An analysis of the community organization process employed by the urban league of greater Boston, incorporated, in the initial stages of a community survey

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS EMPLOYED
BY THE URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER BOSTON, INCORPORATED, IN THE
INITIAL STAGES OF A COMMUNITY SURVEY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL
OF SOCIAL WORK IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
EARL THOMAS WOOTEN

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Study

The growth in recent years of the public welfare program and the need for more co-operation of voluntary services make community surveys take on greater importance. This is true, of course, in order to adequately plan during days of rapid social change. A study of this nature takes on added significance when it is conducted by an affiliate of the National Urban League functioning in the Greater Boston Area. This has reference to the many and complex forces with which the practitioner has to work. Since 1937, the Urban League of Greater Boston, Incorporated, has been a member of the Greater Boston Community Fund; therefore, it had certain responsibilities to the total community. The responsibilities, among others, were to promote interracial organization and action; to improve the economic and social conditions among Negroes; to conduct social research and planning in behalf of the Negro population; to promote industrial advancement among Negroes, and public education.

In 1947, the Greater Boston Community Council launched a general survey of the health and welfare agencies and their

1Hereinafter the term League will be used in referring to the Urban League of Greater Boston, Incorporated.
services.¹ Coming out of this survey, which was completed two years later, were many recommendations. These recommendations stimulated a re-defining of many agency policies and services. The Urban League had been forced to re-examine the quality and scope of its services. Stimulated by requests, the League had been urged to expand its services within the Greater Boston Area. The town of Everett was one of the adjacent communities seeking League help.

Everett, a nearby independent industrial town, was thought to be significant for several reasons. One reason was the very peculiar relation which it had with Boston proper. Another significant factor was that of size.

The 1950 Census of Population (Preliminary Count) gave Everett a population of 45,789.² Assuming that the composition has remained fairly constant, Negroes comprised approximately 1.85 per cent or 850 of the total population.

Significant also was the recent and growing interest shown by the Everett Colored Citizens League. This local organization, with a history of forty years, was becoming quite concerned about the rate of increase of Negroes in Everett, Massachusetts, and their integration into the economic life.

¹Greater Boston Community Council, Greater Boston Community Survey (Boston, 1949), p. 6.

In an attempt during the summer of 1950 to interpret the services of the League to Greater Boston, members of the staff went to Everett, Massachusetts. They met and talked with members of the Everett Colored Citizens League, who later expressed a desire to have a survey made of the community's employment situation. While the League was vitally interested in employment, the staff discussed the possibilities of a community survey encompassing the areas of health, housing, education, recreation, and general welfare, as these affected the Negro in relation to total community planning. The Citizens Group approved this project and pledged its support.

Basic to any social planning is the necessity of having adequate facts. This has generally been the approach made by the National Urban League and its affiliates. To this end, the League undertook the Everett, Massachusetts Community Survey. The writer believed this study to be significant for the League; therefore, this thesis was undertaken.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purposes of this study were: first, to determine to what extent community organization techniques were employed in the solution of the problem; second, to evaluate the initial procedures of an Urban League community survey; third, to

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1 Hereinafter the term Citizens Group will be used in referring to the Everett Colored Citizens League.

suggest methods by which a similar problem might be solved. The project had as its aim the examination of the social and economic conditions under which Negroes of Everett, Massachusetts lived, for the purpose of determining the extent of their integration in total community life. The findings were to be used for future planning by governmental and private agencies concerned. Since such a study of this nature had not been undertaken previously by the League -- and likewise, no study made of the methods and techniques employed -- this study may well be of value to both agency and writer. Under its expanded program, the League has planned a series of similar studies in other adjacent towns. This study may serve as an inventory of practical procedures in the future planning of the agency.

Method of Procedure

Documental material on the community organization process was consulted. Likewise, similar studies made by other agencies were studied. Finally, some review of community surveys in general was made.

Data for this study were secured from three main sources: (1) observation, (2) group discussion and interviews, and (3) study of agency files, reports, and minutes.

Scope and Limitation

This study has not concerned itself, primarily, with the content of the League's survey of Everett, Massachusetts. No attempt was made to evaluate qualitatively the Urban League
of Greater Boston, Incorporated. The validity of the services was accepted without question, and whenever an activity was recorded, it was given full credit. It was the writer's intention to study only the community organization process employed in the community survey conducted by the agency in the initial stages. Some narration was necessarily included, but special emphasis was given to events which had significance in the survey.

The fact that the findings, breakdown, and characteristics which may appear in the 1950 Census were not available, served as a further limitation. The fact that the writer's field work assignment terminated before the completion of the survey offered a limitation in respect to complete analysis and interpretation of the survey procedures.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF BOSTON AND EVERETT

Boston, Massachusetts had several characteristics which seemed to merit some comment. One of these was its age. Few other American cities have richness in historical background as has Boston. Having been settled in 1630, the city, in 1950, was past the three-century mark. Also the cities and towns were old which compose what was called Greater Boston. Another aspect of Boston was its relations to the many adjacent cities and towns. These relations tended to differ greatly from those found existing between other large American cities and their suburbs.

Greater Boston is one of the oldest, most densely populated, most highly industrialized and wealthiest metropolitan centers in the United States. Greater Boston is a leading educational center and a medical center of international reputation. But just what is Greater Boston?

There is no single Greater Boston. It exists neither as a governmental unit nor as an universally accepted number of cities and towns clustering about Municipal Boston. Eighty-three cities and towns form the Metropolitan Boston to which Metropolitan District Commission provides water, sewerage and park services. There are scores of other Greater Bostons, each serving its own special purpose, immediately adjacent communities.

For purposes of social planning, the Greater Boston Community Council has established formal relations with voluntary and public agencies, or federations of agencies in Municipal Boston and 54 contiguous cities and towns.

It is this Area with which the Greater Boston Community Survey has concerned itself, and which is, therefore the Greater Boston of this report.

Within this Greater Boston, the Greater Boston Community Fund recognizes 48 cities and towns as a field for its solicitation. The Fund's relations with these 48 communities vary. In some there are
local community chests that join the Greater Boston Community Fund in a common campaign; in others there are no local chests, and solicitation is carried on directly by the Greater Boston Community Fund.

Governmental and other administrative relationships in Greater Boston Area were extremely complex. Some cities had mayors and boards of aldermen or city councils, while a larger number of towns (often called townships) retained the form of government brought down from colonial days. Towns had no elected executive; the principal elected body being the selectmen, which held open town-meetings. "Some of the towns are larger in population than some of the cities: Brookline, for example, with its 57,000 people, remains a town while Woburn, with a population of not quite 20,000 is a city."\(^2\)

Boston and the Negro

The population pattern of Boston was a diversified one. Oscar Handlin has emphasized the influence of the Irish Catholics on the area.\(^3\) While no accurate statistics were available on this subject, it was estimated that Boston's population at the time of this study was predominantly Irish Catholic. Over the years, a steady stream of newcomers from other countries flowed into Boston, principally from Ireland,

\(^1\)Greater Boston Community Council, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 7.

\(^3\)Oscar Handlin, *Boston Immigrants 1790-1865* (Boston, 1941), pp. 137ff.
Canada and Russia. In 1940, Canadians formed the largest group of foreign-born persons in Greater Boston, and the second largest group in Municipal Boston. However, in Municipal Boston, those born in Ireland formed the largest group of foreign-born. In Greater Boston, the proportion of foreign-born was 21 per cent; for Municipal Boston, it was 23.5 per cent.¹

Although Negroes were widely distributed throughout the various areas of Greater Boston, the greatest concentration was in Metropolitan Boston, where the percentage ran as high as eighty-seven in one census tract.² Old records showed that the Negro had always evaded Boston. The lack of a ready market for unskilled labor plus the sharp rivalry between the Negro and Catholics have tended to keep the number of the former small in Boston.³

During World War I nearly a million Negroes left their farm lands in the South and migrated to industrial centers of the North. For the most part, these migrants went to Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cleveland. However, that migration which so greatly influenced the economic, political and social life of those cities was also felt as far East as Boston. At that time, too, Boston was receiving a large influx of Negroes from the West Indies.

¹Greater Boston Community Council, op. cit., p. 8.
Founding and Development of Everett

Everett, one of the cities of Greater Boston, had a long and difficult struggle for recognition as a separate community, and for a long time was considered a part of Malden. It was in 1643 that the first settlers came to what is now Everett, and it was not until 1737 that South Malden (Everett) was developed as a separate parish. In 1870 the area was incorporated as a town and named in honor of Edward Everett, a statesman, author, and educator. Everett was an independent suburban city. It was in the Boston Metropolitan Area on the Mystic River opposite Sommerville and the Charlestown district of Boston. Everett was located on U. S. Highway 1 and State Route 1A. The city was about four miles from Boston, and had a net land area of approximately 3.4 miles. The general shape of the city approached the form of an ellipse (see Appendix A). Its greatest length is about 2 1/3 miles and its greatest breadth is about 1 3/4 miles.¹

As stated in Chapter I, the 1950 Preliminary Census Count gave Everett a population of 45,789. The figures that follow give some indication of the population composition of Everett, Massachusetts.²

¹Dudley P. Bailey, Everett Souvenir Company 1870-1893 (Boston, 1893), pp. 7-60.

²The Boston Herald-Traveler, Boston-America's Fifth Market (Boston, 1893), p. 36.
ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL FACTORS

Everett had a widely diversified pattern of industries. This plus the fact that it is a seaport town is of great significance in the industrial world. The Mystic River, which separated this town from Boston, is navigable the year round for ocean-going ships. The Monsanto Chemical Company, Mystic Iron Works, Colonial Beacon Oil Company, New England Coal and Coke Company, all are now utilizing this as a means of shipping their products. For the past quarter of a century, Everett has experienced a great industrial growth.
For a hundred years following 1795, the manufacturing of brick stood first among Everett's industries, and the industrial development of the city was not notable until the advent of the present century. The following were Everett's leading types of manufacturing: bakery products, boots, shoes, chemicals and compounds, coke, dairy products, foundry and machine shop products, machinery, metal products, paints and varnishing, paper products, paving materials, petroleum and tar products, and printing and publishing. ¹

The following were Everett's leading industries: Monsanto Chemical Company, Merrimac Division, producers of industrial chemicals and surface coating and chemical specialties for paper, leather and metal working industries; Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, producers of gas coke, pig iron, tar bituminous coal; Boston Edison Company; General Electric Foundry. These were the leading industries, but Everett had numerous other smaller industries and shops. It was the industrial city of the Metropolitan Area.

Everett maintained the council type of government with an upper and a lower branch; the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council. A relatively new step in the government had been the establishment of a Chamber of Commerce. ²

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¹ Orra Stone, History of Massachusetts Industries (Boston, 1930), p. 916.

² Committee on Printing and Stationery, Municipal Register (Everett, 1950).
Voluntary Agencies of Everett

Some of the social agencies of Everett were located elsewhere and served the community through an extension program. This was especially true of the youth-serving agencies.

Child caring agencies.-- Everett had no child caring agencies. However, the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Family Society of Greater Boston served the Everett Community.

Hospitals.-- The Whidden Memorial Hospital, established in 1894, was a private institution with a capacity of 115 beds. Buildings were owned by the city.

Youth agencies.-- The Boston Council, Inc., promoted the Scouting program for boys through churches and other agencies. The Scouting program among the girls was promoted in very much the same way. Very little or no "Y" program existed in Everett.

Institutions.-- The Everett Home for Aged Persons was a home for protestant women of the protestant faith, over seventy years old, who had lived in Everett five years and possessed a minimum of five hundred dollars.

Nursing association.-- Everett had the Everett Visiting Nurse Association.

Schools and community centers.-- The Hebrew School and Community Center promoted the physical, moral and social development of the Jewish community. Recreational activities for all ages were likewise offered.

Veterans' services.-- This agency offered financial and
other assistance to veterans and their dependents.

**Salvation Army Corps.**—This agency worked for the temporal, moral and spiritual welfare of citizens through community centers where evangelistic services were conducted with some emergency relief.

**Public Agencies of Everett**

Everett had the usual public agencies which were listed as follows: City Board of Health, Board of Public Welfare, School Committee, Massachusetts Division of Employment Security. The office for this agency was in Malden, Massachusetts, an adjacent town.¹

Many interviews were conducted with a representative cross section of Everett's citizens. The need most often expressed by those who had attempted some community-wide effort was that of leadership. Mr. W. D. Russell, Metropolitan Director and Executive Secretary of the Central Division, United Community Services² had considerable experience with the leaders of Everett. He said that during the years he had worked with Everett's Chests and Councils, there was very little civic leadership to be found there. Mr. Russell further pointed out that Everett, down through the years, had a few wealthy benefactors who had given to the chest generously.

¹Directory of Social Service Resources in Massachusetts (Massachusetts Community Organization Service and United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston), 1950, pp. 84-85.

²Hereinafter United Community Services will be written UCS.
However, as these persons retired from their large businesses, the situation had changed. When it became necessary for Everett to appeal to the citizens at large for participation and support, leadership was lacking. This became evident as early as 1946, when Everett became a member of the UCS of Metropolitan Boston. It was noted by writer that Mr. Russell blamed some of the poor working relationship existing between Everett and UCS on bad planning on the part of the latter.

Mr. Nick J. Dergay, Executive Secretary, East Metropolitan Area, deplored the lack of leadership found in Everett. He said he felt this was due to the fact that the city's leading businessmen lived elsewhere, hence had no real community spirit. He pointed out that the men who control the big industries in Everett have only business interests there; their "homes and interests are in other communities."

Recreational Facilities of Everett

The lack of recreational facilities seemed to provoke more comment than any other aspect of Everett's social life. There was only one park, Glendale, and between six and eight

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2. Interview with Mr. D. W. Russell, Metropolitan Director and Executive Secretary, Central Division (UCS, Boston, Massachusetts, November 7, 1950).
3. Interview with Mr. Nick J. Dergay, Executive Secretary, East Metropolitan Area (UCS, Boston, Massachusetts, January 11, 1951).
small playgrounds, ranging in size from one to three and one-half acres.¹ When schools were closed for the summer vacation, the recreational program practically came to a standstill for the lack of full-time supervisors. This meant that the Park Department had very little recreational program beyond that of the public school system.

¹Greater Boston Community Council, A Community Study (Boston, 1946), p. 16.
CHAPTER III

THE EARLY RELATIONSHIP OF THE URBAN LEAGUE AND EVERETT

Development of the Urban League

On May 16, 1919, the Urban League was organized. It represented the co-operative efforts of white and Negro citizens to integrate the Negro into the community life.

It is a Social Welfare organization which believes that the race problem is nothing more than an administrative problem and that its solution will be coincident with the solution of certain social problems common to civilized man the world over.

Through committees made up of members of both races, which meet frequently to discuss these social problems and act upon matters of common interest, the danger of race friction is greatly lessened and the spirit of understanding and co-operation is increased.¹

The agency was located at 119 Camden Street, where it remained through 1936. The interracial board consisted of twenty-seven persons. The first executive secretary was Matthew W. Bullock, assisted by an office secretary. At the time of this study, Mr. Bullock was a member of the board.

In 1937, the League was accepted as a member of the Community Federation, and the agency moved its offices to its present quarters, 22 Whittier Street, Boston, Massachusetts.²

Two years later, the League added its first Industrial Secretary, Seaton W. Manning. Two years after his appointment,


he served as Director of Research on the Massachusetts Commission on the Employment Problems of Negroes. In that study, with few exceptions, Negroes were discovered to be confined to the most menial jobs available. This information was of value to Mr. Manning as Industrial Secretary of the Boston Urban League.

In 1942, Mr. Manning became acting Executive Secretary for three years. During this period the League changed its focus to include the Metropolitan Area, and changed its name from the "Boston Urban League" to the "Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc." During this same year came the appointment of an Assistant Industrial Secretary. Later in the year, a Community Relations Department was created.

By 1950, the emphasis of the agency was on health, housing, recreation, employment, education, and the general welfare of Negroes in relation to total community planning.

Structure and Program

The size and duties of the League staff were dictated by the budget, community setting, and nature of the problems to be solved.

The Board of Directors of the League in 1950 was composed of twenty-nine Negro and white men and women. These persons represented a cross section of the city's civic, religious, professional and industrial life. The board met monthly and directed the policy for the League's operation.
The staff was composed of the Executive Director, who was directly responsible to the board. The next oldest department of the League was that of the Industrial Secretary. The Industrial Secretary's responsibilities consisted of promotion, vocational counseling and research. He was responsible directly to the Executive Director. A lateral form of organization was used with the agency.\(^1\) This has reference to the Industrial and Community Organization Departments, whose relations in the total agency setting were equal. The Community Organization Department also was headed by a full-time secretary, whose duties consisted of promoting activities in the health and welfare areas. The staff also had the services of an office secretary whose duties consisted of receiving dictation, serving as receptionist, and switchboard operation. Periodically the office secretary was assisted by a part-time student worker.

An examination of its Charter of Incorporation issued in 1927, revealed that the League was established to improve the industrial, economic, social and spiritual condition of Negroes in Boston and vicinity. To direct studies and to promote programs were likewise purposes expressed in the charter.\(^2\)

Decentralized League Efforts

Records showed that the Boston Urban League undertook an expanded program in 1939. Its services were decentralized

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\(^1\) L. Urwick, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

\(^2\) *Charter of Incorporation*, January, 1927.
then to include Negroes in the Greater Boston Area. Hence, it sought a closer working relationship with other local agencies.

An example of co-operative effort on the part of the League to work with other agencies and institutions was the case work seminar initiated in 1948. This seminar included the social work schools of Boston College, Boston University, and Simmons College. It had as its purpose the study of racial factors in case work practice, as a move toward the establishment of good working relations with other Boston agencies. Another effort, made on the part of the League to broaden its focus, was the child placement program begun in 1949.

National recognition was given the League for its long and difficult struggle with Boston's department stores. This dramatic effort began in 1944 and continued for five years. The result was the hiring and upgrading of Negroes in several of Boston's most exclusive stores.

Throughout the years, as do many social work agencies, the league has constantly shifted its emphasis.\(^1\) Established over thirty years ago, it has grown from a one-man-staff agency to one of five full-time employees. "A conscientious effort to streamline and refine the services of the agency is continually being made."\(^2\) A further effort on the part of the

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\(^1\)Wayne McMillen, Community Organization for Social Welfare (Chicago, 1945), p. 27.

League to know and to serve the Metropolitan Area better was the Everett Community Survey. The project began in 1950 and was continuing at the time of this study.

The League made an extensive study of this phase of Everett's community life; the results were revealing. Many persons went to Boston and other adjacent cities and towns for their recreation. This was especially true of the Negro citizens. More information about this phase of Everett was given by Mr. Bradford H. Grant, one of the city's two Negro policemen. Mr. Grant and his wife were born, reared, and completed high school in Everett. Except for the period of time which Mr. Grant spent in military service during World War II, they both had spent all their lives there. Mr. Grant took the position that Negro youth tended to segregate themselves by refusing to participate in recreational activities at the Glendale Recreational Center. His wife corroborated this statement. Mr. Grant continued by saying that when conflicts arose between white and Negro youngsters, the parents of the latter refused to permit them to participate again. Mr. Grant admitted readily that facilities were limited, but he was convinced that too often Negroes were quick to label the whole thing segregation when the fact was they failed to participate.¹

Mr. Walker, instructor at Glendale Recreational Center, was interviewed. He was an Everett Citizen, having attended

¹Interview with Officer Bradford H. Grant (Everett Police Force, Everett, Massachusetts, February 13, 1951).
the public schools there and graduated from Boston College. Mr. Walker has been an instructor at the Center since December, 1949. Prior to that time he was a teacher in the public school system of Everett.

Both of these men expressed the opinion that Negro youth of Everett did not seem to participate in activities at the Center. Mr. Walker continued by saying that while the job was fine in many respects, he did regret not to be teaching some Negro lads along with the others. He pointed out that some of the public schools sponsor what they call "Canteen Night" at the Center monthly; however, the Negro pupils were conspicuous by their absence. Mr. Walker noted that the season of most activities was the summer. The reason given was that playgrounds were open at that time; hence, youngsters were not confined to indoor amusements. Prior to two years ago, all directed group activities were centered in church and school. In passing, Mr. Walker added that the Glendale Recreation Center was the "dream child" of Everett's former mayor.

Activities at the Center consisted of the conventional sports in season; namely, basketball, baseball, boxing, ping-pong, checkers, horse-shoe pitching, excursions to baseball games, excursions by boat to beaches and other playgrounds. When queried about Scouting among Negroes in Everett, Mr. Walker said it was almost nil. He continued by saying that the

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1 Interview with Mr. Gilbert Walker, Glendale Recreation Center Instructor (Everett, Massachusetts, February 14, 1951).
little Boy and Girl Scout found in Everett was church centered. There was likewise no Y.M.C.A. program in the community.

**Everett and the Negro**

According to information given by Mr. J. W. Kelly, a life-long resident of Everett, the last three years have seen a decided improvement in the opportunities for Negroes living there. He continued by saying that Negroes were experiencing a better atmosphere relative to rebuffs and insults.¹

Most Negroes in Everett, Massachusetts went to Malden for religious worship and shopping.²

Writer held an interview with Attorney Morris T. Silverstein, president of the Everett Community Chest. He gave some positive comments about the Everett Colored Citizens League and the things it stood for, continuing, Attorney Silverstein emphasized the fact that Everett was a very homogeneous community. He reminisced about his boyhood days and how intimately he had known Negro playmates and schoolmates. The interviewee ended by saying that for the Negro as well as other minority groups, Everett was a good community.³

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¹Interview with Mr. J. W. Kelly (Everett, Massachusetts, February 13, 1951).

²Interview with Representative Herbert L. Jackson (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Massachusetts State House, February 7, 1951).

³Interview with Attorney Morris T. Silverstein, President of Everett Community Chest (Everett, Massachusetts, January 26, 1951).
CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONINGS
OF THE EVERETT COLORED CITIZENS LEAGUE

Initial Organization

The Everett Colored Citizens League was organized by Mr. Johnson Powell at his home in 1910. It had as its purpose the interviewing of political candidates in order to determine, if possible, which one would offer the most democratic program when elected. The group was to Everett what the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was to the Negro in America. At that time, the Negro citizens were experiencing no physical clashes, but were not being given employment in jobs which they were qualified to fill. One of the group's first cases was that of Harry Taylor. He had successfully passed the Civil Service Examinations for a position on the Everett Police Force. Notwithstanding the fact that he was a fine citizen and stood first on the list of applicants, for three or four years, his name was passed over repeatedly for that of a white applicant.

Taylor had tried many of the usual methods, including that of contacting each and every member of the Board of Aldermen individually. Finally, Mr. Taylor brought his case to the attention of the Citizens Group. The Citizens Group immediately appointed a committee to investigate and make a report. Through extensive interviews with the mayor and his opponent, Taylor was eventually appointed to the Everett Police Force.
Harry Taylor served the police force until his retirement, without a blemish on his record. At the time of this study, Frederick F. Taylor (no relation) and Bradford H. Grant were serving.

The old charter members of the Citizens Group were considered fighters. In talking with the old members during this study, investigator heard frequent references made to Messrs. Milton Snowden, Raymond Yancy, Johnson Powell, William Lovett, Major Ganes, and Griffin Tucker -- last three deceased. The successful election of James J. Mullen to be mayor of Everett, which in turn put Harry Taylor on the police force, served to reassure the members of the Citizens Group in their potential political power. Six years later (1920), Mayor Harrison appointed Joseph Powell, founder and president, a constable; a position he held for ten years. In 1928, Mayor James Roche appointed eighteen Negro men Booth Inspectors.¹

Other successful fights was the hiring of Griffin Tucker as custodian of City Hall. He was the last Negro to hold such a job. In 1935, a Negro stenographer was employed at City Hall. The same year came the appointment of Miss Ruth Jackqueline as Everett's first Negro public school teacher. In 1939, Miss Anna Palmer was appointed a teacher. Mr. Robert Smith, who resided at 42 Valley Street, Everett, Massachusetts, was likewise elected councilman, as a result of League activity.

¹Individuals who check election booths on Election days.
Members of the Citizens Group made no claim to winning all their rights or fights. An example of a losing fight was that to have Negro girls accepted for training at Whidden Memorial Hospital. The Citizens Group was not successful in that effort. Various mayors have appointed Negroes to lesser jobs or commissions on the basis of personal relationships. Yet, the records seem to indicate that group participation had some bearing. On the other hand, not all the efforts of the League have been spent in protest or political fights.

In 1920 the group boasted of a membership of over two hundred members. When one considers the small proportion of the Negro population in Everett, this comprised about twenty per cent of those living there. At one time it was the duty of a standing committee to meet new citizens and explain the objectives of the Citizens Group to them and solicit their support.

Some of the other memories of the older members of the Citizens Group were: (1) the October evening in 1924, when the League was guest at the governor's party given in the Parker House; (2) the successful concert given at the Malden High School for Soldiers Relief Society; and (3) the equipping of a room at the Resthaven Rest Home in Boston. These and other civic ventures were some of the Citizens Group's record of activities.

Structure and Pattern of Operation

Structure of the Citizens Group was along the usual conventional lines. The current officers were as follows:
President, Kenneth Seldon; Vice-President, Robert T. Smith; Secretary, Doris Nash; Treasurer, Ramson Good.

Executive Committee was made up of the officers and four members from the floor. These officers were elected for a term of one year by majority vote. The Citizens Group met monthly at the Zion Baptist Church, except during the months of July and August.

Citizens Group was modest about what it had done for the past forty years, yet it felt justly proud of its principles and objectives. While it was not too widely known outside the Negro group; nevertheless, the Everett politicians respected and courted its good will and support.1

Status in the Community

Interviews were held with a considerable number of group members. These interviews included not only members but also non-members, white and Negro. The findings of these interviews tended to show that the Citizens Group had attempted to point up the collective thinking for this ethnic group. A further study of the Zion Baptist Church, records these same old family names in the forefront. The Zion Baptist Church (located on College Street, one block off Everett's main thoroughfare) was the only all-Negro Church in the community. Many of the names appearing on the roster of the Citizens Group also were active participants of the church.

1Interview with Messrs. Johnson Powell and Raymond Yancy (Everett, Massachusetts, January 19, 1951).
A brief summary of this institution's development revealed: a nucleus of Negro citizens, feeling the need to worship together, began a movement in 1895 which later incorporated on September 2, 1915 as the present Zion Baptist Church. At the time of this study, it had a membership of approximately thirty-five members. Its pastor was Reverend Grady D. Davis, who was pursuing graduate studies at Boston University's School of Religion.

There was a noticeable corollary between the members of the Zion Baptist Church and the Citizens Group. Members in the Citizens Group were likewise members of the church; and what is more, they tended to take the lead in both. The persons were considered by their neighbors to be leaders of the community and the ethnic group to which they belonged. It was this collective thinking on the part of this Citizens Group that initiated the Everett Community Survey.
CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES OF AN URBAN LEAGUE

Exploratory Process

It has already been pointed out in Chapters I and II that the factors which brought Everett, Massachusetts into the focus of the League were (1) a need to re-define and broaden the scope of its services and (2) a request from a representative Citizen's Group to aid it in a specific project. Therefore, the immediate duty of the Executive Secretary was to interpret the proposed Everett Community Survey to the board.¹ This was done in a monthly board meeting held at the League office, September 27, 1950. The Executive Secretary, Mr. Edward Cooper, gave the following as reasons for selecting Everett:

1. The agency already had an entree to the community.
2. Everett was a city of heavy industries.

The Executive Secretary ended by promising to secure more information. The board unanimously approved the survey.²

In further pursuance of more information, the findings may be summarized thus:

1. The total population was estimated to be approximately 49,000 with 1,000 or more Negroes.

¹Wayne McMillen, op. cit., p. 27.
2. Negroes were not concentrated in areas or sections. They were well integrated in both public and private dwellings.

3. City government composed of Board of Aldermen (about seven members, all Irish), similar to House of Representatives; Common Council, like U. S. Senate in function, was a twelve-man board -- the majority were Italian, elected by wards.

4. The Everett Colored Citizens League was supposed to be the all-Negro, non-partisan group. Of late, however, it had been trying to interest young Negroes to run for public office in their respective districts.

5. Everett was a Republican stronghold; with recent pressures from different nationality groups via Democratic party.

6. There was little feeling of cohesiveness or community spirit in Everett. It was a city in its own right, yet it was not a city; it was more of a suburban area.

7. There were very few or no adequate voluntary or public health and welfare agencies. The child welfare services were particularly inadequate.

8. There were strong feelings that prejudices operated in employment and education. This was particularly noticeable in the public schools; although there was one colored teacher in the public school system and one kindergarten teacher (not a part of public school system). There was a problem of getting qualified Negroes appointed. School committee appointed teachers.

9. A number of Negroes worked at Everett Coke Company, where peculiar segregation practices were known to exist; General Electric; Eastern Gas and Fuel Company. It was a very keen feeling that Negroes were by-passed on Civil Service lists for public welfare jobs. Negroes did not hold politically appointed jobs.1

With the above information at its command, the League next planned to find out what studies were made of the community and

1Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Starr Scott, residents, Boston, Massachusetts, October 2, 1950.
the nature of their contents.¹ A review of these studies convinced the League that a community survey of Everett was warranted. To that end the staff had to determine what aspects of the community were to be studied.² While the Executive Secretary was arranging some initial appointments with key individuals and groups, the staff as a whole was studying the scope and plans of approach.

On October 10, 1950, three members from the League staff met the executive committee of the Citizens Group at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Snowden, charter members and life-long residents of Everett.³ After much discussion, the group finally voted to consider the proposed Everett Community Survey and set a date (October 17, 1950) for taking it up with the entire body of the Citizens Group. In the meantime, Mr. Cooper had a speaking engagement of long standing which he filled the following Sunday, October 15, 1950. He spoke at the Zion Baptist Church, and while doing so, attempted to interpret briefly the community survey and what role the citizens could play. Two days later, members of the staff met the membership as a whole at the same church. Again, all members of the staff spoke in answering many questions from the Citizens Group.

³Members of the Urban League Staff present were Mrs. Laura Morris, Mr. Francis E. Davis and the writer.
Likewise, they attempted to interpret the meaning of the community survey and how the members of the Citizens Group could play a very helpful role in it.

The League had to be especially careful about one activity -- the pending local and national elections. In order to secure more information about the individualization of Everett and possible added resources, a series of interviews were held with Mr. Raymond Yancey, life-long resident and charter member of the Citizens Group; Mr. Milton Snowden (mentioned above); and Robert Smith, former councilman of Everett.¹

Messrs. Yancy and Snowden were able to give valuable information relative to many of the hidden elements in the social, political and economic life of the community. Likewise, they were able to furnish the names and addresses of other key persons whom they considered to be able to contribute to the program. This was particularly true of Mr. Smith, whose two terms as councilman in Everett had given him considerable information and experience with which he would be able to aid the League.

Training of Volunteers

From the earliest years of the League's establishment to the time of this study, local institutions had cooperated with it in community wide projects. Records showed some activity

¹Interview with Messrs. Yancy, Snowden and Smith, residents (Everett, Massachusetts, November 19, 1950).
by seniors from Wellesley College as early as 1920. In the Everett Community Survey, Seniors from both Wellesley and Wheelock Colleges participated.

During the period of one month, these students came to the League office for orientation and training. This training was participated in by all members of the staff. It consisted of observing the staff in action plus round table discussion periods. The discussion periods were attempts to interpret for the students, who later were to go on the field, a picture of the structure, function and philosophy of the League. Next was participation on their part in the local Red Feather campaign. Finally, they were given a carefully worked out list of resources from which to secure background material on the community to be studied. These resources included the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts State House Library, Research Department of UCS, Parlin Memorial Library of Everett. These data were not extensive or too difficult to secure. Furthermore, prior to their arrival at one of the designated places, a member of the staff had arranged the entree.

After completion of the volunteers' period of training, which also included a thorough orientation of the community to be surveyed, work assignments were made. Specific areas of the sample were assigned to each interviewee. Over 160 interviews were conducted by the students with heads of families. At the end of the semester in which they were working with the League,

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the Wheelock Seniors collaborated in writing quite an extensive report based on their findings in the survey.

Development of Schedules and Selection of Sample

The UCS Research Department, under Mrs. Dorothy W. Mayers, rendered valuable service in the survey. This was particularly true in working out the schedules and in selection of the sample (see Appendix B). When the necessary information relative to the nature of data desired and the method by which it would be secured was furnished, the research experts completed the sample. This sample required that interviews be conducted with one hundred white family heads and seventy-five Negro family heads. However, much more activity was necessary in order to develop adequate schedules. A series of meetings were held both at UCS and League offices in order to solve this problem. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, UCS had made a series of studies relative to this community. Therefore, it was obvious that the League had to examine an aspect of the community which had not previously been studied.

Use of Community Resources

Many community resources were used in the initial stages of this survey. Several persons and the roles they played have already been mentioned. The formation and structure of a city sponsoring committee demanded much concern in the early planning stages of this survey. A committee was necessary for two principal reasons: (1) to secure community participation and support; and (2) to carry out recommendations that were
apt to come out of the study. Arthur Morgan has suggested: "Generally the best way to begin the study of a community is for a relatively small group of members of the community to make it a major social interest."¹

Local colleges were likewise used as resources from which to get assistance. The League was especially alert to utilize the skills and talents furnished by Wellesley and Wheelock Colleges. The use of these students greatly facilitated the securing of approximately 200 interviews, plus other useful information.

Key individuals, both on the board and in the community, were of invaluable assistance to the agency in many ways. Many necessary contacts were arranged for the agency through key board members. Contacts were made by various methods - sometimes by telephone calls and at other times by letter.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION OF THE INITIAL PROCEDURES OF AN
URBAN LEAGUE COMMUNITY SURVEY

Administrative Functions

The over-all function of an agency becomes the responsibility of the agency director. The term administration as used in this thesis means more than mere control of staff personnel. Trecker defined it thus:

Administrative may be defined as the process or means by which the aims of an organization are determined, plans are made for achieving these aims and the plans are carried out. Administrative skill lies in the successful steering of that process as a whole or of that part of it which falls to one's responsibility.¹

While leadership becomes the first responsibility of the executive, many functions, of necessity, must be delegated to other members of the staff.² The Everett Community Survey was a project of that nature. It necessitated all members of the staff's assuming some very definite portions of the task, even in the planning stages. However, the League Executive had many duties which could not well be delegated to others. Back of executive recommendations to both staff and board were meetings and individual consultations.³

²L. Urwick, op. cit., p. 51.
In the early stages of the Everett Community Survey, a great amount of administrative skill was employed. "In any position in which success in establishing relationships is a vital element, the initial approach of a community worker is of consumate importance."¹ For this reason, special care had to be exercised in order not to become involved in politics. While plans for this study were taking shape, the most heated political activities were in evidence. Therefore, who participated and when, were factors of great importance. Without careful planning, the League could have easily been misinterpreted in its endeavors. To have become involved in some political entanglement would have been most unfortunate. Being a private agency, good will and public support were needed and sought.

Community Organization Methods Employed

Community organization may be conceived of as a process of helping people use their resources for mutual benefit. The geographical area is not restricted nor are the resources always material.² The League had this to say of its functions:

One of the chief concerns of the Urban League is to seek better employment opportunities for qualified Negroes. Working directly with employers, it has been successful in opening up many new plants and industries to Negro employers and in 'upgrading' Negro workers....

¹Wayne McMillen, op. cit., p. 258.
A second purpose of the Urban League is to interpret the Negro's need to the general community; and conversely, to acquaint the Negro with community resources in the field of general welfare.¹

Conference.-- In the initial stages of the community study it was imperative to conduct many consultative conferences. This was necessary in order to learn what studies had been made or were in the process of being made. Likewise, consultations were necessary in order to avoid the duplication or overlapping of some similar program.

Research and fact-finding.-- The League, following good social work practice, sought more facts as a prerequisite for good community planning. The reasons for such a procedure are expressed in the statement which follows:

Research in Social Work, which is distinguished from research in other fields, is directed toward four main objectives. The first is to improve and enlarge the techniques of diagnosis and treatment as they are used in social practice. The second is to develop the efficiency and define the function of the social work agency as the medium through which social work is practiced. The third is to appraise and measure the community's need for social work service and to disclose the steps by which these needs are to be met. And the fourth is to add to the general knowledge of the etiology of social pathology, so that social action can be directed toward prevention as well as toward treatment.²

Methods of Interpretation

The function of interpretation is to disseminate facts and direct their use toward the attainment of specific

objectives. This necessitated the selection by the agency of certain key facts, and through practical media, get them over to the public. These facts needed to be presented in such a way that the following objectives would be obtained:

1. Answer questions that arose in the minds of the public relative to the survey.
2. Make new friends and supporters for the project.
3. Enhance the prestige of the agency.

Letters.—Letters were sent to a carefully selected number of key persons, briefly explaining the proposed survey and the possible role they might play in it.

Group discussions.—Another well used method of interpretation employed was that of group discussion. During such discussions, the scope, method of approach, and reasons for making the study were explained in detail.

Public meetings.—Following these group discussions were public meetings. These public meetings acquired the form of an old-fashioned town meeting in which many individuals from the audience participated. The meetings permitted the members of the Urban League not only to interpret its projects, but at the same time to secure some worthwhile insights into many important cross currents.

Interviews.—In addition to the foregoing procedures, there was a continuing program of interviews conducted with industrialists, civic leaders, city officials, and others. Opportunity was also utilized at all times to pass out
carefully prepared pieces of printed material which served as a buttress for what had been said.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was the writer's objective to analyze the community organization process employed by an Urban League in conducting a community survey. At the same time, an attempt was made to emphasize the techniques most utilized in the undertaking. Emphasis and significance were likewise noted in the teaching and learning aspects of the program. This was especially significant because the writer's participation in it was for the purpose of learning and growth. This study was not an attempt to evaluate the agency, nor was any attempt made to evaluate the contents of the community survey. The presentations of this study were compared with the writers and authorities on the basis of their philosophies in the field of community organization.

The study revealed the following conclusions:

1. A study of the historical backgrounds of Boston and Everett, Massachusetts revealed the Negro as always having been in the extreme minority, numerically speaking, as a result of being so small a segment of the total population. Minority group efforts had been conspicuous by their absence.

2. The governmental structures of Boston and its environs were very distinct in nature. Hence, the usual relationships found existing between a large American city and its suburbs were absent in the Boston Metropolitan Area.
3. The population of both Municipal Boston and Metropolitan Boston was composed of a large percentage of foreign born persons. Irish-Catholics formed the larger per cent of the former.

4. Everett, Massachusetts was especially significant as a suburban city. This was true in the sense that Everett was a city of industries. It was found that Everett had a greater concentration of heavy industries than any other city in the Greater Boston Area. Likewise the Negro population was larger there than in other adjacent cities.

5. The agencies of the Greater Boston Area, especially the volunteer agencies, tended to spread their services too thinly. All segments of the population were not sufficiently served.

6. The philosophy and activities of the Citizens Group in Everett appeared to be emblematic of the hopes and aspirations of the Negro citizens in their efforts to participate fully in the life of the community.

7. Though protest and consultation were chief methods utilized by the Citizens Group to accomplish their objectives, these efforts had no discernable offense to the other segments of the community. Hence, the Citizens Group appeared to have had the respect and co-operation of the community leaders in both private and public life.

8. The Everett Community Survey was spear-headed by the Citizens Group; and the League made its entree largely through its cooperation.
9. The League's activities in Everett, Massachusetts, were several continuing community organization programs which had as their objectives the rendering of a better service to more people in the community.

10. In a program of ever widening service to the community, the League made constant and extensive use of community resources consisting of persons possessing special skills, groups, agencies, and institutions.

11. Community organization methods and skills utilized by the League were those of planning, administration, interpretation and research. Apparently, most utilized was interpretation.

12. The Everett Community Survey offered the investigator valuable experience and training in community organization. Because of the size of the agency and its democratic methods of staff functioning, the writer was able to gain many new insights into Urban League philosophy.

13. The findings of this study tended to show peculiar gaps in health and welfare services in the Greater Boston Area, which the League seemed especially equipped to render. Hence, the writer concluded that because of the need and availability of resources, the League could still render a more intensive service.
THE BOSTON MARKET

40 Cities and Towns within 15-Mile Radius of City Hall in Boston

(Boston — Audit Bureau of Circulations City Zones)
APPENDIX B
Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc.

EVERETT SURVEY

Direct Questions

1. Did you vote in the last election? ( ) Yes ( ) No

2. Do you attend church in Everett? Regularly ( ) Occasionally ( ) Never ( )

3. Where have you spent the last four Saturday nights?
   In Everett ( ) Boston ( ) Malden ( ) Other ( )

4. Do you feel "right at home" in your neighborhood? ( ) Yes ( ) No

5. Where do young people go for entertainment?

6. Have you had any personal experience as to the fairness of courts to Negroes in Everett?

7. Have you had any personal experience as to the fairness of police in the treatment of Negroes?

8. Have you ever been discriminated against by any restaurant, public place, etc., because of your race, creed, or color? ( ) Yes ( ) No

9. How long have you lived in Everett? ___ yrs. ___ mos.
   Do you own your own home? ( ) Yes ( ) No
   If you own your home, did you encounter any difficulty in purchasing it?
   Comment:

   If you rent, have you encountered any difficulty in renting?
   Comment:

For the Interviewer:

Check below on general educational and economic situation of the family.
   Well-to-do ( ) Medium ( ) Poor ( ). Name of church mentioned
   Indicate approx. age of interviewee ( )
   No. of house & street ( ) Check "A" or "B"
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