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THE NEGROES OF BOULDER, COLORADO  
A COMMUNITY ANALYSIS OF AN ETHNIC MINORITY GROUP

Robert Lawrence Brunton

by

Robert Lawrence Brunton

B.S., University of Colorado, 1947

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Date Aug. 16, 1948

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate  
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Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

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Brunton, Robert L., (M.A., Sociology)  
The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado--A Community Analysis  
of an Ethnic Minority Group

This Thesis for the M.A. degree, by

**Robert Lawrence Brunton**

The purpose of this thesis was to make a sociological analysis of the Negroes of Boulder, Colorado. The methods used in obtaining data about the Negroes included personal interviews, direct observations, and the use of official documents.

Department of  
**Sociology**

by

Gordon H. Barker

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Date Aug. 16, 1948

The Negro population of Boulder is decreasing in size, while the white population is increasing. Not only is the population decreasing but there is also a warped age and sex distribution of the population in that there is an excess of old Negroes and an excess of female Negroes. In the survey it was found that the majority of the Negroes came to Boulder to advance themselves economically and to have a good place to raise their families. The home, education, and religious life of the Negroes is inclusive enough to make them a homogeneous group. Except for occasional individual acts of discrimination and prejudice the Negro and white people get along well together. It is the lack of vocational opportunities and social life which to a large degree compels the younger Negroes to leave

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Boulder. Although the older Negroes find the conditions in Boulder adequate, the younger Negroes would like to have better jobs and be able to have social activities where there would be more young people of their own racial group. The Negro population in Boulder will probably always remain small and warped in its age and sex distribution. Because of the extremely small size of the group in comparison to the total population, problems of assimilation will be negligible. Therefore, Boulder will probably never have a real Negro problem.

This abstract of about 250 words is approved as to form and content. I recommend its publication.

Signed Gordon H. Barker  
Instructor in charge of dissertation

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which have caused it to take place. A particular event does not take place without a cause. Thus, when analyzing any group of people, it is necessary to study all the social forces which influence their behavior. No one single force is the cause of an event. It is only possible to find out causation of various phenomena in a group after an analysis has been made of the people in that group and their community life.

A casual observation by some people of the Negroes in Boulder have lead them to the conclusion that the Negroes have an older population with an excess of females. Also some people claim that the Negro population in Boulder is declining in size. One of the purposes of this thesis is to discover if these random observations are true. If they are, it will be

## INTRODUCTION

In studying any group of people to find out their patterns of social behavior, it is necessary to study as thoroughly as possible all the various forces affecting this behavior. When a physical event takes place it is usually regarded by common sense as determined by preceding events or processes which have caused it to take place. A particular event does not take place without a cause. Thus, when analyzing any group of people, it is necessary to study all the social forces which influence their behavior. No one single force is the cause of an event. It is only possible to find out causation of various phenomena in a group after an analysis has been made of the people in that group and their community life.

A casual observation by some people of the Negroes in Boulder have lead them to the conclusion that the Negroes have an older population with an excess of females. Also some people claim that the Negro population in Boulder is declining in size. One of the purposes of this thesis is to discover if these random observations are true. If they are, it will be

one area where causal factors can be applied.

In 1910, Howard Odum accepted the following statement given to him by a white doctor to be true when writing a book on the mental and social traits of a Negro. "In his home life the Negro is filthy, careless and indecent. He is destitute of morals as any lower animal. He does not know the meaning of work. Three things are unknown to the Negro--virtue, honesty, and truth."<sup>1</sup> Many other statements like this one are still seen in many publications about the Negroes. To many the Negro is a stereotype. Another purpose of this thesis is to discover whether this stereotype of Negroes is true, at least in Boulder. A community study of the Negroes will present some of these factors.

Although the Negro population is only a part of the larger community it is also a community in itself. It is a community by virtue of the fact that it "represents a constellation of social classes or cultural groupings, a complement of social and economic institutions, common interests and ties and a recognition of and a response to certain social controls."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Howard W. Odum, Social and Mental Traits of the Negro (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1910), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York: Prentice Hall, Incorporated, 1947), p. 466.

## CHAPTER I

### METHOD

In making this survey of the Negro people of Boulder, Colorado, no single approach was adequate in obtaining a picture of group behavior. It was important to use several methods of collecting data and to compare the findings to test the validity of the sources. The principal way of obtaining information was that of interviewing the majority of the Negro people in Boulder. Other methods of obtaining data included the examination of official documents, attendance at church services, and attendance at meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other meetings in which the Negro group participated.

#### A. APPROACH

The first problem in studying this group of people was to establish rapport. It was necessary to set up this harmonious relationship in order to obtain the desired information. For some time the author attended the Second Baptist Church and the Allen Methodist Episcopal Church. At these services he was introduced

to the congregation and allowed to make a brief statement about the purpose of his survey. The author also went to some social functions and other meetings where the Negroes participated. Not only did the people become acquainted with the author but the author obtained some of the information about individual and group behavior which is incorporated in this thesis.

It was recognized from the beginning that the color of the observer would be against him in getting the complete information, since people are usually on their guard when being interviewed by a member of another race. In many surveys such as Deep South<sup>1</sup> the field worker who collected the data was of the "same kind" as the people being studied. However, except for one or two exceptional cases in this study, the people were very friendly and cooperative. Although the observer did not feel that he had a complete picture, he did try to be as objective as possible in evaluating all information.

Since there was no available list of the Negro people of Boulder, some other method of getting this information had to be devised. The observer visited one

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<sup>1</sup> Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

of the leading Negro families in town, and at the end of the evening's discussion, this Negro family gave the author a list from memory of the names of the Negroes of Boulder and their family connections. They did this by giving the names by geographical location going up and down the streets. Later more names were added from some lists of names of members of the two Negro churches in Boulder compiled at the University of Colorado.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the minister of the Second Baptist Church and the observer went over the combined list to add or subtract a name where necessary. Not only was this method valuable in obtaining the complete list of the Negroes in Boulder, but it also gave the writer an opportunity to know something about the people before he even started interviewing them.

A questionnaire in the form of a schedule was devised concerning many aspects of community life.<sup>2</sup> It was felt that a schedule would be of more value than a questionnaire in obtaining qualitative information about community life. "A widely broadcast questionnaire is usually unavailable for anything more than the ob-

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick A. Bushee, "The Church in a Small City," American Journal of Sociology, 49:223, November, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

taining of raw material of the statistician. It may furnish confirmation of hypotheses, but it is very rare that it brings to light facts of the structure and function not already within the knowledge of the investigator, or at least definitely suspected by him to exist."<sup>1</sup>

#### B. THE INTERVIEW

The author had hoped to interview personally all ninety-three Negroes in Boulder, but because of the human factor only eighty-four were actually interviewed. A number of the children were too young to be interviewed and a few of the adults were not present in Boulder at the time of the survey. Also there was one family who refused to answer any questions, stating that they were tired of being interviewed and being asked questions.<sup>2</sup> It appeared that others in the group outwardly accepted the observer but actually did not give very reliable information. The interview was primarily used to get the information for the schedule.<sup>3</sup> In many cases the formal interview was only the begin-

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<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Method of Social Study (New York: Longman, Green and Company, 1932), p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 27, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix D.

ning of a long talk on subjects ranging from sports to politics. All this information was of value in gaining an understanding of the Negro people of Boulder.

#### C. OTHER SOURCES

Other sources of information included talks with the Boulder County Public Health Nurse, Boulder County Director of Public Welfare, the Chief of Police, the Child Welfare Director, the American Red Cross, and other agencies and people in Boulder interested in or dealing with the Negroes. In addition, various Census reports were used when possible.

#### D. THE OBSERVER

The observer was as objective as possible in analyzing the Negroes in Boulder. However, at times, subconsciously one tends to revert back to preconceived ideas about other races in analyzing group behavior. Therefore, in order to clarify the observer's position about the Negroes, a brief statement of his background is presented.

#### E. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The observer was born and raised in the North Eastern part of the United States and always attended schools where Negroes were accepted educationally on an equal basis. Some of his best friends during boyhood were Negroes. Also the observer has visited Negro

churches and Negro communities in Maine, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana. The observer therefore has been interested in the Negro people for some time. During his time in service, the observer spent four months in France working directly with Negro troops.

#### E. RELIABILITY OF DATA

In the main part, the reliability of the data is limited to the validity of the reports given to the observer during the interviews, except where otherwise noted. In most cases facts could not be learned directly. Many of the Negroes, even those born in Boulder, have no birth record and the word of the interviewee must, in most cases, be taken at face value. The observer had some idea of the background of most of the Negroes from initial interviews and he tried to cross-check whenever there was a noticeable discrepancy. In the main, however, this is the Negroes' story as told and observed by the author.

#### F. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"No other social problem in the United States has received so much attention as the Negro problem."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1946), p. 255.

In fact, according to Thompson,<sup>1</sup> the whole Negro problem has been overstudied. Needless to say there is an abundance of books on all phases of Negro life. A few of the books concerning community studies of the Negroes will be reviewed here.

In Deep South<sup>2</sup> a Negro field worker and his wife and a white field worker and his wife lived in the southern city being studied for two years. They conformed to the mores and the folkways of their respective castes. After a period of about six months they dropped their roles of researchers and made observations as part of their groups. The Negro and the white field worker continually checked with each other in order to learn both sides of this behavior relation and to eliminate, if possible, caste dogmas. The purpose of their study was to gain an understanding of the social structure and the customs of the Negroes and the whites in this southern city. Over half of the 10,000 people in the city were Negroes. The main part of the book is devoted to studying class

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<sup>1</sup> Edgar T. Thompson, Race Relations and Race Problems (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939).

<sup>2</sup> Davis, op. cit.

and caste in and between the Negro and the white group.

Frazier<sup>1</sup> in 1932 wrote a book about the Negro family in Chicago. His study was a departure from the usual approach in studying the Negroes. The majority of the previous studies of Negro life took the Negro group as an undifferentiated mass and compared it in respect to crime, poverty, delinquency and family organization to white groups.<sup>2</sup> Frazier made the assumption that the background of the Negro in America had been coincident with considerable social disorganization; therefore an important problem in studying the Negroes was to discover and measure the process by which small elements in the Negro group succeeded in escaping from conditions of the masses. Disorganization and reorganization of Negro families were part of the process of selection in which some became emancipated from the traditional status. A partial community study was needed to analyze these Negro families.

More recently there has been another survey made about the Negroes in Chicago. Black Metropolis<sup>3</sup> deals with the Negro city within a city. In a comparatively

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<sup>1</sup> Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Family in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945).

small area of Chicago over 300,000 Negroes are packed solidly. The study is made of the entire community in order to give a description and analysis of the structure and organization of the entire group. The authors employed methods of both sociologists and social anthropologists in examining this community. Various phases of community life were examined and appraised by the authors.

Frazier<sup>1</sup> also made a study of the Negroes in Harlem, New York. He discovered that, while in Chicago the characteristics of the Negro population corresponded to those of the whites in the same zone, the Negroes in Harlem had a pattern of their own. In this study the Negro ecological pattern was discussed in terms of concentric circles.

One of the important men in the field of community analysis is W. Lloyd Warner. Not only has he been of help in guiding many of the other surveys but he also made a community analysis of a city he called Yankee City.<sup>2</sup> Yankee City is a city of 17,000 people with many ethnic groups. The city was especially

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<sup>1</sup> Franklin E. Frazier, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," American Journal of Sociology, 43:72-88, July, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> W. Lloyd Warner and others, Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale University Press).

picked because of its size. It was large enough to manifest much of the complexity of modern life but was not beyond the possibilities of detailed examination. The approach is that of the social anthropologists, for all aspects of the life of the people were investigated in order to determine how the parts fit together and how each of the interconnecting parts function in maintaining a social system.<sup>1</sup> Social life, status system and the social system of American ethnic groups are discussed in various volumes of the study. In Boulder. The percentage of Negroes in com-

parison. A relatively new technique in community studies is the community audit. Working with the assumption that no outside observer could analyze adequately the people in a community, a community-conducted survey was inaugurated. In The Montclair Community Audit,<sup>2</sup> the people of Montclair, New Jersey organized groups to determine how their town stood in providing personal freedom and equality of opportunity to all. They investigated six areas of community life which included

other personnel of their own racial group. It is difficult to <sup>1</sup> Drake, op. cit., p. 770. the Negro communities

<sup>2</sup> Montclair Intergroup Council, The Montclair Community Audit (Montclair: The Montclair Intergroup Council, 1947). Northtown (New York, 1948).

employment, housing, recreation, education, public health and public facilities. A balance sheet of assets and liabilities was then made to find out the town's shortcomings. A similar study of a community-conducted survey was made in Northtown.<sup>1</sup> In this city of about 40,000 the community made an investigation of the community life of both the Negro and the Jewish groups. The areas investigated were quite similar to the areas investigated in the Montclair audit.

This thesis is a sociological study of the Negroes in Boulder. The percentage of Negroes in comparison to the total population and the actual size of the Negro group is very small when compared to the studies reviewed. The local Negroes of Boulder are dependent almost entirely upon the white people for their livelihood. They are not a self-sufficient group. Although no one Negro group in any of the cities examined was completely self sufficient, there were enough Negroes in other studies to have a structured population with doctors, lawyers, dentists and other personnel of their own racial group. It is difficult to draw a comparison between the Negro communities

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<sup>1</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of Jewish Congress, Northtown (New York, 1948).

studied with structures of their own, and the Negroes of Boulder, where the Negroes are just a minute part of the total population structure of the community. All the studies made of the Negroes in other communities were helpful in getting a clearer picture of community life, but they were not used for purposes of comparison. As was stated before, this is a study of the sociological forces that affect the Negro behavior in Boulder. In this universe of under 100 Negroes the complexities of modern communities is almost non-existent.

two main residential districts are located on the hills north and south of the stream--University Hill and Mapleton Hill. The business district is located on Pearl Street, between the two residential districts.

In accordance with the ecological pattern of many cities, the Negro population is situated near the business district in the poorer residential areas of town.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the city of Boulder is fortunate in not having any real slum area, which so often characterizes areas of low economic level. The

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas, The City (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1939), p. 114.

The majority of the Negro families are located on Good Street, just two blocks from Arapahoe Avenue, the main road to Denver, and three blocks from Pearl Street, the main business street.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

The second most populated block of Negro families in Boulder is the next street, Water Street. Down the center of Water Street.

A. LOCATION

Boulder is located in the north-central part of Colorado about thirty miles northwest of Denver, in the foothills of the Rocky Mountain. Boulder Creek bisects the city diagonally into two main parts. The two main residential districts are located on the hills north and south of the stream--University Hill and Mapleton Hill. The business district is located on Pearl Street, between the two residential districts.

In accordance with the ecological pattern of many cities, the Negro population is situated near the business district in the poorer residential areas of town.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the city of Boulder is fortunate in not having any real slum area, which so often characterizes areas of low economic level. The

ver, according to one of the older Negroes,<sup>2</sup> who has been here

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas, The City (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1939), p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 22, 1943.

The majority of the Negro families are located on Goss Street, just two blocks from Arapahoe Avenue, the main road to Denver, and three blocks from Pearl Street, the main business street in the city. The second most populated block of Negro families in Boulder is the next street, Water Street. Down the center of Water Street, the only railroad track of the city is located. Map I shows the city of Boulder with the Negro area indicated in red. There is no enforced segregation of Negroes on these two streets, since many Mexican and white families live there also. The rest of the Negro families are scattered out on various streets. However, all these homes are concentrated around the main street of town.

## B. HISTORY

In 1870 the census listed only one Negro living in Boulder County.<sup>1</sup> There was no breakdown by cities and districts at this time, so it cannot be determined where in Boulder County the first Negro lived. However, according to one of the older Negroes,<sup>2</sup> who has been here

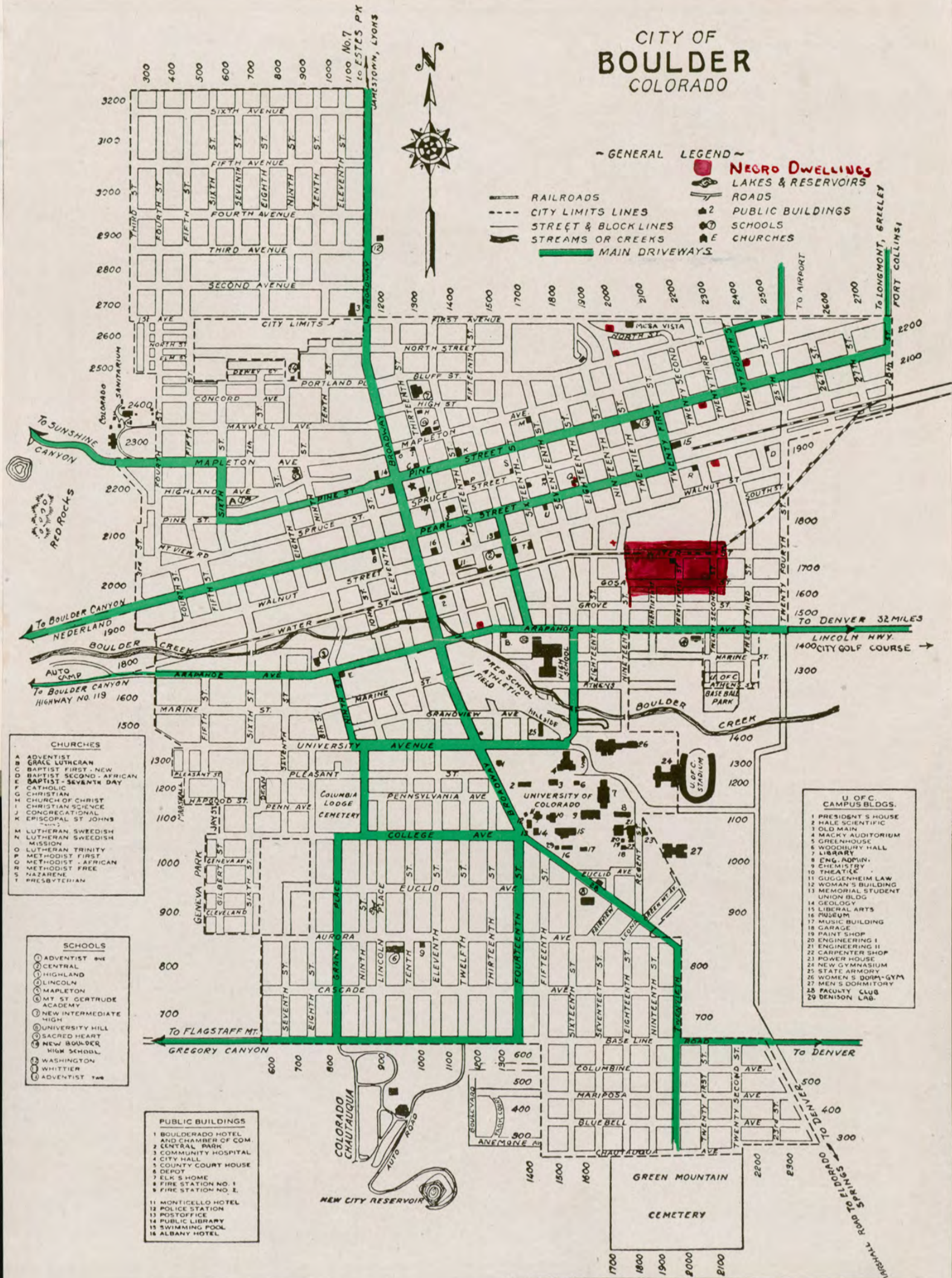
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<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce, "Ninth Census Of the United States, 1870, Characteristics of Population," Population.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 22, 1948.

# CITY OF BOULDER COLORADO

MAP I  
 MAP OF CITY OF BOULDER  
 SHOWING AREA WHERE NEGROES LIVE



~ GENERAL LEGEND ~

- NEGRO DWELLINGS**
- LAKES & RESERVOIRS
- RAILROADS
- ROADS
- CITY LIMITS LINES
- STREET & BLOCK LINES
- STREAMS OR CREEKS
- MAIN DRIVEWAYS
- PUBLIC BUILDINGS
- SCHOOLS
- CHURCHES

- CHURCHES**
- A ADVENTIST
  - B GRAC LUTHERAN
  - C BAPTIST FIRST - NEW
  - D BAPTIST SECOND - AFRICAN
  - E BAPTIST - SEVENTH DAY
  - F CATHOLIC
  - G CHRISTIAN
  - H CHURCH OF CHRIST
  - I CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
  - J CONGREGATIONAL
  - K EPISCOPAL ST. JOHN'S
  - L LUTHERAN SWEDISH
  - M LUTHERAN SWEDISH MISSION
  - N LUTHERAN TRINITY
  - O METHODIST FIRST
  - P METHODIST - AFRICAN
  - Q METHODIST FREE
  - R NAZARENE
  - S PRESBYTERIAN

- SCHOOLS**
- 1 ADVENTIST ONE
  - 2 CENTRAL
  - 3 HIGHLAND
  - 4 LINCOLN
  - 5 MAPLETON
  - 6 MT. ST. GERTRUDE ACADEMY
  - 7 NEW INTERMEDIATE HIGH
  - 8 UNIVERSITY HILL
  - 9 SACRED HEART
  - 10 NEW BOULDER HIGH SCHOOL
  - 11 WASHINGTON
  - 12 WHITTIER
  - 13 ADVENTIST TWO

- PUBLIC BUILDINGS**
- 1 BOULDERADO HOTEL AND CHAMBER OF COM.
  - 2 CENTRAL PARK
  - 3 COMMUNITY HOSPITAL
  - 4 CITY HALL
  - 5 COUNTY COURT HOUSE
  - 6 DEPOT
  - 7 ELK HOME
  - 8 FIRE STATION NO. 1
  - 9 FIRE STATION NO. 2
  - 11 MONTICELLO HOTEL
  - 12 POLICE STATION
  - 13 POST OFFICE
  - 14 PUBLIC LIBRARY
  - 15 SWIMMING POOL
  - 16 ALBANY HOTEL

- U. OF C. CAMPUS BLDGS.**
- 1 PRESIDENT'S HOUSE
  - 2 HALL SCIENTIFIC OLD MAIN
  - 3 MACKY AUDITORIUM
  - 4 GREENHOUSE
  - 5 WOODBURY HALL
  - 6 LIBRARY
  - 7 ENG. ADMIN.
  - 8 CHEMISTRY
  - 9 GUGGENHEIM LAW
  - 10 THEATRE
  - 11 WOMAN'S BUILDING
  - 12 MEMORIAL STUDENT UNION BLDG.
  - 13 GEOLOGY
  - 14 LIBERAL ARTS
  - 15 MUSEUM
  - 16 MUSIC BUILDING
  - 17 GARAGE
  - 18 PAINT SHOP
  - 19 ENGINEERING I
  - 20 ENGINEERING II
  - 21 CARPENTER SHOP
  - 22 POWER HOUSE
  - 23 NEW GYMNASIUM
  - 24 STATE ARMORY
  - 25 WOMEN'S DORM-GYM
  - 26 MEN'S DORMITORY
  - 27 FACULTY CLUB
  - 28 DENISON LAB.

most of his life, the first Negro came to live in Boulder County in 1864. For a living he panned for gold in Left Hand Canyon, about six miles from the city of Boulder. He came to Boulder for supplies and considered this city to be his home.

The first year that the census gives the population for the city of Boulder is 1910. Before this the population is just listed as part of Boulder County.

TABLE I

A COMPARISON OF THE GROWTH OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BOULDER, COLORADO<sup>1</sup>

Year	Negro Population	White Population
1910	166	9396
1920	128	10874
1930	121	11082
1940	134	12809
1948	93*	20000*

\*The figures for the Negro population for 1948 was obtained from the survey and for the white population from an estimation of the city manager of Boulder.

As can be readily seen from Table I, the white population of Boulder has been increasing steadily since 1910, while the Negro population, except for a brief

<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce, "Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Characteristics of Population," Volume II Population, p. 714.

increase in 1940, has been declining. In the period of 1919 to 1940 the Negro population of Boulder decreased 20.5 per cent while the white population increased 37.4 per cent. In the same period the Negro population in the state of Colorado increased 6.3 per cent and the white population increased 54.1 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Also the Negro population of the United States increased 30.8 per cent and the white population 44.7 per cent during the same period.<sup>2</sup> Although the Negro population in the State of Colorado and in the United States has been increasing at a slower rate than the white population in the same places, it has not been decreasing as it has been in Boulder. This study attempts to point out the reasons for this decrease.

### C. WHY THEY CAME

The main reason for migration is the desire for economic advancement. People mainly migrate when conditions in the place where they once lived are no longer advantageous.<sup>3</sup> In examining the causes why the present

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix A

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946).

Negroes came to Boulder, as disclosed by the interviews, the following information was obtained:

TABLE II

REASONS WHY THE NEGROES CAME TO BOULDER<sup>1</sup>

Reason	Number of Negroes
1. Better place to raise children and give them an education	14
2. Better working conditions and job opportunities	14
3. Quiet place to settle down	7
4. For reasons of health	4
5. Just wanted a change	2

The reasons stated above were only taken and computed once for each family unit. This was done on the assumption that the reason the head of each family came was also the reason for the rest of the family unit. It will be noted that the majority of the Negroes came to Boulder to better themselves economically and socially either directly or indirectly. The people who claimed they came to Boulder because it was a better place to

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey

raise their children and give them an education, had the long range plan in mind of improving their children's economic position. This was indicated in the interviews.

Most of the Negro people are well satisfied with Boulder and claim it is the best place they have ever lived in. However, there are three families who are fairly dissatisfied with Boulder. These families said they would like to leave Boulder as soon as they are able to.

#### D. WHEN THEY CAME

This could have been stated, how long have the present Negroes been living in Boulder? These figures will give a more definite idea of the static or dynamic characteristics of the population.

TABLE III

WHEN THE NEGROES NOW LIVING IN BOULDER CAME<sup>1</sup>

Year Intervals	Number of Negroes
1900-1905	8
1906-1910	1
1911-1915	4
1916-1920	11
1921-1925	10
1926-1930	8

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey

TABLE III (continued)  
 WHEN THE NEGROES NOW LIVING IN BOULDER CAME

Year Intervals	Number of Negroes
1931-1935	4
1936-1940	11
1941-1945	11
1946- - - - -	9
Born Here	16
<b>Color Total</b>	<b>93</b>

Of the present Negro population in Boulder only 42 were here before 1930 when the population was 121.<sup>1</sup> Either because of death or emigration, 79 of the Boulder Negroes here in 1930 are no longer residing in the city. At the present, there are only 57 of the 134<sup>2</sup> Negroes who were here in 1940 remaining. These same figures give a better indication that there must be some social force or forces that compel a number of the Negroes to leave Boulder.

#### E. WHERE THEY CAME FROM

According to most migration patterns concerning the Negroes, the trend has been from the rural areas of

<sup>1</sup> See page 10.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

the South to the urban areas of the North.<sup>1</sup> Table IV indicates the states from which Boulder Negroes migrated. They sought a quiet place to settle down, almost entirely

TABLE IV  
STATES FROM WHICH BOULDER NEGROES MIGRATED<sup>2</sup>

Name of State	Number of Negroes
Colorado	29
Denver . . . . .	18
Akron . . . . .	10
Brighton . . . . .	1
Missouri	18
Kansas	11
Texas	7
California	4
Oklahoma	3
Nebraska	2
Arkansas	1
Kentucky	1
Michigan	1
Illinois	1
Indiana	1

The large number of Negroes migrating from Missouri primarily came from one family. Originally some of the family came and they later recommended it to the rest of the clan. Some went by way of Akron, Colorado, and then came to Boulder. This group came here for economic

<sup>1</sup> Ogburn, op. cit., p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey

advantages and also because it was a better place to bring up their families. The people, who said they wanted a quiet place to settle down, almost entirely came from Denver, Colorado, where there is a fairly large Negro population. The following map shows the main migration tendencies of the Negroes in Boulder.

#### G. SUMMARY

The Negro population in Boulder is decreasing although there is an increase in the white population. Although the Negro population in both the state of Colorado and in the United States as a whole is increasing at a slower rate than is the white population, it is nevertheless increasing. Some forces are at work in the community which counteract the forces which made the Negroes come to Boulder. The Negroes primarily came to Boulder to better themselves economically and to have a good place to raise their families. Only after examining the Negroes of Boulder and their community life, will it be possible to determine the causes that impel the Negroes to give up the advantages of residing in Boulder.



when there are more of a racial minority group, there is more competition for jobs, which means there is an increase in white man's resentment.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE

B. AGE DISTRIBUTION

A. SIZE

In any group of people one of the outstanding

character As was already pointed out, the Negro population of Boulder is comparatively small. At the present time there are only 93 known Negroes in Boulder (excluding the Negro students attending the University of Colorado and therefore considered to be transients). Only approximately one half of one per cent of the total population of the city are Negroes. With such a small number and percentage of total population, the problems of assimilation and association are different than they would be if the number were larger in size in relation to the total population. This is true of the adjustment of many racial minority groups. "A single Chinese, or Japanese family in a community may be highly esteemed if the individuals are personally acceptable. Should the number of such families increase, the situation may become radically different."<sup>1</sup> Also

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<sup>1</sup> Ogburn, op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey

when there are more of a racial minority group, there is more competition for jobs, which means there is an increase in white man's resentment.

### B. AGE DISTRIBUTION

In any group of people one of the outstanding characteristics is its age distribution. If the town has any industry or places of business of large size, the population usually has a large number of young adults between the ages of 20 to 40 years.<sup>1</sup> If the population has a larger number in the older age groups, there is more likelihood that the city is lacking in the economic opportunities which attract the younger adults and which also forces the younger adults already living there to go elsewhere for employment.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE V

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF BOULDER  
1948<sup>3</sup>

Age	Female	Male	Total	Per cent in each group
Under 5	2	7	9	9.7
5-9	1	-	1	2.2
10-14	1	3	4	4.3

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Figures computed from survey

TABLE V (continued)

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF BOULDER  
1948

Age	Female	Male	Total	Per cent in each group
15-19	4	3	7	7.5
20-24	1	3	4	4.3
25-29	2	2	4	4.3
30-34	4	2	6	6.5
35-39	5	2	7	7.5
40-44	3	4	7	7.5
45-49	4	-	4	4.3
50-54	3	4	7	7.5
55-59	5	3	8	8.6
60-64	3	1	4	4.3
65-69	2	1	3	3.2
70-74	5	6	11	11.8
75 over	4	2	6	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are only 22 Negroes or 23.7 per cent of the population under twenty years of age. Of this group 14 belong in three families. Also there are 39 or 41.9 per cent of the population over 50 years of age.

The Negro population's age distribution in 1950, if there were no more arrivals, and no deaths or births, is indicated in Table VI.

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey

<sup>2</sup> Appendix B

<sup>3</sup> See Table V

<sup>4</sup> See Table VI

TABLE VI  
 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION  
 OF BOULDER IN 1950<sup>1</sup>

Age group	Female	Male	Total	Per cent in group
Under 20	4	5	9	12.7
20-40	7	2	9	12.7
40-59	12	12	24	33.8
60 Over	18	11	29	40.8
Total	41	30	71	100.0

The younger generation said they were leaving as soon as their education was completed or when the opportunity arose. A look at the community life and the people might give us the answer to this question.

In 1940<sup>2</sup> the number of Negroes in Boulder who were over 60 included 21.6 per cent of the population while in the state of Colorado only 13.6 per cent and in the United States only 7.6 per cent of the Negro population were over 60 years of age. In 1948 the number of Negroes in Boulder over 60 has increased to 25.6<sup>3</sup> per cent and it might rise as high as 40.8<sup>4</sup> per cent in 1950. The Negro Population of Boulder is older than

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey

<sup>2</sup> Appendix B

<sup>3</sup> See Table V

<sup>4</sup> See Table VI

either the Negro population in the state of Colorado or the United States. This rate is increasing fairly rapidly.

### C. SEX DISTRIBUTION

At the present time the sex ratio<sup>1</sup> is 86 and if the present trend continues it will be approximately 75 in 1950.<sup>2</sup> In 1940<sup>3</sup> the sex ratio in Boulder was 86\* while the sex ratio in the state of Colorado was 92\* and in the United States it was 95\*. Not only is the Negro population older in Boulder but it also has a greater excess of females than for the state or the country. "The proportion of men to women is lower in cities than on farms!"<sup>4</sup> When there is a greater percentage of women it is an indication that vocational opportunities for the men are not very great.

### D. MARITAL STATUS

Another important phase of the population is the marital status. There could be a case where the sex

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<sup>1</sup> Sex ratio is the number of men to 100 women.

<sup>2</sup> See Table VI

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B

\* To nearest whole numbers.

<sup>4</sup> Ogburn, op. cit., p. 525.

ratio is 100 and yet none of the people be represented in the man and wife combination. In this case there would be no increases in the population by births.

TABLE VII

FAMILY STRUCTURE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF BOULDER<sup>1</sup>

Type of Family	Number of Negro Families
Man and Wife	8
Man and Wife and One Child	9
Man and Wife and Two Children	1
Man and Wife and Four Children	3
Mother and One Child	4
Mother and Two Children	0
Mother and Three Children	2
Wife only	7
Husband only	3
Single Men only	2

Of all the man and wife combinations, only six of them include the wife under 40 years of age. Of these six, two of the wives already have four children. Also two more of these expect to leave Boulder sometime in the near future. It is obvious from these figures that the birth rate of the Negro population will continue to be small. Before the Negro population of Boulder can increase significantly there must be some influx of young

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

Negro couples from other places, or inducements for more of the young local Negroes to stay in order to match the trend for both whites and Negroes in Colorado and the United States.

#### E. BIRTHPLACE

The place where a person was born and brought up has a very significant role in determining how he feels and acts. Many of the Negroes who were born and raised in the south are so accustomed to inequality that they do not fight to get equal rights, while those Negroes born and raised in places where they had some rights want everything that is coming to them.

TABLE VIII

#### PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>1</sup>

Name of State	Number of Negroes
Colorado	32
Missouri	20
Kansas	8
Texas	11
Tennessee	5
Oklahoma	4
Alabama	5
Mississippi	3
California	2
Kentucky	1
Pennsylvania	1
Canada	1
Total	93

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

Boulder 28 said F. POLITICAL PARTIES, 22 said they

were Democrats, and 16 said they were for Wallace and the Third party. The Republican supporters on the whole were the oldest group. One old lady who was a vigorous Republican supporter said, "When the Republicans were in power we only made a dollar a day, but we knew a dollar was worth a dollar. Now we make ten dollars a day and we don't know how much we have." Right now in the midst of a presidential election, there are three parties that are trying to "woo" the Negro vote into their folds. Each one of these parties, the Republican, the Democratic, and the Progressive parties has a liberal platform. The Negro in Boulder responds to the strong appeals of each party in characteristic ways.

One of the Negroes said,<sup>1</sup> "I am not a Communist, but I am for the party that will give the Negro what he deserves, even if it is the Communist party." This idea voices the almost unanimous opinion of the Negroes in Boulder. Apparently the Boulder Negro is less interested in national and international matters than in what he feels to be his own rights. Of the Negroes in

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 17, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 22, 1948.

Boulder 28 said they were Republicans, 22 said they were Democrats, and 16 said they were for Wallace and the Third party. The Republican supporters on the whole were the oldest group. One old lady who was a vigorous Republican supporter said,<sup>1</sup> "When the Republicans were in power we only made a dollar a day, but we knew a dollar was worth a dollar. Now we make ten dollars a day and we don't know how much we have."

#### G. SUMMARY

In 1940 there was a greater percentage of Negro people in Boulder in the older age groups than in either the state of Colorado or in the United States. This percentage has already increased considerably and there are indications that this percentage will increase even more by 1950. This means that the younger Negroes are leaving Boulder and also that not many younger Negroes are migrating here. Not only is there this abnormality in the age distribution but also there are a greater number of females than males in the Negro community. Definitely there must be some forces at work in the community which create both an

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 22, 1948.

abnormally high old age distribution and also a low sex ratio. The Negro population of Boulder cannot increase very much from within because of the structure of the group. There are only a few couples of the childbearing age in Boulder and the majority of these couples either have large families now or will be leaving Boulder shortly.

The majority of the Negroes in Boulder were either born in the South or in borderline states. Although most of them have never been slaves legally they have, however, known the meaning of the word in action. Boulder, to these people, is an ideal place.

However for some of the Negroes who were born and raised where there was more equality, all incidents against Negroes are great social injustices.

A question on the survey<sup>1</sup> was "Do you think there are any restrictive covenants in Boulder, either written or unwritten, which would prevent you from moving into certain sections of town?" Approximately sixty-six per cent of the negroes who answered this question said they believed that there were some types of restrictive covenants. The majority of the Negroes who thought there were restrictive covenants in Boulder

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<sup>1</sup> Karl B. Lohmann, Principles of City Planning (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937) chapter 17.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

said they were probably unwritten. Some of the things the Negroes thought to be true about the restricted areas were:

CHAPTER IV

HOUSING

When one visits the Negro district of almost any American city, one is likely to see a dreary, delapidated and neglected area. Usually the Negro housing areas are located near the center of the city in a highly concentrated area. The houses are usually older and the facilities are not adequate.<sup>1</sup>

A. RESTRICTED AREA

A question on the survey<sup>2</sup> was "Do you think there are any restrictive covenants in Boulder, either written or unwritten, which would prevent you from moving into certain sections of town?" Approximately sixty-six per cent of the negroes who answered this question said they believed that there were some types of restrictive covenants. The majority of the Negroes who thought there were restrictive covenants in Boulder

<sup>1</sup> Karl B. Lohmann, Principles of City Planning (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937) chapter 17.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

said they were probably unwritten. Some of the things the Negroes thought to be true about the restricted areas were:

1. The Negroes, if they have the money, can buy a house any place, but they can only rent a house on Goss or Water Street.
2. Negroes cannot buy houses in certain sections of town.
3. No Negro has tried to live on either Mapleton or University Hill.
4. Negroes cannot live in certain places because of the price.

There are no restrictive covenants in the ordinance of the city of Boulder concerning discrimination of the Negroes in housing. However, in explaining why the Negroes feel they are discriminated against in their housing, the following reasons were indicated:<sup>1</sup>

1. White neighbors opposed to Negroes living in their neighborhood.
2. Dealers do not sell certain houses to the Negroes.
3. Negroes cannot afford to buy the better homes.
4. Hard for Negroes to get mortgages because they are a poor financial risk.

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<sup>1</sup> Computed from survey.

White neighbors opposed to Negroes living in their neighborhood. An example of white neighbors opposing the Negroes moving into their neighborhood is illustrated by the story of Mr. X:

A number of years ago, Mr. X desired to buy a house that was for sale in West Boulder. He made a payment on the option and was ready to close the transaction when the neighbors found out about the deal. They immediately started circulating a petition stating that Negroes were not wanted in their neighborhood. Mr. X did not want to live in an area where he was not wanted and was glad to oblige. The neighbors had to pay Mr. X for the option payment, however, since the owner did not feel obliged to return the money.<sup>1</sup>

An incident with a reverse twist but one that illustrates quite vividly how some of the white people in Boulder feel about Negroes living on the same block with them is illustrated by the incident of Mr. Y:

Mr. Y, a custodian, was asked by one of the white store employees to come up and look at his house that was for sale. He did not want to sell his house to Mr. Y, but he thought that if his neighbor saw Mr. Y looking at the place, the neighbor would buy it to keep the Negroes out of the area.<sup>2</sup>

These two incidents illustrate the main type of exclusion of Negroes in Boulder. Whites who do not desire Negroes in their neighborhood can effectively keep

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 1, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--July 7, 1948.

many Negroes out by banding together in a group and using coercion as their weapon.

Dealers do not sell certain houses to the Negroes. Many real estate dealers, it is felt by the Negroes have an unwritten agreement that they will not sell houses to Negroes in certain sections of town. Mr. Z. came upon this obstacle when he tried to buy a certain house:

There was a certain house that Mr. Z wanted to buy but could not because the dealer refused to sell to a Negro. Mr. Z finally got another dealer to buy it from the first dealer, who in turn sold it to Mr. Z.<sup>1</sup>

Negroes cannot afford to buy the better homes.

The main reason given by the Negroes who thought there were no restrictive covenants in Boulder, for not living in certain sections of Boulder, was that they could not afford to buy certain houses. They thought that there were no exclusion laws but only this economic barrier.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 7, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--July 1, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix B.

<sup>4</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of Jewish Congress, op. cit.

Hard for Negroes to get mortgages because they are a poor financial risk. The Negroes' difficulty in getting mortgages on houses is closely allied with the economic reason. To many, the Negro is considered a poor financial risk; moreover this is an effective way to restrict Negroes from certain areas. One of the Negro women, Mrs. W., stated that her husband had a difficult time getting the mortgages on the house in which they now live even though there was a Negro family living there before them.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. HOME OWNERSHIP

On the thirty-one houses in Boulder in which the Negroes live, twenty-seven are owned by the occupants and only four are rented.<sup>2</sup> A survey of Northtown<sup>3</sup> showed that the Negroes there only owned four out of every ten houses they lived in, while in Boulder the Negroes own more than eight out of every ten houses they live in. Two of the four rented houses are owned by Negroes and two by whites. The rent in all four of these houses is fifteen dollars a month. However, some

<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 1, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

<sup>3</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of Jewish Congress, op. cit.

of the Negroes own a total of nine more houses which they rent to non-Negro tenants. When ownership of houses is used as an indication of economic status, it is evident that the Negroes in Boulder are in a fairly good position.

### C. THE HOUSES

The majority of the Negro houses are single, one and a half story of the frame type. The assessed value of most of the houses is between two and five thousand dollars with about six houses assessed at more than five thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup> The results were similar to those of Barker<sup>2</sup> who in 1942 classified 12 of the Negro houses in the "C" or "C-" class, which is a rating of fair, and the other Negro houses in the "D" class, which is inferior. None of the Negroes houses were placed in the "F" class, which means they should be condemned as unfit to live in. All the houses have inside toilets and running water, and the majority of them have both hot and cold running water. Not many of the homes, however, are heated by furnaces, the majority of them being heated by floor heaters, either coal

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<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon Barker, Boulder Housing, unpublished study, 1943.



PLATE 1

TYPICAL HOUSE OWNED BY A NEGRO

NEGRO FAMILY

(The houses rented by the Negroes  
are inferior to those that are  
owned by Negroes)

or oil. Over 70 per cent of the homes have electric refrigerators.

It was supposed by many that the Negroes were discriminated against since there was a main down the street. However, the houses are located. However, the Public Service Commission and connecting up many of the Negro people could not get living on the block in order to have their homes in order to have their street. Now many are converting to gas.



PLATE 2

**TYPICAL HOUSE RENTED BY A  
NEGRO FAMILY**

(The houses rented by the Negroes  
are inferior to those that are  
owned by Negroes)

students who wanted to stay in the Negro area this summer were turned away because there was not enough room. However, for those that are here the facilities are very good.

or oil. Over 70 per cent of the homes have electric refrigerators.

It was supposed by many that the Negroes were discriminated against since there was no gas main down the street where the majority of their homes are located. However at the time of this survey, the Public Service Company was putting a gas line in and connecting up many of the homes. Before this time the Negro people could not get the four signatures of people living on the block who would have gas piped into their homes in order to have the gas pipe brought down their street. Now many more of the Negroes are planning to convert to gas.

A question about housing that has arisen is "where do the Negroes room all the summer people?" Each summer there is an influx of about fifty Negro students who, for the most part, stay in the homes of the Negroes in Boulder. Most of the Negro homes that take in roomers are larger than they appear. In one home where 20 summer students are staying there are 11 bedrooms which means about two in a room. At no home are they crowded into too few rooms. Many students who wanted to stay in the Negro area this summer were turned away because there was not enough room. However, for those that are here the facilities are very good.

## D. SUMMARY

Regardless of the reason, it is difficult for a Negro family to live on either University or Mapleton Hill in Boulder. The Negro homes are, as in the usual ecological pattern, concentrated near the business district of town. Although their homes are among the worst in Boulder, they are very adequate and are not of the shack type of abode in many Negro communities. In contrast to many of the houses in Louisville,<sup>1</sup> a town only eleven miles from Boulder, the Negro people in Boulder have very excellent homes.

How the conditions would change if more Negroes tried to buy homes in Boulder is questionable. In all probability there would be some resistance and discrimination. However, houses for anyone are hard to get and expensive right now. The economic situation makes it practically impossible for many Negroes to live in better residential sections.

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth L. Pearson, A Health Survey of Louisville, unpublished thesis, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--Mar 14, 1948.

not want. Is this the case? Are the Negro people in Boulder only in the more menial types of occupations? If so, is it because of discrimination or because of a lack of adequate training?

CHAPTER V

EMPLOYMENT

The type of employment is an important aspect in the life of any adult. The type of job and the amount of money one makes plays a "starring role" in, determining where he lives, how much education his children will get, and what kind of recreation his family can enjoy. Not only is the job important in a material way but also it is important in the way it effects prestige and in the sense of contributing something to society. The type of job one has colors the feelings and attitudes.<sup>1</sup>

One of the professors at the University of Colorado who is interested in ethnic minority groups, said, "You can sum up the occupations of the Negroes here in Boulder in one word--'bootblacks'."<sup>2</sup> By this he not only meant bootblacks in the strict sense of the word but included all jobs comparable to that,-- the more menial jobs that the average white person does

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<sup>1</sup> Ogburn, op. cit., chapter 19.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--May 18, 1948.

not want. Is this the case? Are the Negro people in Boulder only in the more menial types of occupations? If so, is it because of discrimination or because of a lack of adequate training?

#### A. OCCUPATIONS OF THE NEGROES

One of the stereotypes about the Negroes is that they are lazy and do not work for their living. Table VIII indicates the employment status of Boulder Negroes.

TABLE IX  
NUMBER OF NEGROES IN BOULDER OVER EIGHTEEN EMPLOYED<sup>1</sup>

Sex	Employed	Unemployed	Percent Employed
Male	20	22	47.6
Female	17	12	58.7
Total	37	34	52.1

A number of the Negro women that are listed as employed only work during the summer time when they room and board summer students. 52.1 per cent is a fairly high

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

percentage of the population to be employed. The Negro group as a whole is very industrious. As one of the older Negro women put it, "There aren't any lazy Negroes in Boulder."<sup>1</sup>

The Negroes of Boulder are predominantly in the more menial types of jobs as one can readily see from the following list of occupations:

TABLE X

OCCUPATIONS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF BOULDER<sup>2</sup>

Types of Occupation	Number of Negroes	
	Male	Female
Professional and in Business		
Minister	1	0
Nurse	0	1
In Business	3	9
Other types of Occupations		
Plasterer	1	0
Custodian or Porter	9	0
Cook	6	2
Domestic	0	5
Total	20	17

Six of the females that are listed as in business for themselves are the Negro ladies that have the summer

<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 22, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey.

boarders. They could have been listed as cooks. The other three males and three females are couples. Two of the three couples have just recently started restaurants of their own. They, too, could be listed as cooks since they run their own business. A number of other Negroes who were listed as cooks indicated that they would like to start restaurants of their own some day. The other male Negro in business for himself has a machine repair shop and his wife is a beautician, also in business for herself.

Most of the custodians or porters also have shoe-shine concessions at the places they work. The plasterer has a job in Denver and commutes to work every day.

#### B. ECONOMIC STATUS

Some of the jobs that the Negroes have do not pay very well, but because more than one person in many families works, the income for family units is fairly high.

As was noted before, many of the custodians are bootblacks also and the money they get from this work varies with the location and the season. One Negro said that he makes anywhere from ten to sixty dollars a

week shining shoes.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE XI  
INCOME OF THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>2</sup> \*

Salary Dollars per month	Number of Negroes Male	Negroes Female	Family Income
50-100	0	4	2
100-150	7	1	2
150-200	5	2	2
200-250	4	2	6
Over 250	4	2	9

The figures in Table XI are in the most cases low. Also there are approximately 15 Negroes receiving old age pension,<sup>3</sup> which is at the present time 83 dollars a month, and five Negroes getting Aid to Dependent Children or Aid to the Blind. Except in one or two cases, the Negroes in Boulder have adequate income.

<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 6, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey.

\* At best these figures are just an approximation. The observer could not look at the persons paycheck but only ask how much he made. Also there are many jobs such as bootblack and summer boarding work where very limited figures were obtained.

<sup>3</sup> The state of Colorado forbids the County Welfare Departments from giving out these figures. Even just a count of the number in each category would be too direct information for such a small group. Again the observer could not obtain the figures.

## C. ATTITUDES

On the question in the survey,<sup>1</sup> "Do you feel the Negroes in this town are given a fair chance in job opportunities?", 34.2 per cent said they were given equal chances in job opportunities, 57.5 per cent said that the Negroes were not given a fair chance in job opportunities, and 8.3 per cent did not know. Typical of the answer of the Negroes that said there was equality in job opportunities was the reply of one of the male Negro cooks who said, "We are given equality in job opportunities in some occupations because they cannot find any white people to do the job."<sup>2</sup> Some of the people sensed that the Negroes here in town, generally were not adequately trained for some types of employment. The Negro cooks as a group seemed to have a great deal of pride in their work and considered themselves to be semi-professional.

In the group who said that the Negroes were not given a fair chance in job opportunities, the majority were not thinking of themselves, but of others. Especially the parents who raised families here in Boulder

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix D.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 30, 1948.

knew that after their children were educated they would have to leave Boulder if they want to get decent jobs. Many thought that Boulder could prove it was liberal by hiring a Negro teacher or Negro postman. During the Christmas rush a Negro was hired by the Post Office. However, he was assigned to the Negro area and he was laid off as soon as the rush was over.

There are many stories that circulate around town that there are a number of Negro bootblacks with Master's and Doctor's degrees. Actually there is only one such individual. This Negro has a Master of Arts Degree in History and Romance languages from Kansas University. He came to Boulder many years ago just on a trip and liked the place so well that he decided to stay. He did not apply for a position as a teacher in the public schools or at the University. With only a mere handful of Negroes here in Boulder on the proportional basis, the Negroes are not in line for many of these positions. Two things are needed in order to get certain jobs. First, the person must be qualified. For any job the one who has the best training and the best ability should be chosen. And second, there must be an opening. Although there is some job discrimination, this line of reasoning gives an added outlook to the entire picture.

#### D. WHITE PEOPLE IN OCCUPATIONS

Since the Negroes do not own any stores of their own, they buy all of their things from stores owned by the whites. In fact, in practically every phase, the Negro group is dependent on the larger group. The service they get in all the stores is as good for them as for anyone else. The Negro people as a group have three white doctors and three white dentists whom they visit if they need their assistance. These men have gained a reputation among the Negroes as those who treat all men as equals. Some of the doctors and dentists will take care of Negro patients, but only at night. To the Negroes this is partial discrimination and they usually refuse to go to these men.

#### E. SUMMARY

Although many of the Negroes have the more menial jobs, they do get fairly good pay especially with boot-black concessions and other jobs to supplement their incomes. Also, many of the women work in the summer time taking care of the summer students. In spite of the number in the older age groups, a large percentage of the Negroes are gainfully employed. A large number also receive old age pensions. Under the law of the state of Colorado the old people who otherwise qualify may own

their own homes and have no more than 750 dollars in other assets.<sup>1</sup>

The Negro people who are in business for themselves are all over the best child bearing ages. None of the three couples who own business establishments have any children. This is unfortunate since, if these places were owned by people with children, it might be an added inducement for their children to remain in Boulder, and therefore keep some of the younger Negroes.

There is some discrimination in job opportunities. However, many of the Negro people are not well qualified for many other jobs, other than the ones they now have. There are no industries in town and many of the business establishments are privately owned and run. On the quota or proportional system the Negroes cannot expect to have many of the professional jobs. They are such a small minority that they must look to the white professional man for assistance. If Negro professional men wanted to work among their own people they would find Boulder of very poor town to set up a practice.

Some of the young adult Negroes are being trained at the University. When they finish school, Boulder will

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<sup>1</sup> Article XXIV of the Constitution of the State of Colorado \$45.00 Old Age Pension Act as amended to July 1, 1947.

have nothing to offer them. This is not only true of the Negro youth but of most of the young people in Boulder. It is, however, more evident in the Negroes' situation since in the few jobs available to them there is some discrimination. The lack of vocational opportunities does play a major role in forcing many young Negroes to leave.

What is the situation in Boulder? Do the Negroes attend the same schools as the whites and if so, are they admitted to all activities on an equal basis?

There are seven public schools in Boulder and the children are enrolled in the school which is in the district in which they live. The districts are set up by the Board of Education. In this way in many places, although there is no discrimination, the inferior schools are concentrated in the areas in which the Negroes live.<sup>1</sup> All the children in Boulder go to the same high school and the only requirement for admission is satisfactory completion of other schooling.

At the present time there are only nine Negro children in the public school system of Boulder. In only one grade is there more than one Negro and in that

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<sup>1</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of Jewish Congress, op. cit., p. 76.

## CHAPTER VI

## EDUCATION

American tradition of free public schools assumes that all children are entitled to equally good public education. In some part of the country this is not so. What is the situation in Boulder? Do the Negroes attend the same schools as the whites and if so, are they admitted to all activities on an equal basis?

There are seven public schools in Boulder and the children are enrolled in the school which is in the district in which they live. The districts are set up by the Board of Education. In this way in many places, although there is no discrimination, the inferior schools are concentrated in the areas in which the Negroes live.<sup>1</sup> All the children in Boulder go to the same high school and the only requirement for admission is satisfactory completion of other schooling.

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<sup>1</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of Jewish Congress, op. cit., p. 76.

grade there are two Negroes. Therefore, all through school the Negroes realize that they are a very small minority. Although the extremely small percentage of Negroes in school makes the assimilation process much easier, it makes the Negro children feel somewhat insecure. They do not feel that they "belong". At times the Negroes would like to have classmates of their "own kind" instead of always being the exceptions in the class. As one of the Negro boys who was getting ready to go to college said:

I have gone to school all my life with white school children. They were all swell to me and I was never excluded or discriminated against. However, there were times when I missed not having a school chum of my own race. Even though I was not excluded, I felt out of place at some of the school's social functions and consequently stayed home. I want to go to an all Negro college because I want to know my own race.<sup>1</sup>

An important thing to remember not only in school but also in many other phases of life, is that at times the Negroes would prefer to be together among their own race. Here is an example of a Negro youth who would take an inferior Negro college, if necessary, just to be with his own race. This Negro wants to be part of the in group and he has this feeling when he is with members of our race.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 2, 1948.

## A. EDUCATION OF NEGRO POPULATION

To the question in the survey,<sup>1</sup> "Generally do you think the Negro people of Boulder are as well educated as the white people?", 61.7 per cent said yes, 31.5 per cent said no, and 6.8 per cent did not know. Table XII indicates the educational attainment of Boulder's Negroes.

TABLE XII

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVEL OF  
THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>2</sup>

Number of Years Completed	Number of Males	Number of Females	Total
No schooling	1	1	2
Grade School			
One Year	1	0	1
Two Years	1	0	1
Three Years	2	0	2
Four Years	1	4	5
Five Years	2	2	4
Six Years	0	5	5
Seven Years	2	2	4
Eight Years	0	8	8
High School			
One Year	5	1	6
Two Years	2	5	7
Three Years	0	3	3
Four Years	3	11	14
College			
One Year	3	1	4
Two Years	2	0	2
Three Years	0	2	2
Four Years	1	1	2
Graduate Work	2	1	3

<sup>1</sup> Appendix D.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey.

In a survey made in Northtown,<sup>1</sup> 99 per cent of the people had some grammar school education, 47 per cent had at least some high school education, and six per cent had at least some college education. In Boulder 97.3 per cent of the Negro population had at least some grade school education, 58.8 per cent had at least some high school education, and 18.7 per cent had some college training.\* The number of Negroes in Boulder who have had some higher education is much higher than that found in Northtown. This could be partially due to the accessibility of the University of Colorado in Boulder. Many of the Negroes who have finished high school or have had some college education are the ones who are planning to leave.

One of the difficult problems in trying to evaluate the amount of education some of the older Negroes have had was the discrepancy and differences in their types of schools. Some of the Negroes said that they had a different type of grading system then. One Negro man when asked how far he went in school said that he

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<sup>1</sup> Commission on Community Interrelations of American Jewish Congress, op. cit., p. 92.

\* In figuring the percentages for Boulder, only those whose schooling were completed were used. If the number of Negroes now in high school and college were added on, the percentages would be much higher.

had one year of college.<sup>1</sup> Later it was discovered that this man had only gone to school for a total of one year but the school that he went to was called a college.

#### B. THE UNIVERSITY

The University of Colorado at Boulder has a very liberal policy about racial groups. There is no discrimination officially sanctioned by the University. However, there are only a few Negro students who come to the university during the regular year. In an attempt to get an answer as to why so few Colorado Negroes attend their state universities, the local Negroes were asked what they thought about the situation and if they knew any reasons why more Negroes did not come to school at Boulder. Table XIII shows their answers.

TABLE XIII

#### REASONS WHY SO FEW NEGROES COME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO<sup>2</sup>

1. The housing conditions are bad for the Negroes. There are not enough places to room and board them.
2. The Negroes want to go to their own schools and be with members of their own race.
3. There is no social or recreational life for the Negroes students here in Boulder.

<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 15, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey.

## TABLE XIII (continued)

REASONS WHY SO FEW NEGROES COME  
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

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4. There are many Negroes who are not used to the opportunities of being able to go to a state university. Need more publicity to let the Negroes know about the opportunities.
  5. Scarcity of Negroes who are prepared to enter the University. Many say the work at school is too hard for them.
  6. Many Negroes cannot afford to go to school.
  7. The white students act superior.
  8. Now that the University is in the Big Seven Conference, many Negro athlete who might have come to the University of Colorado will stay away because discrimination is practiced in other schools in the Conference.
- 

By far the two most important reasons given were the lack of accommodations and the lack of social life. The lack of accommodations is not, however, a pressing reason why they do not come. The Negro population of Boulder can stand an influx of over fifty Negroes every summer. Surely they could absorb some of the Negro students during the regular year. Besides, the University dormitories are now open to Negroes. In the opinion of the observer the two main reasons for this lack of Negro students at the university are first, the lack of social life among Negro students. As was mentioned before, no matter how well the Negroes get

along with the whites, there are times when they would like to be by themselves at meetings with other members of their own race. And second, there is either a lack of adequate training to meet the requirements for admission to the University or a lack of financial resources to attend the University.

### C. SUMMARY

In conclusion, the Negro population of Boulder is fairly well educated. Considering that many of the Negroes went to school at a time when there was not as much emphasis placed on education, especially for Negroes, 58.6 per cent of the group with at least some high school education is fairly high.

There is no discrimination in the public schools against the Negro youth. However the lack of any great number of Negroes makes them lose that feeling of security that comes about when with members of one's own group. They want, at times, to be among their "own kind". Education is a very weak force in compelling the Negroes to leave Boulder. The schools here in Boulder are very good and most of the Negroes will stay until they have finished their education. However, this may make them more determined to leave when their education is completed so that they can be among people of their own race.

## CHAPTER VII

### RELIGION

For the Negro, the church has taken an important place, not only as a place to seek solace and comfort, but also as a place for organized social life. "The Negro churches are manned almost exclusively by Negroes."<sup>1</sup> This is the one place today and in the past where the Negro has been freed from the control or influence of the white people.

In Boulder, with only 93 Negroes, there are two Negro churches. In a study made by Reid,<sup>2</sup> it was found that in the United States there was a church for every 178 Negro adults. It can be readily seen that Negroes of Boulder are overchurched with one church for every 36 adults.<sup>3</sup> The two churches are the Second Baptist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Myrdal<sup>4</sup> discovered that 44 per cent of the Negro popu-

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<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, Harper Brothers Publishers, New York and London, 1944, p. 858.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, Ira deA., In a Minor Key, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Figure computed from survey.

<sup>4</sup> Myrdal, op. cit.

lation of the United States are members of the Negro churches. In Boulder over 80 per cent of the Negro population are church members. Below is a breakdown of the religious affiliations of the Negroes of Boulder.

TABLE XIV  
CHURCH AFFILIATIONS OF THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>1</sup>

Church	Number of Negroes
Baptist	54
Methodist	22
Church of Christ	2
Seventh Day Adventists	2
Total	80

The Negroes of Boulder fall right in line with the national averages since the majority of the Negroes in the United States are either Baptist or Methodist.<sup>2</sup>

The two Negroes who are Seventh Day Adventists attend the white church here in Boulder and the two Negroes who go to the Church of Christ are members of a church in Denver.

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed for survey.

<sup>2</sup> Myrdal, *op. cit.* In 1940, 68.80 per cent of all the Negro church members were Baptist and 26.45 per cent were Methodist.

## A. HISTORY OF CHURCHES

In order to understand why such a small Negro population in Boulder supports two churches, the history of the Negro churches will be reviewed. In 1884 the African Methodist Church was built, and for 16 years it was the only Negro church in Boulder. Here both the Methodists and the Baptists, and anyone else who wanted to worship God met. "In the year 1900 a group of four members of the Baptist faith assembled in a private home to discuss and arrange for the organizing of a Baptist church."<sup>1</sup> For a time the Baptists met at different places in town but after the congregation got larger they secured an old carpenter shop which they moved to their own area. In 1946, after an intensified fund raising campaign, a new Baptist church building was built.

One of the indications of the strength of religion and the cohesiveness of the group is the raising of the money to build these churches. The Methodist church received a loan from the Methodist Conference to build the church. In 1944 the Baptist

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<sup>1</sup> Brown, Phillip, History of Second Baptist Church, 1944, unpublished.

people started to raise the money for their new church. A great deal of help was given to them by many of the white people of town, but the pastor of the Baptist church made the Negro congregation raise the first thousand dollars themselves. He said if they could not do this much themselves they did not deserve to have a new church. By having mortgage drives three or four times a year, the congregation was able to have a mortgage burning ceremony this year.

The Methodist church has a much smaller congregation and it is made up of the older people. All the families with young children are members of the Baptist church. At an average service the Methodists only have six or seven Negroes. With a group of this size union with the other church might be the best policy. One of the leaders in the Baptist Church, when asked why the two churches did not combine said:

The reason the two churches don't combine is mainly a matter of theology. The two churches will probably combine when the older Negroes die off. The Methodists are much older as a group and they have since childhood been brought up as Methodist and cannot change now.

Our church is much more democratic than the Methodist Church. In the Methodist Church the Conference is sovereign. The conference only sends the laziest Negro ministers to Boulder and if they do have a good one he is sent some place

else very fast. While in the Baptist Church the church is sovereign. Any minister can stay in our church as long as he wants to.<sup>1</sup>

## B. WHITE COOPERATION

The white people of Boulder have been very helpful in aiding the Negroes in their church life. The minister of the Baptist Church said that the new church could never have been built without the aid of the white people of Boulder. Many of the churches in Boulder allowed the Baptist Negro group to hold fund-raising meetings in their churches. Also, many of the white people in town contributed liberally to the fund. When the time came to build, a white contractor donated his services and was instrumental in getting many scarce items for the church. The Methodist Church is at the present time without a regular minister. In order that they might be able to hold their services, a retired white minister offered to take over until they could secure another minister. In both of these churches, the white people have helped, but it is aid in the form of segregation. There is apparently no real attempt for members of different races to worship God together.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--June--May 20, 1948.



THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH



ALLEN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

2 Interview--J... PLATE 3 948.

3 THE TWO NEGRO CHURCHES IN BOULDER

### C. WHAT THE CHURCHES MEAN TO THE NEGRO

The Negro church is primarily not different from a great many other churches in America. They have added no innovations in the type of service or in their way of worship.<sup>1</sup> The one big difference in the Negro church is the emotionalism on the part of the minister and the congregation. This readiness of the Negro to respond to his emotions is expressed in many ways. The most common outlet is in songs of some weird meter or in responses by the congregation to the pastors exhortation. One Negro said:

We Negroes feel our religion more than you white people. To us, God is present when we go to church. We let our emotions go because we know that in the eyes of God we are equal and we want to give Him thanks for all that He has done. We feel our religion.<sup>2</sup>

This opinion is shared by many of the Negroes. The amount of emotionalism, however, is at a minimum in both Negro churches in Boulder as compared to many other Negro churches.<sup>3</sup> There are a few, however, that still like to be carried away by their emotions and shout whenever they please during the service. Many of

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<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., p. 857.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 21, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., p. 856.

the younger Negroes are very critical of the emotionalism displayed by some of the members of their race. They feel that this type of action on the part of some is not only degrading to their church but to the Negro race as a whole.

#### D. ECONOMY OF CHURCH

As was noted before, the Baptist church is the larger and the younger of the two Negro churches in Boulder. The Methodist church cannot afford to support a minister entirely, so he must have some other source of income. It is partially due to this lack of finances that the Methodist church does not have a minister at the present time. The Baptists have had eight ministers in their forty-eight year history. Fifty-four members of the Baptist church must raise enough money<sup>1</sup> to pay for the minister and meet all current expenses of the church. They do this by being extremely liberal in their contributions and in their work for the church. Many of the ladies cook Sunday dinners for the public, to raise money.

When the present Baptist minister came to Boulder the congregation offered him 12 dollars a week. He

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<sup>1</sup> Brown, op. cit.

said that a man in his position deserved more than that, so they gave him 15 dollars a week plus a parsonage with expenses paid. For a while he received 40 dollars a month from the Conference. Now that the mortgage is paid off he expects the congregation to raise his salary to about 25 dollars a week. The present minister is young and energetic and was one of the driving forces in getting the new church built.

Because of the small congregation, a great deal of time during each service must be spent in getting money. In some Negro churches the plate is passed around as many times as necessary to get the desired amount of money. Many of the ministers spend most of their time in this way. In Boulder it is usually different. Although an appeal is sometimes made for money, it is not carried to extremes.

#### E. ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH

The Negro church is one of the main centers in most communities for many of religious and social activities of the Negroes.<sup>1</sup> On the survey it was found that to many the church was their only source of recreation. The Methodist church at the present time is

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<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., p. 867.

fairly inactive. In the Baptist church there are Sunday morning and evening services and a weekday night prayer meeting. The church also has a Sunday School and a mission circle. They get a great deal of cooperation from other Negro ministers who come often to speak. They also have some Negro singing groups and other musical programs. On occasions they have a banquet or a picnic for the group. All in all, the church has a sufficient amount of activities to satisfy many, but the youth want more. The younger Negroes do not attend the services as frequently as the older ones. The church is, therefore, not the same source of recreation to them as it is to the older ones.

#### F. SUMMARY

In general it was found that the Negro people of Boulder have one church too many to support. Many Negroes think that consolidation of the two churches would be the most practical thing, but nothing seems to be done about it. Both of the church buildings are adequate. Although the church has some social life it has not enough to satisfy the youth. There are not enough young people interested in the church for them to have many planned youth activities.

A. TYPES OF RECREATION

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION

One of the questions on the survey was-- "Where do you go for recreation?" The following results were obtained:

Today there is an increasing emphasis placed on recreation and leisure time. With this increase in leisure time there is a corresponding need for more places and facilities for recreation. Without these adequate facilities of recreation, society tends to deteriorate, juvenile delinquency goes on the increase, and there is usually more vice and crime among the adults.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the small number of Negroes, they have no established places of recreation, run by them and for them, outside of the church. Since a large part of the population is in the older age groups and because many of the Negro people do not care to go outside of their home for recreation, the need for places of recreation is fairly small. It is only in the younger classes that there is unrest and a desire to have places to go.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl B. Lohmann, Principles of City Planning (New York: McGray-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1931), p. 218.

## A. TYPES OF RECREATION

One of the questions asked on the survey was--  
 "Where do you go for recreation?"<sup>1</sup> The following re-  
 sults were obtained:

TABLE XV

RECREATION OF BOULDER NEGROES<sup>2</sup>

Type of Recreation	Number of Negroes
Church	32
Home Life	17
Picture Show	12
Fishing	5
Ball games in Denver	4
To Denver to see Friends	8

Most of the Negro parents with small children said that Boulder was completely lacking in recreational facilities for the youth, not only the Negroes but also for the white children. Because of the small number of Negroes in any one age group,<sup>3</sup> the Negro children either have to play all the time with children of other races or if they want to play by themselves, have to lose the homogeneity, so important in youth, of playing with one's own age group.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix D

<sup>2</sup> Figures computed from survey.

<sup>3</sup> See page 28.

## B. DISCRIMINATION IN RECREATION

Because of the state law in Colorado stating that there will be no discrimination in any public place,<sup>1</sup> discrimination has taken another form. In a question asked, "Have you ever been excluded from any places of recreation?"<sup>2</sup>, all the Negro people said "no" but quite a number said they had heard of places and cases where Negroes had been excluded. This was primarily hearsay. The places mentioned most often where they thought they were excluded were the swimming pools and the bowling alleys. The main reason for this lack of definite knowledge about recreational exclusion is the fact that until recently the Negroes did not try to go to many places of recreation run by the white people. Even now many of the places of recreation in Boulder are not used by the Negroes since the older Negroes are content to stay at home and there not enough of the young adult Negroes to make a real test of these places.

## C. PICTURE SHOWS

In the opinion of the observer, quite a number

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

more Negroes than indicated on the questionnaire go to the motion pictures for recreation. There has been no case of legal discrimination in the theatres but there have been cases of race prejudice. The incident of one Negro family is typical. Mister S. stated:

My wife and I were sitting downstairs in the movies minding our own business, when an usher came over and said that we had to sit upstairs in the balcony. I asked him why and he said it was the law of the management that all Negroes sit in the balcony. I went out to see the manager and he just more or less passed the buck, saying that the usher was a southerner and he did not like the Negroes. However, the manager did not do anything about it. My wife and I have never been back to that theatre.<sup>1</sup>

This case is typical because it emphasizes the fact that not always is racial discrimination practiced on the part of the management but hostility is displayed by some of the employees. This is not only true in the movies but also in many other places of recreation. One of the Negro ladies<sup>2</sup> said it was not the owners that minded the Negroes coming to their establishments but that the customers complained. In a number of instances when Negroes had gone to places of recreation, the manager had said that they could come in, but if they did they would ruin a great deal of his business.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--June 15, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--July 6, 1948

## D. HOME LIFE

A great many of the Negroes are content and happy in making their homes the center of their social lives. The homes of the majority of the Negroes are very comfortable. In the summer time the Negroes are so busy with their summer boarders that there is not much time for recreation. However, the Negro people do visit one another quite frequently just to talk and visit for a few minutes. During the rest of the year they have occasional parties. One Negro lady said "you practically had to invite all the ladies when you had a party since there are so few and some would feel hurt, unless it were a card party since they don't all play cards."<sup>1</sup>

The Negro people in their home life also use reading and listening to the radio as sources of recreation. Over half the Negro homes have two or more radios and there is no home without at least one radio.<sup>2</sup> A great many of the women like to listen to the "soap box operas" during the daytime and their radio program interests all as diversified as any other group of people in their interests at night.

<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 2, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Figures from survey.

Also newspapers and magazines are widely read, not only for their recreational value but also for their educational value. Listed below is a breakdown of the magazines and newspapers that the Negro people subscribe to. are also particularly interested in

keeping up with the Negro situation in other parts of the country.

TABLE XVI

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES  
READ BY BOULDER NEGROES<sup>1</sup>

Name and Type	Number of Subscribers
Newspapers	
Boulder Camera	10
Denver Post	10
Rocky Mountain News	6
Magazines	
Life	3
Better Homes and Gardens	2
Popular Science	2
Ladies Home Journal	2
McCall	1
Negro Newspapers and Magazines	
Message	8
Kansas City Call	7
The Crisis	7
Ebony	2
Others	3

It must be remembered that there are only thirty Negro family units in Boulder. For this number the amount of subscriptions is fairly large. These newspapers and magazines are also circulated to some degree among

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

the other Negroes. The Negroes appear quite eager to keep abreast of the times and this is substantiated by the large number of daily newspapers they subscribe to. Not only are they interested in the news in general but they are also particularly interested in keeping up with the Negro situation in other parts of the country.

One of the Negro single men gave his idea about home life as follows:

I do not want to go anyplace. I am not wanted even if I can go there. People talk too much. I got a nice place to stay with everything I want, I have a radio and when I get tired of that I can play some records. I can relax and enjoy myself at home without anyone talking. What more can a fellow want?<sup>1</sup>

This is another example of the Negroes' desire to stay at home rather than to go places where they are not welcome. To the question--"From what you know, do you think Negroes in this town would rather go to places where only Negroes go or to the same places that whites go to?"<sup>2</sup>, 75.5 per cent said they would rather go to places where both white and Negroes go together. However, many do not go to these places because they are unwelcome by many whites.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 2, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.

## F. SUMMARY

Some of the Negroes, especially those not well integrated in the family structures, go to Denver for recreation and social life. The Negro youth find very little recreation in Boulder. They can either go to the places of recreation where there are predominantly white people or do nothing. There is always the problem of the lack of places to go and not enough Negroes of one's own age group to have much fun.

The lack of adequate recreation is one of the forces which results in a great many of the younger Negroes leaving Boulder. The older Negroes who do not need all these recreational outlets are content to stay. Not only do the Negro youth want recreational facilities with the white people but they also want to have their own facilities.

Although the situation in Boulder has improved, there are still some unpleasant undercurrent attitudes which make the Negroes feel uncomfortable. At the movies just a short time ago a white lady kept on staring at a Negro youth, which made him feel very uncomfortable. Some Negroes said that they only go to various places the white people go to just show everybody that they can go but they in turn do not enjoy themselves and, therefore it is not recreation. All the Negro wants is to be treated like others, and not as intruders.

CHAPTER IX

CLASS, CLIQUES, AND LEADERS

"Social life in the Negro groups is a struggle for higher status--individual and racial."<sup>1</sup> "Classes are in the social system and they appear in every community."<sup>2</sup> In larger cities the contrasts between classes are more obvious and easier to detect. However, there are traces of classes even in the small community, although they may not thus be called.

People with slightly more education, small income differences, or better family background like to think they are superior.<sup>3</sup>

When asked if there were any class system in their group, the Negroes were almost unanimous in stating that there was no class system among the Negroes of Boulder. One Negro said, "How could we have a class system in Boulder when we have so few Negroes. Besides all us Negroes live in the same area and have the same types of jobs."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ira DeA. Reid, In a Minor Key (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 81.  
<sup>2</sup> John A. Kinneman, The Community (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, Incorporated, 1947), p. 151.  
<sup>3</sup> Reid, op. cit., p. 95.  
<sup>4</sup> Interview--July 7, 1948.

The class system is not clearly defined and cannot be labeled upper, middle, and lower classes. Actually the people are in the same class, but there are traces of a class structure. Many of the Negroes were willing to admit that even though they thought there was no class structure among the Negroes, that there were cliques. Cliques are, to certain degree, a recognition of a partial class structure. Some of the areas where cliques could exist are the family, church membership, occupation, and social contacts.

#### A. FAMILY

Many of the Negroes said there were cliques among certain families. These Negroes said that there were one or two families that were large, clannish, and that they did not welcome outsiders. On page number 83 is a chart showing the family relationships of the largest Negro clan in Boulder. Although at a point the family relationship is weak, the group does, however, include 37 of the 93 Negroes in Boulder. There are two other family units with ten members in each. Therefore, three Negro clans in Boulder include over half the Negro population. It is possible that these families do have some sort of class system or cliques because of family relationships. At least, from the structure of the clan, this is possible.



The members of these family units will not admit that they are clannish and have a clique. Although these families are very friendly toward people outside their clan, they nevertheless have most of their activities where they are together as a group. This group, however, cannot be considered to be in a single class because members of the clan with different educational and occupational background are united because of family relationships.

Another noticeable thing in these large families or clans is the amount of success in school of the majority of their children. Most of the children have gone through high school and the majority have had some college training. This is an added source of prestige for the members of the group.

#### B. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Members of different churches sometimes set themselves up as rivals. One or more of the church groups think they are superior. The majority of the Negroes in Boulder belong to either the Baptist Church or the Methodist Church. The one large family group are all members of the Baptist Church. Although, as in everything else, there is no noticeable antagonism, there is a partial clique setup in the church. The Baptists are, at the present time, a much larger and

stronger group, while the Methodist group is primarily made up of the older Negroes. A sign that a clique does exist in each church is verified by the fact that although it would be the more practical thing for the two churches to combine, there is no step in this direction. In 1900, the Baptist Negroes of Boulder left the Methodist Church, already established, and started their own church. Each apparently would be willing to have a consolidation if the other group would come over to its church.

Some of the Baptists feel that after the older Negroes die off there will be a chance for a union of the two churches. On the other hand, some of the Methodists say that they are more liberal, since they will go to activities at the Baptist church but that the Baptist congregation will not reciprocate.

Again as in everything else there is no clear line of classes or cliques because of the size of the group. The church, however, does at times classify the Negroes in two groups.

### C. OCCUPATIONS

At the present time the majority of the Negroes in Boulder have the same kind of occupations. They are either cooks or custodians. Even the business owners do most of their own work and cannot be considered to

have more status in the group. The custodian has the same status as the business man. One of the porters has a Master of Arts degree and one of the cooks has a degree in home economics. This education is above that of any of the business owners. Economically the business man is a little better off than those in other occupations but not enough to make a noticeable difference. The three business men do not belong to the same family or to the same church. Because there are not enough business men to form a clique and because these business men are not in the same social standing, occupation by itself does not define cliques or classes. However, these men are given a prominent role in the church and family structure.

#### D. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Some people feel that they are superior and set themselves apart as a separate class because they have lived in a certain place for a long time.<sup>1</sup> This is not the case in Boulder since Negroes from the different families and different churches are among the oldest Negro settlers in Boulder. However, the one large family unit is among the oldest residents in town.

<sup>1</sup> Ogburn, op. cit., p. 315.

## E. SOCIAL CONTACTS

In some communities, it is a bridge group or some other type of social group which has the highest status in the community. This group sets itself apart as a separate class.<sup>1</sup> Members of the community that are not in the group are social "outcasts". However, with only a relatively few Negroes it is very difficult to get exclusive social relations among a few in the group. One of the Negro women said that when one of the ladies gave a party, they had to invite most of the Negro ladies in the community. There appears to be no class or clique in the Negro group established because of social contact. There are some instances of exclusive social contact but they are due to either church or family allignment.

## F. LEADERS

On the survey the Negroes were asked who they thought were the leaders of the Negro group. Some of the remarks made by the Negroes are listed below:

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Cromwell Cox, Class, Caste, and Race (New York: Doubleday & Company, Incorporated, 1948).

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

family is trying to TABLE XVII Local Association for  
 REMARKS OF BOULDER NEGROES WHEN ASKED WHO WERE THE  
 THE LEADERS IN THEIR GROUP<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. Why do you ask me that silly question? I have no leader, I just follow myself.
  2. All of the Negroes try to be leaders but none of them are.
  3. All the Negroes now are average. All our real leaders are deceased. My husband was one of them.
  4. There does not seem to be anyone here now that can lead.
  5. Mostly all of them try to be but none of them do any harm.
  6. The situation does not call for a leader. If there were more Negroes here in Boulder we would probably have a leader
- 

Many of the Negroes do not recognize any leaders in their group. If there were any leader it would be the pastor of the Baptist church. However, the pastor is not considered to be a leader by all the Negroes. Many of the Negroes do not like to follow anyone in their group. They appear to be jealous of any of the Negroes who try to take a leading role.

Some say there is a conflict between two groups in trying to lead the Negroes. They say that one

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<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

family is trying to run the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. Outside of the pastor there were one or two other Negroes who many also thought were in the role of leaders. An important phase of the leadership among the Negroes is the Negro leaders who are recognized as such by the white people of Boulder. There are three or four Negroes who fall into this category. When an incident occurs where advice from some Negro is needed, these recognized Negro leaders are asked to help. It appears that these Negroes consider themselves to have a little more prestige and although this is not a class or a clique it could at some time evolve into one. Some of the other Negroes are very resentful of this. They are now members of a very small minority and they do not want to feel that there are people in their small group that are better than they are. The "so-called" white defined Negro leaders are referred to by some as "Uncle Toms". This means that these Negroes expect extra privileges and prestige by catering to the white people.

#### G. SUMMARY

The Negroes in Boulder appear to be, on the surface, without any internal class structure. In a

larger degree this is correct because of the extreme smallness of the group. In a group of less than one hundred people there is not much room for a well-defined class system. There is also too much overlapping and intermingling in the group to make it possible. However, they do apparently have some weak cliques which would tend to approach a class structure if there were more Negroes in the group. The strongest cliques are the family and the church but even these are not rigidly defined.

There are apparently a number of leaders among the Negro group, but they are to a larger degree without a following. The person mentioned most often as a leader was the pastor of the church. Others try to lead but the people are not too well united around them. Some of these leaders are more recognized as leaders by the white people than they are by members of their own race. Because the Negroes have been kept in a position of servitude for so long a time, and because they cherish their rights of equality, many of the Boulder Negroes appear to resent other Negroes in the group who try to be leaders.

## CHAPTER X

### NEGRO PROTEST

Boulder, according to the majority of the Negroes, is a very nice town in which to live for there is not much racial discrimination. The relationships in many areas are very good between the Negroes and the Whites. However, there are many signs and many acts of discrimination which the Negro people resent. Some of these acts would appear to be very trivial to the average white person but to the Negro, who is trying to get equal opportunities and equal recognition, they are a constant source of irritation.

One of the Negro ladies expressed the feeling of many of the Boulder Negroes in the following way, "Many of us Negroes have lived in Boulder for a long time. We have lived good clean lives and have not tried to hurt anyone. Everything we buy comes from Boulder, the clothes we wear, the food we eat and everything else we have. Our people just want the chance to have equal opportunities. We don't want to be singled out as a small minority group with different characteristics and traits. Why can't they

accept us as equal citizens?"<sup>1</sup> Although conditions in Boulder are much better for the Negroes than in many towns, they could be still better. The Negroes want recognition as "first class citizens". They do not want to be singled out as a different racial group. Sources of conflict arise in various phases of life on the part of the dominant group. Following are some illustrations of these conflict situations.

#### A. THE TRAILERITE

The Trailerite is a small magazine put out by some of the local merchants in Boulder. It is distributed widely in the area around Arapahoe Avenue which takes in the area where most of the Negroes live. In the October 3, 1947, issue the following degrading joke about the Negroes appeared.

WEAR AND TEAR: A Negro, father of twelve children all rocked in the same cradle, was putting his latest arrival to sleep.

'Rastus,' said his wife, 'that cradle's about wore out.'

'Hit sho is,' he replied. 'Next time we'll get a good one that'll last.'

And on November 6, 1947, the following item was in

<sup>1</sup> Interview--April 27, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> The Trailerite, weekly newspaper, October 2, 1947.

The Trailerite concerning the giving away of five dollars to the first person who is contacted with a signed coupon from the paper.

Another week has sauntered around and we didn't get out Monday evening to see who would get the five dollars. But we started in Tuesday evening to go to some of the places where the Trailerite goes and the first place we stopped at was on Goss street where the colored folks live. 'Yas sah, I got a Trailerite,' one colored lady said, 'but I never thought you would come around here. I sure won't let it happen again. I'll get get the that coupon filled out by some Trailerite advertiser.'<sup>1</sup>

Both of these were resented by the Negroes. The first because it brought the Negro out in a bad light and the second because the Negro indicated in the article does not use the slang words expressed in the item. A committee of the Negroes went down to see the business manager of the paper and he promised them that there would be no more of these articles about the Negroes in the paper. However on April 29, 1948 the following joke appeared in the Trailerite.

SHO' NUFF': New Negro Preacher: 'Brothers an' sisters, I'se glad to be yo' new preacher, and I'll do my best to heal yo' souls. Besides bein' a preacher I'se also a doctor, I can heal yo' soul and heal yo' body.'

Sister (after the services): 'Pawson, I'se mighty glad to know that you'se a doctor, too. Does yo' know anything 'bout trench mouth?'

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., November 6, 1947.

Preacher: 'Does I know anything 'bout trench mouth! I reckon I does--I been southern distributor for nigh on fifteen years.'<sup>1</sup>

This was a very degrading joke, not only in the way the two Negroes talked but also in the type of conversation. Many of the people who do not know the Negroes would take jokes like this to be typical of the Negroes. Again a committee of Negroes went down to see the business manager of the Trailerite and he apologized and said it would not happen again. As one Negro lady put it, "We are taking him at his word but we are reading every word he writes."<sup>2</sup>

#### B. THE HAIRCUTTING INCIDENT

Another instance of racial discrimination is the haircutting incident. About a year ago a Negro boy was refused a haircut at one of the barber shops in Boulder. Some of the liberal students at the university wanted to make an issue of it. The argument of the barbers was that if they cut the hair of the Negroes it would drive away a great many of their white customers. The Ethnic Minority Commission at the university was going to conduct a survey to see if the barbers would actually lose business if they

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., April 29, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 9, 1948.

cut Negroes' hair. However before this came about the Negroes of Boulder had a meeting. According to some reports it was a fight between some of the young Negroes and some of the older ones. A few of the older Negroes thought that the young Negro students were stirring up an unnecessary commotion. These older Negroes felt that since they never had this trouble before, why should they have it now. Some of the Negroes were accused of being "Uncle Toms" because they appeared to cater to the whims and fancies of the white people. The situation as it stands right now is that the Negroes either have their hair cut by a local Negro barber or they go down to Denver for this service. To many Negroes this is the right thing because they claim a white barber does not know how to cut a Negroes' hair anyway.

#### C. SHOWS AT SCHOOL

A year ago at the Varsity show, the students at the University of Colorado had a skit about a colored man who was in heaven. The colored man was playing "crap" and was "jitterbugging". This was supposed to represent the Negro man's version of heaven. This was another thing which antagonized some of the local Negroes. They were resentful because it brought

out their race in a bad light. To many who did not know the Negroes this was a true picture of the Negroes religious views.

This year in the Buff Show the director was going to have a white boy do an Al Jolson routine in black face. One of the Negro boys who had a starring role in the cast asked the director to leave out the black face part of it. He said it would just place more emphasis on the Negro and racial differences. He stated that it was nice to have Negroes in the show but it was not necessary certainly to go out of their way to put a black face on a white boy. The makeup was left out of the skit.

D. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Without a doubt the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the leading agency in aiding the Negroes in their fight against discrimination.<sup>1</sup> The activities of the various branches center around the general welfare of the Negro population in each locality. The local chapter in Boulder is in the process of being organized. There are 72 members of which 41 are Negroes. However

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<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, op. cit., p. 819.

the need for such an organization is not generally recognized. So far the organization has not had the support of many of the members. Perhaps it is because, with such a small minority group, the feeling of need is not prevalent. In the future this organization will probably grow. All of its action will not center around the local community but will also give support to the cause of minorities in all parts of the country. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People will always be ready to see that the Negroes of Boulder are protected if some act of discrimination occurs.

Another organization that combats racial discrimination is the Unity Council. The council is composed primarily of white people with only six Negroes now as members. It is the older and at the present time the more effective of the two organizations. However it is not as much of a Negro organization as the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. It too is ready to fight any sign of discrimination.

Both the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and the Unity Council are healthy signs in the community. Not only the Negroes but also many of the white people are

interested in the well being of this very small minority in Boulder. Acts of discrimination are curtailed considerably by these two organizations.

#### E. THE UNIVERSITY

The University of Colorado has taken a leading role in aiding the Negroes. This in turn helps the Negro community. Just recently the Board of Regents of the university passed a law banning any more groups from being organized on the campus if they had any clause about discrimination in their constitutions. Also groups already active that had clauses about discrimination in their constitution should take steps to see that they are rectified.

The Associated Students of the University have an Ethnic Minority Commission whose purpose is to fight any signs of racial discrimination or prejudice. The commission was instrumental in getting all eating places near the campus to serve all races. They are always prepared to take action on any case of discrimination. This is not only helpful to the Negro students in the university but it is also very helpful to the Negroes of Boulder.

In the last graduating class, a local Negro boy was elected the cane bearer of the class. This is

one of the highest honors that can go to a senior. To make it more impressive he was one of the three graduating Negroes in a graduating class of over one thousand. This Negro boy also won two other awards in the past year as the outstanding student on the campus. An incident like this is good for the University and good for the town. With such a small percentage of Negro students, it is unusual for one of the Negroes to have so many honors bestowed upon him. The University and the town have indicated that they do not want discrimination. The local Negroes can look to this as a sign of the breaking down of the barriers between races.

However there are some unpleasant incidents where prejudice was displayed at the University, which the Negroes did not like. A number of years ago at a joint meeting of women from all the churches in Boulder, a Negro lady was present. A professor from the University was the speaker and he started his speech by saying "I'm from Missouri. Where I come from we call a Negro a 'Nigger'." This Negro lady stayed at the meeting but she was deeply hurt.

One of the Negro men works as a cook just off the campus. Many of the white college students who work at the same place as waiters get very sarcastic

with this Negro. He will not take care of their orders until they speak correctly to him. He tells these college boys that if all they learn at college is to be "wise guys" with people from other racial groups they might as well go home, because their college training is not going them any good.

Last term one of the teachers, a person from the south, was telling jokes about the Negroes in his class and referring to them as "Niggers". There was a Negro student in the class who got up and said, "If you have to tell those degrading jokes at least have the courtesy to call them Negroes." The teacher said, "You are going to be called 'Niggers' the rest of your lives so you just might as well get used to it now." A number of the white students walked out of the class.

These incidents are just acts on the part of individuals. They do not reflect in any way the opinion and attitudes of the school. However all the local Negroes are disturbed about all these incidents because they are all a step in the wrong direction.

#### F. ATTITUDES

It is often said that members of a minority group are more liberal than people in the large group because the people in the minority group know how it

feels to be discriminated against. "A person who feels himself the underdog but who has reason to believe he can get out of the situation is not implacably prejudiced. It is the people who have given up hope of ever getting out from under who hate and despise other minorities."<sup>1</sup> Some of the Negroes react to all other racial groups as stereotypes and snub the well-meaning gestures on the part of these other groups. This Negro resentment could in some ways be taken as a good sign because it shows spirit and determination to get equality.

As with any other group, one of the biggest obstacles for the Negroes in their attitudes towards other racial groups is to get to know these other groups. One Negro lady said, "I like the Mexicans and the Jews because I know them."<sup>2</sup> In an attempt to find out how the Negroes in Boulder felt about other racial groups a Bogardus social distance test was given.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Halsey, Margaret, Color Blind (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1946), p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Interview--June 15, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix D.

TABLE XVIII  
RESULTS OF THE BOGARDUS SOCIAL DISTANCE TEST  
GIVEN TO THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>1</sup>

Amount of Social Contact Desired by the Negroes	C h i n e s e	J a n e s e s	M e x i c a n s	E n g l i s h	J e w s	R u s s i a n s	I t a l i a n s
1. To close kinship by marriage	4	4	5	5	4	4	4
2. To my club as a personal friend	4	5	4	4	6	5	5
3. To my street as neighbors	6	5	7	5	5	3	4
4. To employment in my occupation	1	1	2	1	0	1	0
5. To citizenship in my country	1	0	0	2	2	2	3
6. As visitors only to my country	1	2	1	0	0	2	0
7. Would exclude from my country	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

The results are very ambiguous because many of the Negroes did not know what was desired. They did not want to rate any of the groups. The people who said that the utmost amount of social contact with any of group, that is to close kinship by marriage, was all right stated that this was true only if everything else were equal. However, it appeared that even those Negroes who said that intermarriage was all right were not too pleased with the idea and were just trying to act like liberals. The biggest mistake many people make is believing that what is utmost in their minds is utmost in the minds of others. In The American Dilemma<sup>1</sup> there is a list of what Negro Americans want and another list of what the white people think the Negroes want. Intermarriage is at the top of the white people's list of what the Negroes want most, but it is at the bottom of the Negro's list. The Negro is not interested in intermarriage because if he marries a white person he does not move to the white community but must attempt to take his white partner into a Negro community. For the Negro, intermarriage would just be an extra burden. Following is a list of some of the attitudes of the Boulder Negroes concerning intermarriage.

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<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, op. cit.

## TABLE XIX

STATEMENTS OF THE BOULDER NEGROES  
CONCERNING INTERMARRIAGE<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. According to nature each race should stay in its own group. There should be pure races.
  2. The Bible tells us that there should be no intermarriage between racial groups.
  3. Intermarriage is all right depending on the type of person and if that person is acceptable.
  4. It would be all right for my friends to intermarry but I just would not feel right if I married outside my race.
  5. Intermarriage is all right if there are no children.
- 

<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from the survey. Negro said,

"We know how it feels to be ostracized and we do not want others to be hurt like we were."<sup>1</sup>

## G. SUMMARY

In summary it would appear that many of the things that the Negroes resent seem trivial to the white people. The Negroes, being discriminated

<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 2, 1948.

On the Bogardus social distance test many Negroes replied that they did not know or have any opinion about most of the groups of people mentioned. Many thought that the Japanese and Chinese people were not mixers and a little queer. They thought that the English were a little snobbish and they were afraid of the Italians and the Russians. The two groups that the Boulder Negroes seemed to like particularly were the Jews and the Mexicans. The reason they like these two groups so well is because they have had a great deal of contact with them and knew them well.

The Negroes appear to be very liberal in their race relations. The children, it would appear, are slightly more prejudiced than the adults. Although intermarriage is not the important thing in their eyes, the Negroes want to be nice and have social contact with other racial groups. As one Negro said, "We know how it feels to be ostracized and we do not want others to be hurt like we were."<sup>1</sup>

#### G. SUMMARY

In summary it would appear that many of the things that the Negroes resent seem trivial to the white people. The Negroes, being discriminated

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<sup>1</sup> Interview--July 2, 1948.

against, are fighting for equal recognition. They want to have the same opportunities and do not want to be singled out as members of a minority group. Small incidents keep race hatred alive.

Some of the older Negroes are probably "Uncle Toms" in that they do cater to the white people because they feel it gives them extra privileges and added prestige. These older Negroes do not fight for their rights and are content since they have a very comfortable life in Boulder. The Negro youth want more than just partial rights but there are not enough of them to do anything about it. Some of them therefore go to large Negro communities where they can express themselves in larger groups. The Negro youth want their share.

It has been shown that the Negro population of Boulder is decreasing with an increase in the city's white population. Not only is this population decreasing in size but also the population is getting older and there is a large number of females in the group. One of the purposes of this community survey was to determine why these population factors arise among the Negroes.

In education, housing, and in race relations conditions are very favorable and adequate. The Negro youth are given equal chances in school and there does not appear to be very much discrimination practiced in any of their activities. Many of the Negroes came to Boulder in order that they might be able to give their children a good education. The housing for all the Negroes is very good when compared to many other communities. Except for occasional outbreaks there is not much prejudice and discrimination. The Negroes in Boulder, it would seem, lead a relatively comfortable and secure life.

The two primary forces that are compelling the

## CHAPTER XI

### SUMMARY

It has been shown that the Negro population of Boulder is decreasing with an increase in the city's white population. Not only is this population decreasing in size but also the population is getting older and there is a large number of females in the group. One of the purposes of this community survey was to determine why these population factors arise among the Negroes.

In education, housing, and in race relations conditions are very favorable and adequate. The Negro youth are given equal chances in school and there does not appear to be very much discrimination practiced in any of their activities. Many of the Negroes came to Boulder in order that they might be able to give their children a good education. The housing for all the Negroes is very good when compared to many other communities. Except for occasional outbreaks there is not much prejudice and discrimination. The Negroes in Boulder, it would seem, lead a relatively comfortable and secure life.

The two primary forces that are compelling the

younger Negroes to leave Boulder are the lack of vocational opportunities and the lack of social life. The occupations of most of the Negroes are either custodian or cook. Many of the Negro youths are educated for other positions and therefore have to leave Boulder after their period of training is over. This is not only true of the Negro youth but the majority of all the youths since Boulder does not have any industries or many vocational opportunities. In addition, the lack of any great number of young Negroes makes it impossible for the Negro youth to have much organized recreation and social life in their own group. Although the Negro youth do get along very well with their friends from other races, they do like at times to be with members of their own race. The Negro youth leave Boulder to achieve these satisfactions, it was found.

At present the Negro population is decreasing in size. In the survey the question was asked,<sup>1</sup> "Do you think the Negro situation in Boulder would change if the number of Negroes was increased to over 1000?" Eighty-nine per cent said that they thought the situation would change. Below is a list of changes indicated by the Negroes.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix C.

TABLE XX

CHANGES THAT THE BOULDER NEGROES FEEL WOULD  
OCCUR IF THE NUMBER OF NEGROES WAS  
INCREASED TO OVER 1000<sup>1</sup>

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For the better

1. There would be more group participation among the Negroes.
2. With a larger group of Negroes, there would be more effective protests at all signs of discrimination.
3. The larger group of Negroes would make the church stronger.
4. There would be more places for the Negroes to go.
5. The attitudes of the white people would be different. They would see more Negroes and therefore get acquainted with them faster.

For the worse

1. There would be nothing for the Negroes to do.
2. Because of the housing shortage, there would be no place for them to live.
3. There are certain groups who are tolerant of small minority groups but not of large minority groups.
4. If there were a larger group of Negroes there would be one or two Negroes who would make a bad impression. The white people would judge the whole Negro group by the bad ones.
5. Boulder is an old community and the people have been raised together. They do not like newcomers.

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<sup>1</sup> Figures computed from survey.

TABLE XX (continued)

CHANGES THAT THE BOULDER NEGROES FEEL WOULD  
OCCUR IF THE NUMBER OF NEGROES WAS  
INCREASED TO OVER 1000

---

For either better or worse

1. It would depend on class and type of people that came to Boulder.
2. There would then be classes, some bad, some good, and some indifferent.
3. It would depend to a certain degree on whether the white population would accept them.

---

To a greater degree the situation would change for the better or worse depending on the type of Negroes that came to Boulder. There is a possibility that the Negro population in Boulder might increase but the probability is very small. The attitudes of the Negroes concerning an increase in population are important because they give a view of how the Boulder Negroes feel about their position. Many of them, it appears, would prefer the "status quo" to be continued.

The observer feels that the decrease in the size of the Negro group will soon stop and that the population will level off. Many of the younger Negroes will leave and many of the older Negroes will die off. However, to offset this trend, more Negroes

in the older age groups will come to Boulder to retire since it is a very pleasant town to live in. The size will remain about the same because of the acute housing problem, especially for the Negroes.

Boulder, racially, is in a very fortunate position. It has been discovered that race conflicts are at a minimum when there are only a few of any racial minority group in the community. The white people in Boulder accept the Negroes without much antagonism. It is questionable how the white people would act if there were a large influx of Negroes. Also the Negroes of Boulder are not belligerent and they set a marvelous example of how a minority group should act. Boulder will never have a real Negro problem.

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## APPENDIX A

NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION IN THE STATE  
OF COLORADO AND THE UNITED STATES--1910-1940

Year	State of Colorado <sup>1</sup>	
	Negro Population	White Population
1910	11453	783415
1920	11318	924103
1930	11828	1018793
1940	12176	1106502

Year	United States <sup>2</sup>	
	Negro Population	White Population
1910	9627763	81731957
1920	10463131	94820913
1930	11891143	110286740
1940	12865518	118214870

<sup>1</sup> Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Volume II, p. 694.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

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TABLE I

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES OF BOULDER<sup>1</sup>  
AND THE STATE OF COLORADO<sup>2</sup> IN 1940

Age (in years)	BOULDER			COLORADO		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	4	4	8	366	386	752
5-9	3	6	9	387	399	786
10-14	8	4	12	405	428	833
15-19	5	1	6	424	425	849
20-24	5	7	12	383	477	860
25-29	4	4	16	434	562	1001
30-34	3	8	11	469	547	1016
35-39	5	8	13	461	557	1018
40-44	3	3	6	486	527	1013
45-49	2	8	10	512	478	990
50-54	2	4	6	375	369	744
55-59	2	2	4	329	328	657
60-64	6	6	12	282	293	575
65-69	3	6	9	246	282	528
70-74	3	1	4	156	150	306
75-over	4	1	5	117	130	248
Total	62	72	134	5832	6344	12176

APPENDIX B

<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Census, United States Department of Commerce, "Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Characteristics of the Population," Volume II Population, p. 782.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 697.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 697.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

TABLE II  
SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES  
OF THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup> IN 1940

UNITED STATES			
Age (in years)	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Under 5	621,689	627,391	1,249,080
5-9	643,781	650,765	1,294,546
10-14	661,351	669,309	1,330,660
15-19	630,079	674,527	1,304,606
20-24	550,193	645,034	1,195,227
25-29	529,613	615,671	1,145,284
30-34	467,887	524,992	992,879
35-39	462,559	523,274	985,833
40-44	400,249	414,847	815,096
45-49	348,251	344,556	692,807
50-54	283,120	267,315	550,435
55-59	207,220	189,999	397,219
60-64	154,245	141,659	295,904
65-69	151,990	144,747	296,737
70-74	83,635	79,113	162,948
75-over	72,976	83,281	156,257
Total	6,269,038	6,596,480	12,865,518

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

SECTION OF THE 1935 COLORADO  
STATUTES ANNOTATED CONCERNING CIVIL RIGHTS

## Chapter 35

Paragraph 1 Equality of privileges to all persons.<sup>1</sup>

All persons within the jurisdiction of said state shall be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theatres, and all places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens.

## APPENDIX C

Paragraph 2 Penalty and Civil liberty.<sup>2</sup>

Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of race or color, the full enjoyment of any accommodations, advantages or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall for every of-

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<sup>1</sup> 1935 Colorado Statutes Annotated, Volume II, Denver: The Bradford-Robison Printing Company, 1935, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 482.

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<sup>1</sup> 1935 Colorado Statutes Annotated, Volume II, Denver: The Bradford-Robison Printing Company, 1935, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 482.

fense forfeit and pay a sum of not less than fifty (50) dollars nor more than five hundred (500) dollars to the person aggrieved thereby to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction in the county where said offense was committed; and shall also for every offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not less than ten (10) dollars, or not more than three hundred (300) dollars, or shall be imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and provide further that a judgment in favor of the party aggrieved or punishment upon an indictment or information shall be a base to either prosecution respectively.

OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	EMPLOYMENT	REMARKS

MILITARY SERVICE

BRANCH \_\_\_\_\_ RANK \_\_\_\_\_ DATES \_\_\_\_\_

OCCUPATIONS

WHAT KIND OF WORK DO YOU DO \_\_\_\_\_

FOR WHOM DO YOU WORK \_\_\_\_\_ WHERE \_\_\_\_\_

SALARY \_\_\_\_\_ TYPE OF WORK \_\_\_\_\_

HOURS \_\_\_\_\_ UNION OR NON-UNION \_\_\_\_\_

## CHANGES FOR ADVANCEMENT SCHEDULE

DO YOU THINK JOB IS COMPARABLE WITH YOUR No. \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ FAMILY STATUS \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_ WHERE BORN \_\_\_\_\_

WHEN DID YOU COME TO BOULDER \_\_\_\_\_

WHERE DID YOU COME FROM \_\_\_\_\_ WHY \_\_\_\_\_

## MEMBERS OF FAMILY

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	BIRTH DATE AND PLACE	WHERE NOW

## OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	EMPLOYMENT	REMARKS

## MILITARY SERVICE

BRANCH \_\_\_\_\_ RANK \_\_\_\_\_ DATES \_\_\_\_\_

## OCCUPATIONS

WHAT KIND OF WORK DO YOU DO \_\_\_\_\_

FOR WHOM DO YOU WORK \_\_\_\_\_ WHERE \_\_\_\_\_

SALARY \_\_\_\_\_ TYPE OF WORK \_\_\_\_\_

HOURS \_\_\_\_\_ UNION OR NON-UNION \_\_\_\_\_

CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU THINK JOB IS COMPARABLE WITH YOUR TRAINING: \_\_\_\_\_

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

EDUCATION

HOW FAR DID YOU GO IN SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_

	Years	School	Location
GRADE SCHOOL	_____	_____	_____
HIGH SCHOOL	_____	_____	_____
COLLEGE	_____	_____	_____

WHY DO SO FEW COLORED PEOPLE COME HERE TO THE UNIVERSITY \_\_\_\_\_

ARE THE COLORED PEOPLE TREATED AS WELL AS THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THE SCHOOLS?

GRADE SCHOOL: YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ HIGH SCHOOL: YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_  
 UNIVERSITY: YES \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

WHAT CHURCH DO YOU BELONG TO \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT CLUBS IN THE CHURCH ARE YOU A MEMBER OF \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT POLITICAL PARTY ARE YOU A MEMBER OF: DEMOCRATIC \_\_\_  
 REPUBLICAN \_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS ARE YOU A MEMBER OF: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME	NO. IN ORGANIZATION	FOR NEGROES OR BOTH	HOW OFTEN MEETINGS	TYPE OF ORGANIZATION & YOUR POSITION
NAACP	_____	_____	_____	_____
UNITY COUNCIL	_____	_____	_____	_____

HOW OFTEN DO YOU HAVE YOUR TEETH CHECKED: ONCE A YEAR  
 ONLY WHEN NECESSARY \_\_\_\_\_ NEVER \_\_\_\_\_

BUSINESS

WHERE DO YOU SHOP:	PLACE	LOCATION	NEGRO OR WHITE OWNER
FOOD	:	:	:
CLOTHES	:	:	:
OTHERS	:	:	:

IS THE SERVICE YOU GET IN STORES OWNED BY WHITES AS GOOD AS FOR THE WHITE CUSTOMERS: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

RECREATION

WHERE DO YOU GO FOR RECREATION:

TYPE	PLACE	HOW OFTEN	WHITE OR NEGRO OWNED	REMARKS
:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:
:	:	:	:	:

ARE THERE ANY PLACES OF RECREATION WHERE YOU ARE EXCLUDED: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

IF YES, WHERE: \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT RESTAURANTS DO YOU GO TO: \_\_\_\_\_

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN BARRED FROM EATING IN ANY RESTAURANT: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT PAPERS AND MAGAZINES DO YOU SUBSCRIBE TO: \_\_\_\_\_

NO. OF RADIOS IN HOUSE: \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT TYPE OF PROGRAMS DO YOU LISTEN TO: \_\_\_\_\_

ABOUT HOW LONG EACH DAY \_\_\_\_\_

PUBLIC HEALTH

HAVE YOU BEEN VACCINATED AGAINST DISEASES: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
IF YES, WHAT TYPE OF VACCINATIONS: \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT DISEASES HAVE YOU HAD: \_\_\_\_\_

HOW OFTEN DO YOU HAVE YOUR TEETH CHECKED: ONCE A YEAR \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ ONLY WHEN NECESSARY \_\_\_\_\_ NEVER \_\_\_\_\_

HOW OFTEN DO YOU SEE A DOCTOR: ONLY WHEN SICK \_\_\_\_\_  
 EVERY YEAR \_\_\_\_\_ NEVER \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT TYPE OF PERSON DO YOU VISIT:

	WHERE	WHITE	COLORED	REMARKS
DOCTOR	:	:	:	:
DENTIST	:	:	:	:
BARBER	:	:	:	:
LAWYER	:	:	:	:

ARE THERE ANY PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE IN TOWN WHO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST YOU:

#### ATTITUDES

- DO YOU THINK THE NEGROES IN THIS TOWN HAVE THE SAME CHANCE AS WHITE PEOPLE TO GET A GOOD EDUCATION?  
 YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
- DO YOU THINK THE NEGROES IN THIS TOWN ARE GIVEN A FAIR CHANCE IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
 DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
- SINCE THE WAR, DO YOU THINK THE NEGROES IN BOULDER GET ALONG AS WELL AS, BETTER, OR WORSE THAN BEFORE THE WAR (WITH THE WHITES)? BETTER \_\_\_\_\_ WORSE \_\_\_\_\_  
 SAME \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
- DO YOU THINK THE NEGROES OF BOULDER SHOULD HAVE THE SAME CHANCE AS THE WHITE PEOPLE TO MAKE A GOOD LIVING? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
 DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
- GENERALLY DO YOU THINK THE COLORED PEOPLE OF BOULDER ARE AS WELL EDUCATED AS THE WHITE PEOPLE? YES \_\_\_\_\_  
 NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
- FROM WHAT YOU KNOW DO YOU THINK NEGROES IN THIS TOWN WOULD RATHER GO TO PLACES WHERE ONLY NEGROES GO OR TO THE SAME PLACES AS THE WHITES GO TO? NEGROES ONLY \_\_\_\_\_  
 SAME AS WHITES \_\_\_\_\_
- IF THE NEGROES HAD MORE MONEY DO YOU THINK THAT THEY WOULD WANT TO GO TO MORE PLACES WHERE THE WHITES GO? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
 DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_

8. DO YOU THINK THE RESTAURANTS IN BOULDER SHOULD SERVE BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE PEOPLE? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
9. WOULD YOU EAT IN A RESTAURANT THAT SERVED BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE PEOPLE? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
10. WOULD IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO YOU IF A WHITE MOVED IN NEXT DOOR TO YOU? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
11. DO YOU THINK THERE ARE ANY RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS IN BOULDER, EITHER WRITTEN OR UNWRITTEN WHICH WOULD PREVENT YOU FROM MOVING INTO CERTAIN SECTIONS OF TOWN? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_
12. DO YOU THINK THE NEGROES IN BOULDER ARE PRETTY MUCH ALIKE? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
13. DO YOU THINK THE WHITES IN BOULDER ARE PRETTY MUCH ALIKE? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
14. DO YOU THINK THE NEGRO SITUATION IN BOULDER WOULD CHANGE IF THE NUMBER OF NEGROES WAS INCREASED TO OVER 1000? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_. IF YES, HOW? \_\_\_\_\_

#### MEASUREMENT OF NEIGHBORING

1. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THE PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD WOULD YOU RECOGNIZE BY SIGHT IF YOU SAW THEM IN A LARGE CROWD? NONE \_\_\_\_\_ FEW \_\_\_\_\_ SOME \_\_\_\_\_ MANY \_\_\_\_\_
2. ABOUT HOW OFTEN DO YOU CHAT OR VISIT WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS? DAILY \_\_\_\_\_ TWICE A WEEK \_\_\_\_\_ WEEKLY \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHLY \_\_\_\_\_
3. DO YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORS EXCHANGE THINGS SUCH AS BOOKS, PATTERNS, RECIPES, JELLIES, DISHES, OR OTHER SIMILAR THINGS? DAILY \_\_\_\_\_ TWICE A WEEK \_\_\_\_\_ WEEKLY \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHLY \_\_\_\_\_
4. DO YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORS EVER GO SHOPPING TOGETHER? DAILY \_\_\_\_\_ TWICE A WEEK \_\_\_\_\_ WEEKLY \_\_\_\_\_ MONTHLY \_\_\_\_\_
5. DO YOU THINK THAT THERE ARE ANY CLIQUES IN YOUR GROUP? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_. IF YES, WHAT TYPE OF CLIQUES?
6. WHOM DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE YOUR BEST FRIENDS IN YOUR GROUP? 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_\_ 5. \_\_\_\_\_

7. DO YOU THINK THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN BOULDER IS WELL KNIT WITHOUT ANY DIVISIONS ALONG ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, COLOR OR OTHER LINES? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ DON'T KNOW \_\_\_\_\_  
 COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

BOGARDUS SCALE

THIS SHEET ENUMERATES SEVEN DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS WHICH PEOPLE MIGHT HAVE WITH YOU. PLEASE INDICATE WITH A CROSS (X) FOR EACH OF THE NATIONALITY, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS TO WHICH OF THESE SEVEN RELATIONSHIPS YOU WOULD ADMIT THEM. PLEASE ANSWER FOR EACH GROUP AS A CLASS AND NOT IN TERMS OF THE BEST PEOPLE OF THAT GROUP OR THE WORST. IF YOU ARE WHOLLY UNFAMILIAR WITH ANY ONE GROUP, THEN NO MARK NEED BE MADE IN THAT COLUMN.

1. To CLOSE KINSHIP BY MARRIAGE	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
2. TO MY CLUB AS PERSONAL FRIENDS	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
3. TO MY STREET AS NEIGHBORS	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
4. TO EMPLOYMENT IN MY OCCUPATION	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
5. TO CITIZENSHIP IN MY COUNTRY	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
6. AS VISITORS ONLY TO MY COUNTRY	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
7. WOULD EXCLUDE FROM MY COUNTRY	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
	:	C	J	M	E	J	R	I
	:	H	A	E	N	E	U	T
	:	I	P	X	G	W	S	A
	:	N	A	I	L	S	S	L
	:	E	N	C	I		I	I
	:	S	E	A	S		A	A
	:	E	S	N	H		N	N
	:		E	S			S	S

HOUSING

DO YOU RENT OR OWN THE HOUSE YOU ARE LIVING IN: \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT TYPE OF HOME: SINGLE STORY \_\_\_\_\_ TWO STORY \_\_\_\_\_  
 OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ TYPE \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT IS THE ASSESSED VALUE OF THE HOUSE \_\_\_\_\_

HOW MANY ROOMS IN THE HOUSE \_\_\_\_\_

HOW MANY BEDROOMS \_\_\_\_\_

HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN YOUR HOME: IN THE  
SUMMER \_\_\_\_\_ DURING THE REST OF THE YEAR \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT KIND OF TOILET DO YOU HAVE AT HOME: INSIDE \_\_\_\_\_  
OUTSIDE \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU HAVE RUNNING WATER IN THE HOUSE: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT KIND OF BATHROOM DO YOU HAVE AT HOME:  
ONE WITH HOT AND COLD RUNNING WATER \_\_\_\_\_  
A BATHTUB BUT NO HOT RUNNING WATER \_\_\_\_\_  
NO BATHTUB BUT RUNNING WATER \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU HAVE A FURNACE IN YOUR HOME: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ COM-  
MENTS \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU HAVE: ELECTRIC REFRIGERATOR \_\_\_\_\_ ICEBOX \_\_\_\_\_  
NONE \_\_\_\_\_

WHAT KIND OF A STOVE DO YOU COOK ON: GAS \_\_\_\_\_ ELECTRIC  
\_\_\_\_\_ COAL \_\_\_\_\_ WOOD \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU HAVE GAS: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ SCREENS: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
ELECTRIC LIGHTS: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

DO YOU HAVE A GARDEN: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

	TYPES	COMMENTS
VEGETABLES	_____	_____
FLOWERS	_____	_____

HOW IS YOUR FURNITURE: EXCELLENT \_\_\_\_\_ GOOD \_\_\_\_\_  
FAIR \_\_\_\_\_ POOR \_\_\_\_\_  
TYPE \_\_\_\_\_  
ACCESSORIES \_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF  
HOUSING CONDITIONS:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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