

Since the offset process was used in publishing this book and since the book includes many long tables it seems appropriate to mention that well deserved thanks were given to "Audrey N. Barclay for planning and preparing the final typescript and drafting the charts."

The first volume should be of much use to specialists who will find the data of value in their own research. There doubtless are many others who will look forward to the analyses promised in Volume II which is expected some time in 1958. The whole project will easily be the most thorough study of the subject since Goodrich's *MIGRATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY*, published in 1936 and prompted largely by depression conditions but concerned also with historical trends.

Clyde V. Kiser



SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS¹

THIS book is concerned with the life of Thomas Jackson Woofter during a period of fifty years when he was engaged in observing the movements and issues in race relations and actively at work in a number of movements which had as their purpose the improvement of human relations in the South. By his own admission *SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS* represents his effort to "balance the total liabilities and assets of race relations rather than becoming obsessed with one aspect to the neglect of others." This objective gives the book a peculiar relevance, since it appears at a time when integration, school desegregation, and civil rights are subjects of controversy in large areas of the nation. It is also the story of what moderate men of good will north and south achieved in their efforts to find a solution to many of the problems which have perplexed the South. It is an eloquent expression of faith in the efficacy of voluntary cooperation, and a plea for the continuation of

¹ Woofter, Thomas J.: *SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS: THE WAVERING COLOR LINE*. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1957, 180 pp., \$3.50.

the resort to this method of finding a way out of the "fix we are in."

The student interested in cooperation as well as the layman concerned with the manner in which men are influenced to work together will find this book a valuable source of information. It also gives interesting insights into the changes which have occurred in race relations in the South. For *SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS* is set against a background at the turn of the century when the South was beginning to feel the impact of extraordinary technical developments and the racially tolerant but paternalistic aristocrats who had ruled the South during reconstruction, "were displaced by the crackers led by demagogues who made race hatred their chief stock in trade." In these circumstances two of its leaders, Henry W. Grady and Booker T. Washington, who were "dedicated to easing tensions and bitterness between South and North, and between black and white so that a sick society could become whole" popularized the doctrine of separate but equal which the Supreme Court at that time had declared legal.

The book covers a wide variety of topics in some seventeen chapters and especially concerns itself with "strenuous but unsuccessful efforts of public officials to equalize educational opportunity, together with the valuable assistance they received from organizations and foundations." The author is aware that many experts will feel that the topics included in the book are superficially treated. One, on the other hand who lived in close contact with the events and people included in the book, will feel that this moderate Southerner, whose family did not teach him to hate but did inspire in him loyalty to a cause, has given an adequate treatment of the subjects for the purposes which he has in mind. His account of the establishment and work of the great educational foundations is informing. His appraisal of the work of the men and women who may be regarded as the pioneers in the field of interracial cooperation is generous and sympathetic.

The reviewer, who once worked with the author when he was making a study of Negro problems in cities,² is not surprised

² See: Woofter, Thomas J.: *NEGRO PROBLEMS IN CITIES*. New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928, 284 pp.

that he makes the convictions which grew out of his studies, friendships, and practical experiences, a part of the record. He is sure, for example, that the mutually acceptable basis of cooperation which is necessary for progress is wide and that it will endure in spite of controversy. A second conclusion is one which is so seldom admitted by Southerners that it is worth quoting:

If left to its own devices the South will progress but slowly in the development of the Negro; hence the value of an occasional application of the needle of criticism to puncture complacency.

His ultimate appeal is also to great moral and religious imperatives, for he tells us that in this situation the average American needs to be less concerned with whether this or that action conforms to the Supreme Court rulings and more concerned with whether it squares with the principles of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

The author's habit of summarizing the significance of events is also stimulating. Thus although his formal education contained only one course in which there was any reference to the Negro save as a cause of the Civil War, that course which E. P. Brooks taught in Georgia History and Economics stimulated his interest in the problems of the region and stood in glaring contrast to the informal education which he received at the hands of his fellow students at the University of Georgia. The gist of that informal education was that the Negro was racially inferior and hence should be kept in his place.

And again Chancellor David Barrow of the University, who urged him to accept the first Phelps Stokes Fellowship for the study of race, launched him upon a period of study and a career which occupied his life for a period of fifty years.

Of the effectiveness of the long battle of the South under the leadership of the Interracial Commission to wipe out lynching, "the darkest phase of race relations" he tells us that while the time has not yet come for complete relaxed complacency, on the whole, however, the South has shown that it can cope effectively with race friction when it has made up its mind.

It is also his judgment that migration into the Southland

and out of the South "is at the root of a revolution in race relations. It . . . has exerted a healthy influence on all phases of race relations."

Summarizing the significant role of the public schools in producing the New Negro and the New South, he tells us:

The values which the public schools have contributed to the South are not to be lightly tossed aside. When one looks back on the long struggle, the substantial appropriations, the extensive philanthropy, and human devotion which have gone into their development, it will be realized in the words of Jonathan Daniels: "To sacrifice the public schools would not be to secede from the Nation, but to secede from civilization." Their progress must continue at all costs. (p. 123)

He is also convinced that since the right to vote is basic to the attainment of all civil rights the Negro must have that right if he is to protect himself in the enjoyment of all other civil rights. Otherwise the question of civil rights will continue to be "a sore spot in American democracy." (p. 132)

In line with a technique long employed by the Interracial Commission he lets facts speak for themselves. Integration is a success in the Armed Services. Jim Crow has been eliminated in interstate travel and has in fact never been practiced by the airlines. And segregation had been abolished in the Baltimore, Washington, Louisville, and St. Louis school systems by 1956, while in varying degrees desegregation had taken place in 780 smaller communities with "very little of the predicted race friction." (p. 147)

While he believes that the white man will put as much social distance as possible between his family and the family of the Negro as long as the wide differences of the two races in health, morals, manners, and education exist, and especially in areas of heavy Negro majorities where the Negro has progressed least, he admits that with respect to the method of preserving its standards of manners and morals through the use of segregation "the white South finds itself in quandary." "The longer Negroes are kept apart from the currents of progress with inferior facilities, the longer will their standards be lower than those of the whites." With equal candor he admits that even

in spite of these handicaps, however, an increasing number of colored people by dint of great effort, have overcome the handicaps of their environment and by any measure applied, meet the requirements of first class American citizens.

Our author sticks to his purpose neither to praise nor to blame. This does not deter him from lecturing both racial groups. On the whole SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS is the product of a generous spirit. Only on rare occasions does the author dwell upon the plight of the moderate in race relations and the sense of isolation which came to a Southerner who espoused the moderate position forty years ago.

With much of what he has said one will agree, and certainly readers will feel he strives to see both the point of view of the Negro and that of the white South. One who reads this account of his fifty years of effort to understand the problem and to find solutions for it, whether he agrees or not, will recognize that Thomas Jackson Woofter has had wide experience and collected a valuable body of knowledge. Certainly most people will feel he has earned the right to have his say and express his point of view.

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