

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEGRO

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Kansas
March, 1932

Submitted to the Department of
Psychology and the Faculty of
the Graduate School of the Uni-
versity of Kansas in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

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July 20, 1932

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer here expresses his appreciation and indebtedness to the faculty of the Department of Psychology of the University of Kansas, and especially to Dr. R. H. Wheeler whose keen interest and cooperation afforded much stimulation and direction in the preparation of this study.

He also wishes to extend his thanks to those students of the University of Kansas whose volunteer services, as subjects for his investigation, have made a vital contribution to the development of this problem.

To my parents I am especially grateful. They have provided the inspiration and encouragement as well as the subsistence, which have carried me thus far in my preparation for a life of useful service.

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PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEGRO

Every human being is a person of intrinsic worth deserving the fullest opportunity for self-development. By birthright he is entitled to justice without distinction of race or color. In keeping with this basic principle of humanity, the present study has been undertaken with special reference to the problem of the self advancement of the Negro. It is undertaken from the standpoint of psychology. More specifically, it is an effort to present the Negro Race Problem as it appears when interpreted in terms of organicismic psychology.

It is apparent that earlier writers on the subject of handicapped races have generally mistaken symptoms for causes. The shortcomings of a race regarded as economically, socially, and culturally inferior have been construed as causes that keep the race in its inferior status. It will be the purpose of this investigation to prove that these so-called defects are the natural consequences of environmental conditions for which the race is in no way responsible, and that if the race problem is to be solved, these conditions must be placed under control and remedied. In no other way will the causes of troublesome race distinctions be removed from society.

In addition studies made hitherto have been based upon thorough knowledge of details; they have been unsystematic; they have been uncritical; they have erroneously conceived Negro traits as inherent to the Negro, which has completely distorted the picture and made the problem absurd; they

have been based upon double moral standards rather than scientific standards.

The study of the Negro problem is one of a vast dominion. It would be impossible to treat all phases of it adequately in one analysis. Primarily it is a psycho-sociological problem, one not having to do with inherently Negro traits, but with traits whose origin is a relation between a race and its physical, economic and social environment. It is the phase of the vast problem which, to my mind, is the basis upon which all other mal-adjustment lies. It is the social problem, not social in the minds of the layman, but as a sociological concept, used to mean "man and his relation to other men". In other words, a psycho-sociological problem always deals with a relation between conditions and resulting action. As conditions and actions vary and change from group to group, from time to time, and from place to place, so social problems change, develop and grow.

The Negro problem in the large is national in its scope. It is a problem of sharing the national life of a great country. Negroes do not share this full national life because, as a mass, they have not reached a culture of sufficiently high grade. They do not share in full national life because there has always been in America a conviction--varying in intensity, but always wide-spread--that people of Negro blood should not be admitted into the group life of the nation no matter what their conditions

might be. Considering the problems that arise out of the backward development of Negroes, some say that the mass of this race does not reach the national standard either with respect to economic status and ability, mental training and ability, social efficiency and morality. They are therefore unfit. This statement does not penetrate to real causes; it only looks at the results of causes. It assumes no attempt to find real causes which, of course, renders the problem fictitious and impossible at the very outset. The great deficiency of the Negro is his slight insight into the organized social life of America. But this is not inherent. His development was abruptly broken off by the slave ship, directed into abnormal channels, dwarfed by black codes, and suddenly wrenched anew by the emancipation proclamation. He found himself peculiarly weak in that nice adaptation of individual life to that of the social group, an adaptation that is the essence of civilization. This is shown by the grosser forms of sex immorality, disease and crime among the Negroes, and also in his lack of, within the race, toward common ends, economic and intellectual.

As it is the Negro falls behind the standard for any average modern nation. It is a pathetic picture to see him unusually handicapped in the midst of a people who excel in their economic development, in their average of intelligence, and in the boldness of experiments in organized social life.

Negro problems of poverty, ignorance, and social degradation, differ from similar problems the world over in

an important particular, namely the fact that they are complicated by a peculiar environment. They rest, as has been said, upon the widespread conviction among Americans, that no person of Negro blood should become constituent members of the social body. This feeling gives rise to economic problems, to educational problems, and to social immorality: it makes it difficult for a black man to earn a living or to spend his earnings as he will; it gives him poorer school facilities and restricted contacts with cultured classes. It becomes throughout the land, a cause and excuse for discontent, lawlessness, laziness and injustice, both on the part of white and black Americans.

PART I

THE NEGRO AS A SOCIAL GROUP

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE PROBLEM

The Negro in Africa and America

The Negro in Africa possessed a culture, primitive as it was, which developed under environmental conditions that forced it to take this peculiar form. Climatic conditions made a dense population, both for man, animals and plants. This made the Africans more nomadic than agricultural, predisposing them to cannibalism, and to an agglutinative language. Especially, climatic and geographical conditions made certain traits stand out and certain temperaments develop: improvidence, imitativeness, fitfulness, passionateness, affectioness and faithfulness. The Africans were music lovers. They practiced slavery among themselves.

Life in Africa is dominated by Spirits. Ghosts are talked to, and medicine is rubbed on weapons. Spirits do all that is unusual. Polygamy is universal; fecundity is high and mortality is great. Stealing is a universal game and falsehood is a clever accomplishment. The tom-tom is the chief musical instrument and the passion for rhythm is strong. The African has a tropical imagination, a keen sensitiveness to nature, and an over-mastering tendency to personify, not only animals, but natural objects. His sympathy with domestic and wild animals, and fowls, often invests them with human traits and makes them vehicles of moral meanings; it gives their cries, calls, songs human significance. The African sees romance in animal life very much as does the child. He projects his very life into sunshine, storm,

cloud, and thunder. Especially in the latter, he feels the immediate presence of a supernatural power. Color is poetry and the sounds of nature are music. This type of culture is found in all stages and groups of primitive people. It is geographically, socially, economically and morally a totally different phenomena than found in the advanced, civilized world, but, this culture does not indicate hereditary factors, for any people, emerging from a geographical setting like Africa would develop similar characteristics. The typical African culture is derived, not innate.

It was this type of culture that the Negro brought with him to America, a totally different geographical and climatic setting, different also socially, and economically. This change the Negro had to face.

Here arises an important consideration. Under ordinary circumstances the transmission of social tradition is from parents to children. Children are born into a society and take over its customs, habits and standards of life simply, naturally and without conflict. But it will at once occur to any one that the physical life of Society is not always continued and maintained in this natural way, by succession from parents to children. New Societies are formed by conquest and by the imposition of one people upon another. In such cases there arises a conflict of cultures and as a result, a process of fusion takes place slowly, and with difficulty. It is frequently incomplete.

This is what the Negro has witnessed, a conflict of culture, physically imposed, by being brought to America. Shaler estimates that about half a million Africans were imported to this country. No other race came to America without its own consent. The Negro, alone, was forced to assimilate the dominant cultural aspects of the life that was then afforded him. By force he adjusted to his new environmental situation, shaping his life with reference to a foreign goal and a foreign culture.

It has been generally taken for granted that the Negro brought a considerable fund of African tradition and superstition from Africa to America, that still persist. One not infrequently runs across, in current literature and even in standard books upon the Negro, references to voodoo practices among the Negroes in southern states. As a matter of fact, the last account of anything approaching a 'Negro Nature Worship', in the United States, dates from a supposed observation in 1884. It is given by G. W. Cable in an article on "Creole Slave Songs" which appeared in the Century Magazine in 1886. However, the implication is clearly erroneous for the native worship he described was unquestionably a late importation from the West Indies. No authentic account of genuine voodoo worship by Negroes in this country can be found.

The fact seems indisputable that the amount of African tradition which the Negro brought to the United States was very small. When he landed in the United States, he immediately left behind him almost everything except his dark

complexion and his tropical temperament. It is now very difficult to find, in the United States, and especially in the South, anything that is traceable to Africa. This does not mean that there is no root doctoring, conjuring and superstition among Negroes in the United States. But they are superstitions which we might expect to find among any imaginative people, living in an intellectual twilight such as existed on the plantations and other isolated environments of the South. They are the natural products of an evolution above savagery.

Superstitions and taboos are social and institutional phenomena. The Negro in this country is relatively free from these phenomenon because he was permitted little institutional development. The first, and perhaps only distinctive institution which the Negro developed in this country was the Church. And it is in connection with this religion that we may expect to find, if any, indications of a distinctive Afro-American culture. But analysis shows at once that the plantation Negro's religion is a faithful copy of the White Man's.

The content, rather than form, of this religion suffered a serious change in the process of transmission from white man to black man. What this content was, what new inflection and color the Negro slave imparted to the religious forms he borrowed from his master, we may perhaps gather from a study of plantation hymns. These folk-songs represent, at any rate, the naive and spontaneous utter-

ance of hopes, and aspirations for which the Negro slave had no other adequate means of expression. In the Negro folk-songs the Music and Expression are everything. The words, often striking, to be sure, possess broken fragments of ideas, thrown up from the depths of the Negro consciousness, and swept upon a torrent of wild, weird and often beautiful, melody.

The early Negro in America, thrust into a caste system of slaveship, was forced into a feeling of dependence, and if a feeling of dependence is the root of religion, no race has ever been more predisposed to it. Submission, obedience, renunciation, were made his dumb unwritten philosophy. Repression, humility, resignation, suffering for generations, made him seize eagerly the conception of another world where his long patience and pain would be rewarded, and where rest and freedom-his chief desires-would at last be realized. His imagination, which could give even the reality of dreams, made the next world merely a sensuous realm. He communicated with God in abandon, in vision and in trance. Depravity, damnation, ecstasy, goodness, heaven and hell, were a simple and forcible creed, and satisfactorily proclaimed.

The venerable rite of baptism appealed strongly to his mystic temperament, while his emotional character gave Methodism the next favored place. Both churches grew in influence and usefulness during the days of slavery. Eventually they became less local and more organized. Thus the church became the social center of Negro life and feeling. Thus it

is the truest expression of the Negro character.

In the course of time the Negro was freed. Slavery found him a savage and left him a trained laborer. He was in good physical condition, as was for the interest of his master. But mentally it was a different matter. Slaveship had developed in the Negro certain attitudes, and temperaments. It had forced peculiar adjustments. The whole situation suddenly changed. The Negro was thrown into a universe of which he was totally ignorant. He was inevitably as helpless as a child. He was self-dependent legally, but not naturally. All previous modes of adjustment at once became drastically inadequate. He became a prey to everything evil in the white civilization of the time, not because he was inherently defective, but because he was a child. His was the innocence and trust, the simplicity and credulity of the child. Political and economic vice spoiled him as easily as a child is spoiled.

THE PRESENT NEGRO

There is no doubt that a tension exists in many communities between white and black, as a consequence of economic and social segregation, suspicion and fear. As Negroes become better educated, they become more sensitive and resentful against their treatment as inferiors. They are becoming more race conscious and are acting with more solidarity. They now have over 400 publications devoted to their interest. Nearly 8,000 colored college graduates are giving leadership to their various movements. "No sane observer," says Alain Locke in the 'New Negro', "however sympathetic to the new trend would contend that the great masses are articulate as yet, but they stir, they move, they are more than physically restless..... only the steady and sobering effect of a truly characteristic gentleness of spirit prevents the rapid rise of a definite cynicism and counter hate and a defiant superior feeling."

We can see from what has already transpired in America since the Civil War that there exists a problem of vast importance for humanity. Perhaps the most important phase of the present problem from the Negro's standpoint is a political one. The Negro was freed, but freedom did not make him truly a citizen or entitle him, in reality, to political equality with white men. In those places where the Negro has achieved political equality with white men, that freedom, still, does not give him industrial equality.

The Negro student of law, the university graduate, is free to vote in the same booth with the white man, but he must seek employment as a Pullman porter. Of the denial of opportunity in the north which still prevails there is a survey in Miss Mary White Ovington's "Half a Man". Political problems, complicated by passions rooted in race and sex, are carried over into industry, and, for a time will make social unity between black and white extremely difficult. If prejudice against the Negro's voting and holding office is a matter of balance of power, with his alleged unfitness, the excuse, the prejudice against him in industry will have to be met by extraordinary proof.

The problem of the Negro's participations in political and civil life has seldom received precise formulation. It is admitted, though not universally, that he should be equal to the white man before the law. The inequality here is in part a corollary of the development of law and legal procedure as instruments of class. In part it is due to a habit of mind so injured to prejudice that injustice and discrimination become routine. In the play of political life, which has consisted in endeavoring to make fact fit the mould of men's desires, the colored citizen of the United States has been the victim of extraneous issues, created and constantly invoked by those who would divorce the practice of American government from the declarations upon which that government rests.

The proof of all this is only too obvious. Every time a colored man is lynched or burned at the stake the entire nation participates through the press, the radio and other means of communication. Indifference is in reality active tolerance. "Only a Negro", when it is applied to lynching, deadens spontaneous protest. When a landlord terrorizes the Negro farm tenant, or drives Negro labor, or when white labor unionist discriminates against the colored workman it is "only a Negro". "Only a Negro" becomes the excuse, the justification, for every sort of injustice and oppression. Undertaken by individuals and groups of the community for their own gains, the exploitation is justified socially, tolerated by the community and the state, erected finally into a dogma which, upheld and defended, becomes a commonplace.

The race problem is becoming steadily more acute. From the early colonial days until the present time Negroes have been concentrated in the rural South, but ever since the Civil War, and particularly since 1910, powerful factors have been at work, tending to drive them cityward. Primarily, the reason for this migration lies in the fact that industry is beginning seriously to compete with agriculture for the service of colored men and women. This competition first became acute during the World War but has continued ever since, partly because of the stoppage of European immigration, and partly because of the recent agricultural depression that has driven people from the

farm. It is, of course, easy to exaggerate the extent of the Negro exodus from farms to the cities, but even though the great majority of the colored population still lives in the rural sections of the south, nevertheless the migration that has taken place is sufficiently large to involve serious social consequences for both races. Hundreds of thousands of rural Negroes have been faced with the necessity of adapting themselves almost overnight to urban conditions. The city has been confronted with the problem of assimilating very rapidly the growing Negro population. This, as we will see, gives us another peculiar situation, caused by the way the problem has been handled.

What is the life of a Negro in an Urban community? The Negro, as a race, tends to live together, and this tendency is conducive to community peace. If the Negro is inclined to move into white neighborhoods it is frequently due to his desire for civic facilities equal to the White's. The cities are zoned into an infinite number of residential, industrial and commercial areas. Nothing is more natural than for people of like culture to live in close proximity. Most conspicuous are the racial and nationality areas of the city, such as Harlem in New York and the Black Belt in Chicago. This zoning is very effective in establishing a relatively permanent segregation. Because of skin-color the Negro cannot lose himself in the second or third generation as do most nationalities.

Biologically marked, they live within their own quarters, separating there among themselves into economic and social classes, paralleling the classes found in the city as a whole.

But the problem does not end here! The Whites, possessing every advantage of political, economic, and social position in their relationship with a colored minority, have also developed a race consciousness where there was none before. And this consciousness, as in the South, assumes a race superiority. In urban cities of the North the Whites have seen fit to segregate and forbid the Negro to participate actively in any general social enterprise.

Moreover, the rural Negro, coming into the city, has progressed with unparalleled rapidity. A significant number of its people have been as assimilated as to share American standards to a degree that leaves nothing but color to distinguish them from the great masses of whites. Their success in adopting American customs and standards makes them more and more unwilling to accept the handicap of political and economic inequality, which the dominant whites assume as a matter of course. The status of the Negro has changed; he can develop; but the social, economic and political pressure has remained relatively the same. Culturally raised to the level of the average Urban White, the Negro is still not given the opportunity to secure jobs paying enough money to raise his standard of living to meet his progress. He has no adequate means of spending leisure

time, the means to improve his home, to beautify his lawn. White society will not let him express the culture it has taught him to appreciate, that very culture which it has looked down on him for not possessing. And so the vicious circle goes on.

The Negro is obliged not to participate in any of the cultural aspects of the white population, such as churches, schools, recreational activities, and civic functions. Yet, he is not given the economic opportunity to construct and promulgate these activities for himself. This as we can see forces him to accomodate at a lower level of culture than his education and intelligence require. He accepts whatever is afforded him. But, his life is relatively empty. He is dissatisfied. Under the laws of human nature he must compensate, and this he does. He develops rationalizations. His energies are directed into abnormal channels of behavior, for sheer relief.

Unrealized by himself and by White society, these rationalizations and defence mechanisms are bluffs; they no more satisfy the Negro's desire for right living than they do the Whites.

No effort at compensation is adequate when it is artificial. The Negro's rationalizations are, for the most part, hypocrisy, attempts to fool himself in order not to be detected and criticized by others. Thus his over interest in his pursuits, and the great care he always takes to assure others that he would never treat them as he is being

treated. Even his daydreams and mysticism are artificial. They are means to an end, not a goal in itself. They keep him from being conscious constantly of the fact that he is an object of curiosity, of condescension, of pity, or that he is being avoided. In short they are a safty valve, permitting him, temporarily to forget that he is a Negro. Should any race suffer the necessity of forgetting itself in a futile effort to preserve its self-respect?

Thus conditions leave the Negro without adequate expression of his four wishes: (1) Desire for status, (2) Desire for new experiences, (3) Desire for recognition, (4) Desire for security. These are channels through which his energy must be expressed. It now remains to ascertain more systematically, what, in more detail, these conditions are, and their effects upon the Negro race. They have caused the Negro to develop a certain temperament. He is highly sensitive to exterior phenomena. Sadness and depression have little part in his temperament. In terms of compensation, most of the race is care free and lives here and now, with limited capacity to recall and profit by experiences of the past. Suicide and suicidal tendencies are almost absent in the past.

The technique, science, machinery, tools, habits of discipline and all the intellectual and mechanical devices with which civilized man lives and works, remain

relatively far removed from the Negro. These are immensely important factors in conditioning the temperament of the White race, its attitudes and sense of values. They mold what we may call the will of the group. Out of the Negro temperament, made superficial by its superficial physical and social environment, these differentiate his more specialized interests, attitudes and aptitudes.

Attitudes of Negroes toward the Whites:--

The negative attitudes of White Americans have been largely responsible for similar attitudes among the Negroes, feeling themselves oppressed, have reacted violently to the attitudes of the Whites, in a way that has affected their own status and behavior. They have become hyper-race-conscious, hyper-sensitive to anything they deem inimical to their own interests. The acts they perform and opinions they express are therefore products of these negative attitudes. The protests, the resentment, the bitterness, are compensations for their inferior social and economic position in Society. These are voiced mainly through the colored press.

1. Attitude of resentment:

There is a tendency for the Negro to accuse Whites of ulterior motives in their dealings with the Negro race, and to fasten on them the blame and responsibility for deliberate exploitation of the Negro. It is a tendency to act in

such a way as will enable them to escape the stigma of subordination.

The Negro press is continually looking for news that is of, or seems to be of, unfair treatment of Negro by the Whites. These are unwise tactics for they create malicious thought among both races, which could be avoided.

2. Attitude of exultation:---

This is a tendency of Negroes to rationalize their anti-social behavior of scorning Whites who have been guilty of anti-social deeds attributed to the colored race. It is a defense mechanism constructed as a reaction against what unfair practices to which their race has been forced to submit.

3. Attitude of appreciation:---

There is on the other hand a tendency to stimulate cooperation between the two races and to foster friendship and good-will that will eventually lead to more satisfactory race relations. It grows out of a response to friendly overtures of the White race and is a recognition of any change in attitude or policy that brings nearer a new pattern of race relationship, based on social and economic equality.

4. Attitude of hopefulness:---

The 'New Negro' is a hopeful person. His hope does not lie in the dream of "pearly gates and golden streets", but in a new social order wherein justice and right prevails for all races. This attitude stimulates in the

Negro an interest in his own future social and economic welfare and encourages better relations between the races.

5. Race consciousness:---

Race consciousness may conveniently be classified under attitudes. Aside from the conditions heretofore mentioned, this attitude is initiated and maintained by the press both of the White and Negro social groups. While the white papers adhere more or less objectively to facts sensationalizing the news for the sake of the rank and file of readers who possess a morbid curiosity, the colored papers deliberately inject opinion into news stories in a way that kindles a race consciousness of the Negro group. In this respect the daily press (white) seems less responsible than Negro papers for fomenting race prejudice, although there is a sharp reaction on the part of the Negro readers of the daily press, because of the nonchalant and relatively objective manner in which white journalist tell their stories.

The newspaper reader does more than read the newspaper. He is in a social situation. His church, friends, travels, newspapers etc., all afford stimuli. But if his experiences are gained vicariously and principally by reading newspapers, then it is most likely that such reading constitutes a psychological background that, consciously or otherwise, helps to determine many of his attitudes. This is why more scientific selection of news should be made by the newspapers.

ATTITUDES OF WHITES TOWARD THE NEGRO

That the Negro is inferior is regarded as axiomatic throughout the White south and in many other sections of the country. American Society, as a whole, stands not unscathed in the white light of its own ideal. The heritage of the Negro-----his heritage from slavery and from the darker age which preceded slavery-----has given him but small equipment for the achievement of this task. And yet the Negro home exists. Its existence is, in many cases, but a naïve pretence. Negro life often proceeds upon its way with a disregard-----partly immoral and partly nonmoral---of accepted marital conditions. And yet those who would observe closely will find a patiently and persistently increasing number of true families and real homes, a number far in excess of popular estimate, homes in which with intelligence, probity, industry, and admirable simplicity, the man and the woman are creating the fundamental institution. Scores of such homes, in some cases hundreds, exist in numbers of American communities-----exist for those who will try to find them and will try, sympathetically to know them. But one of the tragic elements of the situation lies in the fact that of this most honorable and most hopeful aspect of Negro life, the white community, north or south, knows practically nothing. Of the destructive factors in Negro life the white community hears to the uttermost, through the press and the police court. Of the constructive factors of Negro progress-----the Negro school, the saner Negro church, the Negro home,---the

white community is in ignorance. Until it does know this aspect of the Negro problem it may know more or less accurately many things about the Negro; but it cannot know the Negro.

Seeing the Negro loafer on the street, the Negro man or woman in domestic service, the Negro laborer in the fields, is not seeing the Negro. It is seeing him before achievement begins and often before achievement-----the achievement which the world esteems-----is possible. Knowing the white man under those conditions would not be knowing the white man. Yet this side of the Negro is usually the only side of which the white community has direct and accurate knowledge. Thus with this type of knowledge, the most available to white communities, it can be readily understood, why it is taken for granted that Negroes are an inferior people.

From many thousands of available selections revealing this conviction there is to be found the following from a book written by a Vanderbilt University man, who, after spending three years in graduate study at the University of Chicago, traveled for six years in Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the Phillipines, and South America. The book was published in 1923 by the "White American Society". "The white race founded all civilization.....The Negro, has not had and cannot have, a part in progressive civilizationThat colored races do not originate, is the most solemn fact of human history, the only fact that bodes ill

for the future....A race devoid of creative genius is an unfit type so far as progress in civilization is concerned....Civilization has never survived intimate and prolonged contacts with colored races....If we do not remove the Negro, our civilization is to decay. If we remove the Negro, our civilization is to increase and our future belongs to God.....The White man is the sum that lights the world: The lustre of other races is but reflected glory. The White man is in fact what the Negrophilist is in theory-----the voice of the almighty upon earth."*

Even more extreme statements are available, of the iconoclast bran whose writings have had very wide circulation. "We have hunted the black rape fiend to death with hounds, bored him with buck shot: fricassed him over slow fires and played him alive; but the despoilment, of white women by these brutal imps of darkness and the devil is still of daily occurrence. In the name of God, what shall we do?.....Drive out the 'Nigger' young and old, male and female-----or drive him into the earth.... It were better that a thousand 'good Negroes' if so many there be, should suffer death or banishment than one good white woman be debauched.**

Such statements as these show clearly the open sores that exist in the minds of the white race toward the darker races. It also shows a lack of knowledge of Social

*Earnest Sevier Cox, White American, pp 23,27,237,245,299
300,376

** Quoted by Frank Tannenbaum, in 'Darker Phases of the South' pp 160,161: See also the Negro: a menace to American Civilization by R. W. Shufeldt, M.D.

evolution among the Negroes.

The point at which this lower contact ceases is the place where the Negroes' real efficiency begins, and as he passes from domestic service and unskilled labor into a larger world, the white community loses its personal and definite information. The Negro passes into the unknown. As the Negro attains progress he, by the very fact of progress, removes the tangible evidence of progress from the immediate observation of the white community. Thus the composite idea, the social conception of the Negro which is beginning to obtain among the whites, is determined more largely by the evidences of Negro retrogression or Negro stagnation than by the evidence, the real and increasing evidence, of Negro advancement.

These attitudes and statements must be backed by a pattern of causes, as they are the result of an unsatisfactory adjustment of the two races. The difficulties of the situation are chargeable to false conditions, in the public opinion of both races. Negro opinion, organized and unorganized, has become too protective; while white opinion has too often been lawlessly retributive, and based upon distorted views.

Individuals tend to catalog concepts in their minds--the concepts they possess of other people and things. These catalogued concepts, in turn, from the mental patterns that are short-cuts to life habits. As these stereotyped concepts became more and more confirmed, they con-

stitute thick encrustations to which most of our social heritage clings. An individual sees a King as a stereotyped monarch sitting upon a throne of gold in medieval fashion; he sees a "typical farmer" as a bewiskered and bedraggled person who is devoid of what is ordinarily believed to be the best in culture and refinement; he sees a Chinese as an opium smoker, and treacherous man of mystery; he sees a Negro as a low brow, criminally devoid of any possibility along cultural achievement. The average man neither takes the time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance, instead he notices a trait which marks a well known type, and fills in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes he carries in his mind. He is an agitator.

The following are attitudes expressed by the white public toward the Negro as analyzed by a study made by the author:-

1. The White supremacy attitude. To understand this, one must know something of the White-Negro relations in this country. This attitude is indicative of racial prejudice, and follows from the social isolation of the races. The Negro has occupied an inferior social and economic position since his arrival on the shores of America, and during this period of three centuries the white man has contrived to keep him in social isolation.

"The Negro is alright as long as he keeps his place" is the most common statement heard. But what is his place? According to the attitude played forth by the above statements, it is the low caste position which he has occupied so long.

2. Attitude of retaliation or vindictiveness. Mob violence and lynchings are examples of such overt acts of an anti-social nature. It is partially from physical fear mingled with a fear of the Negroes social and economic encroachments. It grows out of the wish for security.

3. Attitude of suspicion and apprehension. This, too, is a defense reaction.

4. The criminal Negro attitude.

There exists a wide spread belief among whites that Negroes are innately criminal. For generations this concept has been instilled into the minds of the children until it has become a well established social heritage, the reliability of which is seldom questioned. These concepts are reflected in the daily press, and not only tend to perpetuate the belief, to adults, but to create the notion to the young. (In short, the press becomes both cause and effect.)

If it is proper to publish "William Jones, Negro" it should be proper to publish "Henry Smith, White" or "Solomon Brown, Jew" in the headlines. If the mentioning of some races in news stories are omitted, why not omit the Negro?

This 'criminal attitude' is a tendency to emphasize the misdeeds of the Negro, and to identify these acts with the race as well as with the alleged perpetrators, as individuals. This attitude manifests itself in style, distinctive words and phrases, headlines, and in all studies of racial attitudes, and antipathies.

5. The attitude of flippancy

The Negro in American life has been made a ludicrous figure, a boistrous, happy go lucky, goodnatured, crap-shooting individual, with little responsibility, either to himself or to his own race. This attitude is perpetrated by such writers as Octavus Roy Cohen and is reflected in the news columns of the papers. It is a sublimation of the "White Supremacy" attitude. A liberal sprinkling of Negro dialect in a news story adds "color" to the setting and furnishes amusement for white readers. If a reporter has the knack of giving a subtle turn to a story that places the Negro in an embarrassing and ludicrous situation, so much the better. The readers will find this 'human interest' element a strong appeal to their sense of humor. (An attitude used by newspaper men to describe Negroes as clowns, boors etc.) This tendency is by no means an accident. It springs from the old conception that Negroes are committed to performing clownish acts, and that they are subject to ridiculous fears and superstitions, and that their conduct in general is ludicrous and impossible.

This attitude is shown also by statements of students in the University:-"The Negro student does not accomplish his best in classwork, because he is unable to concentrate."

6. The Humble attitude.

This attitude is based upon the stereotype concept, 'Uncle Tom', and is still another variation of the White

Supremacy attitude. It goes back to anti-bellum days when White and Negro existed in the relation of master and slave. It is a tendency to portray the Negro as a meek docile person, who is willing to accept all Whites as his superiors. This is done somewhat because of fear of the 'New Negro,' or out of a deep, abiding affection for some "Mammy" or "Uncle Tom" who has been faithful to him or some member of his family, or out of a sympathetic viewpoint, but rationalized, on the part of the White population.

7. The Fellow-Citizen attitude.

This attitude tends to treat the Negro with the same degree of fairness and friendliness that is awarded members of the white race. It evinces an interest in problems and difficulties which the Negro faces, a willingness to cooperate with him in working out his destiny. This attitude is an antithesis of the 'White Supremacy' feeling, and is an intellectual product, not an emotional one. Its chief characteristics are the absence of race prejudice and presence of amicability. It is an aspect of the 'brotherhood of man' philosophy.

Further data drawn from the study made by the author, shows some other causes of race antagonism, namely:

1. Conflict of economic interest
2. Differences in tradition, customs and temperament.
3. Ethnocentrism
4. Fear of contamination of racial stock
5. Conflict of political interests.

Most, if not all of these may be noticed or observed in relations between persons of the same race. Where there are obvious physical differences, emotions excited by any of the complex causes are reinforced and each time they are evoked become more closely associated with color differences.

CHAPTER II
STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION
Negro Home Ownership

Housing for Negroes involves at least four important questions: (1) The problem of racial segregation which may introduce or contribute to the seriousness of availability of houses; of congestion, ownership, depreciation of property value, and like matters; (2) The problem of city growth and the natural distribution in residence areas of groups of like economic status; (3) the physical condition of structures occupied by the majority of the Negro population, with its bearing upon sanitation and health; and (4) home ownership and its implications for the stability of the Negro family.

The factor of racial segregation, both voluntary and involuntary, contributes to the problem of Negro housing, for even though a city may have a sufficient number of dwellings for its total population, there can still be an acute problem of available homes for Negroes. This factor has been marked by:-

1. The tendency of the Negro population to concentrate in fewer wards of cities, particularly in the North.
2. Segregation laws designed to delimit areas of White and Negro residence by legislation.
3. Restrictive compacts entered upon by White property owners to prevent occupancy of certain areas by Negroes.
4. The question of property depreciation.
5. The problem of financing home buying by Negroes in areas designated Negro.

It may be noted that urban zones tend to stress inevitable race concentrations, linking them with economic implications. Cities tend to expand and become organized on a pattern approximately that of concentric circles or zones. These zones as described by Dr. Burgess are: I. The central business zone; II. The zone of transition; III. The zone of working men's homes; IV. The residential zone; V. The commuter's zone. The interstitial regions between residence and industry hold the Negro and immigrant groups. The concentration and scatter of these two groups is similar for as many cities as have available data. The Negro, however, tends to have the highest percentage of concentration. This is a point that one must keep in mind for it is important in the adjustment of relations in so far as housing is concerned.

The acquiring of residence sites by new groups of imputed inferior status has been observed to follow a pattern which can now be described almost as a sociological process: (1) invasion, beginning often as an unnoticed or general penetration, followed by (2) reaction, or the resistance, mild or violent, of the inhabitants of the community, ultimately resulting in (3) the influx of newcomers and the rapid abandonment of the area by the old time residents, and (4) climax, or the achievement of a new equilibrium of communal stability.

Equipment and Conditions of Houses:

One inescapable item, with serious features, in the inherited properties of Negroes, is their advanced age. The

dwellings, being no longer desirable for residence, while the land is potentially valuable for business, are as a rule difficult to buy. They are difficult to put or keep in repair, and the area attracts few new dwellings. The dwellings are out of date and frequently fall within the class tolerated as 'old law' houses, with few of the sanitary provisions required in new structures for the preservation of health. The dwellings were erected for purposes and family habits different enough from the habits and necessities of the new Negro families to introduce many health difficulties. For example, the intimate arrangement of the early houses for private families is dangerously unsuitable for the new families, which must take lodgers into their household. Privacy is destroyed and other social problems introduced. Wherever this type of population is set off there is a temptation for a city government to neglect matters of street cleaning, garbage disposal, paving, police protection.

Congestion:-

Among the first and most dismal social problems of the Negro is that of housing congestion. Negro residence areas expand very slowly, and when these are hemmed in, as frequently happens, by other social or natural barriers, the result immediately registers in overcrowding. Normally, the Negro families have a margin of space. The old institution of the unused 'parlor' frequently survives, even where there is overcrowding in the sleeping rooms. The necessities of the new urban life are gradually forcing all

this.

In New York in 1926, 20% of the Negro families lived in cold water flats. More than half of these had no baths. Many of those which possessed bath tubs were in such a bad state of repair as to be unusable. In all of these flats, coal stoves or gas heaters were used. As to the conditions of the apartments of the 2,326 families, 22% were classed as good; 18% as fair; 12% were not reported on, and 48% were grouped as bad, poor or needed cleaning.*

A study, in 1926, in Detroit covered 1,000 homes occupied by Negroes. Here the chief Negro districts were in the older deteriorated areas and neither streets nor houses were well kept. Of the 1,000 houses, 549 were of the detached type; 568 were of two stories; and 367 were one story. In 533 cases, or slightly over half, the condition of the toilets were reported good; in 195 cases fair; in 77 cases poor; and in 56 cases bad. About half the houses, 500 and 473 respectively, were in good repair inside and out; 133 and 143 were in poor condition, and 84 were in bad condition, both inside and outside. In 805 cases the interior cleanliness was good or fair. The number of rooms per house varied from 1 to 23, with the largest groups living in five or six room houses. Only 689 of the 1,000 families reported no dark rooms. The others reported from one to nine dark rooms. Of the 1,000 families studied 657 were renters, 312 owned their own homes, 101 rented from Negro landlords. The largest number was rented from Jewish landlords. The types of houses ranged from extreme to extreme. Falling porches,

*Johnson, C.S.--Negro in American Civilization

dangerously bad floors, lack of ventilation, defective plumbing, appeared with the refusals of landlords to make repairs.

Rents:--

The amounts paid by Negroes for rents vary according to several well known conditions. Considered generally a larger proportion of Negro income is spent for rent than is true for any other large group of the population. Rents are higher in the North than in the South, and in the North, Negroes, as a rule, pay more than white persons for the same dwelling. Rent increases for Negroes during one year were noted in St. Louis as \$5.00 to \$10.00 a month. In 1917 in Chicago these increases were from 20 to 50%. Successive increases with the growing demand for houses, in numbers of cities, carried the increase in time to a 100% and beyond. Rentals, however, are not uniform throughout the Country. Where rents are low, generally Negro rentals are low, but slightly higher than that paid by the same economic class of Whites. When rents are generally high, Negro rents are high, but the extent of excess over that paid by Whites is determined by the factors limiting artificially the availability of dwellings for Negroes. Negro renters compensate this by taking in lodgers. With the contribution of lodgers, Negro net rent payments are frequently less than those paid by similar economic classes. The absence of Hotels, and to a large extent of formal boarding houses among the Negro population has established the taking in of lodgers as a matter of course.

Home Ownership:--

The percentage of Negro home ownership ranges from less than 4% of the 186 families in Wrights' study of Pittsburgh, to 95% of the Negro residents of Beckley, West Virginia, in 1928, studied by Professor W. C. Matney of the Bluefield Institute. There has been a small but steady increase of Negro homes owned in the United States since 1890. The homes owned in Beckley, West Virginia, range in value from \$1,000 to \$15,000. The value of the average home is \$2,632.50. Thirty-nine and three-tenths per cent of those owning their own home own other property. Five per cent of the residents live in rented property. But 22.8% of those living in rented property own property in other cities. 62.5% of the 5% renting homes rent them from Negro landlords. 37.5% of the renters rent from white landlords. The average amount paid by renters was \$17.43.

In Bluefield, West Virginia, the same investigator found that 62% of the families visited owned their own homes, 12% were buying, and 26% were renting. These homes ranged from comfortable dwellings with adequate space, modern conveniences, situated in pleasant surroundings on wide, paved, lighted streets, to 2 room houses hung against a practically inaccessible hillside, and offering barely more than a shelter from darkness and weather. The value of these homes ranged from \$15,000 to \$500 to \$600. Forty-seven percent of the group studied owned other property aggregating \$75,200. Seventy-one per cent carry

life insurance averaging \$4,296, per individual.

James H. Robinson, of the Negro Civic welfare committee of social agencies, reported, in 1919, that Cincinnati Negroes owned approximately 1,100 homes valued at \$3,250,000. The Negro population was 30,079. One real estate dealer had sold 200 homes to Negroes and in but one case had the buyer failed to meet his full obligations. A study in Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1926 showed 43% of the Negroes owning homes valued at \$708,800. Home ownership in other cities of the state was given as 45.8 in Charleston, 60% in Huntington and 54.7 in Clarksburg.

General observations on Negro Home Ownership:--

1. Home buying in Northern cities has doubled since 1920.
2. In certain cities of the South the increase in Negro home buying has been more rapid than the increase for the cities as a whole.
3. In Northern cities there has been a rapid increase in home buying but the dwellings purchased by Negroes have been, in large part, old and difficult to keep in repair.
4. Special difficulties are encountered in financing of Negro homes.
5. New housing developments are not freely opened to Negroes, either in the North or the South, except where they are sponsored by Negroes, or exclusively for them.
6. When these developments are sponsored by Negroes, the lack of capitol, the difficulty of securing municipal improvements, and the enforced removal from proximity to

work rendered them too hazardous to encourage full Negro financial support.

Comments upon the Housing Problem as a Whole:--

A general campaign of education is necessary to urge upon Negroes the special desirability of keeping their homes painted and their yards in an attractive condition so that colored sections should compare favorably with sections occupied by white persons of the corresponding economic level. A similar emphasis upon the personal appearance and demeanor of colored people and their children is equally desirable.

People of various races have a tendency to live together and this is conducive to community peace. If the Negro seems inclined to move into White neighborhoods it is frequently due to their desire to gain equal civic facilities with the whites. When the streets in Negro districts are paved, and when equal sanitation and other educational facilities are made available for them, there will be a more general tendency on their part to remain where they are, or, when they move, to expand by group rather than by individual action. If this general tendency is to be encouraged, it is particularly important that Negro centers be freed from vice and crime conditions by proper police action.

Also in order to make the acquisition and maintenance of good standards of Negro housing possible, it is necessary for banking and loaning institutions to be more liberal in their attitude toward Negro loans. In justice to the bank

it must be said that property occupied by the majority of Negroes, has frequently been delapidated, or in sections already deteriorated before the Negro came. Furthermore, there seems to be in the white race, an attitude of natural fear that Negro influx might depreciate property values in white sections. But when it is once shown that Negroes are moving in groups, and taking especially good care of their homes and that the city government is keeping up standards of sanitation, policing in Negro groups and districts, it is quite probable that the banks will cooperate more willingly in assisting Negroes to own their own homes and acquire real estate.

The responsibility for encouraging Negro groups in the proper care of their homes and property, and for exercising vigilance upon governmental agencies that flagrant neglect of Negro districts may be prevented, should rest upon a permanent committee of white and colored persons about which further recommendations can be made.

Because of the urgency for better homes and housing conditions among Negroes, the city administrations should survey the possibility of a housing scheme, designed to offer credit facilities to home builders of such small income that their building enterprises offer no attraction to commercial bankers and builders.

This, to my mind, is a favorable step in orienting the attitude of the Negro to himself. Let him introspect upon himself, and feel that he is doing something that is

being recognized by other races. Let him, once in a better environment, act with freedom in his own community projects. When the Negro finds out that he is doing something for himself (like a baby who discovers that his feet are made to walk on) he will begin to achieve. What the Negro needs is a stimulating environment. The present Negro is human with all the energy powers of any other race. This energy must be exercised and given off in some way, as a steam engine must either give out energy through mechanical work, or through the safty valve, which is waste. The Negro has all the potentialities of any human being, and given the proper environment he will develop.

As we have seen, the Negro has displayed certain morbid characteristics, and we read statistics about them. But we let it go at that. There are causes behind it. The Negro is a member of a great body of energy, possessing a race potentiality the same as other races which are holding membership character in the great society of humanity. The Negro has been handicapped on all sides, which has given him an inferiority complex, but which has not reduced his energy. Some day he will awaken. If the Negro home is inadequate, it must be due to lack of wages sufficient to keep it up. This, coupled with the neighborhood he is forced to live in because of prejudices, puts the Negro in such a position that he cannot adequately build up his own community. Not having a community as an expression of his personality the main springs of his human nature are afforded no adequate

outlet. Accordingly he is socially abnormal. Then the white race asks Why is the Negro at the top of the list for crime, and immorality. Why is his home delapidated? Why is he constantly making merry in a hysterical state?

Lack of facilities very much affected the mental attitude of the Negro. He has no bright future to look forward to. As a consequence he rationalizes, and looks to an imaginative future, either in this world or the next. If it were not for this mechanism the Negro would create a more hopeless problem than he now does. But the Negro has passed the limits of his rationalizing. He cannot face the facts of his own case; he calls them a lie. He can go no further. It makes him helpless. The problem has gone far enough. Other races do not know the Negro, for they have only looked upon the surface and seen the results of his non-stimulating environment and have generalized their conception of him by this environment. They only conclude that the Negro is shiftless and dirty. They do not stop to think that with everything against him he cannot help but be.

NEGRO WORKERS

Since 1890 the most outstanding tendency of the Negro, in occupations, has been the move from those employments with which he was most intimately connected during the slave and reconstruction periods---agricultural pursuits, domestic and personal service---to the industrial field, such as manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation. A few go into professions, largely in the south.

In 1890, the first occupational statistics of Negroes was compiled by the Census Bureau. The total Negro population was 7,488,676 or 11.9 per cent of the total population of the country. Out of this number 5,328,972 were ten years of age and over. Of these 3,073,164, or 57.6 per cent, were employed in gainful occupations. The Negroes tended to perform a greater proportionate share of the work done in the country than any of the larger classes of the population with the exception of the foreign-born 58.1 per cent of whom were also gainfully employed. While comprising but 11.9 per cent of the total population, Negroes furnished 13.5 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied. Although general lack of economic well being and the relatively inordinate number of Negro females at work numerically increased this figure, the proportionately high rate of Negro employment constituted an elegant refutation of the once current fallacy that Negroes would not work. The Negro occupation-quota would have been still larger, had not many fields of employment been closed to the race by rigid restrictions of trades, unions, and

public opinion in both the North and South.

The Negroes, in 1890, were confined almost wholly to two branches of occupations; agricultural pursuits, and domestic and personal service. In the former field 1,728,325, or over one half of all the Negroes gainfully employed, performed some sort of domestic service, making a grand total of 2,685,079 or 87.3 per cent. On the other hand, the remaining one-eighth, 388, 055, were distributed as follows; 308,374 or 6.7 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 145,717 or 4.7 per cent, in trade, transportation and public service, and 33,994, or 1.1 per cent in professional service. No other group in the country showed such an undesirable concentration in two of the lowest occupations.

The factors responsible for the menial position of the Negroes in 1890 were varied. First, the great mass of the Negroes, 80.2 per cent, lived in the rural south where agricultural and domestic service were the chief lines of employment; second, the Negroes had been trained chiefly as farm laborers and servants, and executed these tasks well; and third, these tasks were regarded by the whites as peculiarly 'Negro Jobs'. Fourth, manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade and transportation, combined on the whole to restrict Negro gainful employment. In the South, though some employers would except a few Negro workers in certain industrial plants, and expressed satisfaction with their services, an equal, if not a greater number, rejected the Negroes ostensibly upon the ground of ignorance, carelessness, and unreliability. Prejudice, however, on the part of both the white employer

and laborers, as well as varying inefficiency of Negro workers, served to exclude many of the latter from industry. In the North, the hostility of labor unions which, in general, refused admission to Negroes, the unwillingness of the white laborer to work beside the Negro employees, the reluctance with which the employers hired Negroes and the ease with which they dismissed them in case of objections on the part of their White workmen, all tended to confine the Negroes of the North chiefly to domestic and personal service.

In 1900, there was evidence of a little change in the relative occupational status of the Negro. A slight tendency appeared away from farm labor and domestic service toward industry. But in the main the same factors which had previously operated to confine the Negroes to agricultural pursuits, domestic and personal service, still determined their employment.

The movement toward manufacturing, mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, though almost negligible, still was slightly apparent, a gain of 0.2 per cent being evident in the former and increase of 1.1 per cent in the latter. There was however 0.1 per cent increase in professional service. Thus there was a net increase in 0.79 per cent balancing the slight decline in agriculture, domestic and personal service. Relative to his percentage of the total population in 1900 (11.6 per cent) the Negro had the highest employment percentage of 13.7 per cent, which surpassed that of all other large elements of the population. In addition, a greater percentage of Negroes, ten years of age and over, were at work than in any other large

populational group. The percentage of workers within the Negro group was 62.2 per cent, an increase of 4.53 per cent beyond that of 1890.

The decade from 1900 to 1910 may be properly styled the beginning of the Negro industrial advance. In this decade the Negroes engaged in their traditional occupations----agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service----showed a decrease of 5.1 per cent. In addition, the census was taken in the summer when women and children were temporarily hired for work in the fields.

In domestic and personal service, on the other hand, there was by 1910 a decline in the relative percentage of Negroes employed. This was due in general to dissatisfaction with Negro servants of the North, the invasion by Whites of this field hitherto monopolized by Negroes, the greater desirability of the English and Irish immigrants as menials, and the breaking of Negroes into occupations hitherto closed. As a result, there came a decline of 6.9 per cent in the total number of Negroes engaged in domestic and personal service, the percentage having diminished from 33.0 in 1900 to 26.1 in 1910. Therefore, although there was a numerical increase in both agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service during this decade, it actually represented a decline in the total percentage of Negroes engaged in these occupations in 1910, as contrasted with 1900.

Along with the decrease in the percentage of Negroes engaged in domestic and personal service, came a remarkable increase in the Negroes in manufacturing and mechanical pur-

suits, and trades and transportation. This change was effected by several factors. Among them should be mentioned the use of Negroes as strike breakers in the coal and iron mines, and in the steel mills; the growing realization that Negroes, given an opportunity to adapt themselves under patient and unprejudiced supervision, would render the same service as any other type of labor. The reluctant admission of Negroes into certain labor unions, the increasing industrialization of the South partly with Negro labor, and the greater tractability of the Negro laborers because of non-union affiliation were also important factors in this increase. The number of Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in 1910 showed an increase of more than a hundred per cent, from 275,116 in 1900 to 552,815 in 1910. Though some were skilled laborers, the vast majority were unskilled workers.

The gain in the ranks of skilled workers, however, is not so encouraging as it may seem. While the number of those actually employed has increased, the number of apprentices to the trades has actually decreased. Blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, and painters reported less apprentices in 1920 than in 1910 or 1900. It appears then, that as a result of an emergency Negroes have been drawn into these pursuits but at the same time fewer opportunities for a continuous advance into these spheres have been provided.

The increase of the Negroes engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, however, raised the percentage of all Negroes engaged in manufacturing from 6.9 per cent in 1900 to 10.6 per cent in 1910.

It is significant that at the close of 1910 practically one-fifth of all the Negroes gainfully employed, or 18.2 per cent, were engaged in trade and transportation, mechanical and industrial pursuits and professional service, a considerable increase beyond 1900. Thus the movement of the Negroes toward industry is clearly seen.

In 1920, a general decrease in persons gainfully occupied was evident with respect to the entire population. This applied, of course, to the Negroes. Although they constituted a constantly diminishing percentage of the total population, the Negroes still performed a greater proportionate share of work done throughout the country. The Negroes were 9.9 per cent of the total population in 1920, yet they supplied 11.6 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied. But although the Negroes rank highest in the number of persons gainfully employed in relation to the total population and have stood first in this respect since 1900, they represent here also a constantly decreasing percentage, due to the rapidly increasing white elements from external and natural sources.

The real actual gains of the Negro in industry, trade, and transportation cannot be accurately estimated because of the differing wage scales maintained for the two races. In case of unskilled workers in the North little difference is made between the wage scale of the whites and the Negroes who are not affiliated with unions (they both are menial). But in the south, as a rule, the compensation of the unskilled blacks falls considerably below that of the whites of the same status. When employed in the North for skilled work, the Negro receives the same wages granted to the whites according to the union

scale, but Negroes are generally kept out of such work by various provisions and subterfuges. In the South where the preponderance of Negroes facilitates their employment for skilled work there is, nevertheless, a difference in the wages paid the workers of the two races.

When engaged for piece work in the North the Negro laborers are not paid on a different scale, but here again the distinction is made by limiting the number of Negroes thus to be kept. Southern plants, however, not only keep down the number of Negroes assigned to piece work, but have also a different scale for Negro employees.

It is highly important for the Negroes to hold the position which they have won in industry. In leaving the agricultural sections many of them have burned their bridges behind them. Years ago, when the white employers deserted by Negroes on the farms learned to do their own work they thereby precluded the possibility of the return of the Negroes from the industrial centers. On the other hand there is a general tendency to lay off Negroes first in case of an industrial slump. This the Negroes have counteracted to some extent by inaugerating the policy of refusing to spend their money where they cannot work. Also the increasing attention given to business and technical training in the better supported Negro schools of today will decidedly increase the efficiency of these workers who in their undeveloped state cannot compete with highly skilled laborers and educated promoters.

All this leads one to inquire as to whether the Negro wage earner has actually solved the problem of breaking his

way through to higher ground. The answer, as we can clearly see 'No', but there is a start and a very good one. If the progress of Negro labor toward full recognition by white labor be taken as the proper estimate of such advancement the answer will be determined largely in the negative. The American labor movement has made no serious attempt to unionize black laborers. Where ever this has been done, the chief motive has not been to improve the general status of Negro workers but primarily to lessen the menance which the Negroes by virtue of their formidable numbers constitute in various occupations. In other words, the Negroes have been organized chiefly in the interest of economic self preservation, in order that they might be subject to union regulations and not be used by capitalists as a club to overawe white labor.

Proof of this is supplied by the fact that the majority of the Negro workers in trade unions have been, and still are mainly common laborers and miners. How few Negroes were organized is shown by the fact that these union workers constituted less than one-hundredth of all the Negro laborers in 1900.

The large majority of Negroes therefore are still outside the pale of organized labor. In most cases the labor movement has ignored them. In others, it has been impossible to overcome the prejudice of narrow minded white laborers, who refuse to see that the elevation of the working classes demands protection for all laborers alike, regardless of their color, race, or creed. In still other instances Negroes do not possess sufficient skill to demand admittance into such

unions. Examples may be cited of the Hatters, Operative Potters, Pullman Conductors, Railway Engineers, Leather workers and others. Few work at these vocations because they not only are expressly barred but are even denied the opportunity to learn such trades or vocations through apprenticeship.

The manner in which Negro city dwellers earn their living tells two things. It indicates the extent to which they influence the productivity of the cities, especially Southern cities, and it shows the rate at which the Negroes have been able to rise in the economic scale and demonstrate an ability to produce goods and services which they can exchange for a respected position in the community. In other words, the occupations of Negroes are an index of their value to the city and their ability to do things for themselves.

The Negro in Domestic Service. In point of numbers domestic service occupies more than any city occupation and includes nearly a fourth of all colored people. Here the contacts are so intimate that they have great weight in determining race relations. The black Mammy affection of the past generation arose from these contacts, and much of the friction and impatience of the present day arises from inefficiency in the kitchen, in the laundry, or in nursing duties. Many good housewives receive their impressions of the Negro race through contacts with their own house servants. Much misinformation about the race is gathered from this low class element. A rise in the standards of the colored servant class would go far toward restoring some of the strong affection which existed

between the races at the South in Ante-bellum days.

The present output of schools giving specialized domestic science courses is, however, hardly adequate to supply the demand for teachers in the public schools. The actual effect of these courses upon work in the kitchen has, therefore, been indirect. It has come through the public schools whose pupils have received a smattering course. Some successful efforts have been made to train cooks on the job in night and afternoon classes. This activity is one that should appeal strongly to public school authorities. As yet, however, only a few of the colored schools are supplied either with teachers or equipment to handle such cases successfully. In few cases where these extension courses have been offered to cooks, both the servants and the housewives have been well pleased with the results.

Because character is so strong a factor in training for domestic service, there can be no hope for a rapid improvement in the average domestic until the general level of the family life of the masses is raised. For this reason housewives should be far more solicitous as to the home and neighborhood conditions in which their servants live. The effect of domestic service contact on race relations is so direct that the improvement of the character of domestic service is also worthy of the careful attention of Negro leaders.

This care on the part of employers, together with greater emphasis from Negro leaders on the value of character in domestic service, more effort to develop training courses in

domestic science, and to develop kindergartens, day nurseries, and playgrounds, will all reflect in improvement of the colored domestic.

The Unskilled Negro. The Negro unskilled laborer is constantly in demand in both Northern and Southern cities. Here one finds the chronically 'worthless' city Negro and here also is the ambitious man who moves in from the country to the city without a trade and subsists on so-called "common labor". These two types are widely divergent and deserve separate treatment. Too often the Negro race is indicted for the short comings of the worst type of shiftless day laborer. This class makes up a small proportion of the whole, but weighs heavy on the feelings of the employer, to whom it is a constant source of irritation. This worthless class works when hungry and when filled cannot be made to work either by reward or threat of arrest for vagrancy. They may be seen for several days digging in the streets but after spending their earnings they turn up in a railroad gang. Next they may try some heavy construction work. They are contented with little and have little. This however, is not peculiar to the Negro race alone. That this class forms a small proportion is indicated by the fact that the Negro has proved satisfactory in Northern industry and in some fields of Southern industry.

The 1919 study of the Department of Labor showed that, in unskilled units, the Negroes worked more hours per week than white workers in nearly one half the units, the same in about one fourth, and less in about a fourth. In answer to

the question as to whether or not Negroes were ambitious and desired advancement, sixteen employers said, 'Yes', five said 'not in all cases', and eight said 'not as a rule'. The exhaustive report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations concludes that; "Though ill-fitted for keen competition, business-like precision, and six day a week routine of Northern industry, the Southern Negro, inspite of these handicaps, has succeeded in Chicago".

In short, all the investigations that have been made seem to show that the attitude of the foreman goes a long way toward determining the efficiency, regularity, and steadiness of Negro labor. A sympathetic foreman who knows how to get along obtains steady and efficient service, while in the case of a prejudiced foreman the colored worker responds with grudging and irregular service.

The development of industry and the progress of the Negro does not, however, depend so much upon the masses of common labor as it does upon the number of skilled artisans and mechanics. Without this group of higher paid workmen as a stimulating example, and as a group furnishing leadership, the common laborer would feel that there is no hope for his progress or for the advancement of his children. The benumbing clouds of hopelessness would settle around him and render his labor a heartless and grudging service. But the skilled worker faces many difficulties in earning a living. The chief of these arise from race prejudice.

Negro Crime

In the successful adjustment of the legal relationships of the two races democracy is vitally involved. The right to a fair trial by an impartial jury of peers is one of the bedrocks upon which freedom rests, and if it cannot be preserved when the courts serve two races, then democracy itself rests upon a quicksand. The problem of legal justice is therefore fully as important to the white man as to the Negro. Any tendency to weaken the feeling that the court system is entirely impartial, unaffected by passion or prejudice, and meticulously just, or any tendency to strengthen the feeling that the court can be biased or made the instrument of a particular class, will wreck society. Like the machinery of government, the machinery of justice is entirely in the hands of the white man. He makes the laws which courts enforce, he has evolved the court system, he furnishes the judges, court officers and juries. It is therefore his duty and great responsibility, in face of any difficulty, to render justice through them. A departure from fair and just policies will inevitably sap the moral stamina and stability from any race.

The criminality of the Negro is much greater in the North than in the South for the reason that in the North the Negro generally lives in cities, where the temptations for crime are many, whereas in the south, the Negro generally lives in the country, where the temptations and opportunities are fewer. Some overzealous friends of the Negro have denied this, but in so doing have closed their eyes to both statistics and reason.

Crime is everywhere more common in cities than in rural districts, and the Negro race is no exception to this rule. That the Negro commits more crime in the north discredits neither the north nor the Negro. It merely illustrates the truth that black and white are alike influenced unfavorably by the city environment. The criminal tendency of the Negro can be measured only by comparing the quantity and kind of crime committed by him and white people in the same or similar environments.

In Chicago the Negroes constitute only 4.5 per cent of the population but are responsible for 13.1 per cent of all the convictions for felonies, and 17.1 per cent of the indictments for murder.* In 1928, the police records show that nearly three times as many Negroes as whites were arrested in proportion to their respective numbers in the population, the Negro per cent being 11.5.* For the six year period ending January 1, 1926, Negro arrests for misdemeanors according to police records, averaged 8.20 per cent and for felonies, 11.13 per cent. Of the total convictions for misdemeanors, the Negroes averaged 8.5 per cent, and of felonies 13 per cent.

The records of the juvenile courts show that Negro boy offenders constitute over twice the proportion of Negroes to the total population. The kind of offences committed by the Negro boys does not seem to differ notably from the kind committed by white boys, except that Negro boys take the lead in larceny.

The records of the criminal court of Chicago for 1917-18 show that the Negroes are responsible for 12.6 per cent of

* The Report of the Chicago Race Relations Committee, 1927

the sex crimes. The sex offences were committed for the most part upon Negroes, and the specific charges were rape, attempted rape, accessory to rape, crimes against children, contribution to delinquency, incest, adultery, murder by abortion, bigamy, and seduction.

The figures above quoted, however, can be taken only as throwing some light on the sex criminality of the Negro and not as accurate statistics, for the reason that they include only cases passing through the social service department of the criminal court.

In the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations there is evidence of a general effort to attribute the excessive crime and vice of the Negroes in that city to the recent migrants from the South but this effort seems to be supported only by sectional prejudice.

The necessity of dealing with a large number of backward colored people puts a strain upon the courts. The pressure of prejudice and jealousy, and the desire by some classes of white people to exploit, often leads to legal injustice toward the Negro. On the other hand, the presence of large numbers of Negroes, as yet poorly adapted to the codes and institutions of the white civilization in which they live, brings problems of law and morals to both races. The task of preserving law and order is therefore twofold, consisting of efforts to reduce crime among the irresponsible class of Negroes, and to reduce the violence and injustice among the irresponsible class of white people. In fact the Negro race has a large, but not excessive criminal element, but, with the exception

of thefts, the great majority of his crimes are committed against other Negroes. A study of the crime rate indicates that their criminality is not attributable to racial tendencies, so much as it is to living conditions.

In passing it may be said, that the Negro crime rate appears higher than is the actual amount of criminality because of injustices of the courts. It is a notorious fact that in many sections the Negro who becomes involved in the toils of the law can gain his freedom only by a stroke of fortune or by extraordinary effort. The arrests and conviction of innocent Negroes swells the commitment rate beyond the actual volume of crime.

However, as we may see, it is very unfair to judge of the criminal tendencies of the Negro by looking only at the statistical data. If we go behind the statistics we shall find much to lessen their significance and much to mitigate the offenses which statistics record.

Other facts which need to be taken into account in explanation of the criminal statistics of Negroes is that Negroes are more easily identified, arrested and convicted than white people. But to what ever extent the Negro is criminal, the most important cause, and the one which ranks ahead of any racial trait, is the unsuitable environment in which the Negro lives. In all cities of the present day, because of racial segregation, crowds of Negroes, good and bad, are obliged to live in the same district, and often in the same tenement. Hence the better element of the Negroes is always constantly being contaminated and dragged down by the worst.

Then, too, in all cities, the Negro quarter and the vice quarter have always been close together, and in spots inter-blended.

The variation in different sections furnish further clues as to the real reasons for Negro crime. The South, with a large rural population, which has become adapted to its environmental situation, has a low crime rate, for both white and colored people. North and west, where the Negro population is largely concentrated in cities, and where it has recently migrated, have Negro crime rates three and a half and four and a half times as high as the South. In the west North Central section, which approaches the South in its proportion of rural inhabitants, the commitment rate for native white people was only 296 per hundred thousand, but the commitment rate for foreign born white people was 550. That is, among the migrant whites, the crime rate was twice that of the Natives. These rates of crime among the native and foreign born whites are comparable to those of the white and colored people in the South. This influence of city life and migration on the crime rate is further evident from the rates in New England with 630 commitments per hundred thousand native whites and 114.3 for the same number of foreign born. In other words, the crime rate among the foreign born in New England is higher than the crime rate among the Negroes in the United States.

Another factor in the crime rate is the inadequate care of the insane and the feeble minded. Many of these are not confined in institutions. This is especially true of the feeble minded. There is no institution for the segregation

of the colored cases in the Southern states. A study of inmates of the Georgia penitentiary showed that 60 per cent of the Negro inmates were feeble minded. From this it is evident that a proper understanding and care of this element of the population would greatly reduce the crime.

The outstanding causes of Negro criminality may, therefore be said to be: the Negroes racial background, his lack of adaptation to the codes and institutions of the white race; his migration from the country to the city; the adverse economic and housing conditions surrounding him; and feeble-mindedness. Only the last of these is due to inborn traits. The others can be minimized by education, painstaking effort to adjust the Negro to American life, and by humane and modern administration of legal institutions.

CHAPTER III

PHYSIOLOGICAL DATA

Viewing human races as the product of an evolutionary process, their interrelationships seem to be represented by a branching tree, with dividing branches, rather than as a series of classes of equal rank, as was formerly sought.

In no way has human prejudice worked greater ills than in the self-admiring attitude of the Caucasian race. In the headquarters of Western learning we have long been taught to feel that all the great achievements of the human race have been done by Caucasians, and that the Caucasians are the highest and most specialized of all races. Owing to its sad political relationships with other races and particularly with the Negro on this continent, there has grown up a so-called 'color line' to the disadvantage of the races that have been wronged. A fair study of any non Caucasian race is almost hardly to be expected.

In dealing with this aspect of the problem, a few questions should be kept in mind: what is a race? Did the human race spring from a single origin or from many origins? What are the latest pronouncements of science on this question? Do all the various representatives of a single race 'love one another'? If not how can their attitudes be explained? If they hate one another, do they show more or less, hate in this relationship than they show toward some other race lying outside the bounds of their own decent? That is to say, is there any formula for racial hatred, or for racial inferiorities and superiorities that holds without exception?

Dr. H. H. Wilder of Smith College classifies different races as follows:

1. Caucasian Race:

Skin color: Varies from white, pigmentless skin, through the different shades of brown, to a jet black (Abyssinians and Tuareg)

Pilosity: Hairy, often profusely so. Full beards in the male, frequently with the legs and arms covered with hair.

Hair of head: Long or very long, especially in the female, generally wavy or curly, seldom absolutely straight. In color, the various shades of brown, when black, not jet black, but showing some color. In certain northern peoples the hair is blonde, and sometimes red. Index of cross-section, 62-72.

Eyes: Moderately large and full, not showing the Mongolian fold, or the epicanthus. In color, ranging from blue, hazel with a touch of green, light brown to black.

Head shape: Two types (1) dolichocephalic, index 74-79; (2) brachycephalic, index 80-85.

Nose: Leptorrhine, index on skull 44-46, on living 63-70, prominent and thin, nostrils long and narrow, axes anteroposterior.

Mouth: lips thin, often everted, especially the lower lip, but not thick.

Distribution: Europe, North Africa, Western Asia and Western continent, where it has been blended

with the Indian and Negroes brought over from Africa as slaves***.

II. Negro or Ethiopian Race:

Skin color: Varies from white to black, usually with a definite pronounced brown cast. The palms and soles remain pinkish or yellowish.

Pilosity: Skin of the body generally smooth and satiny with out trace of hair.

Hair of head: Straight to a head covered with tightly curled tufts, which usually forms in the adult a thick mat. In age it may become gray or entirely lost, as in other races.

Beard scanty, not connecting with the hair of the head.

Eyes: large and full, sclera yellow, although in contrast with the black skin it gives the general impression that it is emencely white.

Eye color, black, often not showing the difference between the iris and the pupil.

Head: Dolichocephalic, index 71-77.

Nose: Platyrrhine, or hyperplatyrrhine, index on skull 53-65. On living 100-120.

Mouth: Lips thick, both much everted, often protruding.

Distribution: The southern part of the continent of Africa.---- Western continent. ***

***H. H. Wilder----Pedigree of the Human Race

1926, Henry Holt & Co.

From this classification one can easily see that there is a difference in the two races, which may mean that they need totally different environments in order to thrive to the best of their abilities. However, as another important point, we cannot draw a line of demarcation between the two races that will hold as a boundary line. This brings us to the question of defining a race. This we will not go into but leave it as food for thought!

The first practical implication of the remarks made a moment ago is that the American Negro is to be regarded as a group racially distinct from whites. Is there sound foundation for such an idea? Every one knows that there has been a great deal of intermixture of white and Negro races in North America ever since the Negro first came to this continent. Have we any right, under these circumstances, to speak of the American Negro as a race?

Not only is the American Negro different in external body, size and conformation, but in the anatomy and physiology of his internal organs he is in some respects different from the whites. Bean, who has devoted much attention to this subject, claims to have found a number of quantitative differences. Thus he concludes, that the size of the temporal lobe of the brain is both absolutely and relatively smaller in the Negro than in the whites, and that the shape of the lobe is also different in the two races. The same investigator reported that the spleen is smaller in the Negroes than in the whites, a result which Pearl and Bacon were able to confirm. **

**R. Pearl and Bacon: Biometrical Studies in Pathology
Archives of Pathology, Vol.III, pp. 963,992, 1927.

Bean and Baker, in later papers, found the liver to be smaller in Negroes while there was no significant difference between the two races in respect to size of heart and kidneys. Pearl and Bacon confirmed this finding so far as concerns the heart.

That the Negro body may react differently to organic disease than that of the white has lately been shown for neoplastic diseases by Pearl and Bacon, on the basis of the autopsy records of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.**

The mortality attributable to lesions of the circulatory system and also that attributable to the respiratory system, both form a greater proportion of the total mortality of the Negroes than in the case of whites. The proportion of the total mortality attributable to lesions of the nervous system, the kidneys, associated excretory organs, and the endocrine system, is, in each case, smaller in the Negroes than in the whites, whether one considers the raw autopsy data, or those adjusted for age. In the case of lesions of the skeletal and muscular systems the absolute mortality is small but the proportionate amount is larger in Negroes than in whites. The proportionate mortality attributable to lesions of the skin is smaller in the Negro males than in the white males. In the female sex this relationship is reversed, but the excess proportionate mortality of Negro females over white is very slight.***

Recent discussions of the high mortality rate of Negroes have been shifting somewhat, from a complete medical emphasis

**R. Pearl and Bacon: Biometrical Studies in Pathology
Archives of Pathology, Vol. III, pp. 963, 992, 1927.

***R. Pearl: Certain Evolutionary Aspects of Human Mortality Rates. Amer. Naturalist, Vol. LIV, pp. 5-44, 1920

to consideration of problems of economic status and physical environment. The significant bearing of these factors upon the rates discussed in this chapter is necessary to any adequate view of the health status of Negroes. Social problems are inter-related and nowhere in this interrelation more noticeable than in the Negro population.

A review of the available literature on Negro health and physiology discloses many inadequacies in the statistical data. For a more faithful picture of the significant factors of differences in anatomy, physiology and mortality rates, at least the following studies should be made:

1. An investigation of Negro mortality in rural areas; city areas; by income classes.
2. An inquiry into the extent of mental disease among the Negroes; cases in institutions and cases requiring institutional care.
3. A comprehensive study---in two or three typical localities---of social background of Negro mortality.
4. A study of the effect of migration from South to the North upon Negro rates of death and birth.
5. A study of mortality by occupation and race.
6. A study of Negro diet in relation to mortality.
7. A study of the character of congenital malformations in Negro infants at birth.

Biological differences between the two races have thus been demonstrated by various somatological studies, and these differences are to some extent reflected in the comparative pathology of the two races, both physiological and social.

The Negro reacts differently to some diseases than the white as regards incidence and organological distribution of pathological lesions. In some instances these racial differences in pathology are so great as to make it seem reasonable that they should be taken into account in planning health programs for the Negro. In some particulars he seems to enjoy a greater fitness than the white race, while in other respects he is apparently less well adapted to the general environment in which he must live and have his being.

The birth rate among Negroes is evidently subject to fluctuations from a number of causes. This rate has undoubtedly decreased rapidly, and it is this decrease in birth rate rather than an increase in death rate which causes the slow increase of the Negro population. Most studies show that the death rate is the gradual rise in standard of living. This postpones marriage until a later age than formerly and consequently reduces the number of children born. Nevertheless the marriage age is still much lower among colored women than among white women. According to Woofter, 30% of the white women over 15 are single as against only 24.1% of the colored women over 15. In the city the birth rate is much lower than in the country, the rates per 1000 in 1920 being, according to Woofter: urban 24.0, rural 28.9. The migration cityward is another factor in the decline in the birth rate of Negroes. The high incidence of venereal disease also serves as a check upon births, and it is also possible that conscious birth control has decreased the number of children to the same extent. All these factors combine to reduce the number of Negro children born and to slacken the rate

of the increase of the Negro population.

The presence of a considerable number of people of mixed white and colored blood presents one of the genuine problems remaining in race relations. There is every evidence, however, that direct infusion of white blood through intermarriage or illegitimate relationships is decidedly on the decrease. This evidence not only comes from competent observers of social conditions but also from census figures. However, on the other hand, a slight percentage of increase would be expected even if there was no direct infusion of white blood, since a mulatto child may be born to two mulatto parents, or to one mulatto and one black parent, while a black child is born only to two black parents.

On the face of figures it is probably not only that the direct infusion of white blood has practically ceased, but also that the mulatto families are not as prolific as pure black families. Whether this is due to hereditary tendencies or different conditions of social environment has not been determined. Since the increase in the mulatto population is due to unions of black with mulatto and of mulatto with mulatto, it is probable that the proportion of mulattoes with more than half white blood is rapidly diminishing while the proportion with less than half white blood is increasing.

The practical implication of this is the fact that the Negro is changing. According to the laws of human development, through a process of evolution, as forced by this environment. The 'marginal man' is increasing. This is a fact which ultimately must be taken into consideration in the problem of race relations.

PART II

THE NEGRO IN THE PECULIAR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER IV

Psychological Traits of the Negro

In regard to the psychological traits of the Negro, the first fact to notice is that there is more uniformity among them than among Caucasians. For example, the Negro lives in the present, his interests are objective, and his actions are governed by his emotions. He manifests a propensity to pleasure, music, dancing, physical enjoyments, and imitation. The temperament of the Negro is irresponsibly cheerful, he overflows from his small home, and sings and laughs in the streets; no matter how ragged or forlorn he may be, good humor sits upon his countenance, and his squalor is not unpicturesque.

William H. Thomas, himself a Negro, noted: "The Negro lives only in the present and though at times doleful in language and frantic in grief, he is like a child, readily soothed by trifles and easily diverted by persuasive speech. *

The Negro is easily irritated and prone to quarrel and to fight. When angered he becomes raving, apparently beyond control, with gesticulation. He has vanity, fondness for showing off, and love of the spectacular. Thomas observes: "He assumes knowledge when densely ignorant, and to have wealth when sunk in deepest poverty. Assuredly such self-sufficiency would be amazingly inexplicable did we not know that he has inordinate craving for all spectacular display which makes him a central figure. Jealousy, which is closely related to vanity, is a great passion in the Negro."*

*William H. Thomas, The American Negro, pp 134.

John Daniels writes, "The members of this race are excessively disposed to circulating gossip and slander about one another and generally to depreciating one another's conduct and character.....Let one of them make a proposal or initiate an enterprise appealing for general support and immediately detractors arise, to cast aspersions on his motives and to propose something different." **

The Negro has little thought of the morrow, and is therefore improvident. Concerning this trait, DuBois says: "Probably few poor nationalities waste more money by thoughtless unreasonable expenditure than the American Negro, and especially those living in large cities like Philadelphia. First, they waste much money on poor food, and unhealthful methods of cooking. The crowds that line the streets on Sundays are dressed far beyond their means, much money is wasted in extravagantly furnished parlors, dining rooms, guest chambers, and other visible parts of the house." ***

The Negro also manifests a typical characteristic in his natural frankness and truthfulness. He is apt to speak unreservedly since he is not given to reflection. His credulity and proneness to believe whatever is told him are often taken advantage of by unscrupulous men, and are means of enticing the Negro to part with his money. Some writers claim that the Negro is distrustful and suspicious, but this, as a rule, is true only of those who have suffered from their frankness and truthfulness.

**H. W. Odum---Social and Mental Traits of the Negro, pp. 224.
***W. DuBois---The Philadelphia Negro, pp. 87.

Since Negroes are very emotional and swayed largely by feeling, they are easily appealed to through their sympathies. They are very responsive to a kind word or act of generosity, and manifest a deep and lasting affection for a person who might befriend them.

Another striking trait among the Negroes is their intolerance of discipline. They chafe under restraint, and on this account drift into occupations in which labor is irregular and unskilled. They frequently change jobs for no other reason than to escape discipline.

Restlessness is another characteristic of the Negro, closely associated with his dislike of discipline and his love of sight-seeing. He is ever on the go. This travel is for the most part aimless, and it is common for a Negro to take a trip with bare train fare in his pocket.

Mecklin, thinks that in "reasoning the Negro tends to subordinate the relational and abstract elements to the imaginal"... and that "The individual or group that tends to do its thinking in terms of mental imagery rather than in general ideas will be strongly emotional and perhaps will find logical thinking difficult from the presence of the disturbing emotional elements. Where this peculiarity has its roots deep in individual or racial temperament the results are of particular importance for the student of social problems".* The Negro shows an entire absence of judicial temperament. His conclusions rest upon mere feeling or bias.

Thomas observed that: "The Negro neither associates cor-

*Mecklin--Democracy and Race Friction, pp. 51.

related facts nor deducts logical sequences from obvious causes. He is largely devoid of imagination in all that relates to purely intellectual exercises, though he has fairly vivid conceptions of such physical facts as appeal to the passions or appetites....His will is governed by mercurial and intractable ebullitions of moods." **

The actions of the Negro, more often than his reasoning, show an absence of rational correlations. His behavior is often characterized as whimsical or notional. In his migratory habits, in his purchasing of goods, and in his choice of an occupation or place of residence, there is often no rational explanation that any one can discern.

The Negro has a 'faculty' of imagination which is employed almost exclusively in reproducing concrete images reflected upon his retina. It is rarely employed in visualizing abstract ideas, such as honor, virtue, loyalty, and truth. External blandishment controls him more than do fixed principles. The more the mind of any individual is filled with concrete images the more intense is the strength of his emotions, and the weaker the force of abstract considerations which hold the emotions in check.

In consequence of this emotional dominance the Negro has relatively feeble self-control. Whatever feeling, desire, or passion seizes him for the moment tends to express itself in immediate action.

** Thomas---The American Negro, pp. 109.

The gregarious tendency is perhaps stronger in the Negro than in any other race. He loves the crowd and has nothing of the aptitude for isolation, or ability to resist crowd pressure. In any political or social issue which arouses strong feelings, the Negro tends to act on the basis of common feeling or prejudice, and not on that of differences in ideas and convictions. Imitativeness is a strong characteristic of the Negro and is closely connected with his gregariousness. The strong tendency of the Negro to loafing and vagabondage is the outcome of his gregariousness, his dislike of restraint and discipline, his lack of foresight, his weak powers of inhibition and his propensity to migrate. Self

Self abasement or submissiveness is a trait generally associated with strong gregariousness. The Negro is accustomed to following the crowd, and is prone to lean upon any one of strong will and overbearing conduct. He is easily worked into a high pitch of frenzy. Wherever he lives in great masses, as in the segregated quarters of our cities, he constitutes a very inflammable element of the population.

The Negro has a strong explosive temperament. To make this clear it is necessary to point out that temperaments of mankind are of two types. One is characterized by a tendency to immediate reaction in some form of behavior, and the other by a tendency to deliberate, reflect and brood. The one acts objectively and the other subjectively. The one is the extrovert and the other, the introvert. The extrovert type is impulsive, talkative, interested in the present, weak in self

control and self-reliance, and is given to violent outburst of temper, as well as to enthusiastic action. The Negro seems to be the most pronounced example of the extrovert type.

The introvert type is introspective, inclined to combativeness in the realm of ideas, independent of judgment, and manifests a high degree of self reliance and power of inhibition.

Here, it should be said that some of the traits just numerated as belonging to the Negro are common to ignorant white people or backward people of any race, and if the traits of the Negro, as herein defined, are predominantly of this nature, one might infer thay they are because of some environmental influence rather than any particular racial characteristic.

In a study of the psychological traits of the southern Negro, made by W. M. Brevis, the following points were emphasized:

1. The Southern Negro has certain psychological traits that are reflected in his psychosis.
2. Motion, rhythm, music and excitement make up a large part of the life of the race.
3. Naturally, most of the race are care free, live here and now, with limited capacity to recall or profit by experience of the past. Sadness and depression have little part in his psychological make up.
4. Of all his peculiarities, fears and superstitious ideas stand out most prominently.

5. The number of alcoholic cases is surprisingly low.
6. Suicide and suicidal tendencies are almost absent in the patients, the ratio being one to three hundred in state hospitals.
7. The incidence of cerebro-spinal syphilis and paresis is relatively low in the Southern Negro.
8. Manic-depressive Psychosis are observed to occur in higher percentage than that given by Green in 1917 (17%). The manic phase is the one nearly always seen.
9. Dementia Praecox stands at the head of the list of the Psychosis of the Negroes, Catatonic form occurring about twice as often in the whites, and paranoid form coming next in importance.
10. A classification of the psychosis of this race show that nearly all are (1) Dissociation, (2) Compensatory, or (3) Repression types.**

It has been generally assumed in America that the Negro is highly emotional because of inherent tendencies in the race. Before the war and after the war, he has been represented as the exponent of certain kinds of feelings. Many writers have emphasized the feelings of the Negroes with no little skill, but the sadder strains have been emphasized and undue emphasis has been placed upon the expression of the emotions as a psychological influence on his behavior,-- a cause rather than a result. Many have emphasized his

**W. M. Brevis---Psychological Traits of the Southern Negro, American Journal of Psychiatry, 1921.

inheritance, physiological and psychological qualities as such, and have assumed that the Negro was differentiated by a distinctive emotional development from within. It is the main thesis of this paper that such conceptions are undeniably false. They are based upon an atomistic logic, and an antequated psychology. This old psychology was based upon mechanistic assumptions. Previous thinkers in this field have attempted to tear the whole, (Society and social action) into its elements or parts, and have tried to explain the action that they see, in terms of these parts. As a consequence effects have been mistaken for causes and causes have been neglected. The Negro race has been a sufferer.

The psychological traits of the Negro arise from social and economic situations, just as other characteristics have arisen in other races. The social situations thwart the Negro's goal activity, which is gaining the most benefit from life. As a consequence, defense mechanisms are developed, as they would in any other race or human being. The defense mechanisms are the showing of resistance. The Negro personality is an expression of this resistance. The traits of the Negro are not of a haphazard order. They function dynamically, according to the laws of human nature.

Psychological Analysis and Interpretation

The Negro lives in the present, his interests are objective, and his actions are governed by his emotions. He manifests a propensity to pleasure, music and dancing, physical enjoyments and imitation. The temperament of the Negro is irresponsibly cheerful. The Negro is easily irritated and prone to quarrel and fight. He has vanity, fondness for showing off and love of the spectacular. The Negro has an intolerance for discipline. Restlessness is also another characteristic. In reasoning the Negro tends to subordinate the relational and abstract elements to the imaginal. Both the individual and the group find logical thinking difficult from the presence of the disturbing emotional elements. As a consequence of this emotional dominance the Negro has a relatively feeble inhibiting power. He is gregarious, and self abasement or submissiveness is a trait generally associated with strong gregariousness. Finally, the Negro is an extrovert.

We now face the problem of giving the facts of the foregoing chapter a more definite psychological meaning, in terms of organismic principles.

Human Society is an organized whole, which means that its parts are in constant relationship to each other and to the whole. This holds for groups and individuals, alike, since both are parts of a larger social whole. Relationship signified a situation that is dynamic in character.

It signifies the potentiality for action. Races must be included as parts of the organized whole (human society), which possess membership character in that whole. The whole always functions through its parts, in other words, actions are always found in individuals. These always bespeak a cause external to the part and within the whole of which the part has membership character.

Qualities of human nature, or personality traits, are attributes toward others. They are dynamic relationships exhibited in the form of behavior, and sustained toward the group in which the individual or race lives. In the absence of other racial groups, these psychological traits would mean nothing, they are qualities quite properly referred to a single race or human being, but they depend upon a Society. The activities of one individual toward another, or of one race toward another, depends upon the dynamic relation of each to the social group.

Thus, human nature, or personality traits, are not to be construed as an endowment from heredity. In other words, the characteristic that an individual develops is not the product of isolation, but the product of Human Society. To be sure, an individual enters the world with a capacity to grow, to absorb nourishment, and to maintain the organization of his energies, but the direction of that growth, or what type of being that individual will develop into, or the form of organization of these energies, are strictly products of group life, so far as their psychological aspects are concerned. There

are no innate properties of the nervous system, yet known that guarantee a personality, other than a complexity and a specialization of structure that make possible highly intricate modes of behavior. The hypothetical man, developing in isolation, would exhibit no traits of character, no intelligence, skill, morality, or self-consciousness and shyness. He would not exhibit these traits because there would be no social conditions present to create them.

It is possible to discuss and summarize the relationships of the Negro individual to the group, and the relationships of the Negro group to the whites in the terms of definite laws. These laws are known as ORGANISMIC laws* because they rest upon the fact that a society is an organism, or in other words an organized whole. A discussion from this point of view will illustrate how the Negro acquires the personality he has and why he behaves as he does.

FIRST ORGANISMIC LAW: The Whole is more than the sum of its parts; it possesses properties and exhibits behavior which its parts, taken alone do not exhibit.

The Negro race as a social group, or organized whole, possesses properties and exhibits behavior not characteristic of any individual Negro.

There are specific modes of behavior that characterize group behavior. Among them are folk-ways; folkways are correct ways of doing things; they are group habits carried out, to be

sure by means of the individual Negro within the group, for that is the way in which all wholes operate, namely through their parts.

In turn the larger humanity of which the Negro race is a part possesses more general modes of behavior. They exhibit methods of competition, physical, economic and intellectual, all very much the same for people of the same general stage of evolution. Their instruments of combat, tools employed in earning a livelihood, manner of dressing, marriage customs, religious beliefs, and so on, all bear striking resemblances in spite of their many differences in detail. All of this goes to show that there is a general behavior pattern operative in all situations, characteristic of all human beings.

Furthermore, human qualities are very much the same the world over. Hate, love, sympathy, tolerance, ignorance, intelligence, are not confined to one race. They are universal human qualities, patterns of behavior differentiating in particular situations out of those general properties of the human nature-pattern that are duplicated in all humanity.

SECOND AND THIRD ORGANISMIC LAWS: Parts derive their properties from the whole; the whole conditions the activities of its parts.

The important point to be remembered here, is the fact that the behavior of the individual in conforming to group habit represents a dynamic relationship of that individual to the whole of which he is a part. Let us enlarge our whole to the point where it will take in all races of Mankind, in other words, Human society is our whole. The white race and the

Negro race, both holding membership character in this whole. The white race having the role of dominance, through public opinion, forced the Negro from Africa to America, changing his social environment, customs, and points of view, thus a realignment of personality pattern was necessary. This the Negro developed, but suddenly emancipated, found himself peculiarly weak in that nice adaptation of individual life to that of the social groups which he was forced to live in or die. Thus conflict arose between the Negro and the New group, because his status was not defined, and he was unadjusted to the new environmental situation. Just as changing from one climate to another demands a physiological adjustment, or conflicts result between the organisms metabolism and the new enviornment, the Negro had to adjust. This he did by imitation, which was conforming to the group habit of the whole of which he is a part. Take the matter of dress of the Negro; he dresses in accordance with the group in which he belongs, and the group as a whole tend to dress accordingly to the larger group in which they belong. Thus dressing is a social behavior displayed by the Negro. So too, with elaborate forms of group behavior, like the mores. Mores are folkways that have long been practices and have been raised to the plane of doctrines. Religious observances and political faiths are examples of imitation of the white race by the Negro. In an effort to adjust himself to the surrounding society, the Negro conformed relatively to the white religion. This is modified to a certain extent, because of outside environment influences, in

which the Negro was living; just as the body, within limits develops immunity to germs, or replies with other forms of defence to physical forces that disturb its balance, so the Negro personality develops defense mechanisms against disturbing situations it meets in its social environment, thus altering the form of the Negro church with reference to the whites. These alterations become the right ways of doing things with respect to the Negro group, and become folkways and mores which are relatively permanent characteristics of group life. Their public opinion, morality, and race feeling are also unique properties of the group. These entities show the presence of a personality pattern in the Negro which have been shaped into particular modes of response, just mentioned, which shows that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, or in other words that the Social situation out of which the Negro has evolved has determined his psychological characteristics, or modes of action. Hence the larger social environment must assume its share of responsibility, under natural law, for the welfare of a particular race.

We have stated that the Negro obtains his characteristics from the larger social environment of which he is a part, but nothing has been said as to how he gets these characteristics, or in other words, the modes of behavior that persons carry out as individuals. What about his desire for status, security, new experiences, love, anger, fear, thought, and many other so-called performances of individual minds.

Again looking at the larger whole, Human Society, the

Negro race is a member, the same as the other races, possessing its membership character. It has race consciousness, in the same way as an individual has self consciousness. This group life of Human Society furnishes the conditions for its development in the same way that group life of a race furnishes the conditions for the development of self-consciousness in the individual. Self-consciousness, in the individual, is, of course, the awareness of personal identity, and of the self as the agent of one's acts. Race consciousness pertains to the group. It is the awareness of racial identity and of the race as the agent of certain ideals, concepts and philosophy.

In the individual the role played by the hands, feet, head and other parts of the body, in the development of the notion of self, depends upon a comparison of his body with the form and appearances of other persons. Even the impressions, from his own body, of touch, pain and muscular movement, which unquestionably contribute to the concept of self, derive much of their significance from the description of similar experiences in others. Important as the nervous system is, for the development of self-consciousness it would be impotent if it were not functioning in a social setting. This is because the social setting gives meaning to his experiences, and without meaning there is no experience. So it happens that a very complex pattern of social conditions produces self-consciousness in the individual, and these conditions are the presence of other persons and the attitudes they display through their actions and words. In all this there is no implication that self-consciousness is planted in the individual by an act of

the group; it is not inserted, already made in the mind of the child. The individual must acquire self consciousness. The social group, then, produces self consciousness in the individual, just as a system of stresses produces the particular stress characteristic of any given part of a system. The dynamic relations existing between the individual and the group exhibit themselves in the form of behavior.

In the very same way a race acquires 'race consciousness'. The part played by the individuals of the race, in the development of the notion of race consciousness, depends upon a comparison of these individuals with individuals of other racial groups. There is no doubt that a tension exists in many communities between the blacks and whites, as was previously stated. As Negroes become better educated, they become more sensitive and resentful against being treated inferior. They are beginning to evaluate themselves in terms of other races, are becoming conscious of the fact that they compare relatively favorable with the other races holding membership character in Human Society. They now have many publications devoted to their interests, and many college graduates giving their leadership to the various movements. Thus, the reader can readily see how this race consciousness is being developed, and the reason for the direction that it has taken in the Negro. Under another law it will become evident just what these behavior processes are.

Again going back to our individual, we find that he acquires intelligence through his dynamic relationships to the group, intelligent performances in other people induce intel-

ligence in him. They function as complex patterns of stimuli which make possible the development of insight. There would be no understanding on the part of the individual if there were no events occurring in his environment capable of having meaning for him. Isolated individuals do not develop intelligence. If the situation presents relationships which are simple in their character, intelligence remains on a simple level. If the situation presents complicated relationships, like those found in the highest type of social environment, intelligence in the individual develops on the average to a corresponding higher level. Thus, in applying this to the Negro as a group, we find that because of skin color, he is denied opportunity to participate in any of the cultural aspects of the white population, such as churches, schools, recreational activities and civic functions. Yet he is not given an opportunity to construct and promulgate these activities for himself, for many reasons:

1. He is not given opportunity to secure jobs which pay enough money to raise his standard of living, which will give him more leisure time, and as a consequence, they are not able to compete adequately in the struggle for existence.
2. He is not given consideration in financial matters.

Thus, denied these activities, the Negro is relatively isolated from the other members of Human Society. Because of this segregation the Negro race cannot under the laws of

dynamics, develop an adequate intelligence, for intelligence means maximum contact with the culture of the social whole, in a maximum number of ways. Just as an individual develops intelligence in proportion to environmental stimulation, the Negro race as a whole does, according to the same principles. The average Negro is living in an intellectual twilight, and a pseudo-culture, as a result from this isolation, and is developing in intelligence accordingly. Before a man can discover the hidden secrets of the world around him he must have extra tools, to aid his senses; these tools are man made and exclusively the products of Society. They are inventions, mechanical instruments, instruments of measurements, and what is very important, language and mathematics. The intelligence or insight increases in proportion to the amount of intelligent responses made by other persons or groups, and upon the amount of mechanical products available, which is in other words, Social Heritage. The Social heritage of the Negro is not flowered with rich knowledge and availability of these mechanical products, and as a result the Negro would fall behind in average modern race, which have these things at their disposal. The important thing to remember here is that, intelligent behavior in others, together with the mechanical products of that behavior, are stimulus patterns, which induce intelligence in the individual and determine what insight he will possess. All Human insight is gained that way. Thus, the reader can see, that the Negro intelligence is a product of social evolution, and it cannot be understood completely until it is recognized that it is primarily a social phenomena. It is, then, the intelligent character of the Human nature pattern

that conditions intelligence in the individual, or in other words, the parts derive their properties from the whole.

Let us now review the emotional side of the Negro, to see the process of derivation there, according to this law.

The individual derives his emotional life from participation in group behavior. Feelings appear at the outset as aspects of a simple social situation, one person to another. Throughout life, in fact, experiences of a like character derive their major significance from social settings. Isolated individuals do not love, fight, nor fear. Emotions are fundamentally social phenomena exhibited by individuals as members of a group; they are derived from circumstances of being in dynamic relation to other individuals within a whole. It is plain then, that the group is essential for the development of emotion in the individual. The emotions are safety valves for the personality, they are the outlets for internal pressure caused by external stimulation from the social group.

The Negro is highly emotional, his life is dominated by his emotions. At this point, let us survey the membership character that the Negro holds in relation to the larger whole of Human Society, and in relation to the other racial groups. As was previously stated, the Whites, possessing every advantage of political, economic and social position in their relationship with the colored minority, who have still clinging to them the stigma of their slave status have developed a race consciousness which assumes race su-

periority, and have seen fit to segregate and forbid the Negro to participate actively in any enterprise. The Negro race has progressed with unparalleled rapidity until a significant number of its people have been so assimilated as to share American standards to a degree that leaves nothing but color to distinguish them from the great masses of whites. As a consequence, their achievement in adopting American customs and standards makes them more unwilling to accept the handicap of political and economic inequality, which the dominant whites take as a matter of course. Thus, we see the status of the Negro has changed but the social, economic and political pressure has remained relatively the same. Thus, the Negro as an organized group fails to realize its group ideals, through an inability to adapt a certain line of desired action to given conditions of life. Being a part of a larger whole (Human Society) and holding membership character, and possessing the same energy powers of any other Human race, the Negro, thwarted by such an environment, gives off his energy powers in abnormal ways; through the emotions almost totally, in order to balance his personality, in the same way that a steam engine must either give out its energy through mechanical work or through the safety valve, which is waste with reference to the Negro, as looked upon by the whites. However, these take the form in behavior of defense mechanisms, which are insightful adjustments at the level of social differentiation of the Negro, according to the laws of human nature. The process will be explained latter as to what the parti-

cular behavior processes are. Thus, the emotions of the Negro are social phenomena which are derived from participation in group behavior. It is plain now to see that the Social environment in which the Negro lives, taken as a whole, which includes Human Society, has been essential for such a development of emotion in the Negro. In other words, the Negro as an individual, a part, derive their emotions, as a property, from the whole, which is Human Society.

The Negro as was stated, thrust into the new environment in America, had to adjust, this was controlled by the larger group, through these tools, the Negro imitated the Whites, accepted suggestion and tried to develop emotions in common with the larger group in order to receive status. Status means to conform and to conform means liberty. By definition, the individual is, from his standpoint, a separate being; he is a differentiation from the human nature pattern that surrounds him, he exists, he behaves, but in terms of the group, and the group behaves in terms of him, but in accordance with its own laws, not his. Thus, in the same way the Negro is controlled and governed by the larger group, so that he develops certain modes of behavior. In a social group, if in the estimation of the group the behavior of a certain member is especially important, the group attitude toward that person makes him an unusually good source for imitation, and suggestion. So it happens that a great authority in science is believed, a social leader is followed in manner of dress. Accordingly, the evident influence that one individual may have over the group is not a reversal of the third law, for unless the leader is recognized by the group he has

no influence as an individual.

In the instance of the Negro, whose characteristic has often been said to be easily susceptible to imitation and suggestion, we find the same principle operating in regard to the relationship of the Negro and white races. The whites possessing every advantage socially, politically and economically, at the present and having held the role of master in early history, has been looked upon by the Negro as a great authority, in all matters. Thus, a good source for imitation and suggestion for the Negro, which enables him to conform to the larger group, and thus gain more liberty. However, this has not gone on as smoothly as one might conceive, because the dominant race, has not, as a mass, realized that group control can be affected through cooperation and motivation, but instead, tries to use physical force, such as segregation, lynching and other atrocious forms of control, which have lessened its influence as a leader of races. As a consequence the Negro group does not accept White leaders and is tending to shun their approach on the co-operation level. This factor has greatly complicated the whole problem.

FOURTH ORGANISMIC LAW: Parts emerge from wholes through a process of individuation.

The social group supplies the general features of the Human nature pattern. Individual differences are conditioned by variations in the social patterns that influence single persons. For example, the attitudes of parents toward chil-

dren are never the same toward any two children. Personality emerges through a growth process, that begins at birth, and continues throughout the life of the individual. The kind of treatment that an infant receives at the hands of the family give to him his first traits of character. This is constantly being enlarged and changed through more complex situation. It is in this general way that a new personality crystallizes out of the total pattern of human nature that surrounds it. The emergence is definitely an individuation from the total pattern, because the circumstance responsible for the appearance of the personality is the constant dynamic relation existing between the individual and the group. As the emergence takes place the group pattern, through its dynamic relation to the individual, imparts human nature to him.

Let us apply this to the Personality of the Negro. Human Society forms a certain social pattern that influences races, nations and individuals. Variations of this pattern produce differences in psychological traits and influence single persons. The Negro, living in this peculiar environmental situation of pseudo-culture and relative isolation, has developed out of it certain psychological characteristics, such as; a propensity to pleasure, music, dancing, physical enjoyments and imitation. He has developed a certain temperament which is irresponsibly cheerful, and a very restless sort of person. He has vanity, a peculiar fondness for showing off, which is a compensation, in fact most of

these characteristics are compensations and rationalizations, or they would not be particularly noticeable or different from the characteristics that we would find in other races. The Negro is submissive, which is certainly a trait that has been developed out of this peculiar environment.

Thus we can see how the Negro personality has evolved through the process of social individuation, out of the total pattern of Human nature. Society furnishing the general features of the pattern out of which the Negro personality developed. Here it is important to note, that personality is not a static thing, but is ever changing to fit the needs of the situation. Situations are constantly changing, thus there is an ever changing personality or a dynamic personality. So when we speak of a Negro personality, we mean the form of behavior that is exhibited up to the time of observation. New personalities are evolving out of the total human nature pattern constantly through a process of individuation. In the case of races the New Generation may be considered the new personality for it does not have the same problems to face as did the older generation, as a consequence, their ideas, attitudes, and concepts will be different, thus affecting the whole human nature pattern, which will be toward equilibrium, which in the case of human relations would be the attainment of social groups and races to realize their group ideals and adapt certain inevitable lines of action (cooperation and motivation).

FIFTH ORGANISMIC LAW: In the process of evolution, wholes evolve as wholes.

In the evolution of society the group did not come into existence as an organized whole by the additive process, beginning with a single individual. The group was the evolutionary unit; large numbers of persons evolved together. In fact, there is every reason to believe that biological evolution, at least, of the higher animals and man, has depended in large measure upon the existence of societies. There is no question but what group life was the outstanding factor in stimulating the development of Human society.

Thus in the same way ideas and ideals originate and expand. The parts or races of the Human society must recognize this fact, if they are to predict the future trends of human development. This is also the way that social problems originate and expand and the solution as such, only comes as the ideals and concepts of brotherhood of mankind, cooperation and motivation differentiate through out the whole or Human society. Until the ideas are diffused through out the whole (race), there will be no effect toward a solution of the problem. The process is a gradual one and it is constantly but slowly going on. Thus, this is an important law and must be recognized if by mankind, in the prediction of his future.

SIXTH ORGANISMIC LAW: The law of least action.

This is a dynamic and organismic law that underlies all the facts that have thus far been discussed. This law is

based upon the assumption, first, that all events have to do with transformations of energy. Second, it is based upon the assumption that energy always exists in form of systems or organized wholes, the parts of which can be described as different degrees of potential, stress or strain. The system as such, conditions the properties of its parts. Third, it is based upon the assumption that bodies move always from a higher to a lower stress until the differential is resolved to a condition of equilibrium. It must be remembered that a high stress, or potential means nothing except with respect to a low stress, and vice versa. This law makes intelligible the reason why a given mode of behavior commences and why it ends. A man behaves only when under tension, and behavior is a process of resolving tensions. The resolving, in turn, is affected by reaching the goal. The act is ended, because reaching the goal completes, relatively at least, the establishing of an equilibrium between stresses within the organism. But note, that it is behavior,---doing something with reference to an environmental objective---that brings about equilibrium. Thus personality follows the law of least action. Tensions not only demand resolution, but in the most direct way.

Thus in applying this to the Negro personality, we find that the Negro does have certain goals, which are the same as any other race which holds membership character in Human Society. The Negro has a desire for status; a desire for new experiences; a desire for security; self respect; and pride.

These are given to him by Human Society, as a result of his membership character within the whole. When these goals are thwarted, the Negro's personality is out of balance, and tensions arise within the Negro, which must be resolved in the most direct way.

The white race, being dominant in numbers, and in control of the mechanisms which this modern civilization demands for the development of a balanced personality, have seen fit to block these normal channels of development for the Negro. Thus, the Negro must seek resolution of these tensions in other ways, which are the most direct ways according to the level of his insight. The outside cultural environment is closed to him i.e. places of recreation, churches, schools, economic advancement, political achievement, and chances for advancement in standard of living. Thus, the Negro resorts to defense mechanisms; compensations and rationalizations, for they supply more immediate relief from strain than goals in his environment, consequently, there is no effort to seek relief from the larger outside environment. Thus, it is the Negro, himself, that prohibits him from having other goals. However, there are no 'low pressure' areas in his physical environment while the 'lowest' is in his own particular group social environment. The Negro's energy has become organized, as all energy does, with respect to the points of lowest stress in the total system.

The Negro has a propensity to pleasure, his actions are governed by his emotions, he reasons in the imaginal, all because, at his level of insight into the situation,

these are the most direct ways of resolving the tension, and thus of balancing his personality. It is through these things that he receives states, obtains new experiences, security and self respect.

The white race, blocking the normal channels of the Negro by segregation, eviction and isolation, have made the conditions such that the Negro sees no future for himself on this earth. Consequently under the laws of human nature, the Negro lives in the imaginal and dreams of heavenly things where everything will be all right. Thus, in living, naturally his interests are objective, his actions are governed by his emotions, and he lives in the present. These are the lines of least action for him.

As we have stated before, the white race responding to the Negro in terms of race prejudice which takes the form of segregation, cautious cooperation, and armed force, have moulded an environmental situation which thwarts the participation of the Negro in the larger environment or whole. The Negro has made adjustments to these factors, according to the law of least action. This adjustment has not been adequate as many would suppose, but it has fit his own life situation, insofar, as the development of his personality is concerned. The resolution of this tension has always been, with the Negro, a relief from strain or white pressure, these taking the form of defense mechanisms, which tend to help him surmount the obstacles placed in his path. This, all energy systems do according to this law.

The Negro adjusts himself by day dreaming. He constantly

clings to the idea of another world. Especially is this true of the older generation. He is interested in the mystic things of nature. These afford him his new experiences. These adjustments are safety valves for the Negro personality. Thus, the Negro has an internal goal and tension. Since the same total situation that arouses the tension supplies the goal, Human Society is conditioning the Goals of the Negrol

The Negro is highly sensitive to exterior phenomena. Sadness and depression have little part in his temperament. These are forms of resolutions of tensions of the Negro, which are compensations according to the law of least action, because he is avoiding being the object of curiosity, and the unwanted being. These are, in other words, protecting his status, and pride.

Thus we can see how and why the Negro reacts as he does. Living in relative isolation, politically, economically, socially and culturally, or in other words, a pseudo-culture, the Negro has fought and is fighting to keep a balanced personality, according to the law of least action.

SEVENTH ORGANISMIC LAW: Law of Maximum Work.

This law means that energy systems resists the disturbing influences of outside forces, with the greatest amount of available force. Personality follows the law of maximum work. The personality will fight for its status quo. Not to preserve it means disintergration.

The Negro personality is no exception to this rule.

Let us examine this phase of the Negro's behavior. It has been said that the Negro is very loquacious and given to loud outburst of joy and grief; that he has vanity and fondness for showing off; that he is highly sensitive to outside stimuli; that he is highly emotional and restless; that he is highly imitative. There are general statements of characteristics that are found throughout the literature on the Negro, and are usually relegated as characteristics primarily of the Negro and rightly so. These are the forms of behavior that the Negro has evolved because of a peculiar combination and sequence of conditions in his environment according to the previous law of least action. But the reader might ask, and rightly so, why do these forms of behavior that the Negro exhibits seem to go to the extreme? On this point the law of maximum work helps us understand the situation. The Negro as a whole or group does have a status quo or does try to maintain his integrity as a group. This integrity reveals itself through many forms of behavior such as pride, self respect, beliefs, and habits. Not to preserve this integrity means disintegration or death. It must be remembered at this point that the Negro is holding membership character of the whole or Human Society, and that he possesses potential energy. The Negro personality being blocked relatively on all sides has had no normal environment in which to develop. Non-development means ultimately death or disintegration. This the Negro will fight with all the available energy possible. As a personality

he will fight for its integrity, with all the available energy possible. The characteristics that were found to be forms of behavior exhibited by the Negro are the ways in which the Negro is trying to keep his integrity, his personality balanced, his pride, and his self respect. Thus, if the Negro is maintaining his integrity by imitating, so as to receive status, it is no wonder that it is carried to the extreme; if he is maintaining integrity by his vanity and fondness for showing off, and being highly emotional, and by having a propensity to pleasure, music and dance, one can readily see how, under this law of maximum work, that these characteristics would be observed in the extreme form. For the Negro is, by exhibiting these forms of behavior, resisting the disintegration of his personality; and under this law, the resistance to disintegrating factors would be with the maximum expenditure of energy. Thus we can now easily see why the Negro does exhibit in his overt behavior such extreme forms of such behavior. This however is only a relative stabilization of the personality of the Negro for under this law, we can easily see how easy it is for a race to live a life of extreme extroversion or introversion, as for an individual. The white race through its attitudes of hostility and superiority are isolating themselves, as well as the Negro through its attitudes of submission and inferiority. Through these attitudes they are isolating themselves from the surrounding groups, and as an individual personality, they can no more live indefinitely than the individual. They will disintegrate sociologically,

psychologically and biologically. Thus we can see there is under this law a social as well as individual dementia praecox. Thus we can see the importance of mutual tolerance. Thus, this brings us to a supplementary law; the law of action and reaction, or in other words, the 'Golden Rule'. To the extent that one race will not accept a universal human code, or will accept it only qualifiedly, the whole Human society suffers. In the individual, worry and suspicion, fear and intolerance, deprive him of normal growth. The same is true of races. Moreover, racial tension is expensive in the energies of people; for these energies must be consumed in the maintaining eventually of large navies and armies. For what purpose? Only to continue the strain between races. This mutual inducing of strain permits no proper racial relaxation; and like individuals whose tensions are not resolved, races will in time, suffer the consequent disintegration. Like individuals, they will perhaps in time become insane, and perhaps kill for the sake of killing. Thus, the point is, in order to solve racial relations, a larger balanced whole must emerge, in which races can pursue their activities in harmony. The whole must be sincere, not a camouflaged, interracial commission. Thus as was stated previously, obedience to the law of the whole or Human Society is liberty, for races as well as individuals. Human Society constitutes a whole, the violation of whose laws brings only destruction.

EIGHTH ORGANISMIC LAW: The Law of Configuration.

This law states that energy exists in the form of systems

or configurations of stresses that effect one another as wholes. Applied to behavior, the law may be stated as follows: Any reaction of the human organism as a whole is a unified response to a total situation of some kind. If the response is directed specifically toward a detail of the total situation it is always made to that detail in its relation to other details. As conscious activity the response is always insightful.

Applying this law to the Negro, the forms of behavior that he exhibits are reactions of the group or configurational responses and are not isolated discrete acts. Neither is his behavior composed of discrete habits, instincts and wishes, which are static. If we regard such behavior as made up of habits, instincts and wishes, we are attempting to account for the organization of the Negro in terms of abstracted behavior, which if taken as such are unrelated to each other; that is, they do not constitute a unity, or organization. This organized response of the Negro is always related to the larger whole of which he is a part, which is Human Society; or related to a particular detail of the larger whole of Human Society, which is white pressure. But in this case, the relation is always made in relation to other details of the larger whole.

The forms of behavior exhibited by the Negro, such as the characteristics discussed heretofore are not responses to a limited social environment, as one might think, but are responses to a given situation in its relation to all other

aspects of social life. This means that the Negro, as a personality, is an organic unit responding to all the personality aspects of the Human Nature pattern external to it. The Negro personality, having only one sided contact, in the larger whole, is distorted. Thus the Negro is a field of balancing personalities, responding as a unit to outside groups, and reacting to disturbing situation in its relation to all other influences that are at the same time affecting it. This principle is of extreme importance in understanding the behavior of races, as for example in assigning certain races to certain quarters, and imposing certain prohibiting laws, in evaluating their culture, and in estimating equitably the various attitudes of races placed in the control of more powerful groups.

Finally, we see that any race or social group is a social configuration, an organized body, a part of Human Society holding membership character in a larger whole. It evolves as a whole and always behaves as a whole. Thus, Human Society is a pattern or field of forces conditioning and directing the development of its parts, or races. It is a field of potentials existing in the form of personalities the interplay and balancing of these personalities are social processes that follow the law of least action. Thus, in order to explain racial behavior, one must have recourse to the laws of Human Nature. These are Organismic laws. The actions of races must be explained in terms of Human society; the individual in terms of the particular race; or in other words, the parts in terms of the whole.

It should not be concluded here that the principles set forth deny the importance of the individual Negro, or disclaim the real existence of his psychological traits or forms of behavior. For his personalities are real and they belong to individual members of a group. The main problem under consideration has been: from what sources do Negroes derive their individualities?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In this thesis an attempt has been made to survey the social, economic and political status of the Negro, individually and collectively, in the United States; and to evaluate the White-Black race problem. This whole procedure has been undertaken in the light of configurational psychology.
2. The work is at present to be only of a preliminary character looking forward to a book on the Negro problem and is undertaken in the belief that configurational principles will naturally aid in a solution of this problem. Accordingly, the bulk of the material as here presented pertains to a survey of the facts. It is ultimately intended that the interpretation of this material will be greatly extended and that considerable material will be added in the form of actual data.
3. Configurational principles seem to be especially relevant and adaptable to race problems and social psychology because they are intrinsically the rules of living together in peace and harmony. This naturally follows from the fact that configurational principles are laws of balance and equilibrium. Balance and equilibrium, applied to society, become peace and harmony. In other words, from a social standpoint they are moral as well as scientific laws.
4. The race problem lacks adequate solution in the past

especially as between white and colored races, when they have come into contact with each other, because each has seen its problem atomistically. Lack of understanding, hostility and all other sources of difficulty between races are unquestionably due to the fact that each party concerned sees only a part of a total situation instead of seeing it as a whole. The practical value of configurational psychology for the race problem, therefore, stands out in the fact that it compels both sides to see the problem in terms of the laws of unity and balance. Under the assumptions with which we start, it becomes necessary to see each aspect of each problem from all the evidence, in other words in terms of the whole of which it is a part.

5. As the text of this thesis has endeavored to bring out, the solution of the race problem, because it has been seen atomistically, will demand sacrifices on both sides and it will demand much more intelligence on both sides than either has up to this point exhibited. However, owing to the social, political, and economic dominance of the white race it becomes evident that the burden of the sacrifices will fall upon the white race. This does not mean that the Negro race lacks its responsibilities.
6. An attempt has been made to paint the picture of the typical Negro personality in the light of the culture from which he started in Africa and the economic and social conditions under which for several generations

he has been compelled to live. Briefly, the following points have been emphasized.

- (a) The Negro, from an evolutionary standpoint, was sufficiently advanced to take up at once the general factors of white culture in his religion, his social and political mores, and in his ideals. He left behind all evidence of primitive culture in its specific form.
- (b) His traits--lack of responsibility, carefreeness, imaginativeness, literalness, credulity, uncriticalness, and so on down through a long list---are not traits peculiar to the Negro but to any individual or race protected either by ease of maintaining an existence and an optimum climatic and geographic environment, or by a dominant social group. These traits are not inherent in the Negro but are direct products of the condition under which he has lived.
7. The attitude of the white race is largely that of regarding the Negro as socially and culturally inferior because of these traits. Assuming them to be native traits this attitude also presupposes that the traits cannot be changed without changing the Negro himself as an independent, discrete human being. The fact is overlooked almost entirely that these traits merely represent the dynamic relationship of the Negro to his environment and that they are not in any sense of the term innate. That the Negro naturally and spontaneously changes the instant his social,

economic, and political environment changes toward him is a point which the majority of white investigators of the problem have been unable to grasp. Indeed, this is a fallacy entertained by the majority of the white population. It is the typical error of confusing an effect with a cause, assuming that which is effect to be a cause. The cause of the race problem is not the Negro; it is the whole of which the Negro is a part. The cause of the race problem is not in a last analysis the white person; it is again the whole of which he is a part, but since the white race is a much larger part of the social whole it contributes more to the problem.

8. An attempt has been made to prove that the undesirable traits of the Negro are due to defects intrinsic in the relationship between the dominant white and a dependent Negro society. The Negro has been restricted in his self-expression and in his cultural development first by means of slavery, and second by means of an unfair advantage taken of him before he could recover from an acquired dependence, economically, politically, and socially conditioned. Present methods of segregation, discrimination in matters of business and labor opportunities and in matters of religious, recreation, political, educational and other advantages, deprive the Negro race of normal growth. This fact has been sensed more and more as the Negro race gradually becomes more educated. Whatever abnormalities he acquires in his conduct are for the most part uncontrolled and erratic compensations for an undif-

ferentiated realization of his inferior social and economic status as judged by the white population. This particular phase of the problem is exaggerated by the fact that the race to which the Negro of necessity looks for leadership represents itself to him as a hostile force.

The solution can be achieved only when both races look upon themselves as members of a larger social whole, a larger humanity in which each part shares equitably in opportunity and in the possibility of maintaining self-respect. The only adequate means of arriving at this end is through education and a manifestation of a higher level of intelligence on both sides.

9. An investigation of this entire problem in the light of organismic principles demonstrates them to be applicable as practical guides in the handling of the race problem.

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