

THE NEGRO IN RECENT PITTSBURGH POLITICS

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FOREWORD

The idea for this thesis originated from my discovery that there was no source of complete information about the Negro in the Pittsburgh politics of recent years. Any facts to be gathered were to be found from the election and registration statistics, from newspapers and periodicals, and from talking to Negroes who were prominent in politics.

I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance and direction of my teachers of Political Science, Dr. E. B. Graper and Dr. Rosalind Branning. Further, I wish to express my appreciation to Representative Homer Brown for his help, and to the editor and staff of *The Pittsburgh Courier*, and to the personnel of the Registration and Election Commissions for the use of their files.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Negro political activity in the North has a positive relationship with the Negro migrations during and after World War I. It was these migrations which brought about the concentrations of Negro population in the northern urban centers. During the last twenty-five years, the city of Pittsburgh, like other northern cities, has received a large number of Negro immigrants from the southern states. In 1910 there were 25,000 Negroes in Pittsburgh; in 1920 the number was 37,723. By 1930 the Negro population reached 54,962. Although the rate of increase has not been as great in recent years, the latest census figures of 1940 show that the Negro population has grown to a little over 68,000. In Pittsburgh Negroes constitute 8.3 per cent of the native population of 871,589. Of the 68,000 Negroes more than 40,000 are twenty-one years or over. 1

The Negro inhabitants of Pittsburgh are paradoxically enough, both widely scattered and highly concentrated. About 45 per cent of the Negroes in Pittsburgh live in the Hill District, in the third and fifth wards. A small proportion, one fourth, including the economically more favored, live in the East Liberty and Roswood-Brantton areas. The rest, comprising about one fourth of the total, live in other areas throughout the city. This scatter has its disadvantages as well as advantages. The absence of a solidly Negro community in Pittsburgh reduces materially the power of the Negro population to obtain Negro political representation. The population chart in appendix

tion to the same extent as do the Negroes in some other northern cities. 1

The Negroes live in those sections of the city where housing and sanitation are of the poorest grade. Unemployment has been greater among the Negroes in Pittsburgh than among any other group, therefore, poverty is more extensive. The social services tend to be less available in proportion to need. Naturally this leaves the Negro with less medical care, less social case work services and fewer recreational facilities. Negro housing is only part of the inferior and dangerous housing to be found in Pittsburgh, but it is more concentrated and at the lowest standards recorded. There have been steps taken to correct this situation. Under the New Deal, several housing projects have been completed to replace the inferior housing in the Hill District. These projects are occupied by both Negroes and whites.

The great need for health and hospital facilities among the Negro group is intensified by the low standard of living, exemplified by poor housing, over crowding, inadequate diet, insufficient clothing, and inferior working conditions. The excessive death rate has not been met by appropriate facilities or medical care.

Generally speaking, Negroes are not admitted on equal terms to recreational opportunities provided by voluntary agencies. Occasionally, though indirectly, they are ^{also} excluded or restricted in public provisions for recreation. Here and there actual exclusion is practiced. The exclusion of Negroes from

1. Ellen, Phillip, A Social Study of Pittsburgh. (New York, 1938), pp. 271-272.

the use of the Highland Park swimming pool was a bone of contention for years.

The Hill District is one of the poorest Negro districts. Though there is poverty among all groups, the differential against the Negroes is more pronounced.

The relatively great concentration of Negro workers, both male and female, in jobs requiring little or no skill, (common labor or domestic and personal services) and their scant representation in commercial pursuits, public service, and the professions is well known and is no more characteristic of Pittsburgh than of other large cities. Recently the Negroes in Pittsburgh have gained more representation in the public service field and in industry. Negroes are now being hired as street car operators, and many Negroes, men and women, have been hired in war plants which have never hired Negroes in any capacity heretofore. This same observation can be made in regard to other large industrial cities.

There are a few Negro voters in all of the city's thirty-two wards. In twenty-one wards Negroes constitute less than five per cent of the registered voters. In four others they constitute five to ten per cent of the voters, and in five others from eleven to twenty per cent. In the third and fifth wards of the Hill District, registered Negroes amount to sixty and seventy per cent, respectively, of all registered voters. More than half of the 34,000 Negroes registered in Pittsburgh live in these two wards.

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II. REPUBLICAN SUPREMACY UP TO 1936

A. The Negro in Pittsburgh Politics from 1800 to 1936

From 1800 to early in the 1830's nearly all the voters of Pittsburgh were registered as Republicans. Until 1808 not ten thousand registered Democrats could be found in the whole of Pittsburgh. Negroes were almost one hundred per cent Republican. It was customary during this period for the Republicans to appoint one or two Negroes in each of the important city and county offices, but, aside from this gesture, Negroes were given very little recognition for their traditional party loyalty. No Negroes were elected to public offices. In the absence of any real competition it was not felt necessary to do more for those whose support was taken for granted. The real political battles were between factions of the Republican party in the Republican primaries. The outcome of the general election was never in doubt. In these times there were precincts in which not a single vote was reported for the Democratic candidate.

This situation was true in many other large northern cities. Negroes in the North were almost as impotent as the Negroes in the South. They were impotent because as a whole they dared vote for but one party — the Republican party. The Republican party fully realizing its power felt that it needed to do only the very minimum for Negroes. Most Negroes in the North, like their southern brethren, were still in the sentimental stage of politics; they felt they owed a great debt of gratitude to the Republican party and Abraham Lincoln. They continued to vote the

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Republican ticket regardless of the fact that Lincoln was no longer a candidate. Their attitude was childish. The Negroes, many of whom were fresh from the South, were politically innocent. They had yet to learn that politics is a hard-boiled, calculating game in which gratitude is an uncessant virtue, and in which Sunday school ethics have no place. James Weldon Johnson protested against this unfortunate political plight of the Northern Negro in a magazine article in which he said,

"They (Northern Negroes) need to establish and maintain political independence as rapidly as possible, voting for men and measures rather than parties. There are now many Negroes in the North who share under the Republican chains. They want to break out of them, and they will do so as soon as the Democratic or some party gives them half a chance. As it is now, they feel bound by the situation of their fellows in the South — and they hesitate to place any more power over them in the hands of their enemies. They feel it is the better part of wisdom to stand with lukewarm and apathetic friends."¹

With this protest and prediction in mind, a review of the administrations of Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt will help one see the shifting sentiment of the Negro in Pittsburgh from the Republican party to the Democratic party and the New Deal. This history will also serve to show the extent of Negro political participation. The registration figures over the last fifteen years will show how great has been the revolution in the party affiliations.²

1. Johnson, James Weldon, "A Negro Looks at Politics", *American Mercury*, Vol. 18 (September 1932), pp. 88-94.
2. Cf. Registration chart showing the registration figures for Pittsburgh from 1925-1941.

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B. The Political Awakening of the Pittsburgh Negro During Hoover's Administration: 1928 to 1932

When Herbert Hoover was nominated by the Republican party in June 1928, the Negro paper, The Pittsburgh Courier, warned its Negro readers against deciding too quickly which party to support. The paper cautioned the Negroes not to expect much of anything from either party saying,

"The days of Republican political philanthropy are pretty well over, and even less can be expected from the Democrats. In politics as elsewhere, the Negro must depend on his own efforts and stand on his own two feet."

This cautious attitude was not maintained, however, for as the presidential campaign progressed, The Pittsburgh Courier was swept upon the Republican banner and supported Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Hoover was elected president in November of 1928. In December of that year the colored voters looked askance at the attitude of ward leaders and organized the Fifth Ward Independent Republican Club. This act was construed as a slap at the forces and organization headed by councilman James F. Malone, who for many years was the leader of the turbulent district. Mr. Malone was busy fighting to hold his leadership, for there was great advantage for the man who maintained control of the colored votes in the Hill District. Under white leadership there had been no Negroes endorsed to run for office, and there ceased to be no question as to the attitude these leaders held when it came to endorsing Negroes in the race for office. The Pittsburgh Courier said,

I. The Pittsburgh Courier, Saturday June 23, 1928, 2d.

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"Due to the lack of political experience and knowledge, the colored voters are not aware of either their political strength or possibilities, and we are of the opinion that the time is now ripe for awakening, and the time for the race to assert itself in this ward. The first assertion should be a "hands off" policy in the fight between the white leaders. There is no doubt as to where both stand when it comes to endorsing Negroes as candidates for offices."

Meanwhile, President Hoover had shattered the hope of the Negroes, for they had begun to realize that the political plans for deserving colored Republicans for party services were to be few. The name of Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh had been most frequently mentioned in connection with an assistant attorney-generalship. Mr. Vann was the director of publicity for the colored voters' division of the Republican National Committee in the presidential campaign. Mr. Vann was not appointed, and in addition the Negroes were denied seeing a Negro as Register of the Treasury of the United States, an office which was promised to a Negro.

In 1929 came the mayoralty fight with Charles Kline, James Malone, and Richard Martin in the race. But to the colored people there was a different kind of fight — one for what they considered political rights. The chairman of the Third Ward Voters League openly charged that 600 Italian citizens were ruling 4,000 native Americans. The Third Ward Voters League supported Kline in the race for mayor and Samuel Price, who was endeavoring to unseat Mr. Verona, as alderman and police magistrate.

During this campaign year Reverend A. V. Rightower

I. The Pittsburgh Courier, Saturday December 8, 1928.

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was a candidate in the Republican primary election for nomination for city councilman. He was the first Negro candidate for this office and made a remarkable showing in the third and fifth wards. This was one of the first instances of the political awakening of the Negroes in Pittsburgh, and it is especially significant because it came within the Republican party itself.

In the next year, 1930, there were several other signs of the political unrest and dissatisfaction within the Republican party. The Fifth Ward Civic League, a Republican political organization for Negroes, was formed under Negro leadership. Heretofore the Negro political forces had been divided into two separate organizations. The union of these factions was the beginning of united and concerted effort on the part of the Negroes in the fifth ward to make their political strength felt.

In this same year there was clear evidence of united political effort among local Negro voters when the third and fifth ward factions joined in endorsing Attorney Theron B. Hamilton, a Negro, as a Republican candidate for the legislative race in the first legislative district. He was a united choice. A committee was appointed to call on Mayor Kline, who had been elected in 1929 by a substantial Republican majority, to get support for Hamilton. Support was refused, but Hamilton declined to withdraw from the race. Instead of supporting Hamilton, Mayor Kline then endorsed Walter E. Tucker another Negro, as a legislative candidate for one of the two seats to be filled by that legislative district. This was the first time in the history

I. The Pittsburgh Courier, Saturday March 23, 1930.

of the city that a Negro had been officially endorsed by the city administration. This move on the part of the Republican forces was not one of generosity, but was obviously political. The outcome was evident.¹ With Negro support divided Tucker and Hamilton both lost the legislative fight, although together they polled more votes than either Joseph C. Marcus or J. E. Lynch, the winners in the primary. Marcus, however, died suddenly before the election. The City Republican Committee then designated Tucker to take his place on the election ballot. On November 8 eighth, for the first time in the history of the first legislative district, a Negro was elected to the state legislature. Lynch, his running mate was elected also. The Negroes voted the Republican ticket in this election.² Mr. Tucker took his seat in the Pennsylvania state legislature in 1901.

This same year the Negroes of the twentieth, twelfth, thirteenth, and eighteenth wards began to organize for the expressed purpose of increasing the voting power of the Negroes of their wards. In November 1901, Robert H. Logan and Earl Sams were elected alderman and constable respectively, on the Republican ticket in the fifth ward. This was the first time Negroes had held these offices. The fruits of Republican organization were becoming evident. The Negroes in the fifth ward had showed their newly found political strength by gaining two public elective offices.

1. The primary returns for the Republican candidate read as follows:
 J. E. Lynch 4,224 W. E. Tucker 2,857
 J. C. Marcus 4,882 W. H. Hamilton 2,400
 2. The Pittsburgh Courier, Saturday, November 8, 1900.

Meanwhile, on the local scene, Negroes remained active in the Republican party. Thus in the spring primary of 1902, three Negro candidates vied for nomination from the first legislative district. This disunion split the vote and lost the nomination.¹ The white candidate who won the nomination received 3,961 votes. The Negroes in the fifth ward received a majority of the Republican committee ships in the spring primaries, but although they had the balance of power in qualified votes, they continued to elect a white man chairman of their ward.

The loyalty toward the Republican party inspired by these gains on the local scene was offset in part by the action of President Hoover in nominating Judge Parker to the Supreme Court bench. Negroes in Pittsburgh joined with Negroes all over the country in protesting against this nomination. Negroes were asked by The Pittsburgh Courier to write letters of protest to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States. In an editorial written on April fifth, 1930, The Pittsburgh Courier stated:

"Even though these protests may not influence the decision of the Senate, they at least give warning to the powers that be that we are on the alert, ready at all times to reward friends and punish our enemies. Vigorous and manly protests always elicit respect."

Again the editor of The Pittsburgh Courier on April 26, 1930 wrote:

"President Hoover insists that Judge Parker is the right man. Can it be that President Hoover, who has done absolutely nothing for the Negro since he was made President, is determined to do something against the Negro?"

1. The vote read as follows:
 Earl Sams 880
 Homer Brown 2,457
 Walter Tucker 821 Total 4,158

Judge Parker was not endorsed in spite of the insistence of President Hoover. This episode lost President Hoover many Negro votes from Pittsburgh and elsewhere in the 1932 presidential election.

C. The Negro Reaction Against the Republican Party in Pittsburgh

Mr. Hoover's record in office was anything but satisfactory to the Negro. His refusal to recognize the race in major appointments, the nomination of Judge Parker, the discrimination against the colored Gold Star Mothers by the War Department, and the ignoring of race problems, particularly lynching, in his messages to Congress were considered by Negro political leaders to be major crimes. Mr. Mann of Pittsburgh, Director of publicity for the colored voters division of the Republican National Committee had been denied a job by the Hoover administration. On December 14, 1929, the Courier remarked that no mention of the Negro had been made by President Hoover in his message to Congress, and on December 15, 1931, The Pittsburgh Courier recorded a total of fifteen lynchings for that year. These and many other things aroused much ill feeling within Negroes in Pittsburgh and everywhere in the United States against President Hoover's administration. On the eve of the Republican convention, the editor of The Pittsburgh Courier remarked,

"The Flies will not swarm this year. The Negro will be conspicuous by his absence (at Chicago). He has no interest in the convention. He has no interest in Mr. Hoover."

By June of 1932, after the Republicans had renominated Mr. Hoover and announced their platform, it was clear that Negroes would get little attention, for they were barely mentioned. Meanwhile, the Democrats had nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt as

1. Cited in Van Deusen, J. G., "The Negro in Politics", The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 31, (July 1936), pp. 256-274.

their candidate for the Presidency. In November of that same year the Roosevelt landslide wrecked the so called Hill District machine. The Republican forces were on their way out. The 35,000 Negro votes in Allegheny County which helped put the county in the Roosevelt column was an indication of the Negro vote. Locally a check of the districts reveals the fact that the Negro vote was the actual balance of power in the county. Roosevelt won by 40,000 votes. Never before in the county had Negroes voted Democratic. In the following wards the vote was significant of the change to come. The third ward gave the Republicans 973 votes and the Democrats 1,569. The fifth ward, almost wholly dominated by the city and county payrolls, gave Hoover 2,679 votes and Roosevelt 2,347. It is interesting to note here that the third ward majority went over to the Democrats, but the Republicans still retained a majority of the fifth ward vote. Doubtless, this can be explained by the fact that more voters in the fifth ward were on the city and county payrolls. Registration figures for 1932 show that the third ward had 2,004 Republican registrations (white and Negro), and 483 Democratic registration. The fifth ward had 4,801 Republican registrations and 632 Democratic registrations (white and Negro). In both wards the votes for Democratic party outnumbered by far the number of Democratic registrations. The results of the vote in the third ward show a result exactly opposite from what the registration figures would lead one to believe. The colored districts in the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth wards gave Roosevelt a good share of their vote. In this election the Republicans, in these wards, still retained a substantial vote. Although Pittsburgh and Allegheny County

voted Democratic, Mr. Hoover carried Pennsylvania, but by a bare 150,000 votes. This figure is significant, especially when, in 1931 the registered Republicans in Pennsylvania numbered 2,963, 000, and the Democrats only 734,000. The vote in the two most populous Negro wards in Pittsburgh, as shown above, reflect the trend in Pennsylvania toward the Democratic party. Democratic registration figures had increased greatly, but did not keep up with the Democratic votes in the elections. Conversely Republican registration figures were far greater than Republican votes received.

In November 1933, William McHair, Democrat, was the winner of the mayoralty race. He won by a plurality of 25,000 votes. ¹ In this election the Republicans still retained a slight lead in both the Negro wards though the Democrats were gaining strength. The Republican lead in the third ward was much greater than in the fifth ward, in spite of the fact that in the presidential election of 1932 the third ward had given a substantial majority to the Democratic party. Likewise the Republicans continued to lead in registration figures for 1933. ² Democratic votes, however, exceeded the Democratic registrations, and the Republican registrations are far greater than Republican votes. Since the third and fifth ward have more colored voters than

1. The vote in wards with significant Negro population is as follows:
- | | | | | |
|------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| Third Ward | Herion | 2,150 | McHair | 2,483 |
| Fifth Ward | Rep. | 3,618 | Dem. | 3,283 |
2. The registration figures for the third and fifth wards are as follows:
- | | |
|------------|------------|
| Third Ward | Fifth Ward |
| Rep. 3,556 | Rep. 5,766 |
| Dem. 612 | Dem. 1,928 |

whites, one may conclude that many Negroes who were registered as Republicans had voted Democratic and in spite of its lead, the Republican party was fast losing votes to the Democrats. No longer did all but a few Negro votes go to the Republicans. The Pittsburgh Negro was swinging toward the Democratic fold.

III. THE PITTSBURGH NEGRO BECOMES DEMOCRATIC

A. The Influence of Joseph Guffey

Senator Joseph Guffey was Pennsylvania's first Democratic senator in fifty-four years. He was elected in 1934. It is said that the supreme exploit in the career of Joseph Guffey was a political coup by which he kidnapped the Republican party's basic asset, the Negro vote. Mr. Guffey was one of the small board of strategy managing the Roosevelt presidential campaign of 1932. Robert L. Vann owner-editor of The Pittsburgh Courier at a meeting with Mr. Guffey before the presidential election of 1932, surprised him with an ardent indictment of the Republicans. Mr. Guffey's horizon, always wide, suddenly broadened; he saw millions of Negro voters, Republicans no longer, Democrats all! He acted quickly, persuading the unwilling James Farley and Louis McHenry Howe to establish the first really effective Negro division a Democratic campaign committee has ever had, and to bring Vann to New York as the division's manager-in-chief.

This was only the beginning. Two days after the election of 1932 had swept Roosevelt into office, Guffey visited him at Hyde Park. The President-elect thanked Guffey for his support, and asked him what he wanted in return. Guffey wanted only two things -- a good diplomatic post for George H. Barlow III, and a first-class Federal job for Robert L. Vann. The best job which had ever been given by Republicans to a Negro was the position of Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. Accordingly, Vann was given this appointment at \$4,800 per year.¹ THE, Vol. 28, (August 17, 1936), pp. 10-11.

With that start, Guffey set to work in earnest. There were 377,000 Negro voters in Pennsylvania most of them Republicans by tradition. Vann's campaigning had converted some; Joseph Guffey wanted them all. As Mr. Guffey saw it, he had three sources of control. The springs of patronage, the lariat of love, and the bait of public money were all at his command.

Mr. Guffey started by giving ample recognition to his Negro constituents. The Federal jobs he passed out were like the one given to Vann, no such miserable janitorships and clerk-ships as the Republicans had been wont to give their Negro friends. And he passed out dozens of these to Negroes in communities throughout the state, sprinkling deputy-ships in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, ^{and} in minor court places. Then, for love, he loudly endorsed a bill making it a criminal offense for a Pennsylvania hotel keeper or restaurant or theatre owner to refuse accommodations to a Negro. This was subsequently enacted, after the Guffey organization had passed the word among hotel men that it was the merest show-case legislation. As for public money, millions of relief dollars found their way into Pennsylvania Negro hands; the senator saw to it that the recipients were grateful to the appropriate people.

In 1934, when Mr. Guffey was elected, Paul Jones, a Negro and chairman of the city-county colored Democratic party organization, was appointed the State organizer for the Democratic party. Attorney Homer Brown running on both tickets gained a seat in the legislature from the first legislative district. 1

I. The vote read as follows:

Homer Brown	Rep. 4,595
	Dem. 5,834
	10,429
Al Tronzo	Dem. 5,881

In the 1932 election of representatives from the first legislative district two Republicans had been elected in spite of the swing toward the Democratic party.¹ Now, just two years later, it is significant that two Democratic representatives were elected from the first legislative district. Mr. Brown was supported by the Negroes of both parties. This shows clearly that much of the machine control of Republican days was gone. The Republican forces were out after years of control.

In 1904 under the Guffey machine, George H. Marle was elected to the governorship of Pennsylvania along with Mr. Guffey, who was elected to the United States Senate.² This was the first time a Democratic governor had been elected since 1860. In this election the Democratic ratio in the state-wide vote for these offices was much less substantial than in either Allegheny County or in the third and fifth wards of Pittsburgh. The Democrats carried Allegheny County by more than 85,000 votes for both these offices. The Republicans, however, continued to lead in regis-

1. The results were as follows:

John D. Moore	Rep.	5,249
J.W. Lynch		4,861

W. Frank Hall	Dem.	3,606
Charles J. McCall		3,444

2. The vote read:

	Dem.	Rep.
Third ward	Guffey 2,800 Marle 2,794	Need 1,845 Schnader 1,065
Fifth ward	Guffey 4,070 Marle 3,881	Need 2,357 Schnader 2,810
State-wide vote for United States Senator and Governor		

	Dem.	Rep.
Guffey	1,481,020	1,066,872
Marle	1,476,267	1,410,138
Allegheny County vote for United States Senator and Governor		

	Dem.	Rep.
Guffey	286,377	128,956
Marle	282,178	148,291
Need		
Schnader		

trations in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.¹

Toward the end of this period Democratic clubs were being formed in wards with a significant colored voting population, and the Allegheny County Colored Democratic Club opened permanent headquarters.

In November of 1936, in one of the bitterest political campaigns in history of the fifth ward, Earl Sams, a Republican, eked out a hard fought victory over Joseph H. Hawkins, a Democrat, winning the office of constable by less than 400 votes. While Hawkins was defeated, old line Republicans read the hand writing on the wall, as their candidate had barely won out.

In October of 1936 Mayor McFair resigned. Cornelius Scully became the new mayor. The Negro in Pittsburgh had expressed his dissatisfaction over the administration of McFair. When Scully succeeded McFair, the Negroes in Pittsburgh hoped for a new deal.

B. The Negro in Pittsburgh Votes Overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in 1936

In no national election since 1860 have politicians been so Negro-minded as in 1936. There were thirty-two Negro delegates and alternates at the Democratic National Convention. Estimates of the money both parties spent to corral the Negro vote before the election day ran as high as \$1,000,000. The Democratic high command in this election adopted the successful tactics which local Democratic machines had been using in the past two years. Before that time any Negro who had voted Democratic had been threatened with social ostracism, if not bodily harm, by Republican members of his race. No respectable Negro congregation would have dreamed of allowing a Democratic political meeting to be held in its church. The local Democratic bosses, however, had discovered in the last four years that it would not be costly to outbid Republicans for the Negro vote. Their methods were fairly simple. They gave Negroes patronage. They permitted numbers games and other rackets to flourish in Negro quarters under protection. (Protection money fills the party treasury). They saw that Negroes got their full share of relief. (Ward politicians let it be understood that recipients must vote Democratic if they wish to stay on relief). The key argument of the Democrats was:

"Roosevelt has appointed fifty Negroes to important positions and has given Negroes at least their share of Federal jobs, relief, agricultural benefits, C.C.C. jobs, and housing projects."¹

The fruits of this cultivation of Negro support are revealed, in part, by the registration figures for 1936, which reveal more

1. Wage Book, Vol. 8, (September 12, 1936), pp. 18-19.

than a three to one Democratic lead in the third ward and a four to one in the fifth ward among Negro registrants.¹ They were further revealed in the presidential election results. The third ward gave Roosevelt 6,000 votes to 648 votes for Landon; the fifth ward gave him 2,333 votes to 2,309 for Landon. Thus the Negroes gave Roosevelt staunch support in this election which marked the final end of Republican supremacy over Negroes in Pittsburgh.

Equal in importance to the impressive strength of the Negro vote is the fact that for the first time so great a majority of the colored people in Pittsburgh and throughout the nation voted for a Democratic presidential candidate. By so doing, the race finally became an integral part of both major parties, and thereby gained in political stature and importance. On the local political scene, the election of five Negroes to the Pennsylvania legislature on the Democratic ticket was nothing short of a revolution among voters in that state. Not more than five years earlier there had been fewer than 2,000 Negro Democrats in Pennsylvania; on this election day, over 100,000 of the state's 200,000 colored voters supported the Democratic ticket.² Mr. Oscar Brown of the first legislative district was returned to

1. The registration figures for 1906 are as follows:

Negroes	Dem.	Rep.
Third Ward	4,914	1,197
Fifth Ward	3,702	1,306

White and Negro	Dem.	Rep.
Third Ward	7,304	1,756
Fifth Ward	8,317	2,600

2. Brown, Carl, "How the Negro Voted in the Presidential Election", *Commonwealth*, Vol. 12, (July 1906), pp. 167-170.

the legislature by a Democratic landslide.¹ In the same year, although the registration figures for Pennsylvania were 2,666,000 Republicans and 2,066,000 Democrats, President Roosevelt carried Pennsylvania by 600,000 votes.

1. The election results were:

	Dem.	Rep.
R. Brown	15,196	4,657
A. Trenas	14,300	4,339

IV. THE NEGROES IN PITTSBURGH REMAIN DEMOCRATIC

In every six-term election since 1870, with the exception of 1904, the administration has felt a wave of reaction surging against it. The year 1938 was no exception. In the House of Representatives, the Republican party increased its membership from 89 to 171 and in the Senate it gained eight new seats. Pennsylvania furnishes an excellent example of what happened on a nation-wide scale in 1938.

In the state-wide election of the year the Republican ticket of Arthur W. James for Governor and James Davis for United States Senator was victorious. After having tried out its first Democratic administration in forty-four years, the majority of the voters of Pennsylvania decided to return to their traditional Republicanism.¹

As a result of the 1938 state election the Pennsylvania

1. The voting results for Pittsburgh illustrates this fact very well:

	Dem. Jones	Rep. James
Wards 1 to 15	78,774	36,374
Wards 16 to 32	86,709	31,828
	165,483	107,497

	Dem. Davis	Rep. Davis
Wards 1 to 15	79,170	38,685
Wards 16 to 32	84,317	31,830
	163,487	110,515

The vote in the Third and Fifth Wards

	Dem.	Rep.
Third Ward		
Senator	Earle 5,480	Davis 1,359
Governor	Jones 5,433	James 1,194
Fifth Ward		
Senator	Earle 7,081	Davis 3,607
Governor	Jones 7,009	James 3,472

IV. THE NEGROS IN PITTSBURGH REMAIN DEMOCRATIC

In every mid-term election since 1870, with the exception of 1864, the administration has felt a wave of reaction sweeping against it. The year 1938 was no exception. In the House of Representatives, the Republican party increased its membership from 82 to 171 and in the Senate it gained eight new seats. Pennsylvania furnishes an excellent example of what happened on a nation-wide scale in 1938.

In the state-wide election of the year the Republican ticket of Arthur A. James for Governor and James Davis for United States Senator was victorious. After having tried out its first Democratic administration in forty-four years, the majority of the voters of Pennsylvania decided to return to their traditional Republicanism.¹

As a result of the 1938 state election the Pennsylvania

The voting results for Pittsburgh illustrate this fact very well:

	Dem. Jones	Rep. James
Wards 1 to 15	70,774	36,574
Wards 16 to 28	54,228	34,886
	124,992	107,457
	United States Senator	
	Dem. Davis	Rep. Jones
Wards 1 to 15	74,170	38,080
Wards 16 to 28	54,217	34,886
	127,457	112,913

The vote in the Third and Fifth Wards

	Dem.	Rep.
Third Ward		
Senator	Davis 5,485	Jones 4,256
Governor	James 5,420	Davis 4,194
Fifth Ward		
Senator	Davis 7,081	Jones 3,627
Governor	James 7,001	Davis 3,472

Negro found himself in a minority party for the first time. Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, however, remained in the Democratic fold. The returns from Pittsburgh show that the city as a whole supported Jones for Governor and Davis for United States Senator. In the Negro wards, the vote went to the Democratic candidates, too. The Negro wards voted more heavily Democratic than did other wards in the city. The great Democratic vote given by the so-called Democratic "strongholds" of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, was, however, more than compensated for by the Republican vote cast by the less populous districts and rural areas. The election statistics indicate the fact that most Negroes voted a straight Democratic or Republican ticket. The figures indicate that this is not the case to such a great extent in Pittsburgh generally. Of the two Democratic candidates Davis was more popular in the Negro wards and Jones was more popular in the city as a whole. Perhaps the fact that Davis was more well-known, having been the Governor of Pennsylvania, accounts for this difference.

Like most of America's laboring population, the Negro had faith in the Democratic principles of the New Deal. He had witnessed, and had been a part of, such phenomenal progress during the last six years under the Democratic party that the success and victory of this party and its continuance in office seemed imperative.

Nationally the Pennsylvania Negro had observed a heartening interest in his welfare on the part of the Roosevelt administration, as expressed generally in progressive social legislation and specifically in the appointment of many qualified

Negroes to important positions in the state and Federal governments. Locally he had only to compare his present condition as a political factor in the Democratic party with his relatively impotent position under the Republican regime in order to reach his decision. Under the Democratic banner he had witnessed for the first time the election to the state legislature of six Negro law-makers. He had seen more than 300 job-holders given posts in sixteen of the eighteen departments of the state. He had gained a much needed and strenuously fought for Civil Rights Law. He had seen members of his race acting in high administrative capacities for the first time² by such bodies as the Board of Tax Revision and the Workmen's Compensation Bureau.¹

Moreover, being among those furthest down in America's economic structure, the Negroes had been among the chief beneficiaries of the state's little New Deal Program, as well as that of the National Government. It was only natural, therefore, that he should show his gratitude by putting the full force of his ballot behind the party of the New Deal. As a result, four out of five colored Democratic candidates for the state legislature from Philadelphia were returned and one Democratic candidate defeated by only sixty-four votes. For the first time in the history of Pennsylvania a colored woman, Chrystal Byrd Faust, was elected to the legislature. The one Negro state legislative candidate from Allegheny County was returned with a large majority.

In this election of 1938, moreover, there was evidence of several new trends in political activity among Negroes. Young, well-trained, and college-educated workers supplemented and

¹ McKinney, G. W., "The Negro in Pennsylvania Politics", *Opportunity*, Vol. 17, (February 1909), pp. 50-51.

quently supplanted the old type leadership, bringing a new program and political technique to the colored voters. Negro women of the state were more active than ever in the campaign. Young voters were organized effectively for the first time.

A. The Pittsburgh Negro Supports Roosevelt for a Third Term

The results of the 1940 election show that, in the main, Negro voters as well as others not only registered Democratic, but that they voted Democratic.¹ The President carried the city by about 71,000. The Democratic vote was 27 per cent of the Democratic registration; the Republican vote was 84 per cent of the Republican registration.

An examination of the returns from the third and fifth wards shows that a considerable number of Negroes who were registered Republican probably voted the Democratic ticket. Perhaps this can be explained by the subordinate economic position of the Negro. Many Negroes who do not hold political jobs, but who work for white businessmen steeped in the tradition of the Republican party, register Republican to hold their jobs, but vote the Democratic ticket because they realize that Negroes in Pittsburgh have made more gains under the Democratic party. These two wards were the banner Democratic wards. In only one of the thirty districts of these two wards did the Republican's exceed the vote of the Democrats. (The ninth district of the fifth ward). In the tenth district of the third ward, which is 89 per cent colored, the registered Democrats outnumbered the registered Republicans 1,306 to 256. In the election, the Democratic vote was even more preponderant. Roosevelt carried 90 votes. Roosevelt received the district by 1,087 to Wilkie's

1. The Registration figures for 1940.	
Total number of registered voters	356,021
Total number of white voters	335,097
Total number of Negro voters	10.6 per cent or 36,942

85 per cent of the votes cast in the third ward, and 77 per cent of the votes in the fifth ward.

The voters in the third and fifth wards, moreover, voted for the Democratic candidates for all other offices. It is true that the President led the Democratic ticket. However, the other candidates were not far behind him. In the third ward President Roosevelt received 7,785 votes; Senator Guffey, 7,453; and Messrs. Brown and Verona, legislative candidates, 7,448 and 7,304 respectively. In this ward Mr. Wilkie received 1,334 votes; and Messrs. Winstead and Schneider, legislative candidates, 1,334 and 1,302. In the fifth ward the President received 8,743 votes; Senator Guffey, 9,134; and Messrs. Brown and Verona, 9,385 and 8,009 respectively. Mr. Wilkie received 2,894 votes; Mr. Cooke, 2,831 and the Republican candidates, Messrs. Winstead and Schneider, 3,082 and 2,700 respectively.

Mr. Homer Brown received several hundred more votes in his district than did his running mate for the legislature, Verona, yet he ran more than 1,000 votes behind the President. His legislative district contains the first ward which had but a negligible Negro vote. Mr. Winstead, Mr. Brown's colored opponent, ran a hundred votes ahead of his Republican running mate for the legislature, and ahead of Mr. Cooke, the Republican candidate for the United States Senate. He also led Mr. Wilkie by about 100 votes. Evidence supports the view that the voters with but few exceptions vote straight party tickets — and that Democratic and Republican candidates receive the party vote whether they are Negro or white. Doubtless there were some Negro voters who voted for Brown and Winstead because they were Negroes and some whites

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who voted for Verona and Schneider because they were white, but in both cases such voters were not important numerically. Whether the same lack of prejudice could hold true in other wards of the city no one knows, since there were no other Negroes running for public office in the recent elections.

It has been suggested that the Negro vote was influenced by the relief situation. There is no question that this is an important consideration with any unemployed community. Studies made in California, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and Pennsylvania bring this out clearly. Public opinion polls have presented corroborative evidence. It is doubtful, however, whether this is a chief consideration.

Since the 1936 election so closely resembles the 1940 election, it is significant to point out that in a study made by Elmer Anderson it was found that in 1936 the relationship between the Roosevelt vote and the percentage of persons on relief by census tracts was a positive one. About 16 per cent of the variation in the Negro vote as between census tracts could be explained by variation in the ratio of those on relief.¹

It is useless to deny that the relief situation is important in explaining the shift of the Negro vote from the Republican to the Democratic party in the past eight years. There are other reasons, namely: (a) Urbanization had produced social and psychological changes in individuals and groups which tended to break down stereotyped and traditional allegiances. (b) The Negroes had become dissatisfied with the Republican party because

¹Anderson, E. F., "The Negro Vote in the Northern Cities", *The National Industrial Relation*, Vol. 30, (May 1941), pp. 364-377.

it had not granted gains commensurate with the support given.

(c) The Roosevelt administration was more liberal in its attitude toward Negroes than previous Democratic administrations. (d) Negroes were increasingly exposed to the labor movement and radical propaganda. (e) As the local administrations became Democratic it was necessary for the Negro underworld to swing behind the Democratic machine or go out of business. Democratic political machines have been supported vigorously by Negro racketeers from the third and fifth wards. (f) There had never been a Democratic candidate for President who was so appealing to the group as Roosevelt was. Mrs. Roosevelt was also an asset.

Consider how applicable these considerations are to the 1940 campaign. Those Negroes who had migrated from rural to urban communities sometime ago would be expected to be the most emancipated from the traditional view toward the Republican party. Other things being equal, it can be expected that the oldest Negro communities would show the most pronounced tendency to support the Democratic party. The so-called Hill District is one of the oldest Negro districts in Pittsburgh. Negroes migrated there as long ago as fifty years. The third and fifth wards of the Hill District showed the most pronounced tendency to support the Democratic party. In no other wards have Negroes voted more heavily Democratic than in these two.

The 1940 elections were a further illustration that economic conditions are having more and more important influence on the voting behavior of the Negroes in northern cities. Generally, where the Negroes have had an opportunity to join the industrial proletariat, they have swung more rapidly to the Democratic fold

than in those sections where they have been largely confined to the field of domestic employment. An examination of the occupation statistics for Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis shows that there are proportionately more Negroes employed in industry in Pittsburgh and Detroit than in Cincinnati and Philadelphia. The switch to the Democratic party took place more rapidly in Detroit and in Pittsburgh than in Cincinnati and the Quaker City. The C.I.O. unions in the steel, packing and automotive industries have in general been more sympathetic toward admitting Negroes than the old line unions under the A.F. of L. Among the well-to-do Negroes and among those whose livelihood is in no way connected with politics, the Republican tradition was still strong. On the other hand, the unionized and industrial elements, the underprivileged who were dependent upon government aids, those connected with the underworld, and a growing number of young realists were supporting the Democratic party.

Mayor Scully was re-elected in 1941. He received 112,726 votes to 109,980 votes for Denny, the Republican candidate, a majority of 2,746 votes. Here again the Negro vote was important. The Negroes cast a 7,000 majority vote in the third and fifth wards. A Republican Court of Common Pleas elected in this year appointed Mr. Homer Brown of the Democratic party to the school board in 1942. He was the first Negro ever to hold this position. Messrs. Brown and Verona were re-elected from the first legislative district in 1942.

In the general election for the Governor, the Pittsburgh

I. See footnote 1, p. 32.

burgh Negroes supported the Democratic candidate, although the state-wide vote went to Dr. Edward Martin. The vote in Pittsburgh was 76,978 for Martin, and 105,170 for Boss, the Democratic candidate.⁴³ The Negro wards again gave their vote to the Democratic party in this election.

1. General Assembly election of 1942

Third Ward		Fifth Ward	
Dem.		Dem.	
Brown	1,450	Brown	3,908
Varona	1,421	Varona	3,922
Rep.		Rep.	
Callie	527	Callie	1,011
Kadir	532	Kadir	2,036
Grand total of the First Legislative District wards 1,0,6			
Brown	12,837	Callie	3,919
Varona	11,898	Kadir	3,958

2. The vote for third and fifth wards is as follows:

Third Ward		Fifth Ward	
Boss	4,077	Boss	6,820
Martin	1,034	Martin	2,201
	Dem.		Rep.

B. The Pittsburgh Negro Remains Loyal to Roosevelt in 1944

When in 1936, the Negroes broke loose from their traditional Republican moorings, they voted against President Hoover not only because they had suffered in the depression, but also because Hoover had veiled but thinly his contempt for the race. Four years later they voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt because of his program of relief, labor and social legislation. In 1940 Roosevelt was still the favorite, but his majorities in Negro districts were not so great as in 1936. In 1944 both parties vied for his support.

While the Negro voter's politically inferior position in American life presents him with certain special problems, he is also concerned with the issues that confront the American people as a whole. Peace and employment are as vital to him as to any other citizen. He is for a conclusive victory in the war, a post war program for full production and employment. In addition as a Negro he considers three issues of particular importance — the treatment of colored men and women in the armed services, the establishment of a permanent F.E.P.C., and enactment of Federal anti-poll tax legislation. The 1944 Democratic platform was either silent on these questions or dealt in broad generalities. The Republicans, in spite of these pledges, failed because their campaign was heliose, transparent, and unconvincing.

Ineffective as were the efforts of the Republicans, there was need for an organized counter-campaign to clarify the basic issues. The Democratic National Committee was active in

Negro communities in many industrial cities, but the principal drive was made by the C.I.O. Political Action Committee and its affiliated organization, the National Citizens' P.A.C. The half million Negro members of C.I.O. unions were approached through the regular trade union channels. An intensive effort was made in the cities to reach the entire Negro community. More than 4,500,000 pieces of literature were distributed. Thousands of volunteers were enlisted to canvass the neighborhood. Outstanding Negro leaders endorsed the President and worked for his reelection through the National Citizens' P.A.C. Although the two Negro papers with the largest circulation went Republican, there was articulate and loyal support from more progressive publications including two which for many years had supported only Republican candidates.

The help which the P.A.C. had contributed to the elimination from Congress of some of the worst Negro baiters (Joe Starns, Cotton ed Smith, Martin Dies and others) was an asset of incalculable value. But the most effective campaigner was the President himself. His unequivocal settlement of the Philadelphia transit strike, which was directed against the upgrading of Negro workers, was far more effective than any words of Governor Lewey. This was followed by his declaration in favor of a permanent F.E.P.C., and a plea for the removal of all racial and economic restrictions upon the ballot. In addition, the President took steps to curb the discriminatory practices in the armed services, opening the WAVES and SPANES to Negro women, abolishing segregation in the transportation and recreational facilities of army posts, and re-issuing orders for the establishment of separate redistribution

centers for returning veterans. Negroes also approved the President's reaffirmation of adherence to the New Deal and his advocacy of expanded social security and public housing programs.

Having thus been ardently wooed by both major parties during the 1944 pre-election campaign, the Negro chose to remain loyal to the New Deal under which he had made great gains in employment, social welfare, housing, and political recognition. Returns from largely Negro populated centers in Pennsylvania show that the President carried the Negro districts by substantial majorities.¹ The heavily populated Negro districts in Pittsburgh helped bring about the plurality of 86,101 votes for President Roosevelt in the city, and the plurality of 78,882 over Governor Dewey in the Allegheny County. The third ward with 6,867 eligible colored voters out of 6,466 persons actually voting cast 5,864 ballots for Roosevelt against 1,082 for Dewey; a showing of more than five to one. The fifth ward with 12,102 registered Negroes out of the total vote of 12,182 likewise gave Roosevelt a tremendous vote of 10,231 against 2,851, a ratio of three and one half to one.

The election returns of 1944 indicate the important role of Negro voters in Franklin D. Roosevelt's re-election. No particular part of the electorate can claim to be "the" decisive factor in the election, but the Negro vote is today more necessary to the success of a Presidential candidate than the solid

I. The vote in Negro districts

	Dewey	Roosevelt
Pittsburgh	8,806	18,150
Philadelphia	18,380	30,150
	51,186	51,850

State plurality for Roosevelt was 69,150.

South. The Negroes are voting more independently and more intelligently than in the past. Then geographical distribution gives them a strategic advantage. The Negro vote contributed substantially to the victory of the President in seven states which together had 168 electoral votes. The eleven states of the solid South have only 127 electoral votes.

In the 1944 election Mr. Homer Brown, incumbent in the Pennsylvania Assembly, was returned with his white Democratic running mate, Daniel A. Verona, defeating the Republican aspirants, Lucius Davenport and William B. Tucker, Negroes, by a vote of more than three to one.¹ Only one Pittsburgh Negro, Arthur S. Brown, had the privilege of actually casting an electoral ballot for President of the United States, but there were many who participated actively in the campaign. High on the list of these Pittsburgh Negroes were Edward Porter, Assistant City Solicitor Thomas Burton, Attorney Homer Brown, Assistant County Solicitor Wilbur Douglass, John Thompson, and Alexander Wright, chairman of the Political Action Committee in the fifth ward. Davenport and Tucker received a solid vote from white Republicans in the ninth district of the fifth ward, which has only eight colored Republicans registered. Each of these candidates received his largest vote, 578, from this precinct. The pair did not poll above 300 votes in any other separate district, although their Democratic opponents went over 500 in a great many precincts.

In the June primary elections of 1945 Charles P. Per-

I. The complete 45 districts gave:

Brown	17,551	Davenport	8,122
Verona	17,450	Tucker	4,927

nell, though not publicly endorsed by either faction of the Democratic party, won the approval of the fifth ward committeeman and committeewoman. Mr. Parnell was an independent Democratic candidate for nomination to run for city Council. This was the first time in Pittsburgh politics that a Negro candidate for city office had been endorsed by a ward organization or elected committee member; to break a slate already announced by city and county leaders of any political party. Parnell led the Democratic ticket in the fifth ward by 1,000 votes, although he failed to win the nomination and finished seventh in the final count with 15,701. Parnell was top man in twenty-one of the twenty-five districts of the fifth ward. His highest vote was polled in the first district (306); the lowest, in the Twenty-second (78). The third ward gave Parnell sixth place; there was no endorsement in this ward.¹ Parnell was the second Negro candidate for nomination for city Council, the other having been A. V. Hightower; who lost the nomination in 1939. Mr. Parnell had never run for political office before, and had had no political experience.

These results point to a different trend in the times. The war has in part responsible; also, a new aggressiveness on the part of the Negro. A big factor is the change which has taken place in the mind of the average citizen. The fact that Mr. Parnell had less to work with in the way of registered voters, finance and groundwork boosters, makes his 15,000 votes stand out. This remarkable strength can be attributed to a desire for new leadership. The Negro will now vote for a race candidate.

I. The final vote in the fifth ward shows the following total:

Parnell	4,642	Richardson	3,308
Richardson	3,360	Barton	1,893

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1. The final vote in the fifth ward shows the following total:
 Farnell 1,141
 Richardson 1,108

V. THE INFLUENCE OF NEGROES IN PARTY CONTROL

Although Negroes furnish a considerable percentage of the voters in Pittsburgh, they exert but a very minor influence in the management of either political party. There is only one Negro ward chairman, the Republican chairman of the fifth ward. In both the third and fifth wards the Democratic vice-chairman are Negroes. A majority of the Democratic committee members of the fifth ward are Negroes, but they have selected a white man as their ward chairman. In some of the other wards in which there is a sizable Negro population there are a few Negro party committeemen in both parties. One can say, therefore, that in no ward of the city, even in the two where they constitute a majority of the voters, do Negroes really control the party organization. Even though the Negro vote is sometimes the balance of power, the Negro in Pittsburgh can use this weapon with little if any effect to influence or control the Democratic party. There seems to be no hope that the Negro ever will exert any control in the party organization outside the thickly populated Negro wards.

VI. THE NEGRO IN ELECTIVE OFFICE

Pittsburgh has not as yet sent a Negro ^{to} Congress. The reason for this is obvious. Allegheny County is entitled to five Congressmen. In only one of these districts do the Negroes constitute a large block of voters, the thirty-second district. Both the third and fifth wards of Pittsburgh are included in this district. The same Congressional district, however, includes thirteen other wards (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, wards). The total number of registered voters in this Congressional district is 149,607; the registered Negro voters in the district account for something over 30 per cent of the voters. Obviously party leaders hesitate to push any Negro candidate under these circumstances unless they feel sure that white voters will not discriminate against a Negro candidate. That is probably not their conviction at the present time. In the last election (1944) the smallest vote that elected a Congressman was about 40,000. There are not that many Negro voters in the entire city.

Mr. Homer Brown is the second Negro who has been elected to the Pennsylvania legislature from western Pennsylvania, and he holds the most important elective post filled by a Pittsburgh Negro. In 1944 he was elected for his sixth consecutive term in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Mr. Brown is very popular with the white voters as well as the Negroes. He has had the support of the newspapers. He is a highly intelligent and well educated legislator. Mr. Brown's legislative record is excellent. His work as a legislator has been noteworthy from the

first; and newspaper men who had covered the sessions at Harrisburg voted him the "most able" of the state's 208 representatives. It was he who introduced and successfully carried through the amendment to the state's "Little Labor Relations Act" which excludes from the benefit of the legislation any union that discriminates against persons because of their race, creed or color. Likewise, it was he who sponsored a resolution calling for an investigation of the Pittsburgh Board of Education's attitude toward Negro teachers, and served as a member of the committee set up for this inquiry. This committee upheld the charges of discrimination, and, while the Board denied them, it is significant that the first persons of the Negro race appointed to teaching positions in the Pittsburgh public school system were named shortly after this inquiry.

The only two other Negroes holding elective offices at present are an alderman and a constable, both in the fifth ward. That the Negro voters and their political leaders are dissatisfied with the present situation goes without saying, but that there is much they can do about it is doubtful. If Negro voters were not so widely scattered throughout the city, they might obtain a few more elective offices.

The Negro voter has become a more and more intelligent user of his ballot, and by and large has had good leadership in this field in Allegheny County. The Negro votes in the Hill district have wisely given rather solid backing to Mr. Brown so that in the last elections he has won, he has had merely to announce that he was a candidate and his re-election was practically assured.

VII. THE NEGRO APPOINTIVE OFFICE: PATRONAGE

When we turn to appointive officers we see that here the Negro has fared somewhat better. The present Democratic city administration under Mayor Beally has recognized its political obligations to the Negro voter by appointing prominent Negroes to a number of relatively important offices, as well as by increasing the number of Negroes in the lower ranks of the city service. Negro leaders point with justifiable pride to the fact that there is now a Negro member of the City Board of Assessors; a Negro member of the Board of Water Assessors; a Negro assistant city solicitor; and a Negro School Board member. Other appointed Negro officers include: in the ^{Public} Works Department, a building inspector; and in the Welfare Department, a social worker and 13 nurses in the city hospitals; in the Department of Public Safety, one police lieutenant, 51 patrolmen, two detectives, a police woman, two fire captains and eight firemen; and in several other departments a number of clerks and stenographers. Of course Negro laborers and janitors in considerable numbers have long been employed in the local governmental services. Negro leaders claim, however, that it has been in recent years only that Negroes have been given any appreciable number of white collar jobs and particularly positions in what may be called the unmanagerial and supervisory services. For this advance they are inclined to give credit to the Democratic party. They also point to the fact that Negroes have been recognized by the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh. About a dozen Negroes have been appointed in this agency. They

include a management aide, an investigator, a Community Relations Counselor, a secretary and a number of minor offices.

It should be mentioned that Negroes have been appointed also to a number of the County offices. The following are the more important; an accountant in the Public Works Department; an investigator in the Bureau of Claims and Investigation; one Deputy Coroner; three deputy Sheriffs; six clerks in the Registration Commission office, and several clerks in the offices of the County Commissioners and the Register of Wills. Numerous Negro laborers and foremen are found in the Bureau of the Department of Public Works.

Negro leaders point out also that under Governor Murie's administration the Negroes of Pittsburgh were recognized by a number of important appointments, both patronage appointments and appointments under the Civil Service system set up in the Department of Public Assistance and in the Unemployment Compensation Bureau. Mr. Paul Jones, one of the most prominent Negroes in Pittsburgh, held the position of Workmen's Compensation referee during the Murie administration. He was replaced by another Negro by Governor Janss. These Negroes who were appointed under the Civil Service system by the Democratic administration have, in the main, been continued under succeeding administrations.

In regard to the Pittsburgh Negroes employed by the National Government the most common claim by Negro leaders is that there have been greater opportunities for promotion during recent years. Both the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Post Office are cited as illustrations. A considerable number of Negroes is employed in both these agencies. One branch Post Office has a Negro superintendent.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The great majority of the Negroes of Pittsburgh (as well as the white voters) have in the last ten years switched from the Republican to the Democratic party. It appears also that in the case of both white and Negro voters there is a strong tendency to vote the straight party ticket. The registration figures constitute an index to the change in voting trends, though they do not present a wholly accurate picture of party strength. Negro voters show perhaps a stronger tendency than do white voters to vote even more heavily Democratic than they register. It is a commonplace observation that voting in these later years shows an ever increasing tendency to follow class lines. The Negro in Pittsburgh as in other cities lives in the poorest section of the city and he stands at the bottom of the economic scale. Hence he tends to vote for the party he thinks more likely to pursue policies in the interest of the less favored economic groups. His recent political activity in Pittsburgh indicates that at present he thinks this party is the Democratic party. Negro Democrats emphasize this view. Negro Republicans in the main agree with it although they minimize what the Democrats have actually done for the Negro. Greater participation by Negroes in the heavily populated districts is possible. It seems, though, that only those who are on the receiving end or those who are on the city payrolls, or hold offices or jobs are really interested in politics. The rank and file do not participate in political meetings and activities. Only those persons who hold office or jobs under the patronage of a political party exhibit any political interest out-

side of the casting of a vote. Many of the rank and file fail to participate even to this extent.

Although the Democrats may have done somewhat more politically for the Negro than did the Republicans while they controlled the city and the state, they have not been excessively liberal to the Negro either in electing or appointing him to office. That the policies of the Roosevelt administration, however, have been favorable to the Negro, as well as to the less economically fortunate of other races, is indisputable. That, more than anything else, seems to be the explanation of the party revolution in Pittsburgh — especially among Negroes, but also among whites.

Since 1863 there has come a new political awakening among the Negro masses in the urban North and the ballot is bringing tangible rewards which an impoverished and oppressed minority cannot ignore. In the last decade we have seen the rise of Negro influence in municipal government in most of our major northern cities. One of the most significant political events since Lincoln freed the slaves, was the winning by the Democratic party of the Negro vote in the North in 1932, and its retention in 1936, 1940, and 1944. It means that from now on the Democratic party will be competing for what has heretofore belonged to the Republicans. Because the vote represents something near a balance of power in many northeastern states, it seems also that northern Negroes may become more important than southern whites in the party of the white South's long allegiance.

It is obvious that the Negro vote is important to both major political parties and that the Negro concentration in pivotal states in the East and Middle West affords a spring board for

decisive political action. It is important too, that the Negro voter has demonstrated in his switch to Roosevelt that his allegiance can no longer be won nor retained unless he is led to believe that he is getting a square deal. It became abundantly clear in the election of 1936 that the President was still carrying out the mandates of the great majority of the people. The social reforms of the New Deal brought direct benefits to low income or impoverished groups including America's Negro minority.

The decision of the Negro people is, therefore, already made. It is that the Negro people do see the opportunity, not as a pious aspiration for an indefinite future, but as an immediate political task under the present system, of approximating the position of equal citizens in America. This is the right of self-determination by the Negro people. By their attitude, the Negro people have exercised their historical right of self-determination.

Negro participation in politics in Pittsburgh was at first timid and meager, but today Negro voting behavior approximates the average. Negro party affiliation was once inflexibly Republican. This is no longer so. Nor is the Negro's behavior atypical with regard to third party support. Negro voting behavior in the North can no longer be described as generally atypical. The fact is that the Negro voter in the North is much more thoroughly assimilated politically than he is socially or economically. The Negro voter like the white voter is preyed upon by the political leaders, who are professional politicians and therefore largely self-seeking, but he expects a direct return for his vote in the form of jobs, and social and municipal services. His vote, especially when political lieutenants can

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control it, is a voice that can command attention.

The concentration of the northern Negro in segregated residential areas in many northern cities has made for a more effective vote. The Negro vote thus often controls the selection of local and state officials. Dividends in the form of local, state and federal patronage are now paid to the Negro as a matter of course. In numerous local sections, the Negro has constituted the balance of power. In close national elections such as the one in 1960, when the independent vote is considered a serious factor, the major parties carefully woo the Negro voters. The Negro vote is a constant threat and Negro organizations have made effective use of this threat in their lobbying activities on behalf of the anti-lynching bills.

It is difficult to assess the real benefits accruing to the northern Negro from his growing political activity. Prior to 1900, the great concentration on presidential campaigns paid only small dividends to the Negro masses though Negro political leaders often plucked juicy patronage plums for themselves. The New Deal for the first time gave broad recognition to the existence of the Negro as a national problem and undertook to give specific consideration to this fact in many ways, though the basic evils have remained untouched.

The more immediate gains from political activity have resulted from the strategic role played by the Negro electorate in municipal campaigns. Here the Negro in the northern cities has been able to trade his vote for tangible results, better schools, playground facilities, sanitation, hospital accommodations, police and fire protection, transportation services, im-

proved lighting and paving, municipal employment and office holding and direct representation.

Though it can never be said that the Negro sections in general receive an equitable share of such benefits, it is undoubtedly true that the conditions in the Negro residential areas of every northern city in which the Negro wields a significant vote would be much more neglected were it not for the power of that vote.

It is not enough, however, that the Negro in the North has attained political emancipation, that he is learning the value of the ballot and that his voting behavior approaches the norm. In a broader sense, all voting in the North is still too much under the shadow of machine control to permit of maximum expression of the individual will. Ballots are too frequently bought, corrupt politicians are still too influential, and the Negro is still too easily duped.

CHART I

POPULATION

Age by Race and Sex for the City of Pittsburgh 1960

All Classes			
All Ages	Total	Male	Female
	608,617	332,676	337,341
21 years and Over	415,934	208,817	208,107
	61.6%	61.9%	61.7%
Negroes			
Total Negro Population 84,983			
	Total	Male	Female
	54,980	27,982	27,021

21 Years and Over

35,981 18,869 17,115
 Negro population is 8.2 per cent of white population.

Age by Race and Sex for the City of Pittsburgh 1940

All Classes			
All Ages	Total	Male	Female
	671,639	340,007	341,632
21 Years and Over	451,999	220,854	230,750
	67.3%	64.9%	67.6%
Negroes			
	62,216	31,056	31,160
21 Years or Over	40,668	20,570	20,096
	65.4%	64.2%	64.6%

Per cent of total Negro population, male and female above.

Negro population equals 8.2 per cent of white population.

CHART II

Potential Voting Population of Pittsburgh

Total:	1940	1960
	481,393	415,934
White		
1. Native (76.3)	327,615	(71.5) 276,545
2. Naturalized (14.2)	60,886	(13.2) 73,457
Negro		
1. Negro (9.4)	40,402	(9.3) 35,741

Potential Voting Population Third and Fifth Wards

1940		
Third Ward	Total	Negro
	21,638	11,160
Fifth Ward	28,577	20,840
		18,151
1960		
Third Ward	22,140	8,575
		12,780
Fifth Ward	29,179	16,695
		18,365

APPENDIX I

CHART I

POPULATION

Age by Race and Sex for the City of Pittsburgh 1930

All Classes			
All Ages	Total	Male	Female
	659,817	334,976	324,841
21 Years and Over	419,934	208,817	211,117
	61.8%	61.9%	61.7%

Negroes
Total Negro Population 84,988

Total	Male	Female
84,988	27,958	57,031
21 Years and Over	35,981	17,119

Negro population is 8.2 per cent of white population.

Age by Race and Sex for the City of Pittsburgh 1940

All Classes			
All Ages	Total	Male	Female
	671,659	330,007	341,652
21 Years and Over	451,393	220,354	231,039
	67.2%	66.9%	67.5%

Negroes
62,216 31,066 31,150

21 Years or Over	40,666	20,570	20,096
	65.4%	65.2%	64.9%

Per cent of total Negro population, male and female above.

Negro population equals 9.3 per cent of white population.

CHART II

Potential Voting Population of Pittsburgh

Total:	1940	1930
	461,993	419,934
White		
1. Native (76.3)	327,613	(71.5) 273,545
2. Naturalized (14.2)	60,896	(19.3) 73,457
Negro		
1. Negro (9.4)	40,483	(9.3) 33,711

Potential Voting Population Third and Fifth Wards

1940			
Third Ward	Total	Negro	21 Years or Over
	21,828	11,130	14,783
Fifth Ward	28,577	20,840	19,151
1930			
Third Ward	22,140	8,573	14,790
Fifth Ward	29,179	15,696	18,365

CHART II

Potential Voting Population of Pittsburgh

	1940	1930
Total:	451,393	413,754
White		
1. Native (76.3)	327,615	(71.5) 279,840
2. Naturalized (14.2)	60,899	(15.2) 78,257
Negro		
1. Negro (9.4)	40,482	(9.3) 35,711
Potential Voting Population Third and Fifth Wards		
	1940	
Third Ward		
Total	21,528	
Negro	11,190	
Bl. female or Over		11,760
Fifth Ward		
Total	35,577	
Negro	20,940	
Bl. female or Over		19,151
	1930	
Third Ward		
Total	22,140	
Negro	8,575	
Bl. female or Over		13,790
Fifth Ward		
Total	33,179	
Negro	15,695	
Bl. female or Over		18,365

CHART III

Total Registration for the City of Pittsburgh from 1925 to 1944

Year	Republican	Democratic	Miscellaneous	Total
1925	106,336	56,430	---	112,766
1926	85,031	51,691	---	90,722
1927	146,176	41,840	---	192,796
1928	150,850	29,930	---	180,840
1929	---	---	---	---
1930	135,351	41,435	---	108,136
1931	119,241	3,707	---	20,748
1932	144,890	20,107	2,512	156,775
1933	160,332	36,441	500	127,472
1934	118,320	29,903	---	220,186
1935	120,425	221,622	2,126	207,169
1936	126,431	173,170	2,268	310,930
1937	119,050	188,068	1,222	303,330
1938	119,870	104,081	1,772	320,331
1939	120,300	120,308	1,222	318,800
1940	129,076	215,154	1,722	358,021
1941	120,124	211,775	1,877	342,367
1942	120,596	199,472	1,503	321,371
1943	120,433	124,647	1,500	312,308
1944	129,072	204,122	1,714	334,948

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