

THIS volume is one of a series by which the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life (briefly known as "The Inquiry") aims to serve a widespread inquiry into the meaning of Christianity for human relationships in the world order of today.

Many, both within and without the Church, believe that the spiritual forces which have taken form in the Christian experience of the past must find new ways to embody themselves in the experience of the future. To this end, the crucial problems of the present ought everywhere to be opened for study and discussion by people who, while sharing the Christian heritage, yet bring all diversities of interest and faith to bear upon right relationships among men. The Inquiry recognizes that in the complex situations of today such problems involve matters that are scientific and technical and require the authority of experts as well as the testimony of every-day experience.

The Inquiry does not aim to make itself a new agency either for fact-finding or for promoting religion. Rather, it aims to bring into more fertile contact existing agencies of research and religious agencies. In issuing pamphlets on distinctive modern problems, it hopes to stimulate and assist group-inquiry by making facts accessible and by presenting these and questions for conduct arising from them in a form likely to stimulate orderly discussion. After a period of such nation-wide conferring, the whole venture will be summarized by a national assembly which will gather up the commitments so far attained and share with a wider public such guidance as the sectional studies may have provided for a practical application of the findings.

In order to deal effectively with specialized interests the Inquiry has thus far divided its work among four commissions, namely on


International Relations,

Industrial Relations,

Race Relations,

The Church and the Christian Way of Life.

ASSOCIATION PRESS

Publishers  Booksellers

THE PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT
*of the International Committee of Young Men's
Christian Associations*
347 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

THIS BOOK is furnish-
ed by the publishers
for editorial and review
purposes. The courtesy
of a copy of any personal
or published comment
concerning it will be very
much appreciated. The
price of this book is
25 Cts. per copy.

And Who Is My Neighbor?

An Outline for the Study of
Race Relations in America

PART I

Distributed by
ASSOCIATION PRESS
New York: 347 Madison Avenue
1924

COPYRIGHT, 1924
BY RHODA E. McCULLOCH, FOR
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE
CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE

Printed in the United States of America

*Price, in paper, 75 cents each, 12 copies, \$7.50;
in cloth, \$1.00 each, 12 copies \$10.00*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	v-ix
CHAPTER I. <i>Understandings and Misunderstandings.</i>	1
Ethnological	2
Sociological	4
Misrepresentation	11
CHAPTER II. <i>Some Traditional Attitudes.</i>	16
What Is It?	16
Reactions to Physical Appearance.....	20
Reactions to Political and Religious Backgrounds	25
Reactions to Foreign Languages.....	28
Reactions to Cultural Standards.....	32
Reactions to Social Status.....	35
Exploitation of Race Prejudice.....	41
CHAPTER III. <i>Civic Handicaps.</i>	45
In the Courts.....	46
In the Execution of Law.....	57
Citizenship	60
National Defense	63
Public Service	68
CHAPTER IV. <i>Economic Handicaps.</i>	75
Employment	76
Conditions of Work.....	81
In Business and the Professions.....	84
Conflicting Interests.....	87
Employment Policies	88
Relations between Fellow Workers....	93
The Public Interest.....	99
Economic Exploitation	101
CHAPTER V. <i>Educational Handicaps.</i>	107
School Provision	107
Education Outside School.....	114
In Higher Education.....	118
Relations between Fellow Students.....	123
Attitudes toward Teachers.....	131
After College—What?	133

	PAGE
CHAPTER VI. <i>Social Handicaps</i>	138
Housing	138
Public Conveyance	145
Breaking Bread	148
Hotels	151
Shopping and Amusements.....	159
Swimming	162
Other Forms of Recreation.....	165
Social Service	171
Church Activities	173
CHAPTER VII. <i>Non-Adjustment and Mal-Adjustment</i> ..	184
Old Residents and New.....	185
Effects of Non-Adjustment.....	189
A New Environment.....	192
Old and Young.....	196
CONCLUSION	203
WELL, WHAT OF IT?	
I. Major Findings	206
II. A Full Report.....	207
APPENDIX I. <i>Definitions</i>	209
APPENDIX II. <i>To Every Reader</i>	214
Range of Subject Matter.....	216
Part of a Larger Inquiry.....	218
APPENDIX III. <i>To Leaders of Discussion Groups</i>	220
Method of Discussion.....	222
A Few Essentials.....	225
INDEX	229

Introduction

Old Mrs. Garfinckle complains that the foreign servants one gets nowadays don't know how to keep their place. "Why," says Mrs. Jones, the druggist's wife, "that new colored man who comes round to help in the garden actually answered me back this morning when I showed him where the hedge wasn't properly cut."

On another porch, Mrs. Moller and Mrs. Sullivan exchange confidences about their children. "I don't know what I am going to do about George," says Mrs. Moller. "I had no idea we had so many niggers in this part of town until the other day I saw them all trooping out of the high school. And as for Mr. Hall's Academy, they say he has more Jews than Christians!" Mrs. Sullivan's problem is even more acute; here she has got herself a nice home in one of the best streets, and her boys run down to the Old Town playground almost every afternoon to play with their "hunky" and "dago" schoolmates. "You should hear the language they bring home!"

A regular family council takes place on the Carsons' terrace: it appears that Mary Louise, the second eldest, has gone to a church party and danced with a "Chinaman"—introduced to her by Mr. Cosgrove, the minister, himself. "What is the world coming to?"

That question is being asked many times these days. It is discussed also in parliaments and chancelleries; but it is on the porches of Elm Avenue and wherever neighbors meet that it gains its fullest social and political significance. Others may talk in big, abstract terms and get a following for this or that theory; but in the long run the Mrs. Garfinckle, Mrs.

Jones, Mrs. Moller, Mrs. Sullivan and their husbands, children, maiden aunts and other retainers make the history of civilization.

And everywhere they ask, "what is the world coming to?" Some are worried, some don't care, some have a patent remedy for every ill, and some take a sort of secret pleasure in seeing their worst predictions come true. But there are also many who would like to understand exactly how and why our poor old world has left its ruts, why, more especially, social relationships don't stay put but continually break open into all sorts of disturbing innovations. One asks Mrs. Garfinckle exactly what she thinks the place is which the Swedish servant girls should keep—she ought to know, she has had so many—and then wonders how she would like to keep that sort of place herself. One talks with Jeff, the colored boy who does odd jobs, and finds that he has been through the first two years of high school and has notions of his own as to work and wages and the black man's burden. Others have it out with the pastor who invites Oriental students to his church parties and argue with him for and against such a thing. Or they go to a parents' evening at the high school and talk with some of the foreign mothers who sacrifice every comfort to give their children an education.

Out of such neighborly discussions, of arguments in defense and in defiance of traditions, of new ambitions, demands, refusals, hopes, worries, agreements and disagreements there emerges for the community a new picture of mutual relations and responsibilities. The old concepts of social duty are not as plain as they were; once more the question is raised by a thousand inquiring minds: "You say, I shall love my neighbor. But who is my neighbor?"

Is that Chinese laundryman in the cellar across the way as much to me as John Tout, the groceryman, whose grandfather came to this town about the same time as mine and who has

served on the vestry with my father? "Shall I love old Miss Purdy," asks Jeff, the colored boy, "who treats me worse than her cats and dogs? Shall I love all these people who try to kick me back into the mud?" Is that Chinese student my neighbor, wonders Mary Louise after the aunts have finished impressing upon her the magnitude of her guilt in dancing with him. Why is that polite young man a worse person to dance with than Alf of next door who carries a flask in his hip-pocket and swears!

Not only the young folks but many of the older people also are perplexed about their duty in matters such as these. If all these different people who have come into the town—Jews and Negroes and Orientals and Russians and what not—are to be treated according to their individual worth, how can they be prevented from invading the best streets, perhaps marrying into the best families, from getting hold of the best businesses, perhaps even running the elections? Is it a religious duty on occasion to sit down at table with people of dark skin? Should Jeff be helped to finish his high school course and perhaps get stuck up and spoiled for work fit for a "nigger"? Is there nothing in good breeding? Is there nothing of permanent value in the white civilization our fathers have built up with so much sacrifice? Must we not preserve it at all hazards, teach hatred for those races that threaten it?

Some look to the church for answers to such questions as these. The church itself is in a dilemma. There is no doubt about the directness and completeness of the teaching, thou shalt love thy neighbor. But social life has become pretty complicated since that command was given; and its application is by no means clear. Courses of action that perhaps were simple enough in Biblical times would carry with them quite different consequences today. The good Samaritan, for example, would he not be ostracized today by his own people if he acted as told in the parable, and lose all his influence

for good? Would the innkeeper permit him to put up his injured friend? Would not the more radical of his friends berate the Samaritan for dealing superficially with an individual case instead of tackling a big situation—would they not say that he had done nothing to make the Jericho road safe?

What is this neighbor problem, more particularly in America where so many races and peoples rub elbows, exercise the franchise, build up great industries and a new type of civilization? Is it a race problem as distinct from a problem in merging groups of different antecedents in a single community? Is it a single problem that can be defined, analyzed, solved—or a multitude of petty problems for daily conduct, each requiring a separate solution?

The present study outline is the answer to a growing demand for aids to clearer vision; it is *not* an answer to the problem put in the title, not even a formulation of that problem itself. It merely puts together stories of happenings, big and little, as told by observant men and women in different parts of the country (for the most part teachers, ministers, social workers), which to their minds contain problems for moral conduct; and with these stories a few suggestions, largely in the form of questions, of ways to get at the real problems they contain.

These stories do not paint a complete picture; they are little more than casual notes of things observed; and since one is more apt to observe the unusual than the usual, they are probably far from describing normal conditions. But such things happen; they happen every day and in practically every part of our country. What are we going to do about them?

It will be noticed that this study outline is entitled Part I; it is for the purpose of formulating problems for discussion, not of finding their solutions. We are not as yet equipped to

do that; before we are ready with praise and blame, with warning and advice, we must know exactly what we are up against; and that requires not only a careful analysis of each individual problem but also a deeper understanding of the similarities and dissimilarities of situations that contain problems. Science has to tell us something about the consequences of different social arrangements and actions. The Bible and the religious literature of all times have to be studied anew before we can be sure that our attitudes to "neighbors" in the widest sense represent a really consistent moral philosophy and not merely spasmodic and even contradictory sentiments. All that has been reserved for Part II of this inquiry.

For detailed suggestions of ways in which the study and discussion of the present outline may be made most fruitful, see the Appendices.

ants of colonial stock ; but often the contrast is intended to be between new immigrants and old. A confusion of such terms as these often creates the erroneous impression of a nationwide division between two groups, one in possession of the country and jealous of its traditions, the other trying to get in and change them.

Clear distinctions between certain related terms and the different meanings of certain words should also be kept in mind ; as for example the difference between community and neighborhood ; Negro in its biological sense and the current meaning as including all persons with even the smallest amount of Negro blood ; Mexican as immigrant from Mexico and Latin natives of south-western states ; Hindus as members of a religious body and natives of India ;¹ discrimination as synonymous with discernment and as implying reproach for unjust differences in treatment.

¹ Both the terms *Hindus* and *Hindustanis* are inaccurate as descriptive of a race, but occasionally occur in the quoted material to describe people from India as distinct from American Indians.

APPENDIX II

To Every Reader

The purpose of this study outline is to promote a serious, open-minded inquiry into the relations between the different racial and national groups in America. Two ends have been in view: (1) the discovery of those aspects in which these relations have fallen away from the highest standards of individual and social conduct; (2) the discovery of such specific measures as may be needed to conserve good-will, remove misunderstandings, make for better adjustment, avert clashes and in other ways to bring race relations into harmony with those standards.

This purpose calls for three processes:

First, the collection by persons in all walks of life of incidents which to them seem to contain problems in race relations. This was commenced in the winter of 1923-1924 and will be continued in order to improve the material for future editions of the present outline and to provide for further special studies of selected aspects of the subject.¹

Second, the study and discussion of these incidents with the aim of arriving at a correct formulation of the problems they contain. To this end three types of question will have to be asked, as a rule in the following sequence:

¹ All readers are invited to contribute such incidents, whether long or short, whether paralleling stories already told in these pages or illustrating topics not yet represented. [The names of persons and places will not be published, and the circumstances may be otherwise disguised to prevent identification where this is desired.]

1. *Questions of What*

What exactly happened (or is likely to have happened)? Who are the people figuring in the story? What are their backgrounds?

2. *Questions of Why*

Why did it happen? What is the general ethnic, social, psychological setting of the happening? What factors, not part of the story, help to explain it? What is the background of wider social interests, sentiments, prejudices involved?

3. *Questions of Ought*

What ought the persons figuring in the incident to have done? What is the responsibility of those only indirectly concerned, more particularly those whose influence or authority has helped to determine the actions of the individuals figuring in the happening? Where lies the general social responsibility? What should we as individuals have done or now do about it?

It is to the questions of "what" and "why" that the present study outline is more especially devoted. Too often questions of "ought" are debated before there is agreement as to the facts of the case or before the specific case is seen in its relation to other significant facts in our social life. It will probably be found that a wider range of fact and a deeper probing into the consistency of our moral philosophy is needed before these questions of responsibility or moral conduct can be answered with certainty, before rules of conduct and social policies can be formulated to which earnest students of the problems of race relations can safely commit themselves. For this reason, the present Part I of the study only leads up to but does not enter the

Third process, the study and discussion of the larger problems, with a view to solutions which commend themselves as both practicable and in keeping with the religious convictions of the whole body of inquirers. In line with our democratic procedure, Part II of the study outline, designed to aid in this last process, will be edited on the basis of the reports

APPENDIX II

To Every Reader

The purpose of this study outline is to promote a serious, open-minded inquiry into the relations between the different racial and national groups in America. Two ends have been in view: (1) the discovery of those aspects in which these relations have fallen away from the highest standards of individual and social conduct; (2) the discovery of such specific measures as may be needed to conserve good-will, remove misunderstandings, make for better adjustment, avert clashes and in other ways to bring race relations into harmony with those standards.

This purpose calls for three processes:

First, the collection by persons in all walks of life of incidents which to them seem to contain problems in race relations. This was commenced in the winter of 1923-1924 and will be continued in order to improve the material for future editions of the present outline and to provide for further special studies of selected aspects of the subject.¹

Second, the study and discussion of these incidents with the aim of arriving at a correct formulation of the problems they contain. To this end three types of question will have to be asked, as a rule in the following sequence:

¹ All readers are invited to contribute such incidents, whether long or short, whether paralleling stories already told in these pages or illustrating topics not yet represented. [The names of persons and places will not be published, and the circumstances may be otherwise disguised to prevent identification where this is desired.]

It may be said that the tragedy of American race conflicts, the acute hostility between different groups that vents itself every now and then in bloody riots and lynchings, has been overshadowed by too minute a consideration of minor misunderstandings, of habitual attitudes and discriminations that may be regrettable but do not seriously infringe upon law and order. On the other hand, it may be said that our inquiry is dwelling too much upon harrowing antagonisms, minimizes the existing harmony between different racial groups and does less than justice to the great moral forces already mobilized and active in preserving these good relationships and in creating an even greater community of purpose.

These omissions are acknowledged. It seemed best in the present preliminary study to concentrate upon those issues which constitute the genesis of more serious friction when it appears above the surface of seemingly peaceful race-relationships. Some material has been accumulated for an analysis of those graver and more dramatic calamities which too often are the only reminders to thoughtless Americans of their unsolved race problems. Too often lynchings and other forms of race war are discussed as though they were isolated phenomena, and the only remedies considered for them are spasmodic applications of coercive interferences. But as in the study of war between nations the emphasis has shifted from a consideration of competing armaments to that of conflicting interests in times of peace, so in the study of race war, it is particularly important at the present time to create a better understanding and mastery of underlying causes. At the same time, it is highly desirable that the study of seemingly trivial incidents should bring out their relation to those occasional climactic incidents in which attitudes normally accepted without thought of their consequences have provided the fuel of impassioned feuds.

As regards the possible charge that American race relations are in these pages pictured in too dark a hue, we are well aware that they tell only part of the story—that part which in larger historical perspective may, perhaps, be less significant than the great object lesson which America offers, in the main, of more than a hundred million people of different antecedents who have learned to live together in peace rarely disturbed and in a multitude of inter-racially cooperative activities. Yet it is in those aspects of our common life in which we have not as yet realized the implications of Christian teaching, and they are many and serious, that we find the largest area of controversy. And not only this, but the appearances of social harmony are often deceptive. One purpose of the present inquiry is to dig below that surface and disclose the possible sources of future friction.

At the same time, the commission has collected, and is collecting, much more material illustrative both of the absence of friction in inter-racial life and activities, and of present approaches towards the conservation and creation of race harmony. Some of this will be available in the second part of the present study outline for the separate study of the specific problems disclosed in the first part. Where a group or individual reader is especially interested in a particular type of problem and desires further information regarding attempted solutions without having to wait for the publication of Part II, selected material or references to sources will be sent in response to inquiries—of course, without implied approval of the particular measures described.

Part of a Larger Inquiry

In other words, although intended as a contribution to a joint quest for a Christian way of life in our complex racial situations, the present part of this study concerns itself more with an understanding of what the problems of American race relations are than the immediate finding of Christian solutions.

The purpose of the method adopted is to demonstrate the necessity for careful inquiry into the nature of social problems before any solution in line with abstract principles is attempted.

However, patience will have its reward. The second part of this study outline, to be issued in 1925, based on the reports of the individuals and discussion groups who take part in the study of the present outline, will present a more coherent statement of the major problems, as brought out by them, with aids to their further study and with the aim of arriving at a discovery of solutions.

The whole of the inquiry, moreover, is preliminary to a national conference in which, it is hoped, agreements will be reached in the light of these studies on Christian policies and modes of conduct. Hence, the reporting of findings—the formulation of the major problems discovered in the study of the present outline, of preliminary answers to them and of experiments in their solution—forms an integral part of the procedure.

In short, this pamphlet is more than an outline for study; it is an invitation to take part in a pioneer enterprise—a way of tackling our difficulties in race relations, re-enforcing the scientific teaching of experts and the moral teaching of the churches with a search for solutions in which each student will take his part.

APPENDIX III

To Leaders of Discussion Groups

There are several ways in which the material here presented may be used in the conduct of group discussions.

First, where a group is studying a textbook on race relations, such as Speer's *Of One Blood*, Haynes' *The Trend of the Races* or the discussion course for college students, *Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal*, it may be used to provide concrete illustrations for the general questions discussed and help to emphasize the translation of attitudes of general tolerance and good-will into direct commitments for the every-day conduct of the members of the group.¹

Second, where because of the nature of the community or the composition of the group some specific concern in race relations prevails over others, this may be made the starting point of the discussion, and the text be used to lead over from a consideration of the problems most in the minds of the group to that of related problems. Often it may be well to start

¹ A study outline and readings on the progress of the Negro, by T. J. Woolter, Jr., is to be published early in 1925 by Ginn & Co., under the title, *The Basis of Racial Adjustment*.

A study outline based on J. H. Oldham's *Christianity and the Race Problem* has been published by the British Christian Student Movement (32, Russell Square, London, W.C.) under the title, *The Problem of Race* [price one shilling].

A textbook on *Race Prejudice* by Erle Fiske Young is to be published shortly by the Chicago University Press.

For more advanced study of race conflict: *Races, Nations and Classes*, by Herbert Adolphus Miller; J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia [price probably \$2.00].

with the discussion of a problem of special concern to the group and, after a preliminary analysis, lay it aside to come back to it after a series of excursions—with the aid of the present outline—into the psychological, social, economic or other problems which enter into the main situation. It is particularly desirable wherever possible to substitute for the given material illustrative cases from the personal experience of members of the group itself, because often this will make available more intimate information on questions of fact, and the interest will be more direct.¹ Personal experience must also be drawn upon to fill in the details of pictures that are little more than sketched in many of the given examples. Often the imaginative introduction of *probable* motives, causes or consequences from a general knowledge of similar persons and situations to those discussed will be more instructive than a search for additional factual details.²

Third, the course may be followed more or less as it stands, with such changes in sequence as may be indicated by the interest displayed in the discussions. One possible way which it is *not* advised to take is to pick out of the material examples dealing with the relations between specific racial groups or with specific geographical areas. This does not afford comparison of similar incidents dealing with different races and different parts of the country, an important help in arriving at a recognition of the nature of the problems.

¹ It is requested to report as many as possible of these additional incidents so that future editions of this outline may be made more complete.

² Because the psychological element is so important in this field, it is recommended that the reading of books of factual information be supplemented by that of biography and fiction based on observation.

Method of Discussion

The purpose of the Inquiry is to promote cooperative thinking on the basis of contributions from the thought and experience of each participant. In so far as their diverse convictions are based on diverse interests in the matter under discussion, it is important that those interests be clearly stated and apprehended. The object of participation in this cooperative inquiry is not to convert others to an existing viewpoint but rather to find explanations for diverging viewpoints in differences of experience and of interest and, having thus clarified the issues and the attitudes toward the subject in hand, to proceed to a calm *analysis* of the specific, concrete situation or occurrence as a *preliminary to judging* the motives displayed by the persons figuring in it and laying bare the problems for conduct involved.

For an example of such treatment of a controversial question in race relations, the reader is referred to the report of a discussion of the so-called "Jewish question" at Harvard, pp. 22 *et seq.* of the pamphlet, *A Cooperative Technique for Conflict*, published by The Inquiry, price 20 cents. This pamphlet, Harrison S. Elliott's *The Why and How of Group Discussion*, [published by the Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, price 25 cents], and the *Forum Bulletin*, Series I, 1923, of the Religious Work Department of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., [347 Madison Avenue, New York City] are recommended to group leaders for further hints on the conduct of discussions in a Christian spirit.

It is suggested that, where possible, representatives of racial groups be invited to take part in the discussion of happenings in which it is of value to know the special interests or viewpoints of such groups.

In a few places in this outline the suggestion has been made that a member of the group be charged with the preparation of a short report on data which will be helpful in the discussion of a particular problem or set of problems—such, for instance, as the actual volume and character of the northern migration of Negroes or the present status of Negro, Oriental and American Indian in regard to the franchise. This method may also usefully be followed in places where it has not been especially indicated. In the case of an important local problem concerning which the available data are insufficient, a more serious survey by members of the group between discussion sessions may be desirable. This means that the group leader should, if possible, be a little ahead of the group in his reading so that such assignments can be made in time for the discussion of the particular subject.

A further aid would be to have handy some of the books of reference most frequently quoted in these pages for a quick ascertainment of disputed facts, or to have present at the meetings persons of expert knowledge of the matters likely to come up.¹ For instance, when the subject of educational discriminations is up for discussion, it would be useful to have present

¹ Where a larger library is not available, the following six books are recommended as a nucleus for suitable reference material.

Robert E. Speer, *of One Blood*. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1924. Cloth, \$.75; paper, \$.50.

Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal. A Discussion Course for College Students. Student Volunteer Movement, 1923. \$.25.

J. H. Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem*. George H. Doran Co., 1924, \$2.25.

W. D. Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America*. George H. Doran Co., 1924, \$5.00.

George E. Haynes, *The Trend of the Races*. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1922. Cloth \$.75; paper \$.50.

Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*. Harper & Brothers, 1921, \$2.50.

These books contain further reading lists.

some one who knows the facts concerning the school system of the community and of the state.

Absolute frankness, with avoidance of unnecessarily provoking language, should mark the discussions. Long speeches should be discouraged, but every effort be made to elicit the thought of all participants. It is more worth while to reach the undercurrents of controversy and bring to light real differences than to cover so much ground at each meeting of the group. At the same time, the leader should use his discretion in seeing to it that too much time is not lost in unnecessary detail or in duplication of arguments already heard. The greatest time-saver will be an endeavor to secure precise statements of facts, views and questions, so that differences may not result from mutual misunderstandings.¹

A brief tabulation on the blackboard of attitudes, backgrounds and interests displayed in a given incident, and of the questions drawn out of it for discussion, will also help to eliminate waste of time on matters that are beside the point or unessential. For instance, while it is very desirable to have contributions of an experience by a member of the group bearing on the problem under discussion—let us say, a case of race discrimination in the civil service when that subject is reached—other stories brought up merely because they also happened to persons of the same race are not pertinent. Unless the group is so rich in experiences as to require no other material for discussion than that of which its members have personal knowledge, it may be well at the beginning of each session to single out one incident for thorough consideration, using the others only to illustrate similarities and dissimilarities in occurrences of that type. A few incidents have been told at some length [notably examples No. 58, 70, 154 and 174] to

¹ See Appendix I.

illustrate the way in which a seemingly simple episode may be developed in all its aspects and motivations to gain a thorough understanding.

As has been pointed out, the selection of stories has not been guided by an intention to make them as a whole present a true picture of present conditions in America but rather to point to certain problems and evils. For this reason, to avoid a depressing cumulative effect of their recital, it is desirable throughout to contrast these incidents with others, from the experience of the group, which illustrate the, perhaps, more normal *absence* of such problems and evils.

On the other hand, the material of this outline is so arranged as to enable the discussion leader to point out the cumulative nature of the process of "disharmonization" which leads to the more dramatic episodes involving antagonisms in an acute form.

A Few Essentials

Since, as has been explained, the present study outline is but part of an inquiry which is "to be continued in our next," the process of analysis of typical experiences should not be left off arbitrarily with a discussion of the last example in the last chapter. At least one further session should be given over to a summarization of the conclusions arrived at, both as regards specific aspects of the subject and the subject as a whole.

The commission has tried not to prejudice its case by a selection of study material in accordance with a preconceived plan, but its illustrations, for the most part, present problems in race relations as its large number of contributors perceive them. (See p. viii.) In the same way, only sample questions have been appended to the examples; and these may not in all cases be the questions that seem of greatest importance to those who discuss these incidents and others of their own

choosing. The concluding session or sessions of this part of the inquiry, therefore, should be devoted to a further definition of those questions and problems which have arisen most prominently from the discussions themselves.

To four matters which already have been briefly indicated, special attention should be directed:

First, the cumulative nature of the process of "disharmonization." Seemingly trivial occurrences often reflect underlying prejudices or false assumptions which at any moment may break out into much more serious open clashes.

In formulating questions for further inquiry it should be remembered that misconceptions, false attitudes and minor discriminations in their totality make up a condition of maladjustment and, uncorrected, may lead to cataclysmic ruptures.

Second, the fact that in their totality the episodes discussed represent an abnormal condition, as evidenced by the fact that they can be told at all as happenings. If in the course of discussion incidents are brought up which illustrate a smooth adjustment of different racial and national groups, giving no room for those evils or problems which are the particular topic of the day, these should not be ruled out but be considered as negative evidence—a study of which, in the second part of the inquiry, may lead to a knowledge of the conditions that make for harmonious relationships. Particular attention, however, should be given to a thorough analysis of such cases to determine whether the harmony which they illustrate is real or only apparent.

Third, only incidentally have examples been given of present efforts to conserve or create harmony between racial groups in a community by lessons in tolerance, the correction of misunderstandings, the making of contacts, the assimilation of cultural standards the removal of handicaps, the promotion

of cooperative activities, and the like. More of such evidence, in accordance with our scheme of inquiry, will be presented with the second part of this study. Yet, the part played by such harmonizing agencies, even in episodes with an unfortunate outcome, should be noted for future appraisal. Indeed, some of the most important questions to be formulated for further illustration and discussion should be questions as to the part played by different civic, social, educational and religious influences in the change of public opinion on race relations and the bringing about of improvements in race contacts. Reference to actual experiments under way, notably those in which members of the discussion group themselves may have part, should be noted with a view to the collection of further information on the efficacy of different types of conduct and action.

The commission requests that all such detailed information, including references to sources, be made part of the report on this part of the inquiry.

Finally, care should be taken that through emphasis on ethical influences and social organization sight be not lost of some of the other influences which, unaided by them, may fundamentally affect conditions and tendencies—for instance, such underlying economic factors as the natural wealth of this continent which permeates all aspects of American life, or our country's political, social and religious traditions which render the relations between different groups in America historically different from those that may be observed in other countries. While the present study is limited to conditions in the United States, comparison of the effects produced upon them by these larger influences with those produced by different natural features and historical developments upon race relations in other countries will later be the subject of further inquiry.

In brief, it will appear from what has been said, that the arrangement of this study course is tentative and preliminary to the editing of an outline for study and discussion which, while making use of the material here presented, will embody the results of practical experience in the conduct of discussions. Group leaders are cordially invited, therefore, to report not only on the findings of their groups but also on their views as regards the best ways in which to attack this difficult subject.

INDEX

I. Topics

- Adolescents, race attitudes of, 33, 163, 164, 165 ff., 174 ff., 186, 187, 188, 191, 196 ff.
- Americanization, 13, 16 ff., 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 46, 48, 57, 70, 79, 80, 85, 88, 89, 103, 110, 111, 141, 159, 163, 167, 169, 172, 174, 179, 185 ff.
- Anglo-Saxon, 209
- Anti-Semitism, *see* Jews
- Army service, 63, 147
- Attitudes, definition of, 212
- Barbers, 159
- Beard prejudice, 24
- Berea College, 119
- Boy Scouts, 115
- Building trades, 90
- Child labor, 17, 99, 100, 101, 110, 111
- Children, race attitudes of, 2, 7, 13, 14, 19, 21, 26, 114 ff., 165, 196
- Christian implications, vii, 173 ff., 218
- Churches, attitudes of, vii, 16, 17, 19, 132, 163, 166, 173 ff., 185, 196
- Civil service, *see* Public service
- Clothing, 24, 195, 199
- Clubs, 126, 127, 153, 157, 171, 181
- Colleges, *see* Students, Education, Teachers
- Cosmopolitan clubs, 126, 127
- Courts, race attitudes of, 5, 26, 29, 46 ff., 160
- Culture, 32 ff., 192, 210
- Definitions, 209
- Discussion, suggestions for, 220
- Domestic service, 33, 35, 36, 37, 71, 79, 82, 140, 172
- Eating with members of other races, 22, 23, 89, 125, 147, 148 ff., 160
- Economic motives, 75 ff., 162, 183
- Education, *see* Schools
- Education, higher, 12, 14, 18, 70, 77, 80, 84, 86, 108, 117, 118 ff.
- Employment, 69, 70, 76 ff., 194
- Erie Railroad, 41
- Execution, a new form of, 58
- Findings, how to report, ix, 206
- Fixed ideas, 2
- Foremen, 88, 89, 90, 91
- Franchise, 60
- Habits, 43, 211
- Harvard University, 119, 222
- Hayes, Roland, 41
- Hospitality, 31
- Hotels, 33, 134, 151 ff.
- Housing, *see* Segregation
- Industrial relations, 30, 41, 76 ff., 188
See also Labor conditions
- Instinct, 20, 211
- Intermarriage, 131, 137, 181, 183, 197
- Jim Crow, 24, 145 ff., 182
- Juries, right to serve on, 57
- Ku Klux Klan, 88
- Labor College, 122
- Labor conditions, 17, 18, 189
See also Industrial relations
- Labor laws, 100
See also Child labor
- Land fraud, 102, 103
- Languages, reaction to foreign, 28 ff., 36, 50, 85, 196
- Licensing, 72
- Lynching, 217
- Misrepresentation, 11
- Moral problems, 215
- Moving pictures, influence of, 8, 10, 11
- Names, foreign, 28, 41, 80
- Nationalities, physical characteristics of, 4 mental characteristics of, 10
- Old residents and new, 25, 38, 184 ff., 212

Packing industry, 97
 Physical reactions to race, 3, 20,
 24, 43, 211
 Police methods, 46, 57 ff.
 Political backgrounds, 25, 60
 Prejudice,
 definition of, 212
 exploitation of, 41, 101
 Professional handicaps, 84
 Psychological definitions, 211
 Public library, 32, 70, 71, 74, 134
 Public service, 68, 95
 Race, definition of, 2, 209
 Race cooperation, 113, 166, 167,
 173
 Reading, effect on attitudes of, 5,
 9, 12, 13, 14
 Recreation, 114 ff., 140, 161 ff., 186,
 188
 Religious backgrounds, 25
 Restaurants, *see* Eating
 Rosenwald fund, 108
 Schools,
 provision of public, 42, 107
 private, 116
 See also Education, higher
 Segregation in housing, 18, 38, 56,
 138 ff., 182, 193
 Slang, 9, 170
 Social agencies, 11, 25, 29, 30, 32,
 37, 72, 85, 131, 150, 163, 171 ff.,
 186, 188, 194, 198.
 Social status, reactions to, 4, 5,
 35 ff., 87, 149, 184
 Steel industry, 79, 93
 Stores, 47, 159 ff.
 Students, race attitudes of, 121 ff.,
 146, 159, 160, 161, 179, 196
 Study, suggestions for, 214
 Swimming, 118, 162
 Teachers, 83, 128, 129, 131 ff., 139,
 191
 Theater, effect on attitudes of, 2, 6, 1
 Trade unions, 33, 89 ff., 105, 188
 Travel, *see* Jim Crow

II. Races and Nationalities

Albanian, 3
 American, 201, 212
 American Indian, 61, 102, 112
 Armenian, 19
 Chinese, 5, 6, 58, 127, 172, 179
 See also Oriental
 Croatian, 195
 Czech, 79
 Filipino, 23, 127, 159, 179
 Finn, 36
 French, 128, 209, 210
 German, 185, 188
 Greek, 23, 27, 46, 81
 Hindu, 213
 See Indian, Oriental
 Hungarian, 31, 103, 193, 196
 Indian, 33, 110, 121, 149, 213
 Irish, 31, 48, 89, 127, 134, 188
 Italian, 3, 4, 16, 27, 29, 34, 38,
 59, 63, 81, 88, 89, 91, 96, 97, 133,
 141, 142, 154, 169, 185, 186, 188
 Japanese, 11, 19, 111, 127, 133,
 163, 178, 180, 191
 Jew, 2, 9, 10, 16, 26, 33, 72, 80, 86,
 89, 92, 117, 122, 125, 140, 151,
 168, 170, 172, 174, 186, 188, 209
 Lithuanian, 31, 79
 Mexican, 7, 33, 80, 100, 103, 110,
 130, 177, 213
 Negro, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20,
 22, 25, 37, 38, 39, 40, 47, 55, 56,
 58, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75,
 76, 82, 84, 86, 89, 90, 95, 97, 99,
 100, 102, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114,
 116, 118, 119, 123, 126, 127, 129,
 131, 132, 134, 138, 143, 146, 147,
 148, 149, 150, 157, 160, 163, 164,
 165, 166, 168, 170, 171, 173, 175,
 193, 213
 Oriental, 5, 6, 7, 11, 61
 See also Chinese, Indian, Jap-
 anese

Pole, 28, 30, 36, 72, 79, 80, 85, 169, 198
 Porto Rican, 159
 Portuguese, 48
 Rumanian, 32
 Russian, 13, 16, 28, 57, 96, 189, 190, 197, 199
 Scotch, 185
 Spaniard, 48
 Swede, 93, 96
 Ukranian, 194

III. Sources Quoted

Amer. Indian Defense Assn., 61
 Austin, Mary, 104
 Barnes, Mary Clarke, 16
 Brawley, Benjamin, 47, 61
 Brockinridge, Sophonisba P., 199
 Breese, Burtis B., 211
 Brent, Bishop Charles H., 23
 Brooks, Charles A., 186
 California Comn. on Immigration, 104
 Chicago Comn. on Race Relations, 59, 90, 111, 145
 Claghorn, Kate H., 46
 Coolidge, Mary Roberts, 61
 Crisis, 8
 Daniels, John, 188
 Davis, Jerome, 28, 46, 58, 190
 Dewey, John, 211
 Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt, 98
 Duke, Emma, 111
 Elliott, Harrison S., 222
 Evans, Maurice S., 84
 Foster, William Z., 94, 98
 Gulick, Sidney L., 61, 180
 Haynes, George E., 64, 82, 220, 223
 Indian Rights Assn., 61, 102
 Interchurch Report on Steel Strike, 80, 94
 Jackson, Helen Hunt, 61
 Jewish Daily News, 2
 Joscy, Charles Conant, 99
 Kroeber, A. L., 32, 209
 Leiserson, William M., 18, 30, 36, 46, 68, 101, 195
 Lindquist, G. E. E., 112
 Lovejoy, Owen R., 17
 McDowell, Mary E., 14
 Miller, Herbert Adolphus, 36, 104, 190, 220, 223
 Morrow, Honoré Willsie, 201
 Natl. Consumers' League, 82
 Negro Year Book, 108
 Newman, Bernard J., 143
 Odencrantz, Louise C., 63
 Oldham, J. H., 20, 220, 223
 Opportunity, 43, 96, 98, 102, 158.
 Panunzio, Constantine M., 97, 143
 Paradise, Viola I., 100
 Park, Robert E., 36, 104, 190, 192, 223
 Philadelphia Housing Assn., 143
 Pickens, William, 12
 Pickett, William P., 22, 146
 Pound, Dean Roscoe, 57
 Richmond, Harry R., 157
 Roberts, Peter, 81, 88, 97, 187
 Ross, Ernestine, 71
 Royden, Maude, 23
 Sartorio, Enrico C., 34, 38
 Seligmann, Herbert J., 75
 Shriver, William P., 195
 Southern Workman, 173
 Speer, Robert E., 220, 223
 Steiner, Edward A., 4
 Stephenson, Gilbert Thomas, 55, 61, 119
 Survey, The, 70, 93, 125
 Tow, J. S., 180
 Vizotelly, Frank H., 9
 Wald, Lillian D., 38
 Wallerstein, Bertha, 98
 Warren, H. C., 212
 Washington, Booker T., 12, 24
 Weale, B. L. Putnam, 20
 Weatherford, W. D., 37, 57, 61, 82, 98, 108, 223
 Wissler, Clark, 210
 Wolfe, A. B., 212
 Woods, Robert A., 188

Other Pamphlets Issued by the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life

1. INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THE CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE.

Single copy 30c; per dozen \$3.00.

This pamphlet contains a syllabus of questions topically divided into fourteen chapters, to each of which correspond selected readings which light up the difficulties in the way of right relationships between nations.

2. A COOPERATIVE TECHNIQUE FOR CONFLICT.

Single copy 20c; per dozen \$2.00.

A little treatise on discussion,—especially as applied to social questions of the more contentious sort. It contains (1) a statement of the principles according to which social problems can be cooperatively dealt with; (2) a set of guiding suggestions by which chairman and disputants can make the speaking yield a maximum of advance in group thinking; and (3) concrete examples of the course of analysis by which certain questions have been cooperatively solved.

3. THE QUESTION OF "RECOGNIZING THE UNION."

Single copy 30c; per dozen \$3.00.

4. THE QUESTION OF "THE RIGHT TO STRIKE."

Single copy 30c; per dozen \$3.00.

These pamphlets deal each with a contentious problem in such a form that disputants representing the points of view of employer, wage-earner and consumer may thresh out their claims in a setting which keeps them aware of the spiritual values at stake in the situation.

Communications should be addressed to

THE INQUIRY

129 East 52nd Street, New York City