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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

COMMUNITY FORCES IN A NEGRO DISTRICT

IN OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE OF SOCIAL WORK

COMMUNITY FORCES IN A NEGRO DISTRICT

IN OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

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MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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COMMUNITY FORCES IN A NEGRO DISTRICT

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CHAPTER I

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The aim and objectives of the present study have been primarily to determine the social forces operating in the largest Negro community in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. It should be apparent from the outset that these forces would be fundamentally of two types; those which constitute positive factors in community development, and those which constitute negative or disorganizing factors.

The district under study is a natural area within a large city. Community forces operating within this area are related to the forces at work within the larger community. A brief survey of the entire community setting has therefore been included.

This district forms the center of community life for Negroes from all areas of the city. Forces affecting Negroes anywhere within Oklahoma City and those operating within the district are interdependent. Therefore, consideration of community forces affecting all Negroes of Oklahoma City have been included in the study.

In the effort to determine the community forces that are operating several methods of fact finding were used.

The National Urban League conducted a study of the Negro community in Oklahoma City and efforts were made to apply the results of the study to the betterment of the community. Oklahoma City was one of the five major cities in the United States selected in 1944 by the National Urban League for a community relations survey of the Negro community. The results of the survey are presented in a general report and reports on the following fields of activity: social work, recreation, and housing. Conferences were held with the members of the Urban League in Oklahoma City to discuss the results of the survey.

COMMUNITY FORCES IN A NEGRO DISTRICT

IN OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

CHAPTER I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The aims and objectives of the present study have been primarily to determine the social forces operating in the largest Negro community in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. It should be apparent from the outset that these forces would be fundamentally of two types; those which constitute positive factors in community development, and those which constitute negative or disorganizing factors.

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In the effort to determine the community forces that are operating several methods of fact finding were used.

The National Urban League Community Relations Project Reports were studied and efforts were made to avoid duplication in the collection of data. Oklahoma City was one of the five major cities in the United States selected in 1945 by the National Urban League for a community relations survey on the economic and cultural problems of the Negro. This survey, which was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, included a general report and reports on the specific fields of health, social case work, recreation, and housing. Conferences were held with every member of the Urban League research group and suggestions as to areas needing further exploration were received.

Analyses of the statistics of the Sixteenth Census of the United States and other statistical data pertaining to the district have been included in the study.

Additional facts and insight into social conditions were obtained during six months of supervised field work in social group work at the Negro Episcopal Church of the Redeemer Youth Center.

More than one hundred and twenty-five personal interviews with Negro and white persons concerning the Negro community served as the basis for some of the conclusions reached.

Finally, individual case histories which were obtained through interviews were used to illustrate the effects of the community forces upon the individual personality.

This study has attempted to record as accurately as possible, the general structural characteristics of Oklahoma City and of the Negro district specifically, the economic and social forces in the community, the types of social welfare services available to Oklahoma City Negroes,

the effect of these forces on the individual personality, and the pattern of race relations within Oklahoma City at the present time.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITIES

The Negro community in question forms a natural area in Oklahoma City, the capital of the State of Oklahoma. This is the largest city in the state, having a population in 1930 of 204,424. In 1946 the estimated population was 220,000. Including outlying areas, the metropolitan population was estimated at 266,877 for the same year.¹ The location of Oklahoma City is approximately 300 miles south of the geographic center of the United States and seven miles from the geographic center of Oklahoma. The site covers 43.8 square miles. The altitude is 1,276 feet.

The pattern of city growth of Oklahoma City has been similar to that found in other American cities in that it is characterized by a steady movement away from the center of the city on the part of the more prosperous citizens. As this movement has progressed the older parts of the community have become the center of business, industry, poverty, and delinquency. This basic pattern of city growth, however, has varied considerably in the case of Oklahoma City. Included among the reasons for this variation from the usual pattern have been the unique manner in which the community was begun; the location of the

¹Oklahoma City from '34 to '37. (Official Publication of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, 1946), 1.

heat seeking plants; the development of an extensive oil field within the city limits; the location of military establishments in the vicinity; and the North Canadian River, which flows through the southern part of the area.

CHAPTER II

Oklahoma City was settled in a single day through the famous Run of 1889. On April 22, 1889, THE COMMUNITIES million acres of land in Old

Oklahoma Territory were opened to white settlement. President Harrison's proclamation came as the result of a decade or more of agitation for the opening of these unoccupied lands to the settlers. On the day of the opening about 100,000 people rushed in to claim homesteads for themselves. The site of Oklahoma City, a large square block of the territory, was chosen. In that year the location of Oklahoma City is approximately 260 miles south of the geographic center of the United States and seven miles from the geographic center of Oklahoma. The site covers 49.8 square miles. The altitude is 1,275 feet.

The pattern of city growth of Oklahoma City has been similar to that found in other American cities in that it is characterized by a steady movement away from the center of the city on the part of the more prosperous citizens. As this movement has progressed the older parts of the community have become the center of business, industry, poverty, and delinquency. This basic pattern of city growth, however, has varied considerably in the case of Oklahoma City. Included among the reasons for this variation from the usual pattern have been the unique manner in which the community was begun; the location of the

¹Oklahoma City from "A to Z", (Official Publication of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, 1945), 1.

meat packing plants; the development of an extensive oil field within the city limits; the location of military establishments in the vicinity; and the North Canadian River, which flows through the southern part of the area.

Oklahoma City was settled in a single day through the famous Run of 1889. On April 22, 1889, approximately two million acres of land in Old Oklahoma Territory were opened to white settlement. President Harrison's proclamation came as the result of a decade or more of agitation for the opening of these unoccupied Indian Lands to white settlement. On the day of the opening about forty thousand people rushed in to claim free lands for homesteads. The site of Oklahoma City, a bare prairie on the banks of the North fork of the Canadian River on the morning of that day, was settled with 10,000 inhabitants by nightfall. There were Negroes in the group which came on the first day of settlement.

In 1890 the first census of Oklahoma City was taken. In that year the population was 4,151. Since that time the city has enjoyed a phenomenal growth. In 1910 the state capitol was moved from Guthrie to Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma City was settled by people of widely varied interests and backgrounds. They were predominantly native-born white protestants who were looking for opportunities in newly opened country. Included in the group were land speculators, persons with questionable backgrounds, and the irresponsible elements. On the other hand, there were enterprising, land-hungry Americans who had come to claim their homesteads and to build a new state. Many persons are still living who have seen Oklahoma City grow from a settlement of tents and a few hastily erected wooden

structures into a beautiful, thriving metropolis.

As indicated by the following statement, the North Canadian River has exercised considerable influence on the community.

"The Canadian drainage basin is narrow, averaging little more than twenty miles, but in some places less than ten miles. Despite this fact exceedingly heavy rains or cloudbursts, can transform such a dry river-bed into a turbulent torrent in a few hours, as it meanders through the plains, cutting new channels and shifting its course, making it the most dangerous stream in Oklahoma. Its channel is sand choked, forming islands and the prevailing southerly winds form sand dunes on the north side of the stream.

The North Fork, commonly called the North Canadian, rises in northeastern New Mexico. At the confluence of Wolf and Beaver Creeks, near Ft. Supply, this stream becomes the North Canadian. It has a narrow drainage basin which averages less than twenty miles. The North Fork has sudden and rapid rises, which frequently overflow the lowlands. Its channel, like that of the Canadian, is sand choked with numerous shifts, bends and cutoffs. Sand dunes occur on the north side of the river in western Oklahoma, but below Oklahoma City, the sand in the bed decreases and the banks become steep and muddy."²

Obviously, it was a mistake to locate a city on the banks of the river. In addition to being harrassed by periodic floods, in the dry seasons there is very little water in the river. This causes the water to become stagnant. The stench from the water which has become polluted by industries, the numerous oil wells nearby, and the sewerage makes life in the river area undesirable. However, thousands of persons have their homes along the banks of this sandy stream which winds its erratic way through the very heart of the community.

Today the river area is without exception one of poor housing, low real estate values, and unfavorable social conditions. On the

²Jones Shelby Graves, "The Influence of the Canadian Rivers on the Development of Oklahoma, 1806-1866", (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1937), 2-3.

west side of the city there is a collection of approximately four hundred shacks which is known by the name of "Community Camp." There are several other poor communities scattered on both sides of the river bearing such names as "Ganders Flats", "Mulligan Gardens", "Sandtown", "Walnut Grove", "Southtown", and "Westtown".

During the depression years of the 1930's Oklahoma City became the home of numerous indigents known as "Squatters". Squatter dwellings are to be found in great numbers along the river banks. Usually these huts are made from scrap lumber, tin, and packing boxes. They are usually very small, with no floor and few windows. However, during the war period there has been a tendency to enlarge some of these dwellings.

In 1930 experienced social workers representing the three relief-giving social agencies in the city made a survey of Squatter conditions which revealed 576 shacks, tents, wagon tops, and automobile trailers occupied by 2,330 persons.³ Because of the fact that the very poor health and sanitary conditions that accompanied these Squatter hovels was a menace to the entire city, approximately 350 indigent families were moved to Community Camp in January, 1931. Nearly 100 families moved into houses in other parts of the city and the other 125 families left the area. The homes that were built in Community Camp were of the same type as had been vacated. The dwellings that had been vacated in other sections of the river area were soon filled with new families of "Squatters".

³Mattie Cal Gibson, "The Dependent Family in Oklahoma City Community Camp", (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1934), 6.

Negroes and whites live rather indiscriminately in these areas. Negroes are found in Walnut Grove, Westtown, Southtown, and Sandtown. The area known as Sandtown is a Negro settlement just outside the city limits to the south and west. This area gets its name from the loose sand which blows about the unpaved streets. The houses in the area are unpainted and are in need of repairs.

In almost all the areas just described there is no plumbing and few houses have piped water. Electricity and gas are becoming more common in the last few years. In Community Camp there is but one water faucet for the entire settlement.

From its earliest days Oklahoma City has been the center of the livestock trade for the state. This area has always been favorably adapted to the livestock industry. Oklahoma City is bordered on the eastern side by the region of little oak cross timbers or blackjacks, but most of the natural vegetation in the city itself consists of bluestem prairie grass. The annual rainfall in Oklahoma City is variable, ranging in different years from 17 to 48 inches. The average since 1891 is approximately 31 inches. The mean temperature for the year is 59.6 degrees, with a range of monthly temperatures from 37.4 degrees in January, to 80.4 degrees in July. Oklahoma, thus has comparatively cool winters and usually hot summers with no long periods of ice and snow, although the temperature is subject to rather great and abrupt changes.⁴ Obviously, these favorable factors would result

⁴Leo L. Robertson, "Geographical Changes Resulting from Oil Development in Oklahoma City and Vicinity" (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1937), 7.

in the growth of cattle and meat packing industries.

An area in the southwestern part of Oklahoma City is known as Packingtown. In this area of approximately 60 acres are located two major packing plants, Wilson and Company and Armour and Company, and several smaller packing plants. The Oklahoma National Stockyards Company operates yards with capacity of 33,000 head. The 1942 annual receipts amounted to 1,667,992 head valued at \$73,371,058.23. Approximately 300 truck loads of livestock are brought to this primary market each 24 hours in addition to rail shipments.⁵

In addition to the livestock industry, a number of other significant industries have grown up in Oklahoma City. This community has become the commercial and financial center of the State. It is the seat of a branch of the Federal Reserve Bank, the home of insurance offices writing 75 per cent of the policies written in the state, and of 556 wholesale establishments which distribute 75 per cent of the goods in the state.⁶

There are 558 different manufacturing firms within the city today. Principal lines of industry include aircraft manufacturing and maintenance, oil and gas production and processing, meat packing, steel fabrication, machine shop and foundry production, grain mill production, cottonseed oil processing, oil field refinery supplies and equipment, building materials, food specialties, printing and publishing, and

⁵Oklahoma City from "A" to "Z", op. cit., p. 1.

⁶"Oklahoma City", Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XVI, 757.

paper products.

Oklahoma City is served by six railways. These include: The Frisco, Oklahoma City-Ada and Atoka, Rock Island, Santa Fe, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. The Oklahoma Railway Company supplies interurban service to Norman, Guthrie, and El Reno.

The cultural landscape of Oklahoma City and vicinity underwent a profound transformation between 1928 and 1936 with the discovery and development of the third largest producing oil field in the world. This field extends 12 miles along the eastern side of the city.

Local interest in oil field development extends back to 1899. In 1903 the first test well was drilled near Fourth Street and the Santa Fe Railroad. From then until May, 1928, with the bringing in of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil and Foster Petroleum Company well no. 1, the area had been tested continually but without success. Drilling techniques had not yet been perfected to reach the depth of the oil deposits, 6,355 feet.

The discovery well marked the beginning of a local oil boom which lasted well into the decade beginning in 1930. Although the United States at this time suffered its greatest economic depression, the depression never assumed the serious proportions in Oklahoma City that were reached in most American cities. The field spread rapidly, and was quickly developed to the south across the Cleveland county line and to the north beyond the city limits. Almost all of the largest Negro section of Oklahoma City was included in the oil field.

In the rural areas oil development was welcomed because it brought wealth. However, residents of many of the better residential areas

resented the development because of the resultant depreciation of property values, and the influx of undesirable population elements. At first, zoning was employed to prevent the depreciation of valuable city property, but the clamor for permission to lease brought more and more districts into the oil field. Eventually some of the finest districts of Oklahoma City such as the Lincoln Terrace "mansion" area, had oil wells in the yards. The onerousness was culminated with the drilling of wells on the lawn of the state capitol.

By 1940 over sixteen hundred wells were producing approximately 515,000,000 barrels of oil a year.

The oil field brought to Oklahoma City a large industrial district in the southeast section of the city including nine major pipeline companies, 124 oil producing firms, 159 oil field equipment firms, 64 equipment warehouses and service organizations, 31 firms of geologists and scientific research organizations, 7 refineries, 27 wholesale gasoline and oil marketers, and 69 firms engaged in drilling, oil field construction, and pipeline operation.⁷

Much of the make-shift housing and general debris brought in during the oil boom is still coloring the landscape of the city. However, home owners have developed means of adjusting to the oil field. Parts of the oil field district present a fairly neat appearance. Small areas in almost every block have been fenced off to include the towering derricks and other oil well equipment. The oil companies generally keep the area around the wells clean. On the whole these areas are not unsightly.

⁷Robertson, op. cit., p. 9.

During World War II Oklahoma City experienced a serious housing shortage caused by military activities in the area. Southeast of the city was built Tinker Field, headquarters of the Oklahoma City Air Service Command. This was the Army's largest depot.⁸ East of the Depot was built the huge cargo plane production and modification plants of the Douglas Aircraft Company. Southwest of Oklahoma City, near the Municipal Airport was the Will Rogers Air Field, an Army air base, and west of the city was Cimmarron Field, an air cadet training station. At Norman, eighteen miles south of Oklahoma City, were located the Naval Air Station, Naval Hospital, and Naval Air Technical Training Center.

The building of residences continued during the war in Oklahoma City, and federally financed housing projects made their appearance. Midwest City, a federally financed housing project consisting of 1,466 homes, was built across the highway from Tinker Field. It has its own school, churches, and business district.

The main retail business district of Oklahoma City extends approximately from Washington Street on the south to Fifth Street on the North, and from the Santa Fe tracks on the east to Walker Street on the west. The wholesale area lies east of the Santa Fe tracks between Main Street and the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas tracks. The area south of Main Street to Washington Street and between the Santa Fe tracks and Western Avenue is a transition area from residences to industry, and has in recent years become undesirable for residences. South of this area to the river is a large, slum-like area where whites, Mexicans, and Negroes

⁸Oklahoma City From "A" to "A", op. cit., p. 2.

live indiscriminately. South Ninth Street near Robinson is the center of a small Mexican concentration.

Across the river on a low rise of land is situated Capitol Hill, a community that once was a small town in its own right before it was made a part of Oklahoma City in 1910. It still maintains its own business district, churches, schools, and theatres, and has a considerable measure of independent community life.

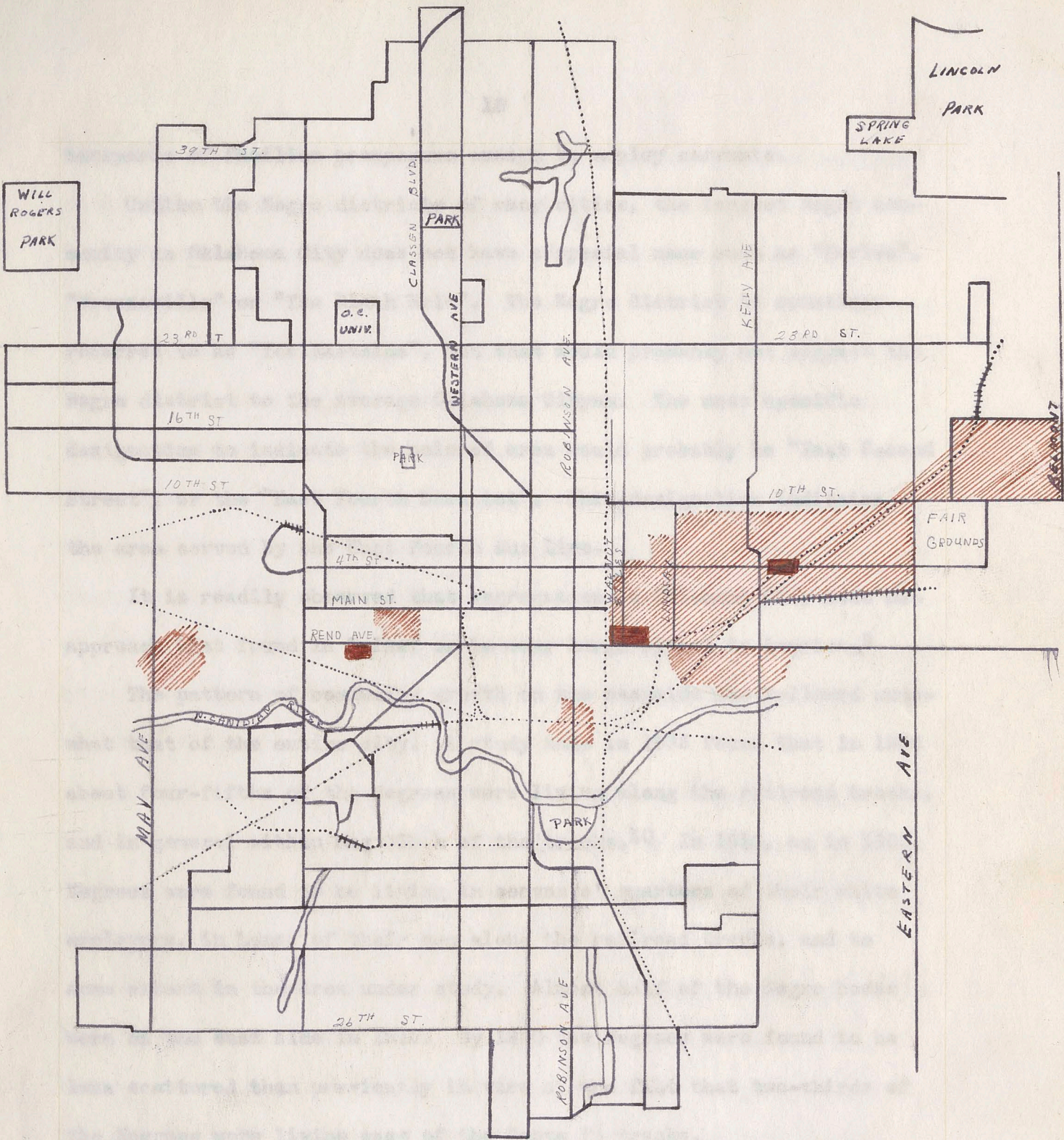
With the river area on the south, and the oil field extending for 12 miles along its eastern border, the northwest sector was practically all that was left for large, desirable residential developments. Directly north of the business district is found the boarding house and small apartment area. Further north, the less expensive homes give way to the homes of the moderately rich. An area between Thirteenth and Twenty-third Streets contains some very beautiful and expensive homes. They are still occupied by the wealthy families of the city, in spite of the fact that they have been built around and intruded upon by commercial enterprises and apartment houses. The city has built far to the north and west with additions of homes in the ten-thousand to fifteen-thousand dollar class. Nichols Hills, an exclusive district of very expensive homes is located outside the city limits to the north west. This community, although considering itself a part of Oklahoma City, has its own council, school, and other community activities.

The Smaller Community



There is one large settlement of Negroes in Oklahoma City, and

several smaller residence areas. Walnut Grove, Southtown and Sandtown are districts with considerable Negro population. The boundaries are indistinct as the races live rather indiscriminately in these areas. Westtown is next to the largest Negro district. This area is decreasing in population as indicated by the enrollment of school children at Orchard Park School. The present population is estimated at 2,500. It is located between McKinley Street on the west and Clegern Street on the east and Main Street on the North and Reno on the south. It is almost entirely a residential district with only a few business houses and churches.

The larger Negro district, and specific area for this study is between Reno on the south and Tenth Street on the north. The western boundary, and area of some tension is Walnut from Reno to Fourth Street, Stiles from Fourth to Fifth Street, Lincoln from Fifth to Sixth, Lindsay from Sixth to Ninth Street, with Ninth street being zoned by blocks and lots. The Negro occupied houses are pushing steadily northward in spite of covenants and restrictions and are expected ultimately to extend as far as Thirteenth Street. Eastern Avenue formerly was the eastern limits of the Negro District, but during the war two large housing projects were constructed in the area north and east of the Fairgrounds. Carverdale addition consists of 125 small homes directly north of the Fairgrounds. Edwards Addition is a larger district that extends east of Carverdale and north to Sixteenth Street with plans under discussion for building on to Twenty-third Street in this area. In addition to living in these segregated districts, Negroes have always been found living throughout the city in the



COLORED DISTRICTS of OKLAHOMA CITY

-  COLORED DISTRICTS
-  PARKS

backyards of families prosperous enough to employ servants.

Unlike the Negro districts of many cities, the largest Negro community in Oklahoma City does not have a special name such as "Harlem", "Bronzeville" or "The Black Belt". The Negro district is sometimes referred to as "The Eastside", but that would probably not suggest the Negro district to the Average Oklahoma Cityan. The most specific designation to indicate the colored area would probably be "East Second Street", or the "East Fourth District". This designation indicates the area served by the East Fourth Bus Line.

It is readily observed that segregation in Oklahoma City does not approach that found in Tulsa, or in many large cities in America.⁹

The pattern of community growth on the eastside has followed somewhat that of the entire city. A study made in 1933 found that in 1903 about four-fifths of the Negroes were living along the railroad tracks, and in general within one block of the tracks.¹⁰ In 1910, as in 1903, Negroes were found to be living in servants' quarters of their white employers, in homes of their own along the railroad tracks, and to some extent in the area under study. Almost half of the Negro homes were on the east side in 1910. By 1920 the Negroes were found to be less scattered than previously in view of the fact that two-thirds of the Negroes were living east of the Santa Fe tracks.

Negroes once occupied the area between Broadway and the Santa Fe tracks from Seventh Street south to the river. These lands increased

⁹Charles S. Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, (New York: Holt, 1930), 202.

¹⁰Janett Isabel Mahar, "Social Changes in Oklahoma City from 1889 to 1930" (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1933), 27-29.

in value so much that the owners gradually sold out to white business firms, and relocated east of Walnut Street.

The areas bordering the river and railroad tracks present an unpleasant appearance. Dwellings are in a poor state of repair. Negroes first settled in what is now the Walnut Grove area immediately to the south of the present site. The section is now also very undesirable. The better homes are found farther to the north. On Ninth Street the south side is occupied by Negroes and the north side by whites. The Negro side of the street contains large, well-kept homes while the side occupied by whites is beginning to be run-down and untidy.

Many of the Negro residences compare favorably with those occupied by whites. Several homes occupied by Negro families cost from \$20,000 to \$30,000 each.¹¹

Almost all of the streets on the eastside are paved. However, on the extreme eastern side, near the fairgrounds, the housing is of a varied construction, the dwellings are small and in a poor state of repair.

As in the white sections many of the homes have oil wells in their backyards, and the forest of derricks is a natural part of the landscape. Since the limited space available for Negro occupancy would prevent the Negro families moving away from the oil activity, the residents have become adjusted to them.

The main business district is found in the 300 block of East Second Street between Central and Stiles. This block is in a slight depression

¹¹Federal Writers' Project, A Guide to the Sooner State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 168.

between two low hills and gives the appearance of a small Oklahoma town. It is almost completely built up with business houses on both sides of the street. Although the buildings in this block are not untidy in appearance, almost all of them would profit by repairs. All are one or two stories in height excepting the buildings on the Northeast and Northwest corners. These have three stories. About half the buildings on the south side are of wood construction.

The second and newest business district is at East Fourth Street and Laird. This is a growing center. Almost all of this district is owned by one family. It contains a theatre, several restuarants, a drug store, shoe repair store, grocery stores, radio repair shop, and barbeque stands. Additional buildings have been started east of the theatre, and several others are being planned.

There is another small business area near the fairgrounds on Sixth Street between Bath and Missouri. It contains only a few cafes, grocery stores, barber shops and other establishments. Plans are under consideration for the construction of another theatre in this area.

After the Civil War the slaves of West Tribes--the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole were freed and accepted as freedmen into the different tribes on varying accommodation patterns. Creek and Seminole Freedmen enjoyed every right that was granted to the native born Indian. Choctaw and Cherokee Freedmen were restricted in their privileges, and Chickasaw Freedmen held no civic status at all by virtue

¹Wilmont Smith, "Creek Negroes, A Study of Race Relations", (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940), 1.

of their former connection with that tribe."

The Five Civilized Tribes were located in Eastern Oklahoma. That is where the bulk of greatest concentration of Negroes in the State.

Of the Negroes living in Oklahoma in 1930, 57.2 per cent were living in the eight counties comprised of Muskogee, Nowata, Okfuskee, Muskogee, Adair, LeFlore, Nowata, and Cherokee.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE

Since the Negro population constitutes the subject matter of this study, the primary emphasis in this chapter has been placed on an analysis of the Negro population rather than of the population of the community as a whole.

Negroes first came to Oklahoma as slaves of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes. These tribes were removed to the lands of Indian Territory during the years from 1825 to 1838. They were the largest slave-holding group of Indians. The Negroes mingled with the Indian tribes of the southeast "to a degree that whites usually fail to recognize, and in the case of the Creek and Seminole Indians, in particular, the relation has been a continuous and a close one".¹

After the Civil War the slaves of these tribes--the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole were freed and accepted as freedmen into the different tribes on varying accommodation patterns. Creek and Seminole Freedmen enjoyed every right that was granted to the native born Indian. Choctaw and Cherokee Freedmen were restricted in their privileges, and Chickasaw Freedmen held no civic status at all by virtue

¹Sigmund Sameth, "Creek Negroes, A Study of Race Relations", (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940), 1.

of their former connection with that tribe.²

The Five Civilized Tribes were located in Eastern Oklahoma. That is still the point of greatest concentration of Negroes in the State. Of the Negroes living in Oklahoma in 1930, 37.7 per cent were living in the eight eastern counties of Okfuskee, Wagoner, Okmulgee, Muskogee, McIntosh, Choctaw, McCurtain, and Logan.³

With the coming of white settlement in 1889, many Negroes from the various states of the Union entered Oklahoma. This accounts for the separate designations given Oklahoma Negroes. "Freedmen" is the title given to the descendants of the former Indian slaves, while "State Negro" is the name given to those who came to Oklahoma during the run of 1889. It is the opinion of some outstanding negroes in Oklahoma City that considerable difficulty has been experienced in welding together in a cooperative effort these two groups of Negroes. They are the products of two distinct environments. It must be kept in mind that the Indian Freedman assimilated many of the characteristics of Indian life. That fact made it extremely difficult for the State Negroes to appreciate the culture patterns of the Negro Freedmen.⁴

Many Negroes came in the run on April 22, 1889. Guthrie, the state capitol at that time, was the destination for many. Approximately one-third of the original population of Guthrie was Negro.⁵

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Francis D. Burke, "A Survey of the Negro Community of Tulsa, Oklahoma", (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1936), 4.

⁴Daily Oklahoman, April 23, 1939.

⁵Ibid.

The decade of greatest growth in the Negro population in the state occurred from 1900 to 1910. The Negro population increased 147.1 per cent during the decade as compared with a total population increase of 109.6 during the same ten year period. This unusual increase in Negro population in this period may have been related to the discovery and development of the oil fields in Eastern Oklahoma during this period. Oklahoma was rapidly developing and there were new cities springing up as the result of the oil industry. Negroes were welcomed as maids, cooks, chauffers, and porters.

The following decade, from 1910 to 1920, found the Negroes migrating north to the industrial centers in which were opening new job opportunities in the war industries. Although there was no considerable amount of discrimination in Oklahoma toward Negro labor at that time, it appears that the opportunities in the northern industrial cities were more attractive to the southern Negro than was the frontier of Oklahoma. At any rate, the Negro population increased at the rate of 22.3 per cent. In the decade from 1920 to 1930 the rate of increase in the total population was about the same as the increase in the Negro population.

The percentage of Negroes in the total population is smaller for Oklahoma than for any of the southern states. The percentage of Negroes in the total population has remained about the same since 1890. The 1890 census showed 8.4 per cent of the population as Negro. Negroes composed 7.0 per cent of the total population in 1900 and 7.3 per cent in 1940. The preceding figures indicate that the changes in the Negro population have corresponded closely with the changes in the total population from decade to decade. Apparently the social and economic factors which

caused an increase or a decrease in the total population also caused an increase or a decrease in the Negro population in approximately the same proportion.

Negroes in Oklahoma are concentrated in urban areas to a slightly greater degree than are whites.

TABLE I
In 1940, for example, 8.4 per cent of the Negro population was living in urban areas as compared to 6.7 per cent of the white population.

NEGRO POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION OF OKLAHOMA BY
DECADES, 1890-1940⁶

Year	Total	Negro	Per cent Negro
1890	258,657	21,609	8.4
1900	790,391	55,684	7.0
1910	1,657,155	137,612	8.3
1920	2,028,283	149,408	7.4
1930	2,396,040	172,190	7.2
1940	2,336,434	168,849	7.3

⁶Information secured from the United States Census reports for the years indicated.

Approximately one-tenth of all Oklahoma Negroes were living in Oklahoma City in 1940. Furthermore Negroes constituted nearly one-tenth of the total population of Oklahoma City at the same time. In 1890 Oklahoma City had a population of 4,151 people, of whom only 278, or 6.7 per cent were Negroes. The population in 1900 was 10,037, and there were 1,213 Negroes. This was 12.1 per cent of the total population, or almost twice

as many as in 1890. In 1910 the population was 20,074, and there were 2,426 Negroes, or 12.1 per cent of the total population. In 1920 the population was 29,114, and there were 3,634 Negroes, or 12.5 per cent of the total population. In 1930 the population was 38,154, and there were 4,842 Negroes, or 12.7 per cent of the total population. In 1940 the population was 47,194, and there were 6,037 Negroes, or 12.8 per cent of the total population.

caused an increase or a decrease in the total population also caused an increase or a decrease in the Negro population in approximately the same proportion.

Negroes in Oklahoma are concentrated in urban areas to a slightly greater degree than are white persons. In 1930, for example, 39.4 per cent of the Negro population was living in urban areas as compared to 34.7 per cent of the white population. The recurrent years of drouth during the decade from 1930 to 1940 served to drive large numbers of persons of both races from the farms of the state. However, the probabilities are that, whereas many of the white farm families left the state, a large proportion of Negro farm families migrated from the farms to the towns and cities within the state. The extreme difficulty in finding jobs in northern cities during this decade of depression served as a deterrent to many Negroes who otherwise would have left the state.

A smaller proportion of Oklahoma Negroes live on the farms than live in the towns in Oklahoma. According to the 1940 census, 89,153 Negroes lived in urban communities, while only 79,896 lived in rural areas. Furthermore, there is considerable concentration of Negroes in several cities as indicated by the fact that in 1940, 51.1 per cent of all Negro urban dwellers lived in the six principal cities of the state.

Approximately one-tenth of all Oklahoma Negroes were living in Oklahoma City in 1940. Furthermore Negroes constituted nearly one-tenth of the total population of Oklahoma City at the same time. In 1890 Oklahoma City had a population of 4,151 people, of whom only 278, or 6.7 per cent were Negroes. The population in 1900 was 10,037, and there were 1,219 Negroes. This was 12.1 per cent of the total population, or almost twice

as large a percentage as in 1890. By 1910 the population of Oklahoma City was 64,205 of which 6,546, or 10.2 per cent was Negro. In 1920 the Negro population was 8,241, or nine per cent of the total population. The Negro population growth failed to keep pace with the white growth during the next decade. In 1930 there were 14,662 persons in Oklahoma City. Of these 14,662 or 7.9 per cent were Negroes. By 1940 the population at that time was 204,424, or 9.5 per cent of the total population.

TABLE II

POPULATION OF OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA BY DECADES⁷

Decade	Number		Per Cent
	Total Population	Negro	Negro
1890	4,151	278	6.7
1900	10,037	1,219	12.1
1910	64,205	6,546	10.2
1920	91,295	8,241	9.0
1930	146,662	14,662	7.9
1940	204,424	19,544	9.5

⁷Information secured from the United States Census reports for the years indicated.

of greater Oklahoma City as 200,000, and the Negro population as approximately 20,000, or 9.5 per cent.

Officials of the Negro Chamber of Commerce estimated that during World War II, over 5,000 Negroes moved into Oklahoma City from eastern Oklahoma. They believe that possibly 4,000 of these immigrants have remained in Oklahoma City.

The Negro population is concentrated largely in wards two and three. In these two wards, 80.7 per cent of the total Negro population of Okla-

as large a percentage as in 1890. By 1910 the population of Oklahoma City was 64,205 of which 6,546, or 10.2 per cent was Negro. In 1920 the Negro population was 8,241, or nine per cent of the total population. The Negro population growth failed to keep pace with the white growth during the next decade. In 1930 there were 185,389 persons in Oklahoma City. Of these 14,662 or 7.9 per cent were Negroes. By 1940 the population of Oklahoma City had risen to 204,424. The Negro population at that time was 19,344, or 9.5 per cent of the total population.

From 1890 to 1900 Oklahoma City increased in population over 140 per cent. The next decade, however, was the period of the greatest increase in population that Oklahoma City has experienced. The total population increased almost 540 per cent and Negro population increased 503 per cent. From 1910 to 1920 the population increased only 42 per cent, while from 1920 to 1930 it increased 103 per cent. There was an increase of only a little over 10 per cent from 1930 to 1940.

Statistics on the population since 1940 have only been estimates. The Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce in March, 1943, estimated the total population of greater Oklahoma City as 263,340, and the Negro population as approximately 25,000, or 9.5 per cent.

Officials of the Negro Chamber of Commerce estimated that during World War II, over 5,000 Negroes moved into Oklahoma City from eastern Oklahoma. They believe that possibly 4,000 of these immigrants have remained in Oklahoma City.

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TABLE III

PER CENT INCREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION AND NEGRO
POPULATION IN OKLAHOMA, 1890-1940⁸

Decade	Per Cent of Increase	
	Total Population	Negro Population
1890-1900	209.4	111.4
1900-1910	109.6	147.1
1910-1920	22.3	8.5
1920-1930	17.1	15.3
1930-1940	.026 decrease	.018 decrease

⁸Information secured from the United States Census reports for the years indicated.

⁹Information secured from the United States Census reports.

Some City lived in 1940.

A study of the Negro population of Oklahoma City on the basis of sex distribution reveals a slight preponderance of females. In 1940, for example, there were 994 more females than males in the Negro population. This tendency toward a preponderance of females in the Negro population in Oklahoma City, however, merely conforms to a fairly general situation throughout the country as a whole. Whereas males tend to predominate

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RACE IN SIX OKLAHOMA COMMUNITIES, 1940⁹

Community	Total Population	White	Negro	Per Cent Negro
Muskogee	32,332	25,736	6,596	20.4
Okmulgee	16,051	12,392	3,659	22.7
Ponca City	16,794	15,744	850	5.0
Shawnee	22,053	21,008	1,045	4.7
Tulsa	142,157	127,006	15,151	10.6
Oklahoma City	204,424	185,080	19,344	9.4

⁹Information secured from the United States Census reports.

homa City lived in 1940.¹⁰

A study of the Negro population of Oklahoma City on the basis of sex distribution reveals a slight preponderance of females. In 1940, for example, there were 998 more females than males in the Negro population. This tendency toward a preponderance of females in the Negro population in Oklahoma City, however, merely conforms to a fairly general situation throughout the country as a whole. Whereas males tend to predominate in rural populations, females predominate in urban populations. The relatively greater job opportunities for women in urban areas regardless of race has caused a greater migration of women to cities than men.

Total	204,424	154,719	15,244	204	50.4	9.5	.2
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¹⁰J. Harvey Kerns, A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions of the Negro Population of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Report prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project, 1945, (mimeographed), 153.

¹¹Information secured from the United States Census reports.

CHAPTER IV

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF OKLAHOMA CITY
BY RACE AND SEX IN 1940¹¹

	All Classes	White	Negro	Others	Per Cent by Race		
					White	Negro	Others
Total	204,424	184,715	19,344	365	90.4	9.5	.2
Male	98,774	89,413	9,173	183	90.5	9.3	.2
Female	105,650	95,297	10,171	182	90.2	9.6	.2

¹¹Information secured from the United States Census reports.

clerical and sales occupations. Thirty per cent of the white men were in these occupations. Skilled craftsmen represented 15.5 per cent of employed white men and only 4.4 per cent of the employed Negro men. More than 50 per cent of the Negro craftsmen were carpenters, mechanics, painters, plasterers, cabinet finishers, and masons.

Almost 70 per cent of employed Negro women in the United States were engaged in service occupations. Only 33.4 per cent of employed white women were engaged in service occupations. Clerical and sales workers constituted almost 35 per cent of employed white women, but only about 1.0 per cent of employed Negro women. Almost 15 per cent of

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC FORCES IN THE COMMUNITY

Since the time of the Emancipation Proclamation it has been difficult for Negroes to find employment in competition with the white population. This condition has given rise to the well known aphorism, "Negroes are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired".

In March, 1940, of all employed Negro men in the United States, 62.2 per cent were farmers, farm laborers, and day laborers. Only 28.5 per cent of the employed white men in the United States were in these classifications. Approximately 5.0 per cent of all employed Negro men were engaged in professional, semi-professional, proprietary, managerial, clerical and sales occupations. Thirty per cent of the white men were in these occupations. Skilled craftsmen represented 15.6 per cent of employed white men and only 4.4 per cent of the employed Negro men. More than 50 per cent of the Negro craftsmen were carpenters, mechanics, painters, plasters, cement finishers, and masons.

Almost 70 per cent of employed Negro women in the United States were engaged in service occupations. Only 22.4 per cent of employed white women were engaged in service occupations. Clerical and sales workers constituted almost 33 per cent of employed white women, but only about 1.0 per cent of employed Negro women. Almost 16 per cent of

employed Negro women, and only about 2.0 per cent of employed white women were farmers or farm laborers.¹

The employment situation for Negro men and women changed somewhat during World War II. The provisions of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order setting up the Committee on Fair Employment Practice forbade discrimination in employment of workers in defense industries or government agencies because of race, creed, color, or national origin. Many Negroes found employment in skilled positions that had previously been held only by white persons. Negro women also found their first opportunity to obtain employment on a broad basis in industry and as clerical workers.

In Oklahoma City in 1940 there were 89,175 persons in the labor force. Of these, 10,599 were Negroes, 5,763 males and 4,796 females. The unemployed, including both new and experienced workers, totaled 10,088 persons. Of these, 1,891 were Negroes. There were 2,941 persons engaged on emergency projects. Of these, 453 were Negroes.²

Thus, 12 out of every hundred persons in the active labor force in Oklahoma City in 1940 were Negroes. Out of every 100 unemployed persons seeking work in Oklahoma City in 1940, nineteen were Negroes. Of every 100 persons engaged on emergency relief projects in Oklahoma City in 1940, fifteen were Negroes.

In 1940, 8.6 per cent of white employed workers in Oklahoma City were in the professions. Only 3.8 per cent of the non-white employed

¹Florence Murray (ed.), The Negro Handbook, (New York: Current Reference Publications, 1944), 195.

²U. S. Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. The Labor Force, Vol. III, (Washington: Government Printing Office), 932.

workers were in the professions. Only 0.4 per cent of the non-white workers were in the semi-professional occupations as compared to 1.4 per cent of the white employed workers. Proprietors, managers, and officials constituted 14.0 per cent of white employed workers, while only 2.4 per cent of the non-white were in this class. Clerical and sales work employed 31.3 per cent of the white workers, and only 2.2 per cent of the non-white workers.³

More than 90 per cent of employed Negro men and women in Oklahoma City were engaged in domestic employment, personal service jobs, and in unskilled labor. Of all gainfully employed Negro males, 70 per cent were in the service and unskilled occupations, while only 8.0 per cent of the gainfully employed white males were in this group.

Only 2.9 per cent of the employed white people in Oklahoma City in 1940 were in domestic service work, and only 8.9 per cent were in service work other than domestic. However, 40.1 per cent of employed Negroes were in domestic service work, and 29.8 per cent were in service work other than domestic. The majority of the workers in domestic work and other types of service reported annual incomes of less than \$600.00.⁴ Of 9,000 women engaged in clerical and sales occupations in Oklahoma City in 1940, only 52, or slightly above 0.5 per cent were Negroes.

Not only have Negroes been employed in the least secure and lowest paid occupations, but with the exception of the labor shortage during World War II, there has been continual unemployment among the Negroes of Oklahoma City.

³Ibid., p. 889.

⁴Kerns, op. cit., p. 17.

The Labor Market Analysts of the Oklahoma Division of the United States Employment Service maintain continual estimates on employment conditions throughout the United States. Their estimates are based on traffic and reception contacts in the local employment offices, on the number of claims filed for unemployment compensation, and on information obtained from employers. In July 1940, it was officially estimated that there were 13,000 unemployed persons in Oklahoma City. Of these, 2,350, or 18 per cent, were Negroes. During the peak of War employment there were only 3,000 unemployed persons in Oklahoma City. Of these 300, or ten per cent, were Negroes.

In February, 1946, there was estimated to be more unemployment in Oklahoma City than there was in 1940. However, the percentage of unemployment is probably not as high since Oklahoma City has increased in population approximately by 20 per cent since that time. Unemployment for February, 1946, was estimated at 15,000 persons. Of these 1,500 were Negroes. Unemployment among Negroes accounted for only 10 per cent of the total unemployment in contrast to 18 per cent in 1940.

It is believed that this improvement in the employment picture is a temporary phenomenon. Negroes were the last hired in local defense industries. At the peak of employment, only 7.0 per cent of those employed in war work were Negroes. The majority of the Negroes found employment in positions which white persons had left in order to accept the higher paying defense jobs. After the defeat of Japan, persons employed in defense work were suddenly thrown out of employment. Many have refused to go back to the lower paying jobs which they left. The Negro was not affected as seriously by the closing of the defense plants.

That fact accounts for his temporary advantage. One government establishment is still employing a large number of Negroes. It was reported that this plant will probably be releasing many of its employees soon.

During November, 1945, Negroes filled only 7.0 per cent of the unemployment compensation claims filed in Oklahoma City. Negro women filed 8.0 per cent of those filed by women. Negro women are not retiring from the labor market as rapidly as are white women.

ESTIMATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY RACE, OKLAHOMA

Since the defeat of Japan the Branch Office of the United States Employment Service has been very busy taking claims for unemployment and finding new jobs for displaced workers. During February 1946, reception contacts at the main office of the employment service totaled 37,300.

July 1940 15,000 3,500
 The branch office which serves only colored people had 3,300 reception
 July 1940 2,000 500
 contacts. During the first three weeks of March 1946, the branch office
 February 1946 15,000 3,500
 had 2,507 contacts. These figures, of course, do not indicate the

number of unemployed in the community since there are many duplications among them.

Not many Negro workmen belong to labor unions. Labor unions in Oklahoma City are new. The largest and most effective unions with which Negroes are identified are the packing house and aircraft locals. At the Douglas plant 1,500 Negroes were affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization. The Douglas plant was closed at the end of the war, and the unions are no longer effective. It reported to be difficult to organize Negroes in labor unions with white workers in Oklahoma City. It is even more difficult to organize separate locals in some of the crafts because of the small number of Negro artisans.

In December, 1943, thirty-one labor unions in the United States

were known to discriminate against Negro workers by exclusion or restrictions upon their membership. Some of these organizations was affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization. Twenty were in the American Federation of Labor, and eleven were independent or unaffiliated. In the fall of 1943 the total Negro membership in trade unions in the United States was slightly in excess of 400,000.⁵

TABLE VI

ESTIMATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY RACE, OKLAHOMA
CITY, OKLAHOMA AT STATED PERIODS⁵

	Total Unemployment	Unemployed Negroes
July 1940	13,000	2,350
July 1945	3,000	300
February 1946	15,000	1,500

⁵Based on official estimates of labor market analysts of the United States Employment Service, Oklahoma Division, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

3. That the committee and other interested groups urge upon the Oklahoma Railway Company the employment of Negro bus operators and the removal, in the interest of peaceful race relations and good public policy, of white female personnel now operating in the Negro sections.

4. That the Negro Chamber of Commerce, churches, and civic groups urge qualified Negroes to take civil service examinations particularly for the positions of postal clerks and carriers. These groups should accept the responsibility for obtaining and disseminating information concerning such examinations and should devise means for following the progress towards appointment of eligible Negro candidates.

⁵Murray, op. cit., p. 205.

were known to discriminate against Negro workers by exclusion or restrictions upon their membership. None of these organizations was affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization. Twenty were in the American Federation of Labor, and eleven were independent or unaffiliated. In the fall of 1943 the total Negro membership in trade unions in the United States was estimated to be slightly in excess of 400,000.⁶

The recommendations of the National Urban League Study in regard to employment as reported to the advisory committee on October 15, 1945, were as follows:

1. That the committee, or a sub-committee of its choosing, confer with representatives of the city administration, and with state and federal officials in an effort to broaden employment opportunities for Negroes in the various publicly-supported departments. Since Negroes must share in the maintenance of the variously publicly-supported institutions, it is reasonable to expect that they be permitted to share in job opportunities for which they may be qualified by formal training and experience.

2. That the committee, with the cooperation of other groups interested in basic factors in better race relations, urge the various public utilities to liberalize their employment policies with reference to Negroes.

3. That the committee and other interested groups urge upon the Oklahoma Railway Company the employment of Negro bus operators and the removal, in the interest of peaceful race relations and good public policy, of white female personnel now operating in the Negro sections.

4. That the Negro Chamber of Commerce, churches, and civic groups urge qualified Negroes to take civil service examinations particularly for the positions of postal clerks and carriers. These groups should accept the responsibility for obtaining and disseminating information concerning such examinations and should devise means for following the progress towards appointment of eligible Negro candidates.

⁶Murray, op. cit., p. 203.

5. That the support of the Negro Chamber of Commerce, churches, and civic groups be enlisted to sponsor a broad program of education on the obligations, duties, and responsibilities of Negro workers.

6. That the committee address itself to a program of seeking additional opportunities in public and private employment, especially for Negro youth for whose training the educational system has invested considerable funds.

7. That a closer relationship be maintained between the central employment office and its Negro branch to assure the employment of a fair proportion of Negroes during reconversion.⁷

NEGRO PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN Negro Professional People

Of 4,207 male persons in professional and semi-professional work in Oklahoma City in 1940, only 160, or 3.9 per cent, were Negroes. Ministers and teachers headed the list of professions in which Negro men were engaged. There were 11 Negro physicians, five dentists, three pharmacists and five lawyers. In July 1945, there were 173 Negroes in the professions in Oklahoma City. In this list were 101 teachers, 38 ministers, 12 physicians, six social workers, five nurses, five attorneys, two dentists and two librarians. These persons could be considered as working above the "Negro job ceiling", but with the exceptions of the physicians, who have a few Mexican and white patients, they were working entirely within their own racial group.

A Negro nurses' unit at the University of Oklahoma Hospital began functioning in September, 1945, when the new wing for Negro patients was completed. There are seven graduate nurses employed in this unit. In February, 1946, eight Negro nurses were accepted for their final cadet

⁷Kerns, op. cit., p. 155.

⁸Sixteenth Census of the U. S.: The Labor Force, op. cit., p. 886.

TABLE VII
 NEGRO PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN
 OKLAHOMA CITY IN 1946⁹

Profession	Number
Teachers	101
Ministers	38
Physicians	12
Social Workers	6
Nurses	5
Attorneys	5
Dentists	2
Librarians	2
Total	173

⁹Kerns, op. cit., p. 26.

training under the supervision of the school of nursing at the hospital. Before this plan was instituted an opinion from the State Attorney General was received to the effect that such a plan is not in violation of the separate schools statute.

The twelve Negro physicians in Oklahoma City are not allowed to treat their own patients in any hospital except the one that is used only by Negroes. The Negro physicians as yet have not been able to treat their own patients in the new Negro wing of the University Hospital, but it is expected that they will be allowed to do so in the future. The Negro physicians and dentist have their own medical association.

Lack of opportunity to practice in modern hospitals is thought to work to the disadvantage of the Negro physicians. Several of them have set up their own clinics. During the war their practice has been heavy. A few of the physicians report that they treat white patients who occasionally come to them.

Many of the Negro people employ white physicians when they can be obtained. One Negro man stated that, "The people from the extreme South will go to the colored doctors even though they may not be as well trained as the white doctors. They think that the white man will charge too much."

Oklahoma City has five Negro lawyers. The entire state of Alabama only had four Negro lawyers in 1930. Of all the Negro lawyers reported as practicing in the United States in 1930, 69.8 per cent were in Washington, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, St. Louis, New York City, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Indianapolis, and Kansas City. The State of Oklahoma had 53 Negro lawyers in 1930, compared to

twenty in Texas, sixteen in Arkansas, eight in Louisiana, six in Mississippi, six in Kentucky, and twenty-seven in North Carolina.¹⁰

Negro lawyers of Oklahoma City are considered quite successful. Much of their business involves oil properties. There are many Negroes in Oklahoma City who receive modest royalties on community or block oil contracts. There were many court proceedings involving the property of Negroes on the Eastside when the oil field was developed through that district. Negro lawyers do not appear in court frequently. Their practice is largely with petty litigations, the drawing up of papers for sale and transfer of property, and the handling of insurance, loans, rents, and income taxes for their own people.

The teachers in the separate schools complain about not receiving as large salaries as the teachers in the white schools. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People plans to start a drive for the equalization of salaries of teachers. However, in Oklahoma City there is confusion on this point. The salaries are said to be not exactly unequal, but uneven. A few Negro teachers are said to be paid more than the white teachers.

Thirty-eight ministers are pastors of churches affiliated with recognized religious organizations. However, there are fifty-three churches in the community. The ministers enjoy the best relations with the white community of all professional groups. Negro ministers are often close friends with ministers in the white community. Sometimes they fill the pulpits in the white churches, and they work with white ministers

¹⁰Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and the Community (Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1934), 191.

in the Council of Churches.

Of the six social workers in the community two are members of the American Association of Social Workers, and one other is eligible for membership.

One profession which is not listed in the census report is fortune telling. Several people in the community earn substantial incomes from telling fortunes. Their clientele is composed mostly of white women.

Negro Business

The Negro business man assumes a position of considerable independence of white dominance. Here is an opportunity for the race to develop its own financial structure and to create jobs and wealth for its own use.

In the United States in 1939, there were 29,827 Negro owned stores which provided employment for 10,222 full time paid employees. In addition there were 29,116 active proprietors. Employment thus totaled 42,894, not including unpaid family workers. The payroll totaled \$5,386,000 for employees not including compensation to proprietors.

Eating and drinking places accounted for the greatest number of Negro stores in the United States. Such establishments composed 42.3 per cent of all Negro owned stores. Food stores were second in importance, accounting for 37 per cent of all Negro establishments. These two groups accounted for 79.3 per cent of all Negro owned stores.¹²

There has been considerable business development in the Negro communities of Oklahoma City. Some of this has been from Negro capital

¹²Murray, op. cit., p. 143

and management. However business development has been hampered by a lack of sufficient capital and complete dependence on the white financial structure for credit and banking. Those Negroes who have the confidence of the white financiers of Oklahoma City are at an advantage over those who do not have such connections. Business establishments owned and operated by Negroes consist largely of restaurants, barber shops, cleaning and pressing shops, pool halls, and other service establishments. The types of Negro business which appear to be sound investments and operated on good business principles are the drug stores, grocery stores, and theatres.

Other larger Negro business firms include the Jay-Cola Bottling Company. This is one of the few Negro-owned and operated firms of its kind in the United States. The Edwards Scrap Iron and Junk Yard is reported to have made a fortune for its owner. He has subsequently gone into the real estate business. The junk yard normally employes two hundred Negro and white workers. The Merchantile Sample Company has been operating for forty years in Oklahoma City. It is a Negro-owned company which furnishes booths and arranges displays for salesmen. It has offices downtown. The ABC Taxi Company is a Negro-operated company, but is owned by a white firm.

In October, 1945, there were 194 Negro-operated business establishments in Oklahoma City. Of these, 69 or 36 per cent were eating houses. There were no department stores, banks, investment firms, book stores, or variety stores operated by Negroes in Oklahoma City. There was one store that is in the second-hand clothing business.

Forty-six of these business establishments are in the vicinity of

the 300 block East Second Street. Thirty-three are in the collection of business buildings along E. TABLE VIII Street in the vicinity of the intersection at Laird Street.

NEGRO-OPERATED BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS IN OKLAHOMA CITY IN OCTOBER 1945¹³

Type of Business	Number	Type of Business	Number
Auto repair shops	6	Manufactures	1
Barbecue	14	Music stores	1
Barber shops	11	Newspapers	1
Beverage Manufactures	1	News stand	1
Cafes	45	Notary public	12
Cleaners and tailors	12	Photographers	2
Confectionaries	4	Plumbers	5
Drug stores	5	Poultry dealers	1
Electric shops	2	Service station	7
Florists	1	Shoe repair shops	6
Funeral Homes	5	Shoe rebuilding parlors	4
Grocers	30	Taxicabs	1
Hardware	1	Theatres	1
Junk dealers	1	Transfers	6
Landscape gardeners	3	Upholsters	1
Lumber company	1	Hotels	2
		Total	194

¹³Kerns, op. cit., p. 29

the 300 block East Second Street. Thirty-three are in the collection of business buildings along East Fourth Street in the vicinity of the intersection at Laird Street.

A survey of fourteen restaurants on the Eastside revealed that they had a total of 83 Negro employees. There were eight cashiers and bookkeepers, all of whom were women. Eight men and 15 women were employed as dishwashers, and nine men and nineteen women were employed as cooks. There were three bus boys and twenty-one waitresses employed. This did not include the proprietors and family workers.

Four Negro grocery stores and two drug stores in the community were found to hire a total of twenty-eight persons, not including proprietors. These included sales people, fountain help, pharmacists, delivery men, and cashiers. Four garages and two service stations employed seven auto mechanics, two body and fender men, one brake specialist, one painter and finisher, three tire service men and two clerks.

Business conditions were summed up in the following statement by a Negro operator of a small business on the Eastside:

We do not experience any great difficulty or competition with white businessmen. The greatest drawback to the young Negro's getting started in business is the attitude of the older Negro leaders who are jealous. The fact that there are many white men either in business or owning business establishments in the Negro district limits the opportunities of Negroes who are not allowed to do business outside their own district. If we are not allowed to do business in a white district, it would seem only right that white and Jewish persons should not be crowding Negroes out of business.

A few older Negroes own all the business houses and locations and they will not fix them up nor enlarge them, yet they charge us three or four times as much for our locations as we would have to pay even downtown. There is very little capital down here and the real estate values have risen so much higher than the value of the property that it leaves the younger men at a disadvantage.

The Negro real estate men have prevented housing development or the opening up of restricted areas in order to create these extremely crowded conditions which allow rents to be so high.

TABLE IX

LARGER NEGRO BUSINESS DISTRICTS

Type of Business	East Second District	East Fourth District
Restaurants	8	6
Pool halls	4	2
Theatres	1	1
Grocery Stores	2	4
Undertakers	2	2
Barber shops	4	2
Drug stores	2	2
Shoe shops	2	3
Radio shops	0	1
Prescription shops	3	1
Cleaners	0	2
Hot dog stand	3	1
Photo shops	0	2
Garage	2	0
Second hand clothing	1	0
Clock repair and jewelry	1	0
Newspapers	2	0
Hotels	2	0
Bars	5	1
Beauty shops	1	3
Music stores	1	0
Total	46	33

The Negro real estate men have prevented housing development or the opening up of restricted districts in order to create these extremely crowded conditions which allow rents to be so high.

Business leadership is poor, and there is such a lack of capital and a lack of trust that the property owners can dictate to the business operators. There is no branching out into other lines of business.

CHAPTER V

I think the fact that the Negro real estate men and unethical white real estate operators have hindered the development of Negro business should be exposed.

A white man who has been in business on the Eastside for twenty-five years stated that he has had no trouble doing business in that district. When he located there it was a white district. Negroes have taken over in the last fifteen years. He has found that white clerks are not good at working among the Negroes. He says that white men cannot understand the Negro talk. He has no trouble with educated Negroes, but he has difficulty with the illiterates. Many of them cannot pronounce names and cannot tell what they want. He believes that he cannot afford to do a credit business. "If they owe you fifteen cents you never see them again and you lose their business. We have some of the finest people you could find anywhere down here, though."

The Negro Chamber of Commerce has two thousand members. It is composed of persons in the community who can be persuaded to pay their one dollar membership fee. Its aims and purposes are not clearly defined. It has no records of the number or types of Negro business establishments.

Oklahoma school law specifically states that the schools for white and colored shall be separate, but with equal facilities for both.¹

¹Wildred E. Grossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma" (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1921), p. 48.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL FORCES IN THE COMMUNITY

The factors of education, religion, voluntary organizations, recreation, the press, and commercial recreation all reflect the influence of the marginal economic sufficiency which was described in the preceding chapter. These factors although not independent of the economic conditions in the community, exercise an influence on the community life.

Education

The First Territorial Legislative Assembly provided for a system of separate schools for Negroes. In the election held in April, 1891, to determine whether or not there should be separate schools in Oklahoma County six hundred votes were cast and only one hundred persons voted for mixed schools. The First Legislative Assembly also provided that those counties which had voted to establish separate schools should have a tax levied by the board of commissioners, which would be sufficient to maintain such schools. The general plan set up by the legislature in the Oklahoma school laws specifically states that the schools for white and colored shall be separate, but with impartial facilities for both.¹

¹Mildred M. Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma" (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1939), 2.

The first Negro school in Oklahoma City started in March of 1891. It was housed in an old two-room camp house, in an abandoned wagon yard, located on the corner of Reno and Harvey streets. J. D. Randolph was the first teacher. He remained as principal of the colored school for several years.

In the school year 1945-46 there were 37,752 pupils enrolled in the public schools of Oklahoma City. Of these 34,706 were whites and 3,046, or 8.0 per cent, were colored. There are seven elementary schools, one junior-senior high school, and 102 teachers in the separate school system of Oklahoma City.

The building for the Douglass High School was constructed in 1934 at a cost of \$219,159.42.² It was built with sections planned for the following departments: art, dramatics and debate, medical clinic, auditorium, social science, beauty culture, library, trades division including brick laying, woodwork, plastering, housepainting, barbering, mechanics, and vocational agriculture. The high school stadium was constructed two blocks from the school on the Washington Park site.

Teachers in the separate schools must be graduates of an accredited university or college. Douglas High School was accepted as a member of the North Central Association of Secondary Schools in 1938.

Two separate curricula are set up in the senior high school; the college-preparatory and the trades-arts. The college-preparatory curriculum is provided for the students who desire formal subjects, such as English, foreign language, science, history and mathematics. The

²Ibid, p. 47.

trades-arts curriculum is provided to train students who plan to enter business or industry after graduation from high school.

During recent years the Douglas High School has sponsored numerous extra-curricular activities for its students. Chess, bridge, bands and glee clubs are sponsored. Athletics include football, basketball, track and other sports. The school week is divided into five extra-curricular

TABLE X

NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS FOR NEGRO CHILDREN IN OKLAHOMA CITY IN MARCH 1946³

Name of School	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils
Douglas High School	39	1,074
Dunbar	25	776
Page	23	617
Orchard Park	4	169
Carver	2	141
Wheatley	3	101
Edwards	3	87
Choctaw	3	81
Total	102	3,046

³Current records of the Research Division, Oklahoma City Board of Education.

⁴Black Dispatch, September 24, 1934.

trades-arts curriculum is provided to train students who plan to enter business or industry after graduation from high school.

During recent years the Douglas High School has sponsored numerous extra-curricular activities for its students. Orchestras, bands and glee clubs are sponsored. Athletics include football, basketball, track, and other sports. The school week is divided into five extra-curricular activity periods of thirty minutes each. Two of these are homeroom periods, two are club periods, and one is for assembly.

A night school for adults has operated at Douglas High School since 1922. It was closed for four years during the depression but was reopened in 1938. Each year new courses are added to meet the needs of the public. Academic subjects, home economics, and trades are taught.

"The school makes an especial appeal to those adults who feel they are just a little short on their spelling and writing."⁴

The method of financing of separate schools by the County presents the problem of uniformity with the city-financed white schools. Following an intensive survey by specialists who were hired by the Board of Education, a separate school bond issue of \$700,000.00 was recommended to equalize the systems.

In December, 1945, the County voted this amount to be spent for repairs and additions to present buildings, including Douglas, Carver, Dunbar, Edwards, Orchard Park, and Inman Page schools, and also for the building of two neighborhood schools. One of these is to be located east of the Santa Fe railroad and one west of the Santa Fe railroad.

⁴Black Dispatch, September 24, 1938.

The program also calls for the building and equipping of a vocational technical school to be located in the eastern part of Oklahoma City.

Higher education for Oklahoma Negroes is provided at Langston University, forty miles from Oklahoma City. Negroes desiring to do graduate work which is not offered at Langston University receive financial assistance from state funds to attend institutions in other states. During the present semester a Negro girl was refused admittance to the University of Oklahoma Law School because the Oklahoma statutes prohibits Negroes and whites from attending the same schools. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is at present starting court proceedings to determine the constitutionality of this Oklahoma statute.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN OKLAHOMA CITY IN 1940 BY RACE

Age	White	Negro	White	Negro
5 yrs.	1,378	115	80.7	87.8
6 yrs.	2,323	233	87.1	88.7
7 - 9 yrs.	8,911	829	87.3	86.1
10 - 13 yrs.			87.4	86.4

School Attendance

A slightly smaller proportion of Negroes than of the general population attend school. As shown on Table XI, all age groups with the exception of the fourteen year old group, show a larger percentage in school in the general population than is found among the Negroes. The proportion of those fifteen years of age in attendance among the general population is only slightly higher than for the Negro group. However, the decline in the proportion of Negro children in attendance from fifteen to twenty four was more pronounced than for the general population.

Of a total of 210 truancy cases in the Oklahoma City Schools during one semester of the 1944-45 school year, 92 were of whites and 108 were of Negroes. Thus 51.4 per cent of all the children guilty of truancy

TABLE XI

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN OKLAHOMA CITY IN 1940 BY RACE⁵

Age	Number Attending		Percent Attending	
	All Classes	Negro	All Classes	Negro
5 - 24 yrs.	40,326	5,645	60.0	56.2
5 yrs.	1,278	118	40.7	37.6
6 yrs.	2,629	236	87.1	83.7
7 - 9 yrs.	8,911	820	97.2	96.1
10 - 13 yrs.	12,208	1,203	97.4	96.4
14 yrs.	3,055	307	95.2	95.6
15 yrs.	2,911	286	92.3	92.0
16 - 17 yrs.	4,921	413	75.7	69.2
18 - 19 yrs.	2,631	196	35.6	28.8
20 yrs.	667	28	17.9	14.0
21 - 24 yrs.	1,115	36	7.2	2.4

⁵U. S. Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office), 931.

Consultant in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 15, 1945, to November 2, 1945. Prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project. (Unpublished), 24.

⁷Ethel B. Clark, Report on Group Work and Recreation in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project. (Unpublished Report, November 2, 1945), 14.

were colored. This abnormally high percentage of Negro truancy has been attributed to a number of different causes. Insufficient clothing, illness, lack of bus fare and lunch money, and a widespread feeling of futility were causes suggested by the Urban League Case Work Consultant.⁶ The Urban League Group Work Consultant, after conferring with the two Negro Attendance officers, came to the conclusion that the causes included situations in which both father and mother were working, broken homes where the mother is the sole breadwinner, and the influence of commercial recreation. "Attendance officers, as do juvenile division of the police department feel that there should be an ordinance regulating admission of children to picture shows during school hours, and better protection under labor laws for children."⁷

School officials also pointed out that in certain areas transportation facilities for school children have been completely lacking. Until a few weeks ago Walnut Grove was such an area. At present a school bus picks up colored and white children and returns them after school. It was reported that at first the white and Negro children were not segregated on the bus. When a new driver requested that the colored children sit in the back, his request was complied with only after some protest from all the children.

⁶Ewell L. Newman, Report on the Field Experiences of the Case Work Consultant in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 16, 1945, to November 2, 1945. Prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project. (Unpublished), 24.

⁷Ethel R. Clark, Report on Group Work and Recreation in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project. (Unpublished Report, November 2, 1945), 14.

Parent Teacher Association

The Parent Teacher Associations of the separate schools are reported to be very ineffective as indicated by the following statement: "For a long time they have been dying a slow death, but recently a Parent Teacher Association Council has been organized, and it is expected to give new life to the program", was the comment of a school official. It is considered a significant indication of the unstable family life of the community that just a few parents can be persuaded to attend the Parent Teacher Association meetings. This situation is explained in part by the fact that many parents worked during the war years.

In the pre-war years the Dunbar Parent Teacher Association was functioning and was cognizant of school needs. The organization bought a piano, a motion picture machine, cafeteria equipment, and some shrubbery. The Oklahoma City Parent Teacher Associations are not yet meeting membership requirements of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Parent Teacher Associations.

Violation of Law

Adverse environmental factors which have been pointed out in the previous chapter are determinants in the problems of crime and juvenile delinquency. "These include unwholesome home conditions, lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation, environmental ills and lack of stringent commercial recreation laws. Closely associated with these causes are school maladjustment problems, broken homes, indifferent parents, and a lack of adequate moral and religious training."⁸

⁸Kerns, op. cit., p. 85.

There are 211 police officers on the Oklahoma City Police force. Eleven of these are Negroes of whom six are patrolmen, four are detectives, and one is a juvenile officer. They operate primarily in the Negro communities. Their powers are limited to the arrest of Negro offenders. It is the belief of the police department that its staff of colored officers is unusually efficient. There are no probation officers.

The principal offenses for which Negroes were arrested in 1944 were drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and gambling. The majority arrested were for minor offenses. Serious crimes provided 7.5 per cent of total arrests. During the week of March 14 through March 20, 1946, a total of 519 arrests were made by the Oklahoma City Police Department. Of these 70, or 13.2 per cent, were Negroes. During this week as many arrests of colored persons were made outside the district under study as were made in it. Areas of considerable police activity during this period included a Negro rooming house and collections of small Negro businesses in the unit block on West California across from the Santa Fe Depot. Vagrancy and immoral conduct accounted for 23 arrests. Drunkenness, disorderly conduct, possession of whiskey, assault and battery, and assault with a deadly weapon were the charges in 26 arrests. Running stop signs, speeding, and improper brakes caused 11 arrests, while larceny, impersonating an officer, and violation of the fire ordinance resulted in eight arrests. Two Negroes were arrested for having possession of gambling devices.

Crime appears to be closely related to the type of commercial recreation that can be found on the Eastside. "Thirteen and fourteen year old girls frequent public dances and patronize beer taverns and

TABLE XII

OFFENSES CHARGED AGAINST SEVENTY NEGROES ARRESTED BY THE
OKLAHOMA CITY POLICE DURING A PERIOD
OF ONE WEEK IN 1946⁹

Offense	Number Charged with this Offense
Vagrancy	16
Drunkenness	11
Disorderly Conduct	7
Running stop-sign	7
Possession of whiskey	5
Larceny	4
Occupying and clinic	3
Assault and battery	2
Fire ordinance	2
Possession of gambling devices	2
Improper brakes	2
Speeding	2
Vagrancy-prostitution	2
Indecent exposure	1
Larceny of bicycle	1
Vagrancy-pimp	1
Impersonating officer	1
Assault with deadly weapon	1
Total	70

⁹Daily Bookings Record, Oklahoma City Police Department, March 14 - 20, 1946.

other cheap commercial places. There are two white policewomen but no Negro policewoman, hence there is no supervision or control as to conduct or age of admittance of young girls to public dances. The only control exerted by the police officers is keeping fights to a minimum."¹⁰

There were no homicides among the Negroes during the week under study, but it is not unusual to see news stories of shootings and street fights in the Black Dispatch that never appear in the Oklahoma City Times and the Daily Oklahoman. The front page of the February 23, 1946, issue of the Black Dispatch carried two such stories: "A 38-calibre revolver shot in the head ended an argument over the playing of Louis Jordan's juke box hit, 'Buzz Me, Baby', in the Blue Front beer tavern, 600 block North East First, late Saturday night. . ." and "Death by stabbing with an ice pick was the autopsy on the death of 23-year-old T--- M---, who was found dead near 306 North East First early Tuesday morning.

Juvenile Delinquency

The Juvenile Division of the Oklahoma City Police Department was established in May, 1943. Prior to this, juveniles were handled through the regular police department. Eleven officers, including two women and one Negro, work with the Juvenile Division.

Formerly officers took first offenders and those guilty of only minor offenses home in police cars, and the parents attention was called to the child's misbehavior. During 1945 and 1946 the police have been bringing in all pick-ups to police headquarters. Parents are then notified to come to the juvenile office.

¹⁰Clark, op. cit., p. 14.

All juvenile offenses of a serious nature are handled through the Oklahoma County Juvenile Court. The Oklahoma statutes provide that a delinquent child shall not be treated as a criminal, but as a misguided or misdirected child. For this purpose the Oklahoma County Juvenile Court is set up to handle juvenile cases in the following manner: "Community resources are checked for additional information. Case workers make every effort to obtain a complete picture of the underlying cause and possible remedy of the problems of the child. Every effort is made to work out a plan for the child with the parents or relatives to prevent repetition of difficulty. If medical aid is needed, it is provided through available resources. If it is apparent that the child needs additional correction beyond what can be given in counseling and with the help of parents, church, school and interested persons, a petition is filed and a date for hearing is set. The child then appears before the County Judge for final disposition of the case."¹¹

Detention facilities outside of the county jail are available for white children and are used to avoid placing children in jail. There are no detention facilities for colored children, and they are kept in the jail when detention is necessary.

There is one Negro juvenile probation officer. He works principally in the community as he has no desk in the Juvenile Court Offices. The white probation officers assist with the handling of the Negro cases. He believes that the court and the white people in general are more

¹¹The Council of Social Welfare, Misbehaving Minors, A Survey of the Problems of Youth (Oklahoma City, August, 1945), 1, (Mimeographed).

TABLE XIII

Offense

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CASES HANDLED BY THE JUVENILE COURT
IN OKLAHOMA CITY FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1944 TO OCTOBER 21,
1945 BY RACE, SEX, AND RESIDENCE¹²

	Number		Percent	
	Resident	Non-Resident	Resident	Non-Resident
White boys	294	100	55.6	48.6
White girls	136	99	25.7	48.0
Negro boys	56	6	10.6	2.9
Negro girls	43	1	8.1	0.5

¹²Annual Report of the Juvenile Court of Oklahoma County, November 1, 1944 to October 31, 1944.

Total

13

1946

TABLE XIV

OFFENSES CHARGED AGAINST NEGRO CHILDREN IN OKLAHOMA
CITY FOR THE PERIOD FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1944
TO OCTOBER 31, 1945¹³

Offense	Number
Disorderly Conduct	5
Runaways	12
Burglary	11
Bicycle Theft	2
Purse Snatching	2
Other Thefts	14
Investigation	19
Venereal Disease	3
Spreading Venereal Disease	2
Escaping from Training School	10
Drunkenness	4
Destroying Property	2
Loitering	9
Truancy	8
Strong Arm Robbery	3
Prostitution	1
Assault	1
Total	108

¹³ Ibid.

sympathetic to Negro children in trouble, than they are even toward white children. He has observed that white people are very kind to the individual Negro, but they absolutely refuse to accept the race as a whole.

During 1945 there were 18 colored boys sent to the Oklahoma State Training School for Negro Boys at Boley. There were five colored girls sent to the Oklahoma State Training School for Colored Girls at Taft. Neither of these institutions have social workers or placement officers. It frequently happens that young people are released from the training schools and are back into trouble again before the Juvenile Office is aware that they have been released.

From November 1, 1944 to October 31, 1945 there were 735 cases of delinquency in the Oklahoma County Juvenile Court. Of these, 106, or 13 per cent were Negro cases. Since some children appeared before the court more than once, the total number of children involved was 651. Of these 91, or 14.1 per cent were Negroes.

The Juvenile Court also handles cases of dependency. During this period there were 307 cases. Included in these were 19 feeble minded white children, and one feebleminded colored child. Only four, or 1.3 per cent of the dependency cases were colored. The secretary of the juvenile court believes that the officials are not inclined to be as concerned with white cases. During the early part of 1946 large numbers of dependent and neglected children were referred to the court. It is believed that this was in part due to the stopping of allotments after the fathers have been discharged from the army. However, not an abnormally large proportion of these cases involved Negro children. This may be related to the unusually large number of colored children

the are receiving assistance from the aid to dependent children program. In 1943 because of a large increase in population and associated conditions caused by the war, Oklahoma City had a large increase in the number of juvenile offenses. However, in 1944 there was a reduction of 50 per cent in the number of juvenile offenders. In 1945 there was a slight increase in the number of boy offenders and a decrease in the number of white girl offenders. The number of Negro offenders by sex remained

TABLE XV
DEPENDENCY CASES HANDLED BY THE OKLAHOMA CITY
JUVENILE COURT FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER
21, 1945 ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX¹⁴

	Number
White Boys	132
White Girls	152
Negro Boys	2
Negro Girls	1
Total	287

¹⁴Ibid.

Drugs, liquor, and assault. Murders of various kinds were the next frequent types of offenses. Runaway, loitering, and truancy were also frequent offenses.

The Council of Social Workers made a study of juvenile delinquency in Oklahoma City in August, 1945. In this study an analysis was made of districts in which a large percentage of delinquency is indicated. One of these districts included part of the specific area for this study. One area of concentration extended from the business area east to Maryland, and from the West Main tracks on the north to Seventh Street on

who are receiving assistance from the aid to dependent children program. In 1943 because of a large increase in population and unsettled conditions caused by the war, Oklahoma City had a large increase in the number of juvenile offenses. However, in 1944 there was a reduction of 30 per cent in the number of juvenile offenders. In 1945 there was a slight increase in the number of white boy offenders and a decrease in the number of white girl offenders. The number of Negro offenders by sex remained practically the same. There was very little variation in number of offenses by Negro boys and girls in 1943. Furthermore, since 1941 there has been very little variation in the number of Negro juvenile offenders.

In 1945 Negro boys and girls were arrested on the following charges: burglary, bicycle theft, purse snatching, other thefts, investigation, spreading venereal disease, escaping from training school, destroying property, drunkenness, loitering, running away, truancy, prostitution, robbery, and assault. Thefts of various kinds were the most frequent types of offense. Nearly one-third of all offenses were of this type. Investigations of various types furnished the next highest number. Running away, escaping from training school, loitering, and truancy were also frequent offenses.

The Council of Social Welfare made a study of juvenile delinquency in Oklahoma City in August, 1945. In this study an analysis was made of districts in which a large percentage of delinquency is indicated. One of these districts included part of the specific area for this study. One area of concentration extended from the business area east to Maryland, and from the Rock Island tracks on the south to Seventh Street on

the north. This is the only district included in the study in which the greater part of the population was Negro. A part of the Negro business district is included in the area. Of 1,231 children between the ages of ten and nineteen, 907 are Negroes. The population is concentrated and housing conditions need improvement. Play space and resources for children are limited. Positive community influences include two grade schools, one park and eleven churches.

There were in District II 1,231 school children of whom 56, or 4.54 per cent, were delinquent. Thus one child in every 22 was delinquent. District VI was found to contain 988 children. Only five of these were delinquent. Major occupations of the persons living in District II included public service, domestic service and unskilled work. Major occupations in District VI were clerical, sales, proprietors, managers, and officials. The per cent of homes owned in District II was 18.2 while in District VI the per cent was 47.2. The average rental was \$19.01 in District II and \$34.92 in District VI.

Better living conditions and other wholesome influences in some areas were primarily responsible for the differences in delinquency rates by districts. In general the degree of economic security enjoyed by any group of people exercises a rather profound influence on the quality of the behavior of the young people.

Health

Certain respiratory diseases, dietary diseases, maternal diseases, and diseases of infancy and childhood, are definitely related to the standard of living which the individual can afford to maintain. It is

interesting to notice that such diseases are very common among the Negro people of Oklahoma City.

The Health Consultant for the Urban League Community Relations Project reported on health conditions in Oklahoma City as he found them during his investigation which lasted from October 24, 1945, to November 3, 1945. A member of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine studied this report and stated that it was well written and that almost all of the recommendations were sound. Copies of the report were secured for use by students in the classes in public health at the School of Medicine.

Although the Health Consultant's purpose was to study health conditions among his own race, soon after the investigation started, he decided that the community was deficient in certain basic health services which should be available to all individuals of the community. He found that in some instances, because of the bi-racial pattern, Negroes were actually receiving a greater share of the available services than were white people.¹⁵ Throughout his report a major share of emphasis was placed on the necessity of meeting community health needs first, rather than on the needs of the Negro community.

Oklahoma City was found to have a higher birth rate than that for the United States, and a little lower than that for the state in 1943. In 1943 there were 4,874 white children and 393 Negro children born in Oklahoma City. Thus, the number of births per 1,000 population was

¹⁵Paul B. Cornely, M. D., Ph. D., Report of the Health Consultant for Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Prepared for the National Urban League Community Relations Project, November 2, 1945, p. 4, (Mimeographed.)

23.5 for white people, and only 17 for Negroes. It was also found that 94.0 per cent of the white children were born in hospitals, while only 35.1 per cent of the Negro children were born in hospitals. Only eleven babies were delivered by midwives in Oklahoma City during 1943. Two of these were Negro.

The maternal mortality rate for Oklahoma City is higher than that for the state and for the United States. That for the white population is quite low, 1.8 per 1,000 births, but for the Negro population it is "unbelievably high, reaching the rate of almost 18 out of each 1,000 live births or ten times the white maternal mortality rate."¹⁶ This condition is believed to reflect inadequate pre-natal and post-natal care and the fact that the majority of births among Negroes occur at home where housing is often poor and where adequate care and supervision cannot be provided. For every thousand live births among Negroes there are thirty-three still births, and 73 infants who die before they are one month old. There are only 15.8 still births and 42 infant deaths before one month of age per 1,000 live births in the white population.

The general death rate in the total population was 9.0 per 1,000 in 1943. The rate for white people was 8.9 and for Negroes was 10.2. The excess of births over deaths among white persons was 14.6 per 1,000 population, while that of the Negro was only 6.8. On this basis the white population is increasing proportionately more than twice as rapidly as the Negro population. Degenerative diseases such as heart disease, cancer and diseases

¹⁶Ibid, p. 7.

of the brain were the important causes of death among white people of Oklahoma City in 1943. Among Negroes, although the degenerative diseases also played an important role, pneumonia, influenza, and tuberculosis were important causes of death. In 1943 the death rate from pneumonia and influenza was 39.6 per 100,000 white population. The number of deaths from these diseases among Negroes was 123.0 per 100,000. Thus, these two diseases kill three times as many Negroes as they do white people in Oklahoma City. Deaths from all forms of tuberculosis numbered 27.5 per 100,000 among whites, and 70.4 per 100,000 Negroes. Thus, tuberculosis kills two and one half times as many Negroes in Oklahoma City as white people. White persons had about twice the death rate from cancer in 1943 as Negroes. The rate from this cause among white people was 96.6 per 100,000 while the rate for Negroes was 48.4. Venereal diseases among Negroes has been consistently higher than among white people in all the States of the Union. For the country as a whole the prevalence of syphilis among Negro selectees was thirteen times that for whites. The rate of syphilis among selectees from Oklahoma during 1941 was 30.6 per 1,000 for white selectees, and 217.7 for Negroes. Thus, there was over seven times as much syphilis among Negro selectees as among white selectees.¹⁷

The Oklahoma City venereal disease clinic is supported by funds derived from the state, federal and city governments. It is under the direction of a United States Public Health Officer. The personnel comprises twelve individuals, of whom a nurse and a clerk are colored. The

¹⁷Murray, op. cit., p. 188.

program of the clinic is primarily concerned with treatment. Early cases are treated at the Rapid Treatment Center located at Will Roger's Field. The case load has been as high as 1,500 patients, with a ratio of two Negroes to one white person.¹⁸

Other divisions of the Oklahoma City Health Department in which both Negroes and white persons share are: the divisions of nursing, vital statistics, garbage and sanitary inspection, dairy and food inspection, the detention hospital for communicable diseases, and the well-baby clinic.

The Board of Education of Oklahoma City in 1944 spent \$21,155, or 8.5 cents per capita, on the health protection of school children. The staff of the medical department of the white school system consists of a part-time physician, who is director, a part-time dentist, and five full-time nurses who service 55 schools. On the other hand, the Negro department has a part-time physician, who is director, a part-time dentist, and two full-time nurses to cover eight schools.

Crippled Negro children and children with rheumatic fever or any other condition which may lead to crippling may be hospitalized in the Oklahoma State Crippled Children's Hospital, a unit of the University of Oklahoma Hospitals. On February 19, 1946, the Crippled Children's Hospital had 250 active cases from Oklahoma City. Thirty-two of these were Negro children, eight of whom were victims of poliomyelitis. This is 12.8 per cent of the total or a little above the population ratio. In 1944 there were 3,004 children treated by the hospital, of whom 437

¹⁸ Cornely, op. cit., p. 19.

were colored.

All Negro children were transferred from the Crippled Children's Hospital to the new Negro wing of the University Hospital when it was completed in March, 1946. Plans have not yet been made for providing the Negro children with the type facilities which were available at the Crippled Children's Hospital. This need is apparent to the staff members of the Crippled Children's Hospital, and it is hoped that provisions for schooling for the Negro children will be made.

The Oklahoma County Health Association is a non-official health agency which is housed in a thirty-two room health center which was built by the Variety Club, an organization of theatre men. It is financed by the Community Fund and from the sale of Christmas Seals. Practically all of the voluntary health agencies of Oklahoma City are housed in the Variety Club Health Center which is located in Southtown. The Oklahoma City Health Association is governed by a board comprising thirty-nine members from which a small executive committee is elected. Two Negroes were elected to the board in 1945.

Activities of the Oklahoma County Health Association include a medical clinic for the indigent, a well-baby clinic, a pre-natal and post-natal clinic, a tuberculosis and x-ray clinic, a dental clinic, speech and hearing service, social hygiene service, a mother's milk bank, and health education. Negroes are served in all activities of the Association. The location of the building, however, is not convenient for Negroes from the Eastside.

Hospital facilities for both Negroes and whites are limited in Oklahoma. Fifteen Oklahoma counties have no hospital facilities of any

kind, and it is estimated that an outlay of \$6,200,000.00 would be required to raise the level to a minimum health ratio of two and one-half beds for every 1,000 population. Hospitalization of tuberculosis patients is done, for the most part, by state-supported institutions. There are 640 tax-supported hospital beds for tuberculosis patients. Of these, 80 are allocated to Negro patients. In 1943, 856 persons died of tuberculosis of the respiratory system and of these 164, or 19.6 per cent, were Negroes. Oklahoma City alone could use half of the existing 80 beds.¹⁹

There are four hospitals in Oklahoma City where Negroes are accepted for treatment.

The Great Western Hospital on east Fourth Street is primarily for Negroes. It has thirty-five beds. The equipment is not standard. The staff consists of one graduate nurse and three nurse-maids. It is used primarily as a home for chronic tuberculosis cases which are referred by the Department of Public Welfare.

Plans for the construction of a 100 bed Negro hospital in the Edwards Addition are being developed. The land is to be given by the Mayor of Oklahoma City. The building is the gift of a wealthy Negro realtor who is the proprietor of the Edwards Addition, and the equipment is to be given by the Jeffersonian and Ruth Bryan Owens Clubs of Oklahoma City. It is expected to be completed early in 1947.²⁰

The University of Oklahoma Hospital has recently completed an

¹⁹Ibid, p. 40.

²⁰The Daily Oklahoman, March 17, 1946.

addition of 80 beds for Negro patients housed in four floors. Thirty of these beds will be available to Oklahoma City residents. The second floor is devoted to private patients who are cared for by private physicians. The other floors are devoted to clinic patients who are cared for by the hospital staff. The third floor is used for obstetrical cases and for crippled children.

The Oklahoma City General Hospital is a privately owned hospital of 100 beds. A major portion of its services are devoted to surgical, traumatic and emergency care. There are 15 beds devoted to Negroes in a ward on the first floor. Private rooms may be made available when needed. Negro physicians are not accepted on the staff.

St. Anthony's Hospital is a Catholic hospital operated by the Sisters of the third order of St. Francis. It has 375 beds and 75 bassinets. This hospital renders all types of medical and surgical services. Fifteen or twenty beds in the basement of the building are allocated to Negroes. In addition from six to eight beds on the third floor may be used by Negroes for obstetrical care. Negro physicians are not admitted to the staff.

Commercial Recreation

Many of the Douglas High School students go to the movies four or five times a week. It is the chief form of recreation. There are two theatres and both do a thriving business. One is owned by a colored family, but is operated by a Jewish person. The other is Negro owned and operated. The Negro theatre manager is well educated and has recently come to Oklahoma City from New York. He expressed his intention of so many night clubs in dwelling houses because it intensifies the

tions in the following statement, "I think that we have better shows, and ones that the Negroes prefer, because we try to get the shows that will be best for the public. We realize our position of influence, and we are not just interested in making money. People come to the show almost regardless of what we show. We try to have our shows well-produced, clean, educational, uplifting. We won't show all-Negro cast shows if they are not high grade and clean. We try not to show anything that is demoralizing to the people. Business is very good, I'm getting ready to build several larger buildings east of here. We have no white competition in that Negroes are not allowed in white shows, and it's against the law for a white man to come to the show here. I don't like the law, but we have to enforce it."

Other than in the movies, the younger element of the Negro population must satisfy its natural thirst for adventure in commercial places of amusement where standards of behavior, cleanliness, and social acceptance are extremely low or do not exist.

Under large headlines entitled, "The Lights Are Bright on East Second Tonight!", the entertainment situation on the east side is summed up in the February 16, 1946, Black Dispatch: "Night spots and theatres are thronged with customers, who are looking for something new in the amusement field. In Oklahoma City, where Ruby's Grill has long been the outstanding attraction of pleasure-loving people, the management has real plans for its clientele." East Second Street has a number of cabaret restaurants, beer parlors, and pool halls. The night club business is growing and complaints have been voiced against the opening of so many night clubs in dwelling houses because it intensifies the

housing shortage. Bootlegging, prostitution, and gambling on the lotteries also make their contributions to public entertainment. It is said that white and Negro prostitutes can be found working in the same buildings in Southtown.

"In Easttown, Westtown, Southtown, Sandtown, Walnut Grove, and the Fairground poolrooms and beer taverns of various assortments are located. The majority of these places cater to both adults and youth. In the taverns, girls in their early teens and adult male companions are not infrequently seen. Though some of the poolrooms and taverns are crowded they provide the only recreational outlet for the majority of the Negro workers."²¹

Outstanding dance bands are brought to Oklahoma City and play to large gatherings at the Municipal Auditorium. Other famous Negro entertainers such as Roland Hayes, are presented at the Douglas High School Auditorium. Marian Anderson appears about once each year at the Municipal Auditorium. She is widely appreciated by both white and colored people.

During the depression period the park improvement program in Oklahoma City resulted in the expenditure of considerable sums of money. Grants to Oklahoma City for the park program from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Works Projects Administration, and the Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration totaled \$959,208.72. An additional \$4,000,000.00 was voted in Civic Center Bonds. In November 1945, an additional \$600,000 bond issue for park and playground improvement

²¹Kerns, op. cit., p. 105.

was voted.

A great part of these sums have been spent on the development of Lincoln Park and Zoo. Negroes are allowed to visit the zoo one day a week. They are denied the use of the park, beach, lake, and other facilities. Recently the Sisters from St. Peter Claver's Church School took a group of students to the zoo on Thursday and after looking at the animals, began preparing to feed the children a picnic lunch. Park officials ordered the Negro children off the grounds. The white nuns, however, were given permission to continue their lunch. Of the recent \$600,000 bond issue, \$500,000 is to be spent on the development of Lake Hefner. However, the use of this facility by Negroes is not included in the present plans.

At present there is no swimming pool in Oklahoma City that may be used by Negroes. However, plans of the Park Department for the development of Washington Park include the building of a recreational center at Fourth and High Streets, the construction of three functional outdoor pools for wading, swimming, and diving, and an addition to the east end of the park. This park contains the Page Stadium of Douglas High School. The land was given for the use of the Negroes by a white business man. The park now contains nineteen acres. Considerable money will have to be spent on drainage of the proposed new areas, as during rainy weather they are covered with standing water.

Until July, 1945, the recreation program of the schools and the park program operated independently. At that time a Public Recreation Commission was authorized to provide central administration of both parks and school playgrounds. During the summer months the City Park

and Recreation Department carry on supervised activities for Negroes in six areas. The three Negro parks, Tolan, Edwards, and Washington, and three school playgrounds at Page, Dunbar and Wheatley schools are used. During the winter the park department provides a worker to help with recreation activities two hours on each of two evenings a week at the Episcopal Church and at the Bethany Presbyterian Church. One evening a week a worker helps with the program at St. Peter Claver's, and one evening is spent at the Douglas High School. Every evening from three to six a worker is at the Field house at Tolan Park.

Libraries

Library facilities for Negroes are extremely limited. The Dunbar Branch Library on east Fourth Street consists of one very small room. It is a branch of Carnegie Library and its books are catalogued there. The ground for the building was donated by the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and is immediately adjacent to Brockway Center, the Federation's Club Building. It is believed by the Librarian that the circulation of books among Negroes is much less than it should be. This is particularly true of those over eighteen years of age.

In an effort to stimulate interest in reading among the adult population, the Dunbar Librarian sponsored a book-review at the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer on a Sunday afternoon during January of this year. One of the members of the faculty of the English Department of the University of Oklahoma donated her services. The review was attended by about forty persons. Those present expressed interest in having additional reviews.

The other source of library books for the Negro population is the Douglas High School library. However, its use is limited almost exclusively to students.

The Press

One weekly Negro newspaper, The Black Dispatch is published in Oklahoma City.²² It has a statewide circulation. The circulation totals 27,000. About two-thirds of the income for the paper comes from subscriptions, and one-third from advertising. It is a member of the Associated Negro Press.

News is presented from the Negro viewpoint. Stories pertaining to the race have priority over other news, regardless of significance. The leading Oklahoma City papers have as a matter of policy paid scant attention to the activities of the colored people. Similarly white people are mentioned in the Black Dispatch only if their actions are related to the Negro Race.

Advertisements of hair straighteners, drap shape slacks, patent medicines, pressing combs, dreambooks, skin whiteners, ear hoops, mystic insense, and night clubs give a racial appearance to the paper.

The editorial policy of the paper rather consistently portrays the discrimination practiced against the Negro race. The issue of February 16, 1946, contained the following representative editorials pointing out instances of racial discrimination:

²²A second Negro weekly newspaper, The Southwest Monitor was started in February, 1946. The first issue carried six pages of national and local news. News coverage includes all races. The policy of the paper appears to be objective in its approach to the race problem.

"Because he married a black woman, Ted Sesney and his good wife were forced to remain in prison for one year. He was shunned by white felons while in prison. Rapists, murderers, and those who had broken all of the ten commandments turned their backs upon Ted Sesney because he had followed the moral code as announced and laid down by God Himself. Every one of these white scoundrels had perhaps at some time gazed with savage lust upon the comeliness of some black woman, but their sectionalized brute training had taught them to look upon black women as one looks at cattle and dogs. . . . Think of America today attempting to assume the moral leadership of the world! Our jim crow religion and sanctions require us to place a premium upon indecency and penalize morality."

"Forty centuries before the birth of Christ, dark people had built great civilizations, and much upon which today men and women depend as a basis for social intercourse, was fashioned in a period when black men dominated the earth. Dark people named the stars, developed the first sciences in astronomy, mathematics, alphabets, metallurgy, and own the oldest religion. Should not such glorious pristine traditions prove intriguing? Why should American Negroes when they study history, confine themselves solely to a period when dark people have been handicapped in the thralldom of human bondage?"

"Senators who hurriedly shelved the Fair Employment Practice Bill Saturday in order that they might rush home to make Lincoln Day Speeches Monday, quite evidently had momentarily forgotten that the Great Emancipator declared during his day and time, 'This nation cannot remain half slave and half free.'

The enactment of the fair employment practice bill would have been leading America towards the freedom about which Lincoln dreamed, while the vote of the Senate Saturday leaves the working class of this country slaves of the overlords of creation. Lincoln's birthday speakers talked for freedom on Monday, but voted for slavery Saturday."

"As we have so often said, "The spirit of the Negro today has not lifted itself up to the level of white liberalism." We mean by such a statement that there are many opportunities and advantages in American life which white people are willing to accord Negroes which Negroes fear to demand. . . .

"Ada Lois Sipuel has the constitutional right to take law at the same time and in the same place as any other citizen who seeks a legal education in the State of Oklahoma. The Supreme Court of the United States has said, "Educational equality must occur within the state." That is understandable language, and in demanding that she enter the law classes at Norman, the NAACP is merely attempting to act upon a rule laid down by the highest court of the land. This writer was thrilled when we presented this matter Saturday to the ladies representing the American Association of University Women in the manner outlined above, to find almost universal approval of our stand."

Religion

"To what extent has racial religion replaced Christian religion in thousands of Black Belt churches? And what is wrong with religion in America that it has turned its back upon the Negro and his problem? And to what degree is religion in America officially and ideologically identified with the policy of White Supremacy?"²³

The church serves as the center of social and religious life. In this community where there is considerable disorganization, the church stands out as the only organization which can claim the loyalty of a vast majority of the people. Even here, however, there is no real unity. The people adhere to at least sixteen different denominations. There were on February 5, 1946, fifty-three separate Negro churches in Oklahoma City.

There is discord even within the churches. The oldest and largest Negro church occasionally has its difficulties reviewed in court.²⁴ The process of churches splitting into two groups and reorganizing is almost continual.

On Sunday mornings between 11:00 and 11:30 a.m., after the white Christians are settled in their churches on North Robinson Street, and are well into the morning prayer, their well-dressed colored brethren are still on their way to church. There is no great hurry in evidence since the services will continue until 1:00 or 1:30 in the afternoon. The popular churches are not the ones that preach the social gospel and champion the rights of man, but those emphasizing the means of grace and hope of glory. The hardships of this world enhance the attractiveness

²³Drake and Clayton, op. cit., p. xxxii.

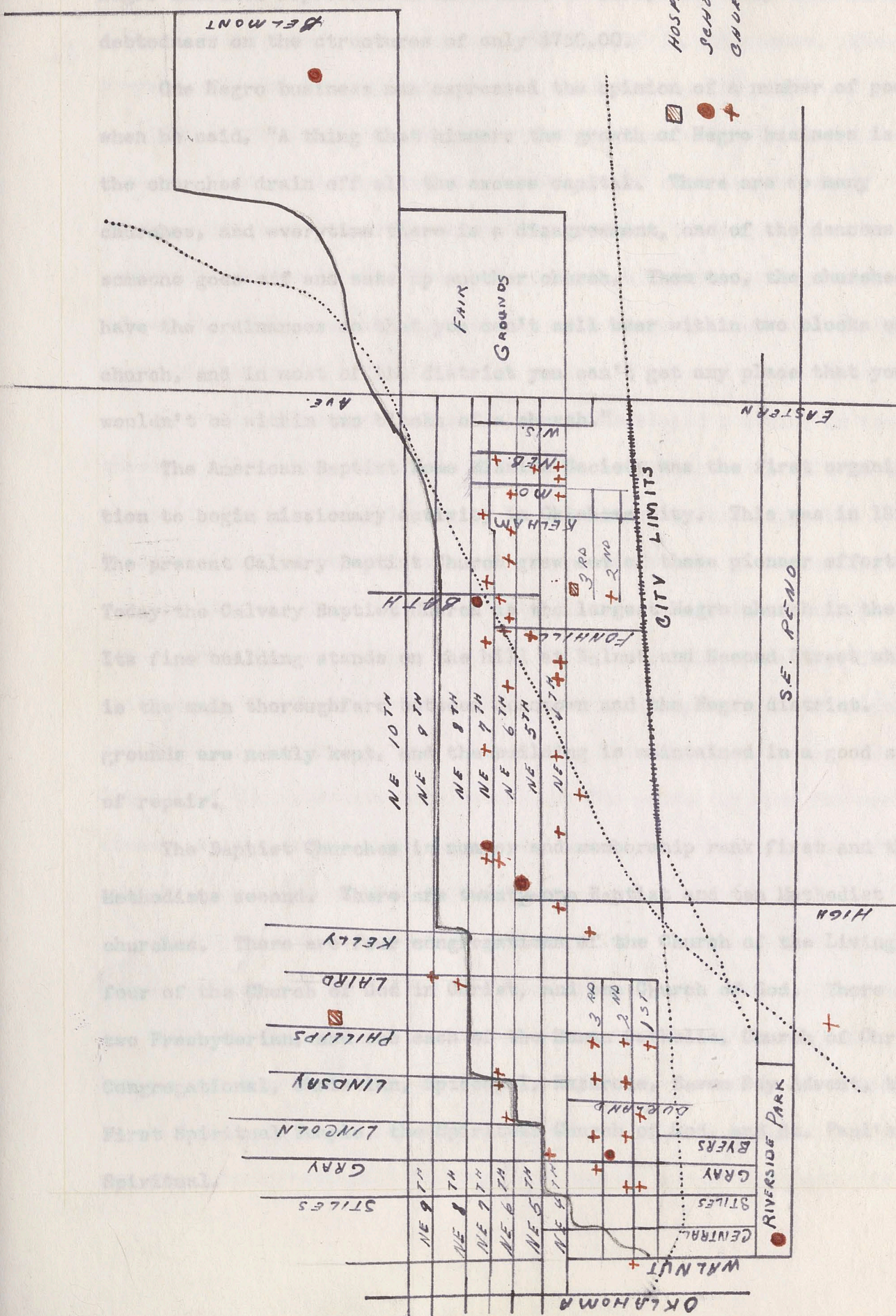
²⁴Black Dispatch, January 19, 1946.

of the next, and little enthusiasm is expressed for trying to salvage the present one. The emotionalism found in the fundamentalist churches provides expression and release for a race that during the week is submissive to white culture, taste, and behavior. Spirited singing, amens, hand clapping, and shouting can still be found in some of the churches on the Eastside, and it is apparent that religion still holds a peculiar and intimate meaning for the colored people.

Of the fifty-three Negro churches on record with the Council of Churches on February 5, 1946, thirty-eight were identified with regular church associations. The remainder were generally "store front" churches which served a considerable group in the community. There are obviously too many churches for effective action. Based on the 1940 populations there is approximately one church for every 365 persons, if all could be considered of the age and inclination for church attendance.

This multiplicity of churches is in part the result of weak administrative church government. In the case of the Baptist Churches there is no organization at all. Each church is independent. With the exception of the Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Christian Scientist, and Church of God, the administration of the churches is by separate, or colored ecclesiastical organizations. Under this arrangement there is absolute segregation of the Negro and white. In the case of the Church of God, there has recently been an unusual development. Two congregations have become interracial in their membership. These congregations are in the Negro community.

In spite of the great number of churches in the community, some are well supported and have rather adequate buildings. The twelve leading



CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS

Negro churches represent an investment of \$483,500. They have an indebtedness on the structures of only \$750.00.

One Negro business man expressed the opinion of a number of people when he said, "A thing that hinders the growth of Negro business is that the churches drain off all the excess capital. There are so many churches, and everytime there is a disagreement, one of the deacons or someone goes off and sets up another church. Then too, the churches have the ordinances so that you can't sell beer within two blocks of a church, and in most of the district you can't get any place that you wouldn't be within two blocks of a church."

The American Baptist Home Mission Society was the first organization to begin missionary activity in Oklahoma City. This was in 1892. The present Calvary Baptist Church grew out of these pioneer efforts. Today the Calvary Baptist Church is the largest Negro church in the city. Its fine building stands on the hill at Walnut and Second Street which is the main thoroughfare between downtown and the Negro district. The grounds are neatly kept, and the building is maintained in a good state of repair.

The Baptist Churches in number and membership rank first and the Methodists second. There are twenty-one Baptist and ten Methodist churches. There are four congregations of the Church of the Living God, four of the Church of God in Christ, and one Church of God. There are two Presbyterian, and one each of the Roman Catholic, Church of Christ, Congregational, Christian, Episcopal, Nazarene, Seven Day Advent, the First Spiritual Temple, the Spiritual Church of God, and St. Paul's Spiritual.

Sunday School attendance at Calvary Baptist averages between 350 and 370. Several other Sunday Schools average 250 in attendance. The average attendance of all churches is estimated at 150 pupils.

The Negro church is the center of religious activity in the community. Sunday schools, revival meetings, and socials are held. Some of the Negro churches of Oklahoma City are also finding a place of real community service in the fields of recreation, social service, and education. This community spirit is fostered by a group of well-trained young ministers.

One of the Presbyterian churches has developed a center in the basement of the church. It is open twice a week to the people of the community for play activities. This program is partly supported by the Presbyterian Committee on Camp and Church Activities in Philadelphia.

In 1940 the Roman Catholics established a small church and parochial school on Northeast Seventh Street. In January 1946 there were 153 children in the Church School. This school is supervised by a white priest and is taught by five white nuns. The school includes nine grades. Only 33 of the students were Catholic. The school is open for recreational activities one night each week, and a group work program of athletics, music, and club work is carried out.

The Episcopal Church of the Redeemer is a mission church of the Oklahoma Diocese. Its membership was only slightly over one hundred in 1946. The young Negro pastor was trained at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He has set up in the parish house a center in which all the community is welcome to gather for games, club work, or any sort of recreational activity. Two nights a week the center is open

to the children of the community and the vicar and a worker from the park department provide supervised play and other group work activities. During this winter season the work with the community children includes a very large Halloween party, the organization of a football team, a boys choir, a free trip to the Circus, a Christmas play, arts and crafts, and regular games.

Many of the high school students who are not members of the Episcopal Church make use of the parish house. In cooperation with the Christian Youth Conference of the Council of Churches, the young people put on a very effective youth-day program at the church. There were more white people in attendance at the performance than colored. At another time the church served as a meeting place for the Christian Youth Conference which was attended by thirty white boys and girls, and about the same number of colored boys and girls. During the Christmas holidays a dance for the young people of the community was held in the parish house.

Other activities of the church include a large banquet, a men's breakfast, a Thanksgiving dinner, and charitable activities. The Altar Guild sponsored a concert of classical music by three members of the Oklahoma Symphony Society for the purpose of raising money for a new altar. Over \$50.00 was raised in this manner. This group also held a Sunday afternoon tea and assisted with a book review in the parish house.

Communion service at midnight of Christmas Eve was the outstanding service of the year at the Episcopal Church. Several weeks of preparation went into the musical portion of the program. The choir also participated in the interdenominational chorus which gave the concert in

March for the benefit of the Young Women's Christian Association.

With the assistance of a number of interested white persons, this church is also planning a missionary enterprise of its own. The Walnut Grove colored community is neglected from the standpoint of churches as well as from every other aspect. There is only one Baptist church in the community. Since there are no schools, parks, or playgrounds in the area for the Negroes, the members of this church intend to construct a small building for use as a recreation center, and for church services. Cooperation with the activities of the park department and the Neighborhood Clubs is also planned. In order to raise money for this purpose the church sponsored a nationally famous quartette of Negro singers at the Shrine Auditorium in March 1946.

Voluntary Organizations and Social Life

One full page of the Black Dispatch is devoted to social news. Weddings, dinner parties, distinguished visitors, and club meetings are featured in the section of the paper entitled "Within the Social Whirl". Social life during a three week period as reported by the Black Dispatch included a drama, "Cry Havoc" which was presented by Chi Zeta Chapter of Zeta Phi Beta Sorority at the Douglas High School Auditorium, a chattering dinner which was given by the Lucky Twelve Club, an election of officers by the Modernette Club, a recital in the Cleaves Memorial Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and a book review at the Episcopal Church. Club meetings which were reported during this period included meetings of the Oklahoma City Tuskegee Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People, The Friendly Eight Study Club, The Industrial Girls of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Minerva Art Club, the Colored Adult Blind Association, Entre Hous Club, Phi Cavalier Club, and the City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. ~~There is no other southern city.~~

The City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs is made up of ten clubs and has a total of 200 members. It owns its own club building, Brockway Center, on East Fourth Street. This building is valued at \$15,000. The downstairs rooms are used for club rooms and the upstairs serves as a dormitory for working girls. ~~Following statement in an interview:~~ "The

There are three fraternities of college men, Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, and Delta Phi Mu, and two societies of college women, Alpha Kappa Alpha, and Delta Sigma Theta. They have as their purpose the promotion of interest in attending college. Lodges include the Elks, ~~they~~ Daughter Elks, Eastern Star, Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythian.

~~the~~ During 1945 the Neighbors Service Corps assisted in four house-to-house solicitations on financial campaigns. They included the Seventh War Loan, United Community and War Fund Drive, American Red Cross Campaign, and the Victory Loan Drive.

Political Organizations

In 1940 there were 15,029 Negroes of voting age and 8,000 registered Negro voters in Oklahoma City. This constitutes 9.6 per cent of the total voting strength of Oklahoma City.²⁵ There are eleven precincts that are predominantly colored. Nine of these are on the Eastside, one is in Sandtown, and one in Westtown.

²⁵Sixteenth Census of the United States, op. cit., p. 929.

During the New Deal Era and during World War II the Negroes voted predominantly Democratic. The Local Democratic club is active. As a result of the interest in politics it is claimed that there are more paved streets in the Negro districts than in any other southern city.

CHAPTER VI

The Communist Party has attempted to organize the Negroes of Oklahoma City. Meetings of the Communist party are occasionally held on the Eastside, and on one occasion the leaders of the meeting were arrested for disturbing the peace. The organizer of the Communist Party in Oklahoma made the following statement in an interview: "The Communist Party is not a white party. The present membership of the Communist Party in Oklahoma is about one-third Negro and the other two-thirds white. This difference in ratio to the population percentages can be explained in that the Negroes are beginning to realize that they are an oppressed people and that their hope is in the labor movement--the C. I. O. or the Communist Party."

Fifteen of these welfare organizations have been brought together under the Community Fund, which was incorporated on October 23, 1944. The objectives of the Community Fund are "to strengthen and make socially efficient the spirit of human helpfulness in Oklahoma City;

Where not otherwise indicated, the materials in this chapter have been secured through interviews with the executives of the agencies concerned and from unpublished reports.

¹Lester S. Granger, "Negroes", Social Work Yearbook, ed. Russell E. Kirtz, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943), 201.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AGENCIES¹

"The unsatisfactory shape of race relations has handicapped organization of social service programs to meet developing welfare needs among the Negro population. . . A persisting dark spot in the picture of juvenile care is the nation-wide absence or inadequacy of institutions and agencies to handle Negro problem children in the pre-delinquent stage. Foster home care for Negro children also continues to lag behind provisions for whites."²

There are thirty-nine social agencies in Oklahoma City that carry on a definite welfare program and have membership in the Council of Social Welfare. In addition to these, there are thirty-two organizations that are not primarily welfare agencies, but which include the performance of some definite welfare service as a part of their function. These activities entitle the organizations in the latter group to associate membership in the Council of Social Welfare.

Fifteen of these welfare organizations have been brought together under the Community Fund, which was incorporated on October 29, 1924. The objectives of the Community Fund are "to strengthen and make socially efficient the spirit of human helpfulness in Oklahoma City;

¹Where not otherwise indicated, the materials in this chapter have been secured through interviews with the executives of the agencies concerned and from unpublished reports.

²Lester B. Granger, "Negroes", Social Work Yearbook, ed. Russel H. Kurtz, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1945), 280.

to promote a comprehensive social welfare program in the community; to foster cooperation among social welfare agencies; to educate the public to a keen interest in and an adequate support of social welfare work; to collect, receive and hold funds of, and to distribute funds to participating social welfare agencies, and to engage in such other activities as may be deemed to be in the general interest of social welfare, charity and philanthropy in the community".

The Agencies which receive part of their support from the Community Fund are: The Camp Fire Girls, the Boy Scouts, the Council of Social Welfare, the Children's Welfare League, the Girl Scouts, the Neighborhood Clubs, the Home of Redeeming Love, the Social Service Exchange, Oklahoma County Health Association, the United Provident Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, St. Joseph's Orphanage, the Salvation Army, and the Sunbeam Home.

Recent newspaper articles and editorials indicate a growing public awareness of the social welfare needs of minority groups in Oklahoma City.³ That these needs are recognized in regard to the Negro population can be put into the words of one of the supervisors in a public agency, "Everybody knows the Negroes don't have as good facilities as the whites".

Although there are six child care institutions in Oklahoma City under Baptist, Catholic, county, Sunbeam Home Association, and Children's Welfare League auspices, there is not one agency offering any kind of

³Daily Oklahoman, October 16, 1945; January 14, 1946.

institutional care for Negro children. The situation can best be summed up in the words of the Case Work Consultant for the National Urban League: "Although social welfare resources exist in fairly ample quantity in Oklahoma City, their availability to the Negro community is definitely limited, and in some instances as in the case of institutional services to convalescent, dependent, and neglected children and children in need of detention care, they are not available at all to members of the Negro group."⁴

A small number of colored boys and girls, averaging six or eight at any given time are assisted in their own homes or in foster homes by the Sunbeam Home Association. Since the average number in foster homes is about 90 boys and girls, the per cent of Negro children given this service approximates the racial ratio of the total population. However, the needs of the Negroes have been shown to be disproportionate to their numbers in the population, and since the Sunbeam Home gives institutional care to about 40 youngsters and offers no such service to Negroes, it cannot be said that the Negroes are sharing equally in the program of the agency.

The Sunbeam Home was chartered in 1909. Its aim is to provide an adequate program of child welfare services in Oklahoma County. The Sunbeam Home Association operates a detention home on the grounds of the institution, and before the war had in operation a child guidance clinic. This service was discontinued during the war.

The study by the Urban League made the following suggestion con-

⁴Newman, op. cit., p. 9.

cerning the Sunbeam Home Association: "Despite recent accomplishments, there are lags on the part of the agency in expediting its prescribed services to children, all of which the director recognizes. One of these lags is the agency's failure to reach any really substantial number of dependent and neglected Negro children, or to integrate Negro leadership on either the board, committee, or staff levels. . . . Although accurate data is not available regarding the total number of local dependent and neglected Negro children or the number served by this agency over an extensive period of time, if the figure of six colored youngsters out of a total of 130 children served in October, 1945, is any criteria, then there is real justification for concern over this lag in service. Considering the fact that Negroes constitute ten per cent of the total population and that they bring a disproportionately greater number of social problems to welfare agencies, then it seems reasonable to expect that ten per cent or more of the Sunbeam Home Association's case load should be Negro children."⁵

The detention home on the grounds of the Sunbeam Home, as is true of other child care institutions, excludes colored children. Consequently, Negro children apprehended by the police on delinquency charges are either taken home or are detained in special quarters of the county jail. Although the children are not detained in the same cell block with the adults, the psychological effect on young children of having spent the night in jail should be obvious to the most poorly informed.

White children who are discharged from the Crippled Children's Home and youngsters with certain chronic conditions, such as rheumatic

⁵Ibid, p. 61.

Hospital may be sent to the Children's Welfare League Convalescent Home for Crippled Children, which was established in 1940 at Bethany, Oklahoma. Operating in connection with the Crippled Children's Commission, its purpose is to provide convalescent care for crippled children.

Physiotherapy, occupational therapy and nursing care are offered. The diets are planned by a trained dietitian, and educational opportunities are also available at this home.

A few of the leaders in the colored community are aware of the complete lack of institutional care for Negro children, but their efforts to do something about it have not gone beyond the discussion stage. The need for a trained Negro social worker in the child welfare field in the Oklahoma City community is apparent. Discussions have centered around the need for a worker to coordinate the activities of the agencies serving children such as the juvenile court, the county, the crippled children's commission, and the Sunbeam Home Association. Discussions also have pointed out the need for a social worker to make foster home and adoption studies which are not made to any large extent at present.

The Urban League Case work Consultant recognized these needs and made the following recommendations: "It is recommended that there be established in the Negro community a small institutional facility or home, which will extend short time care to those dependent and neglected Negro children in need of temporary placements or in need of special observation and study; provide detention care for delinquent and pre-delinquent colored children, and give convalescent care to crippled children and youngsters with certain chronic conditions, such as rheumatic fever".

In view of the fact that four different church groups have indicated interest in establishing Negro social service centers, an institutional program may eventually be developed.⁶

The Child Welfare Division of the Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare has no unit in Oklahoma County, and consequently cannot render its services to the children of Oklahoma City. The director of this division is aware of the needs of the Negro children of the city, but at the time the Child Welfare Units were set up in the state, it was claimed that the private agencies of Oklahoma City were caring for the local needs. It is believed that if an attempt were to be made to set up a unit in the county to serve only colored children that there would be an immediate cry of discrimination against the needy white children.

The Child Welfare Division maintains a maternity home for unwed mothers in the home of a Negro registered nurse. This home is very small and is usually overcrowded. At present the mothers are sent to the University Hospital for deliveries, but return to the home for convalescent care and nursery service for the child until arrangements can be made for it. Formerly, Negro girls from this home were not accepted in the University Hospital, but a few years ago the nurse-in-charge at the home called an ambulance for a particularly difficult delivery, and the girl was taken into the hospital. This broke a precedent and the girls have been sent to the hospital for delivery since that time.

This home does not accept girls from Oklahoma County. Unmarried

⁶Ibid, p. 57.

Negro girls from Oklahoma City who need maternity care have no place to go. The relatively few who happen to be Catholic may apply to Our Lady of Victory Home.

White girls in need of maternity care may apply to the home of Redeeming Love. This is an institution serving all parts of Oklahoma. It has as its object the care of the mother, and the placement in a family home of the baby whose mother is unable to provide for it. A total of 5,140 girls and women, and 4,428 babies were cared for in the Home from 1900 to 1943.⁷ Through affiliation with the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine, patients of the Home of Redeeming Love receive good professional care.

The Oklahoma County Department of Public Welfare administers old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children without regard to class or color. There are three case workers on the staff who are colored. They carry almost all of the Negro case load. The racial problem seems to have been successfully handled within this agency as the Urban League Casework Consultant had the following comment to make, "This agency deserves much commendation for having made real progress in extending services to Negroes and in integrating Negroes on the staff."⁸

During the period from July 1, 1944, to June 30, 1945, Negroes in Oklahoma County received all three types of relief in an amount in excess of their percentage of the 1940 population. Old Age Assistance was received by 6,304 individuals, of whom 5,566 were white and 712, or

⁷ Betty Katherine Chowning, "Social Factors Contributing to the Dependency of One Hundred Families" (Unpublished thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1943), 48.

⁸ Newman, op. cit., p. 52.

11.2 per cent, were colored. Aid to the Blind was received by 146 persons, of whom 111 were white and 35, or 24.5 per cent were Negroes. The percentage of Negro families receiving Aid to Dependent Children was abnormally high. There were 767 families who received Aid to Dependent Children. Of these, 455 were white families and 304, or 39.6 per cent, were Negro families. There were 1,745 children in these families receiving aid. Of these 1,054 were white children and 675, or 38.6 per cent, were colored. Thus, the number of colored children on Aid to Dependent Children rolls was four times as great as the percentage of colored people in the County. This provides one of the indices of Negro family stability as children become eligible for Aid to Dependent Children because of such conditions as desertion, illness, illegitimacy, dependency, and broken homes.

General relief is administered by the Oklahoma County Welfare Board. The County Welfare Board has for its purpose the care of any individuals or families who in the opinion of the staff are in need, provided that need falls within the division of responsibility of the county agency. These needs include assistance to unemployables and homeless individuals, hospitalization, medical services in the home and in the doctor's office, and coverage of burials. Funds to operate this agency are derived from taxation. All persons who have been residents of Oklahoma County for at least six months are eligible for assistance.

The relief given by this Board is based on a specified budget rather than according to need. Sometimes emergency care is given, but ordinarily a week or two is required to complete an investigation. Assistance is given in terms of cash, store orders, and supplies. The County

Welfare Board sponsors a cot house, hospitalization for the county, the Taylor School for Boys, the County Home for Girls, and the County Poor Farm.

During the war general relief dropped to an unusually low level.

During September, 1944, a total of 306 families, involving 808 individuals, were given assistance by the Welfare Board.

Of these 44 or 28

NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE, AID TO THE BLIND, AND AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACCORDING TO RACE IN OKLAHOMA COUNTY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1945⁹

Type of Assistance	Number of Recipients				Per Cent Negro in Each Category
	White	Negro	Indian	Total	
Old Age Assistance	5,566	712	24	6,304	11.2
Aid to the Blind	111	35	0	146	24.5
Aid to Dependent Children	1,054	675	16	1,745	38.6

⁹Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare Report for the Fiscal Year, July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945, (Oklahoma City, October 9, 1945).

Welfare Board pays the manager \$25.00 a month per person for whom care has been provided. The institution consists of three small wooden buildings on East Fourth Street. There is no yard space. It has no particular assistance policy or program. One man, 34 years old, who is crippled has been living at this old folk's home for a number of years. Adolescent boys have been placed there. One boy who is now in the armed services lived there from age 13 to 18. The home is usually crowded and it is necessary for people to sleep in every room. The Urban League Casework Consultant found that the budget for October 1944, allowed \$85.00 a month for food for eleven people, a total of \$7.73 per capita per month, or \$2.78 per capita per week. He was also

Welfare Board sponsors a cot house, hospitalization for the county, the Taylor School for Boys, the County Home for Girls, and the County Poor Farm.

During the war general relief dropped to an unusually low level. During September, 1945, a total of 156 families, involving 205 individuals, were given assistance by the Welfare Board. Of these 44 or 28 per cent were Negro. There are no Negro employees of the Agency at present.

The County Poor Farm, which is maintained by the Oklahoma County Welfare Board, has accommodations for 124 white persons, and is usually filled to capacity. There is no physician, but a registered nurse and a practical nurse live in the institution. The Hospitality Club, as well as various church groups, plan entertainments for the people in the Home.

The Bryant Old Folks Home for Negroes is privately owned but the Oklahoma County Welfare Board pays the manager \$25.00 a month per person for whom care has been provided. The institution consists of three small wooden buildings on East Fourth Street. There is no yard space. It has no particular admittance policy or program. One man, 24 years old, who is crippled has been living at this old folk's home for a number of years. Adolescent boys have been placed there. One boy who is now in the armed services lived there from age 13 to 16. The home is usually crowded and it is necessary for people to sleep in every room. The Urban League Casework Consultant found that the budget for October 1945, allowed \$85.00 a month for food for eleven people, a total of \$7.73 per capita per month, or \$1.79 per capita per week. He was also

informed by inmates of the home that usually only two meals a day are served.¹⁰ None of the social groups of the Negro community had taken an interest in the welfare of the inmates of this home except at Christmas time. However, after the lack of recreational facilities was called to the attention of the clergy, the auxiliary of the Episcopal Church has carried fruit and magazines to the institution regularly.

The Salvation Army has not had an extensive program among Negroes. Recently a Negro woman who is a former teacher and United Service Organization worker has been employed as a family welfare and group worker for the Negro community. The Salvation Army also has plans under consideration for building a community center for Negroes in the fairgrounds area.

The Traveler's Aid Society in 1944 rendered service to 1,222 cases in Oklahoma City. In spite of the high mobility rate of the Negro population at that time, only 49, or four per cent, of these cases were Negro.

The American Red Cross Home Service Division offers social services to the families of service men and ex-service men. These services are given to all regardless of color or religion. Although a large number of Negroes were served during the war period by the Home Service Division, no figures were available on the basis of race.

No Negroes were employed by the American Red Cross in Oklahoma County during the war, and only one Negro served on any type of board or committee. There were no Negro volunteer workers. Several volunteer

¹⁰Newman, op. cit., p. 52.

special service courses were held in the Negro community, but they were generally poorly attended. Plans have been made to take a group of Negroes to Lake Murray for the American Red Cross life saving course. As there is at present no swimming pool in Oklahoma County where Negroes are allowed to swim, the officials of the Oklahoma County Chapter of the American Red Cross have stated that they plan to insist that one be made available.

A Veteran's Center has been established to serve all ex-service men and women. It was established through the efforts of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It will share in the Community Fund and will attempt to co-ordinate its services with the other agencies in the city. Its purpose is to provide a "one-stop center" where veterans will receive primary consideration and will be given all the services that they might need. Services which the director expects to offer include: employment service, medical assistance, case work services, housing, psychological and personality testing, mental hygiene services, psychoanalysis, vocational guidance, legal assistance, and any other service which the veterans may need. There will be two counselors and twelve from other agencies that will give counseling service. The Negro veterans are being encouraged to use this service. No Negroes are employed in this center. Official opening of this center was held on March 17, 1946.

The United Provident Association, which was established in 1897, is one of the oldest welfare agencies in the Southwest. Its objectives are quite inclusive for a family welfare agency, and it serves a large number of white and colored families. It is a member agency of the Community

Fund. The purpose is to adjust individuals to normal family life and the family to the community. The services of United Provident Association include family relief and services, assisting transients to return to their homes, the operation of three day nurseries, and the giving of instruction in household management.

Families falling within the responsibility of the United Provident Association are served, regardless of race, color, or religion. Twenty per cent of the families served by this agency are Negro. In other words, approximately 124 of the 620 active cases under care for the period from June 1, 1944, to May 31, 1945 were Negro. One case worker employed by the agency is also a Negro.

Disability of the wage earner constitutes the basic reason for assistance. In such cases, the Association provides aid until the wage earner has recovered and is employed. Emergency care is administered when necessary. If needed, assistance can be given on the day of application following a clearance with the Social Service Exchange. The agency can render every type of service from its own funds except medical care. Problems encountered include domestic difficulties, desertions, delinquency, illegitimacy, medical need, mental deficiency, illness, poor home management, and improper housing. During the first two months of 1945 there was a marked increase in request for assistance by Negro women who were unemployed.

Two of the day nurseries are for Negro children. The three nurseries are open to the children of employed women. However, a further condition of eligibility is based on an income that is not sufficient to pay commercial nursery rates. All three operated at near capacity

during the war. About 100 children are on the rolls of the largest of the three nurseries. The two nurseries for Negro children provide care for a total of 100 Negro children. However, the average daily attendance at the nursery is only 55 for whites and 70 for Negroes. Families with larger incomes pay from twenty to fifty cents a week for the services. Low income families, on the other hand, pay nothing.

The day nurseries accept children from six months to twelve years of age. Parents bring their children to the nurseries before going to work, and return for them in the evening. Lunch is served. The children are led in play activities and story telling hours by volunteer workers. A planned program emphasizing proper diet, rest, and exercise is carried out. Each child must present a health certificate at the time of admission to the nursery. Part of the activities of the nurseries include a health program. All employees in the nurseries for Negro children are of that race.

The United Provident Association is a member of the Family Welfare Association of America. All of the case workers are trained in the field of social work. The organization is governed by a board composed entirely of white men.

Since, on the whole, the Negro in Oklahoma City occupies a place at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, Negro cases on file with the various agencies generally have a larger number of social problems arising out of the denials of his needs. Many of these problems may lead ultimately to individual or group deterioration. Since the agency can do little to change the external world in which the Negro lives in Oklahoma City, the success of any proposal that can ever be planned in

an individual case depends largely upon building up the capacity of those involved to such an extent that they are able to withstand the situations encountered.

Group Work

The Young Women's Christian Association

Although the Young Women's Christian Association Branch Building has consisted of only two small rooms, and even though there has been no executive secretary to head the Negro branch for several years, it is perhaps the leading force in the Negro group work field in Oklahoma City. The attainments of this small group are largely the result of continued, sympathetic support from the officials and membership of the Young Women's Christian Association.

Negro staff workers in the Young Women's Christian Association program in Oklahoma City are given an opportunity to participate in the planning of programs and the development of general policies. As far as the racial situation permits, Negroes may also utilize the facilities of the large building that is maintained by the Association primarily for whites. Once each week a class in modern dancing from the Douglas High School meets in the gymnasium of this building. Instruction is furnished by the regular dancing teacher on the agency staff. The class has been functioning very satisfactorily for the past two years. During the 1945 Christmas season this group and the Negro Girl Reserves presented the dance drama, "The Juggler of Notre Dame", at Douglas High School.

The Young Women's Christian Association Building is the only place in Oklahoma City where private groups may have dinner meetings on an

inter-racial basis. However, considerable precaution is taken in the conduct of such meetings to observe state laws governing meetings where Negroes are in attendance.

An inter-racial Camp Conference was held in April, 1945, by the Business and Professional Girls. As a result of the conference this activity has been incorporated as a regular feature of the Young Women's Christian Association program. An inter-racial advisory body to serve the Girl Reserve was recently organized on a state-wide basis.

In the early part of 1946 a concert was given by twenty three Negro church choirs for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of a building for the Branch Young Women's Christian Association. The total number of persons of both races present at the concert was in excess of 6,000.

On April 1, 1946, the Young Women's Christian Association took over the operations of the Stiles Street United Service Organization for the use of all youth groups of the Negro community. The person who had directed the United Service Organization during the war at that time became the first Young Women's Christian Association Branch Executive in Oklahoma City. Expenses of operating the building will be prorated among the agencies using it. Service to military personnel will be continued through June 30, 1945.

Girl Reserve

The Young Women's Christian Association sponsors the Girl Reserve. This is an organization for younger girls. There are two clubs for Negro girls. One of these is for the junior high school, and the other is for the senior high school. There are 55 members in the younger group and

twenty-five in the older. The activities of these two clubs are identical to those of the white clubs. The girls have weekly meetings. Every other meeting is a social gathering. The Inter-School Council for the Girl Reserve is inter-racial. At present the vice-president of the senior high school council, and the reporter for the junior high school group are Negroes. In January, 1946, the Oklahoma City Girl Reserves held a mother-daughter banquet at the Venetian Room of the Young Women's Christian Association. In addition to the members of the white race approximately 60 Negro women and girls were present. The devotional was given by Negro girls, and a Negro girl was in charge of refreshments.

ing period for Negro Young Men's Christian Association

Negro men and boys do not participate in the program of the Oklahoma City Young Men's Christian Association. Negroes are not represented on the board of directors of the organization. Although no plans are under way to change the policy of the local Young Men's Christian Association in its relations to the Negro citizens, there is a plan to launch a drive to raise money for a new Young Men's Christian Association building downtown and also for a Negro Young Men's Christian Association building. A provisional board of management composed of Negroes has been named for the proposed building for Negroes. The principal of Douglas High School serves as chairman of this board.

The Hi-Y organization at Douglas High School is independent of the Oklahoma City Young Men's Christian Association and white Hi-Y's. It is directed by the Negro Young Men's Christian Association field supervisor. This high school organization is very active and has a program that appeals to the high school boy. It is sponsored by teachers in the

high school and has weekly meetings before the regular morning classes.

Boy Scouts

There are eleven Negro Boy Scout troops with a total membership of 160. There are three Cub packs with 72 members. Six of the troops are sponsored by churches.

At present a Negro man is given a small monthly stipend as a part time worker. The present enrollment of the Negro Scouts is too small to warrant hiring a full time staff member. There is no Negro representative on the Scout Council.

Camp Kickapoo is used by both the White and Negro Scouts. The camping period for Negro Scouts is held immediately after the camp of the white Scouts. An average of 90 boys attend this camp.

The lack of trained Scout leadership is considered the greatest retarding factor in the development of a strong Scouting program for Negro boys. In 1945, 5.6 per cent of the Negro boys in Oklahoma City of Scout age were members of Scout troops.

Other Organizations for Young People

The Camp Fire Girls have no colored membership in Oklahoma City. This is not because of prejudice. The officials are reluctant to offer the program to colored girls when they are not yet able to offer them all the benefits of camping. Also, after consultation with group workers who were sponsoring the Girl Reserve program it was agreed that the existing organizations were in a position to render all needed services.

The Junior Red Cross program functions through the city school systems. The program as outlined by the director of the Junior Red Cross includes the creation of the right sort of attitudes in human

relations on the part of boys and girls. Every school in Oklahoma City has a Junior Red Cross organization. As there is no individual membership fee, no child is excluded from membership.

The Junior American Red Cross at Douglas High School is one of the outstanding groups in Oklahoma City. It has organized an advisory committee from the faculty group. This is an unusual development, since no similar organization exists in the regular schools. The principal of Douglas High School also serves as a member of the Junior American Red Cross committee for the Oklahoma City Chapter.

There is no Inter-School council of the Junior Red Cross. As the separate school council members could not be invited to participate in the activities of the larger council for the white schools they have as yet not been persuaded to set up one of their own.

There are twenty-one active troops of Negro Girl Scouts organized throughout the separate schools. The Negro division of the Girl Scouts is sponsored by an advisory body which is called the Intercultural Committee. All members of this committee are Negroes except the pastor of St. Peter Claver's Church. The office of the Negro staff member is at the Negro Chamber of Commerce on the second floor of the Stiles Street United Service Organization building. The program has been in operation in Oklahoma City for three years.

There are no camping facilities for Negro girls near Oklahoma City. The camps which are operated by the Young Women's Christian Association and by the Camp Fire Girls preclude the presence of Negroes as possible clientele because of prescriptions in the wills of the persons who gave the camp sites. All Oklahoma City Girl Scouts go to Lake Murray, near

Ardmore, Oklahoma, for summer camp. There are three state-operated camps there. Camps numbers 1 and 2 are for whites and camp number 3 is for Negroes. Camp 3 has a total of 95 beds and will accommodate about 72 girls and 20 women. The cost of a week's camp to the individual Scout has usually been \$8.50. It is stated that the girls have little difficulty in raising this amount. There is a possibility that Camp No. 3 will be turned over to the whites unless the Negroes make more use of it. Since the camp is located 120 miles from Oklahoma City it is difficult for the Oklahoma City Negroes to use it.

During World War II many Negro soldiers and sailors were stationed in the vicinity of Oklahoma City. The Stiles Street United Service Organization was established in a city-owned building that had formerly been a Negro hospital. It is a large building with two stories and a good basement floor. The building was remodeled and redecorated to fit the needs of the service men. Under the direction of a well trained group worker the United Service Organization has provided services for Negro service men and women. These facilities included crafts, creative hobbies, wholesome recreation activities of all kinds, and personal services. The two professional staff members were furnished by the National Young Women's Christian Association. Approximately 300 service men per day were served during the war.

Some opposition was directed toward such activities as dancing and table games by some of the religious groups in the community.

Operation of this building was taken over by the Young Women's Christian Association on April 1, 1946. Services to military personnel will be continued through June 30, 1946.

The Neighborhood Clubs were established as the result of a survey made by the National Probation Association. This survey indicated a high rate of juvenile delinquency in the area bounded by Main Street on the North, the Santa Fe tracks on the East, the Canadian River, on the South, and Western Avenue on the West. Neighborhood Clubs began work in Southtown in the basement of St. Mark's Church in the summer of 1936. It was a joint project of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. Later it has become a private agency with a board.

The purpose of the Neighborhood Clubs is to promote a community program of social group work for the development of the religious, educational, and social benefit of the youth of Oklahoma City. During the period of its greatest expansion, there were eight Neighborhood centers. The Works Progress Administration furnished leaders, librarians, and toy librarians. The National Youth Administration was another source of leadership. This was in addition to the Neighborhood Clubs staff. At present there are three Neighborhood Club centers. There are two well equipped centers for white children, one on south Shartel, and the larger one in Walnut Grove. Cook's Center at the Choctaw School served as the center for Negro youth for several years. The development of the program was hampered because of lack of space or proper equipment. However, there was no other building available in the Southtown area for club purposes. The following statement gives an accurate description of the facility. "The physical inadequacies and limitations of the building itself beggar description. Only two rooms are still in use, the third having been condemned some time ago by the municipal authorities. The school yard,

which serves as the play ground, was being used as a grazing area for wandering horses and a parking lot for automobiles at the time of the visit of the specialist."¹¹

In January, 1946, Cook's Center was moved to the basement of the Stiles Street United Service Organization where there will be more adequate space and equipment. A larger number of children can also be served in the new location. The staff consists of a Negro man and a Negro woman.

Formerly there was a Negro Neighborhood Clubs center in the basement of the colored Baptist Church in Walnut Grove, but the congregation asked that it be moved because they disapproved of their activities. Since that time there has been no center for Negro children in Walnut Grove.

In the summer of 1945 the Neighborhood Clubs sponsored a Softball League, composed of teams of boys from the underprivileged areas of the city. There were five Negro teams in the League. The older team from Cook's Center won the league championship. Difficulty was encountered in playing white and colored teams against each other, not from the players, but from city officials. The law forbids Negroes' playing on white playgrounds and whites' playing on Negro playgrounds. It was necessary to schedule all mixed games on private lots. A short time later the Kiwanis Club gave a picnic at Lake Overholser for all the boys who had played in the league. About seventy-five colored boys and three hundred white boys spent an afternoon and evening in playing and eating together.

¹¹Clark, op. cit., p. 8.

race relations in Oklahoma City are improving. One Negro minister stated that relations have improved greatly even within the last three months. He believes that a favorable attitude is growing up among the young people of both races. He was also of the opinion that race relations in Oklahoma City were not particularly strained, and that they were better than in many other localities.

CHAPTER VII

RACE RELATIONS

Another optimistic attitude was expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Daily Oklahoman. Referring to this editorial as follows: Oklahoma City since territorial days,¹ there have been no serious outbreaks between Negroes and whites since the lynching of Jack Brooks in 1921.²

Opinion among both Negroes and whites differs on the state of race relations. Many believe that race relations are as sound in Oklahoma City as they are anywhere. Others are of the opinion that dangerous situations exist that might cause serious trouble. The situations which are most frequently referred to as danger spots are problems of public transportation, limited opportunities for employment, inadequate recreational opportunities, and restrictive housing covenants.

There is general agreement upon but one aspect of race relations. It is agreed that race relations are much better than they once were. Twenty-five community leaders, twenty Negroes and five white people, were asked for an opinion on race relations. Fifteen of these stated that they thought that race relations are improving. Even the editor of the Black Dispatch, who is the champion of Negro rights, stated that

¹Kerns, op. cit., 166.

²Black Dispatch, January 14, 1921.

race relations in Oklahoma City are improving. One Negro minister stated that relations have improved greatly even within the last three months. He believes that a wholesome attitude is growing up among the young people of both races. He was also of the opinion that race relations in Oklahoma City were not particularly strained, and that they were better than in many other localities.

Another optimistic attitude was expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Daily Oklahoman. According to this editorial comment: "There is in this city much good-will toward Negroes and solid ground for believing that it shall implement new efforts made by leaders of both races to bring about improvement."³

A Negro teacher who has lived in the northern states stated that "You don't have to be in the South to find bigotry and prejudice. Oklahoma City is not as bad as many other places."

Six of the persons interviewed expressed opinions indicating that they think that there is nothing particularly critical about relations between the races. Nevertheless they think that there is not much basis for understanding. These persons expressed impatience with the attitude of the white churches. One man said that racial prejudice in America germinated in the white protestant churches, and that while they preached the brotherhood of man, they practiced and encouraged segregation.

Another well-educated Negro women, who has taught in a Negro college, in an outburst of emotion said, "These white preachers talk about love, and God, and everybody's being equal and then come outside of the church

³Daily Oklahoman, October 20, 1945.

and spit on me! Call that Christianity? Guess I'm not a Christian if that is it."

Three of the persons interviewed expressed alarm about the racial situation in Oklahoma City. One was a white man who was concerned over the jim crow laws and the many cases of obvious discrimination. A Negro business man in a confidential talk felt bitterly about the injustices and made the statement that he was just as good as any white man or anybody else. A mulatto woman whose grandfather was a member of a well-known white family in the South expressed an attitude of friendliness toward her white relatives and white people in general. However, she stated, "Sometimes when I'm crowded off the street or put off a bus by some of the white folks, it makes me so unhappy I could just die." She also expressed some alarm over the sense of hatred that seems to be growing up between the races.

One Negro woman of limited education but good disposition stated that she was considerably irritated over the relations between the races. She expressed her attitude in these words, "I get so tired of hearing them talk about brotherly love and then not doing anything about it. It just makes me sick to hear them talk about something they are not going to do anything about. Guess they can't help it any more than I can though."

The pattern of racial segregation in Oklahoma City approximates the situation existing in border cities more or less generally. It is difficult to describe fixed patterns of Negro segregation in border cities. In the states lying between the southern and northern states are found "many of the traits of the racially 'solid South' and at the same

time many of the practices of the northern states which violate the southern racial conventions and taboos."⁴

In the South the most conspicuous forms of racial segregation are in hotels, restaurants, schools, parks, railroad stations and in the agencies of transportation. Segregation is practiced in all these areas in Oklahoma City. However, a Negro community leader pointed out that "there is something about Oklahoma City that is different. People obey the jim crow laws, but they do not do it whole heartedly. They practice segregation, but don't seem to be trying to discriminate."

Many of the things that are believed to contribute toward racial tension are based on slight but irritating grievances. For example, it is believed by many white persons that the colored maids of Oklahoma City are organized into "Eleanor Clubs". These clubs are allegedly named for Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and their purpose is to demand high wages and short hours. It is also believed by some that "Bumper Clubs" exist. Members of this club are said to demand Thursday afternoons off in order to go to the downtown department stores to bump against white women shoppers. No trace of such clubs could be uncovered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the stories are not believed to be based on facts.⁵

The term "nigger" is used by colored people as well as white people in Oklahoma. It is not conducive to the best race relations and in rather unpredictable circumstances a Negro may take offense at a Southern

⁴Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 6.

⁵Ibid. p. 7.

pronunciation which Negroes also use. The extreme sensitiveness of the Negro on this point is confusing to well-intentioned white persons. The Black Dispatch of February 23, 1946, carried a front page story which is of a type that makes very little contribution toward the cause of better race relations:

"Branding the state health director, as an insidious force in American Democracy, the business council of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers voted to express grievous feelings of insult received from the Oklahoma official for referring to the 1,000 listeners in Douglas auditorium three times last Thursday night as "niggers."

Soon after the opening of his address on "Health Education in Schools and Community", the public official was thought by platform guests to have heard him use the Bourbonic word of derision (nigger) when he repeated the title of the association.

Considering it inconceivable that some high public official would stoop to such low depths, the audience seemed to merely "set" their ears to make certain whether or not they were mistaken.

The man spoke on for several minutes with listeners restless and frequently asking the fellow on the next seat if he or she was certain that the word of derision coined by Ku-Kluxers and the like, was spoken.

Shortly afterwards the rugged looking doctor belched twice with the Bourbonic slur, "nigger". Platform guest R. G. Parrish, of Chickasha, quickly rose and interrupted the man, supposedly censoring him on repeatedly insulting the audience that was now scornfully walking out into the hall.

The man flushed from his forehead to his stubby neck and soon took his seat.

At this point a platform guest, Mr. William Frazier, county supervisor of separate schools in Seminole county, arose and cited a similar incident occurring in Seminole county. Mr. Frazier said that "Whites should not emphasize racial distinctions with constant reference to separate groups. . . . In our democracy, we as Negroes and citizens should correct such irregularities as occurred here **ON THE SPOT**, where it happens, and strive to encourage discontinuance of such practice whenever it occurs!"

One Negro who was in the audience on this occasion stated that he

did not hear any mispronunciation. Another who was on the platform said that the pronounciation was "nigra" and not "nigger". He also stated that the speaker apologized profusely, and that he had been done an injustice by the newspaper publicity.

One of the religious organizations that is attempting a program for the betterment of race relations is the Christian Youth Council which is sponsored by the Council of Churches. It is interdenominational and inter-racial in its organization. It has been functioning since July, 1945. Membership is made up of high school students from all the schools. At some of the meetings there have been more Negroes present than white persons. Offices are about equally divided between the races.

Monthly meetings are held in various churches. Attendance averages fifty. The program consists of devotionals and music. This is followed by business discussion. The meeting is concluded with a recreational program. Party games such as rabbit, mind reading, group singing and folk games are participated in by boys and girls from both races. Refreshments are served. The director of this group who is also supervisor of religious education for the Council of Churches stated: "I think that the good attendance indicates a feeling of good will, because Negroes will not go where they think they are not welcome. I think that it is the most remarkable thing of which I have ever heard. I have been amazed at the lack of any kind of friction, not even the kind you would expect to find in any organization. We have about 30 churches represented at present."

Another group, which is sponsored by the Council of Churches, is the Inter-racial Committee which is made up of fifty ministers and other

interested persons. The purpose of this committee is to assist the races in becoming better acquainted. It is thought that this group could serve as a nucleus of understanding in case of race riots or other crises. It holds monthly meetings in the homes of members. Discussions of the problems of all races are held. The meetings conclude with a period of recreation followed by refreshments. Groups represented other than white are Negro, Indian, Spanish, and Jewish.

The Oklahoma City Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized in Oklahoma City in 1934. At present, there are around 1,000 members. Mass meetings are held occasionally to stimulate interest in various projects for racial advancement. At present the Association is carrying on a campaign to raise funds to finance the test case on the separate school law.

Following the reports from the Urban League Community Relations project a group of community leaders organized themselves into a committee to study the reports and to attempt to see that the recommendations were carried out. This committee has been inactive during the winter months, but has undertaken to start a campaign to gain membership for a branch of the National Urban League in Oklahoma City. This group expects to help to improve social conditions and race relations.

In February, 1946, a Community Brotherhood Rally, which was sponsored by the Ministerial Alliances and the Council of Christians and Jews, was held in the Douglas High School Auditorium. A rabbi, a priest, several protestant ministers, and a few laymen made speeches. The program was attended by over five hundred people, the majority of whom were Negroes. Several remedies for racial and religious intolerance were

discussed. The principal of Douglas High School said that one of his greatest friends was a white man. "We dared to know each other. We became the finest, life-long friends because we knew each other. That is the remedy." A Negro minister concluded with these remarks, "We have the remedy. What difference will these fine addresses make? Can these good white brothers get it over to their people, and can I get it over to mine? How can we teach them how to love? How can we teach them how to forgive one another?"

From this study several rather well defined conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, the pattern of segregation of the Negro in Oklahoma City compares more or less closely to the pattern of segregation of Negroes in cities throughout the country. In Oklahoma City, as is true in many other metropolitan areas, there is one large and several small Negro districts.

A second characteristic of the pattern of segregation usually found in the average Negro area of an urban community is the presence of a Negro business district. The Negro business district exists by reason of the types of services that are rendered to the citizens living in the segregated area. For the most part the scope of these business activities parallels the range of businesses usually found in a town of about the same size as the segregated area. In Oklahoma City the complete absence of any banking facilities in the Negro business district represents what is perhaps the most significant difference in the range of business activities from that generally found in an area of approximately the same size.

In many parts of the country the range of choice of occupations for Negroes is seriously restricted. Race prejudice accounts for this

restrictions to a rather unusual degree. In other words, the more desirable lines of work are generally taken by the dominant group. The Negro more or less generally takes what is left. A second factor limiting the choice of jobs is to be found in the smaller degree of skill on the part of the Negro.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

From the preceding portions of this study several rather well defined conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, the pattern of segregation of the Negro in Oklahoma City conforms more or less closely to the pattern of segregation of Negroes in cities throughout the country. In Oklahoma City, as is true in many other metropolitan areas, there is one large and several small Negro districts.

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The Negro more or less generally takes what is left. A second factor limiting the choice of jobs is to be found in the smaller degree of skill on the part of the Negro.

In Oklahoma City the Negro is seriously restricted in the range of employment opportunities. The great majority of the Negroes in the area in question are employed in domestic and personal service, unskilled labor, and public service.

As may normally be expected, such social problems as crime and juvenile delinquency in the area in question are more pressing than is generally true among white residential areas occupied by the middle and upper classes. Crime and delinquency rates, however, in the Negro residential district under consideration are not appreciably higher than the rates for white areas on the same general economic and social levels.

The separate school system of Oklahoma City compares favorably with the schools for whites in almost all respects. However, truancy rates for Negro children are much higher than those for white children. Much of this is attributed to conditions of unstable family life such as broken homes, the necessity for both parents to work away from home, and the lack of adequate clothing, car fare, and lunch money.

Economic inadequacy is also reflected in the morbidity and mortality rates of the Negro population in Oklahoma City as compared to those for the white population. Those diseases which are commonly the result of a low standard of living are found most frequently in the Negro

population. Maternal mortality, dietary diseases, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and diseases of infancy and childhood are the common causes of death among the Negro people.

With few exceptions, Negroes of Oklahoma City share equally in the services of social welfare agencies. The proportion of requests for assistance for Negro families is greater than their population ratio, and family welfare agencies generally carry a large Negro case load. There are no agencies offering institutional care to Negro children. This constitutes one of the most obvious social welfare needs of the community.

As is true in Negro communities throughout the United States, the Church plays a leading role in the social life of the community. The people give enthusiastic support to religion, but the effectiveness of the Church is weakened by poor ecclesiastical government, internal disorganization, and multiplicity of denominations.

Case Histories of Social Adjustment

The life of the individual colored person in Oklahoma City has been influenced to a considerable degree by the community forces which have been described in the preceding chapters. This community has produced a large number of progressive, stable citizens. There has also been produced a group of citizens who exhibit signs of shiftlessness and anti-social behavior. There is a close connection between the forces which tend to influence the lives of individual Negroes and those forces which tend to influence the general pattern of the Negro community. Especial emphasis is given to this relationship by the case histories which follow.

"When the Cherokee Tribe was moved from the southeastern states to Oklahoma in 1838, a Colonel Bigbee had two wives, one a squaw and the other a white woman. The white wife objected to being moved to Oklahoma, so he moved as far west as the Mississippi River and settled near what is now the city of Memphis, Tennessee. Other Cherokee families followed and this became what is now known as the rebellious Cherokee Tribe.

One of the educated young men from this tribe became the foreman of the Randolph plantation. He married one of the slave girls who was half Creek Indian. During the progress of the Civil War he was threatened with death for teaching the slaves to read. Some white persons were killed and their heads were put on fence posts as a warning to others who had been teaching the Negroes during this time. Sensing the impending danger, he was taken away by white friends, and fled to Illinois.

This man's son, J. D. Randolph, was educated by a private tutor who was a Swede. Later he was admitted to the public schools of Tennessee and graduated from the eighth grade. His contacts with white persons were numerous. As a young man he was associated with the prominent political and business men of Tennessee. He helped to organize a club in Nashville to which only two Negroes belonged--the other members were bankers, lawyers, and white office holders.

When Oklahoma Territory was opened to settlement in 1889, J. D. Randolph came to Oklahoma City. He was followed later by his family and by two other families from his tribe in Tennessee. In January, 1890, he rented a shack of one and one-half rooms for \$7.50 a month. In this building he set up the first school for colored children. Later he was made the first principal of the colored schools. He taught school for twenty years. He also assisted in organizing the Calvary Baptist Church. Later he worked as an attendant in the Law Library at the State Capitol."¹

The children of these three families from Tennessee have become leading citizens of the Negro community. Almost all of them are in the professions. Represented in this family group are dentists, druggists, teachers, physicians, and ministers. The third generation of this family group also contributes a large part of the leadership in the activities of the Douglas High School. The adjustment of this group of people

¹Phillips Collection, Indian-Pioneer Papers, (University of Oklahoma Library, unpublished, Norman, Oklahoma), 235.

appears to have been as satisfactory as that found among the white people who came to Oklahoma City in 1889.

The next social history brings out rather clearly the influence of social forces in this Negro community upon the development of young persons of high school age. During the war it was estimated that at least 6,000 Negroes migrated to Oklahoma City from eastern Oklahoma to engage in war work. Although many of these have left the city they were undoubtedly influenced in one way or another by the community forces which exist.

The subject of this study is a boy of 17 years of age. He is tall, very dark, and has distinct Negroid features. He is not shy and has a pleasant personality. He recently won a \$25.00 prize in a newspaper editorial contest. He was eager to cooperate in making this study and understood its purpose.

"I was born April 21, 1927, at Ferndale, Oklahoma. I don't mind talking about myself. My life is an open book. My father was a farmer. He lived on a rented farm. When I was four years old my father and mother were separated. At that time my mother moved to Ardmore, Oklahoma. I think my mother and father had separated because of in-laws, but it did not seem to make much of an impression on me. After we moved to town I would visit my father and his people in the summer and the arrangement seemed quite natural.

I went to school at the age of six. It was a good Negro school-- a frame building of about eight rooms which housed all the grades through highschool.

Mother supported three boys by housework. I can recall her bringing food home from where she worked. She made about \$12.00 a month and sometimes less. As soon as the boys in the family were old enough we began shining shoes and making money in whatever way we could. Both of my brothers are older than I am.

There seemed to be something in my temperament that made me want to be out of this society that I was in at that time, which wasn't any society at all. Perhaps it was because of my schooling.

Negro teachers are more serious in their efforts because they recognize the fact that the Negro is in a position of disadvantage. I was always good in school work and I loved to read books.

When I was in the 9-B I came to Oklahoma City to go to school. I did not know just why at that time, but I wanted to get out of that environment. I realized that if I remained there I would drift into the situation that most of the Negroes had drifted into, and they did not think anything about it. I think it was what you might call a situation that you did not like, and detested, yet you remained in it. All during my childhood I saw fights, drunks, and immoral activities, especially on the part of married Negro men seeking unmarried Negro girls as the object of their attentions. Actual observation of immoral conduct on the part of persons representing both races was not uncommon along the railroad property.

I never had one white friend while I was growing up. Mother's employer must have been nice to her. She would always send us Christmas gifts and other toys and things from time to time. She sent us BB guns once. We would go up and down the tracks hunting and sometimes would get into fights with the white kids. It was almost the same way any kids fight--nothing serious--just for the fun of fighting. They would yell "Nigger" at us, or we would call them "Peckerwoods", "Patties", or "Checkernecks" (because white people's skin is cracked when they get old), and the fight would start. That did not happen very often and it was a sort of secret among us never to say anything to our parents about fighting with the whites. It think it was the same way with the whites not to tell their parents. We had that much sense.

Until I came to Oklahoma City I had not given white people much attention. I had a distrust of white people. I knew they were taking something from us; that they had better schools than we did. This was nothing instilled by my mother. Mother accepted conditions and did not teach us to hate anybody. Some of our people feel inferior, but I never have. I'm positive. I just did not feel inferior. Sometimes my own people do not understand me.

If it had not been for my mother I don't know what would have become of me. She had little education, just the fourth or fifth grade, but she had high hopes for her boys. She prevented us from falling into many of these pitfalls. It was a good home. We moved three times in eleven years. She never owned a home until a year and a half ago. This came about by my brothers going to the army and her getting an allotment. One of my brothers is out of the army now. He is a shine boy in Ardmore. He graduated from the high school there, and he

plans to go back to school and take a business course under the G. I. Bill.

I came to Oklahoma City, where my father and his wife live, in order to go to school.

We went to the Baptist church, rather regularly. I have always been of a religious temperament, but my conception of religion was a little different from their conception of religion. I haven't found what I want in the field of religion. I think I may find what I want in Father E.'s church. (I was baptized when I was 7 years old) Lots of the preachers don't give anything and say so many things that are false. In his preaching he states facts and accepted concepts that any reasoning person can understand. I want to know why.

I am by nature a sensitive person, but I would not have been up here at Douglas if I had not changed that. I would have been weeded out a long time ago. A lot of people believe in practicing religion one day. I believe in practicing it all the time. That is something I believe.

I began trombone lessons from a private instructor. He was my uncle. Mother paid him a dollar a lesson for one year. I got into the band in the seventh grade. The highschool band at the school was just starting and I played in that. We had parades and played for football games. I like music.

Then I came up here. I got into the band up here. I also play in the school orchestra and sing in the glee club. I also attend most of the symphony concerts. I don't like to play in dance orchestras in our public places because a person is likely to get into trouble. I like the other types of music best, especially classics and marches.

I learned to play the piano by learning the keyboard and I already knew all my notes from playing the trombone. I also took about a month and a half of lessons. I practice at school now without supervision. We have four or five pianos over at Douglas. Mrs. Breau stressed that it was best to go to concerts. I took music appreciation from her. I have a music, science, and English major. We got tickets to the concerts at \$3.15 for the season.

It has been necessary to work all the time I have been up here if I am to have any spending money. I am not working now, but I will probably go to work soon.

I worked down at Katz drugstore. The job involved bringing in supplies from the warehouse. I also worked at Empire Billiards--racking balls, sweeping, etc. I shined shoes, and I once worked for two weeks as a masseur at the YMCA. I quit that job. I

didn't like that kind of work. It was the wrong type. It's not always good to do things you don't like to do. The best job I had was a porter at the Federal Reserve Bank. I worked there all one summer and got about \$125.00 a month. We got up at 6 a.m. The job consisted of mopping, cleaning and polishing most of the day.

I got into a homeroom when I first came to Douglas. That was the first organization I got into. Then I got into the Hi-Y. It was the best club over there. We would meet every Thursday morning from 8:00 until 8:45. The dues were ten cents a week. The way to get the dues was to sell five Hi-Y papers for two cents each. It was at that time one of the least expensive clubs in the school, and yet one of the best. At that time we had a chaplain and he would read lessons from the Bible. Sometimes we would have discussions of what had been read. And there was always the devotional exercises and that was stressed. It's not stressed to any large extent now. That has happened in almost all the clubs. There has not been very much to work with during the war. In the 9-A and 10-B I was just a member. I worked on the paper as one of the production managers. In the 10-A I was elected president of the State Hi-Y for Negroes. It was at a convention here. I was re-elected president of the State Hi-Y in my senior year at a meeting in Muskogee. Our sponsor took us over there. About 25 boys went over there from here.

Hosea Owens is the captain of the Student Patrol. It is for the protection of the students and manages traffic in the halls. There is one captain, and two lieutenants. The others are members. It is sponsored by the Kiwanis Club of Oklahoma City. I belonged to the Future Business Leaders of America, but I was dropped because I missed too many meetings. It meets at 8:10 a.m. We had jackets that were issued out to the members who had been in the club the longest time. I was not too interested in the things we would do. They were insignificant. They did not mean much to me. They practiced typing, paid dues and had a float in the parade. (It really isn't as insignificant as I try here to make it appear.)

I belong to the Christian Youth Council that you saw me attending over at the church.

I go to the show two or three times a week. I used to go almost every day. I have been trying to work it down to about once a week. Most of the students go four or five times a week. They like cowboy and shoot-em up shows. Every now and then there is a good picture. The Jewel theatre gets the best pictures. It is Negro owned and operated. The Aldridge is Negro owned, but white, Jewish, operated. Pictures at the Aldridge are not as good as the ones at the Jewel. It seems that the white man does not really understand what the Negro wants.

Most of the pictures with all Negro casts are not well produced,

if they are produced just for Negroes. There's something wrong. Every once in a while we will get a better picture. Take for instance 'Caldonia'. It was all colored. It lasted thirty minutes and they showed it with another picture and charged fifty cents. They usually charge twenty-five cents. Everybody went to see it. They must have liked it. They spent their money to see it, but some of the sights were disgusting and some of the scenes were the low type. I don't know whether people like to go to the show or whether they just don't have any other place to go. We get some good shows. 'For Whom the Bell Tolls' packed them in. Most Negroes enjoy the same pictures that the whites enjoy. If it is a good picture they don't care who plays in it. We enjoyed 'Stormy Weather' and 'Cabin in the Sky'--they were good pictures and well produced.

I took the course in physical education that is required at Douglas. I liked it all right, but I don't like the idea of getting out and getting things broken up. A number do go out for athletics.

All this talk about ghosts and zombies and superstition makes me sick. There are, however, many people who believe in it. A great number who believe in voodooism, fortune telling and spiritualism. My mother used to work for a famous Negro fortune teller. Fortune telling is just a trade. You come in and tell them something about your life and they can tell you something that will come out true. They can tell you something. Anyone with any reasoning at all could tell what might happen in your life after seeing what has happened in so many other lives. Astrology is popular. All this has a place in the minds of many Negroes. It flourishes in the Negro community.

After I graduate I will probably go straight to the army or navy. Later I want to go to a college or university. At this time I am thinking about a church school--St. Augustine's in Raleigh, North Carolina. I want to take pre-med. I am interested mostly in psychiatry. Right now I don't know all the qualifications of a psychiatrist. I have begun finding material on the present psychiatrists in the United States which has been of much value to me.

I read a lot at the Dunbar Branch Library. We have a very fine librarian. I find that the library is OK for my present needs. Some of the books which I can recall having read since I have been going to Douglas are 'On Being a Real Person' by Harry Emerson Fosdick, 'The Violent Friends' by Winston Cleves, 'Black Boy' by Richard Wright, 'The Doctor Looks at Love and Life', by Joseph Collins, 'The Ethics of Sex' by Rene Guyen, 'Introduction to Psychoanalysis' by S. Freud, 'So Well Remembered' by James Hilton, 'Short Stories' de Maupassant, 'Magnificent Obsession', 'Disputed Passage', and 'The Robe' by Douglas, 'The Wit and Wisdom of India

and China' by Lin Yutang, 'Complete Works of Shakespeare', 'Essays' by Emerson, 'Leave Her to Heaven' by Ben Ames Williams, 'Frenchman's Creek' Maurier, 'Ivanhoe' by Scott, and 'Tale of Two Cities' by Dickens."

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