

1940

Portuguese of Wareham, Massachusetts

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THE PORTUGUESE OF WAREHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

A Study of Their Educational Problems

with

Suggested Remedies and Modifications

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Education

by

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INTRODUCTION

Without a question of doubt, hostility between races in mixed populations occupying the same area is due largely to competition in the economic field and to differentiation in the standards of life. The economic phase is generally pushed back to secondary importance when prejudices, attitudes, false pride, and tradition come into being.

Race conflict is not inherent. Racial prejudice is an acquired characteristic and cannot biologically be passed on from generation to generation. The race problem is entirely social. This is made apparent by the absolute freedom with which the young of any two races associate until disrupted by older minds.

"The antipathy manifested in such conflicts (racial) is not inherent, physical, and hereditary, but is inculcated through social attitudes passed along by social inheritance to young people who are naturally devoid of such feelings and notions." -- Clarence Marsh Case (Department of Sociology, University of Southern California) (1, p. 719)

Individuals of the white race, generally speaking, have definite beliefs and firmly established convictions which greatly influence the attitude of the white toward the Negro. For example, a primary belief holds that the Negro is inferior to the white -- that this is the result of the slow ascension of the Negro up the ladder of civilization. This conclusion is not necessarily valid. Some authorities tend to point out

that the percentage of illiteracy of the negro is considerably higher than that of the white, but that this is due largely to the lack of educational facilities and lower economic standards rather than a deficiency of "gray matter" -- in general, environment.

"Certainly there appear to be differences in temperament, intellectual attitudes, and cultural behavior between races; but there is no reason to believe that these differences are inborn; for the most part they seem to be due to differences in cultural conditions, different social backgrounds and differences in economic conditions." -- Dr. M.F. Ashley-Montagu (Professor of Anatomy, Hahnemann Medical College) (19, p. 5)

"There are no superior or inferior groups by birth, thus there is no conclusive proof that racial differences in psychology and in behavior actually exist." -- Dr. Earnest A. Hooton (Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University) (19, p. 11)

Race problems, then, hinge on physical and mental differences. The two races do not attract each other; the lower standards of living of the negro together with the prejudices, biases, and propaganda with which the whites have been literally filled, tend to form serious barriers.

It is the purpose of this thesis to point out conditions as they exist in the town of Wareham, Massachusetts, and to make suggestions to ameliorate the aforesaid conditions.

Wareham, a town situated north of the head of Cape Cod, has a population of approximately six thousand (6000). (See

Tables I and II). Of this number, about twenty per cent (20%) are Cape Verdeans, i.e. individuals who were either born in the Cape Verde Islands or are direct descendants of Cape Verdeans. These islanders or Bravas, as they are erroneously called, are considered black (indeed, they possess negroid physical characteristics) and consequently, the usual attitude of the white toward the Negro prevails among the vast majority of the Caucasian inhabitants.

This differentiated racial condition is not centered in Wareham alone. Rather, it is evident in more than a few localities of southern Massachusetts in particular. For example, a superintendent of schools of a neighboring town stated that it was his opinion that at least seventy-five per cent of the adult population of his town was prejudiced against the Cape Verdean inhabitants.

The existing situation and the attitudes of one group toward the other is comparable to the race friction in the south, in Chicago, or to the race problem which existed in South Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The population of the Cape Verdeans is increasing rapidly. It has already been pointed out that they comprise only 20% of the entire adult population. The fact that Cape Verdean children make up approximately 33% of the school population (1939) shows emphatically the rapidity of their propagation.

The Cape Verdeans present a major problem to the town. Changes must be made to provide for their formal education in a manner which, judging from the present results -- or perhaps,

the lack of results -- should be different from that curriculum already in effect. It is our desire to suggest modifications for the existing curriculum; that by a new approach to the problem, results will be attained which will be beneficial not only to the Cape Verdean people, but to the town of Wareham as well.

TABLE I
Federal Census Report for the Town of
Wareham, Massachusetts (1930)*

<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Foreign or Mixed Parentage</u>	<u>Total</u>
4,253	1,426	1,069	5,686

TABLE II
Massachusetts Census Report for the Town of
Wareham, Massachusetts (1925, 1930, 1935)**

Totals in Population

1925 --- 5,594
 1930 --- 5,686
 1935 --- 6,047

<u>Increase, 5 year period</u>	<u>Increase, 10 year period</u>
(1930-1935)	(1925-1935)
361 (6.3%)	453 (8.1%)

*Compiled from the report of the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

**Compiled from the report of the Bureau of the Census for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Portuguese of Wareham, Massachusetts
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Historical Background

The Cape Verdean island group, forming an archipelago three hundred miles off the west coast of Africa, make up a part of the Portuguese Colonial Empire in Oceania. The islands derived their name from the African promontory off which they lie, known as Cape Verde or the green cape. (2, pp. 791-792)(3, pp. 1249-50)

The archipelago, of volcanic origin, is divided into two groups, termed Barlevento and Sotavento (windward and leeward locations). The two groups are constituted by the islands of:

<u>Barlevento</u>	<u>Sotavento</u>
1. São Vincente	1. Sant' Iago
2. Santo Antao	2. Maio
3. São Nicolau	3. Fogo
4. Santa Luzia	4. Brava
5. Sal	5. Rei
6. Boa Vista	6. Rombo
7. Branco	
8. Raso	

The earliest known discovery of the islands was made in 1456 by the Venetian captain, Cadamosto, who had entered the service of Prince Henry, the Navigator. Four years later, Antonio de Noli verified the existence of Maio, Sant' Iago and

Fogo. It was not until 1470 that the islands became royal domain. The importance and population of the group increased rapidly; a bishop was consecrated in 1532, and its first governor was appointed at the close of the sixteenth century.

The first settlers on the islands imported negroes from the African coast, principally for the development of the slave trade with America and for the tilling of the near-marginal lands of the islands.

The slave population increased annually until 1854 when the government freed the public slaves and ameliorated their living conditions by the introduction of private ownership. In 1857, arrangements were made for the abolition and by 1876, the last slave was freed. (3, pp. 1249-1250) (12, editorial)

Creation of a Mixed Race

"The inhabitants of the Azores islands are Caucasian; their neighbors of the Cape Verde Islands are descendants of the Ethiopian race and are 'half-blooded' or black".

In 1740, the islands were employed as Portuguese penal colonies and large numbers of condemned prisoners and captive Moors began forced existences.

Slaves in the various islands were given the right to wed and a rapid intermarrying with the Portuguese natives took place. (11, translation)

Authorities agree that the natives of the islands form a group of half-castes, although they are mainly of Portuguese origin. "The negro cross is conspicuous in their good natured ugly faces, in their stature (they average two or three inches

more than the Portuguese of the continent), in their shambling gait, and in their ill-knit frames." -- Portuguese Old and New, Crawford. (20, p. 78)

Thus we see that the island Portuguese -- from which localities the United States receives the greatest number of Portuguese immigrants -- have received more than negligible infusions of negro blood. We may, however, expect some differences in the degree of intermixture between the islands. One could scarcely mistake the Portuguese of the Azores or Madeira for the decidedly negroid Bravas of the Cape Verde Islands. Immigration to the United States from the latter islands have, since 1915, been classified as "Colored" by the Massachusetts and Federal Censuses. (7, pp. 49-57)

Advent of the Cape Verdeans

There seems to be a difference of opinion in regard to the manner in which the "Black Portuguese" arrived in America. In all probability, there is some degree of authenticity with regard to each conclusion.

One version states that the advent was almost accidental, for it was the wreck of a Portuguese vessel on the New England Coast that first directed their attention to that section. This theory, as the instrument leading up to the arrival on our shores, seems highly improbable. (4, pp. 98-99)

The second opinion -- and one which may be clearly proved by historical records, (c.f. Bourne Museum - Seamen's Bethel, New Bedford, Massachusetts) -- goes back to the early whaling and trading ships that put out from New Bedford and Cape Cod.

Isolated cases of Portuguese settlers are reported as early as the seventeenth century, but it was not until the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century that they began coming in any numbers.

Since the first whale ship stopped at the harbor of Fayal, in the island of Brava, for water and took on board one of the natives, the tide of immigration from these islands has set this way. Later, whale ships which put out of New Bedford with skeleton crews brought back natives as part of the ship's company. (12, editorial) New Bedford whalers had begun to ply the waters of the Gulf Stream, Western Islands, Cape de Verdes and Brazil Banks due to restrictions put on fishing by the Governor of Labrador in 1765. (2, pp. 791-792)

The recruited men more than occasionally settled on farms in lieu of making the return voyage to their native islands. (We have evidence of three Portuguese names on the crew manifest of the whaling ship "Acushnet" which sailed in January of 1840 -- the "Acushnet" was later made famous by Herman Melville 's sea story, "Moby Dick".)

That a number must have come on the whaling ships is evident when we examine the size of the whaling industry in New Bedford. At its height in 1857, the New Bedford fleet numbered 329 ships and employed ten thousand seamen. (42 Congress, 2nd Session, Miscellaneous Documents volume XIII part 18 "10th Census of the United States" volume XVIII part 1, p. 256) (7, p.97)

In almost every case, New Bedford was the destination of

the emigrating Cape Verdeans. New Bedford was the first city in the United States that these people knew anything about, and while, in later years, some of the packets made Providence their port of entry, New Bedford remained the city of the new world for the people of the Cape Verde islands. (12, editorial)

Portuguese immigration increased rapidly, so that in 1869 they numbered eight hundred. Today, there are perhaps forty thousand Portuguese people or people of Portuguese descent in New Bedford. (See Table III). (7, pp. 97-98)

It has been stated that it is almost a habit for the island Portuguese to emigrate to America. In most of the islands, the women far outnumber the men who emigrate at an early age. (5, pp. 1-16)

Overpopulation, of late, has been an important factor in emigration from the islands. The islands are also overpopulated in the sense that, although primarily agricultural, sufficient food is not raised to support their populations. This shortage of food would not in itself be a cause for emigration, if the islands produced enough of other commodities to exchange for food imports; but they do not. (7, pp. 93-95)

The forces lying behind contemporary emigration appear to be to a large extent, then, economic. It is not because incomes in the islands are low, but because they are relatively low as compared to incomes in America, that the Cape Verdeans leave home.

Advent of Portuguese

As has already been pointed out, the Portuguese arrived on

New England shores as the result of the whaling industry. It was not long after that they entered cotton mills, for the history of New Bedford Board of Trade states: -- "the nationality of the operatives (of New Bedford) has undergone radical changes ----- Portuguese and French dominating."

Many of the immigrants have remained in New Bedford. Yet considerable numbers migrated to outlying districts of the Cape -- the majority, to the cranberry districts of the Cape and the towns of Barnstable County. (12, editorial) In these places which offer little or no attraction to other immigrants, the Cape Verdean Portuguese have multiplied until they have become an element that must be reckoned with socially, industrially, and educationally.

The Cape Verdeans are rare in Fall River and are entirely absent in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, localities with large white Portuguese colonies. (7, pp. 98-100) Large Cape Verdean centers are present principally in such towns as Marion, Wareham, Falmouth, Harwich, and Provincetown, but practically all of the towns of the Cape have island Portuguese as members of their communities.

The cranberry crop and the Portuguese may be considered in direct relationship. Owners, desirous of cheap labor to harvest their crops, and care for their bogs, soon recognized the Portuguese as the means to the end. As one bog owner states, "Their (Cape Verdean) labor is cheap, not so much because of the wages they are paid, but rather, because of the type of work they will do."

The fact that the native Cape Verdeans were familiar with the sea and accustomed to agriculture on near-marginal land and augmented by the low incomes derived from the cranberry industry, enabled these people to eke out their existences -- livings of lower standard than the average native-born American.

In like manner, the blueberry and strawberry crops have had direct bearing on the advent of the island Portuguese.

Thus, having briefly discussed the historical background of the Cape Verdean Portuguese, the inter-racial conflict that does exist between the Cape Verdean and the whites, and the why's and wherefore's of their immigration to this country, we will essay to point out the local problems of these people and to make suggestions for the alleviation of these problems.

As we will disclose, there appears to be something radically wrong with the present so-called solution to the situation. It is our task to discover where we lie in error and to make suggested modifications. The thought we are to bear in mind must be: what changes in the present set-up are necessary for the benefit of these people and of the community as a whole.

TABLE III

Estimated Immigration and Emigration of "Black Portuguese" *

	<u>Admitted</u>	<u>Departed</u>
1903	934	
1904	439	
1905	347	
1906	301	
1907	349	
1908	705	243
1909	615	279
1910	778	246
1911	1101	153
1912	1103	268
1913	972	464
1914	1711	290
1915	838	224
1916	653	308
1917	790	168
1918	407	148
1919	329	11
Totals	12,522	2,804

*Compiled from the several reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration 1903-1919. These reports record immigration classified both by "country of last permanent residence" and by "races and peoples". Black Portuguese are classified in the Commissioner's reports as "African". No attempt is made to distinguish them from the true African negroes except as their place of last permanent residence is noted.

The above table may, therefore, include some true African negroes, but it is the best available estimate on the number of "Bravas" who have come recently.

The reports do not give data on emigration prior to 1908. The totals of the two columns, therefore, are not comparable.

TABLE IV

Immigrant Aliens Admitted and Emigrant Aliens Departed *

	<u>Cape Verdean</u>	
	<u>Immigration</u>	<u>Emigration</u>
1935	118	151
1936	105	109
1937	155	138
1938	174	97
1939	<u>218</u>	<u>101</u>
Totals	770	596

	<u>All Countries</u>	
	<u>Immigration</u>	<u>Emigration</u>
1935	34,956	38,834
1936	36,329	35,817
1937	50,244	26,736
1938	67,895	25,210
1939	<u>82,998</u>	<u>26,651</u>
Totals	272,422	155,248

*Compiled from the reports of the United States Department of Labor, Immigration, and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. These reports record immigrant aliens admitted and emigrant aliens departed (1935-1939) classified by countries of last or future permanent residence. (See Table I)

TABLE V

Immigration to the United States from the Cape Verde Islands
during Specified Periods from 1820-1938. *

	<u>Cape Verde Islands</u>	<u>All Countries</u>
1820-1830	17	151,824
1831-1840	54	599,125
1841-1850	55	1,713,251
1851-1860	210	2,598,214
1861-1870	312	2,314,824
1871-1880	358	2,812,191
1881-1890	857	5,246,513
1891-1900	350	3,687,564
1901-1910	7,368	8,795,386
1911-1920	8,443	5,735,811
1921-1930	6,286	4,107,209
1931-1938	<u>1,330</u>	<u>374,677</u>
Totals	25,640	38,136,689

*Compiled from the reports of the United States Department of Labor, Immigration, and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. For 1820-1867, the figures are for alien passengers arriving; for 1868-1903, for immigrants arriving; for 1904-1906, for aliens admitted; and, beginning with 1907, for immigrant aliens admitted.

TABLE VI

Cape Verdean Naturalization *
(certificates of Naturalization issued)

	<u>Cape Verde Islands</u>	<u>All Countries</u>
1935	43	118,945
1936	28	141,265
1937	46	164,976
1938	29	162,078
1939	<u>46</u>	<u>188,813</u>
Totals	192	776,007

*Compiled from the reports of the United States Department of Labor, Immigration, and Naturalization Service. These reports record aliens naturalized during years ended June 30, 1935-1939 by countries of former allegiance.

TABLE VII

Cape Verdean Percentage of Naturalization *

	<u>Cape Verde Islands</u>	<u>All Countries</u>
1935	Less than 1/2 of 1/10 of 1 per cent	100%
1936	Less than 1/2 of 1/10 of 1 per cent	100%
1937	Less than 1/2 of 1/10 of 1 per cent	100%
1938	Less than 1/2 of 1/10 of 1 per cent	100%
1939	Less than 1/2 of 1/10 of 1 per cent	100%
Totals	Less than 1/400 of 1 per cent	100%

*Compiled from the reports of the United States Department of Labor, Immigration, and Naturalization Service. These reports record percentage of aliens naturalized during the five years ended June 30, 1935-1939, according to countries of former allegiance.

TABLE VIII

Cape Verdean and White Grade Membership (1926-1939)

Years		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1926-	C.V.	83	80	61	47	43	40	24
1927	W.	92	113	72	67	82	91	81
1927-	C.V.	77	91	77	48	59	43	20
1928	W.	105	103	91	91	70	91	65
1928-	C.V.	89	83	53	62	54	45	26
1929	W.	141	109	78	77	84	85	65
1929-	C.V.	77	72	49	51	54	40	28
1930	W.	121	94	103	95	84	82	58
1930-	C.V.	82	74	71	56	52	42	31
1931	W.	114	98	78	96	76	74	73
1931-	C.V.	89	59	93	45	37	41	23
1932	W.	101	103	82	83	99	88	86
1932-	C.V.	97	78	72	78	69	47	40
1933	W.	102	98	87	92	78	99	71
1933-	C.V.	87	70	45	57	57	49	29
1934	W.	116	91	101	91	102	102	89
1934-	C.V.	78	57	56	43	58	54	32
1935	W.	106	111	108	82	84	99	101
1935-	C.V.	77	66	54	56	42	52	47
1936	W.	97	95	94	93	88	89	87
1936-	C.V.	75	67	54	51	51	52	42
1937	W.	92	86	96	83	89	84	95
1937-	C.V.	62	60	51	48	44	50	43
1938	W.	96	89	80	102	88	76	84
1938-	C.V.	63	51	60	49	49	43	38
1939	W.	93	92	70	66	91	91	81

(Continued on p. 19)

TABLE VIII (cont'd)

Years		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total ¹	% ²	% ³
1926-	C.V.	5	8	2	1	0	349	31.72	32.14
1927	W.	55	50	49	53	40	848		
1927-	C.V.	15	8	3	2	1	444	32.45	32.82
1928	W.	77	79	62	31	58	924		
1928-	C.V.	13	2	5	2	0	434	31.74	34.30
1929	W.	71	67	74	41	41	933		
1929-	C.V.	14	7	5	1	3	401	29.92	33.58
1930	W.	73	74	62	58	35	939		
1930-	C.V.	16	11	4	4	2	445	33.21	37.74
1931	W.	58	77	73	40	38	895		
1931-	C.V.	20	10	4	4	3	438	31.39	35.34
1932	W.	66	58	77	57	36	936		
1932-	C.V.	22	9	7	5	3	527	37.62	40.35
1933	W.	71	67	65	71	59	874		
1933-	C.V.	29	10	5	3	3	444	30.52	32.69
1934	W.	91	49	67	56	59	1014		
1934-	C.V.	21	17	8	3	3	430	29.33	31.67
1935	W.	95	73	70	54	53	1036		
1935-	C.V.	27	7	11	9	4	452	31.95	33.15
1936	W.	88	74	79	59	51	994		
1936-	C.V.	33	13	8	5	6	457	32.48	34.37
1937	W.	89	70	64	66	40	950		
1937-	C.V.	32	17	14	5	4	430	31.09	32.77
1938	W.	84	80	64	54	56	953		
1938-	C.V.	32	22	21	9	3	440	32.59	33.88
1939	W.	71	87	70	57	41	910		

¹Grades I-XII

²% of total enrollment

³% of total enrollment inclusive of special classes

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of the Cape Verdean school problem, a table has been constructed showing the comparative numbers of school children (native white and Cape Verdean) of the several grades in the town of Wareham over a period of thirteen years. (1926-1939) (See Table VIII).

In commenting on the previously mentioned Table VIII, it might be said that it is easily discernible that, compared with the number of Cape Verdean children who start school in the first grade, the number who graduate from high school is negligible. For example, we see that in the years 1926-7, and 1928-9 that there were no Cape Verdean members of the high school graduating class, although the numbers in the first grades for those years were eighty-three and eighty-nine respectively; that in the following years, the number graduating ranges upward from two (1930-1) to the maximum number of six (1936-7).

When we perceive that the per cent of total Cape Verdean membership has a rather high minimum of 29.33% (1935-6) and a maximum of 37.62% (1932-3), and when we note that these totals and percentages, augmented by enrollments of special classes (ungraded classes), are increased to 31.67% (1934-5) and 40.35% (1932-3), the fact that the percentage of Cape Verdean graduations for the several years ranges from 00.00% to an extremely low maximum of 8.00% (1936-7) is indicative of the seriousness of the problem.

The percentage of white graduates for the various years is considerably higher. That is to say, the number of white

graduates as compared to the number who started school in the first grades is far larger than the numbers derived from a similar comparison of the Cape Verdean children. We see that in the years of the minimum (1926-7, 1928-9) and the maximum (1936-7) Cape Verdean graduations showed percentages of 00.00% and 8.00% respectively (computed from the memberships in the first and twelfth grades). Similar reckoning for the whites yields far greater percentages:

TABLE IX

Cape Verdean and White Graduations Shown in Per Cents

	<u>Cape Verdean</u>		
	<u>Grade I</u>	<u>Grade XII</u>	<u>Pct.</u>
1926-1927	83	0	00.00
1928-1929	89	0	00.00
1936-1937	75	6	08.00

	<u>White</u>		
1926-1927	92	40	43.47
1928-1929	141	41	29.15
1936-1937	92	40	43.47

Figures for random years pertaining to the same subject:

	<u>Cape Verdean</u>		
1927-1928	77	1	01.29
1929-1930	77	3	03.89
1930-1931	82	2	02.43
1934-1935	78	3	03.89
1937-1938	62	4	06.45
1938-1939	63	3	04.76

	<u>White</u>		
1927-1928	105	58	55.23
1929-1930	121	35	28.92
1930-1931	114	38	33.33
1934-1935	106	53	50.00
1937-1938	96	56	58.33
1938-1939	93	41	44.08

TABLE X

Mean Percentages of Graduates for Thirteen Years (1926-1939)

<u>Cape Verdean</u>			<u>White</u>		
<u>Grade I</u>	<u>Grade XII</u>	<u>Pct.</u>	<u>Grade I</u>	<u>Grade XII</u>	<u>Pct.</u>
1040	35	03.36	1376	607	44.11

Thus we see that in the years from 1926-1939, the average percentage of Cape Verdean graduates as figured from memberships of Grade I and Grade XII is less than 3.5%, whereas the average percentage of white graduates, figured on the same basis, is over 44% -- an appreciable difference.

If we consider the first grade class membership for the year 1926-7 and if we consider that in twelve years that membership would comprise the high school graduating class (1937-8), the fact is evident that although mortality is great for both over that twelve year period, the Cape Verdean mortality is excessively great. In the year 1926-7, 83 Cape Verdean children started school in the first grades; twelve years later 79 of these children had dropped out of school, that is to say, only 4 pupils remained in school for the twelve years necessary for graduation in 1938. In 1927, there were 77 pupils of Cape Verdean origin who started in the first grades and twelve years later all but three had ceased their formal education (1939). In 1928, 89 Cape Verdean children began first grade schooling and, according to a school census (Table XI -- figures inclusive of October 26, 1939), there will be no more than five,

with the possibility of a smaller number, who will graduate in 1940. Therefore we see that 84 of the original 89 have dropped out of school. (For comparative figures for both Cape Verdean and white children in regard to this matter, see Table XI.)

TABLE XI

Mortality of Cape Verdean and White Children Figured
in Percentages for Twelve Years of Public Schooling

<u>Cape Verdean</u>		
	<u>1926-7</u>	<u>1937-8</u>
No. in Grade I	83	
No. in Grade XII		4
% of mortality	<hr/> 95.19%	
	<u>1927-8</u>	<u>1938-9</u>
No. in Grade I	77	
No. in Grade XII		3
% of mortality	<hr/> 96.50%	
	<u>1928-9</u>	<u>1939-40*</u>
No. in Grade I	89	
No. in Grade XII		5
% of mortality	<hr/> 94.39%	
<u>White</u>		
	<u>1926-7</u>	<u>1937-8</u>
No. in Grade I	92	
No. in Grade XII		56
% of mortality	<hr/> 39.14%	
	<u>1927-8</u>	<u>1938-9</u>
No. in Grade I	105	
No. in Grade XII		41
% of mortality	<hr/> 60.96%	
	<u>1928-9</u>	<u>1939-40*</u>
No. in Grade I	141	
No. in Grade XII		52
% of mortality	<hr/> 63.83%	

*Facts inclusive of October 26, 1939

The number of Cape Verdean pupils in the first grades as compared directly with the number of white children in the same grades is somewhat larger than a comparison of the adult population would show, as examination of Tables I and VIII will bear out. Table I indicates that the per cent of Cape Verdean adult population is about one-fifth or 20% of the total population of the town, whereas (first grade membership varying greatly over a period of years) Table VIII shows that the lowest per cent of Cape Verdean children in the first grades is 38.69% (1928-9) and the highest is 47.42% (1926-7). That is to say, then, that in 1926-7 the Cape Verdean children comprised 47.42% of the total first grade enrollment, but that with the same class twelve years later (i.e. upon graduation from high school), Cape Verdean children made up a meager 06.67% of the total enrollment.

An average per cent of Cape Verdean first grade population as compared with the total first grade population, over the period of thirteen years listed in Table VIII, and similar computation for the thirteen years of twelfth grades totals are as follows:

TABLE XII

Cape Verdean Per Cents of Total Enrollment for Grades I and XII

<u>Grade I Totals</u>	<u>Cape Verdean Totals</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
2416	1040	43.09
<u>Grade XII Totals</u>	<u>Cape Verdean Totals</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
642	35	05.42

Thus we see that the total number of Cape Verdean children in the first grades, taken year by year for the past thirteen years, was 43.09% of the total first grade membership for that time -- that the total number of Cape Verdean children in the twelfth grade over the same period of time was only 5.42% of the total twelfth grade enrollment. In other words, a drop from almost 1/2 of the total enrollment in grades I, to 1/20 of the total enrollment in grades XII. The total white population of grades I amounted to 1376 pupils or 56.91% of the total population for that period. This per cent increased to 94.58% of the total populations for grade XII, regardless of the fact that there was a natural mortality of from 40% to a maximum mortality of 63.83%.

Thus it can clearly be understood that an alarming and remarkable dropping out of Cape Verdean children is taking place. The next step is to discover at what age and what grade appears the greatest mortality and the reasons back of this cessation of public schooling.

Further examination of Table VIII indicates that mortality is greatest, with few exceptions, in the period from the sixth grade to the eighth grade. The sixth grade is the year when a large per cent of Cape Verdean children -- either through lack of interest, marks, or economic difficulties at home -- fail to remain in school. For example, we see that in the year 1926-7, 16 of the 40 pupils in grade VI for some reason or other have left school and the total membership for grade VII has dropped to 24. This, then, means that the number of

Cape Verdean pupils in grade VII for that year (1926-7) is only 60.00% of the Cape Verdean membership for grade VI for the same year. In other words, 40.00% of the children have dropped out during the year from the sixth to the seventh grade*. Comparing this figure with the white mortality for the same grade for the same year, we see that the white membership for grade VI total 91 and for grade VII, 81 -- a drop of ten members. This, then, means that the per cent of white membership of grade VII for that year was 89.01% of the membership for grade VI. Therefore in the case of the Cape Verdeans, we have a drop of 40.00% as compared to a 10.99% mortality of the whites over the same grade year. A like comparison for several years would tend to yield the same results as examination of Table XIII will show.

*It may be readily understood why mortality increases suddenly from the sixth to the seventh grades since Social Security laws pertaining to minors of Massachusetts stipulate that a child must remain in school from the age of seven to sixteen. A child desiring to leave school at the age of sixteen, may do so with the condition that he obtain a working certificate (written permission of the superintendent of schools to engage in employment) and, at the time of his departure, that he shall have completed the sixth grade.

TABLE XIII

A Comparison of Cape Verdean and White Mortality

	<u>Cape Verdean</u>			<u>White</u>		
	<u>Grade</u> <u>VI</u>	<u>Grade</u> <u>VII</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>mortality</u>	<u>Grade</u> <u>VI</u>	<u>Grade</u> <u>VII</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>mortality</u>
1927-8	43	20	53.49	91	65	28.58
1928-9	45	26	42.23	85	65	23.53
1929-30	40	28	30.00	82	58	29.27
1931-2	41	23	43.91	88	86	2.28
1933-4	49	29	40.82	102	89	12.75
1935-6	52	47	9.62	89	87	2.25
1937-8	52	42	19.24	84	95	.13*
(Average (for 7 (random years	322	215	33.23	621	545	12.24

* Increase

In like manner, a large mortality is evident from the seventh to the eighth grades and for the remaining years of high school in regard to the Cape Verdean school population. Whereas there is a similarly large mortality in white students, their originally larger membership in the sixth grade serves to make their numbers appear even greater when we compare them with Cape Verdean high school memberships. (See Table VIII, grades VII to XII.)

Again by reference to Table VIII, we see that the sixth grade class of 1926-7 diminishes as it progresses through the seventh to the twelfth grades. This fact will also bear out the statement that great mortalities occur in every grade starting with the sixth and ending with the twelfth. Mortalities

to be sure, occur in the white grade totals, which although large, do not attain such great proportions, and do not result in a mere handful of graduates for the twelfth year. (See Table XIV.)

TABLE XIV

Cape Verdean and White Pupil Mortality
(by observation of one class from grades VI to XII)

	<u>Cape Verdean</u>							<u>White</u>						
	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
1926(VI) !	40	20	13	7	4	4	3	91	65	71	74	73	57	59
1927(VI) !	43	26	14	11	4	5	3	91	65	73	77	77	71	59
1928(VI) !	45	28	16	10	7	3	3	85	58	58	58	65	56	53
1929(VI) !	40	31	20	9	5	3	4	82	73	66	67	67	54	51
1930(VI) !	42	23	22	10	8	9	6	74	86	71	49	70	59	40
1931(VI) !	41	40	29	17	11	5	4	88	71	91	73	79	66	56
1932(VI) !	47	29	21	7	8	5	3	99	89	95	74	64	54	41
1933(VI) !	49	32	27	13	14	9		102	101	88	70	64	57	
1934(VI) !	54	47	33	17	21			99	87	89	80	70		
1935(VI) !	52	42	32	22				89	95	84	87			
1936(VI) !	52	43	32					84	84	87				
1937(VI) !	50	38						76	81					
1938(VI) !	43							91						

Table XIV clearly indicates the marked dropping out of the Cape Verdean school children. Note, for example, that by the time that the sixth grade class of 1926-7 had reached the twelfth grade, all but three, due to one cause or another, had left school. In other words, 37 of the original 40 sixth grade pupils (or 92.50%) failed to graduate from high school. As compared with the Cape Verdeans, 32 white pupils ended their public schooling; but this mortality would only constitute a comparatively small percentage (35.16%). Attention should be called to

the fact that in the remaining years tabulated, the Cape Verdean mortality increases whereas the white mortality (with the exception of 1932) is on the decline.

In summation, the above-mentioned statistics should definitely emphasize the following points:

1. ----that the number of Cape Verdean children who graduate from high school as compared with the number who start school in the first grades is negligible.
2. ----that Cape Verdean mortality is heaviest from the sixth to the twelfth grades.
3. ----that Cape Verdeans comprise almost 1/2 of the total grade I, but only 1/20 of the grade XII enrollment.
4. ----that a drop of perhaps 33% in grade enrollment from grade VI to grade VII exists in Cape Verdean school population, and the drop in regard to white school population is nearer 12%.
5. ----that Cape Verdean school mortality from grade VI to grade XII appears to be slightly increasing; with the white children, for the same grades, the converse is true.

In regard to special classes, Table XV indicates that enrollment over a period of years is predominantly Cape Verdean. Special classes in the town of Wareham have for their purpose the providing of opportunities which the average class room does not offer. The work accomplished is primarily of the handicraft variety -- i.e. the making of baskets, wood cut-outs, painting, etc. Pupils possessing intelligence quotients of 75 or less, generally are admitted to these opportunity classes.

TABLE XV

Cape Verdean and White Enrollment in Special Classes
For the Town of Wareham over a Period of 13 Years

(1926-1939)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Cape Verdean</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>% Cape Verdean</u>
1926-7	12	9	57.14
1927-8	12	9	57.14
1928-9	61	15	80.26
1929-30	85	22	79.43
1930-1	106	14	88.33
1931-2	83	17	83.00
1932-3	71	10	88.89
1933-4	52	7	88.13
1934-5	55	10	84.61
1935-6	50	18	73.52
1936-7	47	12	79.65
1937-8	41	13	75.92
1938-9	33	13	71.73
1939-40*	34	10	77.27
Total	742	179	80.56

*Inclusive of October 26, 1939

Examination of Table XV shows conclusively that for the years tabulated the enrollment of special classes has been 1/2 to nearly 9/10 Cape Verdean. In the years 1926-7 and 1927-8, the per cent of Cape Verdean enrollment was 57.14, the smallest per cent for any year. The per cent of enrollment for three years (1930-1, 1932-3, 1933-4) was over 88%. This means that only 12% of the enrollment was white, or, of the total number of 260 pupils only 31 were white. Over the period of thirteen years, we have a total class enrollment of 921 pupils with 742 or 80.56% being Cape Verdean.

Thus we see that the Cape Verdean educational problem is made more complex. Not only is Cape Verdean mortality far

excessive to that of white children, but also the number of Cape Verdean special class members is far greater (with no signs of diminishing apparent) than that of the white children.

TABLE XVI

School Census (Cape Verdean - White)

October 26, 1939

School		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Special	Total by Schools	% of C.V.
P.M.	C.V.		2	14	10	10	12	11		59	20.48
	W.		30	37	31	38	38	55		229	
West	C.V.	4	3	9	5	10	10		17	58	52.25
	W.	11	10	9	6	3	7		7	53	
South	C.V.	3	9	4	2					18	50.00
	W.	9	1	2	6					18	
Everett	C.V.	22	18							40	50.00
	W.	34	6							40	
East	C.V.	4	6	1	1	4	5		17	38	34.86
	W.	14	9	15	9	9	12		3	71	
O. Grove	C.V.	16	13	15	12	16	9	21		102	95.33
	W.	2	1		1	1				5	
Onset	C.V.	3	4	6	3	6	6	2		30	15.46
	W.	24	22	28	19	20	24	27		164	
Total by Grades	C.V.	52	55	49	33	46	42	34	34		
	W.	94	79	91	72	71	81	82	10		

% of C.V.
by Grades

35.62

41.04

35.00

31.43

39.31

34.15

29.31

77.27

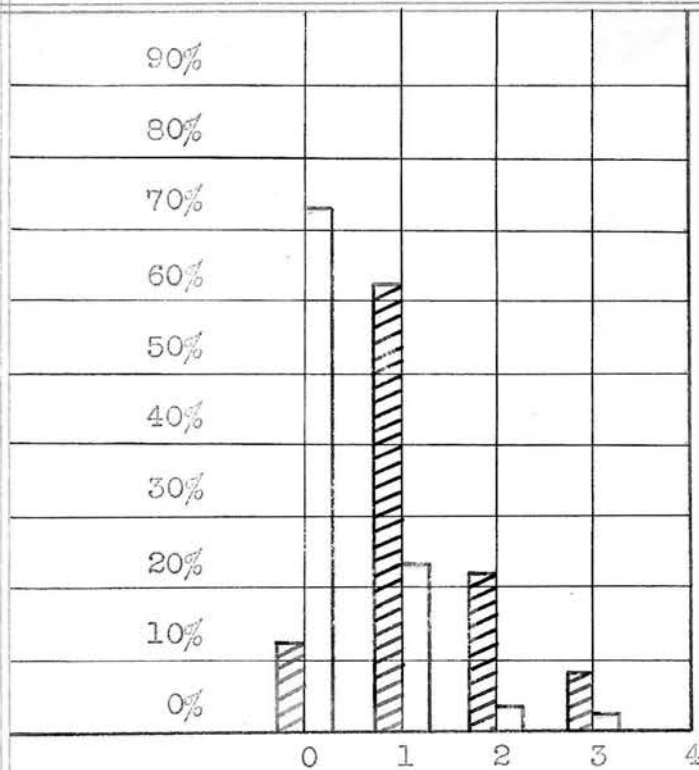
(continued on p. 34)

TABLE XVI (cont'd)

TABLE XVI (cont'd)									
School		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	Total of all Schools	% of C.V.
High	C.V.	28	25	25	8	5	91	436	20.27
	W.	73	71	96	63	52	358	938	
% of C.V. by Grades		22.72	26.04	20.66	11.26	8.77			

Total Enrollment 1374



% C.V. of Total 31.72



GRAPH I

Retardation

(Per cent of retardation of Cape Verdean vs. white for the total sixth grade enrollment in four schools in the town of Wareham)

 Cape Verdean
 White

Examination of Graph I indicates the heavier Cape Verdean retardation as compared with the white children. The sixth grade was selected as a criterion since it is in the sixth grade that mortality is evidenced to an alarming degree.

We note that whereas 73% of the white children have never been retarded, only 12% of the Cape Verdean children have never repeated a grade out of the first six. With reference to Cape Verdean children, 61% have repeated one year and 20% have repeated two years; 22% of the whites have repeated one grade and only 2% have been retarded for two school years.

Allowances have been made for illness, moving from school to school, and other factors which might affect the validity of the figures.

Comparison of Cape Verdean and White Marks

The following graphs (graphs II-VIII), illustrate the comparative per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children. The data were compiled from the total sixth grade enrollment in four schools in the town of Wareham.

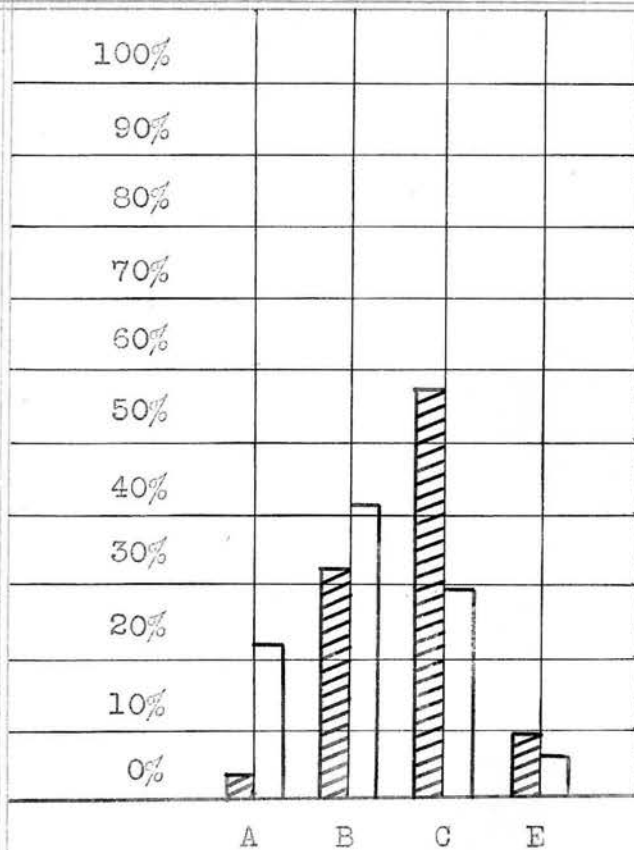
With the knowledge of the fact that teacher's marks vary considerably and at times may be inadequate, and with the understanding that the present system of marking is far from a perfect criterion of accomplishment, we must, nevertheless, accept marks as the best standard available.



A study of the graphic comparisons seems to result in the following conclusions: --

1. With few exceptions, Cape Verdean children do not receive excellent marks in subject matter.
2. Writing and spelling appear to be the two subjects in which the Cape Verdean excels.
3. The majority of Cape Verdean children experience difficulty in the mastery of arithmetic.
4. Cape Verdean children are only fair in regard to reading and English. This fact may be accounted for by the lack of English spoken in the home. It might be added that even the best of the Cape Verdean students, experience difficulty in the pronouncing of certain phonetics -- "th" for example.
5. The social sciences, that is geography and history, are the most difficult subjects for the Cape Verdean. Since many are unable to read with a maximum degree of comprehension, this fact becomes easily understood.
6. With few exceptions, Cape Verdean children receive poorer marks and more failures than the white children. The validity of this assertion is strengthened by an examination of Graph I.

No attempt was made to compare drawing and music marks,

since in the Wareham marking system, only two marks are given in these subjects, "Satisfactory" and Unsatisfactory".



 Cape Verdean
 White

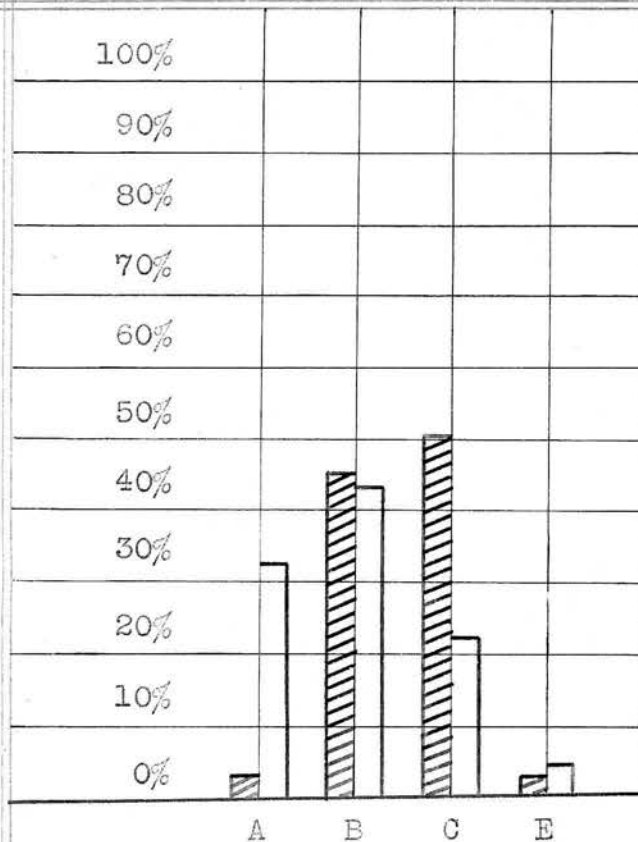
GRAPH II

Arithmetic Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

Examination of Graph II indicates the large number of arithmetic C's and E's in the Cape Verdean group. Only 2% (plus) of the Cape Verdeans received "A", whereas over 21% of the white children in the same classes received the same mark. Three fifths of the Cape Verdeans received C's and E's; in like manner, three fifths of the whites received A's and B's.



Thus we note that the Cape Verdean child experiences difficulty in arithmetical work.



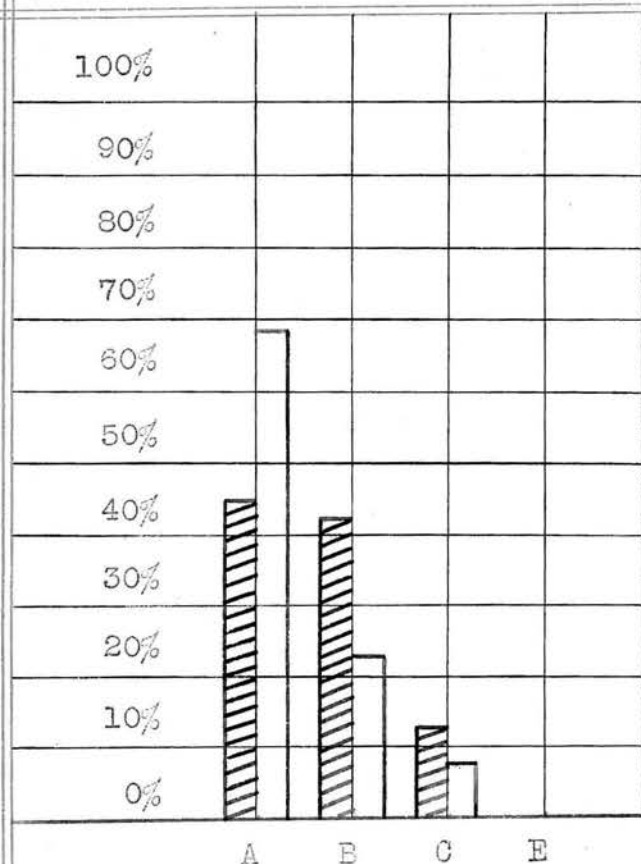
GRAPH III

English Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

 Cape Verdean
 White

Examination of Graph III indicates the failure of Cape Verdean children to do high grade work in English. Practically thirty-five per cent of the white children received "A" grading in English and in the same classes, only 2% (plus) of the Cape Verdean children received the same mark. Approximately 94% of the Cape Verdeans received either "B" or "C". The various teachers of English pointed out that the Cape Verdeans did good work in formal grammar, but only fair or poor work in oral and written compositions.



GRAPH IV
Spelling Marks

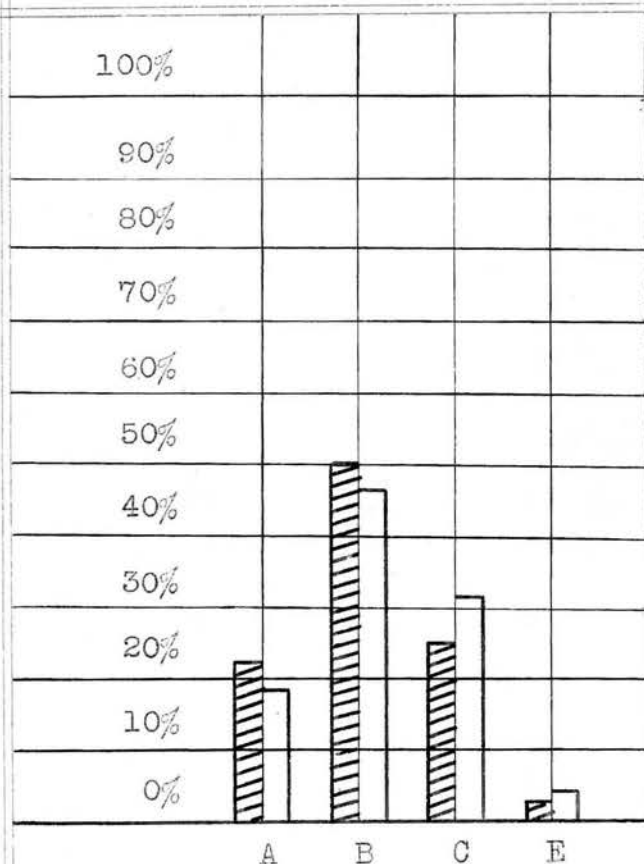
(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham, -- 1938-9)

□ White
▨ Cape Verdean

Examination of Graph IV shows that 45% of the Cape Verdeans received an "A" rating and that 43% received "B". The per cents of Cape Verdean A's and B's would total approximately 87%, or only 4% less than the white total (91%).

It is interesting to note that the superintendent of schools of a neighboring town stated that, although he had no definite proof, it was his opinion that the Cape Verdean children even surpassed the white children in regard to spelling marks. There were no failures in either Cape Verdean or white marks, a fact which is of interest.



Spelling, it appears, is the subject best mastered by the Cape Verdean child.



GRAPH V

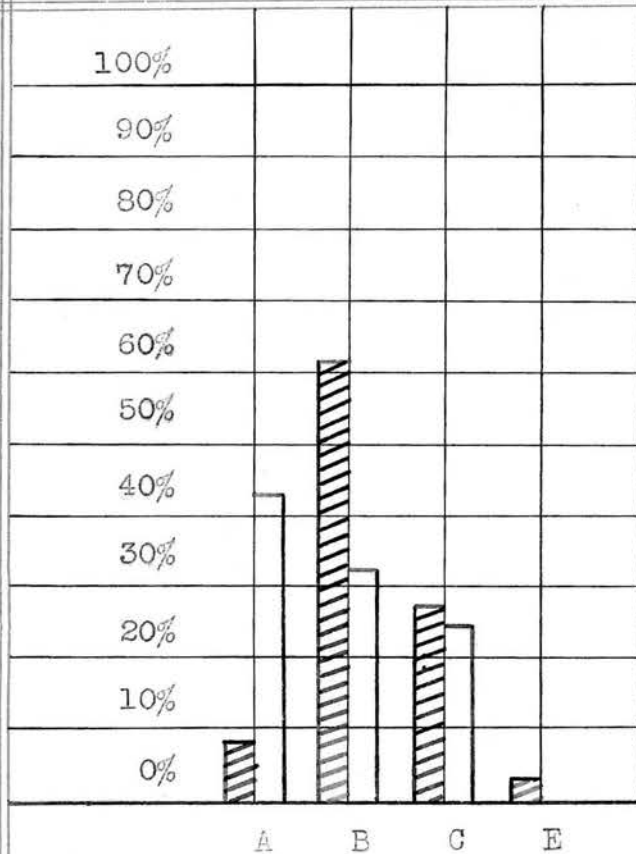
Writing Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

 Cape Verdean
 White

Writing, apparently, is another of the "Cape Verdean" subjects. Over 22% of Cape Verdean children received "A" ratings and an even 50% received "B" marks. This, then, means that approximately 72% of the total Cape Verdean school population of the classes in question, received either "A" or "B" and that only 66% of the white children received the same marks. The Cape Verdeans were ahead of the whites not only in A's and B's, but also received 5% less C's and nearly 2% less failing marks.

Although drawing marks are inadequate, it is the observation of the teachers of the various schools that the Cape Verdean children excel in drawing and handwork. "Hand" subjects, one gathers, are mastered by the Cape Verdeans with astonishing ease.



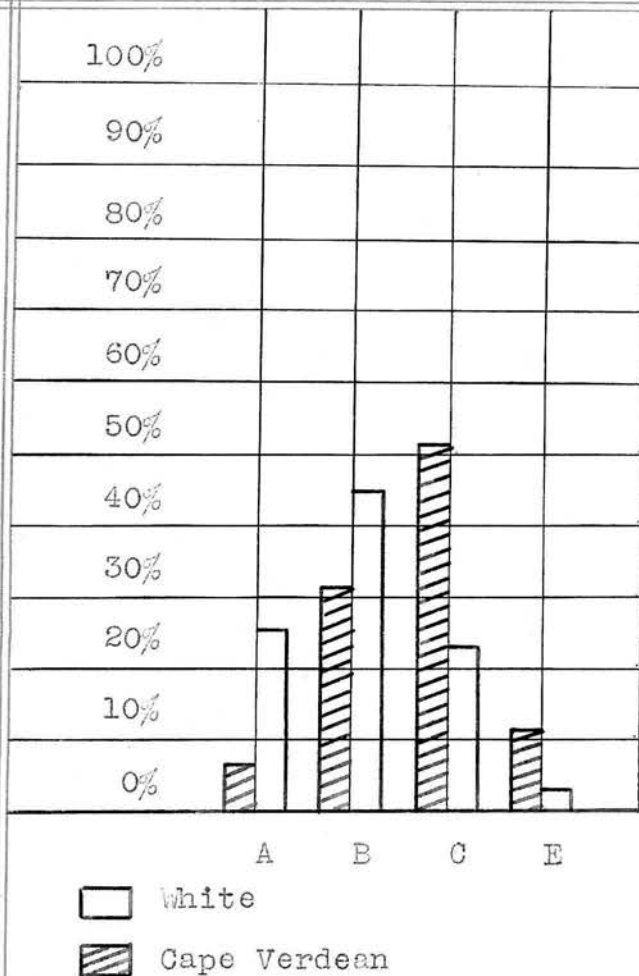
GRAPH VI

Reading Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

☐ White
☒ Cape Verdean

Examination of Graph VI indicates that while nearly 44% of the white children received "A" ratings, only 8% (plus) of the Cape Verdean children received the same mark. The per cent of "B" ratings in the Cape Verdean groups, however, jumps to 61% so that total "A" and "B" per cents becomes fairly high. The per cent of failures is nearly 3% as contrasted with the total lack of failures in the white children.



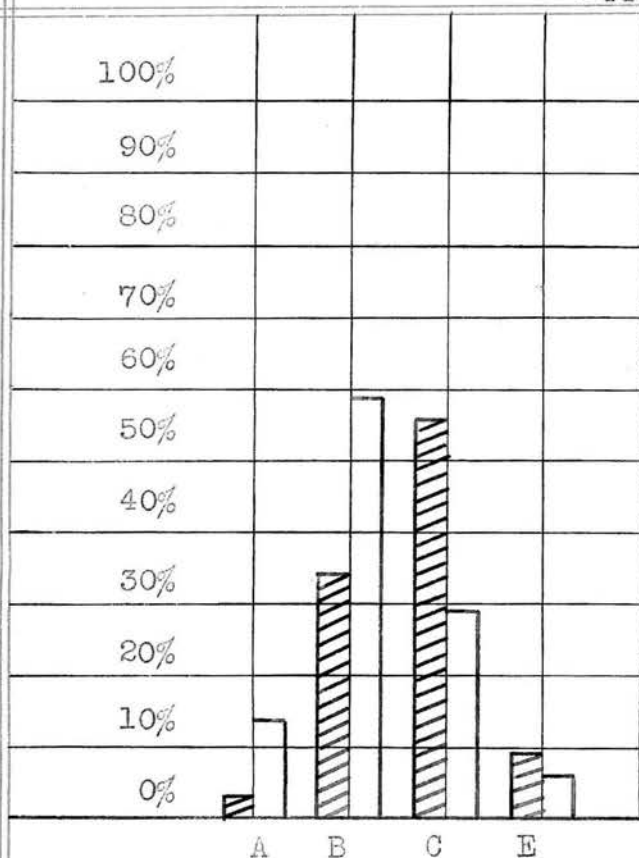
GRAPH VII

History Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

Examination of Graph VII indicates that the Cape Verdean children drop considerably below the whites in obtaining "A" and "B" marks. Only 5% of the Cape Verdeans received "A" -- a per cent nearly 21% below the white total. Approximately 73% of the white children received either "A" or "B" and only 36% of the Cape Verdeans received the same marks. Cape Verdean failures reached 11.43% -- nearly 9% higher than the white failures.



It appears, then, that history is a difficult subject for Cape Verdean children to master thoroughly; that they are considerably below the whites in regard to A's and B's and above the whites with reference to C's and E's.



GRAPH VIII

Geography Marks

(Per cent of A's, B's, C's, and E's given to Cape Verdean and white children in the sixth grades of four schools in the town of Wareham -- 1938-9)

 Cape Verdean
 White

Examination of Graph VIII indicates that 14.50% of the white children received "A" marks and that only 2% (plus) of the Cape Verdean received the same ratings. Whereas 58% of the whites received B's, 36% of the Cape Verdeans received B's. Thus we see that 72% of the whites, and only 38% of the Cape Verdeans received either "A" or "B" marks; that 62% of the Cape Verdeans, and only 27% of the whites received "C" or "E" marks. In the number of failures, the Cape Verdeans exceed the whites by approximately 3%.

It appears, then, that the Cape Verdean child has difficulty with the social sciences, that he makes his poorest showing in this branch of subject matter.

Intelligence

The Henmon-Nelson Tests of Mental Ability were given in two schools of the town of Wareham in order that a comparison of mental ability might be made between the Cape Verdean and white children. Tests were given in grades III through VII in the Onset and Oak Grove schools. To clarify the situation, it should be explained that the Onset school has about an 85% white population and that the Oak Grove school has about 96% Cape Verdean population.

As a means of expressing the validity of the Henmon-Nelson, the authors state that their test compares favorably with other dependable measures of mental ability; that there is a consistently high correlation between the Henmon-Nelson Tests, the Terman Tests, and the Otis Tests.

With the understanding that too much reliance, of course, should not be placed on I.Q.'s. obtained from any group intelligence test and that it is well to supplement information gained from mental tests with information concerning the pupils' scholastic records, personality traits, and other available data, we present by grades the I.Q.'s. of the Cape Verdean and white children.

(I.Q.'s. ranging from 90 to 100 denote average intelligence, those below 90, inferior mental ability, and those above 110, superior intelligence. -- Henmon-Nelson)

I.Q.'s. for the first grades of the two schools were computed by the state psychiatrist by individual testing.

TABLE XVII

Frequency Distribution of I.Q's. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Third Grades
 (Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade III

<u>White I.Q's.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q's.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
120-129	3	3	9	27	120-129	1	4	4	16
110-119	5	2	10	20	110-119	1	3	3	9
100-109	3	1	3	3	100-109	1	2	2	4
90-99	5	0	0	0	90-99	6	1	6	6
80-89	6	-1	-6	6	80-89	6	0	0	0
70-79	2	-2	-4	8	70-79	6	-1	-6	6
60-69	1	-3	3	9	60-69	1	-2	-2	4
	25		9	73		22		7	45

Mean score 98.6
 Median score 97.0
 Standard deviation 14.4

Mean score 88.1
 Median score 86.6
 Standard deviation 13.7

TABLE XVIII

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Fourth Grades
(Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade IV

<u>White I.Q.'s.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q.'s.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
110-119	2	2	4	8	110-119	1	3	3	9
100-109	4	1	4	4	100-109	3	2	6	12
90-99	4	0	0	0	90-99	4	1	4	4
80-89	4	-1	-4	4	80-89	4	0	0	0
70-79	2	-2	-4	8	70-79	2	-1	-2	2
	16		0	24		14		11	27

Mean score 95.0

Median score 94.0

Standard deviation 12.2

Mean score 92.8

Median score 92.5

Standard deviation 11.4

TABLE XIX

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Fifth Grades
(Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade V

TABLE XIX

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Fifth Grades
 (Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade V

<u>White I.Q.'s.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q.'s.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
140-149	1	4	4	16	140-149	0	6	0	0
130-139	0	3	0	0	130-139	0	5	0	0
120-129	2	2	4	8	120-129	1	4	4	16
110-119	6	1	6	6	110-119	0	3	0	0
100-109	2	0	0	0	100-109	0	2	0	0
90-99	1	-1	-1	1	90-99	7	1	7	7
80-89	2	-2	-4	8	80-89	8	0	0	0
70-79	1	-3	-3	9	70-79	5	-1	-5	5
60-69	0	-4	0	0	60-69	1	-2	-2	4
50-59	0	-5	0	0	50-59	1	-3	-3	9
	15		6	48		23		1	41

Mean score 111.0

Median score 111.5

Standard deviation 11.8

Mean score 85.4

Median score 84.6

Standard deviation 13.3

TABLE XX

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Sixth Grades
 (Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade VI

<u>White I.Q.'s.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q.'s.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
130-139	2	4	8	32	130-139	0	6	0	0
120-129	2	3	6	18	120-129	0	5	0	0
110-119	4	2	8	16	110-119	0	4	0	0
100-109	4	1	4	4	100-109	1	3	3	9
90-99	5	0	0	0	90-99	3	2	6	12
80-89	4	-1	-4	4	80-89	7	1	7	7
70-79	1	-2	-2	4	70-79	4	0	0	0
60-69	0	-3	0	0	60-69	1	-1	-1	1
	22		20	78		16		15	29

Mean score 104.0

Median score 101.5

Standard deviation 16.2

Mean score 84.6

Median score 83.2

Standard deviation 10.0

TABLE XXI

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children of the Seventh Grades
 (Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

Grade VII

<u>White I.Q.'s.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q.'s.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
120-129	1	3	3	9	120-129	0	4	0	0
110-119	7	2	14	28	110-119	1	3	3	9
100-109	7	1	7	7	100-109	7	2	14	28
90-99	2	0	0	0	90-99	7	1	7	7
80-89	3	-1	-3	3	80-89	4	0	0	0
70-79	0	-2	0	0	70-79	6	-1	-6	6
60-69	1	-3	-3	9	60-69	0	-2	0	0
	21		18	56		25		18	50

Mean score 103.5
 Median score 105.4
 Standard deviation 14.2

Mean score 92.2
 Median score 92.5
 Standard deviation 11.3

TABLE XXII

Frequency Distribution of I.Q.'s. of Cape Verdean
and White Children, Grades III-VII
 (Onset and Oak Grove schools in the town of Wareham, 1940)

<u>White I.Q.'s.</u>					<u>Cape Verdean I.Q.'s.</u>				
<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>	<u>Scores</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>fd</u>	<u>fd²</u>
140-149	1	5	5	25	140-149	0	6	0	0
130-139	2	4	8	32	130-139	0	5	0	0
120-129	8	3	24	72	120-129	2	4	8	32
110-119	24	2	48	96	110-119	3	3	9	27
100-109	20	1	20	20	100-109	12	2	24	48
90-99	17	0	0	0	90-99	27	1	27	27
80-89	19	-1	-19	19	80-89	29	0	0	0
70-79	6	-2	-12	24	70-79	25	-1	-25	25
60-69	2	-3	-6	18	60-69	3	-2	-6	12
50-59	0	-4	0	0	50-59	1	-3	-3	9
	99		68	306		*102		34	180

Mean score 101.8

Median score 102.7

Standard deviation 16.1

68% of cases 117.9-85.7

95% of cases 134.0-69.6

Mean score 88.3

Median score 86.9

Standard deviation 12.9

68% of cases 101.2-75.4

95% of cases 114.1-62.5

*Approximately 85% of Cape Verdean cases are below white mean score.

Interpretation of I.Q's.

Grade III

An examination of Table XVII results in the following conclusions:

1. that 50% of the white cases lie above the 97.0 score and that 50% of the Cape Verdean cases lie above the 86.6 score -- 10.4 scores less.
2. that 68% (approximately) of the white cases lie within the limits of 113.0 and 84.2 -- one standard deviation -- and that 95% of the white cases would be found between two sigma lengths on each side of the mean, or between 127.4 and 69.8.
3. that 68% (approximately) of the Cape Verdean cases lie within the limits of 101.8 and 74.4, and that 95% (approximately) would be found between 115.5 and 60.7.

Thus we see that in the third grades of the two schools, the white I.Q's. are considerably higher.

Grade IV

An examination of Table XVIII results in the following conclusions:

1. that 50% of the white cases lie above the 94.0 score and that 50% of the Cape Verdean cases lie above the 92.5 score -- only 1.5 scores less.
2. that 68% (approximately) of the white cases lie within the limits of 107.2 and 82.8 -- one standard deviation -- and that 95% (approximately) would be found two sigma lengths on each side of the mean, or between 119.4 and 70.6.
3. that 68% (approximately) of the Cape Verdean cases would be found between 104.2 and 81.4, and that 95% (approximately) would be found between 115.6 and 70.0.

It would appear, then, that there is no appreciable difference between relative I.Q's. of the white and Cape Verdean

children of the two schools in question.

Grade V

An examination of Table XIX results in the following conclusions:

1. that 50% of the white cases lie above the 111.5 score and that 50% of the Cape Verdean cases lie above the 84.6 score -- 26.9 scores less.
2. that 68% (approximately) of the white cases lie between the limits of 122.8 and 99.2 -- one standard deviation -- and that 95% (approximately) would be found two sigma lengths on each side of the mean, or between 134.6 and 87.4.
3. that 68% (approximately) of the Cape Verdean cases lie between the limits of 98.7 and 72.1 and that 95% (approximately) would be found between 112.0 and 58.8.

Thus it is evident that in the fifth grades of the two schools, the Cape Verdean children are decidedly lower than the white children.

Grade VI

An examination of Table XX results in the following conclusions:

1. that 50% of the white cases lie above the 101.5 score and that 50% of the Cape Verdean cases lie above the 83.2 score -- 18.3 scores less.
2. that 68% (approximately) of the white cases lie between the limits of 120.0 and 87.8 -- one standard deviation -- and that 95% (approximately) would be found two sigma lengths on each side of the mean, or 136.4 and 71.6.
3. that 68% (approximately) of the Cape Verdean cases lie between the limits of 94.6 and 74.6 and that 95%

(approximately) would be found between 104.6 and 64.6.

Again, as in the fifth grade, we observe a marked difference between Cape Verdean and white I.Q.'s.

Grade VII

An examination of Table XXI results in the following conclusions:

1. that 50% of the white cases lie above the 105.4 score and that 50% of the Cape Verdean cases lie above the 92.5 score -- 12.9 scores less.
2. that 68% (approximately) of the white cases lie between the limits of 117.7 and 89.3 -- one standard deviation -- and that 95% (approximately) of the cases would be found two sigma lengths on each side of the mean, or between 131.9 and 75.1.
3. that 68% (approximately) of the Cape Verdean cases lie between the limits of 103.5 and 80.9, and that 95% (approximately) would be found between 114.8 and 69.6.

Again, the figures tend to prove that the Cape Verdean children of the seventh grade are inferior mentally to the white children of the same grade.

It would appear, that as a result of intelligence tests given to the aforementioned grades and schools, Cape Verdean pupils have lower mean intelligence quotients than have the white children. However, this is no indication that the intelligence of Cape Verdean children cannot be raised or improved.

"Contrary to most popular ideas, even if a child is subnormal in intelligence in its earlier years, its I.Q. can be raised to normal and even above normal. Furthermore, and this is no mere theory, but an established fact now, environment has more to do with the intelligence and future of children than heredity. Geniuses can be made as well as born." (18, pp. 52-53)

George Stoddard, director of the State Child Welfare Research Station at the University of Iowa declares:

"What children need most in mental life is a good start. Differentials of birth, of heredity, tend to be wiped out by the stronger differentials in education and stimulation. A normal child may be made bright or feeble-minded by his environment." (18, pp. 52-53)

High School Mortality

It has been mentioned that there is heavy mortality among the Cape Verdeans with reference to their school population from the sixth grade through the twelfth year. That this mortality increases sharply at the sixth school year, and that the rate of mortality remains fairly constant for the subsequent five years has already been pointed out.

To emphasize the alarming aftermath and results of this mortality, an effort was made to ascertain the employment of those Cape Verdeans who left Wareham High School (Grades VIII - XII) in the year 1938-39.

In the aforementioned year, there were twenty-two Cape Verdeans who, for one reason or another, left the Wareham High School. It is our intention to present the results of a brief survey on this subject that a better understanding may be had of the seriousness of the mortality results.

Of the twenty-two Cape Verdeans who withdrew from grades VIII to XII in the year 1938-39, only one transferred to another school, only one had full-time employment, one joined the Civilian Conservation Corps, and sixteen have not as yet received employment.

A prominent Wareham cranberry owner stated that, for but a handful of Cape Verdeans, the bogs afford employment for two months of the year at the most. Therefore, for two of the three previously mentioned part-time Cape Verdean workers, it would mean unemployment (except for odd jobs) for ten of the twelve months of the year.

In reality, then, only one of the twenty-two received full-time employment (collector of ashes and rubbish in the employ of his father) and the others for the greater part of the year are either unemployed or occupied with small jobs.

Thus we see that only 4.54% of those Cape Verdeans that left school in 1938-39 are at the present time (1940) employed throughout the year.

In all probability, the eleven boys of the 95% (plus) who failed to obtain full-time employment, will join the ever-swell-ing ranks of the W.P.A. in the Wareham district. This fact in itself is sufficient to arouse consternation when we but examine the figures of the Works Progress Administration for Wareham, taken in the latter part of the year 1939. Figures obtained from the local W.P.A. Administrator show that of the 240 employed on W.P.A., 179 (74.58%) were Cape Verdean (1939). A later estimate (1940) indicates that, although the number fluctuates, of the 260 (approximately) employed, 220 to 225 (86.15%) are Cape Verdean.

It is evident that the vast majority of the Wareham W.P.A. is made up of Cape Verdean peoples, and that with no work in sight, the possibility is open that the Cape Verdean boys who retire from school work will join the W.P.A. with the result that the already overcrowded conditions will be made more complex and cumbersome.

In regard to welfare, figures obtained from the office of the Board of Selectmen may be found on Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII

Number of Welfare Cases in the Town of Wareham
for the Years 1938 and 1939 (23 months)

1938

January thru December (12 months)

	<u>*No. of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Persons Represented</u>
White	149	489
Cape Verdean	161	609

1939

January to December (11 months)

	<u>*No. of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Persons Represented</u>
White	158	534
Cape Verdean	144	430

*Includes:

1. Temporary Aid
2. Aid to children boarded in private homes
3. Patients being hospitalized in state institutions and town infirmary.
4. Employable and Unemployable cases

Per Cent Cape Verdean of Total Cases

1938	51.93
1939	47.68

Summation

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to point out with a degree of authenticity, the existing conditions with regard to the Cape Verdean school population of the town of Wareham, Massachusetts. It has been our endeavor and purpose, with reference to this brief survey, to speak in terms of statistically proved facts, to present conditions as they exist, neither to be influenced by public opinion nor personal leanings.

The foregoing facts should tend to bear out the opinion already expressed that "there appears to be something radically wrong with the present so-called solution to the problem".

In order to comprehend the facts with a maximum of facility and to gain a better understanding of the conditions, we will enumerate the factors which build up the case against the current answer to the Cape Verdean dilemma.

Resumé

1. Contrary to the belief of many citizens of the town of Wareham, there is no proof that the negro is inferior to the white.
2. Statistics indicate the increase of Cape Verdean adult and school populations. A statement of the pastor of several Roman Catholic churches in Wareham and adjacent communities bears out the latter fact.
3. Inter-race conflict does exist between the whites and Cape Verdeans to varying degrees of intensity.
4. A comparison of the per cent of Cape Verdeans who graduate from high school and those who start school in the first grade, indicates tremendous mortality.
5. In the thirteen years from 1926-1939, the average per cent of Cape Verdean graduates, as figured from memberships of Grade I and XII, is less than 3.5%! The total number of Cape Verdean children in the first grades, taken year by

year for the past thirteen years, was 43.09% of the total first grade enrollment for that period.

6. Cape Verdean mortality far exceeds that of the whites and is most evident from the sixth to the eighth grades.

7. Special classes are predominantly Cape Verdean.

8. Sixty-one per cent of Cape Verdean children have been retarded one year, 20% have repeated two years, and only 12% have not been retarded. (Computed from the sixth grade classes of the town of Wareham.)

9. With few exceptions, Cape Verdean children do not receive excellent marks in subject matter; experience difficulty in arithmetic, reading, oral and written composition, and a most pronounced difficulty in the social sciences.

Spelling and writing appear to be the subjects most easily mastered by the Cape Verdean child.

10. The mean intelligence quotient of the Cape Verdean children was 88.3 (immediately below the average as indicated on the Henmon-Nelson standards).

Intelligence quotients may be raised by environmental modifications.

11. Only 4.54% of the Cape Verdeans who left school (grades VIII to XII) (1938-9) are at the present time (1940) employed throughout the year. (Note: this means, then, that a maximum time of 18 months and a minimum time of 9 months has elapsed without employment for roughly 95% of those Cape Verdeans who left school during that period.)

12. Seventy-five per cent of the total W.P.A. membership for the town of Wareham (1939) was Cape Verdean; eighty-six per cent of the total W.P.A. membership (1940) was Cape Verdean, yet they constitute only 20% of the town population.

13. Although Cape Verdeans comprise only 20% of the town population, in 1938 52% of the total number of welfare cases were Cape Verdean and in 1939, Cape Verdeans made up 48% of the total.

Examination of the foregoing thirteen factors, enumerated with no definite idea of order, indicates clearly that something must be done, and done in good time, before the situation becomes out of hand. Thus, having discovered how and where we

lie in error, it becomes our task to make suggested modifications, to recommend methods and procedures that may result in the alleviation of our current problems.

Recommendations

The ultimate purpose in education is human welfare and human progress. Education is a means to improve human conduct, to assist the individual to live a socially efficient and individually satisfying life. (16, pp. 8-12)

If the child is to develop his abilities in terms of his needs and of the demands of society, his learning activities should be carried on in situations typifying the life of his environment or those elements of his environment which society considers essential to human welfare. As has been pointed out, the Cape Verdean child does not match the standards set up by the white child -- that is, in regard to formal recitations. To gain a better understanding of the subject matter, it would be a suggestion that he be taught, not by formal school room procedure, but rather by methods which produce more natural situations. "Historical facts, or mathematical principles, or scientific data, to have their optimum educational values, must be related to situations which involve life settings and life activities." (16, pp. 8-12)

The class-room in which most formal education is carried on, is rapidly passing. It is no longer considered to be an effective environment for providing learning situations and activities. In its place has been substituted the library, the auditorium, the shop, the playing field, the studio, the

student organization, the field trip, and the numerous other more natural situations.

"The situations in which learning is achieved may, and perhaps should, frequently be group situations. Desirable personality develops best in normal life situations and to the degree that the learner develops a central life purpose and achieves a satisfying success in the performance of activities related to this life purpose." (16, pp. 8-12)

The task of the school is that of providing such a variety of desirable behavior opportunities as will make success possible for all pupils. Therefore, it is important that the pupil be understood; that his native capacities, interests and hopes for the future be recognized in providing for his development.

The process of education should provide selected situations and experiences and give the learner such help in meeting them as will gradually develop in him the ability to meet similar situations as they appear.

As it is the desire of every civic-minded individual to see conditions bettered and situations attain a state of as near perfection as mortality will allow, we will present several suggestions and remarks with the hope that these recommendations will be of benefit in the improvement of conditions with regard to the Cape Verdeans.

A teacher of the first grade in the Wareham school system once stated, ex officio, that the reason, as she saw it, why so many Cape Verdean children have difficulty with first grade

work was due to their pre-school years. (It is worthy of note that the superintendent of schools of Falmouth, Massachusetts expressed the same opinion.) This is readily comprehensible when we consider the large number of Cape Verdean parents who were born in the islands, who have never been naturalized, who speak broken English or no English at all.

A lawyer of the city of New Bedford, a young man of Cape Verdean stock, said that it was his confirmed belief that as a general rule, a Cape Verdean immigrant, regardless of the length of time he may have passed in this country, was most unwilling to give up the customs and traditions of his native land and accept those of this country. (These facts are emphasized by a study of Table VII.)

It is little wonder, then, that the Cape Verdean child of five or six, influenced as he is in regard to language and usually associating only with children of his own kind, is not able to do good work when he reaches the first grade of public school. He simply does not possess the home-taught background of the English language which is so essential to the "flying start" desired in reading and language.

Three courses lie open in regard to the solution of this problem:

1. Pre-primary classes
2. Americanization classes
3. Night schools

The pre-primary class would give to the child an additional year of schooling, a year in which to become better acquainted

with the English language. Granted that the child in all probability would be too young to learn to read, he would, however, by direct association with other children and through the guidance of the teachers, be in a better position to do work of the grade level required for the following year.

Americanization classes and night schools would both lead toward the same goal -- the breaking away from more or less antiquated customs and the increase in the knowledge of English as spoken in the home. Once we find the parents a bit more interested in bettering themselves, then we will find that the children automatically will accomplish more.

It would be a suggestion of definite value that immediate attention be given to the health and home life of the Cape Verdean children. Probably the most serious disease which prevails among the Cape Verdean is tuberculosis -- a disease which is most common among the poor. (Facts and figures, with regard to tuberculosis obtained from data supplied by the National Tuberculosis Association.)

"Poverty itself does not cause tuberculosis, poor housing, crowding and careless living make it easier for the disease to spread from person to person. Hunger, worry and overwork make it easier for the disease to develop once it has attacked." ----

<u>White Population</u>			
Monthly rentals	\$10-\$20	125	deaths per 100,000
" "	\$30-\$45	50	" " "
" "	\$55 and more	25	" " "

Tuberculosis is more common among poorly paid workers than those who are well paid. -----

	Workers (25-44 years)
Professional men	25 deaths per 100,000
Clerks, etc.	75 " " "
Agricultural workers	50 " " "
Skilled workers	75 " " "
Unskilled workers	200 " " "

Deaths from tuberculosis among individuals of negro blood are about three times as many as among the white. -----

1910	White	150	deaths per 100,000 population
	Negro	450	" " " "
1920	White	100	" " " "
	Negro	250	" " " "
1934	White	50	" " " "
	Negro	150	" " " "

Thus, when we consider the aforementioned facts, it is easily understood why Cape Verdeans tend to contract the disease; why the list of T.B. cases in Wareham for May 29, 1939 shows that out of a total of 49 cases, 28 were Cape Verdean; that over a period of seven years, out of 2026 certifications, 1515 were Cape Verdean. In other words, although comprising only 20% of the town's population, they constituted roughly 57% of the total number of T.B. cases in the town.

A reliable source of information stated that in a large number of Cape Verdean homes, the living conditions were abominable. One case in particular was cited concerning a boy of fourteen who, ill, spent the night on a bare mattress, completely

attired even to rubbers over his shoes. The sole covering for the bed was a quilt "so dirty that it fairly shone".

It would be of great benefit not only to the Cape Verdeans, but also to the town of Wareham if an effort were made to educate the parents along the lines of health, a great step toward better living conditions and the elimination of tuberculosis.

Most of the recommendations already suggested are of the type which can be carried out most economically by the town and the agencies of the town government.

Since we are concerned primarily with the educational development of the Cape Verdean child, we will devote the remainder of the recommendations to suggestions that deal chiefly with the school.

We have noted that the Cape Verdean child does not, for one reason or another, attain the same class room standards as does the white child, that his work in the formal class room and with formal studies is inferior. Since his work in the social sciences is poorest, and since, in all probability, it is his work in the social sciences that he will employ least in his post-school years, it is our frank suggestion that we modify the formal history and geography studies to the extent that they would have a better adaptation to the needs of the children, that these subjects be carried on as unit-subjects and not entirely as formal class room procedures. A definite attempt should be made to correlate the social sciences with other subjects in order to stimulate interest and to create optimum conditions for learning.

How many of us remember the age old question concerning certain subjects: "What good is it to us?" The ultimate answer of the teacher, although psychologically unsound, was to the effect that it sharpened our minds! If we must ponder to think of definite objectives for any subject, then it is our contention that the subject will be of little use in later life. Once the child realizes that the subject will be of value to him, that he has a definite need of the subject, then he will try his hardest, will do his best.

Thus there is need of subject matter which will create interest in the mind of the Cape Verdean child, subject matter which will establish the fact firmly in mind that it is well worth while for him to remain in school. This established fact necessarily must be carried over into the minds of parents. If we desire such thoughts, we must have the correct type of work, subject matter which may be utilized, employed in life occupations.

We would recommend most highly the modification of formal subjects such as history, geography, reading and writing. The correlation of reading and writing with other subjects, the teaching of civics and the solution of civic problems, the instillation of the knowledge of town, state and federal governments, taught not in formal, highly disciplined class rooms, but by unit work, by trips, by seeing things first hand, would tend to create the desired interest.

So much for the modification of the curriculum.

This is essentially an industrial age; modern civilization

is dependent largely upon science, invention and skill. The general education of every public school pupil -- his cultural development -- is incomplete without concepts, understandings, and appreciations regarding manufacturing. Industrial arts as

an educational field makes this desired contribution to the pupil's development. (17, pp. V-VI)

The public schools, through the grades, should be rich in provisions for pupil experiences which teach the necessity of work, which provide for testing personal interests and aptitudes in representative crafts and which provide occupational training for those who plan to enter employment as industrial workers.

The nature of industrial arts makes a universal appeal, not limited by age, sex, race, intelligence or aptitude.

"Activities such as industrial arts presents, provide opportunities for self-expression in natural kinds of media as opposed to the kinds used in instruction in abstract subjects. Industrial arts activities provide most excellent educational experiences for preserving and developing the artistic and natural sides of the child's nature." (op. cit., pp. 5-6)

The school must interpret the ever-increasing number of economic changes which express themselves at every hand. The school shop, for example, can no longer justify its existence if youngsters only make traditional objects out of wood and then take them home. Functions of a modern program require a much more significant contribution. Such programs now provide for: (op. cit., pp. 10-11)

1. Activities in as many industries as school shops and laboratories will permit.
2. Use of typical and important industrial tools.
3. Experience in production methods.
4. Experience in handicrafts.

5. Practice in identifying the more important methods employed in industry.

6. Interpretation of the sources, principles, and application of power, such as steam, water, internal combustion, and electricity.

7. Study of vocational opportunities, living conditions, remuneration of workers, controversial questions pertaining to capital, labor, and technology.

In the elementary school grade level, no attempt should be made to cultivate vocational interests or possibilities. The purposes rather are: (17, pp. 18-19)

1. To help the child to understand what is going on about him in the industrial world.

2. To give him many opportunities to express himself concretely in the variety of media, always expecting that there will be a constantly improving technique with maturity and experience.

3. To open a field of leisure time activity.

The junior high school should provide a period of exploration and guidance preliminary to a choice of career or vocational training. Industrial arts, as a part of general education, in these years would provide: (op. cit., p. 41)

1. Information regarding industry and workers.

2. Revealing of employment opportunities offered by industry.

3. Opportunity for creation of useful hobbies and interests.

4. Illustration and vitalization of academic subjects.

The senior high school would provide a period of advancement toward a chosen goal. Industrial arts would contribute to

this end by: (17, p. 61)

1. Development of appreciation of design and quality.
2. Provision for practice in the use of materials and tools.
3. Sampling of a variety of industries.

Conclusions

Therefore, with a knowledge of the need of modification in the curriculum and with the understanding of the objectives of industrial arts, let us proceed to see how this subject would be applied.

We have seen, as has previously been pointed out, that far too many of the Cape Verdean pupils are dropping out of school. A child may have a great deal of aptitude with regard to geography, may be exceedingly proficient in the subject, but all the geographic aptitudes and proficiencies in the world won't do him the least bit of good nine times out of ten when he leaves school and seeks employment. Whereas the bright pupil of history or geography will be lost, the youngster who leaves school with a knowledge of tools and an occupation has a far better chance to gain employment. If we could but fit the pupils, boy and girl, for their work; if we could but keep them in school until they are ready to leave with social and industrial equality, then we will have accomplished much.

Industrial arts would provide ideas for occupations, would instruct boys in regard to life purposes and employment, and girls in regard to home economics.

In regard to the home economics for girls it might be said

that courses offered in sewing, cooking, and care of the home would be of utmost aid in the improvement of Cape Verdean conditions. It would be too much to hope that a marked change would be apparent immediately, but in the course of time, a definite improvement in home life would be shown. If the next generation of Cape Verdean girls through the knowledge derived from such classes, were inclined even more toward cleanliness and neatness in the home, then much will have been accomplished.

The objectives of industrial arts education are identical with the accepted objectives of any good high school program. If properly administered, the industrial arts program will contribute its full share to the education of the child. (17, p. 56)

The town of Wareham, would of course, be put under an added expense -- that of securing additional teachers and providing for equipment and material. Without a question of doubt, much aid could be obtained from the citizens of the town, not only in regard to finances, but also to equipment. Regardless of the cost, the whole program would be inexpensive in the end. The results obtained would more than repay the cost in dollars and cents.

More than twenty years ago, John Dewey wrote that "the ability to produce and enjoy the arts, the capacity for recreation, and the significant utilization of leisure are more important than those elements conventionally associated with education and citizenship".

Nearly forty years ago, Dewey stressed the fact that people

learn through doing or activity. In this he but echoed the voices of Plato, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, and Froebel. In his School and Society (1899) he wrote that, "We must conceive of work in wood and metal, of weaving, sewing, and cooking, as methods of life; not as distinct studies, ----- but as instruments through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life."

It is our earnest hope that further research be made into this problem. The problem is great; the solution even more complex. Unless steps are taken, with the steady increase in the Cape Verdean population, the town of Wareham will find itself burdened with a problem of tremendous magnitude. It would be nothing less than criminal to allow young men and women of Cape Verdean stock to leave school year after year, fitted for nothing better than W.P.A. or idleness. It is our sincere belief that an improvement in conditions may be made, but that the time to start the improvement is not later than the present.

Further study is imperative if we are to see this improvement. We cannot close our eyes blindly to the facts of the case with the idea in mind that a solution will present itself. It will not. Much work is necessary, but the resultant rewards will more than repay the labor.

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