WORLD WAR II RACIAL VIOLENCE,
INTERRACIALISM, AND POLICE-COMMUNITY
RELATIONS IN COLUMBUS, OHIO

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by

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INTRODUCTION

During the Second World War, racial violence emerged as one of the most acute problems on the American home-front. Serious race riots erupted in a number of major cities. But riots were not the only form of conflict and violence to occur during the period. Attempts by blacks to occupy homes in previously all-white neighborhoods touched off widespread vandalism, harassment, and near-riots in some cities. Conflict between servicemen in many military camps rose to dangerous levels. In response to the widespread violence, interracialism, in the form of numerous relations organizations, surfaced for the amelioration of race relations problems and for the prevention of further racial violence. Leaders in police administration likewise undertook efforts along these lines. By the end of the war, racial violence had greatly decreased, and most cities were much better prepared to cope with any riots that might occur.

A few cities in which racial outbreaks seemed likely escaped racial violence during the 1940's. This thesis focuses on Columbus, Ohio, as one of the cities which experienced no racial violence. The local press revealed that racial tensions in the city were high and that a few minor incidents did occur which could have
developed into more serious trouble. Nevertheless, Columbus remained relatively peaceful during this troubled decade. In part, this situation was due to certain fundamental differences between Columbus and cities that experienced race riots. Columbus was a smaller city and not heavily industrialized. This resulted in the city experiencing a smaller migration, as there were fewer job opportunities in Columbus to lure migrants than in the big industrial centers. Columbus' population was overwhelmingly native born.

At least as significant, however, for Columbus' lack of racial violence were the efforts to further interracial harmony and to prevent the development of serious violence by race relations organizations and public agencies, particularly by the Columbus Urban League and the Columbus Council for Democracy. The Urban League emerged in Columbus in 1917 to ameliorate the social distress in the black community created primarily by the World War I migration of blacks to the city. The organization's objectives were to assist blacks in their adjustment problems, to help them secure employment, and to aid them in acquiring decent housing. The League, a racially integrated organization, gradually assumed the task of helping direct the inevitable changes in race relations in the city. The promotion of interracial goodwill and cooperation became one of the League's ultimate goals. Thus
even before the Second World War, the Urban League was a well-established and potent force in the interracialist efforts of Columbus.

The Columbus Council for Democracy surfaced in late 1943 as a direct result of the democratic war spirit, the wide publicity of race riots in other cities, and the increase in racial tensions in Columbus. The Council, composed mainly of white citizens, attempted to keep the homefront peaceful by conducting various educational plans and programs, hoping to dispel some of the false conceptions and misunderstandings which promoted racial prejudice. In 1944, a committee appointed by Columbus' mayor became a part of the Council for Democracy and concerned itself primarily with establishing plans for swift mobilization in case racial violence did erupt.

Probably no public agency in a city is more important to the development and also prevention of racial violence than the police. In examining police-community relations in Columbus during the 1940's, this thesis concentrates on the work of the Friendly Service Bureau and its services in the Columbus Police Department. Columbus initially appears to have been ahead of the times in the police-community relations field. Before the war, the Friendly Service Bureau of the Police Department had for nearly fourteen years continually sought to improve the
relationship between the police and Columbus' black community. Yet, other problems emerged in Columbus during the decade that assumed greater priorities in the Police Department than the Bureau's crime prevention efforts and attempts to improve police-community relations.

An examination of the efforts of the Urban League, the Council for Democracy, and the Police Department will provide considerable insight into Columbus' relatively peaceful race relations during the 1940's. First, however, it is appropriate to analyze national developments that would influence events in Ohio's capital.
This fact also holds true for Columbus during other periods of widespread racial violence. During the "Red Summer" of 1919 and the ghetto rebellions of the 1960's, Columbus managed to avoid any major civil disorder.
In the twentieth century, periods of widespread racial violence in the United States have occurred generally during or immediately following major wars; World War I, World War II, and the Vietnam War. One reason for this phenomenon is the rapid social change produced by war. Mobilization on the homefront during these wars necessitated numerous alterations in the lives of many citizens. Race relations were particularly affected. For black Americans and other minority groups, the booming war industries opened up new employment opportunities. Shortage of workers in defense plants greatly accelerated the migration of Americans, especially blacks, from south to north and west and from rural to urban areas. Competition for jobs and scarce housing and recreational facilities usually resulted. Racial antagonism heightened, and real or perceived assaults by blacks on the status quo intensified racial conflict.

Racial violence during the World War I era reached a magnitude unequaled in the history of the United States. The "Red Summer" of 1919 endures as the standard for
evaluation of violent periods. Arthur Waskow estimated that at least twenty-five race riots occurred that summer, of which seven were considered major explosions. During the 1960's, racial violence resulted more from the civil rights revolution than the Vietnam War. The movement by black Americans to gain equal rights produced significant social change in the United States. Directed primarily at the symbols of white authority and oppression, racial violence of the 1960's was confined to the ghetto and largely involved attacks by blacks upon the police and white-owned businesses. Urban rebellions, as they were appropriately designated, occurred in nearly every city with a large number of black residents.

Racial violence of the Second World War era was chosen for this thesis for two important reasons. First, the author agrees with Neil Wynn's appraisal that "World War II had a much greater influence on American society generally than any previous conflict - including, perhaps, the Civil War." The conflict was definitely one of the major factors shaping contemporary America. The military, economic, social and political institutions of the United States were supremely tested. Figures of the Second World War partially revealed its magnitude and impact. This war, which lasted twice as long as the First World War, cost the United States 330 billion dollars, required more than fourteen million men and women for the armed forces, added ten
million people to the labor force, and took the lives of nearly 400,000 Americans. The conflict in some way affected nearly every American citizen even though the country was not subjected to direct assault.\textsuperscript{4}

The second reason for choosing racial violence of the Second World War era was that the war years represented a watershed in the history of black America. Richard Dalfiume referred to the war years as "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution."\textsuperscript{5} Geoffrey Perret, in a monumental study of the American people during the war made this comment:

No one had expected it, and no one intended it, but the war had been the watershed of the post emancipation struggle for equality. These were the years when American Negroes began for the first time to fight for their rights effectively. Here was where the modern civil rights movement began; here was where it scored its first important victories.\textsuperscript{6}

The significant shift in black Americans' attitudes, which emerged during the war period, prompted these appraisals. In previous conflicts, blacks had generally put aside their special grievances and made helping to win the war their major priority. During this war, however, greater numbers of blacks rationalized that they had to fight for democracy on two fronts - at home as well as abroad. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph's threatened use of direct action by the black masses in a March on Washington dramatized the new activist spirit. This threat resulted in the most significant gain for black Americans since Reconstruction - Executive Order 8802 which declared
discrimination in employment illegal and established a Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce the new policy.  

During the early war years, even the older, more conservative organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League were prodded into adopting more militant positions. In Columbus, Ohio, the activist mood motivated a group of young blacks to organize the Vanguard League. The League boldly proclaimed programs of social protest and agitation, and for the first time mass protest meetings, marches and picketing erupted in the city. The new perspective of this nascent civil rights movement made disruption of the status quo inevitable.

Almost from the beginning of America's involvement in the war, racial violence plagued the homefront. A major source of racial violence involved conflict between black and white soldiers and white civilians, particularly in the south. More than forty serious military racial outbreaks occurred during the war years. Howard Sitkoff revealed that the "bloody summer" of 1943 applied equally to both civilian and military racial violence. According to Sitkoff, the War Department systematically suppressed most evidence of black revolts and labeled most of the deaths due to race battles as combat fatalities. Nevertheless, Army statistics reported that at least fifty black
soldiers were killed in military race riots in the United States.⁹

A study by Ulysses Lee thoroughly examined military racial violence of the Second World War years. According to Lee, racism produced an atmosphere so tense in most camps that any minor offense could trigger a racial outburst. An argument over the use of a telephone booth resulted in a gun battle between white military police and black soldiers at Fort Dix, New Jersey. One military police and two soldiers died in the conflict that raged for over three hours. At Camp Stewart, Georgia, a rumor that a black soldier's wife had been raped and murdered by white soldiers sparked a battle between black and white soldiers that resulted in the death of one white military police officer, one black soldier, and the wounding of many others. These two incidents represented only a minute fraction of such racial violence presented in Lee's study.¹⁰

Serious racial disturbances in the military abated as the war neared an end. Racial tensions, however, continued, and the stationing of black troops in the post-war period created problems in a number of localities. In Columbus, Ohio, the stationing of an all-black unit, the 477 Composite Group, at Lockbourne Air Base, just south of the city, produced inflammatory remarks in a local daily and an apparent attempt by some of the city's leaders to pressure the War Department into reassigning the unit to another base.¹¹
In most cases, racial violence during the Second World War period tended not to reach as massive and destructive a stage as that of previous wars; the Detroit and Harlem riots of 1943 were the exceptions. Racial violence was, nevertheless, much more widespread. The Social Science Institute at Fisk University recorded 242 racial battles in forty-seven cities in 1943. In Detroit, rumors stemming from minor interracial friction at an amusement park resulted in twenty-four hours of terrorism in the city. Before federal troops restored order, the toll of the riot reached thirty-four dead (twenty-five of whom were black), over seven hundred injured, and property damages in excess of two million dollars.

The riot has been the subject of numerous studies. Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Humphrey, two Wayne State University sociologists, pieced together a remarkable timetable of the violence in less than six months after the outbreak. Their study also outlined a program of prediction and prevention of race riots that could be applied to any city with racial tensions. The most recent study by Robert Shogan and Tom Craig reconstructed the Detroit riot and thoroughly analyzed its underlying causes, one of the most important being the intensification of racism brought on by the great migration of southerners to the city. The War Manpower Commission estimated that about 500,000 persons moved to the Detroit area between June, 1940 and June,
1943, the month of the riot. Of these, about 50,000 were blacks.

Less than six weeks after Detroit's riot, Harlem exploded. Property losses in excess of five million dollars made the Harlem riot of 1943 the most destructive in American history to that date. Walter White of the NAACP attributed the violence largely to Harlemites' resentment toward the mistreatment of black soldiers in the armed forces. News of humiliating and violent incidents in the army spread rapidly across Harlem, particularly the Camp Stewart riot involving New York's famed 369th Infantry Regiment. The shooting of a black soldier by a white policeman in Harlem, which led to a rumor that the soldier had been killed, simply unleashed long, pent-up resentment. In the only comprehensive analysis of the outbreak, Dominic Capeci denied that a race riot occurred in Harlem. Rather, like the 1935 Harlem riot, the 1943 conflict was a forerunner of the violence of the 1960's in which property and symbols of white oppression became the object of rioters' vengeance. However, five blacks died and more than five hundred were injured.

In Los Angeles, meanwhile, black and Mexican-American teenagers fought a week-long battle with white servicemen and the police in what became known as the "zoot-suit" riots. While city officials attributed the outbreaks to teenage gangs, Carey McWilliams, a Los Angeles journalist, placed the responsibility largely on the Los Angeles press
and police for their encouraging anti-black and anti-Mexican-American sentiment in the city by sensationalizing crime. Serious race riots also occurred in Mobile, Alabama and Beaumont, Texas, and lesser riots erupted in a number of other cities. 18

Such racial violence led to two significant developments during the Second World War - widespread interracialism and the police-community relations movement. The concept of interracialism had always existed in America, and organizations within and among racial groups had long been at work. During the war period, however, interracialism involved an extensive effort to avert racial violence and improve race relations by establishing numerous local, state, and national race relations organizations. The movement resulted primarily from two factors: a change in attitude among many black and white Americans regarding the race problem, and the demand for cooperation in attempting to control racial violence. 19

The war effort, itself, with its egalitarian rhetoric, accelerated the change in attitude among many Americans. A growing commitment to egalitarianism spread across the country. The serious inconsistencies in the United States' position - fighting in defense of freedoms often denied many American citizens - emerged more clearly at this time. Blacks took advantage of the situation and pressed more vigorously for equal rights. Many whites, of course, had
been conscious before the war that blacks were treated unfairly. The appearance of Nazi racism forced increasing numbers of white Americans to confront the reality of racism at home. In his analysis of the homefront during the war, Richard Lingeman quoted Roy Wilkins of the NAACP as saying, "Hitler jammed our white people into their logically untenable position. Forced to oppose him for the sake of the life of the nation, they were jockeyed into declaring against his racial theories - publicly."²⁰

Americans throughout the country became aware of race relations during the war era. A. A. Liveright, executive director of the American Council on Race Relations, cited as evidence of this new awareness a national radio forum poll in the spring of 1945 which placed race relations programs second only to the United Nations Conference in listeners' interest. As the belief in egalitarianism spread, a stream of books, pamphlets and articles attempted to increase public understanding. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science devoted an entire monthly issue, edited by psychologist Gordon Allport, to the subject of controlling group prejudice.²¹

The effort to influence race relations by presenting trustworthy knowledge reached a climax with the appearance of Gunnar Myrdal's massive, historical study on black Americans, An American Dilemma in 1944. According to Myrdal, America's greatest failure in racial relations was
its inability to turn its precepts into practice. The
country was caught in a dilemma between what it said and
what it did. Myrdal, however, felt optimistic that
America would somehow manage to resolve its racial dilemma.
His observation was much too optimistic. Nevertheless,
the appearance of widespread interracialism and other
developments during the war era promised significant im­
provement in the status of black Americans. 22

Immediately following the bloody race riots in the
summer of 1943, interracialism became an overnight fad.
Governor's, mayor's, and citizens' committees and com­
missions emerged throughout the country, including Colum­
bus. These organizations brought together liberal white
and black leaders in an effort to control racial and reli­
gious intolerance and to promote better race relations.
Organizations already in existence revived and expanded
their work. Never before had so many black and white
people come together to encourage peace and to work for
racial equality. Parrett referred to the interracial move­
ment as creating a "grass-root concern with racial equality
unprecedented since Reconstruction." 23 The formation of
official organizations represented government's recognition
of its responsibility for dealing with problems of inter­
group relations. The racial violence and responding inter­
racialism muted much of the militancy among many blacks,
and the civil rights movement began its gradual ascent to
a recognized and respectable status.24

Although emphasizing race relations organizations which emerged during the war era, the older advancement groups like the NAACP and the National Urban League must be recognized for their leadership during the time. Some studies on the wartime organizations included them; others did not. These organizations, nevertheless, made significant advances in gaining civil rights for black Americans and in developing better race relations. The Urban League tripled in size during the war decade. Its Columbus affiliate, one of the oldest and most successful in the country, accelerated its efforts to improve the position of the city's black community and to bring about better race relations. The NAACP had 50,000 members and 355 branches in 1940; by the end of the war it had 500,000 members and over 1000 branches.25

A number of people in the academic field also made contributions to the race relations field during the 1940's. To present regular and specific information on the state of race relations, Fisk University's Social Science Institute began publishing A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations in 1943. The publication, under the direction of Dr. Charles Johnson, observed closely the increasing formation of race relations organizations all over the country. In 1945, Johnson reported that in the two years following the riots of 1943 over two
hundred official (having been established by legislation or executive action) and citizens' race relations committees surfaced on the municipal level. Thirty-six states appointed governor's commissions and over one hundred national organizations devoted either major or secondary attention to the race relations problem.26

Race relations organizations were credited with averting the development of serious racial violence in a number of cities during the tense war era. By 1945, effective riot prevention programs promoted by race relations groups made nearly all cities better able to confront race riots than when Detroit exploded. A number of publications emerged to instruct cities on methods of riot prevention. Race Riots Aren't Necessary by Alfred McClung Lee; Why Race Riot? by Earl Brown; and Race Relations in Chicago, by the Chicago Mayor's Committee on Race Relations made important recommendations, including the formation of units to collect and attempt to dispel rumors, a major precipitant of race riots. Cities were advised to set up systematic means of detecting other symptoms of potential violence.27

One of the most effective projects of the time was Detroit's "Community Barometer." The Mayor's committee, in cooperation with the police department and sociologists from Wayne State University, devised a method whereby increasing tensions and racial friction could be spotted and plotted on a city map, leading to more effective
policing of the troubled areas. The technique relied primarily on teachers, social workers, conductors, bus drivers and others reporting incidents of friction to police headquarters. The reports were then identified by time, place, number involved, and were graded for seriousness, with the most potentially troublesome areas receiving the most attention. In the wake of Detroit's difficulty in securing federal troops, the publications dealing with riot prevention urged city leaders to develop plans for quickly bringing in troops if violence erupted.28

While attacking the precipitants of race riots and planning strategy for quick mobilization in case violence occurred, most race relations organizations devoted little efforts to underlying causes of race riots. Studies by Lee and Humphrey, Shogan and Craig, Capeci, and the riot prevention publications generally agreed that the precipitants (racial friction, police partiality, rumors and others) were a necessary but not sufficient cause of riots. They viewed the rapid influx of migrants as an important condition underlying the hostile outbursts, primarily because of the social disruption it created - increasing crime and juvenile delinquency, congestion, deterioration of public services, etc. The fact that the vast majority of migrants to the riot cities, particularly Detroit, arrived from the south further aggravated the situation. Black newcomers to the cities were determined to enjoy their
new-found freedoms and to break away from the traditional southern way of life, while white migrants were just as determined to maintain their traditional attitude with respect to blacks and to extend patterns of discrimination and segregation. Conflict seemed nearly inevitable in some cases.29

The studies of the riots also generally viewed unemployment and underemployment, inadequate housing, and poor public and recreational facilities as other important underlying factors of riots. Perhaps the most significant factor, however, was prejudice and racist attitudes. Although growing numbers of white Americans began adopting more egalitarian views, racism, even among the supposedly more liberal northerners, was rampant in the early 1940's. These problems, of course, existed prior to the war era. The influx of migrants and other war-bred tensions intensified them. Yet, the excitement and immediate crisis situation in many cities prevented race relations groups from working on the basic underlying cause of riots.30

As the war neared an end, racial conflict decreased in most cities. Many race relations organizations, particularly in the south and small communities, ceased to function. In most large cities, however, mayor's and citizens' committees experienced a gradual change. Many groups began to assume positive approaches to improving race relations. In a study of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee in
Cincinnati, Marshall Bragdon reported that:

The original concept of FRC as chiefly intended to 'prevent riots' has grown into a wiser, wider vision of its long-term function - to build friendly understanding and mutual respect among citizens of every creed, color and condition. 31

Race relations organizations in the immediate post-war years established programs to attain long-range and fundamental objectives. Significant progress was made in employment, housing, public facilities and in other areas. Columbus' Council for Democracy, along with similar committees in New York, Chicago, and some other cities, sought the passage of state Fair Employment Practice legislation. On the local level, Chicago became the first city in 1945 to enact a municipal FEPC, outlawing discrimination not only in city and public work, but also in private employment. Committees in Los Angeles, Washington, and Detroit successfully integrated blacks into their cities' public transportation systems.32

The methods employed by race relations organizations varied greatly. Some utilized legal action, pressure, and nonviolent, direct action. A study by Goodwin Watson estimated that nearly seventy percent of the organizations specialized in public education. Their objective was to dispel the false conceptions and misunderstandings which rationalized race prejudices. To meet this objective, race relations groups sponsored numerous conferences, mass
meetings, public programs, committee publications, radio programs, and other such tactics. They flooded cities with public affairs books and pamphlets, the most famous being Ruth Benedict's *Races of Mankind*, Earl Brown's *The Negro and the War*, and the American Council on Race Relations' *What About Our Japanese Americans?* Committees urged and assisted a number of city public school systems to introduce intercultural and race related courses. A group in Springfield, Massachusetts devised a plan for "Democracy in Education," which many school systems throughout the country adopted.33

In his study of the race relations organizations of the war era, Watson offered a favorable evaluation of the educational approach in attempting to improve race relations. He pointed out, however, that correct information about racial groups and the causes of prejudice did not always ameliorate attitudes. In addition, the people most in need of enlightenment, the poor and underclass, were the least likely to be reached by educational means. Watson recommended that race relations organizations better evaluate the effectiveness of their programs and develop more techniques whereby to reach all people.34

Some of the most significant contributions of race relations organizations were made to the emerging police-community relations movement. In addition to assisting in the formation of riot control units and other measures
to improve the police's ability to control civil disorder, race relations groups provided publications on police training in race relations, held conferences with police officials, and instituted various programs establishing communication between the police department and black leaders. The American Council on Race Relations took the lead among organizations promoting the police-community relations movement. Established in 1944 as a clearing house and coordinating agency for local race relations organizations, the Council published and distributed a number of police training manuals on race relations. Police officials from throughout the country attended conferences on the law enforcement aspect of race relations sponsored by the Council in the mid-1940's. 35

The police-community relations movement resulted largely from the same factors as the interracial organizations: the growing attitude of egalitarianism among many white Americans and the shocking race riots in 1943. A third, and perhaps the most important factor influencing the movement's emergence was the continuing progress of police reform. Samuel Walker, in an analysis of the origin of the movement, asserted that "the police-community relations movement would not have been possible without the change in police administration that had taken place between the two world wars." 36 While conscious of the need for good relations with all citizens, leaders of the
movement primarily sought to improve the relationship between police and the black community in large cities. 37

The conflicting relationship which existed between blacks and the police in most urban centers stemmed from generations of white oppression in the south. As blacks migrated to northern and western cities, they carried their negative image of the police as enforcers of white authority and oppression with them. Moreover, in the cities black migrants were confronted by many police officers who held strong antipathies toward blacks. Unaccustomed to city life, blacks had frequent encounters with the police, usually reinforcing each group's negative attitude toward the other. 38

The need for improved relations between the police and the black community became especially apparent in the race riots of the war era. In a review of the major riots, Charles Lawrence emphasized the significant role police action or lack of it played in a number of the outbreaks. The continued discriminatory law enforcement practices of many policemen greatly increased blacks' resentment. Once violence started, police sympathy with white rioters forced blacks to retaliate more vigorously and encouraged white rioters to believe that they could assault blacks without punishment. Police action thus increased the violence in many cases. An even more obvious sign of partiality by some policemen was their involvement as active rioters in
some conflicts. In the Los Angeles and Columbia, Tennessee riots, large numbers of policemen formed a major part of the white mobs. The fact that seventeen of the twenty-five blacks killed in the Detroit riot were by the police, while no white rioters received serious injuries from police action, clearly revealed the partial law enforcement of many Detroit policemen. On the other side, the Harlem riot best dramatized blacks' hostility toward the police. Many black rioters in the Detroit and other riots also made the police a major target of their violence. Blacks in all the riot cities showed a total lack of confidence in the local police. They were the first to call for bringing in troops to restore order. Efforts to restore blacks' confidence in the police became a major objective of police-community relations leaders in later years. 39

Developments in police administration during the early 1940's paralleled that of race relations organizations. With few exceptions, the immediate emphasis related chiefly to tactics and the efficient mobilization and utilization of police forces in violent situations. Training programs for new recruits and in-service training greatly accelerated in most city police departments. Progressive forces in police administration devoted only little attention to human relations or providing for a genuine basis for citizens' input into police work. Instead, developments in police administration often seemed
designed to add further credibility to police professionalism, which, although ambiguously defined, consisted largely of promoting greater efficiency in law enforcement. More significant efforts, however, soon appeared in a number of city police departments. Police-community relations became a dominant feature of police professionalism. Some police departments established special race relations units, similar to a juvenile squad, which specialized in police problems involving antagonism between the races.  

Race relations training for police officers emerged as one of the most significant developments in the police-community relations movement during the 1940's. Joseph T. Kluchesky, a former chief of police and leading advocate of the movement, argued that "the police are possessed of prejudices in about the same proportion as our general civilian public, and they acquired them in the same way." A few police departments established extensive race relations training courses. Most departments, Columbus' included, incorporated race relations units in their regular recruit and in-service training programs. The units consisted largely of lectures by superior officers and college professors. While these efforts to influence the individual policeman's behavior seemed small, they represented an important advancement in police professionalism.
The police-community relations movement received guidance from a number of publications which surfaced during the mid-1940's. One of the most widely circulated was *Police and Minority Groups* by Joseph Weckler and Theo Hall. The manual presented practical methods on preventive policing in the field of interracial relations. Weckler and Hall reviewed positive action that had been taken in various cities both in preventing riots and quelling them once they erupted.43

In Massachusetts, the Governor's Commission compiled and published psychologist Gordon Allport's instructions to a group of Boston policemen on race relations into a *Bulletin for Police Administration*. Conferences held by the Chicago Mayor's Committee and police officials led to the publishing of another manual, *Police and Minority Groups - Chicago Park District*, written by sociologist Joseph Lohman. The most practical and widely used training manual was *A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers*. The Guide resulted from a program of race relations training developed by the Richmond, California Police and the American Council on Race Relations. A study by Davis McEntire and Joseph Weckler described the program as providing for a combination of reading, group discussion, and expert consultation on actual problems of police work. Through a consultation service, the American Council spread the Richmond plan throughout the country. Kluchesky, chief consultant, conducted training courses in Minneapolis,
Youngstown, Cleveland, Washington, and many other cities. There is no evidence of Kluchesky or any other consultant visiting Columbus; however, the Guide was introduced to the city's Police Department. 44

The publications generally agreed that the police could prevent race riots, and they contained broad recommendations for police administration in cities having racial tensions. In addition to race relations training for all police officers, these included the establishment of a working liaison with black leaders and organizations in the community concerned with interracial relations. Police departments were urged to cooperate with the press by supplying accurate facts to replace rumors and unfair or biased accounts of interracial incidents. In Chicago, the Mayor's Committee held conferences for police officials and editors of the city's black newspapers. The police and the editors agreed that the papers would not play up interracial incidents involving blacks and the police until thorough investigations could be made. If, however, the situation was not adequately handled, the papers would not hesitate to be critical. 45

The publications on police administration urged the employment of more black policemen, which would foster greater confidence in the police in black communities. They also recognized that black officers were often more effective than white officers in troublesome black
neighborhoods. The publications recommended, however, the utilization of black officers in all sections of the city as a means of exposing competent blacks to all citizens. Police departments were advised to systematically observe troublesome areas and if violence erupted to make an immediate show of force. By this, the publications meant the use of a large number of policemen to awe and disperse the crowds, not the use of excessive violence. In fact, the strongly warned against the use of excessive force and insisted on effective and impartial police action. 46

Because of the lack of serious racial violence in the late 1940's, both race relations organizations and the police-community relations movement lost much of their momentum. Many mayor's and citizens' committees ceased to exist by the 1950's and others acted on a very limited base. The return of racial violence in the 1960's, however, revived both movements. Governmental bodies, including the federal executive, established riot commissions to prevent future outbursts. These commissions, although much broader in their operations, drew heavily upon the experience of the organizations which emerged during the violent World War II era. 47 Police-community relations became the dominant issue in police administration in the late 1960's, and like the riot commissions, relied heavily upon the ideas of the 1940's. Samuel Walker pointed out
that few new innovations emerged, and the strategy of police-community relations remained basically the same. The nature of the ghetto rebellions, however, forced the police to develop new tactics once violence erupted.48

This summary of events and trends in race relations on the national scene during the Second World War era provides a useful framework for examining factors and efforts by race relations organizations that may have accounted for Columbus' lack of racial violence during that period. Chapter II inspects the Columbus Urban League's activities during the war era. Chapter III presents an analysis of race relations efforts of the Columbus Council for Democracy. Police-community relations in Columbus is examined in Chapter IV. The thesis concludes with an evaluation of the possible contribution made by race relations organizations and the police in reducing racial tension in Columbus.
NOTES CHAPTER I


8. Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years'", 100-101; Vigilance, October 1, 1941, Box 1, Vanguard League Papers (later to be designated VL Papers), Ohio Historical Society (later to be designated OHS).


11. "Lockbourne May be All-Negro Base," Columbus Citizen, January 23, 1946, p. 3; "Hear Pressure to Move 477th from Lockbourne Army Base," Ohio State News (Columbus) August 31, 1946, p.2; "The Public Relations Department," March 21, 1946, Box 19, Columbus Urban League Papers (later to be designated CUL Papers), OHS.


23. Perrett, Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph, p. 316.


25. Perrett, Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph, 324.


30. Ibid.
34. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
37. Ibid., p. 1.
40. Davis McEntire and Joseph E. Weckler, "The Role of the Police," The Annals XXIV (March, 1946), 82-84.


CHAPTER II
BLACK PROGRESS AND THE COLUMBUS URBAN LEAGUE

The coming of the Second World War affected Columbus in much the same way as other American cities. With the United States committed to a program of building 50,000 planes a year, Curtiss-Wright Corporation constructed an aircraft plant in Columbus in 1941, which would at the war's peak employ 25,000 workers. Timken Roller Bearing and some other firms in the Columbus area received war contracts. The federal government enlarged the Columbus General Depot to the largest military storage depot in the country. As in other cities, the shortage of workers for the expanded industries lured thousands of migrants to Columbus. However, the migration to Columbus was relatively small compared to some other cities, noticeably those which experienced race riots. The fact that Columbus was a medium-sized city (with a population of 306,087 in 1940) and not heavily industrialized largely accounted for the city experiencing a smaller migration.\(^1\)

Although not an estimation of the wartime migration, census figures reveal the great shift of population to cities during the war decade. Between 1940 and 1950, Columbus experienced a 22.8 percent (69,814) population increase. In Los Angeles the population rose by 32 percent,
for an increase of over 466,000 people. While Detroit's population increased by only 14 percent, that percentage represented nearly 250,000 new residents. The social instability created by the sharp population increases affected Columbus much less than the larger, more industrialized centers.²

A very noticeable part of the population increase in cities which experienced race riots during the Second World War decade was accounted for by blacks. The percentage of blacks in the population of Detroit nearly doubled, increasing from 9 percent in 1940 to 16 percent in 1950. In Los Angeles, the black percentage increased from 6.5 percent to 10.7 and in New York from 6.4 to 9.8. Thus, it appears that the rapid influx of blacks may have been an important condition underlying the hostile outbursts in these cities. In Columbus, however, while the black population increased by nearly 15,000 from 1940 to 1950, the percentage of blacks in the total population remained at 11.7 percent. In fact, the black percentage had been fairly stable since 1930, when blacks constituted 11.3 percent of the population. This stability in the black percentage of the population may have been a significant factor for Columbus' relatively peaceful race relations. The tendency of many white residents in most cities to become more hostile as the black population increased had less basis in Columbus than in many other cities.³
These figures on percentage black population reveal that Columbus had a much greater percentage of blacks prior to the war decade than the other cities. In fact, in 1940, Columbus had the largest percentage of black population of any Ohio city, and among other northern cities, only Indianapolis and Wilmington, Delaware had comparable black percentages. This was due largely to Columbus being one of the headquarters of the underground railroad in the midwest before the war between the states. As early as 1840, blacks comprised nearly 10 percent of the population of Columbus. Thus, by the Second World War the black population in the city was old and well established. The city had already made many adjustments for its large, long-standing black population. 4

The influx of southern migrants and other war-bred tensions, however, did affect race relations in Columbus. The expansion of black neighborhoods beyond their recognized boundaries was met with strong opposition from some whites in surrounding areas. Blacks and whites competed for the unskilled jobs made available by the war program. City facilities such as hospitals, recreation and water and sewage were strained to their limits. Many of the schools in the city became overcrowded. With gas rationing in effect, more people had to rely upon public transportation to get to and from work and other places. The close association made necessary by the overcrowding of buses
and trolleys sparked resentment among many white riders.  

There were also signs of resentment in the black community itself as a result of the migration. The further deterioration of the already deplorable housing situation produced indignation among some of the older residents against the newcomers. The settlement of a large number of black migrants on East Long Street, and in the vicinity of Mt. Vernon Avenue and St. Clair Street started the movement of blacks further east to Champion Avenue, East Broad Street and the South Seventh Street community.  

Many of the older black residents resented the anti-social behavior of the former southern rural dwellers and blamed them for the increase in juvenile delinquency and vice and other social problems which emerged in the black community. In 1942, Leslie M. Shaw, director of the Friendly Service Bureau, directly attributed a large increase in black arrests for disorderly conduct to the newcomers. Some of the older residents also feared that the coming of large numbers of southern blacks would endanger some of the privileges they enjoyed, such as attending some of the downtown theaters, cafes, and restaurants. Nevertheless, no major opposition to migrants rose in the black community. Older residents generally assisted the newcomers in adjusting to city life by welcoming them into their churches and social organizations.
Racial tensions, which had always existed, noticeably increased in Columbus almost simultaneously with the country's introduction into the war. Following the Detroit riot in 1943, Turner Catledge, a New York Times reporter, evaluated the racial environment of all northern industrial cities with a large number of black residents. He listed Columbus as one of the potentially acute racial tension areas in the country. Catledge reported that "Columbus is another of those communities, which, like St. Louis and Indianapolis, was quite unaware that it had the makings of a serious race problem until the war came with all its social and economic pressures."

To meet the increasing difficulties in race relations, numerous groups undertook measures to retain Columbus' interracial harmony. Church and civic organizations increasingly called for interracial goodwill. In June, 1943, a two-day Inter-Racial Institute was held in the city to study methods of overcoming racial tension. Bayard Rustin of the Chicago Fellowship of Reconciliation served as consultant. The Columbus Urban League, the organization largely responsible for the city's long-standing interracial peace, took the lead among groups attempting to improve race relations in the city.

The Columbus Urban League - which emerged to meet an acute condition created by the First World War migration to the city - entered the Second World War era as a well
established and effective force in the race relations field. Although in one of the medium sized cities of the nation, the Columbus Urban League ranked among the five largest urban leagues in the country. The Columbus affiliate also claimed the largest interracial structure (approximately fifty-five percent black and forty-five percent white) of any league. This interracial structure was, however, confined primarily to board and committee members as the League had a staff of black professionals and clerical workers.10

The activities of the Columbus Urban League did much to improve race relations and prevent the development of serious racial violence in Columbus during the tense war era. The League continually sought better opportunities for jobs, health, housing, recreation, and education in behalf of the city's black citizens. The League thus helped to remove many of the causes of racial friction and improved citizenship in the black community. Moreover, the League initiated and conducted outstanding projects to further interracial cooperation. Many organizations devoted to minority group problems adopted militant tactics in attempting to fulfill their objectives and goals. From its inception, the Urban League in Columbus decried the use of militant action such as protest meetings, marches and picketing, which the league felt would increase antagonism between the races and make cooperative efforts more
difficult. The educative process appeared to be the best method of improving the lives of Columbus' black citizens and their relations with the dominant society.\textsuperscript{11}

The Urban League thus adopted a moderate approach to solving problems in the black community and difficulties in race relations. The League strenuously tried to avoid politics and tended to evade controversial matters. It never resorted to legal action - such as bringing or assisting in lawsuits against discriminating establishments - as did some other black advancement groups in the city. As expressed by Barbee William Durham, a leader of the Columbus chapter of the NAACP during the forties and fifties, the Urban League did not want to "rock the boat". The League, while feeling the repercussions of the activist spirit of the war years, remained moderate both in tone and action. The adherence of the League's leaders to this approach and their desire to regain their support in the white community militated against a more militant stand. Nevertheless, there continued to be some in the white community who felt threatened by the advances of blacks and vented their hostility and resentment toward the League as well as other groups seeking to improve the status of the city's black population.\textsuperscript{12}

While some of the white conservatives viewed the Urban League as too progressive, some black citizens held the opposite opinion. The League never received the
wholehearted support of the entire black community during the 1940's. The emergence of the Vanguard League in 1940 was evidence of the dissatisfaction among some blacks with the approach and gains made by both the Urban League and the NAACP. Frank Shearer, founder of the Vanguard League, and some other emerging young black leaders adopted A. Philip Randolph's approach of direct action by the black masses in their attempt to gain equal rights for Columbus' black residents. The constant protesting and picketing by the Vanguard League in the immediate years after its organization broke the barring of blacks by a number of downtown theaters and restaurants. However, while the Vanguard League remained active throughout the 1940's, its leaders were never able to stimulate a strong following for the organization. The militant attitude of the war era among many blacks throughout the nations appears not to have been as strong in Columbus as in some other cities. Whereas the Vanguard League represented the only group of its kind to emerge in Columbus, a number of such groups surfaced in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and in some other cities. A majority in the black community of Columbus remained committed to the approach and activities of the Urban League.13

Although all of the Urban League's departments undertook efforts to further interracial harmony, the Public Relations Department generally conducted the race relations
activities. This department, the first to be organized in any urban league, attempted to publicize to the citizens of Columbus the overall program of the League in such a way that prejudice and discrimination would be replaced with understanding and goodwill. Edward Lentz asserted in his thesis on the League that the Public Relations Department represented the "organizational culmination of N. B. Allen's long drive to make the promotion of inter-racial harmony through the media a dominant goal of the League in Columbus."\(^\text{14}\) To accomplish this goal, the League utilized every media channel available. A wide range of public affairs materials and the *New Epoch*, the League's official organ, were distributed each month. The League constantly sponsored various meetings, conferences, and special programs. During such national observances as Race Relations Week, speakers were dispatched to various groups and organizations to carry the message of brotherhood.\(^\text{15}\)

The League's most extensively utilized and effective means of promoting its program was through the airways, with two weekly radio broadcasts. "The Tenth Man," which first appeared in 1944, featured a newscast summarizing the events and trends in race relations in Columbus, throughout the nation and the world. Outstanding local leaders interested in race relations problems frequently appeared on the program. The "Lighthouse", narrated by N. B. Allen, was oriented toward civic affairs and social
commentary. As evidence of their effectiveness, both broadcasts received local and national acclaim. The text of several of Allen's commentaries appeared in the city's daily and weekly newspapers. Throughout the late 1940's and early 1950's, these programs and frequent special broadcasts consolidated the League as a voice for the black community and interracial harmony in Columbus.16

Generally, the League had good relations with the press in Columbus and received regular and favorable coverage. As advocated by many of the race relations publications following the 1943 riots, N. B. Allen and others in Columbus recognized the press as a key force in maintaining good race relations in the city. The League urged the city's dailies to maintain high standards in their news coverage. The *Columbus Dispatch*, as early as 1943, became one of the nation's first major newspapers to refrain from referring to race or nationality in its news stories.17 The city's other dailies soon followed suit; however, the *Columbus Citizen* on occasion played up the black angle in news articles, the most serious being an article characterizing the all-black army unit slated for stationing near Columbus as a "trouble-making outfit." Following the agitation created by the article, the League formed a citizen committee which consulted with the city editors and developed a code governing the use of race in news stories. The code included the following provisions:
1. Race (was) not to be used in crime stories or when it (served) no useful purpose.

2. It (was) not to be used in headlines except under the most unusual circumstances - such as race riots.

3. It (could) be used when the accused was still at large and when race may (have served) as a means of identification.

4. Race (could) be used when it (was) essential to the proper understanding of a story.

5. It (could) be used in stories about legislation, conferences, programs, etc., where race problems or cooperation (were) an essential part of the story.

6. It (could) be used to identify black artists or others whose accomplishments would be a matter of pride.

7. The above policies generally (applied), also, to the use of such terms as Japanese, Chinese, Jewish, etc.

Columbus dailies generally adhered to the new policies governing the use of racial identification in news stories. Subsequent articles appeared less biased and rarely designated race or nationality. Occasionally, news stories of interest to blacks appeared in the society columns and in editorials. The League asserted that the press' cooperation in promoting understanding and goodwill was in part responsible for the city's interracial harmony, and in appreciation for their efforts, the League honored the city's editors at its 1948 Annual Meeting.

The Ohio State News, Columbus' black weekly, appeared, however, not to have been approached concerning its news coverage. The News' existence, like most black newspapers,
depended primarily on the fact that it reported matters of interest to blacks not carried by the city's dailies. Therefore, the paper tended to focus largely upon racial incidents and protest stories, some of which were grossly sensationalized.

One of the highlights for the Columbus Urban League during the 1940's was its hosting the 34th Annual Conference of the National Urban League in 1944. The Conference received delegates from forty-eight urban league affiliates from throughout the country, and representatives of every phase of government, social agencies, industry, labor, and all mediums of the news service. As evidence of the acuteness of the race problem in the nation, the six-day event was dominated by planning programs to further interracial harmony and strategy to deal with tense situations. Hundreds of local black and white citizens attended Conference workshops on racial conflict situations, race riot prevention, and social planning for the post-war period. Delegates to the Conference devised a number of new projects to be conducted by the national office, one being the dispatching of trained workers to racially tense cities to work with community leaders and to acquaint them with techniques of handling tense situations.²⁰

The Urban League's Conference in Columbus received national and international attention. More importantly for the Columbus affiliate, the Conference provided the
opportunity to make friends among other local leaders. More than forty local organizations acted as coordinating agencies in hosting the event. The League emphasized the cooperation it received from local citizens as a true display of racial goodwill and progress in Columbus. 21

One of the League's most unique, and perhaps the first of its kind, approach to the problem of inter-group understanding and cooperation was its On-the-Spot Adjustment Campaigns in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The Public Relations Department staff, in cooperation with sociologists from Ohio State University, developed the idea at a minority group behavior conference in 1946. The annual campaign was designed to call public attention to the importance of incidents involving individuals of different racial groups and the necessity of knowing how to make the most amicable adjustment in order to prevent the incidents from developing into more serious conflicts. An example used by Melvin Murphy illustrates well the down-to-earth nature of the campaign. "If a black person were to step on a white person's foot on a public bus, they should discuss the incident rather than fight about it; in the long run it would make for better interracial relations." 22

The League conducted the campaign through institutes, essay contests among junior and senior high school students, special church sermons, and programs on all radio and
television channels. The press and many community leaders hailed the campaign as one of Columbus' most successful attempts at fostering interracial cooperation. The 1949 campaign received national recognition in a bulletin published by the *New Republic*. While the League's many efforts to further interracial understanding may have improved race relations, its success in ameliorating conditions in Columbus' black community was more important for the city's lack of racial violence. 23

A major characteristic that distinguished Columbus from many other cities during the Second World War was its stable economy. This stemmed from the city's diversity of employment activities. Columbus had three broad phases of employment - retail and wholesale trade, manufacturing, and government and education. The wartime demands propelled industry (primarily manufacturing) to become the city's leading employer for the first time; however, the other areas, less affected by the war, remained as important parts of the city's economy. Moreover, no single industry or phase of manufacturing dominated in Columbus. 24

During the war years, black workers in Columbus enjoyed a favorable employment position compared with some other cities. Theodore Levitt, in an analysis of the wartime manpower mobilization in Columbus, revealed that blacks'
proportion in industry nearly equaled their proportion in the total population in 1944 (11 percent to 11.7 percent). Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Humphrey reported in their study of the Detroit riot that blacks in 1943 constituted roughly 10 percent of Detroit's population but their industrial gains had only given them 8.4 percent of the jobs. While not presenting any figures, Dominic Capeci claimed that unemployment remained a serious problem in Harlem during the war years. Figures by Levitt also showed that in essential activities (which included such occupation as utilities, railroad, freight and warehousing, and construction) the proportion of blacks in Columbus doubled, from 8 percent in 1942 to 16 percent in 1945.25

The large increase in black employment opportunities in Columbus did not, however, signal an end to discrimination. The President's FEPC likewise did little to abolish discriminatory practices in the city. Discrimination against blacks in employment manifested itself in several ways. Some employers, noticeably Columbus' garment industries, continued their refusal to hire blacks despite the shortage of workers. Many employers hired blacks for certain departments only, without regard to their qualifications for other and better paying work. Another not uncommon practice was to hire a less well qualified white person rather than a well qualified black available at the same time. There was also active discrimination in
promotions and upgrading.26

Similar to the so-called "Hate-Strikers" which occurred in a number of cities during the war, the promotion of a black worker to the tool and dye division at Curtiss-Wright led to a two-day walkout by other workers of the division in November, 1941. The incident received city-wide attention. The black worker retained his position and later other blacks joined the tool and dye division. The War Manpower Commission, the group entrusted with carrying out the FEPC regulations in Columbus, had not been established. However, even if the black worker had lost his position and the Commission had been functioning, it was unlikely that Curtiss-Wright, a manufacturer of an essential war product (war planes), would have been sanctioned.27

The most dramatic case of discriminatory employment practices in Columbus during the war era was the refusal of Columbus and Southern Ohio Electric Company to employ blacks in the city's public transportation system. Following months of consultation and pleading by the Vanguard League and other groups, the Company in late 1944 announced that it would hire blacks for the positions of bus and trolley operators. Several blacks applied; however, because of trivial matters in their work records (such as an applicant's failure to account for two months of his work history), none of the applicants were hired. The Area
Director of the War Manpower Commission upheld the Company, but the Regional FEPC reversed the decision. The Company immediately appealed the case to the national FEPC which ruled in favor of the Company despite the blatant discrimination involved. According to Levitt, although discrimination in employment was widespread, Columbus and Southern Ohio was the only employer in the city against which sanctions were sought for failure to comply with the anti-discriminatory provisions of the FEPC. 28

Efforts in Columbus to promote the hiring of blacks and to mitigate discriminatory employment practices went considerably beyond the official measures of the President's FEPC. Through the Industrial Relations Department, the Urban League attempted to secure a fuller utilization of black workers throughout the war decade. Conferences with organizations like the Columbus Building Trade Council were held to acquaint the unions with special problems blacks faced in the building industry, especially that of acquiring building contracts. Efforts of the League primarily centered around industry, but attempts on the difficult task of integrating blacks into white-collar and skilled trades both in industry and in other areas were few. At the League's urging, some industrial firms in Columbus placed blacks on their personnel staffs and in a few other high level jobs. Jeffrey Manufacturing Company, one of the city's most liberal industrial concerns, employed a
black man as the personal secretary to the firm's chairman of the board. 29

The League undertook a number of efforts to consolidate and extend the gains made by black workers during the war years. Through the distribution of information, radio broadcasts, and special labor related projects, the League's "Put Your Job First" campaign in 1944 attempted to stimulate good attendance and job performance. Members of the Industrial Relations Department conducted a black workers' education program through worker groups, local unions, and in the plants. During the annual Vocational Opportunity Campaign, the League encouraged young people and adults to develop new skills for the expanded job opportunities. Thus, the League's efforts in employment were twofold in that it sought and worked for the integration of the black worker in industry and at the same time, with equal emphasis, strove to develop him as an efficient and valuable worker. 30

The League recognized that just as industry had been the scene of intense race clashes, it could also serve as one of the best areas for constructive work in race relations. In 1944, the League sponsored a series of radio forums entitled "Industry - The Race Relations Laboratory," at which time representatives of the manpower commission, management, labor and workers discussed the role industry could play in promoting interracial goodwill at the work
site. A number of the League's labor-management conferences and meetings with workers stressed the need for good race relations and unity.\textsuperscript{31}

The ending of the war in 1945 meant a great economic change for the United States. The layoffs in Columbus as a result of the loss of war contracts did not compare to those in the large industrial centers. Yet, numerous adjustments and labor shifts were necessary. Black workers had been disproportionately represented in industries directly related to the war, and they felt the effects of peace most severely. The black employment syndrome of "last hired, first fired" held true for Columbus blacks in the immediate postwar period. By 1946, black unemployment was 150 percent higher than for whites. Holding on to wartime gains was extremely difficult, as some whites were intent on returning blacks back to their pre-war employment situation. An Urban League report cited as evidence of this the re-emergence of ads for "white only." The League realized that black workers and veterans would not return to their pre-war status peacefully. Satisfactory job opportunities were necessary for the maintenance of good race relations in Columbus. Thus, the League cooperated extensively with the Ohio Employment Service and the Veterans' Bureau in the placement of black workers.\textsuperscript{32}
The employment situation rapidly improved in Columbus following reconversion. Curtiss-Wright continued to employ nearly 5,000 workers as the Corporation transferred its entire airplane division to Columbus. The available labor pool led General Motors Corporation in 1945 to locate its first post-war plant in Columbus - the Ternstedt Division factory. By 1947, the factory employed over 8,000 workers. Columbus retail and wholesale business also expanded in the late 1940's.33

Blacks in Columbus made significant progress in the employment field in the late 1940's. After Lazarus' introduction of black women to the highly visible position of sales clerk in 1944, some other leading retail outlets in the city followed suit in the post-war years. Blacks secured better jobs in government, utilities and in 1946 Bell Telephone hired its first black operators in the city. Blacks' great opportunities, however, remained in industry. The advances by blacks prompted the resurgence of the League's claim that Columbus contained the most substantial black middle-class element in the state. The League pointed with pride to several successful black insurance companies based in the city. Although blacks made important gains in employment, they remained restricted in their opportunities for securing jobs commensurate with their training capabilities. Many white-collar and some skilled occupations remained closed to blacks. Because
of the expanded opportunities brought on by the war, the Urban League placed much emphasis on employment throughout the 1940's. However, the League also made important contributions to the black community in other areas. 34

In light of the fact that youth played a major role in most race riots, the League's Youth Department was in an influential position for inhibiting potential rioters in Columbus. The department primarily directed its efforts toward assisting black youths in the achievement of greater participation in social, educational, and recreational activities of the city. As a result of numerous surveys, the League greatly expanded the program of the department in 1945. Big Brother and Big Sister Units were organized in strategic areas throughout the city. These units, consisting of as many as twenty-five adults, provided companionship for youths from broken homes. They offered general guidance and supervision, conducted seasonal social activities, and sponsored summer camps. In 1946, a Big Brother-Big Sister Council appeared on a city-wide basis to work with all the city's underprivileged black youths. Although it could not be proven, the League's Youth Department credited itself partly for Columbus having one of the lowest juvenile crime rates in the nation for cities of its size. 35

The League viewed the improvement of relations between Columbus' black and white youths of equal importance to
that between the adult population. In March, 1945, the Youth Department conducted a two-day, city-wide Interracial Youth Conference, at which time more than two hundred delegates from twenty-five youth organizations discussed such topics as post-war education, youth's involvement in social and political action, and minority groups. The Conference resulted in the formation of an Interracial Youth Council to plan and coordinate interracial youth activities for the entire city. The Council's activities, however, must have been minimal as no further mention of it appeared in League reports.³⁶

The lack of adequate recreational facilities constituted a major problem in Columbus' black community during the 1940's. The City Recreation Department provided few services for blacks, and while there was no legal segregation in public parks, playgrounds and swimming pools, de facto segregation existed throughout the city. Blacks most frequently utilized Maryland Park on the East side, to which few, if any, whites visited. Both blacks and whites visited Franklin Park, located at the end of East Long Street, but they tended to segregate themselves by the days they attended, with whites generally making use of the park during the week and blacks on the weekend. On the near North Side, blacks most often used Goodale Park. Of these three parks, only Maryland Park in 1945 had a swimming pool.³⁷
Private recreational facilities were likewise very limited to blacks in Columbus. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. provided separate facilities for blacks. The Spring Street Y.M.C.A. and the Blue Triangle Y.W.C.A. on Monroe Avenue had one hundred percent black participation. The Southside Y.M.C.A. served black youth in the area by segregated groups and the Central Y.W.C.A. opened all its facilities to blacks except the swimming pool. Similar recreational conditions existed in most major cities of the nation during the 1940's and created serious racial problems in some. In 1949, the opening of all swimming pools to blacks resulted in an outbreak of racial violence in St. Louis. Dozens of black youth attempting to utilize pools previously attended only by whites were seriously injured. It appears that few, if any, efforts were made in Columbus to integrate swimming facilities.\(^{38}\)

Many outlying black communities in the Columbus area, such as Hanford Village in the southeast section of the city, and the American Addition, located in the northeast section, lacked any supervised swimming places. Black youths in these areas had to depend upon uninspected and dangerous mud holes, gravel pits, and creeks for swimming. The more than 42,000 black people in Franklin County had no real camping facilities available to them within easy traveling distance. To alleviate the problem to some degree, the Urban League purchased, in 1942, a beautiful
wooded tract in Champaign County known as Brush Lake for the purpose of providing a year-round health and education center. 39

The League clearly realized that proper recreational outlets were necessary for the release of pent-up tensions which often flared into violent action. Referring to Camp Brush Lake as "a place where race and other tensions relax," the League encouraged both black and white citizens of Columbus to make use of the facilities. The more than fifty-four acres of property consisted of a lake, plenty of farm and brush land, and dozens of buildings and cottages which could be used as recreational halls, dorms, and food facilities. A program including camping, boating, swimming, fishing, games and picnicking drew thousands to the lake each year. 40

The League's Community and Neighborhood Department provided further opportunities for wholesome recreational and community activities for the black community in Columbus. The League's program at the Monroe Avenue Social Center included activities for all age groups. The most significant project of the department during the 1940's was the organization of neighborhood units. These units provided a means of stimulating community cooperation and responsibility. Citizens learned how to beautify neighborhood parks, lawns, flower gardens and playgrounds. While the major concern of the units was to maintain and improve the
general character of their neighborhoods, they also became involved in current civic and social problems. Citizens, through these units, became better acquainted with police officers, ward committeemen, health officers, and social workers in their neighborhood by inviting them to their meetings and hearing about their activities and problems.

In light of the housing situation in Columbus, the Community and Neighborhood Department's room service proved to be very helpful to newcomers to the city.

As a result of the migration and scarcity of building materials in war time, Columbus, like most cities, experienced an acute housing shortage during much of the 1940's. The problem was most severe in the city's black community, where many families financially able to secure better homes were denied the opportunity because of restrictive covenants (land contracts barring home sales to blacks) which existed in some Columbus neighborhoods. The most numerous of these contracts were found in the areas surrounding the East Side, which contained about sixty percent of the city's black population. This process of restricting the movement of the black population resulted in a deterioration of housing, overcrowding, congestion, and many other social problems. Figures on the density of population reveal the extent of congestion in the black community. While the average population density for Columbus, according to the 1940 census, was 12.5 persons per acre, the
density in tract thirty-five, the heart of the East Side, was 39.4 persons per acre. 42

Studies on the Detroit and Harlem riots of 1943 as well as those on riots of other periods identified poor housing conditions, particularly among blacks, as a major factor contributing to the outbreaks. While an analysis of the quality of housing among cities cannot be performed, the census categories "needing major repair" for 1940 and "dilapidated" for 1950 provide some indication of the difference in housing conditions. The statistics from these reports revealed that Columbus fared better than some cities and worse than others. In 1940, the city reported that 13.1 percent of its dwelling units were in need of major repairs as compared to 16 percent in New York, 16.2 percent in Detroit, and 15.6 percent in Cincinnati. Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Chicago reported significantly lower figures on units needing major repairs, ranging from 3.8 percent in Los Angeles to 8.2 percent in Chicago. In 1950, 7.2 percent of the dwelling units in Columbus were classified as dilapidated, while 8.4 percent of the units in Detroit and 9 percent in New York were in this category. 43

Despite restrictive covenants and the reluctance of real estate agents to integrate communities, blacks in Columbus did secure housing in some previously all-white neighborhoods during the 1940's. A study of black housing
in Columbus by John Alston in 1946 revealed that blacks lived all over the city. Although there were several exclusive white communities within the city limits, most of them were bordered by smaller and less pretentious homes of black persons. Such close proximity and attempts by blacks to occupy homes in all-white neighborhoods touched off near-riots in some cities. In Columbus, while strong resentment existed among many whites in communities which became integrated, few, if any, racial incidents occurred.

Throughout the 1940's the Columbus Urban League placed much emphasis upon housing. In 1945, the League sponsored a Regional Housing Clinic. More than a hundred housing experts and delegates came from throughout the midwest to consider the underlying causes of inadequate housing, its effects, and means of securing decent housing for blacks. Efforts by the League, combined with those of other organizations, to obtain temporary housing as an emergency measure were successful. In 1945, the Federal Housing Commission allocated the building of four hundred and sixty units to help relieve the city's shortage. A hundred and twenty units were made available for black occupancy. The most significant gains for blacks came in the post-war years. In 1947, the completion of two hundred and forty-seven new homes in Hanford Village, a black settlement in southeast Columbus, made available to blacks more new homes in one year's time than in the entire previous twenty-five years.
Black home ownership has been identified by many observers as one of the most important indications of black progress. Furthermore, the peace of mind created by the security of owning a home has important implications for lessening tension and thus decreasing the potential for racial violence. The following table taken from census reports shows that in both 1940 and 1950 blacks in Columbus enjoyed a higher percentage of home ownership than any of the other selected cities except Los Angeles in 1940. The table, however, reveals that black home ownership in all the cities was far below that for the overall population. The gap between black and overall home ownership narrowed in all the cities between 1940 and 1950, the most significant being in Columbus where the difference in ownership was cut in half (from 16.2 to 8.1 percent).

Table 1: Percentage of Home Ownership 1940 and 1950

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<th>% Home Ownership 1950</th>
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The 1940's were progressive years for the black community in Columbus. This was due in part to the successful work of the Columbus Urban League. As evidence of the League's progress and influence in Columbus, membership in the organization tripled during the decade, climbing to more than 6000 members by 1947. The many problems created by the war crisis demanded that greater efforts be made to maintain the city's interracial harmony. The League committed itself to this task. Through gaining cooperation from influential people, conducting various projects to improve interracial relations, and ameliorating some of the conditions in the black community, the Urban League was an important factor in Columbus' lack of racial violence.
NOTES CHAPTER II


5. Minutes of the meetings of the Committee on Causes of Critical Racial Tensions, February 5, 1944, Columbus Council for Democracy (later to be designated CCD) Box 11, CCL Papers, OHS.


12. Ibid., p.28; Interview with Barbee William Durham, Columbus, Ohio, April 15, 1980; The Columbus Urban League was the only organization staffed with black workers that received its operating funds from the Community Chest, an agency which collected money and supported various social efforts in the city. The Annual Roll Call, membership drive in which citizens could have their names placed on the League's roll for one dollar, supplemented the League's finances.


16. Ibid., p.3.


18. Letter from Don E. Weaver, Editor, Columbus Citizen, to Charles Spicer, January 22, 1947, Box 1, CUL Papers, OHS.

19. Advancement, p.25.

20. "Victory Through Unity," Annual Conference National Urban League, 1944, Box 19, CUL Papers, OHS.


22. Murphy, "Columbus Urban League," p.69.

23. "Report of the Public Relations Department," 1949, Box 19, CUL Papers, OHS.


26. Minutes of the meeting of the Committee on Causes of Critical Racial Tensions, February 24, 1944, CCD, Box 11, CUL Papers, OHS.

27. "Curtiss Tieup Threatens in Racial Dispute," Ohio State Journal (Columbus), 1941, Box 17, CUL Papers, OHS.

29. "28th Annual Report of the Columbus Urban League," 1945, Box 1, CUL Papers, OHS.

30. "Summary of Work of Industrial Relations Department," 1944, Box 17, CUL Papers, OHS.


32. "Employment Conditions in Columbus 1946," Box 17, CUL Papers, OHS.

33. Mechstroth, Columbus Grows Up!, pp. 1 and 5.

34. "Report to the Board of Directors," September 25, 1948, Box 1, CUL Papers, OHS.

35. "Goodwill is Post-War Planning Too," (Columbus Urban League Publication, 1946), Box 5, CUL Papers, OHS.

36. "Report to the Youth Department," 1945, Box 18, CUL Papers, OHS.

37. "Community Service Available to the Youth of Columbus," (Columbus Urban League Publication, 1945), p. 13, Box 18, CUL Papers, OHS.


39. "Goodwill is Post-War Planning Too," Box 5, CUL Papers, OHS.

40. "Quarterly Report of the Public Relations Department," December 16, 1946, Box 19, CUL Papers, OHS.

41. "Sixteenth Annual Roll Call," (Columbus Urban League Pamphlet, 1948), Box 1, CUL Papers, OHS.

42. John C. Alston, Negro Housing in Columbus, Ohio (Columbus Urban League, 1946), pp. 11-12 and 15, CUL Papers, OHS.

44. Alston, Negro Housing in Columbus, pp. 3 and 5.


CHAPTER III
COLUMBUS COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

The Urban League did not carry the load alone in the attempt to improve race relations and avert the development of racial violence in Columbus during the tense Second World War era. Race relations problems in the city and the well publicized racial conflicts in other cities acquired the attention of many other citizens in Columbus. The emergence of the Columbus Council for Democracy testifies to the immediate concern with race relations among citizens in the city.

Raymond S. Reinert, general manager of a local advertising firm, was the guiding spirit behind the founding of the Council for Democracy. Considerations of national interest as well as the racial discrimination, segregation and bigotry in Columbus played a major role in stimulating Reinert's commitment to organizing efforts to improve race relations in the city. In a bulletin addressed "To Those Believing in Democracy," Reinert began with the following observation.

"Based upon experiences in other communities racial strife would cost Columbus a million dollars, disrupt business, create bitterness that would last for years and furnish Hitler and Togo with propaganda material that would cost thousands of lives by prolonging the war."
After winning the war, racial and religious intolerance and hate may cause us to lose the peace. American boys are sacrificing and dying for democracy. We cannot make a mockery of their sacrifices by practicing facism here at home."

On December 7, 1943, the Columbus Council for Democracy was incorporated by the State of Ohio, making it a legally sanctioned entity. The concept of homefront unity became the official rationale for the race relations efforts of the organization.

The organization of the Council for Democracy occurred in January, 1944, when nearly two hundred civic leaders met at the Fort Hayes Hotel. Reinert became the organization's President. Roy Burkhart, an Upper Arlington minister, Vice-President; Marshall Scott, also a minister, Secretary, and Paul McCarthy, President of the local American Federation of Labor, Treasurer. The Council represented a cross section of the white community in Columbus. Its Board of Trustees included such leaders as Leo Marsh, Director of the Young Mens' Christian Association; Rabbi Harry Kaplan of the B'Nai B'Rith Hillel Foundation, and Dr. Howard Bevis, President of The Ohio State University. The Advisory Council of 175 members contained representatives of business, industry, labor, education, welfare and religious groups. A number of black leaders also appeared on the Advisory Council. These included Nimrod B. Allen of the Urban League; Leslie M. Shaw, Director of the Friendly
The chief objective of the Council for Democracy was to improve race relations by promoting educational plans and programs that would dispel racial myths and misconceptions. Nimrod Allen cooperated extensively with Reinert, who was also Chairman of the Urban League's Public Relations Committee, in the formation of the Council's general policies. Allen's plan for winning interracial goodwill became the basic foundation of the Council's "Community Education Program." To meet the Council's objectives, the Executive Committee devised a five-way program with the following committees: Race Riot Prevention, Causes of Critical Racial Tension, Study of Racial and Religious Intolerance, and Sources of Rumor Mongering, Publicity and Education, and Health and Housing. There is, however, very little evidence of activities by these individual committees; and although the Council stated the elimination of discriminatory practices in Columbus as one of its goals, the group took few active measures in pursuit of this goal.  

Although gaining the support of a powerful segment of the population in Columbus, the Council lacked the backing of many citizens in the city. The organization received little coverage in the city's dailies, other
than articles on its formation and advertisements the group occasionally sponsored. Only the Ohio State News, the city's black weekly, regularly covered the activities of the Council. In an interview, Mrs. Alvah Peterson, former director of the South Fourth Street YWCA and Council for Democracy leader, recalled that the YWCA received sharp criticism from some conservative citizens for allowing the Council and other liberal organizations to use the building as a meeting place. Some major contributors even withdrew their support of the YWCA because of the situation. Nevertheless, this lack of support and cooperation for the Council did not hamper its efforts to improve race relations in Columbus.

The serious race riots occurring in other cities and the immediate racial tension situation in Columbus also claimed the attention of the city's newly elected mayor, James A. Rhodes. Seeking official status for the race relations activities of the Council for Democracy, Reinert consulted the Mayor. As a result of their consultation, Mayor Rhodes appointed a Citizens' Civic Welfare Committee, later referred to as the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations. The Mayor's Committee consisted of twenty-seven members, including civic leaders, police officers, school officials and others. Four blacks were listed among the members of the Committee: Nimrod Allen, Leslie Shaw, Frank Shearer of the Vanguard League, and Reverend C. F.
Jenkins of the Second Baptist Church. As the official arm of the Council for Democracy, the Mayor's Committee acted as an advisory body on race relations to the mayor and his administration; however, it was an independent group, meeting and taking any action deemed necessary. In fact, it appears that Mayor Rhodes did not become actively involved with the Committee's activities.5

The Mayor's Committee in Columbus was not official in the sense as those in Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, and in some other cities, which became a part of their city's governmental structure and received funds for operation. (In 1945, Cincinnati's Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee operated on a budget of $25,000, while Chicago's City Council allocated that city's Mayor's Committee $60,000.) The lack of financial support for the Mayor's Committee in Columbus may have been due to the city's financial problems during the period. Nevertheless, City Council seems to have taken no position on the matter of race relations.6

Columbus' Mayor's Committee, like most such groups throughout the nation, devoted little effort to the basic, underlying causes of racial violence. It took few, if any, direct measures to end discrimination and segregation of the black community. Nor did the Committee attempt to assist in improving social conditions among the white and black migrants to the city. The group did cooperate with the Urban League in attempting to secure temporary housing
to relieve the city's acute shortage. 7

Much of the Mayor's Committee's dormancy on serious problems can be attributed to its members desire not to bring criticism to Mayor Rhodes, although he was not actively involved with the group. Any activities viewed as too progressive by conservative citizens would surely have hurt the Mayor's political future. The Committee generally had to rely upon its ability to influence citizens as its only recourse for action. Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Humphrey, in their suggestions on riot preventive measures, identified the desire of official organizations not to become involved in activities which may have had political repercussions as the major handicap to those groups. They suggested a dual form of organization (with an official group and a citizens' group) in developing race relations programs for cities. 8

The immediate emphasis of the Mayor's Committee in Columbus centered around the development of strategies for quick mobilization in case racial violence erupted. The committee contacted both the Ohio State Guard and officials at the Sixth Service Command District, U.S. Army, concerning the steps necessary for bringing in troops. As part of a riot contingency plan devised by the Mayor's Committee, a group of black and white citizens from each section of Columbus were deputized so that in case of an emergency they could patrol their districts.
Perhaps the most persistent activity of the Mayor's Committee was the investigation of rumor. As in most other cities, rumors about some blacks belonging to "Bumper Clubs," and "Push'em Clubs" surfaced in Columbus. These rumors, often thought to be the work of Nazi and Japanese agents, alleged that blacks who belonged to such groups deliberately bumped or shoved white persons in public places on certain days. Few people in Columbus actually believed such rumors, but more serious rumors of pending racial attacks, particularly following interracial incidents, produced great anxiety among many of the city's residents. At one point, the Council for Democracy instructed five hundred of its members to investigate any rumor that emerged in their communities. Members of the Mayor's Committee attempted to dispel wild rumors through direct appeals at church and organizational meetings, and frequently through radio broadcasts. Police officials also kept abreast of rumors, and on several occasions Ohio State News editorials urged its readers to refrain from repeating the many "vicious and insidious" rumors circulating in the black community.10

Like rumors, racial prejudice and racism was considered by leaders of the Council for Democracy as resulting from people's lack of knowledge and misunderstanding. Through public education, the Council for Democracy
attempted to enlighten the citizens of Columbus on racial matters as a means of improving interracial relations. The Council's "Community Education Program" embodied the majority of the Council's activities. The program called for the utilization of all media channels for the dissemination of trustworthy knowledge. A mailing list of ten thousand names was compiled for frequent distributions of public affairs books, pamphlets, and articles. To ensure even wider distribution, the Council organized a group of one hundred "Distributors." This group of Council volunteers placed materials in public places, in beauty and barber shops, and in waiting rooms of doctors, dentists and lawyers.  

Realizing that most people could not obtain nor take the time to read Gunnar Myrdal's two-volume *An American Dilemma* (1944), the Council, at considerable effort and expense, secured permission to publish a condensation of the work. Nearly 20,000 copies were distributed to schools, area universities, libraries, churches, and civic groups. The Council's *Bulletin* reached more people than any other publication. In addition to information on Council activities, the *Bulletin* included articles on progress in race relations from throughout the nation. It frequently contained quizzes to test the reader's knowledge on achievements by Afro-Americans and other minority groups. In an attempt to reach those in the community who never
read books or serious pamphlets, the Council experimented with the new technique of using comic books as a medium of enlightenment. The project proved to have such great value that the Council distributed thousands of these books. 12

The Council for Democracy, like the Urban League, extensively utilized radio broadcasts in its attempt to influence behavior among Columbus citizens. A series entitled "Lest We Forget" discussed the lives of great Americans of all racial groups. The Council's most celebrated radio program was "Panels for Democracy," heard over radio station WOSU, Ohio State University. The weekly half-hour program featured panel discussions on all phases of the American race problem. 13

One of the most unique parts of the Council's public education program was the Speaker's Bureau. The Council furnished speakers to schools, community meetings, church conferences, and other functions on any phase of the race question, and on American tradition and culture. Those requesting the services could specify what problems they wanted a speaker to discuss, such as employment, housing, recreation, delinquency, and pro-democratic subjects. For the most part, the Speaker's Bureau consisted of civic leaders and heads of organizations. The Council, however, occasionally provided prominent national figures. During 1945, more than three hundred speakers were placed. 14
Reinert, like many people, felt that education of the next generation was perhaps the most feasible solution to the American race relations problem. The Council thus placed much emphasis on the development of intercultural education programs for Columbus schools. Senior and junior high school teachers received Teaching Packets, each of which contained dozens of pieces of materials on race and culture relations. On the elementary level, Council members helped teachers and students in a number of schools form their own Councils for Democracy for the study of different race and religious groups. These represent only two of many such efforts by the Council. More importantly, the Council urged school officials to adopt an intercultural program for the entire system. The organization provided numerous articles on successful programs used by school districts in other cities. While it is unknown whether Columbus public schools imitated such a program, Dr. George Roudebush, Superintendent, approved the use of Ruth Benedict's *Races of Mankind* as a source book for high school students.¹⁵

Leaders of the Council for Democracy further recognized that to be effective, any school program promoting goodwill had to begin with educating the teachers. During the 1946 summer session at Ohio State University, the Council cooperated with the university in sponsoring an Intercultural Education Workshop for Columbus and Franklin County teachers.
The Council's Bulletin frequently reminded teachers of their unique opportunity for affecting better race relations and offered useful techniques for combatting racial intolerance. In integrated schools, officials and teachers were urged to handle conflict situations impartially and with the utmost care as to prevent the development of more serious trouble. However, few schools with mixed student bodies existed in Columbus during the 1940's.  

School children in Columbus during this period attended schools nearest their homes. Thus, de facto segregation existed in most schools as a result of the geographic concentration of the majority of the black population in the East Side and in a few other communities around the city. The Vanguard League, the activist black organization which emerged in 1940, published data secured from the Board of Education which showed that in 1942, 66.1 percent of all black students in Columbus attended predominantly black schools. The greatest amount of integration occurred on the senior high school level, where black students constituted 40 percent of the students at East High School and 10 percent at Central High School. Despite the urging of the Vanguard League and some other blacks in the city, the Board of Education never seriously considered measures to extend integration.  

As well as the school, the Council for Democracy's "Community Education Program" emphasized the church, and
industry and labor groups as other key areas for affecting race relations. Reinert felt that the church should have been leading the way in breaking down racial hatred and intolerance. The Council frequently compiled and distributed series of Sunday School lessons on interracial goodwill to Columbus and Franklin County churches. The Council also cooperated extensively with the Columbus Federation of Church Women, an inter-faith group, in promoting programs for such observances as World Community Day and World Day of Prayer. At industrial sites, the Council set up displays stressing the need for interracial cooperation and unity among workers for the winning of the war. In April, 1944, the Council assisted the Columbus Congress of Industrial Organizations Council in hosting the Ohio CIO Anti-Discrimination Conference. The two-day event stressed equality of employment opportunities for all racial groups and brought to Columbus labor leaders from throughout the nation. 18

The Columbus Council for Democracy made great progress during its first year of operation. Membership in the organization reached 1600. The organization's staff grew to twenty workers, mainly volunteers, and adequate office space was secured on East Long Street. As for race relations, Reinert asserted on the eve of the groups' first anniversary that the Council had a salutary effect on Columbus. The lack of racial violence and an apparent
decrease in racial tensions prompted Council leaders to sponsor a ceremonial "Salute to Columbus" in April, 1945, honoring the city's residents for their progressive attitudes in furthering racial and religious understanding. More than 1500 citizens gathered at the State House Square to hear speeches of praise by Governor Frank Lausche, Mayor Rhodes, and various religious and civic leaders. Radio stations broadcast the ceremony throughout the central Ohio area. The unveiling of numerous unity billboard posters to be placed in strategic locations of the city highlighted the "Salute." The event gained national acclaim as a unique illustration of racial cooperation and unity. The event more significantly established the Council for Democracy as a recognized and respectable organization in Columbus.19

While Columbus residents were being lauded for their progressive attitudes in interracial relations, significant problems remained. Racism continued to manifest itself in many ways, including discrimination against blacks in a number of downtown theaters, restaurants, and hotels. The Neil House, the city's most famous hostelry, faced a barrage of lawsuits in early 1944 and again in 1947 for its refusal to serve blacks in its dining room. The 1944 incident for the lawsuits also involved one of the first sit-ins staged in Columbus. Following waitress' denial of service to blacks, the more than 150
delegates (black and white) to an educational convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sat in the dining room of the Neil House for over eight hours. A number of policemen were routinely dispatched to the hotel although the protest was peaceful.20

In mid-1945, Columbus reached perhaps its most acute racial tension level of the war era. Friction frequently occurred in public transportation. Theodore Levitt revealed that "for several weeks in mid-1945 there was a somewhat repressed pushing and shoving war raged between black and white riders on buses."21 More seriously, in the West Goodale Street area, a depressed black neighborhood on the North Side, young blacks described by the dailies as hoodlums attacked trolleys - loaded primarily with white riders - as they passed through the area. Officials from the company owning the public transportation system conferred with city officials and temporarily discontinued transportation on one of the affected lines. Also, at Mayor Rhode's request, Police Chief Lester Merica assigned two police officers to deal specifically with conflict occurring in public transportation.22

Much of the racial tension in mid-1945 stemmed from an incident in which a black man was killed by Columbus police officers. Many in the black community felt that because of the large number of policemen present when the incident occurred, the use of deadly force was unjustified. A
number of rumors spread among blacks, and the Police Department reported that some citizens received threatening telephone calls concerning the incident. The Mayor's Committee attempted to keep abreast of the situation by convening meetings with East Side ministers and other leaders in the black community. On a broader basis, the Council for Democracy held a community meeting shortly after the incident to give a "Report on Racial and Religious Problems in Columbus." The program featured discussions on problems growing out of crime, employment, housing and public transportation in Columbus. Whether the various efforts by the Mayor's Committee, Council for Democracy, and other groups helped reduce the racial tension of mid-1945 cannot be determined. However, no serious outbreak occurred and by 1946 racial tension in Columbus began to decline.

After two years of service in the race relations field, the Council for Democracy by 1946 seemed to have established itself as an important part of the community framework in Columbus. However, 1946 also marked the beginning of a gradual decline for the Council. As the war came to an end in 1945, the democratic war spirit - which had existed among some citizens and played a key role in stimulating the formation of the Council - began to decrease in Columbus and throughout the nation. This factor coupled with decreasing racial tensions had serious implications
for the future of the Council for Democracy. The Mayor's Committee only occasionally held meetings, and even then the group failed to undertake any meaningful action. Many people in Columbus and throughout the nation began to turn their attention to other pressing problems and interests.24

The most serious effect of this declining interest in race relations efforts for the Council for Democracy was the resignation of Reinert in 1946 to seek the democratic nomination for the United State Congress. Reinert claimed that his resignation came as a desire not to subject the Council to attack by his opponents and to press his campaign. Although defeated in the primary election (by 3,671 votes), Reinert proved himself a popular figure in Columbus. He received the endorsement of the Franklin County Democratic Organization and the Ohio State News, the city's black weekly. The city's dailies made no endorsement, but they did present profiles on each candidate.25

Despite the decreasing concern about race relations among some supporters, the Council for Democracy remained active during 1946. Reverend Frank Ricker of Columbus' First Unitarian Church, who assumed leadership of the Council after Reinert's resignation, and Mrs. Emily Linsley, the executive secretary, expanded the educational program of the Council in the form of an "All-Member Participation" plan. The new plan was an attempt to get more people
actively involved in the Council's activities. New projects for the Council included the organization of speaking trips, training courses in human relations, an interracial, inter-faith church, and a lobbying group.  

Realizing the importance of the sense of sight to influencing behavior, members of the Council for Democracy organized Trios. Three speakers of varied racial and religious backgrounds, usually a Jew, a black, and a white Christian, presented their messages on racial and religious goodwill as a team, and thereby sold their program by example as much as by exhortation. At a number of church and organizational meetings, Dr. Albert Turner spoke on being black in white America, Milton Farber discussed being a Jew in Christian America and Cecil Thomas acted as moderator. The idea produced enthusiastic responses, and the Council organized and trained dozens of such teams, the most celebrated consisting of Charming Tsai Chen, a Chinese graduate student at Ohio State University; Charles Blackburn, a black school principal; and Rabbi Harry Kaplan, director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. During 1946, the Trios received wide acclaim and spoke not only throughout Columbus and Franklin County, but in other cities like Cincinnati and Dayton.  

As leaders of the Council learned from their organizing of Trios, many people in the community were well intentioned and deeply concerned with working to improve
race relations, but they were not always effective. They needed facts and skills. To remedy the problem, the Council borrowed an idea from a Philadelphia organization and established a seven-week training course designed to teach race relations leaders practical facts and skills to use in combating racial and religious intolerance. The course, known as Dates with Democracy, enrolled over a hundred persons during the first series.28

Meeting once a week, each training session devoted an hour and a half to lectures and discussions and ended with a social hour for more informal discussions. Primarily, Ohio State University professors designed and instructed the meetings. Dr. Alan Griffin, in the first session, discussed the anthropological basis of democracy. In subsequent sessions, professors and other well-educated civic leaders dealt with the causes of prejudice and discrimination, and the history and culture of black Americans, Jews, Catholics, and other minority groups. During 1946, the Council held four series of Dates with Democracy.29

One of the Council for Democracy's greatest undertakings in its attempt to further interracial goodwill was the establishment of the Fellowship Church of Columbus. The church, patterned after the Philadelphia Fellowship Church which had been established eleven years previously, represented the first organized venture in interracial,
inter-faith worship service in Columbus. In announcing the new undertaking in Christian brotherhood, Ricker began with the observation that:

It is an unhappy fact that, from whatever causes, Christians worship in segregation all but universally. Yet there is the injunction in Christianity's foundation that churches in Jesus' tradition shall be houses of prayer 'for all peoples'. Fellowship church is to be just that - an experience of worship for all people of all faiths and all colors and all races and all backgrounds.  

Dr. Fred Wentzel, one of the founders and co-ministers of the Philadelphia Church, journeyed to Columbus to assist in the organization of Fellowship Church. To ensure wide recognition, the Council secured the cooperation of a number of organizations to assist in the operation of the Church. Most noticeable of these were the Vanguard League, the Franklin County Council of Churches, and the Columbus Fellowship of Reconciliation. A steering committee selected outstanding out-of-town ministers of all races and denominations who agreed with the basic Christian tenet of unsegregated brotherhood to conduct the monthly Fellowship services. Outstanding local ministers, such as Dr. Floyd Faust of the Broad Street Church of Christ, and Reverend C. F. Jenkins of the Second Baptist Church, assisted in the services.  

To ensure easy access to all citizens in Columbus and to avoid conflict with regular worship services, Fellowship services were held at centrally located churches and in the
afternoon. The First Congregational Church on East Broad Street served as host for the first year of Fellowship services. During summer months, Fellowship services were held at the Mirror Lake Amphitheater on the campus of Ohio State University and city parks. An interracial group of young men and women served as ushers, and the Brotherhood Choir provided the music. Money received in collections was used to pay the travelling expenses of guest ministers, the printing of programs, and other expenses of the project.32

The most noticeable expansion of the Council for Democracy's activities in 1946 was its increased involvement in political matters. Prior to this time, the Council praised itself as being a non-political organization and took little direct action that might have had political repercussions. The new "All-Member Participation" plan set in motion one of the Council's most important projects - Minutemen. This small group, which consisted of ten members, was designed to lobby locally and nationally for the Council's established policies.33

The Council for Democracy's most active involvement in political matters centered around Fair Employment Practice legislation. The Council dispatched Reverend Ricker to Washington twice in 1946 to support the establishment of a permanent national FEPC, and other council members frequently visited the offices of Ohio U.S. Congressmen.
Following the lead set by New York, a number of states enacted FEPC legislation during this period. In Ohio, however, such legislation failed in 1946. The Council immediately initiated a statewide drive for an Ohio FEPC. Ricker asserted that "Ohio (could not) sneer at southern states for their habits while still refusing to adopt a Fair Employment Act of its own."  

In January, 1947, representatives of organizations from throughout Ohio interested in the FEPC gathered in Columbus for a conference sponsored by the Council for Democracy. The meeting resulted in the organization of the Ohio Commission for Fair Employment Practice Legislation. Under the leadership of Richard Bluestein of the Jewish Community Council and Harold Snell of the Cincinnati NAACP, the Commission campaigned across the state during 1947 for an Ohio FEPC. Governor Thomas J. Herbert supported the efforts of the Commission. However, the Commission had little immediate success and Ohio did not enact such legislation until the 1950's.  

On the municipal level, Cincinnati adopted an FEPC ordinance in 1947 outlawing discrimination in city and public work; and a similar bill was introduced to Cleveland's City Council. In Columbus, however, few real efforts appear to have been made to secure a law banning discrimination in employment. The Council for Democracy apparently felt that such local legislation was unnecessary or that
it was unlikely that City Council could be persuaded to adopt an FEPC. The Urban League, desiring not to become involved in political matters, continued to rely upon its ability to convince employers to hire blacks on a fair and equal basis. The Vanguard League, the organization most likely to have pressed for a municipal FEPC, also failed to actively pursue legislation to end discriminatory employment in the city.36

The declining status of the Council for Democracy reached serious proportions during 1947. The organization continued its dissemination of educational materials and a few projects, but it lacked the initiative to expand and undertake new endeavors. Council meetings were poorly attended and membership drives netted few new members. Financial problems became serious. Reinert, who had returned to head the Council's Trustee Board after his failed attempt at politics, resigned once again in early 1948 and suggested that the Council be disbanded. In a letter to the Trustees, Reinert stated that "it certainly should be apparent that too few people in this community are concerned with civil rights for all people. Under the circumstances our situation is hopeless."37

Reinert also expressed in his letter to the Trustees his fear that with the rising tide of anti-communism the Council would be labeled a "communist-front" group. Reinert made the following observation:
It is granted that we are leaving the field wide open for the Communists to organize the groups that we had hoped to help. It is ironic that we are hated by both the Communists and those who are anti-Communist. Without the support from the groups who should be helping us win the minds of men by holding out hope for attaining those promises that are the birthright of all Americans we cannot be effective. 38

Although it is very unlikely that any leaders in the Council for Democracy had communist sympathies, Reinert's fear was justified. As expressed by Edward Lentz in his discussion on the Urban League's struggle to rid itself of communist charges, "during the late 1940's and early 1950's every organization left of the Chamber of Commerce was not above being suspected of being a 'communist front.'" 40

By the end of 1948, the Council for Democracy had ceased to exist in Columbus. A number of factors may have contributed to the demise of the Council; however, the decreasing democratic war spirit and concern about race relations problems following the war's end were surely the leading causes. Opposition to the Council from some conservative citizens existed throughout its existence. Nevertheless, the Council for Democracy played an important role in helping to maintain Columbus' relatively peaceful race relation.
NOTES CHAPTER III

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2. Your Questions and Our Answers, CCD, Box 11, CUL papers, OHS.

3. Interview with Mrs. Alvah Peterson, Columbus, Ohio, July 15, 1980.


5. Ibid.; letter from Ray S. Reinert to N. B. Allen, February 28, 1944, Folder 25, Box 1, Nimrod B. Allen Papers (later designated Allen Papers), OHS.


9. Letter from Ray S. Reinert to members of Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, December 12, 1944, Folder 25, Box 1, Allen Papers, OHS.

10. Minutes of Sub-Committee on Race Relations, May 17, 1944, Box 19, CUL Papers, OHS; Editorial, Ohio State News (Columbus) March 18, 1944, p.7.

11. Report of Activities, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

12. Ibid.

13. Bulletin, Spring Quarter, 1946, CCD, Folder 24, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

14. A Community Program for Better Race and Cultural Relations, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

15. Bulletin, Spring Quarter, 1945, CCD, Folder 24, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

17. Democracy in Education (Columbus: Vanguard League), VL Papers, OHS.


23. "Man Who Hit Officer Slain," Columbus Dispatch, July 9, 1945, p.1; "Coroner and Wife Get Threatening Telephone Call," Columbus Dispatch, July 12, 1945, Sec. B, p.16; Letters to members of Mayor's Committee, July 16, 1945, Folder 25, Box 1, Allen Papers, OHS; Letter from Ray S. Reinert, July 22, 1945, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

24. Minutes of the Meeting of the Council for Democracy, June 12, 1946, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.


27. Bulletin, Spring Quarter, 1946, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

28. Ibid.

29. "Dates with Democracy," May 15, 1946, Box 11, CUL Papers, OHS.

30. Letter from Frank Ricker, January 30, 1946, Folder 25, Box 1, Allen Papers, OHS.

31. Bulletin, Summer Quarter, 1946, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

32. Ibid.

33. Bulletin, Autumn Quarter, 1946, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

34. Bulletin, Winter Quarter, 1945-1946, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.


37. Letter from Ray S. Reinert to the Trustees and Executive Committee on the Columbus Council for Democracy, April 3, 1948, CCD, Folder 23, Box 48, B'nai B'Rith, OHS.

38. Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN COLUMBUS

The Urban League and the Council for Democracy were joined in the endeavor to improve race relations and to avert the development of serious racial violence during the war era by the Columbus Police Department. No public agency in the city was in a better position for affecting race relations than the police. Their work of protecting citizens and attempting to prevent crime placed them in constant contact with people in all communities of the city. While adopting some measures which may have produced better racial relations, the Police Department, however, did not equally share the Urban League's and Council for Democracy's commitment to the work of improving race relations. Prejudice of some officers, moreover, had the potential for creating serious racial problems.

The relationship between the police and the black community in Columbus during the 1940's basically reflected the nature of race relations in the city. A rather negative conflict situation existed between the police and the black community. As in other northern cities, this situation resulted largely from years of racism and brutality (actual or alleged) on the part of some white policemen and
the tendency for many in the black community to regard the police as oppressors. The influx of migrants promised further deterioration of relations. The situation in Columbus, however, never approximated that in Detroit, Los Angeles, and in some other cities. Moreover, efforts to improve relations between the police and the black community just emerging in many cities had existed in Columbus for many years.¹

Efforts to improve the relationship between the police and the black community in Columbus began with the founding of the Friendly Service Bureau of the Columbus Police Department in 1925. The sizeable black migration to Columbus that began during the First World War continued into the 1920's, immensely contributing to the crime problem in the city.² Although a number of factors may distort them, arrest statistics do provide a rough estimate of crime in that the police generally make arrests only if they have reason to suspect that a crime has been committed. Therefore, the figures in the following table may provide some indication of the seriousness of the crime situation among blacks in Columbus during the early 1920's. At the least, they indicate the extent of official interaction between the police and black citizens. Between 1921 and 1925, blacks' percentage of the total arrests in the city rose sharply, from 25 percent to 40 percent. The most astonishing revelation of those percentages is the great disparity
between blacks' percentage of those arrested and their percentage of the city's population. In 1921, blacks constituted roughly 9.4 percent of the population.

Table 2: Percentage of Black Arrests 1921-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Black Percentage of Total Arrests</th>
<th>Black Percentage of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950*</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures included only those who were charged.

To deal with criminal activity among blacks, the Friendly Service Bureau emerged. The purpose of the Bureau was not to make arrests, but to help migrants adjust to city life. The Police Department selected Leslie M. Shaw, a black patrolman on the force, to direct the Friendly Service Bureau. The program devised by Shaw initially called for greeting black migrants as they arrived in Columbus and assisting them in securing suitable homes and jobs. Members of the Bureau and volunteer workers gave talks in black districts on law and order, public behavior, civic pride, and on the ill-effects of crime on race relations.
They stressed to the migrants that the city's law enforcement agency was not one of oppression, but one of helpfulness and protection. Thus, the Bureau attempted to change the migrants' attitudes toward the police and courts from one of hostility and suspicion to one of trust and confidence. The program of the Friendly Service Bureau represented the first crime prevention agency in the United States and served as a model for subsequent programs throughout the nation.4

The Friendly Service Bureau experienced a gradual transition during the 1930's. Economic conditions resulting from the depression slackened the influx of migrants to Columbus. While continuing to assist migrants and other individuals, the Bureau also began to place much emphasis on group and neighborhood conditions conducive to vice and crime.5 Shaw began the Bureau's 1943 Annual Report with this assessment of its work:

The Friendly Service Bureau has proceeded in its work on the theory that there is no racial tendency to delinquency and criminality, but, that social conditions and human relations primarily determine human conduct; that crime and delinquency are frequently the natural products of adverse community conditions, and of the lack of adjustment between individuals and their surroundings.6

The report went on to explain that the social factors contributing to crime and delinquency were many and that no single factor could be designated as the leading cause for anti-social behavior. The report, however, identified
unemployment, bad housing, neighborhood congestion, and the lack of adequate recreational facilities as the most outstanding causal factors. While Columbus suffered from these conditions to some extent, the city did not have a crime rate among blacks as high of cities of comparable size and proportionate black population. 7

Other reports by the Bureau revealed that many breeding places of vice and crime existed in Columbus' black community. This was especially true of Mt. Vernon Avenue between St. Clair and Twenty-First Street; Long Street between Washington Avenue and Nineteenth Street on the East Side; and Goodale Street around Harrison Avenue on the North Side. The Bureau undertook a number of efforts to rid these areas of the many wine shops, poolrooms, and smokeshops that hid gambline and other vices. 8

The work of the Friendly Service Bureau did much to improve the relationship between the police and Columbus' black community. The Bureau's approach to crime prevention consisted primarily of coordinating efforts of the Police Department with social agencies working with blacks - the church, school, civic organizations and all public agencies. This helped create a better image of the police among some blacks. As an affiliate of the Urban League, the Bureau also provided an invaluable avenue for communication between black leaders and the police. The various police-community relations publications, such as Joseph Weckler and Theo
Hall's *Police and Minority Groups*, which emerged during the 1940's strongly urged police departments to form such liaisons between black leaders and the police. They suggested that in addition to improving the image of the police, this would help the police detect signs of racial tensions earlier.⁹

Juvenile delinquency became a serious problem in most American cities during the war years, including Columbus. The *Uniform Crime Reports* revealed that youths under twenty-one committed 32.4 percent of the robberies, 32.2 percent of the larcenies, 46.7 percent of the burglaries, and 56.8 percent of the auto thefts in the United States in 1943. The war itself, by removing many fathers from the home and demanding both parents in many other homes work long hours in defense plants, appeared to many observers largely responsible for the increase in juvenile delinquency. The Friendly Service Bureau, however, attributed much juvenile delinquency in black areas to the emotionally and economically blighted environment.¹⁰

The Bureau promoted a number of projects to curb juvenile delinquency. It created a "Youth Municipality", a model city run by black youths, as a measure to counteract the appeal of gang leaders and crime to black youths. The project challenged the youths' intelligence and gave them a sense of belonging and responsibility. The "Teen-Age
Canteen Clubs" proved to be one of the Bureau's most successful projects in curbing delinquency. Through these liquorless night clubs, the Bureau attempted to reach those teenagers who frequently loitered around smokeshops, pool-rooms and taverns. Hundreds of teenagers gathered at the clubs and furnished their own entertainment by putting on floor shows with dancing, singing and comedy routines. Many parents and businessmen on the East Side expressed their appreciation for the project and cooperated in expanding it.11

The Friendly Service Bureau was definitely ahead of the time in the crime prevention field. The Bureau attacked the problems of crime and delinquency in the black community by removing the conditions which produced them. In his thesis on black policemen in Columbus, William M. Dulaney described the Bureau's program as modern in its approach and asserted that Shaw "could see that police forces were fighting a losing battle, fighting crime after the fact."12

Despite its progressive work to decrease crime among blacks and to improve police-community relations, the Friendly Service Bureau ceased to exist in 1944. The Police Department - claiming that a combination of various bureaus was necessary because of a cut in the force due to financial problems and the manpower demands of the war - merged the Friendly Service Bureau with the Juvenile Bureau to form the Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau.
Although the new Bureau attempted to continue Shaw's work with the many social agencies, the prevention of juvenile delinquency became the Bureau's top priority. From 1943 to 1944, juvenile delinquency in Columbus increased by 12 percent. Though a sizeable increase, the figure was considered lower than in some cities.\textsuperscript{13}

The fact that blacks' percentage of the arrests in the city had continually declined since the 1925 peak of 40 percent, may have justified the Police Department's decision to concentrate on other problems. However, it was precisely the year 1944 that blacks' percentage of the arrests began to climb again. The previously mentioned table shows that from 1943 to 1944, blacks' percentage of arrests increased by 4.6 percent; and the increase continued throughout the late 1940's, reaching roughly 31.9 percent in 1950.\textsuperscript{14}

The termination of the Friendly Service Bureau meant the loss of a number of projects through which police-community relations had been improved in Columbus. The Bureau's After-Care Committee had helped gain respect for the police among some young blacks by assisting them in their personal problems of adjustment and by providing food, transportation and small loans. The committee had also acted as an overseer in many cases of black parolees and probationers, instead of the usual parole officers and judges. More importantly for police-community relations
the termination of the Friendly Service Bureau severed the official liaison between the Police Department and the Urban League. Their cooperation continued, but there was less obligation on both sides. It seems ironic that just as police-community relations experts were urging police departments to adopt race relations programs, the Columbus Police ceased much of its work in this field.¹⁵

Many of the projects of the Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau, however, had great potential for affecting police-community relations. In 1945, the Bureau established a Junior Police Department, which consisted of both black and white youths between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Similar groups had previously been organized in Boston, Washington, and in some other cities. The purpose of the group was to combat juvenile delinquency by forming a closer association between members of the Police Department, citizens of Columbus, and boys of juvenile age. Members of the Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau trained the boys in military drill, first aid, athletics, and laws pertaining to juveniles. Activities of the 1,100 boys (with a large waiting list) included hobbies, trips to football and baseball games, and an annual picnic. The Junior Police thus provided for friendly contact between black and white youths, and more significantly, for police-community relations; it provided an opportunity to dispel the negative attitude
among many black youths toward the police. 16

The Columbus Police Department also responded in other ways to establishing more effective relations with the black community. In 1940, the Police Department instituted its first formal police training school for recruits. In light of the personnel shortage and increased duties for individual officers, the department recognized training as one method of increasing effectiveness. Recruit training thus became more extensive and thorough as the decade progressed. With the resumption of active recruiting in the late 1940's the Police Department inaugurated its first full-time training school. Recruits attended a nine-week basic training course which included seven weeks of classroom and practical work. Supervisors from all sub-divisions of the Police Department, instructors from other city divisions, state and federal departments instructed the recruits on a wide range of subjects including communication, courtesy, and public relations. 17

Much of the increased emphasis upon police training in Columbus and throughout the nation resulted from the impetus given training of police officers by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Columbus policemen received their most extensive in-service training ever in a five-month police training school sponsored by the department and FBI officials in late 1944 and early 1945. The training consisted primarily of two-hour lectures and discussions by
the FBI officials, Ohio State University professors, and supervisors from the various divisions of the Police Department.18

The first series of sessions of the training school mainly instructed police officers on more efficient techniques of law enforcement. Dr. Walter Reckless, a recognized expert on child psychology, advised the officers on the handling of juvenile cases. Among many techniques, Dr. Reckless urged the officers to be positive in their approach to juveniles and attempt to gain their confidence and respect. Representatives from the Columbus Dispatch and Columbus Citizen encouraged greater cooperation from the officers in supplying accurate information. This was one of the important recommendations of the police-community relations experts. Weckler and Hall, in Police and Minority Groups, asserted that the police could do a great deal to end sensationalism in both the black newspapers and the regular dailies by providing accurate facts to replace rumors and unfair or biased accounts of incidents.19

Following the riots of 1943, the police in Columbus, like those in most other cities, placed special emphasis upon preparing itself for handling violent situations. In 1944, the Police Department purchased new riot-helmets and gas masks. The Department also showed signs of concern about the mobilization of troops in case violence did erupt.
During the FBI police training school, Colonel George M. Ward of the Ohio State Guard explained to the officers the transformation of crowds into mobs and useful techniques of controlling mobs. Ward's explanation and techniques basically reflected those found in Joseph Lohman's *Police and Minority Groups*. According to Ward and Lohman, the first objective of the police in controlling a mob was to separate the leaders and agitators and then disperse the others. During the police training schools, Columbus police officers also received demonstrations from other Guard members on the use of riot equipment, including scatter guns, rifles with bayonets, smoke grenades, and even an armored car.²⁰

Further evidence of the Police Department's concern with having its officers trained in the proper handling of violent situations was the department's 1947 Rules and Regulations Manual. The manual, of which each officer received a copy, contained civil rights laws, other federal and state laws, as well as city ordinances, which had a direct bearing on the rights and privileges of citizens. The manual also showed signs of encouraging greater impartiality in law enforcement. Among six specific rules on the proper handling of riot situations, the manual included the following: "In case of riot, disturbance or disorder, your every act and word must be on the side of the law and
order and you must protect the life, person and property of every citizen. 21

Race relations training for police officers represented the most important development to emerge in the police-community relations field during the 1940's. The riots of 1943 clearly revealed the partial and biased law enforcement by police officers in some cities. Attempting to dispel prejudice attitudes among police officers, police departments in most cities established courses and programs in race relations. However, most of them were brief and short-lived. Training programs took unique forms in some cities. In Detroit, for example, police officers in 1944 had a mandatory six hours of instruction on the social problems of Paradise Valley, the black ghetto hardest hit by the riot. 22

Columbus police officers received perhaps their first instruction on the race relations aspect of police work during the FBI police training school. Sargeant L. M. Shaw - utilizing one of the standard texts on police-community relations, Weckler and Hall's Police and Minority Groups - instructed the officers on police violation of personal rights. Attempting to dispel some of the fears and misconceptions among many policemen about black citizens, Shaw began his discussion by describing problems peculiar to the black community and how the police should confront and help ameliorate those problems. He contrasted
the orderly way in which New York police controlled the Harlem outbreak with the deplorable manner in which Detroit police handled that city's bloody riot and outlined Weckler and Hall's suggestions for police prevention of race riots as rules of behavior for Columbus police officers. 23

One of the most widely recommended measures in the attempt to improve police-community relations during the 1940's was the recruitment of more black policemen. The experts made the suggestion not simply to encourage equal employment opportunities but rather for more effective law enforcement. They generally agreed that black officers, by finding it easier to gain the confidence of the black populace, were often more effective than white policemen in troublesome black neighborhoods. Gunnar Myrdal - in his monumental study on blacks, An American Dilemma (1944) - also urged greater utilization of black officers. Myrdal asserted "the use of equally well-trained Negro policemen, particularly for patrolling the Negro communities, would be an especially wholesome reform." 24

Police departments in some cities made significant progress in the employment of black policemen. Between 1945 and 1952, the number of black officers in Chicago nearly doubled, from 122 to 238. However, police departments in most cities, Columbus included, failed to make any noticeable progress in recruiting black officers. In
1948, there were only fourteen black policemen (3.3 percent) on Columbus' police force of 420, despite the fact that blacks comprised 11.7 percent of the city's population. These officers generally worked in the city's black districts.25

As in previous years, some in the black community of Columbus continued to call for more black policemen during the 1940's. The Ohio State News frequently pointed out the small number of blacks on the force. In spite of these demands and an enlargement of the recruitment program following the war, efforts to secure more blacks for the police force remained minimal. The recruitment of blacks appears to have consisted only of occasional advertisements in the Ohio State News and civil service bulletins. The police annual reports on recruitment and the police training school never mentioned any efforts to encourage blacks to consider police work.26

Although their number remained small, some black police officers did advance in the Columbus Police Department during the 1940's. In 1945, L. M. Shaw became the first black to be promoted to the rank of sergeant in the State of Ohio. However, William M. Dulaney, in his thesis on black policemen in Columbus, revealed that because of envy among some superior officers, Shaw had to resort to legal action to obtain his promotion. A year later, Shaw retired from the Columbus police force to devote full time to
directing an investment association he had organized several years prior. As evidence of his recognition as an expert in the field of criminology, the Liberian government invited Shaw to Monrovia for the purpose of organizing a police system and law enforcement agency similar to the FBI.27

Other blacks making progress in the Columbus Police Department were Jordan Freedman and Wilbur Stevens, both of whom were promoted to the detective bureau in 1946. The most phenomenal rise among black officers in the department was that of Harvey Alston. In 1946 he finished first on the sergeant's exam and was promoted to that rank. Assigned to Columbus' Eighth Precinct on the East Side, Alston commanded nine black and eleven white officers. Alston continued his climb in the police hierarchy in the late 1940's and early 1950, ultimately being appointed Inspector of Police in 1954. The black policemen, though small in number, were an important element for affecting police-community relations in Columbus during the 1940's. Their progress in status had great potential for improving the image of the Columbus police. The rise of such men as Shaw and Alston helped dispel the myth among many of their fellow white officers that blacks were incompetent and lacked leadership capabilities.28

The relationship between the police and the black community seemed better in Columbus than in many other
cities during the war era. However, important manifestations of the continuing antagonism between some policemen and black citizens emerged. Several cases of alleged police brutality against black citizens occurred in the city. In 1945, an East side woman and her two daughters filed a $30,000 lawsuit against two Columbus police officers for manhandling them while serving a citation. After nearly a year's delay, the case went to court, and the officers were found innocent. Articles with such titles as "Cops Accused of Beating" or "Police Attack East Side Man" were not infrequent in the Ohio State News. While often sensationalized, the articles had basis in actual incidents. Columbus dailies either omitted them or gave scant coverage. The Vanguard League, in response to the many alleged brutal acts against blacks, formed a Legal Redress Committee in 1945 designed especially to assist black citizens in bringing lawsuits against alleged offending policemen when the Police Department exonerated them.29

The antagonistic relationship between some Columbus and Franklin County law officers and black citizens also produced other serious problems. In July, 1945 an outbreak of fighting between black spectators and police officers occurred at Red Bird Stadium, a Columbus ball park. The incident began when two deputies, on duty at a black baseball game, attempted to force a spectator to remain in his seat because he blocked their view. During
an ensuing argument, others in the park came to the spectator's assistance and seized the officers' weapons. Soon twelve more deputies and more than twenty Columbus policemen arrived and battled for over a quarter of an hour to quell the outbreak. Shots fired during the melee struck one spectator, and the two deputies on duty received serious cuts. Six men and one woman were arrested and later charged at Franklin County jail with rioting.30

Following the incident, the Urban League, which thoroughly investigated the event, showed increasing signs of concern with the relationship between the police and the city's black community. The subject dominated a number of League meetings. N. B. Allen, executive secretary, stated in early 1946:

Race relations and the Police Department is one spot in the set-up of Columbus where a lot of trouble could originate. The most difficult problem is that of getting the people of the minority groups to have confidence after incidents in which the Negroes are mistreated.31

The League provided the police with copies of A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers and urged the department to institute a special race relations course for the officers. However, the Police Department, claiming to be inadequately financed, failed to establish any new race relations training.32

The Police Department, nevertheless, did attempt to improve its relations not only with the black community
but with all citizens of Columbus by establishing a Crime Prevention Bureau in 1946. The Bureau, working in cooperation with the Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau, attempted to revive Shaw's method of crime prevention by working with numerous social organizations to enlighten and alert the public on the causes of crime and ways of combating it. Members of the Bureau attended various social, business and church meetings where talks were given on police work and public relations. To reach even more people, the Bureau broadcast a weekly program directly from Police Headquarters entitled "Work of Your Police Department." However, the life of the Bureau must have been confined to 1946 or its work assumed by the Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau, for no mention of the Crime Prevention Bureau appeared in subsequent police annual reports.33

The emerging police-community relations movement of the war era found Columbus in a favorable position compared to many other cities. This resulted largely from the work of the Friendly Service Bureau. The Bureau's method of crime prevention, which relied primarily upon the cooperation of the police and social agencies, provided the police with numerous opportunities to improve its relations with the black community. The Police Department's commitment to efforts in the race relations field, however, diminished during the decade. This was evident by the termination of
the Friendly Service Bureau in 1944. The department shifted much of its attention to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Following the 1943 riots, the police also became more concerned about preparing itself to confront violent situations.
NOTES CHAPTER IV


5. Ibid., p. 5.


7. Ibid.


19. Notes, Special Police School by Inspector Thomas A. Scully, January 11, 1945, Columbus Police Department (later designated CPD); Weckler and Hall, Police and Minority Groups, p.17.


21. Rules and Regulations, Division of Police, City of Columbus, 1947, pp. 111 and 117-118, CPD.


23. Notes, Special Police School, February 1, 1945, CPD.


28. Ibid., pp. 49-51.

29. "20th Street Woman Loses Her Case Against Police," Ohio State News, February 2, 1946, p.18; Vigi-lance, August 14, 1945, Box 1, UL Papers, OHS.

30. "Spectator Shot, Deputies Hurt in Ball Park Affray," Columbus Dispatch, July 2, 1945, p. 1; "Seven Arrested Following Fight at Stadium", Ohio State

31. Minutes of the Meeting of the Public Relations Department, March 15, 1946, CUL Papers, OHS.

32. Minutes of the Meeting of the Public Relations Department, March 21, 1946; Minutes, October 31, 1946, CUL Papers, OHS.

CONCLUSION

Racial violence occurred in a number of cities during the 1940's. This was due primarily to the enormous social change produced by the Second World War. Columbus, Ohio, however, remained relatively peaceful. Certain fundamental differences between Columbus and cities which experienced race riots, such as Columbus being a medium-sized city, with an overwhelmingly native population, may have been important for Columbus' lack of racial violence. Yet, equally significant were the strenuous efforts of the Urban League, the Council for Democracy, and, to a lesser extent, the Police Department to improve race relations and to prevent the development of serious violence.

In attempting to provide some insight into Columbus' lack of racial violence, it was first of all necessary to briefly examine the effect on Columbus of certain factors that contributed to racial violence in other cities. Columbus experienced a relatively small migration compared to cities which encountered race riots. The social problems created by a rapid population increase thus affected Columbus less. Moreover, the migration to Columbus did not contain a disproportionate number of blacks. While blacks' percentage of the population of Detroit, New York, and Los
Angeles (cities which experienced major riots) noticeably increased during the decade, their percentage in Columbus remained stable. Blacks, furthermore, had comprised a large part of Columbus' population for many decades. Thus, by the 1940's the black population was old and well-established, and the city had already made adjustments to accommodate its presence.

Two other factors identified as contributing to the race riots of the 1940's were abject housing and economic conditions. Census statistics showed that the percentage of dwelling units classified as "needing major repairs" for 1940 and "dilapidated" for 1950 were slightly lower in Columbus than in Detroit and New York. A specific comparison of housing conditions in the black communities was not possible. However, this thesis revealed that blacks in Columbus enjoyed a higher percentage of home ownership in 1940 and in 1950 than any of the cities which experienced major riots except Los Angeles in 1940. The disparity between black home ownership and the cities' overall ownership also decreased more in Columbus during the decade than the other cities. Columbus' economic diversity (which included wholesaling and retailing, government and education, as well as manufacturing) resulted in the city being less affected by the economic shifts created by the war than many industrial cities. There was far less dislocation of workers in Columbus when the war ended.
In addition to these factors, a well-conceived plan of action by the Urban League played an important role in maintaining Columbus' relatively peaceful race relations during the 1940's. The League, a racially integrated organization for social services among blacks, entered the 1940's as a well-established and potent force in the race relations field in Columbus. In light of the tense racial situation during the war years, the organization committed itself to creating an atmosphere of interracial harmony. Numerous campaigns, meetings, and conferences stressing interracial cooperation and goodwill were conducted, and the League effectively utilized the airways to promote its programs to the general public.

Equally important for preventing the build-up of racial hostility was the League's success in assisting the black community in solving problems and obtaining better opportunities in employment, recreation, housing, and in other areas. For example, to provide better recreational facilities for blacks in Franklin County, the League purchased Camp Brush Lake in 1942 as a year-round health and educational center. The organization's Youth and Neighborhood and Community Departments sponsored numerous recreational and community activities.

Despite the wartime militancy among many blacks and the emergence of the Vanguard League as an expression of it in Columbus, the Urban League continued to pursue civil
rights by moderate means. This ensured the organization's continued support and cooperation from influential forces in the white community. The League's relations with the press in Columbus testified to its acceptability in the city. While other black advancement groups received little, if any, coverage, the city dailies gave frequent and favorable coverage to the League and its various activities. Moreover, the cooperation between the League and the dailies resulted in fairer news coverage for blacks.

In addition to the efforts of the Urban League to improve race relations and to prevent the build-up of racial hostility in the black community, the Council for Democracy emerged in the white community in 1943 to undertake similar measures. However, the motivation for the race relations efforts of the Council differed from that of the Urban League. The Council - like most race relations organizations which emerged during the war years - surfaced primarily as a result of the war spirit and the immediate danger of racial tension in Columbus. The basic, underlying goal of the Council was to keep the homefront peaceful.

The Council for Democracy, like the Urban League, primarily adopted an educational approach in its attempt to deal with race relations problems. The organization's "Community Educational Program" utilized all media channels for the dissemination of educational materials and
set in motion a number of outstanding educational projects. The Council also placed particular emphasis on intercultural and race relations education for Columbus schools. The educational approach employed to improve race relations in Columbus was typical in most other cities. Goodwin Watson, in a study of race relations in 1947, estimated that seventy percent of the groups specialized in public education. The educational materials and programs of the Council for Democracy and the Urban League did not produce ameliorated attitudes among all citizens who received them, but it is likely they did undermine some people's justification for racial prejudice.

Specific evidence of the immediate concern with the tense racial situation in Columbus during the war years was the work of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, which was a part of the Council for Democracy. The activities of the Committee basically reflected those of similar groups in other cities. Unlike the Urban League, the Mayor's Committee and the Council for Democracy itself to a lesser extent, did not become actively involved in attempting to ameliorate conditions that contributed to racial violence.

Joining the Council for Democracy and the Urban League in the attempt to improve race relations and to prevent the development of racial violence in Columbus was the Police Department. More than any other public agency, the police
were in a strategic position for influencing race relations. However, the Police Department's attitude toward work to improve race relations was far less progressive than that of the Urban League and of the Council for Democracy.

Initially, Columbus appeared to be ahead of many cities in the police-community relations field. This was due primarily to the Friendly Service Bureau of the Police Department. The Bureau, which was established in 1925, performed a number of the functions suggested by police-community relations leaders during the 1940's. For example, it was an affiliate of the Urban League and thus represented an official liaison between the Police Department and black leaders. Projects such as "Youth Municipality" provided the police the opportunity to dispel the negative image of the police held by many black youths. However, during the war years the Police Department shifted much of its attention to juvenile delinquency and other problems, and the Friendly Service Bureau became the victim of this shift. The new Juvenile, Social and Welfare Bureau, nevertheless, undertook a number of projects which promoted interracial cooperation.

Police-community relations in Columbus seemed better than in many cities during the 1940's. However, overall, the situation was nearly typical of comparable cities. Despite the efforts of the Friendly Service Bureau, a rather negative conflict situation continued to exist between the
police and the black community. The Police Department responded to the situation in one way by increasing police training. The Department instituted its first training school in 1940 and expanded it as the decade progressed. As a result of the riots in 1943, police training in Columbus also reflected the concern of many citizens about the handling of riot situations. More significantly for police-community relations, the Police Department attempted to provide some race relations training for police officers, but, as in most police departments, this training was very minimal. The Department also failed to successfully recruit more black officers, another recommended means of improving relations with the black community. However, although their number remained small, black officers on the force were an important element for improving police-community relations in Columbus. The rise of such men as Leslie Shaw and Harvey Alston helped produce a better image of the Police Department among blacks.

There are many possible explanations for the lack of racial violence in Columbus during the 1940's. The size and diversified economic base of the city were factors. Columbus' population remained overwhelmingly white native born, and homogeneity tends to reduce tension. The stability of the black population is yet another factor. But such conditions merely set the stage. Human actors must
play out the drama. In Columbus, Ohio the extensive
efforts of the Urban League, the Council for Democracy,
and the Police Department to prevent the build-up of
racial hostility appear to have made the most significant
contribution.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Until recently, historians devoted little attention to the social history of America during the 1940's. They concentrated their efforts instead on the foreign policy implications of World War II and the subsequent Cold War. In the early 1970's, however, a number of studies on the American home front appeared. In preparing this thesis, Geoffrey Perrett's *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People 1939-1945* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., 1973) was a valuable source of information on the enormous racial changes which occurred during the war years. Perrett examined the civilian life of many different racial groups in the nation and asserted that the closest thing to a real racial revolution the United States has ever known in the Twentieth Century occurred during the Second World War years.

Specific studies on black Americans during the war years were, however, more important in preparing this study. Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1944) emerged during the war years and remains until today as perhaps the greatest single study on black Americans. This exhaustive analysis provided considerable insight into the social, cultural, economic, political, educational and spiritual life of blacks in the early 1940's. Most of the studies on blacks

Because racial violence was one of the most acute problems on the home front, the subject has been the topic of a number of studies. Allen D. Grumshaw's (ed.) *Racial Violence in The United States* (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1969) furnished considerable insight into the overall nature of racial violence during the Second World War Era. This anthology of valuable articles is divided into four sections. One illustrates the history of black-white violence from 1640 to 1969. Other sections are concerned with patterns in racial violence, causation, and finally, the "changing meaning of racial violence."

Another important source on racial violence during the war period is Harvard Sitkoff's "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *Journal of American History*, LVIII, (December, 1971), pp. 661-681. Sitkoff deals primarily with the effects of racial violence
on the emerging civil rights movement. He asserts that following the "bloody summer" of 1943 many black leaders retreated from their earlier militancy in favor of aid from white liberals. Civil rights became a respectable movement, and as whites flocked to it, their views and needs predominated.

Comprehensive studies on the major race riots of the Second World War era are also valuable sources on racial violence. In The Harlem Riot of 1943 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), Dominic Copeci, Jr. provides a deeper understanding of race relations in the United States during the Great Depression, the New Deal, as well as World War II. As a result, Copeci's focus is broader than most studies of race riots in American history. Moreover, the work is a study of leadership and the role of public elected officials during the time of urban unrest. Robert Shogan and Tom Craig also point out the importance of public officials in controlling violent situations. Their study, The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence (New York: De Capo Press, 1976), presents an analysis of the Detroit riot in its socioeconomic and political setting.

The most helpful study of the riots in preparing this thesis was Alfred McClung Lee and Normal Humphrey's Race Riot (New York: Dryden Press, 1944). In addition to
explicitly identifying factors which contributed to the Detroit riot and other racial violence of the war years, their study's method of riot prediction and prevention that could be applied to any racially tense city provided a guide for examining efforts to avert racial violence in Columbus.

The spirit of the interracialist movement to improve race relations and to prevent the development of violence is best captured in *A Month Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations* (published by Fisk University's Social Science Institute). The magazine was a direct response to the racial violence of the war years (first issued in August, 1943) and was designed primarily as a service of information for persons interested in or working with the race problem. The magazine thoroughly examined the rise of race relations organizations on the local, state and national levels. Its articles on the Columbus Council for Democracy and other developments in Columbus on the interracialist front were very helpful in preparing this study. Goodwin Watron's *Action for Unity* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947) also provided valuable information on the interracialist movement of the 1940's. This study embodied the report of a national survey of more than four hundred race relations organizations. It dealt especially with various avenues of approach and appraised the effectiveness of each in attaining their common goal.
Two excellent works on the police-community relations movement were a great value in preparing this thesis. The first was Samuel Walker's "The Origins of the American Police-Community Relations Movement: The 1940's," *Criminal Justice History, I* (1980), pp. 225-242. In providing insight into the movement to improve relations between the police and the black community, Walker first examines the impact of racial violence on police administration and reform. He then evaluates the efforts of police departments and race relations organizations to improve police-community relations, citing many recommendations made by experts and leaders of the movement. The second source is Davis McEntire and Joseph E. Weckler's "The Role of the Police," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXIV* (March, 1946), pp. 82-89. This study is not as thorough as Walker's work, but it gives excellent accounts of immediate developments in police administration following the serious race riots of 1943.

The most helpful primary source was the Columbus Urban League Collection, located at the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio. In addition to information on the efforts of the League and race relations difficulties in Columbus, the Collection contains information on the Columbus Council for Democracy, in the form of letters, minutes and bulletins. Edward Russell Lentz's excellent thesis, "Rationalization and Reform: The Columbus Urban League
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;942-1962" (Ohio State University, 1969), also provided considerable into the interracialist efforts of the League and into the war's impact upon the city's black community. Other collections which provided valuable information for this study were the B'nai B'Rith Hillel Foundation Collection, the Nimrod B. Allen Collection, and the Vanguard League Collections, all located at the Ohio Historical Society.

The annual reports of the "Public Safety Department" in the Municipal Manuals provided the most information on police-community relations in Columbus. These reports generally contained information on the work of the Friendly Service Bureau and other developments in the Police Department which may have affected police-community relations. Histories of the Columbus Police Department which were published by local newspapers were helpful in this study only in providing data on police training schools. Other reports in these histories (which are located at Columbus, Ohio Police Headquarters) were of little help because they lacked in-depth discussions. William Marvin Dulaney's thesis "Black and Blue in America: The Black Policemen of Columbus, Ohio, 1895-1974" (Ohio State University, 1974) furnished insight into the important role of black policemen in the Police Department's relationship with the black community.

Other very important primary sources for this study were the city's newspapers. The Columbus Dispatch, Ohio State Journal and Ohio State News carried valuable
articles on the efforts of the Urban League and, to a lesser extent, the Council for Democracy. Also of importance were the articles on interracial incidents which occurred in Columbus.

To supplement the research in this study, personal interviews were conducted with Mr. Barbee William Durham, Director of the Columbus NAACP, 1952-1966, and Mrs. Alvah Peterson, Director of the South Fourth Street YWCA during the 1940's. Interviews were sought unsuccessfully with Governor James A. Rhodes, who was Mayor of Columbus, 1944-1952, and others involved in the interracialist efforts of Columbus during the 1940's.