

A
STUDY
OF
RACE PREJUDICE

With Special
Reference
To
Colorado Springs
Colorado

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by
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to define race prejudice and to present a picture of local conditions, in such a way that those who read these pages will understand better what race prejudice is and how it affects an individual and a community in which it is found. It is both an historical and an experimental study. On the one hand it is an attempt to analyze and define race prejudice by drawing upon personal experiences and observations made by others, on the other hand it represents an effort to study it in a localized setting. All information was gathered with the thought in mind that this thesis is to be a definition and description of race prejudice in general, and in the light of that information, a description of local conditions. No attempt is made to offer a solution to the problems that race prejudice presents.

This study was first suggested to the writer by a real estate man, in Colorado Springs, August 1935 three weeks after his return from China where he lived among the Chinese for many years and had learned to appreciate the culture of another race.

The writer was looking for a house to rent, passing the Steele School, when the agent remarked, "Here is a good district to live in, there isn't a nigger in this large school."

, Again about one month later while attending a parent-teacher meeting at another school, a man seated next to the writer remarked that he moved into that particular district because no colored people were in the school there. "I just won't have my children mix with them," he said. These remarks aroused the desire to know more about race prejudice and resulted in this study.

The motivation of this study lies in convictions which are most succinctly expressed by the quotations which follow:

"The question of race relationships is one of the greatest of the social questions. Throughout history there have been no influences more determinative of the character and direction of human societies than those of racial contact and conflict, of racial fusion and of interchange of racial cultures. Not only the greatest exaltations but also the greatest downward plunges of human societies have come from racial contacts. The first step in the direction of goodwill and co-operation among the races of the

world is that they come to know each other."¹

"A better understanding between the races is undoubtedly the central issue if we are to have peace, harmony and goodwill. To have this certainly two things are necessary; namely knowledge and sympathy. This knowledge is not easy to acquire. Our prejudice, our differing background, our diverse interests stand as barriers against such knowledge."²

"Knowledge is power; to see is to foresee, we can effectively change and control only those events that we can formulate. The desire to change a prejudice is more likely to succeed if we first understand fully the nature of prejudice. Those who are interested in removing a social attitude are more apt to succeed if they first are successful in understanding why people who have the attitude do have it."³

The problems involved in a study of this kind are many. Race prejudice is a very elusive thing and often very difficult to detect. It must be sought with tact. Its presence or lack of presence is often most easily discovered when the purpose of the inquiry is concealed. Race prejudice must be recognized in its various forms. Often a person who

1 Dowd, Jerome, The Negro in American Life, p. 5

2 Weatherford, W. D., Race Relations, p. 6

3 Faris, E., The Natural History of Race Prejudice, p. 94

says he has no race prejudice possesses it in its worst form, as is shown by the following:

"I have no prejudice against the colored people. I have always had colored servants and nurse girls for my children and I like them. I have never known them to be dishonest. My husband employs seven colored men and his experience has been the same as mine. I don't care to live next door to a colored family nor across the street and if they do come this side of Raymond, I certainly will move out."

"I like the colored people, they are excellent people but they do not know their place. It is one thing for me to invite the children of my colored woman who has worked for me for twenty years to come over and see our Christmas tree, but what do they do but the next week turn around and invite my children to come and see their tree. That shows how well they know their places. As if I would allow my children to go down there to "Nigger" town to see their tree!"¹

A person who expresses his conviction on the question must not be made to feel that he is wrong and care must be taken not to offend those who are sensitive on the matter or to reactivate an old

1 Bogardus, E. S., Sociology, pp. 258-259

grudge or prejudice in some one by serving in the capacity of a willing listener. One must guard against forming hasty conclusions or making generalizations and be careful not to let one's own prejudice enter into the findings.

The material for the study was obtained from answers to questionnaires sent to various groups in the city; from interviews with others, such as ministers, doctors, social workers, real estate men, and so forth; from articles written on the subject and from personal experiences and observations.

The writer calls attention to the complexities of the problem and the difficulties of gathering material among people on a subject, the mere mention of which, is often sufficient to do great harm unless extreme care and tact is used. If these things are kept in mind as the following pages are read it will add to the significance of the problem under investigation and to the comprehension of its gravity and value. Only those with an open mind or those who wish to gain an open mind on the topic of race prejudice should pursue investigations in this field of study or will profit greatly by reading the findings of others engaged in such research.

STUDIES ON RACE PREJUDICE

Many theories have been advanced in explanation of race prejudice and the problem it represents has been studied from many different angles. Lasker¹ investigated race attitudes in children and stresses the absorption of adult attitudes in early childhood as a cause of race prejudice. Sumner² made a study of folkways and concludes that "Hostility between groups is based upon recognition of differences." Kershner³ studied the psychology of change in a group and bases race prejudice upon a fundamental dislike of all that is not that to which the group is accustomed. K. Young⁴ emphasizes the differences in body odor, color, touch, costume and speech or unpleasant sensory impressions as together with cultural conditioning causes for race prejudice.

A further study along this line was made by F. A. C. Perrin.⁵ Diggins⁶, Hunter⁷, Reinhardt⁸,

1 Lasker, B., Race Attitudes in Children

2 Sumner, The Folkways

3 Kershner, J.H., Race Psychology; A Form of Group Prejudice

4 Young, K., Social Psychology

5 Perrin, F.A.C., Physical Attractiveness and Repulsive

6 Diggins, E.A., Statistical Study of National Prejudic
ness

7 Hunter, C.W., A Comparative Study of the Relationship existing between the White Race and the Negro Race

8 Reinhardt, J.M., Student and Race Feeling

Eggen¹, and others have made studies of the causes of racial antipathies giving special attention to white attitudes toward Negroes, and to Negro attitudes toward the white. Other studies were made by R. T. Lapiere, "Race Prejudice in France and England"; Green, "Racial Prejudice in Children of School Age"; Garrison, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of College Students"; Guilford, "Racial Preferences of a Thousand American University Students"; Hunter, "A Comparative Study of the Relationship Existing Between the White Race and the Negro Race in the State of North Carolina and in the city of New York;" Closson, "Information and Race Prejudice." Young, "Some Effects of a course in American race problems on race prejudice of 450 undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania"; Thurstone,² studied social attitudes and devised methods to measure the same. Bogardus³ made a number of outstanding contributions to the study of race prejudice and to better understanding of social attitudes. The race relations cycle and the social distance test discussed later in this thesis are samples of his achievements.

Much interest has been shown by students during recent years in problems concerning race

1 Eggen, F.R., An Experimental Study of Attitudes toward Races and Nationalities

2 Thurstone, The Measurement of Change in Social Attitude

3 Bogardus, Sociology and Social Distance and Their Origins

relations probably because of the great increase in northern cities of the Negro population due to migration from the South.

"Over a million and a quarter moved North within the period of fifteen years. The motives have been both economic and sentimental. Both desires are evidences of dissatisfaction and unrest and these dissatisfactions are in large part the result of changing standards among the Negroes."¹

1 Johnson, C.S., Race Relations, p. 234

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE

Race prejudice is a social attitude of one race toward another due to prejudgment which expresses itself in a feeling of antipathy or a tendency to limit as far as possible contacts with members of the race which is the object of prejudice. Race prejudice is "a natural phenomenon" i.e. it has its source and origin in the very nature of men and their relation one to another and is a special form of prejudice in general. Because prejudice is so closely bound up with emotion and in most cases cannot be justified on general and rational grounds it is not easily defined. It is much easier to say how it acts and under what conditions it appears than to say what it is. All our sentiments; love, loyalty, patriotism, contempt, hate and so forth, are closely related to our prejudices. Walter Lippman says, "Except where we deliberately keep prejudice in suspense we do not study a man and judge him to be bad -- -- -- -- we see a bad man."¹

This social attitude on the part of a racial group is a subjective state of preparation to action. It is an indication of what the member

¹ Lippman, W., Public Opinion, p. 43

of the group is likely to do with reference to the object in question. According to E. Farris, "An attitude is a tendency toward or against something in the environment which becomes thereby a positive or negative value."¹ Park and Burgess write that, "The clearest way to think of attitude is as behavior pattern or unit of behavior. The most elementary behavior patterns are the tendency to approach or the tendency to withdraw."² Murphy and Murphy define attitudes as "verbalized or verbalizable tendencies, dispositions, adjustment toward certain acts."³ All the above mentioned authorities agree with K. Young when he describes attitudes as "sets or tendencies to action."⁴

There seems to be no reason to believe that attitudes based on race are fundamentally different from other attitudes. Thus, race prejudice may be defined as the tendency of a race to maintain a certain status. It is set for action to defend its status when endangered by the encroachment of another race. W. D. Wallis says, "Prejudice is

1 Farris, E., The Concept of Social Attitudes -- Journal of Social Psychology, 1930

Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 42

3 Murphy & Murphy, Experimental Social Psychology, p. 61

4 Young, K., Social Psychology, p. 137

lack of plasticity. A tentative attitude decreases prejudice for it replaces absolute with relative values."¹ From this point of view, race prejudice is a resistance to social change--and even though it may not be desirable, it is something that grows out of the experiences of every day life as one race trying to retain its status comes in contact with another that threatens to endanger its standing.

Although race prejudice expresses itself through the individual, it represents the attitudes or feelings which occur at the same time in others who belong to the same group. Race prejudice is an expression of a public opinion or public sentiment. It is never private; it is a collective thing.

Race prejudice is very wide spread and is the basis of racial antagonism and hostility. Weatherford says, "Wherever races of differing economic status, of differing culture and of differing characteristics are set side by side there are apt to arise conflict and antagonism. The more closely these differing groups are thrown together the more severe is apt to be the shock."² Race prejudice

1 Wallis, W.D., Some Phases of the Psychology of Prejudice, p. 426

2 Weatherford, Race Relations, p. 5

manifests itself in varying degrees between races in different parts of the world, as for example, prejudice of the Germans against the Jews, Chinese against the Japanese, Ethiopians against the Italians, colored races against white races in many parts of the United States, and so forth. "When once an attitude has become stabilized it is very difficult to change. To go counter to it, to criticize it or even to dare to discuss it is rank heresy. Attitudes are not analyzed, they are simply accepted."¹ What W. G. Sumner says about folkways is also true of race prejudice. "It is not possible to change them by any artifice or device, to a great extent, or suddenly or in any essential element. It is possible to modify them by slow and long continued effort, if the ritual is changed by minute variation."²

Many popular writers speak of race prejudice as instinctive and therefore hereditary. The instinctivist theories have had many followers but lately have lost popularity and many psychologists have come to the conclusion that much which used to be termed

1 Weatherford, Race Relations, p. 507

2 Sumner, W. G., Folkways, p. 87

instinctive is in reality a compound of inborn and acquired traits. J. H. Oldham says that, "The fundamental causes of racial dislike and hostility, where these exist, are similar to those which give rise to dislike and hostility within communities of the same race. They are moral rather than racial. There is no necessity to postulate the existence of a specific and universal instinct of racial antipathy; while on the other hand there is strong, positive evidence that such an instinct does not exist. An adequate explanation of racial prejudice can be found in impulses and motives that are independent of race. These impulses and motives, however, though not racial in their origin may become racial through being connected in the mind with the thought of another race. When this association takes place the feelings may be aroused by contact with any member of that race, and operate with all the force of an instinctive antipathy."¹

Lasker has shown how race prejudice develops in children and cites a number of cases where children played with children belonging to another race without

1 Oldham, J.H., Christianity and the Race Problem
p. 43

any signs of prejudice until they heard someone make slighting remarks about them such as calling them 'nigger', 'dago', or 'jew'. A small child does not seem to possess any race consciousness. "What is often mistaken as innate race prejudice in children is a shrinking from the strange or unfamiliar."¹ Professor Giddings points out that when two individuals meet for the first time there is a sense of shock due to difference and says that the more marked the difference the greater will be the pscho-physical disturbance. Thus, when a child meets a stranger it will often be frightened, especially if the behavior and physical characteristics differ much from those which the child is accustomed to. This is well illustrated in a story which Lasker gives in his "Race Attitudes in Children". The incident tells of Dr. Thurman's spending a week-end in the home of a white minister whose four year old daughter seemingly had never seen a Negro. At first she was afraid of him, but finally ventured close enough to rub her hands on Dr. Thurman's face. Then she examined them to see whether it blackened her hands. When she

1 Giddings, Principles of Sociology, p. 63

found that the color did not come off she asked Dr. Thurman whether he was black all over, and he told her that he was. She gradually forgot the difference in color and became friendly.

During the writer's stay in China similar experiences were frequent. Chinese children would flee as long as the strangeness persisted but after learning to know him were unafraid and friendly. He noticed no sign of race prejudice in his own child, who had many Chinese playmates and was in constant touch with Chinese servants and visitors, until he started going to a school exclusively for white children. He was over six years old when he became conscious of racial differences and began to notice separation of groups in accordance with race. Had he been placed in a Chinese school instead of a school composed entirely of children of his own race he might have continued to play with and treat as equals, children of the Chinese race. Lasker, Clossen and others who have made a thorough study of the question hold that there is an absence of marked racial prejudice in children but that communication of prejudice by social suggestion is often observable.

Race prejudice expresses itself in varying degrees and forms. The statement that the Negroes are all right in their place often means that they are not wanted so close to us as to interfere with our economic or social status. The in-group or group in control is unwilling to admit members of the out-group except to positions that are not especially cared for by members of its own race, such as porters, shoe shiners, domestic servants, cooks, maids, waiters, bell boys, chauffeurs, and so forth. To attempt to rise above this position by competing for a more desirable place leads at once to race prejudice.

Prejudice is used as a weapon by those who are trying to protect themselves against a competition in which they fear they would otherwise be the losers. Although the primary causes of prejudice lie deeper, this competition for economic status has had much to do with the growing sense of racial prejudice, in the last twenty-five years, especially.

Daniel Pheffer, an American newspaperman in China, writes a very fascinating and enlightening book called "The White Man's Dilemma", in which he describes how the white man forged his way into almost every country of the world and with superior methods and implements exploited the wealth that he found there.

often lying dormant at the feet of people who were less progressive but also less greedy. The natives often were willing helpers until they began to realize that for the meager wages they received they were giving away large portions of their country's wealth or at least were helping to put it under foreign control. Today the white man controls a large part of the world's area and dominates large portions of the colored races. Now that the colored races are becoming more and more determined to oppose further aggression of the white races and to rid themselves of their domination through non-co-operation or even warfare, the white man faces what Mr. Pfeffer calls "a dilemma". He maintains that unless the white and colored races come somehow to an understanding on a scheme of co-operation the white races will ultimately be overwhelmed. That the colored races of the world are determined to improve their economic status is evident to every student of international affairs--and as they meet the opposition of the white man race prejudice develops.

Wherever there is race prejudice there is some form of conflict, a struggle for money, work, position, status or social prominence. Race prejudice seems to be necessary to produce group consciousness so that a united front can be presented

against an enemy or what is considered an enemy. Unlovely and repulsive cultural traits of individuals of the opposed race are applied to the whole group and propaganda is carried on to arouse a hostile attitude against the same.

There is always a tendency to support prejudice by arguments which seem reasonable to the group that is prejudiced or is being prejudiced. For example, in order to produce a strong national spirit school children throughout China are taught how foreign nations have exploited their country. When a certain teacher included America with the other countries, one of the pupils objected, saying that America has demonstrated its goodwill toward China by refunding the Boxer indemnity, thus making possible one of the finest educational institutions in China. The teacher replied that fine as the action was America had a selfish motive in mind--that of getting Chinese students to go to study in America where they were constantly impressed with the thought that China needed more American machinery and other goods. His argument ran, "Americans give money to China to educate students to be sent to America to learn to use American tools so that Americans could export more goods into China--thus causing capital to pass out of China and forcing the people to use goods made by

American instead of Chinese labor." Although the argument of the teacher was untrue it undoubtedly seemed reasonable to the pupils and helped to produce prejudice against America in their minds.

According to Faris: "Race prejudice is modified by social experience. It is intensified by conflict, reduced to a minimum by the condition known as equilibrium and overcome by common interest such as war. It is increased in intensity and duration when to hereditary differences are added the factors of religion, or social barriers, such as difference in diet, customs, and so forth, race prejudice being at the same time a collective and an emotional condition, it is modified slowly. It presents a double problem, the one psychological, the other institutional. A too sudden modification, either of attitude or institution is impermanent in character and tends to be followed by a reaction which temporarily leaves the last state worse than the first."¹

The topic of race prejudice has up until this point been treated in a general manner. For

¹ Faris, E., Natural History of Race Prejudice, p. 93

further and more specific treatment local conditions
in Colorado Springs will be studied.

NEIGHBORHOODS OF COLORED RESIDENCE
IN
COLORADO SPRINGS

Colored people are to be found in several parts of the city. The largest negro district is located between Costilla and Fountain Streets on South Wahsatch, Weber, Pueblo Avenue and the cross streets in that section.

An interesting fact is that the social distance between Spanish and Negro in Colorado Springs is not very great. In most cases they live in the same neighborhood and their children play together. The sections of the city in which the colored people live, used to be occupied by the white. That is, the white sold out to the colored and moved to a more desirable location. This seems to have been the case in other cities. The colored people find it cheaper to take undesirable, too close to railroads, shabby houses, etc., than to develop a new district. When the colored people move in the white people usually move out, but not always. Besides, there is always a fringe where the colored district ends and the white district begins. The writer interviewed over twenty white neighbors and found a much friendlier attitude existing between them and the colored people than he had expected. Only four when they spoke used the term "nigger" and

only three were decidedly bitter against them. An old man who has lived among the Negroes for over twenty-five years said, "They have always been very good to me." In reply to the question, "Are they better to you than the white," he replied without hisitation, "Yes, better. I suppose that is because I live so close to them." The colored neighbors next door spoke highly of this old man, too. They seemingly had been neighbors long enough to become adjusted to each other. Long residence, evidently is one condition of the adjustment process. Those who were most bitter against the colored people had lived in the community the shortest time and were determined to move away as soon as they were able to do so. It seems natural that the older white residents whould speak more kindly of their colored neighbors, because the very fact that they remain there shows that they felt they could adjust themselves. The one man who used an oath every time he used the term "dago" or "nigger" said he would have sold out and moved away but since "they" got so close the property "wasn't worth a damn".

The reason why the Spanish and Negroes live so close together is due partly to the fact that it is easier for the Spanish to rent or buy from the Spanish, than it is for either to rent or buy from the white.

The following statements made by a young Spanish woman of twenty are in agreement with this conclusion:

"I, accompanied by my husband, was out searching for a house to rent. We found one and looked up the proprietor. When we found him he told us that he did not rent to Mexicans or Spanish people but gave no reason whatever. He would not let us have the place even though we promised to take good care of the house and to pay the rent when due. We could not live in that location because of that cruel act."

Then the colored people first appeared in Colorado Springs they were not much noticed nor was there much objection. The wealthier families could use more servants than were available and did not object to having a colored family live on their premises or in their vicinity, nor did the neighborhood object to a colored family living in the community. The negro servant was regarded as belonging to the rich and thought of in connection with them. But, as the number of colored people increased the attitude of the community changed. At first the opposition was unorganized and was made by only a few. Later, it became more organized and came strongest from those who were in the line of negro expansion. Today there are places from which the colored are excluded.

A prominent real estate man said that the present trend in Colorado Springs was toward more exclusive colored districts because more and more of the white people in or near the colored sections are ready to sell out and move to other quarters, and also because the colored people themselves seem to tend more toward aggregation rather than segregation, i.e., they seem to prefer, under present conditions, to live together rather than apart. All of the real estate men interviewed agreed that as soon as a colored family locates in a white district property values and rent prices shrink so that aside from racial and cultural differences a colored family is opposed because of economic reasons. There are about two thousand colored people living in Colorado Springs.

CHURCHES

The colored people in Colorado Springs have their own churches. It is the only social institution of which they are in complete control. Since they have no Y.M.C.S., Y.W.C.A., public play-ground, public park or theater, the church must in a large degree take the place of these and fill a vacancy created by the lack of the facilities enjoyed by the white. The social standing of the individual in the group is determined in a large degree by his church connection. The church exercises definite control over the individual behavior and serves as a medium for the exchange of ideas, community cooperation, making and maintaining friendships, and so forth.

Except that pastors of both groups belong to the Ministerial Alliance, the white and the colored churches have very little contact with each other. Members of the colored churches seldom go to the churches for the white and the white church members seldom go to the colored churches. There were only a few negroes at the union Easter sunrise service this year in the Garden of the Gods.

After reading the answers to the questionnaires sent out to and returned by 50 out of 67 pastors in Colorado Springs, and after many personal interviews with

pastors and church members the writer concluded that there is a definite line between the colored and white races in the churches, although it does not seem to be as closely drawn as in the case of hotels and restaurants. Nevertheless, it may be said of the churches, as will be said of hotels and restaurants--a colored person is not often "served" or welcomed except on special occasions, as, for example, when there are inter-racial conventions like that recently held by the Y.W.C.A. in Colorado Springs,

This is a strange situation because the church is the one institution that has preached for centuries, and is still preaching the doctrine of human brotherhood and social equality.

Of the fifty pastors who answered the questionnaire ninety per cent favored colored ministers as members of the Ministerial Alliance but only fifty-six per cent were in favor of including colored churches in union services. Eighty per cent of the white pastors have preached in a colored church, but only twenty per cent had a colored pastor preach in their churches. Seventy per cent favored the colored having their own schools, churches, hospitals, restaurants, and so forth, but ninety per cent were willing to admit them to their churches if they did not have their own. Eighty-eight per cent felt that it would be a good thing if the white

of white pastors who have preached in colored churches is high, but the percentage of colored pastors who have preached in the churches of the white pastors again is low for the same reason. Most of the pastors would not mind if their members visited colored churches occasionally, and therefore vote in favor of this, but when it comes to the question of the members of colored churches occasionally visiting the white churches the votes in favor are fewer because the pastor, besides taking into consideration his own attitude in the matter, must also take into consideration the attitude of his group. Race prejudice is hard to detect in the individual. It is distinctly a group phenomenon. A statement frequently found in answers to the questionnaire and frequently heard in the interviews was, "I would not mind but I don't think my church would stand for it," which is often a polite way of hiding one's racial feeling, and is only another way of saying that one's attitude on the matter as a member of a group is not the same as one's attitude as an individual.

The following two instances which occurred here in Colorado Springs are examples of expression of race prejudice in the church. A colored lady writes, "I took a seat in about the center of the church. Although the church was later crowded no white person sat down with me. During prayer an usher came and

asked me to move to a seat in the back of the church. The bench I vacated was soon filled." Another writes, "I was going to attend a Christmas program but was met by a young man at the entrance who said that since the church would be very crowded they would not have room for outsiders. The program was advertised in the paper."

The colored races have, however, not lost confidence in the church. In answer to the question "Do you believe that religion is helping to solve racial difficulties and differences," sixty-seven out of a hundred say, "Yes."

SCHOOLS

One of the most important points of contact between the white and colored races in Colorado Springs is through the children who attend the same public schools. There are no separate schools for the colored children. Colored and white children of the same grade are in the same classroom, take the same courses, have the same teacher, and all use the same playground and general equipment. There are no colored teachers employed in Colorado Springs and not all schools have colored children attending. Of one of these schools a negro girl writes, "I was associated with a white family all my childhood days. They had two girls, one a few years older than I and the other the same age. They and I lived two doors from each other. We had practically been reared together. We would have attended the same school but I was not allowed to enter _____ school and the reason given was 'not living in the district'. This was my first contact with race prejudice in a big way."

A man whose children attend this school said that he moved into this district because he did not want his children to attend a school in which there were colored children.

Where children of white and colored races are found there is likely to be some friction unless the children are well adjusted to each other, which is

seldom the case, especially in the higher grades. However, under the skillful direction of the teacher serious classroom difficulties can usually be avoided. Some discrimination in the classroom is mentioned by colored people. One writes, "A student in my class was continually meddling when I tried to study, so I decided to tell the teacher, who did nothing about it but said that I shouldn't expect the same treatment as a white child. This made me feel one was considered inferior, if colored."

A number of Spanish and Negro high school students referred to the same teacher by name, saying that she was not fair to the colored students. One said, "She scolds the colored students more than the white and gives them poorer grades." Another one wrote, "I feel that I am not wanted in Miss _____'s room. I had always made A's and B's and had never had any kind of trouble in school. This makes me feel that what I often heard my mother say is true: 'White people do not want the Negroes to get an education.'"

Friction between school children of different races is more likely to occur on the playground than in the classroom because there the children as a rule are not under such strict supervision. While at play children are inclined to form cliques or racial groupings which, unless broken up or carefully directed,

will cause friction in school.

Watching the children of a number of schools at play, the writer noticed white and colored playing together, often using the same equipment, indicating a friendly spirit between them. On one occasion colored children were noticed on one side of the playground and white children on the other. The colored children had most of the play equipment, which seemingly was not enough to go around. A white boy who stood nearby, when asked why the children were not playing together, pointed to the colored children and said, "They always want everything."

On another occasion the white children might have been found using the equipment while the colored children played on the side. Had the equipment been enough for all, the grouping might have been entirely different, and the division between the groups would most likely have been less marked. It would have been interesting to have interviewed the principal of that school in regard to race feeling among the children there.

The higher the grade the fewer the colored children. On this point the principal of Tuskegee Institute, Robert R. Moton, writes, "It is a recognized fact that in those places where the races attend public schools without discrimination there is a progressive falling off in the proportion of negro children

enrolled in these schools with the advance in age and grades, until the number graduating from such high schools are relatively negligible. On the other hand, where separate schools are maintained the percentage of children enrolled in the high grades is normal as compared with white children of the same age and grade."¹

The one hundred Negroes and Spanish questioned were practically unanimous in their opinion that the colored children do not get the same consideration as the white in the public schools. Nevertheless, the majority favored the present system rather than segregation. On this point Robert R. Moton undoubtedly speaks the mind of the colored people when he says, "In education, as in other matters segregation means distinctly discrimination, neglect and inferior provisions for the Negro. There is not much opposition to Negro education in principle but in its actual operation the attitude is taken which gives the Negro far less than his proportionate share of public funds based on the rates of population."

1 Moton, Robert R., What the Negro Thinks

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

The colored people as a rule are not admitted to the better class hotels and restaurants in the city, which are used almost exclusively by whites. There are occasional exceptions, as in the case of a National Y.W.C.A. or other convention of an organization of inter-racial character. One restaurant in the city that refuses to serve Negroes has a sign up which reads, "Run by Americans for Americans". This is resented by Negroes, who, even though they may have no intention of eating there, maintain that they too are American citizens.

Although all the hotels co-operated with the Y.W.C.A. during the National convention, a certain hotel wanted no Negro delegates. Walter White, President of the National Organization for the Advancement of Colored People, and an outstanding leader of the Negro race, registered at that hotel and stayed all night. When he found out that other Negro delegates were not admitted he checked out, moving to another hotel. One restaurant also experienced a bit of trouble because they wanted to give the Negro delegates a private dining room.

The manager of one of the large hotels here said, "A first class hotel must take into consideration

the desires of its patrons. Whenever our guests would rather include than exclude the colored, we will gladly take them in." When asked why the discrimination was only against the colored races he replied that it was because their color made them stand out from the rest, and served as a constant reminder that they belonged to a different group. He was very courteous in his replies to all questions on the subject, and one felt that he was trying to make the best of a difficult job, and that discrimination in that hotel as well as in many others was due not so much to the race prejudice of the management as to the prejudice of their public.

The manager of another hotel was not so agreeable. He said, "You know that according to law we must serve the colored as well as the white--give them something to eat and let them sleep in our beds. Why the _____ don't they come?" The fact is that should a Negro happen to drop into a place like that he would probably be told that "the rooms are all taken", or if he tried to get a meal, would find that the waiters were all busy or that the particular kind of food he had ordered was all gone.

A waitress in a prominent restaurant said that she, and as far as she knew, none of the other waitresses had received instructions not to wait on Negroes. "That problem," she said, "is handled at the door." She added

that she was sorry for the Negroes, but was sure that if they were admitted many of the white patrons would stop coming. "It would ruin our good business."

The Negroes have two cafes but no hotel. When a Negro comes to the city he stays in a private home. Mr. Harris, the noted Negro singer, said when he came into the city he did not know where he would go because he had no friends or acquaintances here. He walked along the street wondering what he would do, when he met a colored "gentleman" whom he asked where he might stay. He was invited to stay in this man's home. Harris said, "It was a simple home, but open to me because the man understood."

The general opinion of those interviewed as to why the Negroes did not have their own hotel was that it would not pay.

HOSPITALS, PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Y.M.C.A.,
Y.W.C.A., AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Not a single complaint came to me against the public library which is open alike to all races. The colored are permitted to check out books on the same basis as the white and receive the same encouragement to use the facilities that the library has to offer.

Twenty out of fifty Negroes, and the same number out of fifty Spaniards were in favor of having separate hospitals for the colored people. The majority, however, thirty out of each fifty, were opposed to the idea. The Manhattan Medical Society issued a pamphlet on this question strongly opposing the movement to establish separate hospitals for Negroes.¹ The pamphlet is an open letter directed to the President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The following statement shows the attitude of the Medical Society toward the Julius Rosenwald Fund and also toward the establishment of separate hospitals for Negroes:

"The activity of the Julius Rosenwald Fund has been essentially to establish and to aid in the establishing of Negro institutions.

"It has stimulated and advanced tremendously the separation of the Negro race from all other races."

This pamphlet has found its way to Colorado

1 The Manhattan Medical Society, New York --
"Equal Opportunity - No More - No Less"

Springs, and may have had some influence on the attitude of local Negroes on the matter.

This point of view seems contrary to that held by men like Robert R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, who takes a very favorable attitude toward the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and has aided in establishing hospitals for Negroes.

The hospitals of Colorado Springs accept colored patients without discrimination. The same private rooms and wards are open to all. In regard to service in the hospital from which a colored woman had just returned said, "I think the food and service that I got was the same as that given the white; at least, I could note no difference--maybe, because it still was so much better than what I was used to."

An interesting feature is that no colored girls are found in the nurses' training schools here and that the one Negro doctor in the city is not a member of the local Medical Association, although he is a graduate from a recognized medical school.

The local Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s have no Negro members. There was no local Negro Y.W.C.A. delegate at the National Y.W.C.A. convention held in the city from April 29 to May 5, but seventy-nine Negro delegates from various parts of the country were present.

The Negroes have their own fraternal orders

and colored Boy and Girl Scouts their own divisions; the same is true of the Girl Reserves. The W.P.A. has a white man here to conduct an open forum among the colored, and other white people have been asked to cooperate in the same. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has a branch in the city of which both white and colored people are members. The organization takes a very strong stand against segregation. As a result of the recent visit from Washington, D. C., of Walter White, President of the Association, indications are that the local branch will be more active in the future than it was during the last few years. The Association suggests assimilation as a possible final solution for the interracial problem. The organization works for the integration of American life and the absorption of the Negro institutions and organizations of the country.

THEATERS

Colored races are admitted to the theaters but are given balcony or main floor rear seats. As a rule moving picture theaters do not sell reserved seats; each ticket is for general admission, entitling any patron to any seat in the house. This, however, does not hold for the colored, who are seated in separate sections composed as a rule of the most undesirable seats. On this point a Negro writes, "The picture shows in Colorado Springs give the colored people the poorest seats in the house, yet they must pay the same price as the white, who are privileged to sit anywhere they wish."

Another writes, "I wanted to take one of my friends to a show in Colorado Springs but because they did not have a balcony seat we were refused admittance."

Still another writes, "I was asked to move out of a certain section in the balcony of one of the theaters in Colorado Springs. There were many empty seats, but due to racial prejudice I was asked in a most brutal manner to move. Owing to my girl companion and wishing not to create a disturbance I was humiliated beyond one's comprehension."

As a whole the colored people seem willing to take the seats assigned them by the management of the theater but object to the fact that they must pay the

same price as the whites and get inferior accommodation.
The problem of the theater is much the same as that of
the hotels and other places of public contact between
the white and colored races.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Public gatherings in Colorado Springs are not as a rule freely attended by the colored people. On this point what Mrs. Paul H. Goffman says sheds some light on the situation.

"It is a downright shame that every Negro in Colorado Springs did not hear the lecturer, Alfred Salter, member of the British Parliament, discuss the subject of International Peace at the city auditorium last Sunday night; but like all outstanding events, the Negroes in the audience could all be counted on the fingers of one hand."¹

Meetings of this kind are considered by most of the colored to be "for the white folks" and therefore they feel that they are not welcome, although the meetings are publicly announced and no organized efforts are made to keep them from attending. A young Negro man, in answer to the question why so few of his people attended public meetings of this kind, answered, "Because we are not wanted." In answer to the question, "How do you know?" he replied, "From the slighting remarks I have overheard, from the vacant seats on each side of me when I sat among the whites, and from repeatedly having been ushered off to one side when there were many good seats left in the center of the building."

1 Goffman, Paul H., Mrs., The Voice of Colorado Springs, May 1, 1935

The Open Forum for Negroes and the public lectures sponsored by the National Association for the advancement of Colored People are attended by both colored and white.

RECREATION CENTERS

Public parks, bathing pools and recreation grounds are legally open to all the races in Colorado Springs but in practice various restrictions have been forced upon the colored people. For instance, the writer was told by a reliable person of a young Negro man who was arrested for bathing with white boys in Monument Park Lake. On July 4, 1935, a group of Negroes went to Stratton Park for a picnic. The whole community seemingly was very much upset about their being there because "it was Fourth of July and many tourists were in the city." So a man called up the police to find out who gave them permission, and learned that it was some kind of a church affair. He said he told the "niggers" that they had to stick to one corner and told the police that if they did not want to see a fight between the whites and "niggers" to come and patrol thing, which they did.

Considerable resentment was shown by the Negroes at a recent Open Forum meeting against discrimination in public parks and other places of recreation. One person mentioned the case of four colored youngsters who watched white boys bathing and ached to get in too, but could not because of an unwritten law which said, "No Negroes allowed." "I felt deeply sorry for those boys," said the speaker. Discussing the Prospect Lake

proposition this same man said, "We are tired of signs indicating discrimination against the Negro and I speak for all the Negroes in Colorado Springs when I say that we want no such signs up at Prospect Lake." Judging from the spirited discussion that followed it was evident that the Negroes present were of the same mind and that they apparently expressed the sentiment of the whole Negro population in Colorado Springs. What Tandy Stroud writes in the April 10th issue of "The Voice of Colorado Springs" on segregation at "Prospect Lake and Race Prejudice" is worth quoting here:

"The Prospect Lake improvement project is planned. I noticed in the picture of the proposed plans one side is set off for 'colored'. Immediately I questioned, 'Are the facilities and conveniences equal to those on the white side,' I expected less in quantity but I hoped for equality in quality. I am afraid the same old rule of 'segregation equals inferiority' will apply. I wonder will we human creatures ever reach that stage of manhood at which we will look at the worth of a man rather than the color of his skin.

"The city of Colorado Springs is located north of the Mason-Dixon line and has never and cannot now legally adopt a policy of segregation. The results of the official adoption of this policy can be only guessed at.

"Race prejudice is not a passing fantasy, but it is a deep-rooted growth of leprous infection that breeds in the ego of men. We people of black faces have met this disease at an early age and through constant exposure to its ravaging effects, have its dreaded symptoms in our own hearts. Very few have not succumbed to its influence.

"When I was in school, we discussed the ancient persecution of the Jews. The instructor and all the class seemed to think that civilization had outgrown such brutal ignorance. The recent persecution of Jews in Germany proves the persistence of race prejudice. As long as racial prejudice is so strong, segregation will be resorted to.

"Segregation tends to accentuate race prejudice, for ignorance and selfishness are the foundations of prejudice. During the war we were taught that all Germans were 'bestial Huns'. I conceived all kinds of imaginations of a land peopled with such creatures. In high school, I encountered a German teacher and, behold, he was about the same as all other teachers. Many of my prejudices against Germans as Germans were removed by that contact. Segregation would have prevented my gaining that knowledge. Only through open minded association can we learn to evaluate properly men as individuals and not as races. Racial segregation, therefore, tends to increase and intensify racial hatreds rather than to

break them down."

As expressed at the Open Forum meeting and also in the above article the Negroes think that discrimination means inferior accommodations and this they consider unfair because as citizens and taxpayers they feel that they are entitled to the same consideration that the average white citizen and taxpayer is. They ask for the same parks, recreation grounds and swimming pools, or if segregated from the white, something on a smaller scale but just as good.

PUBLIC CARRIERS

There is no separation of the races on the public transportation system of Colorado Springs. Here white and colored are brought into close physical contact with each other, especially when the busses are crowded. Under such circumstances one would expect a display of racial feeling to occur occasionally.

A number of observation trips was made on buses that went past the colored districts of the city and colored people were observed getting on and off. When space permitted the white and colored sat in separate seats, but when the bus was crowded they sat together. Often the colored people took seats in the back of the bus even though there were vacant seats in front. A bus driver said that he felt that the colored were more sensitive than the white about sitting together of the different races. A colored person, as a rule, will not sit down next to a white person if there are any vacant seats left, and would feel hurt if a white person did not sit down in the same seat if the others were filled. Another bus driver told of a colored woman who was sitting alone in a front seat in a crowded bus. Since nobody would sit down beside her, he asked if she would not move

to the back of the bus. This she seemed to take as an invitation to give her seat up to the white, and expressed herself in no uncertain terms. "I let the matter go, or we would have had a fuss," concluded the driver. To the question whether more colored people than white tried to get by without paying the driver replied, "There are just as many crooked white people as colored." A colored woman remarked that she felt that her people were more welcome to ride on the bus in winter when the tourists are gone than in summer, when the tourists are here. However, two bus drivers disagreed with this, saying that it did not make much difference, because most of the tourists had their own cars. A colored man told of being ignored by bus drivers repeatedly while waiting at a bus stop.

The general impression formed was that even though there are some whites who would prefer segregation, and some colored claim discrimination, the bus company is glad for the patronage the colored people give it, and is trying to extend the same service alike to both colored and white.

THE PRESS

Of the fifty Negroes and fifty Spaniards that answered the question, "Do you believe that the local papers are fair in the presentation of events in connection with the colored people in the city, eighty-four per cent of the Negroes and seventy-eight per cent of the Spaniards said, "No", while sixteen per cent of the Negroes and twenty per cent of the Spaniards said, "Yes."

In personal interviews it was found that many of the colored people feel that news on crimes committed or supposed to have been committed by the colored are given too much prominence compared with the space given to creditable achievements, prominent social events, visits of noted colored people such as lecturers and artists, improvements of the physical conditions in their community, and so forth. There is also the feeling that "news" concerning the colored is usually published without any attempts being made to get in touch with some responsible, representative colored person to verify it. The inaccuracies which thus occur antagonize them and seem to give them the impression that the white press is not greatly concerned about fairness, accuracy, and avoidance of exaggeration when it comes

to news which concerns the colored, especially the Negroes and Mexicans. A minor criticism made was that "Negro" is usually not capitalized, which is taken as an indication that the press regards the Negro race as inferior to other races. The absence of articles to promote a more friendly attitude among the white and colored people was also mentioned. The following answers are characteristic of the criticisms made:

"I feel the local papers often give only one side of the news."

"When a colored person commits a crime the papers write it up but when men like Walter White give a splendid lecture they do not even mention it."

"A thing that is a discredit to the race is magnified but just the opposite is true of things that would be a credit to us."

"Negro is printed with a small 'n' like in 'nigger'."

"The local press was not fair in its articles on the disturbance in the S. John Baptist Church."

"Outside of the sensational or criminal the local press pays little attention to important happenings that take place in the colored communities of the city."

Until recently the local papers were all published by white people but about two months ago "The Voice of Colorado Springs" appeared. It is a weekly

paper and attempts to bring local as well as general news to the Negroes in Colorado Springs and other parts of the state. Although the paper is intended primarily for the Negro home its subscribers are not limited to any race. In regard to the purpose of the paper, the following is said:

"The policy of the paper is to bring about a better understanding between races through an impartial presentation of truth."

The influence of the press is an important factor in the making or changing of attitudes.

"The Crisis", the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is found in many negro homes in Colorado Springs. So is "Opportunity", the organ of the National Urban League. "These newspapers are sensitive to every shade of discrimination and to manifestations of racial prejudice; they carry bold headlines about matters which a few years ago Negroes were most discreet about discussing in public. They are probably the most powerful sources of opinion within the Negro group, and undoubtedly the extent of their circulation offers some indication of their success in expressing the public opinion of the Negro group."¹

The "bold headlines" of which Mr. Johnson speaks are very evident in "The Voice of Colorado

1 Johnson, C.S., "The Changing Attitude of the Negro", Race Relations, p. 541

Springs." The following are samples taken from recent issues:

"41 % of Lynching Victims Were Unaccused Or Guilty of Minor Offences"

"Segregation at Prospect"

"Restaurateur is Indicated for Discrimination"

"Four who Excape Lynchers Innocent"

"Racial Consciousness"

"73 Lynched, President is Still Silent"

"Salvation Army Refuses to Hire Negro Un-employed"

These sensational headlines on racial questions undoubtedly tend to create distrust and therefore to increase race prejudice. The infant newspaper "The Voice of Colorado Springs" would do well to avoid the same if it really wishes to be instrumental in promoting harmonious relations between the Negro and white races.

COURTS

In answer to the question, "Do you feel that colored persons get as fair treatment in Colorado Springs courts as whites, four answered "yes", forty-six answered "no". Of the Spaniards, forty-one said "no", and nine "yes".

The colored people interviewed felt that on the whole the court will impose a heavier fine or sentence upon a Negro when convicted of a crime than upon a white man convicted of the same crime. Very seldom is a suit brought by a negro against a white man because his chances for winning are considered very small, so that with the cost of the action added to the original loss he is worse off in the end than before. Most Negroes agree that they would rather have their cases decided by a judge than by a jury because the former is less likely to be influenced by prejudice. Some of the remarks made in this connection were:

"I can give no examples but know it is true because the white people are discrimination against the colored in other ways, such as the use of parks, bathing pools, theaters, and so forth."

"My son was sentenced for a crime he never committed."

"I can give no example but heard other say

so and believe it is true."

"The Drew-Williams case, in which a secret trial was given--a secret trial is not a fair trial."

The secrecy and speed with which the trial of a Negro is conducted undoubtedly is often the result of the influence of prejudice and reflects not only the attitude of the court but also in a degree that of its environment.

There is no Negro lawyer in Colorado Springs. When a Negro gets into serious trouble he employs a white lawyer. The feeling is that a colored lawyer would not find enough to do here because, first, the colored cases that come up in court are few, and second, any Negro getting into serious trouble would hardly employ him because a colored lawyer is likely to add to the prejudice of the case unless all involved in the case are colored. Johnson says, "A colored man has a better chance to succeed both in crime and in court if affiliated with a white man."¹

As proof that the colored population in Colorado Springs cannot depend on the local police force for co-operation and protection the Drew-Williams case was mentioned repeatedly. In regard to such cases Robert R. Moton says, "The apprehension of a Negro accused of a crime is a duty of the officer of the law, but if the crime be a felony perpetrated against a

1 Johnson, W.S., The Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man

white woman it is sufficient occasion to be made something like a grim sport in which the public may participate under cloak of the sheriff's deputizing them as a 'posse'."

There are no colored officers of the law in Colorado Springs and it is a real question whether the colored races would feel more protected if there were. Mob action is never easily controlled, no matter whether directed against colored or white. A fact not generally known is that of the 4,231 lynchings which occurred between 1885 and 1929, 1,049, or about one-third of those lynched were white, which shows that mobs attack white as well as colored. The point, however, is well made that it is the duty of the police to protect the residents of a community without discrimination of race or color.

"It is popularly supposed that most of the lynchings occur in cases of Negroes suspected of attack on white women. A study of the figures, however, shows that eighty per cent of the lynchings of Negroes are for crimes other than rape."¹

1 Gillin, John Lewis, Social Pathology, p. 412

INTERMARRIAGE

The attitude on intermarriage in Colorado Springs is interesting. Of the fifty Negroes and fifty Spaniards that replied to the question "Do you believe in intermarriage between white and colored?" twenty-two per cent of Negroes and six per cent of the Spaniards answered "yes", while sixty-eight per cent of the Negroes and ninety-four per cent of the Spaniards said "no". This seems to represent their attitude toward intermarriage as a general principle.

In the social distance tests discussed later which they filled out the results were different. In case of the Negroes, the average percentage of those who are willing to take into close kinship by marriage other races was only 11.4 per cent, or a decrease of almost fifty compared to the number that voted in favor of intermarriage. In seeking to discover the reason for this difference in attitude, the conclusion is drawn that it is due to the fact that as a group the Negroes are more willing to intermarry because of the hope that it will help to improve their social status. However, when it comes to the individual, the emotional element enters in, such as racial consciousness, which may effect the person in a number of different ways, as fearing the ridicule that may result from intermarriage, concern

about the future of the offspring from such a union, hesitancy for the race to lose its identity and so forth.

According to the Negro returns on "close kinship by marriage", those who are willing to intermarry do not discriminate much between the different races. This is, perhaps, a result of the discrimination which they have experienced, and may express the desire on their part not to discriminate.

Spaniards as a group did not favor intermarriage. Only six per cent voted for it. But in the social distance test the average of those favoring intermarriage is 10.6 per cent, while in the group opposed to intermarriage as a principle the individual was more willing to intermarry if permitted to choose the race. In this case the favored race was the Italian, perhaps because of similarity of language and religion.

The results from the white group that took the social distance test shows a uniform attitude in the preference of races admitted "to close kinship by marriage". The rank order for nearness is as follows: English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Japanese, Negroes, Chinese, Turks. The attitude varies from that of the fifty college students who would not marry a Chinese or Negro to that of the whole group, which gives first place to the English.

Intermarriage is illegal in the State of Colorado.

JOBBS

The colored people in Colorado Springs belong mostly to the laboring class, working as domestic and personal servants, janitors, porter, elevator boys and messengers, shoe shiners, chauffeurs, miners, P.W.A. workers, etc. They are very poorly represented in the professions. They have no lawyer and only one doctor and one undertaker. The doctor's practice is interfered with somewhat by the many white physicians in the city but the undertaker does not have that complaint. He has no competition when it comes to handling the bodies of the Negroes. There are eight active colored ministers in the city, with as many churches.

The colored, except for cafes, shoe shining parlors, and barber shops have no important businesses--nor grocery or drug store, meat market, bakery or general merchandise store, or the like. This means that they are either financially independent so that they do not need to work or else must work in such positions as are open to them and for such wages as are given to them, with little chance for advancement. A brilliant young Negro with college education is hauling ashes for a living. Speaking about his Negro employee a Colorado Springs man said, "God never made a finer Negro. He is

honest and willing. I've had him a long time." The Negro, when asked if his boss were going to give him a better job, replied that he was the top right now.

The idea that the white man is trying to hold the colored people down as much as he can is common among the colored races in the city and was mentioned repeatedly. A well known Colorado Springs Negro writes, "From time to time prejudice is fomented by various groups against Japanese, Spanish-Americans and Negroes on the ground that these groups will 'work for nothing'. A man starving will work for very little. As long as white American capitalists exclude these groups from remunerative employment, just so long will they have to 'work for nothing', thus undermining union labor. As long as the unions exclude these races from membership, they have no protection and will be easily exploited.

"No man, Japanese, Spanish, Negro or what no will refuse a fair wage for his labor. The groups who force these poor men to work at a 'starvation wage' are the ones to be vigorously censured."

It was pointed out that although the city must provide teachers for about eight thousand colored and white pupils, not a colored teacher is employed; that the postoffice has a force of forty letter carriers, all of them white; and that the police force has not a single colored representative. There are no colored

members on the park commission or city council, etc. There is no colored person in public office of any kind in Colorado Springs. Except in precinct fourteen the negro vote in the city is divided, and so there is not much chance for any negro to get into office through election. The other two avenues open to public service are through civil service examinations and executive appointment, neither of which hold out much hope to the colored people if public sentiment is not in their favor. None of the colored persons in Colorado Springs who have passed the civil service examination have been given positions. There is a general feeling among the colored that when it comes to public office the white candidate is always given the preference even though he may not be as well qualified.

Since the colored people have no industries of their own and an increasing number that used to find employment in the wealthier homes are being displaced by modern equipment, the problem of how these colored workers can be employed is a vital one and might well be given the attention of those who are interested in the prevention of race prejudice and hostility. More and more of the colored people are getting an education, and this group is not only looking for a job but for a better job than that held by other members of their group who have no education. It is evident that

Colorado Springs does not have much to offer unless these colored people are given jobs on equal basis with the whites. Discrimination always brings resentment. This is especially true when it comes to jobs or means of making a livelihood. The man who is trying to earn enough to make a living will take a hostile attitude toward anyone who, he feels, is preventing him from doing so. A good example of this is shown in a local barber shop. The barber charges fifty cents for a hair cut, and is very bitter in his attitude toward his competitors across the street. He said, "Those fools are working for nothing and trying to rob everybody else of a living." When asked, "Are they whites?" the hostile reply was, "Yes, yellow whites." This illustration shows how prejudice may develop within a group, but the same principle holds in the development of prejudice between groups or races.

SOCIAL DISTANCE TESTS

Recently many attempts have been made to measure attitudes and interracial antagonism. One of the outstanding tests for this purpose is the "social distance" test devised by E. S. Bogardus which has been used by many different investigators with interesting results. It has been used to measure racial antagonism, changes in attitude of one racial group toward another, sectional difference in race prejudice, difference of racial attitudes of groups in same community, and so forth.

The Bogardus "Social Distance" test was modified to meet local conditions. The number of races included was greatly reduced because the writer was interested primarily in discovering the social distance between the white and colored races in Colorado Springs. The list was made as short as possible because it was felt that the smaller the questionnaire the larger would be the percentage of replies. Investigation showed that most Mexicans in the city wish to be known as Spaniards and so they were listed as such, just what difference this made in the replies is not certain, but perhaps it resulted in a more favorable rating.

Copies of the questionnaire were sent to over three hundred people in the following groups; ministers,

students, business men and women, Negroes, and Spanish. Over fifty of each group answered. In some groups the number returned was larger than in others. However, only fifty from each were tabulated in order to have a uniform number, thus making it easier to make comparisons.

The figures in the following tables are stated in percentages and the races are ranked in order of their nearness, i.e., the most favored race first and so on down the list to the least desired one.

TABLE I

SOCIAL DISTANCE OF WHITE MEN AND WOMEN, TWENTY-FIVE EACH, TOWARD GIVEN RACES

"According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled."

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employment in my occupation in my country	To citizenship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
American born (Native White)	100	100	100	100	100		
English	96	96	98	98	98		2
Germans	82	84	86	90	94	6	
French	50	74	80	92	96	4	
Spaniards	18	40	42	72	72	16	12
Italians	14	20	28	38	60	32	8
Greek	10	16	20	32	46	46	8
Japanese	6	8	18	30	44	38	18
Negroes	2	6	14	62	62	20	18
Chinese	4	4	14	26	40	42	18
Turks	4	4	12	28	38	48	18

TABLE II

SOCIAL DISTANCE OF FIFTY MINISTERS TOWARD GIVEN RACES

"According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled."

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employ- ment in my occupation in my country	To citizen- ship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
American (Native White)	100	100	100	100	100	100	
English	100	100	100	100	100		
Germans	98	100	100	100	100		
French	44	68	84	84	98	2	
Spaniards	24	48	56	80	96	4	
Italians	20	44	68	80	94	6	
Negroes	4	12	36	80	94	6	
Greek	16	40	64	76	88	10	2
Japanese	12	30	58	72	86	10	4
Chinese	8	28	56	72	82	14	4
Turks	12	24	48	72	82	14	4

TABLE III

SOCIAL DISTANCE OF FIFTY COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD GIVEN RACES

"According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled."

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employ- ment in my occupation in my country	To citizen- ship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
American (Native White)	98	98	100	100	100		
English	98	98	100	100	100		
Germans	66	90	90	94	94	6	
French	56	82	90	92	96	4	
Spaniards	12	32	42	58	71	18	4
Italians	6	16	28	48	54	42	4
Greek	6	16	20	40	42	50	8
Japanese	2	18	22	38	38	46	16
Negroes	0	0	14	38	68	18	14
Chinese	0	12	14	22	30	48	22
Turks	2	8	12	22	30	54	16

TABLE IV

SOCIAL DISTANCE OF FIFTY SPANIARDS TOWARD GIVEN RACES

"According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled."

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal	To my street as neighbors	To employment in my occupation in my country	To citizenship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
Spaniards	100	100	100	100	100		
Italians	30	64	74	78	92	8	
American (Native White)	16	32	62	76	88	10	2
French	8	20	48	60	80	16	
English	12	16	48	60	80	18	2
Germans	10	18	46	60	82	14	4
Negroes	10	16	48	58	78	14	6
Greek	4	8	28	50	62	36	2
Japanese	4	8	22	40	70	26	4
Chinese	4	6	20	38	68	28	4
Turks	4	8	18	36	54	40	6

TABLE V

SOCIAL DISTANCE OF FIFTY NEGROES TOWARD GIVEN RACES

"According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled."

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employ- ment in my occupation in my country	To citizen- ship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
Negroes	100	100	100	100	100		
Spaniards	14	40	62	74	94	6	
French	16	34	60	72	92	8	
American (Native White)	14	36	58	70	92	6	2
English	10	28	60	72	90	8	2
Germans	10	14	44	68	90	8	2
Japanese	10	14	28	40	72	24	4
Chinese	10	14	26	38	70	26	4
Greek	10	12	22	40	64	20	6
Italians	10	12	16	22	58	26	16
Turks	10	10	14	32	50	24	6

TABLE VI

A SUMMARY OF RANK ORDER FOR NEARNESS FOR ALL THE GROUPS TESTED

	50 college students	50 ministers	50 men and women	50 Spaniards	50 Negroes
1	American	American	American	Spaniard	Negro
2	English	English	English	Italian	Spanish
3	German	German	German	American	French
4	French	French	French	French	American
5	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	English	English
6	Italian	Italian	Italian	German	German
7	Greek	Negroes	Greek	Negroes	Japanese
8	Japanese	Greek	Japanese	Greek	Chinese
9	Negroes	Japanese	Negroes	Japanese	Greek
10	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	Italian
11	Turk	Turk	Turk	Turk	Turk

According to Table VI the social distance between the Americans and English is almost imperceptible. They would undoubtedly be taken into the community without any discrimination, permitted to use our hotels, restaurants, public carriers, parks and so forth without experiencing the least opposition. The German and French would be treated very much the same way. The Spaniard, Italians and Greeks would not fare so well and the Japanese, Negroes, Chinese and Turks can be expected to find definite opposition. As was seen in the preceeding pages this is what is actually happening in practice. The colored and white races in Colorado Springs have very little in common. Neither the white nor the colored have any intention of harming the other and yet they live apart as it were in two different worlds divided by prejudice.

CONCLUSION

In studying race prejudice in Colorado Springs one recognizes it in its conventional forms. However, the problem is complicated by the fact that this is a "tourist" town. It is advertized as "The year around vacation point." The city has a definite status to maintain. There is a constant tendency toward or against something in the environment. No one can live here very long and not become conscious of this attitude, the psychology of the tourist is in the air and everthing possible is done to make the tourist enjoy this stay here. Anything that might antagonize him is prohibited, if not by law then by public sentiment. White proprietors of certain classes of establishments know that the presence of the colored people would drive away some of his white patrons and therefore they are not welcome but are turned away, often because of pure business considerations. All public places and parks exist not only for the local residents but also for the enjoyment of the guests who come here, many of whom are antagonistic to mingling with colored races. All this must be taken into consideration by one who would understand the local situation. On the other hand the local status of the colored races indicates a phase of the race problem

in general and must also receive consideration from that point of view. How the present state of affairs came about and how the social attitude that prolongs it developed is well shown in the race relations cycle which follows:

(1) The newcomers of a colored race were viewed first with curiosity. Sympathy was aroused in favor of the peculiar stranger. His strangeness coupled with fewness of numbers and apparent helplessness aroused a harmless interest in him. He was pitied and even laughed at but in a friendly way.

(2) Since he came to do work that white people found disagreeable he met with an economic welcome, particularly on the part of employers. They saw in him a source of cheap labor and encouraged him to send for compatriots from his old home. Since wages were higher than at his home his compatriots responded in large numbers.

(3) Because many of his compatriots came and came rapidly industrial antagonism developed. White workers found the wage scale going down because of the competition of the colored workers, the latter at once felt the brunt of antagonism. Propaganda started and the flames of prejudice leaped upward and the newcomers were helplessly encircled by mistrust,

fear, antagonism and even hatred.

(4) Political antagonism quickly followed. Politicians saw a chance to win votes from the white by denouncing the dangerous colored. The politicians grew bold and reckless in attacking the colored people knowing that the latter were not sufficient in number to do them any harm with their votes. The colored were depicted as belonging to a different race which would ultimately out vote and overrun the white.

(5) Social antagonism arose. White parents objected to the presence of the colored children in the same school and playground with their children. Low grade conditions where the colored live are deplored but when some of the more progressive of the latter desire to better their living conditions and attempt to move into a better neighborhood they are made to feel an outburst of bitter antagonism.

(6) Legislative antagonism is the climax. The antagonistic forces combine to secure restrictive legislation. Public sentiment tends to debar the colored from entering public places frequented by the white and from land ownership in a white neighborhood. At any rate the further advance of the "undesirable colored" is being blocked.

(7) Since the colored did not oppose, as a group, a period of quiescence set in. With the danger passed, the antagonism subsided. Even a degree

of friendship may be professed for the colored whose increase by migration has stopped. Prejudice, in great part, gives way to indifference and in a few cases to sympathetic interest. The colored people may finally be left to get along as best as they may, handicapped in numerous ways.

(8) However, the coming generation problem develops. Children grow up as citizens and yet as though they were without a country because they are not fully accepted by the country of their birth. They learn the language and customs of the country but are not accepted because they look like their parents, and hence are treated in the same way. At the same time they have broken away from primitive conditions of their forbears and would not be satisfied to return permanently to the land from which their ancestors came. For the colored races the race relations cycle seems to stop here, but for the immigrants of races with physical traits and culture patterns similar to ours the cycle goes on.

(9) The children become more like the children of the country and it becomes more and more difficult to recognize them as offspring of immigrants. The third generation is well on the road to assimilation and to general acceptance, and another type of race relations cycle begins, in

- (1) a curious interest in new immigrants,
- (2) in an economic welcome and then moves on not in the spirit of antagonism but
- (3) of friendly approval
- (4) of adjustment and accommodation
- (5) of assimilation, acculturation, naturalization, and
- (6) of amalgamation.¹

A definite road with a definite goal for the desirable immigrant that comes to our shores, but what road and what goal is there for the colored citizen of our country and colored residents of our town?

The road--the goal, the goal--the road, ah! there's the rub! If the goal were known the road that leads there could be found, or if the road were known the goal could be reached. It is evident that for the colored, especially the Negro, the road to the completion of the relations cycle is blocked just as it is clear that there are places in Colorado Springs to which the colored cannot go and for the same reason. In both cases another way must be found, and there are signposts and danger signals to indicate the direction. Race prejudice is a danger signal. Wherever it exists there is a basis for greater misunderstanding and race conflict. It causes, "One to overlook the weaknesses of one's own race and to magnify

¹ Bogardus, Race relations cycle in modified form, for original see Sociology, pp. 263-265

those of other races. It blinds its victims to the best qualities of other races."¹ It limits the individual's power of discrimination, it is clear that this is not the way and that another must be found. That other way says Weatherford is, "Knowledge and sympathy"² and Dowd calls it "Goodwill and Co-operation."³ Whatever their social trend may be the races must learn to know and understand each other.

The most promising method of dealing with the race problem, says Bogardus, is through local joint committees in every community where white and colored people reside. "Liberal white people and conservative colored people meeting together, can iron out many difficulties and most important, can create goodwill. Upon the basis of these local conferences and adjustments it will be possible to work out methods for solving race problems on a larger scale. From the concrete and specific and local to the general and national and world-wide, is a logical sequence for a racial adjustment procedure.

The writer brings this study to a close with the realization of its incompleteness, but hopes that what has been said will contribute at least in a small measure to the better understanding of race prejudice

1 Reuter, E.B., Essentials of Americanization

2 Weatherford, Race Relations

3 Dowd, The Negro in American Life

in general and of its influence in the local community.
May it stimulate some one to continue the study and
result finally in the creation of a local inter-
racial committee that will help to develop good will
and mitigate race prejudice.

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