

GROWTH AND PLAN FOR A COMMUNITY: A STUDY
OF NEGRO LIFE IN CHAPEL HILL AND
CARRBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

by

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Approved by:

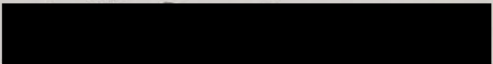

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PREFACE

This study of the Negro community in and immediately around Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina, attempts two things: to give a brief history of the development of the community and to suggest a plan for future growth.

In portraying the growth of the community, while different areas of life have to be taken up separately, the attempt is to see how various forces have contributed to the patterning of the community as it exists today. Considering this area as a social unit, it has not been possible, on the one hand, to show all important developments since the Civil War; adequate materials are not available. On the other hand, it would be too arbitrary to set a later date as a starting point for the study; later developments have grown out of earlier conditions. So it has been necessary to go back to the Civil War to show the unfolding of a few phases of life, but where it was not possible to find information dating back that far, the author has tried to go back to 1900.

In judging any social planning it should be borne in mind that steps suggested are only those which seem feasible for the foreseeable future. It is not within the scope of this study to examine the basic concepts underlying race relations today. But as these assumptions

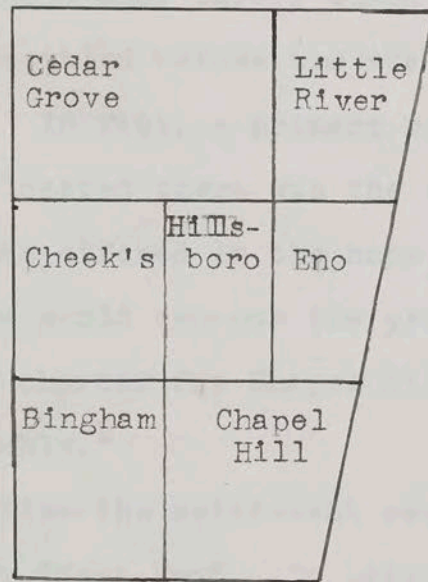
change, any plan such as the one here set forth should be revised to take maximum advantage of new possibilities.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to several persons without whose advice this study could never have been made: Dr. Howard W. Odum, at whose suggestion and under whose direction the paper was written, and Dr. Lee M. Brooks and Dr. Gordon W. Blackwell, who read the manuscript and gave valuable criticisms. While credit is given in the body of the paper for sources of information, the author wishes to thank especially a number who have given not only facts but also helpful insights into community life and thought: Mr. Kenneth M. Jones, Mr. Charles C. Craig, Mr. Harry F. Comer, Rev. J. R. Stanford, Rev. J. H. Jones, Miss Ruth P. Pope, and Mrs. H. M. Holmes. The author also wishes to thank A. S. Buckett, who prepared the map for blueprinting.

CHAPTER I

LOCATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Orange County, North Carolina, is made up of seven townships, as shown in the following sketch. The three



incorporated towns of the county are Hillsboro, the county seat; Chapel Hill, the home of the University of North Carolina; and Carrboro, a mill town adjoining Chapel Hill on the west. A part of the town of Mebane, in Alamance County, also juts into Orange County. The county has an area of 390 square miles and is distinctly rural.

The town of Chapel Hill is located at the junction of two highways important in the early history of the

state: an east-west highway from New Bern to Hillsboro and a north-south road from Richmond to Pittsboro and the south. It was at a spot southwest of the present site of the Carolina Inn that there stood an Anglican Church, New Hope Chapel, from which the location was called New Hope Chapel Hill and, later, simply Chapel Hill. The village was settled before the state university was founded in 1792. In fact, a primary reason for the university's being located there was the fact that a generous amount of land was offered in the hope that the presence of the university would enhance the prosperity of the town. In 1861 a charter for Chapel Hill was granted by the General Assembly.¹

For a long time the settlement west of Chapel Hill was called simply "West-End". In 1911 it was incorporated as Venable, but the Carrs, owners of the mill, had it renamed Carrboro. In 1899 Thomas Lloyd erected the Alberta Cotton Mill with 4,000 spindles near the Carrboro train station. In 1900 William Lindsay installed a knitting mill on the second floor, which was later housed in another building, where it continued in operation until 1915. The Alberta Mill was bought by Julian S. Carr and sons, of Durham, in 1909. In 1911 Thomas Lloyd and Isaac

1. "Around the Campus and Town," Alumni Review, I (February, 1913), p. 94.

Pritchard established another mill south of the depot, which was sold to the Carrs the following year. The two mills were then named Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4 and 7. During the depression both mills went out of business.² In February, 1942, one of the two mill buildings was bought by the National Munitions Corporation of Cleveland, Ohio, to be converted into a war plant.

The community which is referred to in this paper as Negro Chapel Hill or the Chapel Hill Negro community is, for the most part, within the city limits of Chapel Hill, but it extends into Carrboro on the west and goes beyond the limits of both towns on the north and the southwest. This forms one real community, since Negroes of Carrboro are largely dependent economically upon the University and the town of Chapel Hill and use the Chapel Hill stores more than those of Carrboro.

This community has several general neighborhoods, which are shown on the maps in the appendix. Potter's Field, occasionally called New Town, is the hollow which extends, roughly, from Rosemary Lane to the school and from Church Street to Mitchell Lane. Sunset (or the Craig Development) is the area from Rosemary Lane to Gomain's Avenue and from the Community Center to Sunset Drive. Building

2. Joanna Farrell Sturdivant, "The Status of the Small Mill Village."

was begun here in 1924 by Charles Craig. Tintop is a poorer section at the southeast corner of Carrboro which was opened about 1930. The Knolls is a new settlement of eight houses south of Tintop. Southwest Lane is the little knot of streets south of the laundry. Windy Hill is an isolated settlement on North Hillsboro Street. In addition to these sections there is the more prosperous area around the end of West Franklin Street, from Cameron Avenue to Rosemary Lane and from Basnight Lane to Merritt Mill Road, which is simply called West Franklin Street (or sometimes the Lloyd Property). That part of the West Franklin Street neighborhood between Cameron Avenue and Franklin Street is still called Roberson Field. And Carrboro usually refers to all of the area in that town except Tintop.

CHAPTER II

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

Population

Most of the Negro population of Chapel Hill and Carrboro is native to Orange County. Population growth has been steady and moderate and is, for the most part, the result of natural increase plus the moving in of servants with white families.

The resident population of Chapel Hill in 1869 was 937--483 white people and 454 Negroes. The population in November, 1924, was 2,146--1,411 white people and 735 Negroes. This does not include the large number living just outside the town limits.¹ In 1930 out of a total population of 2,699 Chapel Hill had a Negro population of 891, while Carrboro, with a total population of 1242, had 256 Negroes.² In 1940 the total population of Chapel Hill was 3,654; the Negro population, 1,124. The total population of Carrboro was 1,455; the Negro population, 437.³

1. Elizabeth G. Smith, "Public Welfare Problems of Chapel Hill," pp. 8, 61.

2. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Second Series, North Carolina, Tables 15 and 22.

3. Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, II, Tables 29 and 30.

Beginning in the 1920's there has been an influx of Negroes, most of them coming to work at the University. Perhaps a third of these have been from South Carolina, Georgia, and other states of the Deep South. Most of them moved on later, but some families have remained. Although many have been accepted in the community and some have proved very good citizens, the stratification of society is such that many who came from the Deep South are still strangers to some of the "best families" which lead in church and civic groups.⁴

* * *

Town Services

In 1900 there were the following streets in the Negro community: West Franklin, West Rosemary Lane, Merritt Mill Road, Church Street, Lindsay and McDade Streets with Cotton Street connecting them, probably South Roberson Street, and Hillsboro Street at the Windy Hill settlement. Traffic to the west turned from West Franklin Street down Merritt Mill Road to Rosemary Lane and then to Carrboro.

In 1906 there was a petition to run a street from Rosemary to Lindsay. This is now Mitchell Lane.⁵ In 1917 the street east of the old Roberson Field and south of West Franklin Street was named Roberson Street and the

4. Interview, Mr. George H. Lawrence, August, 18, 1943; interview, Mr. Lewis Caldwell, March 25, 1944.

5. Board of Aldermen, Chapel Hill, N. C., Minute Book No. 2, July 2, 1906.

new Graham Avenue, known now as Graham Street, was named.⁶ However, it joined only Cameron Avenue, so that it was not until later that Graham Street was extended north as far as West Franklin.⁷ In 1926 Sunset Drive was being opened up by Mr. I. W. Pritchard, who appealed to the town for assistance in meeting the cost.⁸ The extension of Roberson Street from Franklin to Rosemary was ordered late in 1926.⁹ Present street layout is shown in the first map of the appendix.

Although the town crushed rock for graveling the streets as far back as the turn of the century, no plans were made for actually paving streets until 1919, when the State Highway Commission offered to hard surface the road from the Durham County Line to the post office without cost to the county or town. In connection with this the Board of Aldermen announced, the next year, that the town would hard surface West Franklin Street from Columbia Street to Carrboro and Columbia Street from Franklin Street to Cameron Street.¹⁰ Nothing was done toward this at the time, however.

Except for streets paved by state or federal funds,

6. Board of Aldermen, Minute Book No. 3, March 7, 1917.

7. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1917.

8. Board of Aldermen, Minute Book No. 4, July 25, 1926.

9. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1926.

10. Board of Aldermen, Minute Book No. 3, February 4, 1920.

if streets or sidewalks are to be paved or curbs and gutters to be put in it is necessary that three-fourths of the property owners or persons owning three-fifths of the adjacent land sign a petition to the Board of Aldermen. The cost of paving is borne one-third by the town and one-third by the property owners on each side of the street. Sidewalks are paid for one-half by the town and one-half by property owners.

When the state agreed to pave East Franklin Street to the intersection with Columbia and Columbia to the University entrance, the Board of Aldermen authorized the state to pave, at the town's expense, an extra width of twelve feet in addition to the 18 feet of concrete proposed, except for the main business block, in which 45 extra feet were to be paved.¹¹ Petitions were circulated among the property owners of East Franklin Street, who refused to sign them, so that the street was paved without cost to them.¹²

As has been indicated, Chapel Hill and Carrboro had agreed to extend the paving into Carrboro, but this was not done at the time. In 1926 and '27 four separate petitions for improvements on West Franklin Street were

11. Ibid., July 1, 1921.

12. R. J. M. Hobbs, "Report of Committee to Investigate the Paving Assessment of West Franklin Street," Minute Book No. 6, Board of Aldermen, January 14, 1939.

drawn up. On May 10, 1926, a petition was received for curbs and gutter from Columbia Street to Merritt Mill Road. The center of the street was to be planted, so that four curbs and gutters rather than two would be necessary. Fifty per cent of the total cost was to be borne by the property owners. After the State Highway Commission announced its willingness to pave 18 feet of West Franklin Street, a second petition was received on October 20, 1926, asking that the state pave one 18-foot strip and the other 18-foot strip be paved, with the property owners bearing $66 \frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the cost of the second strip. The center of the street was still to be reserved for plants. On May 17, 1927, the property owners from Columbia Street to Church Street petitioned that the 16-foot space in the center of the street be paved instead of planted, and on September 7, 1927, those from Church Street to Merritt Mill Road requested the same improvement.¹³

The work, all of which was done by Jack W. Long, was begun in the fiscal year 1926-27. At this time the extension of West Franklin Street back of St. Paul's Church was cut, and the road was paved as far as the high school in Carrboro. Total assessments were \$45,090.94, at \$7.70 a linear foot, to be paid in ten installments beginning 1928.¹⁴

13. Minute Book No. 4, May 10, 1926; October 20, 1926; May 17, 1927; September 7, 1927.

14. Hobbs, op. cit.

Objections were raised at once by property owners who appeared before the Board of Aldermen September 26, 1927.

At this time several of the property owners on West Franklin Street were present, among whom were Messrs. Eugene Andrews and M. W. Uzzell. The gentlemen stated that they were opposed to to (sic) additional pavement that had been authorized on West Franklin Street and desired that the improvement on this street be carried forward in accordance with the first plan of the Board which provided for the construction of a planting space down the center of the street. The gentlemen further stated that the petition which had been signed by the property owners was obtained by misrepresenting the situation and by dishonest methods, and that though (sic) that the Board should order the discontinuance of this additional paving. The charge was also made that such property owners on this street had been offered unusual consideration for their signatures on this petition. In the discussion which followed it was pointed out that the petition (sic) was received by the property owners at one meeting and discussed, but final decision on the same was held over until another meeting. That a news story was carried in the Chapel Hill Weekly of this week stating that this petition had been received and that the same was sufficient but that action on the same had been delayed, and that it was felt that all persons interested had a sufficient knowledge of the petition being presented to the Board and had had sufficient time to make objection to the same before work was authorized. The Manager stated that he did not believe that the charges made were true, but felt that the Board should thoroughly investigate the charges and suggested that the Mayor be instructed to conduct an investigation of the same.¹⁵

15. Minute Book No. 4, September 26, 1927.

Mayor Council reported [later] that he had made a thorough investigation of the charges made by certain citizens of the town that the petition for the paving of the central strip of West Franklin Street had been obtained by the property owners by misrepresentation and fraud, and that he had found that there was no evidence of signatures' being obtained on this petition by misrepresentation nor had any inducement been offered the citizens to sign, nor any undue influence brought to bear upon them in this matter. Mayor Council stated that in accordance with the resolution adopted at the previous meeting of the Board of Aldermen he had instructed the Manager to complete this work without further delay.¹⁶

Property owners on West Franklin Street felt that they could not meet the annual installments. The Health and Welfare Council recognized the injustice of the situation and began agitation for redress. On February 2 of 1937, the last year stipulated for payment, Mr. L. J. Phipps stated that he believed the assessments were excessive and some relief should be given. Mr. B. D. Sawyer, the town attorney, conferred with Mr. Morehead, Bond Attorney, to determine legal steps necessary if the aldermen should decide to make some reduction in the assessments. He reported that he felt that little could be done to relieve the situation without endangering the collection of improvement assessments in other parts of town but suggested that a compromise might be worked out whereby assessments would be reduced in proportion to the amount of

16. Ibid., October 10, 1927.

property owned by individuals or that the installment might be extended over a number of years to postpone the date of maturity.¹⁷

Mr. John Manning, representing some of the property owners concerned, made an investigation of the situation.

Mr. John Manning presented a detailed and comprehensive report on the improvement assessments on West Franklin Street. In his report he gave a comparison of amount of assessments, values, and benefits on Columbia St., Cameron Ave., and Franklin St. He said that the committee workers had found evidence of misunderstanding and misrepresentation in many cases. As a result of his investigation, Mr. Manning stated that he was positive that the improvements assessments were unjust and out of proportion with costs of improvements on other streets. He suggested that the assessments on the property from Church Street to Town Line be released with the exception of curb and gutter costs, and this to be assessed against property owners at approximately \$1.50 per frontfoot. Since the property between Columbia and Church Streets had benefited to a greater extent by the improvements the owners of this property, according to Mr. Manning's suggestion, would be assessed at \$2.50 per front foot for curb and gutter and the sixteen foot strip of pavement. Those who have already paid their assessments would be credited with the amount paid, and would be applied on their future taxes.¹⁸

The aldermen agreeing that the property owners needed relief, they decided to proceed cautiously lest they should incur personal liability. A committee of three--Alderman R. J. M. Hobbs, Mayor John M. Foushee, and Town Manager

17. Minute Book No. 6, September 2, 1937; March 10, 1937.

18. Ibid., August 11, 1937.

John L. Caldwell--was appointed to investigate bases of adjustment and to contact the Local Government Commission for aid in solving the problem of financing the move.¹⁹ On December 14, 1938, the Board of Aldermen passed a motion to assess at a rate of \$5.267 per front foot, with interest at three per cent per year from 1928, and to reassess the unpaid amounts at six per cent interest per year for a period of ten years. Any payment over \$5.267 per foot which had already been made would be refunded to the current property owners.²⁰

It was necessary that the state legislature authorize the remission of the debts. In the request to the 1939 legislature the Board of Aldermen pointed out that total assessments on October 1, 1928, were \$45,090.94, so that, with interest, \$58,400.74 should have been paid. Of this amount \$33,762.74 had been paid, leaving an unpaid balance of \$24,638.00. White owners had paid \$26,314.41, leaving them a balance of \$5,115.48, while Negro owners had paid \$7,448.33, leaving a balance of \$19,522.52. It was also pointed out that of the four petitions on the basis of which work was done, all but the third were invalid because of an insufficient number of signers. It was mentioned, too, that East Franklin Street had been paved without

19. Ibid., October 26, 1938.

20. Ibid., December 14, 1938.

assessing the property owners, who refused to sign petitions for surfacing the street. On the basis of these facts, legislative authorization of a \$20,000 bond was asked for reduction of assessments and refunding of overpayments.²¹

However, the act as passed did not specifically authorize issuance of bonds for refunds, so that the General Assembly on February 4, 1941, ratified an act authorizing the town to issue \$8,500 worth of bonds for paying the debt to West Franklin Street property owners, the money to be paid to the persons who owned the property at the date of the beginning of the move to refund. Repayments were begun in May, 1941.²²

In January, 1934, when plans were being laid to use C. W. A. funds to pave streets, only those which had curbs and gutters were recommended for paving, so that the streets recommended in the Negro section were South Roberson and Church Street as far as Lindsay. Although Joseph Hyde Pratt protested that all of Rosemary Lane should be paved, the Board felt that it would be best to pave only from Church Street east, because West Rosemary would require too much grading and widening, and curbs and gutters would have to be added to keep it from washing, so that it would not be worth while at that time.²³

21. Hobbs, op. cit.

22. Minute Book No. 6, March 12, 1941.

23. Ibid., January 10, 1934.

In 1937 the P. W. A. approved a request for paving West Rosemary Lane at a cost of \$2,267.00 and a request for paving and installing gutters and drains on Church Street at a cost of \$2,322.00.²⁴

Today the following streets in the Negro area are paved: West Franklin Street, West Rosemary Lane and Jones Ferry Road, Church Street to the town limits, and Roberson Street from Cameron Avenue to Rosemary Lane.

The town of Chapel Hill cooperates with the University and divides responsibility for town affairs with it. This is particularly true in the administration of public services, where the University owns the water, light, and telephone systems, while the town owns the sewer system. As far back as 1901 the town granted the trustees of the University the right "to lay pipes for the distribution of water and for a system of sewers along any streets of the town of Chapel Hill; and to operate a system of water works and sewers."²⁵ On January 11, 1911, the town took back the sewer system, but the water mains and lights were left in the hands of the University.²⁶

In its water system, as in many other respects, the Negro community reflects today the entire town as it was perhaps two decades ago. The water and sewer system of

24. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1927.

25. *Minute Book No. 2*, April 1, 1901.

26. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1911.

the Negro section is immeasurably more adequate and more sanitary than that of the white community was in 1900. At that time the town had two public wells, on Franklin Street near the Methodist Church and at the Franklin and Columbia intersection. The former well supplied "pure water regularly to a number of boarding houses and private families in the heart of the town, and the water from it" was "more or less extensively used by the people of the entire town and by the country people coming into Chapel Hill."²⁷ It was not until 1904 that pumps were installed in the wells.²⁸ In 1922 the last one was closed when the Susan Graham Memorial Fountain was built in front of the old Methodist Church.

In 1900 the town was served entirely by privies, even in the downtown business block. There seemed as much concern that privies not be fire hazards as that they be sanitary.²⁹ The town kept a man for cleaning privies, and citizens paid for the service.³⁰

In 1906 an ordinance was passed forbidding use of cesspools and ordering that sewerage pipes discharge at points approved of by the Sanitary Committee, yet enforce-

27. Ibid., March 14, 1901.

28. Ibid., November 7, 1904.

29. Ibid., September 26, 1902.

30. Ibid., October 6, 1902.

ment of the ordinance as it applied to existing cesspools was postponed indefinitely.³¹ In 1913 privies were prohibited between Rosemary and Franklin Streets from Church Street to the east boundary of town.³² And in 1915 it was ordered that "all persons owning a surface closet within the corporate limits of the town of Chapel Hill shall have the same removed or remodeled so as to be sanitary. A surface closet will not be considered sanitary unless it is fly-proof and water tight." "No surface closet shall be maintained within 300 feet of that part of any street traversed by the sewer line."³³ The town, then, has the authority to require citizens to connect with the water and sewer systems, and exceptions are made only in cases of extreme poverty.

The installation of sewers in Potter's Field was proposed a number of times before it was actually carried out. On December 7, 1908, there was a lengthy discussion of the matter in the meeting of the Board of Aldermen, and it was sent to the Sewerage Committee for consideration. On September 7, 1916, an estimate of the cost of extending the sewer to West Franklin Street and Potter's Field was authorized. Again on April 6, 1920, this estimate was

31. Ibid., October 1, 1906; February 5, 1907.

32. Ibid., April 29, 1913.

33. Minute Book No. 3, August 23, 1915.

ordered, and on May 6 bonds were authorized for building sewers, among other places, on Lindsay and Lloyd (Cotton) Streets and on West Franklin Street, but this order was repealed at the next meeting. In 1926 water mains and sewers were finally ordered on Church, Lindsay, McDade, and Cotton Streets, the sewers connecting with the west outfall which had passed through that section all the time. Consideration was given to the fact that, with at least 60 connections at a dollar rental a month per connection, the cost of \$6,000 would be met in 16.7 years. "In the discussion which followed it was brought out that the unsanitary condition brought about by not having sewerage in this section could be a real menace to the health of the community."³⁴

In 1921 authorization was given for construction of the sewer on West Franklin Street from the west end of town to the existing line in the bottom below the old Baptist Church.³⁵

When the present Orange County Training School was built in 1924, Dr. C. S. Mangum, Chairman of the Negro School Building Committee, asked the town for financial aid in the construction of the water and sewer lines. The town put in the sewer at a cost of \$350.00, the school

34. Minute Book No. 4, April 12, 1926.

35. Minute Book No. 3, November 11, 1921.

agreeing to pay eight per cent rental to cover yearly interest and a sinking fund for retirement of the bonds.³⁶ At the same time sewers were being put in under Rosemary Lane by Vann Nunn's place and on Mitchell Lane.

The sewerage system was extended to South Roberson and South Graham Streets at the time water was installed there, in 1926, and the next year both water mains and sewers were built on the newly opened portion of Roberson Street north of Franklin.³⁷ In 1928 the Mayor was authorized to have the following sewers constructed: North Graham Street, Rosemary Lane between Roberson and Merritt Mill Road, and Merritt Mill Road between Franklin and Rosemary.³⁸

At the present time water mains are lacking in Tintop; there are no sewers in Tintop, Southwest Lane, or Sunset; Tintop and Windy Hill do not have fire hydrants; and Tintop has no electricity, although the line runs by it.

After Nurse Compton came to Chapel Hill in 1923, she induced the town to have John McMasters, who cleaned privies and hauled trash for the town, to collect trash in the Negro community on regular clean-up days, when it would

36. Ibid., August 14, 1924.

37. Minute Book No. 4, April 12, 1926.

38. Minute Book No. 5, January 12, 1928.

be placed on the streets. Since that time the town has continued to collect trash from the streets free of charge but does not have trucks collect trash behind the houses, as is done where citizens pay a fee for having trash hauled.

* * *

Economic Life

The Negro community is almost wholly dependent upon the University and the white families of Chapel Hill for employment. At the turn of the century most of the Negroes worked for white families, and a smaller number worked for the University. Until about 1920 individual students hired them much more than they do now, since wood had to be bought and chopped for fireplace-heated dormitory rooms, and laundry had to be sent out to washwomen. "The women and older girls readily find employment in the homes of the white residents of the town (in 1916), as cooks, housemaids, nurses, laundresses and general houseworkers. The men and older boys are in demand as porters, waiters, delivery clerks, collectors of laundry, clothes pressers, janitors, lawn workers, gardeners and draymen."³⁹

Until a few years before the laundry was built, the wash rate was 25 cents a week for students, \$1.00 to \$1.50

39. Walter Patten, "Negro Churches and Sunday Schools, Orange County, North Carolina," pp. 4, 6.

for an average size family's weekly laundry, and \$1.50 to \$2.00 for a large family. These rates were raised a little before the laundry came.⁴⁰

At the beginning of the twentieth century wages for domestic servants and day laborers started at \$2.00 a week, and \$7.00 was high pay. Janitors received about \$16.00 a month. In 1904 brickmasons working on the gymnasium received 60 cents a day on the average, although the best workers got 80 cents. The wage was raised to 90 cents in that year. In 1910, when the University heating system was being enlarged, wages were raised to \$1.25 a day for masons. With the entry of the United States into the first World War wages began increasing, so that during the '20's workers on University construction jobs received from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day, with the best workers making \$2.50.⁴¹ At the present time janitors usually get \$22.00 a week.

In a 1925 study of income of 62 women picked at random, who were employed in all kinds of work, the average weekly wage was \$7.54. The highest wage was \$20.00; lowest, \$2.00. Seventy-seven men picked at random, also employed in various kinds of work, averaged \$17.78 a week. The highest wage was \$37.00; lowest, \$10.00. In most cases

40. Interview, Mr. Lewis Caldwell.

41. Interview, Mr. John W. Johnson, April 6, 1944.

both men and women received three meals a day in addition to their wages. The average work day was ten and a half hours.⁴²

Since about 1940 wages of cooks as well as workers for the University have been rising, so that most maids are paid \$15.00 or more a week as compared with the \$10.00 wage which was formerly general.

It has been only since the outbreak of the war that Negroes have found appreciable employment in Carrboro. The mills used to hire only about a dozen Negroes in the warehouses and for drudgery jobs. The munitions plant now pays a maximum of some \$35.00 a week for Negro men.

Probably two-thirds of the high school students are employed after school hours. About half of them work for the University from four to nine o'clock. The percentage was even larger before the Italian prisoners came. The University laundry has a policy of not employing students during the school year. Practically all of the high school students and graduates who are in school elsewhere work here during the summer. About one-eighth of the girls graduating from the school continue to work at the University or as domestic servants in Chapel Hill.⁴³

42. Smith, op. cit., pp. 61-63.

43. Interview, Miss Ruth P. Pope, April 17, 1944.

Table 1 on page 24 shows property evaluations in the community from 1904 through 1943. There may be seen a tendency for those who own land to acquire more than one piece of property. In 1913 there were 110 individuals who had the 115 town lots owned by Negroes; in 1920 the 170 lots were owned by 119 persons; 189 owned the 264 lots in 1926; 204 owned the 317 lots in 1930; 200 owned the 278 lots in 1935; 280 owned the 438 lots in 1940; and 333 owned the 485 listed in 1943 as owned by Negroes. On the other hand, large Negro property owners built up their holdings but have lost them or died, and others have not risen to take their places. In 1925 Vann Nunn owned seven lots valued at \$11,330 plus rural property to the value of \$1,880; Durwood O'Kelly owned five lots valued at \$8,400. In 1930 Rev. L. H. Hackney owned 17 lots valued at \$7,750 plus \$1,100 worth of rural property; Durwood O'Kelly, seven lots at \$12,150; O'Kelly and Company, 29 valued at \$8,000. These landowners had begun losing ground, so that in 1935 no one in the community had real estate of \$7,000 value.⁴⁴

Probably 70 per cent of Negro men and women in Chapel Hill carry some form of insurance with one of the ten or more companies operating in the village. Life insurance

44. From township tax books for Orange County, Chapel Hill Township (colored).

Table 1

NUMBER OF TOWN LOTS AND VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED
BY NEGROES, CHAPEL HILL AND CARRBORO,
NORTH CAROLINA, 1904-1943

Year	Number of town lots	Value of real estate	Year	Number of town lots	Value of real estate
1904	85	\$21,298	1924	240	\$207,837
1905	76	18,888	1925	250	218,087
1906	92	23,098	1926	264	238,451
1907*			1927	287	290,520
1908	96	31,815	1928	268	247,870
1909	100	31,626	1929	250	282,055
1910	98	31,085	1930	317	272,220
1911	118	35,415	1931	325	286,466
1912	113	47,895	1932	309	250,280
1913	115	44,740	1933	286	200,116
1914	154	58,550	1934	287	198,797
1915	158	61,650	1935	278	193,222
1916	150	79,834	1936	298	199,618
1917	149	79,549	1937	287	194,770
1918	142	71,021	1938	293	183,871
1919	172	83,308	1939	300	191,979
1920	170	89,148	1940	438	219,561
1921	139	176,965	1941	459.5	240,743
1922	235	163,393	1942	464	248,678
1923	252	183,066	1943	485	261,309

* Figures not available.

Source: Report of the North Carolina Corporation Commission as a Board of State Tax Commissioners, annual reports 1904-1916, Statement No. 2; Report of the Corporation Commission as a Board of State Tax Commissioners, annual reports 1917-1920, Statement No. 3; Report of the Commissioner of Revenue, State of North Carolina, annual reports 1921-1925, Statement No. 3; township tax books, Orange County, Chapel Hill Township (colored), 1926-1943.

and sick benefits are most common, but there are also some endowment policies. Not as many have property insurance. The most common policy is paid in small weekly amounts, so that rates are high. There are also two burial associations operating in Chapel Hill which are really life insurance companies. There was once a burial association with headquarters here, but it could not come up to standards required by state law and so went under.⁴⁵

There were several Negro businesses before the first World War. Vann Nunn's store was the best Negro grocery and dry goods establishment in the town from its beginning 50 years ago until eight or ten years ago, when Nunn died. Tom McDade's grocery store on West Franklin Street was one of the largest stores in town, having both Negro and white patrons and running a delivery service with two wagons. This business lasted from about 1908 to about 1918. Henry ("Buddy") Guthrie built a moving picture theater about 1914 and ran it at least until 1923. Before World War I there were two or three cafes, and the Odd Fellows Hall was used for dances. There was also an undertaking establishment, which has since gone out of business and been replaced by the present one. All the tailor shops and pressing

45. Interview, Mr. Kenneth Jones, March 26, 1944.

clubs in town were owned and operated by Negroes. Bill Jones' Pressing Club in the main business block was established about 1915, and soon afterward O'Kelly's Tailor Shop was begun. For a long time Tom Dunstan's barber shop, beside the Presbyterian Church, was the only one in town. The shoe shops, too, were a Negro monopoly. George Trice and Brooks Brewer each had shoe shops, and Ed and John Johnson together ran a shop.

The present buildings in the Negro business district on West Franklin Street were constructed during the 1920's; all of the filling stations and most of the other buildings were put up since 1920.⁴⁶

In October, 1925, there were the following businesses owned and operated by Negroes in Chapel Hill: the Standard Theater with a seating capacity of 300, the Globe Theater, two garages, four grocery stores, three barber shops, a hairdressing parlor, two undertaking establishments, three restaurants, and two pressing clubs. There were three contractors and one dentist.⁴⁷

The Janitors Association, organized in 1929, has been important more as a social and civic organization than as an economic force. It has had the power to recommend to

46. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig, January 29, 1944; interview, Mr. Kenneth Jones.

47. "Negro Business in Chapel Hill," The Orange Jewel, I (October 29, 1925), p. 1.

the University what men should be hired as janitors, but as a bargaining group it has been weak. Just before the C. I. O. was organized in Chapel Hill in 1942, the Janitors Association had been trying for a year to get a raise and finally succeeded in securing an increase of only fifty cents a week.⁴⁸

In March, 1942, under the leadership of two University students, Harvey Segal and Frank Green, and with the cooperation of local members of the American Federation of Teachers, the workers for the University organized as Local 403 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, affiliated with the C. I. O.

From June to the middle of September, 1942, Sidney R. Rittenberg, Jr., a former University student, was employed as full-time organizer and raised the membership to its peak just before he had to leave. The first appeal was made to the janitors, and all but about twelve members of the Janitors Association joined. Under Rittenberg's leadership the organization was enlarged to include cafeteria, infirmary, and laundry employees. Because of the influx of workers to the University during the war and because of the loss of a full-time organizer, the union has not been able to hold its membership gains, although

48. Interview, Mr. Elliott Washington, August 17, 1943.

at one time it included almost all the janitors and half of the laundry workers. Since Rittenberg's leaving for the army in September, 1942, Harvey Segal was part-time organizer until the end of August, 1943, and Leigh Bronson gave part time to this until Christmas of 1943. Since Christmas Gladys Epstein has been working with the group. At the present time the laundry workers, though belonging to the same union, are holding separate meetings from the other workers because of difficulty of arranging a common meeting time.

Although there are about 200 members, only some 80 pay dues regularly. This is not considered a criterion of membership. Initiation fee, which is set by the national union at between \$1 and \$5, is \$1 for the Chapel Hill group. Regular dues are \$1 a month, 50 cents of which goes to national headquarters. But laundry workers pay only 75 cents, so that the local union retains only 25 cents.⁴⁹

First president of the union was Mr. Frank L. Hairston. Present officers, elected in July, 1943, are Mrs. Maggie Morphis, president, Mrs. Susie Merritt and Mr. LeRoy Smith, vice-presidents, Mrs. Bessie Edwards, re-elected secretary-

49. Interview, Mr. Harvey Segal, August 10, 1943.

treasurer, and Mrs. Dorothy Foushee, re-elected recording secretary.⁵⁰

The union works through four committees: social (James Headon, chairman), political (Buck Barnette, chairman), financial (Elliott Washington, chairman), and grievance (LeRoy Clark, chairman, with members on the committee to represent each major place of employment).⁵¹

The union has received the support of the churches. The regular meetings have usually been held in Rock Hill Baptist Church and occasionally at St. Paul's and the Second Baptist Church. Meetings are announced regularly from the pulpits. Union meetings are held at the Hollywood Theater whenever there is a conflicting religious meeting.

In July, 1942, after the Janitors Association had bargained a year and got only a 50 cent weekly raise, the union, by going direct to Dr. Graham, won a \$2.50 weekly raise for janitors, making their pay scale 37 1/2 cents an hour instead of 29 cents. Dormitory maids' wages in the summer of 1943 were 30 cents an hour, having been raised from \$10 a week to \$14. Average wages for women laundry workers have been raised to 25 cents an hour,

50. Harvey Segal, "Chapel Hill, N. C., Elects New Officers," News of State, County & Municipal Workers, I (July 23, 1943), p. 14.

51. Interview, Mrs. Maggie Morphis, August 15, 1943.

\$15.50 a week. As one Negro citizen said, "The union has helped more in two years than the Janitors Association in its lifetime." However, rising prices have just about kept real wages stable. One of the next objectives of the C. I. O. is to do away with wage differentials on the basis of race and sex.

Probably as significant as immediate economic results is the fact that these workers can now bargain with the University, even though they probably cannot demand a closed shop. Most of the members seem to feel, however, that they must depend upon white friends to speak for them in bargaining if they are to get a hearing.⁵²

The Janitors Association and the union together have been able to improve working conditions as well as wages. The Janitors Association, in particular, stopped much of the abuse of janitors by foremen and the needless restrictions placed upon their movement about the campus.

Mr. J. M. Lear, of the School of Commerce, has been concerned to develop a Negro credit union. He persuaded Mr. Kennon Cheek to call a meeting of the janitors. At this meeting, which was sparsely attended, and at a second, which was attended a little better, Mr. Lear pointed out the value of credit unions as a means of paying cash rather than getting credit, and so effecting an economic saving

52. Interview, Mr. Harvey Segal.

and escaping the many loan sharks who thrive upon Negro trade in Chapel Hill. His proposal was that a credit union be formed by both Negro and white employees of the University. However, the janitors felt that they could not join a credit union, because they made so little that they could not save. They also felt that if they did organize a credit union, they should do it by themselves. Later a credit union was actually begun by persons connected with the University. Negroes were invited to join, and it was explained that it would be easier for them to begin with the larger group, because of the \$20 or \$25 initial expense of organizing; then if the Negroes became confident that they could run a credit union alone, they could pull out and form a separate organization. The board of the credit union agreed that they would elect one Negro to membership on the board. But still none of the janitors joined. On two occasions some three years ago Negroes who wanted to borrow money have joined temporarily by borrowing the five dollars for membership fee from Mr. Lear and then paying it back later.⁵³

In 1900 relief of poor Negroes was almost entirely a matter of individual families' and churches' helping

53. Interview, Mr. J. M. Lear, April 10, 1944.

them. Emphasis was placed upon relief on special occasions, particularly at Christmas.

The King's Daughters, a white women's religious charitable organization, began in Chapel Hill in 1886. From the first it has worked with both races, though the work among Negroes was little felt. Most of the effort lately, however, has been among Negroes. The organization has been most active under the leadership of Mrs. R. B. Lawson, its present case worker. The King's Daughters do not touch cases that are already being cared for by public welfare but aid where occasional assistance is needed on account of sickness or loss of a job. In order to induce the persons receiving aid to help themselves as far as possible, Mrs. Lawson tries to place them in jobs; she gives more consideration to persons who are actually trying to hold down jobs and make good than to spendthrifts or ne'erdo wells; and she lends money rather than giving it, wherever this is possible, although she does not press for repayment if it would work too much of a hardship.⁵⁴ The King's Daughters make an annual house-to-house canvass for funds. The Board of Aldermen allotted \$74.30 for the work in 1921-22, and \$50.00 for each of the next two years. Since then, with the exception of 1924-25 and 1931-32, the town has given \$25.00 annually to the work.

54. Interview, Mrs. R. B. Lawson, August 19, 1943.

The School of Social Work was established at the University in 1920, but it was not until Mr. George Lawrence came in 1922 that its influence was felt in the county at large, either among white or Negro citizens.

At the beginning of the depression the only relief organizations in Orange County were the Red Cross, which had not been active in Chapel Hill except in getting the white nurses and then the Negro nurse, the County Welfare Office, and the King's Daughters. In 1932 George Lawrence, superintendent of public welfare, was the only social worker in the county. "In October of 1932, when funds were received from the Government, the relief program in the county got under way quickly. The Superintendent of Public Welfare became Relief Director and was able to have an assistant. Also available were the services of a few students in the School of Public Administration at the University."⁵⁵

From October 1, 1932, to March 31, 1933, fifteen per cent of the population of Chapel Hill Township was receiving public aid. The majority of recipients were Negroes. "Slightly over 35 per cent of the average population belongs to the Negro race yet they composed over 63 per cent of those receiving aid," so that 48 per cent of the Negro population was receiving relief, as compared with eleven

55. Katherine Lewis Barrier, "Seventeen Hundred Economically Handicapped Families," pp. 33-34.

per cent of the white population. From October 1, 1932, to March 31, 1933, relief was given to 308 white persons (counting all members of families receiving aid) and 518 Negroes in the township. In addition the King's Daughters assisted 36 white persons and 241 Negroes in the town. Both the Red Cross and the King's Daughters distributed flour and cloth--7,986 pounds of flour to white families and 6,954 to colored, 1,304 yards of cloth to white families and 2,287 to colored. In Chapel Hill Township the Red Cross distributed \$281.79 from private donations to whites and \$284.73 to Negroes. The King's Daughters, working in Chapel Hill, gave \$39.50 to whites, \$204.48 to Negroes.⁵⁶

In 1937, after the Emergency Relief Administration program was ended, a study was made of the 1,887 relief cases in Chapel Hill Township for which there were adequate records. Including the figures for the King's Daughters, there were 2,576 persons aided (915 white and 1,661 Negro), representing 552 families (216 white and 336 Negro). This was the largest proportion of families on relief and the largest proportion of Negro families of any township in the county.⁵⁷

56. Ruth Bruner Henry, "A Study of Emergency Relief of the Unemployed in Orange County, North Carolina, October 1, 1932--March 31, 1933," pp. 42, 53, 60-61.

57. Barrier, op. cit., p. 63.

Before July, 1936, the local Movie Guild was contributing 15 per cent of proceeds from Sunday movies to local relief. At that time the Movie Guild raised this to 25 per cent, the money to be turned over to Mr. George Lawrence. Later this was changed to a straight contribution of \$75.00 a month, \$30.00 of which went to the Health Department for a venereal disease clinic and \$45.00 of which went to relief. Now \$40.00 goes to the clinic and \$35.00, to relief.⁵⁸

From the first of the depression until the outbreak of the war the local Red Cross was relatively inactive. Since the summer of 1942, however, its work has picked up, so that it aided 200 cases in July, 1943, as compared with 28 cases a year before. When a number of married Negro men were drafted in June, 1943, the Red Cross began lending money to about a dozen mothers with children. In all, between \$900 and \$1,000 was lent from July to September, when the families could begin paying it back out of their government allowances.⁵⁹

* * *

Housing

In connection with the educational program of 1913, the University "Y" conducted a housing survey in Negro

58. Minute Book No. 6, July 8, 1936, through July 23, 1937.

59. Interview, Mr. George H. Lawrence.

Chapel Hill. House-to-house canvassers asked questions about location and ownership of homes and size of houses as well as sanitary conditions.

In 1925 there were 33 houses with two or more Negro families, 155 houses with only one family. The 735 persons in the community lived in 619 rooms; there was an average of 1.2 persons to a room. Of the 91 houses owned by the occupants, 47 were rated fair, 37 good, seven poor. Of the 65 rented houses, 47 were rated fair, eight good, and ten poor.⁶⁰

From about 1922 to 1928 many new houses were built. Sunset Drive was opened up during this period, but there was also construction of new homes in the older sections of Potter's Field and West Franklin Street. During the early 1930's, as an indirect result of the federal relief program and the P. W. A. and W. P. A. building programs at the University, there was purchase of home equipment, such as radios, but there were few major improvements in the houses themselves. In the early thirties Tintop, a substandard section lacking electricity and sanitary facilities, was built. From about 1936 until the beginning of

60. Smith, op. cit., p. 64.

the war there was a good deal of new construction, particularly north and west of the Community Center.

With the authorization of the Chapel Hill Health and Welfare Council Colonel Pratt appointed a committee on housing in December, 1939. Members were Lee M. Brooks and George Lawrence, co-chairmen, W. B. Sanders, Mrs. W. B. Neal, C. P. Hinshaw, Don H. Stewart, John M. Foushee, and Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Hyde Pratt.⁶¹

On March 11, 1940, the Housing Committee of the Health and Welfare Council called a town meeting to "break ground" in the public mind about the housing problem. From out of town there were a number of guests: Langdom Post, Consultant of the United States Housing Authority, Charles R. Rainey, Informational Director of U. S. H. A., R. K. Creighton, Executive Director of the Raleigh housing authority, and T. S. Johnson, President of the North Carolina Council of Housing Authorities. Rather hurried inspection was made of the Negro community. At the town meeting that night there were some 75 Negro citizens and 15 white citizens. Mr. Johnson outlined the federal and state housing programs and possibilities for a town such as Chapel Hill.

61. Chapel Hill Health and Welfare Council, memorandum, December 9, 1939. From files of Dr. Lee M. Brooks.

The film, "Housing in Our Time," was shown. Mr. Post then spoke, pointing out that Negro housing in Orange County compares very unfavorably with white housing; that the federal government offers assistance but tries not to dictate to the local housing authority; that the housing law for North Carolina is not clear as to whether or not the Chapel Hill community can sponsor a project.⁶² Mr. Post suggested that individual cottages instead of apartment houses be built. Four-room houses with modern conveniences would rent for \$9.00 to \$12.00 a month, plus light and water bills. Only families with incomes not more than five times the rent of the houses would be accepted, and for each house built a substandard house would have to be destroyed, closed, or repaired and made decent.⁶³

It was soon discovered that Chapel Hill was too small for a housing authority under the North Carolina law, which excludes towns of less than 5,000 and does not provide for county housing authorities.

In February, 1940, John M. Foushee suggested that a survey be made of the section around the Community Center. A housing survey of Negro Chapel Hill was made in the spring of 1940. Some forty students in sociology and social work,

62. Lee M. Brooks, "Purpose of Town Meeting," March 11, 1940.

63. "Federal Official Here," The Chapel Hill Weekly, XVIII (March 15, 1940), p. 1.

under Lee M. Brooks and George H. Lawrence, did the actual house-to-house canvassing after a period of training by William H. Levitt, State Supervisor of the Real Property Survey Project, and Mrs. Minna Abernathy. Table 2 on page 40 presents some of the data on adequacy. A part of this material is expanded in Table 3 on page 41. On February 12, 1941, William H. Levitt appeared before the Board of Aldermen and presented the results of this survey. After that John Umstead, local representative in the state legislature, was urged to secure adoption of a bill providing for housing projects in towns of 3,000 population. He had already sought to do this but had been unsuccessful.⁶⁴ Soon after this the land in front of the Community Center, which had been considered as a site for the houses, was divided up and sold at auction, part of it to local business men who built small houses to rent. Then the war prevented any further action.

A group of nicer houses on Caldwell Avenue were constructed in the spring of 1941 by the Guildway Remodeling Company, of Durham, N. C., in accordance with F. H. A. standards and were then bought by Negroes, who obtained F. H. A. loans to finance them. The occupants of some of the houses had had a voice in designing them.

64. Minute Book No. 6, February 12, 1941; March 12, 1941.

Table 2

NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY ADEQUACY AND OCCUPANCY STATUS OF NEGRO HOUSES*,
CHAPEL HILL AND CARRBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, 1940

Adequacy	All dwelling units		Occupancy status					
			Owner-occupied units		Tenant-occupied units		Units vacant and units under construction	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total reports on adequacy	315	100.0	122	100.0	178	100.0	15	100.0
Standard--total	58	18.4	33	27.0	21	11.8	4	26.7
Substandard--total	257	81.6	89	73.0	157	88.2	11	73.3
Physically substandard	169	53.6	63	51.7	95	53.4	11	73.3
Occupancy substandard	6	1.9	2	1.6	4	2.2	-	- -
Physically and occupancy substandard	79	25.1	24	19.7	55	30.9	-	- -
No report	3	1.0	0	0.0	3	1.7	-	- -

* Except Windy Hill.

Source: W. H. Levitt and Minna Abernathy, Housing Survey of Chapel Hill Negroes, 1940, Table II.
Unpublished data.

Table 3

PHYSICAL FACTORS OF ADEQUACY OF NEGRO HOUSES*,
CHAPEL HILL AND CARRBORO, NORTH
CAROLINA, 1940

Adequacy	Total		Owners		Tenants		Vacant and under construction	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Condition</u>								
Total reports	315	100.0	122	100.0	178	100.0	15	100.0
In good condition	91	28.9	39	32.0	43	24.2	9	60.0
In need of minor repairs	116	36.8	46	37.7	68	38.2	2	13.3
In need of major repairs	101	32.1	37	30.3	63	35.4	1	6.7
Unfit for use	7	2.2	0	0.0	4	2.2	3	20.0
<u>Plumbing</u>								
Total reports	315	100.0	122	100.0	178	100.0	15	100.0
At least 1 toilet and 1 bath	74	23.5	38	31.1	32	18.0	4	26.7
Less than 1 toilet and 1 bath	241	76.5	84	68.9	146	82.0	11	73.3
<u>Lighting</u>								
Total reports	315	100.0	122	100.0	178	100.0	15	100.0
With installed lighting	214	67.9	96	78.7	111	62.4	7	46.7
No installed lighting	101	32.1	26	21.3	67	37.6	8	53.3
<u>Heating</u>								
Total reports	315	100.0	122	100.0	178	100.0	15	100.0
With installed heating**	303	96.2	119	97.5	170	95.5	14	93.3
No installed heating	12	3.8	3	2.5	8	4.5	1	6.7

* Except Windy Hill.

** Includes twelve units with furnace heating equipment--six occupied by owners, five occupied by tenants, and one under construction.

Source: W. H. Levitt and Minna Abernathy, Housing Survey of Chapel Hill Negroes, 1940, Table III.
Unpublished data.

Just after the Oakwood Community for white University workers was built off the Raleigh Road, Mr. L. B. Rogerson, Assistant Controller of the University, conceived the idea of building the Knolls Development, a group of houses for Negro employees. "The members of the Service Employees Corporation, a small private corporation whose stockholders are key men in the business organization of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, have undertaken the project as one of their non-profit enterprises. The purposes of the community are to provide adequate low cost housing for the negroes, employees of the University service divisions, and the development of the community consciousness within the negroes participating to the point where they can direct their own government, social and recreational enterprises, and other important activities." Mr. Rogerson made a survey of the Negro employees at the University

to find out how many of them would be interested in such an enterprise. He then selected an executive committee from this group. This committee was composed of trusted employees who had proved their stability of character and their industry by years of service to the University. This committee was asked to pass upon applications for membership in the community group and to select those who would be most likely to assume their personal responsibilities for the success of the project. In considering applications age, character, credit, habits, attitudes, and ability to meet financial obligations were all considered. . . . To act as advisers to the executive committee, Mr. Rogerson has selected Professor E. J. Woodhouse, of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Roy M. Brown, of the Department of Social Welfare and Social

Work, Mr. G. H. Lawrence, of the same department, and Mr. J. A. Williams, Credit Supervisor for the University and member of the North Carolina State Bar.⁶⁵

Part of the old Creel place west of the laundry was chosen as the site, and with \$3,000 lent by Dr. W. C. Coker at three per cent interest a forty-acre tract was bought. This included a narrow strip for a road north of the Creel house and some frontage on Merritt Mill Road southwest of the house. Original plans called for 40 lots, but the F. H. A. office in Greensboro considered these lots too large to plan for proper tending, so that a new map was drawn up calling for dividing the area into 66 lots.

Although several offers of private financing were received, it was decided to get an F. H. A. insured loan because F. H. A. inspection would assure proper building and because "other communities may be interested in a similar project and can follow the same plan if it is carried out through a national agency."⁶⁶

Started late in May, 1941, the first five houses were completed and occupied in July. Ten houses were built altogether--eight in the development proper and two opposite it on Merritt Mill Road. The Carolina Housing and Mortgage Company, of Hickory, N. C., gave loans and re-

65. Memorandum, files of Mr. L. B. Rogerson.

66. Ibid.

ceived mortgaged on the houses, and the Guildway Remodeling Company, of Durham, got the contract for building the first seven. Mr. Charles Craig was contractor for one house in the Knolls Development and the two outside.⁶⁷

There was no plan for the Negroes to do the construction, as was done in the Oakwood Community east of Chapel Hill. The idea of the Service Employees Corporation was that the occupants should pay part of the equity and work out the rest on the street and water systems. When this did not work successfully, it was decided that they might get credit for developing and beautifying their own lots. Through some misunderstanding or lack of mutual cooperation the idea of working out part of the equity did not succeed, nor was full equity paid, so that the Service Employees Corporation finally gave the remainder of the equity on the houses.

There are now eight five-room houses--six in the Knolls Development and the two on Merritt Mill Road--and two four-room houses. Payment on principal, interest, and taxes covers a period of 15 years for some and 25 years for others, depending upon the financial condition of the occupant. At the end of the period, the occupant will have a clear title, but until then he cannot dispose of

⁶⁷. Ibid.; interview, Mr. Kemp S. Cate, January 25, 1944.

it. The monthly scale of payments for houses in the Knolls settlement amounts to \$17.67 for a five-room house for 25 years, \$23.00 for a five-room house for 15 years, and \$13.85 for a four-room house for 25 years. The two five-room houses outside the main development are \$19.00 a month for 15 years.⁶⁸

There have been misunderstandings between the Negroes and the white men connected with the project; payments have not always been met regularly; and some of the Negroes feel that there has not been room enough for individual ideas in planning the houses. The original plan has been abandoned; all except some seven and a half acres of the property which has not been built up has been sold to the National Munitions Corporation; and there seems no possibility that the Service Employees Corporation will attempt to revive the project after the war.⁶⁹

With the influx of workers to the University and munitions plant since the beginning of the war the housing shortage has become even more acute than it was at the time of the housing survey in 1940. Many people who need houses are having to make out in rented rooms.

68. Interview, Mr. Kemp S. Cate.

69. Ibid.; interview, Mr. L. B. Rogerson, January 25, 1944.

Health

A part of the Y. M. C. A. program of 1913, as has been mentioned, was a housing and sanitation survey of the Negro community. The questions asked ran the gamut of offenses against sanitation. In addition to questions concerning location of homes, ownership, size of house, number of children, and occupation there were queries into source of water supply, type of privy, and general health conditions. It was found that the situation was above the average for Negro communities in the South, and yards and surroundings were fairly clean. Yet it was probably a gross understatement to say that "sanitary conditions exhibited room for improvement."

On the basis of this investigation, the Y. M. C. A. asked faculty members to give talks on sanitation in the Negro churches during the spring of 1914. The "Y" also cooperated with the Community Club in a "Clean-Up" Week campaign for the Negroes during which the town team picked up any trash put out on the streets.⁷⁰

The United States Public Health Service made a survey of Orange County in 1915. It was then found that only 129 of the 347 houses in town, occupied by both races,

70. Stuart Willis, "A Glimpse at the Other Half," The University Magazine, XL (April, 1914), pp. 280-281.

were served by the University water system, and only 119 were connected with the sewers. Of the 191 privies in town, three were of sanitary type. After a resurvey in the fall of 1916, it was reported, "The work of installing sanitary privies in Carrboro and in Chapel Hill had progressed practically to completion. . . . The scavenger work in Carrboro and Chapel Hill appeared to be good."⁷¹

In 1925 sanitary conditions were still poor. For the entire Negro community there were only 15 water connections and ten sewer connections. There were 144 outside toilets. Water came from 22 open wells and one spring.⁷² The year before this Dr. Nathan, the town health officer, had found that nearly all the surface wells in Potter's Field were polluted.⁷³

Before 1920 the Health Department of the Community Club had been concerned over general health problems of the town. Two white public health nurses were employed at different times but were found unsatisfactory. The club's first interest in the Negro community was shown in the suggestion that they hire a Negro nurse rather than a white one, since the colored community had a disproportionate share of disease and unsanitary conditions and since

71. L. L. Lumsden, "Sanitary Survey of Orange County, N. C.," Rural Sanitation, pp. 140-152.

72. Smith, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

73. "Colored People Hope for Water," The Chapel Hill Weekly, I (August 9, 1923), p. 1.

these affected the white community.⁷⁴ On December 31, 1923, Mrs. A. D. Compton, now known as "Nurse Compton", a graduate of Lincoln Hospital Nursing School in Durham, came to Chapel Hill.

Raising funds for the nurse's salary presented quite a problem. For the first year, the Red Cross contributed \$450.00, another \$450.00 came from the sale of tuberculosis stamps, and the Negroes contributed \$300.00.⁷⁵

In 1924 the Board of Aldermen considered the question of the town's paying a portion of the nurse's salary, but nothing was done. Two years later, after the former funds had been diminished, a successful attempt was made to get the town to make an appropriation. The town was requested to give \$450.00 annually; the Red Cross would contribute \$120.00 and the tuberculosis fund, \$330.00; and the Negroes would raise \$300.00. At the next meeting of the Board "Alderman Connor . . . stated that, in so much as the work being done by the nurse in the colored homes was a protection to the white community and in so much as the negroes of the Town listed for taxes last year, property valued at more than \$200,000 and paid into the Town Treasury over \$1500 in taxes, and that in making this appropriation the expenditure for the direct benefit of the negroes

74. Interview, Mrs. H. D. Carter, August 15, 1943.

75. "Negro Red Cross Nurse's Salary," memorandum in files of University Y. M. C. A.

would not exceed the amount they pay in taxes, he would make the following motion that the Town make the appropriation requested." Accordingly, \$637.50 was appropriated for a 17-month period, until June, 1927, provided the Negroes raised the \$125.00 which they still owed. It was also decided that the entire salary should be paid through the town treasury, with other agencies contributing through it. Nurse Compton, then, was considered a regular employee of the town working under the supervision of the Health Division and reporting to it.⁷⁶

Before this time several Negro committees had tried to collect funds by dividing the community into areas for canvassing, but it was not successful. So in 1926 plans were laid for a larger, more stable Negro Health Club. "Membership on the Committee is composed of one representative out of each lodge and club, one from each church, and the Orange Training School, where two or more members are elected at large. This plan of committee organization was drafted by the colored Committee itself, and approved by the Community Club and Town Council." The committee worked under the direction of Mr. Harry F. Comer. This group was empowered to promote other health programs in addition to the main job of raising money for the nurse fund.

76. Minute Book No. 4, February 1, 1926; March 1, 1926.

It was hoped that it would some day develop a small hospital, day nursery, and clinic.⁷⁷

When \$159.00 of the Negroes' pledge for 1928-29 had not been paid at the end of the year, the Board extended the time "but instructed the Manager not to advance any money on the nurse's salary unless the current installment of \$25.00 per month was paid by the negroes."⁷⁸

To raise this part of the fund the Y. M. C. A. in 1931 began sponsoring an annual football game between the Training School and a visiting Negro team. The high school principal got the team each year, and the athletic department of the University supervised the games. Receipts from the games have been as follows:

1931	. . . . .	\$130.00
1931 (second game)	. . . . .	4.25
1932 (no game)	. . . . .
1933	. . . . .	45.94
1934	. . . . .	108.10
1935	. . . . .	38.00
1936	. . . . .	79.93
1937	. . . . .	93.81
1938	. . . . .	96.90
1939	. . . . .	95.14
1940	. . . . .	200.00
1941	. . . . .	250.00
1942	. . . . .	115.46

Whenever the game did not net enough to pay this part of the nurse's salary, the Negro community attempted to raise the money, but this was not always done. There was no

77. "Community Nurse and Health Committee with the Colored Citizens of Chapel Hill," memorandum, Y. M. C. A. files.

78. Minute Book No. 5, May 31, 1929.

game in 1943, but the Finance Board of the tuberculosis fund increased its appropriation to take care of the situation.⁷⁹

The nurse's salary was cut to \$900 in 1930-31. The town paid \$500 in 1932-33. By 1938-39 this was raised to \$550, and the town budget for 1943-44 called for \$600. In addition, \$150 comes from the tuberculosis seals sale and about \$30, from the Mary Bailey Pratt Memorial Fund.

When she came Nurse Compton made a survey of the community, some 900 persons, in order to have personal contacts and note health conditions. At that time the Negro section had no lights or sewerage, and waste was taken away from houses by wagon. Nurse Compton procured lime from the town and began whitewashing outhouses. She also hired a man to cart away trash, and she set aside regular community clean-up days. Each citizen paid a small fee to have trash collected.

Nurse Compton started work in the school at once. Coming the year before the present Orange County Training School was built, she worked in the Rock Hill Baptist Church for awhile. At first she had no good equipment, but there is now a room equipped at the Orange County Training School. Once a month she checks up on school

79. Interview, Mrs. H. D. Carter, February 1, 1944.

children. She watches those that seem subject to disease, particularly those as much as seven pounds underweight. Since about 1933 the tuberculosis fund has been furnishing canned milk at school for undernourished children whose parents cannot afford it. For three or four years before the Red Cross withdrew its financial support from her work Nurse Compton taught health courses at the school.

In addition to her work in the school, Nurse Compton does bedside nursing (which is the only way in which her job differs from that of the county public health nurse) and makes house-to-house visits.

Before the county public health program was begun, Nurse Compton secured the aid of Durham physicians for baby clinics and tonsilectomies. For eight or ten years Dr. I. B. Brooks conducted baby clinics, first in the Rock Hill Baptist Church and later in the school. Dr. MacPherson offered reduced rates for tonsilectomies when eight or ten were performed at once, and this offer was accepted from time to time for perhaps a decade.

In the summer of 1930 three religious health clubs were organized among the women of the community by Nurse Compton: one in the section around the laundry, a second in Sunset, and a third in Potter's Field. The first failed, but the second thrives with 25 or 30 members, and the third with 53 members. They hold monthly meetings in residences

of members and raise money for community health work and relief of the destitute.⁸⁰

From the first the work of Mrs. Compton was commended by townspeople. "The town manager . . . believed that the negro nurse was worth more than both white nurses who had preceded her." The public school physician felt that the Negro nurse was an asset to the town and was convinced that she did not overstep her bounds and assume a doctor's role, as the white nurse before her had done. Interviews with several members of the Community Club showed that they "feel that most of the evils of the town--the disease outbursts and such are confined to the negro section, and that it is now being taken care of by the negro nurse." Elizabeth Smith, in her 1925 study of public welfare problems in Chapel Hill, drew the conclusion: "The negro nurse is conducting the most progressive and constructive health program in Chapel Hill, in her section of the town."⁸¹ In 1926 Miss Metcalf, a social welfare worker, declared at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen "that the nurse had not had special training for work in the school but that she was doing remarkably well."⁸²

She has not had full cooperation and confidence, however. In 1926, when the town was making an investigation

80. Interview, Mrs. H. D. Compton, January 10, 1944.

81. Smith, op. cit., pp. 43, 45.

82. Minute Book No. 4, March 1, 1926.

before appropriating money for her support, it was found that relations between the nurse and the school were not smooth. Some of the members of the community laid the blame on the principal of the school. The trustees and faculty of the Training School promised definitely to give their cooperation.⁸³ Of late the school has been cooperative in the health work. One University professor has said, "Nurse Compton is well thought of in the main by the Negroes, but not universally. She is moralistic, helping those who seem to deserve assistance. In her own way, which has not been an up-to-date way, she has supported health in the Negro community." As she expresses it, she does not believe in giving people hand-outs when there is any way for them to help themselves, because she believes it stifles their own initiative.

In December, 1921, the town of Chapel Hill created a Board of Health. In the next 18 months there were held two clinics for food handlers, at the first of which it was found that 30 per cent of food handlers examined were active syphilitics.⁸⁴ In 1929-30 another clinic for food handlers was held with 219 persons being examined for typhoid, tuberculosis, and venereal disease.⁸⁵

83. Ibid.

84. Minute Book No. 3, September 7, 1923.

85. Minute Book No. 6, November 12, 1930.

The Tri-County Department of Public Health, covering Orange, Chatham, and Person Counties, was set up with government aid July 1, 1935. It has taken over part of the work formerly done by Nurse Compton. There was careful consideration of the question of her being employed as a public health nurse by the county, but this was decided against, particularly because she does not have up-to-date training for public health work. While she does not work under the Department, Nurse Compton does report cases to it, bring people for examination, help in school clinics, and attend the summer midwife classes.

The public health program is engaged primarily in combatting communicable diseases through typhoid, diphtheria, and small pox vaccinations given in school and homes; through visits to homes for giving instruction and aid as well as for quarantining in cases of contagious diseases; and through home visits to expectant mothers and mothers of small children.

Beginning about 1939 with the aid of the Junior Service League, a monthly baby clinic was conducted in the Orange County Training School until it was moved to the Tri-County Health Building last spring. In November, 1943, there was also begun a monthly prenatal clinic. In addition, there are several other clinics conducted regularly for both

whites and Negroes: a venereal disease clinic twice weekly, a weekly tuberculosis clinic, a monthly clinic for crippled children, and an annual eye clinic. All food handlers in public eating places are required by law (as are all domestic servants, although the law is not enforced) to take Wassermann and tuberculosis tests, so that since 1936 the Health Department has been holding clinics and issuing certificates to food handlers.

All public health services are free except diphtheria vaccination, which costs 50 cents.⁸⁶

In the school year 1942-43 Miss Margaret Blee, of the University School of Public Health, taught a Red Cross home nursing course at the Orange County Training School during school hours. After 30 hours of training in two-hour sessions three times a week, the high school girls who took the course, about 20, received Red Cross certificates. Miss Blee found the girls eager to ask questions and discovered that they had a much better background in science than most groups taking the course, so that it was possible to give more advanced scientific explanations than usual. The school schedule was such that it was too difficult to repeat the course in 1943-44.⁸⁷

86. Interview, Dr. W. P. Richardson, January 31, 1944.

87. Interview, Miss Margaret Blee, February 9, 1944.

In the latter part of November, 1943, a Health Club was organized at the suggestion of Mrs. Rose, the public health nurse for the area. There are nine members. Officers are: Mrs. H. M. Holmes, president; Miss Margaret Atwater, secretary. Since Christmas meetings have been held regularly every fourth Monday night. The club was formed when prenatal clinics at the Tri-County Health Department had been so poorly attended that they had been stopped. Mrs. Rose thought they could be revived if a group of Negro women would sponsor them and give publicity. Working under Mrs. Rose for the promotion of the prenatal clinic, then, is the major function of the group. But at the first meeting it was thought that improvement of general health conditions should also be undertaken.

Three women from the Health Club are present to cooperate with the doctor and nurse at the clinic held monthly at the Health Department.

Two public meetings have been held. At the first, on December 6, 1943, at the Rock Hill Baptist Church, Dr. J. N. Mills, Negro physician from Durham, spoke on prenatal care, and Dr. W. P. Richardson told about the health center and the various services offered through clinics. At the second meeting, on March 6, in St. Joseph's Church, Dr. N. H. Cordice, Negro dentist from Durham, spoke.⁸⁹

⁸⁹. Interview, Mrs. H. M. Holmes, March 3, 1944.

Education

The first public school for Negroes was begun in 1869 or just afterward, when Wilson Caldwell, one of the University janitors, "after throwing up his post in the University applied for and obtained from Mr. Samuel Hughes, County Superintendent of Public Schools, a license to take charge of a free school for colored children in Chapel Hill at \$17.50 per month."⁸⁹ The school was in a frame building located at the corner of Cameron Avenue and Mallett Street. There were three teachers, both Negro and white, from the North and South. Students ranged up to sixth or seventh grade level.⁹⁰ This school continued only a few years. Mr. Caldwell took a position as principal of a school in Elizabeth City, then came back to the University as janitor in 1875.⁹¹

After Caldwell's school closed a one-room log cabin was built west of the Quaker school and used as a free school for several years.⁹²

Before July 4, 1866, there had been procured from the Craigs, a white family owning land west of Chapel Hill, an acre at the end of West Franklin Street where the town

89. Kemp P. Battle, Sketch of the Life and Character of Wilson Caldwell. From Mrs. Fannie McDade.

90. Interview, Mrs. Anna Weaver, January 28, 1944.

91. Battle, op. cit.

92. Interview, Mrs. Anna Weaver.

line now runs. There a group of Philadelphia Quakers constructed a one-room school. After operating the school alone, about 1890 Friends began cooperating with the county in maintaining the school, Friends providing the building and the county paying the teacher. The term was twelve weeks in 1890, eleven in 1900, 16 in 1910. In 1910 there were 130 pupils enrolled; average attendance was 67.

After the school had grown quite too large, some time before 1910, the county added another room, so that two teachers taught in the original room, which was very long, and a third teacher had the second room.⁹³

Friends have offered the old school and the grounds to the community as long as it is used for the benefit of the community. At the present time it is being used by the Mt. Calvary Church.

When the Methodists built their church on East Franklin Street (the building now used by the Community Service Center), the American Missionary Association, on April 14, 1889, bought the old building on the corner of Rosemary Lane and Henderson Street.⁹⁴ For a number of years this building was used as a Congregational Church and subscription school. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hitchcock, a white couple from the North, taught school for four years. Then Mr. P. L. LeCourt, a Negro from Louisiana and a Fisk graduate,

93. Interview, Mrs. James T. Oldham, March 22, 1944.

94. Quarterly Conference Record Book of Chapel Hill Station, Methodist Episcopal Church South, March 25, 1889, and June 24, 1889.

became pastor and teacher. Mrs. LeCourt, and occasionally her sister, also taught. There were some 50 or 75 students, eight or ten of whom were boarding students from the country who lived in the balcony of the church. Most of these children went to the public school while it was in session, since LeCourt's school charged 50 cents a month. The term was nine months, and instruction went to about ninth or tenth grade level. In 1900 the school closed.⁹⁵

One factor in the closing of the Congregational school was the establishment of other private schools. There had been a "gentleman's agreement" that no private schools would be set up to compete with the Congregational school. But before 1900 two were begun. Mrs. Basil Jones, who had taught here since 1883, first in the public school, with a summer school of her own, then with the American Missionary Association, finally set up her own school, the Hannah Lowe School, in her house on South Roberson Street. There were 22 pupils in 1923. Instruction was given in English, arithmetic, geography, and hygiene. The term was nine months.⁹⁶ A Miss Allen also taught in Potter's Field for a short time about 1900.⁹⁷

95. Interview, Mrs. James T. Oldham.

96. Barbara Brown, "Carrie Jones Has Taught 40 Years," The Chapel Hill Weekly, I (March 22, 1923), p. 4.

97. Interview, Mr. Sam Caldwell, April 25, 1944.

Growing out of two Bible classes started early in 1913, a night school for Negro boys was conducted by University students under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. The entering wedge in getting University students interested was a series of lectures entitled "Negro Life in the South," which was an attempt to gather definite facts concerning conditions among the race in North Carolina and the entire region. On five consecutive Thursday nights, from October 23 to November 20, 1913, the regular dormitory prayer meetings were used for this purpose, with an attendance of about a hundred men.

The challenge "Why Study the Negro Question," was upheld by Prof. M. H. Stacy, acting dean of the University, in which lecture he succinctly expressed the belief that the negro was too intimately a part of our life to not avail ourselves of the facts concerning his life. This open challenge for knowledge of the negro's life and condition was succeeded by a lecture by Dr. W. B. MacNider of the University medical faculty, calling attention to the major diseases that curbed the negro's progress. Dr. Charles Lee Raper, head of the department of economics, amply substantiated the contention that the negro was awakening to his economic responsibility, by quoting figures bearing on the industrial life of the negro. In the fourth of the series of lectures, Dr. H. W. Chase of the department of education, enunciated in positive terms that industrial education was the only salvation for the negro. Rev. W. D. Moss, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, concluded the series with a lecture outlining the religious characteristics of the race.⁹⁸

98. S. R. Winters, "University Students in Settlement Work," The Charlotte Observer, XLVI (March 1, 1914), p. 9.

Next Stuart Willis outlined the work in a lecture on "What We Can Do," in which he said that students should learn to understand the Negro, assist in Sunday Schools, give illustrated speeches, and the like.

After Willis' speech, in the winter of 1914, the University "Y" conducted an investigation of conditions in Negro Chapel Hill, which has been mentioned above, asked faculty members to give talks on sanitation in the Negro churches, and cooperated with the Community Club in a clean-up campaign. At the same time, ten students volunteered to go to the Quaker schoolhouse in pairs five nights a week to teach Negro boys twelve to 20 years of age who could not attend the day school because of their work. Five subjects were taught the first year: elementary spelling, reading, writing, history, and rudiments of mathematics and grammar. Some twenty boys attended, and fifteen came regularly. Expenses such as wood and oil bills were paid by the Negroes.⁹⁹

In 1914-15, with W. C. Rymer as chairman of the Negro Work Department of the "Y", the program continued with Sunday Schools, faculty lectures, social study, and the night school. Subjects taught were arithmetic, grammar, spelling, history, and geography.¹⁰⁰

99. Ibid.; Willis, op. cit., pp. 276, 279; interview, Dr. Frank Graham, August 8, 1943.

100. "Y. M. C. A. Activities," Alumni Review, III (January, 1915), p. 97; "Some of the Activities of the Y. M. C. A.," Alumni Review, III (December, 1914), p. 73.

The Night School continued meeting five nights weekly in 1915-16 with twelve teachers and 66 pupils enrolled. Courses offered were English, reading, writing, mathematics, spelling, and history, and there was a debating society.¹⁰¹

In 1916-17 the Negro Work Department of the "Y" reopened the Night School, a Sunday School, debating society, Negro Y. M. C. A., and janitors' club.¹⁰²

The work seems to have ended with that year. The next reference to interracial work is a simply statement in 1920 that the "Y" was carrying on "welfare work among the negroes of the community."¹⁰³

Upon the death of Mr. London A. Whitted, who had been principal of the public school from about 1900, Rev. L. H. Hackney became principal. However, he came to feel that opportunities within the county educational system were so circumscribed that a private school should be set up. After a mass meeting in Rock Hill Baptist Church in 1913 the Hackney Training School was established on South Merritt Mill Road. It probably drew nearly 200 students. There

101. "The Y. M. C. A. at Work," Alumni Review, IV (January, 1916), p. 100.

102. "The North Carolina Club," Alumni Review, V (December, 1916), pp. 64-65.

103. "The First Year After the War," Alumni Review, VIII (January, 1920), p. 119.

were two academic teachers and two music teachers in addition to Reverend Hackney. Home economics was taught, but agriculture and mechanical arts were not. Bible study was included in the curriculum.

Deciding that the Quaker schoolhouse was not well enough situated, the county withdrew its support and bought the Hackney Training School in 1917, changing the name to the Orange County Training School. The original room of the Quaker school was then moved to the new site. Reverend Hackney finished out that school year as principal, and Mr. R. E. Malone was principal in 1918-19. Then Mr. B. L. Bozeman had the position from 1919 until after the school moved to its present location. At first there was an average attendance of some 160 children, but the school grew. In 1918-19 there were four teachers. There were two high school pupils that year. In 1920-21 there were six teachers, three of whom taught high school subjects. In 1921-22 there were seven teachers.

In the spring of 1922 this school burned. For the remainder of that year and the next the elementary school met in the Odd Fellows Hall and the old Guthrie Theater, while a two-story house on Rosemary Lane was rented for the high school. In 1922-23 this school had 300 pupils and seven teachers, and the following year another teacher was added. It was the only institution of its kind in

Orange County that could boast eleven grades.¹⁰⁴

A committee of white citizens, Dr. M. C. S. Noble, Dr. Charles S. Mangum, and Mr. J. S. Holmes aided the Negro citizens in getting a new school. The County School Board appropriated \$15,000 toward this building, the Rosenwald Fund gave \$2,550, and the Negro community raised money for equipment. In 1922 John Henry Strowd, a local Negro, had sold the county part and given part of a six-acre tract of land north of Potter's Field. The Orange County Training School was constructed there in 1924 against the protests of Negro citizens. This building comprised only the present grammar school. The school was aided in securing some of the teachers by the Jeanes and Slater Funds on the condition that the county would later take over the full salaries of these instructors. Later Rosenwald funds, matched by the school, had to be used to pay these salaries until the school was included in the Chapel Hill Special Tax District.¹⁰⁵

Since the Orange County Training School was not included in the Chapel Hill Special School District, the committee on the colored school asked the county to

¹⁰⁴. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig; "F. D. Bluford Spoke," The Chapel Hill Weekly, I (March 31, 1923), p. 4.

¹⁰⁵. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig.

support the school eight months instead of the usual six. A major argument for this was that many graduates of the school were expected to teach. This the county did from 1924 to 1929. Then the county budget had become so large that the commissioners refused to support the school for the extra two months and asked the town to take over.¹⁰⁶ Before 1930 the school district was drawn in such a way as to exclude the Negro settlements. The old Chapel Hill Graded School District was the territory embraced in the following boundaries:

BEGINNING at the soueast corner of the Town of Chapel Hill, and following said town line west to a white oak in said line near the residence of I. W. Pritchard; thence North to College Avenue [Cameron Avenue], to the northwest corner of Louis Utley's lot; thence Northeast to the southwest corner of Thomas F. Lloyd's property, on north side of College Avenue; thence North with said Thomas F. Lloyd's line to the northwest corner of said property; thence East with said Thomas F. Lloyd's line to the line of C. F. Smith; thence North with said C. F. Smith's line to the northwest corner of said line; thence with said line to Mallett Street; thence across Mallett Street to the northwest corner of W. B. Thompson's property on Franklin Street; thence Northwest to a point twenty yards west of George Wood's front gate, on Rosemary Street; thence North 100 yards; thence East, parallel with Rosemary Lane to the east side of Church Street; thence North with the east side of Church Street to the northwest corner of Capt. W. N. Pritchard's property; thence East to the east side of Columbia Street; thence North to the town line; thence East with the town line to the east side of Hillsboro Street; thence South with Hillsboro Street to the northwest corner of E. V. Howell's lot on said street; thence Eastward, parallel

106. Interview, Mr. R. H. Claytor, March 31, 1944.

with North Street 150 feet; thence in a north-easterly direction, parallel with Hillsboro Street to the northern boundary line of the town of Chapel Hill; thence easterly with said line to the eastern boundary line of the town; thence South with said line to the beginning.¹⁰⁷

A special election was held May 17, 1930, for enlarging the school district to include the Negro community and for levying a supplementary tax up to 20 cents on \$100, as was already done within the old school district. With 99 votes for and four against, the following territory was added:

BEGINNING at the point where the Eastern line of the Carrboro Taxing District crosses Boling Creek, and running thence with said Carrboro Taxing District in a southerly direction to Main Street (Jones Ferry Road) in the Town of Carrboro, said point being opposite the southwest corner of O. J. Brockwell's (formerly the Thos. Lloyd) lot; thence with center of said street, the Carrboro Taxing District line, in a westerly direction approximately 570 feet to the Depot Lot, also a corner of the Carrboro Taxing District; thence continuing with the Carrboro Taxing District line, being also the line of the Bill Shine property, and a continuation thereof, due south to Morgan's Creek; thence with Morgan's Creek in an easterly direction to the Durham County Line; thence with the Durham County Line north to Bolin Creek; thence with Bolin Creek in a westerly direction to the point of beginning.¹⁰⁸

After the state took over control of the school system, the Chapel Hill District was again enlarged in 1933 and the 20 cent tax for a ninth month again levied.

107. "Notice of Special Election and New Registration," from files of Mr. A. W. Honeycutt. Undated.

108. Board of Trustees of the Chapel Hill Graded School District, minutes of meeting April 4, 1930.

The school building had been put up hastily and poorly constructed, so that it began to give trouble. When Mr. P. L. Burch, Superintendent of Buildings for the University, inspected the school in 1933, he reported:

The basement classroom floors are practically destroyed by termites and dry-rot. The girders and part of the joist supporting the first floor above will have to be replaced. The wood ceiling over the basement floor will have to be removed and replaced with new ceiling and some patching and adjusting of partitions will also be necessary. The first floor above basement should be replaced. The classrooms on the East end of the building needs (sic) to be replaced with joists and flooring, with partitions jacked up and secured in place. The main auditorium floor is in the best condition of any but I would suggest that the entire floor be renewed and stiffened by under spans which are at present too long and which may require new joists.¹⁰⁹

In 1935 insurance on the \$14,000 invested in the Negro school building and furniture cost almost as much as that on the \$40,000 white building and furniture because of its poor construction and lack of a fire hydrant.

The school had no adequate playground, since its six acres extended south and west down the hill and did not include the present area east of the school.

In addition to these difficulties, the Negroes had objections to the location of the school, since it was on the edge of the community, did not have good paths approaching it, and had no street lights, being outside the town.

109. Letter from Mr. P. L. Burch to Mr. J. Minor Gwynn, May 25, 1933. From files of Mr. A. W. Honeycutt.

In the spring of 1934 Dr. H. F. Munch brought before the school board the question of buying the Whitaker property near the end of West Rosemary Lane, where the Community Center now stands, as a site for a new school. A committee was appointed to look into the matter. However, it was decided to add a wing to the old building rather than put up a new one. "Upon the motion the action of Messrs. Durham and Hobbs in regard to approving the new plans for the Colored School extension were approved, and the . . . committee was authorized for the Board to take up the options on the additional land needed for the colored school site, and to approve and pass finally the architects' drawing for the new wing of that building."¹¹⁰

Immediately after this action was taken, the school board received a letter from Mr. Charles Craig, president of the Negro Civic Club, asking that they reconsider the matter of building a new school at a different site rather than adding a wing to the old school. The board, however, decided not to reopen the issue for the following reasons:

Provision for a right of way to the East was assured in the options on the additional property.

Provision ample for wide frontage and entrance on the street to the north of present building

Unwise and impracticable to build high school building separate and distinct for only some 75 pupils.

110. Board of Trustees of the Chapel Hill Graded School District, minutes of meeting September 18, 1935, and May 8, 1934.

Too big an investment in the present plant to
lose or to abandon
Convenient to a majority of patrons
Better playground facilities
No traffic hazards.¹¹¹

On October 13, 1935, Mr. Durham, of the Committee on the Colored School, asked the board to use its option on additional property to provide a playground for the school.¹¹²

Original plans for the high school annex to the Orange County Training School called for eight rooms, but these plans were revised so that only six were added, including a home economics room and a library.¹¹³

The contract for building the addition to the Negro school was let for \$23,493.50 at the same time that a \$106,178.00 contract was let for a white high school for Chapel Hill.¹¹⁴

As the new high school annex was under construction, a \$900.45 contract was let for repairs on the elementary school.¹¹⁵

In March of 1936 the School Board requested the aldermen to include the Orange County Training School in the town limits for fire protection. A fire hydrant was placed on Church Street near the school that summer.¹¹⁶

111. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1935.

112. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1935.

113. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1935.

114. "Contractors and Contract Prices for School Projects in County," *The Chapel Hill Weekly*, XIII (January 3, 1936), p. 3.

115. Board of Trustees of the Chapel Hill Graded School District, minutes of meeting April 16, 1936.

116. *Ibid.*

Some 40 per cent of the Orange County Training School students come from rural areas. In 1936 bus service was begun, with one bus bringing 20 or 30 children from rural sections. Since the year 1940-41 there have been two school buses which cover Bingham Township and most of Chapel Hill Township, bringing mostly high school students. There are eight "feeder" schools: Merritts, Damascus, Piney Mountain, Morris Grove, and Hickory Grove in Chapel Hill Township, and Sunnyside, Fairfield, and White Oak in Bingham Township. All of these are one-teacher schools except Morris Grove, Hickory Grove, and White Oak, which have two teachers each. The policy of the School Board is to consolidate two or more elementary schools whenever the attendance in a district falls down so that the number of teachers has to be reduced. So Fairfield and Oaks are being discontinued, and Hickory Grove will be made a six-or seven-teacher school served by buses.¹¹⁷

Principals of the school since Mr. Bozeman resigned in 1928 have been Mr. Frank H. Avant, 1928-29, Rev. Claude C. Scott, 1929-31, Mr. F. M. Kennedy, 1931-33, and Mr. H. M. Holmes, since 1933. The teaching force, including the principal, was ten when the school moved into its present

¹¹⁷. Interview, Mr. R. H. Claytor.

building in 1924. Then it increased to 13 in 1926. In 1928 the faculty began to drop off, so that there were only eight in 1930. Since then it has increased unsteadily until the present school year, when there were 18 teachers. Enrollment was 336 in 1930-31--276 elementary and 60 high school students. This jumped to 499 in 1932-33--421 elementary and 78 high school students--and it has remained about stationary since, although the proportion of high school to elementary students has increased. Enrollment for 1942-43 was 566--392 elementary and 174 high school students. Current enrollment is 552--431 elementary pupils (including the eighth grade, which was held over in the addition of the twelfth year) and 121 high school students. The number of graduates has increased, particularly since 1938. That year there were eight graduates; the next, 14. In 1940 there were 17; in 1941 there were 20; in 1942 there were 29; and in 1943 there were 31.¹¹⁸

The high school received its first rating by the State Board of Education in 1932, when it was II B. Since 1940-41 it has had a I A rating. At that time, according to State School Facts for July, 1941, the faculty ranked first in length of training among North Carolina teachers. On December 7, 1941, Mr. Holmes was notified that the school

118. Ibid.; interview, Mr. H. M. Holmes, January 17, 1944; H. M. Holmes, "A Report of the Progress of the Orange County Training School During the Past Five and One-Half Years (1937-1942)." Unpublished report in files of Mr. A. W. Honeycutt.

had been placed on the approved list of secondary schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, but it is not admitted to membership in the association because it is a Negro institution.¹¹⁹

For more than two decades the school has stressed practical training. In 1919 Mr. R. E. Malone, principal and vocational agriculture teacher, conducted a community fair for the interest of the farmers, the school, and the townspeople. This was continued annually even after the school building burned. In 1925, with the help of the County Commissioners, who contributed \$50 to it, this was made a county-wide fair to which all Negro farmers were invited.¹²⁰

Soon after the school was moved to its present location, Mr. B. L. Bozeman, the principal, stated: "'Agriculture is the base upon which we are building our success. . . . It is this training in modern farming which is giving the school its reputation and which is destined to do more than anything else to lift the negro people who come withing (sic) the school's sphere of influence to an ever higher level of prosperity and good healthful living.'"121

119. H. M. Holmes, op. cit.; interview, Mr. H. M. Holmes.

120. "Community Fair at the School," The Orange Jewel, I (October 29, 1925), p. 1.

121. "Stress Farming in Negro School," The Chapel Hill Weekly, II (October 9, 1924), p. 1.

During the first year after the addition of the high school wing the Training School itself began a shop work department by raising \$20.00 and borrowing tools, so that in the spring of 1937 the School Board matched this with \$20.00 more for shop work.¹²² To meet the needs of the large rural group, and to take advantage of the opportunity of obtaining a teacher whose salary would be partly met by federal funds, the industrial arts department was discontinued in 1941-42 and vocational agriculture, which actually includes some shop work, substituted. Last year two gardens were cultivated in connection with the vocational agriculture program, one back of the school and one on a lot belonging to the parents of one of the boys. In addition, rural students taking this course are required to carry out one more project of their own during the year, such as raising a farm animal or cultivating a garden. The Smith-Hughes agricultural program continues throughout the year, and is of value to the townspeople as well as the students.¹²³ Last year a farm equipment improvement campaign was conducted along with the salvage drive, and much farm equipment was brought in for repair. Mr. R. D. Smith, vocational agriculture instructor, was drafted in February, 1944, so that the program has been temporarily stopped.

122. Board of Trustees of the Chapel Hill Graded School District, minutes of meeting March 3, 1937.

123. H. M. Holmes, op. cit.; interview, Mr. H. M. Holmes.

Just before the new high school was opened in September, 1936, the School Board authorized purchase of home economics equipment up to \$420.00 in cost.¹²⁴ A teacher was procured with federal and local funds. The first teacher under this arrangement was Mrs. H. M. Holmes; when she resigned three years ago a substitute teacher filled out the year; and Miss Ruth P. Pope has had the position since.

Since Miss Pope has been teaching, emphasis has been upon vocational home economics--training for family living and domestic service. This includes training and experience in cleaning, laundering, child care, nursing, and entertaining. These are not taught as separate subjects but are introduced into units of work covering various types of experience, each unit being planned for a particular grade level.

Mrs. Holmes started a lunch room as a project of the department, which has been continued under Miss Pope. Last summer agriculture students planted a garden in a field in town which was offered for the purpose; home economics students canned the vegetables; and these are being used for school lunches. The home economics room and one classroom are used as improvised lunch rooms, where some 200

¹²⁴. Board of Trustees of the Chapel Hill Graded School District, minutes of meeting August 17, 1936.

children are served meals at cost. All of the preparation is done by the home economics girls for the practice. In addition to the meals served at cost, some 15 boys and girls from the elementary school receive free lunches. Begun with federal funds, when this program was cut off the school assumed the cost. The home economics department also prepares milk each morning for twelve underweight students from the first four grades.

Since 1936, with the home economics teachers working on an eleven month basis, adult classes have been held at night and in the summer, and the teachers have worked throughout the Orange County Training School district. In years past emphasis has been upon training for domestic service. This year there has been no demand for this, but classes in clothing and interior decoration have been continued with an attendance of about 70 adults. Summer classes in food preservation and clothing are attended by some 70 adults, graduates, and high school students. To replace their pressure cooker which cannot be repaired because materials are not available, the school has procured a "victory cooker," which was supplemented last summer by two which were borrowed. Women of the community use these in learning to can, and those who have no facilities of their own use them freely throughout the summer.

The school has several student organizations: a Student Council of long standing, the Student Activities Union to raise funds for school activities, the Safety Patrol organized some three years ago, the Boy Scout Troop, which has been functioning off and on for a decade, the Girl Scout Troop organized about three years ago, the Negro Farmers of America, which was organized by the vocational agriculture teacher but has been continued since he left, the Excella Home Economics Club organized four years ago, the Dramatics Club, and a Newspaper Club which has published The Orange Echo for three years.¹²⁵

In the 1930's the Y. M. C. A. conducted a night school somewhat similar to that which began in 1913 but offering more advanced courses. Student teachers received N. Y. A. financial aid. Funds for heating and janitorial service were raised by the Negroes themselves. This Orange Night School was held at the Orange County Training School for two hours on Tuesday and Thursday nights. Regular school credit was given, and certificates were received for courses passed. Emphasis was placed upon practical education: reading the newspaper intelligently and voting. From October 1, 1934, to May 28, 1935, five University students taught

125. Interview, Miss Ruth P. Pope.

English, arithmetic, history, civics, algebra, accounting, science (for one month), and rural social economics (for six weeks).¹²⁶

From October 3, 1935, to May 12, 1936, four boys taught English, arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry, general science, general economics, introductory sociology, and government. Average attendance in the spring of 1936 was 18 students going to 46 classes. Forty certificates were awarded to 14 students.

During the latter part of that year it was found necessary to appoint one of the University students, J. C. Grier, Jr., as director. Grier, in offering criticisms of the school, said that the Y. M. C. A., which accepted credit for it, should take more active part in the work by assisting in raising funds for lights, coal, and janitorial services, by helping with programs and extra-curricular activities, and by working to increase enrollment.¹²⁷

There were six teachers in 1936-37, and C. C. Martin, Jr., was director. Courses taught were English, reading, arithmetic, algebra, general science, chemistry, sociology, American history, American government, current economic problems, bookkeeping, and two months of French. Average

126. Memoranda on Orange Night School, 1934-36, Y. M. C. A. files.

127. J. C. Grier, Jr., "Report on Orange Night School." From Y. M. C. A. files.

attendance was 13 students, each attending three 40-minute classes. Of the 57 students who enrolled, 31 dropped out before the end of the year. Thirteen certificates were awarded. This year the Negro students elected a president, Charles Craig, who had to drop out of school before the end of the year, when he was replaced by Eugene White. The director was convinced that the number of students was too small to justify the amount of money laid out for coal and janitorial service.¹²⁸

The Orange Night School met about eight weeks in 1937-38.

In response to the governor's appeal in the spring of 1938 to presidents of colleges and universities of North Carolina, President Frank Graham appointed a University committee on reducing illiteracy in Orange County with Russell Grumman as chairman. To coordinate the work over the county the Orange County Council of Adult Education was formed with Sidney Green of Hillsboro as chairman. A Negro council was also formed, but the two groups were separate except so far as finances were concerned.¹²⁹ W. P. A. funds were available for the program but were supplemented by private contributions.

128. C. C. Martin, Jr., "Report on Orange Night School, 1936-37." From Y. M. C. A. files.

129. Orange County Council of Adult Education, minutes of meeting January, 1939. From files of Mr. Russell Grumman.

When the program was presented to the University students, some 75 volunteered to teach eight hours per month. The Extension Division of the University then trained students for teaching. The University students went out and found the illiterates whose names had been given and, where their would-be students desired to learn, taught them at home.¹³⁰

The program actually got under way November 1, 1938, and continued through the school year. Of the seven groups of students who participated, two taught Negroes. The group of which Harry Comer was leader taught the Negro class meeting at the Training School. The group led by Mrs. Raymond Adams gave instruction individually in homes during the fall, but after Christmas taught once a week in St. Joseph's C. M. E. Church. Some 20 Negroes came to the latter group at one time or another, and ten were regular attenders, but these were only members of that church.

The following year, after the Orange County literacy program was over, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Harold Walters, and Dick Locke, raising money among friends, continued the school but moved it to the Rock Hill Baptist Church in the hope that rotating among churches would attract members of various denominations. The first two meetings were

130. Interview, Mr. Russell Grumman, August 2, 1943.

largely attended, but because of objections to having school in the church building the number fell off quickly, leaving about ten regular pupils. The school stopped Christmas.¹³¹

* * *

Religion

As will be seen later, some Negroes stayed on in the downtown churches after emancipation, but most of them joined the two newly-organized Negro congregations.

Rock Hill Baptist Church was formed in 1870. Until a suitable building was erected this church and St. Paul's A. M. E. Church worshipped together, the two groups having charge of services on alternating Sundays. A Reverend Mr. Cole built the first church. Then Rev. Lewis H. Hackney built the present church, where he was pastor from 1878 till his death in December, 1938, when Rev. J. R. Stanford became pastor.

Reverend Hackney was known and respected by white and colored citizens as a gentleman and a scholar. He alone remained as pastor in the community, while Methodist ministers came and went. So he came to wield more power than any other individual. As some who knew him put it, Reverend Hackney was "the kingfish." Perhaps without realizing it, he became dictatorial, so that some of the members were anxious to secure an assistant minister, which they did. Reverend Hackney was opposed to parties, dancing, and

131. Interview, Mrs. Raymond Adams, August 11, 1943.

playing cards. So long as he lived the other ministers, with one exception, followed his lead, so that it was only by a sort of subterfuge that their consent was gained for parties to be held at the school. Since his death, however, the Baptist and Methodist ministers have become a particularly tolerant group.

Membership growth at Rock Hill has been gradual but has been accelerated in the past ten years. As in the other churches, almost all the new members join during the autumn revival. The membership of 360 includes two or three from each of the neighborhoods of Tintop, Southwest Lane, and Windy Hill.

Organizations within the church are the Sunday School, Board of Deacons, Usher Board, Missionary Society, Sunshine Band, Ladies Aid Circle, Pastor's Aid, Young Men's Club, What I Can, and choirs. The Sunday School has a total membership of about 200 and is divided into a number of classes: primary, junior, and intermediate classes, catechism class, First Bible Class for boys of 16 to 18 and Second Bible Class for girls. The Missionary Society, with ten or twelve members, is divided into a primary and a senior circle. The Sunshine Band is a missionary organization for children. Ladies Aid helps the church but is almost entirely a social club. The Young Men's Club, designed to keep men in the church by giving them

responsibility, averages 25 or 30 in attendance. What I Can, a young women's club, was organized as a church aid group with the major job of supplementing the Sunday offerings.

For two summers Rock Hill has conducted a Daily Vacation Bible School, the only one in the community.

The church is now raising money to buy a parsonage and hopes to add a Sunday School annex back of the present building.¹³²

St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized about 1870. The first building was near the present Church of God, and the present structure at the end of West Franklin Street was erected in 1892. Since that time, at least, the church has had a full-time pastor. There have been frequent changes in ministers, of course. One has stayed as long as six years.

There are some 350 members, including ten or twelve from Southwest Lane and two or three families from outside the community.

Organizations within the church are: the Sunday School, Allen Christian Endeavor League, Junior and Senior Missionary Societies, five clubs, a young men's group, Junior and Senior Usher Boards, Junior and Senior Boards of Stewards, Senior Stewardess Board, Junior and Senior Boards of Trustees,

132. Interview, Rev. J. R. Stanford, April 29, 1944.

and Junior and Senior Choirs. The Sunday School is divided into three departments: Adult, Senior, and Primary. The Senior Department, composed of boys and girls twelve to 16 years of age and over, has two classes, one mixed and one for boys alone. The Primary Department (ages eight to twelve) has three classes. The Senior Missionary Society has a membership of about 25 women; the Junior Society, 15 or 20. Membership in the five clubs of the church is open to men and women who want to help the church financially and in other ways. These clubs have assumed much of the work of the church, so that there is now a quarterly church day in which clubs report and contribute to the treasury, instead of the former trustees' day and stewards' day. The Junior Choir sings every second and fourth Sunday; the Senior Choir performs on other Sundays.

The church is planning an ambitious post-war building program. According to this plan, the present church and the parsonage beside it will be torn down. The new building replacing them will have a larger basement for Sunday School rooms and a dining room.¹³³

In April, 1900, Rev. J. C. Parker, District Superintendent of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, came to Chapel Hill and organized a church known as Cotton Chapel.

133. Interview, Rev. G. W. Troublefield, April 4, 1944.

A building was put up in Potter's Field, but during the depression the church was not able to meet the payments, so that the mortgage was foreclosed. For awhile services were held in the Quaker school. When Rev. J. H. Miller was pastor the present church, St. Joseph's C. M. E. Church, was built with the wood from the Odd Fellows Hall, on a tract of three or four lots on West Rosemary Street.

Present membership is 155. Only two members are from outside of town, and they are not regular attenders.

Organizations of the church are the Sunday School, Epworth League, Young People's Social Club, Junior and Senior Missionary Boards, Junior and Senior Steward Boards, Junior and Senior Stewardess Boards, Junior and Senior Choirs, and Junior and Senior Usher Boards. The Sunday School, probably the strongest group within the church, has some 55 members, mostly between four and 18 years of age. There are four classes according to age groupings. The Epworth League has about 15 members and divides into two groups. The Senior Women's Missionary Board has ten members; the Junior Board, about 20. The Junior Choir sings every third Sunday, morning and night, and the Senior Choir sings the other Sundays. The Usher Board meets twice a month to give instruction and to raise money through dues and contributions. Each organization of the church makes

a report every fourth Sunday, and each pledges to give five dollars a month to general church expenses.

The church as it now stands has only one large room with two little rooms opening into it. With the aid of other congregations, some \$1,500 has been raised toward remodeling the church and building a parsonage, possibly with a recreation center downstairs.¹³⁴

About 1915 a Russellite group, now known as Jehovah's Witnesses, was formed in Chapel Hill. One of the deacons of Rock Hill Baptist Church, after hearing his brother preach in Pittsburgh, became a Russellite and returned to Chapel Hill, where he and three others formed the local group. The movement has gradually grown, until now there are about twelve who attend regularly, besides a good many people sympathetic toward the movement. Meetings are held in one of the homes on Sunday mornings and Wednesday nights. One white member attends regularly, and another comes at times.¹³⁵

Rev. C. T. Boyd came to Chapel Hill in 1927 at the request of his sister to organize the Church of God. Starting with the five members of the family, the group met first in Mrs. Basil Jones' old schoolhouse, Cotton Chapel, and the Quaker school. In 1929 a lot was bought, and a 20 by 30

134. Interview, Rev. J. C. Clark, March 30, 1944.

135. Interview, Mr. Frank Hairston, April 16, 1944.

foot structure was built of used lumber. The group began growing, so that there were about 18 members in 1930. At that time a 36 by 40 foot addition was put on the church. Membership is now about 100; these come from every neighborhood of the community and from outside the town.

Auxiliary organizations in the church are: Sunday School, Junior and Senior Missionary Societies, Young People's Meeting, Usher Board, and Junior and Senior Choirs. The Sunday School, with a membership of 60 or 70, is divided into five classes. The Missionary Society includes most of the women of the church. The Young People's Meeting has an average attendance of thirty.¹³⁶

After the C. M. E. Church lost its building in Potter's Field, seven of the members formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, which took over the old building, naming it O'Bryant's Chapel in honor of the first pastor. There are now 25 members.

Organizations within the church, in addition to the governing boards, are: Sunday School, Missionary Society, Christian Endeavor, Usher Board, and choir. The Sunday School, with some 20 members, is divided into an adult, a senior, and a primary class. The Missionary Society, with a dozen members, has a parent body and a young women's circle. Christian Endeavor claims about eight members.

136. Interview, Rev. C. T. Boyd, May 9, 1944.

O'Bryant's Chapel is one of the two churches in the community without a resident pastor and the only church which does not have a Sunday morning worship service.¹³⁷

An attempt was made as far back as 1920 or '25 to form another Missionary Baptist Church with Basil Jones as pastor, but it was nipped in the bud. Later, however, a successful attempt was made.

A group within the Rock Hill Church became dissatisfied with the way in which the church was run. There was a misunderstanding between Reverend Hackney and Rev. J. H. Jones, the assistant pastor, so that Mr. Jones resigned. But some members were not satisfied with this solution to the problem and decided to form a congregation of their own. The Rock Hill Church appealed to the Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Durham, Raleigh, and Vicinity to keep the members from withdrawing, but after discussing the matter in a meeting held in Chapel Hill the Ministers' Alliance felt that the group was justified in forming a new church. Rock Hill then readily granted letters to members wanting to join the new church. After a year or two relations between the two churches became quite cordial.

On January 12, 1937, the first meeting of the new church was called at the home of Rev. E. D. Jones, and the

137. Interview, Rev. J. A. Jones, May 6, 1944.

church was then organized with 26 charter members. At a later meeting Rev. J. H. Jones was elected pastor.

For several months Sunday services were held in the old Standard Theater and other meetings were held in the homes of various members. A very strong Sunday School was developed during this period.

A 100 by 130 foot lot on South Graham Street was bought and paid for. Then a frame building was bought and the lumber used for the church. First services were held in the new building in November, 1937.

There are now 70 members, about half of whom came from Rock Hill Church and half of whom had no church home. Some of these come from Southwest Lane, but none are from Tintop, Windy Hill, or rural areas.

The church has the following organizations: Sunday School, Pastor's Aid, Willing Workers, Men's Club, Usher Board, and three choirs. There was formerly a Mission Circle. Sunday School attendance averages about 60. There are three age groups: the adult class, which is divided into a men's group and a women's group, a junior class of ten- to 16-year-olds, and the primary class, of six- to ten-year olds. The Pastor's Aid Club and Willing Workers are women's organizations, the former for aiding the pastor, the latter for aiding the church in any way necessary. The Men's Club is also to assist the church in any way. Pastor's

Aid has some 20 members; Willing Workers, 15; and the Men's Club, 18. There are three choirs connected with the church. The Junior Choir performs two Sundays a month, morning and evening. The Senior Choir sings at two morning services and one night service each month. And the Convention Choir, made up of members of the two Baptist Churches and St. Paul's and St. Joseph's Churches, sings every fourth Sunday night. It also represents Chapel Hill in the New Hope Singing Convention which meets annually in different churches of the association.¹³⁸

The Second Baptist Church is now raising money to enlarge the basement and install toilets after the war.

Mt. Calvary Holy Church of America, Inc., was organized in Chapel Hill in the fall of 1940 with about six members. Meetings were held in homes until the spring of 1942, when the group procured the Quaker schoolhouse. There are now 20 members, including three or four from Tintop and three from rural areas. Practically all of these members came from other churches in Chapel Hill.

Organizations of the church are the Sunday School, Young People's Meeting, Women's Missionary Circle, and Unity Circle for aiding orphans. At first the Sunday School was larger than the church, claiming some 20 members. It

138. Interview, Rev. J. H. Jones, March 29, 1944.

now has about 14 members divided into three classes, primary and junior classes for children and a Bible Class for adults.

First pastor of the group was Rev. George McPhatter of Durham, who served for about a year, when he was succeeded by Mrs. W. O. White of Durham, the present pastor.

With the aid of white and Negro friends the church has bought a 97 by 187 foot lot on South Merritt Mill Road, which it expects to finish paying for by August. Members hope to build a church as soon as possible--during the war if second hand materials can be found.¹³⁹

Nurse Compton leads a group which meets for prayer from three to four each afternoon in various residences.

Until about 20 years ago the various denominations did not work together. Since then denominational barriers have meant less, so that there is now a large degree of cooperation between all of the churches. When one congregation is holding special meetings, it is customary to have all the other pastors invite their congregations to attend. St. Paul's and St. Joseph's exchange services every three months, attending each other's regular quarterly meeting. Every spring each of the Methodist and Baptist Churches and the Church of God has an anniversary with a week of meetings. The pastors of each of the other churches are invited to

139. Interview, Mr. Jeeter Farrington, April 14, 1944.

speak on consecutive nights. Each congregation, of course, follows its own minister to the church which is holding the service. And each member usually drops a dollar into the collection plate, so that the collection averages a hundred dollars a night. Most of the churches are planning building or remodeling programs to be carried out after the war. While the new Mt. Calvary Church has not become well enough established to work much with the other churches, different ministers in the community have been very helpful in preaching there Sunday evenings.

The two Baptist Churches, St. Joseph's, and O'Bryant's Chapel (and formerly St. Paul's) are represented on the Ushers Union, a statewide interdenominational organizations of individual Usher Boards for promoting liberal religion and dignified worship. The state organization was begun in St. Paul's Methodist Church, Raleigh, in 1926 for the purpose of breaking down denominational differences and encouraging uniformity in worship services, since many ushers serve in churches of different denominations. There are now 4,000 members in the state. Two state-wide meetings are held annually, and state activities include raising funds for the Oxford Orphanage, sponsoring oratorical contests, and carrying on youth programs in the churches. Individual churches have their own Usher Boards which carry on charitable work in their communities.¹⁴⁰

140. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig, January 29, 1944.

The Negro Ministerial Alliance was organized in 1938 or '39 and was quite active for awhile, drawing in rural ministers as well as those from Chapel Hill. About once a month this group would meet for the purpose of getting acquainted, integrating the programs of the churches, and searching out the needs of the community. Two of the first programs projected were a community yard-cleaning campaign with a prize, and a relief fund. Before either of these was completed, however, the community had turned against the Alliance because of a pastors' popularity contest conducted about 1940. So the group now meets only when pressing problems concerning the Chapel Hill churches arise.

Not all the religious development of the community, however, has been through its own institutions. Perhaps the earliest attempt of native Chapel Hillians to raise the Negro race was the organization of a Sunday School in the Presbyterian Church about 1871 by Rev. and Mrs. Charles Phillips. There were six teachers, and the Sunday School was largely attended.¹⁴¹

Beginning in the spring of 1913, the University "Y" conducted several Sunday Schools in the Negro area for several years. In fact, it was from this that the night school started.

141. Lucy Phillips Russell, "Memories of a Childhood in Chapel Hill," The Chapel Hill Weekly, XII (February 8, 1935), p. 3.

The last Negro member of a "white" church died in 1923. When the University Methodist Church moved from Rosemary Lane to Franklin Street in 1899, the seven Negro members remaining from pre-Civil War days joined the new Negro Congregational Church which bought the old building. Although the record states that they moved their membership "by request", the Methodist pastor, William B. North, actually induced them to leave, whereupon the other members of the church appealed to the bishop, who had the Negro members reinstated before the fall of 1892. "In the death of Augusta (sic) Evans Sept. 1 [1923], the church lost its oldest member and the last of the colored members of the congregation who had maintained their affiliation with the church since the Civil War." The Negro members of the church had special seats, and they took communion after other members.¹⁴²

There has not been a great deal of cooperation between the Negro and white churches of Chapel Hill, although there has been more than in most communities. When Eugene Olive was pastor of the University Baptist Church, he preached occasionally at St. Paul's. When Dr. O. T. Binkley was

142. Quarterly Conference Record Book of Chapel Hill Station, Methodist Episcopal Church South, July 24, 1889, and October 14, 1923; interview, Mrs. N. H. D. Wilson, March 2, 1944.

pastor of this church, he was quite active in interracial work. The local interracial committee, working in collaboration with the Y. M. C. A., brought speakers and sponsored discussions in the Baptist Church. Mr. Walter Patten, who was minister of the University Methodist Church, was active in bringing the churches closer together. Mr. Marvin Culbreth, of the University Methodist Church, preaches occasionally at St. Paul's and St. Joseph's, and Mr. Queen, of the Carrboro Methodist Church, has preached at St. Joseph's. Charles Jones, minister of the Presbyterian Church, preaches sometimes at the two Baptist Churches and St. Paul's and St. Joseph's. The choir of St. Paul's sang at the University Baptist Church a number of times up until about three years ago. Some of the members of the Presbyterian Church have issued a standing invitation to the Negro Navy Band to worship with them, and in a recent case the pastor was upheld by the elders in this course of action.

Up to two years ago all the churches in town cooperated in a watch service the night of New Year's Eve in the Methodist or Presbyterian Church downtown. The formality of the service, which was planned by the white group, did not appeal to many of the Negroes. So two years ago the Negro churches began holding their own joint watch service.

After Charles Jones came to the Presbyterian Church three years ago, the interracial Ministerial Alliance was formed more for the purpose of bringing together Negro and white ministers of Chapel Hill and Carrboro on a friendly basis than to talk business. The group was most active at first, although since November of 1943 there have been monthly luncheon meetings.

* * *

Civic and Fraternal Organizations

In the past there have been eight secret fraternities in Negro Chapel Hill: Masons, True Reformers, two lodges of Pythians, Odd Fellows, Elks, Royal Knights of King David, and Knights of Gideon, besides women's auxiliaries. There was a great deal of duplication of membership, so that many persons belonged to three or four fraternities. While regular meetings were open to members only, the various lodges did sometimes get together for social functions. The secret societies were primarily insurance companies. All had a sick benefit of \$2.50 a week. And at one time or another each of them has carried death benefits, although members were charged a flat monthly rate regardless of age or physical condition. The various fraternal organizations began losing ground during the first World War, and all have died except the Masonic Lodge. Principal reason for the dissolution of most of them was

the enforcement, after Dan C. Boney became State Commissioner of Insurance in 1927, of state regulations requiring fraternal organizations to keep reserves based on the American Experience Table of Mortality and to assume interest of not more than four per cent.

Mount Olive Lodge Number 36 of the Masonic Order in North Carolina was organized through the aid of the white Masons December 15, 1880, with Rev. L. H. Hackney as Worshipful Master. The present hall at the corner of Rosemary Lane and Sunset Drive was built at that time. Mr. Lewis Caldwell is the present Master. The organization has lost in membership and prestige, having 32 members as compared with some 85 in 1924, yet it has been taking on new life in the past few years. Principal community function of the Lodge is giving charity, particularly to widows and orphans. A major function of the statewide organization is support of the Negro orphanage at Oxford.¹⁴³

The Masonic Order was originally opposed to carrying insurance policies, but about the turn of the century the local group bowed to public pressure and instituted a system of death benefits, the amount of which gradually increased until \$350 policies were carried in the 1920's. About 1927, when other lodges were folding up, the Masons dropped this feature, keeping only sickness insurance.

143. Interview, Mr. Lewis Caldwell.

There was also a branch of the Eastern Star in Chapel Hill with more than 20 members, but it went down about five years ago.¹⁴⁴

True Reformers were organized in Chapel Hill early in the twentieth century with a membership of 25. First meetings were held in the Masonic Hall; then the group moved to the second floor of Vann Nunn's store on Rosemary Lane. Membership grew to about 50. Primary function of the group was carrying of insurance policies on which members paid 50 cents a month and from which widows received a death benefit of \$150. As soon as the state insurance commissioner began enforcing regulations of insurance companies, the lodge disbanded.

There have been two lodges in Chapel Hill connected with the Knights of Pythias. The first Pythians were organized before 1900 and grew until there were some 75 members. The Court of Calanthe was the corresponding women's organization. The second Pythian Lodge, Moab Lodge No. 332, started with 15 members and had 45 at the last. Members paid 75 cents a month for a \$300 death benefit policy and the usual \$2.50 weekly sick benefit. The two Pythian Lodges and the Court of Calanthe closed in 1934

144. Interview, Mr. Sam Caldwell.

because of disagreement with the national organization.¹⁴⁵

Hills Point Lodge No. 5261 of Odd Fellows was organized in Chapel Hill October 30, 1901, with 21 charter members. At that time a hall was built on West Franklin Street. It was most active about 1921 or '22, when there were between 40 and 50 members. When the organization disbanded about seven years ago, there were probably 28 members.

Primary purposes of the fraternity were carrying insurance and administering charity. The insurance policies were for \$300 at death. The Odd Fellows gave charity, not only to their own number, but to any of the poor and aged.

The first floor of the two-story hall on West Franklin Street was first used as a skating rink, and from about 1908 until the hall was torn down it was used as a general recreation center where clubs met and annual dances were held.

The building became dilapidated, so that it was about to be condemned, and there were disagreements over the type of insurance to be carried, so that the Odd Fellows disbanded and let the C. M. E. Church tear down the building to use the lumber for their new church.

The Household of Ruth, made up of wives and daughters of Odd Fellows, was organized about 1903 and lasted until

145. Ibid.

the Odd Fellows disbanded. There were about 30 members.

The Elks were organized in Chapel Hill by 1912. There always more than 30 members, and at the last their membership increased to 36 or 37. The insurance system was stopped when the new ruling concerning insurance companies went into effect. Charitable work was carried on in the community, especially at Christmas.

After a number of younger men had been taken in, the Elks Hall, a rented building in the main Negro business block, was being used by the fraternity for commercial purposes and became rowdy. So in 1942 five of the older members took things in hand and had the place closed.

The Daughters of Elks, a subsidiary organization, numbered some 15 and were active until the Elks disbanded.¹⁴⁶

The Elks and Daughters are hoping to reorganize when times are more favorable.

The Royal Knights of King David organized in Chapel Hill about 1915 with probably 20 members and grew to a membership of 60. Death benefits for the lodge were \$200, and \$2.50 a week was paid in the event of sickness. About 1927 the state organization failed after merging with another fraternity.

146. Interview, Mr. John W. Johnson.

The Lady Knights of King David were organized after the Royal Knights and claimed a membership of over 20. Their society died when the Royal Knights did.

The Knights of Gideon were established at the time of the first World War and failed when the new insurance regulations went into effect.¹⁴⁷

Whereas the fraternities were primarily interested in their own problems and had closed meetings, later organizations have been of a more open nature and have been concerned about problems of the community at large.

The Parent-Teacher Association was organized when the county bought the Hackney Training School, in 1917, and has functioned ever since. Its first work was the establishment of a domestic science department in the high school. It has cooperated with Nurse Compton in developing the health program, particularly conducting clinics in the school.¹⁴⁸

The Janitors Association is as much a civic organization as an economic force. It was begun in 1929 when three janitors, Melvin Rich, General Jones, and "Uncle George" Washington, were looking for a way to improve the quality of the janitors' work. "At that time," explains Mr. Washington, "we had a bunch that would lay out and wouldn't

147. Interview, Mr. Sam Caldwell.

148. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig, January 29, 1944.

come in like they ought to, and we decided that we would see if we couldn't work them in that way and make them more punctual on the job." Mr. P. L. Burch, superintendent of the janitors, approved of their idea of organizing a janitors' club. After six months of hard work, the Janitors Association included all the University janitors. Offices of administration are open to hear grievances brought by the members. The Association was given the power of recommending janitors to be hired by the University, although it has no power to fire them.

At their meetings, in addition to consideration of working conditions and "jacking up" of slack workers, there have been discussions, sometimes sponsored by the "Y" and led by members of the faculty. The Association sometimes has acted as a go-between for bringing town campaigns to the attention of the Negro community, and it was through "Uncle George" that tickets to the Negro benefit football games were sold in the Negro community during the last few years.¹⁴⁹ The organization, however, does not seem to be an important force for community betterment. And while some of the leaders, particularly Mr. Washington, are active in church life, the janitors are not generally as outstanding civic leaders as some University faculty members believe.

149. Interview, Mr. Elliott Washington, August 17, 1943.

The Negro Civic Club was organized as a result of the "realization on the part of a group of interested citizens about the conduct of both the younger people and less thoughtful groups and the general condition in the Negro section, and lack of educational facilities and those things that have to do with the civic life of the people." A meeting was called in September, 1927, to discuss these problems, and it was suggested that a permanent organization be set up. The group was first organized to include only eight members: Adolphus Clark, Eugene White, Charles Craig, Walter Hackney, Hubert Robinson, Rev. J. S. Miller, Rev. J. S. Holt, and Charles Maddox. It now has 18 members. Mr. Charles Craig has been president of the group since its inception. There are scheduled meetings once a month and about the same number of called meetings.

The Civic Club was a factor in the enlarging of the school district in 1930. It sponsored voting rallies for the purpose of having the measure passed.

By 1935 the club had become concerned over the lawlessness of the Chapel Hill Negro community. On July 10, 1935, after the murder of a high school girl at Franklin and Graham Streets, three citizens representing the Civic Club appeared before the town aldermen to ask that steps be taken to reduce crime and disorderly conduct. Partly as a result of this and partly because of an earlier

complaint, one policeman was discharged, the other two, including the chief, were demoted, County Sheriff W. T. Sloan was made chief of police, and a new patrol car was added to the town force.¹⁵⁰

The Negro Civic Club called a meeting in the court room of the Town Hall on March 4, 1943, inviting several white citizens, including the Mayor and Board of Aldermen. "The colored clubs were chiefly interested in working out some plan to handle or suppress the lawless element of the colored people in Chapel Hill." But there was another called meeting of the Board of Aldermen, so that no white people went to the meeting of the Civic Club. The Club, then, presented their requests to the aldermen in a letter:

The Negro Civic Club of Chapel Hill, N. C., wishes to submit the following resolutions to the Honorable Board of Aldermen of the Town of Chapel Hill, N. C.

In view of the very low moral practice of some of our people; and realizing as in as much as this condition affects us as a group, it is a much larger problem; we, therefore, wish to present for your careful consideration the following resolutions:

- I. That street lights be placed at the following points
 1. On Roberson Street near the Community Center.
 2. At the corner of Nunn and Craig Streets.
 3. At the end of Cotton Street just below the Orange County Training School.

150. Interview, Mr. Charles Craig, January 29, 1944; Mason, op. cit., pp. 33-39.

4. At the corner of Caldwell and Church Streets.
5. A traffic "Stop and Go" light at the intersection of Merritt Mill Road and W. Franklin Street.
- II. That a careful study be made of the effects of installment payment of fines in the Recorder's Court.
- III. That the places where beer is sold in Chapel Hill be required to abstain from sale of such from Friday night 12 until Monday morning 7.
- IV. That one or two Negro police officers and a truant officer be added to our police force to patrol in the Negro settlement.
- V. That the streets in the Negro community be toured by a committee from the Board of Aldermen to ascertain conditions of said streets with a view toward better upkeep of same.¹⁵¹

The City Manager was instructed to write in reply that the items were to be handled as follows:

- 1- The Street committee was asked to investigate and they found the request justified to have the lights placed as indicated.
- 2- The matter of installment payments in Recorders Court was talked of pro and con and Chief Sloan and Attorney Hinshaw stated that, in their opinion, there were great improvements in this and very few were allowed to pay their finds and costs except in cash. The Judge had stated that there was no installment payments to be allowed except in rare cases and only when he thought them necessary.
- 3- The Beer and wine situation was gone into and the Board decided that instead of passing an ordinance at this time prohibiting the sale of beer and wine on Sunday that a police booth would be placed on W. Franklin St so that closer police supervision could be maintained.

¹⁵¹. Letter from Charles C. Craig, President, Negro Civic Club, to The Honorable Board of Aldermen, Town of Chapel Hill, N. C., May 10, 1943. From minute book of the Board of Aldermen.

- 4- The question of engaging more officers to look after the colored section as well as a truant officer was discussed at length and it was considered best to give this considerably more thought and to further discuss the matter; in the meanwhile try out the plan of having an officer stationed more or less on regular hours at the above mentioned booth, the idea being and so stated by Chief Sloan that better order could be maintained.
- 5- The streets in the colored section to be inspected and such instruction as necessary to be issued as to better upkeep of these streets.

It was to be explained to the Civic Club that the Board of Aldermen were deeply interested in the situation and that every effort would be extended to better the conditions.¹⁵²

The Hostess Club was organized in October, 1941, by six women who felt a need for diversion from work. There are now 18 members. The group has never had a formal organization, but meetings are held on first and third Thursdays in the homes of different members in alphabetical order, the hostess serving as chairman each time. At the meetings there are usually quizzes on the war, government, the community, or Negro leaders. Games are played, and there are usually refreshments. After the United States entered the war, members of the club decided that, if its continued existence was to be justified, it should undertake some community service. So when the Negro Navy Band came to the Community

152. Minute Book No. 7, May 11, 1943.

Center in July, 1942, the Hostess Club joined with the Civic Club in entertaining members of the band at the Orange County Training School. The Hostess Club has furnished floral designs for about twelve funerals of the poorer members of the community. Recently the Hostess and the Civic Club worked together to gather and present to the school board information which led to the town's employing Mr. Hubert Robinson as truant officer for the Training School. In 1942 the Hostess Club was invited to send a representative to meetings of the Chapel Hill Consumers Association, and several members did attend. It is probable that after the war the club will continue to do community work in cooperation with the men's Civic Club.¹⁵³

When the Citizens Service Corps of Chapel Hill was formed, Negroes simply were not included. And the block leader system was based upon the communication system of the Community Club, so that Negroes were not brought into it. The Negroes, therefore, organized their own Civilian Defense system with Mrs. James T. Snipes as chairman. A major accomplishment has been the furnishing of a Red Cross surgical dressing room at the Orange County Training School. Mrs. E. T. Sellars is chief of the twelve block leaders.

153. Interview, Mrs. E. T. Sellars, March 29, 1944.

Last Christmas tuberculosis seals, which had been sold through Nurse Compton heretofore, were distributed by the block leaders. The community record for seals sales was broken.¹⁵⁴

* * *

Recreation

The Negro community has been handicapped by a dearth of wholesome recreational opportunities. Many places of amusement have been bad. The Odd Fellows Hall was considered a public nuisance by the turn of the century, so that in 1911 the Board of Aldermen ordered that it not be used as a place of public entertainment.¹⁵⁵ The dance halls on West Franklin Street have been a source of disturbance; in 1921 "the Negro public dance hall on Franklin St was declared a nuisance and ordered closed."¹⁵⁶ And in 1923 the Henry Guthrie moving picture house was "under suspicion of being conducted improperly and a menace to public morals."¹⁵⁷ And situations have not changed. Although the war has taken away a good many of the young men who hung around them, the night clubs on West Franklin Street offer recreation of an unwholesome type and are a source of disturbance.

154. Ibid.

155. Minute Book No. 2, December 12, 1911.

156. Minute Book No. 3, July 25, 1921.

157. Ibid., December 6, 1923.

The theaters have offered the most adequate commercial recreation. In 1924 the Standard Theater was built on West Franklin Street, and dances were held there about once a month. When the new Hollywood Theater was built in 1939, the old theater stopped. The moving picture is open every night except Sunday. Weekly attendance runs between 1,300 and 1,500.¹⁵⁸ There is now no dance hall in the community. There used to be pool rooms in connection with cafes and the barber shop, but the University has begun enforcing the rule against commercial poolrooms.

The dearth of noncommercial recreation has been a serious handicap. The Boy Scout troop at the high school dates back some ten years. The first troop operated for probably four years. Then it disbanded, and another troop was organized later with the help of the Recreation Commission. Mr. James T. Snipes, of the Training School faculty, was scout master until he had to give it up because of lack of time. When other adequate leadership in the community was not forthcoming, students from the University Y. M. C. A. led the troop for several years, but it would always peter out before the end of the school year. In 1942 a series of eight weekly training programs for prospective scout leaders from the community was begun by the Recreation Commission,

158. Interview, Mr. Kenneth Jones.

but attendance dropped until no one came to the sixth meeting. This school year the troop has been led by a member of the Navy Band, who is now gone.¹⁵⁹

For at least six years students, teachers, and parents have jointly sponsored two or three parties or dances annually at the school.

The churches offer some social outlet for a certain class of people, yet this is quite incidental to their religious program. The most notable exception was St. Joseph's sponsoring of evenings of play one summer more than five years ago.

Organized in 1938, the Recreation Commission has pushed three main programs in the Negro community. The first attempt was to relate recreation to the school program. In this undertaking two major problems were encountered: the layout of the school grounds, which makes most of the area unusable for recreation, and the practical impossibility of getting Negro volunteers to supervise play. Activities, therefore, were very feeble. A second attempt of the Recreation Commission was to establish a program for young boys. It was then that the Boy Scout Troop was reorganized. The third interest was in the Community Center, which the Recreation Commission will operate after it is turned back

¹⁵⁹. Interview, Mr. Harold D. Meyer, April 17, 1944; interview, Mr. H. M. Holmes.

to the community at the end of the war.¹⁶⁰

First interest in the idea of a community center was shown in the summer of 1935, when Charles Craig, representing the Civic Club, expressed to the town manager the belief that community conditions could best be improved by providing adequate facilities for wholesome leisure-time activity. After the 1937 race riot Louis Graves invited friends to a luncheon meeting at the Carolina Inn to discuss the problem of race relations. It was decided that the best approach would be to attack the problem of recreation. So in January, 1938, a group of eight--four Negro men and four white men--began meeting in Louis Graves' office to lay plans for this. After several meetings, the idea was presented to and approved by a larger group.¹⁶¹ On June 8, 1938, the matter was brought up in a meeting of the Board of Aldermen, who appointed Aldermen Hellen and Wettach to work with persons interested in developing a Negro community center.¹⁶²

One of the sites being considered, part of the W. H. Craig Estate to the north of West Rosemary Lane, was involved in intricate litigation. "This land, tied up in litigation for a long time, was placed on sale this last summer [1939] by order of the Superior Court. Prompt action

160. Interview, Mr. Harold D. Meyer.

161. R. J. M. Hobbs, memorandum for speech on Community Center to the Community Club, February 21, 1941.

162. Minute Book No. 6, June 8, 1938.

had to be taken, if it was to be obtained for a Community Center, and a group of citizens, anticipating the interest of the whole community, purchased the tract. In so doing they acted as trustees." The five acre tract was considered a good bargain at \$1,500.¹⁶³ The idea at the time was simply to have a playground and perhaps a shower house, but gradually a larger plan was developed.

A group of sixteen white men visited the Negro Community Center at Rocky Mount, and their impression of it encouraged them, while they hoped to improve upon it in some ways.

The group working on the Community Center organized in November, 1939, as the Chapel Hill Community Center Association. This consisted of five committees made up of both white and Negro citizens: Executive Committee (Louis Graves, chairman), Committee on Grounds (R. J. M. Hobbs, chairman), Committee on Structure and Application to Government (Roy M. Brown, chairman), Committee on Use of Center (George H. Lawrence, chairman), and Committee on Cooperation with Town and University (M. S. Breckenridge, chairman). On March 6, 1940, Louis Graves resigned as chairman of the Executive Committee because of other pressing responsibilities, and Col. Joseph Hyde Pratt became chairman.

163. R. J. M. Hobbs, memorandum, October, 1939.

Atwood and Weeks, contractors, turned preliminary drawings and a sketch of the plans over to the committee March 16, 1940. It was felt, however, that the Community Center Association could not meet the price of \$400 asked for blueprints and detailed plans, so that Charles Craig, who had had experience as a contractor in the community, volunteered his services and drew blueprints.

When J. C. Webb, local representative of the W. P. A., was contacted on April 2, it was estimated that the total cost would be about \$15,000--fifty per cent each for materials and labor. It was estimated that the community would furnish half the cost of materials, probably some \$2,000 plus the stone furnished by Charles Craig.¹⁶⁴ It was thought then that the Center would be sustained by town appropriations to the Recreation Commission, by N. Y. A. projects, contributions from civic organizations, two annual benefit performances, and a Rosenwald contribution.¹⁶⁵

On May 8, 1940, the Board of Aldermen agreed to apply for a W. P. A. grant for construction of the Center, and the town accepted the deed to the property.¹⁶⁶ Work was begun in January, 1941. Although the town had not committed itself to aid financially, it gave the use of the town truck

164. G. H. Lawrence, "Report of Special Sub-Committee," April 2, 1940. Files of Mr. R. J. M. Hobbs.

165. R. J. M. Hobbs, memorandum for speech on Community Center to the Rotary Club. Undated.

166. Minute Book No. 6, May 8, 1940.

for grading until the Negro Community Center Association bought a truck.

In February, 1941, the Association appealed to the entire town through a canvass for funds. By this time plans had been expanded, so that the building was expected to cost \$26,000, of which the government would provide \$12,000. The goal for the white community was \$9,000 in addition to the \$1,500 already paid for land.¹⁶⁷ Actual contributions to date total \$5,780.30. Of this amount \$309.51 was given by the Negro community; \$5,470.79, by the white community.¹⁶⁸

In the spring of 1942 a Negro boy and girl were receiving training under the W. P. A. recreation program in preparation for supervising the Center.

Funds gave out after the shell of the building had been constructed, and the committee went \$2,000 in debt. When the University began looking for a place to house the Negro Navy Band, a two-year contract was drawn up, with the approval of a group of Negro citizens, whereby the Navy paid the debt on the building and finished and furnished the structure. Some \$15,000 was spent to get the building into shape, and the very best materials were used. Money was advanced by the state, the Navy agreeing to repay it in two years.¹⁶⁹

167. Joseph Hyde Pratt et al., letter for canvass of town, February 22, 1941.

168. Interview, Mr. Paul W. Wager, March 20, 1944

169. Ibid.

On Friday, July 31, 1942, the 44 musicians moved in. And in April, 1944, this group was shipped overseas and replaced by another band.

Lieut. John P. Graff, Executive Director of the Pre-Flight Training School, said in a letter to the Recreation Commission before the band moved in: "The occupation of the Community Building by the Band will not destroy the public usefulness of the Building, for the Service Men will be so quartered as to allow an appreciable amount of use of the building as a recreation center. It is fully realized that a great deal of time, thought and money has been put into this building by the people of Chapel Hill, and the Navy's occupancy of the building will be so arranged as to provide as much community use as practicable."¹⁷⁰

At first, the band held open house for several Sunday afternoons for the whole community. Since then the community has used the building very little. A few townspeople come to the Friday evening movies; boys use the baseball diamond a great deal; and the two Christmasses that the band has been in the building it has invited the children of the community to Christmas trees, which have been attended by 200 or 300 children.

¹⁷⁰. Letter from John P. Graff to the Recreation Commission, April 21, 1942.

Uses of the building after it is turned back to the community will be much as they were conceived before the Navy took it over:

The building is to contain a day nursery where negro mothers who work may leave their little children during the day; an assembly room which can be converted into a hall for social gatherings and indoor games; a kitchen where meals may be prepared for dinner meetings as well as food prepared for the children in the day nursery; club rooms for negro organizations such as the Boy Scouts and the Civic Club; headquarters for the negro nurse; a woodworking shop where older boys, out of school, may learn the use of tools; shower baths, for the use of all the negroes of the community, not merely for those who use the athletic facilities.

The grounds--five acres in extent--are to be developed into playing fields.¹⁷¹

In the fall of 1942 the Recreation Commission asked for an appropriation of \$5,220 from Lanham Act funds to provide for a recreation program centered around the Orange County Training School and a pre-school play center. It could not be shown, however, that this was necessary for the war effort, so that the \$6,000 granted for recreation has to be spent in the white community.¹⁷²

There have been a number of cases of Negro children's being burned while mothers were away from home working. The worst case was the death of two children in a little

171. "Report of the Present Status of the Chapel Hill Negro Community Center," The Chapel Hill Weekly, XX (February 27, 1942), p. 2.

172. Interview, Mr. Harold D. Meyer; H. D. Meyer, "Statement of Services to Be Provided." Undated.

house on Church Street. The mother, Mrs. Milly Booth, had gone to look for someone to take care of them. Their older sister, a girl of five, had put the two children to bed and was trying to light a candle when some paper caught fire. As she ran for help, the little cabin burned. This incident, in particular, awakened the town to the need for a nursery for children of working mothers.

The Recreation Commission, as has been mentioned, tried unsuccessfully to get a federal appropriation for a play school in the fall of 1942. When the Department of Education attempted to get a government grant for a nursery school to be used as a demonstration project, they were equally unsuccessful. The Child Care Committee of the Citizens Service Corps, headed by Mrs. Isabelle Carter and later by Mrs. Clarence Heer, then began working on the problem. A survey was made late in the spring of 1943 to determine how adequately children of working mothers were cared for and to determine whether other women would work if their children might go to a nursery school. This survey was conducted in the white community by the block leaders of the Citizens Service Corps, and in the Negro community students from the Race Relations Committee of the Y. M.- Y. W. C. A. accompanied the block leaders to get the information. Social work students under Mr. George

Lawrence tabulated the results. The survey in the white community, which was not very well conducted, showed 30 pre-school children, of whom only seven were children of working mothers. In the Negro community there were 131 pre-school children in the 117 families visited. Forty-nine of these were children of 35 working mothers. In addition, 23 mothers of 24 children said they would like to go to work if the children could be cared for.

But in the meantime regulations were changed so that the federal government could provide only 50 per cent of the funds for nursery schools instead of the 100 per cent formerly paid. Nothing was done, then, until fall, when a new Race Relations Committee investigated and found that the Federal Works Agency might again pay practically all the bill.

The Board of Education agreed to sponsor the nursery if the Child Care Committee would write up the application, which it did. The committee was then enlarged to 28, including ten Negroes.

In April, 1944, word was received that the money would be appropriated. \$24,384.00 was granted by the federal government, and up to \$6,880.00 can be charged in fees. This budget includes \$4,200.00 for renovating buildings. It has been proposed that one temporary unit

for 30 children be opened at the Orange County Training School until another building can be made ready. Two places have been offered, the Masonic Hall at the corner of Rosemary Lane and Sunset Drive and a store on Brooks Street owned by Mr. Charles Craig. The two units will be designed for 30 children apiece, and each will have three teachers, a cook, and a janitor. In addition, there will be a head teacher to supervise both nurseries, and there will be a half-time secretary and a half-time nurse. Each school will operate from 6:30 A. M. to 6:30 P. M. Fees not to exceed 35 cents a day will be charged for a noon meal and two smaller meals in the middle of the morning and afternoon.

After the war the buildings will revert to the Masons and Mr. Craig, and a nursery will be operated at the Community Center.¹⁷³

* * *

Law and Citizenship

In 1900 there was only one part-time policeman for the entire town of Chapel Hill. On May 5, 1905, an assistant was elected at a salary of \$5.00 a month. In 1920-21 there were a police chief and three patrolmen. It is

¹⁷³. Interview, Mrs. Clarence Heer, April 28, 1944; Mrs. Clarence Heer, "Supplementary Data on Application for Child Care Centers." Undated.

in 1924 that the first mention is found of special assignment to police the Negro section, when the Town Manager was instructed to have at least one policeman stationed on West Franklin Street near the Negro cafes on Saturdays and Sundays.¹⁷⁴

In 1935 there was complaint about the conduct of the police department and the Recorder's Court, and a committee of three, P. L. Burch, C. L. Eubanks, and R. J. M. Hobbs, was appointed to look into the matter. At their recommendation a new Chief of Police, W. T. Sloan, was hired, and B. D. Sawyer was made Prosecuting Attorney for the Recorder's Court.¹⁷⁵ Chief Sloan has been sympathetic and cooperative with public welfare work and recreation programs. When efforts were first being made to get the Community Center, Chief Sloan stated: "' A decent gathering place for the Negroes would do more than anything I know to encourage law and order, and to make Chapel Hill a better place to live in. . . . The young Negroes, both boys and girls, don't have anything to do, a good part of the time, but loaf on the streets. No wonder many of them get into bad ways. They don't have a fair chance.'"¹⁷⁶

174. Minute Book No. 3, September 4, 1924.

175. Minute Book No. 6, July 25, 1935.

176. R. J. M. Hobbs, memorandum, October, 1939.

The only race violence since the last century was the "race riot," a brawl at the filling station at the west end of Franklin Street on Saturday night, August 27, 1937. During an argument a Negro was struck on the head by a white man employed in the filling station. This incited a group of Negroes, so that the white man was placed in the Carrboro jail for protection. Late at night a crowd of forty or fifty Negroes gathered at the jail, but the crowd was dispersed and the prisoner removed to the Hillsboro jail. Negroes began throwing stones at automobiles and shooting in the street. When the Carrboro fire siren sounded as a riot call, a group of white men barricaded a truck with crossties and rode along the street shooting at Negroes. No one was killed, but one white man and three Negroes were sent to the hospital with bullet wounds.¹⁷⁷

On November 18, 1942, The Daily Tar Heel published an article and affidavits purporting to show that local police had beaten three Negroes, Elder Rich, Callie Norwood, and Jesse Strowd.

Flossie Durham, sister of Elder Rich, a deaf and dumb boy, swore that on October 9 Elder was asked by Bill Parker, a white boy working at National Munitions, if he had stolen

¹⁷⁷. Mason, op. cit., p. 42.

a shirt and pair of pants from Parker's house. Elder claimed Parker hit him; Parker denied this. Later that day Elder was accosted by Parker and Larry Norwood, one of the local policemen. Elder began running, but he was caught and hit twice and then taken to jail. He was released after his mother and father and two sisters went to see Chief Sloan.

Callie Norwood's affidavit stated that on July 7 at about 10 P. M. she was walking on Rosemary Lane after having a few beers. Patrolman Jack Merritt took her to jail on a charge of drunkenness. Next morning she was perched on the window sill when he came in and told her, "Get down from there, nigger woman." It angered him when she asked, "What for?" and he treated her roughly. The day after she was bailed out, she went to Mr. Paul Robertson, notary public, and asked him to swear out a warrant of assault and battery on Merritt. When she went to see Chief Sloan about the warrant, he told her that she had broken a light bulb and window in the jail, for which she could be charged. She denied this. After she had failed to get Mr. L. J. Phipps, who was busy that day, as her lawyer, she neglected to come back and so dropped the charges against Merritt. At the trial she was fined.

Jesse Strowd swore that about 10:30 P. M. October 10 he was on his way home with Ernest Rigsby at the end

of West Rosemary Lane after both of them had had a few drinks. Patrolmen Hubert Yeargan and Larry Norwood, who were riding by, took Strowd to jail. In an argument there, Yeargen hit Strowd on the nose with his fist, and then refused to send for a doctor but put him in jail. Next day Henry Saunders, from the SAE house, where Strowd worked, bailed him out. On Sunday morning, when Strowd went back to the jail to get some keys he had left, the officers told him to keep his mouth shut or they would get a federal investigator down to question him. Sunday night Moody Durham, clerk of the court, refused to swear out a warrant of assault and battery against Yeargan, saying he was too busy. On Tuesday, when the case came up, Strowd was fined \$14.00.¹⁷⁸

The Daily Tar Heel stated, "We have grounds for believing that the police of Chapel Hill in at least these three cases have violated the law by striking the negroes. Whether the negroes were guilty or innocent of the charges preferred against them at the time is not the issue and has nothing to do with the issue which has now arisen. The issue is the abuses which the police are purported to have committed." "We could publish what we did because

178. "SAE House Boy, Two Others Beaten by Police," The Daily Tar Heel, LI (November 18, 1942), p. 2.

we know that the Board of Aldermen will act not only as judges but also as active investigators to clear up these three cases and any others which may exist. Mayor Madry himself has always had the reputation of being completely fair."179

The aldermen considered the charges that night.

The Board heard reports of alleged mistreatment of certain colored prisoners by members of the Police Department. After some discussion a motion by Alderman Bowman and seconded by Alderman Wettach was passed to authorize the Mayor to appoint an investigating committee. Mayor Madry appointed Aldermen Burch and Wettach as members of a special committee to make preliminary investigations in the matter and suggest a date for a hearing before the full Board.180

The Clerk read a resolution (at the next meeting) from a citizens (sic) group in Chapel Hill requesting that the original Investigating Committee of alleged mistreatment of prisoners by the police be enlarged and that it be composed of half white and half colored citizens. Rev. C. M. Jones, appearing in behalf of the citizens group, stated that there was resentment among the negroes, and they were afraid the investigation might be partial. He stated that an impartial investigation was desired but not an open hearing. . . . After considerable discussion Mayor Madry appointed the following committee of white and colored citizens to meet with the Board on December 7 and participate in the investigation:

Rev. C. M. Jones, Dr. James Bullitt, Messrs. George Lawrence, W. B. Saunders and Louis Graves, Rev. C. T. Boyd, Rev. G. W. Troublefield, Rev. J. H. Jones, Kenneth Jones, Charlie Maddox and Hubert Robinson.181

179. "Why We Raised the Issue," The Daily Tar Heel, LI (November 18, 1942), p. 2.

180. Minute Book No. 7, November 18, 1942.

181. Ibid., December 3, 1942.

At first the Tar Heel had hoped for open hearings and immediate action, but as they saw the care that was being used and the relative ease of securing information in closed sessions they agreed that the aldermen were wise in ordering a closed hearing and in taking time to gather the pertinent facts.

In a special meeting December 9, 1942, the Board concluded the investigation.

Some facts brought to light in the investigation which are not covered by affidavit are the following:

(1) Jesse Stroud stated in his affidavit that he asked Clerk of Court Moody Durham for a warrant against officer Yeargan and that Mr. Durham replied that he did not have time to issue the warrant.

In fact, Mr. Durham was holding a meeting of the Rationing Board when Jesse Stroud made the request. Mr. Durham, under the circumstances, stated that he did not have time then and asked Jesse Stroud to return at a later date or to secure a warrant elsewhere.

(2) At the police sub-station, Elder Rich, in the presence of his stepmother and sister and officers Norwood and Jordan, said that Norwood did not hit him.

In conclusion, we cannot commend the striking by an officer of Jesse Stroud because he was drunk, profane, insulting or using traitorous language when two other officers were present. At the same time, the provocation was great and defense against threatened attack is justified. In view

of all of the evidence, we believe that the charges brought against the police have not been sustained and we find no justification for the critical references made to the Chapel Hill Recorders Court.¹⁸²

Charles Jones, commenting on the whole investigation in a letter to the editor, said:

On the whole I believe that this has been a constructive experience for the community. This is due to the restraint, the wisdom and the sincerity of all who were concerned with the problem. The printing of all the evidence by the Aldermen to show the basis on which they reached their conclusions gives evidence of their desire to reach a true and just decision. . . .

But the most constructive aspect of the whole matter is the way in which it was solved. It is unfortunate that the matter of race had to be involved, nor was this due to the reporting of the incidents. All the cases under investigation were those involving colored men. This made necessary the raising of the racial issue. At this time any racial discrimination is a serious matter. Realizing this and seeing the possibilities of further friction the Aldermen sought the assistance of the colored people themselves in meeting the situation. Colored citizens were asked to sit with white citizens and the Aldermen to assist in the investigation. This seems to me to be a great step forward in our relationships. . . .

The handling of this particular situation has brought together colored folk and white folk to work out a difficult problem not through conflict

182. "Text of Aldermen's Statement and Affidavits," The Daily Tar Heel, LI (December 10, 1942), pp. 2-3.

but through cooperation and understanding. This can well set the pattern for solving other racial misunderstandings or difficulties that may arise later in so far as these citizens have won the confidence and respect of one another.¹⁸³

In January, 1943, another complaint was lodged against the local police.

There was discussion of a complaint by a prominent citizen as to treatment accorded a certain colored man, Joe Council, during his arrest for certain conduct on West Franklin Street on Saturday night, January 16, and the arresting officers were requested to come before this meeting to state their version of the case. L. H. Norwood and W. H. Yeargen were the officers in question, and Officer Norwood, who made the actual arrest, testified as follows: while he and Officer Yeargen were cruising in the police car on West Franklin Street and just as they approached the Charlie Merritt cafe, they heard the colored man, Joe Council, creating quite some disturbance, cursing and staggering along the sidewalk. Officer Norwood left the police car, and as he approached, several colored men ran, and Joe, who seemed to be doing most of the cursing, ran towards East Rosemary Street north of West Franklin, followed by Officer Norwood. As they ran into Rosemary Street Joe fell into a stone culvert, and Officer Norwood went after him. During the scuffle and while Norwood was attempting to make the arrest, Joe got the advantage and got Norwood down and was about to cut him with a pocket knife. In order to protect himself and effect the arrest it was necessary to strike Joe on the head twice with a black jack, testified the officer. About this time Officer Yeargen came through from Franklin Street and assisted Officer Norwood in arresting Joe. They noticed that Joe had some head cuts and was bleeding some. In order to be sure they took him to Duke Hospital for X-Ray and examination. They found at the hospital that there was no serious head injury but that the colored boy was very much under the influence of liquor. The officers asked that he be kept under observation for the rest of the night at the hospital

¹⁸³. "Reverend Jones, Murchison, Believe That Community Will Benefit from Investigation," The Daily Tar Heel, LI (December 10, 1942), p. 3.

but were told by the doctors that they had no place for a drunk and to bring him on back to Chapel Hill, advising to have some stitches taken from the wound about the next Thursday that it was necessary for them to take in the wound. Joe was brought back to Chapel Hill by Norwood and Yeargen and placed in jail. He was released the following morning on bail. Upon being asked if there was any possibility of future trouble coming from the incident Officer Norwood stated that the man's mother said that they would be satisfied if allowed to pay a find. The knife above mentioned was taken from the prisoner and shown to the Board by Officer Norwood.

The Mayor cautioned the officers to always use care and diligence in making an arrest and to use force only when necessary.¹⁸⁴

It must be said that these cases reflect the editorial policy of The Daily Tar Heel quite as much as the dissatisfaction of the Negroes.

It does not seem that the proportion of cases of mistreatment by the police has increased significantly in the past ten or fifteen years. But with the increase in population there have been more arrests. To some observers it appears that mistreatment has increased about as arrests have increased, so that it has come to the attention of the Negro citizens more than before. Add to this the fact that patrolling of the Negro section is so irregular as not to be a sufficient deterrent to misconduct, and the belief of some of the Negroes that unfair means are used in getting confessions. The result is that the Negroes have become dissatisfied with the police system. The coming

184. Minute Book No. 7, January 20, 1943.

of Chief Sloan in 1935 improved conditions and so created more respect for the police force. Then there was a gradual decline in respect for certain individuals on the force, although the situation has probably been improved since January, 1944.

There is also general dissatisfaction and lack of regard for the court. The Negro citizens feel that there is no consideration given to members of their race, so that in cases involving white and Negro citizens, the Negro is already convicted before the trial. Installment paying of court fines, too, is felt by some of the law-abiding citizens to act as an incentive to crime. So there has developed dissatisfaction with court as well as police system.

Closely allied to this is the difficulty which local Negroes have had in getting warrants sworn out against white persons. It is said that half the local lawyers will not swear out such warrants.

As important as the truth or falsehood of these assumptions is the attitude of the Negro population and the effect upon race relations, which has not been good.

In the last few years great numbers of children have been staying out of school to work. Truancy became such a problem that the Civic Club in May, 1943, requested the Board of Aldermen to employ a truant officer, and in January, after the Hostess Club, Civic Club, and P. T. A. had

worked on the problem, Mr. Hubert Robinson was engaged as truant officer.

Some of the leading Negro citizens have been concerned that the members of their race vote. The Orange Night School had this as one objective. The C. I. O. has a political committee which has not yet been active in this field. The Hostess Club hopes to promote voting. And the Civic Club has actually done so in at least one instance, when it got out the Negro vote which swung the school election of 1930.

It is widely believed that some of the registrars turn Negroes away on one pretext and another, so that many local Negroes have found it so difficult to register that they no longer try. This is not always the case, however. Some registrars are quite considerate, and there are many white citizens who encourage the Negroes to vote.

Current registration books at the county seat, listing through May 16, 1942, record 90 Negroes from the community --77 from Chapel Hill (out of 683 persons 21 years of age or over) and 13 from Carrboro.

185. General Election Registration Books for North Chapel Hill, South Chapel Hill, and Carrboro Precincts, Chapel Hill Township, Orange County, N. C.

CHAPTER III

RELATION TO WHITE COMMUNITY AND UNIVERSITY

Economic and Cultural Influence

Well into the twentieth century the Negro population was dependent not only upon the University, which hired them as janitors, and upon the white families, who hired the women as maid, but particularly upon the students. For the dormitories were heated by fireplaces, and students had to furnish their own fuel, so that they hired Negro men to cut and haul firewood. There was no university laundry, so that a primary source of income for Negro families was the mothers' "taking in wash." At the beginning of this century there were still several white families who had Negroes attached to their land. As this custom has passed, the Negro area has become clearly defined.

There was little construction work on the University or the town to give employment until after 1890; the town was stable. Between 1900 and 1925 more progress was made than in all the town's previous history. The building of the state's first hard surfaced road between Durham and Chapel Hill in 1920 and 1921, while it was done largely by convict labor, affected the town as much as any other early public improvement.¹

1. Elizabeth G. Smith, "Public Welfare Problems of Chapel Hill," p. 4.

The 1921 legislature made an appropriation for a six-year expansion program for the University . With this fund the two men's quadrangles, the library, Spencer Hall, the laundry, and a number of classroom buildings were erected between 1922 and 1928. Although wages were not high, this did give steady employment to the Negro community, so that the whole decade was one of steady home improvement. Two or three hundred workers, mostly from the deeper South, came in at one time or another, and some of them have stayed.

The establishment of the laundry helped to depersonalize the relationship between Negroes and whites, particularly between students and servants. It made possible, too, the later unionization of this group of workers.

During this period the University offered cash prizes to janitors as an inducement to good work, two awards being made at the regular chapel exercises.²

Another major building program was that of the P. W. A. and the W. P. A. from 1934 to 1938. At this time the three women's dormitories, four other dormitories--Stacy, Alexander, Whitehead, and Bryan--the gymnasium, the zoology and medical buildings, the new power plant, and the Carolina Inn Extension were erected.³

2. "Prizes for Negroes," The Chapel Hill Weekly, II (June 5, 1924), p. 1.

3. Interview, Dr. Frank Graham, August 8, 1943.

The influx of population in connection with the war effort has given employment to the Negroes of the town. Wages of maids have been raised from about \$10 to \$15 a week. The laundry force has tripled. And whereas the cotton mill in Carrboro had hired no more than a dozen Negroes up until it closed during the depression, the National Munitions Corporation is hiring Negroes. Lately, however, many there have been demoted from jobs at 80 and 90 cents an hour to 50 or 60 cent jobs.

Chapel Hill Negroes have benefitted from University lectures and concerts more since about 1930 than they did before that time.

Before about 1932 few books were loaned to Negroes by the library; an occasional book would be borrowed by a minister or person connected with the Orange County Training School by his going to the librarian's office or having a janitor ask for the book. The library charged a fee to lend books to persons of the community as well as to white townspeople. There is now no charge, and since about 1932 Negroes have borrowed more books and have simply been given books at the circulation desk.⁴

4. Interview, Mr. L. R. Wilson, August 12, 1943.

Race Attitudes

Except for the Presbyterian Sunday School for Negroes conducted after the Civil War, the guidance of the freed slaves was largely taken over by Northerners. Then there was a reaction against "reconstruction" on the part of the white populace. After the Civil War "the negro question was 'full of dynamite.'" The personal and moral influence of the white people did not obtain then in the way in which it did when the negro was in slavery. The satisfactory social and industrial relations of slavery times had become strained and often broken." It was not unknown for University students to whip Negroes for impudence.⁵ A Northern woman who came to teach Negroes and who lived with them was a social outcaste, so that for a long time her name was hardly mentioned above a whisper by the respectable people.

Yet for a time before the turn of the century the two groups were amicable. From the beginning of publication in 1893 to 1898 The Chapel Hill News published impartially occurrences among both Negro and white persons in Chapel Hill. In 1898, though, race became a political question. Democrats were running on a "White Supremacy" platform against a Populist-Republican fusion. In that year the

5. Stuart Willis, "A Glimpse at the Other Half," The University Magazine, XL (April, 1914), p. 276.

paper began dotting its pages with such little articles as the following: "How are you going to vote? White man or Negro? WHICH? Shame on the man who deserts his color in this crisis." "Let White Men give preference to White Labor and extend the same preference in other patronage in the future. Some few white men are swinging between White Supremacy and Negroism solely to retain and gain colored trade. They are spotted."⁶ A local incident was played up as a political question: "A Beautiful Young Married Woman Elopes with a Rough, Thick-lipped, Repulsive Negro"--which was to be expected, since the woman's husband and father were Republicans, and the latter "has been associating and mixing with negroes for years, and has always appeared to be apprehensive that the negro's rights would be taken from him."⁷

Soon race relations were quiet again, probably smoother on the surface than today, so that some citizens feel that the situation was better. The village was quite small, so that it was almost literally true that everybody knew everybody. Individual white people and Negroes might be good friends. One of the first things Phillips Russell saw on coming to Chapel Hill in 1900 was Dr. Noble and a

6. The Chapel Hill News, IV (November 4, 1898), pp. 1, 41

7. "A Shocking Affair!" The Chapel Hill News, IV (November 4, 1898), p. 1.

Negro man laughing and talking as they rode along together. Nevertheless, the white people still did not have a high opinion of the Negro race as such. Colored people were considered inferior, as born servants. Individual families cared for poor Negroes, and if one were known to be in trouble, something would be done for him, but the white man did not inquire deeply into the problems of the Negro; they had to be obvious to be relieved.

The relationship between the races was not only more personal but also more paternalistic than now. It has been mentioned that after 1900 several white families still had Negro families attached to the household. Even where this was not the case there was an employee loyalty more general than that today. As one faculty member says, "I don't know anybody that I have got the same hold on today that I had then. . . . They look a good deal more at what I am going to pay them and at their obligations to somebody else."

The period just before the first World War was one of increased emphasis upon practical expression of good will. The students' forming of a bucket brigade to use in the Negro district and the Y. M. C. A.'s night school and Sunday Schools are important not only in their immediate effects but also because they show a changing attitude

toward race. Nevertheless, it was constantly pointed out that this work was not to promote social equality or to make servants dissatisfied with their position. Stuart Willis, in writing of the program he headed, said that the Negro's "awakened self-mastery, racial integrity and racial respect will create in him, not the scorn of a servant's life, but will raise in him an ambition to be a more reliable servant, a more efficient janitor, a more responsible cook, a more consistent brick layer."⁸ The sympathy of white Chapel Hill was elicited by emphasizing the beneficial effect that improvement of the Negro would have upon the white community.

We are realizing that our economic and civil life is advanced or retarded by his conditions of living. He washes our clothes in his home. Shall his home be sanitary and free from disease? He prepares our food. Shall he have some knowledge of cleanliness and sanitation? He nurses our children. Shall we be concerned about the moral example he sets for for child. We have seen the "folly of northern tutelage." His help must come from the intelligent southern white people, and the benevolent endeavor of these people is gradually asserting itself. . . . We are recognizing our social obligation to ourselves thru the negro and our obligation to him for his own sake.⁹

This attitude is reflected later in the Community Club's insistence that employing a Negro nurse improves health

8. Willis, op. cit., p. 277.

9. Ibid., p. 279.

conditions in the white community more than employing a white nurse had done. More r ecently, Colonel Pratt stated: "Very little observation is necessary to convince us of the great comparative disadvantages under which the negroes of Chapel Hill are living. In fact, the conditions under which they live have at times threatened our own physical, social, and moral well-being."¹⁰

The affectionate condescension with which the whites viewed those Negroes with whom they came in close contact in the early part of the century is illustrated in the announcement of the death of a University janitor: "'Horny-Handed' Henry Smith, janitor at the University for 21 years and ringer of the college bell 16 years, died January 30th. His familiar figure and shuffling gait have been missed on the campus since the opening. . . . The class of 1909 at its reunion during commencement of 1914 conferred upon Henry the degree of L. L. D. D. (Learned, Loyal Ding Donger)."¹¹

The close relationship between employer and employee was general until the '20's, with Negroes looking to their employers to help them out of scrapes. One such incident which occurred in 1918 was related by Mr. L. R. Wilson. When a janitor who had worked for him was arrested on a

10. Joseph Hyde Pratt et al., letter for canvass of town, February 22, 1941.

11. "'Horny-Handed' Henry Passes," Alumni Review, V (October, 1916), p. 13.

charge of forging checks, Mr. Wilson wrote to the judge asking that the man be let off, since he was a "good janitor, but just would steal." Thereupon the Negro was paroled to work for his own father. This same thing goes on now, perhaps in not as flagrant a form, when white men's testifying in court to the good work done by a Negro man receives more weight than Negroes' testifying that he is an irresponsible citizen.

Some of the local Negroes feel that the introduction of colored workers from further south in the 1920's was the signal for disintegration of smooth race relations. As one man puts it, "If you look at any of these colored people who grew up here, you'll notice they always tip their hats when they meet a white man. But these immigrants didn't have any respect for anybody." Brought in for lower wages, they would stay until they had a little money; they would then stop work or even leave town. Most of this element has moved out by now, only the better citizens among them remaining.

After saying that there was once a close tie between a white man and the Negro who worked for him, it may seem inconsistent to say that the two races have come to understand one another better. But their jobs both on the campus and in town have brought them into closer contact for the

past 25 or 30 years, so that there has been an increased appreciation of members of both races as persons, not as stereotypes.

One Negro leader feels that his people have too little race consciousness. As he puts it, they had rather go to a white man for money or a job and be turned down than go to a Negro and succeed. Comparing this with the situation in other towns such as Durham, it seems that the small size and stability of the town, as well as the dependence of the Negro community upon the University, has caused the people to be over-dependent upon the white community.

The matter of titles for Negroes came to a head with an embarrassing situation in 1926. Up to that time the principal of the school had been called "Principal" or "Professor", not "Mister", and teachers had not been called "Miss." Two women from the Community Club went to the Training School to distribute seals to teachers. One of the white women, forgetting a teacher's first name, turned to a student to ask what it was and then addressed the teacher by her given name. A few days later all the seals were sent back to the Community Club untouched with a note that the woman had been discourteous to one of the teachers. The Southern women of the club were both perplexed and indignant. But after that the regular titles were used.

At the present time there is interest in the problems of the Negro community as concerns of the entire town, as is evidenced by the move for a Community Center and the attempt to get a housing project. This does not show, however, quite the open pragmatism of earlier moves which stressed primarily the indirect beneficial effects upon the white community. Probably establishment of the Central Welfare Committee in 1929 and its reestablishment as the Health and Welfare Council in 1936 after a period of inactivity has been as significant as any development showing this attitude. In spite of this, however, some of the Negro leaders feel that interracial good will--particularly from the Negro's point of view--has suffered a setback in recent years because of the treatment given by the police and the court.

The Negroes have been taking more and more initiative in programs for community betterment. In the "Y" work of 1913 there was no mention of Negroes' taking the lead except that it was their interest in the Sunday Schools which caused the students to attempt the night school. It was not until the third year of the Orange Night School held in the '30's that a president from the Negro group was elected. On the other hand, Nurse Compton, as early as the 1920's, took her own initiative, seldom calling on white people for anything but financial assistance. White

women did not even suggest that the present Red Cross surgical dressing room be set up, and they kept hands off until the Negro women themselves had found a room and enrolled enough members to be recognized. Even when the white women visit the surgical dressing room now, they go as guests, not directors. Heretofore the Negro community has looked to the whites for educational programs, but now the union is planning a program of education for citizenship in which it will use its own resources. Progress has not been consistent, however; the union still depends a great deal upon white leadership, and the Health Club was formed at the instigation of the Health Department. The process of developing initiative in the Negroes has been two-sided; quite as hard as the task of developing initiative has been the task of teaching the white people not simply to "do good".¹²

Although Booker T. Washington, the Hampton Quartet, Major R. R. Moton, and James Weldon Johnson had been to the campus before, the first interracial meal on University property was at the opening banquet in Graham Memorial in the early 1930's, when some 150 persons, including 67 Negro students, were entertained. The "Y" then held interracial meals from time to time until two years ago, when interracial meals or use of common toilet facilities was banned by executive rule.

12. Interview, Mrs. Russell M. Grumman, August 6, 1943.

With this exception--and the executive order was not written by Dr. Graham--under the present administration the attitude of the University on matters of race has been liberal, advocating step by step improvement. The janitors, maids, and laundry workers here are paid as well as any comparable groups in the state, yet the administration still wishes to increase wages. The State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, since they cannot usually demand a closed shop, rely upon strong industrial unions to keep government administrators from destroying their locals. Since Chapel Hill has no strong union, it is the attitude of the administration itself which protects the local.

Probably the severest test over the question of race that any Southern university has experienced was precipitated in 1936 when Dr. E. E. Ericson, of the English faculty, dined at a Durham Negro hotel with Ford, the Negro candidate for the vice-presidency on the Communist ticket. Faculty, trustees, and the state of North Carolina were largely united in demanding that Ericson be dismissed from the faculty. The attitude of the student body and the administration, including Dr. Graham, was that, regardless of the wisdom of his action, the teacher should be protected. For two years there were demands that he be removed, but the administration weathered the storm.

A clear idea of the present position of the administration on the issue of race may be gained by presenting in its entirety a broadcast made to Great Britain by Dr. Graham July 11, 1943.

In these historic July days and on this occasion of our brief discussion of some aspects of the recent progress of the American negro we recall that Britain peacefully decreed the liberation of all the slaves in the empire two decades before Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. We salute the little island, which, to prevent the new enslavement of mankind, for a year alone and undaunted, bared its breast to the full impact of the Nazi fury. America in grim remembrance now sends her sons to all the fronts of freedom and in grateful appreciation sends her prayers and her sons to join the men of the sea and air who keep ceaseless watch about the island home of our American civil liberties and of modern democracy now embattled all over the world.

In this global struggle there is no more loyal group of our fellow citizens than the American Negroes, North and South. In defense of America they spring to arms in the spirit of Dorie Miller of Texas, the negro mess boy who, when the machine gunner on the "Arizona" was shot down, jumped to his place and shot the last rounds while the ship was sinking in Pearl Harbor. Whether as fighting men or for production of food and munitions, America needs the Negro and the Negro needs the equal opportunity to work and fight for America. The Negro is necessary for winning the war and is a test of our sincerity in the cause for which we are fighting. Any lag of the Negro becomes a handicap to our whole nation; any progress of the Negro becomes a reinforcement of our democracy.

In reviewing some points in the recent progress of the Negro in the United States we must have a sense of historical perspective in America and of interracial relations in other parts of

the world. We see the progress of the Negro against a background of slavery, unjust discriminations, legal segregation, and of racial imperialism whether in the United States of America or in the Union of South Africa. The problem of the races is basically not so much a matter of sections and regions as it is a matter of numbers, whether in Atlanta, Detroit, or Johannesburg. In spite of all the handicaps of the old slavery and the new discriminations, the Negro in the United States has compressed the most progress in the shortest time of any race in human history. Slavery gave the Negro his Christianity. Christianity gave the Negro his freedom. This freedom must give the Negro equal rights to home and health, education and citizenship, and the equal opportunity to develop, to work and to fight for our common country.

Despite the Ku Klux Klan in the deep South, or the race riots in the mid-west, the Negro is on the march on all fronts. The lynchings of Negroes in the United States have decreased from 57 in 1920 to 5 in 1941. The life span of the American Negro has increased in 10 years from 49 to 55 years. Illiteracy among Negroes has declined from 70% in 1880 to 10% in 1940. In my own state of North Carolina, the recent legislature provided a 12 year - 9 months state supported school system for both the white and colored children, and in 3 years will complete the program for the equalization of pay of the teachers in both negro and white schools, long separated by the Constitution and the Laws of the State. In 4 years the increase in the salary of negro teachers in public schools is from \$120 per month for 8 months, to \$145 per month for 9 months. The University of North Carolina and Duke University are cooperating in helping provide professional and graduate work at the North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham. In the last decade, more negroes graduated from American colleges and universities than in all the previous history of the race. North Carolina long ago led the way in abolishing the Poll Tax as a prerequisite for voting and, consequently, a gradually increasing number of educationally qualified Negroes are voting each year in the primary and general elections in that State.

The Negro in America has, in recent years, won more opportunities in industries, education, the professions, in military and naval services than in any other part of the earth or in any other period of history. On June 25, 1941, the President issued an executive order providing for equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin. Last month the National War Labor Board abolished wage discriminations against colored laborers and granted special wage increases to negro workers which placed them on a basis of economic equality with the white workers in the same classification in line with the general policy of the Board; with prophetic Americanism; and with the cause of the United Nations.

Economic and political discrimination on account of race or creed is in line with the Nazi program. America, in the days of its infant weakness the haven of heretics and the oppressed of all races, must not in the days of its power become the stronghold of bigots. The world has given America the vigor and variety of its differences. America should protect and enrich its differences for the sake of America and the world. Understanding religious and racial differences makes for a better understanding of other differences and for an appreciation of the sacredness of human personality, as basic to human freedom. The American answer to differences in color and creed is not a concentration camp but cooperation. The answer to error is not terror but light and liberty under the moral law. By this light and liberty, the Negro has made a contribution in work and faith, song and story, laughter and struggle which are an enduring part of the spiritual heritage of America.

The American Negro is in the forefront of the fight against any Fascist trends in America, and is in the forward march of the Peoples' Revolution against the counter march of the Fascist Revolution. Above all discriminations and sufferings, the Negro holds on to the persistent hope of human brotherhood, reaching across 2,000 years, with spiritual momentum against the counter revolution reaching around the earth.

More hundreds of millions of colored peoples in the United States are involved in the outcome of this global war than the combined populations of the Axis Powers. Under Hitler and his Master Race, their movement is backward to slavery and despair. In America and in the United Nations, the colored peoples have the freedom to struggle for freedom. With the victory of the democracies, human destiny is toward freedom, equality of opportunity, and the gradual fulfillment for all peoples of the noblest aspirations of the brothers of men and sons of God without regard to color or creed, region or race in the world neighborhood of human brotherhood.¹³

An opinion written by Dr. Graham for the National War Labor Board in the case of Southport Petroleum Company of Delaware and Oil Workers' International Union, Local 499, may also be quoted in part:

In this small but significant case the National War Labor Board abolishes the classification "colored laborer" and "white laborer" and reclassifies both simply as "laborers" with the same rates of pay for all in that classification without discrimination on account of color. The Negro workers in this classification are hereby granted wage increases which place them on a basis of economic parity with the white workers in the same classification. This wage increase is made without regard to the "Little Steel" formula, but with regard simply for the democratic formula of equal pay for work equal in quantity and quality in the same classification. This equalization of economic opportunity is not a violation of the sound American provision of differentials in pay for differences in skills. It is rather a bit of realization of the no less sound American principle of equal pay for equal work as one of those equal rights in the promise of American democracy regardless of color, race, sex, religion, or national origin.¹⁴

13. Frank Graham, "Script for Shortwave Broadcast to Britain Sunday, July 11, 1943.)

14. National War Labor Board, Case No. 2898-CS-D, June 4, 1943.

But this high idealism concerning the Negro's economic opportunities and his place in the war effort is not reflected by all of the townspeople. While there has always been a considerable amount of complaint about the incompetence of servants, the influx of navy men and increased work of the laundry have caused an acute shortage of servants. Many of the townswomen think the University and the navy wives pay too much and believe the navy wives use unfair means to secure maids, but they do not seem to blame the servants themselves for taking better pay. There is some feeling that workers are becoming "uppity". One white woman related with disdain how one Negro woman told another, "I left my former employer because I can get better pay from the navy wife. But best of all, she calls me 'Missus Jones.'"

CHAPTER IV

PLANNING

Present Zoning Ordinances and Planning Committees

Before 1900 the town had established a fire district and an area in which hogs could not be kept, and early in this century a sanitary district was established with regulations on disposal of waste matter. At first these districts were so delineated as to exclude the Negro areas, but gradually they were changed so that the Negro community is treated, at least theoretically, as any residential or business area.

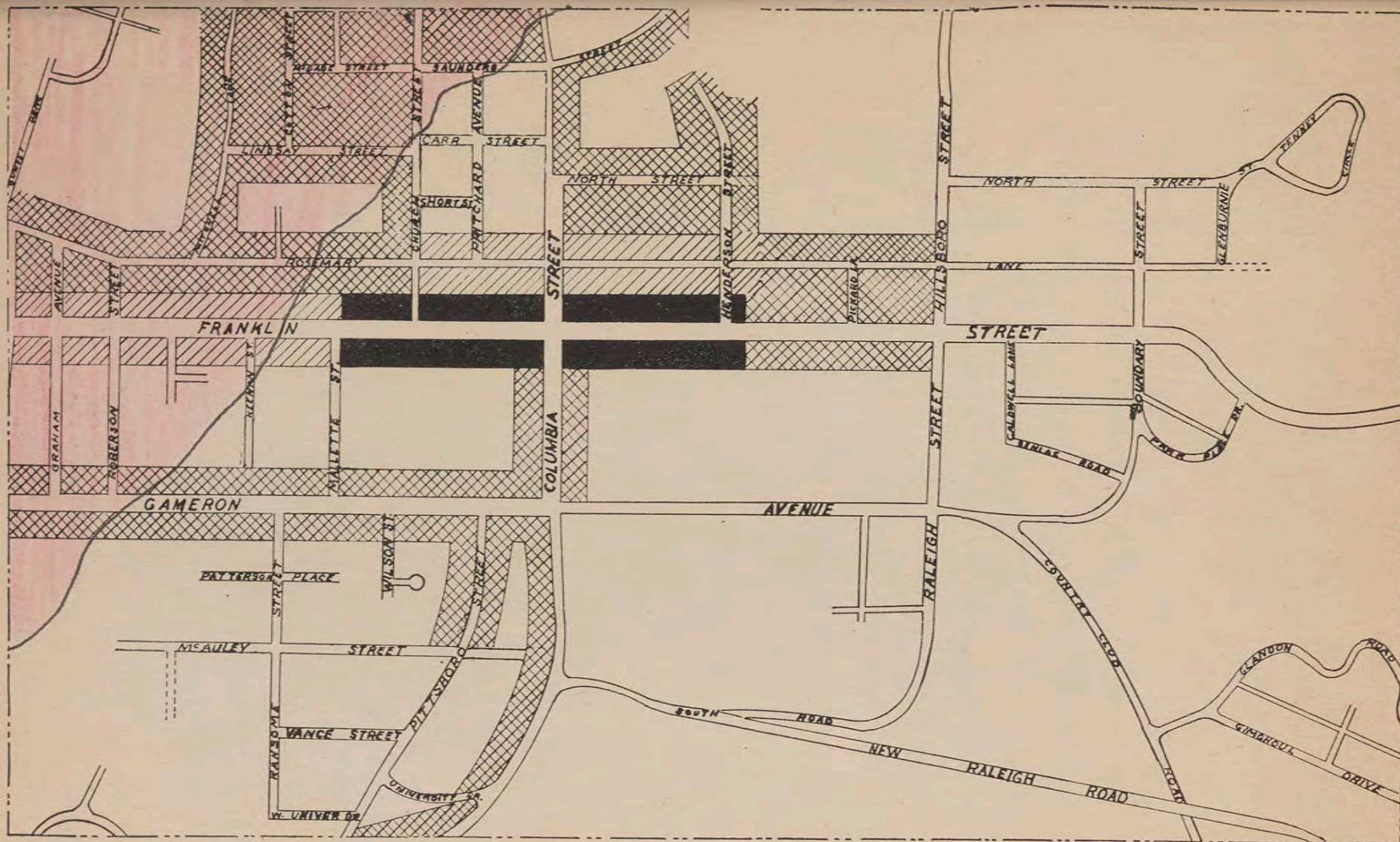
In 1928 the first comprehensive zoning of the village was begun. It was then divided into four classes of zones according to the uses to which buildings could be put. A Board of Adjustment was created to consider special cases and requests for re-zoning, and the zones have been enlarged and contracted as seemed necessary. But the activities permitted in each type of area have remained stable. In the "A" residential zone no building may be constructed or converted for any industrial, manufacturing, trade or commercial purpose or for any other than one or more of the following purposes: customary home occupations such as laundering, hairdressing, etc; churches; schools; playgrounds; hospitals; farms; etc. In the "B" residential zone no building may be constructed or converted for any industrial,

manufacturing, trade or commercial purpose or for any other than one or more of the following purposes: uses permitted in zone "A"; hotels; cafes; lodges and community centers of a non-commercial nature. In business zone number 1 no building may be constructed or converted for any industrial or manufacturing purpose or for any other than one or more of the following purposes: uses permitted in residential zones; retail stores, shoe shops, barber shops, filling stations; public utility service and storage yards; etc. In business zone number 2 no building can be constructed or converted except as specified below: for any use allowed in other zones; wholesale or retail stores or warehouses; newspaper offices; light manufacturing or processing operations; etc.¹ The map on the following page, while inaccurate and out of date, will give some idea of the delineation of zones. The zoning regulations seem to have been enforced fairly throughout the village.

In 1930 the aldermen ordered "that the present Board of Adjustment be empowered to act as a Planning Commission for the Town of Chapel Hill, making recommendations to the Board of Aldermen in regard to Zoning, and in regard to future development of the Town, the establishment of Parks and Playgrounds, the location of Public Alleys, and all other things affecting the general Welfare of the community."²

1. Board of Aldermen, Chapel Hill, N. C., Minute Book No. 5, May 17, 1928.

2. Minute Book No. 6, May 14, 1930.







BUILDING ZONE


MAP OF

TOWN OF CHAPEL HILL N.C.

SCALE 1" = 500

LEGEND

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|------|
|  | A | RESIDENCE | ZONE |
|  | B | RESIDENCE | ZONE |
|  | | BUSINESS | No 1 |
|  | | BUSINESS | No 2 |

 Negro area

On November 3, 1941, the Board of Aldermen created the Chapel Hill Planning made up of five citizens living in Chapel Hill or within a mile of the town limits, "whose duty it shall be to make a careful study of the resources, possibilities and needs of the Town, particularly with respect to the conditions which may be injurious to the public welfare or otherwise injurious, and to make plans for the development of the municipality." More specifically, it would (a) recommend acquisition of the property in the stream valleys around Chapel Hill that are unsuitable for building sites but suitable for parks, and develop and care for such parks; (b) study and plan future zoning, although carrying out of zoning ordinances must be left to the existing Board of Adjustment; (c) stimulate improvement of appearance of streets, especially in the business section; (d) work in close cooperation with property owners, the Merchants' Association, and civic clubs. The Planning Board was ordered to make an annual report to the Board of Aldermen, giving information regarding the condition of the town and any proposals for the development of the town, with estimates of costs.³

One of the first jobs of the Planning Board was to draw up specifications requiring new buildings in the main

3. Ibid., November 3, 1941.

business block to conform to the Williamsburg style of architecture. Advising in the design of the new Carolina Theater was considered a major accomplishment of the group.

On August 11, 1943, Mayor Madry read to the Board of Aldermen a letter from Dr. Howard W. Odum suggesting that a committee be appointed to study the colored community situation. The mayor appointed the following committee:

From the Town Board:	R. J. M. Hobbs R. B. Fitch
From the white group:	Rev. C. M. Jones P. W. Wager T. F. Hickerson Mrs. W. C. Coker
From the Negro civic group:	Charles Craig Mrs. Frances Hargraves
From the University group:	Guy Johnson H. W. Odum
From the student group	Howard McClain Charles Freeman Ruth Lynch ⁴

* * *

Program for Future Development

For thirty years the Negro community in Chapel Hill has had the advantage of programs emanating from the University. Conditions have been alleviated, but fundamental problems remain. Using the experience already gained through working on community conditions as discrete problems, it

4. Minute Book No. 7, August 11, 1943.

is time to attempt evaluation and integration of various efforts into a united program. It is becoming obvious that attention must be given to the relation between the school and the Community Center. Public health, public welfare, housing, and industrial development must be thought of together. Church programs must take the Community Center into account.

As one citizen put it, "What's the use of talking about health? It's all right when you tell folks they should see the doctor at the clinic, or when you tell them they should get a vaccination which the Health Department provides. But when you talk to them about eating the proper food when they don't have money to buy it, what good does that do? It may make them worse off than before, because they become dissatisfied with what they have when they have no way to change it."

Evaluation and planning to meet needs of the community is clearly needed. But the nature of the task is such that no planning body can be set up nor any program pushed through according to strict blueprint. Four types of suggestions for community organization and development are here offered. Their importance is in inverse proportion to their definiteness.

First and most important is the underlying assumption that whatever is done in the way of organizing or of carrying out a program should come from the "grass roots," from a "felt need." If there is any value in such a study as this, it is, in the first place, that it presents to others in Chapel Hill some of the problems of the Negro citizens along with a few of the solutions they themselves believe would work, and, in the second place, that it presents to the Negro citizens suggestions for future development of their community which can form the basis for discussion and further thought on their part. But the blueprints for action and the method of approach here laid out are only suggestions. The citizens themselves must feel their problems before they will be solved, and they must think out the best solutions in the light of present and future patterns of community life.⁵

In the second place, before machinery for meeting community problems can be perfected, there must be on the part of the Negro citizens themselves (and the white citizens where they are involved) an appraisal of their major problems and discussion of ways to unite the community in meeting the situation. It is suggested that the group to

5. Cf. Edmund deS. Brunner, Community Organization and Adult Education, p. 116; Emory S. Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership, p. 22; T. N. Whitehead, Leadership in a Free Society, pp. 255 ff.

study problems of the Negro community ask the Civic Club, Hostess Club, Ministerial Alliance, and Parent-Teacher Association to devote at least one meeting to discussing community problems, listing resources, and suggesting solutions which would meet the approval of the Negro citizens. They would be asked to list activities which should be undertaken during the war, aims for the period immediately after the armistice, and long-range goals for which the community is not yet prepared. In all of this discussion emphasis must be placed upon the fact that, while part of the plan should look into the distant future, attainable goals must be outlined step by step. Quite as much emphasis must be placed upon those steps which are within the power of the Negro community to take alone as upon steps for which government aid is necessary. Delegates from each group which takes up this study should meet to write a report, which would be referred back to the various organizations for revision. If it is requested, the Institute for Research in Social Science should furnish a student to help prepare the final report.

In the meantime, the white community should be informed through the newspaper of what is going on, although detailed reports would not be necessary. It should be shown that the planning being done by the Negro community is only part of a total town program.

In the third place, proper machinery for analyzing and meeting community needs must be set up. The form of this will depend upon available resources as seen by the citizens and upon purposes they define. Suggestions for a Community Council will be presented in this paper.

Finally, there is presented here a "blueprint" for social action. This represents the gleanings from one study. But any action program must be based upon the desires of the people affected, so that the report made by members of the community should carry more weight than this, and the gradually unfolding plan for the community may be quite different from the suggestions presented here.

One assumption underlying the following proposals for planning groups is that a disorganized community cannot cooperate effectively in a town program. By comparison with the Negro community, the white community of Chapel Hill knows what it wants and has some of the necessary machinery for getting it, since the town government, public health department, public welfare department, University, and other agencies are operated by white citizens. If they are to contribute their fair share in united town effort, the Negro community must first become integrated. This does not mean that its life should be so separated from that of the town at large or that segregation should

be thus tightened; it means that the community must develop to the point where it can work with the other communities on a basis of equality. It is outside the scope of this paper to say what program would be needed for the white community in Carrboro, but it is felt that citizens from the two towns should work together on common problems.

It is suggested that there be two sorts of community planning bodies: a Negro Community Council with representatives from Chapel Hill and Carrboro, and a Chapel Hill-Carrboro Planning Board representing both races. Both would serve in an advisory capacity to the agencies and organizations in its locality. They would have no authority over any local organizations but would have three general functions: (1) advising any existing organizations when invited to do so, (2) assisting in coordination of programs of various groups while not dictating policies, and (3) encouraging organizations and agencies to undertake programs which fall outside the field of all existing groups. The Chapel Hill-Carrboro Planning Board, if could, would work for the betterment of all areas of town, although at first it would probably be concerned especially with the Negro area because of its disproportionate share of physical and social problems.

Each planning board would be composed of representatives from the various organizations and agencies of the locality. So far as possible, each occupational group, race, and neighborhood should be represented proportionally, although membership would not be on all of these bases.

The major part of the work of a local planning body is usually accomplished through standing committees on each of the areas of activity in which there is need for planning. These committees should be composed of representatives of the different agencies and organizations concerned with this field of activity, in addition to persons from the various segments of the population, particularly those most directly affected by the programs and activities being planned and coordinated. The chairman of such a committee should, as a rule, be an outstanding lay citizen not directly connected with any of the agencies with which the committee is concerned. The committee studies the situation in the community, identifies needs and problems, decides what should be done to meet these needs and problems, develops recommendations, works to get these recommendations accepted and followed, continually restudies the situation, and makes new recommendations.

. . . many counties and communities already have planning groups in one or several of the areas of activity in which local planning is needed. Duplicating committees should not be set up. Rather these existing groups -- be they a housing authority, committee on economic development, council of social agencies, land use planning committee, welfare council or what not -- should be affiliated with the over-all planning body and utilized to the greatest possible extent. In some instances only a loose sort of affiliation will be desirable as well established planning groups will not want to lose their identity. Again enlargement of membership or scope of the specialized planning group may be necessary to serve the broader objectives of the over-all planning body. The important point is that the

decisions of the specialized planning groups should be considered in light of all other current planning in the locality and that this group should have representation on the over-all planning body.

Recommendations of standing committees and of affiliated specialized planning groups are referred to the over-all planning body for consideration and action. At this point the planning in any one area of activity can be related to the planning in other areas, and in this way an over-all, balanced, coordinated and integrated plan for the locality emerges.⁶

The Negro Community Council of Chapel Hill and Carrboro would be composed of the following voting members: the principal of the Orange County Training School, the president of the student body, the Negro policeman, one of the directors of the Community Center, one farmer, and one representative elected or appointed by each of the following organizations: Local 403 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers, the American Federation of Labor local, the Civic Club, the Hostess Club, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Health Club, and the Ministerial Alliance. In addition, any chairman of a committee who is not included in the above list of citizens would be added to the Council.

Three officers would be elected from the group: president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer.

6. Gordon W. Blackwell, "Local Planning," Work Memorandum, March 31, 1944, pp. 7-9.

As a private organization, the Community Council would depend upon private contributions from the community or try to get an endowment. Since its function is advisory, expenses should not be large.

Most of the work would be done through standing committees composed of at least one member of the Council plus non-members. Each committee would elect its own officers. As a broad principal, it seems inadvisable to set up new committees to perform jobs already handled by other organizations, or even to perform jobs which could be done through an expansion of the programs of existing organizations. But a number of questions must be asked in each case: Is the membership of the existing group representative of various local interests, or can it be made so? Is so much of its function the carrying out of state and national programs that it does not have time or freedom to perform a local job? What is the prestige of the organization? If this one body were chosen as a committee, would another organization of similar interest be left unrepresented? Proposed committees are:

(1) Executive Committee, composed of the three officers, who would meet before each Council meeting to prepare an agenda. The president, with the approval of the Executive Committee, could call a meeting at any time. This

committee would act as a liaison between the Negro Community Council and the Planning Board or the town government. It would also be a contact group for various persons from the University wanting to carry on programs in the Negro community, either field work which might be a project of the Division of Social Work, social service through the Y. M. C. A., or research as done by students in different departments. University students should be discouraged from carrying on programs in the community without working through this channel. This committee would also keep membership up-to-date by recommending to the Council that new civic organizations be invited to send delegates and that inactive groups no longer be represented.

(2) Education Committee to coordinate the work of the school with adult education and to enlist community support of the school. Adult education courses could be sponsored from time to time. A major function should be education for voting. The truant officer's job can be made more effective through the cooperation of a group such as this. The Education Committee should include one student from the staff of The Orange Echo so that any of the programs of the Community Council can receive publicity through it. The local P. T. A., which includes other interested citizens as well as parents of school children, has been concerned

with community problems since its inception. Careful consideration should be given to the possibility of simply using it as an Education Committee.

(3) Recreation Committee composed of the directors of the Community Center, a Boy Scout and a Girl Scout, one of the business men operating a commercial recreation center, and about four representatives from the various neighborhoods--Tintop or Southwest Lane, Potters Field or Sunset, Windy Hill, and West Franklin Street. The primary function of this committee would be to advise the Recreation Commission as to needs and uses of the Community Center and the park. Community sings, athletic contests, and picnics and hikes could be planned through this group. It would also work with the Education Committee to make recreational facilities of the Training School available to the community and to coordinate the program of the school with the Community Center.

(4) The Health Club, which would act as a health committee. Membership should probably be expanded to include men as well as women. The major function, as now, would be cooperation with the public health program, and there should be a constant evaluation of that program in terms of community needs. The Health Club could cooperate with the Education

Committee in arranging for hot lunches to be provided for school children and in keeping up the nurse's room at the school. A health education program for adults could be planned by the two committees.

(5) Welfare Committee, which would confer with county welfare workers, Red Cross, and the King's Daughters in an attempt to coordinate efforts and to make more complete coverage of areas of need than agencies can do by operating separately. This group, more than the interracial Welfare Committee, could be a liaison between the community and existing agencies, publicizing the various welfare services through the paper and a leaflet and telling how they can serve individuals.

(6) Religion Committee, including all of the ministers and a layman from each church. This committee would attempt to coordinate further the various church programs. A major function would be to enable the churches to utilize more fully and cooperate better with other community programs.

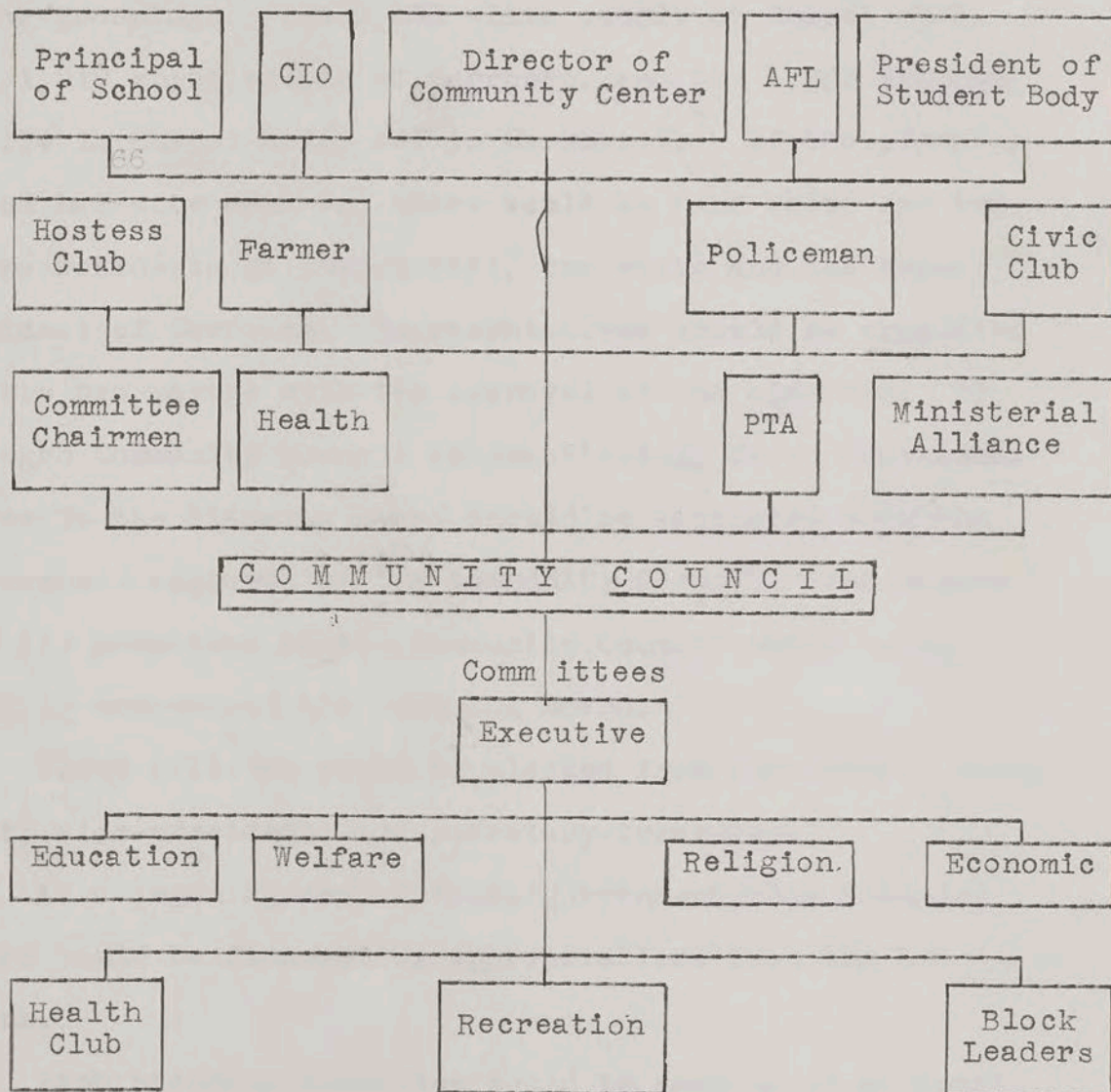
(7) Block leaders as set up for Civilian Defense. This network of neighborhood leaders, under the direction of the Community Council, would have two functions: to give voice to views and interests of the different sections of the community, and to enlist the cooperation of the neighborhoods in any undertaking approved by the Community.

Council. Seals sales and other canvasses could be carried on through the block leaders.

(8) Economic Committee representing business, agriculture, and the unions. A primary function would be finding out to what extent Chapel Hill is a shopping and social center for Negro farmers and making community services more readily available to them. Another function would be to present to the Planning Board definite information about economic discrimination against Negroes and work with them to break this. The Economic Committee and Education Committee together might work out a plan whereby high school students can get practical experience in industry and business.

The Negro Community Council of Chapel Hill and Carrboro, then, would function according to the diagram shown on the following page.

Regular meetings might be held monthly, with called meetings at any time the Executive Committee deems it necessary. At the present time there are two planning bodies in Chapel Hill: the Chapel Hill Planning Board and the group appointed by the Mayor last August to study conditions in the Negro community. It seems necessary at this time to keep the two groups. However, as soon as possible they should be combined into one Chapel Hill-Carrboro Planning Board.



Representation should be proportional for the three major groupings: the 2,530 white people of Chapel Hill, the 1,018 white people of Carrboro, and the 1,861 Negroes (1,124 in Chapel Hill, 437 in Carrboro).⁷ If the planning board had nine members, there would be four white and two Negro residents of Chapel Hill, two white and one Negro resident of Carrboro. Representatives should be appointed by the two mayors with the approval of the aldermen. If a Negro Community Council is functioning, Negro representatives to the Planning Board should be appointed with the advice and approval of the Community Council. The mayors and the president of the Community Council would be ex officio members of the Planning Board.

Three officers would be elected from the group: president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer.

As a legal agency of local government, the Planning Board would be financed by appropriations from the two towns.

Each standing committee would be made up of at least one member of the Planning Board and non-members. The three major communities should be represented on each of the committees except the Executive Committee. The following committees are proposed:

7. As of 1940.

- (1) Executive Committee, made up of the three officers.
- (2) Recreation Commission. It is important that this be expanded to include Negroes. Means should be found to plan the parks and the Community Center as parts of a whole program.
- (3) Education Committee to plan use of facilities of the three schools and the University.
- (4) Health Committee.
- (5) Welfare Committee including representatives from the major agencies working in the town. It would be very helpful if the welfare organizations and agencies could agree on basic principles of relief administration so that their approaches can complement one another better.
- (6) Ministerial Alliance.
- (7) Committee on Economic Development to coordinate business, industry, and agriculture. A major job would be to suggest industrial development and construction jobs in accordance with employment needs.
- (8) Public Works Committee to coordinate programs of the two towns and the University. A member of the local Housing Authority would be on this committee.
- (9) Block leaders as set up under the Civilian Defense program.
- (10) Research Committee to channel resources of the University and government in studying local conditions.

The town limit should be extended northward to include McMasters Street, running eastward parallel to Franklin Street as far as the airport highway. The town limit of either Chapel Hill or Carrboro should be extended to include the Knolls and Southwest Lane.

In planning the layout of streets several principles have been kept in mind. Most of the people of the community want to live "close in." The Community Center, school, and business section should form a nucleus for the settlement. As it is now, the business district and Community are located centrally, while the school is on the periphery. Population growth, therefore, should be encouraged in the direction of the school insofar as this is compatible with the need to live close to one's work. On main thoroughfares wide, straight streets with corners at right angles are desirable. But in residential areas, through traffic is not best, so that gently curving streets, sometimes with dead ends, may be preferable. This is the reason McDade Street is not extended to Mitchell Lane, Mitchell Lane to Franklin Street, nor Duke Street to Sunset Drive. (See proposed streets on map in the appendix.)

Every Negro citizen of Chapel Hill and Carrboro seems to realize the need for a street to connect the Community Center with the school. This street, which would be a

continuation of Roberson Street Extension, will here be called simply Roberson Street Extension. It would curve northward to the little bluff at the colony of new houses, then run almost straight to the southwest corner of the Orange County Training School lot. Mitchell Lane would jut into this street at an acute angle, and Gomain's Avenue would be extended to the east and Brooks Street to the west so that they would meet to form a street at right angles to Roberson Street Extension. The new street would meet School Drive near where it now broadens into a parking area in front of the school, then would pass the school on the west and connect with McMasters Street. Between McMasters Street and the edge of the park suggested below the new street would widen into a parking area. While Roberson Street Extension should be as straight as is practicable, it will of necessity curve to fit the contour of the land. A good deal of cutting and filling in will be required, and at least one of the new houses north of the Community Center would have to be removed. The area between Roberson Street Extension and the present north end of Mitchell Lane would be retained by the town as a planted area, and the corner of the school lot on either side of the street would be planted.

In conformity with the plan for the street connecting the Community Center and the school, Mitchell Lane north of Lindsay Street would be straightened a bit. The approach to the little hill from the south is too crooked for safe traffic. So between the intersection with Lindsay Street and the hill Mitchell Lane would be moved east some forty feet. From the east side of the hill it would run north almost parallel with Cotton Street. At the intersection of Mitchell Lane and Roberson Street Extension there would be a small triangular planted area.

The east fork of Tanyard Branch should be channeled as creeks on East Rosemary have been.

At the present time Caldwell Street and School Drive do not quite meet. Eventually it may be possible to remove the houses directly south of School Drive so that the entire drive could be moved some forty feet south. This would have several advantages: the new street from the Community Center would not have to be filled in so much; the usable portion of the school yard would be widened; and the intersection of Church and Caldwell Streets would be a clean right angle, since School Drive would be simply an extension of Caldwell Street. The present lower retaining wall of School Drive might be used as the upper retaining wall.

In anticipation of such a future move, and to avoid unnecessary filling in for the new street, the parking area at the end of Roberson Street Extension might be made on the lower level and School Drive straightened and lowered to this level at the west end.

The block between Church and Roberson Streets on West Franklin needs a through street about the middle of the block. Kenan Street could be extended to meet Cotton Street, using the little alley on the north side of Rosemary. An alternative arrangement would be to extend Mitchell Lane to West Franklin Street, but this would have the disadvantage of leaving the east part of the block very large and would necessitate condemning of more property.

Nunn Street should be extended to the west as far as Second Street to give residents of Carrboro access to the Community Center and school.

It does not seem to cause much inconvenience at the present time, but the town of Carrboro should plan ahead to lengthen Second Street to meet Jones Ferry Road.

If a housing development is built on the hill south of Gomain's Avenue and west of Mitchell Lane, as is suggested below, a lane would be needed to connect Whitaker Street and Craig Street. Such a lane would touch the southwest corner of the development and would give access to

the Community Center and the business sections of Chapel Hill and Carrboro. It would not provide a direct road to the school, because the houses will be within easy walking distance of the school and because a cul-de-sac seems desirable for a housing project.

Some of the lots between the north end of Columbia Street and the airport highway have already been sold at auction. So if the town is to direct the development of this area at all, it must obtain a right-of-way at once. The little road--hardly more than a path--that winds from the top of this hill to the airport highway is too poorly located to make a proper street. Caldwell Street should be extended to meet the Airport Road. Putting through such a street would be advantageous for several reasons: it would give Windy Hill a more direct connection with the rest of the Negro community; if the proposed Chapel Hill-Durham highway comes in by the airport road, this street would give access to the Durham highway; it would shorten the route of school buses from the north which now have to go down town; and it would claim this area for the Negro community, which might some day be squeezed between two white communities.

The present street leading to the top of the hill will simply be left, and new dead end streets could be cut to

the south of this extension of Caldwell Street.

At some time the field north of Gomain's Avenue will be built up, perhaps as a federal housing project. A street should skirt this hill in a semi-circle from Second Street in Carrboro to the lane running north from the east end of Gomain's Avenue. The other little street now extending north from Gomain's Avenue should not reach this new street. The date of opening this street would depend largely upon the rate at which Sunset and Second Street are built up and whether or not many Negroes find work in Carrboro. At the present time there are probably few who would build on this hill. But when the center of the community is becoming congested, it would be more convenient for workers in Carrboro to live here than toward the Knolls, because they would be nearer the school and Community Center.

There is complaint because the town does not have the dirt streets worked enough to keep them in good shape. The alleys of Tintop and Southwest Lane are badly in need of grading. The ideal would be to have all streets paved. But as a first step, there are certain streets which are so muddy that they should be paved as soon as possible, because nothing short of this will make them passable in wet weather. The west end of Craig Street is impassable with a car in any weather. The paving of Gomain's Avenue

and Nunn Street is a must. Roberson Street Extension by the Community Center is bad. Of course, when this street is extended to the school, it will be paved all the way. Church Street is supposed to be kept up by the state because it is used by school buses, but the steepest part of it, which is outside the town limits, needs paving. South Merritt Mill Road, too, is an especially muddy street. Hillsboro Road at Windy Hill is muddy and particularly steep, so that it especially needs paving.

It must be understood that the Negro citizens will not be able to pay two-thirds of paving costs as required by the town charter. The way in which West Franklin Street property owners were saved only by the grace of the aldermen demonstrates this. There is certain paving which the state can logically be asked to help finance: South Merritt Mill Road, and Church Street from the town limits to School Drive, because the school buses use them; Caldwell Street and its future extension to the airport highway, which will be used by school buses; perhaps Hillsboro Road, because it is outside the town limits. The new street from the Community Center to the school should be made at town expense so far as possible and be counted as the town's share in the original cost of a housing project.

For simplicity the following street names are suggested:

(1) Roberson Street for both Roberson Street and its extension to McMaster's Street.

(2) Brooks Street for Gomain's Avenue, since it would be connected with Brooks Street.

(3) Whitaker Street for the present Whitaker Street, the south bend of Nunn Street, and the street to connect it with Second Street.

(4) Caldwell Street for School Drive.

(5) Kenan Street for Cotton Street and the proposed extension of it to Franklin Street.

There have been constant complaints about the scarcity of street lights in the Negro section. After the Civic Club requested the Board of Aldermen to place four new lights in the Negro area in May, 1943, the situation was improved. However, more lights are needed. One should be installed in front of the school and one between the school and Brooks Street at once. Second Street needs one at the south end and one at the intersection with Wright Street. There should be a light on Mitchell Lane directly west of McDade Street and another at the intersection of Mitchell Lane and Gomain's Avenue. A light should be placed at the intersection of Gomain's Avenue with Nunn Street. One or two lights are badly needed in Tintop.

Water connections have never been made in Tintop. This should be done as soon as possible. Fire hydrants are needed in Tintop and Windy Hill.

Sewers should be installed in Tintop at the same time that water mains are put in. Except for the Community Center, there is no sewer in all of Sunset. This area already has water, but the town has not had a sewer system put in. In installing a network of sewers here care should be taken to provide for expansion of the system, especially for the addition of a branch to serve the hill north of Gomain's Avenue if it should grow up. After sewers are installed, enforcement of the present law prohibiting privies within three hundred feet of a sewer will solve this problem.

At the present time there is no mail delivery in Carrboro. Even persons living on the west side of Merritt Mill Road do not have mail delivered to their homes, although their neighbors across the street in Chapel Hill do. Nor is mail delivered all over Sunset. The towns have probably grown large enough to need mail delivery on every street after the war. If Carrboro does not need a full-time mail man, the two towns jointly could employ one, paying expenses on a fifty-fifty basis.

With the extension of the town limits, present zoning regulations should be enforced in the new area by classifying

the part added as residential zone "A". The wording of the ordinance, however, is such that it would not ban the small stores operating on Brooks Street, Gomain's Avenue, and Merritt Mill Road, nor should these be closed now.

In putting any social plan into effect it is well to begin with concrete, clearly attainable goals which use existing channels. Establishment of a credit union in connection with the C. I. O. should be an immediate goal. When the Chapel Hill credit union was formed, an effort was made to have it interracial, but the Negroes did not join. If there is still no inclination to join that one, a separate credit union should be organized.

When one minister was asked in the course of this study whether or not he believed a credit union of Chapel Hill Negroes would succeed, he replied that it probably would not be supported, because "the Negroes here had rather go to a white man and be turned down than go to a Negro and succeed."

It seems that insofar as this is a just criticism, it points to the need for just such an economic program as can be begun through a credit union. Establishment of businesses requires capital, which very few members of the community have. Unless they pool resources, they must continue to go to the white man for assistance.

It is generally accepted that credit unions work best where several conditions obtain: members of successful credit unions usually feel enough economic pinch actually to need to save money; income, while small, should be dependable; members of the group, particularly in its early stages, should have had face-to-face contact in some other capacity--in fact, this is a requirement for obtaining a charter under the Farm Credit Administration. Local 403 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers seems by far the most appropriate group in town to start a credit union, because the members are workers with dependable incomes, they have already begun grappling with their economic problems, they have been working together for two years, and other civic organizations, including the churches, are represented in their number.

If a credit union is begun very soon, the C. I. O. will be laying plans before they can get any assistance from the Community Council. However, the Economic Committee of the Council should assist in publicity. A short, popularly written pamphlet could be prepared presenting the theory of credit unions, principles of operation, and examples of successful and unsuccessful ventures. Such a resource person as Neil A. MacLean, of the Bricks Rural Life School, could be very helpful in pointing out, in a preliminary

meeting, the advantages and problems of credit unions and showing what other Negro communities have done.

One of the immediate goals of the credit union should be to encourage budgeting and planning, particularly so that less expensive insurance policies can be bought and cash can be paid for consumer goods.

Benefits of the credit union should not be confined to members of the C. I. O. Probable steps in its growth would be:

(1) Establishment of the credit union by the C. I. O., with only town and University workers as members. So that there will be a reserve in case of post-war depression this should be done just as soon as possible to take advantage of the present assured incomes and scarcity of consumer goods.

(2) After perhaps a year, invitation to members of the A. F. of L. to join on an equal basis.

(3) After the war, expansion to include other individuals or groups, such as the teachers and the Civic Club. This community seems to satisfy the requirement that membership be made up of persons who have already been in close contact.

From this beginning, after a reserve has been built up, members of the credit union can develop consumers' cooperatives, which would be independent of the credit union.

It is suggested here that first efforts along this line be in areas in which the Negro is discriminated against--restaurant and barber shop--not in a grocery store, since Negroes are served in existing white-owned grocery stores. Probably the first business should be an adequate restaurant where out-of-town guests can be entertained in privacy and civic organizations can hold dinner meetings.

Operation of a cooperative store will probably be more difficult, because there are already stores in town which have an interest in this trade. Before any venture will succeed, it must be shown that trading at the cooperative store would effect a saving and that it would give better employment opportunities than are now open to Negroes.

Because of state law and personal preference a restaurant or barber shop in this area would cater almost exclusively to one racial group. A grocery store, on the other hand, need not do so. If the cooperative is to have members of both races, though, there must be assurance that responsibilities and benefits as purchasers, employees, and stockholders will be shared by all alike.

If a cooperative is to have both white and Negro members, it should probably be located at the corner of West Franklin Street and the extension of Cotton Street.

The program for repairing farm equipment in the vocational agriculture classes seems particularly significant and should be revived as soon as possible and expanded either by furnishing more space in the high school or by setting up the work in a new center where both white and Negro farmers may repair their machinery.

A next step in making farm machinery more useful would be to lay out a spot map of the more expensive farm machinery in Chapel Hill and Bingham Townships which can be rented by Negro farmers, so that farmers will know where to get machinery which is too expensive to own. After this has been done, a supply of equipment can be bought in common to supplement what individuals already own. A schedule of use for both machinery rented from individuals and that owned cooperatively would have to be made well in advance to insure efficient use. Here again, the most efficient set-up would include members of both races, so that service should be put on this basis when feasible.

The canning program now carried on by Miss Pope is promising and should be enlarged and located more conveniently by having pressure cookers in the Community Center. At some future time, as this service is used more by the farm women, a separate cannery could be set up with heavier equipment.

A careful study should be made of employment possibilities. A few observations may be made now, however. There will be need for such employment as has been offered by the munitions plant after any post-war construction projects are completed, for the population increase in the last few years makes it impossible for white families and the University to employ all the Negroes if those who came in recently decide to stay. An industry requiring greater skill and paying higher wages than textiles should be introduced. Cooperation of the management and the union should be solicited to ensure hiring of Negro and white workers of similar qualifications at the same pay and to ensure advancement of workers regardless of color.

In 1941 Chapel Hill was confident that there would be a U. S. H. A. unit for Negroes, and the community itself was expecting it, so that today the leaders recognize this as a major objective in planning for community betterment.

The 1940 housing survey showed 248 physically substandard houses in the community. While plans for a housing project did not get far enough to decide how many houses should be built where, it was thought that there should be forty or fifty. A new survey would have to be made before application could be made, of course.

There is little doubt that the Negroes themselves would want individual cottages on separate lots with the possibility of eventually buying the house and lot. They believe that the logical place for a housing project is in front of the Community Center, on Graham and Roberson Street Extensions. And if this is what they want after thinking it through, this is what they should have. An alternative arrangement is here presented for consideration, however.

Apartments give more conveniences for the money and more usable yard space than individual cottages can. Because it is one fairly large and uninterrupted plot, so that the arrangement of houses could be more easily planned, and because there would be no problem of through traffic, it is suggested that the houses be erected on the field bounded on the north by Gomain's Avenue, on the south by Whitaker Street, and on the east by the proposed Roberson Street Extension. As has been indicated above, a lane would connect Whitaker Street with Craig Street. Even though garages are not necessary yet, the plan should show location of future garages.

A later and larger housing project could be erected on the hill north of Gomain's Avenue facing the proposed street skirting this hill.

A number of methods have been used for raising the ten per cent or more of the total cost of the project which must be paid by the municipality (according to pre-war regulations): (1) cash payment, (2) tax exemption from date of acquisition of the property to date of physical completion of the project, (3) remission of taxes or special assessments levied between acquisition and completion, (4) remission of taxes or special assessments against the property which are delinquent or unpaid at the time of acquisition, (5) waiving building permit, inspection, or other similar fees, (6) furnishing without cost technical, professional, or administrative services, (7) giving land which was formerly in streets or alleys, (8) new improvements such as grading or paving, installation of sewers, or landscaping, and (9) issuance of bonds. The last method is most commonly used.⁸ But in this case, since cutting and paving of a new street from the Community Center to the school is already needed and would be an aid to the project as well as to the town in general, it should be ascertained whether this would cover the town's share in the expense.

The home nursing course conducted at the Training School by Miss Blee served a real need. It would be well if this could be repeated, for the town must depend largely upon

8. Jesse Epstein, "The Low-Rent Housing Program," University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research Report No. 42, pp. 17-18.

the body of citizens until a more adequate health program can be financed.

Nurse Compton has done a good job. She has been very influential in directing the energies and good will of the white and Negro communities into useful channels. Furthermore, she has turned a community with very little interest in sanitary conditions and prevention of disease into a community which, while it does not live under the best conditions, does realize its need.

But her job is done. Whereas community efforts were once centralized in the program of the community nurse, recently there have been several uncoordinated programs. Without trying to take her work away, the Tri-County Health Department has simply assumed responsibility for more and more of the programs which Nurse Compton began, particularly the clinics formerly held at the Orange County Training School but now held at the Health Department. Mrs. Rose, of the Health Department, is doing much of the consultation formerly done by Nurse Compton, although she does no bedside nursing. While health clubs were formerly organized to promote Nurse Compton's work and raise her salary, the Health Club organized last November is for the promotion of the pre-natal clinic sponsored by the Health Department. The Red Cross course had no relation to the program of the nurse.

Nurse Compton is reaching the age of retirement. The health program should be brought up to date and coordinated. Since it will probably be necessary to continue her support, however, she might be kept to supplement the health work. But another nurse should be employed half time by the nursery schools and half time for the community.

There would be great advantages in having a Negro rather than a white nurse, particularly because a Negro woman could do bedside nursing, while a white woman would hardly be employed for nursing of Negroes.

The nurse should have adequate training for work with the Department of Public Health, and she should work under it. This means that she would report to Dr. Richardson rather than to the Board of Aldermen, as the present nurse does. It also means that she would be supported entirely by tax funds. It is not fair or business-like for a public servant to be dependent upon such uncertain sources of income as a student-sponsored football game or the contributions of the Negro citizens.

If the county would increase the nursing staff to six, two Negroes could be hired. If this is not done, however, after the nurse is no longer paid for working in the nursery schools the town should pay half of her expenses, which funds would be matched by the Health Department.

The newly-formed Health Club fills a real need with its advertizing of facilities already available and working at the Health Department as clinics are being held. While it was necessary at the outset to undertake a very specific job, and it has been most concerned with pre-natal clinics, there is no reason for its not branching out to give publicity to any program of the Health Department and to act as a liaison between the citizens and the Public Health Department. The new nurse should be a member of the committee but not the chairman. One important job of the Health Club would be cooperation with the Education Committee of the Community Council in putting on a series of adult education classes in health.

Eventually the Health Club should make arrangements for a Negro dentist and doctor to come to Chapel Hill, where they could work in rural areas as well as in the town. Careful consideration should be given to the possibility of making this part of a cooperative health program.

When and if the state provides a hospital in connection with the four-year medical school at the University, adequate provision should be made for Negro wards.

There is only one medical school for Negroes in the Southeast--Meharry Medical School, in Nashville. The need for Negro doctors is great, but there are now so few men

and women going into the field that it would be wasteful to set up a separate institution in North Carolina. It would be more efficient if Negroes going into medicine as physicians or dentists received training at the University Medical School. When separation of the races in educational institutions begins breaking down in the interest of broader opportunities with less expenditure, it will logically begin at the University level. Probably introduction of Negro students would cause less friction in the medical school than at any other point in the state school system, because they would associate almost exclusively with graduates. Final action on such a course does not lie with the University, but the legislature could be asked to allow co-education of the races in this one instance.

There is much that the white community can do to encourage better health practices. The University could require its employees to meet on work time for health instruction and examinations. Although the state law requires that all food handlers have health certificates, there is now no way to enforce the ruling in the case of domestic servants. It would be for the best interests of both parties concerned if housewives asked for health certificates before hiring maids.

A particularly pressing need of the school is for a vocational agriculture teacher. Smith-Hughes funds cannot be used except for a man with certain high qualifications; and such a man should be obtained if possible. But if the school cannot have just what it wants, the county should at least appropriate money for a man to fill in until the end of the war.

It has been recognized for a number of years that a business course should be offered at the high school.

Ever since the Orange County Training School was built, the Negro community has wanted it moved to the Craig field about where the Community Center now stands. A decade ago it seemed that it actually would be moved, but after tentative plans for the new building had been drawn up, the School Board decided that too much money was invested in the old building to give it up entirely, so that a new wing was added to the old building instead. This has not satisfied the community.

The elementary school was poorly constructed to begin with and has been a constant source of inconvenience and expense. It should be replaced as soon as essential materials are available after the war. The buildings as they now stand are not large enough. The elementary school can

contain only the first six grades, so that the seventh and eighth have to meet in the high school annex. The high school building is so small that study hall has to be held in the auditorium, which cannot be kept quiet. Teachers have to "float" from room to room. Lunches are served to some 200 children in the home economics room, and students eat in this room and one of the classrooms. The only gymnasium is the auditorium, which was not designed for this. Physical needs for the high school would be a room for study halls, a cafeteria (or additional space for home economics), and a gymnasium.

The best solution to the problem seems to be to divide the school into elementary (grades one through seven) and high school (grades eight through twelve). There is little doubt that this would meet with opposition on the part of some of the patrons of the school, and their final decision should go. However, it should be pointed out that this would give half the school the advantages of central location which the community desires for the entire school; and it is hardly possible that the County Board of Education would do the job of moving the school entirely.

Placing the high school near the Community Center would have certain advantages: (1) The new gymnasium for the high school would be centrally located and could be used

by the community in connection with the program of the Community Center. (2) New equipment which is needed for adult classes in home management and handcrafts at the Community Center would be utilized by home economics and agriculture students. (3) Recreation fields could be planned at the Center for use by both the high school teams and community teams. (4) The nursery school at the Community Center would offer home economics students a chance for practical experience in child care.

On the other hand, there are reasons for placing the elementary rather than the high school in the center of town: (1) The type of playground equipment needed for the nursery school would also be usable for the elementary school children. (2) Most of the elementary school children walk to school, while many of the high school students come in on school buses. And the first seven classes have three-fourths of the student body. Therefore, it would be much less inconvenient for high school children to go to the edge of town, where the school is now located, than for elementary children to do so. (3) The high school needs more spacious grounds than the elementary school for its athletic program and, particularly, for the vocational agriculture program.

It is suggested, then, that the school be divided. The first seven grades would be situated back of the Community Center property and facing Mitchell Lane. This

would make it accessible from all parts of town but would put it on a less-traveled street than that in front of the Center.

With the erection of a new grammar school, the old part of the present Orange County Training School would be torn down. A high school gymnasium should be built as the front of the high school. A lunch room should be added, and the new vocational agriculture room should be larger than the present one, which must be torn down because it is in the elementary school building.

While the present school grounds are extensive, much of the hill is too steep to be tillable. The agriculture classes, therefore, have had to use plots offered by patrons in town. It is suggested that the school procure several acres northwest of the school lot along both sides of the creek bed.

High school students from the small rural elementary schools are able to keep up scholastically, but they have little background for the social life of the school and do not enter into extra-curricular activities. No attempt at improvement of the Orange County Training School can be very successful until the training of students coming from the small county schools is put on a firmer basis. Consolidation of the white schools of Orange County has been

carried out effectively; the Negro schools have remained about stationary. In 1919 there were 51 white schools in the county and 28 Negro schools. Out of this number there were 16 one-teacher white schools and 25 one-teacher Negro schools. Most of the progress in consolidation of white schools was done in the 1920's. There are now eleven white schools in Orange County, of which only one is a one-teacher institution. There are still 23 Negro schools. In the territory served by the Orange County Training School only one school has been closed in the past 20 years, although plans are now being made to combine three others. In connection with a county-wide building program with issuance of bonds the Orange County Board of Education has approved plans for consolidation of the Negro schools into five or six. The number of elementary schools in Chapel Hill and Bingham Townships should be reduced to about three.⁹

Although the circulating library and bookmobile centered at Hillsboro draws money from public sources, its constitution prohibits serving of Negroes. A state-supported library should serve both races, particularly in an area where it is the only one of its kind. This is a matter for the Education

9. Edgar W. Knight, "The History of Education in Orange County," North Carolina Education, X (October, 1943), pp. 77-82, 104-106; "School Map, Orange County, N. C.," The Orange County School News, I (March, 1922), p. 1; "A Study of Public Schools in Orange County, North Carolina," The University of North Carolina Record, Number 166, June, 1919.

Committees of the Community Council and the Planning Board to look into.

The Negro churches of Chapel Hill have an excellent spirit of cooperation. They have worked together enough to know one another and to have erased much of the denominational separatism found in almost all small communities.

Most of the churches are now planning building programs to take place at the end of the war. For a community hardly larger than 1,500 persons, seven churches seem too many. It will be quite uneconomical for each to attempt to enlarge its plant unless functions can be distributed. On the other hand, no practical method of further cooperation between them has been suggested, and there is a definite feeling that the churches cannot unite.

As the next step in inter-church cooperation, a Daily Vacation Bible School for children from about six to 14 years of age could be held for a week or two each summer. Instructors would come from all of the churches which would cooperate, and the University Y. M. C. A. would probably send a student, although the churches themselves should take the initiative in asking for assistance.

A more difficult move, and one which should be attempted only after the Daily Vacation Bible School has operated for a summer, would be establishment of a community-wide Sunday

School for children and young people. Teachers would be drawn from all of the cooperating churches, and none of the present teachers need feel that he was not needed. Since no church has adequate space for religious education, it would probably be found most practical to divide the Sunday School into age groups, which would meet in the various church buildings. Such a Sunday School as this would warrant regular teachers' meetings.

Only after having a cooperative Sunday School should the churches attempt to unify, but the goal should be kept in mind from the first to avoid wasted effort through failure to plan ahead.

There are two Missionary Baptist Churches in the community, whose beliefs are the same and whose organizations are parallel. The split between local Baptists goes back, for the most part, to a personal matter which is now irrelevant. The two congregations are on good terms. It seems now that both groups would benefit from a reunion of the two churches, probably using the Rock Hill building and moving the Second Baptist Church building to it to use as a Sunday School.

More difficult would be the uniting of the three branches of Methodism, and members might not be willing to do this unless a national union could be effected. However, there

would be definite advantages in union, since the building programs of St. Paul's and St. Joseph's could be combined, and O'Bryant's Chapel would be helped by having a resident pastor. It is suggested that the united Methodist Church be located on the lots owned by the C. M. E. Church.

This would leave four churches in the community: the Baptist Church on West Franklin Street, the Methodist Church on West Rosemary Lane, the Church of God in Carrboro, and Mt. Calvary on South Merritt Mill Road. It is possible that new sects will spring up, since the Church of God is becoming a real church as distinguished from a sect. But this may be averted if the existing churches will attract people from all the neighborhoods, and if they will try to see that every type of person in the community is satisfied in one or another of the church programs.

The various building programs should be carefully reviewed in the light of community facilities. Particular attention should be given to the use of the Community Center for church socials. It seems very unwise for St. Joseph's to put up a recreation center with its parsonage, as is now being planned.

If interracial programs such as the New Year's Eve Watch Service are to be successful, they should represent the best from the two traditions of worship. It is quite

possible, of course, that some of the Negroes themselves would feel self-conscious if Negro motifs were drawn into common worship experiences, so that it cannot be assumed that they will want a service as informal as their churches. On the other hand, reverence is consistent with freedom, and dignity and stateliness are not confined to liturgical services. Any group wanting to plan a program in which Negro and white worshippers will participate should consider the possibility of having a well-trained choir sing appropriate spirituals.

If the various white ministers synchronize their efforts, they might be able to answer some of the criticism that arises when one church alone invites Negroes to worship.

The last two decades have seen a change in the type of civic organizations in the community. In 1920 there were seven secret fraternities and their women's auxiliaries, plus the Parent-Teachers Association. In 1930 there were five fraternities with four auxiliaries, plus P. T. A., Civic Club, health groups, and Janitors Association. In 1940 there was only one fraternity, plus P. T. A., Civic Club, Janitors Association, and the union. Since then the Health Club, the Hostess Club, and various committees concerned with civilian defense have been formed. This change from a plethora of secret societies concerned mostly with

their own membership to organizations of larger interest is commendable. It is to be hoped that efforts in the future will be directed toward integration of the various programs rather than spending energy reestablishing Elks, Odd Fellows, Eastern Star, and other secret organizations.

The Hostess Club, started simply as a recreation group, has been developing into a women's counterpart of the Civic Club. This trend is to be commended. The fact that it did not set out to be an auxiliary may actually lend it strength and independence.

The Hostess and Civic Clubs have grown to 18 members each. This seems a wieldy size for purposes of discussion and planning. These two general interest groups should be able to perform functions within the Negro Community Council which no special interest group such as the union or the Health Club can. For this reason it is necessary that the tendency for them to run the organization be guarded against.

It is not clear that the Janitors Association has any real usefulness, since the C. I. O. has come in. At the present time neither can claim one hundred per cent of the janitors as members. But it seems that the union will have more appeal because of its national affiliation and because it definitely is not paternalistic. It seems,

then, that those University persons looking for channels through which they can work in the Negro community had best simply drop the Janitors Association. If they can get the confidence of the union members, well and good.

Perhaps the most effective way for Negro and white citizens to get to know one another is by meeting through channels already set up. The church and existing civic organizations should be utilized before interracial commissions are formed. It is interesting that the two Masonic Lodges in the village have no cooperative program, although the white Masons helped the Negro lodge organize. Most of the civilian defense program has been done separately, although the two chiefs of block leaders, Mrs. D. D. Carroll and Mrs. E. T. Sellars, have worked together. If their two organizations could meet jointly, they would be able to plan better for action on a town basis. Exchanging programs between the Community Club, Garden Club, Civic Club, and Hostess Club would reach persons who would never join an interracial commission.

The most urgent need in the field of recreation is a program for the young men who hang out around the cafes on West Franklin Street. Federal money has not been obtainable for this project, but by working under the Recreation Commission, it could receive a small grant from the town for a young people's center to be operated until the

Community Center is turned back to the community. The sponsoring committee (the Recreation Committee of the Community Council if it is formed in time) should include representatives from the Boy Scout troop and the Parent-Teachers Association in addition to one of the leading athletes from the school, a man from the Navy Band, and at least one of the young men who frequent the West Franklin Street cafes. It is important that the men and boys the program is designed for have responsibility in planning and carrying it out.

In spite of the difficulties involved, the Youth Center should probably be located on West Franklin Street. The best building would be the former frame theater now used as a grocery store, but more than likely one of the brick stores would have to be utilized. The building could be furnished at little cost if those interested in it were enlisted to help with sewing, painting, and carpentry. Operating expenses could be met by small charges at the door.

While the major group to be entertained is the young men over high school age, a schedule should be worked out whereby high school boys and girls can use the center at least one night a week. An adult should be in charge at all times, and cooperation of the police would be essential. A rigid ban would have to be enforced against drinking.

The Youth Center could be open only at night, because the supervisors would probably be free only then.

If pool tables or a bowling alley are wanted, in requesting the permission of the University administration it should be pointed out that they would be used on a non-profit basis.

As has been indicated above, a Negro advisory committee on use of the Community Center should be formed to make plans with the Recreation Commission but not to take responsibility for the operation of the building. More important, Negroes should be represented on the Recreation Commission in proportion to their numbers in Chapel Hill. This seems the most pressing need facing the Community Center, more basic than any program for use of the building.

As soon as materials are available after the war, an outdoor swimming pool should be built in the bottom immediately south of the Community Center. Workmen from the community should be urged to give their labor, as they did in constructing the Center. Fortunately, there are adequate showers in the basement of the Center. While outside financial aid would be necessary to built the pool, a very small charge for swimming would meet operating expenses.

The present plan is to use the downstairs of the Community Center as a nursery in the morning, as an arts and crafts shop for children in the afternoon, and as an arts and crafts shop for adults at night.

One thing which can be stressed in any cultural program is development of an appreciation for the Negro past. If a choir specializing in Negro spirituals, such as has been suggested above, were developed, it would be an asset not only to the recreational program but also to the religious development of the community.

The University should be closely connected with the Community Center. This would form an ideal area for field work to be carried on by the Division of Social Work and Public Welfare and the School of Public Health. The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences would work closely with the directors of the Community Center in planning any research projects in that section of town--always with the approval of the Negro Community Council. Recreation classes and the Department of Physical Education could offer their services in directing play and at the same time receive valuable experience. The adult education program at the Center might receive direction from the Department of Education. But in all of this there is the danger that the University will force itself upon the community. The present

set-up of the Recreation Commission makes it particularly easy for the University to use the Center as a demonstration ground. Adding Negro members to the Commission might make such use more difficult to arrange, but it would be more firmly rooted and would give the Negroes some chance to protect themselves against well-meaning and ill-advised students and faculty members.

The community itself is not yet awake to the need for a park. But by the time it sees the need, the best opportunity may be past. So it is suggested that before the land is offered for public sale a group buy the tract north of the school, beginning back of the lots on McMaster's Street and including a strip north of the creek, as shown on the map in the appendix.

Vocational agriculture classes can get valuable experience by building the necessary paths in the park, by pruning the trees where necessary, and by planning the general layout.

An area within the park should be set aside for a scout hut, and it should have enough grounds for area jamborees.

If the churches find it possible to unite, the opportunity of using for recreation the space now occupied by one of the churches should not be missed. The need has not yet arisen, but as the town becomes more densely populated

there will be need for a small play area south of Franklin Street. The 100 by 130 foot lot of the Second Baptist Church would be useful for this. A less satisfactory plan would be to use the Quaker school lot as a play area for small children.

Many of the leading Negro citizens feel that the employment of a Negro policeman should be undertaken just as soon as possible. A Negro policeman should be able to understand the mind of members of his own race and get information which a white man cannot. Thus he would be able to prevent some crime where a white policeman can only arrest after trouble has broken out. There should be a full-time patrolman in the Negro area, and the cafes on West Franklin Street should have particular surveillance on weekends, as they are supposed to have at the present time.

There is little respect for the Recorder's Court on the part of many of the Negro citizens. Some of the best citizens do not bother about the problem of administration of justice, taking the attitude, "If a person breaks the law, he deserves whatever he gets." Others feel that the installment plan for paying fines is a racket, that fines should be paid immediately or the person sent to jail. Most of the citizens seem to feel that Negroes are discriminated against and their testimony not weighed as heavily as that of white persons.

No easy answers can be found, nor does it seem likely that any one approach can satisfy all concerned. The paying of fines by installment, which is attacked by law-abiding citizens as a racket, may be an expression of legitimate leniency on the part of the court. However, there does seem to be actual discrimination against Negroes. Their testimony should carry the same weight as that of white men; for although they have not always the educational qualifications of certain white citizens, the Negroes are in a position to know other Negroes better than persons of the other race can.

Much of the problem of justice and administration of town services can be solved best by the Negroes' exerting political influence. At least two organizations are interested in encouraging voting, although neither actually has a program of education for citizenship. One of the first jobs of the Community Council should be to coordinate the various groups interested in education for voting. A simple and concise pamphlet on the Constitution, procedure for voting, and obligations of citizenship should be printed, and the cooperating organizations would give it the widest possible distribution. Then a series of meetings would be sponsored by the churches and civic groups for the broadest

coverage of the community. These meetings would be large enough to warrant inviting a few Negro speakers from outside. The entire campaign could be climaxed by inviting two candidates for office to speak at a mass meeting.

In such a campaign as this it would be necessary that the white community understand the nature and purpose of the rally. The Chapel Hill Weekly should be asked to carry articles commending the movement. On a particular day chosen by the Negro citizens for registering, one or two white persons sympathetic toward the effort should be near the place of registration "just in case."

To recapitulate, the programs for the Negro community may be divided into three groups: those which should be undertaken now, those which cannot be done until after the war, and those which may be accomplished in the more distant future.

A number of matters are important enough for immediate attention:

1. A Community Council for Negroes and a Planning Board for Chapel Hill and Carrboro should be organized as the people see the need. The Negro Community Council could coordinate programs in the community and channelize University activities.

2. Interracial cooperation through equal participation in community programs should be encouraged by:
 - a. Appointing Negroes to the Recreation Commission and other committees of the Planning Board.
 - b. Having joint meetings of civilian defense committees working on similar problems.
 - c. Encouraging civic organizations of similar interests to have joint meetings.
 - d. Placing more attention on interracial religious services in which both groups are made to feel at home.
3. Public services should be extended in a few areas by:
 - a. Petitioning the legislature to extend the town limits.
 - b. Installing at least three new street lights: one at the west end of School Drive, one between the school and Brooks Street, and one on Mitchell Lane near the intersection with Gomain's Avenue.
 - c. Hiring a Negro policeman if a qualified man can be found at this time.
4. Post-war plans call for procurement of the following land now:
 - a. The area north of the school, which will be used as a park.

- b. The area east of the Community Center if it is decided to move the elementary school.
 - c. Land northwest of the school for vocational agriculture classes.
 - d. Right-of-way for the eastern extension of Caldwell Street and the northern extension of Roberson Street.
- 5. A youth center for the duration is a major need and should be established if at all possible.
 - 6. The industrial training or agriculture program at the school should be resumed.
 - 7. The health program should be improved by:
 - a. Sponsoring another home nursing course at the school.
 - b. Getting a new nurse for the community and the day nursery.
 - c. Having the University provide for employees to receive health instruction on work time.
 - c. Urging housewives to require health certificates of servants.
 - 8. A credit union should be more successful if established now than after the war.
 - 9. The bookmobile at Hillsboro should serve all citizens.
 - 10. Local Negro churches should operate a Daily Vacation Bible School jointly, and after this start a cooperative Sunday School.

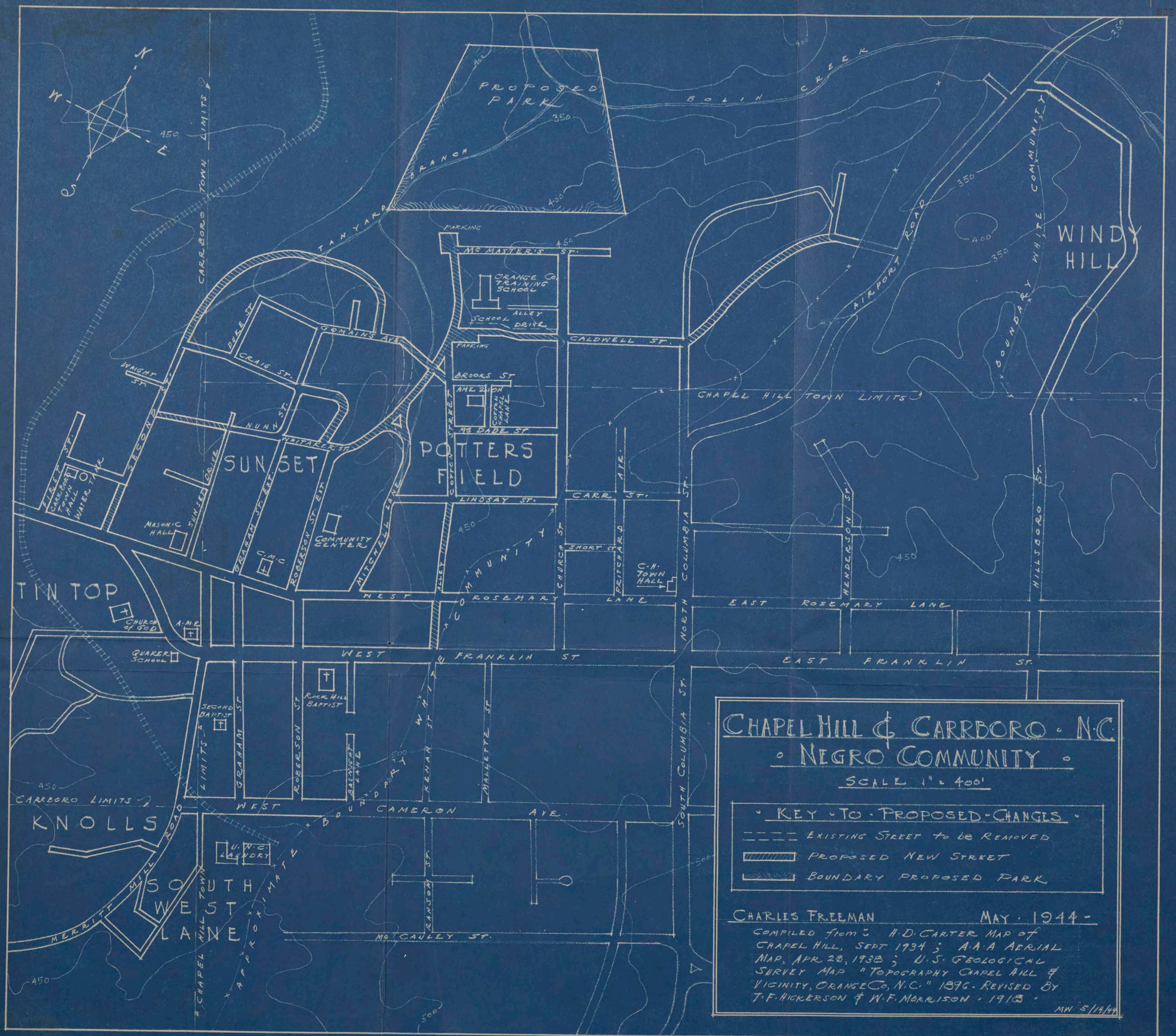
A great many activities can be planned tentatively now but cannot be realized until peacetime:

1. Town services should be broadened, partly with federal aid, by:
 - a. Grading the streets of Tintop and Southwest Lane.
 - b. Extending the south bend of Nunn Street to meet Second Street, and cutting a new street from the Community Center to McMasters Street.
 - c. Paving Church Street to School Drive, North Hillsboro Road, Gomain's Avenue and Nunn Street, South Merritt Mill Road, and all of Roberson Street.
 - d. Installing several street lights: two on Second Street, one on Mitchell Lane west of McDade Street, one at the intersection of Gomain's Avenue and Nunn Street, and two in Tintop.
 - e. Extending the water system to Tintop and the sewer system to Tintop and Sunset, and installing fire hydrants in Tintop and Windy Hill.
 - f. Procuring a housing project of forty or fifty units.
 - g. Having mail delivered throughout the two towns.
2. The elementary school should be moved to Mitchell Lane back of the Community Center, and the high school should be enlarged. If the elementary school is not moved, it will still have to be rebuilt and enlarged.

3. A swimming pool should be built just south of the Community Center.
 4. The Negro community should work on its own economic problems by:
 - a. Establishing a consumers' cooperative, preferably a restaurant.
 - b. Resuming the repair of farm machinery and drawing a spot map of available machinery.
 - c. Enlarging the canning program and moving it to the Community Center.
 5. The Planning Board should encourage establishment of a more desirable industry than textiles and try to secure fair employment practices toward all workers.
- Finally, there are certain long-range goals the attainment of which must probably wait for years:
1. Several streets should be extended: Caldwell Street to the airport road, Second Street to Jones Ferry Road, and Cotton Street to Kenan Street. Eventually a street will have to be built on the hill north of Gomain's Avenue.
 2. All streets should be paved finally.
 3. Several cooperative enterprises may be undertaken, preferably by members of both races: a grocery store, a place for repairing individual machinery or storing joint-owned equipment, and a cooperative cannery.

4. After the churches have undertaken a number of programs together, some of them may find it desirable to unite. Probably the two Baptist Churches could do so most easily, and the three Methodist Churches should not find it impossible.
5. A small recreation field should be set aside south of Franklin Street before all the lots are built up. If the Baptist Churches unite, the Second Baptist Church lot might be used for this.
6. A Negro dentist and a doctor should be encouraged to come to Chapel Hill, perhaps as part of a cooperative health program.

A P P E N D I X



CHAPEL HILL & CARRBORO - N.C. - NEGRO COMMUNITY -

SCALE 1" = 400'

KEY TO PROPOSED CHANGES

- EXISTING STREET TO BE REMOVED
- ▨ PROPOSED NEW STREET
- ▭ BOUNDARY PROPOSED PARK

CHARLES FREEMAN

MAY 1944 -

COMPILED FROM: H.D. CARTER MAP OF
CHAPEL HILL, SEPT 1934; A.A.A. AERIAL
MAP, APR 28, 1938; U.S. GEOLOGICAL
SURVEY MAP "TOPOGRAPHY CHAPEL HILL &
VICINITY, ORANGE CO., N.C." 1896. REVISED BY
T.F. HICKERSON & W.F. MORRISON - 1918

MW 5/14/44

CHAPTER

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