

THE NEW NEGRO WORKER IN PITTSBURGH

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Pittsburgh in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by ----

Abram Lincoln Harris, Jr.

May 24, 1924.

OK
J.F. R. [unclear]
June 6, 1924

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction-----	1
The New Negro Worker in Pittsburgh.	
I. Analysis of Population Distribution-----	6
II. How the Migrant Lives-----	14
(General Facts and Investigation of Bunk Houses, Camps, etc.)	
III. Health and Mortality-----	23
General Statement (Death and Birth rates of White and Negro Populations compared)	
IV. Crime, Delinquency and Dependency-----	28
The Migrant in Court; Crime Rates of White and Negro Populations; Factors underlying Negro Criminality.	
V. The Negro at Work-----	44
Increase of Negro Workers in 19 Basic Industries; Employer's Attitude and Policies; Labor Turnover and Maladjustment of the Negro Worker.	
VI. The Negro in the Trade Union-----	54
General Statement of Negro's attitude to Unionism; Specific Unions; Discriminations by White Unions; Negro and Industrial Unionism.	
VII. Education and Inter-racial Co-operation-----	64
Report of Bureau of Education on Negro Education; The Migrant School Children; Increase in Negro School Population, White and Colored Contacts in Higher Institutions of Learning; The Inter-racial Forum.	
VIII. The Negro Facing His Own Problem-----	73
Review of Negro Organizations; The National Rights Politicians; Industrial Education; The Urban League Program; The Marxist Socialists; and the Back to Africa Movement.	

THE NEW NEGRO WORKER IN PITTSBURGH

Introduction

Six years have elapsed since Mr. Abram Epstein made a partial study of the "Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh."⁽¹⁾ Since the migration of 1916-17 which called forth that study, immigration labor upon which the basic industries of the North have depended for unskilled workers has been further restricted by the quota law of 1921, and increased production in these basic industries with a boom in the building trades have occurred. Because of these conditions, northern industries as in former periods when labor was scarce and productive demands great, turned their attention to the South, the remaining source of America's available supply of cheap labor. In response to this demand for laborers, Negroes left the South for northern industrial centers in numbers which overshadowed any increment gained by these districts from previous migration.⁽²⁾

This present treatise does not pretend to be an intensive and comprehensive study of the Negro workers who have migrated to the Pittsburgh district. Its aim is to present a cross-section of the industrial, civic and social problems of the colored workers.

(1) Vid. "The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh" - by A. Epstein, Dept. of Economics University of Pittsburgh - 1918

(2) The Dept. of Labor estimated that 473,700 Negroes left the South between Sept. 1922 - Aug. 1923.

accentuated as they are by the recent influx of Southern Negroes. But as some consideration should be given the causes that contribute to possibly the greatest mass movement of a single folk in history, we shall digress from the central theme to sketch briefly by way of introduction these factors.

A study in the shift of the American population from the rural to the urban sections reveals, (1) that the urbanization of the Negro population although beginning relatively late is primarily and fundamentally a corollary to the extensions of machine industry, on the one hand and (2), the lack of economic freedom and the non-assurance of a margin of subsistence under the one-crop-share system of the agricultural South.⁽³⁾ These factors which are stressed either as economic or social in the degree that the interpretation of fact varies with theoretical bias, underlie the periodic movements of the Negro people since the Civil War. Not only has the movement of the rural Negro population shown the presence of these factors, but the southern whites in their more rapid and widespread change in residence have likewise emphasized them. In 1910, according to the census reports only 15 percent of the Negro population of the South was residing outside of the state of nativity, as compared with 20.7 percent native white southerners. In 1920 ^{The} proportion had risen to 18.9 percent and 21.3 percent respectively.

(3) Prof. F.S. Chapin "Social Economy", page 104, attributes the poverty of the South to its lack of accumulated capital, resulting from the slave regime.

(4) Vid. Scowen - Journal of Political Economy - Vol. XXI page 1034-1043.

Taken by and large the migration which has been going on for the last 25 years is primarily a city ward movement and incidentally a shift to the North. Dr. J. R. Commons recognized this in 1910 when he said that although in 10 southern cities the proportion of the colored was almost exactly in 1890 as it had been in 1860 - viz., 36 percent, yet in 16 other cities the proportion of colored population increased from 19 percent in 1860 to 29 percent in 1890.⁽⁵⁾ In a similar manner certain Negro Students of the Negro migration have called attention to this much neglected aspect of the migrations.⁽⁶⁾ According to Mr. Monroe W. Work, editor of the Negro Year Book, the so called migration to the North is a movement of Negroes to the cities both North and South.⁽⁷⁾ Mr. Work points out that the increase of Negro urban population in the South during 1910-20 was 396,000 or 56,000 more than the increase of Negroes for the same period in the North from the South of 346,260. It should be noted in this connection that the paucity of manufacturing and allied occupations of the southern cities prohibited the assimilation of the growing increments of labor thrown off by the farms.⁽⁸⁾ Failure to obtain work in the southern cities or the payment of relatively low wages in

(5) J. R. Commons - Races and Immigrants in America
 (6) Vid. Chas. S. Johnson - How Much is the Migration a Flight from Persecution - Opportunity, Sept. 1923
 (7) Monroe W. Work - Opportunity, Feb. 1924 - page 41
 (8) The dominance of agriculture and the lack of corresponding industrial processes is emphasized by Mr. A.C. Smith, a southern planter as the South's greatest handicap - World's Work, Jan 1924.

places where work was to be had, meant that upon the occurrence of labor shortages in the North in 1916-18 when thousands of foreigners forsook American industries to join their brothers in arms, or in 1922-23 when the foreign labor market was cut off by the immigration law after recovery from depression the Negro readily responded to the call of northern industries, realizing that in answering it he simultaneously secured for himself a surer economic position and advanced a step toward social well-being.

The movement of Negroes to the North is not to the whole section but to the main industrial districts. It is striking that 73.4 percent of the Negro population of the North or 1,139,505 is living in ten industrial districts as follows:⁽⁹⁾

Indianapolis	District	-----	47,550
Detroit- Toledo	"	-----	55,918
Cleveland-Youngstown	"	-----	58,850
Kansas City	"	-----	65,792
Pittsburgh	"	-----	86,273
Columbus-Cincinnati	"	-----	89,651
St. Louis	"	-----	102,607
Chicago	"	-----	131,580
Philadelphia	"	-----	249,743
New York	"	-----	251,340
Total for 10 Districts		-----	1,139,505

(9) Vid. Monroe W. Work - Opportunity, February 1924 Page 41.

That this tendency to cluster about a few industrial centers carries in its wake a chain of housing, health, vice and crime problems and sets up new inter-racial suspicions and misunderstandings is a sane forecast. May hap the growing trend of industries to spread to the more thinly populated towns that surround the larger urban centers will tend to decentralize the Negro population which is now concentrated in a few large urban communities.

Finally, whether the problem be viewed academically or in the light of social consciousness or civic pride, its parallelism to the technical development of the country and recurring vicissitudes of the economic order should never be lost sight of. But to further emphasize these economic implications of the migrations of Negroes from the South would be to raise a whole series of questions involving intensive statistical analyses and thus obscure the main purpose of the thesis, viz., an investigation of the handicaps and maladjust^{ments} resulting from the Negro's sudden change in community life and habit caused by this industrial movement. The Pittsburgh district, as one would be led to believe by virtue of its complex industrial structure and its great accessions of Negro workers in recent years, presents in microcosm the social problems of these newcomers to the industrial North.

THE NEW NEGRO WORKER IN PITTSBURGH

The history of Pittsburgh is perhaps as much involved with the periodic movements of the Negro population as that of any center in the Union. From the early days of the Underground Railroad when Negroes clandestinely sought Philadelphia and Pittsburgh as havens of refuge, to more recent times when great masses of them have been hurled northward, as it were, by the concussions which issued as the northern industrial system clashed against the landed order of the South, Pennsylvania has received its quota of Negroes in fair proportion to the increases in other Northern states. Today the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh contain the bulk of Negro population in the state. Philadelphia contains 47 percent of the total number of Negroes as compared with 21 of the total state population. Add Pittsburgh and we have accounted for 60 percent of the Negro population of Pennsylvania. (10)

According to the 1920 Census tables the Negro population of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, increased from 3.4 percent of the total county population in 1910 to 4.5 percent in 1920 (see table 1, below for comparison). In other words the Negro population for the district increased in the decade 1910-20 about 1.1 percent in the total population. The significance of this 1.1 percent increase may be better seen in table 2.

(10) Vid. Abstract issued by Dept. of Labor, March 1924 - J. A. Hill, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table I
Distribution of Population in Allegheny County
According to Race (11)

Class	Number in 1920	percent in 1920	number in 1910	percent in 1910
Allegheny Co.	1,185,808	100.0	1,018,463	100.0
White	1,131,762	95.5	983,843	96.6
Negro	53,517	4.5	34,217	3.4

Table 2
Comparison of White and Negro Population in
Allegheny County

Class	Population in 1920	Population in 1910	Increase in pop. 1910-20	Percent increase for decade 1910-20
Negro	53,517	34,217	19,300	62.2
White	1,131,762	983,843	147,919	13.1

One would naturally be led to overlook actual gain in the number of Negroes for the district were we to leave our calculations standing as in Table I. However in table 2, we have shown that although the proportion of white population to the total is far greater than the Negro, the latter has increased more rapidly than the former. While the white population in-

(11) Vid. U.S. Census 1920, Vol III.

creased 13.1 percent during the decade 1910-20, the Negro population for the same period increased 62.2 percent. Of course this phenomenal growth in Negro population is not in any large measure due to natural increases by increased birth rate; but rather to the accessions of Negroes gained through the great migrations of 1916-17 and 1922-23 and the incremental gains resulting from change of residence by middle class Negroes from South to North during the interim between these mass shifts.

The manner in which the Negro population is distributed in this district is seen when we note that out of the total Negro population for the county (53,517) a little over 70 percent live in the city of Pittsburgh. That is to say that out of every ten Negroes in this section seven are domiciled in Pittsburgh. Consideration of this condition enables one to envisage at the outset the intricate and baffling problems to which such a radical increase and consequent congestion of population gives rise; and with which we shall hereafter have to deal in this essay.

In 1910 there were 29,333 Negroes in Pittsburgh or 4.5 percent of the city's population (533,905); but in 1920 there were 37,725 or 6.4 percent of the city's total population. In other words the Negro population of Pittsburgh during 1910-20, increased almost 2 percent in the total population. Since the taking of the last census, there has occurred possibly the greatest mass movement of Negroes in history, the migration of

1922-23. As to the number of these migrants who made their homes in Pittsburgh, figures are unavailable. However, in 19 of the basic industries the number of Negroes employed in 1916 (2,275) was about 6.69 percent of the total Negro population in Allegheny County in 1910; but at the peak of production, August 1923, the number of these workers had increased to 33 percent of the total Negro population in the district on the bases of the 1923 census figures. From this analysis the number of Negro workers over the period of 1910-1923 shows an increase of 26 percent in relation to the total Negro population. Now if this increase be used as an index to the total increase of Negro population for the county there should be at present no less than 67,000 Negroes in Allegheny. (Mr. Work estimates that the Negro population for the district is at present 88,273 (12). Our estimate from the view point of his analysis is very conservative). Again assuming that this increase has been distributed through out the district as the Negro population distributed itself in the past (13), there should be at least 48,000 Negroes in the city of Pittsburgh. This figure is merely an approximate calculation and should not be accepted as accurate. For our purposes here we shall use the census figure 37,725.

Out of the total population of Pittsburgh that part which is Negro is 6.4 percent (14) or a little over one sixteenth of the city's total population. This seems a rather small proportion but its true significance in reference to the migration is

- (12) Vid - Page
 (13) Vid. page Pittsburgh contains 70 percent of Negroes in Allegheny County.
 (14) Vid, Table 3 - Page

only known when comparisons are made between the increases in the white and Negro populations. The total population of the city in 1900 was 451,512; in 1910 it was 533,905; and in 1920 it was 588,343. The increase for the decade 1900-10 was 82,383 or 18.2 percent; while the increase for 1910-20 fell to 54,438 or 10.2 percent. But in both of these decades the Negro population increase was higher than the per centage increase for the whole population. As shown in Table IV the Negro population increased in the decade 1900-10, 25.9 percent while the increase in the city's entire population was only 18.2 percent; and while the total population increased 10.2 percent during 1910-20, the Negro population for the same period increased 47.2 percent. During these decades the white population (see Table 4)

Table 3 *
 Distribution of Population in Pittsburgh
 According to Race.

Class	NUMBER		
	1920	1910	1900
Total no.	588,343	533,905	451,512
White	550,261	508,008	430,973
Negro	37,725**	25,623**	20,355**
	Percent		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	93.6	95.2	95.5
Negro	6.4	4.8	4.5

* Based upon U.S. Census 1910 and 1920, Vol. III
 **Does not include Japanese, Indian Chinese, etc.

increased 15.6 percent and 8.3 percent while the Negro population increased 25.9 percent and 47.2 percent respectively. As indicated before, the Negro population was undoubtedly increased tremendously by the 1922-23 migration. Speculation as to the extent that Pittsburgh has felt the recent influx is tempting but accurate statement must await a new census.

Table 4.
Increase in Negro and White Population
of the City of Pittsburgh

	Increase in number 1900-10	Increase in percent 1900-10	Increase in number 1910-20	Increase in percent 1910-20
White	67,035	15.6	42,255	8.32
Negro	5,268	25.9	12,102	47.2

What is true concerning the phenomenal growth of Pittsburgh's Negro population is likewise the case with its satellite cities. In some of the minor civil divisions the Negro population in the period 1910-20 increased several hundred percent. (See Table 5) In Clairton, for instance, the increase was 986 percent; Homestead, 109.2 percent; Braddock, 74.6 percent; Duquesne 232.1 percent; McKeesport, 258 percent; McKees Rock, 595 percent; and East Pittsburgh, 915 percent. These increases are all the more significant when it is recalled that in most of these districts, the Negro population in 1910 was already about 2 percent of the total.

Table 5
Population for Ten Selected Towns about
Pittsburgh

	1910	White 1920	1910	Negro* 1920	Total 1910	1920
Clairton	3,262	5,641	63	621	3,325	6,264
Homestead	17,834	18,630	867	1,814	18,713	20,452
Braddock	16,930	20,139	421	755	19,357	20,879
N. Brad.	11,536	14,534	287	293	11,824	14,928
Duquesne	15,476	18,190	246	817	15,727	19,011
McKeesport	12,584	45,832	248	928	12,840	46,760
McKees Rocks	14,574	16,594	23	114	14,702	16,713
Rankin	5,599	6,428	408	873	6,042	7,301
Manhall	5,162	6,392	22	24	5,185	6,416
E. Pgh.	5,555	5,995	52	528	5,612	6,527
Wilkins- burgh	18,470	23,877	428	484	18,924	24,403

comes to a city where prior to their coming an acute housing shortage already existed; and where no adequate provisions had been made to house them. This brings the discussion to a point where some inquiry should be made as to how the migrant lives.

* Doesnot include Japanese, Chinese Indian, etc.

HOW THE MIGRANT LIVES

An investigation of the living conditions of Negroes employed by 13 plants operating in the Pittsburgh district revealed that there were over 2,000 living in boarding houses. In two of these concerns there were 2,000 more single Negroes in bunk houses and camps. In another plant the situation was found to be as follows:

18	persons	in	boarding	house	with	capacity	of	7	rooms
30	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	30	"
14	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	6	"
11	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	3	"
9	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	4	"
16	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	4	"
13	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	5	"

Overcrowding is obvious in each of these above rooming houses. Almost invariably the rooms of the average boarding house are so small as to barely afford bed space. Ventilation is poor and bathing facilities inadequate. The moral and social atmosphere which pervades the bunk houses and camps is unwholesome to say the least. One of the greatest disadvantages of the bunk house is the absence of any semblance of home life. Whatever may be said of the economic drawbacks and low standards of living which conditioned the life of the migrant in the South, he at least had his individual cabin which although rather primitively constructed, afforded a degree of privacy, sanitation and family life. Not so in the bunk house. A welfare worker employed

by a company having a number of bunk houses and camps, said that he had tried to relieve the monotony of bunk house life by having religious services on Sunday. This was not much of a diversion for the men and therefore soon petered out. Where recreation is not provided gambling and trafficking in bootleg liquor with resultant brawls, shootings, cuttings and murders, are likely to occur. Even under the best housing conditions gambling flourishes in the open. Where this occurs, however, it is more than likely the result of poorly policed grounds and buildings. The mines operated around Uniontown by the H. C. Frick Coal and Coke Company, present a good illustration of this point. At three of these mines, housing facilities were adequate to maintain a modicum of family life. But in none of the mines visited was there an organized recreation program. The only evidence of attempts at recreation were a large barn like dance hall at one end of a road and a church at the other. Consequently on Saturdays or paydays multitudes of play-thirty men flock to town for amusement. Uniontown has no community center where men may amuse themselves under wholesome influences. It does afford pool rooms and tawdry movies and includes the notorious "Coon Hollow" the hot bed of vice, prostitution and illicit liquor and dope traffic.

The consensus of opinion among Welfare Workers connected with industry to that the bunk house environment is not only morally and socially unhealthy but mentally depressing; so much so that suicides have frequently occurred. During the month of July 1923, two suicides occurred within a period of three days in the barracks of a single company. "It is almost impossible", said one of the

workers, "to maintain a high moral and hygienic standard in a bunk house, no matter how strictly supervised. Theft is wife and many men will not purchase changing apparel for fear of having their clothes stolen. As many as 50 men sleep upon cots in the same room which is often so small that occupants have to sit on the bed to change. Bed linen is not changed as frequently as necessary; nor is a general cleaning and scrubbing of the buildings a common event."

In the Hill District where at least twenty-five percent of the Negro population in Pittsburgh is found, overcrowding seems to be as great as when Mr. Epstein made the study in 1918. From an investigation of twenty houses in the Hill District, selected at random the following thirteen cases are typical.

No. rooms in House	no. Residents (adults)	no. residents (children)	Total no. of residents
2	2	5	8
2	2	13	15
2	2	0	2
2	2	0	7
2	2	0	8
2	2	0	12
2	2	3	8
2	2	8	10
2	2	8	10
2	2	6	8
2	2	3	5
2	2	0	7
5	10	9	19
33	67	39	106

There were found to be 106 persons living in 33 rooms or roughly 4 persons to a room. In most cases there were two or more families occupying the same house, using common kitchen and common out-toilet conveniences. A slant as to the conditions in which such living with its absence of family morals result is given by a social worker

who was called in by one of the city school principals to look into the case of a colored girl 12 years old. This little girl had been sent to the principal for writing vulgar notes to one of the boys in her class. It developed that the girl came from a crowded home. The family consisted of seven children besides the father, his brother and the mother; all of whom occupy one little room located in the Hill. Since their arrival to the city three years ago, the family has had a yearly increase in number. At no time during the illness of the mother was she removed to a hospital or even to the home of another family. In this one room, the family sleeps, eats, cooks and does its laundry work. Is it great wonder that a child to whose eyes have been continually disclosed what should be the most secret and sacred aspects of human living, would be possessed with a mind maturadly developed in indecency at so early an age? Or should one expect a high individual morality from people forced to live two and three families in two and three families in two to four room houses?

In a number of cases some of the younger migrant wives were making great effort to keep their homes clean and livable. The fertility of their task may be indicated by a description of the typical houses occupied by them.

DESCRIPTION OF TYPICAL HOUSES OCCUPIED BY MIGRANTS IN THE HILL DISTRICT: (15)

1. 2519 Bedford - Seven in family. Five rooms at \$20.00 per month. Frame house divided into four apartments located on a hill and standing alone. Rooms are at least large but have (15) Based upon case investigated by Mrs. P.F. Clark, social worker, Associated Charities, Pittsburgh, Pa.

only open grates for fire and are hard to keep warm in the winter. Toilet outside; one for every two families; no sewer connections.

2. Four room frame dwelling six blocks from the main business section, (5th Avenue). Two rooms below street level with small narrow window as only entrance for light and ventilation in kitchen room. No sewer connections. There are seven persons in the family. Monthly rent is \$25.00

3. 2408 Eunice St. - Very small frame house situated on mud street high upon a hill. The largest room is 9 feet by 12. Six rooms in all, separated by wooden partitions. Toilet outside; no sewer connections. This house rents for \$17 per month. There are six in the family.

4. 45 Arthur St. - Four room frame house which rents for \$25. per month. There is no lighting system. One spigot and sink. Open grates for heating. Thirteen persons are living here.

5. 1618 Webster Ave. - An old brick dwelling of three rooms which rents for \$20 per month. There are seven persons in the family. Kitchen is on first floor which is about three feet below the street level. No water connections. Outside toilet. Without sewerage.

6. 16 Peachley St. - A three room brick house occupied by seven persons. Open grates for heating. Outside toilet. Rents for \$22. per month.

7. 40 Roberts St. - Three room frame dwelling renting for \$18. per month and occupied by a family of seven. Outside toilet on front porch. Windows and doors stuffed with rags and paper. Wooden stairway leads to underground kitchen.

8. 2908 Vincenne - Three room frame house. One of a row with common wall. Kitchen is nine feet below street level. Outside toilet but poor sewerage. Each house rents for \$25. per month. Five in family and two roomers.

9. 82 Allequippa St. - An old frame house situated on a hill too steep for vehicular traffic. Access gained by wooden stairways for three blocks. Five rooms in the house. There is also a shed in the rear which is occupied by a family of three who pay a monthly rental of \$6.00. In two of the rooms in the house is a family of five. Their rent per month is \$8.00

10. Center Ave., and Crawford St. - Two room dwelling annexed to brick building. Rooms are barely large enough to accommodate bed and chair, allowing sufficient space for passing. Back room kitchen built against earthen wall with window one foot wide. Floor of house is one foot below street level and laid directly upon earth. This house rents for \$3.00 a week. There are six in the family. No lighting or water facilities. Outside toilet without sewerage.

11. 1215 Wylie Ave. - Two room apartment in rear of brick building which houses several families. One room built above the other. A common toilet for the whole house. Each apartment rents for \$20.00 per month. In one apartment there is a family of seven.

12. 2373 Mahon St. - Three room apartment in old framedwelling renting for \$20.00 per month. Six in the family. Outside toilet and no sewerage.

13. 2500 Center Avenue - Old stable converted into living quarters. First floor is used by religious sect. Second floor is divided into twelve apartments of two room suites. Each apartment ranges from \$2 to \$5 per week.

14. Six room house on paved alley six blocks from business district. Converted in three room apartment during recent migration. Sewer connections. One common toilet. No lighting system. Occupied by an old woman.

15. Webster Ave. - Five room house situated on hill; entered by an unpaved "dug out" approach. Outside toilet with sewerage connection but no lighting system. Several leaks in the roof. Frequent floods occur in the basement during melting snows or after rain storms. Occupied by a family of eight. Rents for \$45 per month.

16. Framebuilding constituting three two room apartments on unpaved alley facing dump. Flooring of basement kitchen is immediately upon the ground. Walls covered with old newspapers. One common toilet, and no lighting facilities. One apartment contained eleven persons; all of one family. This apartment rents for \$20 per month.

The cases cited above are taken from a list of 50 homes investigated by a social worker of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh. All of the cases which appear here, with the exception of one, are of migrants, either those who have come to Pittsburgh in 1922, or have lived here since their coming in 1916-17.

It is almost unbelievable that in a modern city of Pittsburgh's size, one not only finds overcrowding but is able to discover places called homes which are without sewerage and lacking in lighting and water facilities. And for these hovels improvised by calculating property owners to meet the increased demand for homes, exorbitant rents of from 5 to 6 dollars, and sometimes as high as 9 dollars a room per month are exacted. Were these plague spots of disease and vice removed to the outskirts of the city the harm worked by them upon the city's morality and health would still be appreciable. But in their present location, just ten minutes walk from the city's business section, the ill affect exerted by them upon community life is devastating. Some of these places might be condemned as violations of the building and sanitary code. But were this done, their inmates would very likely be forced to seek shelter in other sections of the already overcrowded city. It would be "from the frying pan into the fire". And despite the increased building which is likely to occur, judging from the types of permits issued, few low priced residence buildings will be constructed and none will go up in the congested area. Or were a municipal housing program put forward or a model tenement project sponsored by private interests both would be confronted with the problem of obtaining land. In Pittsburgh most of the idle land is now held for speculative profit.

That the city has not relieved the housing shortage may not be reprehensible, in view of its individualism and posses-

sion of typical American bias against what is here incorrectly termed government interference. However, its failure to forbid the rental of properties where the code is violated and to condemn as unfit for human habitation, houses with underground rooms and basement kitchens, the settling basins for the melting snow and rain that drain into them from the hills, are surely signs of omission. The city should certainly be condemned for permitting such quarters as the unhealthy Bedford Apartments to persist. Social Workers and the police of Pittsburgh are not ^{at} all unacquainted with these disease and vice-ridden flats, or some of the criminal inmates residing in them. And conditions in these flats are no better today than when Mr. Abraham Epstein, making his study of the "Negro Migrant" in 1918, investigated them.

Until overcrowding and forced habitation of cellars, attics and sheds be relieved by the construction of cheap modern private homes for these new comers, little success in extirpating disease, vice, delinquency and crime can be hoped for.

HEALTH AND MORTALITY

Sudden change in the community life of a people or in the climatic conditions under which it lives, as have been the case with the Negro migrant, will inevitable result in maladjustment, particularly when the people who make the change are not sufficiently enlightened to control the conditions of transition facility. One of the surest indices to maladjustment is an increase of the number of deaths over births and a high degree of illness. The increase of deaths resulting from pneumonia between 1919 and 1923 signifies that these new comers have suffered exposure to severe northern winters and because of their lack of health knowledge and ample facilities for treatment have succumbed to the disease.

An analysis of the mortality statistics for Pittsburgh for the past four years show that Negro deaths from infectious diseases like scarlet fever, whooping cough and diphtheria, while few in proportion to deaths from pulmonary diseases, (See Table 6, Diagram 3 below), with the exception of 1919 exceeded the ratio existing between the white and colored population of the city. But Negroes succumbed more rapidly to pulmonary diseases than the whites. While one out of every sixteen persons in the city or 6 percent of the total population was a Negro, out of every nine persons dying of pneumonia in 1919, one was a Negro; in 1920 two out of every sixteen were Negroes; in 1921, one out of every seven was a Negro and in 1922 and 1923 one out of every eight was a Negro.

A certain steel plant in the district has at present about 300 Negroes in its employ. Most of these Negro workers live in boarding houses and camps, but there are at least twice as many white men so living. The Emergency Hospital operated by the company treats every case of illness (except serious accident) arising in the camps and boarding houses. In 1923 there were 113 cases of pneumonia. Of these cases 112 were Negroes. During the first three months of 1924, this hospital treated 76 cases of pneumonia of which 71 were Negroes. The death in each instance was low presumably because the Negro nurses in charge of the hospital gave the men careful attention.

The Negro also shows an incidence of tubercular deaths much higher than his population quota should warrant. Out of every six deaths resulting from tuberculosis in 1919 one was a Negro; in 1920, out of every four one was a Negro; in 1921 one out of every six was a Negro; and in 1922 one out of every five and in 1923 one out of every four were Negroes.

The above analysis appears to confirm the traditional belief of the Negro possessing some systemic peculiarity which makes him more prone to pulmonary diseases than other races. Lacking scientific information with respect to this we shall not attempt a refutation of what is at best highly speculative. But the experience of the Emergency Hospital in its treatment of Negroes pneumonia patients, to which we have already referred, indicates a higher rate of pneumonia for the Negroes than whites of this community. This is beyond doubt due to the former's greater exposure and inability to regulate his habits in accordance with a

varying and severe climate. However, the hospital's treatment of Negroes shows also that when immediate attention was given to influenza and pneumonia, deaths seldom occur.

The ignorance of these new comers from the rural South where physicians are unknown and hospitals shunned, plays a conspicuous part in explaining the high incidence of Negro deaths resulting from pulmonary disorders. The high death rate here seems directly proportional to the relative attention that an ignorant person pays to a disease which manifests itself objectively as e.g., by skin eruptions and so forth, and a pulmonary disorder which he neglects as a 'mere cold'. Thus the death toll of influenza which does its work very quickly is greater among such naïve folk. In 1919 the Negro furnished one tenth of the influenza deaths; in 1920 one eleventh; in 1921 one fifth; in 1922 one tenth and in 1923 one ninth while having but one sixteenth of the population. The greater number of these influenza deaths occur between 25 and 45 years and of unmarried or men away from their families.

The number of Negro deaths for the city was 9.7 percent greater than the births in 1919 while the number of births in the total population was 26.5 percent greater than the number of deaths. In 1920 there was a decline in number of Negro deaths (see tables 6 and 7) and a slight increase in births. The excess of deaths over births in 1920 was only 2.5 percent or 7.2 percent less than in 1919; while in this same year the total number of births for the whole population was 39.6 percent greater than the deaths.

In 1921 the proportion of deaths over births among the Negro had fallen considerably. The number of births being 26.3 percent greater than the deaths. And in 1922 the number of Negro births had risen 12 points above the number of births over deaths for the previous year, or 48.4 percent. The number of births over deaths for the total population for the same year (1922) was 46.7 percent or 5 points below that of 1921.

Although the percent of Negro births over deaths in 1921 was 24 points below that of the entire population 51.4 percent, the former showed a more rapid increase. In other words the percent of Negro births over deaths increased 29 points while that of the entire population increased only 13 points.

The preponderance of births over deaths for the whole population in 1923 was less than in either 1921 or 1922, being 41.5 percent. The same is likewise true of the Negro population. The percent of births over deaths in the Negro's case had fallen to 13.7 or 25 points below 1922 and 13 points below 1921. The increased mortality in these years is attributable to increased deaths resulting from pneumonia incident to the 1922-23 Negro influx.

The excess births over deaths for 1920, 1921 and 1922, evidences a gradual adjustment to new conditions, a more stable family life due to increase in number of women and the influence that continued health campaigns conducted by such social agencies as the Urban League have had upon the health of these new comers.

Table 6
Mortality in Pittsburgh City for Specific Diseases
According to Race

Disease	1919		1920		1921		1922		1923	
	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.	W.	N.
<u>Infectious Disease</u>										
(Scarlet Fever, Whooping Cough & Diphtheria)	157	7	281	22	221	16	250	24	366	38
<u>Pulmonary Disease</u>										
1. Influenza	732	74	420	444	55	11	142	16	203	23
2. Tuberculosis	540	97	429	92	353	86	320	75	330	94
3. Pneumonia & Bron. Lobar	1,720	207	1,778	249	1,330	225	1,389	193	1,755	294
Cancer	498	25	303	28	433	18	502	32	434	25

Table 7
Mortality for all Causes

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
White	8,724	7,428	6,472	6,766	7,185
Negro	778	831	776	759	994
Total	9,512	8,259	7,248	7,525	8,179

Table 8
Number of Births

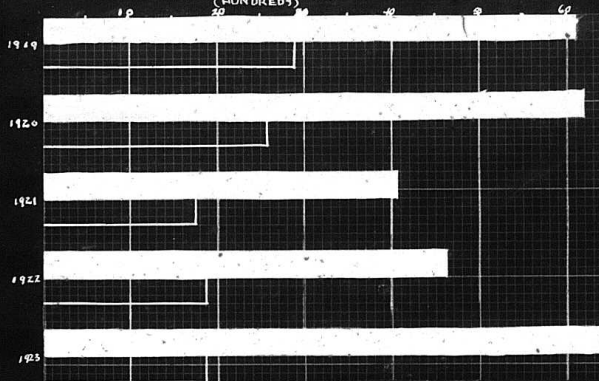
	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
White	13,600	12,899	13,894	12,684	12,816
Negro	703	811	1,053	1,040	1,153
Total	14,303	13,710	14,947	13,724	13,969

Table 9

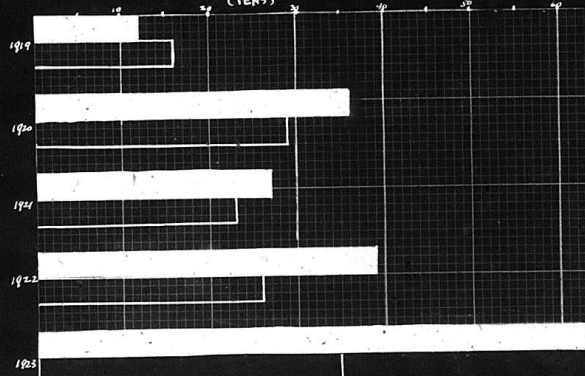
White and Negro Birth and Death Rate

Class	1919		1920		1921		1922		1923	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Births per Thousand inhabitants	25	18.9	23.4	21.5	25.2	28.2	23.	27.5	23.2	30.5
Deaths per Thousand Inhabitants	15.8	20.6	13.4	22.0	11.7	20.2	12.3	19.1	13.1	26.1

DIAGRAM 3
MORTALITY of SPECIFIC DISEASES ACCORDING TO RACE *
PULMONARY DISEASES
(HUNDREDS)



INFECTIOUS DISEASES
(TENS)



COMPILED FROM DATA IN TABLE 6

CRIME, DELINQUENCY AND DEPENDENCY.

The old school of criminology which dominated 18th century social philosophy assumed that each law breaker was morally responsible for the same offense. From this followed the concept that all who violated the law were equally guilty and therefore should receive like treatment for the same offense. The nature of the offender, his environment or heredity was not a matter of consideration, in this airtight formula devised for the administration of mathematically precise and blind justice. From a theoretic standpoint this 18th century dogma of equal responsibility for crime based upon the notion of moral depravity of law breaker, has been shattered by the findings in anthropology and sociology and the rise of experimental psychology. But also modern administration of justice has been humanized to the extent of excepting the feeble-minded and insane law breakers and of discriminating between malicious and provoked criminals, courts are still fettered by lingering vestiges of 18th century criminology. Many judges feel that the sole duty of the court is to determine whether a law has or has not been violated and if violated set the penalty. It never occurs to this type of judge that no two individuals have the same degree of power in adapting themselves to their environment or that there may be a sequence of hereditary or environmental causes which made for criminality in a particular case, e.g., lack of educational opportunities, poverty, illiteracy, etc. But ignorance of the law excuses none, and instead of penalizing a human being with reference to his individ-

ual social significance, the misdemeanor or deed is punished.

How this traditional concept of justice works is well exemplified in the northern courts into which are being brought an increasingly great number of Negro law breakers, consequent to the migrations. The fact that many of these new comers who appear before the courts, are from the rural South where legal offenses which the city makes punishable, are hardly noticed; that there are greater temptations in the city, generally, and that in the northern city specifically, life is more strenuous and competitive than in the South; or that these migrant law breakers are generally ignorant because of neglected education in the South, is considered only by few courts in their administration of justice. Little by little recognition of these factors is being taken. In some instances colored workers are being appointed by the court to act as an interpreter of such cases. Until more of the courts adopt discriminating methods in dealing with the migrant who comes before them, the only hope of reducing the Negro crime rate will be the exertion of educational influence upon the masses through the church, industrial conferences with the workers and similar devices designed to stimulate civic pride.

During the year ending December 1923, out of a total of 26,476 police arrests 3,678 were Negro offenders; i.e., to say, of the total number of persons arrested 13.8 percent were colored and 86.2 percent were white. (See Table 10). Of the total number arrested on charge of felony, 25.9 percent were Negroes and 74.1 percent were whites; for sex offenses 20 percent were Negroes and 80 percent were whites. Negroes furnished almost

half of the arrests for gambling; the percentage according to race being 48.7 percent for the Negro and 51.3 percent for the white. In arrests for suspicious conduct 22.7 percent were Negroes and 77.3 were whites.

According to the type of crime committed, Table II shows that of the total arrests of Negro offenders, 31.7 percent of all cases were for drunkenness; 21.9 percent were for suspicious conduct; 26.2 percent for disorderly conduct and 6.7 percent for gambling. Whether comparisons are made between the percentage of arrests among Negroes and whites according to type of offense (as in Table 10) or between the percent of total offenses committed by members of the respective races (as in Table II) an all too high incidence of crime is revealed among the Negro. The percentage of arrests for the above types of offenses were higher in the Negro's case for all except drunkenness. The number of white offenders here being 15 points above the Negro. Again, there were few arrests of Negroes for sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors. Of the total arrests of Negro offenders for all offenses only .9 percent were arrested on this charge, while of the total offenses committed by whites 2.47 percent were for the manufacture and sale of liquor. This seems to indicate that although Negroes supply the liquor traffic with a lucrative patronage, as evidenced by their high incidence of drunkenness, they take a relatively small part in the illicit manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The statistics from which this conclusion is derived are supported by the fact that of the fifteen or more bars on Wylie Avenue very few of them, if any, are owned by Negroes. Negro

Table 10
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS (16)
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OFFENSE

Charge	NEGRO		WHITE		
	Total Number	Per Cent	Number of Total	Percent of total	
Number of arrest	26,476	3,678	18.8	22,798	86.2
<u>Felony</u>					
Murder	9	2		7	
Feloniou Assault & Battery	17	2		15	
Feloniou Cutting	11	8	25.9	3	74.1
Feloniou Shooting	17	2		15	
<u>Assult and Battery</u>					
Assult and Battery	71	7		64	
Aggravated Assult and Battery	22	2	9.7	20	90.3
<u>Sex Offenses</u>					
Adultery	32	9		23	
Fornication	17	1		16	
Fornication and Bastardy	11	2		5	
Indecent assult	6	1		7	
Keeping Bawdy House	9	2	20.0	7	80.0
Prostitution & Street Walking	110	33		77	
Rape	17	4		13	
Visiting Bawdy House	49	6		43	
<u>Theft and Robbery</u>					
Attempted Robbery	1	1		0	
Highway Robbery	10	1		9	
Robbery	4	1	13.1	3	86.9
Larceny	315	43		272	
Entering Building with intent to steal	83	6		75	
<u>Trespass and Destruction of Property</u>					
Arson	2	1		1	
Malicious Mischief	16	3	15.7	13	84.3
Trespass	14	1		13	
<u>Gambling</u>					
Gambling	141	24		117	
Keeping Gambling House	33	10	48.7	23	51.3
Visiting Gambling House	333	211		122	

(16) I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Lowman student in Social Work, Carnegie Institute of Technology for compiling data in Tables 10 & 11.

Table 10
(Continued)

Charge	Total	Number Offense	Per Cent of Total Number	Number Offense	Percent of total Number
<u>Disorderly Conduct</u>				52	
Abusing Family	54	2		17	
Breach of Peace	18	1		220	
Disorderly Conduct	3,571	655	17.6	2,916	82.4
Keeping Disorderly House	276	56		1,308	
Visiting Disorderly House	1,560	252			
<u>Breach of Marriage Laws</u>				3	75.0
Bigamy	4	1	25.0		
<u>Drunkenness</u>	11,851	1,166	9.6	10,685	82.4
<u>Suspicious Conduct</u>				51	
Carrying Concealed Weapons	65	14		232	
Loitering	256	24		6	77.3
Pointing Firearms	12	6	22.7		
Suspicious Person	3,056	696		2,360	
Vagrancy	271	68		205	
<u>Violation of Liquor Laws</u>				52	
Illegal manufacture of liquor	54	2		363	94.5
Illegal sale of liquor	367	4	5.5	136	
Violating Women act	161	26			
<u>Other Charges</u>	3,550	320		3,230	

Table 11

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF OFFENSES, ACCORDING TO TYPE,
COMMITTED BY NEGROES, COMPARED WITH NUMBER AND
PER CENT OF OFFENSES, ACCORDING TO TYPE, COMMITTED BY WHITE

CHARGES	Negro		White	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Number arrested	26,476	100	3,678	13.8
<u>Felony</u>				
Murder	9		7	
Felonious Assault & Battery	17		15	
Felonious Cutting	11	.2	3	.18
Felonious Shooting	17		17	
<u>Assault and Battery</u>				
Assault and Battery	72		64	
Aggravated Assault & Battery	22	.36	20	.37
<u>Sex</u>				
Adultery	32		23	
Fornication	17		16	
Fornication & Bastardy	11		9	
Indecent Assault	6	.95	5	.86
Keeping Bawdy House	9		7	
Prostitution & Street walking	110		77	
Rape	17		13	
Visiting Bawdy House	49		43	
<u>Theft and Robbery</u>				
Attempt Robbery	1		0	
Highway Robbery	10		9	
Robbery	4	1.55	3	1.57
Larceny	319		272	
Entering Building with Intent to steal	85		85	
<u>Distraction of Property</u>				
Arson	2		1	
Malicious Mischief	16	.12	13	.12
Trespass	14		13	
<u>Gambling</u>				
Gambling	141		117	
Keeping Gambling House	33	1.92	23	1.15
Visiting Gambling House	333		122	

Table 11
(Continued)

<u>Disorderly Conduct</u>						
Abusing Family	54		2		52	
Breach of Peace	18		1		17	
Disorderly Conduct	3,571	20.69	655	26.26	2,916	19.80
Keeping disorderly House	276		56		220	
Visiting disorderly House	1,560		252		1,308	
<u>Reach of Marriage Laws</u>						
Bimby	4	.02	1	.03	3	.01
<u>Drunkenness</u>						
Drunkenness	11,851	44.76	1,166	31.70	10,685	46.83
<u>Suspicious Conduct</u>						
Carrying Concealed Weapons	65		14		51	
Loitering	256		24		232	
Pointing Firearms	12	13.85	6	21.97	6	12.51
Suspicious Person	3,056		698		2,360	
Vagrancy	271		68		203	
<u>Violation of Liquor and Narcotic Laws</u>						
Illegal manu. of liquor	54		2		52	
Illegal sale of liquor	367	2.25	4	.9	363	2.47
Violating Proser Act	161		26		135	
Violating Narcotic Act.	14		1		13	
<u>Violation of Auto Laws</u>						
Reckless Driving	551		35		516	
Violation of Auto Laws	317	3.28	19	1.47	298	3.57
<u>Other Charges</u>						
	2,668	10.08	265	7.21	2,403	10.54

barren may dispense liquor at the counter but ownership of the enterprise resides elsewhere.

Arrests for suspicious conduct were almost 10 percent higher among the Negro than among the whites; the percentage for each race was 12.51 in the latter and 21.97 in the former. A slant upon this higher rate of arrests on charges of suspicious conduct among the Negro, is furnished by police policy in apprehending Negro law breakers. When ever a Negro commits a crime, the Hill District, especially that part centering about Wylie Avenue is combed and every suspicious and strange looking Negro is picked up and carried before the court. Many of these ignorant strangers hardly know what the disturbance is about until they are lodged in jail as vagrants. Sometimes a revolver is found in their possession. Thus they are further inveigled into legal difficulty by an act which many fail to see as wrong doing but to which the court imputes sinister design. "Three times in one week" said a morals court worker "newly arrived members of the same family were brought before the court for carrying a gun. All were peaceable residents of a fairly orderly district, and in no case were the officers able to make charges of violence or even threats of violence on the part of the offenders. The actual possession of the gun seemed to be the thing that was desired with no that of law breaking". While this explanation may hold good for a number of cases, it cannot wholly account for the high rate of gun toting among the Negro.

The experience of the southern Negro has been such as to give him little confidence in the courts of justice. Consequently

when difficulty arises between his neighbor and himself, he seeks a settlement outside of legal pale, very often resulting in personal combat as his higher incidence of felony as compared with that of the whites would indicate. Further evidence of this lack of confidence in the law is the fact that of the total number of crimes committed by white men confined in the Western State Penitentiary, 63.3 percent were against property while of the total number committed by Negro prisoners in the same institution, 56.7 percent were against persons. This absence of confidence in the courts and the need for protection that these newcomers feel, result in the purchase of firearms and ammunition. The display and easy procurement of revolvers tend to excite the desire for them, which would otherwise become extinct as the newcomers become adjusted to northern community life. A survey of 18 pawn shops on Wylie Avenue from Fifth Avenue to Fullerton Street a distance of only ten city blocks, revealed that over 200 revolvers, 67 boxes of cartridge and 230 pieces of cutlery were displayed in these shop windows.

According to the colored social worker in the Morals Court it is difficult to obtain evidence from the Negroes who are brought before the court. As this worker put it: "They will lie without measure, and when caught in one they will unblushingly concoct another. This is not because the Negro is a natural liar but because of his shortsightedness". If ignorance were submitted for shortsightedness, the above analysis would more nearly approach a correct interpretation of the migrant disposition and character.

Many of these victims of the drug-net of justice bear unmistakable stigmata of feeble-mindedness. In a series of psychological examinations given to prisoners at the Western State Penitentiary by Dr. W. T. Root of the University of Pittsburgh a rather high degree of feeble-mindedness was found to exist among the prisoners. Some of the cases were Negroes; and two of these were youths serving long time sentences for manslaughter. Neither of the prisoners could tell anything about the city having been in Pittsburgh less time than a week, nor did either have knowledge of the lawyer who defended them or any circumstances of the trial. All they knew was that they had been arrested shortly after arriving in the city; indicted by the police for manslaughter; advised by the attorney to plead guilty and sentences by the judge. The facts in the case apparently indicate that some one committed a crime and it fell the lot of these unfortunate and ignorant men to satisfy the demands of blind justice.

The blanket indictment of being liars made by the morals court worker against the Negro Migrant who came before the court will hardly stand in the light of examinations given some of the prisoners. These victims of fate can hardly be said to possess the ingenuity of a liar; rather their dejected countenances, blank stare, general slovenliness and slobbering mouths confirm the findings of the tests which assign them to the category of feeble-mindedness. Here are human specimens that bear the earmarks of an environment of disease, unhygienic conditions, illiteracy incest

and economic handicaps to which a great bulk of the Negro population in the South has been subjected for more than a half century. The exigencies of the economic order have thrown these feebleminded people along with their more virile kinsmen into the midst of an intricate community life where many persons who are more nearly normal find it difficult to adjust themselves.

Over 22 percent of the total commitments to the Western State Penitentiary were Negroes during the ten year period from 1913 to 1923. (See Table 12). The years of the migration, 1916 and 1917 and the two subsequent years 1918 and 1919, the number rose above the previous years of the period; in 1920 there was a drop; while in 1921, the beginning of a new migration and in 1922-23 when the exodus had reached its maximum point, there was a decided increase in commitments to the institution so on December 31, 1923, there were 1,199 white prisoners and 451 Negro prisoners in the state penitentiary of the district. This is similar to saying that a little over 27 percent of the prisoners in the penitentiary are Negroes.

Table 12

Prison Record of Western Pennsylvania State Penitentiary

Population Dec. 31, 1913 -	Received		Discharged	
	White	Black	White	Black
666	147			
1914 -	376	52	258	32
1915 -	388	51	279	33
1916 -	368	61	352	63
1917 -	394	108	354	61

Table 12 (continued)

1918 -	344	98	338	98
1919 -	419	151	323	94
1920 -	297	93	362	105
1921 -	659	269	370	107
1922 -	601	171	496	150
1923 -	376	163	459	190
Total	4,888	1,384	3,691	933
Discharges	3,691	933		
Population Dec 31, 1923	1197	451		

Similar features of the Negro crime rate as portrayed by Table 12 above, are shown by Table 13, for commitments to the Allegheny County Work House. The highest number of commitments from 1913 to 1922 were in the years 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919. In 1920 there was a slight decline but followed by an increase in 1921, almost as high as the number of commitments in 1917 when the 1916-17 migration reached its focal point. The highest incidence of commitments to the Western Penitentiary occurred in 1921 in which year the number of commitments to the Allegheny County Work House was higher than it had been since 1917.

There was a total of 34,559 commitments to the Work House for 1914 to 1922. Twenty eight percent of this number were Negroes. On Dec. 31, 1923 there were 393 whites and 455 colored prisoners confined in the institution. In other words there were 62 more colored prisoners than whites in the Work House.

Table 13

Record of Allegheny County Work House

		White	Colored
Population	December 31, 1913	620	114
No. received in	1914	4,866	945
" " "	1915	3,395	719
" " "	1916	2,904	1,023
" " "	1917	3,371	1,445
" " "	1918	2,569	1,254
" " "	1919	2,203	1,225
" " "	1920	1,104	909
" " "	1921	1,960	1,396
" " "	1922	<u>1,984</u>	<u>843</u>
Total for period		24,686	9,873
No. in Confinement	Dec. 31, 1923	393	455

Of all the institutions surveyed, the Pennsylvania Training school for boys and girls received the smallest quota of Negroes as compared with whites. For the period 1916 to 1922 the commitments of colored youth were approximately 9 percent of the total. At present 12.5 percent of the total population of the school is colored. And at the Thornhill School for boys about 16.7 percent of the total population are colored youths. The principal of the school attributes the relatively high percent of Negro youth in the school to a number of feeble-minded boys who have been detained in the school because of this defect for a number of years. Altho the percent of frequent Negro youths confined in these institutions is much less

than that of Negro adults confined in penal institutions, it is relatively high in proportion to the ratio of the Negro to the total population.

Table 14

Distribution of Population in the Pennsylvania Training School, Morgantown, Penna.

		Received		Discharged	
		White	Black	White	Black
Pop. Sept. 1916		438	52		
Admitted	1917	281	27	250	40
"	1918	303	31	259	25
"	1919	409	42	325	33
"	1920	310	31	327	37
"	1921	429	40	406	31
"	1922	<u>407</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>406</u>	<u>36</u>
Total		2,577	273	1,973	202
Discharges		<u>1,973</u>	<u>202</u>		
Population	Sept. 1922	604	71		

How then may the high crime rate and moral delinquency among the Negro be accounted for? A portion of each may be traced to feeble-mindedness. But the high crime rate as shown by the prison records is also due in part to the rounding up process which sweeps innocent and ignorant strangers into the courts. Still these conditions are hardly applicable to all of the cases of delinquency and criminal offenses. Generally, youthful delinquency

arises from the following:

- (1) Inadequate housing facilities which inhibit domestic privacy and thus expose the boy or girl to temptations;
- (2) Ignorance on part of parents in permitting young daughters to work indiscriminately in the house where lodgers are kept;
- (3) Lack of regulated community recreational program and facilities and
- (4) Maladjustment in school arising out of retardation. Crime among the adults appears to be caused by; (1) Ignorance of the law and distrust of the courts of justice resulting in a failure to seek legal redress for grievances against persons or property;
- (2) Housing congestion, (the boarding and bunk house) from which issue vice, prostitution and crime; (3) Inducements to crime and delinquency - e.g., display of fire arms in pawn shop windows; the presence of saloons which openly sell alcoholic beverages and the prevalence of assignation houses in the district; and
- (4) The Negro's general ignorance and illiteracy which lower his resistance to these temptations and render him unable to adapt himself to a new and strenuous life.

Most of the Negroes committed to the city homes and hospitals during the period of 1914-24, were so placed because of dependency. During the period the proportion of Negroes to whites almost remained constant. In 1914, 15.6 percent of the total number of inmates in the asylums and homes were Negroes while 84.4 percent were whites. At the beginning of 1924 the Negro population was 5 percent less than it was in 1914. But in 1914 only 24.1 per

cent of all Negroes committed were placed in the asylum as against 51.5 percent of whites similarly committed; while at the beginning of the present year over seventy two percent of the whites and 45.2 percent of the Negroes are in the asylums. This 45.2 percent is almost twice the number of Negroes so confined at the beginning of the decade period.

Table 15

Distribution of Population of Mayview City Home & Hospital

Class	Number in 1914			Percentages in 1914			
	Asylum	Home	Total	Asylum	Home	Total	percent of total
White	678	639	1,317	51.5	48.6	100.0	84.4
Negro	57	180	237	24.1	75.9	100.0	15.6
Total	735	819	1,554				100.0

Class	Number in 1924			Percentages in 1924			
	Asylum	Home	Total	Asylum	Home	Total	percent of total
White	1,596	1,605	3,201	75.52	27.42	100.0	85.1
Negro	175	212	387	45.2	55.8	100.0	14.9
Total	1,771	817	2,588				100.0

Dependency is in a large measure due to poverty which in turn may be resultant of a long chain of causes either hereditary, environmental or possible both. From poverty is crime produced and out of crime is poverty born; thus the vicious circle. Add illiteracy or general ignorance to poverty and crime and we have a triumvirate which damns men to indecent and anti-social lives.

THE NEGRO AT WORK

The 1916-17 and 1922-23 exodus of Negroes from the South to the North will perhaps go down in history as the greatest and most sudden mass movement of a single race of people up to the twentieth century. The causes of this radical change in the residence of more than a half million people have already been noted as (1) the liberation of the black masses from complete dependence upon the agricultural system of the South for a livelihood, and (2), the restriction of foreign immigration, resulting in labor shortage for northern industry which hitherto looked to Europe for its common labor supply.

Prior to 1916 nineteen of the basic industries of the Pittsburgh district only employed a total of 2,275 Negroes. But during the World War when labor demands exceeded the supply, industrial concerns were forced to import more and more of these black industrial recruits so that during the peak of war time productivity, these concerns had increased the number of Negroes upon their pay rolls to about 246.5 percent. In these nineteen industries investigated, there was an increase of over 5000 Negro workers more than the number employed in 1916, or a total of 7,885. The number employed by these industries in 1923 increased to 17,313, or an increase of 119.6 percent.

A number of the industrial concerns employing Negroes first hired them in the early 90's when strikes were quite prevalent. After many of these strikes were broken, Negro workers were retained. Consequently a few of these older Negroes are to be found in the service of local plants as reliable and capable skilled workmen.

Vid. Abraham Epstein "The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh" P.31

Table 16

No. Negroes Employed By Industries in the Pittsburgh District.

Plant	Employed Prior to 1916	Highest Number employed during war	No. Employed at peak of production Aug. 1923
Carnegie Steel (11 Plants)	1,500	4,000	6,758
Jones & Laughlin (4 Plants)	400	1,500	2,900
Westinghouse Elec. and Manf. Co.	25	900	950
Harbison Walker (3 Plants)	50	250	350
National Tube Co. (3 Plants)	100	250	800
Pressed Steel Car.Co.	25	25	1,700
Pgh. Forge & Iron	0	75	125
Amer. Steel & Wire Co. (5 Plants)	25	25	880
Oliver Iron & Steel	0	50	125
Crucible Steel Co. (4 Plants)	150	400	650
A.M. Byers Cp.	0	200	350
Lockhart Iron & Steel	0	160	350
Hesta Machine Co.	0	50	30
Standard Sanitary Mfg. Cp.			250
Fort Pitt Malleable Iron			250
Westinghouse Air Brake			465
Pgh. Plate Glass Co. (Ford City 4 plants)			350
Pittsburgh Steel Co. Monessen			200

Table 16
(continued)

Duquesne Steel Foundry			275
Total	2,275	7,885	17,313

The Carnegie Steel Company has employed Negroes in one of its city mills for more than 36 years. The Black Diamond or what is now called the Park Steel Works has likewise employed Negroes for at least a score of years. But it has only been within the last decade that even these plants with more than a quarter-century experience with Negro labor have perceptibly increased their quotas. Today in these two mills alone, over a thousand Negroes are employed. On October 1st, 1923, the Park Works was employing 300, which is to say that 25 percent of its employees are Negroes. The Carnegie Plant, referred to above, was employing over 800 Negroes at the same period.

Being first employed by the steel mills as strike-breakers unacquainted with the industry, the Negro workers were assigned to unskilled jobs. The capable few gradually rose to the semi-skilled and skilled occupations so in the Park Works, for example, Negroes are now seen filling positions as blacksmiths, foremen and open hearth, (first and second helpers). They are also occupying positions which require skill and unusual technical training, - for instance, draftsmen, mill wrights, rollers, civil engineers and chemists. Out of the total three hundred Negroes employed by this one plant one hundred or a third are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled occupations.

Altho the Negro has advanced very rapidly in industry, the vast majority follow unskilled occupations. Reports from six of the industries appearing in Table 16, give the following percentage of Negro workers classified according to skill:

	skilled	semi-skilled	unskilled.
(1)	percent	50.0 percent	50.0 percent
(2)	3.26 "	39.24 "	57.50 "
(3)	30.0 "	50.0 "	20.0 "
(4)	-- "	25.0 "	75.0 "
(5)	2.0 "	-- "	98.0 "
(6)	33.3 "	16.7 "	50.0 "

If the Negro were distributed occupationally thru out the remaining 13 industries as in the above 6, it would be safe to assume that for the entire number employed in the whole district approximately 60 percent could be said to follow unskilled work, 30 percent semi-skilled and 10 percent skilled work. The type of labor required by the basic industries is pre-dominantly unskilled. Many persons classified as semi-skilled are not so ranked because they possess technique in manufacturing or industrial processes, but rather because of their ability to manipulate a machine or control a process, knowledge of which may be acquired by an apprenticeship of a few weeks. Thus the hourly wage paid the semi-skilled worker is merely a fraction above that of the unskilled. For instance, where the hourly wage of the unskilled worker is from forty to forty-two cents an hour, that of the semi-skilled may range from six to eight cents per hour above the unskilled. In view of this, Negro labor in the district may be said to pre-penderantly unskilled. It would note

wide the mark to place the percentage in skilled and unskilled occupations as 10 and 90 respectively.

The limitations placed upon foreign immigration by Congress in 1921 and the recent enactment of the Johnson Bill mean an almost complete closing of the common labor market of Europe upon which northern industry has depended since the late 60's. Therefore industry's dependence upon the Negro as its mainstay in labor crises is greatly accentuated. When the first immigration bill was introduced in Congress, employers seemed most unanimous in opposition to an act which they deemed a curtailment of free bargaining in the foreign labor market. At present this attitude can hardly be accepted as typical of employers. One of the leading employers of the district when questioned on the immigration restriction law, said that he felt it a good thing and knew of no employer who did not share the same feeling. He said that the restriction of aliens coming to this country, would keep out many discontents who, on former occasions, may foment inter-race strife in American industrial life. This employer further held that his industry could get along very well without foreign labor in as much as it has learned to use the Negro who shows little susceptibility to radical doctrines and who because of his southern tutelage, is more amenable to discipline than the foreigner. If this attitude is representative of the employers in the district a basis is furnished for an estimate of the future role, Negro labor will play in industry. It does not appear, as is being prophesied by a number of economic determinists that the Negro's introduction to machine production will awaken in

him a spontaneous outburst of economic class consciousness. Contrary to such a forecast, there are indications that the psychological attitudes inherited by the Negro from the slave regime persist and motivate the thoughts and actions of the great masses of southern black folk; and these persons who anticipate any ready quickening and crystallization of economic class consciousness on the part of these newly initiated industrial wage-earners are suffering illusions. Furthermore the Negro's prevailing individualism resulting from his experience as an agricultural peasant will in all likelihood be strengthened by the stupid exclusion policy of white-unionism and by individual bargaining in the open shop industries where many of the new industrial recruits are being slowly advanced according to individual merit and ability. These psychological factors which the economic radicals ignore, render groundless their calculations of an immediate future participation in the class struggle by these new Negro workers.

Employing interest have gauged the above mentioned characteristics as a favorable attribute of the Negro worker, which redounds to their advantage in its preservation of industrial tranquility. But the employer's appraising ledger is not without its debit side. "The Negro", said one employer, "is by nature unindustrious and his monthly labor turnover is higher than that of other workers. The Southern Negro is less reliable than the northern". In the opinion of another, "the Negro's besetting sin is his desire to collect what he has earned just as soon as the day's work is done. He is easily discouraged and does not seem to understand the meaning of punctuality and attention to petty details." This last employer however, said that he saw no difference in the labor turnover of

of the Negro and that of other race groups employed by him. The superintendent in a large steel plant said that he was personally adverse to hiring southern Negroes. "In general", said this superintendent, when a good man the Negro is exceptionally good but when poor is damned poor!" And finally another employer's estimate of the Negro worker was that he works best when broke and never makes a machinist because of his lack of the stick-to-it-tive-ness and aversion to attending the minute details for which this skilled work calls; but that the Negro's loyalty to his employer and desire to quit peacefully and individually when dissatisfied with the job are traits which compensate for most of his shortcomings.

An investigation of the plants, whose employment managers advanced the above criticisms revealed that where the Negro was said to be un-industrious, incentive to better his lot in the plant was absent. Here, Negro workers, were confined wholly to unskilled work and were not promoted as in some other plants where they had made favorable impressions upon their employers. In plants having a small labor turnover, Negroes were found in such positions as foremen, riveters, drill pressers, time keepers and shipping clerks. The employer who believed that a Negro was mentally unfitted for such a highly skilled occupation, as machinist was found employing a Negro chemist and at one time had hired a Negro draftsman. Upon being further questioned he admitted that little encouragement had been given to the few Negro workers who had aspired to become machinists; as an alternative they had been advised to become machinist helpers.

At one of the meetings of Negro Industrial Welfare Workers (17) of Pittsburgh the following criticisms were advanced as 'employer's deficiencies' in using and handling Negro labor:

- (1) Industries use wrong methods in recruiting Negro labor supply, in that
 - (a) They usually recruit Negro labor in the South, indiscriminately;
 - (b) They bring the floating element which causes them a great monthly labor turnover.
- (2) Provisions are not made for the stable Negro worker, that is
 - (a) Employers fail to provide houses for the married worker's family or for their recreation.
 - (b) Little sympathy is shown by employment clerks to the Negro.
 - (c) Necessary steps are seldom taken to ascertain the Negro's point of view, and
 - (d) Negroes are discriminated against in the matter of work assignment by foremen, e.g., in certain steel mills Negroes are put to work in the yards in cold weather and foreigners at the hearth but when warm weather comes, the condition is reversed.

Letters from fairly intelligent Negro workers to a social welfare organization in the city gives further confirmation to the findings of these industrial welfare workers. The writer of one of such letters attributed a high percent of the irregularity in work to sickness due to damp and bunk house life. He said that the high labor turnover in the plant in which he worked could be easily traced to lack of opportunity for advancement according to manifest ability, and to disease, vice and crime which endanger the life of the respectable who are forced to live in bunk houses.

(17) Report of Negro Industrial Welfare Workers - July 1922.
(Courtesy Pittsburgh Urban League)

THE NEGRO AND TRADE UNIONS

The National Negro Press Association at its annual meeting at Nashville, Tennessee in February 1924, issued a public statement expressing opposition to the Negro's entrance into the trade unions as a means of raising his economic standard in industry. The resolutions adopted by the convention placed trade unionism and economic radicalism in the same category and, therefore, called on the Negro worker to remain untainted by both; and seek to win his employer's confidence and esteem by individual bargaining and competence rather than the use of mass action to accomplish economic security in industry.

Almost simultaneously with the issuing of these protest against the Negro's joining the Unions was the attempt of the Chicago Pullman Porters upon their own initiative to organize a National Pullman Porter's Union. But as soon as the Pullman Company acceded to a part of their demands, the Porters urged by certain influential members of their race, gave up their organization project. Again, the ever increasing number of Negroes in the United Mine Workers and the recent formation of unions of hodcarriers among the unskilled Negro workers in the building trades attest the Negro workers' awakened recognition of the need for representation of organized interest in industry and the Negro's effective participation in this representation as a part of the industrial organization. But despite these initial progressive steps taken by the Negro toward unionism, the Negro Press Association's repudiation of it seems to typify the middle class psychology which dominates the Negro's thinking as it does that of the average American. The action of the Association does more than reflect its ig-

Ending his letter rather cynically, he advised employers to spend half the money used in recruiting Negro labor to keep it, and their industries would be found staffed with a group of efficient workmen, unequaled in loyalty.

The seasonal character of many industries particularly that of mining, makes for unemployment which could very easily stimulate future unrest and hostility among rather, docile worker. And some employers are rather callous to the precarious existence led by workers during period of idleness enforced by business depression or slack production. The southern Negro who floats North in early spring and returns home at the first appearance of winter when production slackens, dovetails admirably with periodicity in productive processes. Labor of this type is very cheap to employers, it pays for its own transportation, i.e., transportation is deducted from earnings.^{8th} Sufficient provisions are made to house these thinly clad and ignorant men. The dominant attitude which employers display toward them seems to be "Why make a vast outlay for their comfort when it is certain that as soon as cold weather begins they will return South"? And it might be added that they will not be needed again until another boom in business comes with returning spring!

ignorance of the aim, policy and structure of trade unionism as a device for collective bargaining in industry. It shows the negative policy of inane opposition to the whole union program and to all unions, which race discriminating white crafts have forced aspiring Negro workers to accept. The apathy and now hostility to unionism characteristic of the articulate Negro whose opinions on public issues determine in a large measure the attitudes of the masses, can be easily ascribed to the policy of certain unions having locals in the Pittsburgh district, of excluding the Negro worker because of his racial identity.

During the war, the Thompson and Sterrett Company, a local construction concern, because of labor scarcity was forced to employ a number of Negro brick masons on a government construction job near Pittsburgh. As the company was operating on a union-shop basis, Negro bricklayers had to be admitted to the union. When the company took another job at Springdale more men were needed, Negro union bricklayers were again introduced but this time the white unionists vowed to quit the job if the Negroes remained. The colored unionists protested to the International President who threatened to revoke the charter of the union if the white members did not proceed to work with the colored masons. However, only a few of the colored bricklayers have entered the unions. Today the Bricklayer's Local Union has a total membership of 1,200. Out of this total only 18 Negroes are members.

The constitution of the Bricklayer's Union provides that a fine of \$100 be imposed upon any member found guilty of color

discrimination on the job.(18) But the constitution also provides that any member bringing a charge against a fellow member which proves to be unfounded shall be punished as may be deemed proper.(19) The effect of this provision is that it makes colored unionists extremely careful and reluctant about charging fellow white workers with color discrimination even when it actually occurs. On certain occasions white unionists have quit jobs upon the entrance of Negro unionists. Upon being asked as to why they were quitting the reply came that a man was free to quit a job whenever he felt so disposed. So refusal to work in such an event cannot be interpreted upon a constitutional basis as color discrimination. Although the motive was concealed in these cases the act was tantamount to discrimination. Discrimination accomplished covertly has as effective results as open refusal to work with Negroes. Foremen very easily scent the psychology of the quitters and consequently hesitate to hire Negro workers; the presence of whom will possibly disrupt the working staff.

One Negro Member of the Bricklayers' Union held Negro masons partly responsible for discrimination. This man has been in the local union for three years. He said that Negro masons in too many instances, fear that their presence on a job, where there are no Negroes employed, will be obnoxious to the whites. So they refrain from seeking employment on jobs where they do not see some Negro at work. In this unionists opinion the Negro's fear-complex

(18) Bricklayers and Plasterers' Constitution and Rules p.66

(19) Sec. 3 Article 3 - page 58, Bricklayer's Constitution.

increases the prejudice and hostility of white worker, unaccustomed as they are to working with him.

The carpenter's union has a total of 25 locals in the district and a membership of 5,200. Included in this membership are 15 colored carpenter. According to one of the local secretaries, "Negro members were hard to get into the unions but once in have made excellent members." As far as could be ascertained by the investigator the carpenter's union does not practice race discrimination. The small Negro membership is attributable to the scarcity of Negro carpenters in the district. The locals according to organizers have as union members 75 percent of the colored carpenters in the district. But from the number of Negroes seen at work upon open shop construction jobs in the district this estimate appears to be grossly exaggerated.

A larger number of organized Negro workers occurs in the Hod-carriers' Locals affiliated with the Building Trades Council. Information could not be obtained as to the exact membership of the Hod-carriers' union. But it is estimated that the four locals of hod-carriers comprise a membership of between 4,000 and 5,000. In recent years the original membership which was very largely composed of foreign white laborers has expanded as hundred of Negroes from the South obtained work in the building trades. Today almost 75 percent of the union is colored.

Fourteen years ago, the local engineers formed the first local of hoisters in the district. Local 66 now constitutes about 120 members of whom 18 are colored. According to information supplied by colored member of the union a group of white

engineers pulled out of the union on Dec. 20, 1923, to form another local, number 899. There are no colored members in the new local and no effort has been made to include them but practically all of the old white members of local 66, have been requested to join; and the majority of them have. The colored members tried to prevent the formation of this dual organization by protesting to the international body. The case is now pending Judge Evan's decision; and the colored members think that if the decision awards jurisdiction to the new local it will mean death to the old and consequent unemployment for them as unionists. In this event they will be forced to seek open shop employment.

Early in 1923 colored girls found their way into some of the local clothing factories. About 150 were hired on power machines in a local concerns. Attempts to organize these girls were at first difficult, because of their own indifference and the opposition which white girls raised to organizing Negroes in the same union with themselves. The attempt was finally successful. At present about 50 of the colored girls who were organized are employed by the Penn Trousers Company but the union seems to have sunk into desuetude.

The present effort to organize the teamsters and chauffeurs marks the birth of a new union in Pittsburgh. The local organizer informed the writer that some Negroes were already in the new organization and that more would be inducted as soon as willingness was expressed by them. Up to now the union had made no contracts so race antagonisms have not had a chance to assert themselves.

A few months ago the boiler makers in one of the railway repair shops of the district, struck for recognition of the union. The Negroes employed in the same shop agreed to walk out with the strikers upon the condition that they be admitted to the union if the strike were successful. The strike was finally settled in the union's favor and the striking Negro boiler makers returned to work with their fellow white workers but were not taken into the union although they had paid their initiation fees. Here the difficulty in taking Negro workers into the union was attributed to the fact that the boiler makers were organized by the machinists union whose constitution prohibited the organization of Negroes.

The International Association of Machinists was organized at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1889. Despite the fact that southern delegates who bitterly oppose the organization of Negro machinists are seldom in a majority at conventions due precaution is always taken, by northern delegates to observe the race traditions of their southern fellow unionists. Liberal organizers who are an infinitesimal minority at conventions have peed futilely for the elimination of the clause in the constitution which reads, "I hereby swear that I will not propose the name of any save an industrious sober white man for membership in this union."

The deception of the striking Negro boiler makers by union officials was referred to a higher official of the local union of machinists when interviewed by the writer. This official was of the opinion that in view of the peculiar circumstance of race relations in America, the striking colored workers should make themselves satisfied with the privilege of returning to work under the

union conditions which carry a greater economic benefit to them than employment under non-union conditions. He further argued that in a number of cases Negroes had been permitted to join the machinists union with voice in deliberations but without the right to vote. How many Negroes accepted this condition could not be learned. However, it is highly probable that the average Negro worker welcomes individual bargaining in the open shop as democracy when compared with the unions benevolent hamstraining. So although the American Federation of Labor has stricken the 'American white clause' from its constitution and has called upon its constituent bodies to do likewise, many union persistently pursue an exclusion policy based upon color.

Among other causes is an economic one to which must be attributed the failure of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to organize Negro labor. Thru out its history the dominant organization of labor in America has been essentially a hegemony of skilled workers. It has only been with in the life of the present generation that the American Federation of Labor recognized the necessity of extending its organization so as to include some of the nearly 30,000,000 unorganized workers who are mainly unskilled. Because of this peculiarity of structure the organized labor movement has not considered the army of Negro workers as union material, in as much as the vast bulk of Negro labor is chiefly engaged in unskilled work. This seems to be the case with the International Molders Union, a very old and highly organized craft which offers no constitutional barrier to Negro membership. No effort has been

made, however by the Molder's Union to organize the few colored molders in the district. The colored molders who are not employed in the open shops might seem to qualify as members but since they work in malleable iron works the Molder's Union does not consider them molders, and they are therefore held to be ineligible.

The creation of departments in the American Federation of Labor and the extension of their field to include many unskilled workers has resulted in granting membership to many Negroes heretofore precluded from joining by the unskilled nature of their work. The Hod-Carriers Union in the Building Trades Department instances the change in policy made by organized labor in recent years.(20)

A broad change in economic policy of organized labor is also reflected by the industrial unionist program of the United Mine Workers which has made great strikes in organizing hundreds of the recent migrants from the South.

In the coal strike of 1922, Negroes were imported from the South as strike breakers. According to the information supplied by a local organizer the men were ignorant as to the condition underlying their importation. To inform these new comers of the nature of the controversy in which the miners and operators were engaged, an organizer was delegated to meet them. As a result, the locals of the union gained as members hundreds of Negroes who had been imported to break the strike.

(20) Supra - Hod-carriers Union, page -

Even in previous years, the United Mine Workers has had many Negro members in the Pittsburgh district as in other mining sections. But for the past 8 years, the organization has made special practice of maintaining an official to organize Negro labor in the district.

The Pittsburgh district of the United Mine Workers comprises all of the miners of Allegheny and Washington Counties and parts of Armstrong, Butler, Mercer, Westmorland and Fayette Counties. The locals of the district have a total membership of 50,000. Of this number one sixth or a little over 8,000 are Negroes. The Negro miners like the white are employed in every phase of work in and about the mines. Few of them are paid less than \$7.50 per day. Other who cut coal or are 'machine runners', work on a tonnage rate and are said to receive from \$3.50 to \$4.00 per month during the productive season.

Negro members of the United Mine Workers seem quite happy in being affiliated with the organization. Said one, "it is the greatest labor organization in the world and the only one affiliated with American Federation of Labor which is concerned about the Negro worker and gives him a fair deal". The probable cause of this worker's tribute to the United Mine Workers may be justified by the fact that in most of the 27 districts of the organization, Negroes hold responsible position such as local president, vice-president, treasurer and organizer. It was also discovered that in the district many Negroes hold office in locals where they are outnumbered two and three to one by foreigners.

The difference in the amicable relationship existing in the

United Mine Workers between white and black workers and the hostility exhibited to the Negro by other American Federation of Labor Unions, is a difference arising out of the class solidarity, idealism, and industrial structure of the former in which the foreign element is dominant, and the pragmatic "craftism" of the latter whose policy is largely determined by a native white constituency possessed of the traditional American color psychosis. Whatever may be the cause of this difference in attitude to the Negro worker, other unions might do well to adopt the race policy of the United Mine Workers, and that to their own economic advantage. With periodic booms in industry, recurring strikes and a constricted foreign labor supply the importation and use of Negro labor may ultimately increase beyond all present calculations. Unions, if wise will seek to allay strife and possible disaster by removing racial barriers and welcoming Negro Workers as fellow members in a common cause.

EDUCATION AND INTER RACIAL CO-OPERATION

The migrant who brings his children with him to the north is faced with a two fold problem. First he himself has to become oriented to a new and complex environment. Secondly, his children if retarded in school, as is more than likely the case because of backwardness of schools in the district from which he comes, must enter the northern school under conditions distasteful to the adolescent boy or girl.

The abnormal increase of the Negro school population with a corresponding increase in retardation and delinquency has been looked upon by many northern Negroes as the condition to which recent clamor in the North for segregated schools is due. On the other hand, the school teachers, who in Pittsburgh are all white, can hardly be accused of sympathy tempered with wisdom in dealing with a backward migrant boy or girl. Frequently the teacher, ignorant of the causes to which their backwardness is due, looks upon them as feeble-minded. The plight in which most of these migrant children find themselves when they enter a northern school, hark back to the educational restrictions placed upon them while living in the South.

The Report of the Bureau of Education (21) on Negro education indicates gross inequalities in facilities for public education of white and Negro children. These expenditures are calculated on the basis of appropriations for teachers salaries per child which are the major portion of appropriations for all purposes. For the 15

(21) Vid- Report of Bureau of Education - quoted by Urban League Bulletin, New York City - July 1922.

southern states and the District of Columbia, on a per capita basis, the white children received \$10.32 and the colored \$2.89 for educational purposes. Among the several states the ratio varies. The Negro population of the South at the time of the report was 70 per cent rural. The rural schools are without exception inferior to the city schools, receive smaller appropriations for maintenance, have shorter terms and worse teachers. "Inequalities in expenditure for white and colored children are greatest where the Negro population is largest. In the states and more particularly in the counties with a considerable Negro population large numbers are grouped in small 'one-teacher-rural-schools' while the more scattered white pupils are provided with a proportionately larger number of schools"

Expenditures per child for white and colored children in these states were as follows:

<u>State</u>	<u>White Child</u>	<u>Colored Child</u>
Alabama	\$ 9.41	\$ 1.78
Arkansas	12.95	4.59
Delaware	12.61	7.68
Florida	11.50	2.64
Georgia	9.58	1.76
Kentucky	8.13	8.53
Louisiana	13.73	1.31
Maryland	13.79	6.38
Mississippi	10.61	2.26
North Carolina	15.69	2.02
Oklahoma	14.21	9.96

State	White Child	Colored Child
South Carolina	10.00	1.44
Tennessee	8.27	4.83
Texas	10.08	5.74
Virginia	7.72	3.18

In certain counties in Georgia there were frequent proportions like \$15.66 for white and \$1.36 for colored children; \$19.02

for white and \$1.08 Colored; \$21.12 for white and \$1.59 for colored and in one county in Louisiana there was expended \$44.75 for white children and \$1.21 for colored.

The standard northern school term consists of 170 days. The days of schooling provided white and colored children in the southern states were as follows:

State	White Child	Colored Child
Alabama	132	102
Florida	142	102
Georgia	157	100
Kentucky	152	119
Louisiana	156	94
South Carolina	106	78

According to the Report of the Commissioner of Education, the average school term for Negroes is only 69 percent of the average for the country. On the basis of a standard course of nine months and full grades, the Negro Year Book calculates that under present provisions for education it would take a Negro child 22 years in Louisiana, 26 years in Alabama, and 33 years in South Carolina to

complete an elementary course. (22)

The migrant school children, reflect these educational conditions under which they have lived prior to entering the northern school. Table 16 is based upon a study of 27 migrant school children whose average length of residence in Pittsburgh was, at the time of the investigation, 6 1/2 months. In no instance had any of these boys and girls received more than 3 years of schooling in the South. Parents in some cases, were doubtful as to the years of schooling their children had received before coming North. But none of these doubtful parents were willing to say that their children had received more than 3 years of schooling in Southern schools.

It will be seen from Diagram 1 that of the 27 children few entered at the regular school age of six years; most of them were 8, 10 and 14 years of age when they entered. Diagram 2 shows how the pupils were classified. Only one entered the very first grade, but few were admitted to grades above 4 A. The diagrams do not show however, that ten of these twenty-seven pupils have shown sufficient ability in less time than a year to be advanced from one to three grades. In nine instances they were demoted. One exceptional case was that of a pupil who was advanced from the 6 A Grade to the 7 B, Junior high; obviously a superior child, although slightly retarded upon entrance.

A high per centage of ill-conduct in some of these cases arise out of adolescent sensitiveness to being placed in classes with pupils three and five years younger. Truancy and delinquency

(22) Vid. Negro Year Book (1922 Edition) Monroe H. Work, Tuskegee, Ala.

Table 18

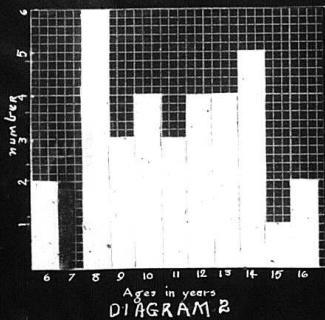
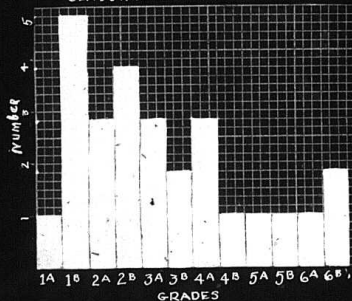
GRADE, AGE AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN PITTSBURGH
OF 27 NEW MIGRANT CHILDREN

State of Former Residence	Age	Present Grade	Grade entered in Pittsburgh	Length of previous schooling	Length of time in City
Charleston Mo.	14	3 B	2 A	3 yrs.	3 mos.
Kensington Md.	10	2 B	2 B	2 yrs.	8 mos.
Draycourt S.C.	8	2 A	2 A	1 "	2 weeks
Pensacola, Fla.	6	2 A	2 A	?	1 week
Charleston, S.C.	15	3 B	--	not long	8 mos.
Portsmouth, Va.	12	4 B	3 A	" "	11 "
" "	8	2 A	2 B	" "	11 "
Mobile, Ala.	9	1 B	1 B	none	11 "
" "	8	1 B	1 B	" "	11 "
Little Rock, Ark.	14	6 B	6 B		1 yr.
Augusta, George	8	2 B	1 A	1 semester	3½ mo.
Clinton, S.C.	16	5 B	4 A		6 mos
Hartwell, Ga.	10	2 A	2 B	1 yr.	9 mos.
" "	8	1 A	1 B		9 "
Terrell, Texas	10	4 B	3 A		6 "
Irvington, Ga.	10	1 A	1 B	not long	2 "
" "	8	1 A	1 B	" "	2 "
Birmingham, Ala.	9	2 A	2 B	1 yr.	6 "
Asheville, N.C.	13	Jr. High 7 B	6 A		? 6 "
Madison Co. Va.	12	5 B	5 B	not reg.	6 "
Amberst Va.	12	3 A	3 B	" "	6 "

Table 18
(continued)

State of Former Residence	Age	Present Grade	Grade entered in Pittsburgh	Length of previous schooling	Length of time in City
Augusta Ga.	13	4 A	4 B	?	6 mo.
Stanton, Va.	13	6 A	6 B	?	6 "
" "	11	5 B	4 A	?	6 "
Portsmouth Va.	14	4 B	3 A	?	11 mo
Ardalusia, Ala	14	6 A	5 A	?	3½ "
" "	16	5 B	4 A	?	" "

DIAGRAM I

DISTRIBUTION of 27 MIGRANT SCHOOL CHILDREN
ACCORDING TO AGESDIAGRAM B
CLASSIFICATION AT ENTRANCE

are easy consequences of such a frame of mind.

The immensity of the problem which migrant boys and girls present to the school may be estimated from the great increases of the colored school population in the last six years. At present of the entire school population of Minersville School, 43 percent is colored; in the Rose 43 percent; in Somers 65 percent; in Watt, 75 percent; in Lincoln 29 percent; and in Penn 20 percent. It will be seen from Table 17 that in 1917, 4 schools which had a total colored population of 933, in 1922 had 1,767 or a total average increase of 89.4 percent.

Table 17

School Population for Schools having more than 25 per cent of Negro pupils

Schools	Colored Enrollment			Total Enrollment	
	1917	1922	1923	1922	1923
Minersville	181	233	193	497	493
Rose	129	394	306	794	712
Somers	201	319	305	495	470
Watt	422	821	868	1,121	1,072
Total	933	1,767			

Recognition of the school problem has caused the Pittsburgh Urban League to add to its staff of social workers a Home and School Visitor. The function of this worker is to investigate cases of delinquency and maladjustment and seek to establish understanding between the homes of these new children and the class room. The maintenance of such a worker by the Urban League is highly justified by the number of pupils the Home and School Visitor has adjusted to

their new school environment. It is obvious that more than one worker is needed for effective work in the ten school where Negro students are found and where from time to time cases for adjudication occur. In Pittsburgh where Negroes may graduate from the public schools but may not become instructors in them the appointment of trained colored graduates with social work equipment as home and school visitors might serve to lessen the gravity of the problem presented to the school by the migrant school child and at the same time offer incentive to aspiring Negro youths.

INTER RACIAL CO-OPERATION

What was once looked upon as a purely sectional problem has in the last ten years of Negro migrations from the South become a national issue re-shaping the attitude of the North to race relations. Schools, theaters, restaurants and hotels, hitherto, not necessarily adverse to receptive Negro patrons are now blankly refusing to admit or serve them. Increase in crime, vice and dependency with the coming of the Negro migrant to northern cities; his lack of social ethic, civic pride and refinement all go to counteract the abolitionist sentiment which one characterized the Pittsburgh district. Instances are not few in which the tactics resorted to in certain parts of the district differ little from typical southern distrust in treatment of its Negro population. In Johnstown a drink-crazed Negro runs amuck and kills several policemen. As a result the mayor issues an order decreeing that all Negro newcomers leave town in 24 hours; and frightened Negroes ignorant of their civil rights, or fearing mob action hastened away.

Whenever a Negro commits a crime in Pittsburgh the city constabulary usually makes a sweep of the Hill District arresting all strange and suspicious looking Negroes.

The inadequate housing facilities; the ease with which liquor is procured; flagrant inducements to crime as instances by the display of firearms and ammunition in the windows of pawn shops on

Wylie Avenue; and the prevalence of agencies that provoke delinquency are social and civic conditions which further buttress race hate and possible hostility. But ignorance, crime disease and prostitution are not racial attributes peculiar to the Negro. The problem is social; it will persist as long as Pittsburgh is more advantaged citizens retain an attitude of splendid isolation and view the situation through the lenses of racial distinction. The eradication of these menaces to public and racial well-being depends upon the co-operation and mutual friendship and leadership of socially minded white and colored citizens.

Possibly in no large Northern city is there as great a lack of acquaintance between white and colored as in Pittsburgh. Only one white church of the city has glimpsed the need of inter-racial forums where members of both races may meet to thrash out problems highly significant for inter-racial understanding and good will. When more of such forums are provided a long step will have been taken toward dispelling the ignorance of each group to the other and the way will be paved for better race relations in the district.

Serious minded students in the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Institute of Technology might organize student conferences for the purpose of foistering knowledge of the life of colored Pittsburgh in particular and the Negro race in general. Under leadership of sympathetic instructors such a society could study some of the conditions under which the Negro newcomers live, - not necessarily as a separate and isolated problem but as one feature of a general cultural or social-study program.

THE NEGRO FACING HIS OWN PROBLEMS

As a submerged group in the United States the Negro has founded various institutions as devices by which effective protest might be raised against proscription and discrimination in political and civil life. Simultaneously, these institutions were media for the expression of the Negro's cultural aspiration and very often modes of economic advancement.

After the Civil War the newly enfranchized Negro considered the attainment of equal manhood, suffrage rights the surest means for completely emancipating himself. With Fred Douglass as National leader, the Negro placed implicit faith in the Republican Party and played no inconsequential political role in some northern states; and in southern states generally until disfranchized by later legislative enactments.

Toward the close of the 19th century it suddenly dawned upon certain Negroes, stimulated in their thinking by Gen. S. C. Armstrong, strong founder of Hampton Institute, that until the Negro race developed economically and industrially, little could be accomplished by it upon the political field. The author of this doctrine was Booker T. Washington who institutionalized the concept by founding Tuskegee Institute for the industrial education of the Negro. (24)

Mr. Washington's famous Atlanta speech was epoch making in

(24) Vid. "The Schools of Race Philosophy" by Abram L. Harris Current History Magazine, June '23.

that it heralded a new racial philosophy and at the same time set antagonistic forces in motion which were to take the shape of a divergent organization hostile to what was interpreted as a repudiation of the Negro's civil and political right. Thus arose Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' Niagara Movement which in a few years developed into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

After the recent World War, many young Negroes returned to the country expecting much of the new democracy for which they that they had fought. Their army experience had already been embittered by insult and indignity; and the stern realities of an unchanged order to which they returned awakened in them bitter resentment. Among these returning soldiers were university trained Negroes who were similarly disillusioned by the trend of events in American life, and in a short while began protesting more vehemently for political and social equality than had either the Du Bois wing or the earlier Negro politicians. These young men encouraged the Negro to meet force with force and advocated Marxian Socialism as the Negro's road to freedom.

The same condition of general war hysteria and the Negro's disillusionment as to the meaning of the World War which gave rise to the Messenger.- Socialists as race leaders was also the matrix from which issued the "Back to Africa Movement" sponsored by Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro.

The Negro race has possibly derived benefit from all of these movements; even Garvey's African impossibilism to which the

the Negro's growing race consciousness is often attributed. But with the exception of the Tuskegee program, the element common to all has been protestations against the inequalities and discriminations which condition the life of the Negro in America. The common weakness of these organizations has not only been 'negativism' but the centralization of energy in national propaganda to the extent that the Negro's local economic and social handicaps have not been adequately diagnosed or positively treated.

The continued increase in Negro population of northern cities stressed the need of adjusting the Negro locally to the economic and industrial life of his new environment. The agency which responded to this need was the National Urban League. Since its founding in 1908, the organization has evinced a constructive program in 32 large cities for treating the Negro Social and Industrial problems, positively. The Pittsburgh unit of the Urban League formed in 1918, has served as a clearing house between migrants and the industry of the District. A great degree of its energy has been directed toward raising the Negro's standard of living and fostering happier inter-racial relations in the city. It has also been effective in conducting health campaigns; improving the administration of relief to migrant families; adjusting the Negro boys and girls to the new school life of the North; and assisting many delinquent newcomers who are brought before the morals court.

The work of the Urban League is mainly educational. So for effective social work other agencies are needed. In Pittsburgh there are about 21 civic organizations among the Negro, (25) of which 11 can be said to have some sort of social adjustment program. But in a population of more than 37,000, more than 11 social work organizations are needed for constructive work in child welfare, recreation and industry. Yet the weakness of the already existing agencies resulting from an overlapping in function hardly warrants the founding of more similar organizations until some means of co-ordination is provided. Obviously, the Pittsburgh Urban League with its broad program and social work technique has the capacity for bringing about a more effective system of welfare work in which each agency would assume definite responsibility for the execution of a central purpose. The ease with which the Urban League or any other organization could bring about this organized philanthropy would depend upon its own willingness to accept responsibility for the task and the degree to which the Negro citizens of Pittsburgh will co-operate. It does not seem, however that the immediate future will witness any quickening of the Pittsburgh Negro's social consciousness. Perhaps much education will have to take place before he realized the stupendous need of his racial group.

An inspection of the Urban League program previously referred to would warrant one's assuming that the colored citizenry of Pittsburgh not only manifests sympathy for an organization aiming to promote its own welfare but gives considerable financial aid to-

(25) Directory of Philanthropic, Social and Civic Agencies in Pittsburgh - Helen Glenn Tyson

ward maintaining it. But upon being told that the 37,000 Negroes in the city only contribute about one tenth of the \$11,000 budget necessary to run the organization, one is forced to conclude that the educated and advantaged Negro of Pittsburgh is either apathetic to or ignorant of the lot of his more submerged brothers. The trite apology of impecunty will not stand in the light of the Negro's wealth and expenditure for other goods. An investigation of 24 Negro churches revealed that plans had been made to spread a total of \$817,250 during the ensuing year for new edifices; seven of the churches had already purchased new buildings in the past year and are now liquidating a total indebtedness of \$266,000. Only one of the churches investigated planned to invest in building and equipment for social welfare. In this case the sum to be expended amounted to \$20,000.

If the Negro of Pittsburgh can expend \$1,103,250 for new church edifices alone surely he ought to hold himself more highly responsible for the maintenance of his own social welfare organizations. Nor does the average church seem concerned about the Negro's Social problem. A questionnaire sent to 34 pastors of churches in the city showed that 40 percent of them considered the greatest problem which the migrant presented to the church, was irregular attendance at services; 20 percent had no problems whatever, although their membership had greatly increased since the migration; and 40 percent considered overcrowding which results in a general level of immorality and juvenile delinquency as the church's greatest problem. Only six of these churches had one or

more of the following means of adjusting the newcomers;

- (1) Church worker to look up migrant families and assist in acquainting them with the church group;
- (2) Infant Welfare Workers, and
- (3) Recreational program for boys and girls.

The program of the remaining 18 churches consisted of the usual song and prayer meetings and the Sunday services for moral exhortation. While it may be too early to expect these churches to pool some of their financial power for co-operative buying of fuel and other necessities as is done by a leading Negro church in Chicago, or to construct model residences to relieve congestion in the Negro districts, they should make it their duty to appropriate a large part of their yearly budget toward financing existing agencies which aim at welfare and community work among the Negro in Pittsburgh.

The ignorance of the masses and the apathy of the educated and intelligent colored people of the city combine to render more complex a problem which already appears unsolvable. The influence of an intelligent local press and a pulpit less inclined to theological disputation and more informed on the problems of industrial community life will be necessary to remove the complacency and laissez-faire which characterize Negro Pittsburgh in reference to its own problems. Here, as elsewhere, the educated and successful Negro must incorporate the principle of noblesse oblige in his thinking and acting. Mere protestations against what are legitimately considered acts of injustice and discrimination are negative weapons and oft times when national in scope

sap the vitality of a community in prosecuting a program for local economic and social uplift. However, the Negro will probably need such an organization as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a long time yet as his means of protesting against lynching, discrimination and political proscription. But this need should not eclipse the problems of health, housing and industry which particular communities present. Because of structure, function and purpose, the National Urban League should meet the Negro's local economic and social needs.

The ultimate aim of the Negro in the large Northern cities into which great masses are pouring from the south should be the financial control of all societies having to do with racial uplift and advancement. Such a control would give him final word in deciding the policy and method of organizations where his voice in policy making is now limited. By virtue of this control he would be forced to assume intellectual and administrative leadership in the execution of programs for racial and social helpfulness. And until the Negro accomplishes this, nationally and locally, he is destined to continue a ward of philanthropy, a willing subject to fortuitous and evanescent friendships, and an impotent child in carrying out programs for his own racial betterment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- The New Migration of 1916 - 17
U. S. Dept. of Labor.
- The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh - A. Epstein,
Dept. of Economics, University of Pittsburgh.
- History of Trade Unions in U. S. (Chapters 8, 9, 11, & 12)
S. Perlman
- Social Economy
F. S. Chapin.
- Journal of Political Economy - (Dec. 1917)
(Interstate Migrations of the Negro).
- Century of Negro Migration
C. G. Woodson
- Trade Unionism and Labor Problems (The Negro Artisan)
J. H. Commons
- Races of Emigrants in America.
- The Negro Year Book (1922) Monroe H. Work.
- U. S. Census, 1910, Vol. I, Tables 21 and 32; 1920, Vol. III, Table 1.
- The Negro Farmer
Carl Kelsey.
- Economic Basis of Politics
C. A. Beard.
- Society and Its Problems (The Negro Problem)
- Principles of Sociology (Chapt. II)
E. A. Ross.
- Abstract, - U. S. Bureau of Census (Recent Northward Migration of the Negro)
J. A. Hill
- Race Adjustment, - Emily Miller.
- The Philadelphia Negro - W. P. DuBois
- The Negro "
- The Souls of **Black** Folk "
- Darkestetter "
- Atlanta Studies "

- Bulletin, No. 38 (The Sugar Plantation Negro) - U. S. Dept. of Labor.
Up From Slavery
E. T. Washington.
- The Negro in Chicago - Chicago Race Commission.
- Half a Man - Mary White Ovington.
- Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man
J. W. Johnson.
- The Negro Soldier
Chas. H. Williams.
- The Mulatto in America - E. A. Reuter.
- The New Basis of Ascendancy - F. H. Murphy.
- Your Negro Neighbor
Samj. Bramley
- A Social History of the Negro
Samj. Bramley
- The Negro Press in the United States
Frederick Botwiner.
- Democracy and Race Prejudice
J. M. Becklin
- The Negro Since America
R. J. Soligman.
- The History of the Negro Church - C. G. Woodson
- The Negro in our History - C. G. Woodson
- The Trend of the Races - Geo. F. Haynes.
- The Negro (The Free Negro in Virginia, In Maryland, Indentured Servitude, etc.)
Johns Hopkins Political Science Series.
- PERIODICALS
- Current History, June 1923:
The Aspirations of Educated Negro Leaders,
Abram L. Harris.
- The Literary Digest, (Aug. 18, 1923):
Economic Causes for the Negro Exodus
Why Negroes go North (May 19, 1923)
Negroes Enter the Trade Union (June 28, 1919)
- The Nation, Sept. 12, 1923:
New Emigration of the Negro - R. Wallinga

Bulletin, No. 38 (The Sugar Plantation Negro) - U. S. Dept. of Labor.

Up from Slavery.

E. T. Washington.

The Negro in Chicago - Chicago Race Commission.

Half a Man - Mary White Ovington.

Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man

J. W. Johnson.

The Negro Soldier

Chas. H. Williams.

The Mulatto in America - E. A. Router.

The New Basis of Ascendancy - F. H. Murphy.

Your Negro Neighbor

Benj. Bramley

A Social History of the Negro

Benj. Bramley

The Negro Press in the United States

Fredrick Detweiler.

Democracy and Race Prejudice

J. H. Woodlin

The Negro Speaks America

H. J. Seligman.

The History of the Negro Church - C. G. Woodson

The Negro in our History - C. G. Woodson

The Trend of the Races - Geo. E. Haynes.

The Negro (The Free Negro in Virginia, In Maryland, Indentured Servitude, etc.)

Johns Hopkins Political Science Series.

PERIODICALS

Current History, June 1923:

The Aspirations of Educated Negro Leaders,

Abram L. Harris.

The Literary Digest, (Aug. 18, 1923):

Economic Causes for the Negro Exodus

The Survey, Feb. 17, 1917:

Cotton Pickers in Northern Cities

Where Labor is Cheap (Sep. 8, 1917)

Negro Labor and the Emigrants (May 14, 1921)

The New Negro Migration (Feb. 26, 1921)

School & Society, Oct. 26, 1922:

Notes on Racial Differences.

Negro Schools Contributions to Racial Good Will

(Dec. 17, 1921)

Scriveners, March 1921:

Industrial Revolution and the Negro

(J. L. Lowell)

Monthly Labor Review, June 23, 1916:

The Negro Migration

Negro Migrants and Migrations (Jun. 1922)

Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1923:

The Negro Migration - W. T. Shaffer.

See also Current Negro Magazines, viz. The Crisis, New York City, The Messenger, New York City, Opportunity, published by National Urban League New York City, and Journal of Negro History, Edited by C. G. Woodson, Washington, D. C.