

[C. 1963]

CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND: A CASE STUDY
by Connie Brown

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

Cambridge, Maryland, was the focus of national attention for approximately two months during the summer of 1963. The newspapers reported the highlights of the summer's "direct action." It is the object of this report to make comprehensible the events of the summer, and to outline the role of the student summer project in Cambridge. Forces which have acted on the community since the end of the summer will also be discussed, as well as subsequent developments within the movement.

It is the contention of the authors of the report that the Cambridge experience is not merely of local interest. On the contrary, the factors which have created the crisis this summer are present in practically every place in the United States where there is a sizeable Negro population. It is only the convergence of a number of these factors which has made the crisis come earlier and more intensely than in other areas.

The major factor involved is poverty. The sections of this report which deal with economics and housing detail the poverty of the community. The poverty of the Negro community in Cambridge is shared by all Negro communities in the nation; many are much worse than Cambridge.

A second factor is accessibility to national publicity. The proximity of Cambridge to the eastern megalopolis has permitted an airing of the conditions and events far beyond most local movements elsewhere, and has prevented the kind of intimidation and police brutality which has frustrated other local movements.

A third is outside assistance. From the beginning the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee assisted local Negroes with personnel, advice, and encouragement. Other civil rights organizations in the Maryland area assisted with legal counsel, bail funds, and advice. These groups, aided by a number of students at colleges in the area, also participated in sit-ins, picketing, and demonstrations when invited. Small contributions of a financial nature came at the height of publicity.

A fourth factor is local leadership; a small but dedicated nucleus of local residents have been willing to dedicate their time and resources to the betterment of the community.

A fifth factor is the peculiar history of Cambridge as a company town. The collapse of the company in the '50's led to the disintegration of the political and social structure, and seriously weakened the white power structure's ability to deal with the Negro challenge.

Many of these factors are presently extant in many places in the nation. Poverty is as extensive in the northern urban ghetto as it is in the rural black belt. The waves of demonstrations are bringing publicity to all parts of the nation, and it is only a matter of time before the facts are at least available, if not widely circulated. Outside help is becoming more available through the growth of young, militant organizations like SNCC and the Northern Student Movement, as well as the adult civil rights groups. And the particulars which made Cambridge so explosive (growing unemployment through the collapse of the traditional economic structure) are being repeated throughout the nation. The traditional southern agricultural economy is rapidly being mechanized; the ability of northern urban areas to integrate another wave of displaced persons -- in this case, the Negro -- into its economy is seriously and perhaps fatally hampered by automation and increasing national unemployment.

community there is by far the most impoverished sector within the city: 60% of all the unemployment of the city is concentrated in the Negro ward. The ward's median family is only slightly more than half of the total figure for Cambridge, only a third of the national figure, 39% of the state figure, and only 42% of the family income for white Cambridge.

In starker terms, unemployment in the 2nd ward is 3 times what it is in white Cambridge, and six times the national figure. Median family income in the nation is three times what it is in the 2nd ward, and income in white Cambridge is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times per family what it is in the Negro ward. The incidence of families making less than \$3000 a year in the 2nd ward is $7\frac{1}{2}$ times that in the white community.

Wages and Unionization: Wages in the area are lower than the national norms, but they vary greatly. The unorganized seasonal industries which employ migrants and women pay the lowest wages, according to piecework. The usual is 45¢ a sack for beans, 29¢ a lb. for picking crabs. In any of the industries in this category, an experienced fast worker in a long day at the height of the season can make upwards of \$12 a day.

In the unorganized industry, wages range from \$1.15 to \$1.25 an hour. These include much of the light industry, and the garment industry.

In recent years, several international unions have been organizing locals in the county, and some companies have organized company unions to prevent strong internationals from "infiltrating". The AFL-CIO affiliates in the area are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), the United Steel Workers, and the United Packing House Workers of America (UPWA).

The ILGWU has organized Rob Roy and Bogash (since closed down) in the Cambridge textile industry. It has about 500 members, of whom 70% are Negroes. When Bogash went bankrupt in December 1962 (leaving employees with three weeks back wages unpaid), the union became active, with whites and Negroes working well together. The union was instrumental in getting new firms to take over the old Bogash factories, and today many are back at work. The ILGWU-organized factories pay an average of about \$1.37.

The unions represent only a very small part of the working force, but have managed to bargain for wages appreciably higher than those paid unorganized workers or workers in company unions. It is also significant that, in contrast to practically everywhere else in the nation, the local unions are integrated and predominantly Negro in membership and leadership.

At the end of the summer, the UPWA organized Dorchester County's first important strike in many years. The local, described above, was unable to negotiate a contract to its satisfaction. With the able help of AFL-CIO organizer Vernon Thomas, a young Negro interested in the civil rights movement, they called a strike in mid-August. The strike has continued for over six weeks, with the picket line blocking the only entrance to the plant daily. The management tried to get Negro migrant workers to scab, but the union prevented their entrance (18 of them arrested in the process, and the windows of the bus carrying the migrants all smashed), and the plant remains closed. At press time they seem willing and able to stay on strike until their demands are met: better pay and working conditions.

Migrant Labor: There are two large migrant camps in the county. Most of the occupants

are Negroes. The camps are located in the northern part of the county, in the center of the truck-farming district. The camps themselves are merely collections of shacks in the middle of the fields, with the most elementary of living conditions. A community water spigot and an outhouse serves the whole camp, and the housing is flimsy and dangerous.

The laborers work in the tomato, bean, corn and cucumber fields for long hours during the height of the season. The children, too, are seen in the fields during these weeks. The camps are deserted and closed during the late autumn, winter, and early spring.

The occupants have been practically untouched by the changes occurring in the city and county. The labor organization has not attempted to organize them, and only recently has come into contact with them, trying to persuade them not to scab in the Trappe strike. The civil rights movement also has had little contact with them. They, more than any other group, are completely unable to deal with the problems which confront them in a positive manner. As migrants everywhere, they continue to come, be exploited, and move on, only to be exploited elsewhere.

SECTION V: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Introduction: A number of aspects of life in the 2nd Ward come neatly under the categories of politics, education, housing, and employment. These are grouped, for convenience sake, under the heading "social institutions". Each relates to the movement, and an understanding of these aspects is helpful in seeing why and how the movement has come to take its present form.

The Church: With the exception of a few Catholics and Muslims, the entire population of the 2nd Ward professes a belief in Protestant Christianity. The overwhelming majority belong to a church in the city, although some residents who were born in the county maintain membership in their native churches. The "big three" churches are Bethel AME, Waugh Methodist, and St. Luke's Methodist. These are the largest churches, and have the largest congregations. The ministers of the larger churches have consistently taken a united position on the movement. As demonstration gained popular support, the larger churches began to feel the pressure. After Easter, 1963, all churches in town opened to CNAC their meeting and educational facilities.

At various times the "big three" ministers have joined CNAC in its stand, and at other times have taken a more moderate position. They have offered their services to open, close, and speak at meetings, and at times have led marches downtown. They have as well offered their educational buildings for tutorial classes, and their mimeograph machines have been available for publicity. They have, however, balked at some of CNAC's positions. Reverend Murray of St. Luke's has made known through the NAACP his doubts as to the propriety of some of CNAC's actions, and has consistently advocated a policy which would put more emphasis on mutual trust and negotiations. At the height of the tension, however, the minister had little choice but to cooperate fully.

The church, as the major meeting place of the Negro community, is closely associated with the movement. Mass meetings begin and end in traditional religious form; the freedom songs are taken from older spiritual and hymns; the leaders speak from the pulpit, often using the techniques of ministers; collections are taken at mass meetings. God is often appealed to, and the religious basis for the Negro's demands is often as strong as the legal, humanistic and political.

Communications:

The local newspaper, The Banner, has not been a vital source of news for the residents of the 2nd Ward, but was fairly widely read before the boycott. Residents now read the Salisbury Times, and Baltimore Morning Sun and Washington Post, received by subscription. Many buy the Baltimore Afro-American and Mohammad Speaks from local newsboys.

The local radio station, WCFM, is less prejudiced against the civil rights movement than is The Banner, but still carries little of interest to the Negro community. The national radio and television networks are the major sources of news, and extensively covered the Cambridge Racial situation throughout the summer.

A more informal means, however, is perhaps most efficient and effective: the grapevine. Residents speak of it as if it were an oracle; "It's not saying much today," or "The grapevine said that....," or "They're quiet today...." It conveys personal information, gossip, and community news. For instance, when Dwight and Dinez were put in reform school, the grapevine spread the news quickly throughout the ward, making mass demonstrations possible immediately. It is usually remarkably fast and accurate, besting any other form in these respects. It functions mainly over the telephone, and in the many beauty and barber shops.

Community Concept:

The staff was impressed by the inclusiveness and unity of the 2nd Ward. An eighth grader, when she asked what socialism was and was told that it meant a society in which people shared regardless of contribution, responded by saying "That's just like up on Park Lane -- when somebody doesn't have, everybody else gives. And when you have, everybody comes around to help himself."

A remarkable sense of unity and cohesiveness is exhibited in many ways. The mass support of demonstrations, the degree of cooperation in the boycott, the willingness of residents to support the summer staff personnel, the supporting of the few persons who make their living by begging on Pine Street, the willingness to raise others' children, the lack of cooperation which the police find when looking for a 2nd Ward resident, the 100% donations in on-the-spot bail drives during civil rights demonstrations--and many more--all these point to this profound sense of unity.

This unity can be partially explained in many ways, a few of which are suggested below. The fact that the Negroes have been and remain an oppressed minority makes them stick together. Unity is in part a defense against the exploiter.

The poverty of the community necessitates some sharing. The arbitrariness and high incidence of unemployment, sickness, births out of wedlock, police beatings, arrests, and other frequent tragedies necessitates some mechanism in order that those stricken do not perish. With the insufficiency of social security and welfare, sharing is the obvious answer.

The high immobility of the population is both a result and a cause for the sense of community. With its own welfare system, the community tends to provide

Cambridge-13

protection without which many would probably move to more prosperous environments. But the immobility also fosters a situation in which everyone knows everyone else, perhaps a basic precondition for a sense of community.

The immobility has resulted in a high degree of intermarriage. The predominance of a few names often with their counterparts in the white community, suggests this interrelatedness.

The family structure, the grapevine, the church, the shared experience of unemployment, sickness and exploitation, and practically every other social phenomena of the 2nd Ward of Cambridge go to make it a distinct community.

Summer Project: Many students, including a large group from Swarthmore College applied for summer volunteer work with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and were assigned to Cambridge where they had been working during the spring. SNCC also assigned Reginald Robinson to Cambridge, to head a summer project.

Altogether there were 6-8 students who were officially assigned to Cambridge by SNCC, and a number of others who volunteered to work there. Staff members began arriving in early June, and some continued there through late September.

CNAC staff members lived with families in the 2nd Ward, and ate either where they lived or in a household which had volunteered to feed them. Eight families housed students for the summer, and many more contributed to feed the students. The Stafford family opened their house to the whole staff, and their home became the living headquarters for the summer project.

The CNAC summer staff maintained working headquarters at the CNAC office, and ex-drug store lent to the movement by the St. Clair family. The office is centrally located.

The summer staff had four jobs for the summer: 1) to carry on the administration of CNAC; 2) to carry out the policy decisions of the executive board; 3) to conduct the survey; and 4) to conduct a tutorial program.

1) Administration included answering mail, composing letters, making and answering phone calls, and running the CNAC office. Staff members acted as press attaches, wrote press releases and answered press questions.

2) The staff also carried out a number of CNAC policy decisions. During two weeks in August it organized a voter registration campaign, and organized transportation and baby sitting for those who needed such services in order to register. Another project entailed encouraging students to apply for transfer to the white schools. In the course of interviewing persons for the survey, voter registration and the boycott were explained and encouraged. Early in the summer, the organization of demonstrations and sit-ins was a major job. Sign up sheets, spreading word for meeting places and choosing picket captains were all necessary. The staff wrote and mimeographed and circulated the Cambridge Free Press.

3) The survey was conceived in June as an adjunct to the canvassing which was necessary to carry out voter registration and school transfer drives. The staff composed the forms and canvassed about 65% of the homes of the 2nd Ward, devoting 20 minutes to each household. The latter part of the summer saw the correlation of the statistics and the composition of this report.

4) The tutorial was originally conceived as a preparation for Negro children about to enter integrated schools for the first time. But the program was soon expanded to include other Negro children. Because of the poor quality of Negro education in Cambridge, the children brought to the tutorial problems in reading and arithmetic, and in many cases a fundamental sense of futility regarding their education. With such vast areas to fill in, there was not a great deal we could do in two months. We tried to make as much progress as possible by giving each student encouragement and close attention with the hope of changing some of his attitudes toward education. For those who did not have these basic difficulties, we tried to open up new areas of learning; a new language, a more advanced math course, scientific experiments. Wherever possible, we tried to emphasize the connection between the tutorial project and the civil rights movement in Cambridge. We discussed the students' ideas on the movement with them, assigned essays on aspects of the CNAC program, read newspaper articles, and stressed the transfer program.

Cambridge, p. 2

It is these striking parallels between Cambridge and the nation which make the city significant to more than the few people directly involved there. The local movement, seen as a microcosm of the whole Negro freedom movement, is fruitful as a bellweather. The Negro community there has come up against the political power structure: municipal, county, state, and federal. It has come up against hard economic facts: unemployment, automation, unionization, migrant labor. It has lived through poverty and bad housing conditions, only to see them increased.

And facing these realities, the movement has grown. This report attempts not only to explain the realities of the conditions in Cambridge, but also to analyze the growth of the movement, growth through its own experience.

This growth is suggested in the pages of this report at many points. Perhaps most striking is the change in the demands that the movement made. At first, the movement struck out only at the indignities which the system of segregation perpetrated, particularly the refusal of service in white restaurants. Then the movement turned to the system of segregation itself -- it demanded equal treatment on all scores, including fair employment, equal police protection, integrated schools.

Since the mid-summer, better housing, full employment, better working conditions, and better education have been the demands of the residents of the Negro community, not public accommodations. It is this change which may foreshadow events to come elsewhere. It is our feeling that the particular factors which go into the Cambridge movement are not particular to Cambridge. This last contention, if true, makes a study of the details of the Cambridge situation most valuable; it is with this in mind that we present the material of this report.

Economic History: Dorchester County was predominantly agricultural until the 1920's, when the food processing industry entered. Since then, food processing and fishing, in addition to farming, have dominated the economic scene. The Phillips Packing Company established itself early, and until the end of the Second World War controlled industry and politics. The "company town" of Cambridge was fairly prosperous, even surviving the Depression with a minimum of difficulties. After the war, however, competition of frozen foods, and the impact of unionization forced the company into decline, closing it completely in the '50's. It then sold out to Consolidated Foods of Chicago, which today hires only 5% of the number Phillips did in its heyday. The market broke up, with 25-30 canners sharing the market. Today only the largest 4 or 5 canneries operate.

The lumber industry once was important, but has dwindled markedly. Similarly the fishing industry has declined with the outlawing of new oyster beds and the increasing pollution of Chesapeake Bay.

During the '20's there were two Republican factions in the county -- the Marine and the Andrews groups. Until the depression the Negroes voted 85% Republican and supported one faction or the other. The Phillips Company controlled both these factions, and the combined group became a company party. Through the Vice-president of the company, Phillips also controlled the Democrats. Thus, as the main employer and economic interest in Cambridge, and the controller of both political parties, the Phillips Company controlled the county. Since the demise of Phillips, the political alignment has shifted.

Population: The U.S. Census figure for the Cambridge Negro population is 4,500. The Summer Project Survey, doubling the total number of persons interviewed in the 50% sample, showed a population of 4,100. Miscounting and undercounting in apartment houses may deflate the figure by 100-200. Nonetheless, there seem to be at least 200 fewer Negroes than were present in 1960. This indication of a decline in the Negro population is not uncorroborated; The Survey shows a sharp deficiency in all ages from 18-30 (compared with both a theoretic and national percentage) and in the corresponding next generation, ages 1-5.

The obvious conclusions are that males of working age and all working age young people are rapidly leaving Cambridge. The national age contour shows some of the same patterns as were observed in this summer's survey, but nowhere near to the same extent. The number of children born, especially in the last five years, shows a consequent and similar sharp decline.

No figures were obtained on those who had left Cambridge recently, but the survey showed that of those who remain the large majority (79%) were born in the county and have lived there most of their lives. 61% were born within the city limits and still remain there. Only 6% of the Negro population were born outside the county in Maryland, and 15% were born out of state. Of those born out of state, the large portion come from southeastern states: Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia.

SECTION II: POLITICS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Introduction: Before the movement came to Cambridge, the Negro population was apolitical. It participated in elections only to the extent that it was bribed. Democracy did not exist; the Negro residents had no control whatsoever over the decisions which affected their lives. A machine, organized by whites and run by their tools in the 2nd Ward, controlled the Negro vote; they had no other means of expressing opinion; no officials responsible to them, no needs satisfied other than those deemed necessary by the paternal and occasionally benevolent white power structure. In a very real sense the Negroes were outside political life.

Law enforcing mechanisms -- the local police, the judicial structure, the jails -- served to keep things just that way. They maintained, with little opposition, the status quo. The few signs of dissent manifested themselves not through the political process, but in occasional outbursts against the system of exploitation, oppression and segregation, and against those who enforced the system.

Political structure: Dorchester County is run by an elected county commission. The three commissioners are Baker Robbins, Ralph Wheatley, and Roscoe Willey. It is not a potent political force, however. Two of the three commissioners are controlled by the Harrington faction, one of the two local Democratic groups. The Harrington faction represents the white upper class and the enlightened economic interests. It is descended from the old Phillips faction. The county commission most affects the Negro community by its selection of the school board, which runs the school systems in both the county and the city. Without an elected board of education, the Negroes have no way of influencing its decisions except through appeal to the State Board of Education. Although this latter group seems to have a good deal of control over the local board, Robert Kennedy's intervention was necessary before it could force the local board to desegregate the first four grades, an action the Cambridge board had been balking at for months.

Frederick Malkus represents Dorchester County in the State Senate. He makes all the "green bag" appointments: magistrates, notaries, school board superintendents (James Busick), board of election supervisors, deputy clerks, etc. He is probably the most important and powerful person in the local political structure. The Cambridge Non-violent Action Committee (CNAC) had continually opposed Malkus for the following reasons:

- He is the head of the conservative Democratic Party faction, supported by the lower class whites in Cambridge, which controls the city commission and has consistently opposed civil rights and reforms.
- He has voted consistently in the State Senate against civil rights legislation, and has exempted the county from the State Public Accommodations Act of this spring (1963). (Exemption is a system of "legislative courtesy" in the Maryland legisla-

ture through which a state senator can exempt his county from legislation he finds distasteful. The final bill, when passed, is written only for those counties which do not exempt themselves. Thus, the state senator is a powerful figure in the determination of county rights.)

- He has taken other legislative stands which have proved particularly obnoxious to the Negro community. He supported the bill against oyster leasing and against soft clamming. Industry has been driven out of the county, forcing large numbers of Negroes out of work. He is responsible for an unemployment provision which, according to CNAC, cheats working people, both Negro and white.
- He and his faction have consistently opposed the entry of industry into the county, in order to keep wages low and the unions from being successful. His faction favored participation in the Area Redevelopment Administration only because of personal profits involved (e.g. real estate transactions) and no new industry permitted in by his group has hired any significant number of Negroes.

The city is divided into five wards. The Negroes, who constitute one-third of the population, are gerrymandered into one of the five wards; thus they are under-represented in the city commission. Charles Cornish, a Negro has represented the 2nd ward since 1946. He was originally put in office by the Phillips faction, but has served the interests of whatever faction happened to be in power.

A major element in the power structure of the community is based on the economic interest group there, through the Chamber of Commerce. These interests are divided into two factions, Harrington and Mallus. In the former are the interests which supported the Charter Amendment (because, as they put it, to oppose it would be economic suicide): the Daily Banner, many merchants, and the newer light industry. In the more segregationist Mallus faction are found the "watermen", the proprietors of public accommodations, and some industry. The two interests are not directly in conflict, but they show signs of disagreement on how to meet the problems of the economic deterioration and the Negro revolt. Most responses of the white community, especially of officials, can be seen in the context of the two factions.

The 2nd Ward has three officials of importance. Charles Cornish is the city commissioner of the ward. He ran unopposed last year, and was elected for his fifth four-year term. He is disliked by most of the ward's residents, however, and will certainly not be re-elected. He has done nothing to distinguish himself in the fight for Negro rights, and acts the part of an Uncle Tom in his contact with whites. He has an interest in the present structure, for he owns a bus company which the Board of Education hires to transport county Negroes to segregated schools. Many of these buses would be put out of use if the county schools were fully integrated.

Miss Edythe Jolley is principal of the Negro Mace's Lane High School. She has been completely unco-operative in the civil rights movement, and in giving any assistance to the tutoring program. Local hostility towards her is considerable.

Miss Helen Waters, however, is perhaps the most disliked Negro in the 2nd Ward. She runs a beauty parlor for whites only and "represents" the Negroes on the Board of Education. On the school board, she has done little to advance the cause of integrated or even equal schools. When demonstrations began, her house was the first to be attacked by angry Negroes. She is the only member of the Negro community who is openly hostile to CNAC staff members.

Other important figures in the 2nd ward do not hold office. The St. Clair family is the oldest and most distinguished Negro family in town. Many St. Clairs represented the ward on the City Commission from 1896 to 1946, under the influence of the Phillips Company. The St. Clair family is probably the wealthiest in the ward, and owns a large amount of real estate and housing. The present head of the family, "Mister Herbert" St. Clair, a

mortician, is one of the three Negro professionals in town. He has been a forceful member of the movement since its beginning twenty-one months ago, and has given every possible support. His son, Freddie, is a bondsman, and has also aided the movement greatly. Gloria Richardson is the niece of "Mister Herbert", and for over a year has led the movement in Cambridge.

Along Pine Street there are a number of Negro-owned business establishments. These proprietors represent a richer group than the rest of the ward, and when their interests were threatened, they united to defend them. The height of the racial crisis brought shooting to Pine Street, a 9-10 p.m. curfew, and a closing of liquor establishments, all of which they considered detrimental to their business. When CNAC was unwilling to compromise its position at one time in July, the two bar owners called together these businessmen to form an alternative negotiating group. The committee quickly fell apart under public pressure: when frequenters of Green's billiard hall heard of the committee's formation, they walked out en masse. Under such pressure, the Negro proprietors had no choice but to follow CNAC's lead.

Voting: In recent years Negroes have registered and voted freely, but it has not measurably contributed to their betterment, nor even represented them in any real way. Most Negroes have been persuaded to register Republican in order to keep them out of the real decision-making election, the Democratic primary. (Recent voter registration drives have stressed the importance of Democratic registration.)

According to the registrar, there are approximately 6400 registered voters in Cambridge, 4700 white and 1700 Negro. The Negro vote, therefore, is only slightly less in proportion to its potential vote (60%) than is the white vote (75%).

There is a great deal of scepticism concerning the use of the ballot. This is not unreasonable for a number of reasons: Historically, the vote has only meant a drink of whiskey, not participation in democracy. There has been nothing to suggest that recent changes mean more than the removal of the whiskey. In addition, whites easily outnumber the Negroes, and can outvote them on anything dealing directly with the Negroes' rights.

A sober assessment of the possibilities of resolving the present conflict in Cambridge through suffrage gives rise to little optimism. The demands of the Negroes are so broad and uncompromising and the inclination of the white power structure to yield so paltry that little progress seems probable from the gentle power of the ballot. It is not wholly foolish to think that Cambridge's Negroes will become as discouraged with voting as they are with talking and negotiating. In a minority situation, the most the Negro can hope for is the defeat of extreme anti-Negro and segregationist candidates when there is a split in the white electorate.

Law Enforcement: The local police force consists of 14 men -- 10 white, 4 Negro. The Negroes are stationed only in the 2nd Ward. No Negro police officer has ever arrested a white. White officers make arrests in the 2nd Ward, but do not patrol the section regularly. The white policemen, with few exceptions, have long records of brutality, especially towards Negroes.

The local jail is often filled on weekends: its capacity is about 50. Most of the prisoners are Negro, and most are there for short stays, perhaps a month. They are brought in for disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and similar charges. On Monday

and Thursdays they are brought before Trial Magistrate's Court, and sentenced, usually without counsel, unless they appeal for a jury trial.

The frequency of arrests and short stays in the county jail makes the prospect of mass arrest in the cause of civil rights much less imposing than in other communities. Arrest is feared mostly by men who are steadily employed and supporting families, and would be fired if arrested. Especially since the early part of the summer, teenagers and women have little fear of going to jail.

A corresponding lack of fear of law enforcement officers has been evidenced in the movement. At one point a white policeman drew his gun and was quickly surrounded by Negroes who dared him to fire. He put away his gun. Songs and jeers are often directed at policemen, and the purposeful refusal to obey an officer (in sit-ins and mass marches) has fostered a lack of respect for white officers which is surpassed only by disrespect for Negro officers.

The four Negroes on the force have been the butt of many jokes and the oldest of them, Poke Jews, has been the object of great hostility. After he supplied the white policemen with clubs to beat demonstrators, he was "run off" of Pine Street by a wild crowd chanting "Kill Jews". The Negro policemen are looked upon as traitors, and one unemployed young man who had a reasonable chance of getting a job as a policeman decided during the demonstrations he would rather be unemployed than take the job.

The police have not, in contrast to such places as Danville, Va., consistently taken action to frustrate the movement. At times they have made arbitrary arrests and made up, and tried to enforce, marching and picketing rules. Occasionally beatings in jail occurred, but they did not appear to be systematic attempts at discouragement, but rather outbursts of frustration with non-violent but militant demonstrators. The major acts of intimidation of the whole movement in Cambridge did not come from the police but from the judiciary. The sentencing of two teenage leaders to reform school had the most detrimental effect on the spirit of the movement, especially among the teenage participants.

SECTION III: HOUSING

With few exceptions, the characteristics of 2nd Ward housing include the following: There are no cellars, for the water line is near the surface. (All of Cambridge is less than 23 feet above water.) Houses are of wood frame construction with the exception of some cinderblock and brick buildings on Rigby and Mares Lane. Almost all are two stories high, although the poorer shacks are one and the most elaborate, oldest structures three. Few houses are without a porch. Porches serve as the main room of the house during the summer months, and it is not unusual that all the family possessions are moved out there in warm weather. The porch is a basic social institution of the Negro community, like the grapevine and signifying, and is closely related to both.

The low figures on the frequency of common utilities speak very plainly of the poor overall conditions. Some of the statistics are reproduced below:

- 65.4% have no access to hot water
- 54.9% have no access to a telephone
- 35.7% have no access to inside toilet facilities*
- 1.9% have no electricity

*These people use outside flush facilities -- running water installed in small sheds re-

moved from the house proper, since no facilities at all were built in the house. Except on a few streets, there are very few outhouses in the 2nd Ward. Many houses have television sets. Occasionally one phone, in the home of and paid for by the most affluent member of the block, will serve all its residents.

The survey revealed that almost three quarters (73%) of the families rent their homes. Rent ranges from \$3 to \$12 per week. Numerous variations in assessment appeared; people pay both too much and too little for the conditions and facilities they receive, but the figures were not complete enough to reveal any patterns. The figures do tend to destroy a preconception that a large portion of the land is owned by a few landlords. On the other hand they corroborate an assumption that most, but by no means all, of the property is owned by whites.

SECTION IV: ECONOMICS

Introduction: During the 1920's and until the end of the War, the Phillips Packing Co., which canned fruits and vegetables, was the controlling industry in Dorchester County. In the late forty's, competition from frozen food companies and losses due to strikes and unionization forced the company into decline. By the mid 50's Phillips closed down.

The passing of the company marked the end of an era of paternal, and sometimes benevolent, exploitation of the Negro labor market. The new, competing industries did not know enough or care enough to look out in any way for its working force. Their consolidation, mechanization and lack of interest in the workers brought hard times to the people, and destroyed the social and political institutions which might have kept them powerless to show their discontent. Especially hard hit were the Negroes.

The breakdown of the political machine, resulting partly from the demise of the Phillips Company, set the stage for an awakening of political interest among Cambridge Negroes. Worsening conditions, brought on by the same changes in management eventually forced them to find ways to express their discontent, through unions and, more gradually, through the franchise. Despite unions, discussed in this section, and voting, described in Section 2, the expression of this discontent has not led to an improvement in the economic lot of the 2nd ward family.

This section analyzes the conditions which have contributed to the discontent; it attempts to analyze the discontent; and finally, it describes the impact which the "movement" has had -- for the movement is the first thing in decades which has given rise to hopes in the Negro community.

Employment: The main industries -- in order of importance -- in which Negroes are employed are food processing, seafood processing, saw mills, maintenance in local industries, Negro commerce, municipal maintenance, and out-of-town industrial jobs (Seaford, Baltimore). The women take on the bulk of the more seasonal jobs: skinning tomatoes, picking crabs, shucking oysters, picking beans and cucumbers. Some work in the garment industry as seamstresses, pressers and button-hole makers. The rest babysit, do household service, and occasionally work in the beauty parlors in the 2nd ward.

The seasonal labor is the easiest to get, and for most, the only work available. The seasonal workers are employed on farms to pick crops (tomatoes, peached, grain, cucumbers) and care for livestock. Employment in the seasonal industries is short, and the workers

can put in a long day only a few weeks of the year. In those few weeks (except in plants which are unionized), workers must put in long hours, often more than 10 or 12. For many families, most of the year's income is made in the few short summer weeks.

Men can tong and dredge oysters from September to April. Tomato houses are open (for peeling tomatoes) from late July to September, a 10-13 week season. The hunting season for muskrat is January to March. Pickling begins in May, and lasts through October, with a height in July and August. The tuna industry works four full months at best. A skeleton crew works in the saw mills year round, extra hands being hired between April and June.

The US Census breaks down the Negro labor force according to the following categories, and gives the following figures for 1960:

	MEN	WOMEN	
managerial, clerk	16	—	(The US Census defines semiskilled
professional, techn'l	21	19	labor to include many of the jobs
sales	11	8	which our survey considered unskilled:
craftsmen	47	—	pressing in garment factories, skinning
semiskilled work	328	483	tomatoes, shucking oysters, etc. Thus
household domestics	16	123	the apparent conflict with our skilled-
non-household service	94	159	unskilled breakdown, p., 8)
unskilled labor	160	12	
farming	5	—	

New Industry: There is not much hope that new industry will move into this section of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The Malkus political faction--presently very powerful--maintains a strong position against new industry. It holds a comparatively secure economic position, which, along with its status, would be challenged by new industry and a resulting rise in the economic level. Malkus has consistently voted for legislation damaging to workers and keeping industry out of the County.

Nor does industry have much incentive to move into the area. At the moment the southern section of the Shore is literally a dead end, with only ferry service connecting the southern tip with Norfolk. Even with the completion of the new bridge-tunnel there next year, traffic and commerce will flow primarily along the ocean shore--Route 13--bypassing Cambridge by 30 miles.

Dorchester County possesses few natural or cultivated resources which are not already being exploited to the full. The tomato houses already import tomatoes from New Jersey and New York to process, and workers often are forced to leave the factories after half a day, for lack of tomatoes, except at the season peak. County law now prohibits more oyster beds, and limits other seafood industries. Lumber mills have been on the decline for at least 15 years -- a 55% decrease between '48 and '58.

The Work Force: The 1960 Census reports the following statistics for the work force: Dorchester County:

Negroes in work force:	3800	males:	2100	females:	1700
Negroes unemployed:	1500		525		600
Rate of Unemployment:	30%		25%		35%

City of Cambridge:

Negroes in work force:	2030	males:	1015	females:	1015
Negroes unemployed:	300		300		300
Rate of Unemployment:	29.5%		29.5%		29.5%

Thus the unemployment in the Negro community, according to the standards of the US Census, is 30%, compared to 15% for the city, 10% for the white population, and 5.1% for the nation at large. Dorchester has been on the list of depressed areas since the Department of Labor began issuing such a list in 1962.

As could be expected, unemployment was highest among non-heads-of-households (as compared to heads). Of those working 0-10 weeks, 61% were nonheads, and 39% were heads. At the opposite end of the spectrum, of those working 40-52 weeks a year, 35% were non-heads, and 65% were heads.

Again, as could be expected, unemployment was highest among the poorly educated. The average education for those working 0-10 weeks is 7.0 years, while the 40-52 weeks-a-year group, had a 9.0 education.

Unemployment for females is much higher than for males. Of those working only 0-10 weeks a year, 67% are female, and only 33% are male. Of the 40-52 weeks-a-year group, 58% are male, 42% female.

And finally, in relating age to employment, we find the following patterns: Among the youngest and oldest groups, unemployment is highest: 50% of the 18-51 year olds work fewer than 20 weeks a year, and 74% of those over 65 work fewer than 20 weeks. Employment is highest in the 26-35 year old group, with 55% working full time, and only 24% working fewer than 20 weeks a year. The 36-55 year old group is next best off, with 48% working full time; of the 21-25 year olds, 41% are employed steadily, and the 56-65 year olds have 34% employed regularly. Unemployment is hitting the youth and the elderly the hardest.

Income: The following figures, derived from the US Census of 1960 (labeled USC) and the summer project survey (labeled SPS) give appreciably the same results.

median family income	for the US	\$6309 (USC)
" " "	for Maryland	\$5600 (USC)
" " "	Dorchester Co.	\$3845 (USC)
" " "	Dor. Co. Negroes	\$2400 (USC)
" " "	Cambridge	\$4100 (USC)
" " "	Second Ward	\$2180 (SPS)
average " "	" "	\$3760 (SPS)
median individ. "	" "	\$1100 (SPS)
average " "	" "	\$1887 (SPS)

The census found that in Maryland, 15% of all families make \$3000 or less a year; they found that in Dorchester County, 36% of the families make \$3000 or less, and in Cambridge, 32%. We found that in the 2nd Ward, 60% of the families make \$3000 or less.

By national and state standards, Cambridge is far below the norm. The city's unemployment is the highest in the state, its median family income the lowest in the state. The Negro