purposes.²

Certain agreements, examinations and local determination of eligibility of membership serve as a deterrent against Negroes being included in many labor unions. The plumbers have never made an issue on the admittance of Negroes; yet it is generally conceded that they

1. Reid, Ira D. "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions" - P. 35
are not admitted. Despite persistent effort by Negro plumbers in Philadelphia, New York and Chicago to secure membership, they have not succeeded.

The Electrical Workers maintain no constitutional clause regarding Negro membership - but no Negroes are known to be members except in Chicago. The early attitude of the organization was made known through an editorial appearing in the Electrical Workers' Journal in 1903. The editor wrote, "We do not want the Negro in the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers, but we think that they should organize in locals of their own, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as the organization knows no creed nor color." ¹

Labor unions prevent the entrance of Negro labor into selected employment to any measurable degree. These unions controlled the skilled labor as well as the semi-skilled and unskilled; the organization is to foster the interest and protection of its members. The negro is seldom a member of the Union. The idea has been current among white working men that the Negro should be crushed and eliminated whenever their labor seems to compete with that of a white man. ²

Through strike breaking the Negro has been able to obtain employment in industries that formerly did not admit him, the only reason for his employment being the employer's inability to secure any other labor. The inducement of higher wages, shorter hours and better working con-

¹. The Electrical Workers - Op. 1903, P. 102
². Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P. 243
ditions than he previously had were more powerful arguments than the immorality of preventing the rise of the laboring group then on a strike. Whatever the difference between white labor and capital may be, they seem to agree on one thing; that Negro workers are not entitled to the same privileges as white workers. The end of the strike often means that the Negro is again out of work.¹

The Negro workers are often advised by leaders to remain out of the labor unions when they are given a chance to join. It is true that the Negro has in some cases profited by his exclusion from the Union. Since the policy of the union is to insist on uniform wages, the Negro, by joining the Union, would lose all chances for employment. If compelled to pay the same wage to Negroes as to white workers few, if any, employees would employ Negro labor.²

It has been said that the greatest obstacle before the Negro laborers is the Labor Union. Seldom Negroes are received as apprentices and when they are employed as helpers they are prevented from receiving promotion according to merit.³

In the judgment of B. W. Bagnall, of the N.A.A.C.P., the industrial discrimination against Negroes is more economic than social.

Race hatred is not nearly so deep rooted as we think. When work is plentiful, and there is a shortage of workers, both white employers and white employees conveniently forget their prejudices and willingly accept colored workers on a job. However, when work is slack the racial prejudice revives in full force.

¹ Reid, Ira D. "Negro Membership in Labor Unions" - P.165-166; 243-244
² Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P.244
³ The Negro Artisan - P.145
Limited Field of Labor

T. J. Woofter finds, in his study of the economic problems of the Negro, that the lack of opportunity to advance in some plants is due to the following reasons:

1. Union control of certain occupations that do not admit Negroes
2. Belief that the Negro is incapable of skilled labor
3. Unwillingness to mix white and Negro workers in the higher levels and the ability to separate them at the common lower level
4. Lack of seniority of Negro employees
5. Increasing political pressure in the South

A survey of the economic conditions of the South disclosed the fact that opportunities for Negro workers are decreasing. At the present time the Negro does not work with white carpenters and does not construct new buildings for the white. White contractors no longer hire Negro carpenters as was the custom two decades ago. It seems that white contractors refrain from employing Negro carpenters because of the pressure that is brought to bear on the contractors by white carpenters. Efficiency is not the standard for selection.

Another situation also arising from the pressure of the white population on jobs is the displacement of Negroes in positions where political pressure can be brought to bear, such as municipal employment. It was revealed in New Orleans that applicants for a street

repair job were not considered unless they were voters, and in Atlanta the City Sanitary Department has replaced all Negroes with whites so that white men are sweeping the streets and removing the garbage in Negro sections. This tendency seems to be quite general in all sections of the country.\(^1\) Negro table waiters are being replaced by white workers, and in other cases Negro women are displacing the working men as the women may be employed for lower wages.

A number of factors for which the Negroes are in no way responsible have operated severely to limit their occupational field. Popular prejudice often prevents the advancement of competent men. To advance a competent Negro worker to a position that is superior to many white workers, would antagonize the latter and thus tend to reduce the efficiency of the plant.

Work that implies association on an equal basis with white employees is seldom open to the entrance of Negroes. If the work is of such a nature that the employee must meet customers in any capacity, other than the menials, the Negro has no chance for employment. Only white people are employed as sales people, conductors, motormen on street cars and the like when white people are largely the customers or patronizers.\(^2\)

The tragedy of human waste is nowhere more outstanding than in the case of Negro employment. Negroes who have latent capacity

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1. Ibid - P.37
2. Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P.242
for other jobs are turned into the "blind alley" jobs. The present order offers them little or no encouragement and less opportunity. Schools do not see the wisdom of training Negro pupils in skilled crafts for there is no opportunity for placing them after they are trained. The employers will not hire them because they are not trained.

Many employers give as their reason for not employing Negroes the fear that the white union workers would walk out if Negroes were employed. Union workers have been known to walk off the jobs when a Negro fellow unionist was employed.

**Unemployment**

In times of depressions or industrial crisis men are laid off from work. Usually, the first to be laid off are chiefly members of the Negro race. In any consideration of general unemployment, the Negro is apt to be forgotten.

A recent survey of Philadelphia and Buffalo confirms this. The Buffalo study showed that the unemployment among Negroes was 17.8 percent against a total of 10.8 percent.¹

The preponderance of Negro unemployment is due to a number of causes. In almost any community, when jobs are scarce, work is given to white workers in case of vacancies; but worse than this a wide spread tendency is observed to replace Negro workers with white

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¹ Woofter, T. J. "A Study of the Economic Status of the Negro" - P.58
workers. White girls have replaced Negro waiters, hotel workers, elevator operators. In the drought-affected areas of the South West, the Negroes stripped of their employment have drifted to cities – and found no work there.

The investigation of the Urban League discloses a report of various cities on the unemployment of the Negro during the depression. Akron, Ohio, reports forty-five percent of the population to be Negroes and twenty-five percent of the relief cases Negroes; Baltimore, for the same relationship, reports seventeen and thirty-four percent respectively; Des Moines, Iowa, reports four percent of the population Negroes and twenty-five percent Negroes of the total unemployment; Houston, Texas, for the same relation reports twenty-five and fifty percent respectively; Englewood, New Jersey, stands at the bottom of the list with eighteen percent of the population Negroes and ninety-two percent Negroes of the relief cases reported and St. Louis, Missouri, comes second with nine percent of the population Negroes, sixty-six percent Negroes of the total unemployed, and sixty percent Negroes of the families needing and receiving relief.¹

For some reason Madison, Wisconsin, shows itself to be the workers' paradise by reporting briefly that State work is available for any citizen regardless of race or color.

The measures of relief for the Negro are almost entirely confined to charity, and when any race is faced with such a grave economic

¹. "Notion" (April 22, 1931) P.422
problem, it is in an alarming state of threatening disintegration.¹

"A new note in the prejudice against the Negro was struck when the City Council of Richmond, Virginia, in 1902 threatened to take a job from the white contractor because he employed Negro workingmen."²

In the South, racial friction and competition for trade are interlocked. The white working men who felt the stress of Negro competition are much more bitter in their hostility to the Negro than the employer. In many instances employers express themselves as not being opposed to hiring Negro labor, but the hostility between the working class toward the Negro does not warrant the employment of the Negro.

In some instances, the white artisan refused to work with them under the same foreman although performing the same labor. A case in point was the refusal of white pavement layers to work on a job in Atlanta streets. The workers were not satisfied until the work went on under different foremen with each group separated by one hundred yards.³ The Atlanta riot of 1906 was promoted by economic warfare between the races.

Even lynchings are based on economic factors. A few lynchings in a community are enough to hamper any aggressiveness on the part of

1. Ibid - 422
2. Green and Woodson "The Negro Wage Earner" - P.184
3. Ibid - P.185
the Negroes and make them work for whatever wages they can get.

**Type of Employment**

The type of employment open to Negroes does not include the most desirable jobs. As it has been indicated in Table 1, the greater percentage of Negro workers are engaged in domestic and personal service and agriculture. Both of these occupations require long hours with little compensation.

Jobs that require manual labor are most common among the Negroes. The working period of a day usually covers ten hours. Long working days make leisure, amusement and rest almost impossible. Long hours, as well as inadequate income, has its place in family disorganization. One who is over-worked from day to day loses his youthfulness and physical ability much earlier than one who has had adequate leisure and rest. An over-worked father can hardly have sympathy with even the noise of his children, to say nothing of the extra tension that must be brought to bear on a poverty stricken family.

**Inadequate Income**

It is admitted without question that the Negro people, as a race, are employed in occupations that afford low wages; but discrimination of wages goes a step further than this. Wages received by Negro workers are, in the main, lower than the wages of white workers even for the same type of work. There are many explanations offered for this; chief among them is the statement that the standard of living of the Negro worker is lower. As a result, the wages of Negroes reach a substitute level. The Negro has been able to live on less than the
white worker because his income has compelled him to do so. The Negro usually receives the same wages as other workers when employed in an industrial plant under the same operation; but working exclusively as a racial group in a department of a business, (as, for an example, an all Negro force of janitors, stock girls, shipping clerks) their pay is apt to be less than that received by the whites. This is an arrangement that assures Negroes work that they would not otherwise get, as it offers the employer a saving in wages. Even union membership does not always remove the lower wage, for unions sometime permit a double standard.1

The most complete data on variation of wages of white and Negro labors is shown in the reports of the Commissioner of Labor of Virginia. A variance of the average daily wages is shown to vary as listed in Table II

### TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variations of Wages of Negro and White Workers</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick layers</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>9.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricians</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment workers</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpers</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>3.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lathers</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterers</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>9.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers and gas fitters</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters and decorators</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet metal workers</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaters and tile setters</td>
<td>8.37</td>
<td>4.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam fitters</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>8.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1927 the Bureau of Labor Statistics made a study of wages and hours in cotton compressing. This study included the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. The sixty-seven establishments included four thousand and seventy-one males and one hundred and six female workers, two thousand eight hundred and seventy-three males were Negroes and all the females were Negroes. The results of the investigation were as follows on the average earnings:

**TABLE III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Per Hour</th>
<th>Per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>$0.400</td>
<td>$24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>0.284</td>
<td>16.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighers and Checkers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.475</td>
<td>29.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>14.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openers (dinky press)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.250</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>0.300</td>
<td>17.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truckers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>16.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>14.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samplers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.464</td>
<td>27.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>0.328</td>
<td>18.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In no one of the ten states considered were the earnings of the Negro workers equal to those of the white workers, but in the States of Alabama and South Carolina the actual earnings of Negroes were shown
to be less than one half that of white workers. In Texas, where Mexican workers were used, earnings per week for whites were twenty-six dollars and ninety-seven cents; Negroes, twenty dollars and fifteen cents; Mexicans, seventeen dollars and thirty-seven cents.  

The poverty of the Negro race is, to a great extent, due to discrimination of opportunities. Race discrimination, because of its influence on the income of the family, plays a tremendous part in family disorganization. There is probably no factor that produces more causes for family disorganization than poverty. The low wages received by the Negro makes decent family life impossible. Discrimination in occupational opportunities produces family disorganization because it causes the family to be housed in crowded dilapidated houses; it forces mothers out of the home in an effort to supplement the father's income; it makes people helpless and causes them to abandon hope.

1. Reid, Ira D. "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions" - P.18-19
CHAPTER II

Mothers Who Must Earn

Why Mothers Work

The Women's Bureau of the United States has made, perhaps, the most competent study of mothers who work; and they answer in no uncertain terms as to why mothers work. Their conclusion is that married women are entering employment for one purpose only - to provide necessities for their families and to raise their standard of living. ¹

Hundreds of Negro mothers are finding it necessary to supplement their husbands' earnings in order to give their children the physical necessities of life.

Until money for essentials is at least in sight, the best of mothers are likely to have their thoughts on the tangibles of economics rather than upon the child's recreational needs.

The social phenomenon of bread winning mothers is closely related to low-paid fathers. An interesting and suggestive graph is produced in the Manchester report on infant mortality which shows that the employment of mothers fell sharply as the wages of the father were raised. When the fathers were earning less than four hundred and fifty dollars a year, nearly seventy-five percent of the mothers were forced into gainful employment. When the men's wages had risen from five hundred and forty dollars to six hundred and forty-nine dollars, the percentage of mothers employed had sunken from seventy-five to fifty-five percent.

In the group in which the fathers were earning one thousand and fifty dollars and over, only ten percent of the mothers were bread winners. This speaks its self for the situation of such a large percent of mothers in employment. ²

¹ Hatch, O. L. "Occupation for Women" - P.208
² Goodsell, N. "Problems of the Family" - P.162
Since the economic conditions of the Negro family are more distressing, and the wages of the Negro fathers are much lower than for the general population, one might assume without any scientific investigation that the percentage of Negro mothers gainfully employed would exceed that of the gainfully employed white mothers. Statistics would indicate that this is a natural sequence. Negro mothers constitute a larger percentage of workers than the white mothers, not because they are more industrious by nature but because the economic pressure, as a whole, is much greater. The low wage scale of the father necessitates the gainful employment of the mother.

The census of 1920 for the general population for both sexes showed that the percentage of Negro employment was a little higher than the percentage of workers for the white population. The percentage of foreign born white employed was 57.4; native white of native parents, 46.6; Negroes, 59.9; yet the percentage for the employment of Negro men fell below that of either of the other groups. The high percentage of Negro employment was accounted for by the high rate of employment among the women.\footnote{Reuter, E. B. "America's Race Problems" - P.229}

Often times it is much easier for the wife to secure employment than the husband. The competition of the Negro women in gainful employment is not so great as the competition of the Negro men. It is found that Negro men are being displaced by white men; and in some instances Negro women are displacing the Negro men as the women may be employed for a lower wage. During the present unemployment crisis, the employ-
ment of the male population of the Negroes has been reduced to a very low percentage.

Both groups of Negro women, the unmarried as well as the married, are shown to be higher in percentage of employment. Table IV shows the percentage of married women from fourteen to forty-five years of age who were gainfully employed in the United States in 1920:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Population</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native white of native parents</td>
<td>707,503</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born white</td>
<td>296,684</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>692,684</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese &amp; Japanese</td>
<td>4,728</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of Negro mothers gainfully employed was shown to be 44.9 percent, excluding that of both native and foreign born white mothers whose percentages were 19.4 and 26.6 respectively. The percentage of gainfully employed women indicates the economic position of the race. The employment of the mother is directly dependent upon the income of the father.

Family disorganization shows close correlation to the employment of mothers. The absence of the mother in the home upsets the balance of the family life. The double responsibility affects her attitude as well as her health. It is the child who is the most neglected.

Types of Employment

A recent study of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Commerce offers perhaps the most complete study of the Negro women in industry.
The fifteen states considered showed conditions that are common to all states. There were seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-four women employed in six hundred and eighty-two establishments. Four thousand eight hundred and fifty of this number were engaged in sweeping, cleaning or in laundries, hotels or restaurants. The remaining twelve thousand one hundred and twenty-three were in two hundred and fifty-one manufacturing plants and one hundred and sixty-one were in sixty-one general mercantile establishments. It is found that Negro women are shifting their occupations to a large extent toward manufacturing plants.

New comers usually make their entrance into industry through the least desirable trades or processes. This is especially true of the Negro women, as they had to overcome discrimination based on sex as well as race.

The report of the Women's Bureau shows this fact evident in the study of the fifteen states. The largest group — six thousand four hundred and eleven or 52.2 percent — was working with tobacco and tobacco products. The greater part of this work is exceedingly disagreeable. The next largest group was engaged in slaughtering and meat packing. This was the dirtiest, roughest and most disagreeable operation in which any women were employed in the industries surveyed. As the jobs became more desirable and required less manual labor, the percentage of Negro women employed decreased.¹

¹ Monthly Labor — "Negro women in Industry" S.1925, P.554
All Negro women gainfully employed do not come under the head of industry. A small percent may be found in professional occupations. This study will apply to the laboring class as they constitute the majority.

**Inadequate Leisure**

Under no conditions is the employment of the mothers outside the home an ideal situation. And the long hours and poorly paid wages make the situation very undesirable.

The type of employment in which the average Negro mother is engaged, adequate leisure and recreation are impossible. With the exception of those who are employed as part-time workers, the hours range from eight to thirteen hours per day.

A typical hour schedule is shown by the survey of the Women's Bureau. The distribution of the eleven thousand nine hundred and twenty-three women reported in industries is shown in Table V:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table V</th>
<th>Hour Schedule for Industries of Fifteen States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under eight hours</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight hours</td>
<td>1,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over eight hours and under nine</td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine hours</td>
<td>3,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over nine hours and under ten</td>
<td>1,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten hours</td>
<td>3,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ten and under eleven hours</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven hours</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over eleven and under twelve hours</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen hours</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Over half of the workers had hour schedules of nine to thirteen hours. Over one-fourth of these workers were married women. Probably a large percent of them were mothers. Children in the home increase the necessity of the mothers working outside of the home. Most women whether married or single have responsibilities at home in addition to their work outside the home which further decreases the amount of leisure.

**Inadequate Salaries**

The mother enters gainful employment with the hope of solving the economic problems of the family, or at least aiding in furnishing physical comforts.

The income is too small to be a very substantial aid considering the loss to the family in so many other ways.

A survey of five thousand five hundred and fifty-eight women in eleven states gives an estimation of the best paid Negro laboring women. In stating the report of these salaries, the figures for the median salaries will be given. The median means that one-half the women reported earned less and one-half earned more than the stated amount.

In four states the median of the week's earnings of all the women reported in these states was five dollars and seventy cents or less. In two states it was eleven dollars and thirty cents or more; earnings in the other five states ranged from six dollars and ten cents to eight dollars and twenty-five cents. The highest year's earnings were one thousand one hundred and thirty-nine dollars received by a meat trimmer.
in 1920; in 1922 a hand sewer in a bag factory received eight hundred and ninety-two dollars and in the same year a machine operator in a metal plant received seven hundred and forty-seven dollars.¹

Effect of the Employment of Mothers

Family disorganization is in many cases due to the neglect of the home because of the employment of the mother. The normal family life is upset when the mother is taken out of the home daily. The effects are shown in the health of the mother as well as the health of the children. The employment of the mother usually results in the total neglect of the home and children.

The nervous strain of carrying the double responsibility of home work and outside work will, most likely, make the mother irritable beyond what she would be if she stayed at home. This is especially true if she feels that she is not able to give justice to either. When one is over-worked, the tension is much greater than when one is well rested. A tired mother at the end of the day usually has to put forth effort to be patient with either the children or the father.

A careful study revealed that infant mortality is greater among families of employed mothers than families of non-employed mothers. There are no available statistics for the mortality rate in proportion to the employment of mothers for the Negro family, but a study of one thousand six hundred and forty-three mothers in the Manchester report shows the close relation of child mortality and employed mothers.²

¹ United States Department of Labor Bulletin #70, Women's Bureau, P.47-48
² Goodsell, W. "Problems of the Family" - P.157
The employment of mothers results in a high death rate among children, due to artificial feeding of the child as well as to the neglect of the mother's care. Most mothers are ignorant of the proper proportion of the baby's milk. Artificial feeding is not only harmful because it does not supply the proper nourishment, but it is, in many cases, found to be unclean due to carelessness of the mother or for lack of time to properly sterilize the utensils used in preparation of the food.

If the community provided adequate day nurseries, the child might be properly cared for in the absence of the mother. Day nurseries for the relief of Negro mothers are very few; in cities where they may be found, they are too few and far apart to offer great assistance to the mother.

The low wages of the father reacts unfavorably upon the infant's death rate in at least two ways. They are chiefly responsible for the high percentage of employed mothers who are unable to give their infants proper care or breast feeding; and, also, they are responsible for the bad housing conditions and over-crowding that are inevitable accompaniments of poverty.¹

¹. Ibid, 163

**Neglect of the Children**

The absence of the mother generally means neglected home conditions. A mother who works from eight to ten hours each day finds
that she has but little energy to perform her duties as a wife and mother. She is only at home to see her children to bed.

A survey of the south side schools of Chicago with the largest Negro enrollment shows that of the sixteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-one pupils present on the day of the count, five thousand six hundred and ninety-eight (or 33.5 percent of the pupils) were left to themselves "either all the day or a part of the day" because their parents worked. And four thousand nine hundred and four (or 29.5 percent of the pupils) "did not eat their breakfast or lunch, or both, at home." 1

In the absence of the mother, the small children are left to the care of the older children who are often no more than ten years of age. Many small children are left at home in bed with their bottle of milk, without any care whatever. The mother often rushes off and leaves only the left overs from the last meal for the children, or often, too, much food may be left for these small children. More Negro children fall victim to these conditions than the children of other groups, for more Negro mothers are forced out of the home for work.

The children are left alone to choose their recreation. Delinquency is found to be greatest in families where the mothers are gainfully employed. Judges and court workers without exception refer to the economic factor as perhaps the chief contributing cause of excessive delinquency among Negro children. 2

1. Woofter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P. 492
2. Woofter, T. J. "Negro Race Problems" - P. 227
Race discrimination causes low wages and the consequent inability of the father to support the family; this results in both parents leaving the home to work so that neither can be at home when the children should be sent to school. The children return home before the parents; they find no systematized recreation to attract their attention and the consequence is they drift into trouble. It is recognized, however, that the percentage reflects, to some extent, the tendency on the part of the police to arrest Negroes more frequently than they arrest others.¹

When the economic conditions of the home are such that the mother must work, the unity of the family is endangered. This condition can not be changed unless the fathers are given a fairer chance to receive a living family wage. As long as the present attitude of the labor unions, toward the Negro, prevails there is little hope for the solution of the economic problem of the Negro family. When the wages of the fathers have been raised, the percentage of mothers gainfully employed will decrease and the ties of the family will be firmer. Nothing affects the attitude, or temperament of the mother more than overfatigue; the attitude and temperament of the individual members govern the unity of the family. Since this is true, the unity of the Negro family must be endangered as long as the mothers are employed outside of the home.

¹ Ibid, P. 228
PART III

EDUCATION
CHAPTER I  Inadequate Public Schools

As the Negro family has advanced educationally, family disorganization has decreased. Child delinquency and mortality are in part results of the illiteracy of parents. As a race advances in culture, family ideals become higher, and the family ties become stronger.

Race discrimination has not aided in the advancement of the Negro people, but it has tended to hamper, or serve as a stumbling block, in the progress of the race.

Education for the Negro was not recommended during slavery. It was feared that if his illiteracy was reduced, he would become better organized and revolt against the system of slavery.

During the period of reconstruction by the aid of the Freedman's Bureau, the Negro was given his first advantages of education. Teachers from the North constituted his first instructors. Even until today the education of the Negro receives secondary consideration from the state in the South.

In comparison with the schools for the white, the Negro schools have more pupils per teacher, fewer teachers, poorer salaries, fewer and smaller playgrounds and less adequate provisions for the health and comfort of the pupils and teacher. In practice this policy toward the Negro schools is based on a feeling that less care and attention must suffice. The traditional attitude has been one of opposition to education at public expenses. And the education of Negroes has been considered as useless as well as "dangerous" to white society.

1. Wootter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P. 201
The opposition to Negro education was intensified by political events following the freeing of the slaves. There was a period of reaction as soon as the reconstruction sections were restored to regular relations with the United States government. The schools for the Negro people were separated from the schools for the white. The expenditure for Negro education was reduced to the minimum in an effort to keep the Negro in "his place."

There is but little encouragement for the Negro as a race in seeking higher education. In the North, the openings for his entry into professions are limited. The percentage of Negro teachers employed in the northern cities is very small in comparison with the Negro population. In the South where separate schools exist, employment is available for trained Negroes, but in most cases the salaries are too meager to justify the amount of time and money that these teachers spent in receiving their training. In some of the southern cities the janitors receive as high a salary as the teachers; this does not indicate that the janitors are over-paid but that the teachers are under-paid. Many Negro teachers find it necessary to spend their vacation in domestic service or hotel work to supplement their meager salaries.

**Financial Support**

The schedule for teachers' salaries for the white and Negro is strikingly contrasting. The salary schedule of Lexington provides a

1. Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P. 271
minimum of one thousand dollars for white elementary teachers and a maximum of nine hundred dollars for colored elementary teachers.

The minimum for white high school teachers is fourteen hundred dollars while the maximum for colored high school teachers is twelve hundred dollars.\(^1\) In New Orleans the minimum salary for white elementary teachers is twelve hundred dollars. The maximum is seventeen hundred and fifty dollars for teachers without a degree; an additional one hundred and fifty dollars is given for holders of the Bachelor's Degree, and an additional one hundred and fifty dollars for holders of the Master's Degree or a maximum of twenty-one hundred and fifty dollars. The minimum salary for the colored elementary teacher is one thousand dollars, the maximum is fifteen hundred and fifty dollars for teachers without degrees. Negro teachers holding degrees formerly received additional pay, as indicated above for the white teachers, but this has been discontinued. In the high schools white teachers receive a minimum of fourteen hundred dollars and the holders of the Bachelor's Degree receive the maximum of thirty-three hundred dollars. Negro high school teachers holding the Bachelor's Degree receive from one thousand dollars to twenty-three hundred dollars.\(^2\)

The reports of the Educational Bureau reveal a vast inequality in the appropriation for teachers' salaries per capita for white and Negro teachers.

2. Ibid, P. 206
children. Table VI shows these inequalities for the fifteen Southern States in 1923-1924: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>9.41</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>12.61</td>
<td>7.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>11.50</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>13.73</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>13.59</td>
<td>6.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>14.21</td>
<td>9.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>10.08</td>
<td>5.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>9.64</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In no state is the per capita appropriation for teachers' salaries for Negroes equal to that of the white teachers. South Carolina ranks lowest in this phase with a ratio of a fraction less than one to ten.

The amount that is used to foster Negro education is almost wholly dependent on the racial sentiment of the white trustee board. The sentiment that prevails is manifested by the unequal distribution of appropriation for the races. In many instances, the salaries are much lower than the appropriations.

In 1916 the average annual salary in the public schools for Negroes ranged from one hundred and ten dollars and fifty-four cents in South Carolina to three hundred and ten dollars and five cents in Kentucky.¹

The low salary schedule attracts, in a great many cases, untrained teachers as trained teachers refuse to work for such meager salaries. When one receives hardly a living wage the best service is often not given. Poor pay and poor services usually go hand in hand.

Various philanthropic agencies have contributed toward the education of the Negro. These agencies have done much good but in many instances the trustee boards have taken advantage of these donations toward Negro education by using the treasury of the school fund almost wholly toward the improvement of the white schools and the Negro schools, despite the vast donations by philanthropists, remain practically on the same level.

**Buildings and Equipment**

The buildings that house Negro children of the South are, for the most part, old and in poor condition. The buildings and equipment of the

¹ Ibid, P. 274
rural schools are especially inadequate. The buildings are often hardly more than huts, poorly ventilated and poorly lighted.

The general practice of the rural trustee boards is to leave the heating of the building as the responsibility of the teacher. The extra curricula activities of the teacher are about as heavy as her regular class room work.

In many cases, no house is provided by the public fund; only the meager salary of the teacher is provided. In South Carolina, there are two thousand three hundred and fifty-four public schools for Negro children and only one thousand four hundred and forty-two public school buildings¹. The burden of supplying buildings for school purposes is left, in many cases, to the patrons of the community, despite the fact that they are tax payers. Lodge halls and church buildings are often used to house the pupils and teacher.

Many schools have no class room equipment. Maps, charts, globes and like equipment must be furnished by the teacher. No playground facilities are provided for by the public fund. Some recreation is often made possible by school clubs and the community.

In communities where the greatest inequalities are found in educational opportunities for the two races, race antagonism is usually very prominent in the community.

Urban Schools

The equipment of the urban Negro school, like the rural school, is found to be far below that of the standard for the white schools.

¹. Ibid, P. 274
Adequate provision for health and comfort by way of heating, lighting and ventilation and adequate toilets are found only in the newest buildings. And even the new buildings are often equipped with old heating plants, desks, manual training, cooking room equipment and the like, taken over from white schools that had received new equipment.\(^1\) It is not uncommon to find Negro schools occupying buildings that have been abandoned by white schools.

**Lower Standards For High Schools**

As the schools for Negro pupils become higher in grades, the standards become lower in the comparison of such items as salaries of teachers, laboratory equipment and adequate libraries. The contrast between Negro and white high schools is greater than the contrast between the Negro and white elementary schools.

All of the Negro elementary schools are not over-crowded and all of them have the same number of grades as the white elementary schools of the same cities (seven or eight years). This is not true in many cases with the high schools; most all of the high schools are over-crowded and many do not have the four year high school course.

Richmond did not begin to develop a high school for Negros until as late as 1920-1921 and did not have a modern high school building until 1922-1923. This building contains nine hundred and sixty-two seats. The enrollment for the second year was one thousand and thirty-two and in 1925-1926 the enrollment reached one thousand one hundred and ninety-six pupils. Lynchburg did not have a four-year high school for

\(^1\) Woofter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P.221
Negroes until 1920-1921. The Negro Industrial High School of Charleston is an eleven grade school adjoining the city dump heap. There was no colored high school in Atlanta until 1923-1924. The building was constructed to accommodate 1,000 pupils, but 1,565 enrolled on the opening day. The enrollment for 1926 was 2,215. In Memphis the Negro High School has been housed for the past 16 years by a building that was abandoned by a White elementary school 16 years ago. This is a common practise throughout the South. ¹

In many southern cities no provision is made for high school education from the public funds. In 1922 the whole state of Alabama furnished only four public high schools for Negroes, South Carolina only 5, Texas 40, Kentucky 20 and Missouri 10. ²

The Negro attempts to remedy his educational problem by fostering private institutions. In 1923 there were 106 private high schools for Negroes in 15 southern states. The schools enrolled 24,777 students. The property in buildings and grounds was reported as being worth $8,288,000, equipment worth $855,700 and permanent endowment amounting to $1,302,000. ³

In the northern, eastern and southern states the two races attend the same schools and have equal opportunities for training; but the large population of the race lives in the South and attend the segregated schools, hence the conditions of the South affect the majority of the race.

Crowded Conditions and Inadequate Number of Teachers

Over-crowding of class rooms is not confined to Negro schools alone but the practise is far more common and conditions are a great

¹. Ibid. Page 208
². Reuter, E. B. American Race Problem Page 276
³. Ibid Page 276
deal worse in the Negro Schools than in the White Schools. In addition to poor physical plants, over-crowded school rooms is the common practice in Negro Schools. A study of three typical counties in Alabama by the state supervisor of schools showed the seating capacity of 80 schools to be 3,794, the enrollment to be 6,391 and the attendance to be 5,832. The common practice is to place two pupils on single seats and three in double seats.

In many places the Negro children must attend part time schools to avoid congestion. The truant officers take no interest in the attendance of the Negro pupil. It seems as though the reverse should be true as more Negro Mothers are at work and unable to look after the attendance. The failure to enforce Negro children to attend school may be due to lack of interest of higher officials, since full attendance would add to the already over congested schools and make larger buildings absolutely necessary.

In many cases four year high school courses have not been added because an additional enrollment would necessitate larger buildings. In New Orleans, to alleviate over-crowded conditions the fourth year was cut out of the Negro High School.

"The number of pupils per teacher shows the inadequacy of facilities as well as the racial difference in opportunity. In sixteen southern states, the 8,150,448 White pupils had 174,980 teachers; one teacher for each 36 pupils; the 2,977,536 Negro pupils had 36,920 teachers; one teacher for each 56 pupils."2

This condition of the Negro Schools makes special attention to pupils almost impossible. The pupils of an over-worked teacher

1. Ibid Page 274
2. Reuter, E. E. American Race Problems Page 274
do not have the same opportunity for advancement as the pupils of a teacher with a normal teacher's load.

Causes of Retardation Among Negro Children

The causes for the retardation of Negro pupils seems to lie in the same factors of social heritage and environment that explains the retardation of White children.

One of the chief causes for retardation is late entrance into school life. This is due to the absence of school facilities to over-crowded schools, uneducated or indifferent parents, poverty of the parents and to numerous other causes.

Studies have shown that when kindergartens are maintained there is less retardation, over age and elimination from school in the elementary schools than where kindergartens are not provided. 1

This being true it is expected that the percentage of retard- ed Negro children would exceed that of the White children taken as a whole. The lack of kindergarten for the Negro child is shown by a study of eight principal southern cities. The school standards for these schools run far above the average standard of the southern city or town. The report is as shown in table VII.

TABLE VII

KINDERGARTENS IN EIGHT SOUTHERN CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston Salem</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Louisville the ratio of the population was shown to be 4.3 to 1.0 but there were 42 White kindergartens as against 7 for Negroes, a ratio of 6 to 1. Lexington was the only other city where a kindergarten was found. The school census showed that there were 4,876 White children and 4,319 Negro children.¹

The second important factor in the consideration of the retardation of Negro children is their previous educational opportunities. The investigation of the Chicago race commissioners disclosed the fact that the northern born Negro child had no higher retardation rate than White children. The great amount of retarded students were immigrants from the South where educational opportunities were very limited.¹

School terms in the South are on an average shorter than terms for the northern school for both races but a comparison shows that terms for Negro schools are shorter than those for White.¹

**TABLE IX**

LENGTH OF SCHOOL YEAR IN DAYS : SELECTED STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The family standards are dependent to a very large degree upon the intelligence of its members. Segregation and discrimination against the Negro places a severe handicap in the way of the advancement of the family and the entire race.

¹ Reuter E. B. American Race Problems  Page 284
The amount of illiteracy is shown to be inversely proportional to the amount spent for Negro education. Illiteracy in the South is found to be much higher than in the North and West. In Louisiana when the average annual expenditures for the education of the Negro children of school age was $3.47 the percentage of illiteracy in 1920 was 38.5 per cent. South Carolina with an expenditure of $2.06 per Negro child had an illiteracy rate of 29.3 per cent. In West Virginia the expenditure per Negro child was $14.47 and the illiteracy was 15.3 per cent. In the District of Columbia $62.75 was spent for each Negro child and the percentage of illiteracy was found to be 8.6. In the northern states where the opportunities are essentially the same the rate of illiteracy is comparatively low. In New York it was 2.9 per cent and in Illinois 6.7 per cent. Illiteracy varies directly with educational opportunities.

It has been calculated that on the basis of a standard school year of 180 days, with the existing provisions for education, it would require a Negro child in Louisiana 22 years, a Negro child in South Carolina 33 years, a Negro child in Alabama 26 years to complete the elementary school work.¹

Higher Education

The land-grant colleges are doing a great work toward the education of the Negro student. He turns with pride toward such schools as, Howard University, Virginia State College, Lincoln in Missouri and Prairie View College in Texas.

In many respects the colleges and Universities fall short of the American standards of land-grant colleges. ¹Howard Univer-

¹. Ibid Page 284
sity is the only land grant school for Negroes that attempts to be a University. This University offers Law, Medicine and other professions that would justly make Howard a University. Racial discrimination is shown by the federal boards in providing endowments for all Negro land-grant schools. Federal funds for Negro and land-grant colleges should be divided on the basis of Negro and White population. There is a great need for larger income as the physical plants are inadequate to meet opportunities offered for service. The teachers are meagerly paid; salaries affect the personality of the individual; one develops and expresses his personality best under favorable conditions. The United States Bureau of Education in 1922 made a comparison of the salaries paid professors of Negro land-grant colleges with the salaries paid professors in 73 White colleges and Universities. The reports disclosed the following facts as indicated in table \( \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Presidents</th>
<th>Deans or Professors</th>
<th>Ass't Prof</th>
<th>Prof</th>
<th>Ass't Instr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average of 73 White Colleges</td>
<td>$3,482</td>
<td>$4,250</td>
<td>$3,392</td>
<td>$2,800</td>
<td>$2,300 | $1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Land-Grant Colleges</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most potent factors of a college or university is the opportunity for research. In most of these Negro Schools the libraries are inadequate. Senior colleges should include not less than 8,000 volumes of books. A survey of the libraries of land-grant colleges showed that only three met the requirements laid down by the Department of Education, Prairie View of Texas, Virginia State and West Virginia State College (this survey did not include Howard).

\( \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \) Table \( \text{\textsuperscript{11}} \) United States Dept. of Interior Vol. 37 (1924) Page 833
Fortunately the Negro student is not confined to the Negro colleges of the South. In other sections he receives equal opportunities for education. Every year hundreds of Negro students of the South are graduating from White Universities of the North.

One great fault that is found in the State Schools is that they over emphasize trades and industries. However, these schools are gradually placing more emphasis on literary training. The schools were founded for the purpose of developing the Negro along industrial and domestic phases; thus many of their graduates become servants and menial laborers; they did not have enough literary training to establish a successful business of their own. But as men with more liberal views have been sworn into office we find a gradual but slow change being made in the emphasis of Negro education of the South.

Education is one of the most determining factors in the lives of individuals. Divorce records show that as the Negro race has advanced in education family unity has increased. Child delinquency is lowest among that class of intelligent self-respecting Negroes. The strength of family ties increases as education and better home conditions make possible the more careful rearing of children.

The standards and ideals of the Negro family must rise as the individual members rise. Discrimination of opportunities do not help but hinder the progress of the family. Illiteracy provides family disorganization, for ignorant parents the knowledge necessary for the proper rearing of the children.

1. Reuter, E. B. American Race Problems Page 205
In modern civilization, the most progressive type of education is necessary for the fullest development of an ideal family life. Education develops the higher ideals of life; thus the effects of racial discrimination in Negro education are quite evident; the uneducated individual is likely to have a lack of high ideals, and the individual without higher ideals not only affects family disorganization but he is likely to become a menace to society as a whole.
PART IV

PUBLIC WELFARE
In every section of the country, the Negro is faced with handicaps, suffers discrimination; is meted injustices which make the race the most underprivileged group in American life. The extent to which this is true is known only to those who labor under its disadvantages. The chances for development are, in many instances, limited.

Libraries

The public libraries in the United States are divided into four classes: (1) Those that permit Negroes by segregation, (2) Those established for Negroes apart from white libraries, (3) Those that deny Negroes the use of the library altogether, (4) Those that allow Negroes full use.

Throughout the South the Negro is either denied the use of libraries entirely, or he is permitted to use the library through segregation. We should consider that the prevailing condition of the South affects the larger portion of the race, as the larger portion of the population resides there. In the South the chances for the Negro student to develop through extensive reading is almost impossible. Negroes of all classes are denied the opportunity to enjoy books and literature of the best kind. The libraries that allow Negroes segregated provisions provide only a small portion of the reading room or the cloak room to be used by the Negro. Where a portion of the library is reserved for Negroes, they have use of the shelves in keeping with the system that conforms to southern tradition.
The self-respecting Negro feels the humiliation so keenly until he usually refrains from using these Jim-crow accommodations.

The public libraries of the South that admit Negroes for the most part were not made possible by the public funds. The Carnegie Fund has made the use of libraries accessible for Negroes in quite a few Southern cities. The libraries available for the use of Negroes are listed in Table XI, with note made of those provided by the Carnegie Fund. ¹

TABLE XI: LIBRARIES AVAILABLE TO NEGROES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cost of Building</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, Georgia (Carnegie)</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham, Alabama</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galveston, Texas</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guthrie, Oklahoma</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston, Texas (Carnegie)</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City, Missouri</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoxville, Tennessee (Carnegie)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, Kentucky (Carnegie)</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meridian, Mississippi (Carnegie)</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou (Carnegie)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville, Tennessee (Carnegie)</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk, Virginia</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke, Virginia</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah, Georgia (Carnegie)</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsa, Oklahoma</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the fact that the Negro is a citizen and a taxpayer, race discrimination makes library use impossible in all of the Southern cities save the seventeen that are listed; and eight of these are provided by the Carnegie Fund. There are only nine libraries in the South fostered by public funds that allowed Negro

¹. Negro Year Book (1927) - P.268
people even segregated accommodation.

In cities where Negroes have access to branch libraries, if books can be obtained from the central libraries these libraries could be made to serve the needs of the people to a great extent.

The value of libraries is not confined to adults; where children story rooms are provided and made interesting, the habits of the children may be found to be quite different from those of children whose only amusement is found by playing in the streets from morning to night while their minds remain untrained. The use of libraries may become an important factor in the development of wholesome use of leisure time and the spread of literary culture in the Negro neighborhoods.

**Limited Amusement**

Social workers generally agree that the lack of recreation goes a long ways in explaining child delinquency records. It has been found that where cities close their recreation centers during the winters, child delinquency increases greatly during this period. The neglect in providing proper facilities for the care and training of the young accounts for most crimes.¹

Judges and court workers agree that there is a connection between Juvenile delinquency and mothers working out of the home. There are more Negro children left without planned recreation due to the absence

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¹ (Woofter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P. 227
(Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P. 363)
of the mother than white children. Much of this is due to the fact that recreation provided by the city for Negro children is very limited.

**Public Playgrounds**

Public playgrounds provided for Negro children in Southern towns are rarely found. In cities where they are provided, they are found to be in proportion less numerous, smaller, poorer in equipment and less adequately supervised than playgrounds for the white children in the same city. Table XII shows the comparative number of playgrounds for the two groups in ten selected cities.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoxville</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No cities where segregated playgrounds are provided have equal opportunities for recreation for both races. These delinquent

1. Woofter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P.137
communities cause a high rate of delinquency among the inhabitants. The court officials of Indianapolis, Charleston, Memphis, Richmond and Louisville acknowledge many contributing causes for Negro childhood delinquency, but they express their belief that the lack of wholesome recreation is a chief contributing cause of delinquency and that well planned character-building agencies can be effective in reducing delinquency.

"As real, yet more difficult to picture concretely, is the need for wholesome recreation to contribute to the physical and mental hygiene of the race. The studies are yet to be made measuring the extent to which the physical and mental development of Negroes are retarded by lack of directed play and organized athletics." 2

The lack of playgrounds in Negro neighborhoods of the South is a serious handicap to the Negro child. In many Northern cities there are no legal handicaps to prevent the Negro child's full access to public playgrounds; but even there discrimination is often shown - so much so until Negroes often refrain from using the playgrounds altogether.

**Parks**

The facilities of the large parks of most of the Northern states are accessible to Negroes, but, as in the case of the playgrounds, the Negroes are made to feel unwanted. The directors of the Colored Settlement House in Gary report that a beach was recently set aside by

1. Wooster, T. J. "Negro Race Problems in Cities" - P.227
2. Ibid - P.230
the City for the use of Negroes. In Dayton, Negroes may "rent" the cottage of Hill and Dale park. They are assigned Mondays for the use of tennis and dance pavilions. In most parks where Negroes have taken advantage of the facilities to any great extent, forms of separation or discrimination have been shown. Parks where the percentage of attendance is very small, no steps have been taken to limit the privileges. Island Park in Dayton, Ohio, has a bathing beach the facilities of which are not available to Negroes. 1

In Chicago of the total one hundred and twenty-seven public places of recreation, excluding the large parks, thirty-seven are in or near Negro areas. Of the eighty-two playgrounds, fourteen are in the Negro area and nine are adjacent; of the twenty-nine recreation centers none are located within the Negro centers, but seven are adjacent. 2

"Though these figures seem to indicate that the Negro area is fairly well supplied with recreation facilities, it should be considered that their use by the Negroes in their vicinity is by no means free and undisputed." 3

In Chicago, as well as many other cities, there is no official discrimination against the Negro in the use of public parks; but unofficial discrimination creeps in. The person in charge of the park is often influenced by the attitude of the white race in the community.

1. Ibid. - P.230
3. Ibid. - P.272
Representatives of all the park commissions of Chicago state that they have no rules or regulations of any kind discriminating against Negroes. One typical case in which this rule appears to have been violated was in connection with the Negro Golf players at Jackson Park. Two Negroes participated in the amateur Golf Tournament at Jackson Park in the summer of 1918 and made good records. The only requirement for entrance at that time was residence in the city for one year. In 1919 the requirements were increased; entries were limited to the lowest sixty-four scores and membership in a "regularly organized golf club" being required. Since Negroes are not accepted in established golf clubs, the Negro golf players met this qualification by organizing a new golf club. In 1920 the restriction was added that contestants must belong to a regularly organized golf club affiliated with the Western Golf Association. Since it was impossible for Negro clubs to secure such affiliation, it is impossible for Negroes to compete in the tournament.\(^1\)

Segregation of parks would not deny Negroes adequate recreation if the cities provided equal accommodations regardless of race. The general custom in the South is to make separate provision for Negroes; and separate parks and expensive equipments undoubtedly would cause a drain in the city treasury. The parks of the white are provided for as extensively as the treasury will allow - often to the total neglect of recreation for the Negro people. But Negroes are taxpayers and have just claims on the recreation facilities of the city. Where they

\(^1\) Ibid., - 272
are excluded from the parks in the general system, special provision
is a matter which the city should give increasing attention.

A comparison of parks for Negroes, with those provided for white,
shows a great contrast in size and equipment. The parks for Negroes
are smaller in number and acreage than those for the white. At least
one or two parks for whites in each city are equipped with ball dia-
monds, swimming pools, concert facilities and sometimes with golf links
and more elaborate facilities. But in many instances the "parks" for
Negroes are merely tracks of land without any equipment or improvements
that are situated in undesirable locations. Only four cities -
Indianapolis, Louisville, New Orleans and Atlanta, have swimming pools
for Negroes.¹

Negro parks are often inadequately supervised by the police.
Rowdy patrons create an atmosphere that the citizens of the better class
desire to avoid. Thus the Negro family fails to receive the proper
benefits and enjoyments of adequate parks.

Theaters

In the United States there are three hundred and forty-six theaters
operated by Negroes. They are distributed as follows:— picture houses,
one hundred and eighty; houses playing vaudeville, drama or road shows,
one hundred and seven; houses running pictures equipped for road shows
or vaudeville, sixty-six. The ownership and management are as follows:—

¹. Woofter, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P. 232
owned and managed by whites, one hundred and fourteen; owned by mixed 
co-operation, two; owned by whites (operated by Negroes), nine; 
ownership and management undetermined, one hundred and thirteen. ¹

American theaters reveal four policies with reference to the ad-
mission of Negro patrons. Under one policy Negroes are sold seats 
anywhere in the house and their freedom of choice is limited only by 
their unwillingness to pay the price demanded. Under another, there 
is a practice of some form of separation. Managers, while denying 
any attempt at separation, have nevertheless quite an effective means 
of grouping Negroes in the first balcony, in the very first row of the 
orchestra or in the rear of the house. Throughout the South separation 
is openly practiced; Negro patrons are confined to the gallery. A 
fourth policy is that of exclusion of Negroes altogether from theaters. 
This is not general among all theaters and vaudeville houses, but is 
the general policy of the better class moving picture houses in the 
southern cities. ²

Since most of the Negro population is in the South, the last two 
policies of theaters affect the majority of the Negroes. Negroes of 
all classes are limited in their opportunities. Theater-going, it is 
true, is not an essential to the lives of individuals but a certain 
amount of leisure is necessary for the full development of the personality; 
better class moving pictures serve as a desirable recreation. Again,

¹ Work, M. N. "Negro Year Book" (1927) - P.303
the higher types of pictures are educative and the value of education in the life of an individual is unlimited. Many of the better class of Negro citizens can not reconcile themselves to side-entrances and jim-crow balconies and, therefore, they do not attend theaters.

Several Northern states have civil laws making separation in theaters punishable by fine, but the process of litigation involves certain complications that operate to the disadvantage of the plaintiff; and while the law helps to establish the status of the Negro, it is rather easy to evade the law.¹

**Boy and Girl Scouts**

The extent to which Negro girls are benefited by the Girl Scout movement is too limited to be of any importance. The number of Boy Scouts is also limited. The Scouts are best represented in Manhattan Borough, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton and Louisville.

"The chief difficulties encountered by the Scout organization in its efforts to enlist large numbers of Negro boys in the South, arose from the charter requirement that the consent of troops already existing in the neighborhood must be obtained before new troops can be formed. Groups of Negro boys who wished to organize in Atlanta, Charleston and Richmond found it impossible because the local organizations were unwilling to allow Negroes to use the title and uniform. A Scout Master in Memphis said that white boys would not stand the presence of Negro boys in uniform and that violence would result from an attempt

¹ Wooster, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P.266
to organize them.\textsuperscript{1} Such violence really did occur in Atlanta and other cities where attempts were made to organize Negro Scouts.

The activities of the Scout organization offer an opportunity for training along moral and physical phases that is wholesome for youths. The recreation of the Negro child is, to a great extent, determined by the attitude of the white man. Race discrimination denies the Negro child access to wholesome recreation almost entirely in the South; in many instances in the North he is made to feel unwelcome. Child delinquency is certainly as much a matter of delinquent communities as of individual perversity. Whether of white or Negro, of juvenile or adult, it is a form of community disease that explains most delinquency and crime.\textsuperscript{2} Race prejudice, therefore, encourages or increases family disorganization by influencing the environment of the child; it enforces a most active cause of delinquency by neglecting to provide adequate and proper facilities for the care and training of Negro youths.

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid - P.248
\textsuperscript{2} Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P.336
CHAPTER II  The Housing Problem

The housing condition is a chief factor in one's environment and mode of living. Over-crowded conditions serve as nurseries for delinquent girls and boys and a fine environment for high mortality rate. Poverty, bad homes, delinquency and crime are closely correlated.

Negro Neighborhoods

Often Negroes are compelled to live under the most miserable health conditions that the city will tolerate. In nearly every case in the South, and in most Northern cities, the Negro section is the least desirable part of the city. Streets are neglected, houses are usually dilapidated and void of modern conditions that are conducive to health and cleanliness.

There are two reasons why Negroes are compelled to live in these sections:

(1) He is compelled to live here by segregation which is often legal in the South.

(2) He is compelled to live in these centers because of his low economic income.

The Negro is forced from the most desirable sections regardless of his ability or willingness to pay his bills. In Southern states, segregation is enforced by the civil courts. In states where segregation according to color is unlawful, schemes are devised by the real estate men, or the property owners, to prevent Negroes from inhabiting certain sections.

It is a common complaint of reputable Negroes that they can neither buy
nor rent a house in a decent locality.

The Negroes in the South, as well as the North, live in segregated districts. "The color line," says Jacob Ries, "must be drawn through the tenement to give the picture its proper shading. The landlord does the drawing, does it with an absence of pretense --- The Czar of all Russia was not more absolute upon his own soil than the New York landlord in dealing with colored tenants. Where he permits them to live they go; where he shuts the door they stay out." 1

The residential section of the Negro generally comprises the old residence abandoned by the white. Houses that were once occupied by one family have been roughly made into tenements, poorly ventilated and poorly lighted. The houses are often in a delapidated form, void of many modern conveniences; gas, electric lights and bathrooms are often lacking and the houses are often heated by wood or coal.

A survey made by the Federation of Churches of Buffalo in 1922 disclosed the fact that about seventy-five percent of the colored families occupied a section of the city which contains the poorest houses, some of which had formerly been condemned as not habitable. A similar survey made by the Federation of Churches of Cleveland showed that while a reasonable portion of Negroes have secured good homes, inadequate and unsanitary conditions still exist in the principal Negro communities of the city. In Philadelphia, the Philadelphia

1. David, J. "Negro in American Life" - P.24
Housing Association found in a recent survey that only 10.5 percent of the houses occupied by Negro families were equipped for sanitation, convenience and comfort, while 28.6 percent of the houses occupied by whites were well equipped.¹

The surroundings of the Negro sections are usually neglected; streets, alleys and vacant lots contain rubbish and litter of all kinds. Negro sections are further marred by being in or adjacent to the prostituting sections of the white race. This has direct affect on the children who, from day to day, must come in contact with this environment.

One of the principal reasons for the dilapidated conditions of the houses is that the landlord knows the difficulty that Negroes have in finding a house elsewhere; the landlord does not feel obligated to keep up repairs in order to keep his tenants.

The landlords and real estate dealers are not entirely to blame for the segregation of the Negro; often the whites of the community demand it. When a Negro family moves into a section where all others are white, the neighbors object. The objections may be expressed in warnings, threats or even bombing of the Negro homes. White neighbors who can do so are apt to move away at the first opportunity. It matters little what type of citizens the Negro family represents, or what their wealth or standard of living may be. Their presence meets

¹ David, J. "The Negro in American Life" - P.24-25
serious objections and causes a depreciation in the value of property on that street.  

In the South, as well as the North, there are Negro neighborhoods that are quite desirable. These sections are, for the most part, the residence of home owners who take pride in the upkeep of their property. The class of home owners does not represent the majority of the race. The majority reside under the conditions of the Negro tenant.

In the South the poorer class of Negroes often resides in sections where the houses are, for the most part, of two or three rooms, poorly ventilated and heated. In general, these districts represent a repulsive appearance. They are often situated along the railroad track or in swampy isolated districts. The streets are seldom paved even if near the center of the city. The surroundings do not encourage culture, cleanliness or personal pride. "Segregations of the South are very complete. Whites have enforced Negro housing segregation by law, by contracts, by gentlemen's agreement or by brute force." 2

Effects of Poor Housing on Inmates

Healy finds crowded houses to be an outstanding cause of sexual vice. The mere huddling together of people would do little harm if it were not for the mental results of such conditions. It could hardly be

1. Ibid - P.32-33
2. Nearing, S. "Black America" - P.171
expected that people who are brought up under conditions which often involve bodily exposure would not be affected by it. Children who have seen cohabitation between parents are greatly influenced by it.1

"Respect for parents, and for the integrity of family relationship and for the human body itself, is largely the basis of the morality of our civilization, and nothing so easily militates against the respect as crowded living conditions." 2

Crowded homes have perhaps the most direct relation to family disorganization. Crowded homes determine in no small degree the morals of the individual child. Morals and respect of parents lay the foundation of the family ties of the children. Poverty, which is to a large degree due to discrimination, has resulted into the most undesirable home conditions for the Negro as a group. Crowded conditions are common among a larger percentage of the Negro race than the white race. This means that a greater percentage of Negro families live in an environment that is conducive to sexual vice. Over-crowding of large families in tenement homes of two or three rooms is a grave menace to family morals. Often times the condition of the home is further degraded by boarders being taken into the home.

Bad homes are, in the very real sense, no more than nurseries for the delinquent boy or girl.3 "It is sheer hypocrisy to tell these young people to work hard, keep away from evil and lead a virtuous life

1. Healy, M. "The Individual Delinquent" - P.234
2. Ibid. - P.291
when the conditions are all against them. Until society has found a way to pay working parents a wage that guarantees decent conditions of living, and some economic security, we shall have bad homes. And until schools and educational associations have grappled more seriously with the problems of educating parents, we shall have children growing up like 'Topsy' with no intelligent help in the upbuilding of character from fathers and mothers who brought them into the world."

These conditions will change gradually as the race advances economically and educationally. A great deal of this backwardness is due to lack of individual initiative; but every individual must suffer from the restraints or limitations that the institution under which he lives levies upon him. In the absence of political and economic influence by the Negro, the changes in his mode of living seem doomed to a slow progress. Until these conditions have been alleviated, the family unity will continue to be endangered. Until communities realize the danger of crowded housing and take interest in changing this condition, there is sure to be a considerable quota of prostitutes and other loose-living people to emerge from these conditions. 2

Rent and Wages

The rent of Negro dwellings indicates an exploitation of Negro neighborhoods. Rent paid by Negroes is excessive on any basis that

1. Ibid - P.224
2. Healy, W. "The Individual Delinquent" - P.292
it may be considered. Negro rentals are excessive whether they are measured in relation to the family budget, by the relation on the rent paid by Negroes with that paid by other groups for similar quarters, or by the relation of rent to the value of property. The rate for rent may seem small but when it is considered in relation to the income and the inadequate houses obtained for the money, it is very high.

In the southern cities rent does not vary greatly, as the houses for rent are usually dwellings of uniform type. The established form of investment is based upon the high return from small, cheap dwellings and the demand for them from those who earn low wages.

In Chapter I of Part II a discussion was presented concerning the low wages being received by Negro workers and the racial handicaps in securing employment. The previous chapter described the inadequate meager equipment of Negro dwellings. The problem of the Negro is further increased by the high rate of rent that he is forced to pay. The investigation of the United States Department of Labor indicates that wage earners of this class should not pay more than twenty percent of their wages for rental. Yet the mass of common workers are forced to pay more than his percent for housing.

Despite the inadequate income and poorly equipped houses of the Negro, there is still a preponderance of evidence indicating that Negroes pay more rent for houses than is paid by white tenants for houses of the same kind. The report of the Department of Public Welfare of Chicago, involving one thousand two hundred and twenty-four families,
"As a group, Negroes are paying much more for shelter than other groups of the same community for the same types of houses. The medium rental in unheated flats was twenty dollars to twenty-five dollars for native whites; fifteen to twenty dollars for foreign born tenants and twenty-five dollars to thirty dollars for Negroes. A similar difference was found in the heated apartments where the medium rental for white families was fifty-five dollars to sixty dollars, while the Negroes were paying from sixty-five dollars to seventy dollars." ¹

The report of the Urban League on the lower north districts of Chicago, including five hundred and twenty-seven colored families showed that dwellings which were formerly rented for eight to twenty dollars to white families are now being rented to Negro families for twelve to forty-five dollars monthly.²

A survey made in January 1925 of one hundred and forty-one white families and five hundred and seventy-four Negro families in Gary showed that in rentals colored families were at a decided disadvantage and especially so considering the equipment and conditions of the houses in which they were living. The reports showed that the average rent per dwelling for white families was sixteen dollars and for colored twenty-two dollars and fifty-one cents. The equipment for sanitary standards was also noted. Bath rooms were found in thirty-four percent of the white homes and eighteen percent of the

¹. Wooster, T. J. "Negro Problems in Cities" - P.126
². Ibid - P.127
Negro homes.

Negroes are forced to compete for homes and as a consequence rents are raised in proportion to the demand for shelter. The Negro population is steadily on the increase and new settlements are not being opened up to meet the demand of the housing problem of the Negro. He is not allowed to secure a house any place where there may be a vacancy; but because of race discrimination he must choose from the vacancies that are allotted to his race.

It is almost apparent that during the period of rapid rent increases brought on by the housing shortage, the Negro family suffered greater than the white families of the same neighborhood. Reports of the Philadelphia Housing Association for 1923 states:—"Over sixty-one percent of the Negro tenants were forced to pay higher rents as compared with thirty-five percent of the white tenants. For the city, the average increase was fourteen percent, while the average for the white element was 11.5 percent and for the Negroes eighteen percent." 2

In most of the larger cities the demand for dwellings has been so great until the landlords have been able in a great many cases to double their rents. Many tenements of five or six rooms have been divided into two or more units and each rented for about as much as the original apartment.

The two factors already referred to in the housing problem of the Negro are:—segregated communities and poverty. Both of these factors

1. Housing in Philadelphia - Philadelphia Housing Association (1924) P.22-25
are in part results of racial discrimination. Immediately following slavery, efforts were made to abridge in various ways the liberties of the freemen and to maintain the social distance between the groups. The Negro family today is confronted with a similar handicap in seeking living quarters.

As long as the Negro family must struggle under adverse circumstances, it is to be expected that there will be a threatening disorganization. Disorganization does not always accompany poverty and crowded homes, but poverty and poor housing conditions are conducive to family disorganization.
CHAPTER II  

Discrimination in the Courts and at the Ballot

In every phase of public life where the two races meet in contact, generally there is some form of discrimination. The Negro family is being affected by legal injustice just as individual members are being affected. The Negro without a doubt would be a better law-abiding citizen if he felt that he had equal protection under the law.

The general attitude among Negroes toward the courts is the thought that there is little hope or faith that he will receive justice, whether he is guilty or innocent of the accusation, especially if a white person is involved. This attitude is well based on previous experiences; Southern courts have often openly stated that that statement is not to be considered when it is contradictory to a statement made by any member of the white race.

Negro and Crime

In January of 1910 the Negro prison population of the United States was 30.6 percent of the total prison population and at the same time the race constituted only 10.7 of the country's population. In every section the percentage of Negroes among prisoners and juvenile delinquents was much higher than their percentage in the general population. In the South the Negro made up 29.8 percent of the population and 70.1 percent of the prisoners. In the North the ratio was 1.8 percent of the population to 13.1 percent of the prison population; in the West 0.7 percent of the population and 5.9 percent of the prison population. In the United States penitentiaries, 31.3 percent of the prisoners were Negroes.¹

¹ Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P.343,344
In making a scientific study of the Negro criminal records, one should not attempt to form basic opinions or conclude too quickly from these figures that the Negro race is essentially a criminal race without considering certain conditions and situations that arise in forming these records.

If we grant that the Negro is the most criminally inclined race, we must consider the conditions that led up to this consequence. Is he made to feel that the law is for his protection or that he must protect himself? Is he more liable to arrests and commitments than members of other races?

Reuter may be quoted as saying, "The punishment meted out to Negro offenders is characteristically more severe than that of white offenders. They are committed to prison more frequently and receive longer sentences for similar offenses." ¹

In 1910 there were one hundred and thirty offenders sentenced to death in the United States. Of this number forty-nine or 37.7 percent were Negroes. The percentage of Negroes who received prison sentences of one year or over was about three times as high as the percentage of the white commitments. The percentage distribution of Negro and white commitments for the year of 1910 is listed as follows in Table XII.²

¹ Ibid., p.351
² Ibid., p.352
TABLE XIII - COMPARISON OF SENTENCES BY TERMS OF COMMITMENTS: 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Sentence</th>
<th>Percentage of Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year and over</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During Minority</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the total number of persons sentenced for one year or more, 40.9 percent were Negroes, while of those sentenced for less than one year only 13.4 percent were Negroes.

The same tendency to unequal treatment of offenders is shown by cases punished by fine or by fine and imprisonment. In 1910 the sentence of fine was placed upon eleven percent of the Negro offenders and upon 7.8 percent of the white offenders. 1

There are many important facts that must be taken into consideration. "The statistical information is very misleading; it reflects a great deal of bias and popular opinion." 2

The Negro race in America is considered to be a criminal race. This general belief tends to encourage both the number of offenses and the appearance of excessive criminality. The idea that the Negro is highly criminal is fostered by the white press; crimes always have a news value. The news value is enhanced by the fact that the criminal

1. Ibid - P.352
2. Ibid - P.355
is a Negro. So few other Negro articles get into the white press that this further fixes the attitude of the public toward the Negro as a criminal. Most of the activities of the Negro that are read are his criminal records. The press caters to the general belief and the public, and general belief is further substantiated by the stories of the press.

Another part of the apparent excessive criminality of the Negro may be explained in police discrimination. The police are generally always white men who share in the general idea that the Negro is highly criminal; as a consequence the Negro is very frequently arrested on suspicion and is often held on slender evidence.

This attitude of the police power tends to swell the number of arrests and through humiliating the victims and destroying the self-respect, they increase the amount of crime.

The Negro meets the same bias when he appears in court. The judge, the jurors, the officials and others who deal with him from his arrest to his acquittal or his conviction are white men who in general share in the prevailing conception of the Negro people.

It requires less evidence to convict a Negro than a white offender accused of the same crime. It is not always recognized or admitted that there may be a bias in judgment but in many cases the idea of an impartial trial is little more than a legal fiction.  

1. Ibid - P.356  
2. Ibid - P.356,357
The fear and distrust that the Negro has for the white man accounts for a considerable item in Negro criminality. Rightly or wrongly it is the general belief among Negro people that a Negro accused of crime is not safe in the hands of the officers of the courts. If the case involves a white man he can not be sure that the official will protect him from mob violence; he can not feel sure that the courts will allow him a fair trial. With these ideas in mind the Negro often assumes the responsibility of protecting himself and his resistance to the "white man's laws" and society is often approved by his group. He is often termed as "a man who dared to stand for his rights." If one observes the bitter experiences of the Negro it is very easily seen how difficult it is for the Negro to be loyal to the state.

The Negro's distrust for the white man's justice has been greatly increased by the peonage system, a modified form of slavery. This type of debt slavery is often developed in the South from the system of farming and the laws governing labor contracts on the one hand and the operation of the criminal law and penal system on the other. The Capitalist farmer pays the court expenses of the accused; on this condition the court leases the Negro to work out his debt. Often times the Negro never works out this debt as the white man keeps his own books and the courts accept his word. The Williams' Farm in Georgia is a typical example of these criminal farms, which came to an end in 1921.
by Williams' conviction when the bodies of twelve Negroes were found in a near by river. The Negro looks upon this system as a form of oppression and exploitation devised by the dominating race for their own purpose, rather than a social effort to reform criminals or prevent crimes. The effort to enforce a double standard gives rise to an attitude of resentment.

As long as the Negro feels that his rights and privileges are not recognized and respected and as long as the Negro is discriminated against publicly and privately, he will be discontented and resentful. On the principle that an individual is profoundly affected by his immediate environment, it follows it that some part of the criminality of the Negro is a direct result of race prejudice.¹

**Effect of Crime on the Family**

Crime affects the family unity directly. The attitudes of the individuals that make up the family determine the unity of the family. Criminal attitudes have no place in family unity. In case of crime the family is often torn apart by separation or death. Any agency which tends to develop criminality and criminal attitudes is responsible for family disorganization. The mere fact that race prejudice forces fathers into low paid jobs and mothers out of the home to assist in the family budget gives race prejudice a place in Negro delinquency and crime. When a father has gone in every direction seeking employment only to be turned down, there is a danger that he may resort to illegal means to provide support for his family.

¹. Ibid - P.362
PART V

SUMMARY
PART V

Summary

The history of the American Negro family has been one of segregation and discrimination. Against severe handicaps it has endeavored to establish and maintain its unity.

Prejudice against the Negro in America is a heritage from slavery but a development of freedom. Freedom brought a changed economic social and educational status for the Negro with the already existing racial attitudes of the whites - these new relations were almost un-bearable. The Southern white man accepted the Negro in what he deemed as "his place", that is, the position of the inferior. Association with the Negro on the plane of equality is almost unbearable, to the Southern white man. Believing the white race to be superior by nature, it was thought that to give the Negro any social class was to doom the white race. Thus the Southern white man was always ready to push the rising Negro back among the mass from which he was attempting to rise. This was and is today particularly true as "poor Southern whites" come to exercise more influence in economic and political matters. 1

In efforts to keep the Negro as an inferior and servant, there grew up legal and non-legal, legislative, administrative and mob devices to retard the progress of the Negro and keep a distance between the groups.

The attitude of the white in view of the changing economic, social

1. Reuter, E. B. "American Race Problems" - P.11
and educational status of the Negro developed into a racial creed which required the economic and political dominance of the white; an aristocracy based not on qualities but on color.

It is by this long lived racial creed that the Negro family of today must confront. The causes for family disorganization are more active among the Negro people than among other groups. The Negro's training is less; his poverty is greater and consequently his housing and living conditions are more deplorable. There is less provision made for the care of Negro defectives; he is discriminated against socially and industrially. He is often abused by the police and suffers the injustices of prejudiced courts.

The Negro has known freedom slightly more than three score years. Under the most desirable circumstances it takes some time to become adjusted to new social conditions in a competitive society. The Negro family as compared with other groups is a very new institution. It has met with severe handicaps in its effort to survive.

Race prejudice has entered the industrial fields; and the labor unions, as an instrument in the hand of the white man, has barred the Negro from the best paying jobs. The wage of the father affects directly the economic status of the home and the education of the children. Poverty threatens the very basis of the family, for the mother is forced out of the home for eight or ten hours a day to engage in hours of drudgery in an effort to supplement the family budget. The absence of
the mother in the home means that the children are neglected; improperly fed and their recreation unsupervised. This condition without a doubt is a grave cause of delinquency and child mortality.

As illiteracy has decreased, parents have become better trained for the rearing of the children; the standard of the family has advanced as the individual members have advanced in education.

The education of the Negro is still neglected. The majority of the Negro students attend the segregated schools of the South. The public schools for the Negro of the South have had a slow growth and they are at the present time poorly housed and inadequately supported. The support of these schools is dependent on the attitude of the white board. There is a gross inequality in the educational opportunities for the Negro and the white child. Under unequal circumstances or opportunities it makes it quite difficult for the least privileged child or group to measure up to the attainment of the privileged group.

Most crime is as much a matter of a delinquent community as of individual perversity. Whether of white or Negro, of juvenile or adult it is a form of community pathology. The neglect to provide proper facilities for the care, training and recreation of the young is a community neglect that explains most crime and the degree of neglect is reflected in the comparative crime rates.¹

After a careful consideration of the American race problem, it is clearly seen that race discrimination is a powerful factor in determining the lives and governing the destiny of the Negro family.

¹. Reuter, E. P. "American Race Problems" - P.363
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