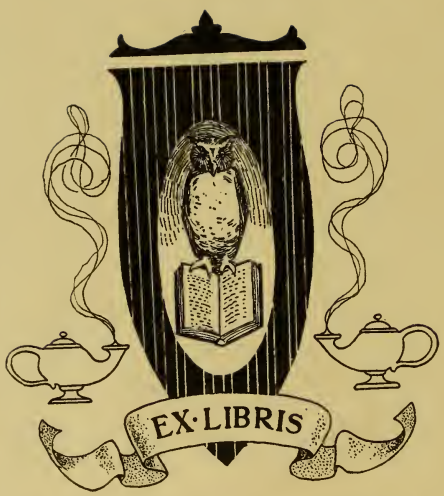
The Negro in the Cities of the North

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The Negro in the Cities of the North

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CHARITIES

Number 1

EDITOR
EDWARD T. DEVINE

OCTOBER 7, 1905

ASSISTANT EDITORS
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THE MAKE-UP OF NEGRO CITY GROUPS — Lilian Brandt — 7

Miss Brandt is secretary of the Committee on Social Research, New York Charity Organization Society. Wellesley, B. A., 1895; M. A., 1901. She is author of *The Negroes of St. Louis*, printed in the publications of the American Statistical Association, March, 1903; of articles on the social aspects of tuberculosis, and a monograph on deserters and their families; editor of the *Tuberculosis Directory*.

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Miss Kellor is general director of the Intermunicipal Committee on Household Research, an organization devoted to the study of industrial problems of women. Author of *Experimental Sociology*, a study of crime among women of the Southern prison system; and of *Out of Work*, the results of an investigation of the employment agencies in this country. Miss Kellor is identified with the New York and Philadelphia Associations for the Protection of Negro Women, and with the enactment and enforcement of the New York state employment agency law.

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Associate professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania, assistant director of the New York School of Philanthropy. Dr. Kelsey was superintendent of the Aid Department, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, 1890-1901. Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania, 1903; author of *The Negro Farmer*, 1904.

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Principal Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute since 1881. Graduate of Hampton Institute, 1875; A. M., Harvard, 1896; LL. D., Dartmouth, 1901. Author of *Up from Slavery*, 1901; *Character Building*, 1902; *Story of My Life and Work*, 1903; president of the National Negro Business Men's League, etc.

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Mr. Benson is son of the founder of Kowaliga community and schools; a graduate of Howard University, bringing to the practical enterprises of his father a wide cultural outlook and definite social study. Address *Manual Training as Preventive of Delinquency Among Colored Children*, National Conference of Charities, 1904.

THE NEGRO HOME IN NEW YORK — Mary White Ovington — 25

Miss Ovington holds a fellowship under the Committee on Social Research, Greenwich House, to investigate conditions among the Negroes. She has been engaged in this work for fourteen months. From 1895 to 1903 she was head-worker at the Greenpoint Settlement of Pratt Institute Neighborhood Association of Brooklyn.

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Professor of economics and history at Atlanta University. Graduate Fisk University, 1888; Harvard, 1890; A. M., 1891; Ph. D., 1895. Author of *The Philadelphia Negro. The Soul of the Black Folk*, and several studies of the Negro. Dr. DuBois is general secretary of the Niagara Movement recently instituted to maintain the civil and political rights of the colored men of America.

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Holder of the Harvard fellowship, South End House, Boston, giving several years' study to the conditions of the Negroes in Boston. A. B., 1903; A. M., 1904, and now working for his doctorate.

SOCIAL BONDS IN THE BLACK BELT; CHICAGO — Fannie B. Williams — 40

Frederick Douglass Social Center, Chicago. Mrs. Williams is the wife of S. Laing Williams, member of the Chicago Bar. Graduate of the Collegiate Department of the State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y., and of a special course in art and music at the New England Conservatory, Boston. Author of newspaper and magazine articles on social life of colored people. Mrs. Williams is the only colored woman who has ever been admitted to membership of the Chicago Women's Club.

SOME CAUSES OF CRIMINALITY — J. H. N. Waring — 45

Dr. Waring is principal of the Colored High and Training School of Baltimore, was born in Michigan, taking his degrees A. M. and M. D. at Harvard University. For twenty-three years Dr. Waring taught in Washington, D. C., schools, during twelve of which he was supervisor.

NEGRO DEPENDENCE IN BALTIMORE — Helen B. Pendleton — 50

Miss Pendleton is a native of West Virginia and taught in the schools there before coming to Baltimore, where she has been an agent of the Charity Organization Society for about nine years. On her native heath and in Baltimore she has had abundant opportunity to observe the Negroes and has done much good work among them.

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Member of the partnership of Cole & Johnson, music composers, consisting of Rosamond Johnson and Bob Cole and the author of this article, who writes most of the lyrics. Mr. Johnson is a graduate of Atlanta University, and at present a graduate student at Columbia University, New York.

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The New York Colored Mission was in its inception a Quaker philanthropy, and its traditions of modest kindliness find an echo in the insistence on the part of the writer of these sketches that they be printed unsigned.

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Resident worker of the Social Settlement, 118 N street S. W. Mrs. Fernandis is a graduate of Hampton Institute, a teacher of several years' experience in the schools of the American Missionary Association in the South, in Hampton Institute, and in Baltimore, Md.

THE NEGRO PRESS IN AMERICA — L. M. Hershaw — 66

Mr. Hershaw is in the government service at Washington, and is a correspondent of Negro journals.

THE NEGRO IN TIMES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST — R. R. Wright — 69

Pastor of Trinity Mission, located among the poorest immigrant Negroes in Chicago. Mr. Wright is son of the well-known president of the State College of Georgia—the father of the same name being the "We'se-a-risin'" Wright of Whittier's poem. The son's degrees include A. M. and B. D., and he has been a student in the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig, and has recently been appointed fellow of the College Settlements Association to study conditions among Negroes in Philadelphia.

IN THE DAY'S WORK OF THE VISITING NURSE — Jessie C. Sleet — 73

Miss Sleet is visiting nurse of the New York Charity Organization Society. At present she is making special investigations of tuberculosis among Negro city dwellers under the tuberculosis committee. She is a graduate of the Training School for Nurses in connection with Provident Hospital, Chicago.

THE CHURCH AND ITS SOCIAL WORK, ST. MARK'S — Maud K. Griffin — 75

Miss Griffin has been engaged in newspaper work in New York for seven years, acting as correspondent for a number of leading newspapers throughout the United States and Canada. She is secretary of Hope Day Nursery, and associated with several movements devoted to bettering the conditions of colored people in New York city.

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL CENTER — W. L. Bulkley — 76

Dr. Bulkley is principal of public school No. 80, Borough of Manhattan. Ph. D., Syracuse University; a former student at Strassburg and Paris. Dr. Bulkley taught Latin and Greek in Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C., for fifteen years, and for the past six years has been in public school work in New York.

COURT STUDIES FROM LIFE — Lucy F. Friday — 79

Miss Friday has been in charge of probation work in Baltimore since the opening of the juvenile court under Judge Heuisler in June, 1902. Graduated from Wellesley in 1887; student at the University of Leipzig, 1895-1896; author of several articles on probation work.

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A kindergartener and settlement worker under the Mary F. Walton Free Kindergarten and Industrial Work for Colored Children. Special student at Bryn Mawr for two years; graduate of Miss Walton's Kindergarten Training School; carried on special investigation for two years among the Negroes of New York city under Professor Giddings of Columbia University.

MANUAL TRAINING FOR NEGRO CHILDREN — David E. Gordon — 84

The writer of this article is principal of the L'Ouverture School, St. Louis. The manual training work in the public schools of St. Louis has set a high standard for the rest of the country since Professor Woodward, the superintendent, raised the now famous cry "Send the whole boy to school."

THE NEGRO AND THE DEMANDS OF MODERN LIFE — Franz Boas — 85

Franz Boas, anthropologist, sailed June, 1883, to Cumberland Sound, Baffin's Land; assistant, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, and docent of geography, University of Berlin, 1885-1886; went to British Columbia to study Indians, and carried on investigations for British Association for the Advancement of Science, and after 1897 for American Museum of Natural History, New York; directed operations and publications, Jesup North Pacific Expedition; docent of anthropology, Clark University, 1888-1892; chief assistant, Department of Anthropology, World's Columbian Exposition; professor anthropology, Columbia University, 1898; assistant curator, 1896; curator, 1901; Department Anthropology, American Museum Natural History.

THE COUNTRY AT LARGE — Thomas Jesse Jones — 88

At present Dr. Jones is studying the Negro problem and directing the sociological work at Hampton Institute. Ph. D. fellow in Sociology of Columbia University; B. D., Union Seminary; also acting head-worker of University Settlement, New York city. Author of *Sociology of a New York City Block*, in the Columbia University Political Science series.

The thanks of the editors of CHARITIES are due to contributors of articles to this special number on "The Negro in the Cities of the North." Without their hearty and unpaid co-operation—in several instances contributing the first results of a year's investigation—such a survey would have been impossible. For special editorial suggestions and assistance, recognition should further be accorded to

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Eugenia F. Weller, Washington
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Charities Publication Committee gratefully acknowledges the receipt of financial contributions, for special investigations, and for the educational work planned for this number. Repeated representations that this survey should be distributed widely in quarters where it would prove a very positive influence for betterment, led to the organization of a special fund—still open—for this purpose. The committee is indebted to the following:

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ON A CITY HOUSE TOP

CHARITIES

A Review of Local and General Philanthropy

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The Negro in the Cities of the North.

In the cities of the North the Negro has a more severe struggle for mere existence than on southern plantations or in southern towns. His difficulties are accurately reflected in the high death-rates—especially in the frightful mortality of the Negro child. Migration northward and to the cities has increased the Negro population of Chicago to 35,000, of New York to 70,000, and of all the eastern cities to a number which justifies the current attempts in half a dozen communities to find out by first hand and dispassionate inquiries what are the economic and social conditions of these large colonies. Our national capital contains the largest Negro city of the world.

In this special number of CHARITIES, devoted from cover to cover to the social interests of the Negroes in the northern cities, it has not been attempted to study exhaustively any one locality, or to cover the whole country in even a restricted statistical inquiry. It has been sought rather to afford a suggestive survey of the common situation; of the salient and typical facts in regard to the make-up of these groups, of some of the forces which lead to emigration from the South, and of some of the embryonic forces that may retard the movement; and then, at greater length, of the social conditions which result from it, and the regenerative, educational agencies which have been brought into being by Negroes or on their behalf.

This survey has not purposely evaded, but has for the most part fallen clear of the more bitter elements of the race conflict which Mr. Page jealously insists is the southerner's problem; and it has been entirely possible to keep clear also of the controversy between the two diverse programs for the education and advancement of the Negro with their conflicting ideals best represented at Tuskegee and Atlanta. There has been of course no attempt to trammel the contributors to set and amiable lines—a liberality which has been met with wholesome frankness and consistent good temper on the part of the teachers, editors, physicians, clergymen and specialists of many kinds whose co-operation has been sought.

Opportunity and Responsibility.

Certain features of these studies stand out clearly. They may be grouped about two words, "opportunity" and "responsibility." In his deprivation of one or the other, or both, lies the explanation of much of what we call the Negro's problem.

When the Negro is excluded from industrial opportunities, we have the Clark street strike-breaker; when kept from decent streets and oblibed to live beside the worst of his own race and of all races, we have the breeding of Negro criminals; when earning only the wage of menials, we have the working mother and the broken homes whose cost Miss Friday and Dr. Waring tell.

On the other hand, when the Negro father is not held by the courts to the same accountability as the white bread-winner, there follows wife desertion, illegitimacy and kindred ills; when the "basket habit," or the old attitude of the slave toward property rights is winked at, not only does it breed larger thieving, but it destroys the economic motive; when the Negro voter, as Dr. DuBois pictures him in Philadelphia, is bandied by the ward bosses and treated with no sense of the integrity of his citizenship, he responds in kind; when a "black skin and the ability to pay rent," to quote a speaker at a business league meeting in New York, are the only qualifications of an applicant for a

colored tenement, and when the old alley rookeries of Baltimore or Washington are left rent free in the hands of Negro squatters, the housing problem of the race is set back—not advanced.

These are some of the things which a study of the community life of the Negro in the cities of the North tends to show. As a haven for those unable to bear up under the pressure of new industrial conditions in the South, the northern city is no solution. But, away from the heat of traditional debate and race feeling, it is not impossible that in these newly gathered groups may be worked out many of those adjustments of life and labor which affect the white and colored people of America in their relations to each other.

There is much in these articles to give countenance to Mr. Washington's expressed belief that the masses of colored people are not yet fitted to survive and prosper in the great northern cities to which so many of them are crowding. There are also, however, many indications of the beginnings of progress. Professor Boas, answering as an anthropologist the question as to how far the undesirable traits found in our Negro population are due to social surroundings, and how far to racial traits, insists that there is nothing to prove that licentiousness, shiftless laziness, or lack of initiative are fundamental characteristics of the Negro. On the contrary Professor Boas finds that in his aboriginal home he shows the traits of a healthy primitive people with a considerable degree of personal initiative, a talent for organization, an imaginative power, technical skill and thrift.

The scientific presumption is that the Negro has the inherent capacity for progress, for civilization. It is the purpose of these studies to indicate how far and in what ways in these northern communities he has realized these possibilities and what are the difficulties which he has still to surmount.

West Indian Migration to New York.

In addition to the interstate streams of migration indicated by articles in this number, considerable additions are being made to Negro city populations in the North, especially those of Brooklyn and New York, by immigrants from the British, Danish and French West Indies. The causal factors have been complex. Dr. York Russell, of New York, himself a West Indian and a leader among these people, lays greatest emphasis upon two—"the pauperization of the islands" and "discontent under British misrule." He writes:

> In considering the pauperized condition of the West India Islands, we are brought face to face with the vast economic and governmental problems which have agitated the Islands for nearly two decades. Sugar, the staple product of most of the Islands, received its *coup de grace* when the parent government admitted the beet-root sugar free into her markets. From that time began the genesis of pauperism which to this day has held the Islanders in the tentacles of its adamantine grip.
>
> The British government has apparently cared nothing for the impotent and wretched condition which this act of hers had engendered. It is not a pleasant task to make any comment on the wretched state to which the planters and the laborers who worked the sugar plantations were reduced. Dissatisfied laborers began to burn the cane-fields and discontent was spread over the West Indian archipelago. The laborers, who before had contrived to live and support large families on five shillings or $1.20 per week, found that their only means of subsistence was gone. They have turned to New York and Brooklyn as two cities of refuge. This has been particularly true of the Negroes from the Island of Barbados—the oldest colony of the British Empire.
>
> Even among the educated class of West Indians, the newcomers for the most part find their only means of support in domestic work. Some few of these have been thrifty and economical; they have laid by their savings, some of them to enter the professions; many of these have succeeded. The shiftless class have become, in some instances, parasitical, joining the street corner toughs and sports and engaging in vicious habits. On the whole, however, it may be said that a very desirable class, including recently numbers of intelligent women, take to domestic work and are very much in favor with their employers.

The Housing Problem and the Negro.

Difficulty in obtaining a suitable place to live meets the Negro who comes to a large northern city. In many neighborhoods he cannot rent a house or an apartment no matter how well able he may be to pay the price for it, and in those places in which he is permitted to live his accommodations are frequently worse than the same money would buy for any other race.

In New York three beginnings have been made to lessen this difficulty. On West Sixty-third and West Sixty-fourth streets, near West End avenue, a densely settled Negro quarter, a tenement is to be erected by the committee in charge of the Henry Phipps gift of a million dollars for model tenements. This building will have a frontage of two hundred feet on Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth streets, and is the first large structure of the sort to be built for Negroes, though the City and Suburban Homes Company has a small but admirably managed Negro tenement on Sixty-second street.

The Afro-American Realty Company, as its name implies an association managed by colored people, is obtaining control of numbers of apartment houses in the city. After one year of business it owns six houses and rents fourteen on five-year leases. Aiming to do business with the best element of the colored population it does not operate in the tenement districts, but buys and rents property in more prosperous neighborhoods. The company's intention is to gain possession of not more than two houses on any block, and by renting these apartments to the best class of colored people it hopes to show the white residents that Negroes can be desirable neighbors.

The third effort to better conditions is that of the Metropolitan, Mercantile and Realty Company, also managed by Negroes. This company is acquiring property in New Jersey and on Long Island. At Plainfield it has one hundred and fifty building lots, on which ten houses have been built and sold, while many more are under process of construction. Large tracts of land are purchased by this company rather than isolated plots. Houses are sold on monthly payments, and a good beginning has been made in getting the Negro out of the city into the better conditions of suburban life.

In addition, as agents and owners, considerable advances are being made by individual Negro business men.

The Negro Census, Baltimore.

An interesting chapter in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland is a "census of the moral, industrial, financial and educational condition of the Negroes of Baltimore and Sparrow's Point."

A list of questions was distributed through the various police districts and tables of statistics compiled from the answers received. Some of the facts brought out by the census are that about one-twelfth of the entire Negro population, 81,000, were born slaves; less than 14,000 report they can neither read nor write (of these over 8,000 are women), so that the proposed disfranchisement act, if fairly enforced, would affect less than 5,000 Negro male adults; over one-third of the entire child population (28,704) are in school;[1] of those reported only 7,523 keep house, while there are 21,623 roomers and 5,498 boarders—a statistical statement which hints at such pitiable conditions of living as those described by Dr. Waring, Miss Pendleton and Miss Friday. Of those keeping house nearly 4,000 have four rooms or more; 800 report they own property.

The Negroes of Baltimore are engaged in 230 different occupations, "including almost every vocation from actor and agent to professor and clairvoyant." As would be expected the largest number are laborers, but there are 113 clerks, 38 doctors, 56 carpenters, 16 bookkeepers, 25 teachers, several stenographers, printers, electricians and others in professions requiring intelligence and skill. . . . "Probably no better index to the progress of the Negro race in the past twenty years can be found than this list of occupations which they follow. The struggle upward of numerous members of the race augurs well for their future." The earnings in these various occupations run from board and clothing to $60 per week, and in one case, a business man, $150 per week. The largest number earn between $3 and $4.

The Atlanta Conference Study of Negro Crime.

Of the conference studies of social conditions affecting Negroes,[2] that of Atlanta University on Negro crime (particularly in Georgia) is the most re-

[1] Whether this showing is "gratifying," as the report states, or a sharp criticism of present educational provision, depends upon what is meant by the bureau in the use of the word "child." In one curiously elastic tabulation of "ages of children," categories run up as high as fifty to fifty-five years.

[2] *Notes on Negro Crime, Particularly in Georgia.* A study made under the direction of Atlanta University by the Ninth Annual Conference

cently published and one of the most suggestive. It consists of papers read at the annual conference, and information based on court returns, reports from mayors, chiefs of police, colored and white citizens, reports from the Georgia Prison Commission, and answers of two thousand school children and students.

The excessive amount of Negro crime is attributed to the conditions fostered by slavery, increased by the crop-lien system and the convict-lease system. One of the worst features of peonage and of the stockades has been the indiscriminate herding of juvenile and adult criminals. The chain gangs have been schools of crime. In the South to-day the persisting idea that the most successful dealing with criminals is that which costs the state the least explains to the editors of the report much of the social problem.

Dr. DuBois finds that the census returns disprove two popular fallacies—that Negro crime is greater among those who can read and write (being greater in the North) and that Negro crime is on the increase. "The fallacy on which the first claim was based was in comparing the criminal rate of the Negroes of the North, who live almost entirely in cities, with the Negroes of the entire South, the great majority of whom live in rural communities."

After the war serious crime is shown to have increased in Georgia up to 1895. While the number of criminals has increased since that time, the per cent has decreased, and this is said to be characteristic of Negro crime throughout the country. While most of the white officials quoted thought the Negroes were fairly treated in the courts, the Negroes almost unanimously felt a Negro stood no chance of a fair trial against a white man—a contention supported by the frank acknowledgment of Dr. Sherer, of South Carolina, at the last Southern Educational Conference "that the criminal courts meted out even justice in but one instance—in the case of Negro *vs.* Negro."

Causes of Negro crime are discussed at some length and remedies suggested. In summing up, the downward tendencies are given under these heads: "amount of crime," "number of lynchings," and "state income from crime;" the upward tendencies, "virile growth in population," "the percentage of those able to read and write," and "property."

> Crime is decreasing; property and education increasing. . . . Above all, we must remember that crime is not normal; that the appearance of crime among southern Negroes is a symptom of wrong social conditions—of a stress of life greater than a large part of the community can bear. The Negro is not naturally criminal; he is usually patient and law-abiding. If slavery, the convict-lease system, the traffic in criminal labor, the lack of juvenile reformatories, together with the unfortunate discrimination and prejudice in other walks of life, have led to that sort of social protest and revolt which we call crime, then we must look for remedy in the sane reform of these wrong social conditions, and not in intimidation, savagery, or the legalized slavery of men.

The Conference Class of Colored Volunteers, Washington.

The work of the Negro committees of the Baltimore Associated Charities is described by Miss Pendleton. Another sustained work in the field of charity is the Conference Class of Colored Volunteers, organized by the Associated Charities of the National Capital in 1901. A number of resourceful men and women have attended its fortnightly meetings and several have served as friendly visitors or collectors of small savings among neglected families of their own race. The society's present Committee on the Prevention of Consumption really originated in this colored conference. One of the friendly visitors made frequent reports concerning the effort to save the life of a young colored man who lived, with his dependent family, in one of the hidden alleys of Washington. These reports led the conference to discuss the prevalence of tuberculosis, and the fact that it is a curable, preventable disease. Three members were appointed to conduct educational propaganda in the colored churches and schools of Washington. Their endeavors soon led the Associated Charities to form a large representative general committee, including both white and colored people, which is now carrying on an extensive work.

The Colored Social Settlement described on another page, unique in the fact that it is carried on by colored residents, was

also the outgrowth of this Conference Class.

The work of the class has included visits to charitable and correctional institutions in which colored people are especially interested, either as managers or beneficiaries. Standard books on charitable work have been discussed at the fortnightly meetings and experienced workers, both white and colored, addressed the class at various times. The program for 1903-4 included discussions of these topics:

Moral Standards in the Alleys.
Servant Girl Problems.
Intermittent Husbands and Lax Family Ties.
Unthrift and the Stamp Savings System of Small Savings.
Colored Offenders and the Police Court.
Improper Nourishment the Root of Intemperance and Other Evils.
Unsanitary Conditions and Over-Crowding.
Consumption and the Prevention of Disease.

Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis Among Negroes, New York.

A subcommittee on the prevention of tuberculosis among Negroes was organized last spring under the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the New York Charity Organization Society. An investigation of the extent of tuberculosis among living Negroes is being made under the committee by Miss Sleet, whose article appears on another page. The investigation has not proceeded far enough as yet to announce definite results. The committee includes some of the most energetic Negroes in New York in the professions and in business:

Rev. W. H. Brooks, Chairman,	A. A. Kellogg, M. D.
	W. M. Lively, M. D.
Rev. H. C. Bishop	Mary W. Ovington
John S. Brown, Jr.	Philip A. Payton, Jr.
Wm. L. Bulkley	A. S. Reed, M. D.
Rev. John E. Burke	E. P. Roberts, M. D.
R. L. Cooper, M. D.	York Russell, M. D.
Rev. T. W. Henderson	Jessie C. Sleet
Rev. J. W. Johnson	Wilford H. Smith
P. A. Johnson, M. D.	R. A. Taylor, M. D.
W. H. Johnson, M. D.	G. W. Thomson, M. D.

The Eighth Ward Settlement, Philadelph a.

One of the pioneer neighborhood houses devoted to work among colored people is the Eighth Ward Settlement[1] at 922 Broker street, carried on under the headworkership of Miss Frances R. Bartholomew. The house was the outcome of efforts made by private citizens to better the sanitary conditions of the district. It was opened in 1896, its activities including sewing classes, cooking classes, a broom brigade, the particular mission of which was to sweep the alleys, a penny provident bank, and a kindergarten. Five years ago a larger and better equipped house was built beside the old one and the work broadened and deepened. Groups were organized into clubs having definite aims, a men's club, two women's clubs, a carpenter class, a dancing class, a course of health talks, and other activities were added. During the past summer a city garden has been carried on, a playground and roof garden built. The resident force numbers three; outside workers about fifteen, including colored teachers and workers. The daily attendance is from seventy-five to one hundred. The neighborhood presents all the complications inevitably created by a people in their transition stage, and shows all the grave conditions due to political corruption and lack of industrial opportunities. The work has shown results.

[1] See cut in colored insert.

The Cottage System Adopted by the New York Colored Orphan Asylum.

An advance in the care of orphan and destitute colored children is soon to be made by the Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for the Benefit of Colored Children in the City of New York. This institution was founded largely by members of the Society of Friends, in the year 1836, as a protest against the detention of colored orphans in jails and poorhouses and to provide a place for their care. The present buildings, 143d street and Amsterdam avenue, date back to 1863, when an earlier home was burned by rioters, after a valiant effort made by Fire Chief John Decker to save the premises from the mob. The destruction was complete. All the children were saved and lodged in police stations for a few days and were fed by kindly people, who, at peril of their lives, it is said, brought food in baskets. The children were later transferred to Blackwell's Island until the managers had raised money for practically a fresh start. The present census is 350, the plant has been outgrown, is not fireproof and does

not offer the children the greatest possible educational advantages.

Writing of the plans, Wilson M. Powell, of the board of managers, states:

The institution has always been conducted on the congregate or barracks plan. Among the first colored orphan asylums, if not the first founded in the United States, it has been a leader in the intelligent treatment of colored children. The managers have considered the change carefully, realizing that the true purpose of an orphan asylum is not merely to send forth bodily healthy specimens of humanity, but more particularly to educate these specimens to meet the daily needs and responsibilities of active life—an educational standard, not a purely muscular one. To better carry out this idea the cottage system has been chosen, a pioneer step; for before taking it the managers consulted every state charities department in the union and found that no institution had put colored children on this basis, except one in Tennessee where forty are in a building, a number too large to correctly call the cottage system.

It is proposed to construct on a site of nineteen acres at Riverdale, finely wooded and overlooking the Hudson, a large building about 200 feet long and 60 feet wide for the schoolrooms, administrative rooms and to house 150 of the smallest children who require special nursing; and ten cottages each holding twenty-five children. Each cottage is to be a unit in itself, cooking its own meals, doing all its light washing, all its cleaning; the work to be done by the children themselves under the supervision of the house mother.

The Star Centre and Its Co-operative Coal Club.

The development of savings, building and loan, insurance, and mutual benefit organizations, such as the True Reformers, which have had so marked a growth among the colored people of the South, and which have been made the subject of some of the Hampton conferences, have their counterparts—and branches—in the cities of the North.

One of the most interesting philanthropies in a kindred field is the Co-operative Coal Club of the Star Centre, 725 Lombard street, Philadelphia. This club makes enough money by buying wholesale and selling retail to be entirely self-supporting. Last year it had over 700 families who had paid in twenty-five cents dues. The club is composed entirely of colored people, and is carried on not merely as a thrift agency, but for the friendly visiting work of its visitors. For those who live too far away to be called upon individually each week, centers of deposit are opened in different neighborhoods. Last year one visitor made 8,712 calls, had 968 callers at the centers and collected $1,734.10—an average of nearly twenty cents a visit. The stamp system is used, and when coal is wanted the stamps are taken in payment. This work is done primarily among the poorer colored people, who would not go to the bank with such small sums. Writing of her work Miss M. N. Gaskill, visitor, says:

One woman who has belonged to the club for years says that before she joined she bought her coal by the bucket and never saved a cent. The same could be said of most of the members. Now she buys all her coal in quantity, saving fifteen cents a week regularly. Another woman saves twenty-cents a week, and after she buys all the coal she needs she saves for her summer rent, when she does not have so much work. An old man puts all he can on his card each time he sees me. I often pass his shop, and when he accumulates a little he uses it to replenish his stock. Some now are so well trained in thrift habits that when I return from my vacation they hand me the money for each week of my absence.

The Rainy Day Society.

The "Rainy Day Society" has also been founded by the Star Centre on weekly collections. A certain sum is deposited each week, which can only be drawn out in case of sickness or death, except in January. During this month all members are at liberty to withdraw their deposits, except twenty-five cents, which is left to keep the bank account open. In connection with the Rainy Day Society special arrangements are made for doctor, nurse and medicines at reasonable rates. Of this Miss Susan P. Wharton, manager of the Centre, writes:

This is in part a protest against free dispensaries, which we believe to be pauperizing. The payment of a fee, however small, is a protection to the patient, who can command the doctor for as many visits as are desired, and it insures consideration. The Star Centre plan is based on the "no credit" system in order to avoid, if possible, the bills incurred in times of illness, which are often like a mill-stone round the necks of the poor. In order to work effectively in crowded districts, so often filled with people who have had no chance for enlightenment as to the laws of health, it has been found that the doctor should have someone working with him. The strong point in all the work is the constant visiting.

The Make-Up of Negro City Groups

Lilian Brandt

Secretary Committee on Social Research, New York Charity Organization Society

One of the best-known of our Negro contemporaries likes to remind his audiences that the Negroes are the only element in our population which we were so anxious to have that we went after them and brought them home with us. He assures us that the Negro appreciates the regard which prompted this attention on our part and that he has profited very considerably by it, inasmuch as it has brought him into close contact with a further advanced people and has forcibly "civilized" him.

There is room for difference of opinion on this point of advantage to the Negro, for it is quite possible to hold that a civilization partly enforced by law and partly acquired by imitation is little better than none, and that thus far we have been the chief gainers by the transaction. The fact, however, that we made definite efforts to secure the presence of the Negro in this country, puts us under a peculiar responsibility for his welfare here, a responsibility which does not rest upon us in the same degree for any other element in the population.

It is in the cities that the Negro's condition especially requires our attention. The "race tradition" of the Negro—or, it might be better to say, the two race traditions he has developed successively, one in Africa, the other in America before the war, are essentially agricultural. He is not adapted, by either his African or his American experience, to urban conditions, and, consequently, when he goes to the city he becomes a serious problem —a problem which we cannot escape by the reflection that this migration cityward was no part of our original plan when we brought him in to help us develop our new land, and one which is increasing in importance at a rapid rate.

There were 2,004,121 Negroes living in cities of at least 2,500 inhabitants in 1900. Thirty-two cities, scattered through twenty states, had more than 10,000 Negroes each. The largest single group was in Washington and numbered 86,702. Baltimore, also, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and New York, each had over 60,000. There were seventy-two cities in which at least half the population was Negro, the four largest being Jacksonville, Fla., Montgomery, Ala., Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga.

In the South, which still contains ninety per cent of all the Negroes of the country, in spite of their movement northward, there is little difference between the two races in the matter of distribution. Nearly five-sixths of both Negroes and whites are found outside cities of 2,500 inhabitants. In the North and West, on the other hand, the proportions are almost reversed, half of the white population living in cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants and seven-tenths of the Negroes. Furthermore, the movement toward the cities is more marked in the North than in the South. In the North and West there were actually fewer Negroes living under distinctly rural conditions in 1900 than there were in 1890. This is not surprising in New England and the northern tier of central and western states. Here the only wonder is that there should be any on the farms. But states like Missouri and Ohio, with a not inhospitable climate and with agricultural products not very different from those of the neighboring southern states, show the same general conditions. The Negro population of the large cities had more than doubled in Ohio in the last twenty years and had increased seventy-eight per cent in Missouri, while the rural Negro population had decreased in each case by about nine per cent. In the South, there was no decrease in the rural Negro population between 1890 and 1900, but its rate of increase was lower than that of the Negroes in cities.

A Movement Cityward Exceeding that of the Whites.

The migration, therefore, that is going on from South to North is a migration to cities, not to the North as a geographical section. And within both North and South a transfer is going on at the same time from country

to city. This is far from being a tendency peculiar to the Negro element of our population. There is evidence, however, that on the whole the Negroes are increasing in the large cities of the country, whether in the North or in the South, at a more rapid rate than are the whites; and this means—taking into consideration the abnormal death-rates among Negroes in cities, their slower general rate of increase, and the extent to which the white population of the cities is recruited by foreign immigration—that the Negro is hastening cityward with more precipitate step than is his native white countryman.

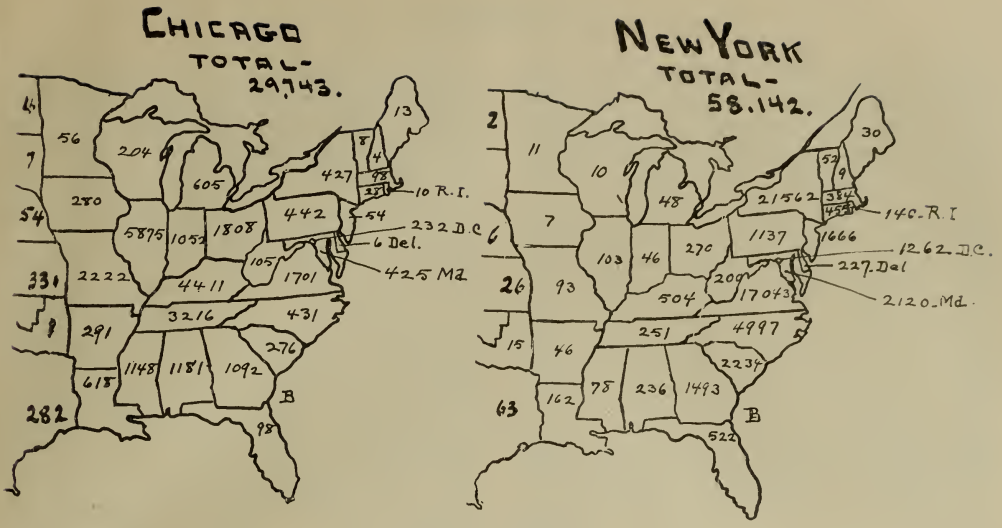
Exactly where the Negroes in the northern cities come from it is impossible, from any official statistics, to tell. Whether they come directly from the farms of the South or by intermediate stages through small towns and cities nearer home; what proportion of them were born in the cities where they are now living; how much movement there is from one large northern city to another—these are questions to which the census figures give no answer. It is possible, however, to find out in a general way the source of the Negro population of any one of the large cities. Let us take, for example, New York and Chicago. In New York, in 1900, there was a total colored population, including under this head Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, of 67,304, of whom 9,162 were foreign born and 58,142 native born. Among the foreign-born colored belong nearly all of the 6,321 Chinese and 286 Japanese. It would seem, therefore, that there must have been something like three thousand foreign-born Negroes among the 60,666 Negroes of the city. Where these three thousand Negroes came from the census tables cannot, by any manipulation, be made to reveal, but it is safe to guess that nearly all of them are from the West Indies. By this time the West Indian contingent doubtless forms a larger proportion of the total Negro population than it did five years ago. Among the 58,142 native-born colored, the only persons who were not Negroes were the 31 Indians and the relatively few Chinese and Japanese of American birth. In Chicago the foreign Negroes did not number more than three or four hundred, out of a total population of 30,150.

By adding two[1] tables in the census and subtracting the result from a third[2] we can have information as to the states in which these native colored persons were born. The sources from which the colored population of New York city and of Chicago was derived, as indicated by this process, are displayed on the accompanying maps, by the simple device of writing in, in each state, the number of colored persons born in that state who in 1900 were living in New York or Chicago. New York, it appears, draws chiefly from the states which are easily accessible to the Atlantic coast steamers, while Chicago immigrants follow up the Mississippi. The Virginia-born Negroes in New York city numbered four-fifths as many as the New York born; and Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri together furnished almost twice as many to Chicago as did the whole of Illinois. In both cases the attraction of the large city for the surrounding population is seen in the figures for neighboring states. It is interesting to note, what does not appear on the map, but is nevertheless true, that New York state, including, of course, New York city, was the birthplace of eighty-two per cent of the native whites of native parentage resident in New York city, but of only thirty-seven per cent of the native colored. Chicago bears evidence of its more recent growth, for over half its native white population of native parentage, and four-fifths of its native colored, were drawn from outside the state. Unfortunately, it is impossible to separate the Chicago and New York city figures from those for the two states.

Peculiarities of the Negro City Populations.

Any population group which is largely the result of migration caused by economic conditions exhibits certain peculiarities in its sex and age composition. In an imaginary population, losing none of its members by emigration and gaining none by immigration, increasing only by the excess of births over deaths, the number of males and of females is approximately the same and the number of persons in the different age groups dwindles gradually from childhood to old age in the case of both males and females. Expressed in a diagram such

[1] Population. Vol. I, Tables 31 and 32.
[2] *Ib.* Table 30.



BIRTHPLACE MAPS.

Showing nativity, by states, of Negro populations in Chicago and New York.

a group approaches the form of an isosceles triangle, with males on one side of the central axis and females on the other, children forming the base of the triangle and old persons the apex. The variations from this standard which are found in an immigrant population depend somewhat on the character of the new country and its distance from the sources of immigration. In any case the proportion of persons between the ages of twenty and forty is certain to be excessive, while the proportion of children and old persons is relatively diminished. Generally there is also a very large preponderance of males. This is seen in our foreign population and also in the population of our western states, notably during their frontier stage. Migration from country to city, however, frequently results in an excess of females, on account of the superior economic advantages which the city offers to girls and women. The steady demand for domestic servants makes this influence especially active in Negro migration.

The Negro population in our cities illustrates all these general truths. In the total urban population of the country the Negroes show an excess of sixty-six females in every thousand, as compared with an excess of four among the whites, while the rural Negro population shows an excess of ten males in the thousand. The difference between the sexes in the cities, moreover, greatly increased between 1890 and 1900. This general excess of females is by no means uniformly distributed over the country. The sections that are the least accessible to the body of the Negro population or that offer the least economic advantages to women generally, had, in fact, even in the cities, a preponderance of Negro males. The excess of Negro females in the urban population was greatest in the South, and after that in sections easily reached from the south Atlantic states, while in the section comprising the states along the upper Mississippi it was barely perceptible and due doubtless to the including of Missouri in this group. Of the fifteen largest cities of the country, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, Pittsburg and Milwaukee all had more Negro males than females, while the females predominated in New York, Philadelphia and Detroit, in the North, Baltimore, New Orleans and Washington, in the South, and St. Louis and Cincinnati, which belong rather with the southern than with the northern group.

Growth of City Groups.

In point of age composition of the Negro population the northern and southern cities show less difference, but still a little. All of them have an abnormally small proportion of children, but the departure from the normal is more marked in the

North, where the Negroes are newer comers. In the cities of the North men and women over sixty-five years of age are also fewer among the Negroes than among the whites, but in those of the South the difference is the other way. In the five largest southern and semi-southern cities named above fifty-seven per cent of the Negro population was between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, as compared with forty-seven per cent of the native white population of native parentage. In the nine northern cities (omitting San Francisco, on account of its unique characteristics) sixty-six per cent of the Negroes were in this group, while the children under fifteen years of age formed only twenty per cent, in contrast with forty per cent in the Negro population at large and thirty-seven per cent for the native whites of native parentage in the same cities. A comparison of the ages of Negro men and women in the large cities shows that the largest groups of women are somewhat younger than the largest groups of men. This is to be explained by the ease with which young girls can find something to do in the cities and the family ties which keep the older women from seeking their fortune, rather than by the feminine tendency to an understatement of age.

The Negro population in our cities, to sum up these paragraphs, has the marks of a migrant group, and grows chiefly by the addition of young men and women from the country. The girls and women evidently do not get so far away from home as the men, but they go in larger numbers to near-by cities and they go younger. The less abnormal distribution of ages in the southern cities bears witness to the greater importance there of the long-established element in the Negro population.

With respect to conjugal condition also the composition of the Negro population of the northern cities is peculiar. In the eleven northern cities of over 250,000 inhabitants the striking thing in the case of the Negro men is the large proportion of single and the small proportion of married. The Negro women show an even smaller percentage of married than the men, but the percentage of single is also remarkably small, and the missing women are found in the "widowed and divorced" class, which contains the extraordinary proportion of eighteen per cent of all the Negro women. The size of the widowed class is due not only to the high mortality rates prevailing among Negro men in cities, but also to the assumption of the honorable title of widow by unmarried women with illegitimate children and by deserted wives. Conversely, a part of the excess of single men among the Negroes is undoubtedly made up of the husbands of "widows." The large proportion of widows loses none of its economic significance by this explanation, for the women so classed are almost certain to have all the responsibilities attaching to the designation, whether or not they have a legal claim to it.

As a Working Population.

The composition of the Negro population of cities, especially of northern cities, is peculiar, furthermore, in having a large proportion of wage-earners. Taking once more the eleven largest cities of the North, the census figures show that eighty-eight per cent of the Negro males at least ten years of age were engaged in gainful occupations, in comparison with eighty-three per cent of all males. It is among the women, however, that the greatest difference is found, for while only a fourth of all the women of these cities were breadwinners, nearly half of the Negro women (46.30 per cent) were classified as such, and in New York city the proportion rose to fifty-five per cent. If it requires an abnormally large proportion of wage-earners to support a population at a low general standard of living, the natural inference is that the work done must be of the less remunerative kinds. Without going into an analysis of occupations it may be worth while to mention that three-fifths of the 90,000 Negro wage-earners in these eleven cities, and nine-tenths of the 50,000 female, were engaged in "domestic and personal service."

The figures for the population of the whole country reveal that the greatest difference between the races in respect to the proportion of wage-earners is found among the married women, the proportion of Negro wives classed as breadwinners being about eight times as great as the

proportion of white wives. Unfortunately this comparison cannot be made for the cities separately, but it is probable that, if it could, the difference would be found even greater than it is among the country and city population combined.

The Negro population in our northern cities is not, evidently, a normally constituted group—not even a normally constituted urban group—whether it be regarded as made up of native born and outsiders; of males and females; of young, middle-aged, and old; of persons, as it has recently been phrased, in the pre-marital, marital, and post-marital conditions; or, finally, of wage-earners and non-wage-earners. The abnormal proportion of young men and women without family ties, living in lodgings and boarding-houses, and seeking employment in conditions to which they are unaccustomed, is sufficient explanation of some part, at least, of the excessive criminality with which the city Negroes are charged. The excessive infant mortality, two and a half times as high as that of the whites in the same city, finds commentary in the large numbers of "widows," and the excessive proportion of women, especially married women, who are obliged to work for wages. In fact, all of these peculiarities in make-up are significant in the study of any of the social problems in which the city Negro is an element.

Assisted Emigration From the South

The Women

Frances A. Kellor

General Director Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research

Scene, at the Old Dominion dock, New York:

"What foh yo dun ask me whar am I going? I'se going to work for a lady in Sufhamton."

"Have you any money or do you know the way?"

"Dis yare ticket taks me and I doan need no help. Dis yere Sufhamton is right here in dis Noo York."

Such interviews take place, often many times a day, at the wharves and stations, during the season when large numbers of Negro women are brought North to take positions in households, summer hotels, and the like. Many, many women arrive, thinking they are to remain in New York, when their only offer of employment is in some far away place. Others come, thinking their steamship ticket will take them to their destination, and have made no provision for street-car fare or baggage transportation; still others, expecting their employers to meet them. Some come with one address, when in many instances the friends or relatives have removed, while in many others the addresses represent unsafe places for women to go. My readers would scarcely believe me if I were to give the percentage of the four hundred women directed and helped this summer, who took the long journey from Georgia, the Carolinas, or Virginia without one cent of money, who looked upon New York as the haven of all good things, and who believed that they would be able to reach their destination by a five minutes' walk.

We hear it said that the Negroes are "wild to come Norf." In a sense this is true, but the great class of laborers—the household, hotel, and boarding-house workers—who are most in need of protection, cannot come without assistance, and many who have scarcely dreamed of the North have this assistance placed before them as a temptation. What is this assistance, which directly and indirectly is responsible for a large percentage of women who come North? It comes from three sources: 1—Friends and relatives who write them to come, but often fail to meet them. 2—Northern employers who deal directly with Southern employment agents or work through friends who urge Negro women to come North. These are for the most part honest employers, but many fail to provide more than the actual transportation, so that the hapless em-

ployés often are without money or food on the journey, and have no resources if the employer fails to meet them or decides she does not want them. 3—The employment agents who bring them North under promises of good employment, high wages, and other extravagant representations. This article deals with the industrial causes and must be limited to the influence of the last two.

So great is the demand for general houseworkers and so small the supply, that Northern housewives are willing to let unknown, unseen, untrained and unvouched-for workers enter their homes. At the same time many of these same employers are expecting to receive a skilled, energetic, willing worker. In the first place the training of the Negro worker in the southern home, so radically different from the northern, does not adequately fit her for her duties in the North. In the second place, many small deceptions are practiced. The agent whom she patronizes sends North not only incompetent workers, but many women who are old, or weak, or otherwise unable to compete under the industrial conditions of New York or any other northern city. But not only this. Misrepresentations are made as to the kind and amount of work, the wages to be paid, and many girls are en route to some little suburban place as dull as their own town, when they think they are to stay in the glare of the city which has been the main inducement. What is the result in many cases? Some refuse to take the places offered. One girl came on the promise of a nurse's position only to be offered general housework. Another came with the expectation of being a lady's maid, and found the position was on a farm and part of the work was milking cows! Others take the places, but are dismissed because of incompetency, etc. A result is that the cities thus get a group of unemployed who are strangers often without resources, and who must find other employment, or drift into immorality, for there are always sharks watching women who are placed in such helpless conditions. The picture thus drawn representing many women each year, is not a belief, it is not an estimate; it is a practical problem, which those working among Negroes are endeavoring to meet. Without question there are many good places open to household workers, but so long as they are brought North by a selfish, irresponsible employer class, which is comfortably ignorant of, or has no conscience about, methods which rob and mislead the girls on the way to their homes, and even lead them astray, just so long will the housekeepers find them a "shiftless, ungrateful lot," unfitted for their positions. There is no doubt that the Negro is the main American source of supply for general houseworkers, and will be available when housewives give their support to methods which will bring them North under safe conditions, and uncorrupted by these employment agents as to wages, truth telling, capacity, morality and honesty. To-day not more than one-half ever reach the households in which they are intending to work.

The Combination System North and South.

A combination system of northern and southern employment agencies, which has such a power for good, too often at present uses methods of robbery and fraud, unrestrained by any federal or state laws, or by a public opinion awake to their methods. There is no question but that many of these agents render good service and that without them the dearth of houseworkers would be much greater; but at present little or no protection is afforded women by the agents whose property they become. The southern states, especially Virginia and Georgia, are honey-combed with the slick agents of these employment bureaus, who not only gather the workers from the fields and very dooryards of their southern mistresses, but resort even to brass bands to get them into line so they can be talked into going North. Without money often, some with their little belongings done up in pillow cases, or carpet sacks, many gaudily and poorly dressed, with no other friend than the agent—they come to be shipped.

When they reach the agencies at Savannah, Norfolk and other ports, three things —good wages, easy work (really nothing to do"), and good times, are promised to them. To them, going to Philadelphia or to New York seems like going to Heaven, where the streets will be paved with gold,

and all will be music and flowers! While these visions are still bright, they sign an innocent looking contract. This contract binds the employment agency to pay their fare. In return, they agree to work one or two months without pay after they arrive. They further agree that their baggage shall be taken to the northern employment agency to which they are going; also that if they cannot redeem it at the end of two months it goes by default to the employment agent. Most of them never read this contract, nor is it explained to them. This is all the southern agency does—gathers the women up, gets the contract signed, pays the fare and puts them aboard the boat with but one address. Many of them are told that their steamship tickets include meals, and find this is not true, and being without money, endure the entire journey without food.

The Newcomer, the Shark and the Agency Runner.

The steamships dock at the New York and Philadelphia ports. Scores of eager Negro women pour forth, and they find, what? Not the promised golden land, but ugly docks looking out to an unknown country, and, instead of friendly faces, agency runners and sharks. Their baggage, the property of the agent, goes to the agency, and they, also the property of the agent, follow to a lodging-house which he runs in connection with the agency, or which some friend of his runs. There they wait until a position is offered. If they have money, often no places are offered until their small fund is spent for board; if they have not, they are in danger of yielding to the easy, evil life held out to them.

The woman who has left her happy-go-lucky, cheerful life in the South, a splendid cook, a good servant, perhaps, faces an entirely new condition in the North, for the northern home is like an unexplored country in its appointments and methods. Be it said to the credit of some agencies that they do bring many Negro women North with the intention of sending them to honest homes to work. But the woman who proves inefficient; or who will not take the position offered; or who cannot meet the conditions of the northern home; or who has come on promises of twice the wages which she can earn and insists that she must have them; or who has come on the promise of one thing and is offered another—these the agent turns loose upon the city, perhaps to find their way into hospitals, almshouses, and prisons.

But there are agencies—many of them—that never intend to send women to honest places. When the newcomers are safely in the agency lodging-house, the runners or "friends" of the agency show them the "sights of the town," usually ending up with concert halls; and after such evenings the Negro woman may have lost her chance for honest work. A few days of sight-seeing, during which time she lodges at the agency, and she finds that she owes not only her fare, but from $17 to $20, for she learns in New York that this sum is the price for her transportation and agent's commission—almost four times the regular fare, which is $5. In some agencies she cannot even open her trunk without permission from the agent, and she must work two months without pay. To whom can she turn? The agent tells her she may leave her trunk without charge, taking only the little she needs, until she sees if she will like the place. At the end of two months, she calls for her trunk and finds fifty cents a week or month is the charge for storage. She has earned no money during those weeks, because of the terms of her contract with the agent; so she forfeits all her possessions. There is cunning in this arrangement! By keeping the girl's baggage and permitting her to use it at the agency the agent holds her indefinitely in his power. He always knows where she is, he places her when she is out of work, or takes her away from one employer for another; he even compels her to give names and addresses of her southern friends, so that he may write to them to come North, using her name as an inducement.

Associations for the Protection of Negro Women Organized.

The cities of New York and Philadelphia contain some eighty Negro agencies, and of this number about forty are bringing up southern Negro women under these conditions. There are also some dozen white agencies which bring them under no better conditions, and with no better intentions. The first

remedy lies in compelling these agencies to adopt better methods of protection, or in driving the hopelessly unscrupulous ones out of business.

At the time of these investigations, there existed no organization primarily interested in the industrial problems of Negro women. For this reason the Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research has been the means of organizing associations for the protection of Negro women in Philadelphia and New York. These organizations include both men and women and both Negroes and whites. They first placed at the docks women agents who have directed more than four hundred and fifty women during the summer. These will be visited this fall in their new places of employment, the desire being to maintain a friendly interest in them. Penniless women have been taken to destinations; lost addresses have been found; the sick have been cared for and lodgings found for others; addresses of disreputable houses, which many green southern Negroes have held, have been investigated and the women induced to go elsewhere; in a few instances girls have been rescued from disreputable agency sharks and disorderly places, sometimes with the necessary aid of the authorities. One of the methods is for expressmen to get the baggage of these poor women at the docks, and then insist on the girls going to their address in order to reclaim the things.

The question is not only one of rescue, but to provide lodgings and work. In Philadelphia an attractive new home has been opened at 714 South Seventeenth street, where such women may stay while waiting for work. In New York no new home has been found necessary, for use has been made of the Colored Mission, the Young Women's Christian Association, in Brooklyn, the White Rose Home and others. The finding of employment has been entrusted to the agent, or to the employment agencies which maintain the standard required by the association but as soon as endowments can be secured these associations means to start their own employment agencies so that they can exert a more permanent influence upon the women who are strangers in the cities.

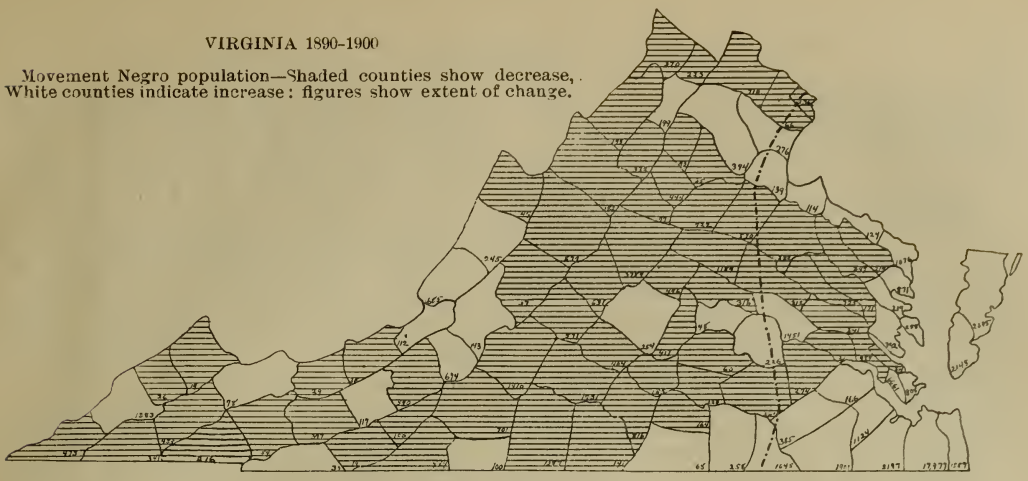
Besides the direct rescue and industrial work, these associations are undertaking co-operative and educational work. To make the protection of migrating Negro women effective, there must be a system including Baltimore, Washington, Richmond and Savannah, so that women going from one city to another can be sent through, and communication established among the cities. The associations therefore are concentrating their winter's work upon such organizations in these cities, endeavoring to bring about systematic methods of finding work for Negro women by existing organizations and a start is being made to secure protective legislation so much needed in the states from which the women are sent north.

Educational work has been taken up in connection with Hampton Institute and with various pastors and churches. Large number of circulars describing the conditions have been distributed through the southern states; ministers are preaching upon it; and efforts are being made to safeguard the girls before leaving. To give the women before coming the knowledge necessary for them to take care of themselves, to guide them at the stations, to send them to and provide safe lodgings, to find them work, or to send them back if they cannot compete under the industrial conditions in the North, this is the pressing, practical work of these associations. They have cared for four hundred and fifty women this summer at a per capita cost of about eighty cents.

The officers of these associations are:

NEW YORK: Fred R. Moore, president; Dr. E. P. Roberts, vice-president; Miss Frances A. Kellor, secretary; Dr. W. L. Bulkley, treasurer. Executive committee: Miss Mary E. Dreier, chairman of Travelers' Aid Committee; Dr. Verina Morton-Jones, chairman of Committee on Education; Wilford H. Smith, chairman of Employment Agency Committee; Miss C. M. Wood, chairman of Committee on Finance; Miss Mary W. Ovington, chairman of Membership Committee.

PHILADELPHIA: The Rev. Henry L. Phillips, president; the Rev. Elbert W. Moore, vice-president; Miss Frances A. Kellor, secretary; John N. Frazier, treasurer. Executive committee: Mrs. John H. Converse, Miss Frances Bartholomew, Mrs. Rollin Norris, Dr. E. C. Howard, Mrs. E. Bowman Leaf, the Rev. Charles A. Tindley, the Rev. William A. Fickland, Dr. S. P. Irwin and Mrs. S. W. Layten, agent.



Some Causes of Negro Emigration

The Men

Carl Kelsey
University of Pennsylvania

It needs no long argument to prove the existence of a large movement of Negroes northward. The number of non-Caucasian natives of the South living in the North Atlantic and North Central States in 1890 was 230,931; in 1900, 336,879, an increase of 45.9 per cent. Of each 10,000 Negroes born in the South Atlantic States, 247 lived in the North Atlantic States in 1890 and 403 in 1900. Of this 403, only 51 were in New England while 352 were in the southern North Atlantic States—practically speaking, New York and Pennsylvania. The extent of this migration may be shown by the fact that while the median age of the Negroes ranges from 17-19 in the South Atlantic States, it rises to 25 and 26 in the states mentioned. A more graphic representation of this migration is given by the map of Virginia at head of this page. It would appear self-evident that profound causes are operating when in the great majority of the counties of the state there is an actual decrease of Negro population during a decade. It demonstrates a wide-spread discontent, whatever be its nature. There is then a steady immigration of Negroes into the North Atlantic States. Most of them come from the South Atlantic States—very few from the South Central.

In my judgment, the discontent producing this movement is largely economic, due first, to the increasing difficulty of getting satisfactory returns from old land; and second, to the rising standard of living of the Negro himself. The competition of western lands together with the exhaustion of the native soil is evident to the visitor of the rural districts. These conditions demand more agricultural knowledge than the Negro—or the average white—possesses if the returns are not to diminish. The young man who sees no way to meet these hard conditions, looks for a way out. In many parts of Virginia the one-roomed cabin has gradually disappeared, the stove is replacing the fireplace, and the table no longer sets forth corn-bread and pork. New wants have arisen. How shall they be met? Here is the basis of the movement. There are other causes important in individual cases but insignificant in comparison. The young man may hire out as a farm hand but the hours are long, the labor hard, the pay small. He has no trouble in buying land, for already in some counties over ten per cent of the realty is owned by Negroes. The schools, many of them, are fair and the term long—for the South. He does not leave because he is disfranchised for the suffrage has

seldom appealed to him anyway. Nor is he in constant danger of being lynched.

A Typical Virginia County.

To show exactly the changes which have come about, let us go into almost any county of central Virginia—say Prince Edward county, whose chief town is Farmville, a county in which there was a slight actual decrease in the Negro population during the last decade. The impression given is not one of agricultural prosperity. Practically all the land has been under cultivation at sometime though thousands of acres have gone back to woods; and in heavily wooded fields, the old corn rows may still be traced. On every side are worn out fields on which sassafras soon gets a start, followed by pine and other trees. In spite of a rather diversified agriculture, the Negro farmer is compelled to get advances ranging from $50 to $75 per year. The chief money crop is tobacco, but tobacco is very exhausting to the soil, and fertilizer at a cost of $4.50 an acre is necessary if fair results are to be achieved. The average Negro farmer has about as many acres in wheat as in tobacco and raises about twelve bushels of wheat to the acre. Some corn is also raised but the size of the stalks often indicates the poverty of the soil. He has about enough wheat to supply him with flour; perhaps enough corn or hay for an ox or horse; possibly enough meat for the family. For instance, B——— has a numerous family of children and lives in a large cabin—one room and a loft. He owns a pair of oxen and manages to raise enough to feed them; raising also about enough meat for his family. During the season of 1902, he raised $175 worth of tobacco, corn valued at $37.50, and sixteen bushels of wheat—a total of $221. Deducting one-fourth for rent, and estimating expenses for fertilizer at $25, he had $140 out of which to pay all other expenses. B——— is considered a very good man, who attends carefully and faithfully to his work. It is evident, however, his margin is very small.

The situation may be summed up in a word. A generation or more of reliance upon one crop—tobacco—and neglect of other crops and stock has resulted in deteriorated land. Hands in Virginia by the month get $7 or $8 and board, while women get thirty-five cents a day for work about the house. The day laborer gets about fifty cents and his meals, but for special work during harvesting is paid more, the wage rising even to $1.50. The natural result is a decadence of agricultural conditions and a shrinkage of land values, which at the same time gives the Negro a chance to buy land cheaply.

Stories of an outside world where wages are relatively large and where life is exciting continually reach his ears. Some of his friends, having spent the summer—and all their earnings—in Philadelphia, are visiting their parents during the winter. Possibly he hears the boast that in the North a Negro may enter a restaurant and be waited on by a white girl. He cares not that the skilled trades are closed to him. He isn't a skilled laborer. In a childish way he pictures the wonders of the new world—reflected in the new fashions of his friends—and resolves in some way to get there;—a very natural and healthy state of mind—much like that which brought many of the readers of these lines into the great cities. What is true of the young man is even more true of his sister, whose opportunities at home are even more limited, for field work is no longer considered a possibility.

How They Get North.

How to get North is the next question. Possibly a season's hard work makes it possible. It frequently happens, however, that some great corporation is seeking large numbers of men. The way is then easy. The demand has brought its answer. In all the cities and many smaller villages are employment agencies in close touch with similar institutions in Philadelphia or New York. These agents are continually seeking to send Negroes North. They advertise that transportation will be advanced and positions found. The intending immigrant signs some such agreement as the following:

In consideration of my expenses being paid from Richmond to —— and a situation provided for me, I agree to give —— services after arrival as —— to the party or persons paying my expenses. And I further agree that all my personal effects may

be subject to their order until I have fulfilled this contract, forfeiting all claims to said personal effects after sixty days from this date should I fail to comply with agreement.

One month's service is the usual period inserted in the bargain. The agreement and baggage check are sent to the correspondent. In return transportation—usually steerage on boats—is provided. The boat stewardesses say the majority of the girls going North have agency tickets. Here comes the profit. The steerage fare from Norfolk to New York is but $5.50, but the agent's charge is often double. From Savannah or Charleston there is likewise a heavy overcharge.

I have tried to show how this migration has naturally arisen out of existing conditions. As yet foreign immigration has not appreciably affected the Southern situation. This is true, although we hear from time to time of attempts being made to get Italians into the South and likewise hear of the successes of numbers of small colonies of Italians. We must bear in mind, however, that there are thousands of acres of untilled land in the South and that in many districts, as for instance in the delta regions of the Mississippi, many new farms are being opened with a corresponding increase in the demand for labor. In the districts under consideration in this article, the Italian as yet plays absolutely no part in causing the exodus of native blacks. This may, however, come at any time, for Italians are being sought for plantation work. There is need for the Negro in the South, but so long as unskilled labor elsewhere yields such large returns together with city opportunities, the migration will continue. Meanwhile, it must be borne in mind by the reader that the South is passing through a great industrial revolution which involves in many ways the life of the Negro. As yet the black has not become in any sense a factory hand in the cotton mills, but wherever large masses of relatively unskilled labor are employed, as in the mines or in the iron mills about Birmingham, a new source of livelihood has been opened for thousands; and these thousands have largely come from the rural districts. This industrial transformation means that the old dominant type of the Southern planter with the patriarchal system of plantation life and the deep sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of the blacks is in one sense a thing of the past. The South as well as the North is beginning to demand efficiency, and the Negro is more and more left to himself to work out his salvation. No wonder, then, with the poverty of natural resource and scanty means of training at his command that the young man dreams of larger opportunities in the North.

It is only necessary in closing to suggest that many ex-convicts and otherwise undesirable individuals find it advantageous to leave home. Many of these seek the North and to them the older Negro city dwellers ascribe a considerable part of the crime which has attracted attention in recent years.

Why Should Negro Business Men Go South?

Booker T. Washington
Tuskegee Institute

In a recent address to the members of the National Negro Business League, at their sixth annual meeting in New York, I said: "In commending opportunities for progress in business and commerce we should not disregard the fact that of the ten million members of our race, the great masses are in the South, and there, in my opinion, they will remain. While there are evils of which no one should lose sight—in creating and securing labor, in conducting business enterprises, and in securing homes—there is no other part of the United States that begins to offer a field more inviting than the South. We should see to it that we do not lose in the South that which we now possess. We should not grasp at a shadow, and lose the substance. If we neglect to occupy the field that is now before us in the South, it will become there as it is in the North—we will be excluded by those who are strangers to our tongue and customs."



1. P. A. Payton, N. Y. 2. J. C. Napier, Tenn. 3. Dr. S. E. Courtney, Mass. 4. T. Thomas Fortune, N. Y. 5. Booker T. Washington. 6. W. L. Taylor, Va. 7. Chas. Banks, Miss. 8. E. J. Scott, Ala. 9. Fred R. Moore, N. Y. 10. Fred R. Patterson, O. 12. J. G. Carter, Ga. 13. G. M. Howell, Va. 14. T. W. Jones, Ill. 15. J. E. Bush, Ark. 16. S. L. Williams, 17. G. C. Harris, Mass. 18. Dr. S. A. Furniss, Ind. 11. W. H. Davis, Stenographer.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE.

(Nos. 1 to 8 seated, from left to right; Nos. 9 to 18, from right to left of those standing.)

In seeking to answer briefly the question that has been proposed to me, "Why should the Negro business man go South?" I believe I cannot do better than enlarge somewhat and make more specific the statement I have just quoted.

Emphasis should be put on the fact that the masses of the Negro people are now, and are likely to be for all time, in the South, for the most part on the farms and in the small towns, rather than the large cities.

They were born there, bred there, and even were it possible to remove them in any great numbers, I believe they are better fitted to live there than elsewhere, either on this continent or in Africa.

I saw the statement recently that until the beginning of the nineteenth century, no city has ever increased in size by the natural growth of its native population. Where great cities sprang up, they grew and maintained their population by constant accessions from the country districts. In other words, the population produced in the country went to the city only to die. It was not bad sanitary conditions alone that brought this about. The same causes which operated to destroy the population of the cities a hundred years ago, are still operating to-day, though to a less degree, no doubt, in the crowded city districts which most of the colored people usually live in, in the North.

I do not believe the masses of colored people are yet fitted to survive and prosper in the great northern cities to which so many of them are crowding. The temptations are too great, and the competition with the foreign population, with which they there come in contact, is too fierce.

I am convinced that for a long time to come the great mass of the prosperous, successful colored people will be found on the farms and in the small towns of the South.

But where the great masses of the Negro population are, there are the best opportunities for Negro business men. Experience has shown, I believe, even in the North, that the largest opportunities for the Negro in business are in providing for those needs of other members of his race, which the white business man, either through neglect, or lack of knowledge, has failed, or been unable to provide. The Negro knows the members of his own race. He knows the Negro people of his neighborhood, in their church, and in their family life, and is able to discriminate in his dealings with them. This superiority in the matter of credits is in itself a business advantage, of which competition cannot easily deprive the Negro, and one which, with the extension of the modern methods of business, is likely to become of increasing importance.

Every condition which favors the Negro in the South, the cheapness of land, of the cost of living, opportunities for work, and his natural adaptation to the soil, favor also the Negro in business in the South. Indeed the great need of the masses of the Negro people for direction in the matter of buying and selling, saving and investing, makes opportunities for the Negro who possesses training in business affairs.

But there are other reasons which must appeal more and more to one who considers the matter thoughtfully. Money earned by the Negro in the way of business in the South is ordinarily worth more than money earned in the same way in the North. It is worth more, not merely because it goes further, but because the business man, in earning it, can be of more service to his race. The Negro banker who, in the course of his business, finds it necessary to encourage thrift and industry among his people, the Negro tradesman, who, for his own protection, must constantly discriminate between the honest and industrious members of his race, is at the same time performing a service to his people and the community as a whole, which should and does give a dignity to his work and a significance to his whole life.

The Negro who, in the course of his own business, is doing something which at the same time makes the world better, will in the long run stand higher in the community among his neighbors of both races, than he who, making more, and spending more, spends it, as he is tempted to do, for the superficial things which make life in the great northern cities so attractive to large numbers of the people of my race.



A couple of cottages built by the Dixie Industrial Company for its employés. Saw-mills in background.



Where the field hands live: a typical cabin quarter of the old South.



Snapshots of the community church—



—on a big meeting day

KOWALIGA: SCENES OF THE COMMUNITY LIFE



In the Clay Pits.



Moulding the Brick.



Ready for the Chimneys.



On the Yard.

KOWALIGA : GLIMPSES OF ITS INDUSTRIAL LIFE



The School.



A Car Load of Rosin.

Kowaliga: a Community With a Purpose

WHAT ONE ALABAMA TOWN IS DOING TO COUNTERACT THE MOVEMENT OF NEGROES FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

William E. Benson

Every thoughtful man and woman of the race would shudder at the consequences of a Negro problem in the North as we have it in the South. Yet, this is what will happen unless some powerful train of influences is set in motion to counteract the ever-increasing tide of young Negroes who are drifting north year after year.

Now and then there is a spasmodic migration from certain sections because of racial antagonism, but such instances are rare and only local in effect. The aspiring and industrious Negroes go north for the purpose of securing better educational, professional, and business advantages. The great majority of them ultimately return to the South to follow business or professional careers and identify themselves with the various movements inaugurated for the social and moral elevation of their race. There are others who remain in the North where they find the prospects for successful careers more to their liking, and many of these measure up to the full responsibility of their duties as citizens and men. It is not this class, however, which is causing alarm in the northern cities, for they are generally respected by the whites and welcomed by the better element of Negroes.

It is the shiftless and unstable who make no effort to take advantage of the superior opportunities of the North, and whose only ostensible purpose is to seek social and moral degradation under the guise of domestic employment. First, they are washed from the shores of the country to the near-by southern cities and ports, and thence to the various northern cities where they become more indolent and worthless. They neither toil nor spin, because they are in a "free country" and can work as they please, and in spite of its many uplifting influences they literally become intoxicated with the largeness of their freedom. In the streets and tenements of northern cities are to be found these well-dressed and apparently well-educated young Negroes of both sexes who have no visible resource for a livelihood other than the various forms of gambling and licentious living known to their sect. However, it is not my intention that this article should appear denunciatory beyond the mere stating of actual conditions; but rather helpful and suggestive of those elements which combine to make country life attractive and remunerative to the Negro.

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows tells of a slave lad who upon finding himself a free man at the close of the Civil War, instead of rushing to the city or escaping to the Yankees, as he might easily have done, had no thought save to go back to the plantation where he was born and devote himself to the cultivation of the soil. For a year

or two he hired himself out as a field hand, buying land with the money he earned, then a mule, a cow, etc. He never wasted a penny nor was he idle an hour; he worked moonlight nights, making up for loss of sleep when rainy days came. He married a good woman, and became the father of a family, of which there survive two daughters, who were graduated under Booker Washington, and one son at Howard University, Washington. Such in brief is the story of one of the most successful colored men in the South, trusted and respected by whites and blacks alike. He has seen his first acre of land multiply three thousand times and his first cow and mule increase to the largest and best herds in the countryside. His log cabin is replaced by a fine farmhouse whose hospitable doors are ever open. He has harnessed the swift-flowing stream which runs through his plantations and now a cotton gin, a saw and grist mills hum for him throughout the busy year.

This is simply one example out of ten thousand illustrating what the Negro has accomplished by sticking to the soil. Of the influences which will tend to inspire within our youth a more general desire for this independence and expression of a life worth living in the country, none can be more effective than the right kind of education. Possibly ninety-nine out of the one hundred children in the country communities have no opportunities beyond the lowest primary grades, and no industrial training whatever. Whatever may be the shortcomings of our existing system, one thing is certain, we know it does not awaken within the average Negro the impulses to a more intelligent and industrious citizenship, because it cannot reach to the bottom, and help him to make the very best of the conditions in which he lives.

Training for Life and Labor.

There is a common sense middle-ground in the scale of Negro education, much the same as in all other problems, and it is well that we look between the extremes to find it. Not that we may expect to find anything entirely new or original, but that which will work the greatest good for the greatest number. The wish for a fuller realization of a more practical training for the masses brought into existence the Kowaliga School, which is located sixteen miles from any railroad in a typical rural community. The school was started eight years ago in a cabin schoolhouse with one teacher. It now has eight teachers and an enrolment of 243 pupils. The primary aim of the school is to give to the boys and girls who live in the immediate neighborhood the opportunities of a thorough common school education, along with manual and industrial training.

Aside from academic instruction the boys are given both theoretical and practical training in farming and the girls are taught sewing, cooking, laundering and housekeeping. Primarily, it is not a boarding school and has no intention of drawing students in large numbers from other communities or sending its graduates to them. The main purpose of the school is to raise the general level of the community life by developing the individuals in the community and keeping them here for the benefit of the community. It has not only done this, but has attracted to the community superior families.

We frequently have inquiries from near-by towns for reliable girls as domestic servants, and our invariable reply is that we are not training them for cooks in the cities, but for the purpose of making good housewives for the boys who are learning to farm. On the other hand we have no intention of training the boys as skilled workmen in any of the trades, which would lead them away from the community and place them in competition with white mechanics. The prejudice of the trade unions is fast making it impossible for the Negro in the South, as it long has been in the North, to secure employment on many of the important jobs where white mechanics are engaged. Agriculture is the only industry which has not not yet been reached by this prejudice and through its careful study and pursuit the Negro has the opportunity to make himself indispensable to the South.

Industrial Opportunities.

Kowaliga is undertaking to solve its problem of migration by means of an industrial company, whose purpose is to develop the natural resources of the country and furnish lucrative employment for the members of the community. The company has bought several large tracts of land which will be subdivided into small farms as fast as the timber is removed.

Good homes are being built and will be sold or leased to industrious families who wish to settle in the neighborhood of a good school. This is purely a business enterprise, which will not only support itself through the operation of its farms and industries, but will help to increase the local support of the school by making its patrons more prosperous. The Negro should not only be taught how to work but should also be given a chance to use his training to a practical end. The boy who learns how to farm in the school should be given a chance to buy a farm of his own; the girl who is trained in household economy should realize the practical value of her training in a well-ordered home of her own making.

In addition to the development of farms, a number of minor industries have been established for the purpose of furnishing regular employment the year round. Such industries as have heretofore existed have been seasonal, and the average Negro cannot support his family and educate his children by working only six months in the year. It requires about all he makes during the work season to exist upon while he is waiting to plant another cotton crop; he must too often begin over again each year where he started the year preceding, if perchance he is not actually deeper in debt. In order to provide a continuity of industrial pursuits so that our men will not be compelled to resort to the cities and public works, a saw-mill, shingle-mill and turpentine enterprise have already been put in operation. An oil-mill, a wood-working plant, and a knitting mill to provide work for the girls will be added as soon as capital is in hand.

Home and Community Environment.

Nothing is so essential toward making country life attractive to the Negro as good homes. As they go from the cabin to the comfortable cottage, there comes to the family an added self-respect and inspiration which is often reflected in its social and moral life. Since the plans of the Kowaliga company for making good homes for industrious colored people have become known, many of the large land owners immediately set about to build better houses for their tenants in order to keep them from moving upon the company's lands. The first new cottages built by the company, with four rooms and neatly painted, stand as object lessons of a progressive community-life which is far more æsthetic than the crowded tenements of the city.

Mutual Sympathy of Races.

Further, the permanence of the Negro in the country communities of the South must be assured through the mutual friendliness and co-operation of the white race. The two are inter-dependent in the South and will ever remain so as long as the one has lands to cultivate and the other has the labor. No other section of the country affords the Negro a better opportunity to work out his own salvation and the South can never secure a more serviceable laborer. The visionary schemes of importing foreign labor into the cotton fields will vanish in proportion as the Negro is led to become a more intelligent and reliable cultivator of the soil.

Underlying this situation, there stand principles of civic justice which the Negro must insist upon at the hands of the white man, if he is to achieve his highest usefulness, and measure up to the demands of a more progressive industrial and agricultural life. Justice before the law and equal protection of life and property are safeguards which no amount of education and industrial proficiency on the part of the Negro can guarantee. In asking these the Negro is accepting less than a man's chance, but it is the least that he can expect to receive and it is the least which the white man can expect to vouchsafe and still manifest that high degree of American justice which has been accredited to him.

With the calmness and the faithfulness and the forbearance of the slave, his children may yet hope to conquer. In spite of unjust disfranchisement laws, jim-crow-cars, social ostracism, lynchings and the many other discriminations to which the Negro of the South is subjected, he may yet look forward with hope into the future. Through the building of homes and schools and churches, through the operation of business and industrial enterprises in every community, he will yet lift himself into a higher social, moral and religious life and the South will be made glad because of him.

The Negro Home in New York

Mary White Ovington

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The great majority of the Negroes of New York live in poverty. Sixty-two per cent of the men, according to the last census, are in domestic and personal service, and in the large stores and factories they do the work of porter or general utility man, not the better paid tasks. Only a few practice a trade. The women have not been able in any numbers to gain entrance to the factory or the shop. The result is a group of people receiving a low wage, and the character of their homes must be largely determined by their economic position.

Like all the New York poor the Negro lives in a tenement. The lower East Side, famed for its overcrowding, does not know him. His quarters are west, but there he finds conditions that are often quite as bad as those among the Italians or the Jews. In the most thickly segregated Negro section, that between West Fifty-ninth and West Sixty-fourth streets and Tenth and West End avenues, the tenements are of the old double-decker and dumb-bell types with no through ventilation and with twenty and twenty-two families to a house. The air-shafts in these tenements are so small as to be only "culture tubes" except on the top story, where the rooms gain something of air and light. In the lower part of town, about the Thirties, we still find a number of rear tenements occupied by the colored race. The sunlight enters these houses, but they are very old, impossible to keep clean, and dangerous because of their distance from the open street. Again, still further south, about Cornelia street, the race lives in dilapidated former dwelling-houses.[1] These West Side districts have little of the picturesqueness of the lower East Side, and have been more or less neglected by those interested in the moral and civil welfare of the community.

Rents are high for everyone in New York, but the Negroes pay more and get less for their money than any other tenants. Every week in the warm weather hundreds of them come from the South. They must find shelter, and the places that they may rent are few, and those not tenements of the better sort. The many attractive and healthful houses that have been built since the creation of the Tenement House Department are not open to them. They are confined to certain localities, and usually to only a few houses in each block. Forced to crowd into small and uncomfortable rooms, their opportunities for making a home what it should be are much restricted.

Like the dweller on the East Side the Negro knows enough to get out of his house and into the fresh air when he can. In the summer, the streets, while not so filled with people as in the neighborhood about Rivington and Delancey streets, are well crowded. The roofs, too, offer breathing-places. Day as well as night many men and women are to be seen about, especially in the vicinity of the Sixties. The presence of men in the daytime gives an appearance of idleness among the population that is not as great as it seems, as about fifty per cent of the colored men of this city are engaged at jobs that give them leisure when other people are at their tasks.

Study closely the tenants in any of these streets and you will find every grade of social life. Their difficulty in procuring a place to live compels the colored people to dwell good and bad together. Ten families of pure and upright lives may be forced to rent rooms in a house where there are other ten families who are rough and noisy, often immoral. This is true of all overcrowded districts, but it is especially true in the Negro quarters: for the landlord of a colored tenement rarely makes any attempt to discriminate among his applicants, but takes in anyone who will pay his rent. Complaints against objectionable tenants are unheeded, and the mother and father in the respectable home have the difficult problem of rearing children in a few rooms from which

[1] There are small Negro settlements on the upper East Side from Eightieth street to One Hundred and Thirtieth. These tenements are but little better than those on the West Side in the neighborhood of the Sixties.

there is no escape save to a stairway and street where undesirable companions are numerous. Lines need to be drawn very sharply by such parents, and factions arise among the children that are the despair of the club worker who gathers in her boys and girls, believing that propinquity makes a harmonious group.

Some Characteristics.

This decided difference in the standing and character of the Negroes in a tenement block makes it impossible to describe a typical home; but there are a few facts that may be noted as characteristic of perhaps all but the lowest people in the district. Many of the colored women in New York have at one time or another been engaged in domestic service. In such positions they have received many presents, and their homes are likely to be filled with cheap pictures, photographs, cards, vases, little ornaments that the doctor or nurse longs to see thrown away, but that nevertheless give an air of homelikeness to the place. The Negroes' homes are often sadly cluttered, but they are rarely bare and ugly. With this love of pretty things goes a desire to live with something of form in the arrangement of the rooms and in the ordering of the meals. When breakfast or dinner comes you will almost always find the table set. The unappetizing tenement meal, eaten out of a paper bag without the setting of the table or the gathering together of the family, is unusual in the colored district. I have been surprised to find in the most modest homes that the meal carried with it the air of a social function; the mother would use many dishes though she must take the time from her laundry work to wash them.

The Negro home is a generous and hospitable one. Pushed aside by the rest of the community, these folk gather the more closely together, and while this carries with it the cliques and gossipings of a village life, it also strengthens and develops a willingness to help those who are in need. Considering his poverty very little relief is given to the Negro in New York. This is partly because he does not understand how to use the charity that the institutions for relief provide, but it is also because he cares for his own. The colored churches do much for their poor, and nearly all the colored people belong to sick benefit societies, but their frequent kindnesses one to another are their most constant charity. They adopt the child that has been deserted, and they feed the next-door neighbor though they have little themselves. Their hospitality is sometimes almost too overflowing. "Five frens jus' come up f'om de Souf," one woman said to me in excusing the disorderly appearance of her five rooms. Her regular family consisted of nine. "I jes' had t' tek' 'em in," she added, and I could not gainsay her though I thought more than she did of the unhealthfulness and discomfort of fourteen people in one small flat.

The Household and Its Manners.

The standard of manners, save among the very rough and uncultivated, is high for New York, where the tenement dweller must live largely in the street. This may be because the Negro is not a New Yorker, or is so in very few cases, but a Southerner. The pleasant voice and courteous ways of his old home remain with him. Some of his children after a time learn to adopt the rude standard of the street, but their shortcomings do not mean that they are without home training. I remember one little girl in a club of which I had charge. When I expostulated with her on her rudeness in interrupting me and ended by saying that perhaps in this case she did not know what good manners were she told me emphatically: "Yes, we knows what good manners are, our mothers learn us. It's we that's bold." Taking the colored children just as one finds them in the city, opinion is often in their favor. Those neighbors who are friendly with them have told me that they are well-behaved. "I am always glad to do anything for a colored child," one German woman said to me, "it is so grateful." The Negro children are seldom offenders against the law; in the records last year at the juvenile court few serious cases were brought up against them. Nineteen children were accused of petit larceny and eight of grand larceny. On this last charge only two were found guilty and convicted, and but four in the petit larceny cases. This would seem to show little theft, much less than among the Jewish and Italian children of the lower

East Side. The Negro boys and girls, however, are often truants, and this is partly because they do not have the same regular home care that is given to most of the children of the tenement.

The Mother as Wage-Earner.

For there is another aspect of the Negro home that is of great importance, the presence of the mother as a wage-earner. Sometimes the woman of the household earns more money than the man; often she earns as much. Her most profitable employment is domestic service, but this takes her away from her home for eight or ten, even for fourteen hours of the day. Many a mother, feeling that she cannot leave her children for the most of their waking hours, engages in the chief home industry of the colored woman, washing. In this she is an expert and her laundry commands good prices; but it turns her home into a workshop, and makes her few rooms hotter, more cluttered, more unhealthful. There is no space for the little children to play, and they are taught when very young to be of help. The work is unendingly wearying, lasting often into the night, and it results in a smaller wage than can be obtained with less expenditure of time in a workshop.

The colored men who work on the railroads and on the boats, or who go as waiters to the large hotels, are absent from their families for much of the year. They have little part in the care and rearing of their children. Others, such as the night watchmen and the hotel men, have some of their leisure in the daytime and can give more attention to their children than is possible with many fathers. Parental feeling is often strong among the Negro men and it is not difficult to find Dunbar's father holding his "little brown baby wif sparklin' eyes."

It may be said, however, with some certainty, that the economic situation of the New York Negro does not lead to a strengthening of the home life and of the marriage tie. The economic independence of the woman and the frequent absence from home of the man lead to desertions and separations. The attractive woman who is able to care for herself may grow to resent the presence of a husband whose support she does not need, and the lazy man may find another woman than his wife to support him. The presence of lodgers, necessitated by a high rent, is also a cause of loose family life. That there are many separated families among the poorer class of colored people all charitable workers know, and the woman's economic independence coupled with the man's inability to earn a good wage does something to promote such a condition.

Separation from Other Working People.

It is impossible to give an idea of the home of the Negro in New York without touching upon his relations with the rest of the city's population. He comes to make his home among a people who are foreign to him. He is not to any appreciable extent with the descendants of the men who years ago fought for his freedom—he speaks mournfully of wishing that he might take his chances with the American—but he is living among many races, the most of whom have but lately found their way to this country and are without tradition of friendliness. He has to meet the Irish, the German, the Hebrew, the Italian, the Slav. These maintain varying attitudes of animosity and friendliness. The Irish is the most boisterously aggressive, though when once the Irishman really knows the Negro he can be a very good comrade. New York seems to demand that all the laborers who come to her must endure a period of abuse and ridicule; there must be street fights and biting nicknames and the refusal to work with the detested race. All this the Negro must endure as other races have endured it before him, but his case is an exaggerated one. There are those who wish to deny him opportunity, because they believe in his inherent and eternal inferiority. This minority, for I believe it to be a minority, can prevent his obtaining a position. For where the majority of men and women will consent to have a Negro work with them, a strong caste sentiment on the part of a few will prevail against this friendly feeling which, after all, is little more than indifference.

While the Negro is an able and respected member in some of the labor unions, and while his children occasionally have playmates among the boys and girls of other races in the schools, he does not



An Alley on the Lower West Side of New York—Within two Blocks of Fifth Avenue

Small rear tenements flank this narrow court, which is reached by a covered passage, built probably for a wagon way.



"THE TUSKEGEE"

A Model Tenement for Colored People, 213 and 215 West 62d Street, New York, of the City and Suburban Homes Co.

usually see the white workingman at his best. Too often white and colored meet only in the saloon of a low type or in the rough jostle of the street. This is a misfortune for a people who are in process of creating a social life. To see the best among those in the same economic position as themselves would be a help and profit to them.

Relations with Monied Whites and Their Effect.

The contact that the colored people have with the monied people of the white race is varied. In domestic service Negro men and women often have the opportunity to live in good and honorable homes, but it is not always so; and from people whom they are taught to regard as belonging to the upper class they learn low standards of married life. Those who are not in domestic service see from their tenement streets much that is base in the dominant race. There must be a world of irony in the heart of the seeing Negro who reads in the papers the lurid descriptions of his own crime, while he lives in the Tenderloin district and looks out upon its life. He sees the daily danger attending the attractive women of his own and other races, and he sees temptation offered where he should see high ideals. The Negro is imitative, and all this must and does have an unfortunate effect upon his own home. Yet despite these handicaps there is much of good and honorable living in the homes of the race. Choosing at random fifty families living in the most demoralizing neighborhood of New York, I found that seventy per cent of the mothers were known to be moral by those charitable workers who for many years had been in close touch with them. These people live a life apart from the roughness about them, but close to their church and their children. Such loose unthinking statements are made regarding the Negro and his morality that no better service could be done the race than to show us all his homes just as they come. For where one would be revolting, the next would carry with it so much of worthy relationship between man and wife and parents and children that the first might be forgotten. And yet I doubt if this would be so, for modesty like charity does not vaunt itself, and the loud colored woman who parades the streets counts for more in the minds of the most of us than a dozen of the quiet women of her race who pass by without our noticing them. But for those who wish to see the whole and not merely the part that calls for censure, the majority of Negro homes, like the majority of homes of all working people, are places where good and honest men and women are striving, often against great odds, to bring up their children to lead moral and useful lives.

The Better Negro Houses.

There is in New York in proportion to the population a fairly large class of professional colored men and women; and also a class of business men of some means. The homes of these do not differ essentially from the homes of all good Americans in the city. There is nothing by which especially to characterize them. Their hospitality is very pleasant and their family life is harmonious and sweet. The young women are perhaps brought up in more sheltered fashion than those of the white race. Very much emphasis is laid upon education both for the boy and for the girl. The music-loving character of the race is shown in these homes, as indeed it is in all the colored households; but here we have much ability, for there are among the race in New York musicians of no mean gifts. These homes are too little known among the people of the city. Occasionally some colored high school girl or college student will show her classmate her family circle and thus a few in our population learn something of the wholesome life of a class of Negroes of whom one Southern woman told me that she knew less than she did of the Esquimaux. Perhaps there has never before been a race concerning which so many opinions have been written and yet of whose best life we are so very ignorant. If "the highest is the measure of the man," we know the highest of the New York Negro when we know the homes of the best of his race. And while from the South there comes an idle, criminal class, the industrious and intelligent come as well, and their homes are increasing and are an honor to the Commonwealth.

The Black Vote of Philadelphia

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
Atlanta University

The typical Philadelphia colored man is a young immigrant from the South, from twenty to forty years of age, who has come to the city to better his fortune, as he conceives fortune. His conception of government, as he comes into a great modern world city, is extremely crude. He knows practically nothing of the actual work of any typical government,—local government in the South is a Chinese puzzle to the average citizen; the Negro sees it only in its repressive and harrying functions, and he is allowed to take little or no part in it. The chances are, then, that the young immigrant to Philadelphia has no adequate idea of his duty or privilege as a citizen and has thought little about them, save perhaps in a more or less theoretical way. He comes to find work and freedom—and by freedom he means a chance for expansion, amusement, interest, something to make life larger than it has been on the lonely country plantation, or in the Negro quarter of a southern town. His contact with the new world, then, is as wage-earner and seeker after the goods of life—knowledge and amusement; with this goes the untrammelled right to vote—a right he has never before had, and which his brothers in Philadelphia have not always had.

The laws of 1682 for the new state of Pennsylvania made property holders voters and made the qualifications for freedmen less than those for others. Negro electors undoubtedly helped to adopt the constitution, as the right of suffrage after 1776 was given to "every freeman of the full age of twenty-one years, having resided in this state for the space of one whole year." When the new state constitution of 1790 was framed, it was proposed to limit the suffrage to "free white citizens;" but Albert Gallatin helped to defeat this proposition, and Negroes in the state had the legal right to vote for a half century thereafter. Still public opinion in many cases was against Negroes voting, and in Philadelphia "the colored man could not with safety appear at the polls." One Negro man named Fogg, having been denied the right to vote in Luzerne County, took the case to the courts in 1837. He won in the lower courts but the Supreme Court in a curious decision upheld the exclusion, claiming that a Negro though free could never be a "freeman." The next year the constitutional convention met. The qualifications for suffrage came up and an attempt was made to restrict voting to "free white male" citizens. The amendment was lost by a vote of 61 to 49. This aroused the Negro haters and they began the same sort of campaign of vilification and detraction that the black men of America so often have suffered. Petitions for and against Negro suffrage poured in, but only the latter were printed and published, and Bucks County, where once a Negro nearly had been elected to the legislature, outdid itself in working for exclusion. The result was a protracted fight, and a final adoption of the white suffrage plank by a vote of 77 to 45. The Negroes of Pennsylvania were thus disfranchised for thirty-two years, until the passage of the war amendments.

About 5,500 Negroes were eligible to vote in Philadelphia in 1870. In 1900 there were 20,000 Negro voters and in 1905 there are perhaps 25,000 voters.

Nothing in the Negro immigrant's earning of a living is apt to direct his attention to government unless, of course, he is employed by the city. He is usually employed as servant or laborer by private parties and sees little more of government than when he was in the South. When, after work, and on Sundays and holidays, he starts out for recreation he is apt in the denser parts of the city to run upon two and only two rival claimants for his interest: the church and the club. Parks and out-of-door sports do not attract him, for he has the country-bred indifference to raw nature and his daily work is largely physical. He is not welcome at the white Young Men's Christian Association, while the Negro branch is a sickly sort of thing constituted largely of prayer meetings and cant. All the ordi-

nary amusements of a great city are either unknown and unappreciated by this newcomer, or he feels by word or glance that he is not wanted. There is left, as I have said, the club and the church. Now the church he knows and knows well: it has been the center of his community from the days his fathers landed in America until now. The chances are, however, that this young man has tired of the monotony of church services and their lack of adaptability to his newer needs and demands; in the South, he has loafed outside the door to laugh and joke and escort his girl home; and he does not take the church seriously—he is rather tired of it.

The Political Club.

As he saunters up Lombard street, then, of evenings, he may drop into the church if it is Sunday, and other days he stands lonesomely about, gaping and longing for a fellow soul. But he finds soon that at one place he is welcome and that is at the club. He may be introduced to the club accidentally or by design, through the medium of the saloon or corner pool-room, or by chance companions. At any rate he finds here and there throughout the city ten or fifteen little groups of good fellows—gay young blades, roystering tellers of doubtful tales, well-dressed connoisseurs of the town's mysteries, and they welcome the newcomer cordially and make him feel at home. No where in Philadelphia is there such a welcome for the friendless, homeless black boy, no where is so much consideration shown for his feelings, his wants, his desire for pleasure. He easily joins therefore the crowd of loafers and idlers and laborers who circle and congregate about these clubs.

What is a "club?" He finds that it is a suite of rooms more or less elaborately furnished where a crowd of men can always be found smoking and talking and drinking. Usually, too, they play cards for small stakes and sometimes gamble with various devices for sums mounting up to $25 or more. Here one may make all kinds of acquaintances from honest laborers to drunken debauchees—and the clubs grade from semi-criminal haunts to respectable well-furnished quarters. Nearly all of them, however, and particularly the lower grades, are above all "political," and they give our young immigrant his first introduction into "politics." He comes to know gradually that these pleasant quarters where his friends meet and enjoy themselves are furnished through "politics;" that if it were not for "politics" they could not have beer to drink or play cards in peace. Moreover, there is poor John So and So arrested last week—he'll get clear by "politics." Is the new Philadelphian willing to help along the folks who are doing these kindnesses to him and his? Why, certainly. And when election day comes he receives a bit of printed paper with unknown names and deposits it in a place indicated.

It may be now that he becomes one of the constituent members of the club, being invited by the president. This president selects his own membership of tried and true men warranted to do as he says: he keeps his hold over them by furnishing them amusement if they are honest laborers, or by giving them money if they are poor laborers out of a job, or loafers, or by protecting them if they fall afoul of the police. The newcomer soon sees that he is in a network of intrigue, influence and bribery. The policeman on his beat, the magistrate, the criminal, the prostitute, the business man, all fit in their little circle in the great "machine," and this is "politics;"—of certain questions as to the ownership of gas works, the payment for franchises, the reform of the civil service—of these things he has never heard; he is submerged in a sea of mud and slime called politics which the great and good and wise city of Philadelphia has prepared for him; he has never seen its shores or surface, and of its clearer, sweeter waters he has never heard.

Other Groups.

Of the 25,000 Negro voters in Philadelphia from one-half to two-thirds fall into the class I have described. There are, of course, other Negro voters in the city—or rather men eligible to vote. There is, first, the native Philadelphian of Negro descent—member of an educated and well-to-do group of people. There are the better class of immigrants from the country districts of the state, Maryland, and Virginia. These men come into politics from a different angle. A large number of

them, especially of the better class of immigrants, neglect to vote—the campaign of contempt for civic duties and civic privileges has been preached to them assiduously. They have seen those of their number who preached political suicide for the Negro vociferously applauded and they have come to think it a virtue to neglect the exercise of the right of suffrage. Thus the result of the foolish campaign against the Negro in politics has been simply to drive out of political life the very class of Negroes needed most, and to deliver political life and activity into the hands of the political clubs and their ignorant or debased followers.

Then, too, the Negro voter even of the better class feels no civic pride. Philadelphia is not his city; it grants him nothing in particular save what he struggles for in sweat. It shows him no kindness unless he be a criminal or pauper, and under the political organization preceding the recent upheaval, it did not need his vote or seek it. The Negro feels in Philadelphia and in America few promptings of patriotism, and he looks upon all local questions from the standpoint of his social and individual interests. His greatest hardship is difficulty of employment; his characteristic, poverty. This is due to present and past conditions, *i. e.,* prejudice and lack of skill and application. Both these handicaps can be overcome, but it takes hard work. To such a class the direct or indirect bribery of money is a tremendous temptation. Direct distribution of money to Negro voters at the polls is therefore considerable, but this does not touch the upper half or third of the voting population. This part is influenced by the indirect methods of bribery. There are in the employ of the city to-day, approximately:

1 member of the common council.
3 clerks in the city service
10 or more messengers.
65 policemen.
30 school teachers.

These persons on the whole represent the better class of Negroes and with a few exceptions have given first-class service; but so far as the office-holders themselves are concerned these are the best jobs they could get; probably in no other way could these people get employment that would give them half their present incomes. Their jobs are "in politics," and their holders must and do support the "machine." Moreover, such civic pride as the Negro has is naturally expended on these representatives of his race in public life and they support the party that puts these men in office. Thus office holding is both a direct and indirect bribe to the Negroes and to the better class of them.

The Treatment of the Good-Government Negro.

It happens, however, that the political hold of the "machine" in Philadelphia has been so great and far-reaching, their majorities so overwhelming, and the white citizens so supine in their bondage, that the "machine" cares little for the 25,000 Negro votes and has cut down their patronage lately in some respects; Negroes used to have three counsellors: now they have one, and Boss Durham before his fall said that this "would be the last one." "There are some Negroes in my division," said a ward politician, "and they've been coming to me and telling me what they want, but I tell 'em to go to hell. We don't need their votes." If on finding their support not sought or needed, perhaps the better class do not vote. This makes little difference for the ward bosses having the registration lists vote the names of all who do not appear at the polls. A colored man, headwaiter at a large hotel, went down to the polls; pretty soon he came back. "Did you vote?" he was asked. "No," he said, "I find that I had already voted—I'd like to know which way!"

Suppose now one of the better class of Negroes should determine to go into politics with a view to better conditions. Has this ever happened? Colonel McClure in his *Reminiscences* does not know of any case, but it has been pointed out to him since that he was mistaken. Men of Negro blood like Henry L. Philips, one of the most public-spirited of Philadelphia's citizens, white or black, and Walter P. Hall, a member of the present reform Committee of Seventy, have continually and repeatedly sided with reform movements. And others have, too. Yet it is true that no large mass of colored voters have followed reform movements hitherto. Nor is the reason for this far to seek.

Under the machine an honest man interested in politics had no place. A young friend of mine offered his services in his ward. "See the ward Boss" was the answer. And the ward Boss—"What do you want?" he said, and he meant: "Do you want protection to run a bawdy house, or to sell liquor without a license or to get somebody out of jail? And if so, are you willing in return to falsify voting lists, round up repeaters, etc." My friend saw nothing attractive in this career and he is consequently "out of politics." When now a reform movement like that of the Municipal League has come, it has invariably made the mistake of supposing that because there are few of the better class of Negroes in politics, there is no better class worth appealing to. Moreover, if a few of the leading Negroes were appealed to what could they say to the masses: could they promise that Negroes would be retained in civil service, or on the police force, or as teachers? No, the reformers were not promising jobs. But this matter was more than the question of a simple job—it was a question of economic opportunity. It was really the same question of earning a living that is the main motive in the political action of the whites. Why are Philadelphia politics dirty? Because the most influential and respected citizens of the town are using public business for private gain. White citizens find that franchises, concessions, and favorable administration furnish them the most money. Negroes, being barred from business, largely find the actual salaries of office not only the greatest attraction, but an actual matter of bread and butter. Thus the Negroes have always been suspicious that the reform movements tended not to their betterment but to their elimination from political life and consequently from the best chance of earning a living. And the attitude of some of the reformers and their contempt for Negroes has not improved this race opinion.

It might be asked,—Could not the better element of Negroes outvote the worse element and support an independent movement? This has been tried and the machine beat it. A few years ago a clean young colored lawyer, Harry W. Bass, revolted against the machine and ran for the legislature. He made a good run in the seventh ward, receiving a large vote but not a majority. A little later he ran again and the machine was alarmed. Immediately they nominated another Negro of fairly respectable character on another independent ticket and finally nominated a white candidate on the regular ticket. The result of this three-cornered fight was that Bass received but 400 votes, the white machine candidate was elected, and the other "independent" candidate was given a political job at Harrisburg.

In the present latest upheaval the Negroes are represented on the Committee of Seventy by a business man, Walter P. Hall. In a few of the wards they have organized under the new city party of reform. In the great Negro ward, the seventh, there is one Negro member of the ward committee. While it is uncertain how far the Negro will support reform at present, yet it is certain that an influential part of the better class will co-operate and that there is a great opportunity to give 70,000 Negroes the best chance of education in politics that they have ever had.

The Reconstruction Situation Repeated.

What now is the wrong and right of this situation? It is manifestly this: If you wish democratic government to be successful you must strive to inculcate into the humblest citizen a conception of its duties and its rewards. There is no democratic government in Philadelphia, and has not been for a generation. There is an oligarchy of ward politicians and business men using public office for private gain. Into this system a new mass of untrained Negro voters were cast and they followed their leaders, as was perfectly natural. As a mass they went into politics for what they could get out of it and in this respect Lombard and Walnut streets joined hands and made common cause. We have an exact repetition here of the reconstruction difficulties in the South on a smaller scale. The brother thieves of the *Credit-Mobilier,* the Tweed ring, and the other northern tricksters, began the looting of the newly reconstructed southern states. They used the ignorant Negroes for their tools. The result was that the Negroes followed their leaders and stole and looted too. Yet

this experience is put into history as a classic example of the unfitness of Negroes to exercise political power. Philadelphia needs to go back to the very a b c of government—to teach its citizens, white or black, the duties and rewards of good citizenship, to open its civil service on equal terms to all and to show the 25,000 Negro voters what government means.

Industrial Conditions Among Negro Men in Boston

John Daniels
South End House, Boston

In 1900 there were in the city of Boston 11,500 Negroes. At present, if we base an estimate on the assumption that the rate of increase since 1900 has been equal to the average rate from 1885 to 1900, there are probably about 15,000. In the metropolitan district, including Cambridge with its 8,000 there are perhaps 26,000.

Now of these Negroes, approximately one-half are males, and of these males approximately three-quarters are of working age. Putting these proportions into figures, we find that there are in the entire metropolitan district in the neighborhood of 9,750, and in the city of Boston—which is strictly speaking the area we are considering—about 5,625 Negro men who can be and may be at work.

These Negro men, in their capacity and position as workers, are the subject of our consideration. In regard to them there are two questions we shall put: the first—quantitative in nature—what proportion of them are "gainfully" occupied? the second—descriptive and qualitative—at what sorts and what grades of work are they employed?

To the first question the answer as found on the face of the census returns is very favorable to the Negro. For in 1900, according to the census, no less than seventy-six per cent of the Negro males in Boston were in gainful occupations, as compared with sixty-five per cent of the white males. Since, as we have before stated, the Negro males of working age form about three-quarters of the total, it would appear from these census returns that practically all of them who could be at work are at work, and that the common, if perhaps uninformed, charge of idleness brought against the Negro is foundationless, so far as Boston is concerned.

But this all too roseate impression is somewhat modified by direct observation of the local situation. Though very few cases of long-continued and absolute lack of work have come to the writer's attention, there are certain facts respecting the industrial situation of the Negro here which may well lead us to conclude that much temporary idleness exists. One impression is that there is a considerable portion of the Negro men here who cannot be classified industrially except as men-of-any-work. Down at the bottom industrially, they, like the hack-writers of literature, are forced to take whatever they can get. Of this, more later, when we come to examine the different occupations, but at this point the significance of the fact lies in the temporary idleness—such men depending chiefly on "odd jobs"—which results. And inasmuch as this class of industrial hacks is relatively greater—apparently—among the Negroes than among the whites, there is more resulting temporary idleness among the Negroes. Then, as productive of the same state of affairs among Negroes better off industrially, who can have regular employment if they will, there are those commonly observed—and to greater or less extent correctly observed—Negro traits of instability, and eat-drink-and-be-merriness, which too often lead them to voluntary, or, as a result of laxity in their work, involuntary forfeiture of a good position.

Combining this direct observation of the situation with its presentation in the census, then, we may conclude with a rea-

sonable degree of assurance that there is not an abnormal amount of premeditated and long-continued idleness among the Boston Negroes, but that there is a good deal of temporary lack of employment.

Thus we have an approximate answer to the first of our two questions: of the Negro males of working age in Boston how many are at work, and how much work are they doing? To the writer this first question seems fully as important as the second, to which we may now turn: at what sort and what grades of work are these Negroes employed?

In treating of the various occupations, the writer will not follow the census mode of classification, nor any other mode of classifying according to the kind of work. For he believes that it is not the kind of work the Negro is engaged in which is of most immediate and vital interest. At this stage of the Negro's progress his economic welfare is the absorbing question, and this being so, it is the grade of work he is doing which is the most important consideration. So, in the following discussion, the writer will attempt a rough presentation of the Negro's occupations according to grade, using, for the sake of comprehensiveness and time-saving, the census findings as a base. This presentation will comprise four groups; the first, certain inferior occupations in which most of the Negroes are found; the second, waged, salaried, or commissioned occupations of higher grade; the third, business proprietorships, and the fourth, the professions.

Inferior Occupations.

The first of these industrial groups comprehended, in 1900, the following occupations and numbers of individuals:

Bootblacks	36
Janitors	319
Laborers	665
Servants and waiters	1,676
Stewards	29
Hostlers	61
Messenger, errand and office boys.	64
Porters (in stores)	404
Steam R. R. laborers	34
Total	3,288

Now this group—which is not a distinct census group, the first five items being taken from the census group "domestic and personal service," and the remaining items from that of "trade and transportation"—seems to the writer to be differentiated by including not merely those occupations which are inferior in comparison with the others in which Negroes are found, but occupations which are in themselves ranked as inferior by the public. Is it not true that all these occupations—the item "laborers" refers to workmen on private premises, not public street laborers—are such that one would address a man in them, in his working hours, as "boy," whereas one would not so address Negroes in the other, the higher occupations? Such a method of address implies a certain peculiar psychological attitude toward an occupation. The occupation may command a good wage—as that of waiter—and may be entirely legitimate in nature, but yet there is something about it which renders it inferior as an occupation, and which prompts one to use a mode of address expressing this inferiority.

Well, in this group were comprised in 1900 no less than seventy-three per cent—3,288 out of 4,510—of the Negro males at work in Boston. Herein is expressed the most patent fact of the industrial situation of the Negro in this city. But before we consider the significance of the presence of so many Negro males in this group as a whole there are certain gradations and differences within the group which merit consideration.

Of the bootblacks, hostlers, messenger boys, railway laborers and porters, there is nothing to be said that the reader will not understand for himself. These occupations command, of course, only the wages of rough, unskilled work. Of the "laborers" and the "servants" a goodly proportion are what have already been referred to as "men-of-any-work"—floor-scrubbers, window-cleaners, garden-trimmers, barbers' boys and what not—scratchers here and there for a living. As before mentioned, these Negro men-of-any-work constitute a large class in the city. Many of them are by training skilled artisans, but having come here to this Northern city they are forced to take what they can get. This is the class of industrial scavengers. The

waiters and stewards are classes of skilled laborers—much more skilled than the uninformed would imagine—and their income, chiefly from tips, is such—in the case of waiters most fortunately situated as much as $115 per month—as to constitute them the aristocracy of wealth in this particular industrial group. A number of the wealthiest Negroes in Boston are waiters. It is true, also, that many of the leading Negroes of the country have risen from the ranks of waiters. The janitors, however, are the aristocracy of respectability. The responsibility placed upon them calls out their best Negro traits, their often resulting long tenure of position gives them a good place in the esteem of their employers, and altogether they are a steady, dependable class who are helping their race by the force of example.

There are these differences between the occupations in this group. But on all these occupations alike there is, in greater or less degree, this brand of inferiority. And the significance of the fact that seventy-three per cent of the Negro men at work are in such inferior occupations lies in the question: are the Negroes being held to such occupations, to such inferior work—are they always to be the serviles of the community?

Occupations of Higher Grade.

The converse of this question will be suggested by an examination of the next group, which, as before mentioned, is made up of waged, salaried or commissioned occupations of a higher grade. This group was in 1900 constituted as follows:

Barbers and hair-dressers	106
Miscellaneous "domestic and personal service"	65
Clerks, salesmen, agents, stenographers, etc.	152
Teamsters	167
Miscellaneous "trade and transportation"	48
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive)	53
Carpenters and joiners	37
Painters	25
Masons	30
Other building trades	43
Metal working trades	38
Printers	19
Tailors	26
Miscellaneous "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits"	66
Total	875

From the point of view of the nature of the work performed this group is a composite one, made up of items from the census groups "domestic and personal service," "trade and transportation," and "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits." The justification of this composition lies in the unity of the group as regards the grade of work; understanding by "grade," as in the case of the first group considered, not merely the amount of the attached wage, but the position in the public esteem, in which respect the occupations in this group, though differing among themselves in degree, as a whole occupy an intermediate position between the inferior occupations of the first group, and the proprietorships and professions of the third and fourth groups.

The necessary amount of summary in the above list involves the sacrifice of the impression of the great diversity of occupations of this social grade in which Negroes are found, which diversity is one of the striking features of the Negro's industrial situation here, showing as it does that at present there is no distinct relegation of the Negro to merely a few pursuits of this class.

There is the Negro barber, who once had such a grip in the North, but who now, in Boston as elsewhere, is being excluded by the wide-spreading anti-Negro feeling, and the apparent economic incapacity of the Negro to set up as pretentious an establishment as his competitors of other races. There are no first-class Negro barber shops in Boston now. Many of the Negro shops, however, get a good deal of white patronage. Then there is the clerk class among the Negroes. There are many Negroes who by personal qualities, education and ability, are fitted for such positions as clerks, salesmen, and the like; but the difficulty usually is that the white employés raise objections to working with Negroes, and so the employer is not entirely a free agent. None of the department stores, for instance, ever employ Negro salesmen or saleswomen, for this reason.[1] The teamsters, who are

[1] The writer has it on good authority, however, that in one of the leading stores there are several Negro saleswomen who could get employment because their complexions are so light as to allow them to pass for white people. There are a good many cases of such tacit deception in other lines of work, and sometimes

now a large and well-paid group, originally came into their position as strike-breakers. A few being called in some years ago to fill the places of strikers, they formed an opening for others of their race, who got into the unions and prospered. So far as the writer has observed they are on an equality with the whites in the teamsters' unions; a number of the officers of these unions are Negroes. The Negro carpenters, masons, painters, and the like, are mostly immigrants from the South, having the skilled trade, but being unable to get better than intermittent occupation here in the North, largely because white artisans dislike to work with them.

But the vital question touching this group is, not in how great a variety of its occupations the Negro is found, nor in what particular occupations he tends to concentrate, but whether his numbers in the entire group are on the increase. In 1900 there were in this group 875 of the 4,510, or about twenty per cent of the working Negro men. How is it to-day, both as to absolute numbers, and as to the percentage of the total? This question, it will be seen, is the converse of that put in regard to the first group, and an answer to either will by implication answer the other. If there appears to be a tendency toward an increase in the number of Negroes in these occupations of the second group, these occupations of higher esteem, then there would seem to be ground for concluding that the Negroes are not being kept to the inferior occupations. Statistics on the point for the city are not available, and the statistics for the state are so obscured by changes in the census method and nomenclature for different census years, that it is very hazardous to attempt to trace the tendency in this respect. But the figures seem to show that in the entire state of Massachusetts the number of Negroes in this group is increasing, both absolutely and as a percentage of the total Negro male population. Direct inquiry on the writer's part, also, confirms this impression.

There is involved here the question of trades unionism and the Negro. In advancing or retarding the progress of the Negro in these occupations of higher grade, the unions may have vital effect. The writer is investigating this situation in Boston, and, though withholding judgment, must say that all he has ascertained thus far indicates that the unions are treating the Negroes fairly and helpfully.

The Proprietors. Now we come to the group of commercial and industrial proprietorships. So far as the census represents the facts, this group was in 1900 thus composed:

Agricultural proprietors	3
Boarding and lodging-house, hotel, restaurant and saloon keepers	47
Hucksters	7
Livery stable keepers	3
Merchants (retail)	50
Merchants (wholesale)	3
Undertakers	1
Boot and shoemakers	20
Total	134

Observation leads us to the belief that one cannot, however, get from the census an adequate representation of this group. Census nomenclature renders it sometimes impossible to know whether a man enrolled in a certain occupation is a hireling or a proprietor. This is true of the item "barbers and hair-dressers," "teamsters," and "tailors," a portion of whom properly belong in this third group; and probably it is true to a less extent of other items. Doubtless 200 Negro men, or two and one-half per cent of the total, were in 1900 independent proprietors.

This is the most picturesque of the industrial groups. All over the city, chiefly in districts where Negroes live, of course, but also in the other districts, these Negro business establishments are found. A few are of such proportions as to stand out above the rest. For instance, one of the leading tailors in the city is a Negro who got his start by being especially clever in the making of the "bell" trousers in vogue a dozen years ago, and who became so prosperous as to be able to move into fashionable quarters. Again, the largest wig manufactory in Massachusetts is operated by a Boston Negro, and a very reputable undertaker of the city is a Negro.

under tragic circumstances. It is undoubtedly true that at every census taken. a large number of Negroes are, because of their very light skins, returned by the enumerators as whites.

Most of the Negro business establishments, however, are of unpretentious and humble proportions, and most of them, like a certain portion of the Negro laborers of the city whom the writer has called "men-of-any-work," so undifferentiated in their labor, are businesses-of-any-sort, comprising, for instance, a bootblack, a news-stand, a fuel supply, a tobacco store, and an expressing department—a number adding barber shop or shoemaking outfit—and all their business conducted from a ten by twelve dingy room. The Negro "merchant" is by all means an opportunist. He cannot yet afford to specialize, but must content himself with a mongrel establishment, which has been proved to possess for him the compensating quality of mongrels—hardihood. Of such establishments oftentimes the most successful feature is the teaming. Negro proprietor teamsters are much in evidence throughout the city. Their teams are as well kept, and as busy, as those of their white competitors.

Of Negro establishments of less multiplex character, there are a number of barber shops, poolrooms, restaurants, newsstands, tailor shops, a men's furnishings store, printing shops, and lodging houses. They are all humble establishments, but that would be expected. The point is that there are so many of them, and that they appear to be prosperous and increasing in number. They are a manifestation of the independent business enterprise among the city's Negroes, and as such are deserving of much study.

The Professional Group.

Finally, we arrive at the professional group, the make-up of which was in 1900 as follows:

Actors and showmen	29
Artists and art teachers	3
Dentists	10
Engineers and surveyors	2
Lawyers	12
Musicians and teachers of music	31
Teachers	4
Architects and designers	3
Clergymen	13
Electricians	4
Journalists	5
Literary men	2
Officials (government)	1
Physicians and surgeons	12
Total	131

Naturally, most of the prominent Negroes in the city are found in the professions. Boston has two Negro journalists of national name, a young poet of great promise, and several other Negroes of literary distinction. Among the dentists, physicians and surgeons are some most of whose practice is among the whites, and two, at least, who have attained high distinction in their professions. In the ranks of the lawyers are a number of not only prominent Negroes but prominent citizens. The number of Negroes in the professions is increasing from year to year.

These Negroes of the professions are admirably fitted, by education and present position, to be leaders of their race and interpreters standing between the ranks of the Negroes and the whites. But it seems to be true that many of the Negro professional men, and likewise of the Negroes who through other occupations have risen to positions above their fellows, prefer to use their position to get as far away as possible from their race, and as near as possible to the whites. The process is an interesting manifestation of the conflict between the two general methods of solving the race problem: submission to existing facts, and progress based upon their recognition; or denial of existing facts, in the hope of changing them or creating new facts. . . .

In the above inquiry as to what kinds and grades of work employ the Boston Negro the writer has emphasized the grade of work—its position in the public esteem—rather than its nature. From the point of view of the grade of work, besides presenting the present distribution of the Negroes—which shows the great majority of them to be in the inferior occupations—he has intended to give the impression that there is nevertheless a progress upward, into the employments of higher grade, the business proprietorships and the professions. He has endeavored to keep within seeing distance of the actual evidence in his possession. He has not attempted to give his conclusions more than local application, but he believes that conditions in Boston are in the large representative of conditions throughout the upper North.

Social Bonds in the "Black Belt" of Chicago

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NEW SPIRIT PERVADING THEM

Fannie Barrier Williams
Frederick Douglass Center, Chicago

The last federal census showed the Negro population of Chicago to be about 35,000. The present population is estimated to be over 50,000, an increase of about forty per cent in five years. The colored people who are thus crowding into Chicago come mostly from the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri.

The underlying causes are easily traceable and are mainly as follows:

1. Primarily to escape laws of race discrimination that have steadily increased during the last few years.

2. To obtain better school privileges.

3. On account of the good news circulated by the hundreds of young colored men and women who have been educated in the Chicago and Northwestern Universities and the professional schools, that Chicago offers the largest liberty to citizens of all colors and languages of all communities in the North.

4. Because of the many industrial strikes which in the last ten years have brought thousands of colored people to Chicago, either for immediate work as strike breakers, or with the prospect of employment through the opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workers. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that thousands of Negro men and women are now employed in the stockyards and other large industrial plants, where ten years ago this would not have been thought of.

This increase of Negro population has brought with it problems that directly affect the social and economic life of the newcomers. Prevented from mingling easily and generally with the rest of the city's population, according to their needs and deservings, but with no preparation made for segregation, their life in a great city has been irregular and shifting, with the result that they have been subject to more social ills than any other nationality amongst us. Notwithstanding the disadvantages suggested, the colored people of Chicago have shown in their efforts for self-help and self-advancement a determination that is altogether creditable.[1] While it is true that they contribute almost more than their share of the sins of the community, what they contribute in the way of restraining and correcting influences over their own lives, is much more important.

The real problem of the social life of the colored people in Chicago, as in all northern cities, lies in the fact of their segregation. While they do not occupy all the worst streets and live in all the unsanitary houses in Chicago, what is known as the "Black Belt" is altogether forbidding and demoralizing. The huddling together of the good and the bad, compelling the decent element of the colored people to witness the brazen display of vice of all kinds in front of their homes and in the faces of their children, are trying conditions under which to remain socially clean and respectable. There are some who are all the time breaking away from these surroundings and by purchase or otherwise are securing good homes on desirable streets. But the old and unsanitary shacks from which the good and the thrifty escape are immediately occupied by others less fortunate. For there are always too few houses to meet the demands of the newcomers.

The Organizing Faculty a Racial Passion.

As already suggested the colored people themselves are not indifferent to the demoralizing conditions of their environments. The organizations created and maintained by them in

[1] The Negroes of Chicago support some twenty lawyers, as many physicians, about a dozen dentists, about twenty school teachers in the public schools, and an ever-increasing number of them are carrying on successfully many small business enterprises that give employment to scores of educated young colored men and women

Chicago are numerous and touch almost every phase of our social life.

Is this passion for organization peculiar to Negro people? Whether this be answered in the affirmative or not, it is a fact that the Negro individual does not like to be alone in good works. His bent for organization is a sort of racial passion. Suggest to the average man something that ought to be, and he immediately proposes an organization. There is scarcely a thing in religion, in politics, in business, in pleasure, in education, in fighting race prejudice, or anything else desirable that is not the object of organization. A catalogue of the organizations created by colored people in this country would make a very large book, and would contain an interesting story of the many ways by which the Negro seeks to improve his condition. It is a common complaint that the Negroes will not support and protect each other in any united effort; but this is clearly not so. It is true that more of these organizations fail than succeed, but the failure is not due to a lack of the co-operative spirit, which is the most helpful thing in our race character. The failures are mostly due to a lack of comprehension and intelligence in working out the details. The weak point is administration. It is a common thing for men of no training and no experience to start an organization that requires the highest order of executive ability to carry out. They will take as a model the constitution and by-laws of some well-established white organization that is prominently successful. Officers, directors and committees will be made up exactly as in the organization which is its model—this, with the utmost enthusiasm and good faith that their success is assured. The colored man who ventures to suggest to them that they cannot succeed, for various and obvious reasons, is at once branded as a "traitor to his race." The enterprise may be fore-doomed, but the result will be charged up to the failure of the people to support and sustain it.

The pathway of our progress is thickly strewn with such failures, but they do not discourage other and similar attempts. A colored man who has joined and pinned his faith to an organization that has failed, will join another society of the same kind to-morrow. It is at once pathetic and splendid to note how persistent is this faith that emancipation from the ills of poverty and ignorance and race prejudice is through co-operation. Indeed, no race of men and women feel more strongly than we do the force of that maxim that "in union there is strength."

The Negro Church.

First in importance is the Negro church. There are 25 regularly organized colored churches. This number includes 9 Methodist, 8 Baptist, 1 Catholic, 1 Episcopal, 1 Christian and 1 Presbyterian. In addition to these there are numerous missions in various parts of the "Black Belt." These churches are for the most part housed in large and modern stone and brick edifices that cost from $7,000 to $40,000 each, and have a seating capacity of from 300 to 2,000 people. Most of these churches are burdened with oppressive indebtedness, and because of this their usefulness as agents of moral up-lift is seriously handicapped. For example, the members of one of the largest have raised and paid in over $60,000 during the last five years, but the church still carries an indebtedness of over $24,000.

Despite this serious handicap of a slowly diminishing debt, the colored church is the center of the social life and efforts of the people. What the church sanctions and supports is of the first importance and what it fails to support and sanction is more than apt to fail. The Negro church historically, as to numbers and reach of influence and dominion, is the strongest factor in the community life of the colored people. Aside from the ordinary functions of preaching, prayer, class meetings and Sunday-school, the church is regarded by the masses as a sort of tribune of all of their civic and social interests. Thousands of Negroes know and care for no other entertainment than that furnished by the church. Theatres, concert halls, and art galleries mean nothing. What they fail to learn of these things in the churches remains unlearned. Nearly every night the church building

is open, either for worship, or for concerts, lectures, and entertainments of all kinds. Even political meetings of the most partisan sort, are not barred. The party leaders find it to their advantage, if they want to secure a large audience of colored people, to hold their meetings in the colored church. In a purely social way, the church leads in setting standards of social conduct. Weddings and receptions of all kinds, except those including dancing, are held within its walls and in this respect the church has become progressively liberal. Among other nationalities, there are Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations, social clubs, gymnasiums, reading-rooms, university extension lecture courses, etc. The colored people, generally speaking, have none of these liberalizing and elevating influences, except as they are supplied by this single institution.

Within the last six years, the colored churches of Chicago have begun to recognize the larger social needs of the people, and as much as their intense denominationalism will permit, they are endeavoring to enlarge their influence as a factor for betterment. One of the large churches has carried on such activities as a kindergarten, a day nursery, a boys' club and reading-room, a penny savings-bank, gymnasium, a kitchen garden, mothers' club and sewing school.

Nearly all of the large churches have literary clubs which have become attractive to hundreds of young colored men of intelligence. The effect has been a wider and more intelligent interest in things that concern the progressive life of the people.

In fine the colored churches must be reckoned with in every movement of a social character that aims to reach and influence life. They might do more and be more to the ever-increasing number who need guidance, social ideals, and higher moral standards, if they were less burdened with debts and an unyielding orthodoxy. The important thing, however, is that the Negro church in Chicago is becoming more and more liberal and intelligently interested and earnest in its endeavors to meet the peculiar requirements of the city Negro.

The Secret Orders.

Next to the Negro church in importance, as affecting the social life of the people, are the secret orders, embracing such organizations as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, True Reformers, the United Brotherhood (a fraternal insurance association), the Ancient Order of Foresters, and the Elks. Nearly all of these secret orders have auxiliary associations composed of women. The Masons and Odd Fellows are strongest in point of numbers and influence. There are about fourteen lodges of Odd Fellows and about as many of Masons. Their estimated membership is respectively 2,000 and 1,600.

The colored people believe in secret societies. I believe it is safe to say that fifty per cent of the better class of Negro men are enrolled in some secret order. These affect every phase of their social life and represent the best achievements of the race in the matter of organization. In no other way is the organized Negro so reliably responsive to the requirements of his social obligations. In no other form of organization do the terms brotherhood and mutual obligations mean so much.

Thousands of dollars are paid into the treasuries of these societies every month, and it is very rare that we hear of any charge of dishonest dealings in money matters. They take care of the sick and provide for the dead with a promptness, fidelity and abundance of sympathy that is not to be found in any other form of society amongst us. The lessons of right living, of charity and truthfulness are enforced in these societies more rigidly even than in the churches.

Most of the colored men belong to more than one secret order and many belong to as many as four or five at a time and live up to their obligations in all of them. In nothing does the colored man live such a strenuous life as he does as a lodge man. The lodge, more than any other merely social organization, is a permanent and ever-increasing force.

Other Organized Activities.

There are other social organizations among the colored people of Chicago that are indicative of a desire for progress and

improvement. For example there is one organization that supports an institution known as the "Old Folks' Home," in which some twenty-five old colored men and women are comfortably cared for and saved from eking out their existence in the dreaded almshouse.

There is a Choral Study Club composed of about one hundred young men and women under competent leadership and devoted to the study of music. A business league, composed of colored business men and women, is a part of the National Business League of which Booker T. Washington is founder and president. A physicians' club has undertaken a campaign of education as to the cause of tuberculosis and methods of prevention, together with lessons on domestic sanitation and kindred subjects.

And there are, of course, numbers of purely pleasure clubs. Love of pleasure is in good part a hopeful characteristic of the Negro people. Painfully conscious as we all are of our present position, which tends to exclude us from things that are most prized in human relationships, there is an all-pervading light-heartedness which saves us from the pessimism that must inevitably banish from the soul all hope and joy. Young men's social clubs, young women's social clubs, fellowship clubs, whist clubs and social charity clubs fill nights and holidays with laughter, song and dance.

The Negro in His Relations to the Dominant Race.

From what has been said in describing Negro organizations it might be inferred that the colored people are quite capable of taking care of themselves and of advancing their own condition in every direction. Let us be undeceived in this. In every community the Negro is practically dependent, for nearly everything of importance, upon the dominant race. He must live in places set apart for him, and that often in the worst portions of the city. He must find work below his capabilities and training. He must live on the outer rim of life's advantages and pleasures. His merit, whatever it may be, is more apt to be discredited than recognized. Even though he be educated, public opinion still persists in rating him as ignorant, and treating him as such. His virtues are generally overlooked or reluctantly believed in. He is the victim of more injustice than is meted out to any other class of people. In the matter of employment, the colored people of Chicago have lost in the last ten years nearly every occupation of which they once had almost a monopoly. There is now scarcely a Negro barber left in the business district. Nearly all the janitor work in the large buildings has been taken away from them by the Swedes. White men and women as waiters have supplanted colored men in nearly all the first-class hotels and restaurants. Practically all the shoe polishing is now done by Greeks. Negro coachmen and expressmen and teamsters are seldom seen in the business districts. It scarcely need be stated that colored young men and women are almost never employed as clerks and bookkeepers in business establishments. A race that can be systematically deprived of one occupation after another becomes an easy victim to all kinds of injustice. When they can be reduced to a position to be pitied, they will cease to be respected. It is not surprising then that there has been a marked lowering of that public sentiment that formerly was liberal and more tolerant of the Negro's presence and efforts to rise.

The increase of the Negro population in Chicago, already referred to, has not tended to liberalize public sentiment; in fact hostile sentiment has been considerably intensified by the importation from time to time of colored men as strike-breakers. Then again a marked increase of crime among the Negro population has been noted in recent years. All these things have tended to put us in a bad light, resulting in an appreciable loss of friends and well-wishers.

The Frederick Douglass Center.

Out of these seemingly hopeless conditions a new movement has grown that is destined to have an important bearing on the status of the Chicago Negro. The organization of the Frederick Douglass Center and the Trinity Mission Settlement are in response to these needs of the hour. The Frederick Douglass Center is unlike anything of the kind in the country. It is the outgrowth of a comprehensive study of the situation by some of the best people of the city of both races. The head

and soul of the movement, Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley, is a woman who has given up social pleasures and the pursuits of culture in behalf of a people and of a problem to grapple with which requires more than ordinary patience and intelligence.

The Frederick Douglass Center is intended primarily as a center of influence for the better relationship of the white and colored races along the higher levels of mutual dependence and helpfulness. The society is incorporated under the laws of the state of Illinois. Its by-laws recite its purposes as follows:

1. To promote a just and amicable relationship between the white and colored people.

2. To remove the disabilities from which the latter suffer in their civil, political, and industrial life.

3. To encourage equal opportunity irrespective of race, color, or other arbitrary distinctions.

4. To establish a center of friendly helpfulness and influence in which to gather needful information and for mutual cooperation to the end of right living and higher citizenship.

In order to properly house the movement there has been purchased, at a cost of $5,500, a large three-story gray-stone house on Wabash avenue, near Thirty-first street. The location is adjacent to the "Black Belt" in the rear, and the white belt of aristocracy and wealth on Michigan avenue in the front. This new home for social improvement is fitted up with an attractive assembly room for meetings, a club-room and workshop for boys, a reading-room and offices and living-rooms for the head resident. Arrangements are being made for mothers' meetings in the interest of the home, men's meetings, classes in manual training, cooking and dressmaking, club work for intellectual and moral culture, and domestic employment. Lectures are also being provided for under the departments of sanitation, neighborhood improvement and civics.

Mrs. Woolley has succeeded in interesting in this new work many of the well-known people of Chicago, judges, lawyers, professors, business men and women of wealth and culture. Along with these she has the co-operation of nearly every colored man and woman of standing.

The Trinity Mission.

Another effort toward social betterment is the Trinity Mission. This is the beginning of a more distinct social settlement. It is located in the very heart of the "Black Belt" on Eighteenth street between State and Clark streets, a neighborhood properly called "Darkest Africa." Here there is scarcely a single ray of the light of decency. Neither church, nor school, nor anything else of a helpful character can be found. The head of this enterprise is a young man, Richard R. Wright, son of President Wright, of the State Industrial School, at College, Georgia. A crèche, a reading-room and a home for working girls are being carried on and substantial encouragement has come from people who are in sympathy with the principle of settlement work.

One of the results of these new organizations is the serious view the more intelligent colored people are beginning to take of the responsibilities of city life among their people. The Negro's worth as a citizen is to be tested in the great cities of the North as nowhere else in the world—the use he makes of his opportunities here, and his strength of character in resisting the malign influences of city politics.

To summarize:

1. The colored people themselves have begun to develop a sort of civic consciousness as manifested in the tendency of the Negro church and the Negro lodge to participate more largely in efforts to improve the social condition of their people.

2. The men and women who have organized in various ways to bring about a better Chicago, as well as a larger Chicago, have begun to recognize that if the ever-increasing Negro population is treated and regarded as a reprobate race, the result will be an increase of crime and disorders of all kinds, that will grow more and more difficult to handle and regulate.

3. Recent organizations with the settlement spirit are preparing to do many things in a rational way that have never before been attempted, and to make answer to many false and harmful things that now go unchallenged. In other words, by these new movements the Negro is to be generously included in all efforts to promote civic righteousness among all the people.

Some Causes of Criminality Among Colored People

J. H. N. Waring
Principal Colored High and Training School, Baltimore

That criminality among the colored population is a very serious menace to the general good of the American people, that crime and the number of criminals among them in our cities are increasing and under existing circumstances will continue to increase, are facts not to be controverted. In this city and in all other large centers of colored population these are conditions, not theories, with which we are confronted, conditions but little less direful in their forbodings than is the white plague of tuberculosis which demands and is receiving such earnest consideration and attack.

While disclaiming the assumption of the rôle of prophet of evil, I venture the prediction that some future day, unless conditions are definitely and radically changed, a Black Plague reaching and devitalizing every ramification of society, will afflict us as one of the legitimate fruits of our present sowing of the seeds of indifference to the welfare of the millions of ignorant, half-taught, badly-housed, poorly-fed, and despised blacks in our population. "Am I my brother's keeper?" may quiet and satisfy the troublesome conscience of to-day, but it cannot avoid the terrible consequences with which the future will penalize the disregard of the Golden Rule.

For twenty-seven years, while teaching and practising medicine among them, I have been observing colored children and studying them in their home and community lives. Not only as teacher and physician, but as an integral factor in the problem, I have studied the general conditions surrounding the colored people in the large cities. My experience has dealt with the problems in Washington and Baltimore more than anywhere else, and as the result of this experience I believe the causes of criminality among colored people may be properly charged to a lack of proper education, the alley home, and the whiskey shop, to ill-advised arrests, chiefly of children, to reformatories that do not reform, and the "Topsy class."

I. Lack of Education.

The spiritual element in education is probably as important, if not more important than the elements purely intellectual and practical. Assets of genuine manhood and womanhood must be contributed to the community by its school, or it is of little value. Character is the ultimate aim in teaching and good teaching expresses itself in those taught, giving to them a preparation for filling their spheres in life happily and profitably alike to themselves and to the community.

By good teaching, one gets the true perspective of life and adjusts himself properly to society. Verily, good teaching exalteth the individual, and through him the nation.

It goes without saying then, that the teacher should be the highest type of man intellectually, morally, spiritually. As broad in his sympathies as in his knowledge, the teacher should enter into the social life of the children and be an uplifting, inspiring, directing force. The teacher's example, more than his precept, must leave the greatest impress upon his pupils, and the school must be the place from which emanate the children's spiritual, moral, æsthetic and practical ideals of life.

It is no wonder that the colored school has failed of its purpose when we analyze its mechanism. First of all, it has had in many localities no fixed place of abode. While successful efforts are made to make the schools for white children fulfil all the requirements of the ideal school, and thousands of dollars are spent annually to make them architecturally beautiful, to adorn them with libraries and works of art, and to furnish instructors of the highest ability and skill, in the great majority of places in which colored schools are maintained, dilapidated buildings, schoolhouses abandoned by the whites as unfit for further use, churches not constructed for school purposes and poorly adapted for use as such, and rented rooms,

are regarded as amply good enough for the colored children.

In Maryland, by enactment of the last legislature, while fixing a minimum term and minimum salary for white teachers, the entire control of colored schools with reference to both of these matters and all other matters as well, was placed in the hands of local school boards, and as a result, in many of the counties of this state, the colored schools were kept open for only ten weeks during the year and for but slightly longer terms in others. In Annapolis, the capital of the state, the Colored High School had but a ten weeks' session. It is a misguided policy which denies colored children the opportunity to secure an education, and thus creates later the necessity for the care of the colored criminals.

Again, no less unfortunate has been the selection of the teacher of the colored school. I wish to record my gratitude to that body of missionary teachers, all too small, who have labored with untiring zeal and consecration for colored children, and I wish to give testimony to the effective work of the trained colored teacher, another class also entirely too small for the honor and prosperity of the state. But no condemnation is too severe for the policy which encourages the employment in colored schools either of the white teacher who works there merely for the salary, or of the half-educated colored teacher too frequently found on the school rolls. The former, by his attitude to his children, stifles ambition, chills the sympathies, dulls the moral sensibilities, and effectually estops true development, while the latter, half-educated, characterless, and thoroughly unfitted for school teaching, has done as much as any other class, if not more than any other class, to dam up the wellsprings of hope for the colored people.

The responsibility for the existence and employment of these classes of teachers is not difficult to locate, for Maryland, unlike her sister states of the South, makes no provision for the training of colored teachers. She has provided ample facilities for the training of her white teachers in the establishment of normal schools which take rank with those of other states. But blind to the responsibility of making good citizens of 250,000 of her people, she not only has no normal school for training colored teachers, but has practically destroyed the public school system for colored children both by the passage of the iniquitous law referred to and by offering salaries so low—in some cases not amounting to $100 per year—as to attract only the most undesirable colored men and women, whose work among the colored children is building trouble for the future.

II. The Alley Home.

The problem of the alley home presents one of the most serious economic problems. Few if any of these alleys, many of which are not over ten feet wide, are fit for habitations. The dwellings are generally owned by the lowest types of landlords. The alley house has been described as consisting of a "a respectable front and nothing else." The average interior is revolting. Unsanitary, out of repair, not closed against the elements, dark and damp, it presents none of those attractions which go to make up the "Home, Sweet Home" of the old song. A people with lofty ideals of home do not produce criminals.

If this were all, it would be dreadful enough to think of God's little children reared in such surroundings! How much more dreadful it is that the conscience of the American people is not aroused to the enormity of their offense against Him in ignoring the fact that little children are compelled to so live, that sunlight, pure air, pure thoughts, chaste conduct and associates and all the inspiration that springs from these things are denied them from their very birth!

These alleys, secluded from the officers of the law in particular and the people of the community in general, become the natural rendezvous of the lawless, the vicious, the immoral. The alley is the crap-shooter's paradise. Speak-easies and policy shops are comparatively safe within their recesses. Indecent conduct of every kind and profanity indescribable flourish there. I have known that in a four-room house each room was kept by an abandoned woman for immoral purposes.

"Let the blessed sunshine in" is an unanswered prayer figuratively and actually so far as the alleys are concerned.

Parents who are forced to live in these places are either so poor that their work compels them to leave early in the day and remain away until late, or they belong to the class who give little care to their offspring. I have known parents of the former class who in sheer desperation would, when leaving for their daily work, lock their children in the house. But whether locked in their homes or left free on the streets, these first lessons in life learned by an alarmingly large percentage of our children are taught by sorry teachers.

III. The Negro Whiskey Shop.

Although made legitimate by the laws of the land, the whiskey shop is at once one of the most specific and prolific agents in the production of criminals among colored people. It acts directly to deaden the moral sensibilities of its habitues. It takes away their sense of shame and leaves contemptible object lessons in degradation to the young. The whiskey shop attracts the dead game sport, the gambler, the libertine, the licentious. It is a vice center and a swamp of moral lepers. The whiskey shop is the enemy to decency and morality and the active foe to Christianity and good citizenship. Strange to say, in almost every colored neighborhood in which we have sought the good influences of the church and the school, the city fathers have found it wise to license the whiskey shop. It does not appear to be difficult to get a whiskey license in a colored neighborhood. In one colored neighborhood in Baltimore in which there are three schools and seven churches there are thirty saloons, constant, tireless workers in the production of criminals. The neighborhood has a perfect network of small streets and alleys, and many of these low saloons are situated in the alleys.

IV. Ill-Advised Arrests.

Technically it is the business of an officer to arrest a violator of the law which he is sworn to uphold. If this duty were performed in every case of violation of the law, the machinery of our courts would be blocked with cases. A wise discretion has therefore been placed in the officers, who many times as effectively secure obedience and respect for the law by not making an arrest, as they do by bringing the petty offender to book for his misdemeanor.

The arrest of boys of tender age and their incarceration along with hardened and depraved criminals, when a word of advice or reprimand would have served the purpose of the law, has done much to take away their sense of shame and self-respect and really start them on criminal careers, as well as to neutralize the effects of subsequent punishments for graver crimes. The arrest of a child is a very serious thing and every officer should consider well before making one.

The Juvenile Court has done much and will do more to save children from lives of crime to which their ill-advised arrest and their conviction would condemn them.[1]

V. Reformatories.

It is probably true of the reformatory and penal institutions that a majority of the colored youths committed to them return at a later period for more serious offenses. Once a convict always a criminal seems true of them. Many causes combine to produce this result.

Contrary to the legal principle that assumes innocence until guilt is proved, the accused colored youth must in most cases combat a prejudgment of guilt; many times convicted before trial and often punished without trial, there is a general feeling among them that arrest is equivalent to punishment, that innocence does not count, that honesty and honor do not pay. Ridiculously long sentences for trivial offences—conviction and punishment for misdemeanors for which white boys are dismissed—jail sentences for offences for which light fines are imposed or personal bonds are taken from white offenders—the humiliation that colored testimony has no weight against white,—the wonder is not that there are so many criminals, but that there are any colored people who value honesty, honor, chastity and virtue!

The vagrancy laws are often so construed that an honest black man has "no

[1 The arrest of a boy, locking him up with hardened offenders, and trying him in the open police court is a very different thing from bringing him before a children's court such as Judge Heuisler's, in Baltimore. It often happens that the sooner a wayward boy is brought under the supervision of a probation officer the better.—Ed. Charities.]

show" against a mendacious officer, and when a man comes from prison determined to be honest and virtuous, his prison experience makes him a marked man whose actions over-zealous officers often construe as suspicious and within the scope of the vagrancy laws.

The successful reformation of a criminal, young or old, is built upon the basic principle of mutual sympathy and love. It is impossible to redeem a fallen soul in whom you do not believe. Not only must there be a belief in the possibility of reformation and a belief in the probability of reformation but there must be an interest in that reformation. In the existing relations between the races of the South, it is folly to expect a reformatory for the one to be successful in the hands of the other. If the white people of the South expect the best result from the reformatories for colored children, they must accept the only possible grounds —colored people in charge of colored reformatories.

Further, since idleness and lack of systematic training are the usual immediate causes leading to commitment to those institutions, the management of the children must be directed to furnishing them while there with such training and skill as will enable them to fill useful positions when discharged. The dignity and value of labor must be taught practically, and these can be taught in no better way than by the example of competent colored instructors.

VI. The "Topsy Class."

One of the saddest phases of this problem of crime is the annual output of what, for the want of a better term, I have denominated the "Topsy class"—the colored waifs of the community, the unfortunate little ones conceived in sin and born in iniquity, the products of the alleys who, without the restraint of home, the control of parents, or the influence of church and school, at an early age take their places as active workers in the ranks of criminals. As long as these young people remain in our communities and increase as they do, they will be not only an element of weakness, but they will become a source of the greatest danger.

It matters not how solicitous the whites may be for their own children, how grandly they may build for them, these people must be provided for, and provided for equally, or their building is in vain.

Some Results.

Probably one of the most marked characteristics of colored criminals is the feeling of desperation which seems to distinguish most of them. Indeed throughout the whole lower stratum of our people there exists a stolid indifference which is most appalling and disheartening to those working for the general uplift, and this notwithstanding the fact that our people in forty years have made the unparalleled record of having reduced their illiteracy by one-half. From them there is a ready expression of the feeling that the whole social and political fabric amidst which they live is against them. Almost everywhere the educational system has degraded them, the machinery of the courts is against them, the terrible home surroundings have robbed them of their birthright and probably the one thing that keeps them from becoming anarchists is their lack of contact and experience with the affairs of state.

I recall the case of a family in which the mother, with true Spartan courage and Christian faith, set about the task of educating her six girls and one boy, firm in the hope and the belief that the future was richly freighted with good things. But she was compelled to live in an alley! She worked early and late to support them after their father's death, and made every personal sacrifice for their benefit. Her work, however, took her from home and they were left to take care of themselves. Through influences of the alley one by one the children got away from her; the girls to become almost without exception even worse than the other denizens of the alley, and the boy is now in the penitentiary serving a long term for murderous assault. As little children I have seldom known a more promising set.

A second case illustrates another type. A woman's pocket-book was snatched by a colored boy whom she described as accurately as she could. That night a boy was arrested and taken to her to be identified. She positively declared he was not the boy. He was taken back to the station



A TYPICAL UP-COUNTRY SCHOOL.



BALTIMORE'S IDEA OF A COLORED SCHOOL.

house, kept all night and the next morning brought before the woman who again said that he was not the boy, although he looked like him. About midday he was taken to the woman, who was now less positive that he was not the boy and more certain that he looked like him. At night, for the fourth time he was taken before her and this time positively identified. No money nor pocket-book was found on him, but upon the woman's testimony he was convicted and sent to the penitentiary for three years. The parents, poor and ignorant, although in court, did not know how to act to save their boy from this combination of a weak woman and that sort of police methods according to which somebody must suffer for crimes committed.

I have always believed that the solution of all these social problems depends upon the acceptance and practice of the religion of the New Testament.

When all the people accept the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and apply this doctrine to their every-day lives and when the conduct of all men is squared by the Golden Rule, there will then disappear from the earth those unnatural, un-Christian conditions which have produced these consequences among the colored people.



Negro Dependence in Baltimore

Helen B. Pendleton

Agent Northeastern District, Baltimore Charity Organization Society

The city of Baltimore may geographically be considered one of the northern cities of the United States, if we forget the sectional differences of a generation ago; but in spite of its location, and an increasing population augmented each year from many different sections of Europe and America, it still retains the traditions and essential characteristics of a southern city.

This is due, in large measure, to the presence of over eighty-one thousand Negroes. Nearly one-third of the entire colored population of the state is crowded into the city's poorer quarters—a significant fact in studying Negro dependence.

Forty years ago the Negro—fresh from a life of tilling the soil and untrained in habits of self-governance—turned to the city as toward a door of golden oppor-



Doorway leading to a court eight feet wide where Aunt Sarah lived. The court is shown on the preceding page. Many of these alleys, as Dr. Waring states, are flanked by whiskey shops.

tunity. Flocking here in great numbers he entered into the world of industrial competition, where the race is to the swift, and the battle to the strong. Very soon the more ignorant, incompetent, and defective among the newcomers fell into the temptations and degradations of city life, and the Negro pauper became a factor in the problem of dependence.

Before introducing different members of this sad fraternity as they appeal to the charity workers for help, there are certain festering and corrupting general conditions of their environment which should be mentioned.

A visitor to the health department is shown large ward maps of the city over which clusters of dots are sprinkled. These dots represent the localities where cases of contagious diseases are prevalent. Northwest Baltimore contains nearly half the Negro population; and a map showing deaths due to consumption for a period of ten years is so thickly peppered with dots in the colored district that we can scarcely distinguish the names of the streets. Besides containing this large percentage of Negroes, Northwest Baltimore is one of the sections where wealthy white people live. Neither altruistic motives nor motives of urgent self-protection have as yet fully awakened the dwellers in these wider streets to see that the poor consumptive Negro in the back alley has a chance to recover, or, if he must die, to die under conditions that will prevent his infecting a whole neighborhood.

But other diseases than those of the body are bred there. Many colored people never buy a bushel of coal in winter. The back gates of the well-to-do white inhabitant swing open to allow women and children to pick out cinders from the ash-can, or receive scraps of food from the cook. At the conference of Charities and Correction held at Portland, Me., a speaker[1] told of an old slave who was caught by his master stealing chickens. When reproved, he replied, "Yes, Massa, I know you's got less chickens, but you's got lot more nigger." The Negro of to-day, who adds to his menu by begging at the back gates of the wealthy, gives no return in labor of any kind. Doubtless the comfortable citizens who are guilty of

[1] William E. Benson, Kowaliga, Ala.

this "heedless liberality" look upon it as a true way to relieve suffering, and would be indignant to learn that they might be accused of enslaving the race anew in habits which destroy true manhood and womanhood.

An item which appeared in a newspaper last winter throws light upon another condition of things common here as in Norfolk:

BLAMES THE BASKET HABIT.

[*Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.*]

NORFOLK, VA., January 3.—Chief of Police Boush says the "basket habit" among the Negro women is the direct cause of the great excess of idleness and viciousness among Negro men in this city. The families where the Negro women work as domestics allow the women to carry home baskets filled with provisions of various kinds for the men and boys at home. The men and the boys are thus relieved of the duty of working for food, and often for clothing, for themselves and the other members of the family. The wife's wages and the basket furnish the support of the family. The men of the household become lazy and will soon prefer stealing to working. Thus from being fed and clothed by the service of the women the men become idle; then lazy, shiftless, vicious, criminal and a menace to the property and the lives of the people of the city.

Who can count the number of colored men in Baltimore fed by careless housewives?

A charity worker among the colored people in North Baltimore says that the parents there seem to lack a feeling of responsibility for the future of their children. It is almost impossible to gain regular school attendance. One reason for it is that the colored schools are too far removed from the people in this section, and the white people are bitterly opposed to having a colored school in the neighborhood. A house-to-house canvass last winter, made by members of a Charity Organization Society committee, revealed the fact that a very large number of children from seven to ten years of age were out of school. The children had not been enrolled and had not come under the notice of the school attendance officer. In another part of the city, where school attendance is good, one of the largest public schools is situated only a square away from a double row of houses of ill-fame—houses labeled unmistakably, and whose shameless white inhabitants are familiar objects to the hundreds of black boys and girls who must pass along the street every day. No effective objection has been made to a school for colored children in this neighborhood.

The Old Auntie.

Turning now to the individual problems as they confront a charity organization committee, the social student sees that they fall naturally into several groups. Beginning with hoary age we find an old-time colored auntie, who has outlived everything but a sense of superiority. She lives in a tiny room filled with dilapidated trunks and boxes containing her "things," and when her rheumatism admits she goes upon a round of visits among those whom she terms her "white people," returning with odd quarters, half-dollars, cast-off clothing, and cold food. The people to whom she belonged in slavery times are dead, or their children are out of town; but she adopts any sentimental lady who becomes interested in her, and manages to scrape along until illness overtakes her, or her benefactors move away or grow tired of her. The Charity Organization Society is then called in to suggest a home as a peaceful resort for her last days. The result of the suggestion is anything but peaceful. Aunt Sarah "never has 'sociated with niggers and ain't a-gwine to begin now." She will stay in her room till the "ants carry her out through the keyhole;" and no amount of coaxing or commanding will win the day. Her contemporary of the opposite sex is perhaps a little less cantankerous. The variety of his former occupations—from whitewashing to preaching—has possibly made him more philosophical, though the dread of the hospital where the doctors "dreen the blood out of you," is ever before him. The most sorrowful fact in the lives of these helpless old people is that they each have children who "grew up kinder careless-like," or whose whereabouts are unknown.

If the old-fashioned uncle and auntie constitute an aristocracy among such dependents, the very bottom of the social scale is reached by a visit to C——— street. Here degraded whites and the lowest class of colored people live in a motley mixture. The policeman who meets the charity visitor there offers to go up the stairway first to try its strength,



WHERE FIGHTING MAG LIVED.

This house has been sold for taxes, and now belongs to Baltimore City. Four Negro families live in it, paying no rent. The picture represents the front entrance, the former entrance being blocked by a lumber yard.



A Street in Baltimore Well Known to Charity Workers.

for a misstep into one of the holes, through which we see the gleam of water in the cellar below, would mean a broken leg. On a tumble-down sofa lies "Fighting Mag." The policeman does not remember how many times he has arrested her. This time he is bringing her an ally for her last fight, a losing one with the enemy of her race—tuberculosis.

Some Other Types.

Between Aunt Sarah, the relic of slavery, an institution which could not from its very nature foster the growth of family responsibility, and "Fighting Mag," the victim of untaught, misguided freedom, we find groups composing what may be called a middle class. On a cold morning in mid-winter certain offices of the Federated Charities are crowded. The brickyards are closed, building operations have ceased for a time, and boats are frozen in the ice down the bay. Men thus thrown out of work sit idly in the kitchen by a red-hot stove (the last bucket of coal has always just been put in that stove, but it retains heat marvellously). Wives go out to apply to the "poor society," and husbands slip hastily out of the back door, as the visitor who calls in response to such appeals comes in the front. Truly, there is no visible means of support here, though the wife may have a stray wash every other week. There are no savings to fall back upon. A new baby is expected, or else some member of the family has developed a cough. The ragged, improperly fed children are not in school. They have not the "feasibles," their mother explains. Here is a problem for the District Committee.

The deserting husband too, like his white brother, is conspicuous by his absence. "He's been a kickin' up trouble mos' sence August, and now he's done gone for good!" says the wife. - So far, the law concerning family desertion passed by the last Maryland legislature has been brought to bear upon colored deserters in only a few instances. The wife is too much in fear of her husband, too easy-going, and sometimes, alas! too ready to take up other relations not countenanced by law.

This brings us to another group—the young colored girls who apply to have their illegitimate babies "put away" so that they can be free to go into service again. Sometimes the application is made by a woman who has been caring for one of these irresponsible mothers and has been requited by having a forsaken infant left upon her hands. She has grown fond of her small charge and wishes to do for it in her own kind though inefficient way, or she may have given the child to a neighbor who already has "seven head" of children, and therefore feels justified in asking assistance for it. This is the method of "placing out" most in vogue among the black folk. It does not add to the satisfaction of those who are often obliged to see that colored children are removed from centers of filth and misery, to know that the only refuge open to them is in an institution with accommodations all out of proportion to the numbers of forlorn little ones, who need to have their work made interesting, their play directed, their purity guarded, and their self-respect promoted by every available means. The only children's aid society in Maryland—a society doing excellent work in placing white children in private homes under careful supervision—is restricted by its endowment and cannot take charge of a Negro child.

The last picture to be represented in this sombre list is the well-known modern troubadour whom we meet on the street. He is blind, and wears a breastplate of pasteboard asserting his disability in large print. A tin cup is hung about his neck, and he assails the air with sounds from a wheezy accordion. The boy who leads him about presents a printed string of verses for sale, evading the school attendance officer by calling his occupation "work."

More Hopeful Signs.

A sketch under the heading of "Negro dependence" must necessarily emphasize the darker facts for the sake of that truth-seeking which we hope will set us free to make to-day's charity to-morrow's justice; but if the Dutch slaver which landed in Virginia in 1619 seems to have been a veritable box of Pandora, from which a multitude of evils have swarmed, let us remember that hope was also on board.

In the last report of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information a census of the Negro population is in-



Provident Hospital and Training School for Nurses, Chicago.



The first hospital and school established in this country by colored people for their own race. The founder, Dr. D. H. Williams is one of the best surgeons in the country. 100 graduates have gone out from the school.

Main building and one of the cottages to be erected by the New York Colored Orphan Asylum.







The First Graduating Class of the Training School for Nurses, Lincoln Hospital, New York.



A Group at Hope Day Nursery for Colored Children, 325 West 35th Street, New York.

The nursery owes its existence to the initiative of Mrs. E. E. Greene, a colored graduate nurse who has served as matron (gratuitously the first year), and to the generous interest of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge of New York

cluded. Though compiled by untrained statisticians the report gives enough figures of value to make us believe that the colored people of Baltimore are moving toward a higher moral and industrial plane.

A cheering sign for the sociologist is the awakened conscience on the part of many of the whites as to the need of giving the Negro a higher gift than cast-off clothing. And best of all, there is a growing interest in the question among the most intelligent and well-educated Negroes themselves.

Five years ago a colored minister was invited to a district board meeting of the Charity Organization Society. He interested two school teachers, who became friendly visitors. One of these is now resident worker in a social settlement in Washington. At first the colored visitors joined the conferences of the white volunteers, but gradually grew in numbers, until there are now two districts with separate colored boards, where weekly meetings are held. One board has twelve members, of which eight are housewives, two are ministers, and the others a doctor and a teacher. The personnel of the second board is as follows: sixteen public school teachers, three ministers, ten married women who do their own work (one of this number was formerly a trained nurse), one doctor, a kindergartner, a small storekeeper, a seamstress, and one member who is in domestic service. In order to teach the families they are interested in to save money for coal, etc., the visitors of the second board have paid in the last twelve months 1,190 visits, and have collected $382.40, figures representing only a small part of the personal service which will gradually lead the dependent colored population of Baltimore toward self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control.

The Negro of To-Day in Music

James W. Johnson
New York

It would be interesting to trace historically the part that has been played in music by the Negro, beginning with the old slave and plantation songs and coming on down through the age of minstrelsy to the present efforts being made both in classic and popular music; but the purpose of this sketch is to state briefly what is being done to-day by colored people.

Among those engaged in the composition of music, S. Coleridge-Taylor stands first; first not only among Negro composers, but even in the front rank of the living composers of England, his native country. He is best known by his setting of Longfellow's *Hiawatha.* This cantata has been sung in England at several of the great musical festivals, and in this country by the Cecilia Society of Boston, the Coleridge-Taylor Society of Washington, and several other musical organizations. His sacred cantata, *The Atonement,* is a work which added greatly to his reputation in England. It was sung in New York two winters ago by the Church Choral Society at St. Thomas's. besides these more lengthy works, Mr. Coleridge-Taylor has written a number of things for string quartet and full orchestra, together with a long list of classic songs.

In the United States, Harry T. Burleigh stands well up among the writers of classic songs. I feel it safe to say that if the twelve foremost classic song writers of America were named Mr. Burleigh would be included in the list; and too, that he would not be at the bottom. Mr. Burleigh is a thorough musician, having studied under Dvorak. He has been for twelve years the baritone soloist at St. George's Church in New York city. He also sings at the Jewish Temple. Will Marion Cook is another colored musician of reputation, and a one-time student of Dvorak. Mr. Cook is the composer of three light operas that have been produced on the New York stage, and of a number of popular songs. He has just finished the music for the new play to be produced soon by Williams and Walker.

No account of popular music in this country could be written without mentioning Cole and Johnson. These young men have written more than a hundred popular songs, and a partial list shows

how many of these have been successes—*Under the Bamboo Tree; The Congo Love Song; The Maiden with the Dreamy Eyes; Nobody's Looking but the Owl and the Moon; Oh! Didn't He Ramble; Mandy,*—songs sung from one end of the country to the other. Cole and Johnson have also written the musical scores for three New York productions.

Mention should also be made of Harry Williams, a leading teacher of singing in Cleveland, Ohio, and the composer of several songs. He lived for a number of years in London, in the house of the famous Denza, and studied with Tosti. H. L. Freeman is another composer who has done some good work, and he is now at work on the music for a new play to be taken out by Ernest Hogan. Besides those named, fully a dozen colored men in New York alone are writers of popular songs, and several have written "hits."

There are a number of amateur as well as professional musical organizations among the colored people of this country. Perhaps the best known is the Coleridge-Taylor Society of Washington, which sang *Hiawatha* last winter, with its composer conducting the orchestra. The Drury Opera Company, under the direction of Theodore Drury, has for the past five seasons rendered one of the standard grand operas at the Lexington Opera House in New York, and although these productions may have fallen short of "Metropolitan" standards, they have been, on the whole, very creditable. There is also a choral society in Philadelphia, and excellent choral work at Fisk University, Knoxville and Talledega colleges.

Of professional organizations there are a dozen or more. The best are the Williams and Walker Company, which has not only toured the country, but has also played a successful eight weeks at the New York Theatre, a Broadway house; the company headed by Ernest Hogan, which has also toured the country and played a successful New York engagement; and the company headed by "Black Patti," on the road for ten seasons past.

There are several good orchestras. In New York, Walter Craig and Miss Hallie Anderson have led large mixed orchestras, and Louis Wise one composed solely of colored men.[1] In Detroit Fred Stone conducts an orchestra of white and colored performers, the best in the city. In Chicago, the band belonging to the colored regiment of state troops is an excellent musical organization; two of the best bands in the American army are those of the 24th and 25th infantry.

Facilities for securing a musical education are offered at Fisk University; and many of the other colored colleges have good musical departments. A large number of colored people go for their musical training to Oberlin and the New England Conservatory. A conservatory has been founded in Washington by Miss Hattie Gibbs, a graduate of the Oberlin Conservatory and an excellent pianist. She is assisted by Jerold Tyler and Clarence White, fellow graduates.

I regret that space does not allow me to mention a score of other colored musicians, orchestras, and the like, that, though not known to the greater public, are doing excellent work.

MISSION SKETCHES

By a Worker of the New York Colored Mission

It should be premised that these character sketches are of narrow range, being typical only of the submerged tenth of the Africo-Americans of New York city.

Of that larger portion of the community, the intelligent, self-respecting, self-supporting Negroes of the upper class we see and know almost nothing.

Pequion.

The besom of prosaic reform wielded by the vigorous hands of the Tenement-house Department and its coadjutors have swept away so many of the rear tenements that it is rather difficult nowadays to find on the West Side a real old-time rookery to show to the amateur student of sociology. But these used to

[1] Such also is the orchestra of the New Amsterdam Musical Association.

abound near Thirtieth street, ruinous, unsanitary structures they were, but picturesque, sunshiny and homely beyond anything that the pretentious many-storied buildings which have replaced them can afford.

One such group of dwellings stood on West Twenty-eighth street near Eighth avenue; around a central stone-paved court clustered a series of six or eight two-story tenements half wood, half brick, all crazily out of plumb and in various stages of dilapidation, but fairly swarming with colored families. Pequion and his family climbed by a rickety outside stairway to their abode. This stairway was utilized as a repository for mops, old brooms, tubs, broken market baskets, melancholy defunct plants in pots and sundry other articles of household *impedimenta*. During or after a rain one had need of care on entering the main room, for the floor space was occupied with pans and wash basins, set there to catch the water which sometimes poured in from the leaky roof. A damp hole for a sick person,—yet



here on a bed in the inner room day after day laid Pequion, crippled, finger and knee joints swollen and distorted, often in acute suffering from rheumatism. He was a French Negro of Marseilles, tall and very black. His wife, a white Irishwoman, worked very hard as a laundress and brought home at night all of her earnings which had not found their way into the till of the corner saloon, for alas, strong drink was her besetting weakness. They had one little daughter. A fourth inmate of this family was a white French cabinet maker who had become so reduced by drink that he was thankful to find refuge even in so poor a home as this was. Pale and shadowy he glided about serving as an attendant upon the sick man. Poor, bare, squalid indeed this home was, but there was about it a certain style, an atmosphere of refinement pervaded it, so that it was always interesting to enter. The rain might be dripping from the ceiling but the chair with broken rockers was set out for the visitor with the grace of hospitality, Pequion himself in his greeting of welcome and conversation was indescribably courteous and gentlemanly; the wife possessed characteristic Irish warmth and heartiness, and even the little girl as she tripped in from school, before hanging up her hat or taking off her one white apron, stopped to salute madame with modest politeness. This child was strictly brought up and shielded from surrounding evil. At intervals Pequion's condition improved so that he could go about on crutches. He had a grand, deep baritone voice and used to eke out their scanty living by singing at French clubs and sometimes at the entrance of elevator stairs. We gave him one of our hymn books, and there were few things finer in its way than his rendering of "Jesus, lover of my soul."

He lived on for years, though as one physician said he ought, professionally, to have died months before. His needs were many; suit after suit of warm flannel underwear, and outer clothing, bottle after bottle of the expensive medicine which meant life for him. But at last the strong man succumbed to the inroads of disease—the grand sonorous voice was hushed—even the shabby old house of ever-courteous welcome has been pulled down—the place that knew Pequion knows him no more.

Old New Yorkers.

The Negroes born and bred in New York form a type quite distinct from their Southern brethren. These native citizens as a class are shrewd, with an intelligent appreciation of current events and of men and things; some of them possess interesting personalities.

One of these, Mrs. Von ———, lived in a forlorn rear tenement. Her room was literally crammed with nondescript garments in every stage of dilapidation. So that with her washtubs and the clothes she took in to do up there was scarcely standing room for a caller. Yet this woman was bright and conversant with city matters; she held no intercourse with her noisy neighbors, but lived aloof in an aristocratic seclusion of rags and untidiness.

Another, Jane J———, occupied an attic in one of the lowest order of tenements; her room was a nest of disorder; when first visited she was sleeping on her ironing board, supported by two chairs. At some expense and painstaking, a good cot and suitable bedding was provided for her—but in hardly more than a week's time the old order of things had been resumed, the cot had broken down, mattress, sheets and blankets had disappeared (to the pawnbrokers doubtless) and the good old ironing board was doing duty again as couch for this woman of eighty winters. However, our conversation was not usually on the line

of such mundane themes as cots or ironing boards. Jane was much interested in the royal family of England, especially in Queen Victoria's domestic and public matters of which she kept cognizance. She remembered the visit of the Prince of Wales and of his younger brothers to this country, kept track of the connection between the British and German royalties, and felt a friendly chagrin that one of Queen Victoria's daughters should have lost caste by her marriage with the Marquis of Lorne.

Down in the Minetta Lane precincts the visitor paused one day at the rear of a tenement house looking down at some cellar windows—not a basement but a deep cellar. A door at the foot of a flight of stone steps was opened, an old colored woman courteously welcomed the caller and gently aided her in making the steep descent. In the cellar there lived this woman, her blind husband, and an aged sister. The place was a surprise; it was spotlessly neat and quite well furnished in a quaint old-time style—and its occupants were as neat as their rooms. It came out in the course of conversation that they had all belonged to one of the old patroon families of Albany, had been brought up in right ways of living, and now in their old age kept up to th good customs of their youth. The dinner cooking on the well-blacked stove smelled savory.

Meum et Tuum.

A curious psychological study illustrative of one of the baleful outgrowths of slavery, the divorce between religious fervor and common honesty, came under our notice in the case of Mahala ———.

She had unquestionably a gift in exhortation and testimony and was an habitual frequenter of our prayer meetings. Her brief addresses were free from egotism, and well worded, her voice was sweet and softly-modulated, her metaphors often drawn from the outward scenes of nature, the rippling brook, the floating cloud, the waving branches of the trees, were refined and poetic. She was always neatly and becomingly clad and seemed singularly free from a desire to avail herself of the temporal benefits of the mission. When offered a share in the good things often distributed, such as clothing or edibles, she said that the Lord always provided for her and kept her from need. As treasurer of our Christian Endeavor Society she was always strictly accurate in accounting for the small amounts entrusted to her keeping.

It was certainly with incredulity that the first intimation of any wrongdoing on her part was received. It came from an outspoken and indignant middle-aged woman, a cook.

"No," said she, "not I," on being invited to attend the prayer meeting, "I have no wish to hear any exhortations from Mahala ———; she has swindled me out of a hundred dollars." It seems that, deceived by her apparent sanctity, this cook on going away for the summer had left this sum in Mahala's hands, as confidingly as if in a bank—and not a penny of it did she ever see again.

This led to a rigid investigation and the discovery that Mahala was deliberately living by defrauding others. An old man, thin and shadowy from insufficient food, lived with her almost in a condition of abject slavery, his considerable pension drawn and appropriated to the use of his unscrupulous keeper; a white woman, aged and feeble, having been mulcted of hundreds of dollars, had been turned adrift destitute; several other cases were as aggravated as these, and yet so adroitly was the evil wrought that the offender had kept clear of the law in every instance.

When visited and confronted with these facts, Mahala maintained unruffled composure. She did not attempt to deny them but complacently asserted that whenever



they had tried to get the law upon her the Lord had delivered her out of their hands. She seemed absolutely callous to all sense of wroingdoing in the matter.

"But Mahala," said the irate visitor, "this is sin, this is stealing, you have been breaking one of the Lord's commandments."

"Oh, Mrs. ———," with a tolerant, placid smile, "how can you say that! I to steal? I would never think of such a thing; to break one of my Master's commandments? oh, no!"

But there was one vulnerable spot, and the visitor did not scruple to probe it.

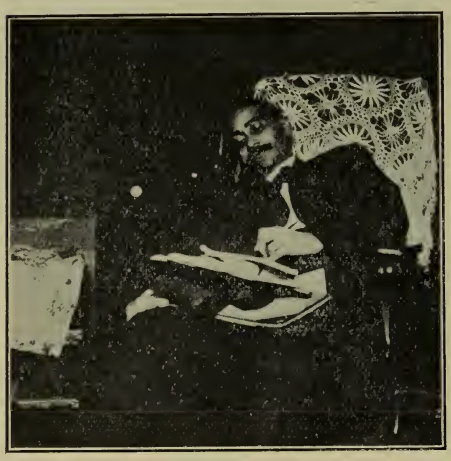
"There is one thing Mahala I wish you to understand," she said, "you are forbidden to speak in our meetings. You are living in open sin and your voice must not be heard in them."

Curiously enough, this cut, this hurt as no thought of the wrong or suffering of others had seemed to do, and crestfallen and dejected enough Mahala could only plead "What, not testify of the goodness of the Lord, not to praise His Name or to invite sinners to come to Him? Oh, surely Mrs.——— you do not mean that?"

Ernest L. Williams—A Strenuous Life.

We asked him to write his own story; the pen wielded in his one active hand is facile enough upon other subjects, only of himself he is shy of speaking. So we are fain to tell his tale for him. His is not a typical case. There is nothing in the circumstances of his life to account for his peculiar gifts, refinement, culture and large heartedness.

Ernest L. Williams was born at Newberne, N. C., in 1872. His mother,much darker than himself, is a typical Southern woman, simple-hearted, kindly, hardworking, with little or no education. But Ernest himself seems



to have had as a child influential friends who put him in the way of getting a good common schooling. At sixteen he suffered with a severe attack of rheumatism, which resulted four years later in the loss of the use of the lower limbs. In 1894 through the kindness of an officer of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew; he was brought to New York for treatment. He remained at the Colored Home and Hospital (now Lincoln Hospital) for five years, but the insidious disease continued its progress, the ossification of the joints extending till at the present time his whole body is rigid and helpless with the exception of the one left arm and hand which do him such good service, and the brain which works as brightly and intelligently as ever.

It was at the Colored Hospital that we first saw Ernest Williams. He sat in his wheel chair, bright-eyed, clear-voiced, smiling, an autocrat by virtue of his very helplessness; every feeble old man in the long sunny ward a willing subject, hastening to do his slightest bidding or to move his chair for him. An atmosphere of coziness surrounded his corner of the ward—his books were arranged on a set of shelves, a banjo leaned against the cot-bed. He had the use of both hands then and learned to knit with facility. Thereupon followed a pleasant fiction by which he figured as Superintendent of the E. Williams Printing and Knitting Factory, —he knit numbers of pairs of wristlets which were sold for his benefit, and printed blank grocery orders by the score.

At this time he joined the Shut-In Society and soon had correspondents in many states of the Union. But alas, the hands in the knitting departmen. struck as the stiffening process crept up to the knuckles and fingers of the right hand, so that branch of the "Factory" had to be shut down. The brave left hand came to the rescue and now does double duty; he writes a clear, legible business hand, and can use scissors or razor with dexterity through its use. In 1899 he left the Colored Hospital and with the assistance of his aged mother, backed up by some kind friends, he began the experiment of trying to earn a living. It seemed a hazardous venture, but Heaven helps those who help themselves and the Lord has richly blessed this undertaking. It has been and continues to be a hard hand-to-hand struggle against dire poverty. His mother has grown feeble with advancing years, but he has a devoted wife to aid him in his business. Shall we enumerate some of the branches of work in which he is engaged? He is a notary public under the governor's license; he is the janitor of three tenement houses; proprietor of an employment agency; agent for two magazines.

Sometimes at nightfall, he has told the writer, after a busy day he thinks "Now I will wind up and go to bed," forgetting his utter helplessness to move himself an inch. Unless questioned he never alludes to his physical condition, never dwells upon it to elicit sympathy, seems always at leisure from himself to enter intelligently upon current affairs of life.

A Widow's Mite.

One of the prominent virtues of the colored race is their generosity. They are open-handed, sharing freely with one another the good things of life. Meals are furnished to the hungry; lodgings are provided for the penniless; garments are given to the shivering poorly-clad ones; remittances of money and boxes of clothing are sent to the home-friends at the South. Old Cato, poor himself, devotes much of his time to the freely-bestowed care of the sick; the M—— family of seven persons living in a base-



Back yard as the Mission found it—the present playground is shown on the page in color.

ment, took in and shetered without charge for a whole winter a second family of five individuals.

Eliza is a cook, now earning fair wages but getting on in years, fast approaching the time when she will be past service. She came in smiling one Christmas evening, though the stairs had proved trying to her rheumatic limbs.

"Now, Mrs. ———," she began, "I have a present for you and you must not refuse it. I want you to get something very nice and that you want very much with it." The knotted corner of her handkerchief was undone and a crisp five-dollar bill handed forth. Albeit unused to tips the keen expectant look of pleasure in the old woman's kindly eyes was not to be disappointed or her design frustrated.

"Eliza, I accept your gift and thank you very much, I shall lay it by to spend in some way that will give me much pleasure." There followed some talk about laying up money and Eliza promised to start a bank account for herself next month. When the month came around she appeared with a first instalment, and then it seemed easy, with her acquiescence, to add to the amount for her benefit her generous Christmas gift of five dollars. She has kept on with her deposits until now her balance at the savings bank foots up over $300. But that is not all of the story. Eliza realizes that to lay up treasure on earth is not the highest good. When she brings her monthly deposits the knotted handkerchief appears again and one, two, sometimes three crisp dollar notes are brought out. She explains, "I want these to go to one of those places away off that you know about where they have no Bible and have never heard of the Lord Jesus. I want to send this to them, and I want a blessing in return." This last condition she always makes specific.



A Social Settlement in South Washington

Sarah Collins Fernandis

"See this? I'm goin' down to Dick Ryan's an' git whoopin' drunk!" Already half-intoxicated he was waving a crisp one-dollar-bill to a group of associates as he staggered by on his way to the corner saloon. The money had been hardly earned; he was one of the laborers on the sand scow in course of unloading at the canal bank near by. Their rythmic shouts had been a pleasing accompaniment for my tasks as they were borne to me during their working hours. The noisy carouser was a sight from which one might well turn with disgust, but, by some unexplained mental association, a picture of Baby Ben rose before me.

I had noticed him one day in a house on one of my rounds of neighborhood visiting. He sat neglected upon the floor sucking away at the fingers of one hand as if they were his main food supply; the other he stretched out appealingly to a busy woman as she passed him to answer my summons, wiping her sudsy hands. He was a sorry picture of neglected babyhood, sitting there in filthy discomfort with eruptive sores over his head and face. The woman read the look of pity on my face as my eyes rested on him and hastened to say, "Dat chile's a mizzuble sight, I know, an' I wish you'd git after his mother an' make her pay some 'count to him." I took an early occasion to "git after" the mother, a girl in her teens, ignorant, irresponsible, who had drifted from a life of extreme poverty in the country, but with the restraint of her poor home, into a life of extreme poverty in the city with no restraint; utterly unprepared to earn a decent living, eking out a useless, worthless existence into which poor little Ben had come. With the aid of the agent of the Board of Children's Guardians to whom I found it necessary to report the case, the girl was given employment of a menial sort and Bennie was brought each day to the Settlement, the mother paying a fee of five cents for his care. Then, with comforting baths, a soothing salve applied to his eruptions, clean clothing for which he showed no little pride, and plentiful supply of milk, how little Ben slept and grew and thrived, and in his waking hours filled the house with the music of his merry crowing; or loudly resented any tardiness to appease his hunger, which he now scorned to do by sucking his fingers!

I thought also of Eddie, a little boy of



In the Yard of the New York Colored Mission



Playground in Yard



Girls' Sewing Club Under Direction of Mrs. Fernandis

Glimpses of the Work of the Social Settlement

Washington, D. C.



Two Small New Yorkers



Two Little Waifs in the Yard of the Pennsylvania Society for Protecting Children from Cruelty

Copyright, Edward P. Dechert, Philadelphia



A Group of Children; the 8th Ward Settlement, Philadelphia

seven, turned into the streets the livelong day while his mother worked, fast becoming a neighborhood pest and bidding fair in a few more unrestrained years to be ready to help lengthen the city's criminal list. A timely suggestion to an ignorant, but not unheeding mother, and he is enrolled in a near-by school and placed under the care of a wise, sympathetic teacher who is told his story. A most tractable and satisfactory pupil is the result.

Lewis too, came before me. At thirteen, a day laborer, crawling out from his corner on the floor at the first peep of dawn (not needing to arrange a toilet, having slept in his clothes), he is up and away to his task in the brickyard while more fortunate boys and girls are getting the sleep that makes them grow. Attracted by the warmth and cheer of the clubroom, he becomes one of the first members of our boys' club, and one of its most constant attendants, arriving as soon in the evening as his work would allow and lingering to put back chairs and set things to rights until there was no possible pretext for remaining longer. By and by there appear signs of an awakened interest on the part of Lewis in his personal appearance—a clean white collar—somewhat at odds with his shirtband, being some sizes larger, a bright new tie, these evidencing that he has adopted a new standard for himself. With the principal of one of the neighborhood schools, some strong young men from Howard University, and manly young cadets from the Armstrong Manual Training School, giving volunteer service in the boys' clubs, it is not hard to find the source of his new ideals.

* * *

These bits of meagre, stinted childhood existence used as mosaics for the life history of such specimens of adult delinquency as that with which this article begins, turn disgust to sympathy, and make uplifting effort imperative.

Not long since a laborer from the same sand scow came to me with twenty-five cents, his first deposit on a stamp savings' account book, and the account is growing with each week. Were I asked to mention one of the best activities of the settlement and most potent in its effect upon conditions, I should not hesitate in naming the system of stamp savings. The report of the agent of the Associated Charities, of an increased amount of these savings and a corresponding decrease in applications for charity in this section bears its own significance. I have noted in more than one case that as the savings habit grew, the saloon habit lessened.

* * *

"What an unsightly outlook!" a friend exclaimed looking from my rear window into my next-door neighbor's back yard which fully justified the exclamation. A few months later she exclaimed again, this time at a neat garden with beds bordered with clam shells where flowers and vegatables grew in pleasing profusion. A few friendly suggestions along with some seed over the back fence and the transformation was effected. It was quite natural that the next neighbor should start a garden also, that other neighbors in the row should follow in the wake, seed being furnished in plenty by the Plant and Flower Guild. An interested friend offered a prize for the best neighborhood garden, a framed picture. Two of the gardens were so near each other in excellence that a second prize was given, and these, presented at the settlement with some little ceremony, made a pleasant outcome of the back-yard scheme.

* * *

There was an interesting singing lesson going on the other evening in a kindergarten mothers' meeting at the settlement. The mothers were gathered about the piano with the young kindergartner and the volunteer director, a sweet-faced woman with soft white hair, learning from them the pretty melodies which their children knew. They had come from their hard day's work and with loving purpose repeated the words and sang over the songs which were to be a new bond between them and their little ones. "I'm mighty glad to l'arn 'em," said one mother, "'case my li'l boy jes keeps beggin' me ev'y night to sing 'em w'en he goes to bed."

* * *

Accompanied by some members of the Colored Conference Class of the Associated Charities I made a tour of the neighborhood recently, our purpose being a

study of housing conditions. The door of a miserable frame hovel was half-opened by a drunken old crone who was querulous about our intrusion. We got sight within, however, of the smoke-blackened walls, the water-soaked, half-dirt floor, the filth and squalor, and of Marie clinging to her grandmother's skirts with, perhaps, an apology in her big round eyes; for the home was not a new visting place of mine and Marie and I were old friends. Some time before the old dame had been induced to send the child to a near-by school, and had sent her in spite of her short-comings with creditable regularity. In her sober and sociable moments she liked to chat with me about Marie, how she could never keep her away from the settlement when she was out of school, and the stories brought back of the toys and picture books and the good times there. I sometimes found myself wondering if some future friendly visitor would find Marie old and rum-soaked, a tenant of that miserable shack which was one of an unsightly row which had stood there since the 60's and for which an agent harrowed from the shiftless occupants a monthly rental of three or four dollars.

On the opposite side of the street we were welcomed by a housewife into a comfortable home consisting of three clean, cool, neatly furnished rooms and a bath of which her bright-eyed brood appeared to have had full benefit. A brick row containing forty such wholesome apartments at a rental of seven and eight dollars per month, erected recently by the Sanitary Housing Company, a four-per-cent philanthropy, furnished the strongest argument in their crusade against the use of the shanties across the way for human habitations; a crusade which proved successful in its results.

* * *

One of the settlement's most promising organizations is a "Citizens' Neighborhood Improvement Association." Among its members it numbers physicians, teachers, day laborers, a prosperous merchant and a ragman. One of its earliest actions was to ask of the proper authorities that the name of the street containing the row of model houses should be changed to that of the man who is the leading spirit of the Sanitary Housing Company. This association has also asked of the Board of Education greater industrial opportunity for the school children of this section; it has sought the abatement of public nuisances in the neighborhood, and has contributed generously to the fund for the establishment of public playgrounds throughout the city. Such is its spirit.

* * *

Touching here and there, you have but an incomplete outline of the small effort at settlement work which we are attempting here at the National Capital, a few pulse throbs of the life that is lacking, and some of the helpful influences we are seeking to inject into it. The limitations of our activities may be easily measured by the fact that a year's expenditure, including three salaried workers, was six hundred dollars! That larger scope may be given to all our activities through generous financial assistance is our hope; that this line of work has its peculiar value as a corrective for delinquent conditions in city districts where Negroes, ignorant and poor, form a segregated mass, is our firm belief.

The Negro Press in America

L. M. Hershaw
Washington, D. C.

Negro journalism in the United States had its origin in the aspiration for freedom. The first Negro newspaper in the United States was begun in New York city March 30, 1827, and was called *The Journal of Freedom*. Its editor was John B. Russworm, a graduate of Dartmouth College, of the class of 1826, perhaps the first Negro to receive a degree from an American institution of learning. Associated with him in the editing was the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish, a controversialist of no mean powers.

This journal had an existence of but three years, and other attempts by Negroes to publish newspapers failed of

notable success until Frederick Douglass started *The North Star,* at Rochester, N. Y., in 1847. The name was subsequently changed to *Frederick Douglass's Paper* and Mr. Douglass continued it up to the opening of the Civil War. For length of life, extent of circulation, ability of matter contributed and commanding talents of its editor, the publication was one which occupies a conspicuous chapter in the history of Negro journalism.

When slavery was abolished and the Negro was enfranchised, the race began a new life; and the necessity for creating and organizing public opinion and for looking after the particular interests of the race became at once apparent. As this necessity arose in the midst of political change and revolution, the newspapers started under its spur were narrowly political and partisan. Most of them were the "organs" of county, district, and state committees. Their editors were politicians and office-seekers, rather than broad-minded men seeking to enforce eternal principles and to accomplish permanent results. This characteristic imposed upon Negro journalism at the start has very largely dominated down to the present day, with some notable exceptions, which give assurance that the growth of the Negro newspaper has been steady and progressive. In late years a group of papers has come into existence edited by men of education, who have comprehensive views of public duty and civic life. As a consequence one finds less in the Negro paper of to-day about candidates and platforms and parties, and more about home life, social betterment, education, economic efficiency and the true principles of human equality. In the beginning the Negro editor had a small reading constituency, due in part to his own unpreparedness as a publicist, but more largely to the illiteracy of the race. As education has become general, and as editors are better equipped for their work, the constituency has grown and publications have increased. The number of papers and periodicals devoted to the interest of the Negro race has been variously estimated at from 150 to 500. In the newspaper directories for 1905 are given 140 publications of every class. Accessible data give reasons to believe that this number is at least 100 short. In the state of Mississippi alone there are twenty publications appearing at regular intervals, while one newspaper directory gives but four.

It is a difficult matter to find a Negro who can read, who does not read one or more of these race papers. He may not always be a subscriber, but failing in this he has an unfailing faculty for borrowing his neighbors' papers. There was a time, indeed it has not altogether passed yet, when it was a common thing for Negroes to belittle race papers and to decline to subscribe for them because there was "nothing in them." But the growth of the conception of the need for such journals and their gradual improvement in matter and form have largely overcome this sneer. A fair estimate of the number of Negroes who read Negro newspapers is about 800,000.

The Negro Magazines and Special Journals.

There are six Negro magazines published in the United States. Two are quarterlies, published in the interest of two religious denominations, and four are monthly magazines devoted to literature, politics, science, art and general information. Of these six, *The Colored American Magazine* and *The Voice of the Negro* are publications of real merit. They have a wide and widening circulation, and contain from time to time articles of permanent value.

The race newspapers may be classed under four heads: school papers, religious papers, fraternal and beneficial papers, and secular papers in the generally accepted sense. To the last class belongs the great body of Negro newspapers. Within the limits of this article it is impossible to do more than give a few examples of the papers of each class. Of the school papers, *The Southern Workman* is easily the first. In reality, *The Southern Workman* is a magazine; but as it began as a paper that designation sticks to it. It is managed and controlled by the white teachers at the Hampton Institute; but many of its foremost contributors are Negroes, and it is conducted in the interest of Negro education and development. *The Fisk Herald,* of Fisk

Univeristy, Nashville, Tenn., is a good example of a school newspaper; so also *The Tuskegee Student* and the Atlanta University *Bulletin.*

The leading religious papers of the Negro race are *The Southwestern Christian Advocate,* New Orleans, La., *The American Baptist,* Louisville, Ky., The *Afro-American Presbyterian,* Charlotte, N. C., and *The Christian Recorder,* Philadelphia, Pa. *The Southwestern Christian Advocate* is the organ of the Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and *The Christian Recorder* that of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. These four papers maintain a high standard of excellence in all departments, and in their columns may be found observations on current secular affairs of an informing character. Of the papers devoted to fraternal and beneficial organizations, *The Odd Fellows' Journal,* published at Philadelphia, and *The True Reformer* and *St. Luke's Herald,* published at Richmond, Va., are the leaders of their class.

The Great Body of the Press.

As has been said, the purely secular papers form the largest class. Many of them are practically worthless, except as they chronicle the social and personal occurrences of a local community and their editors are without educational or other fitness for their task. It is no unusual thing to find a paper whose mechanical appearance is untidy, in whose columns the rules of grammar are constantly violated, and in which the commonest words are incorrectly spelled. In contradistinction to these obscure papers, there are twenty-five or thirty published by Negroes in different sections of the country which are really a credit to the profession of journalism.

While *The Guardian,* of Boston, is only in its fourth year, it circulates in nearly every state of the union. It is the foremost race journal in advocating equal and identical civil and political rights for Negroes. Its character may be gathered from its motto: "For every right with all thy might." Its editor, William Monroe Trotter, is a graduate of Harvard University. To thorough scholarship he unites the ardent zeal of the true reformer and each week his columns offer exhaustive, forceful and fearless discussions of questions relating to the rights and liberties of the Negroes of the United States.

The New York Age holds a place in the very front rank of Negro journalism. Its form is irreproachable, its contributed matter is generally good, and its editorials are seldom lacking in spiritedness and interest. Its editor, T. Thomas Fortune, has been called "the dean of Negro journalists." *The Age* is widely read, and is frequently quoted by the daily papers of the country. *The Guardian* and *The Age* are mentioned in the same connection because they stand for opposing policies in the life of the Negro. One policy is expressed in the motto of *The Guardian,* and claims for the Negro all the natural, civil and political rights which inhere in man as man. It insists upon the enjoyment of these rights now without restrictions and qualifications not applicable to other men. The other policy preaches the postponement or present abdication of civil and political rights for economic and educational development, and emphasizes industrial education. Upon these two policies the Negro press is divided into two warring camps. The resulting strife is unfortunate, and is often characterized by great rancor and bitterness. The leading papers of *The Guardian's* way of thinking are *The Conservator,* Chicago, Ill.; *The Advance,* St. Louis, Mo.; *The Gazette,* Cleveland, Ohio; *The Lancet,* Baltimore, Md.; *The Guide,* Baltimore, Md.; *The Home News,* Alexandria, Va.; and *The Bee,* Washington, D. C. The leading papers of the type of thought of *The Age* are *The Freeman,* Indianapolis, Ind.; *The Advocate,* Charleston, W. Va.; *The Tribune,* Philadelphia, Pa.; *The Independent,* Atlanta, Ga.; *The Planet,* Richmond, Va.; *The Idea,* Chicago, Ill.; and *The Afro-American Ledger,* Baltimore, Md.

All of these papers are widely read, and are potential instruments in the life of the race and types of its intellectual advance in forty years.

The Negro in Times of Industrial Unrest

R. R. Wright, Jr.
Trinity Mission, Chicago

The scope of this paper is limited to the local situation in Chicago. The writer has for six years observed conditions among workingmen in this, the most rapidly growing Negro city population in the country, a population which in the last forty years has increased twice as rapidly as the total population of Chicago, and sixteen times as rapidly as the total Negro population of the country.

The question of earning a living—how to get a job and how to hold a job—is the most serious and most difficult question now confronting the Chicago Negro. He must work where he can rather than where he will. Times of industrial unrest, of which there are many in this city, have often offered to him opportunities for work which were before closed. The three most significant instances of such unrest in which Negroes had conspicuous part were the building trades' strike of 1900, the stockyards' strike of 1904, and the teamsters' strike of 1905. Prior to 1900, Negroes played but little part in the industrial situation on account of the smallness of the Negro population.

The Building Trades' Strike.

During 1899 and early 1900 one of the most powerful labor organizations in Chicago was that of the building trades, which controlled almost absolutely the building situation in the city. Over against them, however, was the growing organization of building contractors, slowly preparing to meet the labor men. The contractors were the aggressors in the struggle which began February 5, 1900, against what they called the "tyranny" of the Building Trades' Council, which had prohibited the use of machinery, and apprentices, and "made possible the limitation of a man's work to one-half his capacity." The contractors held in brief that there should be no limitation of work, no restriction upon the use of machinery or tools, an eight-hour day at fifty cents per hour, one and one-half pay for overtime, and double pay for Sundays, a committee on arbitration, and a three-years' agreement.

Up to this time Negroes had done but little work in the building trades. The unions in order to limit competition had not seen fit to invite them to join, and had in many instances refused, by blackballing, Negroes who presented themselves for membership. Most of the Negroes, therefore, who had come from the South with their trades, found it easier and quite as lucrative to go into domestic and personal service. Some gave up their trades, and others alternated between waiters' work and porters' work, and doing the odd jobs in their line which came to them as non-union men.

The boycott of the building contractors was followed by a general strike of the building trades, and this was the opportunity of the non-union laborer, and along with him of the Negro. The strike lasted all the summer and the number of Negroes increased until they were an important issue. There was, however, no wholesale importation from the South. On one of the largest buildings in the city, the Mandel Department Store, a large number of Negroes were employed, and their presence caused much violence, despite police protection. Violence, however, did not frighten the Negroes, and more peaceful means were used. The Chicago Federation of Labor, representing all the organized labor bodies of the city, issued an appeal to the Negroes, which because of its significance is given here:

> The frequency with which unscrupulous employers of labor are of late supplanting white men by their colored brethren in times of industrial troubles is a question of most serious moment to the wage-earners of this country. In calling attention to this question it is not our intention to arouse sentiment which might lead to race prejudice, or a race war, which would be deplorable in its results, but rather in a friendly spirit to lay before our colored brethren a statement of facts which we hope may convince them of their error. . . . We do not even condemn them, believing they are more justly entitled to our sympathy and support. In the slavery days, now happily gone by,

when the traffic in human flesh and blood remained a blot on our civilization, the Negro was unable to free himself from the bondage. His white brother rose in arms and declared that the slave should be free. To-day the Negro is being used to keep the white man in industrial slavery. The colored man, more simple in his ways, with fewer wants and these more easily satisfied, is contented to work under conditions which are irksome to the white workman, and he is to-day, perhaps unconsciously, being used to try to drag the white man down to a level lower than was the Negro before he was freed from slavery. . . .

It is to remedy this that we appeal to him, to welcome him into our fold, to elevate him to our standard and to better his condition as well as our own. The trades-union movement knows no race or color. Its aims are the bettering of the condition of the wage-earner, whatever his color or creed. In this spirit we appeal to the colored workman to join us in our work. Come into our trades unions, give us your assistance and in return, receive our support, so that race hatred may be forever buried, and the workers of the country united in a solid phalanx to demand what we are justly entitled to—a fair share of the fruits of our industry.

This appeal was taken seriously by many Negroes, who left the ranks of strike-breakers to join the unions. Some of these indeed became so zealous for the cause of unionism, that they even tried the persuasion of violence upon other members of their race, when words were not found strong enough to stop them from work.

The strike ended in the fall, the Building Trades' Council was disrupted, and the unions left in a weak condition. But in the recuperation many more Negroes were among the membership of the unions than before. Of these the Negro membership of the hod-carriers was especially strong, for in this kind of work the Negroes had been the strongest competitors.

The Stock Yards' Strike.

The next great struggle in which Negroes were engaged was the stockyards' strike. On Tuesday, July 12, nearly fifty thousand men, many of whom were Negroes, stopped work at the command of Michael Donnelly, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, who had organized the stockyards' unions and who conducted the strike. The grounds for the strike were the refusal of the packers to grant to the unskilled men a minimum wage of eighteen and one-half cents per hour, and an equalization of the wages of skilled men. The strike was general in the West and involved all the large houses. Ten days later, however, the packers and labor men came to a tentative agreement. On July 23, the men applied for their former positions. But in a few hours they were called out again, as it was charged that the packers discriminated in hiring the old men. Thus began a second strike, which was to continue nearly two months. The packers determined to break the strike after the efforts at peace failed. To do this they turned to the Negroes. For more than twenty years there had been Negroes employed in the stockyards. Both Mr. Armour and Mr. Swift were friendly to them. There had been but little premeditated effort to break the strike, and in recruiting strike-breakers there was very little system. Employment agencies, private individuals, "runners," and others, scoured the city. Thousands of Negroes were imported and in a few days more than ten thousand Negroes were in the various plants. Lodging-houses, commissaries, and pleasure rooms were hastily provided; Negroes were eager to seize the situation.

A description of the inside workings among the laborers, is given below by a young Negro medical student, who became a strike-breaker:

There was no regular way of getting men. I heard on the streets that men were needed and wages were high. Partly on this account and largely for the experience, I determined to go, and appeared next morning at the station to await the stockyards' train. The station was crowded with restless men and women all eager to work. . . . Finally the train came—ten coaches long. Pell-mell the people rushed in—women, girls and men—till the cars were so crowded the conductors could not collect the fares. This was only one of five such trains which went to the yards the day I went there. Along the road, there were many jeering crowds, who kept up a continual harassing noise all the way to the yards. Occasionally there was a stone thrown at us by some overzealous labor unionist who had escaped the eye of the policeman. . . .

Arriving, I found myself in a crowd of men going to Nelson Morris's plant. We were led to the check room and registered by a man who claimed to have secured us. . . . After staying around

for a half hour I was one of those picked out as waiters. We went downstairs in a large barnlike room, with no windows and only a door communicating with the outside world. The floor was wet from the dripping vats above. In the room formerly used for packing sausage, corn beef, etc., the food was now cooked. . . . Dinner time came. Fifty-three of us waiters had large flat trucks loaded with lard-cans full of food, beans, potatoes, meat, peas, tomatoes. This was put into tin plates, while coffee was placed in lard pails, and bread, butter and sugar on the tables. Then in all glorious disorder came rushing in between 700 and 800 hungry men, each choosing his own place at the table and eating what was before him. . . .

Most of the Negroes employed were unskilled and were so indiscriminately gotten that it cannot be said that they were effective workers, or even the better type of strike-breakers. They served a purpose, however, by the greatness of their numbers, of weakening the strikers. Within one month an industry which had used ninety-five per cent white labor now threatened to use eighty-five per cent Negro labor. It was more than unionism could bear. The more thoughtless strikers and their friends used violence, and made it positively dangerous for a black face to appear in "Packingtown." But the thoughtful few saw another side of the subject, and used persuasion and proffers of future friendliness to Negroes. Negro preachers, political leaders and others were asked to urge the strike-breakers to quit work. On August 24, 1904, a telegram was sent to Booker T. Washington by prominent members of the Chicago Federation of Labor to this effect: "Organized labor of Chicago, representing 250,000 men and women of all races, respectfully requests you to address a mass meeting of colored people in this city on the subject, 'Should Negroes Become Strike-breakers.'" The telegram included also expressions concerning the efforts of the unions to overcome race prejudice.

On September 9, the strike ended, the unions surrendered unconditionally, and the men went back to work. The majority of the Negroes had not gained in proficiency, and quit or were discharged. A fair proportion remained. To-day no industry in Chicago employs more Negroes than the packing industries, where in nearly every branch they may find employment.

The Teamsters' Strike.

The teamsters' strike began April 6 in sympathy for the garment workers of the mail-order house of Montgomery Ward & Co., who had been upon a strike since November. On Friday, April 7, seventy-one teamsters employed by that firm quit work. The next day strike-breakers, among them many Negroes, took their places and delivered goods under police protection. There was a brief but futile effort at settlement; then a grim determination on the part of both employers and teamsters to win. The strike spread to the railway express drivers, department store drivers, coal drivers, parcel and baggage delivery drivers, furniture, lumber and truck drivers, and other teamsters who refused to deliver goods to strike-bound houses, in all about 5,000 men.

Among the first strike-breakers were a large number of Negroes. Negroes drove for such firms as Marshall Field, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., J. V. Farwell, Johnson Chair Co., and others who had not before employed Negro teamsters. The coal companies were freshly manned almost entirely with Negroes. This was, as usual, the signal for violence. For one hundred and five days there was a fierce struggle; and for at least forty days it seemed that there was war. Over five hundred cases of violence were known to the police, and at least a score of deaths resulted. During the second month the teamsters weakened considerably, and the end came July 20 when the Teamsters' Joint Council declared the strike off without condition. The coal teamsters, however, did not go back to work, but kept up the strike against the coal companies who were employing Negroes. August 23, however, the coal teamsters decided to call off; but at this writing, August 30, policemen are still guarding Negro drivers of coal wagons.

After the first three weeks of the strike Negroes constituted an ever-decreasing number of strike-breakers. Of the total number of men employed by the Employers' Association, there were 700 white men from Chicago to 200 Negroes; 4,300 white men were imported from St. Louis, Toledo, Buffalo, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Indianapolis, Omaha, Peoria, Rock Island, Moline, Davenport, and other cities.

while about 450 Negroes were brought from St. Louis and 150 from Kansas City. At the end of the strike there were only about two per cent Negro strike-breakers. The cause of this decrease was chiefly the violence which the strike incited. Officers of the Employers' Association assure me that the Negroes were quite as competent as the whites, but that white strike-breakers objected to working with them; and that Negroes were often especially singled out for violent attacks by strikers and strike sympathizers. The race issue was raised by strikers, encouraged by exaggerated reports of some of the daily papers. The populace was in a fever, condemning Negro strike-breakers more than white strike-breakers, and deriding and committing violence upon them, even when they did not approve of the grounds of the strike. Many of the Negroes left their work voluntarily; but the majority remained until they were discharged. Now about eighty Negroes hold places gotten during the strike.

Winning Place Against Odds.

After this review, one comes to the question: Why do Negroes become strike-breakers? A prominent labor editor of this city writes me in answer to this question, that the cause is "a certain prejudice which exists against them (Negroes) in the minds of white men, no matter how we might try to disguise the feeling, which operates against them in securing employment under normal conditions." Of course it must be borne in mind that Negroes seldom constitute the majority of strike-breakers. The public is in danger of being misled upon this point. In the teamsters' strike the impression was abroad that Negroes were the majority of strike-breakers. No less a personage than a Negro secretary of the teamsters' union wrote me that Negroes constituted ninety per cent of the strike-breakers during the first weeks of the strike, and forty per cent at the time of his writing (July 1). The fact is Negroes never made up as high as ninety per cent of the strike-breakers, and July 1 were only about five per cent. The bulk of Negro workmen never consisted of strike-breakers. Nor are Negroes opposed to unions. Many struck with the unions and remained loyal to them at the stockyards. In the teamsters' strike, while there were 800 Negro strike-breakers, the unions held a membership of nearly two thousand Negro teamsters, and one of their number represented the coal drivers at the Philadelphia convention of the Brotherhood of Teamsters in August. There are a half-dozen Negro delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and several Negro local union officers. Yet it still remains that in times of industrial peace the more desirable places are closed against Negroes, either because the employers will not hire them or the men will not work with them.

Negroes become strike-breakers, also, because of the high wages paid during strikes. The union scale, and even higher, is paid. Teamsters receive $4 and $5 per day, which is paid every evening. Lodging was often furnished and sometimes board. This has great force with the unemployed and discontented classes.

The relation of Negroes to industrial unrest makes it clear that whatever the Negro is to have in the labor world must be won by him against odds, and held by superior force. Only as the Negro develops into a strong competitor will he be recognized. Many examples of this occur each year. A case at the stockyards is typical. Several years ago a Negro "boner" came from Kansas City where he had followed his trade as a union man. He was not admitted to the union in Chicago. Here "boning" was considered a "white man's" job, and members of the union though outwardly friendly to the Negro, privately advised one another to "knock the Negro" if he aspired to anything except a "Negro's job." But during the strike Negroes got the opportunity to develop proficiency as "boners." Now it is no longer considered "a white man's job," and the Negroes who work at it are being urged to join the union.

The part which Negroes have played as strike-breakers has caused a higher value to be put upon their labor than before. Often an employer did not employ a Negro simply "because he had never had any" or "because he preferred whites," or because at some time in the past he had had some trouble with an individual Negro. Thus the door of opportunity is closed until this employer is forced to

take Negro strike breakers. This was the case in many instances during the last strike, and in most cases the efficiency and courage of the Negroes was surprising. Mr. Reed, of the Employers' Teaming Company, said to me, "The Negroes did noble work. Their courage has seldom been surpassed." The secretary of the F. G. Hartwell Coal Company, for whom Negroes had not before worked, said, "The Negroes have gained considerably by assisting the employers in this strike. They have shown a commendable spirit of pluck and independence." The Peabody Coal Company's secretary expressed himself as "highly pleased" with his Negro teamsters.

On the other hand the part of Negroes in strikes is bringing the unions to deal with less of insincerity than heretofore with the Negroes. They are beginning to realize in fact, what they have asserted in theory, that the cause of labor cannot be limited by color, creed or any other extraneous condition. They have shown the commendable spirit of welcoming the Negroes when they have been able to win their places. To-day, as never before, unionism, which has often meant the crowding out of Negro laborers, is in an increasingly friendly attitude toward black men. This increase will be more and more as the Negroes increase in competency and intelligence.

In the Day's Work of a Visiting Nurse

Jessie C. Sleet

Visiting Nurse, New York Charity Organization Society

Roughly, in proportion to their respective numbers, for one white in 1900, six Negroes died from diphtheria and croup, two from whooping cough, ten from malarial fever, two from typhoid fever, two from diarrhœal diseases, between two and three from consumption, two from heart disease, two from pneumonia, and very nearly two from diseases of the nervous systems and of other organs. This is the showing of the twelfth census for the registration area which includes the larger cities of the United States and certain states.

A trained nurse knows the value of observation and on entering the sick room those things stand out which retard the recovery of the patient and endanger the health of the other members of the family. The housing conditions spoken of by Miss Ovington in this number are very apparent causes of ill health; another cause is lack of proper food and clothing. The Negro's income being small, he many times furnishes the food that satisfies the appetite, but contributes little toward the development of the health of the consumer.

* * *

Some days ago I called to see Mrs. A——. She was just recovering from an attack of pneumonia, but little five-year-old Edgar told me that she was out looking for work. They lived in two small rooms in a rear house in what is considered to be one of the worse blocks in the city. The husband had deserted the mother and the struggle to support herself and child had not been an easy one. Edgar was delicate. His little limbs were so deformed that he could hardly have romped and played with the other children had he been well enough. I found him eating his noonday meal, which consisted of hominy and a piece of dry bread. Presently he looked up and smiling in my face asked:

"Have you had your dinner?"

"No," I answered.

"Would you like a piece of chicken?" he asked.

I shook my head.

"Would like a piece of pie?"

Again I shook my head.

"Not custard pie?" he exclaimed. Then I said, "Edgar you haven't any chicken and you haven't any pie. Why did you ask me to have some?"

"Didn't you ever make believe?" came the reply with a look of disgust. Then he added with a queer little sigh, "I don't like hominy without milk." Quickly the cloud cleared away and then—"Sometimes when my mother goes to work I stay here all alone until she comes. If she's late and it gets dark, I climb into my bed and shut my eyes and go to the country,

and there I chase the cows—and the pigs —and the chickens; and then I pick the flowers and the fruit and I have a lovely time. It's great fun!" and his little face was all aglow at the thought of it. Yet strange to say Edgar had gleaned his ideas of the country second hand—from a picture he had seen in one of the daily papers.

The Negro's cheerfulness has helped him over many difficulties. It is not hard for him to believe "that every cloud has a silver lining." He is ever hopeful, frequently ignoring the earlier symptoms of disease until he suffers from great discomfort and pain. Then acting on the advice of a friendly neighbor he purchases patent medicine. When he at last becomes alarmed and consults a physician, the disease is so well developed as to be often past the curable stage. Yet few of his friends would believe that his neglect was in any way responsible for his death. If questioned they would probably answer it was the work of the Lord. I would not diminish in the smallest degree the Negro's faith in God, but I have often labored hard to convince him that he was blaming the Lord for what he was himself directly responsible.

* * *

Loretta was ill of consumption; she realized the hopelessness of her condition and pleaded hard to die at home. Her mother being a woman of some intelligence was quick to accept the advice of the nurse. The sputum was always destroyed; rooms well ventilated; and as far as lay within her power every effort was used to protect the other members of the family. But the mother was often forced to do work outside of her home and at such times Loretta was left in the care of a neighbor, who had her own household duties to perform. Much of this time then was spent with only little five-year-old Robbie and seven-year-old Mildred to administer to the wants of the little patient. When I called a day or two ago I found Loretta alone. By her side was a dish partly filled with ice cream, but which presented such an unwholesome appearance that at once I asked for an explanation.

"Why, you see," she said, "Mrs. S—— sent me a cake of ice cream. I'd eaten just two or three teaspoonfuls when my coughing made me stop. Now, Mildred and Robbie were here and wanted so much to taste it. They went to the closet to get teaspoons and I knew I just couldn't stop them. So I just took some dirt from the flower pot and sprinkled it over the top of it. I was so sorry to have to do it," she added, "because you see when my cough stopped I wanted some more."

* * *

Still another cause which is largely responsible for the excessive mortality of the Negro is his great love for the social side of life. Night after night finds numbers of young men and young women in the concert and dance halls. There they forget the hardships of to-day and those they must face to-morrow—forget or are ignorant of the fact that these irregularities must sooner or later prove detrimental to their health.

* * *

Little Jennie was deeply interested when she saw the wonderful change that had taken place in her sister whom I had given a bath, put a clean gown on her and fresh linen on the bed. I was about to leave when I heard groans issuing from the next room. There I found Jennie curled up on an old sofa and groaning as if in much distress. "What is the matter?" I asked and receiving no answer, repeated the question more sharply. Then the little imposter said: "Please, ma'am, haven't you got any more sheets and night gowns and won't you give me a bath and dress me up. I want to know how it feels."

* * *

Perhaps no one has a greater opportunity of doing good than the district nurse. Her visits are generally appreciated and looked forward to. While administering to the wants of the patient, she gets in close touch with almost every member of the family. From such knowledge of conditions as this work has given me, I feel that a majority of the colored people are in very practical need of a better knowledge of the body. They should know the mode in which health is to be obtained and the value of self-preservation. If they could be taught the value of fresh air, sunlight, and cleanliness, their high mortality would undoubtedly be lessened.

The Negro Church and Its Social Work—St. Mark's

Maude K. Griffin
Illustrated Associated Press

In no way is the progress of the colored people of New York better reflected than in their religious life. Visit any of the leading churches and you get a bird's-eye view, as it were, of Negro advancement in the mingling at their devotions of the humblest as well as most representative members of the race.

Such a visit means the disillusionment of those who know him only through menial associations and entertain vague ideas of the Negro's ideals and his ability to grasp the meaning of the truer, deeper lessons of life. The idea that in religious worship he still clings to the trances, the loud lamentations and wild shoutings of a few decades ago still finds credence, unfortunately, even among those whose desire is to see the Negro work out for himself a place of distinction. Nothing is so far from the truth. The paroxysms of the slavery-darkened African retire before a conception of true religion as that which appeals to the intelligence and sees God in all creation.

Institutional church work among the colored people is yet in its infancy compared to that maintained by many of the churches of the white race. St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church in West Fifty-third street is among the few institutional churches. It has a membership exceeding one thousand persons and seats between 1,500 and 1,800; in the basement there is a large lecture room, reception room and special committee rooms. The building is owned, in fee simple, by the congregation, the property being worth $90,000, exclusive of the parsonage, nearby, worth an additional $10,000. During the past four years St. Mark's has helped into existence three missions—one in Harlem, another in the Bronx, a third in Brooklyn—toward the support of which the congregation yearly contributes substantially.

In addition to its mission work, St. Mark's donates each year large sums for the benefit of the poor, not only of its own membership, but regardless of race, color or creed. Schools for colored youth of the South, orphan asylums and the day nursery for the colored children of the city are other beneficiaries of the church's annual donations.

The most important step in the institutional movement, however, has only recently been started under the direction of Dr. W. H. Brooks,[1] under whose régime much of the effective work of the church has been accomplished.

It is purposed to build a home for the aged members of the church, where they may spend in comfort their last years. The fund for the home has been started, but not until one-half or more of the amount required is in hand will a house or grounds be invested in. It is hoped to make the home contribute toward its own support by building a modern apartment, reserving suites of rooms for the aged, and renting the remaining apartments.

Quite as important as the old folks' home movement is the plan of the Epworth League of St. Mark's for the erection or purchase of a house to be used as a home for colored young women; not a rescue home, but rather a protective home—a place where self-respecting girls, compelled to earn their own livelihood, may find shelter with home influences and comforts, yet at reasonable cost. One who has not made a study of such conditions can scarcely realize the number of colored girls who have become unfortunates, one might say, by chance. In most instances they have come to New York from the South in search of employment and have fallen victims of unscrupulous employment agents. The object of the Epworth League is not only to establish a home for such girls, but to seek them upon their arrival in the city.

The junior department of the Epworth League is composed of children between the ages of seven and fourteen, who visit the sick, taking them flowers and delicacies. They also have a weekly sewing class at which necessary garments are made and distributed among the poor.

[1] Dr. Brook's pastorate extends over a period of nine years, the longest in the history of the church, a fact which testifies to the service he has rendered to its congregation.

The musical and literary activities of St. Mark's center largely in its Lyceum, an organization whose aim is to "cultivate the intellect and afford its members an opportunity for social intercourse in the most helpful way." The program committee strives to secure men and women foremost in all walks of life to appear before the lyceum, especially at the Thursday evening sessions. Subjects of general moment are discussed and certain evenings are devoted to those of racial interest. The lyceum has been maintained for twenty-eight years and enjoys a national reputation among colored people.

Fourteen years ago there was organized for the young women of the church a club known as the Silver Spray Circle, which brought a large number of young women into closer relation with the church and inspired them with a desire for service. The circle is under the leadership of Miss Edith Leonard, known throughout the city among her race as a church-worker. Besides its own activities, the circle has contributed generous sums to the church.

Another organization, which may not be claimed as belonging exclusively to St. Mark's, has been so closely identified with it since organization as to be regarded as one of its institutions—the Mutual Aid Society. The society is composed principally of members of St. Mark's and the majority of its officers are officially connected with the church. The Mutual Aid gives a weekly benefit of $3 to sick members and pays a death claim of $50. Financially, it is one of the strongest beneficial organizations among the colored people of the city.

In New York city, where one would naturally expect it, there may be found many evidences of the higher life that comes of religious and intellectual development, if only the pains are taken to seek them. Too often, alas, they are concealed behind barriers of prejudice. But here, as elsewhere, the black man has inspirations like the white man; he suffers, he is happy as his white brother; and in the same manner does he strive for the uplifting of his own race and the accomplishment of those ideals of life which turn men God-ward.

The School as a Social Center

William L. Bulkley

Principal of Public School No. 80, Borough of Manhattan, New York

With the white child in America, everything industrial, civil, political, and social is possible. What of the black?

Partly because of a cheerfulness of disposition, partly because of a real desire to learn, partly because of compulsion by the law, Negro parents send their young children to school. They evidence the same interest, the same faithfulness, the same receptivity noticeable in other race varieties up to a certain age. Once arrived at that place where they begin to learn, to ponder over, to understand, that on every hand avenues of employment are shut tight, discouragement begins, further study ceases, books become distasteful, and they leave school to work at any menial employment that offers itself. A promising boy of fourteen said to me last winter, "Why should I finish my course? What can a colored boy find to do?" He dropped out and is now an errand boy.

It is to these children in New York that we are giving our most careful, sympathetic, hopeful attention. No word of pessimism is spoken; we try to find the encouraging. We strive to impress upon them that men dig for gold. If they be worthy, they will be found; men will in time appreciate them according to their intrinsic values and their serviceableness. And we think we can modestly state that the results are encouraging, as is evident in improved regularity, punctuality, neatness, self-respect, truthfulness, and industry.

The task, however, does not end here. To train the child most satisfactorily, the teacher must be aided by the parent. Herein is found no little difficulty to arouse the parents to the needs of the

children; to encourage them to hope for larger opportunities in the future than they now enjoy; to bring them into cordial sympathy with the school; to cause them to respect the details of school discipline as a means of training for their children; to awaken them to a larger self-respect and aspiration for better living. To this end we employ visits to their homes; addresses in their churches; parents' meetings; frequent individual conferences at the principal's office; and other devices used by well-regulated schools everywhere.

Visiting in the Homes.

When visiting, the teacher does not set out to pour into parents' ears all the little misdeeds of Johnnie or Mary; nor in a querulous, whining, hopeless spirit; nor prying into family affairs with which she has nothing to do; nor gossiping about the neighbors; nor yet with a long face, a "holier than thou" air; but quietly, modestly, pointing to whatever encouragement she may have found in Mary or John, with a finishing touch upon little things which she would advise the perent to help correct for the child's good. John is frequently late at school, for instance. To "fire into" the parent at the outset would anger her; to show her that the child is now forming a habit which will hurt him in anything he may get to do, is to present the argument in a "bread and butter" way. In a large city where people are crowded into flats, often filthy, dark, and dangerous, the teachers are not always ready to make calls. But the sacrifice is one for which they are richly repaid. In my experience of several years in a quarter of the city where the people are poor, often very poor, I have yet to learn of an instance where a teacher has been insulted.

The visits of the old-time schoolmaster were feast days for the village children. The parson and the teacher were walking monuments, of piety the one and wisdom the other. In a large city to-day this reverence for the prophet and the sage drops to a negligible quantity. Even becoming respect disappears, unless it be buoyed up by hopeful acquaintanceship, such as is formed in these talks in the people's homes.

"Home Night."

As there are five meeting nights a term, ten a year, we divide them into home, school, industrial, educational and social nights. On "home night," questions pertaining to sanitation, ventilation, the cooking and serving of food, the care of the sick, the care of the babies, cleanliness, need of rest, etc., are discussed.

One or two illustrations will show the need of this sort of meeting. Within the last twelve months, we have lost three pupils by consumption. I saw on a visit to their houses that ignorance of health laws hastened, if it did not cause, their death. One of them, an industrious little fellow, was kept in the flat nearly all the day (when he was not in school) to prevent his being contaminated by the bad surroundings of the street. All of them, when they felt sick, were confined to rooms that had but little light or air.

A girl of twelve was called to my office for repeated acts of disorder. Under proper home surroundings, she would in all probability be a credit to any school. Inquiry showed that her mother left home early in the morning and did not return till late in the evening. She and her little sister arose, ate the meal the mother prepared before she left; came to school; went back at noon to eat more of the prepared food; in the evening ate the remainder, together with what the twelve-year-old child might prepare. But objectionable as such homekeeping is, the greater danger is in the moral evil that comes to children left all day with no one to care for them.

A little girl and her baby brother sleep in a flat all night alone, while the mother is at work as a maid in a railway station. Scores of such instances have come under my observation.

Industrial and Educational Nights.

"School night" brings forward such subjects as regularity, punctuality, neatness, prompt obedience, perseverance, etc.

"Industrial night" makes prominent the trades and other manual occupations through an exhibit of work done in the school carpenter shop and kitchen. Pupils are encouraged to bring anything however crude that their hands have shapened. Girls bring with amazing pride loaves of bread which they have baked at home, dolls'

dresses, hats, embroidery, flowers, etc. Their brothers bring toy wagons, pin wheels, boats, and other nondescript things which the busy mind of a boy conceives.

Parents are urged to continue at their trades in spite of all the discouragements that only a colored man knows and to allow their children so far as possible to get the mastery of some craft.

"Educational night" is the time when the classroom work is on exhibition. Such an exhibit does not mean the exaltation of the precocious child and the discomfiture of the slow, plodding one. Not at all. The object of the exhibit is to reward effort. Where the dull child has worked hard and faithfully, what he has achieved has cost him as much effort as, and possibly more than that of the brilliant child. In the building of character he is richer than the latter; and certainly the exhibit of his work, though in execution inferior, should give teacher and parent as much comfort as that of the meteoric child. As an example of what may be accomplished by a plodding boy, I would cite the case of one of our graduates. He came from one of the most backward sections of one of the most backward southern states. He had no money, but he had pluck. He found lodging in the Newsboys' Home and got a portable boot-blacking outfit. Every morning he found time to get out long enough to earn some pennies, and would hurry back to wash in order to get to school clean. As soon as school was out, he was off to get his kit and be at work till evening; then back to the Home to study his lessons. I have noted that boy's development with no small interest. He worked his way to Europe and set up his little business in London during the summer vacation; made a snug sum at the Buffalo exposition for a bank account; and is now standing with honor in one of our high schools, with the hope before him of winning a Rhodes' scholarship.

"Social night" aims to bring together teachers, parents, and friends, when they are free for an hour to indulge in the lightsome chat of the housewife while they partake of refreshments that have been jointly furnished. The parents have always been willing to give as much cake as is needed. In fact, we have had enough and to spare. The teachers pay for the cream. Parents and teachers do the "dishing out," older pupils the serving. Occasionally the cooking classes prepare coffee and cake or sandwiches, and at such times the parents and teachers are the guests.

We have discovered a remarkably softening effect upon the manner of pupils, as a result of these friendly gatherings; and there is an increasing confidence, on the part of the parents, that the teachers mean any punishment for the good of the child. For instance, Sam Jones does not run home now to alarm the natives, and bring his mother post-haste to berate the teacher for abusing her boy. This social contact has taught the parent that while Sam may be a paragon of goodness, it is possible for the teacher to have her side of the story.

The meetings are held in the evening so that as many parents as possible may come. A good musical and literary program is furnished. These are a few characteristic features of each meeting: We begin precisely at eight P. M.; we close no later than ten P. M.; our motto is good order—we get it; the program is short and interesting.

We begin precisely at eight P. M.; we close lines can we hope to hold our people. It is our purpose this year to have a "business night" with the object of reaching men in any sort of independent business, whether it be running a push cart, shoving a plane, or embalming the dead. There is a deplorable lack of business enterprise among the colored people. This ought to be different. Perhaps we can aid a little.

One other department will mark the opening of next school year. We start an evening industrial school for men and women over sixteen years of age. The school will be in session four nights in the week from 7.30 to 9.30. Cooking, millinery, dressmaking, plain sewing, carpentry, cabinet working, mechanical drawing, English, and stenography will be taught from the outset. We shall thus give persons employed in the day an opportunity to learn something by which they will be of greater value from a wage-earning viewpoint.

Court Studies from Life

Lucy F. Friday
Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Baltimore

In fairy tales, and sometimes in history, kings, princes and rulers who wished to acquaint themselves with the real life and spirit of their people, have disguised themselves as travelers and sought shelter and hospitality at various firesides. They acted wisely, indeed, for in no way can a truer estimate of the character of a man be gained than by studying him in his home. For three years the probation officers of the juvenile court of Baltimore have been visiting the homes of Negro children in all parts of the city. Some of their observations are presented in the accompanying table, which includes all the cases under sixteen years of age who have been under their care.[1]

In compiling the table no attempt has been made to draw a comparison between white and colored children, but the object has been to study the relation of bad or abnormal home conditions to illiteracy and delinquency. For this purpose the cases have been divided into three groups according to the character of the homes. Under Group I have been classed the homes in which extreme poverty or bad moral influences existed, or where the en-

NEGRO CHILDREN (UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE) WHO HAVE BEEN UNDER THE CARE OF BALTIMORE PROBATION OFFICERS—JUNE, 1902, TO JUNE, 1905.

	Group I. Bad Homes.	Group II. Fair Homes.	Group III. Good Homes.	Total.
Male	76	56	11	143
Female	33	20	2	55
Under 12	81	19	1	51
Under 12, attending school	10	13	..	23
Under 12, at work	2	..	..	2
Under 12, not in school or at work	19	6	1	26
12–16	78	57	12	147
12–16, not in school or at work	35	19	5	59
Parents (one or both) dead	51	37	5	93
Parents not married	23	8	..	31
Parents not living together	35	14	..	49
Children not living with either parent	23	13	..	36
Mother away from home at work during day	34	17	2	53
Mother away from home at work during day and night	5	3	..	8
Charges:				
Larceny	113	74	17	204
Incorrigibility	34	24	3	61
Disorderly conduct	64	42	1	107
Vagrant minor	..	1	..	1
Trespassing on railroad property	3	1	..	4
Drunkenness	1	1	..	2
Indecent exposure	..	1	..	1
Malicious destruction of property	1	1	..	2
Felonious entry	5	8	..	13
Carrying or discharging firearms	3	2	1	6
Assaulting and robbing	2	..	1	3
Assaulting and cutting or shooting	2	2	..	4
Burglary	2	..	..	2
Peddling without license	..	1	..	1
Embezzlement	..	1	..	1
Attempted arson	1	..	..	1
Shooting craps	..	1	..	1
Minors without proper care	8	1	..	9

[1] Cases are excepted, the records of which did not contain all the facts desired, but their omission does not materially affect the result.

vironment was immoral or degrading. Group II includes the homes in which the child, though handicapped, had a chance in the race. Group III, which is pitifully small, contains the homes in which conditions were found to be approximately normal.

The table tells so plain a story that "he who runs may read." Even in Group II, the fair homes, one-half of the children have lost one or both parents, the parents of one-fifth are not living together, one-sixth are not living with either parent, and more than one-quarter of the mothers are away from home at work during the day. In Group I, with the exception of the first item, the proportions are higher. Here one-half of the children have lost one or both parents, the parents of one-third are not living together, one-fifth are not living with either parent, and more than one-third of the mothers are away from home at work during the day.

Stated merely in mathematical form the problem is manifestly a difficult one, but expressed in terms of toiling, erring, suffering human lives it becomes a hundredfold more intricate and perplexing, and demands the exercise of most intelligent and sympathetic efforts for solution. Three stories will be typical of many others.

It was in January when Ellen, twelve years old, was arrested for stealing a doll. Since Christmas it had sat with outstretched arms in a window which Ellen frequently passed, and as she had no doll of her own, she naturally coveted her neighbor's. One day the window was open. The temptation was too great. She seized the treasure and carried it home. The mother was present at the hearing and seemed heartbroken. She said that in the previous summer her husband, who had been drinking, had put her and her twelve months old baby boy out of the house at midnight, with no covering but their nightclothes, and she had had him arrested. Since then he had not lived with her and had contributed nothing to the support of the family. The mother had gone out to service and Ellen was left at home to care for the house, her baby brother and John, a boy of ten. She was a good child, and had never been in trouble before.

The judge suspended sentence and paroled Ellen. When the probation officer made her first visit, the home was found to be a deserted chicken-and-woodhouse in a filthy back yard. The one room contained a tiny stove, on which the baby had fallen the day before and burned his face, a trunk, in which Ellen had hidden the doll, a broken chair, and a mattress covered with dirty bedding and old clothes. On the chair, to the surprise of the visitor, was seated the father, putting a patch on John's trousers. He said he came in now and then to look after the children. He didn't have "anything particular" against Sarah (his wife). She was a good woman and "fond of moralities," but she had a bad temper, and he couldn't live with her. Before the probation officer left he agreed to move the family into better quarters, and to contribute to their support. This was the beginning of better things. Sarah left her service place, took in some work at home, and sent John and Ellen to school. In course of time the father was persuaded to live with her and gradually the home was made more comfortable. Several times the father has gone back to his cups and has given his wages to the saloon-keeper instead of to his wife; but his course on the whole has been upward. Ellen's parole has expired, but the probation officer continues to visit the family occasionally and the little girl is a constant patron of the juvenile court library.

Father and mother separated, mother away from home all day to earn bread, children neglected and out of school, the oldest child started on the road to the reformatory—out of such a ruin as this the hand of a sincere, patient, judicious friend may reconstruct a home.

Rebecca Queen came to Baltimore about three years ago with three children, Maggie, aged 10, Amos, aged 7, and Richard, a baby in arms. Her husband drank heavily and was unfaithful to her, and she decided to leave him and try to bring up the children alone. She had no relative or friend in the city, and could neither read nor write. When the probation officer became acquainted with her she was living in one room in the rear of a house on a particularly unsavory alley. Her furniture consisted of a bed in which all four slept, a stove, a dilapidated chair,

and a wooden chest. She was away all day at service. Maggie and Amos were not attending school, but stayed at home to take care of the baby or earned a few pennies by doing errands for neighboring white people. One day a girl who lived in the same house persuaded Maggie to help her steal some coal from her service-place, and they were discovered and arrested. The probation officer placed Maggie and Amos in school and Rebecca's mistress allowed her to keep Richard with her during school hours. The district agent of the Charity Organization Society agreed to help her find a better home and to defray the expense of moving, and the children's teacher consented to act as friendly visitor. Before arrangements for moving could be completed Rebecca was taken sick, and she had barely recovered when all three children had the measles, which proved fatal in the baby's case. The poor mother, a mere child herself in development, was not lacking in courage, but she was unable to cope with the situation. Amos and Maggie, left to themselves, were growing wild and unruly, and the future looked almost hopeless unless some radical change could be made. An uncle in Pennsylvania offered to take the family into his home and in June they started northward, where we hope their path will be smoother than it has been hitherto.

Willie, a child *six* years old, entered a store while the owner was asleep on the steps, and took five dollars. His father and mother had been separated, and his mother was living with a low, rough fellow, who, a few days after Willie's arrest, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for larceny. This man was Willie's hero and his success in stealing was described by the child with eloquent pride. The boy was committed to the Society for the Protection of Children and was placed in an institutional home. In less than three weeks he escaped and was arrested for "feloniously entering" two dwelling houses, in one of which he stole some money and a ring. He was returned to the home, but after a few days he escaped again and could not be found. Finally, about a year after his first arrest, he was again taken into custody for "felonious entry" and was sent to a reformatory. Willie was one of the brightest boys the probation officer has ever known. He learned quickly and thoroughly the lessons taught in his home, and with a spirit of enterprise remarkable for his years put them into practice. The seeds of crime were sown in fertile soil. What will the harvest be?

The school attendance and child labor laws, and the juvenile court with its preventive and constructive principles, are doing much to protect childhood's rights, but the real center of our efforts must be the homes. We must go into them with outstretched hands, warm hearts and sympathetic friendly counsel, offering trained, consecrated personal service and counting every man our brother.

Children of the Circle

THE WORK OF THE NEW YORK FREE KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION FOR COLORED CHILDREN

Helena Titus Emerson

The New York Free Kindergarten Association for Colored Children was founded in 1895 as the result of a meeting called by Mrs. James Herbert Morse, Mrs. Edward Curtis and Mrs. Graham. They asked for and received the co-operation of the colored teachers in the West Forty-first street public school, and thus the board of managers has from the beginning been made up of some of the best representatives of both races. It was Mrs. Grahan who had secured the privilege for the colored people of the city to ride in the public conveyances, and she now benefited her race again by lending the basement of her house, 237 West Forty-first street, to the kindergarten for its sessions, knowing well the needs of the neighborhood. For the first three years there was a colored teacher in the kindergarten, acting as principal for two of these years, and succeeded by her white assistant who is still in charge.

In 1899 by the advice of Jacob A. Riis

a large vacant store was found at 242 West Sixtieth street, in the heart of one of the largest and worst colored settlements in the city, the scene of the race riots of the succeeding summers. Here, in April, 1900, the kindergarten was opened with sixteen children, and with them had to prove its value to the neighborhood, for the locality was as new to the colored as to the white members of the board of managers. That it did so is shown by the fact that by the end of the first year eighty parents and children were in attendance, and so many white children were clamoring to be admitted that through Mrs. Hackley's generosity, a separate afternoon session was opened for them.

Since then, although the afternoon school has been given up, the kindergarten has steadily increased its influence in the neighborhood by means of the mothers' meetings, clubs for the older children, celebration of festivals, penny provident bank, excursions to the country and to the circus, visits to the homes, and exhibitions of work shared with other kindergartens; and gratefully does it acknowledge much assistance from new, as well as old friends, and from other institutions. All this has been done in spite of being housed in an old tenement with the many inconveniences thereby entailed, and now the association is eagerly looking forward to its promised home in the new Phipps' model tenement. In 1904 the association was incorporated under the laws of the state of New York, and the kindergarten was named after Mrs. Walton, who had aided it in countless ways until her death.

The present neighborhood of the kindergarten is quite different from that of its first home, for here there are no old dwelling houses, but rows of tall tenements, huge gas tanks, a few factories, and the large hospitals and other institutions on Amsterdam avenue. The side streets run down very steeply towards the river, so that they are much neglected by the street cleaning department in the winter months, and all the near-by avenues have double railroad or car tracks on them. These, moreover, form an effectual barrier to frequent use of Central Park by young children, although it is only a quarter of a mile distant, while a grain elevator and a Swift abattoir cut them off from the benefits of the river.

The Households from which the Children Come.

Most of our children live in Sixtieth and Sixty-first streets, although a few come from Fifty-ninth and Sixty-second streets, and in all these blocks the colored people predominate. Next in numbers and in proximity are the Italians, the quiet, steady Germans, the least desirable type of shiftless Irish, with a scattering of Jews and of other nationalities. There are many young, unmarried colored people, lodging with friends or relatives, who have been attracted to the city by prospects of high wages; and even among the families, the parents seem to be under middle age, and the children far from numerous. One mother told of their four-room cottage and wash-house standing in a garden of fruit trees, for which they had paid $6 a month in a small southern city where her husband had steady work as a cooper. Here they have four rooms, three of them dark; the husband gets irregular pay as a waiter; they have to take lodgers; and the wife washes all day in order to make their monthly rent of $12 or $13, while the three children are growing up in the streets and the schools, without the home training the mother really knows how to give. This is typical of many other families, and though the wife would be glad to go back, the husband prefers to stay in New York.

There is a decided tendency among the men to be selfish and inconsiderate, and so many are in domestic occupations which keep them away from home a great deal, that in a large proportion of our families the father hardly figures as an important factor in the children's lives. Moreover there are many widows and deserted wives. The women, as a rule, are hard workers, many taking in washing, and acting as janitresses, as well as caring for their own households, and it is surprising how often they do all three things well. Of course there are some lazy, indifferent and neglectful ones, whom it is hard to influence, but once they have been persuaded to send their children regularly to kindergarten, and then come themselves to the mothers' meetings, the leaven begins

to work, and after years it may be a change for the better is noticeable. In these cases the children are always our main reliance. Through them every door is opened to the visiting "teacher," and a friendly welcome insured. That there is impatience and unwise management of the children, such as frightening into obedience through stories of bogies, etc., goes without saying, and there is a great tendency to "get along" without medical advice.

It is in all family crises that the kindergarten stands ready with advice, or help, and generally acts as a "go-between" for the people and the resources of this great city. They are a friendly, generous people, sometimes even out of their poverty caring for an orphaned child with their own, and their gratitude for what is done for their children is frequently and earnestly expressed. They especially value the lessons in courtesy and obedience which they say they have no time to give at home.

The Children as Known to the Kindergartners.

They no longer send the children to kindergarten merely to get rid of them so many hours in the day, but they save their handwork and take a growing interest in their affairs. Regret is often expressed at the end of the term in June that for two months the little folk will have no proper exercise, for unless they are sent on the street or to the roof there is no adequate space for it. The following is a child's mode of expressing the same fact: He was a small, "new" boy, and when first brought to kindergarten stood shyly beside his mother watching the other children play. Presently he realized that he had two sturdy legs, and here was space to use them; so he silently ran round and round the room until he was breathless and weary.

The children, as we know them in the kindergarten and clubs, are much the same as others of the same age, being jolly, bright, affectionate, responsive and so loyal that one little girl, who learned that milk would help her to grow said, "Then I won't drink no mo', fo' when I gits big I'll have to leave de kindygarten!" Moreover, after five years of constant effort, it is found that the standard of personal cleanliness and neatness in clothing has been raised, and that our colored children are noticeably superior to white children of the same social scale. They are, however, apt to be delicate and rickety, and suffer in consequence from lung, throat and nose troubles, and from bow-leggedness. Their most striking racial characteristic is that they are musical, so much so that it is very rare to find one who cannot keep perfect time, and they sing more accurately than many children in private schools. A great deal is made by the kindergarteners of every "new" baby, in the hope that it may be received in the proper spirit and not be considered merely another family burden. We find that birthday celebrations so increase a child's self-respect and his importance in his parents' eyes that every one is carefully observed in the kindergarten; and there have been several requests from the big children who have gone to school that the custom shall be continued in the clubs.

The Club: Junior Race Riots.

Next to the kindergarten they love the clubs, and yet because there are so few directors, seventy-five boys and girls between seven and thirteen years of age, are gathered into three clubs, and there is a waiting list on two of these. These people are very susceptible to the personality of their leaders, and true personal service is responded to with great regularity in dues and attendance, to say the least. There is a real need for a safe place for those children whose parents are both at work all day, to come to after school hours, to study and play. The attitude of the public school teachers is not always impartial, and police protection is so often inadequate that, during the spring months especially, there are such frequent clashes between the colored and white boys on the streets, that they sometimes assume the proportions of junior race riots. Even the little kindergarten children have been shamefully abused, and many an anxious parent has to accompany his boy on the street lest he be attacked by several white boys and be unable to reach school.

The kindergarten can do little in this matter, but in many other ways it has found it possible to encourage the friendly relations between the two races.

Manual Training[1] for Negro Children

David E. Gordon
St. Louis

Manual training in a school for Negro children may become one of the most powerful levers for the upward movement of the race. Teach a boy to make things, to know the nature and origin of the tools he uses in making them, to understand and be familiar with the source and history of the raw materials of which they are made. Bring him into contact through these things with the marvelous ingenuity of man. This will interest him, make him efficient and stimulate his ambition, and make of him a live, rounded man. Now what manual training does for the individual it will do for the race. It will make better men and the very purpose of education is to make men better rather than wiser. This insight into the diverse processes of civilized life gives the educated Negro boy or girl a larger field of selection for his life work and is a cause of the fact that the Negro is gradually diversifying his occupations—a change that is sorely needed, because the strain of commercial competition, as well as the added stress of race prejudice has had a tendency to limit the opportunities of the Negro boy or girl in securing necessary work.

It must not be forgotten that while manual training makes the individual alert, it is also making his hand deft, his eye keen and is giving him that self-reliance that comes with the successful accomplishment of set tasks.

It would seem then, that manual training in a school for Negro children is even more essential and helpful than it is in a school for white children. The need of the Negro child is greater. There is more against him. He has more obstacles in his path. He has not merely to take advantage of his opportunities; he must make the opportunities.

The first lessons in manual training in the public schools of St. Louis—if not in all the schools west of the Mississippi—were given in a school for Negro children in 1890-91, when it was introduced in the L'Ouverture School as an experiment, by means of funds raised by private subscription. Twenty-four boys from the sixth and seventh grades were taught after school hours and on Saturdays, and this work was continued until manual training became part of the general school system in 1898.

To-day manual training is taught to all the pupils in the colored schools in the sixth and seventh grades and in the high school. The boys (206 last year) are taught carpentry, wood turning, forging, machine work and some printing; the girls (368), hand and machine sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking and household science. The general effect of this work has been to stimulate activity along all lines of work; to hold pupils of both sexes in school for a longer period than formerly, thereby securing an increased attendance in the higher grades and in the high school. I have not been able to obtain adequate records by which to compare those who have had the benefit of manual training and those who have not; but as careful a survey as possible forces the conclusion that its influence has affected the industrial condition of those who have had it, by cultivating in them a love for mechanical and business enterprises in which they are bound to engage.

The boy who has had an insight into bench work, forging, lathe-work, wood-carving and mechanical drawing has learned something of life, and has had some development of his own powers to do. He has something to build on. The girl who has been taught to properly wash dishes and trim lamps, make good bread, and who understands the chemistry of food and the science of housekeeping can never again be commonplace.

The hope then of the Negro race as it is in all races is that each individual shall learn the value of true efficiency. If as I have tried to indicate the influence of manual training tends to greater insight and skill, and better habits and methods of work, then by all means we should help along the onward movement of manual training in the schools.

[1] "Industrial training" trains the individual for proficiency in a special trade; "manual training" trains the hand and gives an insight into the principles of all trades.

The Negro and the Demands of Modern Life

ETHNIC AND ANATOMICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Franz Boas

In discussions of the economic and social conditions of the Negro the advocate of larger opportunities for the race is constantly met by arguments based on the tacit assumption of the physical and mental inferiority of the Negro. Although there is little that is new to add to the long-continued discussion of this question, it will not be out of place to state briefly what anthropology has to say on this point, both in regard to anatomical characteristics and in reference to ethnic conditions.

From a broad point of view we may distinguish the negroid races—which include the bulk of the Africans, the isolated negroid types of Southern Asia, the Papuans, and the Australians—from the Europeans, Asiatics and Americans, as the two fundamentally distinct varieties of the human species; the former located on the continents contiguous to the Indian Ocean, the latter on those adjacent to the Pacific Ocean. In general the negroid races are characterized by a higher degree of pigmentation, wavy to frizzly hair, relatively greater length of limbs, flatness of nose, projecting teeth, thick lips, and size of the brain less than that of the other division of mankind. The Pacific division has on the whole much less pigmentation, straighter hair, shorter limbs, higher nose, straighter jaws, thinner lips and a larger brain. Although the differences between these two varieties are fundamental, there are extended regions in which intermixture has taken place and all branches of the two varieties produce fertile offspring. We find also that in regions inhabited by the Pacific race and far remote from the habitats of the negroid race, individuals may be found which show a considerable number of negroid traits. There are also types in Africa in which the typically negroid traits appear weakened. Among both large groups, there is a considerable degree of local differentiation. In the Pacific race we find types as distinct as the European, the Chinese, and the Indian; in the negroid race types as distinct as the Australian, the Bushman, and the Nigritian. Even if we do not accept the fundamental twofold subdivision, the points of comparison here enumerated will be found to hold good and differentiation of types will be found to exist in the smaller groups as well.

The peculiarities of the anatomy of the Negro suggest a very early differentiation of the two large groups. The large size of the brain, the smallness of the jaws, the features incident to erect posture, the slight hairiness, distinguish both groups equally from the higher apes, but in some respect these differences are more strongly marked in one race than in the other. While in regard to the size of the central nervous system and smallness of the face the Europeans are most remote from the highest apes of the present age, the Negro is more removed from them in length of limbs and in lack of hairiness. It is of particular importance to bear in mind that in no case has inferior vitality or inferior development of the central nervous system been proved to be correlated with those anatomical traits of the skeleton, the muscles, the intestinal tract, or the organs of circulation, which happen to be somewhat analogous to forms that occur in the animal series, but that are normal in a race. No reason has been brought forward to show why a flat shinbone, a long heel, a marked curvature of the limb bone, or thickness of the lips should necessarily be related to inferior vitality or inferior ability.

Anatomical Differences.

We recognize, however, certain fundamental anatomical differences in the two races, and, in regard to the question at issue, we must emphasize particularly the difference in the development of the nervous system with all that it implies. The average size of the Negro brain is smaller than that of other races, and we are justified in assuming by analogy that the average mental ability is less than that

of races with larger brain weight. It is also plausible that certain differences of form of brain exist, although it would be difficult to interpret these in terms of mental ability. The inference in regard to ability is, however, based only on analogy and we must remember that individually the correlation between brain weight and ability is often overshadowed by other causes, and that we find a considerable number of great men with slight brain weight. While we may, therefore, expect less average ability and also, on account of probable anatomical differences, somewhat different mental tendencies, we may, with the same degree of certainty, expect these differences to be small as compared to the total range of variations found in the human species. The brain weights of Europeans vary so much that a great many occur that are below the average of the Negro brain, and in the same way a great many Negro brains are above the average of the European brain; and consequently we may expect a similar distribution of ability.

Our knowledge of physiological data that have a bearing upon the question of racial capacity is entirely inadequate. Much has been said about the shorter period of growth of the Negro child as compared to the white child, but no convincing data have been forthcoming. Considering the great variation in the duration of growth and development in different individuals, and in various social classes, according to the more or less favorable nutrition of the child, the information that we possess in regard to the Negro child is practically without value. We do not even know at what period and in what manner develop the typical negroid features, which are much less pronounced in the newborn than in adults.

It is surprising that notwithstanding their importance, no attempts have been made to gain a better insight into these anatomical and physiological problems, some of which might be solved without much difficulty. As it is, almost all we can say with certainty is, that the differences between the average types of the white and of the Negro that have a bearing upon vitality and mental ability are much less than the individual variations in each race.

Cultural Achievements.

This result is, however, of great importance and is quite in accord with the result of ethnological observation. A survey of African tribes exhibits to our view cultural achievements of no mean order. To those unfamiliar with the products of native African art and industry a walk through one of the large museums of Europe would be a revelation. None of our American museums has made collections that exhibit in any way worthily this subject. The blacksmith, the woodcarver, the weaver, the potter, these all produce ware original in form, executed with great care and exhibiting that love of labor and interest in the results of work which is apparently so often lacking among the Negroes in our American surroundings. No less instructive are the records of travelers, reporting the thrift of the native villages, of the extended trade of the country and of its markets. The power of organization as illustrated in the government of native states is of no mean order and when wielded by men of great personality has led to the foundation of extended empires. All the different kinds of activities that we consider valuable in the citizens of our country may be found in aboriginal Africa. Neither is the wisdom of the philosopher absent. A perusal of any of the collections of African proverbs that have been published will demonstrate the homely practical philosophy of the Negro which is often proof of sound feeling and judgment.

It would be out of place to enlarge on this subject, because the essential point that anthropology can contribute to the practical discussion of the adaptability of the Negro is a decision of the question how far the undesirable traits that are at present undoubtedly found in our Negro population are due to racial traits, and how far they are due to social surroundings for which *we* are responsible. To this question anthropology can give the decided answer that the traits of African culture as observed in the aboriginal home of the Negro are those of a healthy primitive people with a considerable degree of personal initiative, with a talent for organization, and with considerable imaginative power; with technical skill and thrift. Neither is a war-

like spirit absent in the race, as is proved by the mighty conquerors who overthrew states and founded new empires, and by the courage of the armies that follow the bidding of their leader. There is nothing to prove that licentiousness, shiftless laziness, lack of initiative, are fundamental characteristics of the race. Everything points out that these qualities are the result of social conditions rather than of hereditary traits.

The Negro and the Demands of Modern Life.

It may be well to state here once more, with some emphasis, that it would be erroneous to assume that there are no differences in the mental make-up of the Negro race and of other races, and that their activities should run in the same lines. On the contrary, if there is any meaning in correlation of anatomical structure and physiological function, we must expect that differences exist. There is, however, no evidence whatever that would stigmatize the Negro as of weaker build, or as subject to inclinations and powers that are opposed to our social organization. An unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the belief in a racial inferiority which would unfit an individual of the Negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove to be beyond the powers of the Negro.

The best observers of foreign races in all parts of the world who have had opportunity to come into intimate contact with individuals of the tribes they visited, and who have shared their joys and sorrows, furnish us with data which show with ever-increasing clearness the sameness of the fundamental traits of the human mind in all the races that exist at present and in all forms of culture that are found in our times; they bring before our eyes the intellectual powers of primitive man, and his ethical and esthetic standards. At the same time becomes apparent the overwhelming influence of tradition, the unreasoning adherence to forms of thought and action that have once been established—not only in primitive culture, but even in the most advanced types of civilization.

There is nothing in the present status of the African and American Negro that cannot be adequately explained on this basis. The tearing away from the African soil, and the consequent complete loss of the old standards of life which were replaced by the dependency of slavery and by all it entailed, followed by a period of disorganization and by a severe economic struggle against heavy odds, are sufficient to explain the inferiority of the status of the race without falling back to the theory of hereditary inferiority.

In short, there is every reason to believe that the Negro when given facility and opportunity will be perfectly able to fill the duties of citizenship as well as his white neighbor. It may be that he will not produce as many great men as the white race, and that his average achievement will not quite reach the level of the average achievement of the white race, but there will be endless numbers who will be able to outrun their white competitors, and who will do better than the defectives whom we permit to drag down and to retard the healthy children of our public schools.

The Importance of Researches as to Race Mixture.

The anthropological discussion of the Negro problem requires also a word on the "race instinct" of the whites, which plays a most important part in the practical aspect of the problem. Ultimately this phenomenon is a repetition of the old instinct and fear of the connubium of patricians and plebeians, of the European nobility and the common people, or of the castes of India. The emotions and reasonings concerned are the same in every respect. In our case they relate particularly to the necessity of maintaining a distinct social status in order to avoid race mixture. As in the other cases mentioned, the so-called instinct is not a physiological dislike. This is proved by the existence of our large mulatto population, as well as by the more ready amalgamation of the Latin peoples. It is rather an expression of social conditions that are so deeply ingrained in us that they assume a strong emotional

value; and this, I presume, is meant if we call such feelings instinctive. The feeling certainly has nothing to do with the question of the vitality and ability of the mulatto. We are not prepared to give a definite answer to the latter question, which would require painstaking and thorough researches that have not been made. Statistics that have been collected and that suggest an inferiority of the mulatto are not convincing, in so far as social and racial causes cannot be safely separated.

The importance of researches on this subject cannot be too strongly urged, since the desirability or undesirability of race mixture should be known. The emotional objection to race mixture alone counts for very little, since the history of many peoples shows its frequent occurrence and its gradual disappearance. As long as public opinion utterly disregards the laws of eugenesis, and as long as we tolerate no restriction worth mentioning of marriages between those unfit to produce healthy and normal offspring, no *scientific* reasons can justly be brought forward against marriages between Negroes and whites, and for the protection of the race against degeneration.

The considerations here presented may appear on the whole vague and negative. If it is borne in mind how eagerly scientific proof of the inferiority of the Negro race has been searched for, their very vagueness will indicate how difficult, not to say impossible, it is to prove racial inferiority that would place all the individuals of the race in a class by themselves.

In the Country at Large

THE CENSUS BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH URBAN COMMUNITIES OF NEGROES MUST BE STUDIED IN THEIR RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

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No people have suffered more than the Negroes of the United States because of sweeping generalizations from inadequate bases.

It is thought that a statement of some of the more important facts discovered by the twelfth census may serve to correct any tendency to generalize from the urban conditions presented in this series of articles. The charts shown are largely based upon the tables made by Prof. W. F. Willcox and Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, and published in *Census Bulletin No.* 8. They are presented in the natural order used in the census report, the facts being grouped under the following heads:

Distribution and Proportion.
Educational Progress.
Economic Conditions.
Vital Statistics and Rate of Increase.

Distribution and Proportion.

A study of the statistics given as to distribution and proportion brings out two important facts well known in a general way, but of a force often overlooked in the discussion of the Negro problem: (1) the great preponderance of the Negroes in the South over the North; (2) the large proportion which the Negroes form of the Southern population (Chart A.).

Here, as in all the charts, the heavy black rulings indicate the colored people and the saw-edged stripes the white. The very short black lines for the northern states inserted for purposes of comparison, and their long saw edges, offer a very striking contrast to the reversed conditions in the South. Ohio, with a white population of 102 persons to the square mile has but three colored, while South Carolina, with a white density of only fourteen, has a colored population of twenty-five to the square mile. Virginia, with a white density of about thirty, and a colored density of sixteen, is more typical of the relative density in the South.

According to an unpublished chart, the colored populations of Mississippi and South Carolina are almost sixty per cent of the total population. No other state reaches the fifty per cent mark, though Louisiana, Georgia and Alabama are each over forty-five per cent. Georgia with a

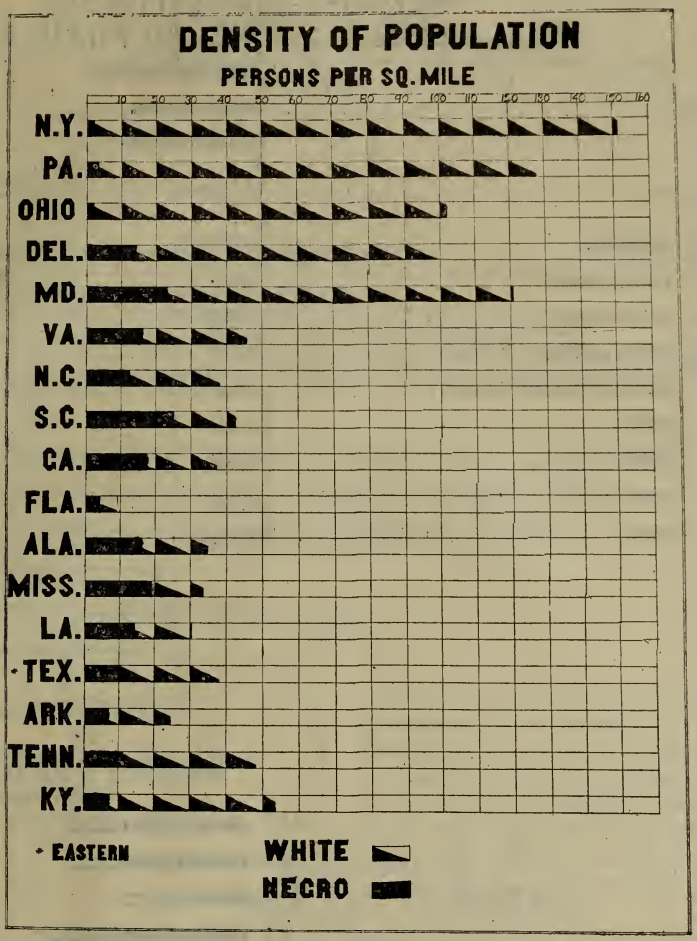


Chart A

million Negroes has the largest absolute colored population of all the states.

While the enumeration of the mulatto has been attended with many errors, the results will at least point to tendencies worthy of note. The black lines at the left of Chart D indicate the percentages which the Negroes form of the population in the sections named and of the United States in the years given. The right side indicates the percentage which the mulattoes form of the total colored population. A comparison of these two series of facts shows that where the Negroes are few in number, the proportion of mulattoes among them is large. The percentage of mulattoes among Negroes has persistently remained near twelve per cent during the last forty years.

To sum up the subject of distribution, it is to be remembered that almost ninety per cent of the colored people of the United States are in the South, that they form a third of the population of that section, that about eighty per cent of them live in rural districts and in small towns, that they form eleven per cent of the total population of the United States, and finally, that from a ninth to a sixth of them are mulattoes.

Educational Progress.

Chart E pictures the wonderful inroads which have been made on the illiteracy of the colored people. Beginning in 1860 with an illiteracy of almost a hundred per cent, this proportion has been decreased to forty-four for the United States and forty-eight for the South. The solid black line (Chart E), is the illiteracy for 1900, and

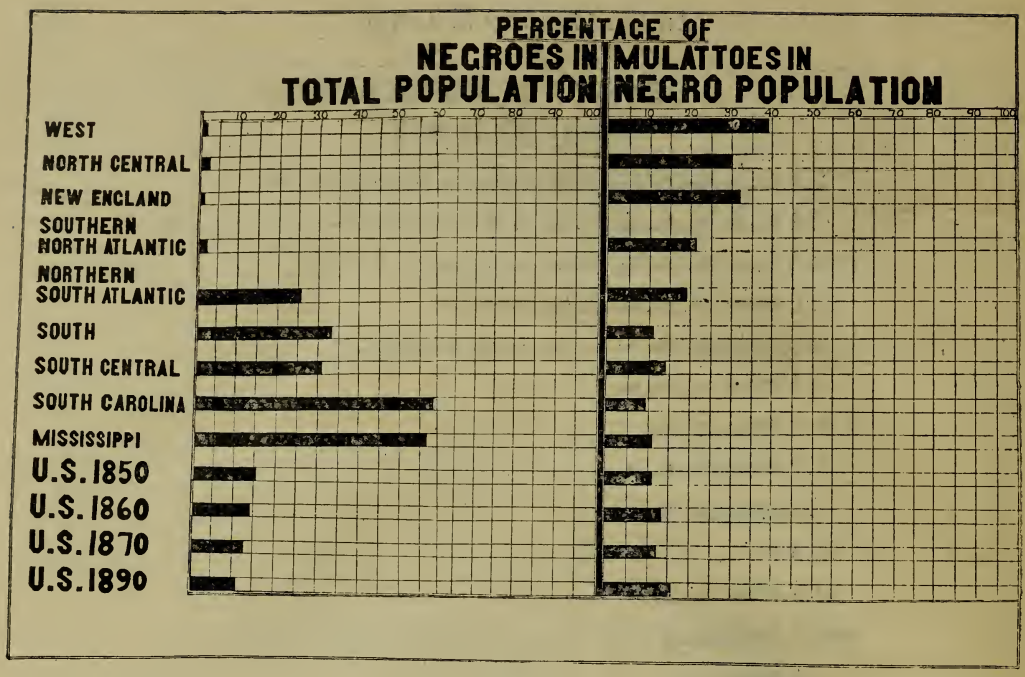


CHART D

school system over that of preceding decades and the determination of the colored people to supplement the public school funds, the outlook for the future is promising. Though the decrease of illiteracy has proceeded with great rapidity, the situation revealed by a second chart (F) indicates the tremendous work yet to be accomplished.

The sawedged line represents the total Negro population ten years of age and over in 1860, the black rule the number of Negro illiterates in 1900. Grant for the sake of the argument that every Negro ten years of age and over in 1860 was illiterate, and it is seen that in spite of all educational forces a number of states have absolutely more illiterates to-day than forty years ago. Of this number are Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, the District of Columbia and two or three others. The explanation of this fact is obviously the great increase of population. In 1860 the Negro population was but 4,400,000; in 1900 it had increased to 8,800,000.

Combining the suggestions of these two charts with those later to be presented showing a decreasing rate of increase for population and a process of selection through a more thoughtful marriage relation, it is to be confidently supposed that

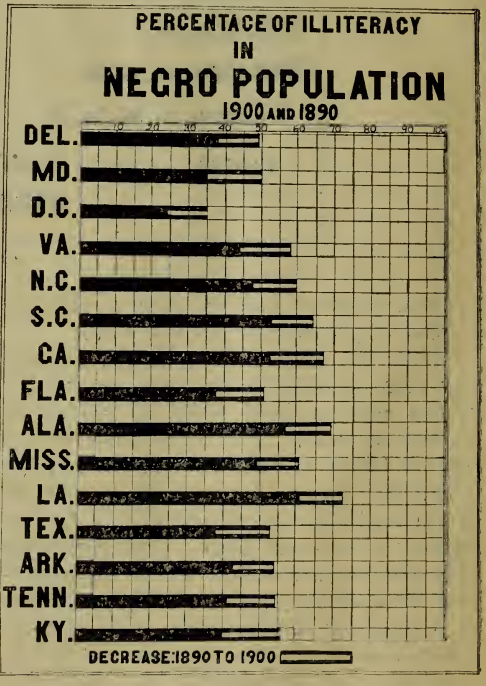


CHART E

that with the white stripe shows the decrease since 1890. Every state thus shows a marked change for the better. With the increased efficiency of the present

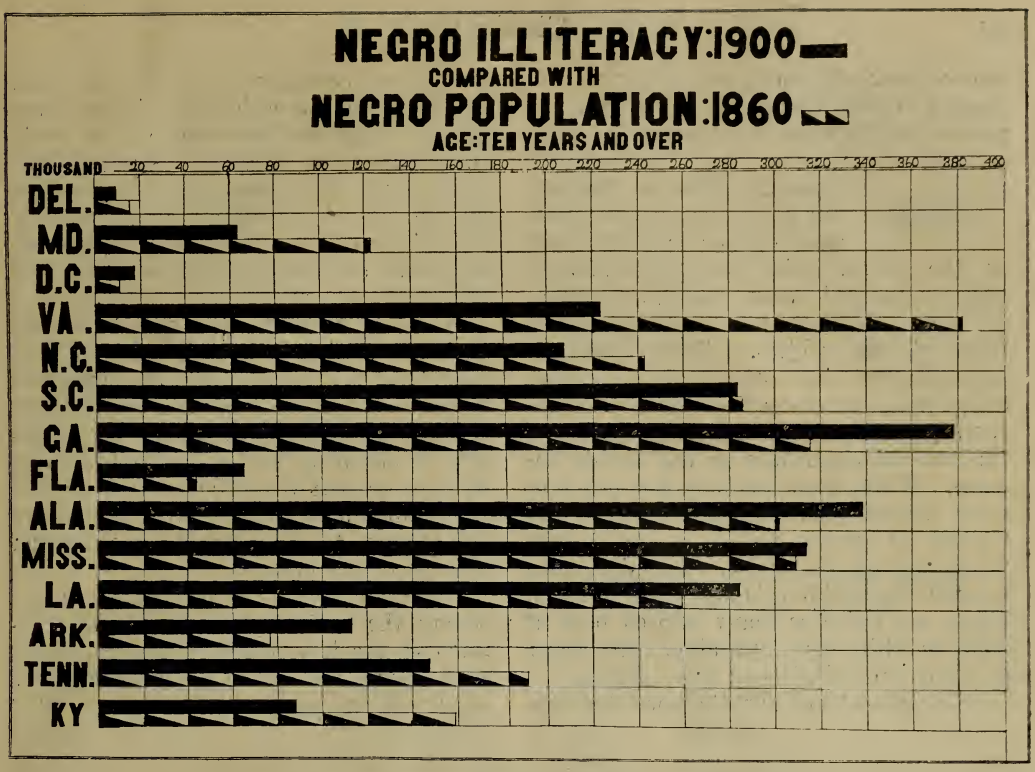


Chart F

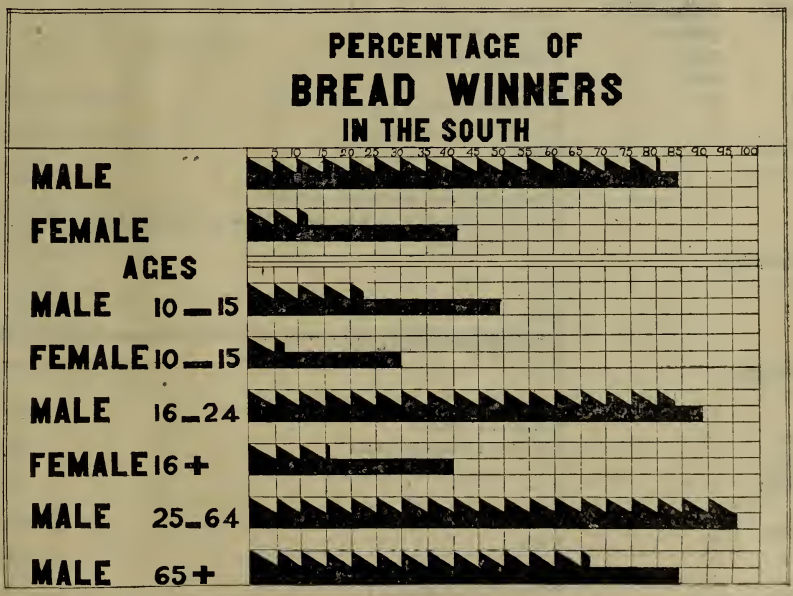


Chart G

the increase of population will not continue to equal, much less to surpass, the process of educating the illiterate.

Economic Conditions.

Chart G offers a comparison of the number of white and colored breadwinners in the South. At every age and in both sexes it is seen that the number of colored breadwinners is greater than that of the whites. This difference is explained by the larger number of colored women and children who are forced by the lower economic status of the race to contribute to the family income. While there are only five per cent more colored than white men at work, the number of colored women is almost four times that of the white. The difference between the children is also quite marked. There are twice as many colored boys at work as white boys, and almost five times as many colored girls as white girls.

The percentages for the men between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four are almost equal for each race. This is the age when men are expected to be at work. In advanced age, when the white men are retiring on their income, and so decreasing the number of breadwinners, the old colored man continues to toil, as the high per cent of colored breadwinners over sixty-five years indicates.

While this chart does not show the quality or efficiency of colored labor, it does show that a commendable percentage of the race is engaged in gainful occupations. On the other hand it suggests the necessity of elevating the economic status of the race so that the children may be free to attend school and the women have an opportunity to care for the morals and hygiene of the home.

The distribution of the colored people among the various occupations, as indicated at the left side of Chart H, shows what a large per cent of them are occupied in agriculture and unskilled labor. Over

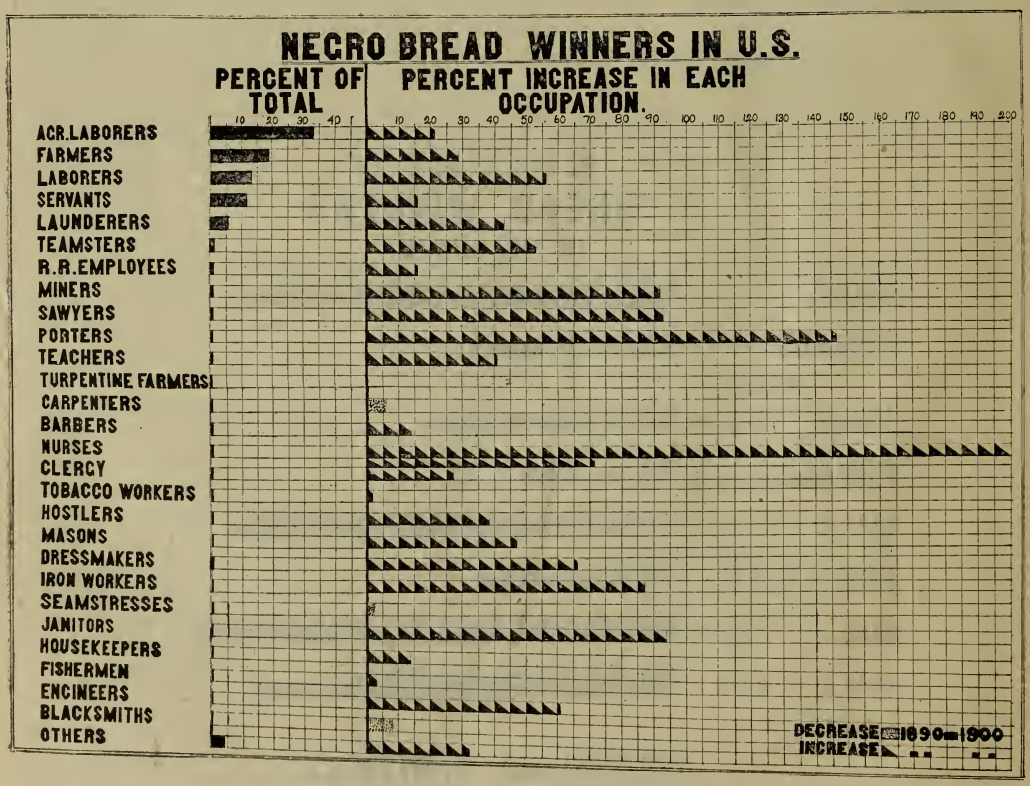


CHART H

fifty-two per cent are farmers and farm laborers; about thirty-one per cent are laborers, servants, launderers; thus leaving but seventeen per cent for all other trades and professions.

At the right of the chart is indicated the per cent of change in each occupation from 1890 to 1900. The length of the majority of these lines is an indication of the fact that the Negroes are diversifying their work . There was an absolute increase in all but three occupations and in thirteen of the twenty-seven employments the Negroes occupied a larger proportion among all breadwinners in 1900 than they did in 1890. The most notable gains were in the following: nurses, 272 per cent; porters and store helpers, 147 per cent; miners, 92 per cent; sawmill employés, 92 per cent; and janitors, 94 per cent. The absolute decrease of 6.5 per cent in the number of carpenters, 8.1 per cent in blacksmiths and 2.6 per cent in seamstresses is not peculiar to the Negro mechanics. The white carpenters also show an absolute decrease, the white seamstresses increased but one per cent, and the blacksmiths but eight per cent.

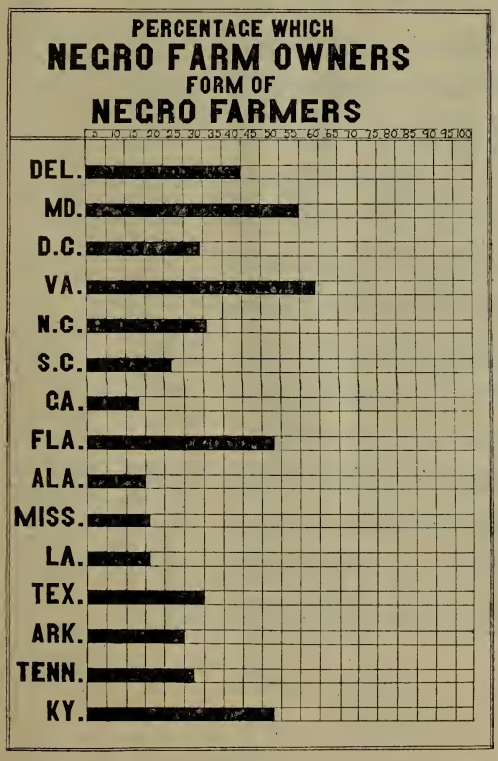


Chart I

In view of the large proportion of Negroes on farms, ownership of land is probably the best test of economic progress. The percentage of colored farmers who are owners in the Southern states ranges from fourteen per cent in Georgia to fifty-nine per cent in Virginia; in the United States as a whole it is twenty-five per cent. Though the farms are small, these percentages are evidence of quite a degree of thrift and efficiency in labor. The success of the Negro on the farm is still more clearly shown in chart J, comparing averages for the farms of white and colored farmers in the South. The



Chart J

black bands represent the averages for the colored farmer and the remaining per cent of each line is the average for the white farmer. This chart is not exact, but it will present comparisons. The average acreage of farms operated by colored farmers is represented by twenty-four units, that of the white by seventy-six, or a little over three times as large. The average of improved acreage of the colored farmer is thirty-six units, and that of whites is sixty-four or about twice as large. This may be explained by the fact that the landowner usually rents to the colored tenant the land that has already been improved or is capable of improvement, keeping for himself the swampy and unimproved sections. The average value of the farm property operated by the Negroes holds the same relation to that of the whites as the acreage.

It is interesting to note that in the average value of farm products, the colored average is represented by thirty-six or the same number as his improved acreage. This shows that he is living up to his privilege in operating improved acreage. The most striking fact brought out by the chart is the average acreage products not fed to live stock. The average for the colored farmer is here almost twice that of the whites or as 65 to 35. In the south central the returns for the whites is $2.62 per acre, while that for the colored is $6.71; in the south Atlantic the white is $3.66, and the colored $5.08. This is partly explained, as Dr. DuBois suggests, by the fact that the acreage of the whites is more largely unimproved, but a more important cause of difference is probably that the returns of the Negro farmer are in cotton, cereals and other products which are assigned directly to the acreage, whereas the white farmer receives a large part of his returns in the form of rent, live stock and other articles not credited to the acreage. Nevertheless, the comparison is not unfavorable to the colored farmer. It may truly be said that where he has had an opportunity he has shown very creditable progress.

The account of the economic condition of the Negro race as given by the twelfth census, while, of course, showing the lower status of a people but recently freed from slavery, is an evidence of commendable willingness to labor, a surprising efficiency in work and a thrift in the use of the returns from labor that promises success in the future.



Chart K

Vital Statistics and Rate of Increase.

The upper lines of Diagram K represent the rate of increase in twenty-year periods and the lower two in ten-year periods—this for the United States as a whole. The per cent of twenty-year increase for the Negroes in 1820 was seventy-nine, as the number on the left of the square indicates, while that of the whites was sixty-three per cent. The twenty-year rate for the Negro has steadily decreased, ending in 1900 in thirty-three per cent. That for whites has gone up and down, ending in fifty-six per cent. The higher rate for the whites is largely explained by immigration.

The ten-year lines are much more irregular and uncertain because of the errors in the census of 1870. They agree with the twenty-year lines in showing a marked decrease, from thirty-three per cent in 1820 to seventeen in 1900 for colored, and from thirty-four in 1890 to twenty-five in 1900 for white.

The rate of increase is so closely connected with conjugal and vital statistics that these are discussed under this head. Chart L presents the number of single, married, and widowed and divorced persons per thousand of white and colored in Southern states. The barred sections at the ends of the bands indicate an increase from 1890 to 1900; the dotted sections represent a decrease. The first thought suggested by this chart is that the number per thousand of single and of married is almost the same for both races, the only marked difference being in the widowed and divorced class, which is considerably larger for the colored men and women. A more important matter is in the changes which occurred between 1890 and 1900. These may be summed up as follows: that the whites have decreased in the proportion of the single class and in those widowed and divorced, but increased in the proportion of the married, while the colored have decreased in the single and married, but increased in the undesirable class of the widowed and divorced.

The existence of such a large proportion of the last class indicates a bad con-

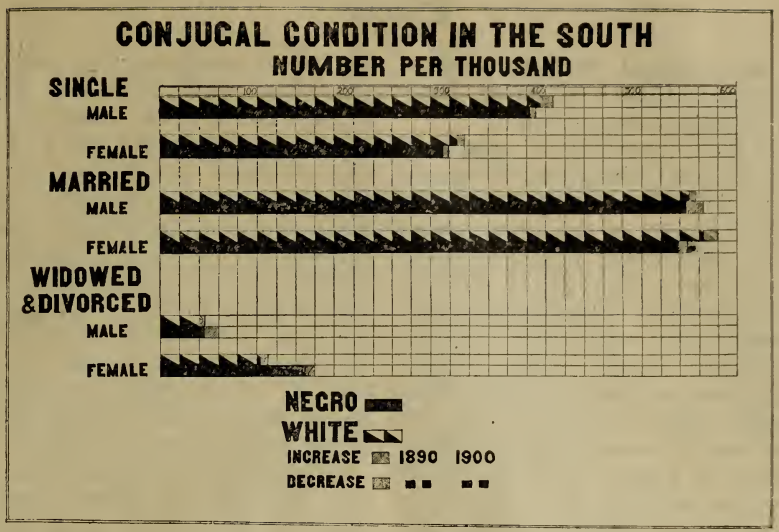


Chart L

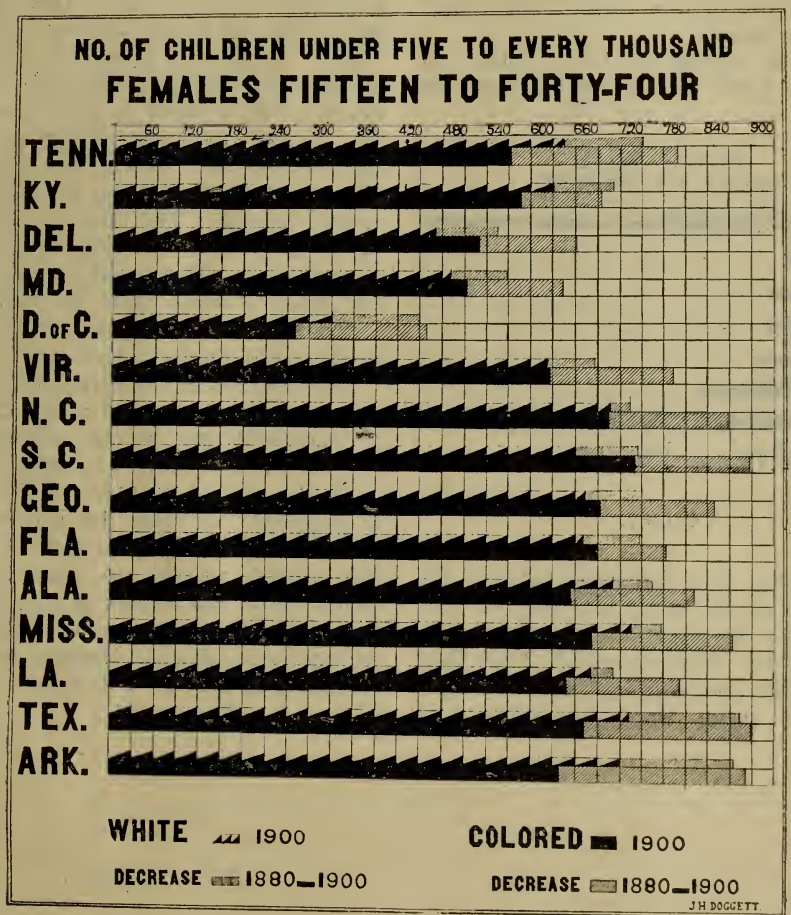


Chart M

dition of the conjugal relation, whether the separation is caused by death, legal divorce or voluntary separation.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining records of the real birth-rate, Professor Willcox has planned a substitute rate by stating the number of children under five to every 1,000 women fifteen to forty-four years of age. The barred sections of the lines on Chart M indicate the decrease between 1880 and 1900. A comparison of these barred sections shows that the decrease for the colored has been on an average twice as great as that for the whites and in some instances four and five times as great. This remarkable change may be summed up in the statement that whereas in 1880 the proportion of children to 1,000 colored women was higher than that for the white in sixteen out of eighteen southern states, in 1900 the proportion for the colored was higher in only six states.

Chart N represents the number of deaths per 1,000 of the population at the

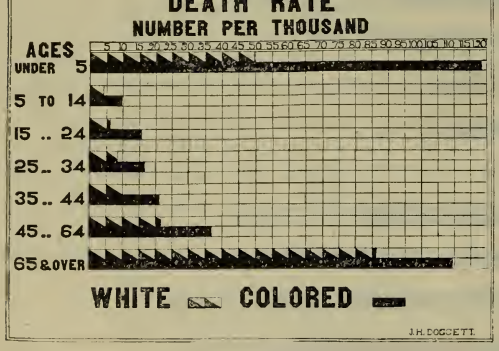


Chart N

various ages. The difference between the death-rate of the white and colored children under five years is startling—118 as against 49. With exception of the final category (65 and over) the rate of Negro deaths is twice that for whites, in each of the remaining age groups. These rates are based upon the statistics of registration districts composed largely of Northern states and cities and including only thirteen per cent of the colored people. This fact somewhat lessens the value of the comparison, inasmuch as the majority of the Negroes live in the rural districts of the South, where the death-rate is lower than it is in the city. On the other hand the death-rate of Negroes in cities is partly lessened by the fact that the city Negroes are more largely of the adult age and of the female sex than in the rural Negro population.

Though the general death-rates of 30.2 per thousand for Negroes and 17.3 for whites are probably not exact, they are sufficiently so to indicate a much higher rate for the colored than for the white. There is only one favorable fact with regard to these death-rates; namely, that they have both decreased in the last ten years.

The situation presented by these statistics on vital and conjugal conditions would seem to point to the extinction of the Negro race in America. Some statisticians have predicted this result. This prediction is very improbable for several reasons. The time of observation has been entirely too brief to justify such a conclusion. The present conditions do not afford a sound basis for such a generalization, because the race is undergoing an abnormal economic and social struggle.

The decrease in the birth and marriage rates may be interpreted as an indication of thoughtfulness in the marriage relation, of a determination to defer marriage until the ability to care for the family is acquired. It may be inferred from these facts that the past rate of increase for colored people, so numerous that society could not impart to them even the rudiments of reading and writing, is to be reduced to a selected increase which can be educated for the duties and responsibilities of a democracy.