

The Burlington Self-Survey in Human Relations: Interracial Efforts for Constructive Community Change, 1949–1951

KATRINA M. SANDERS

ON OCTOBER 5, 1949, residents of Burlington, Iowa, officially began a community self-survey to monitor the town's racial climate.¹ The motivations of those who instigated the self-survey are complex and obscure, personal and social. The idea appears to have been initially broached by an African American college student, who sought the help of a white woman to secure the broader support of white residents of the community. They, in turn, turned to Fisk University for help in formulating and implementing the survey. Thus, a project initiated locally by both black and white residents of a small midwestern city with a relatively small African American population drew on the resources of one of the nation's leading African American

I thank Bruce Fehn, John McLure, Marvin Bergman, and three anonymous reviewers for constructive comments and suggestions. I also thank Teresa Garcia and Richard Breaux for research assistance and Tina Chandler, daughter of Dorothy Schramm, for sharing her time. Special thanks go to James Richard White, M.S.W., M.P.A., of Chicago, Illinois, for sharing his time and memories with me. Research for this paper was supported by a State Historical Society of Iowa research grant.

1. Ruth S. Eckhouse to Herman H. Long, 5 October 1949, file 1, box 101, Race Relations Department Papers, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans (hereafter cited as RRD Papers).

THE ANNALS OF IOWA 60 (Summer 2001). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2001.

institutions of higher education.² The citywide survey, which took two years to complete, not only revealed discriminatory practices in Burlington, it initiated a dialogue between African Americans and whites on race-related issues, provided an opportunity for whites to participate in constructive community action associated with civil rights, and supplied data that made it possible to secure support for community change.

BURLINGTON sits on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River in southeastern Iowa. The city, originally settled in 1833, became the first Iowa territorial capital in 1838. Because of its location on the Mississippi River, Burlington attracted water and rail traffic, which fostered industrial and community growth. German, Irish, and Swedish descendants developed Burlington's brewing, packing, railroad, and lumber industries.³

African Americans migrated to the Burlington area, as they did to other Mississippi River towns, as early as the 1830s. By 1875, the Iowa census recorded 300 African Americans in Burlington. From about 1880 to 1920, African Americans came to southeastern Iowa seeking employment on the railroads and in the coal industry as companies imported workers from outside the state as strikebreakers. World War I also brought African Americans to the area as they sought war-related employment opportunities. During the 1930s most of Iowa's African Americans worked in domestic service or in meatpacking plants, coal

2. The project fits neatly into a recent trend in the study of the civil rights movement. According to Steven F. Lawson, "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991), 456-71, study of the movement has proceeded through three phases: (1) the first generation focused on leaders and events of national significance, primarily legislative and judicial triumphs; (2) subsequent studies emphasized protests initiated by grass-roots organizations in local communities; (3) then came a more interactive model, connecting the local and the national, the social and the political, with an increasing emphasis on the role of women.

3. Charline J. Barnes and Floyd Bumpers, *Iowa's Black Legacy* (Charleston, SC, 2000), 15; Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames, 1996), 57-58; Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 57, 62; Shelton Stromquist, *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Urbana and Chicago, 1987), 164-69; George Boeck, "An Early Iowa Community: Aspects of Economic, Social, and Political Development in Burlington, Iowa, 1833-1866" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1961).

mines, or other manufacturing jobs. The imposition of immigration quotas and the scarcity of white labor continued to create industrial opportunities for African American migrants from the South and other points in the North, though primarily in the least desirable positions. Nonetheless, the African American population of Des Moines County, of which Burlington is the county seat, peaked in 1910 at 429, a decade before it peaked statewide.⁴

During the Great Depression, African Americans in Iowa lost the economic and occupational advances made during the World War I era. As they were forced out of semi-skilled and skilled jobs, unemployment rose and the African American population fell. With American entry into World War II, industry and migration boomed again. Black migration to Iowa, consistent with national trends, increased, and by 1950 the African American population exceeded the previous high reached in 1920. Once again lagging behind statewide trends by a decade, Des Moines County's African American population did not attain its previous high until 1960.⁵

AT MID-CENTURY, Burlington was described as

a quiet town on the Mississippi River with a population of only 31,000. Somehow the town partakes of the slowness and the tranquility of the river for over the past 50 years there has been little change in size of population or in kind. Negroes numbered not much more than one per cent in 1900 and that ratio still holds today. Moreover, present inhabitants of both races are merely another generation of the same families already well established here fifty years ago. Changes in social practices, the indoctrination of new ideas, even reforms in local government have been equally slow moving. In fact, Burlington is an ultraconservative community changing only gradually with the times.⁶

4. James L. Hill, "Migration of Blacks to Iowa, 1820-1960," *Journal of Negro History* 66 (1981-82), 298-301; *Census of Iowa, 1875*, 21; Leola Nelson Bergmann, *The Negro in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1969), 14, 38, 71, 89.

5. Hill, "Migration of Blacks to Iowa," 301.

6. "A Measure of Success: The Burlington Community Self Survey in Human Relations," pamphlet, n.d., file 20, box 101, RRD Papers.

Although African Americans constituted only one percent of Burlington's population of 31,000, they shared similar discriminatory experiences with African Americans throughout the country. Burlington's movie theaters, swimming pool, and bowling alley were all segregated; the local hotel did not allow African American guests; and manufacturing plants in the area did not hire African Americans for skilled jobs. African Americans in Burlington had also faced public intimidation in 1923 when Ku Klux Klan members spoke at a meeting in Burlington to promote their views on education. A local paper ran the headline, "Many Cheer Klan Speaker Who Talks on School Issues." The same local paper also ran a photo of a night rally held on a nearby farm on the evening following the speech, noting that it was the Klan's first appearance in Burlington.⁷

Burlington's African American population, although small, did challenge discriminatory practices in the city. In 1915 African American citizens protested the showing of the film, *Birth of a Nation*, which depicted evil African Americans preying on white purity. The delegation, led by an African American attorney from Buxton, asked the mayor and city council not to allow the film to be shown, arguing that the film had a tendency to promote racial hatred of African Americans.⁸

In 1937 Gladys White, an African American resident of Burlington, filed a lawsuit against the Avon Theatre, alleging that the theater discriminated against her when she was "forcefully ejected" from her seat because she would not move to the "colored" section of the theater. White lost her suit and her bid for \$2,500 in damages, but her actions showed that African Americans in Burlington were not afraid to challenge the system. White and her husband, De Edwin White, were prominent African Americans in the Burlington community; along with Rev. Albert L. Preston, Cecil Rideout, and Harold Ashby, they often acted as spokespersons for the local African American community.⁹

7. James R. White, telephone interview with author, 25 March 2000; *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 13 and 20 May 1950; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 16 and 17 June 1923.

8. *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, 5 December 1915.

9. *Gladys White v. The Avon Theatre, I. H. Lee, Wm. Tiemier, Joseph Essex*, District Court Case 5633, Combined Docket, District Court, Des Moines County Courthouse, Burlington; Barnes and Bumpers, *Iowa's Black Legacy*, 15-22.

IN ADDITION to the local patterns of discrimination that seemed to demand some sort of response, national developments during the 1940s prompted many communities across the country to assess the racial climate in their communities. Racial tensions that flared across the country after World War II and President Truman's 1947 call for Americans to address their racial hatred hit home with some Burlington residents.

The 1940s were racially explosive for America, as the onset of World War II brought about significant changes in the traditional patterns of race relations. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and his supporters threatened to have 100,000 African Americans march down Pennsylvania Avenue to protest unfair employment practices that locked African American workers out of jobs in the war industry. In response, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 outlawing racial discrimination in defense industries and government agencies. To enforce the order, Roosevelt created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).¹⁰

With the war industry legally desegregated, racial tensions mounted as African Americans and whites migrated from the South to northern cities, where they competed for employment, housing, and other resources. Unlike the southern practice of racial stratification, midwestern industries often hired African Americans as strikebreakers, which fanned racial tensions.¹¹

African Americans who migrated to industrial areas also faced discrimination in housing. Real estate agents tried to establish or maintain residential segregation through restrictive covenants and refused to sell or rent property to African Americans. Properties that were available to African Americans were in overcrowded, run-down, crime-ridden areas.¹²

10. John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York, 1994), 213–17. See also Andrew Edmund Kersten, *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941–46* (Urbana and Chicago, 2000).

11. Charles S. Johnson and Associates, *To Stem This Tide: A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States* (New York, 1943), 4–6.

12. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, ed., *Negro Year Book: A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life, 1941–1946* (Tuskegee, AL, 1947), 338–48; Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (New York, 1948), 122–23; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), 348–53.

Thus, even as Americans championed democracy over fascism, imperialism, and racism in Europe, white Americans continued to enforce discrimination and segregation at home. Tensions were exacerbated after the end of World War II. As African American veterans returned to the South, they were often harassed by law enforcement officers and white civilians who feared the veterans' newfound awareness of racial discrimination and their ability to compete for jobs. Lynchings and other unlawful deaths with racial overtones proliferated in the South after the war, and most went unpunished.¹³

Underlying all of these discriminatory practices, fears, and tensions were widely held assumptions about the mental and moral inferiority of African Americans.¹⁴ These beliefs, combined with African Americans' increasing efforts to secure their rights as citizens and the white population's desire to maintain dominance, created the racial tensions that were manifested in race riots and revolts that erupted during the 1940s. Although riots in large urban areas such as Detroit, Los Angeles, and Harlem were widely reported, smaller communities such as Beaumont, Texas; Chester, Pennsylvania; and Columbia, Tennessee, also experienced violent racial turbulence.¹⁵

Fearing that such outbreaks might spread, communities around the country sought to prevent similar eruptions. Those who remembered the violent East St. Louis Riot of 1917 and the Chicago Riot of 1919 thought the current riots were the first of

13. Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 361–65.

14. See Willis D. Weatherford and Charles S. Johnson, *Race Relations: Adjustment of Whites and Negroes in the United States* (Boston and New York, 1934); Arnold M. Rose, ed., *Race Prejudice and Discrimination: Readings in Intergroup Relations in the United States* (New York, 1951); Charles S. Johnson, "Public Opinion and the Negro," *Opportunity* 1 (July 1923), 201–6; Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*; Rayford W. Logan, ed., *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944); Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *Anyplace But Here* (New York, 1945); and St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1945).

15. See Charles R. Lawrence Jr., "Race Riots in the United States, 1942–1946," *Negro Year Book* 1 (1947), 232; James N. Upton, *A Social History of Twentieth Century Urban Riots* (Bristol, IN, 1984); Michael Newton and Judy Ann Newton, *Racial and Religious Violence in America: A Chronology* (New York, 1991); and Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, MA, 1988).

many more to come.¹⁶ In response, organizations, scholars, and writers focused their attention on American race relations.¹⁷ So did the White House. In 1947 President Harry S. Truman formed the President's Committee on Civil Rights to recommend new legislation to guard against discrimination. The committee's 1947 report, *To Secure These Rights*, reported that "separate but equal" was a failure and that America fell short of its constitutional ideals. In accepting and endorsing its findings, Truman formally placed the executive branch in opposition to segregation and publicly declared that America could not wait another decade to address racial discrimination. Although his action went virtually unnoticed by many Americans, it was the first time a president had officially taken a stand against segregation. Truman's action laid the foundation for the political context of race relations in the years to come.¹⁸ It also laid the foundation for the Burlington Self-Survey in Human Relations, the means by which local residents found a way to address racial concerns and began interracial efforts toward constructive community change.

ALTHOUGH Burlington's local newspapers had not reported overt racial tensions locally between white segregationists and African American residents, community leaders, heeding Truman's call to address the nation's racial tensions, wanted to identify what racial discrimination, if any, African Americans faced in their community.¹⁹ The idea started with James Richard

16. For the East St. Louis and Chicago riots, see Elliott R. Rudwick, *Race Riot in East St. Louis, July 2, 1917* (Carbondale, 1964); and William M. Tuttle Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (1970; reprint, Urbana and Chicago, 1996).

17. See, for example, Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*; Buell Gallagher, *Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict* (New York, 1946); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York, 1947); Charles S. Johnson and Associates, *Into the Main Stream: A Survey of Best Practices in Race Relations in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1947); Richard Wright, *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth* (New York, 1945); and idem, *Native Son* (New York, 1940). In addition, *Ebony* first appeared in 1946. The magazine, which some saw as the black version of *Life*, brought important issues into the homes of African Americans.

18. Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 413-14.

19. "A Measure of Success."

White, an African American Burlington native who was majoring in psychology at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. White, who was active in various interracial organizations on campus, had numerous conversations with fellow classmates at the university about race relations. One such conversation on a bus ride home to Burlington one weekend between White and a classmate—a fellow Burlington native who was white—highlighted dramatic differences in the treatment of African American and white Burlington residents. Although White interacted with white classmates at the university, he knew that

the minute we got off the bus and went back to Burlington, things were going to be different. Being back in Burlington was like going into another world for me. He [the white classmate] was going to go and do what middle-class whites usually do, [which was] whatever they wanted to do, [and] I was going to go back to my home and find that if I wanted to go to the movies I was going to have to sit in the back two rows.²⁰

White was no stranger to civil rights efforts. His sister-in-law, Gladys, had sued Burlington's Avon Theatre for discrimination in 1937. While attending the university, White heard of a self-survey that had been conducted in Minneapolis to end discrimination and improve race relations there. White discussed his interest in conducting a self-survey in Burlington with his classmate, who later introduced White to Dorothy Schramm, a white woman who was a prominent figure in the Burlington community.²¹ White recalls that Schramm, a member of the Burlington Board of Education, former chair of the Burlington City Planning Commission, the first president of the local League of Women Voters, and the wife of a local businessman, knew "all the principal people" in Burlington. Although Burlington had experienced no "dramatic case of injustice" or "violence" or "influx of war workers from the South," Schramm, who was active in numerous civic and human rights organizations, didn't need

20. James Richard White interview.

21. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 27 August 1986; "Women of Iowa: Mrs. James Schramm of Burlington—Fighter Against Provincialism," *Des Moines Sunday Register*, n.d., clipping in Dorothy and James Schramm file, Burlington Public Library (hereafter cited as Schramm Papers, BPL).

much persuading.²² She gathered approximately 50 local people who agreed that although the African American population in Burlington was small, the city's prosperity depended on all citizens having economic, cultural, and social opportunities.²³ The desire to conduct a citywide survey to ascertain discriminatory practices led to the formation of the Burlington Self-Survey Committee. The formation of the committee signaled that interracial cooperation and dialogue between African Americans and whites on race-related issues was occurring in Burlington. It also signaled that white citizens as well as African Americans were interested in promoting positive race relations in the town.

22. Dorothy Schramm, speech delivered to the United Negro College Fund Forum at the Cosmopolitan Club, New York City, November 1953, p. 1, in Dorothy Schramm Papers, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (hereafter cited as Schramm Papers, IWA).

23. "Sponsors of Burlington Self Survey," file 1, box 101, RRD Papers. An undated memo from Rev. R. G. Beck, chair of the Burlington Self-Survey of Human Relations, to sponsors, committee members, and workers lists the following persons as sponsors of the survey: Dr. F. H. Aid, Rev. Robert Amborn, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Asby, Mr. and Mrs. Ray Baxter, Fay Bell, Rev. Alfred Bernadt, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Braun, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bresser, Dr. R. H. Buescher, Rev. Paul Calhoun, Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Clark, Margaret Clark, Rita Coates, Rev. Edward Collins, Mr. and Mrs. Blythe Conn, Rev. Henry Corcoran, Dr. William M. Crawford, Dr. and Mrs. George Crow, John Dailey, Mrs. E. P. Eastman, Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Eberhart, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Eckhouse, Mrs. Robert Fendrych, George Flaaten, John Flam, Margot Foster, Paul Fulton, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Gerdes, Dr. R. W. Gregg, Rev. Robert Hamill, Priscilla Harsch, Mr. and Mrs. George Henson, Edward Hirsch, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Hoelzen, Mr. and Mrs. John Howie, Rev. Ralph Hunger, Cora Johansson, Mr. and Mrs. Norman Jones, Kenneth F. Johnson, Mrs. Francis Kane, Mr. and Mrs. John Kipper, Rev. Callistus Kramer, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Kresge, Dr. K. N. Kruse, Mr. and Mrs. Ray Larson, Dr. Wayne Lee, Rev. J. Lew, Rev. F. E. Churchstone Lord, Mr. and Mrs. Sterling Lord, Rev. Bruce Masselink, Mr. and Mrs. Verle McBride, Phillip McFarland, Frank Mennen, Rev. Bernard Miars, Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Mitchell, Rev. M. G. Morrin, Milton Meuler, Judge E. O. Newell, Lt. Comm. and Mrs. Kent Northrup, Dr. C. V. Orr, Rev. Leo Ortman, John Payton, Dr. and Mrs. George Pearson, Edward Pettigrew, Fred Pilgram, Leroy Pistorius, Rev. Ernst Press, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Pryor, Mr. and Mrs. Don Putney, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Reed, Rolland Richardson, Mrs. L. J. Riggall, Dan Riley, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Schramm, Henry Schwenker, Hon. Thomas Smith, Rev. Lightner Swan, Mrs. Glenn Topping, Mrs. Vern Trowbridge, Roy J. Tweedell, Arthur Walsh, Judge Cosgrove Walsh, Rev. Vincent Wavada, Laura Wehman, Mr. and Mrs. De Edwin White, Mr. and Mrs. Wilfred White, Mr. and Mrs. Howard Wilson, Rev. Roy Winkelman, and Raymond Wright.

The initial response from African Americans was, with some exceptions, apathetic. White recalls that African Americans were "very much angry" and didn't like the segregated practices of Burlington, but were "basically ineffectual" because they lacked "cohesion." Some blacks were upset enough about discrimination in Burlington to do something, while others thought that "nothing could be done about it because that's the way it has always been, that's the way it is, and that's the way it is always going to be." White explains the mind-set that fostered such a reaction among the African American community. "You didn't have that many [blacks] who were literate per se." Other than the people who continued to work at the ordnance plant, where they had been hired by the federal government during the war, African Americans were working primarily in menial work. Although some of these people were initially skeptical about the possibility of change, as African Americans took leadership positions in the project, attitudes changed, and the African American community became "very hopeful that we would really have something to go on."²⁴

After contacting several national organizations and other communities that had conducted self-surveys, the Burlington Self-Survey Committee found that the Race Relations Department at Fisk University, a traditionally black college in Nashville, Tennessee, designed community surveys in human relations. The Race Relations Department (RRD) was part of an ongoing collaboration between Fisk University and the American Missionary Association. The RRD had access to the latest research in race relations from the nation's leading social scientists, educators, and community leaders and was responsible for several race relations projects, including the Fisk University Race Relations Institute.²⁵ The RRD designed the surveys to ascertain practices towards African Americans in the areas of employment, health, housing, education, and public accommodations.

24. James Richard White interview.

25. See Katrina M. Sanders, "Building Racial Tolerance Through Education: The Fisk University Race Relations Institute, 1944-1969" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1997); and idem, "Seeking Racial Tolerance: The Fisk University Race Relations Institute," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 25 (1998), 116-19.

After citizens surveyed their communities, the RRD analyzed the data and sent the results back to the communities. The sponsoring committees would then draft a final report and use the information as they saw fit.²⁶

Prior to its work in Burlington, the RRD had assisted several other cities with self-surveys. In 1943 Pittsburgh set out to conduct a self-survey. The Allegheny County Race Relations Committee, organized by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, met with RRD officials in January 1946 and began a two-month survey. Later that year Minneapolis conducted a multi-group survey that involved Jewish Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. The Mayor's Council on Human Relations initiated the study after Minneapolis had been called the capital of anti-Semitism in the United States. The same article also noted the city's "cruel barriers against Negroes, Japanese-Americans, Indians, and Mexicans."²⁷

Burlington's size made it unique among the cities that participated in the RRD's self-surveys. Other Iowa cities did, however, pursue self-surveys of race relations independently at about the same time. A local Catholic Action group, the League for Social Justice, sponsored a self-survey in Davenport in 1951. And the *Iowa Bystander* reported surveys by the Council of Church Women in 1949 and the League of Women Voters in 1951 that found racial discrimination in Des Moines.²⁸

26. "A Measure of Success."

27. "Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Adopt Community-Wide Plan for Action in Race Relations," typescript, n.d., file 4, box 95, RRD Papers; "Some Notes on the Pittsburgh and Minneapolis Self-Survey Projects," typescript, n.d., file 12, box 97, RRD Papers; Clive Howard, "How Minneapolis Beat the Bigots," reprinted from the *Woman's Home Companion*, October 1951, file 24, box 104, RRD Papers. A survey conducted in San Francisco during the 1940s. may have been the first self-survey. After the Burlington study, self-surveys were conducted in St. Louis, Trenton, and Baltimore. "Statement of Purpose, Policy and Procedure of the Community Self-Survey," typescript, n.d., file 1, box 98, RRD Papers; see also "Draft of Letter of Invitation," n.d., *ibid.*

28. *Burlington Herald*, 6 April 1950; George William McDaniel, "Catholic Action in Davenport: St. Ambrose College and the League for Social Justice," *Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996), 256-60; *Iowa Bystander*, 5 May 1949 and 13 September 1951. Cedar Rapids launched a self-survey in 1954. Dorothy Schramm, speech to United Negro College Fund Forum, p. 9.

A key objective of the community self-survey was to get local groups who were seen as holding opposing interests to join forces to promote positive race relations. In Burlington's case that meant combining the efforts of African Americans and "pinkos"—whites who opposed racial segregation and supported civil liberties—with local city officials who had the power to end discriminatory practices.²⁹ Groups that were involved in civil rights activities were often viewed as special interest groups that worked independently from local leadership groups. This lack of unity hindered positive community collaboration by isolating needed resources and placing minority groups and community leaders in an "attack and accusation mode." According to the self-survey philosophy, because local leaders had a vested interest in the community's well-being, minority communities needed their support if they wanted to secure "effective changes outside the area of legislation and court action."³⁰

On October 5, 1949, the committee contacted the RRD and requested information about the proposed self-survey. Herman Long, director of the RRD and also a board member of the Home Missions of Congregational-Christian Churches, mailed the committee a survey outline, a brief statement on the basic philosophy of the survey, sample survey questions, a diagram of the survey structure, and a manual on interviewing.³¹ In December 1949, Long traveled to Burlington to attend an interest meeting at the First Evangelical and Reformed Church. After Long presented information and answered questions about the surveys, representatives from Burlington's civic organizations, churches, and local businesses voted to sponsor the project.³²

29. *Des Moines Register*, 8 June 1950.

30. "The Community Self-Survey in Race Relations in Brief," n.d., p. 2, file 20, box 101, RRD Papers.

31. Herman H. Long to Ruth S. Eckhouse, 12 October 1949, file 1, box 101, RRD Papers. Long agreed with Eckhouse that interviewers should have "a period of training covering about a week."

32. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 16 December 1949. Several prominent local organizations became interested in sponsoring the project, including the League of Women Voters, the PTA, the Council of Church Women, the CIO, the AFL, and the Des Moines County Ministerial Association.

As news of the proposed survey spread throughout the community, opposition to the project emerged. Some whites supported the project, but others did not. In a 1950 editorial in the *Hawk-Eye Gazette*, "Thinking Out Loud: No Race Problem Here," the paper's editor, Clarence Moody, warned that examining race relations in Burlington could actually *cause* negative relations. Noting Burlington's small African American population, Moody cautioned survey organizers to "employ extreme care that they do not "raise a problem" where none now exists. Moody argued that the small size of the African American community in Burlington was a bigger problem than discrimination because it made it difficult to sustain and support the social and religious organizations that were an integral part of community life. Instead of conducting a survey to ascertain discriminatory practices, Moody suggested that whites offer financial support to African American organizations. "Burlington's Negroes are not clamoring for more recognition by whites," he wrote. "Were it not for many of their white friends, they would not have some of the privileges they now enjoy. Perhaps the Negro population here could be served best through regular contributions by whites in support of their churches and to help in their own racial and social activities."³³

Even after the survey report came out, Moody reaffirmed his belief that "Burlington has no race problem. It never has had." In an editorial, "Flirting with Trouble," published the day after his paper reported the results of the survey, Moody noted that the only way Burlington would experience racial tensions was if a large number of minorities moved to the area or if "agitation "pricks at a situation until it becomes an open sore." Concerned that racial "agitation" in Burlington could lead to racial tensions similar to those that resulted in the July 1951 race riot in Cicero, Illinois, he wrote, "The race riot that so completely disgraced the city of Cicero not long ago was a result of agitation. It could have been avoided very easily. Negroes as well as whites were responsible."³⁴

33. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 11 May 1950.

34. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 31 October 1951. For the Cicero race riot, see *Jet*, 23 March 1998; and Newton and Newton, *Racial and Religious Violence*, 431.

Forty years later, Dorothy Schramm recalled that Moody's response was "a typical remark that was made by so many people." When white residents said, "We have no problems," she explained, "what they meant by problems was there was no violence." And because there was no violence, "there was no effort to make a change."³⁵

On the other hand, Moody obviously did not speak for the entire white population of Burlington. Many who considered themselves "democratic and socially-minded individuals" and "socially mature" were committed to supporting the survey.³⁶ Some supporters viewed the project as an extension of democratic practices. Others saw it as a tool against communist propaganda. Still others thought it was an extension of morality and Christianity. One resident pointed out that citizens had a "responsibility to participate" in the survey because it would yield important information about Burlington. He also argued that people who were "professionally anti-Negro and anti-Semitic" were "patently afraid of an enlightened public" and would "violently oppose" any work toward "racial harmony." He concluded that such people could not exist "where free investigation also exists" and that they could not face "truth or honesty or plain decency."³⁷

Another supporter speculated that those who opposed the survey were really not confident that Burlington treated all citizens fairly. "Those urging caution were not as sure of their ground as they would like to be," he wrote, "for if everything is really rosy here, nobody need worry about it being proven." Opponents of the survey wanted Burlington to "keep its eyes closed so it won't see anything that might prove to be offensive or troublesome, or disturbing to someone's conscience."³⁸

In February 1950, columnist Lloyd Maffitt argued that the survey could be used to fight communism. He wrote, "If every community would take an honest look at itself via the self-

35. *Burlington Hawk Eye*, 20 January 1991.

36. *Burlington Herald*, 19 January 1950.

37. "How Does Burlington Feel About Prejudice? Interracial Group Searches for Answer," undated newspaper clipping, circa 1949, Schramm Papers, IWA.

38. *Burlington Herald*, 18 May 1950.

survey method, and conscientiously strive to eradicate whatever blemishes the survey may reveal, Communist propagandists would be dealt a body blow." "Every time a Negro is . . . denied equal opportunity for employment," he continued, "Uncle Joe's agitators rub their hands and grin, and within a few hours another flood of vituperation is aimed at those who hypocritically betray the democratic principles they unconsciously [*sic*] mouth in public. Depriving minorities of their Constitutional rights is not only hypocritical, it is stupid."³⁹

White writers such as Maffitt were not the only ones to counter Moody's remarks in the "No Race Problem Here" editorial; African Americans drew on their own experiences in Burlington to challenge his comments. Their letters to the editor reflected several social, economic, and racial problems African Americans faced in Burlington. One resident pointed to specific segregated businesses in Burlington and noted that African Americans were seeking their rights as American citizens. "Have you made a check of bowling alleys, theaters, eating establishments, or white collar jobs several Negroes in Burlington are capable of holding, but can't get, because they are Negroes? . . . We may not be 'clamoring for recognition by whites,' but we are seeking our rights to democracy as American citizens." Another resident challenged Moody's observations about the treatment of African Americans in Burlington. "I have been in this city almost 3 years," she wrote, "and I have seen nothing but discrimination since I've been here. . . . With the exception of slave jobs in your leading 'slave shops,' a Negro can't get a job here. I tried several plants and the color line was thrown in all where I tried." Echoing concerns about the lack of employment opportunities for African Americans, another writer acknowledged that "it is true that Burlington Negroes are not clamoring for more recognition as far as social life is concerned, but we do ask to be given a fair chance at employment. . . . We do have people in the Negro race who are capable of doing a job, if given a chance, but doors to skilled jobs are tightly closed to all Negroes in Burlington."⁴⁰

39. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 13 February 1950.

40. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 13 and 20 May 1950.

Survey organizer White also responded to the editorial, paying particular attention to Moody's comments about the small size of Burlington's African American population and about them being mostly "gainfully" employed. White argued that the small size of the African American population in Burlington did not mean that the group was "insignificant" to the community. He also pointed out that the jobs Moody referred to as gainfully employing African Americans actually confined them to menial and common labor that offered a "bare economic existence" and no opportunity to develop and apply skills.⁴¹

The editorials and responses on the self-survey reflected several things about Burlington. First, whether for or against the survey, a dialogue on race relations in Burlington had taken center stage. Comments from opponents of the survey revealed that not everyone in Burlington was aware of or acknowledged problems of discrimination and segregation. To some residents, the small African American population and lack of violence meant that Burlington did not have a race problem and that discussing racial issues would actually create problems where they assumed none existed. Some whites also felt that they had been supportive of African Americans by, for example, donating financial support to the African American community. Comments from African American residents show that employment opportunities were a major concern for Burlington's African Americans, as they were for their counterparts in cities throughout the country. The comments also show that in spite of their small numbers, Burlington's African American residents realized that their presence was significant in the community, and they wanted to capitalize on the rights afforded to American citizens. It also appears that fear did not prevent Burlington's African American population from entering a dialogue on race-related issues.

THE BURLINGTON SELF-SURVEY took more than two years to complete. More than 800 citizens took part as workers, sponsors, or subjects. Locally prominent male figures domi-

41. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 20 May 1950.

nated the organizing body.⁴² However, many of the volunteers who did the survey interviewing were women who, according to the survey report, "are the wives and friends of the men, in many instances, who are the important control elements in the community, and they exert indirect influence upon them in terms of experiences which the self-survey provide for them."⁴³ Prior to the survey, this group had little opportunity to exercise their beliefs about race relations. The self-survey provided an opportunity for women to participate actively in the struggle for civil rights, whether it was viewed as such, or not.⁴⁴

The survey organizers used several tactics to persuade Burlington's residents to participate in the project. Supporters stressed that the survey would "promote closer harmony between the races" and would aid efforts to discover how better opportunities could be offered to the small number of African Americans in the community. Supporters also assured respondents that replies would be kept confidential and that they were not targeting individual businesses. In fact, they insisted that there was no immediate objective to the project. The survey was simply to act as a "mirror" that would reflect how the community related to African Americans.⁴⁵ According to White, the survey committee used these tactics to "sell the survey to the community so that they wouldn't become overly sensitive about it. . . . The idea was, 'hey, we just want to hold up the mirror to see if anything is going on.'" He adds, however, that

42. Members of the Self-Survey Committee included Rev. R. W. Beck (chair), pastor of Evangelical and Reformed Church; Mrs. Gerald Schwartz (secretary), homemaker; Cecil Rideout (treasurer), bailiff, municipal court; John Klein (chair, Employment Committee), industrialist; Dr. Martin Hicklin (chair, Health Committee), director of Des Moines County Health Unit; Mrs. Mark Pistorius (chair, Education Committee), president, Central Council PTA; Rev. Deane Chapman (chair, Public Accommodation Committee), pastor of First Methodist Church; and Marshall Mueller (chair, Housing Committee), chair of Board of Realtors. Burlington Self-Survey of Human Relations letterhead, file 2, box 101, RRD Papers.

43. "The Community Self-Survey in Race Relations in Brief."

44. Sara Evans argues that the women's liberation movement had its roots in the civil rights movement. See her *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1980).

45. John M. Klein, chair, Industry and Labor Committee, Burlington Self-Survey, to Area Businesses, 8 May 1950, file 2, box 101, RRD Papers.

we knew that we weren't just going through this exercise just to hold up a mirror. We knew about [the discrimination]. You didn't have to tell the blacks about discrimination. We didn't have to go out and do a survey to ask someone "Do you discriminate?". . . We were just trying to get the objective facts so that the community would know it—what was going on and what was happening to us. We knew it by our personal experiences and our lack of opportunity for employment and good jobs and not having access to medical care.⁴⁶

As with its other projects, Fisk University's Race Relations Department used data to promote positive race relations, following the assumption that citizens who believed in democratic ideals would work to ensure opportunities for all Americans if they were given data proving that inequities existed.

Survey volunteer workers collected responses via personal interviews, mail-in surveys, and telephone interviews. To get a general understanding of problems African Americans faced in Burlington, volunteer workers conducted personal interviews with 56 African American families, an estimated four-fifths of the total number of African American family units in Burlington. Local African American ministers and leaders provided names of African American families to the survey volunteers. The families were asked what types of problems, if any, they faced in Burlington in their relationships with "the schools, their neighborhood, the police, commercial recreational agencies, and other agencies through which they are associated with the general life of the city."⁴⁷

The summary report noted the following findings from the survey of black families as being "of outstanding importance":

- The African American population in Burlington had declined "substantially" during the preceding 20 years. The decline would likely continue because of the lack of economic opportunities in the area.⁴⁸

46. James Richard White interview.

47. "Summary Report, Burlington Self-Survey," n.d., file 7, box 101, RRD Papers. For a discussion of sampling design and bias, see *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 3 May 1950; *Burlington Herald*, 13 July 1950.

48. According to census data, Des Moines County's African American population declined from 386 in 1930 to 265 in 1940 but had rebounded to 390 by 1950.

- In contrast to the African American population in larger northern cities, African Americans in Burlington were indigenous to Iowa and the Midwest. Two-thirds of the family heads had been born in Iowa, and 60 percent had never lived outside the Midwest.
- Although 89 percent of African American family heads were employed, the proportion of unemployed was approximately three times as large as that for family heads in the United States in 1946. Sixty percent of African American family heads were employed as common laborers, in domestic service, or in other service occupations, whereas only 4 percent of all urban workers were in domestic service and 9 percent in other service occupations in the state in 1940. Forty percent of African American family heads in the United States depended on jobs in wholesale and retail areas, compared with 26 percent of all adult workers in Burlington in 1940. There was "practically no representation" of African American families in manufacturing, where the highest wages were.
- African Americans socialized within their own community.
- Although African Americans generally had a favorable attitude towards Burlington, they did note racial discrimination in a variety of community situations.

The report concluded that in "spite of a community situation of stability and lack of conflict in race relations, the position of the Negro group in the city as seen from this view of the Negro family is extremely marginal, restricted and limited in opportunity."⁴⁹

As indicated by the African Americans' responses to the newspaper editorials opposing the survey, employment was a major concern for African Americans in Burlington. Volunteers on the employment committee mailed a two-page questionnaire to all industrial and business establishments listed in the Burlington telephone directory. The questionnaires inquired if, when, and how businesses employed African American workers. Thirty percent of the 143 businesses that responded employed African Americans during the time of the study; 70 percent did not.

49. "Summary Report," 1-21.

Volunteers also mailed questionnaires to approximately 34 labor unions in Burlington. Although 29 unions responded, most of the records were destroyed in a fire, so a separate section on labor unions was not included in the final project summary. The loss of that information was especially unfortunate because of the African Americans' claims that they did not have access to skilled jobs in Burlington. Only six surveys survived. Four of those six unions reported that African Americans were fully integrated into their locals and were granted all membership rights and full participation in union activities. However, only one local—the Teamsters—reported actually having African American members, and none reported having African American officers. In the surveys of African American families, 14 percent of African American family heads indicated that they were members of local labor unions.⁵⁰

Mail-in surveys of real estate agents collected data on housing opportunities for African Americans. Six of the 13 responding agencies reported that they did not accept business from African Americans. When asked to describe factors that "discourage your agency from making these transactions," the responses varied. One agency claimed that it was following policy guidelines: "Quoting from Article 34, Part III of 'Real Estate Primer': A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." Others reported that they had not been approached by African American customers. Another said they didn't list homes in the "colored section of the city." Still another reported that "Negroes as a whole are very undependable."⁵¹

Survey volunteer workers used telephone surveys to collect data from local businesses that catered to the public. Volunteers

50. Herman H. Long to Dorothy Schramm, 10 January 1951, file 1, box 101, RRD Papers; "Code Manual: Burlington Self-Survey—Employment," n.d., file 1, box 101, RRD Papers; "Employment Survey: Labor Union," file 16, box 101, RRD Papers; "Summary Report," 73–74. The Teamsters local reported 15–20 African American members.

51. "Self-Survey of Human Relations: Housing and Real Estate," n.d., file 7, box 101, RRD Papers.

called local establishments and read printed statements. For example, when survey workers called hotels, they would first ask for "reservations" or "room clerk." They then read the following statement: "I have some friends coming to [Burlington] in April. They are Negroes. Two couples. I wanted to make certain that I could make reservations for them when I know the exact date of their arrival. Do you accept Negroes as guests?" Workers calling "beauty parlors" would read this statement:

"I have a friend visiting in town who would like to get a shampoo and wave. She is Negro. In order to save her any possible embarrassment, I'm calling to ask if you accept Negroes as patrons?" (If any comment is made about special equipment or special handling which is necessary for Negroes' hair, answer "This woman's hair requires no special treatment: She just would like to have a regular shampoo and finger wave." If the person is willing to make an appointment, say "Thank you, I'll have my friend call you today or tomorrow for an appointment. I don't know what time would be convenient for her.")⁵²

After the five Burlington sub-committees gathered the data on the treatment of African Americans in the city, they sent the information to Fisk University. The RRD analyzed the data and put it in the form of a statistical report.

IN 1951, two years after its inception, the final draft of "The Burlington Self-Survey of Human Relations" was released. Within the 96-page report, Burlington residents found that:

- Nearly four-fifths of Burlington's places of public accommodation, particularly restaurants, discriminated against African Americans.
- Nearly two-thirds of Burlington's businesses and industries had never employed African Americans, and African Americans were disproportionately employed in less desirable occupations.
- Nearly half of the firms that did not currently employ African Americans indicated that they were willing to do so.

52. "Self-Survey: Public Accommodations," n.d., file 1, box 101, RRD Papers; *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 30 October 1951.

- African American children in elementary schools "participate[d] freely in school activities," felt comfortable, and were, "on the whole, treated democratically by the other boys and girls." However, as African American children reached high school, they were "considered to perform less and less effectively."
- Burlington's hospitals, the Des Moines County Health Center, and the Des Moines County Mental Health Center did not discriminate against African Americans, although some of the city's 15 nursing homes did. The Des Moines County blood bank segregated the blood of African Americans and whites.
- Although doctors said they were willing to serve African Americans, several dentists did discriminate against them.
- African American housing was segregated and tended to be "sub-standard."
- Despite considerable population growth in Burlington since the 1940 census, the African American population showed a significant decline over the previous 20 years. The survey reasoned that "the pastures do not seem particularly green for Negroes around Burlington."⁵³

Organizers shared the results with the community at a dinner held at a local church. Several newspapers, including the *Hawk-Eye Gazette*, the *Iowa Bystander* ("Iowa's Oldest Negro Newspaper"), and Davenport's *Catholic Messenger*, also published the survey findings.⁵⁴ The survey results showed Burlington residents that there were problems in their "cordial" community. According to Dorothy Schramm, the survey revealed "the whole picture made up of all the facts." It "eliminated guess work" and exposed the fiction that there was "no race problem" in Burlington.⁵⁵ One unidentified African American wrote of the survey results:

53. "Summary Report"; *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 30 October 1951; *Iowa Bystander*, 8 November 1951. See n. 48 for conflicting census statistics on Burlington's African American population.

54. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 30 October 1951; *Iowa Bystander*, 8 November 1951; *Catholic Messenger*, 22 November 1951.

55. Dorothy Schramm, speech to United Negro College Fund Forum, p. 4.

The committee's report is no credit to a city bearing the slogan, "Thirty Thousand Friendly People." The city's minorities are restricted from reaching full stature of their aspiration because of Burlington's practice of the Jim Crow law. Burlington is a typical American city following the line of least resistance.

Negroes have long cast aside the blinders and have caught a clear view of America's plan to make her darker brother the world's forgotten man. Let's not forget the red man, the yellow man, Jew and ebony have sacrificed on battlefield, America to free. Like bleating sheep in a slaughter pen, we must plead for liberty in America, the school of democracy.⁵⁶

De Edwin White, brother of James Richard White, who had initiated the project, noted that the survey "documented what we [blacks] already knew. Some of the figures were startling. We gained some converts by publishing the unbiased report."⁵⁷

The results did not convince everyone of the need to initiate significant change. In the editorial, "Flirting with Trouble," that appeared the day after his newspaper reported the results of the survey, Clarence Moody reaffirmed his belief that African Americans and other minorities were not mistreated in Burlington and that cases of discrimination in Burlington were "the exception rather than the rule." Even those cases, he noted, "work[ed] no serious hardship."⁵⁸

THE RESULTS of the Burlington Self-Survey nonetheless supplied data that contributed to constructive changes in the community. In the two years following the publication of the survey's findings, Burlington saw

- the formation of a Mayor's Committee to continue work in areas the survey indicated as "most serious";
- the desegregation of public facilities such as the swimming pool, bowling alley, and movie theaters;
- the formation of a local NAACP chapter;
- integration of civic and community organizations; and

56. "A Negro Point of View," newspaper clipping, 20 May 1950, Schramm Papers, IWA.

57. *Burlington Hawk Eye*, 20 January 1991.

58. *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*, 31 October 1951.

- improvement in employment opportunities.⁵⁹

In a 1953 speech for the United Negro College Fund, Dorothy Schramm noted that the Mayor's Committee was the project's "most impressive outcome."⁶⁰ It conducted educational programs in problem areas identified by the survey and provided a board of appeal for reported cases of discrimination. The committee was especially active in the area of employment. It sponsored movies and talks on fair employment practices for many groups, including the personnel bureau of the Chamber of Commerce. The committee also surveyed all employable African Americans to document those seeking employment and their qualifications. Schramm observed that all this was done as "an attempt to bridge the gap between the dual facts" noted in the survey: although many businesses indicated a willingness to employ African Americans, they did not have any on their payrolls. The Mayor's Committee hoped "to get the man and the job together."⁶¹

Apparently the committee was able to do just that. Many "firsts" in the area of employment were seen in Burlington in the succeeding years: its first African American inspector in industry; its first African American office workers in retail business; its first African American clerks in clothing stores; and its first appointed African American bailiff. When that bailiff, Cecil Rideout, was later elected bailiff of the Municipal Court, he became Burlington's first African American elected official.⁶²

The Mayor's Committee also monitored labor unions. Both the CIO unions and the AFL reported no discrimination. The AFL indicated that it was in "complete accord" on nondiscriminatory principles, and the CIO reported an active program of education against minority prejudices.⁶³

59. "Mission Accomplished in Burlington, Iowa," photocopied pamphlet, n.d., in Schramm Papers, IWA. The *Iowa Bystander*, 31 May 1951, reported the formation of an NAACP chapter in Burlington.

60. Dorothy Schramm, speech to United Negro College Fund Forum, p. 5.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

63. "A Measure of Success," p. 2. Once again, it's difficult to analyze the labor unions' reports adequately because those documents were lost in a fire.

The Mayor's Committee also worked with the Board of Realtors to improve housing for African Americans. Schramm noted that the committee's goal was not "Negro housing but unsegregated housing." She also pointed out that the number of real estate firms practicing restrictive practices had decreased by 1953 and that African American families were finding better homes in new neighborhoods.⁶⁴

There were also changes in social and civic activities. Before the survey, African Americans were restricted to African American organizations. After the survey, however, African Americans became "an integral part of the community" and felt "free to take increased civic responsibility." African Americans joined the American Legion, PTA, League of Women Voters, King's Daughter Circles, YMCA, YWCA, Community Chest Drive, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Interracial religious group activities also increased as African Americans participated with whites in the United Council of Church Women, Holy Name Society, Interfaith Council of Churches, Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, and the Ministerial Association. Several churches also began interracial Sunday Schools and had interracial adult attendance at worship services.⁶⁵

Schramm acknowledged that the results of the survey may have seemed insignificant to some, but she pointed out "the slow moving, undramatic environment" in which they occurred.

The very lack of drama in these changes indicates the genius of the Self-Survey idea. . . . What is more, these surface changes are merely outward symptoms of a more profound transition in the social psychology of our town, for we have moved from dead center to a dynamic climate of change. Many more changes are in the making.

I think of these symptoms as I do a measles rash. In themselves they are not very important, but they indicate that something is happening to the total organism. This is true of the body politic in our community. And, like the measles, this too seems to be infectious. For example, Cedar Rapids, a city 100 miles away and twice our size, is launching its Self-Survey in January.⁶⁶

64. Dorothy Schramm speech to United Negro College Fund Forum, p 6.

65. "Progress Report . . . of Human Relations in Burlington," pamphlet, n.d., file 20, box 101, RRD Papers.

66. Dorothy Schramm, speech to United Negro College Fund Forum, p. 9.

African American De Edwin White agreed, although the changes did not appear as dramatic to him. He noted that the changes resulting from the survey were "part of a long slow process. . . . Some things changed through fear and others through humanitarian reasons. I could see a little improvement here and there. White people were on our side. It became less onerous to be seen talking to black people or standing up for them."⁶⁷

Although Burlington experienced changes in the three years following the survey, socially restrictive practices still remained in some areas. A survey disseminated at churches and organizations in the mid-1950s revealed that some restaurants continued to discriminate against African Americans. The survey itself was also evidence that Burlington residents continued to use survey methods to seek constructive community changes.⁶⁸

SEVERAL THINGS can be learned from the story of Burlington's Self-Survey in Human Relations. First, a community with a small African American population was interested in race relations during the years leading up to the famed civil rights era. Second, a community that had not experienced violent racial eruptions was interested in maintaining racial calm. Third, Burlington's experience gives us insight into interracial cooperation during the 1940s and 1950s. In this case at least, whites not only joined African Americans in seeking desegregation, but they actually played primary roles in the efforts. Fourth, the Burlington project—and the national project of which it was a part—shows that civil rights efforts were not confined to protests, marches, and sit-ins. In some cases, a survey could initiate constructive community change. Finally, as some places continued to discriminate against African Americans after the survey, the Burlington project shows that securing civil rights is a never-ending endeavor.

67. *Burlington Hawk Eye*, 20 January 1991.

68. "Progress Report . . . of Human Relations in Burlington," ca. 1954, file 20, box 101, RRD Papers.

Copyright of Annals of Iowa is the property of State of Iowa, by & through the State Historical Society of Iowa and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.