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of

UNITED SERVICE FOR NEW AMERICANS

Cordially invite you to attend

the

ANNUAL MEETING DINNER

in memory of

the Honorary Chairman of the Board

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN

on

Saturday, January nineteenth

at seven o'clock

The Hotel Roosevelt

New York City

Guest of Honor

DR. G. J. VAN HEUVEN GOEDHART

THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

R.S.V.P.
Card enclosed

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Informal Dress

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April 11, 1945

APR 1945

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

APR 13 1945

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The USO Division of the National Y.W.C.A. hopes you may be interested in this new pamphlet "Experiments in Democracy" which we have just published. It is concerned with Negro-white relationship in America..

I don't think that we need to tell you with what interest we read your valiant and courageous articles promoting interracial harmony. This pamphlet, a 75,000 edition, has been sent to the USO clubs all over the country in which the Y.W.C.A. has staff.

May I call your special attention to pages 66, 67 and 68. These pages contain suggestions which if given publicity, we believe, will be of great help in promoting what you, the National Y.W.C.A., and all right-minded persons believe in.

There has been much shilly-shallying about the interracial question. In this pamphlet, the National Y.W.C.A.-USO Division gives, we believe, a straightforward view of its own policy.

It would mean a great deal to us to see a few words about the pamphlet in your newspaper column. As a very recent ex-newspaper women, 8 years on the New York Post as a feature writer, during which time I had the pleasure of participating in many group interviews with you here in New York, I send my own personal admiration for the great good your newspaper column is accomplishing.

Sincerely

Mary Tobin

MARY TOBIN
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
USO DIVISION

MT:CG
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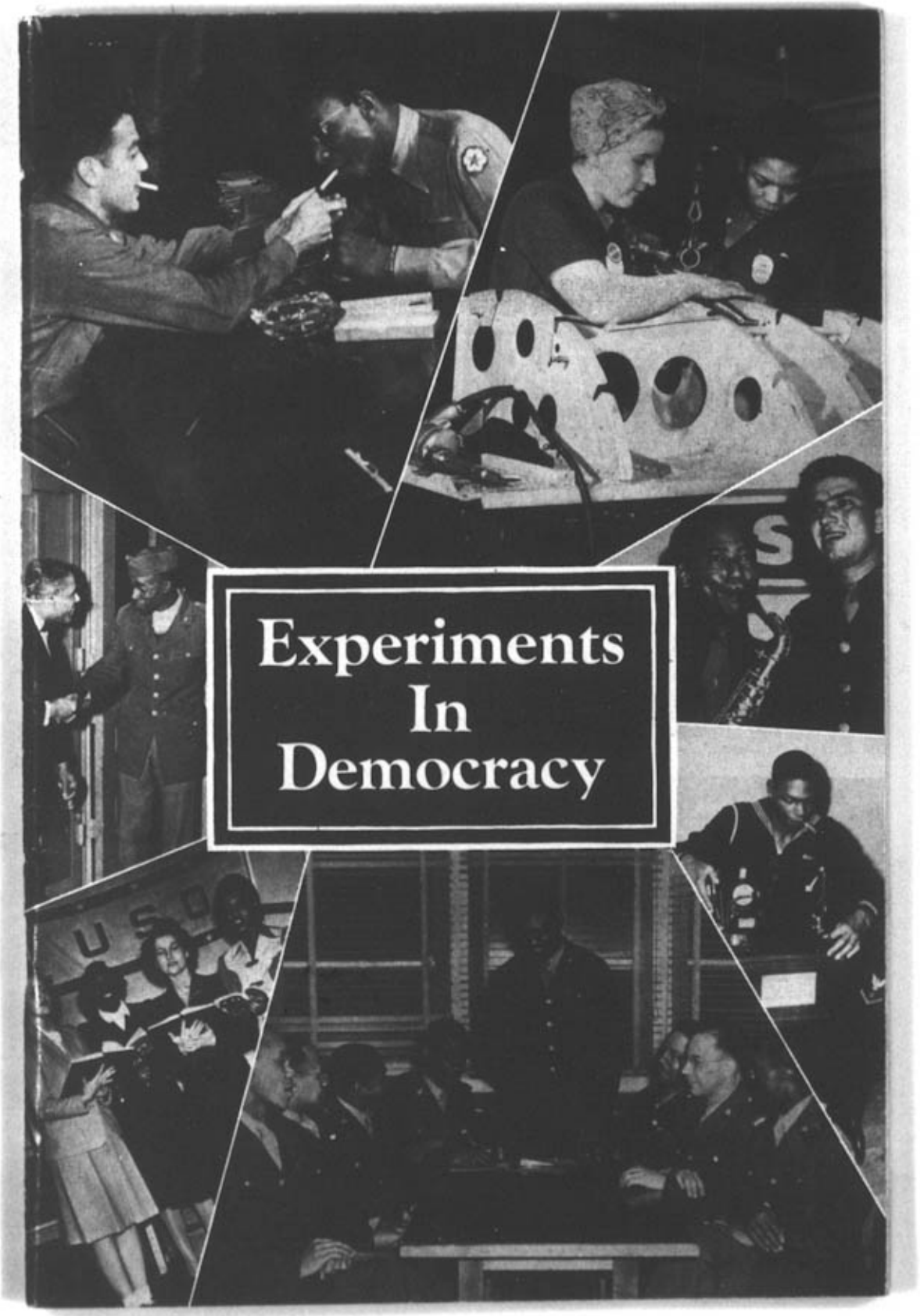
Experiments
In
Democracy

Experiments In Democracy

This pamphlet records some of the steps the USO Division of the National Board YWCA has taken toward achieving its goals of "service to all involved in the war effort" and of setting forward Negro-white relationships in America.

★

USO Division of the National Board YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue • New York 22, New York

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I . . . . . WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

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ALL thoughtful Americans are mindful of the way in which this global war has touched our lives. Americans are fighting today on nearly a hundred major battle fronts. Our troops and ships are scattered over five continents and the seven seas. The forces that have brought the most distant point of the earth only sixty flying hours from our homes have also foreshortened cultural and social distances and blurred the dividing lines between races and nations.

In charting a new course for human freedoms everywhere, we in America must realize that the eyes of the world are upon us; and the way in which we are meeting the problems of our minority groups has tremendous and far-reaching influence. Every gain in human insight and social justice here is a world gain, any set-back, a world loss. In the process we move either in the direction of world chaos or world order.

Alain Locke has observed that "most of all, these new forces of unification are closing in on that great divide of color, which has so long separated not only East and West, but two-thirds of mankind from the other third . . . for this very reason, not since the Civil War has the Negro's cause been of greater significance. The paradox of race has become our democracy's dilemma. But speeded on its way to solution it could become a triumphant vindication. Clear credentials on this score would give America a passport to world confidence, especially in the eyes of that two-thirds of humanity who happen to be non-white. . . . Thus it is that race prejudice not only provides

fertile ground for Axis propaganda, but dangerous soil for the possible growth of Facism."

Another great American, Wendell L. Willkie declared only a few weeks before his death that "the war has given new opportunities to the Negro and at the same time has emphasized the injustices in our attitude toward him. It has made us conscious of the contradictions between our treatment of our Negro minority and the ideals for which we are fighting. The equitable treatment of racial minorities in America is basic to our chance for a just and lasting peace. For it cannot be too much emphasized that in the world today whatever we do *at home* affects our foreign policy, and whatever we do *abroad* affects our domestic policy. On no single question is this truth so inescapable as in the repercussions all around the world that result from our treatment at home of our colored citizens."

It has been reported that in Italy a German tactic against the Negro troops was distribution of leaflets bemoaning the Detroit race riots. They were fired into American lines where the all-Negro 92nd Division had been fighting.*

One of the 500 Nazi prisoners, aboard the S.S. Booker T. Washington on the way to internment in the USA, had more to say on the subject of Axis propaganda. The fact that the ship was manned by a Negro captain and a crew of several races was to him and his fellows an amazing contradiction of all that German leaders had told them. Their spokesman said, "They told us Negroes were no better than slaves in your country. But what we have seen on this ship, the happiness, comradeship among all of you, your fairness to us when we had been told that you would beat and abuse us, all that has made us think. At night after the lights go out down in the hold, we talk about it, all of us."*

Fortunately we are beginning to realize that some common human denominators must be found in terms of "liberty, equality and fraternity for humanity-at-large." When so much of life is fraught with fears and frustrations, it is well to take stock of the factors which give us cause to take heart and go forward. Though the headlines scream about our failures in human relationships and play up the riots, stabbings, arrests and brutalities, volumes could be written about our successful experiences in releasing tension and erasing prejudice.

In the social experiment which is the USO we have learned a great deal about our American minorities and have developed policies and ways of work which have emphasized the full contribution

*Negro Digest, *December, 1944.*

and participation of all groups in American society. By everyday experience we have come to know that the same prejudices, inequalities and racial arrogances that operate against one minority—the Negroes, Mexicans or Jews, for example—operate against all minorities the world over. Out of everyday experience, too, we are learning to accept our differences and to find the things that unite us. In the past we have been insensitive to the reactions of people who are "different," but today we are struggling for greater understanding and insight. The Constitution of the United States does not recognize *first-* or *second*-class citizens but guarantees liberty, justice and equality for all men. Scientists refute the idea of racial superiority, and the religious concept of the Fatherhood of God implies also the brotherhood of mankind, and the intrinsic dignity and value of every human life.

In carrying out the basic principles of the USO and "serving all involved in the war effort" much depends upon the integrity, emotional stability and maturity of our USO leadership. The purpose of our organization is not advanced by sentimentality, fanaticism or martyrdom. In USO we must accept people for what they are and recognize their great human potentialities. We are all learning together. We make the same human mistakes, but we have the same opportunities to take part in this educational process and to go forward in the direction of our ideals.

This pamphlet records some of the steps the USO Division of the National Board YWCA has taken toward achieving its goals of "service to all involved in the war effort" and of setting forward Negro-white relationships in America. It is not in any sense complete nor authoritative. The material has been gathered from the correspondence of USO staff and volunteers, narrative reports of club directors, the observations of regional supervisors and headquarters staff, and includes also a summary statement of the official policies and operating practices of the USO in the various aspects of its services to Negroes. This pamphlet is a program tool indicating the scope of services and pointing out ways of working in the area of race relations with understanding and social insight to the end that our efforts may put America forward in its achievement of a true democracy.

II . . . . . FACTORS AFFECTING USO'S SERVICES TO NEGROES

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THE greatest mass migration in the history of our country has occurred in World War II. In this great re-shuffling of populations Negro servicemen and war workers and their families have been moving into all sections of the United States.

* The latest official War Department figures showed the following numbers of Negroes in the armed forces:

Army	701,678
Air Forces	73,686
Navy	142,628
Coast Guard	3,695
Marines	15,771
Total number of commissioned officers in all branches of service	5,804
Negroes in essential war industries approximate figure (Sept. 1944) (including men and women)	1,000,000
Total Negro population	13,000,000

*From a report to Board of Directors of USO by Henry W. Pope, Director of Services for Negroes, USO Headquarters, October 13, 1944.

In spite of the fact that Negro troops have been assigned to military duty in many very small units, ranging from 150 to 400, USO services have been provided, wherever needs have been presented.

Notwithstanding the movement of enlisted personnel to the theaters of war and the subsequent elimination of a few large clubs, services to Negroes are now being provided in the following number of operations. . . .

National		294
Clubs and Extensions	238	
War Production Clubs	14	
Military and War Production Clubs	19	
NTAA Service Units	12	
Troops in Transit Lounges	11	
Community Conducted		65
Clubs and Services	57	
Troops in Transit Lounges	8	
Total Operations		359

The constituent groups included in USO's services to Negroes are men and women in the armed forces; men and women in war production areas and families of both groups; civilian women and girls employed in military areas—as for example in camp offices, laboratories, laundries, restaurants, stores, etc. USO also carries on a decentralized program with the families of war production workers in housing projects.

Mobile and maneuvers service units travel to Negro troops stationed at outposts and on maneuvers.

A large number of clubs in the North staffed by white personnel have provided services to Negroes. The extent of integration in these clubs ranges from practically no contact and complete separation, to complete integration except social dancing. It also has been practicable to have mixed staffs (Negro and white) in a few communities in which Negro and white constituencies have used USO facilities without reference to race. In many clubs staffed by Negro personnel only, there has been a good attendance of white servicemen.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that one of the major problems encountered in serving Negroes effectively is psychological in nature. The morale of the Negro is more affected by race relations in continental USA than any other single factor. Many Negro serv-

icemen resent segregation not because they want to mingle with whites but because of the idea of racial inferiority it implies. Many Americans are sensitive to the anachronism of fighting a war against racism with an army constructed on racial lines. Quality and quantity of services are of vital importance, but *how* services are provided and the relation of this *how* to the great American creed of freedom and equality are also of vital importance to Negroes.

Conditions Directly Influencing USO's Services to Negroes

The following analysis of social and economic conditions which affect USO's services to Negroes was presented by William Y. Bell, former USO associate regional executive, at the Regional Staff Conference in Region VII*, December, 1943. While Mr. Bell's report stresses the particular problems of the southern region, much of the material is pertinent to other sections of the country, and merits the thoughtful consideration of USO staff and volunteers.

1. Transportation

In acutely dislocated areas transportation is overcrowded and uncomfortable for everyone. Negro servicemen have difficulty getting bus transportation to and from camp. White bus drivers may, and do, refuse to pick them up. The inadequate or nonexistent Negro taxicab service is additional hardship for servicemen and the relatives who visit them.

Negro USO club directors are aware of the additional assistance to travelers which they must give under such circumstances. They realize how hard it may be to secure the services of volunteers who have transportation difficulties getting to and from the club. Club attendance shows that men may prefer to remain on post rather than risk being left at the gate by successive buses. Negro soldiers may arrive at the USO club so upset by their experiences in getting there that they are psychologically negative prospects for any sort of program participation.

2. Eating

Since there has never been a large, middle-class Negro traveling population to support more desirable restaurants, Negro eating places are, in the main, few and inferior. They are of the cafe variety, specializing in short orders, sandwiches and soft drinks. Prices are apt to be higher than those of comparable or even better white establishments because food prices in Negro neighborhoods are higher. At the same time, the quality of food served is apt to be poorer. The implications are obvious for first-class snack bar operation in Negro USO clubs.

3. Civil Liberties

The degree of civil liberties afforded by a community to visiting servicemen, in-migrant war workers and their respective families affects the attitude with which these constituencies approach the USO program and the effectiveness of the USO director and staff in dealing with them. Some communities are particularly oppressive upon Negro soldiers.

When four white civilians approached a Negro private in his home town demanding that he remove his army uniform, he refused and a fight followed in which one of the civilians said he was cut by the soldier. For the next three and a half years the soldier will be in jail, because he resisted a demand for which he could have been court-martialed by the Army. A Negro sentry was ordered to move by a state trooper. When he refused to leave his post of duty, he was shot dead by the trooper who was later punished by one day's suspension from the force. Similar violations of servicemen's rights are widespread and occur frequently. Obviously, it is difficult for the USO club to design a program for men who have personal knowledge of such matters.

Infringement upon civil liberties affects more than the serviceman, however, and USO services in some places have been upset by experiences suffered by directors and volunteers. In connection with a vice drive, police made wholesale arrests of Negro women on the streets at night. Their tactics were so extreme that volunteers, including the director's wife, were afraid to come to the club. A Negro director was asked to leave town because he pointed out in a public meeting the effect of inadequate playgrounds on the increasing juvenile delinquency rate. USO is concerned not only with the morale of our servicemen but also with that of our USO staff.

4. Housing

Housing for Negro transients throughout the country is a problem even in normal times for two main reasons. First, there are few desirable hotels open to Negroes because of the absence

*Region VII includes the following states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee.

of a large, traveling Negro middle class to support them. Second, the outer limits of most Negro neighborhoods are fixed by Real Estate Boards. In general Negroes are allowed to expand into areas vacated by whites only slowly and upon payment of rents higher than those charged the former white tenants. Wartime conditions merely heighten these problems. USO is one of the few agencies to which servicemen, war workers and their families may turn.

Conditions Indirectly Affecting Program, Volunteers and Lay Leaders

1. Economic Conditions

   Since Negro males are, on the whole, confined to common labor at low wages or else have not received the training which would enable them to hold better paying jobs, the income of the average Negro family, in comparison with the average white American family, is extremely low. To increase the family income, the woman usually works. In many places, 80 to 90 per cent of Negro women work, most of them in domestic service, where long hours are the rule. The reservoir of Negro volunteers is, therefore, smaller than would ordinarily be expected.

2. Lack of Social Agencies

   There are few southern communities with Negro social agencies. In such places, USO is the only agency present which even approaches a social agency with professional personnel. Local civilian Negro individuals and families are apt to turn to the USO club for advice on problems. While the USO club is not set up to render services to groups other than servicemen, war workers, etc., public relations dictate that the USO director at least listen to requests for social services and then give advice or refer applicants to whatever help may be available. This is an additional responsibility upon the director and staff.

3. Educational Cultural Development

   The South as a whole spends one-fourth as much on the education of the average Negro child as it does on its average white child—although even the average southern white child receives half as much in school expenditures as the average northern white child. School systems in this region are generally lax about school attendance: few insist on Negro school attendance especially. Negro schools are apt to be scattered far apart. Many children drop out of school to work. Obviously, the reservoir of volunteers and lay leadership who can bring the benefits of formal education to USO activities is limited. The school system in one city pays one Negro high school teacher $600 while a white teacher of the same training and experience receives $2,400. This highlights a condition of low, differential wages which has caused southern Negroes to migrate to other sections of the country, resulting in a drain of native leadership. While this emigration of leadership is not limited to Negroes (4,000,000 Southerners have left the region in the last generation, compensated for by only a 600,00 influx; one child out of every eight children educated in Alabama leaves the state), it is more serious because of the relatively greater need for Negro leadership. The need for volunteer training programs and interpretation is relatively greater because of these reasons.

4. Recreation

   a. Commercial—The Negro middle class is small, conservative and has not encouraged or been able to support more desirable commercial recreation. That which has been established has been set up for the large marginal population. The result is that almost the only commercial recreation available to Negro servicemen and war workers consists of substandard pool halls and theaters. Negroes have little or no access to informal centers such as hotel lobbies, theaters, restaurants, etc., which take some of the strain off white USO clubs. The need for USO service is, therefore, relatively greater.

   b. Nonprofit—*Private* recreation among Negroes has been limited. *Public* recreation is even more lacking. Junior hostesses and volunteers in Negro USO programs have relatively no previous recreational experience. Much greater emphasis upon training programs is, therefore, indicated.

While these problems may seem great, they are not insurmountable. It is to the credit of USO that it is in a position to recognize these military and community conditions for the effect they may have on USO services. The whole field of services to Negroes presents a tremendous challenge to USO. It is heartening to observe the way in which USO has attempted to meet it.

III .... EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY

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IN A true democracy differences of race, religion, political opinion are encouraged and respected. Our American creed is based on the premise that all citizens have a right to equal opportunity for participation in the economic, political and social organization of our nation; but what we have done in practice has been too often contrary to what we profess to believe. The war has greatly speeded up the rate of social change and has taught men and nations the values of cooperative effort. It has helped many to see what can be gained by working *together*, instead of in *separate* groups. Indeed the greatest social progress has been made in areas where there has been greatest tension.

The USO Division of the National Board YWCA has been moving step by step in the direction of equality and freedom, and has brought together Negro and white citizens in the following ways:

a. As members of leadership groups—USO councils, Operating Committees, staff conferences, volunteer training courses.
b. Through the use of the same USO buildings and facilities on a segregated or sometimes non-segregated basis.
c. Through USO programs in which both white and Negro constituents participate.

The program developed by the USO Division of the National Board YWCA is focused upon the basic needs of people, and YWCA leaders are concerned not only with the business of providing services and activities, but also with what happens to people in the process.

Changing Community Attitudes

When USO began over four years ago, some communities resisted the idea of USO's plan for services to Negroes. Even talk about establishing Negro clubs was sometimes resented. So often the white clubs got started first, even though large numbers of Negro troops were being sent into all sections of the country. But soon it became clear to most communities that something had to be done for everybody affected by the war; and community leaders came to realize that USO had a responsibility for all.

Sometimes separate facilities were set up for services to Negro and white groups when separate clubs were not necessary. But in many instances the separate club has been a step in the direction of integration because there has been an exchange of professional leadership in staff conferences, and Negro and white volunteers have learned to work together on councils and committees. Even the separate facilities have demonstrated USO's concept of equality. While in some places it has been almost impossible to find centrally located buildings which were suitable for renovation, and those that were available were often in the worst slum areas, USO headquarters and the national offices of the agencies have made every effort to prevent the use of old furniture or worn equipment. In many communities residents were used to having new schools and churches for white people, and old rickety buildings for Negroes, but USO has sent in standard equipment, attractive new furnishings and has designated federal buildings or up-to-date renovations for Negro operations. USO has proved to communities that Negroes can administer these buildings, and has certainly changed the status of Negroes in every community where Negro services have been provided.

It has taken considerable work on the part of regional supervisors and club directors to secure Negro lay leaders. Because community problems have seemed to such leaders to be so insurmountable, there often has been a tendency on their part to withdraw from these problems and become preoccupied with their own business and professional and social life apart from the total community. Many have made an adjustment to the transportation problem by using their own cars, rather than public conveyances. All of these factors have tended to lessen their contact with general community conditions and discriminations. USO staff members have been urging these local leaders to be related to USO, asking them to serve on committees to raise funds, to help to operate USO buildings—thereby achieving some racial collaboration and over-all community planning.

Racial antagonisms and barriers have been heightened through the years. There is among some Negroes as much feeling of prejudice against white people as white people have shown against Negroes. The process of clearing away these clouds of hatred and distrust is slow and often painful, but USO has not retreated!

One of the Negro supervisors has a room in the home of a Negro woman who "simply hates white people." When the Negro supervisor wanted to entertain the white supervisor of the region in her room, most careful interpretation had to be made to her landlady. When the guest arrived, the landlady reluctantly agreed to meet her. The next time the white supervisor visited her home she was more cordial, and with each successive visit she is discovering that people are people and that she and the white supervisor have a lot in common.

When Negro troops were stationed just beyond the borders of an acutely crowded community, USO went in to operate a club. Race tensions grew, community feelings ran high. When the morale of the Negro troops had reached an all-time low, the mayor appointed an Interracial Committee made up of Negro and white civic leaders representing the Council of Social Agencies, Child Welfare Association, YWCA, Negro Civic Club, USO Council, City Community Committee and the Operating Committee of the Negro USO club. The purpose of the committee was "to study problems of concern to both races, to work for better race relations in the community, to study local conditions in order to eradicate sources of possible friction." At the first meeting in the mayor's office, the president of the Chamber of Commerce was present. Better recreational facilities for Negroes were considered and instances of brutality to Negroes on city streetcars were discussed. This was the first time that actual *facts* of this nature had been dealt with by civic leaders. USO staff and volunteers were there to help with further facts and interpretation. White and Negro members of the committee have been working with the churches of the community, as well, on steps to improve conditions. Women's groups in the churches are studying basic problems of Negro-white relations, and various denominational pronouncements have been made to indicate that church leaders are doing some thinking, too. Although the committee was appointed to work only on emergency problems, the mayor expects this to be a permanent committee.

Community Cooperation

When the hordes of Negro war workers in a Pennsylvania community jammed the small USO clubhouse to overflowing, community organizations representing many faiths and nationalities promptly offered to share their recreational facilities with USO. Now the USO club operated by Negro staff is used mainly as a lounge and operational headquarters, while most of the war workers' activities are carried on all over town as cooperative, community enterprises. The dances are supervised by USO staff, planned by war workers and community representatives, and held at the YWCA building or at the Federal Housing Project.

The Operating Committee working with the USO staff assigned by the YWCA to a middlewest USO operation is concerned about needs of the Negro servicemen who have been regularly attending USO clubs in the area. There are rumors that the Negro boys have not felt free to use USO facilities, because of the attitude of many of the white men at the post.

Some of the white soldiers have said, "Let one of those niggers come to the USO, they'll see how quickly they'll get thrown out!"

The women on the committee have agreed that their town has a responsibility for helping servicemen from other sections to see that in their locality the customs pertaining to Negroes are quite different. They feel that their community pattern of providing hospitality to all men in uniform ought to be continued—not changed.

A New Role for Negro Leaders

One of the outstanding achievements of USO in its services to Negroes has been its contribution to the development of an appreciation of the value of community organization among Negroes and the development of Negro leadership. In many smaller communities Negroes have had the benefit of trained professional leadership for the first time.

A white club director has made this comment about her Negro co-worker: "Wherever Miss B went, she was a revelation to the local whites . . . but more startling to me than the change in the white community was the total change in the Negro community. When Miss B, who looks like a *Vogue* fashion plate, went to work, with her home economics training and her flair for organization, things began to happen fast. The Negroes began to paint and refurnish their shabby little homes; yards were cleaned up. They themselves seemed to improve their personal appearance. The knowledge that

Miss B was living in the home of a white person because of the crowded conditions in the town set up a small barrier at first, but finally the Negroes accepted it as an indication that segregation might not be a permanent thing."

Community Planning for the Future

There were two critical problems in a military community in North Carolina—an acute shortage of labor, particularly in domestic service, and a lack of community recreation facilities for adolescents. The USO Operating Committee sponsored a two-day conference on "Negro Women and the War" attended by Negro and white church women, school officials, civic and social leaders, who considered their problems. A panel discussion on "Negro Women as Domestic Workers" brought together, as panel participants, officers' wives as "employers" and Negro women and girls as "employees." They discussed every angle of the problem frankly and constructively and came through with some specific agreements about standards in domestic employment—the "employers" agreeing with the "employees" on wages, hours and conditions of work, and the "employees" agreeing with the "employers" on how to work efficiently and well. As another result of the discussion, the USO staff was asked to assist the community in setting up an employment bureau and training center for girls in household employment.

The conference also did some "long-range" planning for teen-age recreation, and discussed with the park commission, school and church leaders how more adequate recreation could be provided.

USO Councils

One of the outstanding achievements of USO in the development of services to Negroes is its representative pattern of organization and administration. Council members have learned that careful planning is directly related to the business of providing adequate services. They are discovering that the degree to which democracy has pervaded USO structure and operating practices locally greatly conditions the attitude and behavior of the Negro constituency and staff alike. USO councils, which are truly representative of all community groups, have been an important factor in aiding many American communities to begin interracial work. Throughout the country Negroes and whites have had an opportunity to work together

—in many instances for the first time—planning and organizing over-all USO services. And in the process of getting this job done, councils have faced, and often overcome, many kinds of interracial difficulties, thus achieving, as a by-product of effective services, improved race relations.*

On occasions when the white leadership of the community was confronted by a "Negro problem," which they were making no headway in solving, white directors have suggested that help might be forthcoming from Negro leaders, and that Negro representation on the council might be useful in avoiding further "problems." Most communities have seen the logic of these suggestions even when they have been reluctant to accept USO's policy. Many white citizens, long accustomed to paternalism, have been amazed that there were able Negro leaders to count on in an emergency. And the Negroes themselves have been able to develop much new leadership with the help of the professional staff made available to them by the USO.

Leadership in the Negro group which is selected by Negroes themselves tends to be drawn from the professional class—ministers, teachers, physicians and dentists. Too frequently, a few are selected and then expected to represent the group in everything, regardless of their qualifications. Once the leaders are selected, they are not apt to be challenged by the rank-and-file. Often the Negro leaders selected by white people are not considered leaders by the Negroes. Sometimes they may be amenable "yes-men" who say what white leaders want them to say in order to have their favor. Negroes are occasionally selected by white people because of their position, e.g., a school principal or minister, without inquiry into their real qualifications for the job, or knowledge of their status with the Negro group. Obviously, Negro leadership must be carefully chosen because of its great influence in determining the direction of USO program. Regional supervisors and executives as well as club directors have a great responsibility to make certain that they are dealing with really representative Negroes.†

In communities in the North, South, East and West Negro council members work with white members in raising War Chest funds, planning for community recreation and health services. By and large, Negro leaders feel that the opportunities offered in council

*From a report to Board of Directors of USO by Henry W. Pope, Director of Services for Negroes, USO Headquarters, October 13, 1944.

†From a report presented at the Regional Staff Conference in Region VII by William Y. Bell, December, 1943.

groups are such that real and permanent gains can be made if they can only continue to work.

The YWCA is now emphasizing more active participation of Negro leaders in council meetings, and is helping staff on location to work closely and constructively with council members so that they may be prepared to speak on matters other than race and relate themselves to the total program. There is considerable evidence that Negro representatives themselves are coming to see the importance of remaining on USO councils, in order to represent the Negro group, even though in the beginning it may mean overlooking indignities and discourtesies, as they move toward the larger goals.

Where Negro representation does not exist, USO regional executives responsible for organizing and working with councils are continuing their efforts to make all USO councils interracial. There is rather general community acceptance of this USO policy even in states with segregation laws.

Compromise—Not Retreat!

In one of the most complicated situations in the country Negro representation on the USO Council was not achieved for many months. The Operating Committee of the Negro club sent regular written reports to each council meeting and extended frequent invitations to white leaders to attend special activities in the Negro club. White staff members and regional supervisors made every effort to keep the Negro leadership in touch with council actions; and through these various understanding approaches to the situation, the USO Council eventually responded with wholehearted decision to invite the Negro representatives to regular council membership.

The chairman of the USO Council in a Rocky Mountain State has devoted a good deal of time to reading material suggested to him by the Negro staff. He used to avoid difficult situations but now he has learned some good techniques for handling them. He went to a neighboring town to see a movie about Negro soldiers because he "felt a USO council chairman should be able to discuss race relations." He is insistent that USO shall "practice democratic principles in the way it solves the problems of serving Negro and white soldiers with equally good facilities."

Times Are Changing!

Three years ago one USO Council threatened to "burn the place

to the ground" if a federal building was designated for services to Negroes in their town. But a lot of things have changed. USO now provides a very effective Negro program in a large federal building there and the USO Council recently invited the Negro director to be a member.

The Council Takes a Firm Stand

Thousands of Negro soldiers were assigned to a training camp, and the USO staff and council in an adjoining community moved at once to meet their needs. They agreed to include the men on an integrated basis in the regular activities and services of the club. Only one Negro family lived in the community and Negro junior and senior hostesses came from a number of nearby towns.

As the wives and families of the Negro men began to arrive at the camp, housing needs were most urgent. The situation was discussed in the area staff conference with the result that a committee was set up to find accommodations for Negroes. The committee sponsored an evening reception attended by some thirty Negro officers and their wives and about the same number of white residents. One of the guests invited a number of the officers to her home to introduce them to her white neighbors and many pleasant acquaintances developed.

In canvassing the local residents for rooms, the Housing Committee asked local landladies if they would be willing to rent rooms to Negro soldiers and their wives. Some refused, but many agreed, and a number of rooms were made available. One couple, who had at first refused USO's request, later called to say "Yes." They had thought over the questions raised by the USO director, and had decided to rent two rooms to Negroes, and to turn over the garage in their backyard for housing. A Negro major arranged for the renovations and repairs which were done by Negro soldiers in their off-duty hours.

The integrated program has been an unusually successful experiment—thanks to skillful staff and volunteer leadership. Recently a few dissenting, conservative elements in the community have attempted to "high pressure" the council into setting up separate services to Negroes. But the USO Council has not been willing to "turn back the clock" and has taken a firm and united stand against this point of view.

Staff Relationships

USO professional workers have helped to demonstrate two basic principles of good race relations: *first*, "that it is feasible and greatly acceptable to establish a program on the premise of equal services to all," and *second*, "that it is possible to create an atmosphere that reflects democratic practice." Negro and white staff have not dramatized this democracy but have gone ahead quietly establishing the principle of equality. Before USO appeared on the scene, the only contact many whites had had with Negroes was with the servant group; and in many communities there was considerable surprise that Negro directors had full responsibility for the administration of clubs, signed checks and received salaries comparable to the white directors.

Some white staff members have helped to bring about better race relationships by their willingness to take the initiative in local communities and make a courageous stand against discrimination and inequality. The Negro staff have contributed much to the experiment by their professional competence, patience and sensitivity to human needs and attitudes. They have given many of their white co-workers a lift over the tight places and tensions by their genuine understanding and buoyant spirits.

A white director in a small western town cites a case in point:

"When it came to establishing a Negro club on the white side of town, diagonally across the street from the largest and wealthiest church, rumblings arose and protests were made to the mayor and city fathers. Fortunately the USO Council stuck to its guns and got the club opened, more or less on trial. Mothers began re-routing their children to school, to avoid D Street. But when none of the anticipated street riots developed, curiosity got the better of everybody, and one by one the neighbors began coming by to see what was going on. Mrs. A was the first Negro professional worker to come to the town. Local residents had been in the habit of seeing Negroes only in janitorial or kitchen roles and it was a pleasure to me to introduce Mrs. A to the ministers, bank presidents and civic groups. Through her leadership the tide of public opposition was turned into genuine cooperation. In the month she spent with us she also pointed out the problems which lay ahead for a professional staff, and some of the limitations of housing and eating.

"For a week before Miss B and the YMCA worker arrived I tried to find living quarters for them. No rooms were available in the Negro community, and finally, in desperation, on Saturday night, I called on the ministers of the town, asking them to state our need in their churches. Two white people volunteered to house the Negro staff. The YMCA worker was taken in by a rancher in the country, and it was a soldier's wife, recently arrived from Texas and living in an exclusive part of town, who invited Miss B to share her home. At first, eyebrows were raised, but soon she was just another neighbor. Some months later when the troops were shipped out and Miss B was leaving for another USO assignment, the white neighbors said, 'If the men come back and you are able to return, we'll be glad for you to have a room with us.' "

It is the firmly-adhered-to policy of a southern USO staff conference of white and Negro workers to hold all meetings and social gatherings where Negro members are welcome. A few months ago after plans were completed to hold a meeting of the staff conference aboard a Mississippi River Boat, arrangements were changed when it was discovered that the Negro members of the group could not be included.

A United Approach

The USO staff in a New England club has always approached the matter of integrated services for Negroes as a total staff responsibility. They have thrashed out difficulties frankly and worked out staff strategy as a group. Their technique for meeting criticism from servicemen is on an individual basis: when a white soldier complains about having Negroes around, he is guided by one of the staff to an office where he can "blow off." Then the staff member will gently but firmly bring the conversation around to what this war is all about, what it means to be a citizen of the United States. The serviceman is reminded that it is USO policy to provide services to *all* men in uniform, and is asked for his suggestions about an equitable way to achieve this service. The same method has been used with Negro servicemen who gripe for one reason or another—and it has worked!

Sure Cures for That Dull Feeling—in Staff Conference

"The staff conference has great potentialities for training-on-the-job for all professional leaders, but too many meetings involving hours of staff time are poorly planned," reports one of the associate regional supervisors. "Many staffs do not tackle real problems, but waste time with non-essentials and routine clearance of building

schedules. It is difficult to convince the Negro staff that they should continue to attend when they have no real job to do. On the other hand, the Negro staff ought to take more initiative in pointing up the basic problems to be discussed and should be frank in expressing their dissatisfactions."

Negro staff agree, too, that their white co-workers are at times "too protective" of their feelings and that frequently there are not frank enough professional discussions of conflict situations.

Some staff conferences have appointed Program Committees, representing Negro and white members, to plan agenda for staff meetings so that matters of vital professional interest are considered. One staff conference has been studying techniques of community organization—preparing themselves to work more successfully with over-all community groups and to help USO Council and Operating Committees to plan for the postwar period when USO has withdrawn.

In an Oklahoma town where there are Negro and white USO clubs, Negro and white staff discussed how they could work together for improving race relations in the community. They called together a small group of interested citizens—Negro and white—to consider the need for better recreation facilities and leisure-time activities for Negroes. This group voted to ask the mayor for the use of a park. The mayor refused their request, but promised to clear some vacant lots near one of the USO clubs. These did not prove to be satisfactory; but instead of being defeated by the situation the USO worker writes, "I guess our committee will have to work a little harder!"

Fair Exchange—of Leadership!

A white supervisor and a Negro supervisor were visiting a Middle Atlantic community where no facilities—not even the public library—have been open to Negroes. Two junior hostesses were pressing the white supervisor for help with some junior hostess problem. Said the white supervisor, "Mrs. D, our Negro supervisor, is here with me and she's quite an expert on that question. Wouldn't you like to discuss your problems with her?" The girls liked the idea, arranged an appointment and were so skillfully assisted with their difficulties that they invited the Negro supervisor to come back and work with them again.

A Negro director in the Southwest has been teaching in a white housing project. White girls are now coming to the club and have had some interracial activities.

Standard Equipment for All USO Staff—a Sense of Humor!

In USO, Negro and white professional workers do their jobs most effectively when they approach even the grim and complicated problems of race with the lighter touch. Those who have succeeded in bringing about better race relations have learned that there is a difference between obsession and conviction. USO's purposes are served best not by fanaticists but by emotionally mature leaders who take setbacks and suffering all in their stride.

One of the Negro associate supervisors put it this way, "Every time somebody gives you a kick, somebody else comes along and dusts you off!"

Training-for-the-Job

The USO interagency orientation courses, institute workshops and refresher courses help to prepare professional workers to do an effective job in providing services to all groups. All of these training sessions are attended by white and Negro workers and are held in places where all persons may have equal eating and hotel accommodations. USO staff, therefore, have not only the experience of working and studying together, but also of knowing each other as persons, and demonstrating to the communities, in which the training sessions are held, the fact that policy is something to live by!

In each training conference the agenda includes discussion and thoughtful analysis of community tensions and problems related to race, and to the study of ways of work in improving USO's services to Negroes and achieving greater interracial understanding.

Color in the Program

"Back home was nothin' like this!" a Negro soldier was heard to remark to his buddies as they swung into the USO club in a new Federal Recreation Building. Thousands of Negroes have stepped into an amazing new world when they have entered USO clubs. The program with its varied kinds of recreation, informal education and dozens of personal services has taken them into vast, new, unexplored territory. USO leaders, professional and volunteer as well, have the chance of a century to help the young people coming into their clubs to get "the feel" of a creative, democratically planned program, and to gain new experiences that will enrich their lives and broaden their interests for many years to come.

America, too, might have her renaissance in recreation if USO leadership has the skill and imagination to pioneer in new recreational fields.

Program in some clubs has been limited by inadequate facilities, but where staff has been resourceful in securing use of supplementary community facilities, the program has flourished despite lack of space. In general, services to Negroes have the same variety and range as services to white constituency. They include many kinds of social activities—dances, game nights, parties, outdoor events; educational programs—forums, discussions, language classes, reading and writing groups for soldiers of limited formal education; hobbies and interest groups—arts and crafts, music, sports; emphasis on spiritual guidance—vesper services, worship services, hymn sings. USO's multiplicity of personal services has also been appreciated by Negro men and women. In many communities the USO club is the only place where Negroes are permitted to go to read, write letters, meet their friends, wash and freshen up after long journeys, have clean, well-cooked food, find suitable rooms to rent, get help with personal problems.

Program in USO clubs where YWCA staff members are working varies greatly in its interracial emphasis. There are clubs in all parts of the country where services to Negroes are provided in separate facilities with little or no contact between white and Negro constituents; yet some interracial activities are regularly scheduled and quite generally accepted by community leaders in a few clubs in the North, Southwest and on the West Coast. More clubs could be moving ahead on some kinds of integrated program in terms of leadership training, exchange of leadership, occasional joint use of facilities, if professional staff and volunteers were convinced of the importance of such program, and if regional supervisors could guide such experimentation more closely.

Wanted—Community Recreation

Sometimes such experimentation comes about as a natural part of the process of meeting a community need. The club designated for services to Negroes in a small conservative town was located in a renovated store near the center of town, opposite a large and prosperous church. At first, church members protested the location of a Negro club in their neighborhood. The USO Council, however, resisted this pressure and the club stayed open. Later the groups which had protested the loudest came with their visiting relatives

to show them "our club"! The young newsboy who delivered papers to the club told a few of his pals about the place and soon the younger group of teen-agers were using the club on afternoons when the soldiers were not there. Many liked to come in to sit and read, and play ping-pong. The boys enjoyed sports, book reviews, reading and group discussions. The girls were busy with sewing, art activities and simple crafts. When summer came, the club was filled every week day with Negro and white children, ranging in age from the five-year-olds, who wanted to play paper dolls and eat ice cream, to the teen-agers of fourteen and fifteen years.

Because the children continued to come into the club, one of the white ministers in town saw the need for a community center for youth, and asked the USO director to help him organize a Planning Committee to work on such a center. Just as this interest was at its height the soldiers were moved out of the area and the need for USO services to the military was no longer present. Staff was quickly withdrawn and reassigned to other locations and the attractive club house closed. The minister and several community leaders keenly regretted that the staff could not have stayed on for at least two or three weeks to help to get some community-wide recreation plans under way. The club director felt very strongly about USO's responsibility for training community leadership to carry on after the withdrawal of USO, and wished that she could have aided the community at this point. In her present USO assignment she is already working with an interracial community-wide committee that she hopes will take definite responsibility for postwar planning.

Talent—Not Race

Art activities have given USO participants of all faiths and races a thrilling glimpse of a new world. An amazing array of talent has been discovered. Practically every club has its murals painted by artists-in-uniform. Many have craft and hobby rooms filled from morning to night. USO has sponsored art exhibits of the work of white and Negro artists. A white soldier artist teaches sketching and portrait groups in a Negro USO club, helping to break down prejudice of Negroes against whites. A group of Negro and white art students from a well-known eastern art school go each week to a USO club to conduct classes in portrait painting, oils and water colors and sculpture. A New England USO worker reports on a bit of strategy in program planning: "We scheduled the arts and crafts program on the Negro servicemen's program night, bringing

the white men into *their* program, rather than bringing Negro men into what began as a 'white group.'"

Interracial Harmony

Music has brought many groups of Negroes and whites together in all parts of the country. In one club the Negro staff member plays extremely well, and often has mixed groups gathering around the piano to sing, as she plays on in an unplanned casual way. One white staff member, also skilled in music, plays piano duos with Negro or white servicemen. Sometimes the servicemen themselves play together. White soldier musicians go to Negro clubs.

The Intermediate Girl Scouts, sponsored by a USO staff member in the Middle West, expressed an interest in folk music. After a session on Negro spirituals they voted to visit the Negro USO club. The director there arranged for a Negro Girl Scout troop to act as hostesses, and they were so gracious and hospitable that a white girl who had been "afraid to sit in the chairs where Negroes had sat" said afterwards, "Why, of course, they were nice—Negroes are just like other people!"

The USO Negro People's Chorus has been described as "a moving force for interracial understanding." This group of Negro servicemen and war workers, led by the former choir director of the radio program, "Wings over Jordan," has introduced several communities on the West Coast to the cultural contribution of famous Negro artists and has helped them to get better acquainted with their new Negro neighbors as well.

Discussion Groups and Forums

A group of Negro servicemen and junior hostesses in the Northwest have a weekly discussion group on the postwar outlook. A member of the headquarters staff of the USO Division YWCA attended one of the sessions and found those youngsters in their early twenties discussing questions that would stump the experts in any broadcast of "Information Please" or the "Town Hall Meeting of the Air." They knew every angle of the GI Bill of Rights; they were going to write to the President to urge some permanent peacetime extension of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. A group of junior hostesses working as aircraft mechanics in one of the great bomber plants met afterwards in a "rump session" to see what they could do about the attitude of the union at the plant about recognition of the status of Negro members. It had been a

common practice in the union to collect dues and initiation fees and then fail to notify Negro members of meetings and to deprive them of voting privileges for many months of apprenticeship. The girls were bitter about "grievance machinery" in the plant, and felt that it was almost impossible to get "upgraded." If individual workers asked for advancement and upgrading and showed sufficient skill to be given more responsible jobs, they were given wage increases, but relatively few workers had been upgraded. One attractive junior hostess lingered on to talk with the staff member after the group had disbanded. She wanted to know what the YWCA was doing about those conditions. She had heard that spotters were already stationed in the war plants to find reasons for discharging white women and older men, Negroes and Mexicans. While she was glad to know that the YWCA was emphasizing full employment in its regular public affairs program, she was not convinced that "the YWCA could do anything to keep Negroes from being the first to be laid off when V Day came"!

One USO director has organized "Global Gab" discussion groups in two communities in the Southwest which have brought together servicemen and junior hostesses of both races and a great variety of local residents. These groups have discussed all sorts of topics. "For many of the civilian whites the experience of seeing Negroes and whites sit down together to talk about their special and common problems is a genuine soul-stretcher. Negroes are excluded from most organizations and agencies in the community, and 'Global Gabbers' feel that USO gives them the perfect laboratory in which to work to improve race relationships in the town." Negro groups are gradually coming to use the club on other nights, too. They enjoy the lounge, reading room, an excellent library of classical recordings. They also participate in radio programs and attend a monthly Negro dance. A prejudiced white sergeant recently told a USO staff member in that club how much the experience had meant to him. "Thanks," he said, "for exposing me to an educated Negro." A shy Negro private said, "I wish we all could let you know how we feel about this club—we haven't been welcome in most USO's—people let us in, usually, but gee! You folks really want us, and that's something new for us."

Social Activities

A ping-pong tournament was another successful interracial venture in the Southwest. It was planned by the USO staff conference

on a community-wide basis. Each club was instructed to run off preliminaries and to send final club winners as entries in the community-wide tournament. The Negro club assumed that full participation was in order and got club preliminaries under way. When the director of one of the white clubs (where the tournament was to be held) heard that the Negroes were planning to enter he had some misgivings about the use of his building by an interracial group, but the Negro director quickly tried to reassure him and offered the facilities of the Negro club for the match. The white director did not want to lose the group and finally agreed to go on with the original plan. Junior hostesses and Negro servicemen came to the tournament, refreshments were served, the awards were presented and the party was a great success. The names of all entries were listed in the newspapers, and a Negro serviceman was a runner-up in the finals.

Negro sailors attend a USO club on Saturday nights. They bring their girl friends and have a wonderful time dancing and playing games with them. White senior hosts and hostesses are always on hand to greet the Negroes and serve them at the canteen. Though the boys are shy and reserved at first, their eyes speak volumes. Volunteers write letters to the families of all the men who register at the club, and the Negro mothers in the southern states have written most appreciative replies.

Volunteer Training

USO workers are discovering that it is extremely important to train volunteers not only for their immediate jobs in USO clubs but for community service for the future. This emphasis on leadership in the postwar period is especially urgent in Negro groups, where trained leadership has been so sadly needed.

Many USO clubs have organized junior hostess groups with an interracial set-up. Negro and white junior hostesses have been enrolled in the same training courses. In an eastern city the training courses are conducted by Negro and white leaders. Senior hostesses of both races work with the junior hostesses in planning the training sessions. When there are dances and parties at the club, Negro junior and senior hostesses serve, the Negro girls being the dance partners of the Negro men. When Negro servicemen and junior hostesses first attended the dances (dancing with each other as they do at the present time) the white hostesses ignored the Negro volunteers; but several months later, when subcommittees were being

organized, each chairman wanted several of the Negroes on her committee.

When no Negro junior hostesses participated in the junior hostess mass meeting in one New England club, the staff and senior hostesses made certain that the Negro girls were represented on all the Junior Hostess Planning Committees. Result—a large group of Negro junior hostesses have attended the mass meetings and training sessions and have taken a lively part in the discussions.

However, in many clubs where USO is not providing services to Negroes, the USO staff of the National Board YWCA are emphasizing in the training of the white junior hostesses some excellent interpretation of USO's interracial concerns and the National USO policy of "service to all." Thus, even in a segregated program there is opportunity for creating new social insights and greater understanding.

Pioneering for Social Progress

There have been several extremely interesting experiments in interracial program in USO clubs on the West Coast, where there has been a great influx of Negro troops and war workers into communities with few Negro residents and no traditional pattern of segregation to limit experimentation. In one white club the staff has developed an unusually fine relationship with groups of Negro women leaders who have helped them to organize and train groups of girls and younger women as junior hostesses.

It all began in 1942 when members of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appealed to the USO for program and service for two groups of Negro soldiers stationed near a community which has had restrictions against any Negro residents; and where consequently no Negro civilian volunteer leadership could be found. The white director called a meeting in response to this appeal for services and brought together white and Negro members of the YWCA Board of Directors, local leaders from the NAACP, and representatives of the USO Council. A club of Negro girls who were members of the local YWCA had been declining in membership and seemed to need some new program emphasis "to get out of the slump." This was an excellent nucleus for a junior hostess group, and the YWCA agreed to lend the group to the USO for the duration. One of the Negro women on the Interracial Committee was chosen as the volunteer chairman to work with the junior hostesses. After some junior

hostess training the USO staff and Negro volunteers arranged for them to go to on-camp dances where the Negro troops were stationed, and parties and dances were also held at the YWCA and a nearby college campus. The Negro junior hostesses were also invited to attend a fashion tea with the white junior hostesses and two Negro girls were elected to represent their group on the community-wide Junior Hostess Council.

The Interracial Committee has been helpful, too, in promoting home hospitality plans to entertain the Negro men for the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays. But perhaps its most important function has been to interpret the need for services to Negroes to the USO Council. At the beginning of the experiment the council had some objection to the program if it meant that the Negroes were to be included in the activities at the white center. But when council members found that the program would be very successfully developed outside the club—in the YWCA or in service clubs at the post—they became more interested in the project. The staff member working with the Negro group had not made an issue of the use of the building, but had gone along quietly helping the girls to do an effective, interesting program and has gradually won USO Council support.

Renovations are now under way for another center and the executive group of the council voted with no dissenting voice to permit Negro members of the armed forces to use the facilities in the building—showers, game room, reading and writing rooms—and have agreed that for special social events an entire floor of the USO club would be available to the Negro groups.

A Negro minister in town is now a member of the USO Council. He is frequently asked to open the meeting with an invocation and seems to be generally accepted as a member of the group.

Meanwhile, the program of the Negro junior hostesses is flourishing. The girls go by bus or truck to rather distant camps and isolated coastal defense areas, helping very successfully with dances, picnics, beach parties, game parties. The group is now well integrated in the whole junior hostess organization and the Negro representatives are well accepted by the white girls. The Negro group has grown from a small group of seventeen to an active club of more than fifty members. The majority work in the air craft factories, but before the war they were, for the most part, in household employment.

Meetings of the junior hostess group usually include some aspect

of training. The training sessions are popular and well attended. The girls love their club and have unusually clever ideas for activities. At the last meeting the training angle was subtly developed in a "Bad Taste Party" for which the girls dressed in what they considered poor taste for a USO dance. A professional dress designer gave a talk on "The Language of Clothes," using the girls as models. This informal approach to training has accomplished many things, and has given the girls invaluable experience in human relationships, social conduct and group leadership.

Services to Returned Veterans

Another new emphasis in program and in the training of volunteers is USO's work with the servicemen who are returning from overseas. Junior and senior hostesses, who are assisting with hospital parties and working with the ambulatory wounded coming into USO clubs, need special preparation for their important responsibilities, and for the interracial experience which such program often involves. In all general hospitals in all parts of the country Negro and white veterans are receiving care and treatment in the same wards; and the hostesses going to the hospitals bring candy, cigarettes, books, games to *all* the men in the wards. When they entertain the wounded in the day rooms of the hospitals they also entertain *all* the patients. Girls of both races have accepted this interracial service as a natural part of their new duties, and never refuse an opportunity to go on hospital parties.

Many more evidences of increased interracial understanding could be recorded here. Through USO program persons of both races have met on the common ground of natural interests and concerns, the divide of color swept aside. They have shared in a creative experience that has been a tremendous force in many lives and have taken many steps in the direction of true democracy.

November 23, 1944

Director, USO Club
24 South 4 Street
Harrisburg, Pa.

May I express my sincere approval of your policy of permitting Negroes at your dances? It is a policy that symbolizes in the most concrete form what we are fighting for.

Undoubtedly you have received some thoughtless complaints — even from servicemen. But your courage in this democratic step to help overcome racial prejudice will do much to convince people that only ignorance justifies Jim Crowism.

Keep up the good work. Yours is one of the finest USO clubs I've run into.

Sincerely,

M. Zepris, SK 2/C

P.S. I am white!

Text continued on page 49.

The serviceman likes to bring his family and friends to the USO. He knows that a warm welcome awaits them there.

The place to find friendliness, hospitality and an atmosphere of home.

The Navy navigates a straight course to the nearest club for repairs.

No color lines in the front lines and no segregation in the hospitals for our war wounded! These veterans are among the thousands of ambulatory patients coming to USO clubs.

After several days of hard traveling, the man in uniform looks to USO for a shower, a shave, refreshments and clean comfortable sleeping quarters.

Turkey for two! Get-it-yourself dinners are much appreciated "home-away-from-home" services for men in uniform and their wives.

Before the war there were few vocational opportunities for Negro white-collar workers. Now thousands hold responsible jobs in war plants and government offices.

Racial barriers break down on the swing shift. Women of both races have taken their places on the assembly line in jobs requiring skill, speed and dexterity.

Along with welding airplanes these girls weld friendship between two races. When the whistle ends their day they'll head for a USO club to get needed recreation and a welcome cup of coffee.

Nursing is another field for Negro women that has widened with the war effort. In dozens of professions Negroes are using their abilities for the first time.

Recognition for the new volunteer leaders who are serving USO. A senior hostess proudly receives her award after completing the training course.

Serving girls and boys in uniform makes the whole world kin—when the busy snack bar is run by volunteers and the guests are hungry for something with a real home flavor.

Keeping the cookie jars filled for hungry guests gives volunteer housewives an unusual opportunity for friendly cooperation and exchange of kitchen lore.

One of the many servicemen's wives who avail themselves of USO hospitality has the agreeable task of pinning tags on convalescent soldiers at a formal dinner dance.

In addition to working together, community volunteers and USO staff enjoy occasional gatherings to honor visiting celebrities. Langston Hughes, famous poet, is the honor guest at this party.

Negro and white community leaders have responsibility for the successful operation of USO clubs. The Operating Committee plans the opening of a new WAC Center.

Soldiers serve on planning committees and program councils to work out their own ideas for education and entertainment. They corral soldier talent for skits and specialty numbers at parties.

USO volunteers take a look at their community, study its present wartime needs and make plans for the future.

Almost as much fun as the party is the get-together of USO junior hostesses to write invitations and plan decorations for gala social events.

Teen-agers drop in for after-school activities during week days when servicemen are on duty. USO has helped many communities to plan much-needed recreation for youth.

Global Gabbers do some clear thinking and plain speaking on problems of the postwar world. Servicemen and civilians regularly meet in discussion groups in USO.

Promoted by attractive junior hostesses, sports, games and outdoor activities are as popular as dancing.

Buddies in war, these sailors are buddies at play, too.
Heave ho for the finger painting!

New creative leisure-time activities are being discovered at the USO—not for the duration, but for life.

This wives' club is making a quilt for a day nursery. Services like this win admiration from townspeople, who are sometimes unfriendly when the wives first arrive.

USO worker in a war production area keeps two eyes on the youngsters while mothers attend Red Cross First Aid class.

The line forms on the right for a turn at the loom. Rugs make lovely gifts for mothers and sweethearts and future homes.

Singing America—a student, war worker's wife, farmer's wife and ordnance worker join the chorus.

Time out for fun and relaxation—if jitterbugging can be called relaxation.

To sing or not to sing is never any question. Junior hostesses, servicemen and servicewomen all like to gather around the piano for some close harmony.

Wac special service officers plan with USO staff for Brotherhood Week observance. A luncheon meeting and vesper services will bring together civilians and women in uniform of different races and religions.

Friendships among men and races have flourished on the fighting front—and auld acquaintance is ne'er forgot in USO.

IV. . . . . "USO HAS A POLICY"

★

OF NECESSITY the program described in Chapter III has been experimental—with successes and failures to mark its rapid evolvement. But it has moved in the general direction of USO's initial commitment to serve all persons affected by the war effort, irrespective of religious or racial differences.

The following statements of policy and procedure concerning the USO's services to Negroes have been excerpted from the manual *USO General Operating Practice*, USO Field Service Bulletins and other directives approved by the USO Board of Directors, and document USO headquarters and interagency agreements. Paralleling each statement of USO policy is a summary of the interracial policies of the National Board YWCA for its work as a member agency of the USO.

*USO Services to Negroes**

"The services and facilities of all USO clubs and units of work are open to all involved in the war effort as extensively as resources permit.

"USO policies and practices are so planned that in accordance with the basic premises of USO, increased understanding and tolerance between different groups in American life will result. The problems in providing adequate services for Negroes are given due consideration at all times.

"It is the policy of the USO through its local units, field workers, councils and committees, to give all possible aid toward providing services for Negro troops and war workers, particularly where local welfare and recreational resources are limited. The morale of the

**From* USO General Operating Practice, *pp. 46-47, USO National Headquarters.*

Negro troops and war workers in our national effort is most important.

"In some communities separate facilities are necessary." (Sometimes this is required by law, either as separately operated clubs or as extensions from white clubs—see *USO Field Service Bulletin #32*, "Extension Service from Established Clubs," April 15, 1943. However, when separate facilities are used, USO has been successful in its efforts to make the Negro facilities meet general USO standards in attractiveness, equipment and furnishings.)

"In other communities adequate services may be provided in the same facilities. Local community attitudes, state and local laws and army regulations are taken into account." (In a few communities program is conducted by an interracial staff, with a wide variation in the degree of integration in program activities. Great care in selection of staff is essential in this type of operation. See *U.S.O. Field Service Bulletin #24*, "Statement of Policy Regarding USO Services to Negroes," September 17, 1942, and page 20 of this pamphlet.) "Wherever the camp (or war plant) may be located, the USO endeavors to help the entire community, regardless of race.

"Close cooperation with chaplains, special service officers of the Army and Navy, and other camp officials, and with national and local Community Chest organizations is maintained in order to provide the best possible service to Negro troops and war workers.

"In addition to the usual program, USO may be called upon to furnish added services and facilities which are not otherwise available to Negro troops."

As a further emphasis upon the democratic structure of the USO, the following principles and procedures were officially approved by the USO Board of Directors, September 10, 1942, and incorporated in *USO Field Service Bulletin #24*:

"It is agreed that:

"1. USO field workers and USO councils will give all possible consideration to providing USO services for Negro troops and war workers, particularly where local resources are limited, even though the number of persons involved in a particular community may be somewhat smaller than ordinarily considered necessary for a Unit.

"2. USO staff conferences and training institutes will be conducted on a basis which recognizes that Negro and white workers of the USO, or any of its member agencies, are working in a professional relationship and should be able to participate accordingly.

(a) The problems of race relationships and the problems involved in providing adequate services for Negroes should be given due consideration along with all other problems in the programs of training conferences.

(b) Planning for institutes and conferences should be based on local and national consultation, and should include Negro representation in the planning. It is desirable that the Negro Service Committee be consulted in the selection of Negro speakers for national regional meetings.

"3. The central importance of well-selected and qualified personnel is recognized and a continued emphasis on careful selection and training is urged.

"4. Close cooperation with chaplains, special service officers and other camp officials, and with national and local community church organizations should be emphasized."

USO Councils

"The USO council should be representative of the community. Both agency leaders and other able community leaders should be members. . . . Representatives from each USO Management, Operating or Advisory Committee and the director of each USO operation should be included. . . ." *Field Service Bulletin #25*, October 15, 1942.

The USO regional staff members in their interagency relationships are making special efforts to interpret to local communities the importance of interracial representation in developing an effective local program.

The USO Division of National Board YWCA has placed special emphasis upon Negro representation on USO councils, and is working toward fuller participation of representatives in council meetings and other policy-making groups.

USO Operating Committees

The USO Division of the National Board YWCA has established equal administrative responsibilities for each operation which it directs in a community, regardless of white or Negro constituency. In a single instance where local conditions prevented the Operating Committee of the Negro unit from having full responsibility and direct relationships to the USO Council, the USO Division of the National Board YWCA withdrew its staff and discontinued its services to the community.

USO Staff Conferences

". . . The staff conference is comprised of employed professional personnel of each of the USO agencies operating in the community or camp area. Membership need not consist of the total personnel of all of the agencies. In some situations each agency [where it operates more than one club or unit in the community] may wish to designate one of its workers to serve regularly as its representative on the staff conference. . . .

"In most cases Negro staff participate, sometimes being elected, even in southern communities, as conveners and secretaries. There is, however, a wide variation in the degree of participation, often for reasons other than race."—From *USO Field Service Bulletin* #22, "USO Staff Conference," May 26, 1942.

Arrangements for Meetings

STATEMENT OF USO PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

"The primary purpose of USO is to provide appropriate services to members of the armed forces, war workers and associated civilians without consideration of race, color or creed. Through its administrative structure and staff personnel, USO can demonstrate to itself, to its constituency and to the communities in which it operates the effectiveness of people of different races, faiths and agencies working together in the interest of common objectives.

"Therefore, every effort should be made to apply the following principles:

"A. Respect and tolerance for human personality should be expressed by providing the same opportunities and facilities for USO staff workers—housing, eating and facilities of meeting places.

"B. Democratic principles should be followed in maintaining effective staff relationships and, as far as possible, volunteer relationships.

SUGGESTED PROCEDURES

"A. Housing, meeting and eating arrangements.

Arrangements for the category of meetings referred to in this statement probably do not require overnight housing. However, elevator service, eating and other physical comforts are important. Thus accommodations should be secured that provide common or equal facilities for all workers.

"1. Planning Committees should explore all possibilities before selecting a particular meeting place. They should select that community as the place of meeting that will most nearly provide the conditions described above.

"2. Planning Committees should consider the possible availability and use of colleges, private institutions, etc., as well as hotels for USO meetings.

"B. Negotiations

"1. Both white and Negro representatives should be included as members of the Arrangements Committee.

"2. Where problems or difficulties are anticipated, the cooperation of USO council chairmen and other influential leaders in the community as well as regional executives and regional supervisors should be sought in advance of the point of direct negotiation.

"3. In the approach to institutions, organizations, etc., it is important to make specific clearance of the following: dates, prices, facilities (required and available), nature of conference and membership of conference."
—Directive from USO National Headquarters, August 8, 1944.

Personnel Policies

The USO National Headquarters Interagency Personnel Committee sets salary ranges for the various categories of workers. These are based on the type of responsibility, qualifications of worker and make no differentiation as to race.

The USO Division of the National Board YWCA pays all staff in the various categories of work—directors, assistant directors, staff assistants—on the basis of the responsibilities they assume, irrespective of race.

The USO Division of the National Board YWCA has also defined the following staff relationships and responsibilities:

1. Each USO staff member shall be equally responsible to the National Board YWCA.
2. The professional skills of Negro and white staff shall be interchangeable with, or made available to, both Negro and white constituency.
3. All USO staff consultation, meetings and relationships in YWCA-operated units shall be set up and conducted irrespective of race.

4. Each USO staff member employed by the USO Division of the National Board YWCA shall be committed personally to interracial cooperation and prepared in her own attitude and actions to follow the interracial policies of the YWCA.
5. On each regional staff there shall be a Negro associate supervisor whose duties include responsibility for interracial matters.
6. All associate supervisors shall participate freely as members of their respective USO regional staff, contributing to the effectiveness of the total program within the region.
7. On the headquarters staff of the National Board YWCA a Negro staff member shall serve part time as consultant to the USO Division on interracial affairs, and also part time as a member of the training staff.
8. All methods of procedure for dealing with questions of race relationships should be arrived at through full and free discussion and joint decision by representatives of both Negro and white groups.

Training

All interagency training projects are interracial and follow policies of arrangements for USO meetings described above. In all orientation courses and most institute workshops a special period is given to clarifying the responsibility of USO professional workers in the area of race relations, including techniques for dealing with interracial situations. Leadership of all interagency training projects is interracial.

YWCA sessions of USO training reinforce the interagency approach and emphasize the YWCA's special concern, commitments and experience in the area of race relations, in an effort to help staff meet in the most constructive way possible situations arising in USO.

Professional Courtesy

The USO Division of the National Board YWCA has accepted as its universal practice—irrespective of race or regional custom—equal professional courtesy for all staff and the same use of staff titles and names upon all occasions and in all news releases.

In accord with correct English usage, it is also the long-accepted practice of the Young Women's Christian Association to use the word "Negro" in capitalized form, just as Indian, Jew, American are capitalized in all written material—letters, reports, releases for the press, magazine articles, program materials.

Opportunities for Experimentation in Interracial Services and Program

Whenever possible the USO Division of the National Board YWCA together with other USO agencies is experimenting with interracial program and is alert to opportunities to demonstrate the interracial use of facilities and services.

Position of the Young Women's Christian Association on Race

The interracial procedures which have been so clearly defined by the USO Division of the National Board YWCA have grown out of the long experience of the Young Women's Christian Association in matters of race relations.*

"From the beginning, the women who started the organization desired that all girls and young women might share in the abundant life. In seeking to make this possible they became aware of the minority racial groups in the nation's population who, either by law or custom, occupy a less favored position. As the years have passed, the women who have been responsible for the growth and development of the YWCA have tried, both within and without the organization, to eradicate the shadow across our democracy cast by the inferior treatment of minority racial groups. From the time the present national movement was formed in 1906, when Grace Dodge, the first president, called a conference in Asheville, North Carolina, to consider the needs of Negro women, no year has passed without study and consideration of ways to improve the condition under which racial minorities live. The steps agreed upon in any year have been hewn out of current facts and the wisdom available at that moment. These steps have taken the YWCA, sometimes slowly but always surely, in the direction of a truer realization of democracy.

"Throughout the records of the YWCA is abundant evidence of the Association's philosophy of equality of peoples regardless of

**Traditional Position of the Young Women's Christian Association.*

race. The national conventions of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America have taken, through the years, official actions on the problems of racial minorities. These actions, as contained in the public affairs program over the past ten years, are summarized here as indicative of the way in which the Association has sought to put this philosophy into practice in the broader realm of social action as well as in its own membership and constituency:

1932—Action directed toward fostering right public opinion for effective dealing with lynching and all forms of mob violence; study and support of measures for enlarged economic opportunities for Negroes.

1934—Support of the federal government in policies of interracial cooperation rather than separation; support of efforts to assure equitable economic opportunities and protection of basic civil rights for all, as well as support of state and federal legislation which would serve as a deterrent to the crime of lynching; support of government policies to make possible adequate health and educational opportunities for Indian youth and to help build normal life and a share in the larger community of state and nation.

1936—Same as 1934.

1938—A restatement of the 1936 program, augmenting it to include support of other agencies as well as the federal government in working to establish policies and practices of interracial cooperation, and to enunciate the principle of initiation as well as support of efforts to assure equitable economic opportunities.

1940—Reaffirmation of the 1938 goals for Negroes and Indians, and including thought of Mexicans and Orientals, with a new statement on 'law and order in a free society' directed toward equal enforcement of law as it applies to all groups in the population. In 1940 the convention also requested a study of interracial practices in community YWCA's. This project was authorized by the National Board YWCA, and members of the 'Commission on Interracial Practices' were appointed by the president after she had solicited nominations from many volunteers and staff.

"On January 7, 1942, the statement which the Public Affairs Committee made after Pearl Harbor was passed by the National Board; it included the recognition of all people, of whatever racial background, as having not only equality of status before the law but being entitled to equality of treatment in the life of the nation."

On March 3, 1943, the National Board adopted the following statement on Negro-white relationships.

STATEMENT ON NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS

"As the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association entered into the tasks of 1943, we reaffirmed our belief in and respect for the dignity and worth of human personality; we said that 'across all boundaries of class and faith, race and nationality, the Young Women's Christian Association seeks to act as a vitalizing, steadying influence.'

"In the months following this affirmation, there has been clear evidence that the vitalizing and steadying influence of the Young Women's Christian Association is urgently needed in working for the elimination of the heavy injustices experienced by the Negro people. A world-wide struggle for freedom is meaningless and the sacrifice of life in the war will be of little avail, unless democracy is made real for all people.

"The times demand that we make an honest examination of all interracial practices within the Association. Are they Christian and democratic?

"The times demand that we move courageously to correct the practices in our own organization which do not meet such tests.

"The times demand that we adventure in new ways of integrating Negroes into all phases of Association and community life.

"We believe that along this path will be found new vitality for the Association. Standing firmly upon our faith in God and on commitment to the way of life exemplified by Jesus we must all be willing to pay the price for this program.

"To this program we dedicate ourselves, pledging mutual helpfulness to each other as we move step by step toward making it real in the Young Women's Christian Association. In the life of our nation we can be a cross-section group in which there will be no racial discrimination, no crippling prejudices. As we strive to achieve this in our organization, we shall be an effective witness to democracy in our communities."

A report of the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Interracial Practices was made to the National Board YWCA on January 5, 1944, upon completion of the study.

It was voted "that the National Board receive with appreciation the report of the Commission to Study Interracial Practices in Community YWCA's and make provision for necessary study by the National Board and local Associations in preparation for its transmission to the next national convention."

Following this action the president of the National Board sent a letter to every YWCA urging the appointment of special local committees to plan for local experimentation, study and discussion of the material, and for reporting their favorable or adverse reactions to the recommendations of the commission.

There has been a great and varied response to the study from local YWCA's and regional groups and the report of the commission will be an important item of business at the National Convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the USA which will be convened whenever wartime travel restrictions are no longer necessary.

"These steps toward interracial understanding and the hundreds of others, which they symbolize, have been taken as integral to the Christian purpose of the Association. Today the high goals which have been voted by the last two conventions as the major emphases of the YWCA's of the United States—the Christian faith, democracy and building a world community—with the deep implications these ideals have for the equality of peoples, give tremendous impetus toward a new era in race relationships."*

**Traditional Position of the Young Women's Christian Association on Race.*

V. . . . . GENERAL SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS

★

ALL of us can do a great deal to help or hinder the process of breaking down barriers. The following principles of program planning and suggested ways of work have been tested and found "workable" by staff and volunteers in USO clubs in all parts of the country.

A. Principles for Constructive Program Development

1. **Know what you are trying to accomplish. Keep your goal clearly in mind and see to it that all steps taken keep your direction toward that goal. Characteristic USO procedure is to go ahead quietly, *not* saying, "Here are Negroes who are just as good as you," but from the beginning, taking a matter-of-fact attitude of equality, providing equal facilities and services.**

   Example: A town in Arizona found itself with a camp of 30,000 Negro soldiers only twelve miles away. This was "emergency" with a vengeance. Signs were up in all the restaurants: "No Negroes served." Facilities had been designated for a USO club for whites, but no plans had been made for Negroes. The USO staff persuaded the city fathers that 30,000 men on leave could not be legislated out of town, and that 30,000

men of any color, loose on the streets, constituted a threat to property. They pointed out that the men would not be drinking so much if they had some place to go. Such a proposal made sense to the community, and space was immediately found for another club. The Negroes now have a fine building, a flourishing program in which the whole community takes pride! But the staff could never have "sold the idea" of services to Negroes on the basis of Christian equality.

2. **Do not raise racial issues for the sake of raising issues; proceed when to do so is in line with common sense and possible next steps.**

Example: When a group of Negro servicemen arrived unexpectedly in a southern city where the USO Council had no plans for services to Negroes, the Operating Committee voted to make club facilities available to all in the armed forces regardless of race, until council plans could be made for the Negro group. Negro churches and the Negro Women's Club were asked to cooperate with the USO in getting services under way, and the YWCA gym and clubrooms were made available for interim activities. The Negro Women's Club held a very successful reception and dance for the group at the YWCA; the USO provided refreshments and served in an advisory capacity.

3. **Get the most forward-looking support your community affords for undergirding and making possible progress toward the goal.**

Example: We have sometimes failed in USO to go along with the advanced social thinking that is present in the local community. In a New England town, for example, where Negro and white teachers taught side by side, where Negroes served on the YWCA Board and participated in all YWCA activities, where the "Teen-age Hang-out" was completely interracial, including dancing, the only service USO was providing to Negroes was non-descript, dirty, substandard sleeping quarters. The white director had not welcomed the Negro men to the club nor provided a place for Negro junior hostesses. A few hostesses had been meeting in homes and making plans to serve the nearby camp.

The regional supervisors discussed the situation with staff, key volunteers and Negro and white community leaders, and together they finally worked out progressive steps to get Negro constituency into the building. Now the Negro junior hostesses serve on the Women's Committee. While separate dances are held at the club, other program has gradually become interracial. Negro and white boys use the same dormitory, enjoy the lounge and game room, eat at the snack bar, etc. Negro volunteers serve with white volunteers at the information desk and help each day with informal games and "drop-in" activities.

4. **Include in your planning group, representatives of all groups affected by the plans in question (i.e., industrial girls in programs for industrial girls; soldiers in plans for soldiers; Negroes in plans affecting Negroes, etc.). Get first-hand testimony on why the issue is important to those who are affected by it.**

Example: One of our great resort towns is now a large hospital center for the Army. The wounded of both racial groups are being cared for in these hospitals, and the ambulatory patients—Negroes and white—are coming in large numbers into USO clubs in the area. These clubs had previously served only white troops, and the staff were in some doubt as to the reaction of the volunteers. They discussed the situation with them with complete candor. "According to government policy, these patients are being treated in our hospitals—being cared for in the same wards. According to USO policy, we are to serve all." The volunteers and leaders in the community accepted this interpretation without question and have made the men of both groups feel very much at home.

5. **Be sure to promote good relations between Negro and white staff members.**

Example: From visitation report of a Negro supervisor: "Our white USO director, in her characteristically gracious manner, prepared dinner for our Negro USO director and me at the white director's home. Both white staff members are extremely cooperative. This way of work is offering the community a quiet demonstration of interracial relations on a plane heretofore unknown."

6. **Delegate responsibilities so that it is a community group, not an individual, which is trying to move forward.**

Example: The Interracial Committee, which USO staff helped to organize in an acutely crowded war production community, sponsored a community forum on the "Place of Religion in a War-Torn World." The meeting was led by a Negro dean of men from a nearby university and brought together an equal number of white and Negro citizens—men and women war workers, members of the school board, teachers, ministers, college students, the director of the War Housing Center and the superintendent and personnel directors of the war plant.

7. **Get reliable facts. Avoid loose generalizations which are expressions of personal fears. Use the particular to throw light on the general.**

Example: When a petition was being circulated with the purpose of evicting Negroes from an Ordnance Housing Project, the USO director described USO's method of meeting the situation: "We talked with several of the Ordnance City Council (three of whom are on our USO Council) to get further facts and to find out how the men felt about the petition; we discussed it with our church representatives who planned to allay any violent reaction in their congregations. We were asked the next week to sit in on the City Council meeting when the petition was formally presented. The council did not in any way agree with the petition but, as requested, sent it on to the commanding officer of the ordnance depot. He, in turn, wrote a magnificent letter to each signer, pointing out the equalities and freedoms for which we are now fighting, as well as the privileges to which all United States citizens are entitled.

"But there is still considerable unrest among a few residents there and this is what we have done about it: We have done our best to bolster up the people who believe in fair treatment—with facts and educational literature so that they may more thoroughly and properly *interpret* the situation to their friends and neighbors. We believe that the roundabout process of getting to the core of the problem and letting the workers themselves do the talking in a casual way was a wiser step than to encourage an open argument. We are keeping our fingers on the pulse of this situation and shall continue to work through our interpreters."

8. **Evaluate possible alternatives. Often a listing of alternatives to a proposed line of action will reveal that a positive approach is less dangerous than a negative approach.**

Example: How a step-by-step advance was made: Because of the race riots occurring across the country, a Wives' Luncheon Group in the Southwest had scheduled a discussion of "Racial Understanding" in a current events program. When it was suggested by the white USO worker that the Negro USO director be invited to participate, along with several Negro soldiers' wives, some of the girls felt it would be unwise. So the *first* discussion scheduled was "for white only." But such a lively discussion ensued that the girls decided to invite the Negro wives to the next luncheon. They also voted that letters be written to their Congressmen urging immediate passage of the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill and bills appropriating funds for Negro education. Before the joint discussion, there was a meeting of a smaller group at a Negro USO where the discussion was reviewed and the purpose of the joint meeting fully explained. The chairman suggested that one of the Negro girls prepare a talk to help the group see what phases of the problem Negroes consider of major importance. White girls from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Texas attended the joint meeting and signed, at the end of the discussion, the letters to Congressmen. The very first signer was a girl who had lived in Georgia all her life. Girls from eighteen other states also signed. Some of them explained how their ideas had changed as they had traveled around the country. All seemed to feel the discussion had "clarified their mixed emotions," and had been a really worthwhile experience.

9. **Gear the seed of your progress to the readiness of your group to move forward. Be ready to compromise on speed but not on direction. (Do not step in front of a locomotive—but have the courage to step in front of a tricycle if that is needed.)**

Example: One of the Negro supervisors attending a USO institute was refused the use of the passenger elevator at a hotel where institute sessions were being held on the sixth floor. Rather than accept the use of the freight elevator, she sent for the president of USO who was attending the institute. The president conferred with the hotel manager, who agreed to her riding on the passenger elevator if the president would accompany her. The president met these

terms, but so absurd did this procedure eventually seem to be that the hotel management moved all the meetings to the mezzanine so that it would be avoided. Compromise? Yes, but education, too!

10. **Be more concerned about accomplishment than about *publicity* for what you accomplish. In controversial areas it is sometimes better to forego publicity where there is the likelihood that opposition to your program might result from too general publicizing of your procedure.**

Example: A narrative report from a town in which there are five USO clubs tells of the intelligent manner in which the staff conference handled publicity in relation to an interracial Award Tea for all senior hostesses, both Negro and white. Publicity was withheld for the *first* tea. During the preliminary planning for the event, USO directors quietly proceeded to do an excellent job of interpretation with volunteer leaders in both groups. Thus when the senior hostesses gathered for the party, there were outstanding women, both Negro and white, who made it their business to see that the affair was taken matter-of-factly and that there were no awkward moments. For the *second* Award Tea, a story was given to the newspapers, care being taken to quote *both* white and Negro women leaders in the community. Many USO leaders have learned to avoid labels which arouse fears. They announce a dinner for Negro and white staff not as "an interracial venture" but rather as "a USO dinner."

11. **Break your problems down into manageable units and work with imagination and perseverance *until you discover a next step* which can be taken in the direction of the goal.**

Example: L———— is an ultra-conservative eastern community founded in Colonial days. The oldest residents recall with some nostalgia the good old days when the whipping post adjusted a lot of problems and the leaders have steadily resisted "new-fangled notions" about community planning, recreation and welfare. War workers and troops have come to town—among them some 700 or 800 Negroes. While this group would not ordinarily be considered an overload large enough for designation of extension services, prejudice against Negroes was such that some plan had to be considered. After months of careful interpretation and countless meetings and conferences, the town fathers eventually got the point that USO was there to serve all groups. But no one was willing to act upon this insight. One complication after another arose in the process of securing a building which would be fairly accessible. The segregated Negro schools were far from the center of town and transportation. One building owned by the city was "sold" in a very mysterious manner while USO was negotiating for its use.

A decentralized program was finally developed by volunteers and a staff aide and has been conducted in private homes of Negro citizens, schools and in make-shift rooms above some stores. The one bright spot has been in the way that leaders in the Negro community have emerged. Through USO they have been able, for the first time, to get their needs before the white citizens, and to have some status and recognition. The Negro group pressed USO Council for a center and the council sponsored a house-to-house canvass of the Negro population to determine the number of inmigrants among the war workers to be served. Two of the Negro women volunteers organized and conducted the survey and found that the number of newcomers was too small to justify the proposal of extension services—except for the decentralized program already in operation. But the Negro leaders are still undaunted—four Negro citizens, a business man, minister, dentist and undertaker, have bought a piece of property in the Negro community in which they plan to organize a community center after the war. Another group of citizens with the blessing of the USO Council are working to set up a community-wide Interracial Committee, which they hope will be sanctioned by the mayor. If this can be accomplished they believe that there is hope of holding some of the gains USO has helped them to accomplish.

12. **Remember that no technique, however good, can avoid all conflict. We must have the courage to proceed *through conflict* when the possible gains outweigh the possible losses.**

"Christian history shows that to deal constructively with controversy means growth and increase of spiritual insight and power, and that to dodge controversy means paralysis and stagnation."

Example: In an eastern community which is in many ways more violent in its anti-Negro feelings than any southern town,

USO has helped to bring some social insight to a group of ministers, and can take a bow for several small evidences of social progress. After months of community resentment against the Negro war workers and troops and deep discouragement on the part of the staff, the chairman of the Ministerial Association (inspired by the suggestions of the USO white director) invited one of the Negro ministers to attend a regular monthly meeting. It was the first time many Association members had ever met any of their Negro colleagues.

Following this initial step the Ministerial Association has become an interracial group, representing all white and Negro clergymen. The Ministerial chairman is planning to use a lecture fund set aside in his church for speakers' fees at the annual open meeting of the congregation to bring in speakers on the subject of "Interracial Understanding"—an anthropologist, a sociologist and a clergyman. Negro and white citizens will be invited to the meeting. One of the Episcopal rectors recently preached a sermon on "Our Community Responsibility to Minority Groups"—the first time such a topic had been mentioned from that pulpit! Through the efforts of USO and the Ministerial Association, a community-wide Interracial Committee is about to be organized.

B. Ways of Work for Staff and Volunteers

Belief in the dignity of human personality is another fundamental principle of work—expressed in social attitudes and philosophy, but also implied in these matters of courtesy and good manners which are an essential part of human relationships.

When working with interracial groups:

1. Encourage full and frank discussion in all staff groups of the pro's and con's of situations. When white workers are "protective" of the feelings of Negro co-workers, Negro staff feel frustrated. If much-needed changes in race relations are to be achieved, all situations must be squarely and objectively faced and frankly considered.

2. Never, under any circumstances, plan facilities, programs, or select leadership personnel for Negroes without the counseling assistance and active cooperation of Negroes themselves.

3. Avoid calling professional meetings from which Negroes who have a professional relationship to them are barred.

4. Do not arrange professional meetings which Negroes are expected to attend in places where it will be embarrassing to them to be denied the use of main entrances to the meeting place, elevators, wash rooms, etc.

5. Avoid luncheons and dinner meetings in connection with conferences where special table arrangements must be made for Negroes, or to which Negroes are not admitted on the same basis as everybody else.

6. Never address Negroes—professional workers or members of lay committees or community groups—by their first names in public, or in private, unless your acquaintance and relationships with them have become so cordial and friendly that they naturally and without embarrassment to you or them will call you by your first name.

7. Negroes are more formal in their approach to strangers, and find it most embarrassing to be introduced to an audience or to strangers, white or Negro, as "Tom Jones," or "Mary Williams." When all introductions are made the titles "Mr.," "Mrs." and "Miss" should be used.

8. Never tell "darky" and "black mammy" stories.

9. It is rarely ever fitting or in good taste when speaking to a Negro group to refer to those assembled as "you people." It is always more acceptable to Negroes to say "we Americans."

10. Read Negro newspapers, magazines and journals regularly to keep in close touch with Negro thought and opinion. Leaders cannot understand and "know" Negroes unless they are well acquainted with such publications as the *Atlanta Daily World, Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender, Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, The Negro Digest* (*monthly*), *The Journal of*

Negro Education (published by Howard University). Turn to Bibliography, page 77, for other publications.

11. Remember that the majority of thinking Southerners are essentially liberal.

12. Learn what liberal groups have been able to accomplish in interracial relations in the South in general, in your own community in particular. There are individuals or agencies in every community to help you with your problems.

    Consult these resources in interracial affairs:

    Progressive persons in the community including a representative range of Negro opinion.

    The local YWCA.

    National Board of the YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

    *Department of Christian Social Relations, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

    Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

    *The Interracial Commission, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

    *The National Student Council of the YWCA, Southern Region Office, 1812 E. Grace Street, Richmond, Virginia.

    *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

    *The National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

    *The American Council of Race Relations, Chicago, Illinois.

    Bureau for Intercultural Education, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

    Harmon Foundation, 140 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

    *Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

**Write to these organizations for names of persons in your community who are forward looking in their attitudes about race relations.*

C. Some Legal Aspects of Race Relations

It is extremely important for all USO leaders—Negro and white—to have information about their basic civil rights. In traveling and going into new communities all staff should know the legal provisions for interstate travel and hotel accommodations and laws affecting use of public conveyances. Staff may be able to take a positive stand against Jim Crowism if they know the laws that protect them.

1. States Having Civil Rights Statutes

   These statutes vary in wording and effectiveness, but in general, these are states in which the rights of all people to use public or semi-public facilities are protected.

California	Maine	Ohio
Colorado	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania
Connecticut	Michigan	Rhode Island
Illinois	Minnesota	Utah
Indiana	Nebraska	Washington
Iowa	New Hampshire	Wisconsin
Kansas	New Jersey	
Louisiana*	New York	

2. States Having Jim Crow Statutes

   These statutes also vary from state to state as to the situations to which they apply. However, in general, it would be felt that these are states where in most instances there is compulsory separation of Negro and white people in public transportation, in schools and other public or semi-public places.

Alabama	Louisiana	South Carolina
Arkansas	Maryland	Tennessee
Florida	Mississippi	Texas
Georgia	North Carolina	Virginia
Kentucky	Oklahoma	

**The Civil Rights Statute of Louisiana was passed during the days of Reconstruction. It has not been taken off the books, but is nullified by the Jim Crow statutes which have since been passed. It is placed on this list only for accuracy in recording. You will note it is also on list II, which more truly describes the situation in Louisiana.*

3. States Having No Statutes

These states, and the District of Columbia, having neither civil rights statutes nor Jim Crow statutes are places where it may be possible to move in the direction of more completely opening up facilities for use of all people since there is no positive law against it. It will be noted that there is a wide divergence of geographical location, and that the situation may be very liberal or very limited in accordance with customs of that part of the country.

Arizona	Montana	South Dakota
Delaware	Nevada	Vermont
District of Columbia	New Mexico	West Virginia
Idaho	North Dakota	Wyoming
Missouri	Oregon	

RACE RELATIONS READING

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Books and Pamphlets You Can't Afford to Miss

ABC's of Scapegoating with a Foreword by Gordon W. Allport. Central YMCA College, 19 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, 25c.

An exposition of the mechanics and conditions of scapegoating which explains why religious and racial minority groups are persecuted.

A Community's War Against Prejudice by Alice L. Halligan, reprinted from *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 6, February, 1943.

A description of the much discussed "Springfield Plan."

American Counterpoint by Alexander Alland. John Day, 1943, $3.00.

A book of photographs of Americans showing the diversity of racial and national origin in the American population; also shows how difficult it is to tell an American's origin by the way one looks.

An American Program by Wendell L. Willkie. Simon and Schuster, 1944, 25c.

A great American deals in concise, concrete terms with the human, national and world problem of racial discrimination and injustice, as it effects America's efforts to achieve lasting peace and security at home and abroad.

And Keep Your Powder Dry by Margaret Mead. Morrow, 1942, $2.50.

An anthropologist helps us see America through the eyes of one who has studied conflict and adjustment in other cultures. Answers: *What* are Americans?

Brothers Under The Skin by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown, 1943, $3.00.

A Democrat analyzes the problems of colored peoples (American Indian, Negro, Chinese and Japanese) within the United States and its possessions, and relates these problems to the world scene. The last chapter gives an "Outline for Action" well worth consideration. It should be read by *every* student in America.

"Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy," *Survey Graphic,* November, 1942.

An excellent, graphic presentation of the question of color in the United States and in the world.

Freedom Road by Howard Fast. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944, $2.75.

A moving and inspiring historical novel revealing how democracy began to work in the South during the Reconstruction era and how its enemies crushed it.

"Minority Peoples in a Nation at War," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* September, 1942.

Racial, religious and nationality group problems discussed by leading authorities.

Negro Churchmen Speak to White Churchmen by Commission on Minority Peoples. Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Of One Blood All Nations, an Interracial Code for Protestant Churches. Detroit Council of Churches, 404 Park Avenue Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

A code adopted by the Detroit Council of Churches, February 17, 1944. Includes recommendations in regard to membership, staff and Board of Control.

Probing Our Prejudices by Hortense Powdermaker. Harper, 1944, $1.00.

A manual designed to help high school students and others to become aware of their prejudices, to understand the nature, origin and effect of prejudices, and to suggest activities which can help reduce them.

Race, Science and Politics by Ruth Benedict. Modern Age, 1940, $2.50.

An anthropologist discusses various theories of race.

Races of Mankind by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 10c.

A dramatic presentation of a scientific study of anthropology in simple language.

Sabotage! by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Harper, 1942, $1.25.

An interpretation of Fascist organizations in the United States, their methods and techniques, distinguishing between those related to Fascist groups abroad and native American Fascist.

Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers by Margaret Halsey. Simon and Schuster, 1944, $2.50.

The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service, American Teachers' Association, P.O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama, 1944.

Under Cover by John Roy Carlson. Dutton, 1943, $3.50.

A first-hand account of the work of some Fascist organizations in the United States which shows how the divide-and-rule technique is used.

Unfinished Business, A Fair Employment Practice Handbook by Clarence W. Anderson. Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practice, 906 Transportation Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Answers to questions most often asked about employment.

What America Means to Me by Pearl Buck. John Day, 1943, $2.00.

A collection of speeches and articles by a great champion of human equality which deals with the American Negro as well as the peoples of Asia.

What the Negro Wants edited by Rayford Logan. University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

Outstanding Negro leaders representing various social, economic and political points of view answer the question of what the Negro wants in a manner that is clear and challenging.

When Peoples Meet, A Study in Race and Culture Contacts, edited by Alain Locke and Berchard J. Stern. Progressive Education Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., $3.50.

A collection of basic documents showing the effects of the contacts of peoples and cultures and interrelationships between dominant and minority groups—written by accepted scholars. Fundamental material for serious work in intercultural education.

Why Race Riots by Earl Brown. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 10c.

Lessons learned from the 1943 Detroit riots which may be used to prevent riots in any town.

Sleepy Lagoon Mystery by Guy Endore. Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles 12, California, June, 1944, 15c.

The real meaning of the zoot suit riot in Los Angeles.

American Negroes, A Handbook by Edwin R. Embree. John Day, 1942, $1.00.

A clear, concise introduction to the present-day life of Negroes in the United States. Includes important statistical facts.

An American Dilemma by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper, 1944, 2 vol., $7.50.

The Swedish scholar who directed the Carnegie Foundation of the Negro in America summarized the studies and draws conclusions which are of great importance. "The 'American Dilemma' referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the 'American Creed' when the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, when personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook."

The Negro in America by Maxwell Stewart. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 10c.

An excellent digest of *An American Dilemma* (listed above).

CIO and the Negro Workers: Together for Victory. Congress of Industrial Organization, 718 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

The program of the CIO to end racial discrimination and to build racial labor brotherhood.

Color, Class and Personality by Robert L. Sutherland. American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 1942.

A summary of the findings of the American Youth Commission studies of Negro youth and a plan for the future.

Deep South by Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner. University of Chicago Press, 1941.

A study of the caste system of the South as it relates to economic and social life. The field work was done by a white field worker and his wife, and a Negro field worker and his wife, each of whom spent one and a half years in "Old City."

Digest of Myrdal's "An American Dilemma" by Samuel S. Wyer. Columbus Council for Democracy, Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

Important quotations from the long detailed study.

The Negro and the War by Earl Brown and George Leighton. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 1942, 10c.

A forthright account of tensions felt by Negroes because of World War 1.

The Negro People and the Communists by Doxey A. Wilkerson. Workers Library Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 148, Station D, New York 3, N. Y., 1944, 3c.

The basis of Communist appeal for the support of Negroes.

New World A-Coming by Roi Ottley. Houghton Mifflin, 1943, $3.00.

A reporter's analysis of Harlem, "the most complex of Negro communities," which the author thinks reflects much of Negro America.

The NMU Fights Jim Crow by the National Maritime Union, 346 West 17th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

A description of one of Labor's most thrilling stories of interracial unity achieved during this war.

On Clipped Wings, the story of Jim Crow by William H. Hastie. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y., 10c.

The story of the struggle of Negroes in the armed forces to get training in the air corps and the truth about facilities at Tuskegee.

Organized Labor and the Negro by Herbert Northrup. Harper, 1944, $3.50.

A realistic account of the position of Negroes in labor unions.

Race Riot by Alfred M. Lee and Norman D. Humphrey. Dryden Press, 1943, $1.50.

A day-by-day account of the 1943 Detroit race riot and a program for preventing race riots.

The Core of America's Race Problem, prepared by Dorothy Height for Public Affairs News Service, Bulletin No. 3. Womans Press, January 1945, 19c.

The Public Affairs Committee of the National Board YWCA submits a careful, factual analysis of the problem of "Segregation," outlining its historical development, its social and political injustices, and its legal and human aspects. Concrete suggestions for further study and social action are also suggested.

The Southern Frontier, Southern Regional Council, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia. Monthly, 25c a year.

The monthly bulletin of the Southern Regional Council dedicated to the task of building a better South and to the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the region.

There Are Things to Do by Lillian E. Smith, reprinted from *South Today,* Clayton, Georgia, Winter 1942-43, 5c.

Specific suggestions for individuals.

To Stem This Tide, A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States by Charles S. Johnson. Pilgrim Press, 1943, 50c.

Factual data about tensions in industry, agriculture, public carriers, housing, politics, "law" and armed forces. The last chapter is devoted to "Post-War Problems in Prospect."

Interracial Practices in Community YWCA's by Juliet O. Bell and Helen J. Wilkins. Womans Press, 1944, 75c.

Periodicals

Congress Vue, National Negro Congress, 307 Lenox Avenue, New York 27, N. Y. Monthly, $1.00 a year.

Official organ of the National Negro Congress.

The Crisis, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y. Monthly, $1.50 a year.

Official organ of the NAACP. Is concerned mostly with civil rights.

Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Quarterly, $3.00 a year.

A review of Negro education by educators.

Journal of Negro History, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Quarterly, $4.00 a year.

Research in the field of Negro history.

Negro Digest, 5619 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. Monthly, $3.00 a year.

A monthly digest of leading short stories, poems and articles by or about Negroes.

Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. Quarterly, $1.50 a year.

Official organ of the National Urban League, whose task is getting greater job opportunities for Negroes.

South Today, Clayton, Georgia. Quarterly, $1.00 a year.

Weekly Newspapers

Afro-American, 628 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland. $4.00 a year.

Chicago Defender, 3435 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. $4.00 a year.

Norfolk Journal and Guide, 719 East Olney Road, Norfolk, Virginia. $3.50 a year.

Pittsburgh Courier, 2628 Centre Avenue at Francis Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania. $4.00 a year.

The books and pamphlets listed here may be ordered through the Womans Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mrs Thompson

Thank Mrs Roosevelt so much for all of us in the USO

John Fitzgerald

U.S.O.

FIRST LADIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Name		Born	Married	President	Admin.
1. Martha Dandridge Custis	(1)	1732	1759	George Washington	1789-1797
2. Abigail Smith	(2)	1744	1764	John Adams	1797-1801
3. Martha Wayles Skelton	(3)	1749	1772	Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809
4. Dorothy Payne Todd (Dolly)	(4)	1768	1794	James Madison	1809-1817
5. Eliza Kortright	(5)	1768	1786	James Monroe	1817-1825
6. Louise Catherine Johnson	(6)	1775	1797	John Quincy Adams	1825-1829
7. Rachel Donelson Robards	(7)	1767	1791	Andrew Jackson	1829-1837
8. Hannah Hoes	(8)	1783	1807	Martin Van Buren	1837-1841
9. Anna Symmes	(9)	1775	1795	William Henry Harrison	1841-1841
10. Julia Gardner	(10)	1820	1844	John Tyler	1841-1845
11. Sarah Childress	(11)	1803	1824	James K. Polk	1845-1849
12. Margaret Smith	(12)	1788	1810	Zachary Taylor	1849-1850
13. Abigail Powers	(13)	1798	1820	Millard Fillmore	1850-1853
14. Jane Means Appleton	(14)	1806	1834	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857
15. **********				James Buchanan	1857-1861
16. Mary Todd	(15)	1818	1842	Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865
17. Eliza McCardie	(16)	1810	1827	Andrew Johnson	1865-1869
18. Julia Dent	(17)	1820	1848	Ulysses S. Grant	1869-1877
19. Lucy Ware Webb	(18)	1831	1852	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877-1881
20. Lucretia Rudolph	(19)	1832	1858	James A. Garfield	1881-1881
21. Ellen Lewis Herndon	(20)	1837	1859	Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885
22. Frances Folsom	(21)	1864	1886	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889
23. Caroline Lavinia Scott	(22)	1832	1853	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893
24. (Same as 22)				Grover Cleveland	1893-1897
25. Ida Saxton	(23)	1847	1871	William McKinley	1897-1901
26. Edith Kermit Carow	(24)	1861	1886	Theodore Roosevelt	1901.1909

27. Helen Herron	(25)	1861	1886	William H. Taft	1909-1913
28. Ellen Louise Axson	(26)	1860	1885	Woodrow Wilson	1913-1921
Edith Bolling Galt	(27)	1872	1915	Woodrow Wilson	" "
29. Florence Kling DeWolfe	(28)	1860	1891	Warren G. Harding	1921-1923
30. Grace Anna Goodhue	(29)	1879	1905	Calvin Coolidge	1923-1929
31. Lou Henry	(30)	1875	1899	Herbert Hoover	1929-1933
32. Anna Eleanor Roosevelt	(31)	1884	1905	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-1945
33. Bess Wallace	(32)	1885	1919	Harry S. Truman	1945-

FROM: New York USO Campaign
50 Broad Street
New York 4, NY
Hanover 2-4364

DESCRIPTION OF GOWNS WORN BY STATUETTES AT USO EXHIBITION OF FIRST LADIES OF THE U.S.A., AS DESCRIBED BY MISS FLORENCE LANGWORTHY OF THE TRAPHAGEN SCHOOL OF FASHION

1. Martha Washington's gown is typical of her century - the 18th. It is topped by a pink taffeta pointed bodice. The skirt is very full. She also wears an embroidered net fichu. On her head, atop her powdered wig, is a cap that is also typical of her day.

2. Abigail Adams (wife of the second President) wears a gray-lavendar gown with a flowing skirt, the front of which is beautifully worked in a small braided design. The full lace collar is caught at the neck with a jeweled pin. The sleeves of the dress are fitted to the elbow, and below the elbow are full, caught tight at the wrist. A frilly lace bonnet, standing well above the coiffure, completes the statuette.

3. Martha Jefferson also wears a typical 18th Century gown, of a fine cream-colored fabric. The front is detailed with an apron design extending almost to the floor. A dainty pattern decorates the printed fabric in front, and smaller motifs of this same design appear on the back of the skirt. This figure also wears a net fichu, standing up well at the back of the shoulders. The hat is a charming creation of cream-silk and mousseline de soie.

4. Dolly Madison - the gown is soft peach-gold. Its elaborately embroidered and beaded overskirt is worn over a red velvet underskirt trimmed with a flounce of embroidered net. The headgear, characteristic of the day, is a wrapped and trimmed turban ornamented with a feather. Mrs. Madison was so partial to this type of head-covering that she insisted on wearing it long after it had ceased to be fashionable.

5. Eliza Monroe - her gown is a delicate fabric brocaded in a floral design of soft colors trimmed in the bodice with gold chiffon. A chiffon ruffle also appears at the elbow. A gold necklace sets off the neckline. Again we see the popular turban - this time in early 19th Century style.

6. Louise Adams, wife of John Quincy Adams, sixth President, appears in a typical Empire silhouette of oyster-white satin embroidered with silver and sequins. A band of this embroidery appears just below the high bustline. Two bands of the same material are seen on the skirt and are carried out on the long formal train. Frills of exquisite lace trim neckline and sleeves.

7. Rachel Jackson wears a gold satin dress. The silhouette is rounded. The bodice has a cape effect extending out over the full sleeve. It is edged with a self-fringed box-pleated trim spreading down on the front of the skirt. The net cape covers the shoulders in a flattering veil.

8. Hannah Hoes Van Buren - the gown is of chartreuse satin brocaded on a garland design. The sleeves are very full to slightly above the elbow. The full arms are covered by highly-fitted net sleeves.

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9. Anna Symmes Harrison, wife of William Henry Harrison, who died 31 days after his inaugural, wears a fashionable creation the bodice of which has bretelles trimmed with delicately embroidered lace which extends over the puffed sleeves. The skirt is a combination of pale pink satin and cream taffeta elaborately trimmed with appliqued lace. On the head is a flattering poke bonnet of pink satin, trimmed with tiny frills of net.

10. Julia Gardner Tyler wears a gown of blue net. The fitted and pointed bodice is trimmed in the front with tiny pearls. The sleeves are full and puffed to the elbow. The skirt is in three tiers, blue net embroidered in white.

11. Sarah Polk - strikingly brilliant turquoise ribbed silk, the bodice fitted to the waistline. The sleeves are of elbow length, trimmed with gold lace. The silhouette is full. The skirt is brocaded with a floral design in gold. A contrasting panel is set in the front of the skirt. It is ornamented with the same gold lace as that appearing on the sleeve and with ruchings of turquoise chiffon.

12. Margaret Taylor's gown is of Navy taffeta combined with the same material in red and blue. For the first time in the First Ladies exhibition there appears a radical change in the sleeves. The sleeves to this costume are full, worn over a contrasting wrist-length puffed sleeve. Black lace and two bands of narrow black velvet trim the skirt. A piece of black lace caught with a pin encircles the neck.

13. Abigail Fillmore wears a costume of orchid grosgrain. The skirt is cut circular. The bodice is fitted to the waistline. There is a scarf of finely embroidered net and the same net appears as trim on the bottom of the skirt. A charming net cap completes the ensemble.

14. Jane Pierce, wife of the 14th President. This is a black gown characteristically displaying the tiny waistline of the period. The skirt is full and elaborately beaded with tiny black globules. A band of black bugle beads outlines the bottom of the skirt which is cut in wide scallops. The bodice is also trimmed with tiny steel beads and braid.

15. Mary Todd Lincoln's costume reflects her love of clothes in this gown of beautiful fabric - pansy-purple satin. There is a full bertha collar of black lace over a frill of pleated white net, full and puffed to the elbow. The black lace appears as decoration at the hemline of the gown.

16. Elizabeth Johnson wears a costume of the crinoline age. A little jacket of black taffeta brocaded in velvet extends in a full ripple at the back over the pale gold taffeta skirt.

17. Julia Grant - a gown of ecru brocaded in soft shades of dull reds and greens. It is trimmed on the bodice and at the waistline in red velvet which also appears as the undersleeve of the gown. An embroidered net scarf completes the costume.

18. Lucy Hayes'costume shows our new silhouette - the bustle. The gown is of sapphire-blue velvet - a two-piece dress with a little buttoned bodice. Neckline and sleeves are trimmed with fine lace.

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19. Lucretia Garfield - the bodice, train and bustle are of Ashes of Roses panne velvet. The skirt is trimmed with embroidered net and the sleeves and bodice are trimmed with exquisite lace.

20. Ellen Arthur's gown has bodice, bustle and train elaborately ornamented with black velvet bands, embroidery and jet beads in most complete detail. The front of the skirt is of black net embroidered at the hemline and worn over an underskirt of pale pink.

21. Frances Cleveland - with this gown a new silhouette appears on the fashion horizon. The bell skirt is of fine soft brocade flowered in pastel colors. It is trimmed at the hemline with yielding green velvet which also ornaments the full puffed sleeves, and forms a little stomacher at the front of the bodice. Decollettage is off the shoulder and is trimmed with housseline de soie.

22. Caroline Harrison, wife of the second President Harrison, wears a gown with a gold lame fitted bodice. The front is filled in with cream chiffon. The sleeves are wide, wrist-length, and trimmed with two rows of braid. There is a panel trimmed with gold bugle beads that extends down the front of the skirt.

23. Ida McKinley wears a very beautiful and elaborate gown that is a combination of off-white satin cream mousseline de soie and net embroidery, with tiny sequence pearls and crystal beads. The gown has a detailed train of creamy pleated and shirred mousseline de soie.

24. Edith Roosevelt, wife of the immortal "Teddy" Roosevelt, is wearing a pale, blue, brocaded creation. The bodice is of blue chiffon with a touch of embroidery at the bottom of the elbow-length sleeves. A wide embroidered panel of contrasting pale ecru extends down the skirt.

25. Helen Taft - this formal gown is characteristic of the pre-World War I period. White net appears over apricot satin. The net is intricately and elaborately beaded with crystal and pearl beads and crystal bugles.

26. Ellen Wilson - The first Mrs. Wilson is shown in a gown of white net and satin. The neckline carries a wide scarf of net trimmed with iridescent sequins. The satin skirt is veiled with net which is ornamented with crystal beads and iridescent sequins in a floral design.

27. Edith Wilson, second wife of Woodrow Wilson, wears a black velvet and chiffon gown, the skirt and train of which are trimmed with jet beads. There is a detail of iridescent beading at the neckline. There is an orchid in her hand, a reminder of the fact that Mrs. Wilson, who was very fond of orchids, helped to set the vogue for them.

28. Florence Harding - a gown of white satin draped below the waistline. About her neck is a turquoise feather boa. The bodice of the gown is ornamented with rhinestones and crystal beads. A jet black fringe extends below the elbow-length sleeves. The train is trimmed with black lace and rhinestones.

29. Grace Coolidge is attired in a flame-colored gown brocaded in gold - a typical long-waisted gown of the 1920's. There is a side drape, a low-slung girdle formed of tiny steel beads. The long train hangs from the shoulders, and there is a neck-scarf of white net to complete the ensemble.

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31. Eleanor Roosevelt is wearing a gown of blue and silver brocade with a slight train. The ensemble is completed by a wide scarf of lace embroidered in silver.

32. Bess Truman's gown of black velvet features a beautifully draped bodice. The wide overskirt is of black net, and she wears elbow-length black gloves.

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FROM: New York USO Campaign
50 Broad Street
New York 4, New York
Hanover 2-4364

FOR RELEASE AFTER 4 p.m., March 22

New Yorkers will turn back the pages of history next week when, under the sponsorship of the New York USO Campaign, they will have a chance to meet an Easter Parade of the First Ladies of the United States. The exhibition will be held in the [redacted] the mezzanine floor of the Park Sheraton Hotel, 7th Ave. [redacted] and 55th Street, through all of next week. There will be no admission charge.

The exhibition comprises a series of authentically garmented statuettes of the wives of the Nation's Presidents from Martha Washington, wife of the Father of His Country, to Mrs. Bess Wallace Truman. Each of the 32 statuettes, actually a "portrait in sculpture," wears a replica of the favorite dress of the woman it represents. Many of the dresses were created of material that was once a part of the costume of the original wearer. The presentation is of great value both historically and sentimentally.

Everyone of the effigies occupies an individual dramatically-lighted, mirrored display case which permits of a study of the costume from all angles and directions. The showing will present the collection of First Ladies for the first time in its entirety, and is made possible by its creator, Miss Ethel McLean, New York sculptress, as a tribute to the "First Ladies of the USO -- the wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts of American servicemen," as a part of the current New York USO Campaign for $1,380,000. The Park Sheraton Hotel is contributing the space and service for the presentation.

Miss McLean, who has made the production of the First Ladies her life work, is a New Yorker. She has studied at the Art Students League of New York, at the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C. and at Yale University.

The statuettes, modeled in wax, resemble closely the actual persons they represent. Except in size -- they stand approximately 18 inches in height --

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they are actual facsimiles of their flesh-and-blood prototypes who stood beside their husbands at White House receptions, and by their presence, added to the prestige and accomplishment that have been so great a part of the career of American Presidents throughout the life of the Republic.

In her conception of the First Ladies, Miss McLean had it also in mind to pay tribute to the gracious womanhood of the Nation through the 162 years since first an American president took the oath of office.

The brocades, the laces, the velvets of yesteryear give way to the more modern fabrics as the First Ladies parade through nine generations. Gowns that would today provide enough material for three or more first ladies, and whose construction would cause a modern-day modiste to toss in the sponge, were commonplace at the turn of the century - the 19th, not the 20th. Crinolines - hoopskirts to the uninitiate, - bustles, panniers, fichus, an occasional bonnet or wimple, appear in the parade. A train in those earlier days was a creation to awe the onlooker and not an appendage seen only at court or at a wedding. And the full skirt that had a circumference of six yards needed six to eight petticoats to give it its full impressiveness. Miss McLean even reports that some of her figurines wear the underwear of their time.

Perhaps the visitor to the exhibition will be interested to know that Martha Dandridge Custis was plump, small and had hazel eyes when a handsome Virginian paid court to the prettiest and richest widow in the Old Dominion. The wife of the first president was an able business woman who efficiently managed her husband's plantations while he, for months at a time, was in the field against the British.

The visitor can compare Abigail Adams, wife of the second President, who was the first resident of the White House, then not yet completed, with Dorothy Payne Madison, the "Dolly Madison" who, according to tradition, hung her wet laundry to dry in the East Room of the White House, and who fled from that man-

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sion ahead of the marauding British who in 1814 burned Washington and the White House.

Probably the most tragic of the First Ladies - she is shown in a replica of the white velvet gown she would have worn to the inaugural ball had she lived to attend it - was Rachel Donelson Robards Jackson, wife of the seventh President, Andrew Jackson, hero of the Battle of New Orleans. Through no fault of her own there was a scandal connected with her marriage. She did not learn of the slanderous attacks on her character until shortly before his election as President. The shock of hearing them brought on a heart attack from which she died.

Down through the years, good and bad, runs the pageant of lovely and gracious ladies. Only one president, James Buchanan, was a bachelor and is unrepresented in the parade of First Ladies. His administration lasted from 1857 to 1861. His successor was Abraham Lincoln, the Martyred President. Mary Todd Lincoln was followed into the White House by Eliza McCardie, who married Andrew Johnson, a tailor, at 17, and one of whose first tasks as a bride was to teach her husband to read.

Familiarity with the history of the first half of the Twentieth Century will cause many visitors to the First Ladies exhibition to cast a critical eye on the presidential wives since 1910 or 1915. All are there, including the first and second wives of Woodrow Wilson, who is the only president who has a double representation in the showing.

And so it leads to Mrs. Truman as she looked at the time of her husband's inaugural ball. The statuettes of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Calvin Coolidge, the only other living First Ladies, with that of Mrs. Truman, are more readily recognized by those who have seen their photographs in the press. Mrs. Truman's own dressmaker appareled the statuette of Mrs. Truman, using the actual material and style of the inaugural ball gown.

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In presenting the First Ladies exhibition to the New York public, the New York USO Campaign hopes to attract the broad attention of the people of Greater New York to what Miss McLean calls "a more vital patriotic exhibition, their subscription of the $1,380,000 goal of the campaign." The money, which is needed now, will be spent for the benefit of the nation's service men and women in setting up the wholesome entertainment and welfare with which the country became familiar in World War II. The reactivation of USO in January spotlighted the immediate need for an increase in USO facilities. The doubling of the nation's armed forces in nine months has made the need critically vital. It is expected that 3,500,000 will be under arms by midsummer.

Headquarters of the New York USO Campaign is at 50 Broad Street, New York 4. Mayor Vincent R. Impellittori is honorary chairman of the campaign, and its executive leaders are Alexander I. Henderson, chairman, and Thomas D'Arcy Brophy and Carl M. Loeb, Jr., co-chairmen. Contributions to the USO campaign may be made at the First Ladies exhibition, or mailed to the campaign office.

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