

1952

## Contacts of Negroes and Whites in Morgantown

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CONTACTS

OF

NEGROES AND WHITES IN MORGANTOWN

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Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
in the  
Faculty of the Graduate School  
of  
West Virginia University

by

Ellis Ray Williams, B. S.

Morgantown  
West Virginia  
1952

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## DEDICATION

This essay is dedicated to my three children, Ellis Ray Williams, Jr., Francis Camille Williams, and Patricia Alfreda Williams. It is my most fervent wish that they will read every word and get knowledge and inspiration from them. It is further hoped that they will be imbued with the unswerving fidelity to strive and achieve goals undreamed of by their father. May they see the need for love, honor, and loyalty in a world that is full of deceitful standards and norms.

Sincerely,

Ellis Ray Williams, Sr.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Negro-white segregation exists in Morgantown and assumes different forms. The extent to which Negroes are segregated varies with different social institutions, neighborhoods, etc. Segregation means not total isolation but regulated contacts. These contacts that exist between the two races are regulated by well established social codes.

#### A. Statement of the Problem

This thesis is a study of contacts between Negroes and whites in Morgantown, West Virginia. The specific hypothesis is that contacts which Negroes have with whites vary in frequency and intensity according to the institutional or neighborhood settings in which they occur, and with the age and sex of the individuals involved.

Intensity is used to denote the amount of intimacy that characterized the contacts that occur between children are more intimate, hence, more intense than those that exist between adults. Differences in intensity are also found in relation to various institutions and in age and sex categories. The method used was to gather and analyze the contacts inside and out of institutional

settings.

A supplementary thesis is that the attitudes of Negroes toward whites are conditioned by the contacts they have with whites. While it seems obvious that such variation occurs, the actual testing and documentation of it will add to our specific knowledge of Negro-white relations.

In order to investigate the effects of the social class of Negroes on their contacts with whites, some means of identifying the class position of Negroes is necessary. For this study business and professional people are treated as a class. This does not mean that they own more than other Negroes of the town, for such an assumption is likely to be wrong. Some Negroes who work on garbage trucks have fairly large bank accounts and property holdings.

There are approximately three hundred sixty-five Negroes in the town. Some of the people who are financially secure have little prestige and social status. There are no doctors or lawyers in the town. There are only four teachers who reside in the city. The teachers are congenial people and little fuss is made about their class position. They must either fit into the activities of the general public or remain at home.

A second variable explored is age and sex differences in the population. The age categories that are meaningful in this study are: pre-school age or 1-5 years; grade school age or 6-12 years; high school age or 13-20 years; young adult age or 21-30 years; and the adult age of over thirty. These age categories were selected

because of marked contrast in contacts between the two races at these different age levels. It is not my contention that other age categories would not work. But the increase of contacts between children of grade school age over the pre-school age is enough to cause one to select those instead of other age levels. The same is true with the change that takes place in the activities of Negro and white children at high school age. The normal age for graduation from high school is 18 years. However, there are many students who remain in school until twenty years of age. Situations that suggest intimacy are absolutely frowned upon between young adults. At this age Negro youths are working and earning money for themselves. They are reasonably sure of themselves as adults. They are seeking mates for future family life. The same is true with white young adults. It is my belief that the urge to break social rules concerning miscegenation is strongest at this point. The social forces that seek to prevent intimate contacts also become strongest at this point. Hence, the age category of twenty-one to thirty has been chosen as being important in a study of this nature. The above-thirty category is rather large compared to the others but when we consider the amount of activity that takes place in each level the breaking up of the first thirty years is reasonable.

#### B. Method of Procedure

This study was made to test the hypothesis that contacts which Negroes have with whites vary in frequency and intensity according

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to the institutional or neighborhood settings in which they occur and the age and sex of the individuals involved.

After having formulated a working hypothesis and suitable title for the study, the writer set out to construct questionnaires that would secure the necessary data to test the hypothesis.

A total of 92 questionnaires was given to the students of Monongalia High School and the Negro adults of Morgantown. It was necessary to remain with many of the persons filling out the questionnaires in order to explain some of the items on them and to insure a representative return.

The 92 questionnaires were distributed among the following people: 34 adult males, including businessmen, 24 adult females, 18 Monongalia High School boys, and 16 Monongalia High School girls.

There was a total of 92 questionnaires filled out by 58 adults and 34 high school students. The 58 adult questionnaires provided information concerning 59 children under 21 years of age, including 40 children under 12 years. Thus the total number of individuals covered by the adult questionnaires was 132. These are in addition to the high school pupils who filled out questionnaires themselves. The actual number is slightly smaller because in three cases mothers and fathers of the same children filled out separate questionnaires.

In a number of cases, the writer had long conversations with those interviewed concerning contact situations between themselves and whites. Their direct words were recorded as nearly as possible and used in this study. In a few instances it was necessary to rearrange and reconstruct sentences in order to convey meanings

reasonably clearly.

Most of the questionnaires were completed satisfactorily. A few were incomplete and some revealed internal inconsistencies. None of the latter were thrown out altogether. All of the tables are based on the total number filling out the questionnaires, including those not answering the specific items.

A graphic item analysis was made of the questionnaires filled out by the adults and the Monongalia High School students. The five questionnaires filled out by businessmen were tallied and analyzed and tables were constructed from them.

The data for this thesis were taken primarily from the questionnaires. A few of the observations concerning behavior of adults on picnics with whites and children on supervised playgrounds, in the streets, etc., were made and recorded by the writer.

### C. The Sample

Many studies have been conducted to measure social activity and how it affects racial groups. These studies have been conducted from many points of view. The writer has searched extensively to find a study similar to his own but was successful only in the sense that many studies are made under the race frame of reference. This study was devoted entirely to the exploration of contact situations as they exist between the two races and to find out if they are different for different classes and age-sex

categories of people. The study was limited to Negro people living in the present city limits of Morgantown, West Virginia. As already noted, the findings are based primarily on the data received from 92 questionnaires that were filled out by 58 adults and 34 high school pupils. A very large percentage of individual families was covered either directly or indirectly by the questionnaires. Several questionnaires were turned over to the writer after the tables had been completed. These were used to confirm the reliability of the information received on the 92 questionnaires from which the tables were made.

The writer is interested in the differences that exist between the answers to the same questions by individuals of different age and sex categories. It is hoped that a clear picture of the differences in contact situations will be given.

The first three items on the questionnaire were address, age, and sex, respectively. (See questionnaire in appendix.)

The first of these items eliminates the chance of including information taken from questionnaires filled out by individuals living outside the city limits of Morgantown. It also reveals the locations of the residences of all individuals who have filled out questionnaires.

#### Age and Sex Distributions

The mean age of the group filling out the questionnaires is not important to this study. For this reason the writer has not

constructed a table showing age distributions. However the important age categories have been very carefully considered. The age categories here considered are pre-school age (1-5); grade school age (6-12); high school age (13-20); young adult age (21-30); and all over thirty.

In this study there were sixteen boys and eighteen girls attending Monongalia High School who filled out questionnaires. The ages of these pupils ranged from 12 to 19 years of age. There were seven women and ten men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty who filled out questionnaires. There were seventeen women and nineteen men over thirty years of age. The people of pre-school age and grade school were taken care of on the adult questionnaires and through personal contacts and observations. The writer was much pleased by the results of his observations of the children under twelve years of age. They were cooperative. They did not quibble about certain questions as grown-ups do and they made very good subjects for observation. Five businessmen who were all over thirty years of age were interviewed personally and also given questionnaires to fill out.

Eighteen men and fourteen women respectively answered "Yes" to the question, "Do you have any children?". These 32 adults have a total of 88 children. This number includes some duplications, however, for in a few cases where mother and father were employed outside of the home both parents filled out questionnaires.

Fifty-nine of the children covered on the adult questionnaire were under 21 years of age. Forty of those were twelve or under. Many of the 48 that were over twelve years of age filled out

questionnaires themselves. But here again the duplicates only served as checks to strengthen the answers given by the parents or in many cases to disqualify them.

It was rather interesting to note that only female school teachers refused to give their ages. They also consistently failed to give any information under "remarks" about their association with white people. For example, none of the female teachers gave positive answers to question No. 22 which concerned intimate conversation after dark. However, personal interviews with these same teachers revealed that they had been approached by white males a number of times.

Men and women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty were those most ready to talk about secret attempts of members of the white race to make dates with them. They were personally acquainted with a number of the individuals who approached them. Some of them were complete strangers.



## CHAPTER II

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

A. Residence Distribution

Negroes of Morgantown live in several residential areas. There are two areas that have concentrated Negro populations. Table 1 shows the distribution of the adult Negroes who filled out questionnaires according to wards.

Table 1. Residence Distribution of Adult Negroes by Sex of Respondent

Ward	Males		Females	
	Number	Percentage Distribution	Number	Percentage Distribution
First	0		0	
Second	21	61.77	11	45.83
Third	0		2	8.33
Fourth	2	5.88		
*Fifth				
Sixth	11	32.35	11	45.84
Seventh				
Totals	34	100.00	24	100.00

It will be noticed that 61.77 percent of the men filling out questionnaires lived in the second ward and 45.83 percent of

\*The 5th, 6th, and 7th wards are combined.

the women lived in the second ward area. This ward includes Posten and White Avenues which are predominantly Negro populated. The next largest Negro concentration is found in the Jerome Park area of Morgantown. The writer has combined the fifth, sixth, and seventh wards because of lack of accurate information as to the boundary lines of these wards. The sixth and seventh wards are the last two wards added to the city in recent months.

It is interesting to note that in every ward there are Negroes and whites living as next door neighbors. This condition is especially true of the Jerome Park area. The observations that the author made while visiting homes were corroborated by the answers given on the questionnaires. It was very common to see whites sitting on the porches of Negroes and Negroes sitting on the porches of whites. It should be mentioned, however, that the majority of the visitors were either children or adults obviously over thirty years of age. This fact is very significant in a study of this type and will be referred to throughout the study.

Among the information procured by interviews were several statements made by individuals concerning miscegenation in the Jerome Park area. A few told of incidents where children were refused admittance to white and Negro schools because of questions about parentage. This "information" was passed on to the writer through conversation and nothing is known as to its validity.

B. Negro-White Contact in Relation to Occupation

The writer has observed a number of situations involving Negro-white relations in the city of Morgantown and the accuracy of his analysis of these situations has been supported by the questionnaires and personal interviews. For instances, the crew that gathers garbage in the city is all Negro. However, the writer was not able to find one Negro who was employed by the city as a street cleaner. It was also borne out that Negro ditch diggers do not exist in the town. There is only one factory that employs Negro workers and they are mostly employed to do the menial types of work. One Negro who is employed by this particular factory as a truck driver is the president of the local union.

One woman spoke of a situation in which she is the most experienced short order cook. The rest of the cooks do practically the same type of work that she does but they are not so competent and they are not so reliable as she. The proprietor realizes this fact and pays the woman a higher salary. The woman is given her check secretly. She has been told never to reveal the amount of her check to the others who work with her.

There are no Negro lawyers, doctors, or public office holders where office has to be sought through public election or secured by appointment. There are no Negro politicians of any standing and what few minor politicians there are in Morgantown do not have the respect of the colored people.

In Table 2 it will be observed that over twenty per cent of the men are employed as janitors and the other four largest percentages which total well over thirty are miners, laborers, domestic workers, and truck drivers. The names used to describe the occupations are those taken from the questionnaires. It is obvious that

Table 2. Distribution of Occupations for 34 Males.

Occupations	Number
Teacher or Principal	1
Miner	4
Truck Driver	2
Domestic (butler, cleaner)	2
Minister	1
Janitor	8
Laborer	3
Service station attendant	1
Painter	1
Clerk	1
Porter	1
Steward	1
Bell captain	1
Machinist	1
Shoe shine parlor prop.	1
Prop. of barber shop	1
Prop. of lunchroom	1
Plastering contractor	1
Painting and papering contractor	1
Not reported	1
Total	34

there was much confusion and doubt as to the type of work and the proper designation of the individual's occupation. It appears that the people who filled out the questionnaires gave to their occupations names that carried with them prestige. For instance, people who gave their occupations as porter, machinist, steward, etc. were in many

cases found to be nothing higher than janitor. The writer had to make a very close check in order to guard against invalid information in the answering of this question.

Table 3. Respondent Distribution of Occupations for 24 Females

Occupation	Number
Teacher	3
Domestic	4
Elevator Operator	1
Cook	7
Waitress	1
Beautician	1
Maid	2
Laundress	1
Playground	1
Housewife	3

The questionnaires filled out by the women revealed much the same condition in regard to occupation. More than 29 per cent of those answering were cooks. The next largest percentage of them were domestic workers of some type. Only three of the women answering the question on occupation indicated that they did not work out. All of those who are cooks or janitors, etc., work for white people.

The types of business or industry in which Negroes work in Morgantown are comparatively few. The data in Table 4 show that the majority of the men answering the questionnaires are employed at the Sterling Faucet Plant, the mines, around stores, hotels, and schools as janitors. The majority of the women, as seen in Table 5, are

employed as cooks or maids in private homes, sorority houses, clubs, restaurants, etc. All the information concerning the places where the Negroes work was taken directly from the questionnaires.

Table 4. Business or Industry in Which 34 Negro Males Work

Business or Industry	Number	Percentage Distribution
Homes	1	3
Hotel	2	6
Mines	4	12
Power and Light Company	1	3
Sterling Faucet Plant	5	14
School	2	6
Domestic Service	1	3
Chesapeake and Potomac Tele.	1	3
Exterior and Interior Decorator	1	3
American Legion Post	1	3
Servicing cars	1	3
Bank	1	3
Post Office	1	3
Store	2	6
Liquor Commission	1	3
City Sanitary Dept.	1	3
Dry Cleaning Plant	1	3
Church	1	3
Proprietor of Small Business	5	14
No Answer	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 5. Business or Industry in which 24 Negro Females Work

Business or Industry	Number
Private Home	5
Hotel	2
School	4
Fraternity House	3
Faculty Club	1
Restaurant	2
Housewife	3
Beauty Shop	1
Sorority House	1
Recreation Commission	1
No Answer	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>

The data in Table 6 show the extent to which Negroes and whites are employed together. Some instance of employment

Table 6. The Number of Whites and Negroes Who Work on the Same Job by Sex of Respondents

Response	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do	25	73.5	14	58.3
Do not	9	26.5	6	25.0
No answer	0		4	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0</b>

segregation have been pointed out later in this study. An inquiry revealed that many of the cases that appear to be employment segregation exist because Negroes have not sought employment at a greater variety of places. This is the information that a number of managers gave interviewers. There are no Negroes employed by the glass factories or the shirt factory. These two concerns are among the largest employers of labor in Morgantown. \*

Tables 6 and 7 are closely related and should be considered together. Table 6 shows that 25 or 73.5 percent of the men and

Table 7. Proportion of Negroes Doing Same Type of Work as Whites  
by Sex of Response

Similarity of Work	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Does work similar	18	60.0	7	29.2
Does not do similar work	10	33.3	11	45.8
No answer	2	6.7	6	25.0
Total	30	100.0	24	100.0

14 or 58.3 percent of the females answering the question "Work on the job with whites?" Table 7 shows that 18 or 60 percent of the females do the same type of work as the whites who work on the same job as they do.

The reasons for these differentials in the percentages in



Negro-whites occupational contacts are several including white antagonism. A Negro union leader told of instances where whites were fired because of the absolute refusal to work with Negroes. "In most cases," he stated, "the whites are poor and in very bad need of money. Some of them object to the situation at first but rather than be fired they calm down and work along with the Negro workers. They almost invariably learn to like the Negroes with whom they work and become ardently attached to them."

Table 8 shows the extent to which whites and Negroes who work together engage in conversation. Twenty-seven or 93.1 percent and 17 or 70.8 percent of the women who answered the question gave a positive answer.

Table 8. Proportion of Negroes Engaging in Conversation with Whites on the Job by Sex of Response

Response	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do	27	93.1	17	70.8
Do not	2	6.9	3	12.5
No answer	0		4	16.7
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

The data in Tables 9, 10, and 11 reveal the nature of the conversations between Negroes and whites who talk together on the job. Twenty-six or 89.7 percent of the males and 14 or

Table 9. Proportion of Negroes Engaging in Friendly Conversation with Whites on the Job

Response	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do	26	89.7	14	58.3
Do not	2	6.9	2	8.3
No answer	1	3.5	8	33.4
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

58.3 percent of the women said that they engaged in friendly chats with whites. Sixteen or 55.2 percent of the males and 11 or 45.8 percent of the women said that they engaged in conversations concerning

Table 10. Proportion of Negroes Who Discuss Family Affairs with Whites While on the Job by Sex of Response

Family Affairs	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	16	55.2	11	45.8
No	8	27.6	5	20.8
No answer	5	17.2	8	33.4
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

family affairs. As can be seen in Table 11, 23 or 79.3 percent of the males and 14 or 58.3 percent of the females stated that they engaged in conversation with whites concerning community affairs in general.

Table 11. Proportion of Negroes Who Discuss Community Affairs with Whites While on the Job by Sex of Response

Community Affairs	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	23	79.3	14	58.3
No	2	6.9	2	8.3
No answer	4	13.8	8	33.4
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

The majority of the Negroes in Morgantown who work are employed by white employers. The data in Table 12 show that only 5 or 17.2

Table 12. Race of Employer of 29 Negro Males and 24 Negro Females

Race	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
White	24	82.8	20	83.3
Negro	5	17.2	2	8.3
No answer	0		2	8.3
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

percent of the men and 2 or 8.3 percent of the women have Negro employers. The relationship between the employees and their white employers is very good in many instances. This fact is revealed in Table 13. Twenty-two or 75.9 percent of the males and 10 or 41.7 percent of the females stated that they crack friendly jokes with their employers. The data show that the relationship

Table 13. Nature of Conversation with Employers

Friendly Jokes	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	22	75.9	10	41.6
No	7	24.1	7	29.2
No answer	0		7	29.2
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

between the men and their employers is of a more congenial type than that between the women and their employers.

### C. Institutional Contacts

There is not very much social contact between the Negroes and whites of Morgantown in the religious realm. Table 14 demonstrates this. Out of the 34 men and 24 women who answered the adult questionnaire, only 1 of the men and no women belonged to mixed churches. All the officers of this church are white. The mixed church in

Table 14 is the Catholic Church, to which several Negroes in Morgantown belong.

Table 14. Types of Churches That Negroes Attend by Sex of Response

Type	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Negro	31	91.2	24	100.0
Mixed	1	2.9	0	
No answer	2	5.9	0	
Total	34	100.0	24	100.0

Table 15 shows that white people have visited all of the Negro churches in Morgantown at some time as guest speakers, singers, or within the congregation. A few persons answered "No" to this question but a number of people who belonged to the same churches answered "Yes." Those who answered "Yes" were in a large majority.

Table 15. Respondents Hearing White Speakers in Negro Churches  
by Sex

Response	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Did	26	76.5	19	79.2
Did not	4	11.7	0	
No answer	4	11.8	5	20.8
Total	34	100.0	24	100.0

The majority of the contacts that exist between Negroes and whites of Morgantown in the religious realm is found in religious organizations other than churches. Some of these organizations have a mixed membership as well as mixed officers. Some of them have Negro members but the officers are all white. In most cases of religious contact between the races, a Negro religious unit sends a delegation to a conference made of mostly whites.

Table 16 contains data on religious contact situations. Despite the careful handling of the data included in it, the writer is still reluctant to vouch for their validity because of discrepancies in the definition of a religious organization.

The women who reported belonging to religious organizations gave such names as: County Council of Church Women (a mixed organization), Eastern Star, Daughters of Allen, Baptist Young Peoples'

Table 16. Negroes Having Membership in Biracial Religious Organizations

Membership	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	11	37.9	11	29.2
No	13	44.8	7	25.0
No answer	5	17.3	6	45.8
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

Union, and the Willing Workers Club. The men mentioned such organizations as: the Masonic Lodge, Y. M. C. A., and the Council of Churches. A number of individuals gave fraternal organizations as religious organizations. It may be true that brotherhood is somewhat basic in religion but the amount of religion practiced in brotherhoods is doubtful.

There were only 2 males and 3 females who belonged to religious organizations of mixed membership. There were 3 males and no females who belonged to religious organizations having mixed officers.

Another place of contact is at various forms of interracial meetings. In Table 17 it will be observed that about half of the people attended interracial meetings. It is believed that most of these were labor union meetings. The men attend interracial meetings more often than the women because they engage in occupations that are organized into labor unions. The Negro

Table 17. Proportion of Negroes Living in Morgantown Who Attend Interracial Meetings

Attendance Frequency	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Often	5	17.2	2	8.3
Sometimes	14	48.3	14	58.3
Never	7	24.1	4	16.7
No answer	3	10.4	4	16.7
Total	29	100.0	24	100.0

professional has occasion to attend a greater number and variety of interracial meetings than the worker. The male teacher belongs to as many as four interracial organizations.

The professional people who answered item 15 on the questionnaire reported that they attended the meetings of the following interracial groups: County Teachers' Association, Community Council of Monongalia, World Day of Prayer, School Masters' Club. One teacher who did not fill out a questionnaire gave an account of many contacts with whites in a personal interview. She has delivered speeches to several organizations at West Virginia University. She has also attended a number of interracial meetings. Whites have invited her to their homes as a dinner guest on numerous occasions. Five out of seven professional people who gave information by questionnaire or through a personal interview said that they had attended mixed schools only on the college and university level.

Table 18 shows the number of people filling out questionnaires

Table 18. Proportion of Negroes Living in Morgantown Who Attended Mixed Schools by Sex of Response

State	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
New Jersey			1	12.5
Ohio	1	9.1	1	12.5
Pennsylvania	8	72.7	6	75.0
West Virginia	2	18.2		
Total	11	100.0	8	100.0



who have at some time attended a mixed school. Only 11 or about one-third of the men and 8 or one-third of the women have attended mixed schools.

The majority of these attended school in some northern state before coming to Morgantown, as shown in Table 19. A few of the

Table 19. Location of Mixed Schools Attended by Negroes Who Now Live in Morgantown by Sex of Response

State	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
New Jersey			1	12.5
Ohio	1	9.1	1	12.5
Pennsylvania	8	72.7	6	75.0
West Virginia	2	18.2		

people attended typing classes at Morgantown High School some years ago because of lack of such facilities at Monongalia High School. There were two or three individuals who had attended West Virginia University to work on Masters' Degrees. And although he did not fill out a questionnaire, there is one known individual who attended the state university as an undergraduate in the School of Engineering. The majority of those who stated that they attended mixed schools had done so in the grade school. The numbers and percentages are given in Table 20.

Table 20. Type of Mixed School Attended by Negroes Living in Morgantown by Sex of Response

Type	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	18	54.5	18	66.7
Grade	9	27.3	6	22.2
High	3	9.1	2	7.4
College	3	9.1	1	3.7
Total	33	100.0	27	100.0

A few Negroes in Morgantown had white friends in the mixed schools they attended. About half of the people who said that they had attended a mixed school said that they had a few close friends who were white, as is revealed in Table 21. Five of the men and 1 of the women who answered the question on friendly letter writing and visiting white friends said that they sometimes write to those friends.

Table 21. Proportion of Negroes Who Attended Mixed Schools Who Had White Friends by Sex of Response

	Males	Females
None	0	1
Few	3	5
Many	4	1
No answer	4	1
Total	11	8

Table 22. Proportion of Negroes Who Write Letters to Their White Friends by Sex of Response

	Males	Females
Never	5	7
Sometimes	5	1
Often	0	0
No answer	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>

More Negro men thought that whites are interested in Negro welfare than Negro women. Table 23 gives this picture. There seems to have been some confusion on the matter, however, for some individuals did not answer the item consistently.

Table 23. Proportion of Negroes Who Believe That Whites Are Interested in Negro Welfare by Sex of Response

	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Not at all	1	9.1	4	50.0
Somewhat	3	27.3	0	.0
Very much	2	18.2	0	.0
No answer	5	45.4	4	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are a few Negroes in Morgantown who belong to inter-racial educational organizations. Some of these organizations are

of mixed membership but the officers are white. Those who belong to these organizations are mostly school teachers.

The Negro adults of Morgantown do have occasional picnics and ball games with whites. But the contacts are rather stiff and signs of prejudice and hate frequently appear. There is evidence of intimate gestures on these social occasions. A white and Negro man are occasionally seen to hug each other after having indulged quite heavily in "fire water" of some sort, but the white females and Negro males remain carefully apart, as do the Negro females and the white males. A clumsy exhibition of social grace is invariably displayed where the two races come together on the picnic grounds. Some of the individuals who spoke of how freely they act and how much at ease they are in the presence of whites are seen interacting very awkwardly with whites.

Approximately one-fourth of the men and women who answered the adult questionnaire said they sometimes spend vacations where Negroes and whites share the same facilities. The following states were listed: New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, California, and Ohio. It is believed that the Negroes of Morgantown visit a large number of states where social intermingling of the races is permissible. They sometimes travel in private automobiles or by bus, train, and plane. One individual gave the writer an account of a 1951 vacation trip. It included five northern states and Canada. Her free association with whites seemed to be one of the most exciting parts of the trip. The places where Negroes and whites share the facilities were, for the most part,

owned by whites.

#### D. Social Contacts of High School Youths

Although the children of Monongalia High School do not attend school with white children they do recreate with them extensively. This point was brought out very forcefully in the statements taken from the questionnaires filled out by the boys and girls. All of the students making remarks about their associations favored even more contacts with white children. Several of them have attended school with white children, of course, in other states. There was one who made a statement that revealed distrust and dissatisfaction. The student mentioned staying in his own place and seeing that the white children stay in their places.

The thirty-four questionnaires filled out by the high school pupils give a picture similar to that shown by the adult questionnaires. However, among the former, the contact situations are much more frequent in fields like recreation.

Tables 24 through 29 are compiled from high school questionnaires. In Table 24 we find a picture of the residential situation among the Negro

Table 24. Residence Distribution of 34 High School Pupils Living in Morgantown by Sex of Response

Ward	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	0	.0	0	.0
2	9	50.0	4	25.0
3	4	22.2	2	12.5
4	2	11.1	8	50.0
5				
6	3	16.7	2	12.5
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

Note: Wards 5, 6, and 7 were combined because of doubt as to the boundary lines.

youth of Morgantown.

Table 25 deals with the religious affiliations among the Negro youth of Morgantown. The majority of the children do not belong to any religious organization other than the church. Several visits have shown that church affiliation is just having one's name on the church roll. As a rule the church attendance of Morgantown Negroes is really poor. When Negroes belong to a

Table 25. Proportion of Negro Youth Who Live in Morgantown and Belong to Religious Organizations by Sex of Response

Kind of Organization	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Negro	1	5.5	2	12.5
Mixed	5	27.8	1	6.2
None	10	55.6	12	75.0
No answer	2	11.1	1	6.2
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

religious organization other than the church, it is usually one founded and headed by whites.

#### E. Contacts Among Children

There are many small white children of grade school and junior high school ages who play daily with colored children. They frequently come around the Negro supervised playgroups and wait anxiously for someone to tell them to come and join them. One can see their confusion and doubt. They have probably heard it said at one time

or another that colored children are not as good as they are and they just cannot see why. The little Negro children seem to be having such a nice time.

The writer found students who play on white baseball teams. There were five such cases interviewed. In all of the cases the children seemed to get along perfectly well together. The writer saw one of the club pictures that was taken during the summer. The little Negro player was sitting on the front row and one of his young white friends was behind him with his arms around his neck. The child's mother was so elated over her son's success with his white teammates that she carried the personal picture that was given to her son and showed it to many of her neighbors and friends.

Table 26 is a very important table in this study. The data found in this table give the frequency with which Negro and white children play together. This table reveals that 16 of the boys report that they often play with whites, while 8 of the girls state

Table 26. Negro Children Who Play with White Children by Sex of Response

Frequency	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Often	16	88.9	6	37.5
Sometimes	2	11.1	8	50.0
Never	0	.0	2	12.5
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

that they sometimes play with whites. This table should be considered with Table 28 in order to get a complete picture.

There is one Italian mother in particular who has quite a lot of trouble with her little ten-year old daughter. The little girl attends the Second Ward Elementary School for white children but her play activities after school and during the summer months are almost entirely with colored children. She visits the Second Ward playground for colored children daily during the summer months. She swims, hikes, plays ball, picnics, and goes to parties with them. She visits their homes and eats with them frequently. She has asked her mother on several occasions why she cannot attend school with her Negro friends. The mother often asks her whether she is going to be white or colored. She never wants to attend anything given by white people and it is a constant source of worry for the white mother. The little girl is frequently embarrassed because of her desires to associate with the people with whom she comes into contact daily.

The Negro-white contacts among small children of pre-school age are at a minimum because their activities lie almost exclusively within the home. Whenever such contact does occur it is characterized by wonder, amazement, and anxiety. For instance, there was a young white mother walking her two-year old daughter down the street past a group of Negro children playing in their yard. The mother was walking about five paces in front of her young daughter whose steps were slow. A small Negro baby boy approached the little, blond-haired girl and took her by the hands. They stood and gazed somewhat "wild-eyed" at each other for a few seconds and then commenced to embrace. The



young white mother, whose face had reddened, rushed back and got her daughter. She did not seem angry at all but the situation was a somewhat strenuous one for her. The Negro mother, who was also young, seemed to get much joy out of all this. She later commented that her son had caught himself a little "fay broad."

The above contact situation describes the reactions of the small Negro of pre-school age and his mother who is slightly above high school age. The infant knew nothing of the folkways and mores of his community. He was acting on an impulse that was free of racial attitudes and feelings. He was not thinking of what the crowd around him would say. His mother seemed somewhat proud of the fact that her son had broken a social rule. It seemed that she would rather that the rule did not exist.

The contacts that were observed among children of grade school age were also seemingly much more intimate than those of high school boys and girls. They played hide-and-seek together. They frequently drank from the same pop bottle. It was rather common to see them break from each other's popsicles. Members of this age group run, wrestle, joke, and participate in many other activities together. However, it becomes rather obvious in this group that confusion and distrust are just around the corner. There were no embarrassing names called directly but there were questions asked, such as, "Why do they call colored people 'niggers'?" The Negro children would retaliate with a question of similar nature, but the group would always regain its intimate composure and everything would turn out well.

Table 27. Types of Activities that Negro Children of Morgantown  
Share with White Children by Sex of Response

Activity	Boys		Girls	
	Answering No	Yes	Answering No	Yes
Swim	10	8	11	5
Picnic	12	6	11	5
Ball games	2	16	4	12
Hike	7	9	14	2
Play marbles	9	7	12	4
Ride bikes	8	8	11	5
Total	N = 18		N = 16	

In Table 28 we find that the proportion of Negro children of high school age who have white children as guests is large. Adults,

Table 28. Proportion of Negro Children Living in Morgantown Who  
Have White Guests by Sex of Response

Children Who Have White Guests	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	13	72.2	13	81.2
No	3	16.7	2	12.5
No answer	2	11.1	1	6.3
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

however, who have white friends usually see them on the street or at work and chat with them momentarily, then continue on their way.

Table 28 shows that 13 of the boys and 13 of the girls who answered the question gave "Yes" for an answer.

The number of school children who attend interracial meetings often is rather small. We saw in Table 17 (p. 23) that most interracial meetings are union or other business meetings, where contacts are not of an intimate nature. Table 29 gives a comparison of the Monongalia High School's boys and girls who attend interracial meetings.

Table 29. Frequency of Attendance at Interracial Meetings by High School Students by Sex of Response

Frequency	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Often	2	11.1	0	.0
Sometimes	6	33.3	4	25.0
Never	4	22.2	9	56.3
No answer	6	33.3	3	18.7
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

F. The Contacts of Negro Business and Professional People

The writer has had a very difficult time trying to construct a social class scale for the Negroes in Morgantown. There are so many discrepancies among the norms and standards of the community that the task, if possible, would take more time than the writer could afford. However, an attempt has been made to compare the Negro

business and professional classes of Morgantown with the Negro people in general with respect to Negro-white relations.

The contact situations were found to be very much the same among the businessmen and the general Negro population of Morgantown where intimate contact situations are concerned. All five businessmen stated that white people visited their homes occasionally.

In answer to question 13, "What is your opinion of such visits?", the following statements were made:

"They are respectable and congenial. I am the same towards them."

"Purely social and business in general."

"They are good church people and sometimes my best friends."

"They conduct themselves as ladies and gentlemen. They invited me to visit them."

"Their visits are usually from a business view point."

Only two of the businessmen vacation in places where Negroes and whites share the same facilities. One stated that he plays cards with whites. Two have gone swimming with whites and one had dinner engagements.

There are no businessmen who belong to a mixed church but all stated that white people come to their churches as visitors. Only one attended a mixed school and belongs to an educational organization of mixed membership.

It is clear that the owner of a business has a little more prestige than a person who gathers garbage. It is apparently true,

however, that whites tend to view all Negroes as on the same social level or "in their class" no matter what differences in level exist among Negroes. It seems that the type of contact which the Negro professional worker enjoys is one that confers status and from which other Negroes are excluded.

The professional class is limited entirely to ministers and teachers. As stated earlier, there are no Negro doctors or lawyers in this town. Negro ministers and teachers reported going to such gatherings as community concerts, World Day of Prayer, Community Council of Monongalia County, forums, etc. These contacts are obviously highly formal and impersonal in their nature. Negro professionals are invited as guest speakers by white organizations and they sometimes attend banquets and other social functions. These contact situations grow out of a belief in in the brotherhood of man and human fellowship. The kind of intimacy which leads to love and marriage, however, is disapproved by society.

## CHAPTER III

### ATTITUDES OF NEGROES TOWARDS WHITES

The Negro people of Morgantown have developed attitudes toward whites that range from friendliness to bitterness. This chapter deals with quotations that were taken directly from the questionnaires and statements made by individuals during interviews.

#### A. Attitudes of Negro Businessmen and Professional People

The following statements were made by Negro businessmen and professional people during interviews and on the questionnaires. They reveal the nature of Negro-white contacts and the attitudes experienced toward them.

##### 1. Friendly Attitudes.

"My relationship with whites has been largely business, however, I have some very good white friends. These friends are very liberal in their thoughts but are very selective in their personal relationships."

"I have employed whites as workers. They are very good workers. The ones that I employed were better than the Negro men. Some of the Negro men have pay advantages too. I belong to the local plastering union. I am the only Negro business owner in the union. All of my men belong to the union. We don't know that we are colored when we work on jobs with the whites. There is no dissension and we get along

fine."

"I have been invited to several weddings and have always been treated fine by the other guests and by the ones who invited me."

"In relation to No. 12, the church which I attend at home is mixed and the officers are mixed. I also attend all white churches at home."\*

## 2. Accommodative Attitudes.

The following quotations reveal attitudes of accommodation between Negro businessmen and the whites with whom they come into contact. The first quotation is one of distrust and suspicion.

"I have served them for many years. It is no easy job. They want too much for too little money. You have to be firm with them. They are easy to get sore with you in business. We have some to tell us that they are not coming back anymore. Well, I have no answer for them. They stay away for a while but they always return."

Other statements do not reveal bitter feeling but they do suggest a highly accommodative relationship between the individuals who made them and whites with whom they have come into contact. They read as follows:

"I have employed white people. They did not work to my advantage. Since I operate a place for only whites I do not have complaints."

\*This teacher is originally from Ohio. She resides in Morgantown during the school year and part of the summer.

"I have never worked an American white boy but I have worked an Italian white boy. He was much better than the Negro boys that I have had working for me. He was responsible and he knew how to do business. I could go off and stay for two or three weeks and rest assured that everything would be O.K. when I returned. He had an itemized list of expenditures, income, and other important details. I believe his superior efficiency was due to a better business background than the poor colored boys.

"I have also rented to white people. I had a house over in Greenmont which I rented to whites, and boy, they lived like pigs. I have never seen a family any more nasty than they were. They destroyed some of my property and I finally had to put them out. Now, I had a house out on Richwood Avenue once. We lived upstairs and I rented the basement to a white fellow and his wife. Boy, they were really nice people. I have never seen anyone any nicer than those people. We used the same bath tub and commode and got along nicely. They were very clean. The man would fix anything around the house. He would repair the electric lights, plumbing, etc. Sometimes I didn't charge him any rent because he was so nice to repair things."

"I deal with them daily. The most of my contact is with whites. I find that whites accept you more or less on a merit system, such as what you can do (ability), educational status, and your way of approach.

"I have been treated as if I were one of them on various occasions and I didn't know that I was colored until I looked in the mirror.



I know as well as they that there is a dividing line and that I must stay beyond this line or be swallowed up by the prejudicial attitude that lies dormant within. All and all, I believe in the golden rule, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'.

"I find that I must demand their respect by being respectful toward them. They don't want me to act any more intelligent than they do so they conduct themselves accordingly."

The statements made by the professional and businessmen are descriptive of contact situations in which Negroes were in comparatively high status positions. These people come into contact with whites daily. Some of them depend almost entirely upon white trade. They sometimes rent houses to whites. One man spoke of renting the downstairs apartment of the house that he lives in to a white family. This type of contact is quite different from the contact that the average Negro adult has with whites. It is also quite different from the contacts that occur between Negro children and white people. The statements offer more than just contact situations. They describe the attitudes and opinions of the people making them towards the people with whom they were interacting.

#### B. Attitudes of Adults Toward Whites

The following statements were taken from the section reserved for remarks about personal contacts on the questionnaires and personal interviews. The statements are quite different from those made by the professional and business people. The people who made them come

into contact with whites mostly in work and play situations. The men speak of playing ball and other sports. There is nothing said concerning "flirting" with white women or having white women "flirt" with them. There is also no mention of writing letters to whites. The Negro women write letters to, and receive letters from white women. Negro women are sometimes approached by white men who attempt to make dates with them. These attempts are made secretly.

Negro women teachers did not mention having been approached by white men who wished to have dates with them on their questionnaires. Two of them had mentioned such attempts to the writer in earlier interviews, however.

The people who filled out adult questionnaires mentioned being embarrassed by whites who used contemptible terms more than the professional people. They also differed from the high school pupils in this respect. The latter seemed somewhat proud because there is an absence of contemptible names.

#### Attitudes of Adult Males

The following statements were taken from the questionnaires filled out by Negro males.

##### 1. Friendly Attitudes.

A number of the adult Negroes of Morgantown are very friendly toward whites. Some of them make friendly visits to their white friends' homes and engage in lengthy conversations with them. The majority of the contact between Negroes and whites is of an accommodative

nature. This statement is borne out by the following statements. They are very friendly but in an accommodative sort of way. They read as follows:

"I am the president of the local union at the plant where I work. The whites really respect me. It is rather amazing. You would have to witness the situation to really appreciate it. The labor union that I belong to is supposed to be a democratic organization. The owner and president of the Sterling Faucet Plant is really the only democratic advocator of labor in this town. We enjoy all of the privileges of the white employees. We eat in the canteen and work together. If a white person refuses to work with a Negro he is released. I go to all of the meetings in the Labor Temple on Spruce Street. The whites listen to your argument in the meetings downstairs but a Negro can't go upstairs and get a bottle of beer. I think that my success as a leader of both whites and Negroes has been educational, 'apportment', and my ability to get along with people. I received a good background in labor problems while living in Cleveland, Ohio."

"I passed for white during my winter stay in Florida. I always pass when traveling south. During my stay in Philadelphia all of my friends were white because I met white people first. I find the higher educated whites more liberal minded than the poor white trash. For example, a white friend and I were walking past a Negro group and my friend made the comment, 'Isn't she pretty?'. He was

speaking of a Negro girl. This friend was of the higher educated type. On the other hand I have a friend of the lower type who constantly uses the words 'nigger' and 'giggs'. This friend can't read nor write."

"I belong to the West Virginia non-teaching association and I participate in the meetings and all of their social activities. I am the only Negro in the county that belongs to this organization."

The next statement is of a friendly nature, but special attention is given to it because it suggests a difference in contacts when they pass from childhood to adulthood. It reads as follows:

"I have lived among white people all my life and while we were young, the things we would do or say did not make any difference. But when we grew up things changed."

## 2. Accommodative Attitudes.

Although the majority of the statements made by those interviewed were somewhat accommodative it is necessary to separate those that are under this heading because of the large amount of accommodation that is suggested by them. The following quotations will bear out this point.

"In my contacts with whites little reference has ever been made concerning race. Conversations have been varied, however, from sex life and family problems to our favorite sports. Whether it is general

or not, I can't say. But many of my white co-workers speak more freely of their family affairs than is usual among Negroes. I have been invited to several of their homes and didn't go, but I was always treated well in the ones that I visited."

"Most white people give us the general opinion that each individual is your friend and want you to believe that any friend of theirs is a friend of yours, male or female. You are welcome to go anywhere they go whether it is agreeable with the proprietor of the establishment or not. But then again when certain occasions are presented we are to be kept in our places because they feel we are going out of our way to accomplish something and must therefore get back in our position. Never be superior to your white friend."

"In my summary of the feeling here between Negroes and whites, they all have something in common--sports, dramatics, music, etc. But the backward feeling of arrogance is chiefly supported by the older generations. It is my belief after watching the younger set getting along so well, that in years to come they will all emerge with better feelings towards each other."

"I go out with whites. They are rather nice."

"Since being here I have found that although Morgantown practices segregation in practically all social life, it is somewhat liberal in other activities such as sports and business."

"I personally feel that race relations in this community are on the upward trend and with the integration of Negro students into our community they will most certainly continue to improve."

"My white friends are so nice to me that I do not feel any prejudice whatever. They are very courteous to me. I belong to several organizations. Some of them are all Negro organizations but we frequently work with white organizations on projects fostering community welfare. I am a member of the Civic Boosters Club. We have no white members but the club is greatly supported by whites. The white Baptist church called representatives from all organizations that had participated in the Community Chest. I attended the meeting and was treated very nicely. They call me Mrs. where I work and they are forever asking my advice on some question or problem."

"I write letters to a white friend. She writes to me several times a year. She asks me about my personal and family welfare and I do the same about her. She sends lovely cards for Christmas, etc., and occasionally a nice gift. White people are very courteous to me. They refer to me as Mrs. They ask my opinion of things and seem to respect my advice. I have been invited to their churches on occasions. Each month we send a representative to an organization for the purpose of consolidating the community chest idea. We exchange ideas and everything goes off nicely."

"The Convalescent Home for Crippled Children on Cheat Road

takes colored and white children. We contribute \$35.00 yearly to this home. Those people are just as nice as they can be. There are two colored women on the Crippled Children's Board in Morgantown. They are Mrs. Slaughter and Mrs. Rush. Mrs. Rush is supposed to go to Charleston to the state meeting."

"I have lived in an entirely white neighborhood all my life and I have not felt they have found any difference in me than they have found in their white neighbors."

Attitudes of Negro Women

All of the foregoing statements were taken from the adult male questionnaires. The statements that follow will give some idea of adult female contacts and attitudes of individuals toward these contacts.

1. Friendly Attitudes.

There is a friendly streak running through most of the statements made by Negro women about their contacts with whites. Some of them made statements that contained friendly accommodative and bitter attitudes. The ones that are included in this topic are those that are predominantly friendly. They are as follows:

"I have several white friends, one in particular. I have never met her but she writes to me at least once a month and sends me a gift on holidays. She lives in Niagara Falls."

The writer does not know the details of the contact between

the person who wrote the last statement. There is reason to believe that the friendship is one that resulted from some sort of correspondence or lonely hearts club. The persons seems to feel pretty close to her white friend. She mentions not having met the friend in a face to face contact situation.

Other statements made by the female adults read as follows:

"I believe the situation would be relieved if there were more jobs open in the industries and stores for Negroes. Many Negroes are capable of doing more than scrubbing floors and cleaning out filth. It isn't fair to be deprived of our equal rights because of color or religion."

"In the type of work that I do, you find the majority of the customers considerate and friendly, however, I prefer to serve the teen-age group."

"As a parent I truly believe that it would be very helpful to see that the children are thrown together for they don't have a chance to become acquainted. We should have some public store that would hire our colored girls. I am sure they would find them quite capable of doing the same work as whites. They don't enjoy full citizenship. They aren't given a chance to serve the public in all capacities. I am the mother of four girls and three boys."

## 2. Accommodative Attitudes.

The following statements made by Negro women are highly suggestive of accommodative contact situations. There is evidence that



there is tension between the people who made the statements and white people.

"I come into contact with white people every day. I work at The Bell Telephone Company Building. I do maintenance work. I have worked on this job for seven years. The girls are nice in a way. I just can't understand why some of them think that their color makes them superior. They often make cracks that are really embarrassing to me, especially during the hot summer months when the sun is hot and they get a deep sun tan. They often say to each other, 'Girl, I am getting as black as a nigger,' or 'Girl, I worked like a nigger today.' They really don't mean any harm. This is shown by their readiness to come to me after realizing my presence and apologize. We exchange gifts on birthdays and at Christmas. We talk about almost everything in our conversation. We have picnics for employers but I don't ever go because there are only three Negroes working there and we probably wouldn't enjoy it.

"Now, it is different where my husband works. They have monthly picnics and a large yearly picnic and the white and colored employees enjoy the provisions together. A Negro is the president of the union out there. As a rule I don't have much for a white person to do because they are so cold toward colored people."\*

Other statements read:

"I have had a number of white men to attempt to flirt with me at night. They have tried to lure me into cars to go for rides and

\*Statements made by Negro woman during an interview.

and they frequently give wolf whistles when I am walking on the street. I always go on my way and they continue on theirs. I frequently talk with people who employ me. We talk about almost everything possible. They always speak with an air of superiority. I guess it is because I am working for them and their economic advantage makes them feel secure."

"White people won't ask you to go out to a restaurant or other public places with them but they will sneak around and make cracks about dates after dark. I have had them to say, 'Say, baby, where are you going? Don't you want to take a ride?'. Where I work now, they do not serve Negroes. They used to but Negro men tried to make dates with the help so the proprietors put up signs stating they do not serve Negroes. Colored men pulled on the girls' arms and tried to make dates with them.

"I make more than the whites that do the same work that I do. This fact is not revealed to the white help, however, I am paid on the side."

"The Bible School welcomed all colored children of the Second Ward neighborhood until the time for the annual picnic. The picnic was held at Richard Park and, of course, the colored children were permitted on the grounds, but not in the swimming pool. Those restrictions were made by the park owner."

"On the whole the whites of Morgantown seem to be gradually breaking away from this thing called discrimination."

The statements made by the persons filling out the adult questionnaires bring to us many different types of contact situations and many different attitudes toward these contacts. Some of the people seem bitter toward whites and would rather not come into contact with them. Some have highly accommodative attitudes and are eager to make the relationship very intimate. Still others are very frank and seem to appeal to some power to better the conditions of colored people. Pleas are made for better relationships in the economic, educational, recreational, and many other fields.

#### C. Attitudes of High School Youth

The Negro high school pupils of Morgantown have a more congenial attitude toward the white people that they come in contact with. They were concerned mostly with the white children that they play with daily. Children experience contact situations far different from those experienced by adults. They have not reached the stage of life where competition for jobs, living quarters, and choosing mates become so important. The adults do not channel their actions as much at this age level as they do at the young adult stage of 18 to 30 years of age.

The statements made by high school pupils reveal contact situations that occur mostly in recreation. They listed baseball, basketball, bike riding, hiking, and other play activities. Only one boy suggested the caste system that exists in the community. He said, "You should stay in your class and make them stay in theirs."

There is not nearly so much tension in the attitudes expressed by the high school students as there is in the statements of the adults. One woman boldly stated that, "I don't have anything for a white person to do."

#### Attitudes of Monongalia High School Girls Towards Their White Associates

The attitudes of Monongalia High School girls can all be placed under the "friendly" heading. The girls seem rather proud of contacts that they have had with white children. Some of the girls attended mixed schools before coming to Monongalia High School. Their memories of white friends are expressed in their statements. The girls have expressed their attitudes in the following statements:

"Shirley Taylor is my best friend and we were reared together. We also went to school together. She is very friendly and nice to have around. She never has mentioned anything about my race."

"I have gotten along fine with the ones that I have come in contact with."

"I love to play ball, go bike riding, and go on hikes with white children. I like them very much because they treat me so very nice."

"Some white children are very nice toward colored people and that is what I like about them."

"My association with white children is a very friendly one. They do not look down on me because I am a Negro. I have a great deal of fun with them. We do not make a difference in color."

"I find no difference in my association with white children than I do with colored children. Nor do I expect to find any difference as we are all part of the human race."

"I went to school last year in Ohio with them. They were very nice and also easy to get along with. I went two years there and I never had any trouble with them."

"I have fun with them."

"They are interested in the things that we do such as dancing and playing different games."

"Those that I have associated with, I have found it well worth my while."

#### Attitudes of Monongalia High School Boys Toward Their White Associates

The boys of Morgantown attending Monongalia High School are rather friendly toward their white associates. They seem to recognize some of the factors that cause tension between the two races. This was suggested most by the statement which suggests stereotyping as one of the major causes of misunderstanding between the races. The statement reads:

"I think that the reason the white children are not so close to the Negro is because they do not know them. They think that all Negroes can eat chicken and can sing well. But that isn't so because I can't sing and I do not like chicken. When they find out that we are not any different than they are, they will not keep us apart from them as their ignorant parents taught them to do."

All of the statements made by boys can be placed in the "friendly" category except one. This one suggests a highly accommodative relationship. It reads:

"They will treat you right if you will treat them right. You should stay in your class and make them stay in theirs."

The other statements made by the boys are a decidedly friendly attitude. For the most part, the students are anxious to have increased relationships with white children. The following statements will uphold this point.

"While in Philadelphia practically all of my friends were white. We ate together, played together, and the like. I don't ever remember being called out of my name by these faithful friends."

"I find that my association with white children makes me feel that I am a part of the community, and that all men are created equal."

"We play baseball and basketball together. We talk about different things."

"The boys whom I associate with are very friendly. I play on the American Legion Junior baseball club. I am the only Negro member of the club. Maybe you saw the picture of the club that was in the Morgantown Post a few weeks back. The officers make no difference in their treatment of the boys whether they are white or colored."

"We have a nice time in sports and other activities together."

"Most of the white children that are my friends treat me really great all the time and any place they see me they show no prejudice whatever toward me."

"If you are with them they do not attempt to make fun of you. They treat you as they would anyone else."

"The whites like to have our company and appreciate our playing with them. They are very sociable toward us. Some are good and some are bad."

"The white children I play with are very nice."

"I don't find them any different from any one that I play with."

"I like to play with children of the other race. I like to play football in the field. I like to go on trips with the children. I like to take part in community affairs. I like to do good deeds for other people in my community."

### Conclusions on Attitudes

It is rather difficult to measure the exact amount of tension that exists between the two races in contact situations. But there are reasons to believe that a number of the persons filling out the questionnaires were a bit overanxious to make the contact situations between the two races of Morgantown seem perfectly harmonious. This condition is not true, however. It becomes rather obvious when one considers the whole range of answers given to certain opinion questions. One individual states they sometimes call you names that provoke embarrassment and anger. Still another says that they never call you "out of your name."

As a whole, the attitudes of Negroes toward whites are friendly but there is always an air of accommodation. As suggested by one youth, whites will tolerate a Negro that he is in direct contact with and still remain contemptible toward other Negroes.

The attitudes of the young people of Morgantown are of a more friendly nature than those of adults. Negro children do not come together with whites in competitive fields, such as occupation, religion, etc., where tension points are greatest.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to make an inquiry into contact situations as they exist between Negroes and whites in Morgantown, West Virginia, and to point out how these contact situations differ for different classes and categories of people.

The study was limited to the Negroes who lived within the city limits of Morgantown. There were 92 questionnaires filled out by 58 adults of whom five were business men and 34 Monongalia High School pupils. The adult questionnaires also accounted for a total of 88 children of all ages. Out of these 88 children, 59 were under twenty-one years of age and 40 were under twelve.

It was assumed that the questionnaire used was a valid and sufficient device to obtain the data desired.

The information gathered was arranged in appropriate tables and a careful analysis was made of each.

The study yielded the following conclusions:

1. Contact situations with whites exist for all of the Negroes of Morgantown. The majority of the contacts are institutionalized and almost completely void of intimacy. The contacts occur most frequently in the occupational realm for adult males and females. A great deal of the contact exists between employee and employer with the whites being the latter. The majority of contacts between young

whites and Negroes exist in the field of recreation. Some of the contacts of this nature are organized and supervised by various committees, etc., others are informal.

2. These contacts are different for different classes and categories of people. Some of the Negroes of Morgantown have attained status giving symbols which make their contacts with whites different from other Negroes. The professional people and the business men make up this class. Some of the business men have employed whites. This relationship carries with it feelings and attitudes entirely different from the white employer-Negro employee relationship.

The contacts are also different for different age and sex groups. The very young children (6-12) get along better together than each successive group above it. The contacts between this group and whites are very informal and rather intimate. They take place on playgrounds, in the streets and in the homes. Contacts become more institutionalized as children approach adulthood. Men have different contacts with whites from women. This is due to types of occupations and institutional organizations.

3. The professional class has more contacts of prestige and status than other groups. They are frequently extended the hospitality of homes, clubs, etc. Some of them have made speeches to white organizations of Morgantown.

4. Few contacts of an intimate nature exist between adult Negroes and whites of Morgantown. There are contacts that are

characterized by acts that are symbolic to intimacy such as eating, dancing, picnicing, and swimming together but even these contacts are highly formal and impersonal. Intimacy that leads to love and marriage is unobservable if it exists at all.

5. The most of the Negro recreational and educational contacts with whites occur outside of the state. Morgantown is situated close to northern towns and cities where Negroes and whites share the same educational and recreational facilities. Many of the Negroes travel long distances to states like New York and California where they are permitted to interact with whites even to the extent of matrimony if such is desired.

6. There is considerable suspicion and distrust between the two races. This is more true with the adults than with children. Some Negroes feel that whites will turn against them if they behave as their social equals or superiors. Others think that whites cannot be trusted to work for a Negro boss.

7. Negroes are anxious to be accepted as equals by whites and in many cases exaggerate the amount of harmony that exists between them. Many of the Negroes of Morgantown stated that they get along perfectly well with whites. They spoke as if there were no class and caste situation in the town. Inquiry proved that even on picnics and other social gatherings of a mixed nature, there was a lack of social grace and ethics. Negroes wish to be admitted as free participants in the general community life of Morgantown. They are proud of the small amount of socially approved interracial activity that does exist.

8. Most of the contacts between the adults of the two races occur in occupational and business relations and involve very little intimacy. A city employee receives gifts from whites at Christmas time because he has been rather dutiful in clearing away garbage. The cook is given presents by all of the members of a white family because of her usefulness as an employee. Contacts take place between Negroes and whites in many other phases of business, etc. Negroes must use public utilities that are operated almost entirely by whites. The exact nature of each contact is determined by a constellation of social factors. Among the factors are status, age and sex categories.

## CHAPTER V

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**APPENDIXES**

To be filled out by students of Monongalia High School who live in Morgantown.

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_  
(Last) (First) (Middle)

2. Home Address \_\_\_\_\_  
(street) (section of town)

3. Age at last birthday \_\_\_\_\_ years.

4. Sex (check one) Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

5. Grade in school (circle one) - - - - 7 8 9 10 11 12

6. Where do you attend church \_\_\_\_\_  
(name of Church)

7. If you attend an all Negro church, do white people ever come to your church as guest speakers, etc. Yes( ) No( )

8. Do you belong to any religious organizations? Yes( ) No( )  
a. if so, name them. Place (M) in first parenthesis if they are mixed membership.  
Place (m) in second parenthesis if the officers are mixed

Mixed members

Mixed officers

- |          |     |       |     |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|
| 1. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 2. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 3. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 4. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 5. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |

9. Do you ever play with white children? (check) often \_\_\_\_\_ sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

10. Check the activities that you share with white children. Swim \_\_\_\_\_ Picnic \_\_\_\_\_ ballgames \_\_\_\_\_ Hike \_\_\_\_\_ Play marbles \_\_\_\_\_ Ride bikes \_\_\_\_\_. Name any activity shared with whites but not listed \_\_\_\_\_

11. Do the white children that play with you in the streets and on the playground ever visit your home as guests? Yes( ) No( ).

a. Do you invite them to your birthday parties and the like? Yes( ) No( )

12. Do you ever attend interracial meetings of any kind? Often ( ) Sometimes( ) Never ( )

a. if so, name them. Place (M) in the box if they are mixed of mixed membership. Place (m) in the last one if the officers are mixed.

Mixed members

Mixed officers

- |          |     |       |     |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|
| 1. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 2. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 3. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |
| 4. _____ | ( ) | _____ | ( ) |

13. Have you ever attended a mixed school? Yes( ) No( )

a. If so, were you in? grade school( ) high school( ) college( )

1. Where was the school located? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Did you have any close friends (white) at the school? None( ) a few( ) many( )

b. Do you ever write friendly letters to or visit any of your white friends? Never( ) Sometimes( ) Often( )

c. Do they seem interested in your personal welfare? Not at all( ) somewhat( ) very much( )

d. Do you think this interest is limited to: you( ) your family( ) the Negro race( )

14. Make any remarks about your association with white children that you wish to.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_





10. Is your employer: white ( ) Negro ( )
11. Do you ever crack friendly jokes with your employer? Yes ( ) No ( )
12. Where do you attend church? \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of church
- a. Is the church: all Negro? ( ) mixed? ( )
- b. If mixed, are the officers: all white? ( ) mixed ( )
13. If you attend a Negro church, do white people ever come to your church as guest speakers, etc. Yes ( ) No ( )
14. Do you belong to any religious organizations? Yes ( ) No ( )
- a. If so, name them. Place (M) in the first parenthesis if they are mixed membership. Place (m) in the second parenthesis if the officers are mixed.
- | Name of organization | Mixed members | Mixed officers |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. _____             | ( )           | ( )            |
| 2. _____             | ( )           | ( )            |
| 3. _____             | ( )           | ( )            |
| 4. _____             | ( )           | ( )            |
| 5. _____             | ( )           | ( )            |
15. Do you ever attend interracial meetings of any kind? Often ( )  
Sometimes ( ) Never ( )
- a. If so, name them. Place (M) in the first box if they are mixed members. Place (M) in the last one if the officers are mixed.
- | Name of meeting | Mixed members | Mixed officers |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. _____        | ( )           | ( )            |
| 2. _____        | ( )           | ( )            |
| 3. _____        | ( )           | ( )            |
| 4. _____        | ( )           | ( )            |
16. Have you ever attended a mixed school? Yes ( ) No ( )
17. a. If so, were you in: grade school? ( ) high school? ( )  
college? ( )
1. Where was the school located? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Did you have any close friends (white) at the school?  
None ( ) A few ( ) Many ( )

- b. Do you ever write friendly letters to or visit any of your white schoolmates? Never ( ) Sometimes ( ) Often ( )
- c. Do they seem interested in your personal welfare? Not at all ( ) Somewhat ( ) Very much ( )
- d. Do you think this interest is: limited to you? ( ) your family ( ) the negro race? ( )

18. Do you belong to any educational organizations? Yes ( ) No ( )

- a. If so, name them. Place (M) in the space provided if they are of mixed membership. Place (M) in the space provided if the officers are mixed.

	Name of organization	Mixed membership	Mixed officers
1.	_____	( )	( )
2.	_____	( )	( )
3.	_____	( )	( )
4.	_____	( )	( )

19. Do you ever spend vacations where Negroes and whites share the same facilities? Yes ( ) No ( )

- a. If so, name the places.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

b. Are the places white owned ( ) or Negro owned? ( )

20. Do you ever swim? Yes ( ) No ( ); picnic? Yes ( ) No ( ); hike? Yes ( ) No ( ); play ball? Yes ( ) No ( ); or perform other similar activities with whites?

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name activity

21. Do you have any children? Yes ( ) No ( )

- a. Give the age of each:

1. ( ) 2. ( ) 3. ( ) 4. ( ) 5. ( ) 6. ( ) 7. ( ) 8. ( )

b. Do they ever play with white children? Never ( ) Sometimes ( ) Often ( )

c. Name some of their play activities together. (Example: play ball, swim, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

d. Have they ever attended interracial meetings of any kind?  
Yes ( ) No ( ) Give the name of each below:

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_

22. Have white individuals ever attempted to make intimate conversation with you after dark or when no one else was around? Yes ( ) No ( )

23. The person collecting these data will appreciate any bit of information that you may have that is not asked for here, but which is helpful in developing this study.

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Schedule to be filled out by Negro business owners and managers

1. Address (home) \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. Business Place \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age at last birthday \_\_\_\_\_ years
3. Sex (check one) \_\_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female
4. What kind of business do you own? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Example: Restaurant, shoe shop, etc.)
5. What is the value of your business? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Approximate)  
 b. Value is not known \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many men do you employ? \_\_\_\_\_ White \_\_\_\_\_ Negro \_\_\_\_\_
7. If you have ever employed whites make a statement of your opinion of them as employees. (Do they respect Negroes as employees; do they work to the advantage of business, etc.?)  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
8. Do white people patronize your business? None ( ) A few ( ) Many ( )
9. About what per cent of your total sales is to white people? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What seems to be the general attitude of your Negro customers to your white customers? Congenial ( ) Resentful ( ) Indifferent ( )
11. Do you ever have complaints from either concerning:
  1. Who is to be waited on first? Sometimes ( ) Often ( ) Never ( )
  2. Seating arrangements? Sometimes ( ) Often ( ) Never ( )
  3. The type of service rendered? Sometimes ( ) Often ( ) Never ( )
 a. Give a brief description of any such incident.  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do any white people ever visit your home as personal or family friends?  
 Occasionally ( ) Often ( ) Never ( )

13. What is your opinion of such visits? Make a statement.

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14. Do you make social visits to white homes? Yes ( ) No ( )

a. What seems to be the attitude of your white friends to you as a person? Congenial ( ) Accommodative ( ) Tolerative ( )

15. How do you respond to their behavior toward you?

a. Do you feel at ease in their presence? Yes ( ) No ( )

b. Do you feel stiff and uncomfortable around them? Yes ( ) No ( )

c. Do you feel the same as you do in the presence of people of your own color? Yes ( ) No ( )

d. Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

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16. Do you ever spend your vacation in situations where Negroes and whites share the same facilities? Yes ( ) No ( )

a. If so, name some of the places.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

17. Check the following activities which you share with whites.

1. Card games ( )
2. Swimming ( )
3. Dinner engagements ( )
4. Parties (Example: Birthday, etc.) ( )
5. List any other that you may have had experienced.

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18. Is the membership of your church: all Negro? ( ) Negro and white? ( )

- a. If it is all Negro do you ever have white speakers or singers to visit your church? Yes ( ) No ( )
- b. If it is of mixed membership, do Negro singers or speakers ever perform at your church? Yes ( ) No ( )
- c. If it is of mixed membership, are there any Negro officers in your church? Yes ( ) No ( )
- d. If you belong to a mixed church, please make a statement about your participation in church activities. (How do the whites react to your presence? How do you feel in their presence? Do you participate fully in all activities? Does the pastor ever visit your home? )

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19. Where did you attend school?

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of school

\_\_\_\_\_

City State

20. Was the school: all Negro? ( ) mixed? ( )

21. Do you belong to any educational organizations of mixed memberships?  
Yes ( ) No ( )

a. If so, list them.

	Name of Organization	Mixed Numbers	Mixed Officers
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

22. Please make any statement that you wish on contacts you have had with whites.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of Negro-white contacts within the city limits of Morgantown, West Virginia.

The specific hypothesis is that contacts which Negroes have with whites vary in frequency and intensity according to the institutional or neighborhood settings in which they occur, and with the age and sex of the individuals involved.

A supplementary thesis is that the attitudes of Negroes toward whites are conditioned by the contacts they have with whites.

The investigative techniques employed were those of personal interview, schedule and first hand observation of the author.

The study revealed the following conclusions: Contacts with whites exists for all of the Negroes of Morgantown. The majority of the contacts are institutionalized and are different for different classes and categories of people. Negroes of the professional class have more contacts within the institutions which are highly rated by the values of our society than do Negroes of lower occupational status. Most of the contacts between the adults of the two races occur in occupational and business relations and involve very little intimacy. The contacts between the children of the two races occur mostly in recreation and are of a more intimate nature. There is considerable suspicion and distrust between the two races, but the Negroes are anxious to be accepted as equals by whites.

APPROVAL OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE

H. B. Allen

Sapomerkov

H. G.illard  
(Chairman)

Date

April 30, 1952