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# The Negro in Detroit

## Section I INTRODUCTION

Prepared for the  
**Mayor's Inter-racial Committee**  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
**Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.**  
1926

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Jefferson B. Webb

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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1926 Mayor John W. Smith appointed the Inter-racial Committee of Detroit with the purpose of helping to bring about more harmonious relations between colored and white people in the city. In order to have a basis for specific recommendations it was decided to make a survey of racial conditions in Detroit. Since the Inter-racial Committee did not have the means to finance such a study, the Detroit Community Fund appropriated a sum for the purpose with the provision that the money be expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. On this basis a fact finding survey was commenced June 10, 1926, continuing over a period of four months.

The Mayor's Inter-racial Committee for which this study has been prepared is made up of the following colored and white citizens: Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman, Bishop Wm. T. Vernon, vice-chairman, Fred M. Butzel, Dr. E. A. Carter, Fred G. Dewey, Fred C. Gilbert, Donald J. Marshall, W. Hayes McKinney, Mrs. Chas. N. Novak, Mrs. C. S. Smith, Walter H. Stowers and Jefferson B. Webb.

## SCOPE AND NATURE OF SURVEY

### Area Covered

The survey has limited itself to the City of Detroit for the most part, but in some cases it has seemed advisable to cover the metropolitan area since social situations



do not limit themselves to official city boundaries. For instance, in defining a basis for the selection of a thousand sample families in Detroit, settlements of Negroes on the edge of the city and outside of the city limits were considered. Throughout the study occur instances where other statistics are given from agencies in Highland Park and Hamtramck. The figures on employment undoubtedly cover the metropolitan area of Detroit.

#### Time Covered by Survey

For convenience, July 1, 1925 was taken as the focal point for the material of the survey. For purposes of comparison, the census and mid-census years of 1910, 1915, 1920 and 1925 have been used. Detailed studies for the most part have been based upon the first six months of 1926.

#### Approach Of The Survey

The aim of this study has been to make a fact finding investigation of race relationships in Detroit. So far as possible the attempt has been made to gather and record data rather than to interpret it. It has been necessary in some cases to evaluate the material, but conclusions drawn have been based entirely on findings. In questions of opinion it has been the object of the investigation to discover and present various points of view. No recommendations have been made by

the investigators since the Inter-racial Committee is to use these findings for that purpose.

### PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

Within the limits prescribed by time and its resources the survey has attempted to study the important phases of the life of the Negro in Detroit dividing its work into the following main sections: Population, Industry, Thrift and Business, Housing, Health, Recreation, Education, Crime, Religion, Community Organization and Welfare.

Two of these sections, Community Organization, which apply to the problem of race relationships, by colored members of the staff who have to evaluate the achievements of the race in Detroit in these fields. The other sections of the survey have been handled from the standpoint of race relationships. Instead of a separate section devoted to that subject entirely, evidence of inter-racial conflict and cooperation have been brought out in the nine general sections.

### ORGANIZATION OF STAFF AND SOURCES OF MATERIAL

#### Paid Workers

The survey has been conducted under the cooperative direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the

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Two of these sections, Religion and Community Organization, which apply only indirectly to the problem of race relationships, have been studied by colored members of the staff who have endeavored to evaluate the achievements of the race in Detroit in these fields. The other sections of the survey have been handled from the standpoint of race relationships. Instead of a separate section devoted to that subject entirely, evidence of inter-racial conflict and cooperation have been brought out in the nine general sections.

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University of Michigan. Assistant directors, who have served from a period of four weeks to four months, were: Glen E. Carlson, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels, of the sociology department of Central Michigan Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh, of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. Miss Jessie Graham and Miss Lucille Fanning served as secretaries during the survey and Edward M. Turner, a senior at the University of Michigan, was employed as a full time assistant during two months of the investigation.

A number of individuals were used for specific jobs during the summer. Samuel H. Russell organized a group of 25 colored field workers, all of whom had college or social work training, to gather the data on the thousand sample families. Four clerks were employed for the tabulation of this material. Other smaller studies were made by individuals employed for the purpose.

### Volunteers

Volunteer workers, colored and white, were used for special studies and tabulation. Amongst these were about twenty seniors and graduate students from the course in criminology given by Professor A. W. Hayes at the

summer session of the University of Michigan. These students were used for special investigation under the supervision of assistant directors.

### Public Departments

The survey is indebted to a number of city departments, not only for cooperation in securing data, but for actual studies made. The survey could not have covered nearly so many phases of the subject without the help of these departments which responded to Mayor Smith's request for assistance. Following are some of the specific contributions made to the survey:

The Board of Health furnished a complete table of vital statistics and turned over to the survey the results of a study of Negro housing.

The Department of Recreation supplied material on public and commercial recreation.

The Board of Education furnished statistics on two particular schools studied and on night school attendance and material on classes in special education. The chief statistician of the Board of Education was invaluable in offering suggestions for research and various publications of the Research Department supplied much necessary data.

The Bureau of Records of the Detroit Police Department supervised the tabulations of records of arrests and convictions and furnished data on police officers and police killings.

Judges, police officials, probation officers, and officials of the House of Correction furnished a great deal of useful information.

The Department of Public Welfare compiled statistics on its clients and furnished case records.

Private Agencies' Cooperation

The Detroit branch of the Urban League rendered many services, to the survey and furnished much information from its files. The other colored social agencies cooperated to the fullest extent. Special mention should be made of the assistance given by the vocational department of the Y. M. C. A. }

The survey received valuable help from many of the general social agencies. Outstanding contributions were made by the Visiting Housekeepers Association, The Research Bureau of the Associated Charities and the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. The study has profited by the careful editorial supervision of Dr. Lent D. Upson and Robert P. Farley

The Employers' Association, The Associated Building Employers of Detroit, the Detroit Tourist and Convention Bureau, and the Detroit Board of Commerce assisted particularly in the Industry section of this survey.

Specific mention cannot be made of numerous other individuals and agencies who cooperated with the survey by filling out questionnaires, suggesting sources of information, and criticizing available data. Socially minded colored and white leaders gave generously of their time and effort in assisting the staff in its investigation.

### General Sources

While specific mention is made in sections of the report of sources of material, data was secured from the following general sources of information:

1. Census reports (Federal and Municipal)
2. Annual reports of City Departments.
3. Reports, files and records of institutions.
4. Schedules filled out by individuals and agencies.
5. Inquiries made by field workers.
6. Historical and general records found in the Detroit Public Library and the Library of the Detroit Community Union.
7. The daily general newspapers and the colored weekly newspapers.
8. The Negro in Detroit, a report made by Forrester B. Washington for the Research Bureau of the Associated Charities.
9. Reports of the State Department of Labor, Division of Negro Welfare and Statistics.
10. The Detroit Educational Bulletin.

### CONCLUSION

The directors of the survey desire to take this opportunity to express their appreciation of the assistance rendered by individuals and agencies in the City of Detroit. It has been impossible always to acknowledge fully the help which has been rendered and even the list of sources given above only furnishes a portion of those who have assisted.

This study of the Negro in Detroit is offered to the Inter-racial Committee for what it may be worth in its effort to bring about a more cooperative relationship between the colored and white citizens of Detroit. It is not presented as a complete document and its shortcomings are more evident to the directors than

they could be to any critic of the report. It is submitted by the directors with the feeling that it might well furnish the basis for a more complete sociological study of the Negro in Detroit.




# The Negro in Detroit

## Section II POPULATION

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## THE NEGRO POPULATION OF DETROIT

### I. HISTORY

That Detroit had Negroes as far back as 1760 is shown by a letter from a business man in Schenectady, New York, written to a correspondent in Detroit, referring to an order for additional Negro slaves. There is good reason to believe that Negroes made up a part of the population group from the earliest days of the settlement.

Official records for 1773 give 93 slaves in the Detroit settlement; by 1762 the number had grown to 179. Five years later the number had materially increased, for at that time the governor of Michigan organized a company of Negro militia.

Until 1807 the majority of Negroes in Detroit were slaves. At that time a decision was handed down that no new slaves could be brought into the settlement and that no slavery was possible except in the cases of persons in possession of British subjects on July 11, 1798.

By 1836 no slaves were held in Detroit. There were, however, some freed Negro slaves from the South and some fugitive slaves that had sought a refuge there.

#### (Foot Note.)

The sources of information for the material used in this division of the report are the Thirteenth and Fourteenth United States Census Reports. The Family Schedule Card data from 1000 Negro families interviewed; The Negro in Detroit, a report made by Forrester B. Washington in 1919 for the Research Bureau of the Associated Charities of Detroit, and various interviews with Negroes and whites acquainted with the history of the population growth of Detroit and with Negro sources of migration and Negro social classes in the city.

Negroes found safety in Detroit especially after the organization of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, and because of the feeling of security the Negro population of the city increased. With the passing by Congress of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, a Negro exodus from Detroit to Canada took place. With the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation a large proportion of the Negroes that had gone to Canada previously returned to Detroit because of the superior economic advantages that city offered. From 1863 to 1895 there was a marked improvement in the legal and social status of the Negro in Detroit. Many Negroes were able to secure excellent business and professional places in the city as well as positions of personal service.

In 1895 the fashionable classes among the whites changed their views of service and began to adopt the customs of Europe. Negroes were dispensed with, and whites filled their places. To find work for the colored people thus thrown out of employment an attempt was made to establish the Negro in industry, but little success was obtained at the time.

Shortly after 1885 an undesirable migration of race track followers, including many Negroes, came to Detroit with the development of the Eight Mile Road and Grosse Pointe tracks. With the abolition of the betting-feature in horse-racing in the United States, tracks were established in Windsor, Canada. The undesirable element remained. That this undesirable element was largely responsible for developing future discrimination and race prejudice is the opinion of many of the Negroes who were in Detroit at that time. The feeling against this class

of Negro has had its effect down to the present day.

The following tables give the history of the growth of the Negro population in Detroit as compared with the total population (1) by census decades (2) by percentages of increase in numbers.

Table 1

Population by Census Decades

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEGRO</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
1850	21,019	587	2.79
1860	45,619	1,403	3.07
1870	79,577	2,235	2.81
1880	116,340	2,821	2.42
1890	205,876	3,431	1.66
1900	285,704	4,111	1.44
1910	465,766	5,741	1.23
1920	993,678	40,838	4.11

Table 2

Increase in numbers and per cent

	<u>Increase in Total No.</u>	<u>% Increase</u>	<u>Increase in No. Negroes</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
1860	24,600	117%	816	139%
1870	33,958	73%	832	59%
1880	36,763	46%	586	26%
1890	89,536	76%	610	21%
1900	79,828	38%	680	19%
1910	180,062	63%	1630	39%
1920	527,913	113%	35,097	611%

This table shows that in only two of the seven decennial periods did the growth of the Negro population by percentage surpass that of the total population growth. In the 1850-1860 period the Negro population increased 139% as compared with a total increase of 117%; in the 1910-1920 period the Negroes increased 611% to the total 113% increase. The large increase in the first instance was probably due to some protection offered to Negroes by Detroit's proximity to Canada and by the general attitude taken by the city on the matter of slavery; the second

great increase period was due to the need for workers in war industries and in automobile manufacturing.

Table 3 shows the per cent of Negro increase in population as compared with the per cent of white increase for various North-central cities that were attracting Negroes during the 1910-1920 period.

Table 3

	NEGROES		Per cent of Negro In- crease 1910-20	Per cent of White Increase 1910-20
	1910	1920		
Cincinnati, Ohio	19,639	29,636	50.9	8.0
Dayton, Ohio	4,842	9,029	86.5	28.0
Toledo, Ohio	1,877	5,690	203.1	42.5
Fort Wayne, Ind.	572	1,476	156.0	34.3
Canton, Ohio	291	1,349	363.6	71.7
Gary, Indiana	383	5,299	1,283.6	205.1
Detroit, Mich.	5,741	41,532	623.4	106.9
Chicago, Ill.	44,103	109,594	148.5	21.0

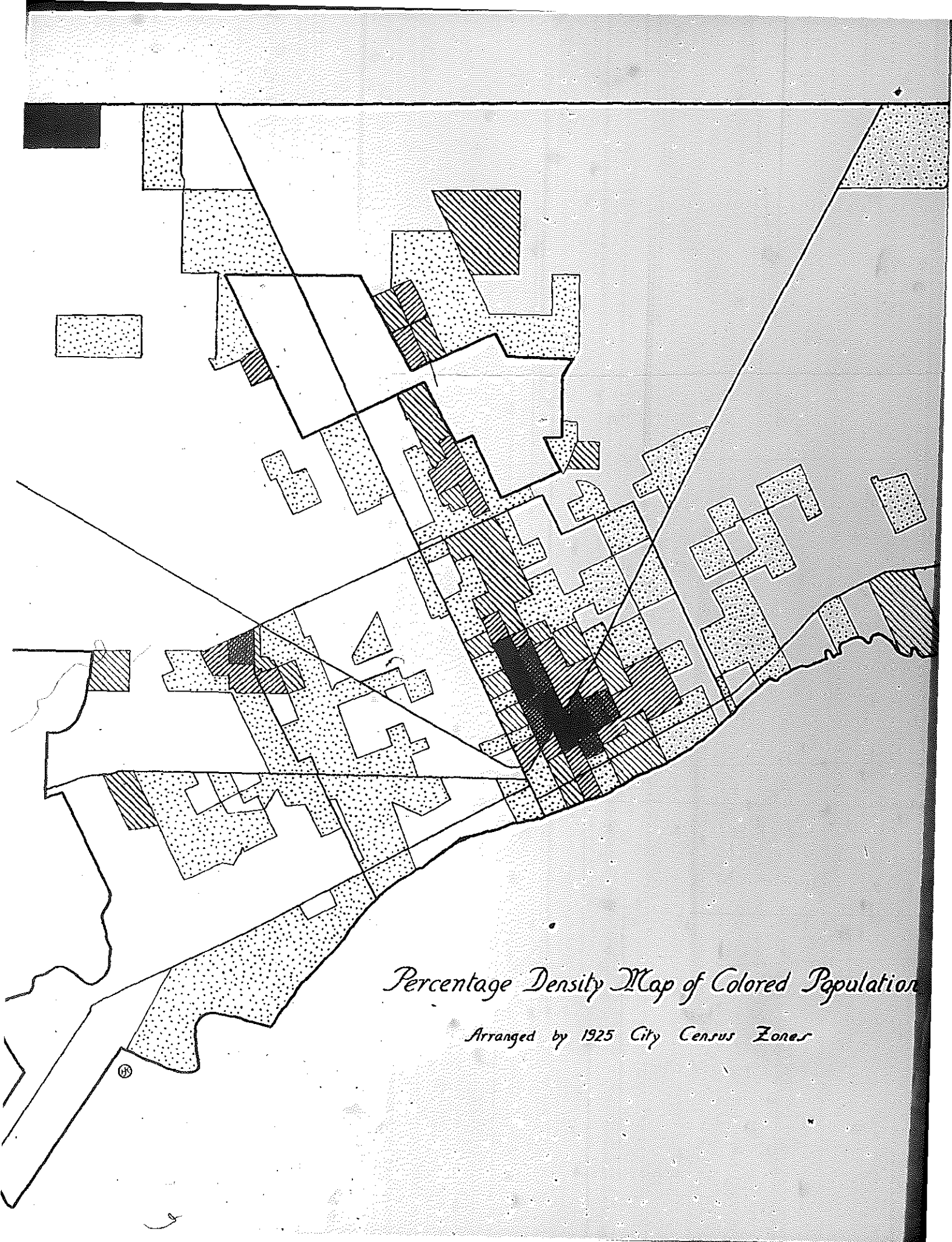
This table shows that of the cities listed, only Gary, Indiana surpassed Detroit in actual per cent of Negro increase.

IV. PRESENT POPULATION STATISTICS

Recent and accurate figures on the Negro population of Detroit are available through the Board of Education's Census statistics for 1925. These figures include the entire adult population as well as the child population of the city. Of the total population of 1,242,044, the United States Colored make up the fourth largest group, - 81,831. This is 6.59% of the entire population. The Negro population is surpassed in numbers only by the United States White, 596,041 in number or 48.15% of the entire population; the Polish which constitute 9.26% of the population, -- 115,069; and the Canadians, - 83,685 or 6.74%.



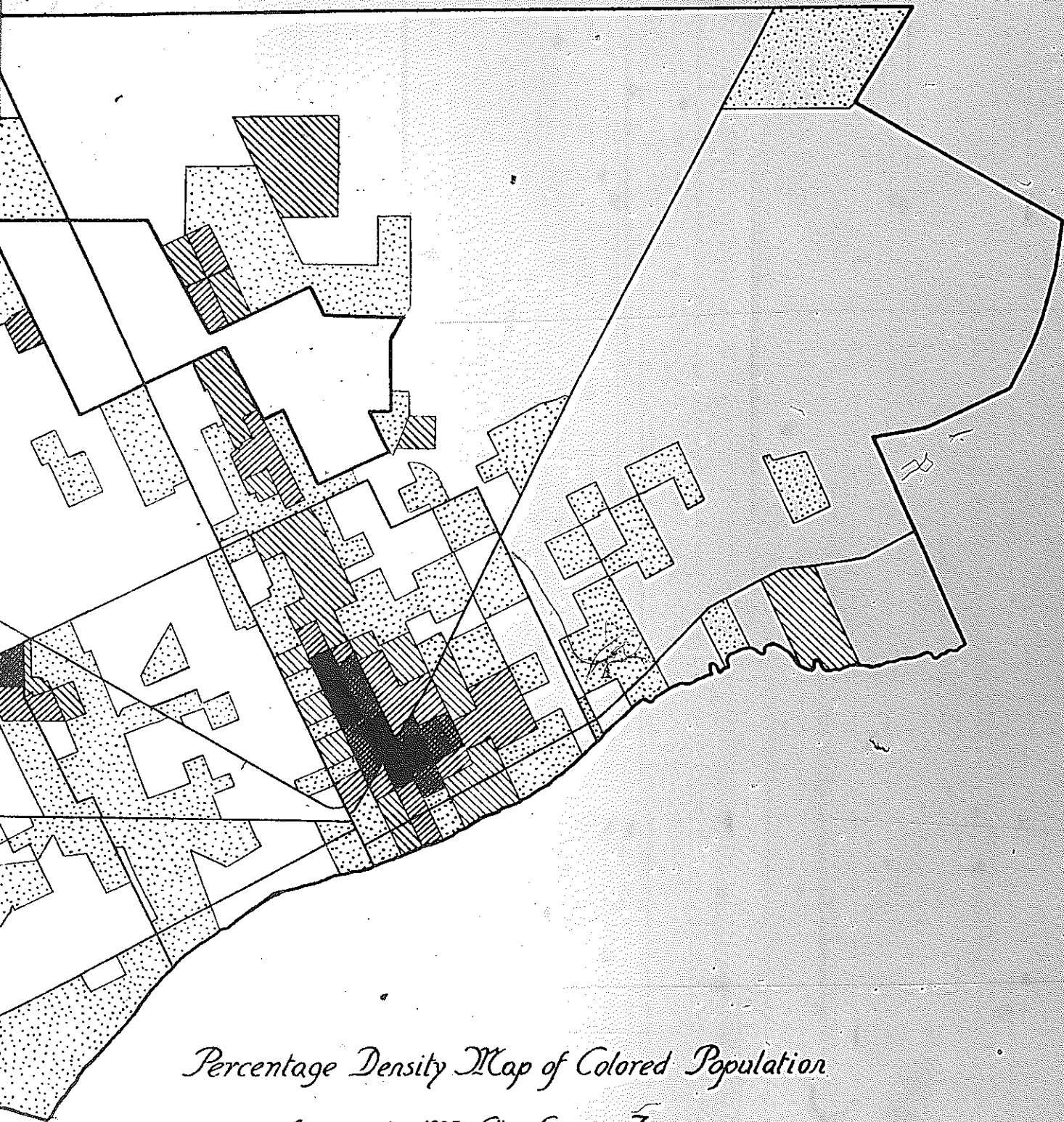




*Percentage Density Map of Colored Population*

*Arranged by 1925 City Census Zones*

®



*Percentage Density Map of Colored Population*

*Arranged by 1925 City Census Zones*

The growth in population numbers of Detroit has been phenomenal, doubling and more in the period between the last two United States Census; the Negro population growth has been more phenomenal for in 1920 it had increased 611 per cent. In the 1920-25, five year period, there has been a white increase of 248,366 or 24%; and a colored increase of 40,993 or 100%.

The statistics as taken from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth United States Census and from the Detroit Board of Education's Census are as follows:

Table 4

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total population	465,766	993,678	1,242,044
Negro population	5,741	40,838	81,831

Unfortunately, reliable and comprehensive population statistics for Detroit cannot be obtained for the year 1915. However, as the great growth of Detroit came after that time because of the development of the war and the automobile industry's growth, figures for that year would probably show a more normal rate of growth than the figures do for the total 1910-1920 period. In reference to the Negro population; observers of the Negro situation in Detroit say that the rate of growth was not great between 1910 and 1915 as it was not until September 1916 and the demand for labor caused by the World War that the real influx of Negroes into Detroit began. In May, June and July 1917 it was estimated that 1000 Negroes a month were arriving in Detroit. During 1918 the numbers arriving per month decreased because of the entrance of the United States into the war and the subsequent draft. In the summer of 1920 a worker for the Research Bureau

of the Associated Charities of Detroit met the three principal trains that bring the Negro migrants. While all the trains bringing migrants were not covered, it was found that during the week of May 3, 1809 Negroes arrived.

That the Negro population of Detroit is as a whole, comparatively recent is further borne out by the results of the Family Schedule Card.\*

Table 5

Length of time in Detroit

Under 1 year	8.5%
Under 3 years	22.1%
Under 5 years	52.8%
Under 10 years	84.3%

From these statistics it will be seen that approximately 85% of the Negro population has come to Detroit since 1916, the first year of the great influx.

Of 990 answers given as to the length of residence in Detroit, 428 gave less than five years, of these two less than one month, 13 less than five months, 70 less than one year, 136 less than three years and 207 less than five. Four hundred fifteen, had been in Detroit for a period of from five to ten years; 99 for a period of 10 - 20 years and 48 for a period of over 20 years.

This data shows that the population is a recent one on the whole; only a few "old Detroiters" remain from the days of slavery. Detroit at that time was one of the last steps on the road to

(Foot Note.)

\*Family Schedule cards, one thousand in number, were made from selected districts so that the older Negro and the recent Negro settlements received due consideration on the basis of numbers.

freedom to Canada. Because of its opportunities and because of its proximity to Canada, many of the Negroes fleeing the South settled there--some secretly and others coming back from Canada after the Emancipation.

The sex distribution of the population of Detroit shows a preponderance of males, which is attributable to the type of industrial city Detroit exemplifies. A disproportionate number of the sexes has social significance; sociologists agree that an uneven distribution has definite effects on the amount of vice and crime. The following tables taken from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth United States Census and the Board of Education census give the sex distribution by total population and by Negro population for Detroit.

Table 6

<u>SEX DISTRIBUTION</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total population			
Male	240,354	540,248	657,949
Female	225,412	453,430	584,095
Negro population			
Male	2,985	23,605	43,385 X
Female	2,756	17,233	38,446 X

X Estimated.

That the greatest disproportion between the sexes was during 1920 is brought out by the table.

Table 7

SEX DISTRIBUTION AND RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males to 100 Females</u>
<u>Total population</u>			
1910	240,354	225,412	106.6
1920	540,248	453,430	119.1
1925	657,949	584,095	112.6
<u>Negro population</u>			
1910	2,985	2,756	108.3
1920	23,605	17,233	137.0
1925	43,385	38,446*	112.8

\*Estimated

This table shows the inequality between sexes has been lowered during the 1920-1925 period. The great disproportion period came in 1920, the time of the great labor influx into Detroit industries. The Negro, in all cases, has a higher sex disproportion than the total population.

The marital condition of the population, fifteen years of age and over, by percentages follows:

Table 8

<u>MALES</u>	<u>SINGLE</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>	<u>WIDOWED</u>
1910			
Total	39.9%	55.8%	3.3%
Negro	38.1%	54.5%	5.3%
1920			
Total	39.1%	56.6%	3.3%
Negro	38.3%	57.1%	3.6%
<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>SINGLE</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>	<u>WIDOWED</u>
1910			
Total	32.1%	57.0%	9.9%
Negro	24.1%	56.9%	17.2%
1920			
Total	24.6%	65.4%	8.9%
Negro	14.5%	74.2%	10.0%

These statistics show that while in 1910 a smaller percentage of both Negro male and females were married than the percentage of males and females in the total population, in 1920 a larger percentage were married. In all cases, the percentage of widowed Negroes was higher than that of the whites.

The percentage distribution by broad age groupings for 1910 and 1920 is as follows:

Table 9

	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>5-14</u>	<u>15-24</u>	<u>25-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65 over</u>
1910						
Total	10.5	16.7	21.3	34.1	14.0	3.3
Negro	5.7	11.9	18.8	44.4	15.7	3.0
1920						
Total	11.3	15.8	18.1	39.4	12.9	2.5
Negro	6.1	10.0	22.5	50.1	10.1	1.0

This table shows an astonishing small percentage of Negroes in the "under 5" age group and a large percentage of Negroes in the "25 - 44" age group for both years. These statistics seem to indicate that the Negro population of Detroit is a young working-man's population today; the percentage of old people is small because they have been left South doubtless while the younger pioneer spirits have migrated north. Also the change in climatic conditions may be responsible for the small number of older, aged people. The small percentage of the "under 5" age group and from "5 to 14" age group was brought out in the 1925 Detroit City Census where it was found that out of 42 nationality groups the United States Colored had the smallest median family, - 1.335. The median family for the city as a whole was 2.129; for

the United States white 1,951. The reasons for the small number of children have been variously given as the change in climatic conditions, the age of Negro migrants, economic factors, venereal disease and failure to account for children left in the South.

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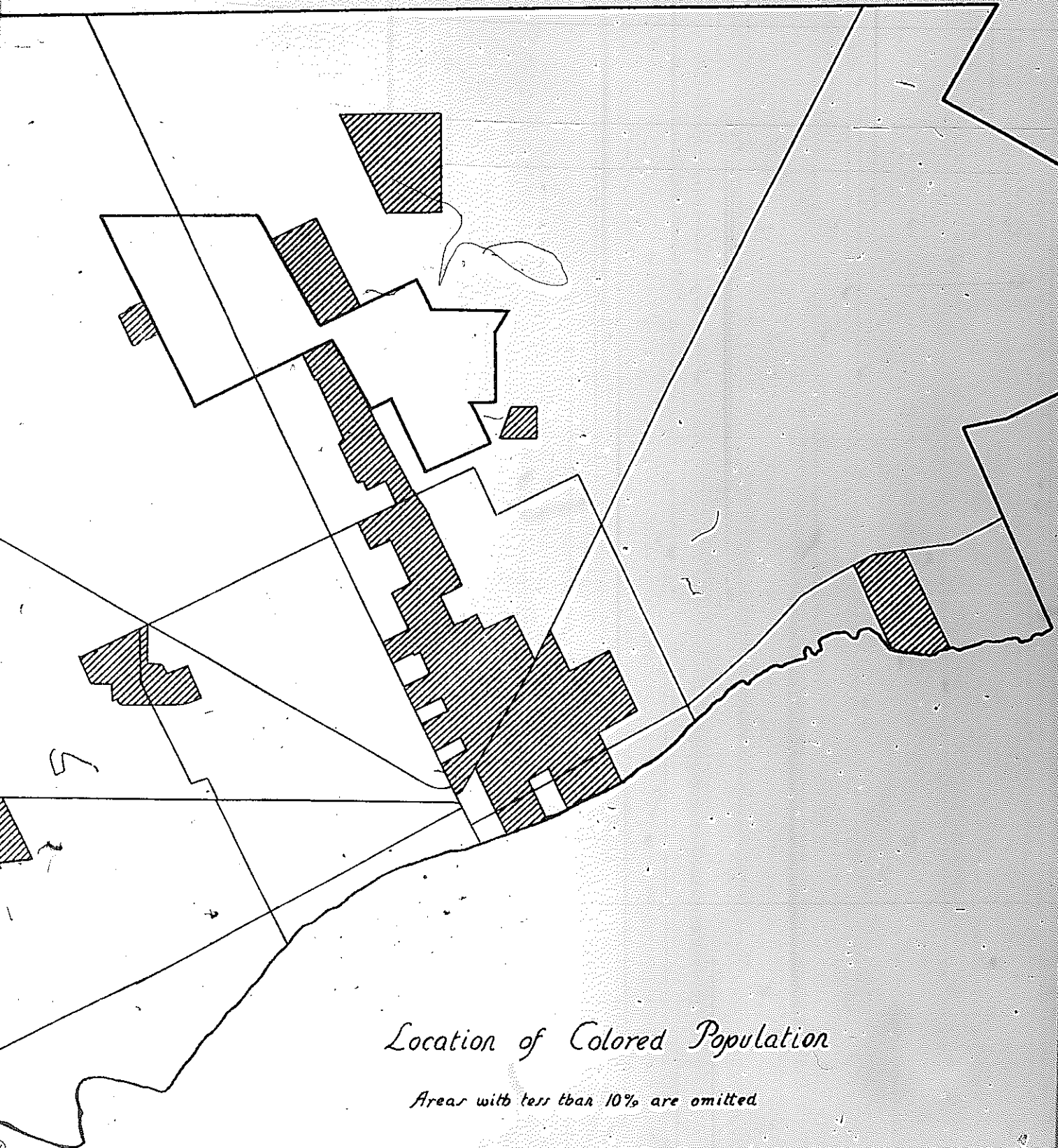
### III. THE VARIOUS NEGRO DISTRICTS

Until 1915 there was only one Negro district in the city, bounded west by Brush, east by Hastings, north by Leland and south by Macomb. This area was known as the St. Antoine Street District because that street bisected it. With the great Negro influx of the years immediately following 1915 the region became congested, new districts were formed and the old boundaries of the St. Antoine Street District were extended. As the St. Antoine District could not extend further west because of the commercial area of the city, it grew principally eastward and became known as the East Side Colored District. More recently it has been pushing its boundaries northward into the better residential areas. With this extension the lower part of the district which is the most congested has come to be known as "Black Bottom". The present boundaries of the area are the Detroit River on the south, Mt. Elliott on the east to Mack, and Chene to Harper and Harper to Brush on the north, Brush being the western boundary. This district, according to the school census zones, has a population of 54,170, that is, about 66 per cent of the Negro population of Detroit.

The next largest Negro area is variously known as the West Side District or the Warren-Tireman District, which has

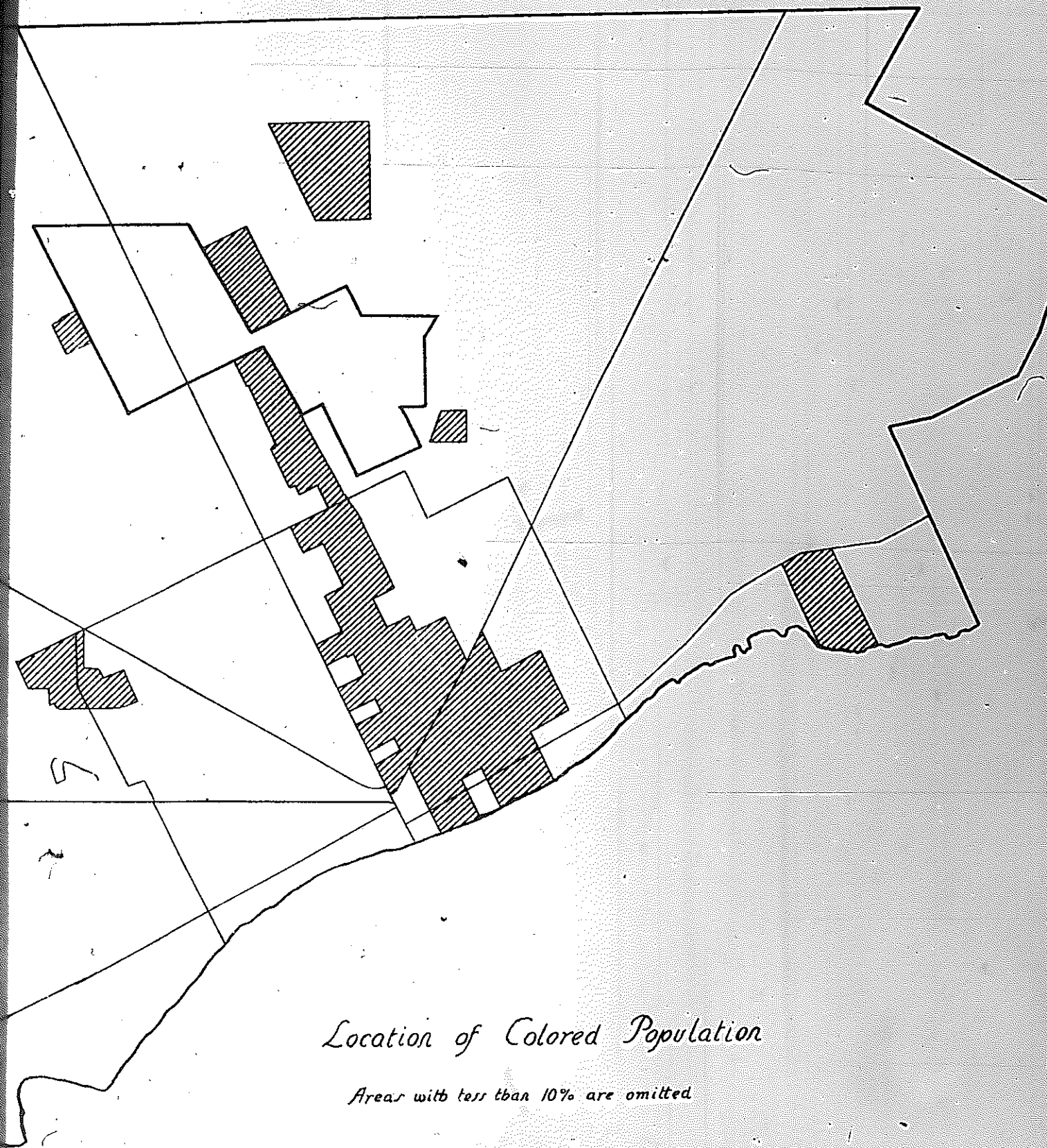






*Location of Colored Population*

*Areas with less than 10% are omitted.*



*Location of Colored Population*

*Areas with less than 10% are omitted*

grown up since 1915. It is bounded on the east by Grand River, on the north by Tireman, on the west by Whitewood and on the South by Warren with a few living south of Warren to Buchanan. The population is 7155.

The third largest area, known as the Holbrook-Clay District, is bounded on the south by Custer and Clay Avenues, on the east by the D. G. H. & M. R. R., on the north by Caniff, and on the west by Cardoni from Caniff to Holbrook and by Cameron from Holbrook to Custer. This district has a population of 5,147, but as it actually extends into Hamtramck; it can be considered as having a population of at least 6000.

The River Rouge-Ecorse District which is located in the two separate municipalities as named has an estimated population of 6000. This region lies to the south and west of the main Detroit commercial area. It is bounded on the east by Melvin, on the north by Bassett, on the west by Hyacinth to Twelfth and by Bonzano to the Michigan Central Railroad which bounds the area on the south.

The next district estimated at 4000 of which 1085 are in Detroit, is known as the Eight-Mile Road Subdivision. It is bounded on the south by Pembroke, on the east by Greenlawn, on the north by Northend and on the west by Sunset Highway and Wyoming. This development is very recent and a large part of

(Foot Note)

Nineteen districts were selected in Detroit for survey purposes. These districts in all cases were not a part of Detroit proper, but they belonged in "greater Detroit". Districts in River Rouge, Ecorse, Inkster, Eight-Mile and Quinn Road Subdivisions and in Highland Park and Hamtramck were included because in many ways the people in these districts are members of the Detroit Negro population.

this district is outside the limits of Detroit.

Another district is the Inkster Subdivision several miles west of Detroit on the Michigan Central Railroad. It has an estimated population of 2000 and is bounded on the east by Alfred and Bruce, and on the south by Butler, on the west by Irene and on the north by Cherry. It is a development of the past three years.

The North Detroit or Carpenter Area, with a population of 4504 is bounded on the north by the Detroit Terminal Railroad, on the east by Goddard, (except at its southern extreme where it branches along the Five Mile Road to Alpena) on the south by Carpenter and on the west by Greeley.

Highland Park and Hamtramck are independent municipalities within the City of Detroit.

The Highland Park Area, has an estimated population of 1200. It is bounded on the west by Twelfth, on the south by Grand to Thomson and Ford to Third, which is the eastern boundary; on the north by Manchester and Avondale.

Hamtramck has two Negro districts. The larger, estimated at 1200, is bounded on the south by Holbrook to Gallagher and by Evaline from Gallagher to Alpena which forms the eastern boundary; on the north by Amiens and on the west by Jos. Campau. The smaller, area known as the Denton and estimated at 1000, is bounded by Holbrook on the north, Jos. Campau on the east, Denton on the south and Lumpkin on the west.

In the southwest part of the city is the Thaddeus-Jefferson District bounded on the south by Jefferson, on the east by Pulaski, on the north by Thaddeus and on the west by Home.

The population is 631, which includes a large adjacent area of scattered families.

A second district near Thaddeus known as the Wabash District is bounded by Jefferson on the south, Post on the east, the Wabash Railroad on the north and Anderson on the West. Its population is 742, which district includes scattering families adjacent.

The Quinn Road Subdivision which lies between Quinn Road and Masonic Boulevard just west of Shook Road, has an estimated population of 500.

A Negro Subdivision, the Nevada-Conant, bounded by the Detroit Terminal Railroad on the south, Ryan on the east, Nevada on the north and Conant on the west, has a population of 291.

A settlement clustered about Milwaukee Avenue in the fork between the Grand Trunk and D. G. H. & J. R. R. has a population of 468. A district lying south of Jefferson Avenue between Algonquin and Clairpointe is estimated at 300.

A small district lying between Gratiot and Harper and Van Dyke has a population of 346; another small district within a few blocks north and south of Mack along McClellan from Bewick to Fischer, has 465 people.

A small district of 394, known as the Custer Area, lies between Chrichmond and Brush, Horton and Bethune. South of Jefferson clustering around Tennessee and Clairpointe is a district of 478.

A growing area is found north of Warren along American and Prairie Avenues; has a population of 452. Another area, is the south of Michigan from Casper to Lawrence, has a population

of 363.

The district boundaries, of course, are not definite as in most cases they are constantly being enlarged by the sale or rent of houses on the margin by whites to Negroes. Also, not all of the Negroes are found in these areas, for there is a large number scattered through the city. Some of these are the professional and business men living in wealthier communities; others are janitors living in buildings where they work and others are employed and live on the premises where they work. For instance, a large number of Negroes, 1770, live widely scattered east of the Havington-Crossley District and northward to the Warren Avenue District. By zones the percentage of colored is small-- from 1% to 10%, but the area is worthy of notice.

#### IV. SOURCES OF NEGRO POPULATION

The sources of the Negro population of Detroit are mainly the "black bottoms" of Western Georgia, Western Alabama and Tennessee. Of 986 birthplaces given on the Family Schedules 248 were in Georgia, 146 in Alabama and 94 in Tennessee. South Carolina followed with 74.

Table 10

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>TOTAL PERSONS</u>
Georgia	248
Alabama	146
Tennessee	94
S. C.	74
Miss.	71
Kentucky	57
Arkansas	31
N. C.	29
Louisiana	26
Ohio	25
Florida	23
Virginia	18
Detroit	16
Texas	14

Table 10, (Cont.)

Not Given	14
Missouri	13
Canada	11
Illinois	11
Indiana	9
W. Indies	9
Michigan (Not including Detroit)	8
Penn.	8
W. Va.	8
Oklahoma	7
Maryland	6
Mass.	5
Mexico	4
New York	3
Wash. D.C.	3
Kansas	2
California	1
Haiti	1
Cuba	1
Minn.	1
New Jersey	1
S. America	1
Wisconsin	1

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Total	986
Not Given	14

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Grand Total 1000

The source of migration is determined largely by railroads and by the tendency of the Negroes to move in straight lines. Negroes from the coast regions of North and South Carolina move north to Philadelphia and New York City; those from Central Georgia and North Carolina go to Pittsburgh; those from the western parts of the Carolinas and from Tennessee move north to Cleveland and Detroit; those from the states bordering the Mississippi River move to Chicago and St. Louis. Denver and Omaha draw their Negro population from East Texas and Oklahoma; San Francisco and Los Angeles from Texas. The migrants come on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to Cincinnati and from there to Detroit by the Michigan Central Railroad.



V. TYPE OF NEGRO IN DETROIT

The Negroes drawn by the eastern cities are, in general of a more educated type, first, because they came from states such as Virginia and North Carolina where the most money is spent on Negro education; and, secondly, because many of them come from families that have worked for generations as maids and servants in white families. These contacts with the whites have been an aid to them in their adjustment to a new environment.

On the other hand the type of Negro drawn by Detroit is, in general, of the rural, uneducated farmhand or unskilled laborer group. This fact is one of the most significant in the complex Negro problem of Detroit. Because of his numbers and because of the fact that Negroes are treated usually as a race and not as individuals the status of the Negro is low. One of the older Detroit Negro citizens said in an interview that

- (1) The underprivileged Negro from the rural South has been responsible for changing the Negroes' position in Detroit, and
- (2) That a proper discrimination between individuals is no longer shown on the part of the whites. Negroes are taken as members of a race and not on individual merits. That the migrant rural Negro has been largely the occasion for this changed attitude on the part of the whites.

That in general the class of Negro in Detroit is of an uneducated type is shown by the answers to the Family Schedule Card question: "How many years in school?" After subtracting 56 unknown and 33 not given, of the 911 replies, 81 had had no schooling, 15 had had one year, 20 two years, 65 three years, 106 four years, 99 five years, 110 six years, 63 seven years, 144 eight years. Thirty-five had spent nine years in school, 58 ten years, 10 eleven years and 51 twelve years. Fifty-four had spent more than twelve years, and in addition 73 had been in high school without giving the number of years. Only 34 had been in college; thirteen had attended a professional school, eight a trade school and nine a religious school. 593 of the 924 heads of families giving location of schools attended gave southern states.

Of 996 answers given, 61 said that they could not read; 62 that they could not write.

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Last out of Town Occupation

That the type of Negro in Detroit is uneducated is further illustrated by his former occupations before coming to Detroit. Of 828 people, 210 gave "laborer", 146 "farmer", 32 "house-work", 27 "truck driver", 23 "mechanics", and 21 "factory laborers" and "porters", 18 "construction work", 16 "clerks" and 16 "miners". Very few skilled trades or professions were given as previous occupations; the majority of answers given for people directly from the South were laborer and farmer. For Negroes who had come by stages from the south, their last occupation out-of-town varied to a great extent.

Reasons for Leaving South

Of the 741 heads of families giving reasons for leaving their homes in the South, 257 said that they came for "general better conditions"; 194 gave industrial opportunity and advancement as their main reason and 102 gave financial improvement; 24 wanted "a change" and 16 were dissatisfied; 22 came because their families "were here"; 20 came on visits, liked the city and stayed, and 20 came because their relatives desired that they settle in the city. Eighteen gave better educational opportunities for children as the motive; 13 gave social opportunities, 15 better protection, seven safety and 13 greater freedom. Six said that the reasons for coming were too numerous to mention.

That Negro labor has been drawn to Detroit by various forms of advertising employed by Detroit manufacturers in

the South is the general claim. These Negroes came to take the place of immigrants after the recent immigration legislation was passed; and some came as strike-breakers. Of the 884 stating "who paid carfare to Detroit", the majority said fares were paid by self or members of the immediate family. Only ten fares were paid by employers, 17 by friends and five were paid by the U. S. Government.

That the Negro population of Detroit is exceedingly mobile is brought out by the fact that of 926 answers to the question of "Other Detroit addresses" only 79 said that they had had but one address while in the city. 708 gave one other address, but it was evident from the interpretation of the cards that these people had probably had more but because they had forgotten former addresses, or didn't care to give them, or because the space for filling addresses was inadequate, the exact number of previous locations was not obtained. Constant search for better and more sanitary houses or for a different moral environment and change because of economic advancement make the mobility high.

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## VI. NEGRO CLASSES

While there are no distinct class lines among the Negroes in Detroit, today, a line of demarcation is sometimes drawn between the "Old-Detroiters" and the "New-Detroiters". The "Old-Detroiters" are the remnants of the old Negro families that settled in Detroit during the slavery period or immediately after. These families were assimilated into the white groups rather freely, at that time and as a result of social and economic opportunities they developed rapidly,

coming to hold eminent positions in the social, political and professional worlds. But with the growth in numbers of the Negro population caused by the influx of the rural southerners and with the consequent results that came out of this unadjusted class's attempt to adapt itself, a changed attitude on the part of the whites caused a change in the status of the Old Detroiters. The Old Detroiters recognized this and resented it, and this caused a tendency towards the establishing of a class line. The New Detroiters, in his turn, resented the attitude of the Old Detroiters; unaccustomed to the northern mores he had come with the expectation of receiving a friendly welcome, and he was disappointed to find what to him was "a cold world".

The New Detroiters felt also that the Old Detroiters were too much concerned with keeping their own advantages; they felt that the Old Detroiters might do more for the welfare of the group as a whole since some of them had positions of influence. The Old Detroiters resented also, in a few cases, the securing of certain positions by the newcomers which had been held as sacred to the Old Detroiters previously. Little cooperation was secured between the two groups for political purposes, and for the advancement of the group as a whole. The old Detroiters felt that in many cases the New Detroiters failed to follow the lead that they had obtained after years of work in politics; valuable contacts were not capitalized. However, all leaders interviewed on the matter felt that a better feeling was constantly growing between the Old and the New Detroiters. This is because the Negroes are beginning to recognize the value of cooperation; and the development of business enterprises in which both the Old and New are interested

has been one of the greatest factors in breaking down the barriers.

There are, as there are in every group, classes based on cultural interests. There are various social clubs that have come down from the Old Detroit based on cultural and professional interests. However, most of these groups have allowed the New Detroiter, who has as good a cultural background or the same professional interests, to enter.

In some cities of the South and bordering on the South, classes are maintained on degree of color, but this is attributable to the history of the mixture of the two races in these cities. Detroit has no class lines made on such a basis. Some members of the race that are light complexioned, do not fraternize with the more definitely colored. Because of their lightness of color, they can pass as white, and this increases their economic opportunities. However, there are no classes of such people with a distinct class feeling; it is merely a matter of expediency with a few.

There has been some class feeling exhibited between the Old Detroiters with their group life based on assumed superior culture standards and nativity, and the New Detroiters who have become wealthy commercially. This, however, is not confined to the Negroes but is also evidenced among the whites within the city.

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section III INDUSTRY

Prepared for the  
**Mayor's Inter-racial Committee**  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
**Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.**

1926

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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## INDUSTRY

### INTRODUCTION

The importance of the industrial phase of this Survey is brought out in the following summary of replies on the family schedule card. The heads of the 1000 families were asked whether they intended to make Detroit a permanent home to which 769 replied in the affirmative. Of this 769, 157 did not say why, but of the 612 who did, 306 or exactly 50% gave improved economic or industrial status as the reason for remaining here.

Of 797 who answered the question "in what way is your condition improved by coming to Detroit?"

376 answered "Financially" and  
55 answered "Industrial Opportunity".

To another question as to the reasons for not remaining in Detroit, only 3 out of 1000 gave "working conditions" as a reason for leaving. As to "faults with Detroit", 22 out of 1000 gave "working conditions" as a serious fault.

### SOURCES AND METHODS

The material on the Negro workman in Detroit has been secured from the following sources;

1. Through questionnaires filled out by the business and manufacturing firms in Detroit.
2. Material taken from studies made of 1000 typical Negro families in various sections of Detroit.
3. Personal interviews with employment managers in the principal large manufacturing plants.

4. Interviews with Trade Union leaders.
5. Interviews with Negro workmen.
6. Interviews with heads of public employment agencies.

### HISTORICAL RESUME

#### (a) Before the World War. 1910 Census.

In 1910 the total population of Detroit was 465,766 of which the Negro population was 5741, or 1.2%. At that time there were comparatively few colored workers in the industries of Detroit. Most colored workers were in domestic and personal service and in these fields immigrant labor was a keen competitor, the Negro taking the loss.

#### (b) At outbreak of World War.

The coming of the World War in 1914 did not help the Negro in this situation but soon the demand for labor in the war industries opened up a new field of service for him and gave him his first opportunity to become a real industrial factor. (See Table 4 below)

#### (c) After the World War. 1920 Census.

In 1920 Detroit had a population of 993,678 of whom 40,838 or about 4% were Negroes. Of these 18,472 were males over 21 years of age and 12,107 were females over 21 years of age. On the basis of a previous study (made in 1919 by F. B. Washington) it is a conservative estimate that there were 16,000 Negroes in the industries of Detroit. They were engaged in 36 skilled occupations, 79 semi-skilled occupations and 66 unskilled occupations. About 50% of

the skilled jobs were in the automobile factories.

(d) The 1925 Census.

Since 1920 the Negro population of Detroit has more than doubled. The 1925 census showed there were 81,831 Negroes in the city; 30,948 adult males, 26,009 adult females. The results of the present survey give the basis for an estimate that there are between 25,000 and 30,000 Negroes employed by Detroit establishments today.

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY TODAY

Questionnaires were sent to most of the Detroit business establishments. With one exception exact figures were given as to the number of Negroes employed, one large manufacturing firm giving only an approximation.

TABLE 1

RETURNS FROM EMPLOYER'S QUESTIONNAIRES

Total questionnaires sent to Detroit firms.....	276
Total replies received.....	151
Total firms employing Negroes (out of 151).....	120
Total number of Negroes employed	
(one approximation)	21,571
Males.....	21,004
Females.....	498
Sex not given.....	69

Table 2 and Table 3 show where these workers are employed.

TABLE 2

PROCESSES EMPLOYING NEGROES

Manufacturing and Foundry (one firm gave an approximation).....	16,549
Public Service.....	2,745
Personal Service.....	893
Building Trades.....	675
Department Stores, etc.....	295
Miscellaneous.....	414
TOTAL.....	21,571

TABLE 3

FIRMS EMPLOYING NEGROES

(Listed according to number of males employed)

<u>Name of Company</u>	<u>Number of Negroes Employed</u>		<u>Percent of Total Force</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
Ford Motor Co. (Approx) (Fordson)	6000		10%
" Highland Park Dept. of Public Works	4000		10%
Dodge Brothers	2200		40%
Studebaker Corporation	850		3.5%
Packard Motor Co.	530		10%
U. S. Post Office	500		-
Detroit & Clev. Nav. Co.	454	31	16.4%
Morgan & Wright	438		39%
Cadillac Motor Car Co.	393		12%
Mich. Copper & Brass Co.	300		5%
U.S. Aluminum Co.	275		30%
Murray Body Co.	230		65%
Midland Steel Products Co.	215		4%
Hudson Motor Car Co.	200		25%
Detroit Steel Products Co.	200		1.2%
Detroit Steel Casting Co.	180		25%
H. C. Christian Co.	179		54%
Whitehead & Kales Co.	179		27.8%
Parker-Webb Co.	175		20%
Chevrolet Motor Co.	172		33%
Buhl Malleable Co.	159		3%
(Name withheld)	140		36%
McCord Radiator Mfg. Co.	140		14%
Detroit Seamless Steel Tube	125		10%
Everett-Winters Co.	121		33.1%
			58.7%

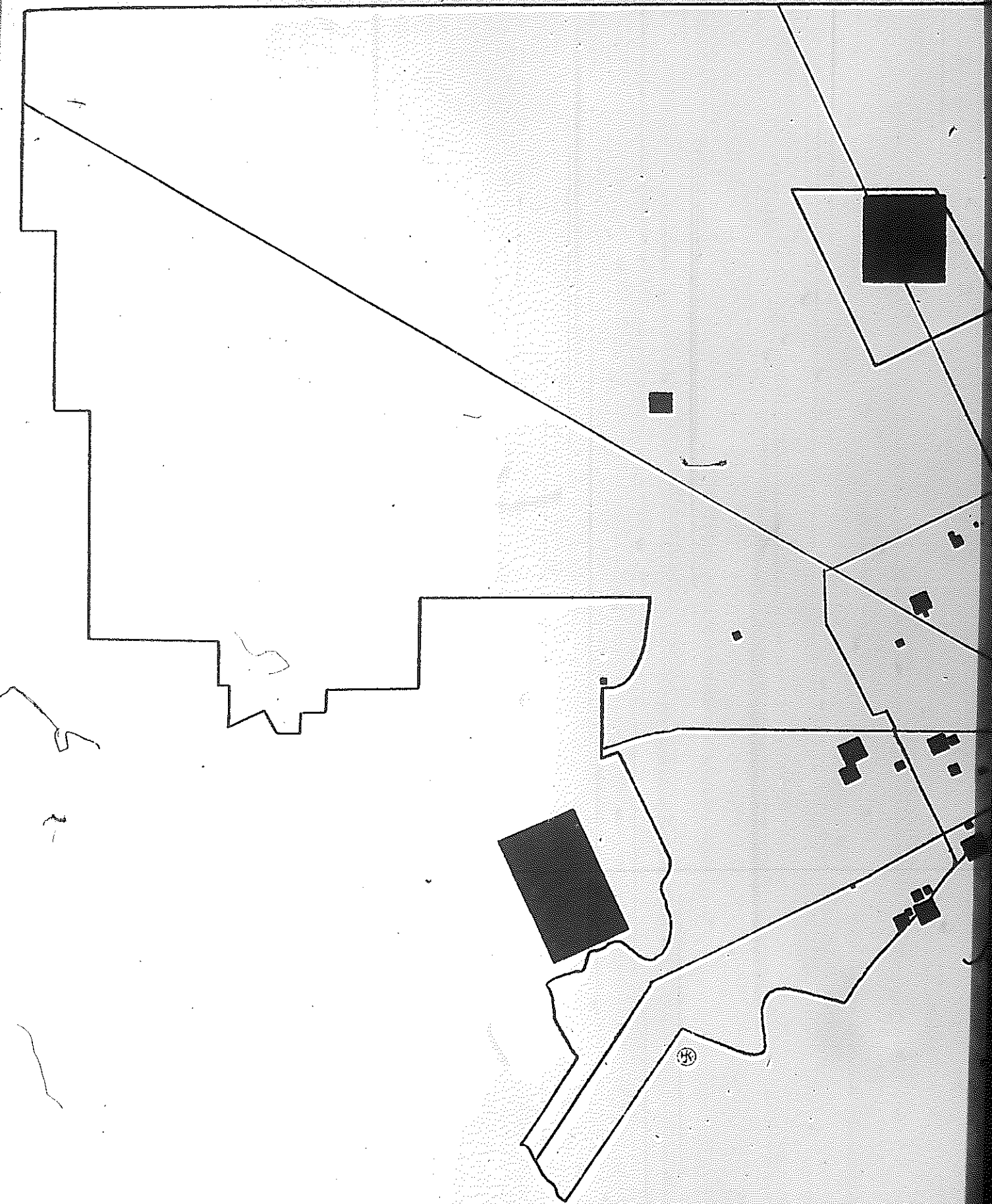
TABLE 3 - continued

Name of Company	Number of Negroes Employed		* Percent of Total Force
	Males	Females	
Albert A. Albrect Co.	120		15%
American Radiator Co. of Mich.	118		20%
W. E. Wood	118	(11)	61%
		(4)	
		(42)	35.9%
		(1)	1.4%
		(13)	14.6%
		(15)	37.5%
		(18)	18.4%
		(14)	26.6%
Tryant-Detwiler	111	(19)	43%
		(39)	36%
		(38)	57.5%
		(15)	38.4%
Riley Stokes Corp.	105		32%
Hupp Motor Car Co.	100		12%
U. S. Radiator Corp.	100		33-1/3%
Hotel Tuller	90	70	35%
Detroit Athletic Club	80	20	7%
Chrysler Corp.	75		1 1/2%
Bohr Aluminum & Brass Corp.	75		14.3%
Detroit Lubricator Co.	75		6%
Federal Mogul Corp.	75		100%
Hammond-Standish Co.	70		16%
Mich. Smelting & Refining Co.	70		15%
Webster Hall	67	8	40%
Timken Detroit Axle	65		21%
Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.	57	6	1.5%
Detroit Stove Works	55		5 1/2%
Detroit Forging Co.	50		25%
Burroughs Adding Machine	46		1%
Lincoln Motor Co.	40		1%
Bowen Products Co.	40		-
Crowley-Milner Co.	40	35	5%
Fisher Body Corp.	38	2	(20) .001%
			(20) 1%
Hotel Palmetto	* 35		33-1/3%
Peoples Outfitting Co.	34	9	8.7%
Capital Brass Works	30		8%
Atlas Foundry Co.	28		8%
Union Belt Co.	26		12%
Detroit Edison Co.	25		.3%
Michigan Valve & Foundry	25		10%
County Offices	24	4	0
D. J. Healey Shops	* 20		2%
Evening News Assn.	18	2	70%

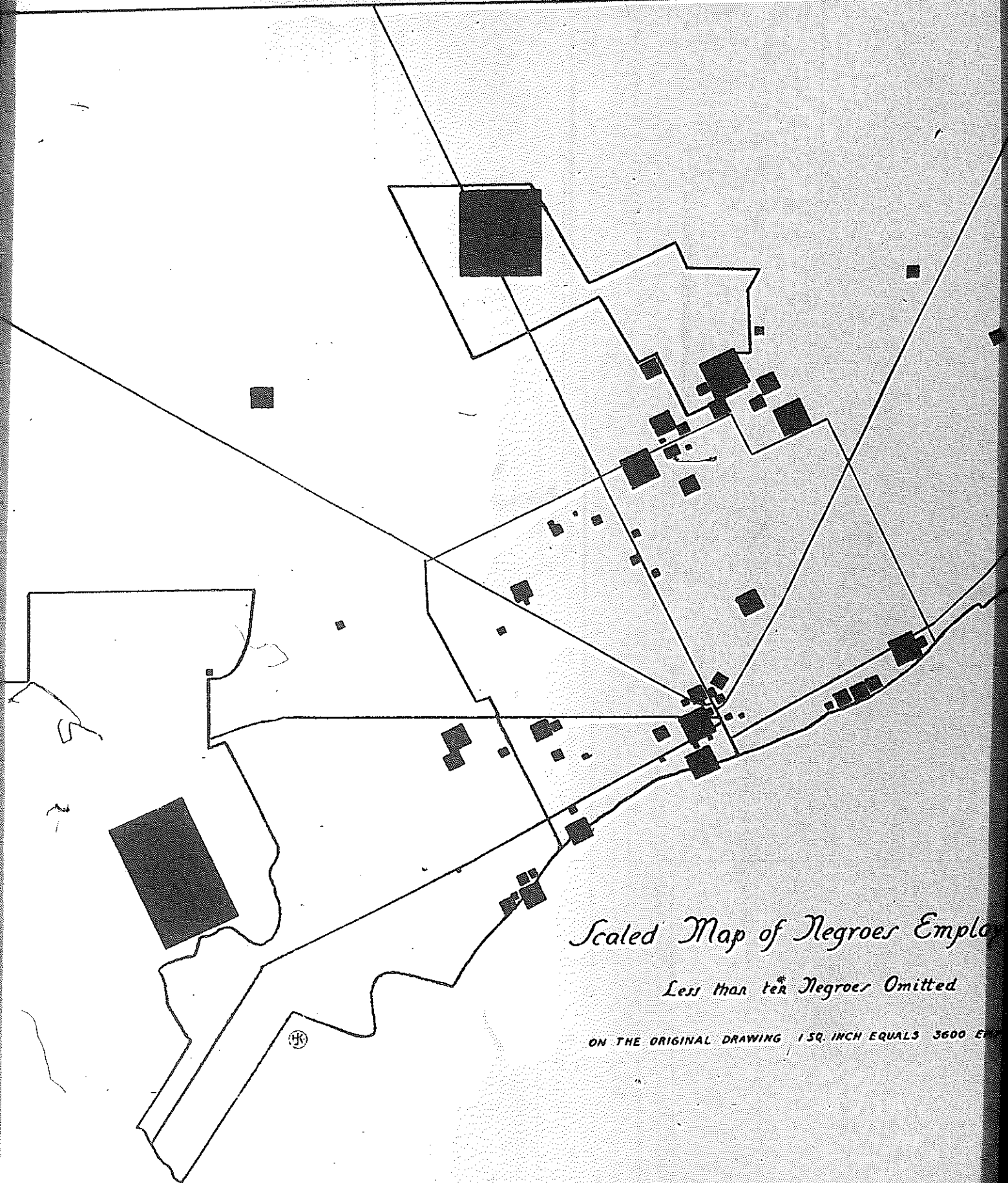
TABLE 3 - continued

Name of Company	Number of Negroes Employed		Percent of Total Force
	Males	Females	
A. W. Kutsche & Co.	18		(5) 10% (1) 33.3% (12) 63%
Peninsular Stove Co.	17		3%
Long Mfg. Co.	16		3%
Pemberthy Injector Co.	16		5%
Gemmer Mfg. Co.	14		2%
J. L. Hudson Co.	13	92	2.9%
Ternstedt Mfg. Co.	12		1/3%
Standard Peninsula Brawler	11		10%
Newcomb-Edicott	11	22	2 1/2%
Custodian Service	11	15	44.8%
Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Co.	10		1%
Corrick Brothers	10		78%
Michigan Bell Telephone Co.	* 10		.007%
Madison-Lenox	10	65	90%
Detroit Range Boiler & Steel	8		10%
Ireland & Mathews Mfg. Co.	8		2 1/2%
S. S. Kresge Co. (Store 1)	7	10	5%
Paige Detroit Motor Car Co.	6		1/2-1 1/2%
Diamond Power Spec. Corp.	6		1 1/2%
Great Lakes Eng. Wks.	6		1%
Schneider Brothers	6		15%
Himelhocks Bros. & Co.	6	6	4%
Times Publishing Co.	6		-
Forest Cleaners & Dyers	6	35	40%
Rickenbacker Motor Co.	5		-
Weller Laundry Co.	5	60	80%
Cable Draper Baking Co.	5		3%
Hotel Lincoln	4	22	45%
Hotel Brookins	* 4		66.6%
American Brass & Iron Co.	4		10%
Demby Motor Truck Corp.	3		2%
Richmond-Backus Co.	3	1	2%
U. S. Customs	3		2%
Park, Davis & Co.	2		.01%
Banner Laundry Co.	2		-
White Eagle Laundry	2		6%
Gregory, Mayor & Thom	2		-
American Lady Corset Co.	2		-
Detroit Graphite Co.	2		-
Bureau of Immigration	2	1	-
Russell Wheel & Foundry Co.	1		-
Terns Coal & Lumber Co.	1		-
Geo. G. Martin	1		33-1/3%
Cross Laundry Co.	1	2	3%

\* Sex not given







*Scaled Map of Negroes Employed  
Less than ten Negroes Omitted*

ON THE ORIGINAL DRAWING 1 SQ. INCH EQUALS 3600 AC.

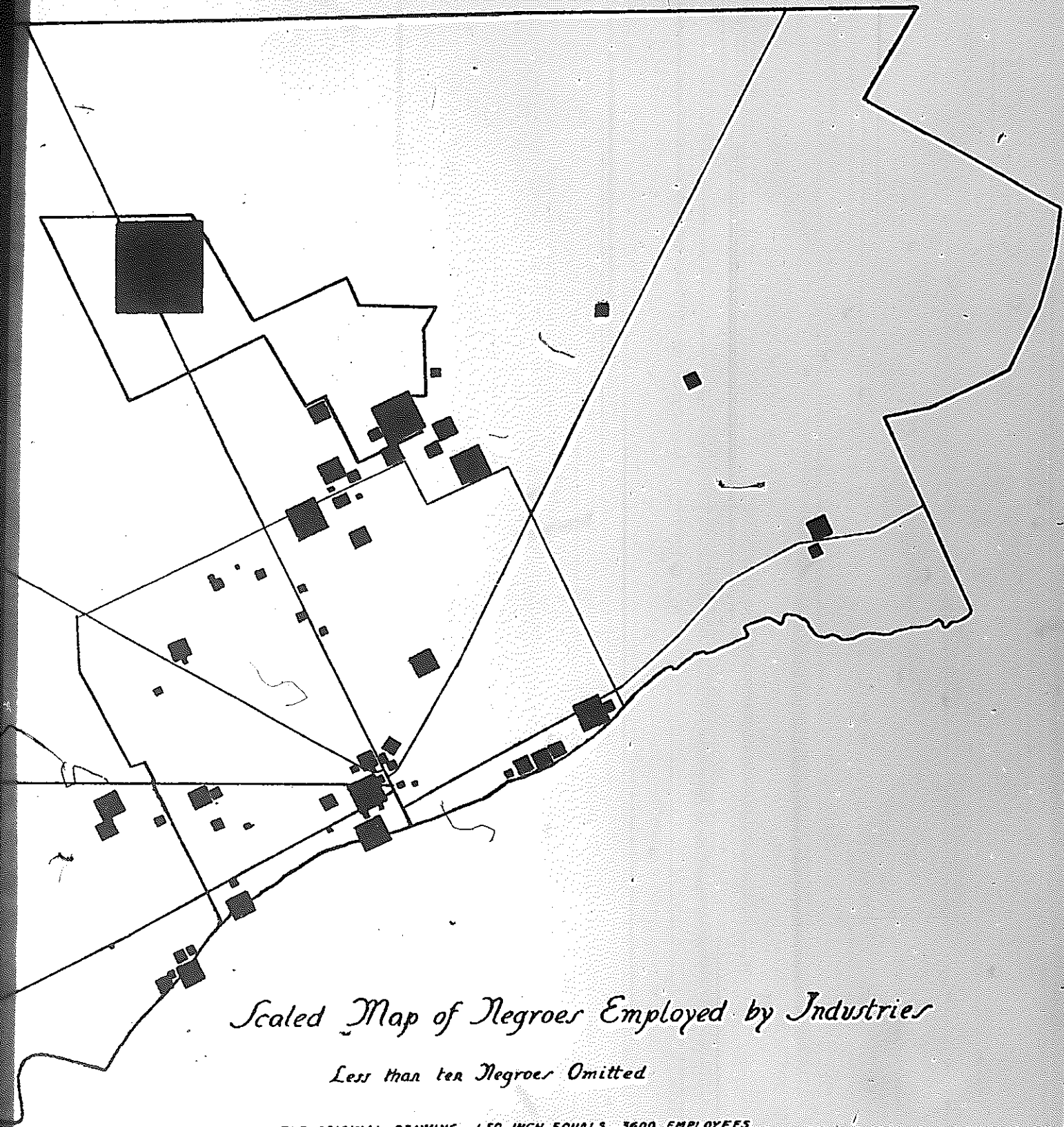


TABLE 3 - continued

TOTAL

MALE.....	21,004
FEMALE.....	498
SEX UNCERTAIN.....	69

CONTINUED USE OF COLORED LABOR

The statement has been made that many firms who once used colored labor have ceased to do so for some reason or other. But the replies show that the firms which began to use Negro laborers at the time of the war continue to employ them, and moreover, are using a very large percentage of the Negro labor supply in Detroit today.

TABLE 4

GROWTH IN USE OF NEGRO LABOR

(From Employer's Questionnaires)

		<u>Number Negroes Employed.</u>
Employed before war period	26 Firms	1,380
Employed during the war period	40 "	15,843 (1 approx)
Employed since war period	14 "	782
Not given	40 "	<u>3,566</u>
TOTAL	120 "	21,571

Of the 31 firms who replied but who have no Negro employees now, nine stated that they never did employ any, while the other 22 firms did not reply on this point.

There were some alleged cases of firms discontinuing the use of colored labor. Most of these proved on investigation to be myths, or if true were attributable to the normal reduction in working force, or to the reinstatement of returned soldiers.

#### WHERE THE NEGRO WORKS

##### (a) As a Common Laborer

In Table 5 are listed the processes in which the Negroes covered by this survey were engaged. The majority of Negroes are found in the processes involving unskilled manual labor. Many employers felt that all the Negro could do was manual labor, and many gave him <sup>no</sup> so opportunity to get into any other kind of a job. Suffice to say, the Negro is not only a good manual laborer, but he has proven his ability to do more skilled jobs.

##### (b) As a Skilled Laborer.

Although the great bulk of Negroes employed in Detroit are still used in many positions, there are many in skilled positions in industry. (See Table 5)

In three large automobile plants employing a total of about 11,000 Negroes, the Negro workman was found in practically every department. He is given an opportunity to make progress if he studies and shows himself capable. In these plants some colored men have supervisory jobs, although as yet the number of colored supervisors is not proportionate to the number of colored men hired.

There are many skilled Negroes in the various trade groups such as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, stationary engineers, structural iron workers, molders, auto mechanics, machinists, etc. Then there are the larger classes of skilled or semi-skilled such as clerks, barbers, motormen, chauffeurs, waiters, chefs, and so on. Add to this the large force of skilled and semi-skilled employed on skilled jobs in the automobile industry and receiving a fairly high wage, and Detroit's quota of Negro workers who are distinctly above the level of manual labor is considerable. A study of the returns on the questionnaires sent out indicates that about 35% of the Negro employees would come under the class of skilled or semi-skilled workmen when checked against the lists in Table 5.

TABLE 5

DEGREES OF SKILL--MALE

POSITIONS HELD BY NEGROES IN INDUSTRIES COVERED

(Classification given by Employers)

<u>SKILLED</u>	<u>SEMI-SKILLED</u>	<u>UNSKILLED</u>
Grinders	Spray painters	Truckers
Moulders	Steam heaters	Sweepers
Chippers	Yard Labor-Inside	Window Cleaners
Mixers	Rough grinders	Shoemen
Coremakers	Janitors	Common Labor
Reamers	Heat treaters	Yard Labor-outside
Oven Tender	Shipping labor	Foundry labor
Press operator	Riveters	Core labor
Barbers	Heaters	Sand Wheelers
Electric welder	Moulder helpers	Firemen
Cement Finisher	Casing cleavers	Metal cleavers
Carpenters	Cupola chargers	Salvage Dept.
Plasterers	Drivers	Frame Sprayers
Hoisting engineers	Furnace foundry	Sand Blasters

SKILLED

Assistant Washmen  
 Fireman-Engineers  
 Wringer and Washmen  
 Garage Mechanics  
 Mill wrights  
 Cooks  
 Chefs  
 Bakers  
 Clerks (U.S.P.O.)  
 Sub. Clerks "  
 Carriers "  
 Sub-carriers "  
 Spec. Del. Carriers  
 Chauffeurs  
 Truck Drivers  
 Border patrolmen

Elevator starter  
 Butcher  
 Deputy Sheriff  
 Tax Clerk

Probate court clerk

Asst. To Prosecuting  
 Attorney  
 Probate officer  
 Engineering Dept. Asst.  
 Asst. Accountant  
 Chief Accountant  
 Board of Supervisors  
 Foremen shipping Dept.  
 Head Porter  
 Decorator

SEMI-SKILLED

Retort Loaders  
 Caulkers  
 Machine operators  
 Garage workers  
 Machine moulder  
 Cut-off operator  
 Benchman  
 Teamster  
 Galvanizers  
 Melters  
 Sand cutters  
 Pouring gang  
 Picklers  
 Roll helper  
 Welders  
 Crane operator

Ladle Man  
 Moulder-2nd class  
 Plant laborers  
 Scaffold builders

General labor

Cleaning Room  
 Iron Mach. operator  
 Puss Ironers  
 Markers and sorters  
 Cutters  
 Time keepers  
 Annealing room  
 Meat cutters  
 Mortar mixers  
 Placing steel  
 Butcher's helper  
 Elevator operator  
 Waiters  
 Valet

UNSKILLED

Construction Labor  
 Car Unloaders  
 Shakeout men  
 Shop labor  
 Stock weighers  
 Car washers  
 Utility garagemen  
 Sand mill men  
 Excavators  
 Concrete men  
 Foundry shakeout  
 Paper balers  
 Shapers  
 Warehousemen  
 Packers  
 Coal & flour  
 handling  
 Dishwashers  
 Morgue attendant  
 Street repairers  
 Alley and street  
 cleaners  
 Helpers-garbage  
 truck

UNCLASSIFIED

Kitchen help  
 Houseman  
 Bell boy  
 Porters  
 Truck helpers  
 Night watchman  
 Bus boy

In the family schedules, to the question "Have you a trade"? The heads of the families replied:

Yes.....283  
 No.....541  
 Unknown..... 47  
 Not Given.....129

(c) In the Public Service

In the Public Service in and around Detroit there was 2,745 Negroes employed with a salary range of from \$12,000 (paid to at least one Negro head of a department), down to \$1200 per year. There are 486 Negroes employed in the Post Office, of whom 31 are women; 28 in the County offices of whom 4 are women. The work in these departments is that of accountant, clerks, carriers, etc. and the unskilled work of janitress, window washers, etc.

In the Department of Public Works there are some 2200 Negroes employed at an average wage of \$26.40 per week, with the exception of garbage truck drivers and collectors who receive \$6.50 per day, (members of Garbage Handlers Union). Most of the work in this department is unskilled labor such as street cleaning, repairing, etc.

In the Bureau of Immigration there are two Negro border patrolmen who receive \$1800 per year and one or two charwomen at 45¢ per hour.

In the Customs Service there are two Negroes employed as clerks at \$2000 a year, and one janitor at \$480.

In the United States Treasury Department (custodial service) of Detroit there are 16 Negroes employed, of whom five are women, mostly in the unskilled positions.

The Public Service seems to be a place where the Negro is entrenched and making progress. This is due no doubt to the fact that these positions are based on Civil Service Examinations and naturally he cannot very well be discriminated against. Those in charge of these departments say that

he makes a good employee, and gets along well.

WAGES

Information on wages received by Negroes in Detroit was furnished by the family schedules and by the replies from employers. The average monthly wage for the heads of the 1000 families was found to be \$146.65. Tables 6 and 7 indicate that the money wage of the Negro has been increased by coming to Detroit.

TABLE 6

WEEKLY WAGE IN DETROIT

(Heads of families)

\$5	2
6-10	4
11-15	25
16-20	28
21-25	65
26-30	159
31-35	177
36-40	169
41-45	94
46-50	34
51-55	24
56-60	4
61-65	14
66-70	7
71-75	3
76-80	3
81-85	0
86-90	1
91-95	0
96-100	3
Unknown	6
Not given	173

TOTAL

1000



TABLE 7

LAST OUT OF TOWN WEEKLY WAGE

\$5	14
6-10	47
11-15	112
16-20	112
21-25	95
26-30	64
31-35	36
36-40	24
41-45	16
46-50	7
51-55	7
56-60	2
61-65	2
66-70	2
71-75	0
76-80	0
81-85	0
86-90	0
91-95	0
96-100	1
Not given	435
Unknown	24
TOTAL	1000

From the employers' schedules has been computed the average wage rates per hour and the number of firms paying same with the total number of men to whom it was paid.

TABLE 8

AVERAGE WAGE RATES, EMPLOYERS' SCHEDULES

<u>Average Rate per Hours.</u>	<u>Firms</u>	<u>Employing</u>
80 to 90¢ and over. (note)	5	43 men
70 to 79¢	4	384 "
60 to 69¢	17	1,111 "
50 to 59¢	52	7,207 "
40 to 49¢	15	1,045 "
Under 40¢	1	3 "
Other than by the hour	16	699 "
Not given	9	1,079 "
TOTAL	119	11,571 "

Note: The average rate per hour at Fords at this time (July 7, 1926) was 85¢ per hour. They employed about 10,000 Negroes in all parts of the plant but their average wage rate could not be determined.

A conservative estimate would place the average wage at 55¢ per hour for the working group. The average monthly wage for heads of families as brought out in the 1000 families studied was found to be \$146.55, but this included professional and business men. Where the Negro can break into the skilled trades and especially if he is unionized, the Negro receives excellent wages, usually the same as whites. Little, if any, discrimination as to wages on the same job was found as shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9  
REPORTED DIFFERENCES IN WAGES ON SAME JOB  
(From Employers Schedules.)

<u>ANSWERS</u>	<u>ANY DIFFERENCE SHOWN?</u>	<u>EMPLOYING</u>
109	No	20,568 (approx)
4	Yes	439
<u>7</u>	Not given	<u>564</u>
120		21,571

Many employers stated accurate comparisons were difficult because Negroes and whites were not working on the same jobs. None of the Negro workers who were interviewed knew of discrimination in pay on the same job. Several of these men stated that they were not working on jobs with white men, or else that white men did not do the same kind of work. In talking with some employment managers instances were found where the job was slightly changed or the process broken up so that the Negro's work was not quite the same and for this he is at times paid less money. Some employment managers stated that

Negroes were given the poorer jobs.

While little discrimination against Negroes in the matter of wages was discovered it appears that the Negro group as a whole is working on the more inferior jobs and, therefore, earning less proportionately as a group. In addition it is stated by social workers and employers that there is a marked difference in the real wages of the Negroes compared with the whites.

The high cost of housing for the Negro is a heavy drain upon his money wages. It was also pointed out by a Negro leader that the scale of living for a colored man is frequently higher than that of white men in a similar job because the Negro usually has to live up to a more important position in his community. The Negro workman frequently has a position of leadership in his lodge or his church to which he has to adjust his mode of living. The budgets prepared by the Visiting Housekeepers Association which are to be found in the section on Welfare throw some light on this matter.

#### HOURS

There is no apparent discrimination between white and Negro in the hours of work on the same job. Often, however, according to two employment managers, a Negro has to take jobs which require longer hours of work, or poorer hours, since they are the only jobs he can get which will bring him a living wage. Many of his jobs (janitors, waiters, firemen, etc.) are tedious, long hour, poor hour jobs, but the Negro has to take them because he can get nothing better.

The market demand for his labor in the better jobs is limited. Table 10 and 11 show that long hours are not the rule for the Negro and that he works fewer hours in Detroit than in his previous residence.

TABLE 10  
HOURS DAILY IN DETROIT (Family Schedules)

<u>Hours</u>	<u>Individuals</u>	<u>Percent</u>
3	1	0.1%
4	1	0.1%
5	4	0.5%
6	9	1.1%
7	26	3.2%
8	451	56.4%
9	163	20.4%
10	84	10.5%
11	18	2.2%
12	33	4.1%
13	3	0.4%
14	2	0.2%
15	2	0.2%
16	3--800	0.4%
Indefinite	3	
Not given	197	
TOTAL	1000	

TABLE 11

LAST OUT OF TOWN HOURS DAILY (Family Schedules)

<u>Hours</u>	<u>Individuals</u>	<u>Percent</u>
3	--	--
4	--	--
5	1	0.2%
6	4	0.8%
7	6	1.2%
8	148	30.2%
9	58	10.8%
10	162	33.0%
11	11	2.2%
12	88	17.9%
13	0	--
14	12 --490	2.5%
15	-	-
16	-	0
Unknown	9	
Not given	<u>501</u>	
TOTAL	1000	

EFFICIENCY OF THE NEGRO

The following table indicates the employer's opinion of the comparative efficiency of their colored and white employees.

TABLE 12

EFFICIENCY OF NEGROES AS COMPARED TO WHITE WORKERS

ACCORDING TO OPINIONS OF EMPLOYERS

<u>Degree of Efficiency</u>	<u>Firms</u>	<u>Employing</u>
More Efficient	11	5,102
Same Efficiency	68	12,631 (one approx)
Less Efficient	24	2,729
Not Given	<u>16</u>	<u>1,109</u>
TOTAL	120	21,571

This indicates that two-thirds of the employers, hiring 82% of the men, believed that their colored workmen were as efficient as white workers on the same type of work or were even more so.

REGULARITY OF THE NEGRO

In comparing the regularity of the two groups there is more certain data to use, as regularity can be definitely checked. The following table shows the results of a comparison of regularity of two groups.

TABLE 13

REGULARITY OF NEGRO AS COMPARED TO WHITE WORKERS

ACCORDING TO OPINIONS OF EMPLOYERS

<u>Degree of Regularity</u>	<u>Firms</u>	<u>Employing</u>
More Regular	7	199
Same	68	8,864
Less	33	11,587 (Note)
Not given	12	921
TOTAL	120	21,571 (One Approximation)

(Note--One group of about 6000 men were reported "slightly more irregular". This materially swells this group.)

These returns indicate that the majority of employers feel that the Negroes are as regular and in some cases more regular than the white workers on the same job. But on the other hand the groups of employers who believe Negroes are less regular, although in the minority, hire the greatest number of Negroes, and include the group of more skilled and better paid jobs. On the whole the comparison is less favorable to the Negro in this case than it was in the reports on efficiency. The conclusion is that the Negro workers, as a whole, are slightly less regular than a like group of white workers.

Several factors which effect the regularity and efficiency of Negro workmen were mentioned by employers who were interviewed on this subject. Several employers stated that when their nurses visited sick colored employees they were found in living conditions which were so bad that they felt them responsible for the unsatisfactory working habits of the individuals. Several others stated that if white men had to work in the same sort of environment as the Negro they would be very inefficient and irregular. These employers felt that the Negro was doing well considering the difficulties he had to face.

A number of employers mentioned that the efficiency and regularity of the Negro workman who has recently come from the South is considerably affected by his southern working habits. They say that the southern workers have acquired a habit of intermittent occupation and along with this have developed an indifferent attitude toward the job. They expressed the feeling that the Negro who works in the North for some time gradually gets away from his southern habits. Many employers expressed the idea that the northern Negroes are good workers, but that the newcomers from the South do not measure up to the same standard.

#### Turnover of Negro Labor

The replies of employment managers regarding comparative turnover in Negro and white groups were very difficult to tabulate. The following table attempts to list the replies. Some employers gave a percentage and a comparison with the white workers. Where a percentage was given the comparison was omitted.

TABLE 14  
TURNOVER OF NEGRO LABOR  
(according to employers)

<u>AMOUNT OF TURNOVER</u>	<u>FIRMS</u>	<u>EMPLOYING</u>
Up to 10%	8	7,053 men
11 to 30%	8	711
31 to 50%	4	451
51 to 70%	-	-
71 to 90%	1	1
90% and over	-	-
Same turnover	3	4,175
No Turnover	15	250
Not given	81	8,930
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>21,571 (two approx)</b>

The two factories employing the largest number of Negroes, 6,000 and 4,000, reported their Negro labor turnover in the former case "better (less) than for whites" and in the latter case "same as for whites". Another plant employing nearly a thousand Negroes stated that 40% of their colored employees had been with them over two years and another 20% over one year. These three plants represent firms paying higher wages to the Negro than the average.

The following tables from the family schedules present an index of the length of time the heads of families have held their present jobs and the number of other positions which they have held. As shown in Table 15 over 50% of these heads of families have been on the same job for three or more years.



TABLE 15

LENGTH OF TIME IN PRESENT POSITION

<u>TIME</u>	<u>INDIVIDUALS</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>INDIVIDUALS</u>
26-30 years	4	3 years	126
21-25 "	4	2 "	96
16-20 "	5	1 "	83
15 "	6	11 months	0
14 "	5	10 "	0
13 "	2	9 "	11
12 "	6	8 "	9
11 "	5	7 "	7
10 "	21	6 "	15
9 "	20	5 "	13
8 "	30	4 "	11
7 "	63	3 "	20
6 "	50	2 "	11
5 "	58	1 "	22
4 "	100	Unknown	17
		Not given	<u>180</u>
		TOTAL	1000

TABLE 16

OTHER POSITIONS IN DETROIT

<u>Number of other positions</u>	<u>Individuals who have Held Same.</u>
None	342
1	302
2	113
3	55
4	23
5	11
6	1
7	3
Unknown	15
Not given	<u>137</u>
TOTAL	1000

THE DETROIT NEGRO AND ORGANIZED LABOR

It was very difficult to get data upon the colored man's standing in the Detroit labor unions because the head of the Detroit Federation of Labor refused to cooperate with this survey. Individual unions were approached, however, and the following table represents Negro membership in unions to the extent that information was volunteered.

TABLE 17

NEGRO UNION MEMBERSHIP IN DETROIT

<u>Union</u>	<u>Number colored members.</u>
Steward's Union (Gt.Lakes Shipping, Etc.)	1,000
Laundry workers (women)	300
Laborers Union	300
Bricklayers	200
Plasterers & Cement Mixers	100
Carpenters	73
Street Car men	45
Moulders	30
Hoist & Portable Engineers	10
Garment Workers	3
Typographical	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	2,065

(Note - The Garbage Truck Drivers and Helpers Union is strongly organized and nearly 100% colored, but its membership could not be ascertained.)

Two questions were asked on the family schedules regarding trade union membership. These results are given in the following tables.

TABLE 18

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AMONG HEADS OF FAMILIES

(From Studies of 1000 Families)

No Union membership.....	842
Belong to some union.....	34
No answer.....	<u>124</u>
TOTAL	1000

TABLE 19

REASON FOR NOT BELONGING TO A UNION

Have no trade.....	175
No need to join.....	323
Too old, too much expense, or impossible.....	22
Did not join because of segregation.....	39
No answer.....	<u>407</u>
TOTAL	966

In the above sample slightly more, that is, thirty-nine, claim to have been prevented from joining unions by discrimination than the number, 34, who claim to be affiliated with labor unions.

Some of the labor leaders interviewed look upon the Negro as a strike breaker even though they frequently claim that he is such because he is the unconscious tool of a clever employer. Several labor leaders say that Negroes are taken in solely because they constitute a menace when outside the union. Both a white and a colored labor leader claim that the Negro social agencies urge the Negro to be a "scab" and use as an argument the financing of the employment department of the Urban League by the Employers Association.

On the other hand, many union officials were high in their praises of Negro members. Time and again these officials stated that their colored members were as loyal and staunch union men as were the white members. In some cases union officers thought the Negro made a better member, came out to meetings more often, paid his dues better, and took a more active part in union affairs.

Union officials were divided on what to do about the colored worker. The union which took him in admitted that it did not want him, in many cases. At other times it frankly stated that it could not give the Negro equal treatment, basing this discrimination on the employer's refusal to accept colored workmen. Other unions, while they barred the Negro by various devices, wanted him unionized in separate locals of his own. Some officials expressed a willingness to spend both time and money to help the colored men organize such locals. The unions which admit colored men object to this latter plan on the ground that it dissipates the strength of the union and also wastes a valuable opportunity for colored and white union members to get together and thrash out their common problems, as well as misunderstandings. In two joint unions, with a membership of over 400, this mixed type of union has been found very successful, and no trouble has arisen between colored and white members of with employers.

THE NEGRO WOMAN AND DETROIT INDUSTRY

While it is known that there are Negro women working in the industries, stores, shops, and homes, of Detroit, it is very difficult to locate them definitely. The questionnaires to employers did not reach many of the smaller firms who may employ colored women, nor the Negro women in domestic service. The family schedules furnish material for the following tables.

TABLE 20

WORKING WOMEN IN DETROIT AS SHOWN ON  
1000 FAMILY SCHEDULES

Number of wives working	85	Av. weekly wage	\$14.53
Number of daughters working	<u>49</u>	" " "	15.98
TOTAL	134		

TABLE 21

OCCUPATIONS OF WIVES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

Beauty Parlor	3
Cigar Roller	1
Clerk	3
Dress-maker	4
Dental Asst.	1
Housework	33
Hotel	1
Laundress	13
Maid	10
Nurse	6
Presser	1
Storekeeper	5
Waitress	1
Teacher	1
Not given	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	85

TABLE 22

OCCUPATIONS OF DAUGHTERS

Clerk	2
Elevator Operator	1
Housework	23
Hotel	1
Laundress	1
Maid	7
Music Teacher	1
Social worker	1
Stenographer	2
Switchboard Operator	1
Not given	7
<hr/>	
TOTAL	49

TABLE 23

SKILL OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

SKILLED

Stenographers  
 Typists  
 Clerks  
 Elevator operators  
 Trimming girls  
 (in packing house)

SEMI-SKILLED

Floor maids  
 Table maids  
 Pressers

UNSKILLED

Maids (rest rooms)  
 Charwomen  
 Cleaning and spotting  
 Chambermaids  
 Service girls  
 Kitchen help

It is estimated by Negro leaders that there are about 500 Negro women in the laundry establishments (including hotel laundries) throughout the city. The Laundry Worker's Union has 300 women members. The next largest group is found in the hotels, restaurants and similar places of work. Another large group is found in the garment trades, meat packing establishments, etc. A smaller number are found in stores, office buildings as elevator operators, maids, service girls, etc; while there is a still smaller group (about 150) composed of teachers, social workers, skilled clerks, stenographers, etc.

From all sources it may be estimated that there are from two three thousand colored women employed variously in Detroit.

The head of the Womans Occupational Bureau, State Department of Labor, says the colored woman in Detroit who has to work faces a very serious situation. In the nature of the industries of the city, not many positions are open to her. Instances of skilled, well-educated colored women who were without work, or who had to take work which was far beneath their training and ability were brought to the attention of the survey.

It was pointed out by several individuals who try to place colored women that it is particularly difficult to secure jobs for them in offices. The employers, they say, give the excuse that their white office staff will not stand for the introduction of Negro labor. Instances were given, however, where offices had employed trained colored girls and no difficulty had arisen.

The secretary of the colored Y. W. C. A. pointed out that there is little housing available for the young single colored girl. The Y. W. C. A. has rooms for 36 and the total capacity of all agencies in Detroit can provide for only 90 colored girls. Those who cannot be accommodated in these facilities have to live frequently in over-crowded homes, often in the vice districts, where they pay high rent.

A social worker pointed out that she has difficulty in placing colored domestics because a great many white people will not take them. Several people interviewed claimed that

there is a need for a school to train colored girls for housework and a bureau to vouch for their efficiency and to take care of placements.

### NEGROES IN SUPERVISORY CAPACITIES

The Negro is used little in supervisory jobs in Detroit industries according to the replies from the employers. Of the 120 employers returning the questionnaires, 92 hiring 6437 colored workers did not use a Negro in a supervisory capacity; 23 employers hiring 8016 used but one; two employers hiring 968 Negroes used three; and one employer hiring about 6000 used "several".

Many employers of Negro labor say that it is impossible to use colored men in supervisory positions because they have mixed groups, and white men will not work for a colored boss. On the other hand, it is claimed by Negroes that employers are loath to try this experiment, and often have aggravated the situation by suggesting such a possibility before their men. They point out that formerly the same objections were raised to putting colored workers with white groups.--"White workers will not work with Negroes", it was said -- and yet today it is not uncommon to see the two races working congenially side by side.

The assertion was frequently made that the Negro prefers a white boss. Fourteen colored workers taken at random were questioned to get their attitude on various phases of industrial life, and not one of these expressed a preference



for a white boss. Some of these workers had no preference as between races, considering one boss as good (or bad) as the other.

TABLE 24

NEGRO WORKERS' VIEWS ON SUPERVISORS

<u>Is your Boss "fair"</u>	<u>Color of boss.</u>	<u>What color do you prefer?</u>	<u>Why this preference</u>
No	Colored	Colored	Usually better.
Yes	"	"	Better prepared
"	"	"	Usually higher type man
"	"	"	Usually fairer
"	White	"	My own color
"	"	"	Better chance
"	"	"	Fairer
"	"	No preference	Doesn't matter.
"	"	" "	About the same.
"	"	" "	None if boss is O.E.
"	"	" "	Not given
"	Not given	" "	" "
"	" "	Not given	" "

RACE RELATIONSHIPS IN DETROIT INDUSTRIES

Employers were unanimous in stating that they had no more clashes in their plants between Negroes and whites than between groups of white workers of other national groups. One employer felt that there was less feeling between the white and colored than between certain European groups. Instances were given, moreover, of white men helping Negroes to get started in mastering their work. One white worker reported that he had noticed that Negroes were much more careful not to cause ill feeling among white men than they were to avoid difficulties with other members of their own race.

Cases of segregation of workers in the plants were not uncovered. Many employers who formerly used this system have abandoned it. One large firm which had instituted a very definite and well organized system of segregation gave it up

because the white workers ignored the lines altogether. In one instance an objection was made to working with Negroes and when the employer offered the objector the opportunity to quit the job if he did not care to work with Negroes, the man remained.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO IN DETROIT INDUSTRY

From this study it appears that the Negro in Detroit has a position in industry vastly better than what he had during war times. Some employers have been found who have increased the number of Negroes in their plants in greater proportion than they have enlarged the plant facilities. Others stated that they would continue to increase the number of their Negro employees.

With the present restriction of immigration there are only two competitors in Detroit who threaten the Negro group as a source of labor and neither appears dangerous at the present time. One trade in particular notes the competition of the daily influx of workers from Canadian homes. This group does not at present appear to be very large. The other group which is alleged to compete are the Mexicans. One man bases his argument on the fact that there are more than 2000 Mexicans employed at the present time in Detroit industry. These he asserts, though he gives no evidence, are advancing to higher jobs. Other students of the Negro labor question throughout the country claim that the Mexican is coming in behind the Negro and is pushing him up the scale. Many employers have expressed a preference for the Negro laborer in Detroit because he can speak English and is acquainted with American institutions. In addition he is more obedient and more cooperative.

APPENDIX

INDUSTRY

EMPLOYMENT - COLORED WOMEN

A. index of the apparent need for employment on the part of colored females in Detroit is shown in the following tabulation of a sample from two weeks of the classified ad section entitled "Situations Wanted, Females" was analyzed for the number of colored advertisements for jobs. Those listed in the following table as colored are ads in which the applicant definitely stated that she was colored. There is, of course, no way of knowing whether other colored women may have been included in other of the ads wherein color was not designated.

TABLE A.

SITUATIONS WANTED: FEMALE

<u>Date</u>		<u>Total Ads Listed</u>	<u>Number of total Listed "colored"</u>	<u>Percent Colored</u>
June 17	T. ur.	31	16	51.9%
18	Fri.	15	2	13.3
19	Sat.	8	1	12.5
20	Sun.	29	9	31.
21	Mon.	6	3	50.
22	Tues.	33	19	57.9
23	Wed.	35	14	40.
24	Thur.	36	11	30.
25	Fri.	16	4	25.
26	Sat.	9	3	33.3
27	Sun.	38	14	36.9
28	Mon.	13	6	46.1
29	Tues.	26	9	34.6
30	Wed.	27	14	51.4
TOTALS		322	125	38.7%

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section IV THRIFT AND BUSINESS

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.  
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## THRIFT AND BUSINESS

### Creating Capital

In order to study thrift among the Negroes of Detroit, various banks having a large number of Negro depositors were called upon and impressions obtained from the officers of the main bank as well as from the ranking officials in charge of Negro branches. Additional information with reference to home ownership, bank accounts, bank loans, business establishments and kindred subjects was sought by means of one thousand questionnaires obtained at random thruout the City and the answers are tabulated in the following reports. This method of arriving at results is not of the highest value but has some significance especially as it will be noted that the thousand families represent all types of economic levels among the negro population as well as the various geographic centers of Negro settlement in Detroit.

#### Depositors in Banks

According to information secured from the family schedules of one thousand colored families of Detroit, it was found that 518 had bank accounts. In 238 cases, those interviewed refused to state the amounts which they had on deposit. The total amount of the 280 accounts reported was \$115,820. The average bank account for the 280 was \$415.64. Table I shows the banks in which these accounts are carried.

Table I

<u>Bank</u>	<u>Number of Accounts</u>
Dime Savings Bank	62
Wayne Co. & Home Savings Bank	60
Peoples State Bank	58
Detroit Savings Bank	44
First National Bank	42
American State Bank	28
Peninsular State Bank	28
Central Savings Bank	23
Highland Park Bank	10

Table 1 - continued

<u>Bank</u>	<u>Number of Accounts</u>
Liberty Savings	9
National State	8
Geneva Bank	4
Inkster National	4
River Rouge	3
Industrial Bank	2
Oakland Peoples	2
Home Bankers	2
Mutual Savings	1
Federal Savings	1
Peoples' Savings	1
Wayne First National	1
Detroit Trust Co.	1
Commercial Savings	1
Not Given	112
Texas	1
	<hr/>
Total	518

Table 2 shows amounts on deposit in these accounts:

Table 2

<u>Amount of Bank Account</u>	<u>Number</u>
5000	1
3000	2
2000	5
1800	2
1500	10
1000	13
900	-
800	8
700	14
600	8
500	29
400	18
300	31
200	43
100	46
75	9
50	20
25	15
10	2
5	4
Unknown	6
Not given	232
	<hr/>
Total	518

### Colored Financial Institutions

There exists in Detroit two financial institutions officered and directed wholly or in part by colored men for colored people. These are the Michigan Peoples' Finance Corporation and the St. Antoine Branch of the Michigan Mutual Savings Association. The first of these is filling a very definite need, specializing in small loans up to \$500. The stock in this Company is at present held by 200 stockholders, in individual amounts ranging from \$150 to \$6000. The total valuation of the stock of this Company is \$91,000. The latter institution has a mixed directorate of white and colored. It has seven thousand members, and last year 1925, financed the purchasing of 240 homes for colored people while it bids fair to double this number for 1926.

### Home Ownership

While the matter of home ownership has been treated under housing, it is appropriate to state here that the total value of 212 homes owned by the heads of families, interviewed among the 1000 families who were presented with the family schedule, represented a value of \$507,725. In addition to their homes, 157 of these families owned other real estate such as lots, apartments, stores, garages, etc; while 251 owned automobiles comprising a total valuation of \$111,000.

The policy of banks with reference to the extension of credit to colored people nor obtaining home ownership is a matter of very great interest. It has been generally charged by the colored people that they were discriminated against by financial institutions for the following alleged reasons:



1. The banks fear to make loans in colored neighborhoods on account of a possible deterioration in values.
2. Banks refuse to make loans to colored people for purposes of buying homes in white neighborhoods because they desire to aid in reenforcing the segregation of colored people in particular areas.
3. Banks which are glad to do business with colored people on a land contract basis refuse mortgage loans because there is a larger margin of profit in land contract operations.

The banking officials interviewed all deny any policy of discrimination. Many of them point to the number of their depositors and the number of their loans as evidence of their lack of prejudice. The banks do not claim to have any social policy with reference to assisting in the improvement of colored housing as such, and frankly admit that their main objective is to use the bank funds advantageously and to keep them properly secured.

It is quite obvious that the managers of branch banks on the East side, where there has been a definite moving away of prosperous white customers and a moving in of the least prosperous groups of colored people, are not optimistic about the Negroes' capacity to save or the banks' building up a good banking clientele. They are indulgent in their attitude about the Negro, but do not feel it worth while to help in his economic education and to take any role of leadership in making the Negro more efficient from a business point of view.

On the West side, on the other hand, where the higher paid groups of Negroes live and fairly good districts are being taken over by better housed Negro communities, the banking situation is much better. Some of the old time bankers there, while not hostile to Negroes, still do not see what is going on right under their noses and do not evaluate it properly. A few of the younger branch managers consciously go out of their way to seek Negro custom and to educate their Negro business clients in banking and in the methods of laying foundations for bank credit and they are advising as to the best methods of expanding and improving businesses.

The survey ran into a great many instances of colored people who were refused loans by various banks on property of apparently good value. These persons when investigated thru the survey seemed to be reputable persons with good business connections and with a history of thrift and character back of them. It is quite obvious that most of the banks have not sufficiently adequate machinery to investigate the personal character of the higher grade colored applicants, and frequently, in order to play safe, they have been refusing loans.

The banks have also taken note of the wholesale migration of population from districts now occupied by colored population and have contracted credit extension in these portions of the City and thereby contributed not a little to the destruction of values.

In canvassing the banks, only one general criticism of the Negro as depositor was encountered and that criticism was more prevalent on the East side of the City than on the West side. It is alleged that the Negro accounts are over-active and that many Negroes use the bank for purely safe deposit purposes. That is to say, they make deposits on pay day and withdraw their deposits in small dribblets shortly thereafter. In view of the expense that opening a new account entails, the banks experience some loss from this process. It is also surmised by some of the bankers that the Negro from the South enjoys the sensation of going into banking headquarters and, therefore, instead of making his deposit at one time, he comes in at intervals and makes small deposits and small withdrawals for the purpose of being in the bank and being seen doing business.

Social and Aggregate Wealth

It is estimated that the Negro church property in Detroit is worth in excess of \$2,000,000 and lodge property worth over \$1,000,000. The Nacirema Club has holdings worth about \$30,000 and the Phyllis Wheatley Home Association has property valued at \$16,000. The Dunbar Hospital has considerable property holdings. In view of the newness of the colored group, the wealth of real estate occupied by social institutions such as churches, lodges and clubs is not inconsiderable. However, more property of this nature is very desirable and the institutional wealth is neither proportionate to the size of the community nor to its needs.

Insurance

The amount of insurance in force among Negroes in Detroit as of July 1, 1926 was \$17,351,468. About \$5,000,000 of this amount was held in the three colored insurance companies operating in the City. This is a very good showing for the colored companies since none of them have been operating in Detroit longer than four

(PAGE 8 OMITTED IN RE-DRAFTING)

years, while one has been operating for two years, and one for only one year.

For the purpose of this study questionnaires were sent to the insurance companies of the city. From the replies received we find (1) that the bulk of the insurance carried by Negroes is "straight life" and (2) the most frequent policy is the industrial type, which has been most popular with colored people because of the small weekly premium required and because most of the insurance companies dealing with Negroes pushed the sale of this particular kind. Moreover, it is more profitable to the company than the ordinary type of policies. Indeed, it is only recently that insurance companies have generally offered their ordinary policies to Negroes. Even now in some companies writing insurance among Negroes there is discrimination as to the types of ordinary policies which Negroes may carry. This is because of the fact that Negroes have been regarded as poor risks for certain types of policies because of the unfavorable conditions under which they live. For example, it is hard for the average colored man to get as good a policy with a casualty company as a white man because these companies seem to think that the hazards are greater in the occupations largely followed by colored people.

Some answers to the questionnaires follow:

1.

"This company has never written industrial business. Most colored people carry their life insurance on the weekly payment plan. We have never employed colored agents and have had no colored department. Consequently, only a small amount of this business has been submitted to us." (Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Co.)

2.

"The Prudential does not at this time nor has it ever issued insurance on the life of Negroes. As to investing funds of the company to make possible home ownership among the people, it is the practice of the company to loan its funds on improved property, when that property is located in sections where the company makes loans, regardless of race or color."

3.

"We have no Negro policy-holders or employees." (American National Insurance Company)

4.

"We do not solicit Negro business, consequently we have only a negligible number of Negroes insured and have no other business relations with them." (Detroit Life Insurance Company)

5.

"We have a small number of colored risks and they are scattered all over the United States. There are no Negroes employed by this company. Our high grade commercial policies are not offered for sale to Negroes. We regard Negroes as rather poor moral and physical risks. We do not invest any of our funds in any manner for the benefit of Negroes." (National Casualty Company.)

6.

"The information which you request would impose such a prohibitive task upon us that we regret our inability to assist you. (The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.)

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These statements do not represent an especially favorable attitude on the part of the insurance companies towards colored business. They are to be commended, however, for their frankness in answering the questions in the schedule. It is a singular fact that most of the companies doing the bulk of insurance business among colored people failed to respond to the inquiries.

One of these, a large southern company is reputed to have about 85 per cent of its insurance placed on colored policy-holders. The Metropolitan does an enormous amount of business among colored people and has some extensive statistics on this type of risk, yet they did not feel free to answer any one of the items in the questionnaire.

While most white insurance companies do discriminate as to the type of policies and rate of premiums and benefits offered colored risks, still they have performed a valuable service in educating the Negro to the value of carrying some kind of insurance. This has prepared the way for the emergence of colored companies which are able to offer more attractive policies to colored people than those to which they have heretofore had access. The fact is significant that the five million dollars worth of insurance written on Detroit Negroes by the three colored companies operating here was written in the field of ordinary and casualty insurance. Another significant fact is that white insurance companies as a rule do not employ colored people, not even as agents to represent them among Negroes.

Table 3

AMOUNT OF INSURANCE

<u>AMOUNT OF POLICY</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
-------------------------	---------------

\$13,000	3
7,500	2
6,000	2
5,000	13
4,000	8
3,000	11
2,000	53
1,500	30
1,000	202
900	6
800	16
700	18
600	13

Table 3 (Cont.)

AMOUNT OF INSURANCE

<u>AMOUNT OF POLICY</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
\$500	144
400	37
300	44
200	42
100	47
75	5
50	16
Unknown	93
None	55
Not given	140
TOTAL	1000

Table 3 shows the distribution of the policies, according to the amount of the policy, held by the heads of families furnishing data for the family schedule. Of the 814 stating that they carried insurance 324 or 39.8 per cent had policies of more than \$1,000 in value, while 197 or 24.2 per cent had policies of more than \$500 in value.

Table 4

KIND OF POLICY

<u>POLICY</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Straight Life	428
Sick & Accident	162
Life, Sick & Accident	85
Endowment	46
Accident	42
Sick	22
Life & Accident	20
Life & Endowment	9
<hr/>	
TOTAL INSURED	814
<hr/>	
No insurance	120
Unknown	11
Not given	55

Table 4 shows the distribution of the 814 policies as to type. Four hundred twenty or 52.5 per cent had the straight life type of policy, while 162 or 19.9 per cent carried the sick and accident



types. This table also shows the lack of investment considerations in connection with insurance.

Only 120 or 12 percent of the 1000 heads of families carried no insurance, while this information was not given in 35 cases.

From this study it would seem that the colored people are "sold" on the importance of carrying some kind of insurance. Hence, the insurance business among Negroes constitutes a rich field for proper exploitation.

There are 720 business establishments in Detroit conducted by Negroes and depending for the most part upon Negro patronage. Among these establishments, 58 different types of enterprises are represented. These types have been classified under the following heads: first, the decorative; secondly those furnishing diversions; and thirdly, those supplying essential commodities. In the first class, come such establishments as barber shops, beauty parlors, tailor shops, shoe-shining parlors and the like. Under the second head have been placed such establishments as pool rooms, orchestras, cabarets, theatres, dance halls, skating rinks, etc., while under the third head are such concerns as meat markets, drug stores, groceries, bottling works, and the like.

An examination of the accompanying chart, Table 5, will reveal the fact that most of the business establishments

conducted by the Negroes of Detroit fall under the first two classes. This is doubtless because it is easier to get started in establishments of this kind since there is not as much need for technical training as in the more substantial forms of business. Of course, success in any type of commercial enterprise is in the last analysis dependent on superior service to the public and on a thorough understanding of the fundamentals of business on the part of the entrepreneur. It is obvious that a large number of persons will be inclined to engage in enterprises which require a comparatively small amount of special training and a smaller amount of initial capital. Another reason for the larger proportion of colored persons in the decorative and entertainin business enterprises is that colored people encounter difficulty in obtaining accommodation in white establishments of this nature. In the South, we find the exclusive policy of white concerns makes for a larger representation of Negroes in enterprises of all kinds. In the North, on the other hand, the proportion of Negroes in business will depend mainly upon the extent to which Negroes choose voluntarily to deal with merchants of their race without being forced to do so because of inability to secure these accommodations from establishments run by members of other groups.

Notwithstanding the fact that the bulk of Negro business enterprises are those catering to the immediate appetitive demands of the colored people, it is gratifying to note that many establishments furnish more essential commodities. The numbers conducting grocery stores, drug stores, transfer companies, automobile service station, contracting concerns, etc., show that the Negro has realized the necessity of conducting business establishments dealing in these basic services. But even here, however, we note the absence of concerns requiring a great deal of cooperative effort and a large amount of capital goods. Most of these establishments are run by individuals and not by companies.

Table 5

CREATING CAPITAL

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS</u>	<u>NO.</u>
Restaurants	108	Coal and Ice	6
Railroing, Cleaning & Pressing	55	Cafes	5
Billiard Halls	45	Employment Agencies	5
Plasterers	45	Music Stores	5
Paperhangers	41	Photographers	4
Groceries	39	Cigar Stores	4
Barber Shops	35	Second Hand Furniture	4
Painters	34	Cigar Stores	4
Confectioneries	33	Gas Filling Stations	4
Beauty Parlors	28	Fish and Poultry	4
Dress Makers	28	Blacksmith Shops	4
Shoe Shining Parlors	22	Battery Service	3
Drugstores	18	Insurance Companies	3
Music Studios	14	Newspapers	3
Plumbers	14	Caterers	2
Hand Laundries	12	Florists	2
Undertakers	12	Opticians	2
Taxicab Companies	10	Jewellers	2
Real Estate Exchanges	10	Architects	2
Auto Repairing	8	Millinery Shops	2
Tire Service	8	Novelty Shops	2
Transfer Companies	7	Sign Painting	2
Printers	7	Hat Works	1
Meat Markets	6	Finance Companies	1
Upholstering	6	Bottling Works	1
Orchestras	6	Milling Company	1
Garages	5	Roofing	1
Hotels	6	Tinner	1
		Manufacturing Company (Machines)	1

Characteristics of Negro Business Men

Of 50 typical cases of colored business men replying to our questionnaire on colored places of business 35 were born and reared in the South and 17 were born and reared in the North. An examination of Table 6 will reveal the fact that the average colored person in business lacks adequate training for the business which he is conducting. In the first place, few of them have been in business very long. Table 6 shows that of the 50 cases, 48 per cent of them have been in business less than five years; 68 per cent have been in

business less than ten years; while only 14 per cent had been in business for more than ten years. The average for the entire group is six years. In the second place, the previous occupations of these business men were along lines in no way similar to or connected with their present occupations. In very few cases had these business men enjoyed actual apprenticeship in business establishments by working at occupations calculated to develop business ability in the employee; and even in cases where the colored business man had experienced school training of a technical nature, few of them had had previous experience in working in business establishments similar to those in which they are now engaged. In far too many cases we find persons attempting to operate business concerns without business training of any kind; and in too many cases there is evidence of too great a departure from one type of enterprise to another. The lack of opportunity for apprenticeship with going concerns militates seriously against the efficiency of colored business establishments, and the consequent mistakes on the part of the Negro entrepreneur often bring colored business enterprises into disrepute.

Table 6

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO BUSINESS MEN

Type of Business Engaged In	: Years in Business	: Previous Training	: Type of Business Engaged in	: Years In Business	: Previous Training
Billiard Hall Proprietor	6	: Refrigeration	Ever. Barber	5	: Porter in Barbershop
Tea Room	6	: Teacher	: Grocer	7	: Coal Passer
Restaurateur	25	: Farmer	: Laundry	1/3	: Laborer
Grocer	8	: Laborer	: Druggist	6	: Gov't Service
Barber Proprietor	3	: Cook	: Restaurant	3	: School Waiter
Sandwich Shoppe	15	: School	: Apron Shop	4	: Forelady in Factory

Table 6 (Cont.)

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO BUSINESS MEN

Type of Business Engaged In	Years in Business	Previous Training	Type of Business Engaged In	Years In Business	Previous Training
Barber	41	Porter	Hairdresser	14	Apprentice
Cigar Store	8	Salesman	Cigar Store	7	Uni. Grad. Waiter
Manager Finance Corporation	3	Univ. Grad.	Barber	5	Pullman Porter
Fish & Poultry	1	Leather Tailoring	Confectionery	1/2	Laborer
Grocery & Meats	5	Porter	Second hand Furniture	1/4	Cigar Maker
Cleaning & Pressing	4	Laborer	Building Contractor	6	Journeyman Carpenter
Gas Service Station	1	Uni. Grad.	Druggist	2	School; Drug Clerk
Undertaker & Florist	4	Tailoring	Confectionery	1	Laborer
Shoe Repairing	15	Apprentice	Dressmaking	1/6	Hairdresser
Cleaning & Pressing	15	Apprentice	Tailoring	20	Normal School Graduate
Editor News-Paper	9	Normal Sch. Grad. Musician	Bottling Works	5	Apprentice
Music Store	6	Shipping Clerk	Meat Market	20	Apprentice
Barber	16	Apprentice	Milling Co.	25	Apprentice
Shining Parlor	1	Laborer	Insurance (Supt.)	10	College Ins. Agent
Grocer	3	Bricklayer	Hotel Keeper	25	Hotel Worker
Druggist	4	School Gen. Salesman	Real Estate	10	Postal Service
Commercial Artist	5	Postal Clerk	Restaurant	20	Chef
Tailoring	20	Apprentice	Cleaning & Pressing	7	Laborer
Hair Dresser	4	Trade School	Hair Dresser	6	Apprentice

SIZE OF COLORED ESTABLISHMENTS

Because most of the business establishments conducted by colored persons with no former experience in business are individual affairs, most of these concerns are small. The average valuation of the merchandise for the 50 typical colored business establish-

ments selected was \$55,530, with an average of \$1,331. The total valuation of the tools and fixtures was \$49,301, with an average of \$1,049. In six cases the combined valuation of merchandise, tools and fixtures represented a sum in excess of \$5000. In one case the combined valuation was \$35,000. In most instances the total outlay for merchandise, tools and fixtures was less.

The total gross annual receipts for these 28 establishments amounted to \$2,000,920. The average amount of the gross annual receipts was \$7,441. Twelve were doing business varying between \$1,000 and \$5,000; seven between \$5,000 and \$10,000; four between \$10,000 and \$15,000; two between \$15,000 and \$20,000; one between \$20,000 and \$30,000; and two between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

A total of 101 employees, making an average of 2.2 employees each was engaged in these concerns.

Lack of training also made itself manifest in the manner in which the establishments were conducted. Very few made use of systematic and consistent advertising, and up-to-date methods of accounting were conspicuous by their absence. Over half of the typical cases testified that they used no systems of accounts; ten used the cash register receipts; 12 used the Journal, while three used the double entry system.

#### BEAUTY AND SANITATION

From the standpoint of attractiveness the business establishments conducted by the colored people of Detroit compare favorably with other establishments similar in kind and size. Rarely is it true that a colored business establishment is found where the idea of attractive presentation is wanting, and, although the attempt at decoration is frequently lacking in the elements of

of fitness and proportion, still the desire is present on the part of the colored business man to make his place attractive to those whose patronage is sought. Many establishments exist among the colored business people in which the fixtures are beautiful, even ornate, and in which the wares are displayed. Because of the naturally artistic temperament of the Negro this feature of his business life should become highly developed as he gains more experience and we should expect innovations in the way of decorations and pleasing display of wares in shops conducted by him which will be a contribution to the esthetic side of business.

Likewise, in the matter of sanitation the colored business establishments, on the whole, deserve favorable mention. To be sure, there are some establishments which cannot be condemned too severely for their disregard of this factor, but in the main these are exceptional cases so far as Detroit is concerned. As a matter of fact, those establishments which are concerned with handling foods, must satisfy the requirements of the Department of Health with reference to sanitation. But a definite desire is apparent on the part of Negro business men to make their establishments sanitary regardless of official regulations.

#### Handicaps of Negro Business

Almost half of those operating these establishments testified that they had encountered difficulty in attempting to borrow capital from the banks for the purpose of financing their concerns. Twenty-two had made unsuccessful attempts to raise loans from the banks; 13 had not encountered any difficulty; while 15 stated that they had never made the attempt.

In the matter of rents 16 declared that they were, and 26 they were not, charged higher rents than their white neighbors;



while eight did not know whether they were or were not. The Negroes of Detroit pay higher average rents than any other group for residential property, but this is not generally true of property for business purposes because the colored demand for the latter is not so heavy as for residential.

The consideration which the colored business man was able to get from the wholesale houses was very favorable. Forty denied that wholesale houses discriminated against them, while four did not know. It would seem that these firms apply the same policy to Negro merchants that they apply to any other group, viz., they do what they can to make it possible for the retailers of their goods to succeed in business. Of course, Negroes or members of any other group who have limited buying power will find it impossible to obtain favorable terms as firms which have immense buying power and large and well managed purchasing departments. Such discrimination is not based on race, but on the size and power of the establishment.

A good many of the colored business men interviewed stated that they found it hard to secure capable and reliable help. There are many reasons for this state of affairs. In the first place, the inexperience of the business men themselves makes it hard for them to instruct their assistants properly. Many of the operations of the proprietors are conducted, of necessity, empirically and few inexperienced employees have the necessary initiative to make themselves efficient where they have no good example on the part of the proprietor of the business. Again, colored people who are already trained as capable employees in particular business enterprises generally find it more profitable to work for long established and going white concerns than with new colored concerns.

Furthermore, the influence of custom has a bearing on the situation. Because the Negro has not conducted business enterprises on an extensive scale, it has not been unusual for colored people to be employed under the direction of other colored people. Where they have been employed in white concerns having departmental heads or foremen, these have been white in all but a few exceptional cases. Consequently, there is not generally the respect on the part of employees for colored establishments as there is for white enterprises. Many colored concerns are viewed by colored people of the employee class as experimental. Certainly, many of these ventures are transient. Thus the colored employer is forced, for the most part, to depend upon the inexperienced, irresponsible type of worker to assist him in carrying on his business. Of course, this condition is not universal. Wherever we find a well established, skillfully managed colored business enterprise, there we are likely to find that the employer is able to secure responsible and efficient helpers. To be sure, it is not as easy for this type of business man to secure efficient help as it is for white concerns, but as colored business men themselves become more experienced and efficient, their inability to do so should correspondingly lessen.

Negro business men often complain, too, that their attitude towards their patrons is frequently misunderstood. They say that they recognize the necessity for courtesy and diplomacy in dealing with customers, but that many Negro customers expect too much familiarity and self abnegation on the part of a colored man in business. Some of them claim that they have been falsely accused of "uppishness" and "sell-headedness" when they assume a strictly business-like demeanor, and they resent the implication that a colored man in business should be expected to demean himself or

to play the clown in order to secure the patronage of his group. They make the charge too, that colored people do not seem to have as much respect for a colored establishment as for a white one; that certain types of colored people are more likely to resent insistence on proper order and behavior in a colored place than they would in a white one.

A further complaint on the part of these business men is that they are often compared unfairly with large firms in the downtown sections or with chain stores. They point out that most small concerns are unable to duplicate the prices of large concerns item by item, and that colored people should not apply to colored concerns more rigid standards than they apply to white concerns of similar size.

These attitudes on the part of the colored customers are not wholly without basis. One of the drawbacks to the progress of colored business concerns has been that their expectation that as colored establishments they should of necessity secure the patronage of colored people irrespective of considerations of price, and type of service rendered. Three instances may be cited which reveal poor business judgment on the part of colored business men and the refusal on the part of the customer to carry group loyalty beyond the bounds of reason:

Case 1.

A colored lady was walking on a certain street when it began to rain. Being in a hurry to get home and seeing a taxi-cab office nearby, she went in and inquired of the colored clerk how much it would cost to ride in one of his cabs to her home about five or six blocks away. He replied that it would cost fifty cents. She objected to this as exorbitant and asked him to lower the price. This he refused to do. She then stepped across the room to the telephone, called a white taxi company and made the same inquiry of them. They replied that their charge would be thirty-five cents. She requested them to send her a cab. She waited in the office of the colored company, entered the cab when it arrived and was driven to her home at a total outlay of ten cents beneath the price of the colored company even after paying for her 'phone'

call.' Another colored company might have charged as little as the white company or even less; but the experience with that particular colored company did not tend to set up in the mind of the lady enthusiasm towards any colored taxi concern.

### Case 2.

A colored man desired his trunk moved to a house on the next cross street three hundred yards off. He called a colored expressman who lived a few doors from the house where the trunk was to be moved. The express man stated that he would be right over. After being waited on for about an hour the express-man was called again. This time he came in about ten minutes. He had no assistance, and the owner of the trunk had to help him carry it to the truck. On the way over, the express-man inquired of the owner who had moved the trunk before and how much he had been charged. He was told that the Detroit Transfer Company had moved the trunk from the Union Station to the first address, - a distance of about four and a half miles at a cost of one dollar. After arriving at the new address, and after being helped by the owner to carry the trunk in the house, the truckman announced that his charges were one dollar.

### Case 3.

The writer entered a certain colored drug store on Labor Day, 1926, and called for an article which he had been accustomed to buy at the corner grocery store for twenty-one cents. He inquired of the clerk what the price was and was told that it would cost thirty cents. He informed the druggist that he had been accustomed getting the article for twenty-one cents, and that he would not pay thirty-cents for it. The druggist gruffly replied that he could not help it, and replaced the article on the shelf. The writer then returned to the grocery store and bought the desired article.

## Unusual Business Ventures

### Among Negroes

There are several interesting examples in Detroit of enterprises being conducted by Negroes in fields which, though promising, have not yet been exploited much by colored people.

(a)

The Superior Bottling Works, conducted by the Dixon Brothers at 1729 Russell Street has been doing good business in the manufacture and sale of carbonated beverages, for the last four years, and the owners are very much pleased with results so far. During the summer months the firm is unable to supply the demand for their product, and business is brisk during other seasons of the year. The owners of the concern are thoroughly conversant with the details of their business and have sound ideas concerning business

matters in general. While their equipment and capacity are limited at present, they have, by proceeding carefully, gained a firm foothold in the industry. It is their intention to incorporate and expand in the near future. Their concern is a member of the City, State and National Associations of Manufacturers of Carbonated Beverages.

(b)

The Home Milling Company has been manufacturing corn meal, hominy grits and whole wheat flour for the last four years in their plant at Catherine and Russell Streets. There is quite a large demand of these products on the part of Southern residents in the City and the concern is doing a fair volume of business. Their corn meal is made from specially selected white corn out of deference to the palate of Southern Negroes who do not relish meal made from yellow corn. This business has a promising future and the managers responded to the suggestion that it might be well for them to stimulate the development of bakeries among colored people and that they could also manufacture corn meal mush and encourage its use among their own clientele.

(c)

The Butler Janitors' Supply Company does a good jobbing business in furnishing janitors' supplies to stores, hotels, manufacturing plants, churches and all establishments making large use of such supplies. About 90 per cent of his customers are white and among these are included some of the largest firms in Michigan. Mr. Butler got his first training in this business as a salesman for Samuel Lewis, who conducts the largest Janitors' supplies company in the world. He is firmly convinced that colored people are overlooking many splendid opportunities for developing business enterprises catering to the entire public rather than in running concerns for one special group. The history of his success and of the success of a few other colored men in Detroit and elsewhere would seem to substantiate this view.

(d)

The Apex Film Manufacturing Company makes motion picture films of events in Negrodom and of stories by colored authors. This concern has been in existence for three years and is conducted by Mr. Deroy Ware. At first the company specialized in short news reels and short comedies dealing with miscellaneous events in the lives of colored people. They have prepared special subjects for Pathe's Weekly and for the International News Weekly. Their films are marketed by selling them outright to producing firms, the largest demand for them at present being from Germany, France and Mexico. The local colored market for such pictures though good has not been fully developed as yet and Mr. Ware declares that the chief difficulty confronting his company has been their inability to secure capable colored screen actors in Detroit. Yet there are daily occurrences among Negroes - the large conventions, athletic contests of a national character, multifarious meetings attended by large masses of them, the doings of prominent Negroes in America and abroad - which have a wide and unusual interest for the race all over the country, for there

are 2000 moving picture houses in the United States which cater exclusively or mostly to colored people. Moreover, the larger producers, notably Neilan, Bob Hampton of Placer, the producers of Ben Hur have recognized the rich field for heightening the reality of the silent drama by employing players of the colored race and it is significant that Cecil De Mille has announced his intention to produce a feature picture using colored actors to depict a story dealing with Negro life.

Developing Racial Business  
Consciousness Among Negroes.

Some Negro leaders of business are attempting to develop a quasi racial business consciousness among the Negroes of the city. The Detroit Negro Business League which came into existence on July 14, 1926, with a membership of 60 was organized with the following objects-

- (1) To work for the development of a sense of unity of interests among Negroes in business.
- (2) To attempt to educate the business men themselves as to the best business practices, and to urge the necessity of mutual consideration of their various problems, handicaps, opportunities and responsibilities; to educate the Negro public concerning the special advantages the League is able to offer them, and to disabuse its mind of the many misapprehensions it entertains towards Negro concerns.
- (3) To obtain favorable consideration not by running down others, but by demonstrating the merit of their own accommodations.

During the past four years there has been appearing in the weekly issues of the Detroit Independent a page, called the Financial Review, edited by the Managers of the Michigan Peoples' Finance Corporation, and devoted to a discussion of good business practices. On this page, which is quite widely read, matters of more or less technical character relative to financial and general business matters are discussed in a popular way.

In February, 1926, the St. Antoine Branch of the Y. M. C. A. inaugurated an industrial exhibit featuring the work of colored business concerns, which was largely attended and created a very favorable impression.

The Underwriters' Cooperative Association, spoken of in a former connection, is an amalgamation of the three colored insurance companies operating in Detroit. While its primary object is to educate the colored people to the advantages of insurance, yet it performs a valuable service in inculcating among Negroes the spirit of thrift, pride in their own enterprises and confidence in their own business leaders.

In addition to these organizations there are several colored pastors of large congregations, who are active in attempting to create a racial business consciousness among their various flocks. As the whole warp and woof of the social life of the Negro, like that of some white communities, is interwoven with their church, the efforts of such men who believe that the economic development of the race can go side by side with spiritual devoutness are bound to exert a wide influence.

#### THE FUTURE OF NEGRO BUSINESS IN DETROIT

The future of Negro business in Detroit depends on colored people themselves. The majority of the more intelligent and progressive entrepreneurs expressed themselves as having no complaint, but rather as being gratified with the manner in which colored people patronized them. They on their part realize that they must do their share in making it profitable for their fellows to trade with them, not merely because they are colored but because they are able to offer as good service as any other merchants can offer. Inexperience on the part of both the colored man and his colored client appears to constitute the biggest obstacle in the way of the progress of colored business concerns.

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section V HOUSING

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.  
1926



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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## H O U S I N G

### 1. IMPORTANCE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

Housing is one of the most serious problems of the Negro in Detroit. For some years the fluctuating shortage in the number of houses for the population in general has had its greatest effect upon the Negro group. In a study of the housing conditions of Negroes in Detroit prepared in 1919 for the Research Bureau of the Associated Charities Mr. Forrester B. Washington makes the following statement:

"There is not a single vacant house or tenement in the several Negro sections of this city. The majority of Negroes are living under such crowded conditions that three or four families in an apartment is the rule rather than the exception. Seventy-five per cent of the Negro homes have so many lodgers that they are really hotels. Stables, garages and cellars have been converted into homes for Negroes. The pool-rooms and gambling clubs are beginning to charge for the privilege of sleeping on pool-room tables over night."

While this dense overcrowding was to be found during the period immediately after the war when practically all house construction was suspended in the Negro district overcrowding still exists. It is accounted for by the fact that the rents charged Negroes are so exorbitant that it is usually necessary to "double up" in order to meet the expense. But housing conditions have changed considerably since the 1919 Survey and there are now numbers of vacant apartments and houses open for Negroes. This change has been caused in part by the larger subdivision development and house-building programs carried on for the past few years by Detroit realtors and building construction companies. White people living on the borders of Negro districts have moved out to new areas, leaving their former residences

open for colored occupancy, and a number of Negro subdivisions have also been opened on the outskirts of the city. While these two factors have modified the housing situation for the Negro, sanitary dwellings at a reasonable rent still are the exceptions, especially in the St. Antoine area.

This St. Antoine district may be termed a deteriorating area from the standpoint of family housing. Bordering on the main commercial center of the city, it is no longer a favorable location for residential purposes, as factories, garages and other commercial establishments have been built. The paving is not generally of the best and traffic is heavy. Land values are high since the area is chiefly used for manufacturing or commercial purposes. A preponderance of the houses are old frame dwellings, and as the landlords are interested in them only as a temporary source of income until the property can be sold for other than residential purposes, sanitary conditions are often far from the best. In some blocks the houses are so dilapidated that expenditure on the part of the owner to make them suitable for living purposes would be useless. However, since houses still remain and Negro tenants can be obtained for them at any reasonable rent, most of them are still occupied.

## II. GENERAL HOUSING STATISTICS.

From a study of the Family Schedule it was found that the majority of houses occupied by Negroes are the detached "single" type, 549 out of 1000. Of these 1000 houses, 568 are of two-story, though a large number, 367 are of one-story. Two-story dwellings are found principally in the old East Side district, where houses often show the old French influence. The Inkster, Eight-Mile Road, Quinn Road and River Rouge-Ecorse subdivisions are predominantly

one-story and of frame construction. These houses are "single" in all districts except the Rouge-Ecorse area where a third of the one-story houses are of the two family type.

Table No. 1

TYPE OF 1000 HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES

Single	549
Two-family	292
Tenement-Apartment	128
Rooming House	13
Store	7
Not Given	11
TOTAL	1000

Table No. 2

NUMBER OF STOREYS OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES

One-storey	367
Two-storey	568
Three storey	15
Four storey	5
Six storey	1
One & one-half storey	23
Two & one-half storey	2
Not given	19
TOTAL	1000

There are comparatively few tenement-apartment houses occupied by Negroes, who by force of circumstances are driven to the older districts where the houses are of the detached type. Where they have moved away from the congested areas, they have usually purchased their own homes. The amount of money required to finance the purchase of an apartment house and the lack of Negro finance and building and loan corporations are largely responsible for the scarcity of apartments. Recently the northern boundary of the St. Antoine Negro sections has pushed into an apartment house area and excellent apartment buildings are being opened to Negroes. More and more apartments are being turned over to them as they have the reputation of making highly satisfactory tenants.

Summarizing, the old East Side district (west by Brush and east by Hastings, north by Deland and south by Macomb) is composed of one and two-family frame dwellings in which rooming-houses are to be found, the New East Side (west by Brush, east by Mt. Elliott to Mack and Chene, north by Harper, south by Detroit River) has the better and more modern one and two family houses and apartments; the subdivisions are made up of single family houses and shacks; the two Hamtramck sections contain houses of all sorts; the West Side Warren Avenue district consists of single-family houses of a newer type and the Nevada-Conant district is interesting in that single and two family houses of a better character are being built there.

Of the 966 houses investigated, 858 were of frame construction, 415 of this class in the St. Antoine section. Only 98 houses were of brick construction; the Warren Avenue Section had the largest number, 27 out of 149.

Table No. 3

MATERIAL OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY NEGROES

Wood	858
Brick	98
Stucco	7
Lath-tar paper	1
Stone	2
Not given	34
TOTAL	1000

In regard to congestion through the crowding of more than one family into a house it was found that out of 924 returns, 493 houses, or more than half, had one family only; 274 had two families, 77 had three families and 49 had four families.

Table No. 4

NUMBER OF NEGRO FAMILIES OCCUPYING 1000 HOUSES

One	493
Two	274
Three	77
Four	49
Five	10
Six	5
Seven	2
Eight	7
Eleven	2
Twelve	2
Sixteen	2
Not Given	75
TOTAL	1000

These figures would appear at first sight to indicate little overcrowding; however that there is some congestion is shown by the fact that over half of the houses are of the small "single" type. Moreover the number of lodgers and relatives cared for in the house adds to the overcrowding.

The following tables gives the number of lodgers.

Table No. 5

NUMBER LODGERS PER NEGRO FAMILY IN 1000 HOUSES.

None	453
One	103
Two	89
Three	74
Four	68
Five	35
Six	47
Seven	26
Eight	24
Nine	21
Ten	17
Twenty-six	1
Not Given	42
TOTAL	1000

The above table shows that over one-half of the families had lodgers, a situation which may be due in part to the willingness of Negroes to lodge stranded friends. Paying lodgers are taken in to supplement the family income. These are usually

single men as there is a disproportionate number of males in Detroit and no special provision is made for their housing, the lodger is a potential menace to the family circle. There are no reasonably priced Negro workmen's hotel or clubs and the "flop houses" to which Negroes have access are for the most part, unsanitary and the center of a great deal of immorality of various kinds. The promiscuous intermixing of children of all ages with adult and unattached males, is highly undesirable. The men without immediate family connections feel an anonymity. In hard manual labor, highly mechanized, they do not find a sense of self-expression, or the satisfaction which comes from recognition by others, or even get from their job a feeling of security which would make them conscious of a stability in the community. As one of the settlement workers in the city said, "The greatest difficulty is the fear of the future for the working man. When will the factory close or the shop shut down, bringing unemployment? The laborer is constantly under the weight of this worry; the Negro laborer, especially so, since he is the first to be laid off and the last to be taken on."

The economic necessity for lodgers can be expressed by the relation of the income in wages of the family head to the amount of rent paid:

An example taken from District 200 - (West side section)

is that of a factory worker at Fords making an average of \$150 a month when working. Of this \$150, \$50 is taken up by the monthly rent. The family consists of man and wife and sister and five lodgers. There are five rooms in the house, one of which is a dark room. Three rooms are used as sleeping rooms: one a room, 7 9, having four occupants.



In District 100 - (St. Antoine Street Section)

a porter making \$120 a month pays \$65 for the rent of his seven room flat. There are three bedrooms and the dining room is used for a fourth. The family consists of the man and wife, a brother and six lodgers. One of the four bedrooms has four occupants.

A dressmaker in the same region, District 100, supplements her monthly income of \$100 by rents from lodgers. The family consists of herself and child (she is separated from her husband) and ten roomers. There are four small bedrooms and one medium sized; three of the rooms have three occupants, one has one, and the larger room has two. Her rent is \$75 a month.

Below is the table of weekly wages received by the heads of the families visited.

Table No. 6

WEEKLY WAGES OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

\$5	2
6-10	4
11-15	25
16-20	28
21-25	65
26-30	159
31-35	177
36-40	169
41-45	94
46-50	34
51-55	24
56-60	4
61-65	14
66-70	7
71-75	3
76-80	3
81-85	0
86-90	1
91-95	0
96-100	3
Unknown	6
Not Given	173
TOTAL	1000

The average monthly wage derived from this table for the 821 persons giving information is \$146.55.

Following is the table of the amount of rent paid per month by the families.

Table No. 7

MONTHLY RENT PER FAMILY

\$150	1
130	1
110	2
100	7
95	1
90	6
85	2
80	3
75	15
70	10
65	24
60	60
55	67
50	75
45	69
40	78
35	66
30	52
25	35
20	13
15	3
10	1

The "weighted mean" monthly rent for the 591 families giving information is \$47.29.

From the comparison of the amount of wages and rent it will be seen that the average amount of rent paid monthly is approximately equal to one-third of the average monthly wage. As family budget experts (see James Ford "Social Problems and Social Policy" - Chapter on Standards of Living pps. 550 - 570) give only one-fifth of income as the proper amount to be spent for rent, it is easily seen why it is often necessary for Negro families to take lodgers. That the rents are thought too high in proportion to wages appears in the replies of the heads of families to the Family Schedule question, "Why don't you want to make Detroit your home?"

Out of 94 replies, ten gave too high rents as the cause and 22 gave "the high cost of living." That high rents played a large part in the last unanalyzed answer, there is no doubt.

Besides the lodger the Negro home is further congested through the presence of other relatives. The following chart shows the number of "other relatives in home" for the 1000 families.

Table No. 8

OTHER RELATIVES IN THE HOME

None	637
One	185
Two	66
Three	23
Four	19
Five	4
Six	2
Seven	3
Not Given	61
TOTAL	1000

The number of children per family was as follows:

Table No. 9

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

None	335
One	188
Two	146
Three	112
Four	74
Five	44
Six	28
Seven	15
Eight	9
Nine	9
Ten	6
Eleven	9
Not Given	25
TOTAL	1000

Average number of children per family	1.96
" " " other relatives in the home	.54
" " " lodgers	2.07
" " " family (including parents, children, relatives, lodgers)	6.57

This checks reasonably with the Board of Education's 1925 Census report of 1.335 children for each family.

Table No. 10

AVERAGE NEGRO FAMILY

Parents	2.00
Children	1.96
Relatives	.54
Lodgers	2.07

---

TOTAL 6.57

A study of 500 families made in 1919 gave the following results:

Table No. 11

AVERAGE NEGRO FAMILY

Parents	2.00
Children	1.66
Relatives	1.24
Lodgers	3.93

---

TOTAL 8.83

The decrease in the average number of relatives and lodgers per Negro family is noticeable. In 1919 there was an acute housing shortage which caused "doubling up" of families. So great was the congestion that Washington quotes examples of Negroes paying for the privilege of sleeping in automobiles and on pool tables. The population at that time was of the recently arrived "newcomer" type, the fact led to gregariousness, because very few could purchase homes and because they sought social protection.

A comparison of the 505 families from the East Side District with the 149 Families from the West Side Area for 1926 is given below. The East Side District has the greatest congestion, the West Side District is the best type of large Negro area in the city.

Table No. 12

<u>EAST SIDE</u>	<u>WEST SIDE</u>
Parents 2.00	2.00
Lodgers 2.74	1.77
Children 1.61	2.91
Relatives .60	.46
<hr/> 6.95	<hr/> 7.14

These statistics indicate that the West Side has fewer lodgers and relatives per family but it has a larger number of children per family. Greater financial independence on the West Side accounts for the fewer number of lodgers; the large number of children is probably due to their financial independence and to the fact that many of the West Siders belong to established families. The number of relatives per family for the two districts does not show a great difference, but it is probably true that more relatives are found in the East Side District because the people are more recently arrived from the South and their relatives stay with them until they can become settled. While there is a smaller average on the West Side the number of rooms per family is much larger and the congestion is not as great.

The foregoing paragraphs give the type of Negro, the available housing accommodations, the number of families per house and the size of the Negro family, and the physical environment of the house.

Table No. 13

PERCENTAGE OF LOT COVERED BY DWELLING

All	90
Nine-tenths	112
Seven-eighths	1
Four-fifths	113
Three-fourths	180
Two-thirds	128
One-half	175
One-third	188
One-fourth	51
One-tenth	1
Not Given	72
TOTAL	1000

From this table it will be seen that out of 928 cases the lot was practically filled in 316; in the other instances there was sufficient yard area. Compared with the slums of many cities it will be seen that there is much more room. For instance in only

48 cases was there another house on the lot. There were coal sheds in 255 cases, garages in 274, chickencoops in five, general shops in two, toilets in 42, barns in 60, and stores in four; 308 cards gave no other buildings.

The table below describes how the empty space on the lot, if any, was employed.

Table No. 14

USE OF EMPTY SPACE

Garden	199
animals	150
Play	140
No use	138
Other use	105
Laundry	84
Fowls	44
Not Given	301

Of 889 answers given concerning the condition of the empty space 376 gave good, 174 fair, 80 poor, 30 bad and 229 did not answer.

Two hundred twenty-six of the families visited had furnace heat, 730 stove heat, one gas, and nine gave no information. Eight hundred ninety-five of the houses were lighted with electricity, 30 with gas and 55 with oil; 20 did not give answers.

The water supply for the 1000 families came from the city mains in 908 cases; from wells in 63 cases; seven families had no water supply; and in 22 cases no answers were given. In 653 cases only one family used the water supply; in 175 cases two families; in 63 cases three families; in 29 cases four families; in seven cases five families; in eight cases six to twelve families.

The statistics below give bath-room accommodation per family:

Table No. 15

NUMBER OF BATHROOMS PER FAMILY

None	294
One	655
Two	30
Three	2
Three-Six	5
Not Given	14
TOTAL	1000

The Negro subdivisions, which in many cases, have no city water supply were the worst offenders in this respect. At the Quinn Road Subdivision none of the five families visited had a bathroom; in the River Rouge Division 33 out of 76 answers given had "no bath." Of 24 families visited at Inkster only one had a bath. In the East Side District 170 of 501 families and at the Eight-Mile Road 45 of 50 families had no bath. Of the 149 families visited in the West Side District four were without baths.

The number of families using the same bathroom is given below:

Table No. 16

NUMBER OF FAMILIES USING BATHROOM.

One	502
Two	108
Three	43
Four	12
Five	3
Six	2
Seven	1
Eight	1
Nine	1
Not Given	31

Of the 1000 families 875 had one toilet, 50 had two and five had three or four. In 13 cases there were none, and 57 cards were not filled. Seven hundred seventy-seven of the toilets were located on the interior, 141 outside and 39 cards were not complete.

The following table gives toilet accommodations.

Table No. 17

NUMBER OF FAMILIES USING TOILET

One	661
Two	148
Three	46
Four	14
Five	3
Six	1
Seven	1
Eight	1
Not Given	76

The condition of the toilet was reported as good in 553 cases, fair in 195, poor in 77 and bad in 56. Eighty cards did not give the condition.

The data below gives the interior and exterior repair of the houses, both outside and in.

Table No. 18

REPAIR OF THE HOUSE

	<u>Interior</u>	<u>Exterior</u>
Good	500	473
Fair	153	175
Poor	133	141
Bad	84	85
Not given	130	186
TOTAL	1000	1000

The following statistics give the cleanliness of the premises, outside and in.

Table No. 19

CLEANLINESS OF PREMISES

	<u>Interior</u>	<u>Exterior</u>
Good	606	557
Fair	199	245
Poor	113	115
Bad	55	57
Not Given	27	26
TOTAL	1000	1000

As these figures show that in 805 cases the interior cleanliness



is fair or good, and in 802 cases that the exterior cleanliness is fair or good, it would seem that the rather popular opinion that Negroes are not careful with the cleanliness of their premises may not be entirely warranted. Several of the survey workers commented upon the cleanliness of homes in spite of adverse circumstances. In various places the deterioration of the houses was so great that rats could not be kept out, yet the interior was clean.

Table No. 20

NUMBER OF ROOMS PER HOUSE

One	2
Two	10
Three	46
Four	154
Five	270
Six	254
Seven	116
Eight	63
Nine	25
Ten	17
Eleven	5
Twelve	15
Fourteen	5
Fifteen	1
Seventeen	1
Twenty-one	1
Twenty-three	1
Not Given	14
TOTAL	1000

Seventy-four houses had one dark room, 71 had two, 21 had three, eight had four and nine had five. One had six, one seven and in 129 cases no answers were given. Six hundred eighty-nine gave no dark rooms.

Four hundred seventy-six houses had basements. Four hundred eighty-seven had none, and 37 gave no answers. In the eight-mile Road Subdivision, 45 had no basement, four had one, and one gave no answer. In the Inkster Subdivision none of the 24 families had a basement and in the Quinn Road Subdivision none were to be found.

Houses in subdivisions are often built with the idea that they will be temporary shelters until the family gets established. Basements are not dug; the structure is flimsy, and subject to early deterioration. Many of the houses are constructed by the owners, who seldom are skilled in the carpenter trade. An unusual development is the "nautilus house," in which an additional room or "lean-to" is added by the family carpenter as time or sufficient means permit.

Table No. 21

USE OF BASEMENT

Storage	186
Laundry	130
Laundry-storage	55
Furnace	55
None	40
Living quarters	5
Toilet	3
Kitchen	2
Not given	47

The condition of the basement was given as "good" in 297 cases, "fair" in 92, "poor" in 52, "bad" in 34 and in 24 cases it was not given.

Below is the statistics on the number of sleeping rooms for each house.

Table No. 22

NUMBER OF SLEEPING ROOMS PER HOUSE.

One	77
Two	330
Three	371
Four	147
Five	26
Six	6
Seven	1
Eight	3
Fourteen	1
Twenty-Two	1
Not Given	37
TOTAL	1000

The average number of sleeping rooms for the 963 families giving answers is 2.77. This figure has especial significance when compared with the average Negro family of 6.57.

Table No. 23

SIZE OF SLEEPING ROOMS

Up to and including

25 sq. ft. floor space	9
25 Sq. ft.-48 sq. ft.	166
48 sq. ft.-72 sq. ft.	122
72 sq. ft.-108 sq. ft.	1162
108 sq. ft.-144 sq. ft.	897
Over 144 sq. ft.	420
Sleeping porches	5
Not Given	53

In six cases a kitchen was used for a sleeping room; in two the hall; in 99 cases a living room; in 55 a dining room; in 11 a sitting room; in 56 a parlor; and in 21 a front room. There were only three sun parlors used for sleeping purposes. The number of windows per sleeping room shows a lack of light and ventilation.

Table No. 24

NUMBER OF WINDOWS PER SLEEPING ROOM

One	1667
Two	669
Three	127
Four	17
Five	1
Six	4
Seven	3
<u>None</u>	<u>5</u>

Table No. 25

NUMBER OF BEDS AND NUMBER OCCUPANTS PER SLEEPING ROOM

One bed--no occupants	62
One bed--one occupant	606
One bed--two occupants	1387
One bed--three occupants	139
One bed--four occupants	15
One bed--five occupants	2
Two beds--one occupant	5
Two beds--two occupants	76
Two beds--three occupants	64
Two beds--four occupants	43
Two beds--five occupants	10
Two beds--six occupants	1
Two beds--ten occupants	1
Three beds--one occupant	4
Three beds--three occupants	3
Three beds--four occupants	2
Three beds--five occupants	1
Three beds--six occupants	4
Four beds--two occupants	3
Four beds--seven occupants	1
Not Given	2
	107

In the matter of home ownership 657 said "that they did not own their homes", 312 said "yes" and 21 gave no answers. Of the 312 owning their homes, 81 owned them free; 119 were on contract; and 55 were mortgaged. Fifty-seven did not give the type of ownership.

The race of the landlord is given below:

Table No. 26

RACE OF THE LANDLORD

Negro	413	(312 owned by Families)
Jewish	264	
Whites (Americans)	95	
Italians	73	
Polish	35	
German	30	
Roumania	4	
Syrian	3	
French	2	
Dutch	1	
Greek	1	
Serbian	1	
Swiss	1	
Irish	1	
Not Given	86	
TOTAL	1000	

When the number of Negro home owners is subtracted it will be seen that by far the largest number of landlords are Jewish accounted for in part by the fact that formerly the section on the East Side was Jewish.

The race of the agents handling the property given as follows:

Table No. 27

RACE OF AGENT

Negro	72
Jewish	70
White (Americans)	28
Italian	15
German	10
Polish	10
Roumanian	2
Irish	1

Table No. 28

VALUE OF HOUSES OWNED BY NEGROES

\$20,000	1
15,000	6
10,000	23
8,000	38
7,000	21
6,000	24
5,000	27
4,000	22
3,000	41
2,000	26
1,000	23
500	3

The average value of the 255 houses given is \$5,323.

III. FROM THE WORST TO THE BEST IN NEGRO HOUSING CONDITIONS.

A. Typical Negro Blocks.

A special investigation into Negro housing conditions, which is being carried on at the present time by the Board of Health, throws some additional light upon the kind of dwellings occupied by colored people in Detroit today. For purposes of contrast, nine

blocks were selected as examples of the varying grades of living quarters occupied by Negroes. These blocks range in ascending order from the poorest to the most desirable blocks occupied solidly by colored people. Following are the sample blocks which were used for this study together with a general rating of their status:

Block 1. Mullet--Rivard--Catherine--Hastings. In the lower part of the St. Antoine Street section contains the worst type of housing.

Block 1a. North Lawn--Eight-Mile Road--Cherry Lawn. In the Eight-Mile Road district. Poor sanitary conditions and unfinished houses.

Block 2. Jay--Waterloo--Dubois--Shene. In the St. Antoine Street Section, this block represents a slightly improved condition over Block 1.

Block 3. Hastings--Wilson--Rivard--Watson. In the St. Antoine Street district, one step better than Block 2.

Block 4. Lumkin and Davison Streets. In the North Detroit section. One-family houses with conditions better than in the thickly-populated districts.

Block 5. Alger--Holbrook--Russell--Cardoni. In the Holbrook--Clay section, dwellings and flats with some congestion.

Block 6. Hancock--Forest--Hastings--St. Antoine. An apartment section in the northern part of the St. Antoine Street district.

Block 7a. Hartford--Scotten--Moore Place--Tireman. Represents the best type of housing in a solid Negro area.

Block 7b. Chandler and Marston Streets. Southern part of Holbrook-Clay Section. Another block representing a good Negro neighborhood.

B. Pen Pictures of the Housing Conditions.

The following cases are brief word descriptions from the notebook of the Board of Health investigator of conditions found in these blocks.

Block 1.

A ONE-STORY Frame House

The general condition of the outside of the house bad; porch falling down, window panes broken, foundation weak. The general condition of the interior: walls broken, floors bad. The plumbing out of order. Five rooms, rent \$45. One sink and outside toilet. One room without ventilation. Stove heat. Water under house from leaking pipe in wall. Two roomers paying \$6 per week. The landlord refused to make repairs. If repairs are made they will get a \$10 increase.

A One-Story Frame House

Place used for a rooming house. Six rooms, of which five are used. Four couples, each paying \$6 per week. General condition of the interior bad. Plastering off the walls. Walls smoked and very dirty. Floors bad. The kitchen is on the ground with linoleum for floor. Bath tub stopped up, pipes broken in wall, water under house. Kerosene lamps. Yard in bad condition. On the rear end of the lot a shed, renting for \$25, used as a club with one door, one window, two people sleeping in it, and without water or toilet.

A Dormitory Hotel.

A two story brick structure once a bakery. On the second floor 50 beds. Beds very dirty, using dark gray blankets as spreads. Men pay 25¢ per night for sleeping. Beds not changed often. Toilets stopped up, bath in a deplorable condition. In one corner of the dormitory about 35 or 40 dirty mattresses piled up, seemingly from a fire. The floors very dirty, walls bad. Men sleeping in their street clothes. On the first floor a restaurant without license selling soup and fish. Water in the back, flies very bad, no sink, foul air and poor ventilation.

A Two-Story House

Frame material. Side and rear yard in bad condition. Shed in rear. House with 11 rooms, 13 persons of which five were children. Rent \$75 per month. Three rooms cannot be used on account of the condition. House on the ground. Water in a cellar about two feet. Paper and plaster is off the walls. The place is infested with bed bugs, roaches and rats. Stove heat. Very poor electric lights.

Plumbing bad. The father a delivery expressman. Wife sick. The man has lived for seven years in Detroit. They received financial assistance from the city during the years 1921 and 1923. The husband carries insurance, but wife and children do not.

#### BLOCK 1A

##### A two-family House

Two family house, six rooms each. No bath, one outside toilet. Well in the yard. Stove heat, electricity. General condition of the house bad, roof leaks. Side and rear yard poorly kept. Men work at River Rouge; (time required to go to work, two hours and twenty minutes). House could be made very attractive by a few repairs and good housekeeping. Family complain of bad water.

##### A Two-Room Dwelling and Barber Shop

This particular family paid \$1200 for the House. Down payment was \$100 and monthly payments \$12. In one room of the house the husband maintains a barber shop. The other room, living quarters. They have one bed, stove, table and three chairs. The barber shop has one chair, no means for sterilizing instruments, only with the tea kettle. Living quarters have no windows. Only ventilation one door. Husband earns \$18 to \$20 per week. General condition of the house is bad. Sanitary conditions bad, outside toilet about 15 feet from the well. Wife and child sick for four weeks. Cause of the sickness impure water. House is heated with a cooking stove. Kerosene lamps. Yard very poorly kept. Weeds allowed to grow around which makes mosquitos very bad.

##### A Six-Room Shanty

Exterior of the house tar paper, interior papered with scrap paper. Rooms partitioned off with portiers and quilts. House heated with a cooking stove in kitchen. Kerosene lamps. Husband a Ford employee earning \$35 a week. Buying place on contract. Cost \$1400 with \$100 down and \$13 per month. Wife, laundress, does her laundry work at home earning on the average \$10 and \$12 a week. Furnishings consisted of piano, dining room suite, three iron beds, kitchen stove and table, and stool chairs. The children's ages ranged from six to fourteen. Mother very ignorant, did not believe in education for children. Family carried no insurance whatever. Belonged to no societies or church. Came to Detroit from rural district of Tennessee. Lived at present address five years.



A Four Family Apartment

Two toilets on the outside, no lights, occupants paying \$30 for three rooms. Entire building brings \$120 per month rent. Walls in very bad condition, paper and plastering off. Floors bad, window panes broken. Thirteen occupants, of whom there are five children. No water on the premises. People carry water two blocks. People living in the apartment are of lazy type. Housekeeping very bad, children poorly kept. Large yard, small garden. Old shed on the back. The place could be made very good for living purposes.

Russell Street Apartment

Ten-family apartment. Apartments taken over in 1923 by colored. Place formerly rented for \$30.00 and \$35.00 per month. Rent raised \$10.00. Apartments each of four small rooms. Steam heat and electricity. General condition of the interior bad. Needs re-decorating. Paper on the walls very dirty and loose. Floors bad. Plumbing fair. Some apartments worse than others. Garbage and rubbish receptacles inadequate for the apartment house. Lawns bad.

Cardoni Apartment.

Eight family brick apartment with steam heat. The general interior bad. House formerly rented for \$40.00. Rent increased to \$60.00 and \$65.00. Place taken over by colored in 1923. Apartments need decorating. Plumbing needs repair. Window panes broken. Lawns bad. In the basement apartments home brew and whiskey sold. Most of the apartments have night parties and sell drinks. Occupiers claim that rent is so high they have to do this as a means of helping to pay the rent.

Scotten Avenue Residence.

A two story frame building on the west side of Scotten Avenue. The house is about 45 feet from the sidewalk with a front lawn, well-kept and attractively arranged with flowers and shrubbery. The house is newly painted with awnings on front. Flower boxes on the porch. Home consists of eight well ventilated rooms. Interior decorating artistically done. Housekeeping excellent. Plumbing and general repairs good. Home purchased in 1920 for \$10,000; down payment, \$1500, monthly payments \$75.00. Monthly payments have been doubled for the last three years reducing the principal greatly. Husband died two years ago, leaving widow and three children.

Scotten Avenue Apartment

A two story four-family brick apartment, each apartment consisting of five rooms. Apartment well-kept. The interior decorations are good. Plumbing good. Steam heat, good ventilation. Apartments rent for \$45 each. Fine back lawn, in the upkeep of which each tenant shares, flowers and shrubbery. Four car garage in excellent condition. People living within are of high type. Housekeeping in general excellent.

Hartford Avenue Residence.

A two-story brick front, of English type. House in good condition, consists of six rooms, shower bath and toilet. All rooms have good ventilation. Steam heat, electricity and gas. The living rooms was across the entire front with an old English type stairs leading to the second floor. A large French door leads into the dining room and into the sun parlor in the rear of dining room. Home is finely furnished, artictically arranged. Housekeeping is excellent. On the second floor, three well-furnished rooms. Sleeping porch where child sleeps. Attractive back lawn. Flowers arranged on both sides of the wall and around to the garage, making a view from the sun parlor. Owner a brick mason contractor. The man who purchased home six years ago has several other investments in city. Home paid for. (See table on housing conditions.)

Hartford Avenue Residence.

Two story frame house, on west side of Hartford Avenue. Six rooms, toilet, bath, gas and electricity. General condition of interior good. Plumbing good. Hot air heat. Place purchased in 1921, for \$4800. Down payment, \$1250; monthly payment, \$35. Housekeeping is good. The owner is a widow with five children. Sold property in Oklahoma to purchase this home. Mother does day work. House neatly furnished and very clean. Four children in school. Three-car garage. Fire back lawn and side yard.

C. Comparison of Housing Conditions in Four Typical Blocks

The following table presents a comparative index to the housing conditions in four typical blocks, the result of the study by the Board of Health up to the time this report was issued. To repeat the description given in section III-A above, Block 1 represents a congested Negro area of old, single frame houses; Block 1A, an unrestricted Negro subdivision; Block 5, a congested Negro district of single houses and flats; Block 7A, the best type of residential area solidly inhabited by colored.

<u>No. Dwellings</u>	<u>Block 1.</u>	<u>Block 1A.</u>	<u>Block 5</u>	<u>Block 7A.</u>
	35	18	28	35
<u>Type House</u>				
Single	26	15	10	31
2 Family	5	1	3	1
Multiple	1	2	11	2
Mixed	3	0	0	0
Not Given	0	0	4	1
<u>No. Stories</u>				
One	23	13	10	3
Two	8	3	12	29
Three	1	0	2	0
Four	0	0	0	0
Over Four	0	0	0	0
Not Given	3	2	4	3
<u>Material</u>				
Frame	27	15	13	24
Brick	5	2	10	4
Other	0	0	2	0
Not Given	3	1	3	7
<u>State of Repair</u>				
Good	2	5	17	27
Fair	5	2	4	0
Poor	11	2	1	1
Bad	8	6	1	0
Not Given	8	3	5	7
<u>Condition of Yard</u>				
Good	7	7	9	3
Fair	4	3	0	0
Poor	2	3	0	0
Bad	18	2	1	1
Not Given	4	3	18	0
<u>Outside Toilet</u>				
	9	17	0	0

C. Comparison of Housing Conditions in Four Typical Blocks

	<u>Block 1</u>	<u>Block 1A</u>	<u>Block 5</u>	<u>Block 7A</u>
<u>Houses Sheltering more than one family</u>	4	2	8	3
<u>Average Persons Per House</u>	7.7*	5	22.1	6.9
<u>Houses Sheltering more than one person per room</u>	13	6	6	4
<u>Average Number Adults per house</u>	7*	2.5	12.3	5.1
<u>Average Number Lodgers</u>	3.2**	.2	1.4	2.5
<u>Average Number Children per House</u>	.7	1.7	5.8	2.1
<u>Houses having three or less rooms</u>	2	3	1	0
<u>Average Number sinks per house</u>	1.25	.5	4.2	1.3
<u>Average Number Baths per house</u>	.77	0	4.1	1.0
<u>Houses having Interior Rooms</u>	7	0	not given	1
<u>Houses having dark rooms</u>	10	0	not given	not given
<u>Houses lacking Ventilation</u>	8	1	0	0
<u>Average Number Persons per Toilet</u>	7.7	3.5	5.1	5.3

\* (Foot Note) One large rooming house with 50 occupants not considered.

\*\* (Foot Note) Two large rooming houses not considered.

C. Comparison of Housing Conditions in Four Typical Blocks

	<u>Block 1</u>	<u>Block 1A</u>	<u>Block 5</u>	<u>Block 7A</u>
<u>General Conditions of Interior</u>				
Good	4	6	14	25
Fair	8	2	1	0
Poor	4	1	3	1
Bad	12	3	3	0
Not Given	3	5	7	9
<u>General Condition of Plumbing</u>				
Good	8	-	16	25
Fair	6	-	2	0
Poor	4	-	2	2
Bad	14	-	2	0
Not Given	3	-	6	8
<u>Condition of Roof</u>				
Good	7	11	17	17
Fair	5	0	0	0
Poor.	5	2	0	0
Bad	7	0	1	1
Not Given	11	5	10	17
<u>Number owning own Home</u>				
	2	15	0	14
<u>Average Assessed Value</u>				
	\$3000	\$1808.33	-	\$3714.29
<u>Average Real Value</u>				
	\$8500	\$3495.83	-	\$7077.27
<u>Average Price Paid</u>				
	1200	1985.61	-	7629.17
<u>Average First Down Payment</u>				
	300	210.42	-	1515.91
<u>Average Monthly Payment</u>				
	30	18.25	-	58.91
<u>Average Month Rent per House</u>				
	73.29	84.33	155.06	119.65
<u>Average Rent per Family</u>				
	53.04	26.00	46.18	69.50
<u>Average Rent per Room</u>				
	9.27	8.66	10.98	16.63

C. Comparison of Housing Conditions in Four Typical Blocks

	<u>Block 1</u>	<u>Block 1A</u>	<u>Block 5</u>	<u>Block 7A</u>
<u>Average Weekly Wage</u>	\$31.50	\$36.00	\$33.15	\$39.04
<u>Families earning more than \$50 per week</u>	0	1	1	2
<u>Houses lacking sufficient egress from fire</u>	1	2	0	1
<u>Houses Having Fire Hazards</u>	16	1	0	3
<u>Housekeeping</u>				
Good	11	7	23	37
Fair	10	4	10	2
Poor	2	4	6	2
Bad	5	1	2	0
Not Given	7	3	1	2
<u>Quarters not fit for habitation</u>	5	0	not given	0
<u>Responsibility for Conditions</u>				
Owner	4	15	0	0
Tenant	1	0	0	0
Owner and Tenant	13	0	0	0
Not Given	17	4	28	35
<u>Houses Heated by Stove</u>	32	17	8	3
<u>Houses with Inadequate heating</u>	11	2	1	0
<u>Houses Lighted by Kerosene</u>	5	4	0	0
<u>Houses Lighted by Gas</u>	2	0	0	0
<u>Houses with Inadequate lighting</u>	3	2	0	0

IV. REAL ESTATE AND THE NEGRO

The fact that the whites in Detroit feel that the presence of a Negro in a neighborhood depreciates property values is one of the most important factors in "the race problem." The opinion that Negro penetration of white areas does depreciate the value of property was given most often as a reason for "race feeling." Seldom were the Negro neighbors criticized as such; their deportment in practically all cases was said to be good; their care of the premises satisfactory; and their standards of living as high and admittedly sometimes higher than those of the white displaced. But in most cases the neighbors felt resentment because they believed that they would be forced to sell their property at a great loss. (1)

(Footnote 1.)

Evidence of this fear of economic loss through falling property values is shown by a leaflet distributed at the last Detroit municipal election, evidently to influence the course of the election. This handbill was signed by the Greater Detroit Realtors Committee. The Detroit Real Estate Board investigated and found no such body in existence.

"Reprint from Birmingham Gazette - October 18, 1925"

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND NEGROES PLAN PILGRIMAGE TO  
DETROIT - CALAMITY THREATENS PLANTERS THROUGHOUT  
COTTON BELT.

A wave of restlessness similar to that which overcame the Negro during the stirring days of 1914 to 1918, is becoming more apparent each day, as information streams into this office from its numerous correspondents throughout the great cotton belt.

Cotton growers are alarmed and incensed at this condition and much speculation is rife as to where labor will be secured to remedy this serious situation.

Northern Negro agitators have been busy during the last few weeks spreading dissension and turmoil among the colored people of this section.

Detroit, Michigan is being held out as the "mecca of the Colored Race." "Protection, Social equality and steady employment is promised under their present leader, Mayor John W. Smith," according to these agitators.

They sum up the situation in that great auto city by alleging "That Negroes are allowed to move into white neighborhoods where they will be fully protected by the white policemen who are at present employed by the City Administration."

Many voters may be curious to know just why this committee is interested in the above article carried by the leading newspaper of the South. It is our (our) candid opinion based on years of practical real estate experience, that if our city is deluged by this black flood of colored immigration it will decrease the value of Detroit real estate to the extent of \$2,000,000,000.

It is also our opinion that such an influx of unskilled labor will produce a condition under which it will be impossible for the working man to exist.

Voters should carefully consider the above proposition.

Signed:

GREATER DETROIT REALTORS COMMITTEE"



Since this opinion that Negro residence in a district injures property values, is so widely spread and contributes greatly to the growth of race hatred, it is necessary to inquire to what extent the "falling off" of property values is attributable to Negro penetration and to what extent it is due to other possible factors that may be involved.

Negroes are often housed in the oldest parts of the city. For instance, the St. Antoine district. Here the houses are old, dilapidated and greatly deteriorated. The houses are largely of frame construction, which has not worn well and in many cases they have been neglected, because the cost of improvements would be out of proportion to the value of the houses. A long succession of changing tenants, who have not been careful of the property has with overcrowding, had a general deteriorating effect.

A further factor in the depreciation of the neighborhood has been the development of small industries and the growth of public garages and small shops have increased the value of the property for residential purposes. The use of buildings for immoral purposes has not only caused depreciation in particular instances but in general tends to depreciate the value of property in the neighborhood, for if such usage is frequent, the "decent people" move away and their places are taken by less desirable tenants.

Since the Negro is usually forced into "declining neighborhoods" for a place in which to live and since there are many factors at work in the deterioration, both physical and social, of these sections, it is difficult to estimate the part, if any, that is played by the Negro, as such.

That many of the Real Estate dealers of Detroit feel that the introduction of Negroes into white areas depreciates property

value is shown by the fact that members of the Detroit Real Estate Board are not allowed to sell to Negroes in a strictly white neighborhood. All members of the Real Estate Board subscribe to Article 34 of the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards which reads as follows:

"A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, member of any race or nationality or any individuals whose presence will be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."

The opinions of several prominent real estate dealers, Negro and white were obtained on the matter of depreciation. One Negro real estate dealer visited said, "The idea that colored people as such depreciate property is foolish. White hysteria and mania cause the loss in value when a Negro moves into a white neighborhood. Real estate men often profit by this psychological condition." A Negro lawyer in an interview said, "Negroes moving into a neighborhood do not depreciate property necessarily. Districts into which the Negro is allowed to move, are often deteriorated or in a process of deterioration. Depreciation in other areas is due to white hysteria. The difficulty is that the whites and the colored do not have a real understanding of each other."

The manager of a Negro Finance Company in an interview held a more elaborate view of the problem: "There are a large number of Negroes in an economic position to enable them to purchase houses valued for \$7,000 to \$15,000. The whites will not lose out when a colored family comes into a white neighborhood where the houses are valued at this price. There is no depreciation of property values, and there may be appreciation due to the fact that the supply of desirable homes open to

prospective Negro purchasers usually is less than the demand. In a district where the houses sell from \$25,000 to \$40,000 a Negro coming into the area may cause depreciation due to the fact that very few Negroes are in a position to buy such homes. The white people selling out cannot sell to whites and are forced to sell at a loss to Negroes. It is usually difficult to determine the effect of the Negro factor as in many cases there are other deteriorating factors at work."

The leader of a prominent Negro welfare organization in regard to the matter of depreciation says: "I have never seen property values go down because of Negro influx into white areas. In good neighborhoods whenever a house becomes vacant that a colored person can obtain he usually is willing to pay more for it because of the scarcity of houses. In cases where there is only one Negro on the street property values in the neighborhood are not retarded but usually follow the trend of property value."

A white real estate dealer, who handles a considerable amount of Negro business, said, "The influx of Negroes into a respectable district often results in an actual appreciation of the property values," implying that because of the scarcity of good homes open for the Negro he would be willing to pay more than the standard price.

Five prominent white real estate dealers said decidedly that Negro penetration into white districts did depreciate property values. The Negro business handled by these men is negligible. They did not suggest any other possible factors that might enter into the depreciation.

One Negro real estate dealer said, "The penetration of

Negroes into white areas has no effect on realty values. The ground and buildings remain the same if the Negro is intelligent and educated as he probably is. Other factors enter into the situation. If the fact that a colored man is next door is not made known to the person purchasing the property, the price will remain the same. Property restrictions make the value of property--restrictions on the grounds of kinds of business buildings, conditions of lawns, etc." He says, "In the South an elegant residential district often grows up around colored shacks. The Negroes happen to have chosen a good site. Finally the people owning the shacks are bought off."

A white real estate man who does a 95% business with Negroes finds that in cases of Negroes penetrating into good white areas there is often an appreciation in property values. The whites are willing to pay standard prices only, but Negroes because of restricted opportunities to buy good houses, will pay more. His experience has been that there is no falling-off in prices, when a good residential neighborhood becomes predominantly colored. Depreciation of property in certain neighborhoods where Negroes have come in cannot be attributed to the colored population but to other causes such as those connected with the transitional stage from a residence to apartment or business district, he believed.

On the other hand, another white real estate dealer believed that the influx of colored people into any good residence section must necessarily depreciate property. He based this belief on the economic law of diminishing demand, stating that by the very fact of their presence Negroes cut out the white demand for the property. In other words, the total demand market is diminished by the elimination of white purchasers.

Since the great mass of Negroes, especially those of the migrant group, move into "declining neighborhoods", realty values may be raised rather than lowered. As the houses into which these Negroes move are in old residential areas that are in the process of changing into commercial or industrial blocks, white renters often cannot be obtained. Negroes, because of a lack of housing facilities are willing to pay higher rents than the whites. If a house is sold it can be sold at a higher price to a Negro than to a white, is the opinion of a student of the Negro housing situation in Detroit.

In the better areas there is apt to be deterioration especially after the area becomes predominantly colored. In reference to this a Negro lawyer says, "Usually when a colored family moves into a white neighborhood he keeps his buildings up well because of the neighbors. However, when a great many colored families move into one district there is a tendency to let things run."

A Negro social worker held much the same opinion. "The presence of large isolated groups of Negroes in an area is apt to cause a lack of care of property. That is what is wrong with the subdivision idea. If they lived in better communities, suggestion and public opinion would force them to keep up their standards of property and conduct."

#### Summary of "Real Estate Values & the Negro"

There is a general feeling among the white people of Detroit that the Negro penetration of white residential areas causes depreciation in property values. This feeling is in itself a real cause of depreciation when property is sold, because of hysteria and with ut regard to market value. If a Negro

penetrates into a very exclusive white residential district, there may be an effect on property values as there is a very limited Negro market for high-priced dwellings. If a neighborhood where properties are moderately priced is "invaded", it is quite possible that real estate values will not fall and may even be appreciated by Negro purchase because the supply of decent, medium-priced houses for Negroes is smaller than the demand.

The general deterioration of congested Negro areas cannot be attributed to Negro occupancy. For instance, other factors in the St. Antoine district, such as the entrance of commercial buildings, factories and garages, the concentration of vice resorts, etc. had depreciated the values of houses for residential purposes before the Negro moved in. After the entrance of the Negro, further depreciation takes place because of the consequent overcrowding on account of the effort to pay the rents charged.

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#### THE NEGRO RENTER

Real estate men and lawyers handling real estate properties report that Negroes meet their obligations as well or better than the whites. The manager, (white) of one of the largest downtown real estate companies in the city says that the Negroes pay their rents as readily as others. However, he thinks that fear of a large corporation may be responsible for this. In one instance, the company had no difficulty in collecting rentals from a certain piece of property. When, however, the house was taken from the real estate company's hands and the owner started to collect difficulties ensued. The rents were

not paid, and the tenants destroyed some of the woodwork. The landlord lived next door and in the opinion of the company may have been antagonistic.

A district manager (white) of a real estate firm on the northwest side finds from his limited experience with Negroes that they pay the rentals as quickly or more so than "white trash."

Two prominent white realtors agreed that Negroes are unreliable in making payments. One asserted that he believed them to be only half as reliable as the Polish people who are 90% trustworthy.

A Negro real estate man says: "In the same group (class) of people, white and colored, collections are about the same. Colored people may pay better because they fear the law."

A white real estate man handling a large Negro business in the better residential areas said: "Although 95% of the firm's business is with Negroes, we have yet to lose money on any one of them. Not one contract has been canceled and not a single payment has fallen behind and become over due. This is far better than I can say for our white customers, both Americans and their so-called "sure-paying nationalities." He produced contracts to back up his statements and showed how colored purchasers had made extra payments over and above the amount required. He finds the Negroes conservative buyers. "They never buy more than they can safely handle. They demand small down payments because their earnings and saving power is not great. Many purchasers wish to keep a small cash reserve on hand for emergencies."

Another white real estate agent stated that his business

with Negroes was very satisfactory. He said they gave him no more trouble than his white customers, if as much.

#### VI. THE NEGRO TENANT

That Negroes pay their rents promptly is the experience of Mr. B-- a French janitor of a 30 apartment house on St. Antoine. The building is located in the northend of the large East Side Colored District. The apartments were formerly rented to whites but there was constantly a great deal of trouble involved. Many of the apartments were vacant; there were difficulties in rent collection, and "they were always kicking." Besides the tenants were not clean and their apartments had to be continually redecorated at a great expense to the landlord. The janitor was interested in the situation of the Negro in the city. While professing no special "love for the Negro" Mr. B-- believes that the Negro is unjustly discriminated against in many cases. Knowing the lack of good apartments for Negroes, he proposed to his landlord that the vacant apartments be put up for rent to Negroes. The landlord gave his consent and the apartments were rented to the Negroes for the same price charged to whites. The apartments have been filled all of the time since the change in policy; no agent is used as the janitor makes his own selection of applicants; he is aided now by the Negro renters who are desirous of keeping out undesirable elements. Mr. B--, the janitor, says he expected to use a revolver and billy club in taking care of the colored people at first, but in a year and a half there had been no fights or even harsh words. The reason for this is that the apartments are rented to a high type of professional people and skilled laborers. In the 30



has seven himself. While he does not believe in keeping children out of apartments, nevertheless, he says that to have fewer children in the apartments is to an advantage from the owner's and janitor's point of view. There are two couples living in practically every apartment; each of which has five rooms and rents for \$60 to \$65 a month. Mr. B-- could not be too profuse in his praise of the department, reliability and cleanliness of his tenants. In fact, he has become so enthusiastic over them that he has been instrumental in causing other large apartment buildings in the neighborhood to be opened for colored occupancy.

In a 22 apartment building on East Hancock formerly rented to whites 10 of the 22 apartments were vacant most of the time. Because of Mr. B--'s influence the policy of the apartment was changed to allow Negro tenants. Within two month's time all of the apartments were filled, and there have been no vacancies since. The wife of Mr. N-- the Negro janitor, says that the Negroes are more satisfactory tenants than the whites. The type of Negro secured through friends is all right; they pay their rents promptly; are clean; and do not fight.

Another large apartment building in the same block has recently turned from white to colored occupancy. It was formerly empty a great deal of the time, but it has been full constantly since the new policy was inaugurated. The Negroes are much cleaner than the whites that formerly occupied it. They have had no trouble with the tenants except at one time when they hired a Negro real estate agent to fill it. The agent filled the place with undesirables and they had to drive them out. Now the janitor rents the apartments himself asking

for references. The rent was raised \$10 a month for the Negroes. The janitor had no complaint to make.

An eight-family flat across the street, opened for Negroes a few months ago, finds them satisfactory tenants. The flats are rented through the janitor and not through a real estate agent. The tenants pay their rent promptly and are very clean; only one family has moved out. A \$5 month raise in rent was made when the flats were first opened to Negroes.

That Negroes are no more destructful of property as tenants than other people, is the opinion of a Negro social worker and executive. They are not more dirty. Homes are dilapidated to begin with and landlords won't fix them. Rents are so excessive for Negroes, that in order to pay them the tenant has to keep rovers. The more rovers it is necessary to keep the greater is the damage apt to be done to the apartment.

A judge, (white) who handles an estate, rents six houses to Negroes. He finds them as good or better tenants than the whites he rents to. He believes that the Negro makes a better tenant because he has so few opportunities for proper housing that he appreciates a good house. While he finds no difference in the care of property and in the payment of rents between the whites and Negroes, he finds that there is little moving in and out on the part of the latter. One tenant has been with him for 15 years.

A Jewish landowner who rents commercial buildings, houses and flats to Negroes says, "Sober, industrious Negroes are welcome tenants at all times. If the Negro would segregate the immoral and bad ones from the good, property values would not decline, but, on the other hand, would increase. He finds the Negro tenants no more destructful of property than white tenants; they are just as cleanly in taking care of it. The whites pay

their rents more promptly; the Negroes do not move as frequently. He finds that the property has depreciated in value because of Negro tenancy; he does not find it necessary to charge Negroes more rent than whites.

Another Jewish landlord who rents commercial houses, flats and dwelling-houses to Negroes finds his tenants satisfactory. Some of them have been renting from him for seven, six and five years and he has had no trouble with them. Rents are paid regularly. They are clean and care for the property in the proper manner. They do not move often. He charges the Negroes no more rent than the whites. He says that the property has depreciated in value but he feels that this is not attributable to the colored people but to the banks; the banks refuse to give more than small mortgages, this policy being attributed to a lack of proper police protection and supervision of the Negro districts.

Another landlord finds his Negro tenants destructive of property, unreliable in the payment of rents, uncleanly in their care of the property and highly mobile. However, he believes that this would not apply to all Negro tenants, as he knows of "a number of colored people that he would sooner have as tenants than some white people." His properties are located on "a street consisting mostly of colored prostitutes and thieves. The type of Negro living there is absolutely the worst.

A Negro real estate man connected with a large white real estate company in downtown Detroit says that the Negro pays his rent promptly unless he is out of work and if the landlord does not get his rent it is often because he does not treat his tenants squarely.

A. ISOLATED PENETRATION INTO HIGH CLASS WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS.

A few of the attempts on the part of Negroes to secure residences in high class white neighborhoods are given here to indicate some of the difficulties encountered.

CASE #1

A doctor purchased a home on Spokane Avenue. He had this home redecorated and painted. He moved in June 22, 1925. A mob, according to the newspapers 5,000 strong, assembled on the day he moved in. Some of these ostensibly came with the purpose of driving him out; others out of curiosity. The doctor with two or three friends stayed in all day. Later in the day, some policemen, telling that they were friendly, were allowed to enter. When the doctor opened the door the crowd came in also and took him out by force. He was placed in his own car and taken to his old home. His furniture was loaded into a truck and taken back to the old residence on Warren Avenue.

CASE #2

A colored waiter had a home on Steeple Avenue. A neighbor in the block had purchased a ton of coke which had been dumped into the street. A mob attacked the home and practically all the coke was thrown into the house. The man fired, wounding a boy. The mob dispersed and the man was arrested, jailed, released on bond, tried and finally released.

CASE #3

In Vincent Park between Royal Oak and Pontiac, a high class residential district, a Negro attorney had a contract interest in a piece of property. In this district there were no colored restrictions. When it became known that colored people owned the property, a fiery cross with the inscription "no niggers allowed in this vicinity" was burned.

CASE #4

Mrs. S-- purchases a lot on Lakewood Boulevard and has a \$16,500 home erected on it. The Lakewood Boulevard

CASE #4 (Continued)

Civic Association became interested and tried to get the S's to move out but the S's replied that they would not sell for less than \$25,000 as they had bought the property to build a home in it. They had purchased it in good faith but in the deed was used an ambiguous term, "injuri us" which could be interpreted in many ways. Mrs. S-- claimed that the salesman interpreted this word "injuri us" to mean houses of prostitution and blind pigs and that he did not say it included colored people. The salesman did not mention the restrictive clause in the deed to Mr. S. The question was not whether the S's could own the property, but whether they had a right to occupy it. The S's brought the case into court, lost, appealed and the case is still pending.

In order to secure information on isolated Negro families that had penetrated white districts for the purpose of securing better housing facilities a study was made of some 20 cases. The Negro family and one or two of the white neighbors were called upon in each case.

In 1915 a Negro doctor purchased a \$4300 home on Seyburn. The neighborhood which was built up when the Negro first moved in has remained practically the same. Neither the man nor his wife belong to any neighborhood organizations. There are no children. The house and premises are in good condition. The neighbors' opinions of this Negro family were as follows: "We think lots of B--'s." "They are very considerate and try not to embarrass you. They will not recognize us on the street unless we speak first." "The B--'s can't push themselves forward." "They don't have a l u d colored company." "The neighbors are all nice to them, but some talk about them behind their backs." "No, they haven't lowered the value of property in this neighborhood. The house across from them sold for \$11,500 just recently and it is only a frame house."

In 1918 Mr. S--, a Pullman porter, purchased a lot and built a house on Beniteau Avenue. The house was bought for \$5,300 but it is now valued at \$11,000. The treatment by the neighbors upon their moving in and later was satisfactory. The family, (there are no children) does not mix with the neighbors. Mr. S-- feels that Negroes are likely to have difficulty when they move into a white neighborhood where the people are ignorant. Educated people are more tolerant. Some Negroes get themselves into difficulties because "they don't use tact." They want to make a big show and then they get into trouble in the neighborhood.

The neighbors are satisfied with the situation and say of the S--'s, "They keep to themselves and don't bother us at all."

In 1917 Dr. J-- a Harvard graduate, purchased a \$7,000 house (now worth \$15,000) on Rhode Island Avenue from the white owner. He wanted "a good home." He says, "We weren't wanted at first. There were several committee meetings tooust us out, but the treatment is fine now. It wasn't so much hatred as just the strangeness at first that caused the trouble." The J--'s have no children. Dr. J-- does not cater to a colored practice; many of his neighbors are his patients. He belongs to the local improvement association. The neighbors said that there was unusually good feeling between the J--'s and the white neighbors.

In 1925 Dr. G-- purchased a \$25,000 residence on King. There were no Negroes in the block, but one family lived in the next block. Dr. G-- moved to the place because it was convenient to his business and because he considered that the location offered better cultural and educational advantages. He had lived next door for eight years. When he first moved in the block, "the neighbors tried legal measures tooust them; then young people stoned the house." Mrs. G-- threatened them with a gun and was forced to call an officer once. Since that time there has been no trouble. At the school both the colored and the white children play together, but not near home. The neighbors feel that "Mrs. G-- is very refined. They are good neighbors."

In 1925, Mr. B--, a lawyer of lengthy residence in Detroit bought a lot and built a \$35,000 house on Josephine. He considered the location desirable and wanted a home. He had no difficulty as he had lived for 16 years only a block away and knew the neighbors who were friendly. Mr. B-- takes an active part in community betterment and belongs to a local organization to keep apartments out of the district. Mrs. B-- is fair. They have a grandchild staying with them. There are three other colored families in the block. The neighbors have a friendly feeling towards the colored families. "The colored families keep in their own place." "There is no discrimination."

#### ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY CASES.

1. The neighborhoods were mainly in high class residential streets.
2. The exterior repair was "excellent" in ten cases, "good" in eight cases, "fair" in one case and "not given" in one; the interior conditions was "excellent" in nine cases, "good" in eight cases "fair" in one cases and "not given" in two.
3. The property of the 20 families was kept in as good condition or better than that of the white neighbors.
4. Of the 20 families only one was a "renter," all the rest owned their places. In nine cases the property was purchased from a white owner directly; in two cases from a Negro. Six purchased through a white real estate firm, two through a Negro agent for a white firm. In two cases the method of purchase was not given.
5. Five families had lived in their places for three years or less; four families from four to six years; six families from seven to ten years and five families for eleven years or more.

6. The present value of the properties is given below.

\$50,000	1
35,000	2
20,000	1
18,000	1
16,000	2
15,000	1
12,000	2
11,000	2
10,000	2
8,000	4
7,000	1
Not given	1

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TOTAL 20

The reasons for buying the property were as follows: About ten of the 16 cases wanted a good home or a desirable location; one had been told about the property by a white neighbor and liked the location; another thought the conditions were better and wanted to protect her girls; one said the new property would be nearer his office and offered more cultural advantages; one wanted to get away from noise and several gave the very natural reason that they liked the house.

7. The results to the purchaser of occupying the house.

1. Satisfactory. (In ten cases.)
2. One neighbor objected and moved away.
3. There was no trouble. Had lived in next block for 16 years. Knew neighbors.
4. We weren't wanted. There were several committee meetings to oust us.
5. No difficulty. Racial difficulty not in air at that time (1915)
6. No friction whatever. Was well-known. Neighborhood wasn't built up much at that time.
7. Children wrote on our doors.



- m 42 5
8. Received threatening letters at first. One family was disgusted and moved.
  9. When the house was being built some of the rafters were destroyed.
  8. Subsequent treatment was "all right" in 11 cases. "all right but we don't mix" in three cases. "Neighbors are friendly" in no case and "all right except next door neighbor" in another.
  9. Four of the families said that they had no neighborhood associations; seven had associations with other Negroes in the block or in adjacent blocks. In four cases the Negro children played with the white. Two of the Negroes were on local improvement associations. Two families attended the neighborhood white church; one woman belonged to a literary club.
  10. The families that had moved into white neighborhoods more than three years previously had had little trouble. There was no problem. Many white families knowingly bought property next to colored families, apparently giving it little heed.
  11. A summary of the number of Negro children for the 20 families is given below.

Eight families had no children.

Four families had one child each.

Six families had two children each.

Two families had three children each.

Two did not reply.

The fact that there were so few colored children probably had a bearing on the treatment received according to both Negroes and whites. In no case a Negro boy of 12 was called a "nuisance."

In no instance a lady visiting a white friend saw some Negro children playing on the street. "What a pity!" she exclaimed. Another visitor asked one of the white neighbors on seeing Negro children in the street, "Are these your children?" In several instances the small children play together; most often the play yard was the colored child's

lawn or backyard.

12. In no case did the colored family try to associate with white neighbors unless encouraged by them to do so. They moved to the neighborhood because they wanted better homes.

13. In practically all cases white neighbors said the rent or selling price of property was depreciated by the presence of the colored family. One man said he could get 20% more for certain rentals if there were no colored families in the block. Yet in one case a flat that had been renting for \$35 a month was later rented to Negroes at \$55.

14. The buying of a lot and building a home on it while the neighborhood is relatively new seems to have produced the least friction in the past.

15. The complexion of some of the colored families was so fair that but for their company the neighbors would hardly know they were Negroes. So no objection was raised.

16. In no case was there any objections made to the Negroes as neighbors; their color or race was the objectional feature. Several cases were cited where white neighbors said they made much better neighbors than some of the white families.

17. Specific comments made by whites upon their Negro neighbors are given below.

1. You wouldn't know they were colored except for their company.
2. The neighborhood is changing, getting mixed.
3. Mrs. M-- doesn't bother anyone.
4. A Japanese family rents next door. The neighborhood is changing.
5. One southern neighbor who moved from Georgia two years ago, thinks that the Negroes should have separate coaches, schools etc; but she neighbors with the S--'s. The white family on the other side of the S--'s say that Mr. S-- is talented and a good neighbor, much better than the Southern people on the other side.

6. They lived here two years before anyone knew they were not white.
7. Of course it hurts property but there's only the one family. Would rather have them than some foreigners.
8. I pity more than censure them.
9. People will sell to anyone now that there's a colored family. It affects the character of the neighborhood gradually.
10. They don't bother at all. They are the cleanest, neatest, people in the neighborhood.
11. No friction whatever. My children play with theirs in the backyard.
12. The boy is a nuisance and the mother is flighty.
13. The neighborhood is changing.
14. They don't force themselves. They have two very bright daughters.
15. It lowers the value of property. The neighborhood is changing. Mrs. G-- is very refined and a good neighbor.
16. They keep to themselves and don't bother us at all.
17. We leave them alone and they leave us alone.
18. Excellent neighbors. Better than some families coming into the neighborhood. Neighborhood is changing; other races are crowding in and boarding houses are being started.
19. Didn't consider the fact that colored people lived here when I bought this lot seven years ago. They mind their own business. Everything has been agreeable.
20. Wouldn't live here if I had children. White children ought not to play with colored children.

21. They don't make any trouble.
22. Don't associate much with neighbors.
23. It does, of course, lower valuation of property.
24. They don't try to associate with us. They give us no trouble. We don't want any more moving in, however.

### B. HARDING AVENUE, A TYPICAL "INVASION."

In the preceding pages the attempt of the Negro to secure better housing conditions has been brought out. In the 20 cases used, Negroes have attempted to secure excellent dwellings. In the Harding Avenue "invasion" Negroes are attempting to secure "good" residences. The place of the subdivision in the Negroes' attempt to secure better housing conditions is discussed later on page

#### 1. Source of Study

The Harding Avenue situation was brought to the attention of the Negro Survey early in August. Two residents of the street, incensed and alarmed at the increase of Negro residents, went to the Mayor's office to tell their story and were directed from there to the headquarters of the Negro Survey. The present agitation in the neighborhood has been sporadic and unorganized. It started when two new houses near Warren Avenue were sold to Negroes. The first man to report trouble to the Survey lived next door to one of these residences. He admitted he was not on friendly terms with the former owner. He said that to him, sentiment had reached a dangerous climax and there was danger of a demonstration, if not a riot, almost any time. He said the Ku Klux Klan was strongly organized in the neighborhood. He also stated that he had been approached by a real estate

dealer and offered a low price for his residence with the threat that if he did not sell then he would be forced to set even a lower price in a very short time. He held real estate agents altogether responsible for the influx. His chief complaint was that property holders would lose money when selling out.

A short time after this another white resident appeared, bringing with him an ad which he had noticed in a Sunday paper.

"Colored people attention

Harding, near Warren,  
6-room house, full basement;  
1 car garage; big attic;  
price \$8000; \$1000 down,  
\$60 per month. Call \_\_\_\_\_."

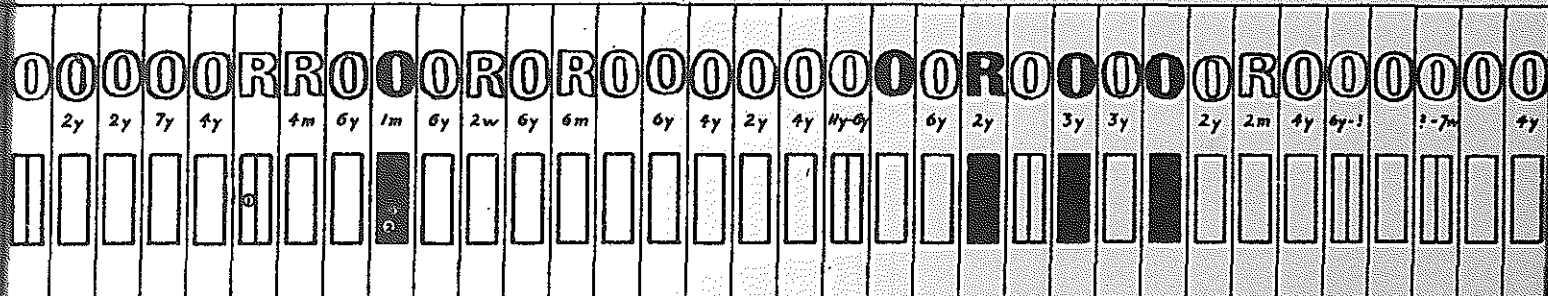
He had talked with the first man and had in that way heard of the Survey. He reiterated many of the things which the first man had said. He felt very strongly about the real estate agents' responsibility in the situation, and was certain that any sale of property would result in a loss.

Although the Survey could take no action in the case, it was decided to study the process of Negro entrance into white neighborhoods as shown in this block. Both colored and white residents in the section of the block most recently penetrated were interviewed. Two of the white residents who had recently sold were included in this group. The whole block was also canvassed and a limited census taken to determine facts which would throw light upon the situation.

2. Limits of the neighborhood and its history.

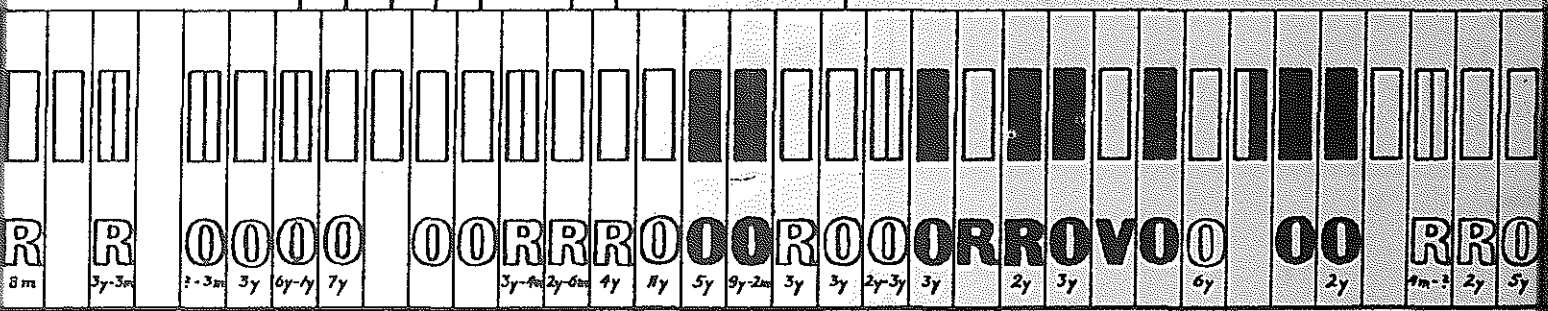
The neighborhood covered by this study consists of two blocks on Harding Avenue, extending from Mack Avenue north to Warren Avenue. The block from Danfield to Warren, a long block containing approximately 100 homes, is the area which





G

AVE.



FOUR -  
FAMILY

OWNER: WHITE  
COLORED

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O

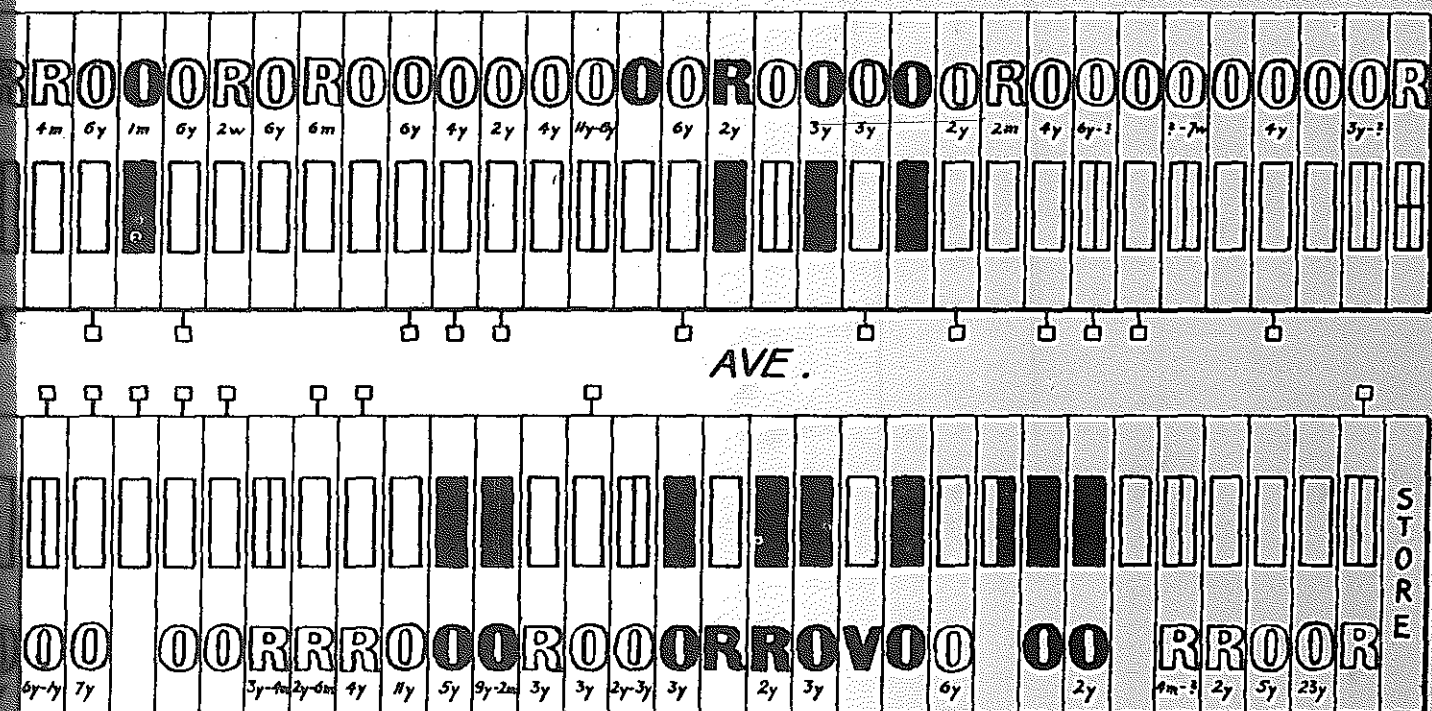
RENTER: WHITE  
COLORED

R  
R

FOR SALE

LENGTH OF RE  
y. YEARS m.  
w. WEEKS

Harding Ave. Case Study Ar of Aug. 20, 1926



OWNER: WHITE **O**  
 COLORED **O**

RENTER: WHITE **R**  
 COLORED **R**

FOR SALE **♣**

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE:  
 y. YEARS    m. MONTHS  
 w. WEEKS

g Ave. Case Study

Ar of Aug. 20, 1926



was studied intensively.

The development of Harding Avenue has not taken place on the same scale or in the same manner as in a modern subdivision. The growth has occurred largely within the last fifteen years. The block from Mack to Canfield was the first to be developed. The growth of the block between Canfield and Warren has taken place, for the most part, within the last ten or twelve years and it was partially built up before the Warren Avenue extension was completed. The houses on this latter block are predominately frame and the property is, with a few exceptions, well kept up. The greater number of residents own their homes, although many of them do not have clear titles as yet. In the summer time the street is well shaded by a row of trees on either side.

As near as can be determined the first colored person moved into the block about three years ago. This man, a doctor, has remained in the neighborhood ever since. At the time of his moving into the district there was some slight feeling of antagonism, but as far as the investigators could discover the feeling was confined to one or two families and was not expressed except to the agents making the sale. One neighbor, who had at first expressed dissatisfaction at the appearance of this colored man in the neighborhood, became later not only his staunch friend, but also an advocate of more colored residents on the street.

Since this first "invasion" the influx of colored people into the block has been spasmodic and not constant. According to one of the real estate men handling business on the street the last influx, until the summer of 1926, came about two years ago. At that time several colored families moved into the district, some of them buying outright. As the influx increased

the tide moved North on the street toward the end which thought itself immune. Finally, two houses in the northern part were sold to colored people in spite of the protest of neighbors.

As conditions exist today, there are nineteen residences occupied by colored out of a total of 100 in this block. There are more families than this would indicate because in some cases a colored residence is double and in at least one instance two colored families are living in a single house. Furthermore, there are at least two cases where colored owners of houses are renting to white, so the total of colored residents could easily be augmented even though some action were taken to bar colored purchasers in the future.

The block from Mack Avenue to Canfield, the elder of the two blocks, is deteriorating and is unquestionably inferior to the block North of it. It is significant that the colored have not invaded this deteriorating section. In fact, one of the real estate agents interviewed stated that he could not make a sale in that section to colored people because "it was not good enough for them." On the block between Canfield and Warren the houses become progressively better as they go North and the infiltration of colored families has followed the better houses there. The invasion also is most pronounced on the west side of the street, on which the first colored residents settled.

### 3. Motives and methods of colored occupancy.

This neighborhood is in the line of expansion of the colored areas, as shown in the population map in another section of this report. Furthermore, throughout this East side section many instances may be found of isolated Negro families and small clusters of colored families in white neighborhoods. It is a part of the

general movement in Detroit by the more substantial colored families in Detroit to get out of the crowded districts and to secure good homes in respectable communities.

The first colored family which entered this block did so as an individual matter. There is no evidence that this first buyer broke into the community with the idea of decreasing property valuation by his presence so that others of his race might thereby purchase property in the same neighborhood at a great advantage. Nor is there any evidence of a collective or conscious movement to wedge colored families into this block. The first family paid a high price for the property, but as the agent in the sale recalled it, he paid "what was asked" and so got the place rather than a white purchaser who tried to bargain.

The following table presents data on the last five sales which have taken place in the section of the block near Warren, the end which has been most recently penetrated by colored families.

FIVE SALES IN TWO YEARS

<u>Order</u>	<u>Length</u> <u>of</u> <u>Sale</u>	<u>of</u> <u>Ownership</u>	<u>Purchase</u> <u>Price</u>	<u>Initial</u> <u>Payment</u>	<u>Monthly</u> <u>Payment</u>	<u>Through Agents</u> <u>or Direct</u>
1		2 yrs.	8800	1200	60 (?)	Direct
2		2 yrs.	8800	1200	-	Direct
3		1 yr.	7500	1500	-	Direct
4		3 weeks	"His price"	550	Seller's terms	Agents
5		1 week	7500	800	55	Agents through friends

The evidence seems to indicate that the first purchasers in this section did pay high prices for their homes, probably actually much more than they were worth. The rest paid the top market price, which, according to one real estate agent,

was more than white purchasers would have paid. There is no evidence to indicate that the first purchasers paid the exorbitant price willingly, and when the declining market valuations are considered it does not seem that the first colored residents were so badly treated as at first appears. It certainly is true that the later purchasers have not profited by any substantial reduction in purchase price because of the presence of the earlier Negro purchaser in the neighborhood. Initial payments, according to operators, have been reduced recently in real estate dealings in general so that the lower payments of the later purchasers were not the result of abnormal circumstances. The monthly payment has remained about the same.

The allegation, made by some of the residents, that real estate men purposely "planted" colored families in the block to depreciate values and to act as a lever as well to force doubtful property holders to sell, also seems unfounded. The three companies carrying on business in the block were investigated, and it was found that they were not, in so far as could be determined, greatly interested in the street. As one of them stated, any lowering of the prices would cut down his commission. Furthermore, there was not enough business on the street to attract them to any extent.

The most active real estate operator had a slogan on all of his signs placed upon sold houses which read, "Another House Sold By \_\_\_\_\_". This sign acted as a red flag to many of the residents who saw in it only a special gesture suggesting the inevitable influx of colored people. These same agents, when interviewed, stated that they solicited business only through the ordinary channels. They had no idea as to the amount of hatred

their slogan had worked up. All three firms stated it as their policy never to sell property to Negroes in a district which had no Negro residents. A partner in one of the agencies had been connected with the real estate man who had made the first sale into Harding Avenue, although he had not made the sale himself, and he said that he did not approve even though he "listed" the property.

There appears to be no evidence to show that white sellers up to the time of the study had lost because Negroes have moved into the block. White sellers have received their price (although not always their terms), which they might have had trouble in getting from white purchasers. In the opinion of one of the real estate men, most of the residents on the street stood to lose on any transaction because they had bought at peak prices and in many instances not only asked their original price, but added to it a substantial profit. These people could not find white purchasers, but they could find colored purchasers. On the other hand, another operator thought that the actual value of Harding Avenue property would have reached the value assumed by those who tried to sell, merely through the appreciation of land and small improvements. He also stated that colored residents entering a community could not help but depreciate property values. This realtor had but one house listed for sale on Harding and had never done any business on the street previous to this. When these contentions are subjected to the Harding Avenue study they both lose weight. If the Harding Avenue property was sold at its actual value then neither party lost by the transaction and the colored purchaser merely outbid his white competitor. If the

presence of colored in a white neighborhood depreciated actual property values as the white residents claimed and yet the colored purchaser paid the market value asked, apparently the colored buyer was the loser and not the former property owner.

One of the property holders on the street complained that the agents cleverly got out of losing commission rates on depreciated property by holding up the actual price of the property (upon which commission rates are based) while with the other hand they lowered the initial payment to the point where the seller got little cash and at the same time assumed the burden which was undoubtedly too great for him to swing and which it would take years and years to pay off.

This attitude was expressed in many interviews. White property holders who were desirous of selling said they would not do so for this reason. "What is the use of selling", one of them remarked, "when you can hardly get cash enough to pay the agents' commission". As a matter of fact, investigation shows that such a situation is not peculiar to Harding Avenue, but is a general result of the sudden spurt in building operations and the adjusting of real estate transactions to the wage earners' means. Down payments on Harding Avenue have probably not gone below \$400 whereas similar policies and agreements often asking much less than this amount may be found throughout the city, especially in the new suburbs and for new houses. (The investigators found case where new house could be purchased elsewhere by making an initial payment of but \$200).

The same property holder who refused to sell (although he wished to get out of the neighborhood) also stated that he would have to cut down on his rent, and, in fact, had already been forced to do so for the one apartment he was letting. On the other hand, other property owners thought that they could get very good rents by letting their property. It was the opinion of the interviewers that the reduction in rent referred to by the first property owner was attributable somewhat, if not altogether, to the fact that he had quite evidently allowed his house to deteriorate.

But even though property owners could rent at a very remunerative price it must be remembered that most of the people on this street own their property as homes, not as investments, and, in the second place, many of them are still buying them or are so close to the margin that they cannot buy other property unless they first realize on their original investment. To many of them it is a case of losing a home. If it is true, as it seems to be, that the small payment is becoming the rule in this class of real estate transaction, then the case of the Harding home owner is not so tragic; for if he refused to live in the neighborhood he can swing a new home purchase elsewhere on the payments coming in from his sold property. There still remains, however, the grievance raised by the home owners who felt that they had settled on the street for life.

#### 4. Character of Negro residents.

The colored residents on Harding Avenue are employed in occupations which are well paid and secure. In the group were found a doctor, a dentist, a post office employee, a machinist and

a skilled automobile worker. In addition to owning their homes, most of these men possess automobiles as well.

Without exception the white residents on Harding Avenue who were interviewed, even those most angry or bitter, stated that their colored neighbors gave them no trouble and made very desirable neighbors. Many of these white residents voluntarily praised the Negro residents very highly, and in several cases stated that they made better neighbors than the former white residents. It was generally conceded that the colored residents not only kept up the appearance of his property, but otherwise improved it. There was no complaint of over-crowding made, and no such case found. There was nothing but praise to be heard for the Negro residents' quietness and orderliness. Real estate men interviewed spoke most highly of their business ability and integrity. The two firms doing the largest business in the block both stated that the Negro was fully as satisfactory a client as the white purchaser; and one of the firms went so far as to state that his business dealings with Negroes were safer and more satisfactory than his transactions with the better classes of whites. The one complaint made against a Harding Avenue Negro family came from a neighbor who lived to his rear on another street, St. Clair. The grievance was that the Negro family in question "put on too many airs" and "refused to speak unless spoken to first".

There are evidently few colored children on Harding Avenue. The few that there are seem to mix in easily with the white children. Of the four recent Negro residents, but one had children. These two children seemed to be popular with the white children and the colored children's yard and house were



generally made the rendezvous for their play. Most of the white residents had children and when interviewed generally used them as an argument against living in a neighborhood where they would play with colored. But white families which did not have children were equally anxious to leave the neighborhood, and, perhaps as a result of this lack of impediment, seemed able to look around for a new location and leave sooner than their neighbors.

5. The present situation.

There has never been any organized opposition to Negroes on the part of white residents on the block although several of the colored families have suffered petty annoyances from time to time. No program of action could be discovered as either in existence or contemplated by the white residents, although one of the men had originally reported to the investigators that the people on the street "are hot to put on a show such as went on at Garland Avenue," only one individual was found who suggested violence as a means of solving the problem. He has participated in the Tulsa riots and considered the Tulsa method effective. No evidence was found of the existence of the Ku Klux Klan nor of any organization which would serve as a uniting agency. In fact, there appeared to be very little acquaintance or neighborliness among the whites on the block. Many of the men interviewed had to ask their wives to find out the name of a resident across the street or only a few houses distant, and in at least one case the wife had to resort to the telephone directory in order to be sure of a name - this a case where the families had been living across from each other for at least five years.

Many of the residents expressed their willingness to stay if they could be sure that the present number of Negro families

would remain as the quota for the block. Some of these did not fear the loss of property values from the presence of Negroes, but they felt that if their street was labeled as colored it would cease to get attention from the city departments and hence would deteriorate. None of them had any hope of the neighbors uniting in an agreement not to sell because each expresses a lack of faith in the other neighbors.

Already several agreements between next door neighbors not to sell to Negroes have been broken. It appeared to the investigators that most of the residents are looking out for themselves only. The men who originally reported the situation finally admitted that they had no interest in the welfare of the neighborhood, but were trying to make sure that they would get out of the situation with a successful financial deal on their property.

It is the opinion of the investigators after studying this block that so long as the property holders remain calm there is no danger of their losing money on their homes. If they do not care to remain in the neighborhood, they will only suffer the inconvenience of finding another place and moving. With the individualism and suspicion which exists on the block, however, one cannot predict what might happen over night in this neighborhood. The demonstrations which have occurred in several similar situations in Detroit are contagious in the sense that they lie dormant in the minds of many of the Harding Avenue residents as a possible course of action. In the absence of calm leadership, the suggestibility shown by the majority of the Harding Avenue residents interviewed could be inflamed to a neighborhood hysteria which might manifest itself in hostile action or a sudden, wholesale exodus from the neighborhood.

with a consequent financial loss on the property.

### THE NEGRO SUBDIVISION

In the past few years several purely Negro subdivisions have been developed in and near Detroit. The most important of these are the Eight-Mile Road in which there are at present about 4,000 people, the Inkster with 2,000 and the Quinn Road with 500.

While the white men interviewed on the problem of Negro housing were practically unanimous with regard to Negro segregation and the housing of Negroes in subdivisions, some of the Negro real estate men and social workers expressed more analytical views on these subjects.

#### A real estate dealer said:

"The Negro subdivisions are all right if they are restricted, but only one in Detroit is. On the whole the principle of segregated subdivisions is bad because it tends to separate white and colored and to prevent mutual understanding.

"Mr. S-- a real estate dealer believes that subdivisions are a great hope for the Negro who would otherwise be forced to live in the congested districts. If the Negro can be encouraged to save towards a lot and home, he will be morally and economically saved. The white real estate company for which Mr. S-- works is promoting a Negro subdivision in a neighboring town. Lots are offered at reasonable rates and the company has a contractor willing to build houses at a fair rate. In most subdivisions as it is nearly impossible for Negroes to get contractors to build houses except at an undue cost, they are forced to build their own and as few of them are carpenters, the subdivision suffers. If the Negro gets out of the busy downtown section where he is a prey to exorbitant rents and the temptation to spend money in various ways and if he starts securing a home, he is on the road to economic independence.

Another Negro real estate man:

"In general, subdivisions are money-making schemes. Many colored people from the South, used to rural environment, settle here. They tend to remain in a static condition, raising vegetables. There is no opportunity for a type of development, which would enable them to adjust themselves to an urban environment. A restricted subdivision is valuable but most subdivisions are neglected and unhealthy because there are no provisions for an adequate water supply or sewage disposal."

A Negro welfare worker said:

"The subdivisions idea on the whole is not a good one because few of the better Negroes invest in subdivisions and live in them. Living in subdivisions aggravates the health problem and people who adopt it slip into the old southern rural ways of doing things. If they lived in better communities suggestion and public opinion would force them to keep their property and maintain a higher standard of conduct. If there are high grade reservations in the subdivision, it may turn out all right. When there is a large isolated Negro group in any area there is apt to be neglect both on the part of the inhabitants and on the part of the municipal authorities."

On the other hand a Negro banker takes a favorable attitude towards subdivisions:

"Very few Negroes lose money on subdivision property, whereas many lose on Detroit downtown properties through careless bargaining. Subdivision people are very considerate of the Negro purchaser. In some cases payments on lots have been allowed to run for as long as eighteen months before foreclosure. The difficulty with the colored subdivision is that the Negro has trouble in getting his house built as the individual contractor charges him exorbitant prices because he can't get loans at the same discount for colored enterprises as for white."

APPENDIX I.

Board of Directors,  
Detroit Real Estate Board,  
Detroit, Michigan.

Gentlemen:

Several weeks ago the president of the Board was authorized by a resolution of the Board of Directors to appoint a special committee to make an investigation of the Negro situation in this city, which Committee was to report its findings to the Board of Directors. The committee appointed consisted of Wm. L. McGiverin, Norman Meginnity and Arthur G. Passett, chairman. Each member of this committee has been studying the situation and we have also been in touch with several members from the Racial Committee which was appointed by Mayor Smith. Your committee wishes to make the following report of its investigation up to date.

It is a well known fact that thousands of Negroes have been attracted to Detroit during the past several years and according to a report recently published by the Board of Education there are now approximately 82,000 Negroes in this City. They have been attracted and brought here on account of the industrial prosperity in this City and because of the general shortage in labor on account of the restricting immigration laws. Most of these Negroes are citizens of the United States and as such the law abiding class entitled to the just protection of this City, and a suitable place in which to rear their families.

The first question which confronts the City is the effect of this great ingress of Negro population. Serious problems have arisen in several localities which have already resulted in some bloodshed\* because of the fact that when a Negro moves into a district which is entirely white it is disturbing to the peace of mind of the white residents which often results in a neighborhood disturbance causing property damage, or has the effect of creating a desire on the part of the white residents to leave the neighborhood resulting in decreasing the property value. It, therefore, follows that the Negro who moves into a strictly white neighborhood is regarded as undesirable and trouble is bound to result from such action. We believe the reverse is also true and that a distinctly Negro community does not welcome the white resident into its district. There is another phase of the situation which is advanced by the Negro who has accumulated some property and desires to live in better surroundings than the present districts of this City which have been taken over by the Negroes and which are densely strewn with cheap rooming houses and disorderly places of business creating an environment in which he does not want to bring up his children.

The problem before the City is one of absorbing the growing Negro population in locations and districts where they will be able to live with their own people according to their various stations in life, but without causing racial disturbance by moving into established white districts. Your committee feels that this will only be brought about by a gradual expansion of present Negro districts which will force the Caucasian who objects to the Negro residents into a white district in another location. Your committee also finds that there are several locations in the outlying districts of the City where Negroes have already started settlements, in which districts there is available acreage. If the Negro in better circumstances objects to the crowded conditions prevailing in some of the older districts there is no reason why some of this acreage could not be developed into a Negro district of higher restrictions. Such a development could probably be promoted, financed by and show a profit to some of the wealthier Negroes now in the City.

Your committee desires to strongly condemn the actions of the unscrupulous white or Negro dealer who purchases property or attempts to move the Negro into a white district solely for the purpose of being bought out at a profit. In view of the recent serious disturbance we believe that every member of the Detroit Real Estate Board should have his attention forcibly called again to Article 34 of the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards which reads as follows:

A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.

We also believe that members of the Board should have their attention again called to the following facts.

1. That the courts of this State have upheld in several instances that property may be restricted against use or occupancy by persons not of the Caucasian race providing the conveyance relative to the transfer of same include such a restriction.
2. That here property has been subdivided and sold without the inclusion of such restriction in conveyance, and where the entrance of persons other than the Caucasian race would be detrimental to surrounding property values, that a separate instrument setting up such a restriction may be drawn, executed by the various fee holders of lots in the subdivision or tract in question and

recorded, thereby constituting a restriction as to the future use and occupancy of said property.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON RACIAL SITUATION

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section VI HEALTH

Prepared for the  
**Mayor's Inter-racial Committee**  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
**Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.**  
1926



# The Negro in Detroit

Section VI

HEALTH

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
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1926

The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

# HEALTH

## I. INTRODUCTION

One index to the relative adjustment of a group to a new environment is to be found in its vital statistics compared with those of the remainder of the population. The following section on the health of the Negro in Detroit considers the problem primarily from the statistical standpoint. Material is offered to show the mortality rates of the Negro compared with whites and the causes for death as compared with whites. An indication is also offered of the amount of sickness experienced by the colored population as shown by a sample group of Negroes in Detroit. Finally, an attempt has been made, to show the facilities available for the Negro who needs hospital or clinical care.

Some indication of the opinion of colored people themselves on their health was furnished by the family schedules. The question was asked, "Have health conditions of the family been better or worse since coming to Detroit?" Judging from the following table the preponderance of opinion was that health conditions are either as good as in the South or even better.

TABLE 1

OPINION OF HEAD OF FAMILY ON HEALTH CONDITIONS  
SINCE COMING TO DETROIT

Same.....	432
Better.....	312
Not given.....	173
Worse.....	79
Don't Know.....	3
Native.....	1
TOTAL.....	<u>1</u>
TOTAL.....	1000

Another indication of the Negro's opinion of his health conditions in Detroit was received in answer to the question. "In what way have you improved your condition by coming to Detroit?" While the majority mentioned that their financial or industrial status had been improved, 31 gave health as the way in which they had improved and 16 gave finances and health together. This was from a total of 797 replies. Only one person, however, out of 612 gave health as the reason for making Detroit his home. Ten heads of families out of 102 replies gave health as a reason for not making Detroit their home. Three hundred and eighty-two spoke of faults which they found with Detroit and in their replies climate was mentioned 16 times and poor sanitation 23 times.

## II. VITAL STATISTICS OF THE DETROIT NEGRO

The Detroit Board of Health has furnished the attached chart which gives a complete summary of the birth rate and death rates according to color in Detroit for the years 1915, 1920 and 1925. In these tables the rates for 1915 are based upon an estimated population for that year. Since Detroit grew so rapidly in the period from 1910 to 1920 and since the Negro migration in particular was not evenly spread over those ten years, the rate cannot be taken as absolutely accurate as compared with 1920 and 1925.

### A. Birth and death rates.

Since the 1920 and 1925 figures represent the new population of Detroit some trends may be drawn from the chart. The birth rate for Negroes is increasing while that of the white population is decreasing. The death rate for both groups

has been lowered in 1925 from what it was in 1920. The infant Mortality rate has been lowered for both groups. With this figure should be read the summary at the lower right hand corner of the chart. This shows that a greater proportion of the colored births have been in hospitals than of the white births, the result of a definite effort by the Board of Health which the health officers feel has lowered the infant death rate for Negroes.

The homicide rate for Negroes is very high in proportion to that of the white, and although both rates are increasing the Negro's rate has increased more in proportion.

B. Causes of death and sickness

A summary of the attached chart which gives an analysis of the causes of death shows that typhoid fever seems to be a minor cause amongst Negroes with only ten deaths from this cause in the three years listed. The tuberculosis rate, however, is very high for the colored group and has increased while the rate for the white has decreased. Cancer is found at a lower rate amongst the colored and seems to be decreasing while it is on the increase amongst the whites. Apoplexy and cerebral hemorrhage is a slightly increasing cause for both groups, but the Negro's rate is lower in each case. The colored rate for heart disease is higher than that of the white, but the colored rate is decreasing while that of the white is increasing.

Both influenza and pneumonia show especially high rates in 1920. The Negroes, however, have a higher rate for both of these diseases in 1920 and in 1925. Deaths from Bright's

BIRTHS AND DEATHS  
BY YEARS

Year	Color	Living Births		Total Deaths		Typhoid Fever		Pul Tuberculosis		Cancer		Apoplexy and Cer Hem.		Heart Disease		Infant Mort.	
		No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate	No	Rate
1915	White	21,026	31.6	8513	12.8	70	10.5	623	96.5	405	60.8	322	48.3	752	11.0	50	7.1
	Black	101	7.8	191	14.7	2	15.4	27	207.7	5	61.5	8	61.5	23	17.0	0	-
1920	White	26,731	27.4	12,649	13.0	48	4.9	747	76.5	625	64.0	401	41.0	1017	10.4	766	7.8
	Black	948	21.8	1040	24.0	4	9.2	101	233.0	17	39.2	16	36.8	101	23.0	65	14.5
1925	White	29,593	25.4	12,099	10.4	29	2.5	694	59.5	369	31.6	6.5	1.7	410	12.0	310	9.3
	Black	2,237	27.3	1,587	19.4	4	4.9	247	300.2	31	37.8	36	44.0	164	20.0	117	14.6

Total birth and death rates per 1,000 population

Disease rates per 100,000 population.

Infant mortality and puerperal death rates per 1,000 living births

	Population	
	White	Black
1915	665,746	13,000
1920	975,839	43,430
1925	1,164,169	81,831

BIRTHS AND CERTAIN CAUSES OF DEATH IN DETROIT  
 Years 1915 - 1920 - 1925.

Year	Cancer		Apoplexy and Cer. Hem.		Heart Disease		Influenza		Pneumonia all forms		Bright's Dis. and Ch. Neph.		Dis. Early Infancy		Diarrhea All Ages		Syphilis	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1915	405	60.8	322	48.3	752	113.0	50	7.5	977	147.0	418	62.2	993	147.2	570	85.6	82	12.3
1917	8	61.5	8	61.5	23	177.0	0	-	36	217.0	9	19.3	18	175.0	3	231	4	30.8
1915	625	64.0	401	41.0	1017	104.0	766	78.5	2077	213.0	460	47.1	836	86.2	743	76.2	83	8.5
1920	17	39.2	16	36.8	101	233.0	63	15.0	331	776.0	14	59.3	44	11.4	30	69.0	20	59.8
1915	369	74.6	625	53.7	1110	121.0	113	9.7	1259	108.0	541	46.5	1217	41.1	467	40.1	25	7.1
1920	31	37.8	36	44.0	164	200.0	5	15.3	316	386.0	54	66.0	99	44.5	46	56.2	21	25.6

per 1,000 population.  
 Total death rates per 1,000 living births

Births in Detroit  
 Total Births  
 White - 29  
 Black -

S OF DEATH IN DETROIT

1920 - 1925.

Night's s. and h. Neph.	Dis Early Infancy		Diarrhea all ages		Syphilis		Small pox		Infant Deaths		Puer- peral Deaths		Homi- cides		Alco- hols		Alco- holism		
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	
113	62.2	993	47.2	570	85.6	82	12.3	1	0.15	2148	1020	136	65	24	3.6	520	770	32	4.8
9	63.3	18	173.0	3	23.1	4	30.8	0	-	34	297.0	2	19.8	7	63.8	5	6.5	0	-
160	47.1	836	31.2	743	76.2	83	8.5	4	0.4	2734	1020	244	9.1	102	10.4	642	60.8	26	2.9
24	55.3	44	46.4	30	69.0	26	59.8	0	-	151	15.0	0	10.5	43	1.1	29	66.9	0	-
341	46.5	1217	41.1	467	40.1	35	7.3	12	1.0	2295	775	195	6.0	147	12.6	914	8.5	38	7.6
54	66.0	99	44.3	46	56.2	21	25.6	0	-	271	121.0	24	10.7	9	117.0	62	75.7	13	15.9

Births in Detroit Hospitals by Color: 1925

	Total Births	Born in Hospitals	Per Cent in Hospitals
White -	29,593	8976	30.3
Black -	2,237	1299	58.1



disease and chronic nephritis are found in slightly higher proportion amongst the colored as are deaths in early infancy. Deaths from diarrhea have decreased in both groups. Syphilis is a cause of death in greater proportion amongst colored than white though the colored rate has been considerably lowered from 1920. There have been no deaths from smallpox amongst the colored in the three years listed.

C. Sickness as shown by the family schedule.

The heads of families interviewed in the thousand homes visited for the family schedule were asked to list sickness in the home during the preceding year, that is, approximately from July 1, 1925 to July 1, 1926. A summary of the replies will give some idea of the nature of illness reported from this sample of the colored population. Of the thousand families there were 647 which reported no sickness or accident during that period. In the remaining families 444 instances of sickness or accident were reported either in the families or lodger living with the families. The following tables present a record of the illnesses reported, giving first the member of the family who was sick, second, the disease, third, the duration of the disease, and, fourth, the results.

TABLE 2

SICKNESS IN FAMILY DURING PAST YEAR  
AS GIVEN ON FAMILY SCHEDULE

RELATION

Wife or widow.....	179
Self or Husband.....	109
Son.....	44
Daughter.....	43
Children.....	36
Not given.....	14
Mother.....	8
Lodger.....	4
Sister.....	3
Father.....	2
Brother.....	1
Niece.....	1

TOTAL.....444

DISEASE OR ILLNESS

Not given.....	60
La Grippe.....	58
"Childrens".....	53
Pneumonia.....	45
Maternity.....	35
Stomach.....	34
Accidents.....	31
Rheumatism.....	27
Tonsilitis.....	26
"Female".....	12
Heart trouble.....	11
Tuberculosis.....	9
High Blood Pressure.....	8
Appendicitis.....	7
Kidney.....	6
Nervous troubles.....	6
Eye and Ear.....	5
Liver.....	2
Diphtheria.....	2
Neuralgia.....	2
Cancer.....	2
Asthma- Hay Fever.....	2
Rupture.....	1

TOTAL.....444

Table 2 - continued

DURATION

Chronic.....	10
One month.....	106
Two weeks.....	89
Two months.....	47
One week.....	42
Not given.....	31
Three months.....	26
Four months.....	21
One year.....	20
Six months.....	16
Three to five years.....	8
Five months.....	7
Two years.....	6
Six to ten years.....	2

RESULTS

Not given.....	326
Still ill.....	50
Cured.....	49
Dead.....	<u>19</u>

TOTAL.....444

D. Physical defects amongst colored children.

The following table presents a sample study made by the Department of Health in 1921 to determine the numbers and percentages of physical defects found amongst colored and white children. Two groups of children were taken from each of several public schools for this study. An equal number, namely, 307 children were examined. Commenting on this study, Dr. Carl E. Buck, Epidemiologist and director of research for the Department of Health, made the following statement:

"There seems to be nothing particularly striking concerning the situation except that the white children have much poorer teeth and a larger percentage of defective vision. The colored children are apparently not as well vaccinated as the whites."

TABLE 3

PHYSICAL DEFECTS, NUMBERS, AND PERCENTAGES FOUND AMONG COLORED AND WHITE CHILDREN

		<u>Colored Children</u>															
<u>Male</u>	<u>Fe- male</u>	<u>To- tal</u>	<u>Thy- roid</u>	<u>Vision</u>	<u>Hear- ing</u>	<u>Mouth Breath- ing</u>	<u>Ton- sils</u>	<u>Skin</u>	<u>Anemia</u>	<u>Teeth</u>	<u>De- form- ed Pal- ate</u>	<u>Card- iac</u>	<u>Lungs</u>	<u>Cer- vical Glands</u>	<u>Or- tho- ped- ic</u>	<u>Not Vacci- nated.</u>	
<u>Nos.</u>	141	166	307	7	20	7	11	204	1	11	29	30	7	6	1	1	112
<u>%</u>	45.9	54.0	2.3	6.5	2.3	3.6	66.4	.32	3.6	9.4	0	2.3	1.9	.32	.32	36.5	

		<u>White Children</u>															
<u>Nos.</u>	156	151	307	4	38	5	19	202	-	6	71	-	3	8	1	-	80
<u>%</u>	50.8	49.2	1.3	12.4	1.6	6.2	65.8	-	1.9	23.1	-	1.0	2.6	.32	-	26.0	

III. HEALTH FACILITIES FOR NEGROES IN DETROIT

A. Indications from the family schedule.

To get an idea of the nature of treatment received in cases of illness reported on the family schedule, the heads of families were asked to give the treatment received and to tell who paid for the treatment. The following tables show the replies given to these questions:

Table 4.

Replies on family schedules as to treatment for illness

(a) TREATMENT RECEIVED

Private Doctor.....	326
Hospital.....	58
Home treatment.....	20
Not given.....	14
Nurse.....	13
Clinic.....	9
City Treatment.....	8
Potent Medicine.....	4
No treatment.....	2
Midwife.....	1

(b) WHO PAID FOR TREATMENT

Self or Husband.....	331
Relatives.....	41
Not given.....	28
City.....	25
Employer.....	11
Charity.....	5
Insurance.....	2
Landlord.....	1

B. Provisions for Negroes in Hospitals

The following table presents a summary of replies received from hospitals to a questionnaire sent out by the survey to determine what private and public hospitals are taking care of Negro patients and also to discover in general what type of treatment is afforded Negroes. The two strictly colored hospitals will be considered later.











	Cott- age	De- troit Tuber- sis	Evan- goli- cal Deacon- ness	Henry Ford	Grace	Harper	High- land Park	Herman- Keifer	Ost pat
Total number of physicians and surgeons in out- patient staff?	None	-	10	com- bin- ed staff	76	112	28	no staff	6
(a) Number of Negro physicians and surgeons on out-patient staff?	-	No out- pat. Dept.	None	None	None	None	None	-	-
Total number nurses employed?	5	20	40	300	144	180	-	112	16
Number Negro Nurses employed?	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Total number internes em- ployed?	-	6	4	26	20	52	-	12	5
Number Negro Internes em- ployed?	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Bed Capacity	20	150	135	500	362	430	130	700	60

con- s	Henry Ford	Grace Harper	High- land Park	Herman- Keifer	Osteo- pathic	Re- ceiv- ing	Spring Hills Sani.	Woman's and Infant's	Provi- dence
com- bin- ed staff	76	112	28	no staff	6	None	-	27	5
None	None	None	None	-	-	Ltd. to staff	-	-	-
300	144	180	-	112	16	115	42	33	87
None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
26	20	52	-	12	5	26	2	6	15
None	None	None	None	None	None	1	None	None	None
500	362	430	130	700	60	360	400	165	250

	Cott- age	De- troit Tuber- culo- sis	Evangelical Diseases	Henry Ford	Grace	Harper	High- land Park	Herman Keifer	Osteo- pathy
Are Negroes Segregated?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Parti- ally	Yes	Yes	Not adm.
If so, number Negro beds.	No	No	2	No	No	Not defin- ite	Yes	varies	-
Average daily out-patients visits?	None	-	-	-	90	307	9	do not oper.	2
Total number in-patients handled in 1925?	356	425	3556	-	11735	17478	4124	6974	4451
(a) Number Negro in-patients in 1925?	1	8	10	-	None	Un- known	42	Un- known	None
Total number out-patients handled in 1925?	None	-	320	-	8412	10046	3218	None	-
(a) Number Negro out-patients in 1925?	None	-	25	-	-	8%	124	-	-

De- troit Tuber- culo- sis	Evan- geli- cal Deacon- ness	Henry Ford	Grace	Harper	High- land Park	Herman Keifer	Osteo- pathic	Re- civ- ing	Spring Hills Sani.	Woman's and Infant's
No	Yes	No	No	Parti- ally	Yes	Yes	Not adm.	No	No	No
No	2	No	No	Not defin- ite	Yes	varies	-	No	No	No
-	-	-	90	307	9	do not oper.	2	91	-	60
425	3556	-	11735	17478	4124	6974	4451	16252	776	1233
8	10	-	None	Un- known	42	Un- known	None	4220	32	no record
-	320	-	8412	10046	3218	None	-	32357	-	-
-	25	-	-	8%	124	-	-	8608	-	-

Henry Ford	Grace Harper	High- land Park	Herman Keifer	Osteo- pathic	Re- civ- ing	Spring Hills Sani.	Woman's and Infant's	Provi- dence	
No	No	Parti- ally	Yes	Yes	Not adm.	No	No	No	Yes
	No	Not defin- ite	Yes	varies	-	No	No	No	6
	90	307	9	do not oper.	2	91	-	60	6
11735	17478	4124	6974	4451	16252	776	1233	9524	
None	Un- known	42	Un- known	None	4220	32	no record	250	
8412	10046	3218	None	-	32357	-	-	None	
-	8%	124	-	-	8608	-	-	None	

	Cott- age	De- troit Tuber- culosis	Evan- geli- cal Deacon- ness	Henry Ford	Grace	Harper	High- land Park	Herman Kiefer
Total Number City patients?	None	None	14	-	6983	Un- known	90	95%
Total number on Hospital private endowment?	7	-	-	-	466	Inc. in free days	None	None
(a) Number of Negroes on Hospital private endowment?	None	4	-	-	-	Inc. in free days	None	None
Number of free out-patients	-	-	-	-	6994	24382	all free	Do not operate
(a) Number Negro free out-patients	None	-	-	-	-	Un- known	all free	Do not operate
Method of support for Hospital?	Comm. Union	-	fees	-	Endow- ment	-	City	City
(a) Out-patient Department	-	-	fees	-	fees	Comm. Union	City	-
Comparison of Negro and other groups as to discharge of financial obligations?	-	Same	Poor pay	Same	Most- ly city	-	Same	Not as well

van- eli- al eacon- ess	Henry Ford	Grace	Harper	High- land Park	Herman Kiefer	Osteo- pathic	Re- ceiv- ing	Spring Hills Sani.	Woman's and Infant's	Provi- dence
14	-	6983	Un- known	90	95%	None	-	776	No record	350
-	-	466	Inc. in free days	None	None	-	-	-	None	7524
-	-	-	Inc. in free days	None	None	-	-	-	None	50
-	-	6994	24382	all free	Do not operate	-	-	-	6650	None
-	-	-	Un- known	all free	Do not operate	-	-	-	959 free	-
Fees	-	Endow- ment	-	City	City	Fees	City	City tax	Private	Private
Fees	-	fees	Comm. Union	City	-	Fees	City	-	Comm. Union	Charity
Poor pay	Same	Most- ly city	-	Same	Not as well	-	Fair	-	As rule free	Poor



	Cott- age	De- troit Tuber- culosis	Evangelical Dea- con- ness	Henry Ford	Grace Harper	High- land Park	Herman Keifer
Is a social service department maintained?	None	-	not yet	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
(a) In connection with city public welfare department	-	-	-	-	No	No	Yes
(b) How supported?	-	-	-	-	Comm. Union	Comm. Union	City Hospital
(c) Cooperation of Negroes as compared to whites in social service.	-	-	-	-	Fair	Very good	Same
What is attitude of white patients to black?	-	No friction	-	-	white wish separation	Resentful	White do not like mixing
Have you statistics or studies as to incidence of any disease among Negroes as compared with its incidence among whites?	-	-	No	No	No	More syphilis and T.B. prevalent Negroes	No
				Negroes must occupy private rooms			Try to keep Negroes together

Evangelical  
Deacons-  
ness

Henry  
Ford

Grace

Harper

High-  
land  
Park

Herman  
Keifer

Osteo-  
pathic

Rec-  
eiv-  
ing

Spring  
Hills  
Sani

Women's  
and  
Infant's

Provi-  
dence

not yet	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Visit- ing	Yes	Yes
-	-	No	No	Yes	Yes	-	No	Yes	Yes	No
-	-	Comm. Union	Comm. Union	City	Hospi- tal	-	Tax	Tax	Comm. Union	Comm. Union
-	-	Fair	Very good	Same	Not so good	-	Same	-	Good	Same
-	-	white wish separ- ation	Resent- ful	White do not like mix- ing	Very good	-	Whites object to mix- ing	Toler- ant.	Resent- ful	-
No	No	No	More syphilis and T.B. prevalent Negroes	-	No	-	No	More T.B. Mortal- ity	No	No

Negroes  
must  
occupy  
private  
rooms

Try to  
keep  
Negroes  
together

Some comment may be made on these tables. These replies came from 13 hospitals in Detroit and Highland Park, of which five are municipally operated. Only one of the hospitals is sectarian. None of the hospitals reported a Negro physician on the in-patient or out-patient staff. To the former, one hospital did not reply and to the latter six did not reply and one did not have an out-patient department. Seven hospitals reported that Negro physicians may treat patients in the hospital, three did not reply and three reported that Negro physicians may not treat patients in the hospital. There are no Negro nurses employed in these hospitals and only one Negro interne.

Five hospitals reported that Negro cases are segregated entirely or partially.

The number of Negro in-patients and out-patients for 1925 as given in the replies was either too scattered or too incompletely answered to permit of summary.

### C. Treatment of Negroes in City Hospitals.

A leading Negro physician claims that colored physicians find it very difficult to get their patients in free wards. He claims that he has called up the municipal hospitals many times to ask them to take in patients and they have invariably inquired whether the patients were colored or white. If the patient is colored he claims the excuse is given that there are no vacant beds, or that there are only a limited number of beds for Negroes. This physician also says that quite a number of his patients have reported to him rough and discourteous treatment.

On the other hand a colored doctor serving on the staff of one of the City hospitals says that the colored patients in the ward are given as good treatment as any one can expect and that there is absolutely no segregation so far as he has been able to discover. Occasionally there may be instances of grouping colored patients in one end of a ward, but this happens as a result of assigning beds to patients in the order in which they come in. He says that patients receive identical accommodations in every respect, beds are changed daily and in special cases as frequently as it is necessary. Nevertheless, he thinks it seems to be characteristic of some charity patients to complain about the treatment they receive. He says that there is no discrimination as to the number of patients of any particular group who are admitted, but on this point not only colored but some white doctors misunderstand the capacity of the hospital. There are limited accommodations outside of Receiving Hospital for colored charity patients, so the physician is likely to be informed that there is no room for any more colored patients. Rarely does the attendant take the trouble to give the inquirer a full explanation of the condition and consequently the physician at once jumps to the conclusion that his patient is being discriminated against.

The superintendent of Receiving Hospital says there is no attempt to segregate the Negro patients, but that he gets a great many complaints from white patients (more from the Northern whites than from the Southern whites) and he always does some shifting around when it is possible. He declares that all patients are taken and that no limit is made on the

number of colored admitted. He says that he has had no complaints on the fact that he has a colored doctor on the staff, but that on the other hand he has had many people speak to him of the good qualities of this doctor.

The superintendent of Herman Kiefer Hospital writes as follows in reply to the questionnaire:

"Are Negroes segregated? Generally, yes. On maternity service about one half consists of Negro mothers so that it is not necessary to mix. All the babies, however, occupy the same nurseries. The number of Negro beds is decided in the same way as the number of white beds; by the demand. No bed would be allowed to go unoccupied if there was a demand for it, be the demand either for Negro or white.

"Attitude of white to the black. Very little difficulty is experienced along this line. In our ambulatory tuberculosis service, both colors eat in the same dining room, usually at different tables, unless the number is so small that it does not seem practicable to set up a separate table for a few. The hospital personnel is entirely white, but there has never been an instance where service was refused a colored patient or visitor. (needless to say, the management would not tolerate it.)"

#### D. Colored Hospitals

The following table presents a summary of the facilities of two strictly Negro hospitals. The Mercy Hospital is entirely a private hospital run by a physician, while the Dunbar Memorial Hospital is operated by private fees and donations from the Community Fund.

Table 6

SUMMARY OF COLORED HOSPITALS

	<u>Dunbar Memorial Hospital</u>	<u>Mercy Hospital</u>
Private or City Owned	-	Private
Number years in operation	7	9
Number physicians and surgeons on staff	20	8
Number physicians on in- patient staff	-	4
Number physicians on out- patient staff	-	2
Number nurses employed	4	2
Number internes employed	2	0
Bed Capacity	42	25
Number pay patients	470	-
Number city patients	738	232
Number free patients	12	about 1/4 of patients
Number patients in 1925	1220	•
Approximate yearly expenses	\$41,200.00	-
Method of support	Patients fees and Community Fund	Self-support- ing.
Do local medical schools recognize internship of Negro medical students in Hospital?	Yes	-
Are nurses being trained?	Yes	-
How many nurses are being trained?	7	-

E. Clinics and other private health agencies

A summary of the replies received from other private agencies doing some form of health work for Negroes has been given under the head of Welfare. Replies to questionnaire material from the following agencies doing health work have been listed there:

Dodge Community Center

Dubois Health Center

Florence Crittenton Home and Hospital

Franklin Street Settlement

Urban League

Visiting Nurses Association

F. Colored physicians, nurses and dentists.

According to lists on file at the Urban League there are 53 colored physicians and 28 colored dentists serving the Negro population of Detroit. Names of 28 registered colored nurses were obtained from two bureaus which keep lists of registered nurses. In addition to this group, the Visiting Nurses Association employs colored nurses. The Board of Health reports that of the 42 licensed midwives in Detroit, one is colored.

G. Use of patent medicines.

While only four heads of families reporting on the family schedule admitted the use of patent medicines, there is some evidence that this does not represent the real extent to which they are consumed by Negroes in Detroit. Two colored druggists who do a large business with members of their race report that they sell a great deal of patent medicines. One of these men

says that although he does not put these patent medicines on display he nevertheless is unable to curb the demand. The other pharmacist reports that he is forced to keep a complete stock of these remedies on hand because of the demand for them from his customers. There is no evidence to show that Negroes are more extensive users of patent medicines than other groups. One of the druggists interviewed says that he has made it a point to observe sale of patent medicines in a near-by drug store patronized by whites and he has noticed just as great a demand for patent medicine on the part of other groups.

Both of these druggists give the same explanation for the use of patent medicine by the colored people. In their opinion, Negroes in the South are frequently without proper medical attention and so they become dependent upon patent medicines which are even dispensed by grocery stores in some communities in the South. Furthermore, unscrupulous whites in the South make a business of selling these remedies from house to house in the colored sections. The habit of depending upon such concoctions is continued when the Negroes move to the North.

#### H. Facilities for the care of unmarried mothers

Since this matter was made the subject for a special study by the Research Bureau of the Associated Charities at the request of the board of the Detroit Community Union, the following quotations from this report, submitted in December, 1925, present up-to-date facts on the situation.



Since the unmarried mothers who come to the attention of social agencies come because the social standards of the community will allow them no place there, it is necessary to provide for many of them not only confinement care, but shelter and support during a period of a few months before the child is born and of readjustment to the Community afterwards. The average length of stay of girls accepted by the Florence Crittenton Home is about six months. The length of stay varies with the institutions, being at one, the Salvation Army Hospital and Home, the subject of regulation, at time of admission, by agreement to remain a residence for three months. The inquiry, therefore, as to facilities in the city for caring for unmarried mothers is partly a question of hospital accommodation and partly a question of non-hospital institutional care.

Since there is considerable variety among the institutions in purpose, methods of procedure, and type of work, it seems necessary to indicate briefly the scope of the work of each.

Woman's Hospital and Infants' Home provides institutional care for sixteen mothers on their third floor, and for thirty-five mothers at their convalescent home at Valley Farm. In both of these places the girls await confinement and remain afterwards until ready to be adjusted in the community. The maternity ward has twelve beds. Both colored and white girls are accepted, the effort being made to keep the number of colored girls down to a number in accordance with the proportion of colored people in the total population in Detroit. Patients with venereal disease are excluded. A social service department is maintained consisting of a director and five social workers which serves about 90% of the patients who come into the hospital. About 75% of their work is with unmarried mothers. In addition to their work for the hospital, they provide social service for the small number of unmarried mothers at Herman Keifer Hospital. During the past twelve months the case count for the social service department has varied from 434 to 569. Woman's Hospital has organized and continues to house the Detroit Bureau of Wet Nurses, which is an independent organization. The president of the hospital Board could give no definite information about the increase in facilities expected in the new hospital as plans are not finally decided upon. There will be an increase; but so far, no change in policy as to kinds of admission has been decided upon.

Providence Hospital has ward space for the prenatal and confinement care of thirty unmarried mothers and an isolation ward of four beds for venereal patients. There is a separate ward accommodating twenty-five in a different part of the building, where the mothers may remain with their infants after confinement, the mothers being employed in the institution. These accommodations are for white girls. The occasional colored applicant (there are three or four a year) is cared for in the hospital proper. One hundred eighty-two unmarried mothers were cared for during the twelve months of 1924. Social service is provided for these wards by the Bureau of Catholic Societies.

Florence Crittenton Home has bed space in its house for 64, of which one ward of eight beds is for colored girls. They have an isolation cottage with eighteen beds for patients with venereal disease, to which no colored girls are admitted. A social service department consisting of a supervisor and three case workers is maintained. The case count during the last twelve months has varied from 81 to 438. During the twelve months of 1924, 123 unmarried mothers were cared for.

The Salvation Army Hospital and Home has space for thirty-seven mothers, with a hospital ward for ten. White and colored are housed together, the effort being made to keep the number of colored down to three or four at any one time. No patients with venereal disease are accepted. Six Salvation Army Officers are maintained in the institution to work with the girls to change their attitude. The work in social adjustment which is done outside of the institution is done by the Superintendent. One hundred ninety-three mothers were cared for in the twelve months of 1924.

These four institutions care for most of the unmarried mothers who are known to social agencies. Other hospitals occasionally accept them for the period of confinement only, usually in an emergency, but it is their policy to refer them to one of the four institutions especially equipped to provide pre-natal and convalescent care and social service. During the past year Harper Hospital cared for a very small number, Grace Hospital 3, Mercy Hospital 2 or 3, Evangelical Deaconess Hospital 5, and Ford Hospital 1. During the twelve months of 1924, Herman Keifer Hospital gave confinement care to 21, this in spite of the fact that it is contrary to their policy. These cases had been referred to

them by the Board of Health Pre-natal Clinic, with it was unable to secure care elsewhere. The facilities for care may be briefly summarized as follows:

Facilities in Detroit for the care of Unmarried Mothers

Hospital or Home	Number of beds available for non-venereal patients		Number of beds available for venereal patients	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>
Woman's Hospital	45	6		
Providence Hospital	55	*	4	
Florence Crittenton Hospital and Home	56	8	18	
Salvation Army Hosp.	<u>43</u>	<u>4</u>		
TOTAL	199	18*	22	None

\*An occasional colored applicant at Providence Hospital is cared for in the hospital proper.

As is evident from the table there is very limited provision for colored girls. It is the policy of the three institutions which receive colored girls for institutional care to keep the number down to what they consider a fair proportion, that is, a number in proportion to the relative numbers of white and colored total population in Detroit, on the ground that otherwise they would be swamped with colored work to the exclusion of white. The consequence is that many colored girls are receiving pre-natal care from the Board of Health Clinic which is arranging confinement care as it is able. For the twelve months of 1924, forty-six unmarried mothers, thirty-seven of them colored, were registered with the Pre-natal Clinic and were confined as follows:

Herman Keifer.....21  
 Woman's Hospital.....14  
 Providence Hospital..... 1  
 Florence Crittenton..... 1

Salvation Army Hospital.....	1
Private Physicians.....	7
City Physicians.....	<u>1</u>
TOTAL.....	46

It is possible that for colored mothers the problem is not as serious as it would be if unmarried motherhood among Negroes involved as great a complex as it does in white communities. Whether illegitimate colored infants are far more handicapped, physically and socially, than the legitimate ones, as is the case among white infants, is undetermined. The situation is entirely unsatisfactory for colored girls, but the feeling among the agencies is that the colored work should be developed under colored leadership.

As the table also reveals, there is a lack of provision for venereal patients. The Florence Crittenton isolation cottage is reported filled all the time. Williams House Venereal Clinic which has twelve beds and is always crowded, admits three or four unmarried mothers with their infants and constantly turns away applications. The Girls' Protective league reports that it sends unmarried mothers with venereal disease to University Hospital in Ann Arbor, but finds this method unsatisfactory in that touch with the girl is often lost afterwards. An ambulatory service at the Board of Health clinic is often not a satisfactory procedure for an unmarried mother, both on account of the travelling back and forth and because a homeless girl who is pregnant cannot, with safety, be placed in the community. The protective agencies often find it very difficult to make adequate plans for them.

#### IV. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL FACTS ON 1,000 NEGROES USING THE VENEREAL DISEASE CLINIC OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH

The following table presents some social facts on a sample of 1,000 Negroes entering the venereal disease clinic of the Board of Health for examination or treatment. These cases were taken at random in two typical months, one in winter and one in summer. In limiting the sample to 1,000 cases the proportion of males to females was preserved giving

699 men and 301 women.

The director of this clinic avers that in general three groups of these statistics (which are furnished by the patients) are likely to be inaccurate. The man is more inclined to say that he is single because his family will not be investigated. The woman is likely to say that she is married because it gives her a defense. The patient is inclined to try to create a good impression in the occupation which he gives.

TABLE 7

MALE AND FEMALE

	<u>AGE</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0 - 14.	. . . . .	0	1
15 - 20.	. . . . .	112	42
21 - 30.	. . . . .	436	195
31 - 40.	. . . . .	113	54
41 - 50.	. . . . .	27	7
51 - 60.	. . . . .	8	2
Over 60.	. . . . .	3	0
Not Given.	. . . . .	0	0
	TOTAL	699	301

MARITAL STATE

Married.	. . . . .	234	157
Single	. . . . .	407	36
Separated.	. . . . .	41	81
Widowed.	. . . . .	8	19
Divorced	. . . . .	9	8
	TOTAL	699	301

TIME IN CITY

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
6 mos. or less. . . . .	146	47
7 " to 1 yr. . . . .	68	37
13 " to 2 yrs. . . . .	107	38
25 " to 3 " . . . . .	91	40
37 " to 4 " . . . . .	65	24
49 " to 5 " . . . . .	45	24
5 yrs. 1 mo. to 10 yrs. . . . .	136	61
Over 10 yrs. . . . .	40	28
Not given. . . . .	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>699</b>	<b>301</b>

OCCUPATIONS

MALE

Laborers.....	357	Proprietor.....	1
Electricians.....	4	Checkers.....	2
Porters.....	41	Steel Mill.....	1
Construction.....	16	Manager.....	1
Presser.....	3	Sander.....	1
Barber.....	5	Inspector.....	1
Chauffeurs.....	7	Gas Station.....	1
Lather.....	2	Led Press Operator.....	1
Factor D.....	1	Houseman.....	1
Truck Driver.....	8	Caterer.....	1
Machinists.....	12	Delivery.....	1
Dishwashers.....	7	Ash-roller.....	1
Books.....	5	Shoemaker.....	1
Repair.....	1	Paper Boy.....	1
Steel W.....	1	Valot.....	1
Hanitors.....	15	Hotel Manager.....	1
Drivers.....	11	Elec. Welder.....	1
Mechanics.....	6	Taxi Driver.....	1
Hotel Work.....	1	Car Washer.....	3
Bricklayers.....	1	Pin Setter (Bowling Alley).....	1
Messengers.....	1	Water Tender.....	1
Foundry.....	5	Core Maker.....	2
Floor C.....	1	Factory.....	8
Bus Boys.....	8	Bell-hop.....	3
Musicians.....	2	Waiters.....	6
Sweepers.....	1	Grinders.....	5
Moulders.....	10	Gar. Man.....	2
Students.....	5	Gar. Col.....	1
Welders.....	2	Drivers.....	6
Pressmen.....	2	Laundry W.....	2
Plasterers.....	4	Gov. Service.....	1

OCCUPATIONS - Male - continued.

Helpers.....	1	Engineer.....	1
Op. Shear.....	1	Butchers.....	2
Food Handler.....	1	Shipping.....	2
Rolling Machine.....	1	Caretaker.....	1
Crank Case.....	1	Auto Machanic.....	1
Elevator Boys.....	4	Painters.....	3
Crane Operator.....	1	Lard Refining.....	1
Bootblacks.....	4	Mason , , , , .....	1
Oil Sander.....	1	Boxer.....	1
Tailors.....	2	Window W.....	1
Machine W.....	1	Carpenters.....	2
Magnet Helper.....	1	Clanker.....	1
Body-finisher.....	1	Store W.....	1
Lamp-maker.....	1	Machine H.....	1
Cement Finisher.....	1	Ministers.....	3
Baseball Player.....	1	Millwright.....	1
Coal Peddler.....	1	Watchman.....	1
Tool Maker.....	1	Ford Motor Co.....	1
Plumber.....	1	Heater Work.....	1
		T. & Cleaner.....	1
		Not Given.....	<u>41</u>
		TOTAL.....	699

OCCUPATION

FEMALE

Housewife.....	77
Domestic.....	203
Student.....	1
Factory.....	4
Actress.....	2
Unknown.....	1
Not given.....	13

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Employed.....	342	27
Unemployed.....	338	47
Not Given.....	15	226
Unknown.....	--	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	699	301

Table 7 - continued

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0.....	576	165
1.....	62	77
2.....	33	22
3.....	13	15
4.....	8	6
5.....	2	6
6.....	2	1
7.....	0	2
8.....	0	0
9.....	0	0
10.....	1	0
11.....	-	1
Not Given.....	-	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	699	301

NUMBER OF MIS-CARRIAGES

FEMALE

0.....	198
1.....	61
2.....	23
3.....	12
4.....	4
Not given.....	3
	<hr/>
TOTAL.....	301



# The Negro in Detroit

## Section VII RECREATION

Prepared for the  
Mayor's inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
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1926

# The Negro in Detroit

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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## RECREATION

### INTRODUCTION

The use of leisure time by the Negro in Detroit has been considered in this report from the standpoint of the agencies which attempt to meet the recreational needs of the group. The report has accordingly devoted itself to provisions for recreation furnished by the city, by semi-public and private agencies, and by commercial enterprises. Some attention has also been given to the unorganized use of spare time in the home and on the street.

### PUBLIC RECREATION

The City of Detroit has been making rapid strides in the development of its Department of Recreation. This is borne out by the fact that in the number of acres devoted exclusively to playgrounds and playfields, Detroit advanced from twelfth place among American cities in 1918 to third in 1922.

The recreation activities of the Department of Recreation are conducted in school buildings, branch libraries, social settlements, playgrounds, churches, skating rinks, swimming pools, camps, gardens, hospitals, orphanages and closed streets. For the year 1924 - 1925, the total number of places opened was 216, divided as follows:

52 Playgrounds and playfields having recreation center buildings.

151 Recreation centers in schools, churches, etc.  
(18 swimming pools included in these centers)

- 3 Community buildings\* (Atkinson  
(Bradley  
(Northwestern)
- 1 Bathing beach
- 1 Summer camp
- 8 Other play areas

Table 1 shows the number and race of play directors employed by the Department for certain years beginning with 1915.

TABLE 1  
NUMBER AND RACE OF PLAY DIRECTORS

Year	1915	1920	1925	1926
<u>White</u>				
All Year	40	60	80	80
Summer	100	175	300	325
<u>Colored</u>				
All Year	1	2	5	5
Summer	3	5	12	16

According to the statistics of the Recreation Commission the parks and playgrounds under jurisdiction of the commission have a valuation in excess of \$44,000,000. The play attendance for the year 1925 - 1926 (July 1, - June 30) was 8,746,000 of whom about 88,678 were Negroes. The average total daily attendance for all play centers was 23,961. The

\*A fourth, High Street Center, was added during 1925 - 1926.

average total daily attendance for all play centers was 23,961. The average daily attendance at play centers attended mostly by colored people was 287.

According to the statistics of the Department of Recreation the 12 city playgrounds where the attendance is mostly of colored people are as follows:

- Balch School.....5536 St. Antoine
- Barstow School.....1464 E. Congress
- Bishop School..... 991 Winder
- Campbell School.....2117 E. Alexandrine
- Lincoln School.....St. Antoine & Brady
- Longfellow.....12th & Indiandale
- Market Playground.....Russell & Davision
- Playground No. 1.....Alfred near Hastings
- Playground No. 2.....Watson & Rivard
- Playground No. 3.....Elliot between  
Hastings & Rivard.
- Playground No. 4.....Livingston near Rivard
- Vinewood-McGraw Playground.....McGraw & Vinewood.

During the year 1925 - 1926, the Department kept open all the year 46 recreation centers. Six of these had an attendance composed mostly of colored people, namely:

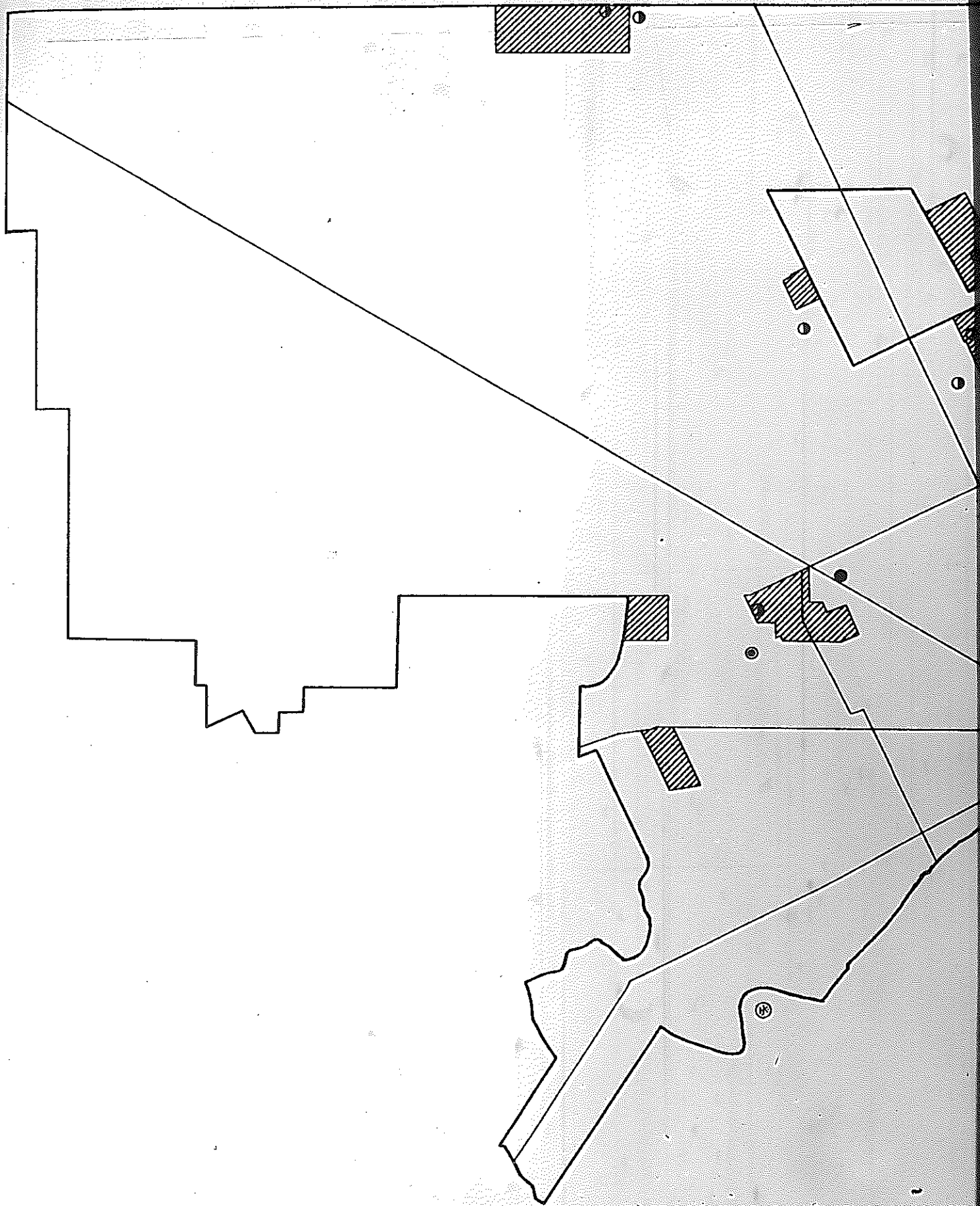
- Balch School
- Barstow School
- Bishop School
- Lincoln School
- Longfellow School
- High Street Community Center.

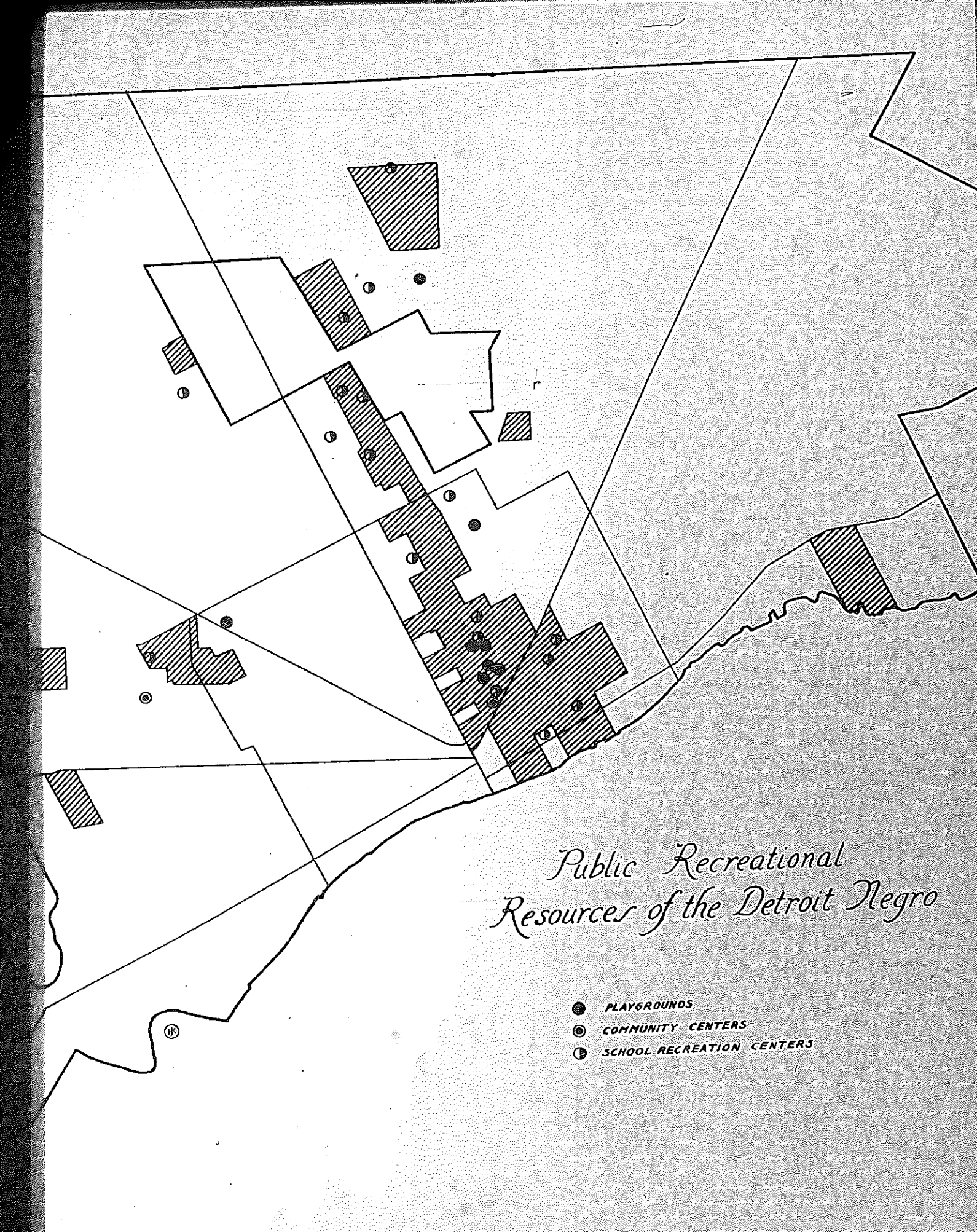
Of the recreation centers operated by the Department, 19 are equipped with swimming pools. Of these, two are located in colored districts, viz.

- Balch School.....Ferry & St. Antoine
- Clara Bath.....Erskine & Orleans

The following centers contiguous to colored districts have swimming pools:

- Atkinson.....Junction & McGraw
- Elmwood.....Larned & Elmwood
- McMichael.....Grand River & West Grand Blvd.
- Northwestern.....Grand River & West Grand Blvd.

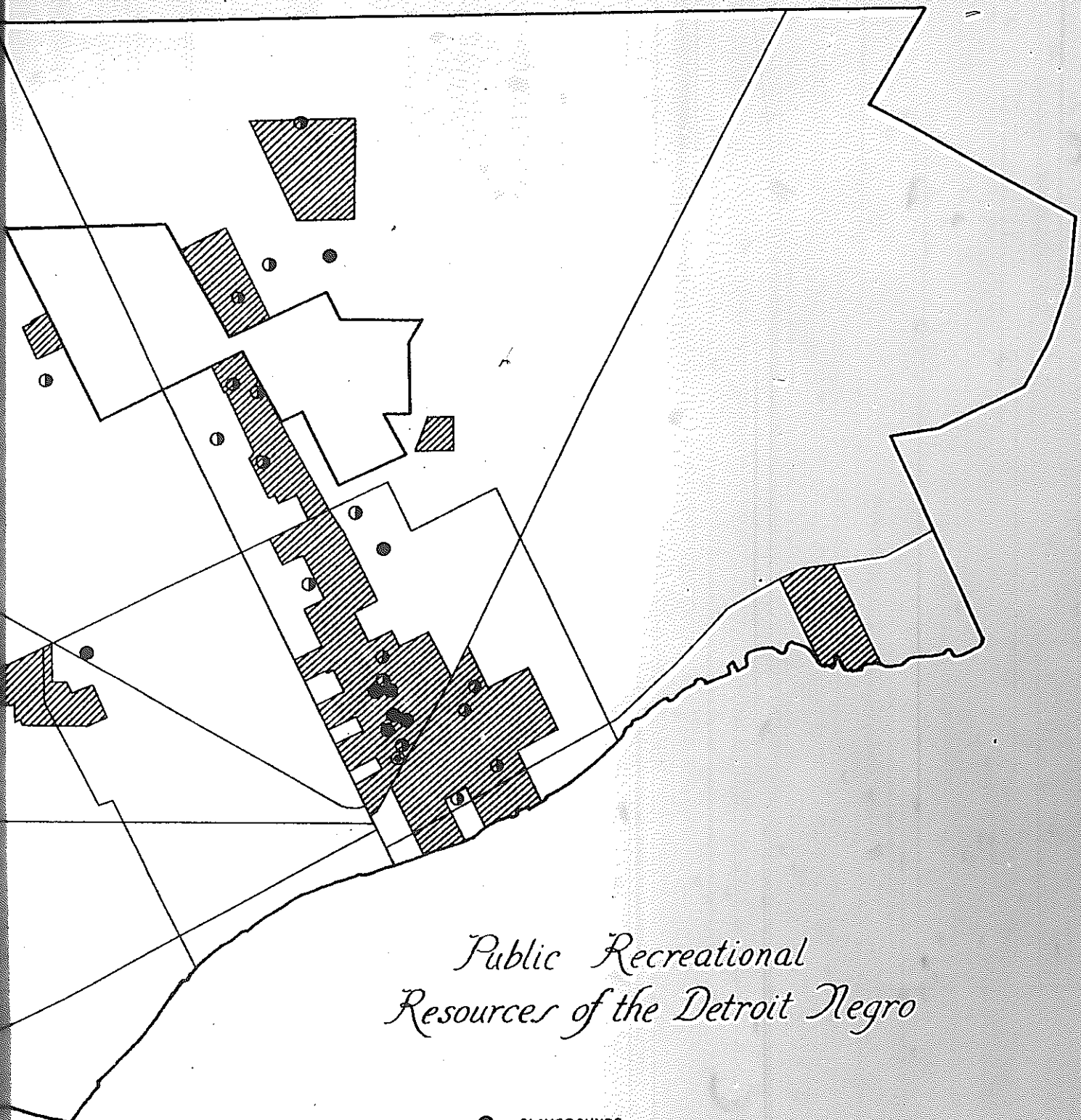




*Public Recreational  
Resources of the Detroit Negro*

- PLAYGROUNDS
- ⊙ COMMUNITY CENTERS
- ⊖ SCHOOL RECREATION CENTERS





*Public Recreational  
Resources of the Detroit Negro*

- PLAYGROUNDS
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Speaking of recreation in a wider significance, the Ginsburg branch of the Public Library (on Brewster between St. Antoine and Hastings) is the one branch situated in a neighborhood composed predominantly of colored people. Here the staff has definitely attempted to cater to the predominant group and has a section devoted to books written by authors who are either Negro or who have written about Negroes. There is also a sub-branch of the library in the Sophie Wright settlement (Superior Street). Both branches are well patronized by colored people.

Practically every social worker who has to do with Negroes has pointed out the need of fresh air camps for colored people, particularly boys and girls and mothers with babies and Young children.

The only free boys camp open to boys from other cities beside Detroit and to Negroes, is conducted by the Student Christian Association of the University of Michigan, which draws from other cities besides Detroit. A worker from the Detroit Community Union who places colored boys in the S. C. A. camp reports that they have made a very commendable showing compared with the white boys.

The Detroit Free Press Fresh Air Fund reports that it will not take colored boys because they "never have been able to take care for all the white children on (their) list to go to camp."

The Recreation Department does not now take colored people on its outings and the commissioner reports that when they did they had few applicants from Negroes. On the other

hand social workers claim that the colored people, particularly those who are new to Detroit, do not know of these facilities and need education in advantages to be derived from them.

One settlement has been able to make some provision in the past for colored mothers and their children, but the colored women were subjected to considerable embarrassment by the treatment received at the hands of the white people in the rural area in which this camp is located. One social worker reported in July, the need of placing immediately two cardiac cases but she had no place to send them.

The St. Antoine Y. M. C. A., although it has no camp site of its own has conducted a camp for the past two years in camps procured from other institutions. The camps conducted by the "Y" however, are for its own membership. It has been the experience of some of those interested in securing sites for colored camps that prejudice has been an important obstacle. Landowners, they say, do not like to sell land to be used for colored camps. On the other hand, officials of the Y. M. C. A. state that they have not encountered that in their efforts to secure a site for a colored camp. The chief difficulty has been their inability to find a camping site suitable as regards distance from the city and main highways, the character of the terrain, water supply for drinking, bathing and boating purposes, and favorable natural surroundings. Although they possess funds for a camp, and have examined many prospective sites within the past year, the officials of the Y. M. C. A. have been unable up-to-date to secure a suitable site although they are

### Private Recreation Agencies

A good deal of recreational work among colored people is performed by agencies of a private and semi-private nature such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., settlements, the Entertainment and Outing Department of the Detroit Community Union, the Music Department of the Detroit Community Union, churches and fraternal organizations.

The recreational work of the Y. M. C. A. is done through its physical department, boys department, and social department, in which, although it is mainly for its own membership, a large number of the colored men and boys of Detroit take part. The colored "Y" building, on Elizabeth between St. Antoine and Hastings, is the largest of its kind in the world and permits of carrying out a complete program of physical, social and mental recreation. The gymnasium is of adequate size and is well equipped; the swimming pool which is the equal of any in the city has a system of showers and lockers; and the general and boys' lobbies are equipped for quiet and satisfactory recreation of a social and mental kind. In addition to the facilities within the building, the Y. M. C. A. has recently purchased lots on Columbia Street on which two tennis courts have been constructed.

The staff of the "Y" has organized a complete schedule of activities to make use of the facilities available. In the physical department there are junior and senior volley ball and basketball leagues, gym classes, swimming and boxing classes and a tennis club. In addition an interchurch baseball league

composed of 16 teams has been organized under the direction of the "Y" and plays a schedule of 14 games per team during the summer months. The attendance at the baseball games it is claimed averages between two and three thousand.

The social department fosters clubs interested in the various sorts of table games, concerts, lectures, dramatics, receptions, group banquets, forums, public speaking and debating clubs, and entertainments for special days.

The Lucy Thurman branch of the Y. W. C. A. is handicapped in its recreational program by the lack of a suitable building. This institution, however, has 11 girls' clubs in the city, many of which have recreational programs. A general program of recreation is carried on and includes activities such as bazaars, forums, mother and daughter banquets, concerts, athletics, table games, attendance at the summer camp, etc.

#### SETTLEMENTS

The Franklin Street Settlement, the Sophie Wright Neighborhood House, the Highland Park Community House and the Tau Beta Community House do considerable work among Negroes and the Urban League Center, the St. Augustine Community House and the Baptist Christian Center have an attendance made up entirely of colored people.

During the summer months the entertainment and outing department arranges, for children, mothers, aged people and for disabled soldiers, varied entertainment which take the form of boat rides, picnics, attendance at big league baseball games, theatrical performances and vacations at fresh

air camps. In all of these, with the exception of fresh air camps, a goodly number of colored people take part.

At Franklin Street the colored people for the most part engage in such recreation activities as picnics, outings and club events. At Sophie Wright, one day of each week is devoted to activities of Negro clubs and one evening to activities of Negro boys. The branch of the public library there is open to them at all times and they also take an active part in music programs. At the Highland Park Center the recreational work among colored people is effected through groups of Girl Scouts, Girl Brownies and a woman's and girls' swimming class. The recreational activities carried on at the three colored settlements listed include boys' and girls' clubs of all kinds, dancing and singing classes, glee clubs, orchestra work, concerts, movies and lectures.

Most of the colored churches in response to a definite demand have provision in their programs for recreational activities but in few cases can it be said that these are carefully planned. Only one of these churches at present has a well equipped gymnasium. Most of them organize concerts, picnics and suppers. Numerous recreational clubs make up a part of the auxiliary societies of most of these churches though many of them conduct special classes in music and other arts. Some of them have even attempted to create libraries and reading rooms for their membership. A well organized interdenominational baseball league referred

to above, was organized two years ago among the boys of the colored churches.

One white church, Christ's Episcopal, does considerable work among the colored children who come to its gymnasium, where the director of athletics has made a special effort to take in these youngsters and to give them a chance for wholesome recreation under proper conditions.

The Community Union through its departments of Music and Entertainments and Outings, does much work of a recreational and cultural nature that is participated in by Negroes. The Music Department under its director, Miss Barber, seeks to provide an opportunity for the children of the community to secure musical training under competent instructors and at little cost to themselves. Work of this department among Negroes has been carried on at Sophie Wright Settlement, at the Urban League Center, and at the Baptist Christian Center, at each of which singing classes and glee clubs have been organized by Miss Barber. At Sophie Wright, in addition to participating in the general musical activities and in the orchestra, a group of colored girls have organized a special chorus and are making commendable progress.

The recreational activities of the fraternal orders assume the forms of conventions, outings, dances and special entertainments. There are a great many such activities, but they are mostly for the benefit of the membership of the particular orders concerned.

CONTACTS OF NEGROES AND WHITES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RECREATION

Although there is much contact of Negroes and whites in public and private recreation it is not altogether happy. Negroes are unwelcome at such amusement centers as Tashmoo Flats and Bob-Lo at all times and can secure suitable accommodations at Put-in-Bay and Sugar Island only on special days. The director of the Entertainment and Outing Department of the Community Union states that the boat companies refuse to carry colored passengers on general excursions. The Commissioner of Recreation mentioned the case of a boat company refusing to carry one of his staff picnics to Put-in-Bay when they learned that colored members of the staff were to be included. There seems to be a general policy in the schools against allowing colored and white pupils to use the swimming pools at the same time. The Commissioner of Recreation pointed out that the recreational facilities of his department are open to all citizens, but that there are unpleasant conditions at some centers where colored people and white mix. He stated that most of this unpleasantness centered around the swimming pools when used by both races, simultaneously. In this connection he mentioned a clash between Negroes and white people which took place at Kronk Community Center in February, 1926, when the colored people insisted upon entering the swimming pool along with the whites. Less difficulty was encountered at those pools where the Negroes were decidedly in the majority.

Fortunately, not all of the contact in recreation between the two groups is unpleasant. Colored teams are admitted to



the various leagues composed of Recreation Department teams, and compete with white teams. Furthermore, especially at those centers where a large part of the attendance is colored, they are taken on the team representing the center. The combined Y. M. C. A. and High Street Center Tennis Club competed in August, 1926, in the city playground tournament, and in the regional and state tournaments of the Y. M. C. A. They won the regional tournament and represented the southeastern region of the "V" in the state tournament. Last winter, 1925 - 1926, the Urban League Center Juniors won the Inter-settlement Basketball Championship in a league composed of teams from all settlements. The St. Antoine Y. M. C. A. Volley Ball team competed last February in the State Y. M. C. A. Volley Ball Tournament and was cordially treated. Colored boys have made enviable records in local high school athletics, especially where the competition is of an individual nature. Two colored boys, the only Detroiters entered, represented Cass Technical High School at the National Interscholastic Track Meet at Chicago in June, 1926, and carried off high honors. Colored people make wide use of Belle Isle Park without any friction with whites. They bathe on the beach, use the canoes and other facilities without any appreciable unpleasantness. Commissioner Brewer stated that he was of the opinion that colored and Jewish people used Belle Isle more, proportionately, than any other groups.

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Much of the recreation for the colored group of Detroit is furnished by establishments supplying the type of activity classified as commercial recreation. While some of these activities become vicious and dangerous, such is not the case with all of them. There are theatres and poolrooms conducted for financial gain which are just as wholesome in the type of recreation they offer as the public and semi-public institutions.

According to the replies to our family schedule cards submitted to 1000 colored heads of families, the theatres were largely patronized as a source of recreation by colored people, who in this respect have fair provision made for them. Practically all of the first class theatres in the downtown area are open to colored people with modification. Many of these theatres attempt to arrange that colored people will be sold seats only in the balconies and galleries and some of them pursue the policy of purposely selling all seats in certain rows and sections to colored. But, whenever a colored person insists on being sold a ticket in a certain row and section of the theatre he is generally not denied. The theatres in the downtown section attended in large numbers by colored people are the vaudeville, musical comedy and burlesque, such as the Avenue, Palace, Gayety and Cadillac and the "movie" houses such as the Adams, Capitol, Michigan and State. Negroes of the more educated classes are frequently seen at the legitimate houses such as the Shuberts' Detroit and the Garrick, whose patrons of theatres are generally persons who are in search of entertain-

ment of a pleasing kind amid suitable surroundings.

There are nine theatres and movies catering especially to Negroes. Two of these, the Koppin on Gratiot Avenue and the Dunbar on Hastings Street offer stage performances as well as moving pictures. All of these theatres, with the exception of the Koppin and Rosebud, are located on Hastings Street and all with the exception of the Koppin, Dunbar and Castle are small houses seating between two and five hundred people. All of them are owned by white people, but the Koppin and Rosebud have colored managers.

The stage performances presented at the Koppin are by colored theatrical troupes. The plays are mostly of the musical comedy type and stress dancing and singing. The attendance at the Koppin is large. The pictures are about the same as those shown by the second-rate movie houses. All the other houses present "thrillers".

Rarely are the pictures of the first run series and the music, except at the Koppin, is ordinary. The Koppin maintains an orchestra. The patrons of these theatres for the most part are drawn from the simple, working class of people within the neighborhood who respond to the kind of entertainment furnished by these houses.

#### Pool Rooms

A large number of colored men find much of their recreation in playing pool and billiards. There are upwards of 50 pool rooms operated by Negroes in Detroit and four which are operated by white men for Negro patronage. All of these

must be licensed by the Department of Recreation. The average number of tables in each is about six, but there are many with as many as ten. Most of the Pool rooms are located on Russell, Hastings and St. Antoine streets and on Gratiot Avenue. The usual types of pool games permitted are "Rotation" or "French", "Eight Ball," "Fifteen Ball", or "Straight" and "St. Louis", most of which are conducted in a clean manner and, for the most part, are free of pernicious gambling.

It seems that the desire for entertainment is the determining motive of those who frequent the pool rooms. The patrons are, on the whole, working men who like this kind of recreation. There seems to be a scarcity in Detroit of the usual "sharks" who are given to frequenting pool rooms for the purpose of using their prowess in the game to beat other men out of their money, and the atmosphere of these places, though often ribald and hilarious, is not unwholesome. The director of the Commercial Division of the Department of Recreation states that he has found it necessary to revoke the licenses of colored operators of pool rooms in only two cases during the past year.

No attendance figures are kept by the owners of these pool rooms and no accurate estimate of the number of patrons is possible.

### Baseball

Detroit is a good baseball town from the standpoint of the colored people who enjoy attending this game. While no statistics as to the attendance of colored people at Navin

Field were procurable, personal visits of investigators to this park and the testimony of a large number of people who regularly attend games there disclose the fact that a large number of colored fans witness games regularly at Navin Field during the playing season. Detroit is also represented by a club, the Detroit Stars, in the American Negro League, which is an aggregation of first-class ball players. The teams of this league play a standard of ball comparable to that played in the Class A and B leagues of white players. The fans who witness the games of the American Negro League are keen observers and demand real skill on the parts of the players. The average attendance of colored fans at Mack Park is about 4,500 which is a high average for a colored population as large as that of Detroit.

### Boxing

Boxing, as a commercial pastime, is a negligible factor in Detroit. There are very few professional bouts staged anywhere in the city, and what few there are consist of contests arranged by private clubs which have them as a feature of a more extensive program of entertainment. However, wherever this sport is followed a large part of the following is composed of colored men, and colored men are well represented both as principals and spectators in the little boxing that is done in Detroit.

### Dancing

Dancing is an exceedingly popular form of recreation among the Detroit people and it is as popular among Negroes as among the members of any other group.

There is only one hall in the city, however, owned and operated by colored people, which can always be secured for dancing purposes, namely, the Masonic Hall at 632 East Livingston Street. This hall is too small to accommodate a large group; its capacity is about 100 couples. Other colored dances of any size must be given at white dance halls whenever these can be obtained. There are three white dance halls that colored people are able to obtain occasionally. These are the Palais de Dance, the Arcadia and the Graystone. The former of these can be obtained for colored dances only on holidays between midnight and five or six o'clock in the morning; the latter two can be obtained whenever they have an open night. This is usually on Monday.

During the summer months colored people use the dancing pavilions of the boats during their frequent moonlight and excursions upon these vessels.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of large dance halls the colored people engage in dancing to a large extent. There are dancing spaces connected with numerous cafes and cabarets which are conducted by colored people and these are extensively patronized. Cabarets which have dancing floors are The Tiptoe Inn on St. Antoine Street, the cabaret in the Robinson Hotel at 550 East Adams Street and the Radio Inn at 602 Adams Street. The cafes having dancing provision are the Crisis Cafe at 408 Clinton Street, Turner's Hall on Sherman Street near Russell, and the Cafe at 3408 Hastings Street. The Melrose Tea Room at 1905 Prvsh Street, Vaughan's Tea room at Theodore and St. Antoine Streets, and LaVogue Tea Room at 2476 St. Antoine Street have facilities for

accommodating private dancing parties. The auditorium of the High Street Recreation Center is also available for dancing purposes.

According to the testimony of policewomen whose duty it is to supervise public dancing the conduct of the patrons of the above named amusement places is very good. In their opinion, the people seem very eager to preserve the order and decorum, and to meet the approval of the policewomen.

Miscellaneous Entertainments

A great deal of the recreation of the colored people of Detroit is obtained through miscellaneous entertainments such as excursions by boat, train and automobile, picnics, automobile races and the like. For the purposes of this study two of the colored newspapers were examined for a period of one year (from August, 1925 to August, 1926) in order to ascertain from announcements carried in those sheets the number of such events that were given by the colored people under each of the heads mentioned above.\* The following table shows the extent to which colored people participated in these events during the past year:

Automobile Races.....	2
Automobile Excursions.....	2
Boat Excursions.....	28
Railroad Excursions.....	6
Picnics.....	18
Conventions.....	10

\*Only events of this kind where admissions and fares were charged were listed in this survey. Of course this does not take into consideration the numerous private picnics and other outings,

## COMMERCIALIZED VICE

### Gambling Houses

Evidence has not been lacking that there is much gambling among the colored people of Detroit who fancy this pastime. There are many establishments for games of chance. These places are usually carefully placed so as to be secure from interruption by unwelcome visitors, and in order to gain admittance to most of them a person must be vouched for by someone who is well-known to the managers of the place. These houses provide all the card games, dice, machines, put and take, and in addition many of them have departments where bets may be placed on races and such events. Although some of these places operate under the guise of social clubs and are licensed as such, many of them carry on without a license. There is very little open gambling, however, although in at least one case the "beater" for the establishment takes up his position near the place and seeks to persuade likely looking passersby to enter by quietly announcing the type of game that is going on within.

## PROSTITUTION

A glance at the map included in the chapter on crime shows that the vice district marked out by the American Social Hygiene Association investigators overlaps a large section of the colored residential area. In fact, according to figures compiled in that study, prostitution is more prevalent proportionately among the colored than among the whites. In another section of this report has been mentioned the economic pressure



which, according to authorities, drives colored women into prostitution. Another element in this situation, pointed out by many Negro leaders, is the fact that to many male newcomers the house of prostitution furnishes a social center to which he has ready access and where he receives a cordial welcome.

Recreation in the Home

On the family schedule cards which were submitted to the heads of 1000 colored families there was a section devoted to "culture". The following tables, which summarize the replies, give an indication of the nature of leisure time activities in the home.

DAILY NEWSPAPERS READ HABITUALLY BY 1000 NEGRO FAMILIES

<u>Number of Papers</u>	<u>Families</u>
1	695
2	168
3	23
None	105
Not given	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	1000

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS READ HABITUALLY

<u>Number of Papers</u>	<u>Families</u>
1	288
2	70
3	21
None	501
Not given	<u>120</u>
TOTAL	1000

It will be seen from this that these 1000 Negro families were readers of 1365 daily and weekly newspapers.

NUMBER OF MAGAZINES READ HABITUALLY BY 1000 NEGRO FAMILIES

<u>Number of Magazines</u>	<u>Families</u>
1	135
2	63
3	53
4	51
5	16
6	15
None	610
Not given	<u>102</u>
TOTAL	1000

The following table shows the numbers of books in the libraries of the Negro homes investigated:

<u>Number of books</u>	<u>Families</u>
1	104
2	32
5	64
5 - 10	74
10 - 25	110
25 - 35	38
35 - 50	57
50 - 100	59
100 - 200	46
200 - 500	21
500 - 1000	2
Unknown	17
Not given	<u>370</u>
TOTAL FAMILIES	1000

Of these books, those dealing with religious topics were most numerous, 299 coming under this category; general works came second with 254 subjects, literature was third with 73 and History fourth with 66.

In addition to the home libraries, 296 stated that they made regular use of the public library.

Games of various kinds were used for purposes of recreation in over half of these 1000 homes. Such games as checkers, dominoes, cards, and the various types of children's games were most common.

Music furnishes a large part of the home recreation of the Negro. In only 139 cases of the 1000 homes investigated were there no musical instruments of any kind. The following table shows the number and type of the musical instruments in the colored homes investigated.

<u>Type of Instrument</u>	<u>Families</u>
Victrola	356
Piano	147
Victrola - Piano - Radio	55
Victrola - Piano	86
Victrola - Radio	61
Victrola - Violin	11
Victrola-Piano - Organ - Cornet	6
Radio	18
Radio - Piano - Uke	1
Guitar	27
Guitar - Mandolin - Violin	27
Violin	21
Violin - Uke	2
Cornet	6
Violin - Piano	5
Clarinet	2
Banjo	2
Saxophone	2
Mandolin	3
None	139
Not given	23
TOTAL	1000

### Informal Play

Not all of the children of the city regularly patronize the playgrounds and other recreation centers provided by the city. Nor do the private agencies carrying on programs of recreation reach all the children that are not reached by the municipal department. Many children still use the streets as their chief playgrounds, and this is especially true of the colored children in the congested districts.

Careful observers will notice that wherever Negroes are congregated in even limited numbers that their activities often gravitate largely to play. Thus, in almost every Negro barbershop it is easy to engage a fellow customer in a game of checkers, cards or other table games. In many of them the radio is a popular instrument and there is always somebody eager to tune in. Many of the colored business establishments such as music stores and restaurants are also centers for the play activities of those who gather there. Improvised horseshoe pitching courts are frequently set up in backyards, and baseball bat and gloves and the croquet set is a conspicuous part of the equipment of many picnics.

# The Negro in Detroit

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## EDUCATION

### NUMBER OF NEGRO PUPILS

In 1920 there were 5,436 Negro pupils in the public schools of Detroit, representing 4.58 per cent of the total school population which was 118,708. In 1921 the number of Negro pupils was 5,680, an increase of 447, and the total school population had grown to 128,982. In 1920 the Negro pupils ranked sixth in numbers among the 41 races and nationalities attending the schools. In 1921 they had been passed by the Italians and had dropped to seventh place.\* In 1920 Negroes constituted 4.11 per cent of the general population and colored children represented 4.58 per cent of the school population. The Negro population of Detroit in 1925 was 5.69 per cent of the general population. Since there is no reason to believe that the ratio of colored children in schools has changed from 1920 it may be estimated that approximately 7 per cent of the children in the school population for 1925 were colored school children.\*\*

\* "Age-grade and Nationality Survey". The Detroit Educational Bulletin, Research Bulletin, No. 7, January 1922, p. 21.

\*\* Figures on marital status and the decreasing preponderance of males to females in 1925 shown in the population study form a basis for the assumption that the ratio of school children would remain the same. As a matter of fact these figures would tend to show a slight increase but 7 per cent remains the conservative estimate.

SCHOLARSHIP OF NEGRO CHILDREN

The only complete studies of age-grade distribution by nationalities for the public schools of Detroit were made for the years 1920 and 1921 by the Bureau of Statistics and Reference of the Detroit Board of Education.\* According to this study the Negro children as a group showed the greatest percentage of retardation, 17.07 per cent in 1920 and also in 1921 when the percentage of retardation was 14.02 per cent. These figures show that in a year's time there was a decrease in the retardation of colored children of 3.05 per cent.

In his study of the Negro in Detroit in 1919-1920, Forrester B. Washington showed that the fact that Negro children enter every grade at a higher average age than the children of the city as a whole. This is a partial explanation of the relatively higher percentage of retardation.

TABLE 1

MEDIAN AGES AT ENTRANCE

	<u>Kdg.</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>A1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>A3</u>	<u>B4</u>	<u>A4</u>
1920 City	5.42	6.62	7.30	7.78	8.46	8.91	9.60	10.04	10.71
1921 City	5.64	6.54	7.15	7.79	8.23	8.92	9.56	10.41	10.75
	<u>B5</u>	<u>A5</u>	<u>B6</u>	<u>A6</u>	<u>B7</u>	<u>A7</u>	<u>B8</u>	<u>A8</u>	
1920 City	11.20	11.74	12.20	12.51	12.93	13.33	13.69	14.08	
1921 City	11.24	11.66	12.14	12.56	13.01	13.42	13.83	14.16	
	<u>B9</u>	<u>A9</u>	<u>B10</u>	<u>A-10</u>	<u>B-11</u>	<u>A-11</u>	<u>B-12</u>	<u>A-12</u>	
1920 City	14.53	15.00	15.42	15.76	16.33	16.61	17.26	17.68	
1921 City	14.68	15.12	15.47	15.95	16.45	16.69	17.18	17.49	

\*"Age-grade and Nationality Survey" The Detroit Educational Bulletin Research Bulletin No. 7, January, 1922.



	<u>Kdg.</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>A1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>A3</u>	<u>B4</u>	<u>A4</u>
Colored 1920	5.44	7.04	7.88	8.50	9.37	10.06	10.75	11.04	12.05
Colored 1921	5.65	6.57	7.46	8.25	8.93	9.68	10.52	10.97	11.65
	<u>B5</u>	<u>A5</u>	<u>B6</u>	<u>A6</u>	<u>B7</u>	<u>A7</u>	<u>B8</u>	<u>A8</u>	
Colored 1920	12.43	12.78	13.08	13.56	13.98	14.00	14.33	14.75	
Colored 1921	12.33	12.54	13.04	13.52	13.88	14.18	14.78	14.97	
	<u>B9</u>	<u>A9</u>	<u>B-10</u>	<u>A-10</u>	<u>B-11</u>	<u>A-11</u>	<u>B-12</u>	<u>A-12</u>	
Colored 1920	15.30	16.00	16.17	16.90	16.78	16.67	17.60	18.20	
Colored 1921	15.43	16.00	16.21	16.87	16.93				

A comparison of the statistics of 1920 with those of 1921 shows that while the median ages of the colored children at entrance are still higher than those of the city as a whole they are not as high as they were in most of the same grades for colored children in 1920. It appears from Table 1, that whereas the median ages at entrance for the children of the city as a whole in 1921 were higher in 17 and lower in only half grades than in 1920, the median ages at entrance of the colored children in 1921 was lower in 11 half grades, higher in only 10, the same in 1, and unknown in three, as compared with 1920. This explains in part the decrease of 3.05 per cent in the retardation of the colored group between 1920 and 1921. The retardation of the city as a whole decreased from 6.86 per cent in 1920 to 4.56 in 1921, a reduction of 2.30 per cent. Thus there was .75 per cent more reduction in the retardation of colored children than all of the children between 1920 and 1921.

Another factor which promotes the retardation of the colored children in the Detroit schools is that the schools which most of them formerly attended in the south are vastly

inferior to northern schools. In his 1919 - 1920 survey, Forrester B. Washington showed that from the standpoint of place of birth of the Negro children in the Detroit schools those who came from all southern states were more retarded than average Negroes in Detroit among whom the retardation was 17.07 per cent and that those who came from northern states showed a lower percentage of retardation than the Negro average for Detroit. See Table 2 below:

TABLE 2\*

Three or More years retardation by place of birth of Negro pupils in the Detroit Public Schools

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Percent of Retardation</u>
Michigan	4.76
Indiana	6.25
Pennsylvania	8.00
Illinois	10.83
Kentucky	11.32
Missouri	12.70
Unclassified	12.86
Florida	14.28
Ohio	15.12
Texas	18.17
Louisiana	18.28
Alabama	18.50
Arkansas	19.50
South Carolina	19.71
Tennessee	19.77
Virginia	20.00
Georgia	21.30
North Carolina	21.63
Mississippi	25.00

\*The Negro in Detroit  
Forrester B. Washington, 1919 - 1920.

That the retardation of the colored children in the Detroit schools can be explained in part by the inferiority of the southern schools which most of them formerly attended was brought out in a study made in October, 1926, of two schools in Detroit in each of which the majority of pupils are colored, Bishop School with a total enrollment of 904, of whom 757 or 83.66 per cent are colored, and Wingert School with a total enrollment of 943, of whom 671 or 72 per cent are colored. Bishop School, located at Rivard and Winder Streets, is in the heart of the St. Antoine district, which has been thoroughly discussed in the chapter on Housing and was there shown to be the poorest in the city. It is here that most of the Negro migrants dwell upon coming to Detroit. Most of the colored children in this school have parents who have only recently come from the south. Consequently among numerous other limitations exhibited by this group we must add the fact that the former poor school advantages enjoyed by their children have operated to produce a large amount of retardation among them in the Detroit schools.

Again, the unwholesome conditions in the neighborhood itself tend to impede the progress of the colored children after they have entered this school. It was the consensus of opinion of all the teachers interviewed at this school that poor home conditions was one of the chief contributing factors to the retardation of the colored children. Most of the houses are over-crowded and absolutely inadequate from every other standpoint. Most of the mothers are

employed outside of the homes and the children are left to take care of themselves, with the result that they are a prey to all kinds of influences inimical in every way to their welfare.

Furthermore, it has been shown that only the poorest and least ambitious of the Negroes remain in this district, and that those who are better paid and more ambitious move to more desirable districts as soon as they are able to do so. Consequently colored people who are the least advanced tend to be concentrated in this district. On the other hand, the Wingert School which is located on West Grand Boulevard between Moore Place and Scovel Avenue, draws its colored pupils from the best colored residential district in the city - the Tireman-Warren-Scotten District. The conditions which prevail in the neighborhood of the Bishop School are not operative here. Home conditions are far superior to those of the Bishop district in all but a few cases. Although many of the parents of these children are newcomers in Detroit, and many of them formerly lived in the St. Antoine district, it would be expected that their children would make a better showing from the standpoint of progress in school than is true at the Bishop School. This is borne out in the following tables:

TABLE 3

BISHOP SCHOOL

Three or more years Retardation

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Retarded</u>	<u>Per cent Retarded</u>
All 904	135	14.93
Colored 757	127	16.77
White 147	6	5.44

WINGERT SCHOOL

All 943	69	7.31
Colored 671	53	7.89
White 272	16	5.88

TABLE 4

IN GRADE AT AGE

BISHOP SCHOOL

<u>Membership</u>	<u>In Grade</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
All 904	162	17.92
Colored 757	147	18.09
White 147	13	8.84

WINGERT SCHOOL

All 943	130	13.78
Colored 671	93	13.85
White 272	37	13.60

TABLE 5

ACCELERATION 3 OR MORE YEARS

BISHOP SCHOOL

<u>Membership</u>	<u>Acceleration</u>	<u>Per cent Acceleration</u>
All 904	36	3.98
Colored 757	20	2.11
White 147	16	10.88

WINGERT SCHOOL

All 943	80	8.47
Colored 671	61	9.09
White 272	19	7.02

The percentage of retardation of the colored pupils in Wingert School is less than half of what it is for the colored children in the Bishop School while the per cent of acceleration of colored pupils at Wingert is almost five times as great as it is for Bishop. Furthermore, there is little disparity between the figures for colored and white at Wingert with reference to retardation, acceleration and in-grade at age.

That this factor of the influence of better opportunities on progress in school is a universal one is shown by an examination of the percentages of retardation for the year 1916 in the following schools in which there was very little or no Negro enrollment at that time. These schools are Grensel, A. L. Holmes, Majeske, Parke, Russell and Trowbridge. In all of these schools, (with the exception of Russell and Trowbridge, which as late as 1920 had a Negro enrollment of only 15 and 14 per cent, respectively), the Negro enrollment in 1920 was less than 5 per cent. It is very probable that in 1916 it was considerably less than this in each case. The bulk of the attendance in these schools in 1916 was made up of foreign children. These, so far as the Detroit school system is concerned had suffered many of the handicaps that the Negro migrant had. The percentages of retardation was as follows:

Grensel	10.6
Holmes, A. L.	11.2
Majeske	11.2
Russell	11.9
Trowbridge	8.8
Parke	8.1

It will be seen that in each case the per cent of retardation was greater than the present per cent (7.31) of the colored children at Wingert. The fact that percentage of retardation steadily declined in all of these schools except Majeske and Parke tends to show that the lack of progress in school becomes lessened among the immigrant groups as among the Negroes as they become adjusted to the system.

From the study of these two schools, Bishop and Wingert, the conclusion may be drawn that the chief causes of retardation among the colored children are: first, the inferiority of the schools which they attended in the South; second, the higher average median age at entrance of the colored children in the Detroit schools; third, poor home conditions among the colored children in districts like that in which the Bishop School is located; and fourth, lack of familiarity with the Detroit system.

#### SPECIAL EDUCATION

For the purpose of this survey a comparative study was made of the white and colored children in special classes for sub-normal children provided by the Department of Special Education. There are two main groups of these classes, Special A, and Special B, in the former of which are placed children from six to thirteen years of age, in the latter children are over thirteen. The data upon which the following findings have been based were obtained from the cards filed in the Psychological Clinic of the

Board of Education. The chronological age, grade, mental age and intelligence quotient are the original entries, taken when the child was first recognized to be subnormal. The records of the classification, home control and physical defects are up-to-date. In all 2311 cards were examined which, according to the director of special education, represent 85.1 per cent of the total number on file. The following is a summary of the results. Detailed figures can be obtained from the files.

- (1) The percentages of backward children for both sexes of both groups tends to be about equal, and there is a larger percent of white females and of colored males who are definitely feeble-minded.
- (2) There is a relatively small per cent of each group who are definitely feeble-minded.
- (3) There is a notable disparity in the percentages of broken homes among the white and colored children, which the director of the department of special education describes as being one of the main contributing causes to the backwardness of the colored children in these classes.
- (4) While the percentages of those having physical defects is high among the white children, all the colored children suffer from physical defects, but the white children suffer from more different kinds and combinations of ailments than do the colored children.\*
- (5) In the matter of chronological age, mental age, and I. Q., there is little disparity between the white and colored children.

\*See study of physical defects in Health report.



- (6) The data on Special B. children, shows a general persistence of the relation in the percentages previously mentioned, but there are relatively higher percentages of feeblemindedness among all classes than was true of the Special A's, and a much higher percentage of weakmindedness among the white boys and colored girls than among the other classes of this group.
- (7) All the way through in all but one instance, a higher percentage of feeblemindedness is accompanied by the possession of a higher percentage of physical defects. There seems to be a definite correlation of the relatively higher percentage of feeblemindedness and physical defects in the cases of the white boys and colored girls. The fact that there is a much smaller general percentage of feeblemindedness among the Special A pupils than among the Special B's, and a relatively higher general percentage of physical defects among them is probably explained by the fact that being much younger, remedial measures for the removal of these defects have not been applied as extensively among them as among the Special B's.
- (8) Another cause may be that as the children in these classes progress sufficiently they are returned to their regular classes, and the relatively large numbers of feebleminded children among the Special B's represent successive increments of those recruited from the Special A's.

From the survey that was made of 36 problem cases of colored children in the department of special education, the following typical conditions were frequently found to exist:

1. Cases where the father was or had been out of work for long periods of time were usual.
2. Broken homes because of death or desertion.
3. Over-crowding, roomers, boarders and near relatives all living together.
4. Literate parents were usually more cooperative.

6. Non-adjustment attributable to moving around from place to place or poor early training in the South, especially Georgia and Alabama.

It would seem from this that economic and social causes are the largest contributing factors to the backwardness of the majority of the children in these special classes. The much higher percentage of broken homes among the colored children has already been noticed, and serves to explain the disparity between the Negro general and school population as a whole and the Negro representation in these classes, (7.8 per cent of the special A registration and 16.5 per cent of the special B.)

An analysis of the home addresses of the Negro pupils shows that 195 of the 265 colored children in these classes, or 73.6 per cent, reside in the heart of the St. Antoine Street district where the worst living conditions for Negroes are found.

#### TEN TYPICAL CASES FROM THE SPECIAL CLASSES

1.

This boy was an illegitimate child, born in Memphis, Tennessee, who had been promised before birth to another couple. The foster parents moved to Detroit before he was born, and did not succeed in getting him from his aunt until he was five years old. The aunt wrote to the foster parents cautioning them "to be sure and lick J- or he will lick you", this when the boy was five. For two years the foster parents have been struggling with these fits of temper. They are exceedingly fine colored people, anxious to do the right thing. The boy has fits of anger, is always repentant, but his promises of doing better are soon forgotten. He is a constant

troublemaker, has no conception of right or wrong. It seemed to the social worker, that a new beginning, under a new set of teachers who would establish a strict regime from the beginning, might be of benefit. The foster parents were anxious to cooperate, and aided in the transfer. The youngster is doing much better in his new educational home, evincing more interest in school, and it is hoped he will learn to control his temper successfully.

2.

This case is of a boy, eleven years old, coming from a good home environment, but characterized as incorrigible and a truant. His father is a coat peddler, in good health. His mother stays at home and keeps the house neat and clean, above the average. Both parents are literate. There are four children and two male roomers, occupying a six room rented house. The subject was born in Alabama, and lived there and in West Virginia until three years ago when the family moved to Detroit. He has a very quarrelsome nature, - anxious to "pick a fight". If corrected he bites, attacks, kicks, and screams. Every correction is taken as a challenge. He has recently been in the Detention Home for one week for stealing automobile tires. The parents are anxious and willing to cooperate. The discipline in the home is good, and the best of harmony prevails. The boy is evidently a subject for the ungraded conduct rooms, and needs a special teacher to find new interests for him.

-3-

Lack of parental control seems to be the cause of this case of non-adjustment. The boy's father and mother are dead, both from heart trouble. The boy's foster parents are not entirely competent, and control is rather lax. There were two other children, both girls. The boy says that the older sister sold the young baby for the sum of one dollar to a family in Cincinnati, in order to buy a drink for herself. The boy was born in Kentucky, and most of his education has been in the Detention Home,

as he has had twenty-one different offenses charged against him. Complaints are truancy, delinquency, and incorrigibility. He was placed in an ungraded room and did better work for a time. The case was finally turned over to the Children's Aid Society, who transferred him to Lapeer.

4.

The boy in this case seems to be a result of a rather deficient heredity and inadequate environment. His own father died ten years ago, the cause not known by his mother. The mother is a hotel maid, who has not been working for a year due to a nervous breakdown following the death of her mother, who had been a trained nurse in the Government Emergency Hospital in Washington. The mother of this boy ran away and married at the age of thirteen. She lived with his father only five months, but returned to him after the birth of the son. They did not get along well, and after her husband's death, she remarried, and has been divorced once and separated several times. The stepfather is employed at McCord Radiator Company. The family live in a five room rented house, without roomers or boarders, and the boy has his own room. He was born in Georgia and lived there and in Mississippi until 1924. He had a very irregular schooling in the south. The principal reports that while not a disciplinary problem at the time of examination, he was so overgrown that he was not a good influence on other children in the grade. The social diagnosis revealed the mother as a highly painted, thin-faced woman, with average intelligence, a very unstable individual emotionally, who provides the physical needs but little moral background. The parental cooperation was very good on the whole, they seemed anxious and willing for the boy to enter the special class. In special class he showed wonderful improvement in dress and speech and manual work, but it was thought advisable to keep him there, as he would probably soon go out into the day laboring class.

5.

Throughout all of this girl's life there has been so little home life that her lack of adjustment is not to be wondered at, but rather it is remarkable that she finally succeeded in making an adequate adjustment at all. Both her father and mother are dead. An aunt and uncle have supported her since she came to Detroit three years ago from Tennessee. The aunt and uncle both work, and board her out with a neighbor, whom the child dislikes. Although she is being paid for her she has to help the woman with the work. She acts peculiarly, is pouty at times, then again pleasant. She is sleepy, inactive and lacks initiative. She was put in a special class for two years, and made such remarkable progress under the special care of the teacher, who could give her individual care and attention, that she was retested, and returned to the regular grade.

6.

The hereditary background for this case seems to be the cause of non-adjustment. The father and mother of the boy separated soon after his birth. The mother remarried, but the step-father died in 1922, after serving in Jackson Prison. The mother works by the day to support her family. There was one other child, a girl, who died at the age of 18 of tuberculosis, after repeated attempts to commit suicide. Since Christmas the boy, who utterly failed to make an adjustment in school, has been working. The case worker who reports gives a fine account of the boy - "he is exceedingly the promise of his attitudes and abilities while he was still in school. He has a high estimate of himself, and is earning \$18.00 a week." With supervision for a while, the boy will doubtless adjust successfully and become a self-supporting citizen.

7.

This girl is twelve years old, four years mentally regarded. Her father, who has married twice, is an employce of the Detroit Steel Works, and has a fourth grade education. Her own mother died nine years ago of pneumonia. Two of the children are dead, and one sister is living. The step-mother divorced her first husband, and three years ago remarried the subject's father. They live in a seven room and bath rented flat. A

family of seven lives with them and pays half of the \$65.00 a month rent. The girl was born in Birmingham, Alabama, came to Detroit in the summer of 1922. The child attended school in the south for three years, with two repeats. She entered Detroit school system, changed schools at the end second year, was demoted, and is now in the 4-A grade. Her attendance and conduct are good, and although she does not test very high, she would be able to do regular grade work, had her earlier training been of a better type.

8.

This ten-year old youngster seems to have come in contact with many difficult situations. The father is a machinist at Ford's. The mother is a semi-invalid, with a stomach trouble. The family (four children) occupy a lower six room flat. The boy was born in Birmingham, Alabama, and came here five years ago. His school record has been one of constant repetitions. He spent a night in Juvenile Detention Home for stealing money from paper boxes. His conduct is very vicious - knocks smaller children down, kicks at them. The father's whippings at home seem to do only temporary good. One of his teacher's recommends an institution to give him stricter discipline; another characterizes him as a moral degenerate. Another says she always has to speak to him personally to get him to obey, that he resents correcting, does very little work and disturbs everyone. The boy seemed to have such an antagonistic attitude that, with the cooperation of the parents, a change of school to an ungraded conduct room was made, when the teacher could spend more time in finding his special abilities, and less in trying to conform him to the group.

9.

The boy was born in Cleveland, moved to Chicago and recently has come to Detroit. His father is an employee of the Detroit United Railroad. There are two children living, one was born dead. The principal of the school believes the boy to be a truant, unfit morally to associate with the average child, and is asking for special room training. The boy has twice been accused of stealing a bicycle, both of which accusations he denies. The home discipline is very good, but the child isn't there enough to derive much benefit from it.

The boy is not interested in school and thus becomes a problem. The social worker suggests that a special room teacher might be able to find new interests and develop them.

10.

This is a case of backwardness due to lack of opportunity. The boy is fourteen years old, six years retarded mentally. The father at the time of the first investigation was temporarily laid off. The mother died of heart trouble six years ago. Both parents were literate. There were seven children living, two dead. The father and the two youngest boys came to Detroit in 1925, have a room and kitchennette and do their own cooking. The boy, in the clinic, said that he gets tired of cooking, but has to do it when father works. He likes school but gets homesick for Georgia. He says that the teacher marks him poor in conduct because he reports other children when they bother him. He did not start school until he was ten years old, and then did not attend regularly as he had to work on a farm. The social case worker characterizes him as good-natured, pleasant, cooperative, attentive and likeable. He hasn't had a good opportunity, and even now has to spend much of his time keeping house for his father and brother. Special B. class teacher could give him extra attention and care, and speed him along.

#### NEGRO TEACHERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

According to figures supplied by the statistician of the Board of Education there were in the Detroit schools 40 colored teachers out of a total of 5,856 on March 1, 1926, the date when the last actual count was taken. This is less than 1 per cent of colored teachers, the actual figure being .68 of 1 per cent. If the colored teachers had been represented in proportion to the colored people in the total population there would have been 386 of them.

The reason for the small number of colored teachers seems to be that there have been comparatively few colored persons desirous of teaching who have met the requirements of the Board of Education. The fact that in 1910, out of a total of 150 students in the Detroit Teachers' College there were only five colored students or .5 per cent out of a total of 405, while there were only 15 or 1.6 per cent students out of a total of 993 in 1925 - 1926, tends to justify the conclusion that the colored youth of Detroit have not been interested in teaching.

Some colored people have attempted to explain this lack of interest of the colored people in teaching by alleging their lack of opportunity in the field of education and the hostility of school officials as exhibited by their refusal to appoint colored teachers in schools. But the investigator interviewed a good many of the colored teachers who are employed at the present time (October 1926) and they pointed out that all of the colored people who had applied for positions as teachers and who had met the legal requirements of the Board of Education had been appointed and were in service at the present time.

Some colored people are inclined to view the fact that the colored teachers are appointed only in schools having a majority of colored pupils as an evidence of hostility on the part of the appointing officials to colored teachers. At the same time it is a fact that in one of the schools having a majority of colored pupils (Wingert, 72 per cent



colored attendance), there is not a single colored teacher. In this connection, the colored people of Detroit seem to fear that the concentration of an all-colored faculty in a school is a step in the direction of enforced segregation in that there might be a tendency to re-district schools to include all colored children and exclude whites and that colored pupils might be sent out of their proper districts to a particular school just because the teachers and pupils there happen to be colored. The prevailing sentiment seems to be that, granted the existence of a number of qualified colored teachers in the proportion stated above, the practice of placing colored teachers exclusively even in schools like Bishop where the attendance is 85 per cent colored would be offensive.

The claim is made that teachers should be appointed to schools and districts on the basis of qualifications only and not because of color. Colored people disavow any hostility to teachers of their own color because they are colored, but they contend that if a teacher is qualified to teach he is qualified to teach children of any color who come in the classification or who are pursuing subjects which the teacher has been trained to impart. They state that since a teacher's contract calls for his service as a teacher of children, the color of the children or of the teacher should have nothing to do with his appointment.

Colored people claim that wherever segregation has been established by legal fiat in public institutions supported by all the people, provisions for the colored people have usually fallen far below those made for the whites. In the case of the schools, most of those who have had experience in the South with the dual school systems in vogue there point out that on the whole, the qualifications, pay and working conditions of the colored people are below standard, and the physical equipment of the colored schools is very inferior to that of the whites.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Questionnaires with reference to Negro attendance were sent to 50 institutions of higher education in Michigan. Of this number 29 were located in Detroit, and 21, outside Detroit. Twenty-five replies were received - 12 from Detroit schools and 13 from the out of town schools. The data from these replies to our questionnaire appears in the following table:

Table 6.

Number of Negroes Enrolled in Detroit  
Institutions of Higher Education  
(1925 - 1926)

<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Number Negro Students</u>
5	0
1	1
1	3
1	5
1	10
1	15
1	59
1	Unknown
<u>TOTAL 12</u>	<u>93</u>

Number Negroes Enrolled in Institutions of  
Higher Education in Michigan, outside  
Detroit (1925-1926)

<u>Number Schools</u>	<u>Number Negro Students</u>
3	0
4	1
1	4
1	6
1	15
<u>3</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
TOTAL 13	29

The average tuition rate in 13 cases where given amounted to \$90.00 per year.

In addition to the question concerning enrollment the following inquiries were made, and answers given as shown by table at the right of question:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Has your institution ever experienced friction between the races?.....	0	25
Have you any definite policy with regard to colored students as to the following points?.....	7	18
A. Rooming or housing.....	0	25
b. Social Events.....	4	21
c. Athletics.....	5	20

Of the seven cases where a definite policy towards colored students was declared, five stated that they were admitted on exactly the same basis as any others, one stated that because of the limited possibilities for colored men in the field for which its graduates were trained they were not encouraged to enter, and one explained that the presence of colored students in its upper classes presented certain

administrative problems which were carefully pointed out to them when they registered. These latter two schools were located in Detroit.

Of the four cases declaring a definite policy in regard to social events, one stated that there was no distinction made, one that colored students were welcome, one that they were always invited but seldom came, while one confessed that they were not always desired. These latter two schools were also in Detroit.

As for the five cases that maintained a definite policy with reference to athletics, three stated that no distinction was made as to the color of the students, and two gave positive evidence of their favorable attitude towards colored athletics, one by citing the case of a Negro student who had made an enviable record as a football player while in school, and the other by referring to the colored students who had starred on its football and tennis teams.

The following figures reveal the fact that there is a very small percentage of Negro students enrolled in the institutions of higher education in Michigan. Enrollment figures were given by 13 of the institutions that answered the questionnaire. The aggregate total enrollment in these in 1925 - 1926 was 10,906. Of these, 122 or 1.1 per cent were Negroes. That this is an accurate index is shown by the fact that at the University of Michigan, which is attended by more Negroes than any other college or university in the State,

there was a total colored enrollment of less than 100\* out of a total of 9,456 in 1925.

Notwithstanding the fact that colored students from Detroit attend colleges and universities located in other states, there is no evidence that this would alter the 1 per cent figure after allowance has been made for all factors involved.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

Referring to the chapter on Population we find that according to 911 answers to the family schedule question, "How many years in School", 81 had had no schooling, 15 had gone to school one year, 20 two years, 65 three years, 106 four years, 99 five years, 110 six years, 63 seven years, and 144 eight years. Thirty-five had gone to school nine years, 56 ten years, 10 eleven years, fifty-four more than 12 years, and 73 had attended high school but didn't specify the number of years, only 34 had been to college; 13 had attended a professional school, 8 a trade school and 9 a school of theology. Sixty-one were unable to read, and of these, 32 could not write. The aggregate number of years in school for the group amounts

\*Figure based on estimates made by Negro students at the University of Michigan. No record is kept by the Recorder of the number of colored enrolled.

to 5,891 years, an average of 5.95 years in school for each person.

Of 924 heads of families giving locations of the schools attended, 593 or 64.1 per cent stated that they had gone to school in the South.

The following table shows states whercin schools attended by the group were located:

TABLE 7  
STATES WHERE 924 NEGRO HEADS OF  
FAMILIES ATTENDED SCHOOL

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Alabama	128	North Carolina	18
Arkansas	21	New Jersey	1
Florida	22	New York	3
Georgia	190	Ohio	26
Idaho	1	Oklahoma	6
Illinois	10	Pennsylvania	8
Indiana	10	South Carolina	49
Iowa		Tennessee	68
Kansas	7	Texas	9
Kentucky	34	Virginia	24
Louisiana	24	West Virginia	1
Maryland	7	Wisconsin	1
Massachusetts	1	District of Columbia	4
Michigan	34	Canada	8
Mississippi	54	Mexico	1
Missouri	8	West Indies	8
Minnesota	1	England	1

Attendance at Night School

That the colored adults are desirous of bettering themselves educationally is indicated by the showing made in attendance at night schools. According to the figure supplied by Mr. F. S. De Galan, director of the Detroit Evening Schools, there were 905 colored people out of a total enrollment of 16,300 in the Evening Schools on

October 27, 1926. These were distributed as follows:

Total enrollment in evening schools

All	16,300
Colored	905 or 5.5 per cent

Number in Evening High Schools

All	5,300
Colored	273 or 5.1 per cent

Number in Evening Elementary Schools

All	11,000
Colored	632 or 5.7 per cent

Mr. DeGalan points out that the colored people attending the night schools seem to be very earnest in their desire to take advantage of their opportunities for scholastic training. Unlike many of the immigrant groups in the night schools the colored people seem not only to desire to secure enough education to pass naturalization tests, but also to equip themselves better for the duties of citizenship.

The desire of Negro adults for education is shown by the extent to which they attend special classes conducted by private and semi-private social service agencies. There is a goodly number of them enrolled in literary and practical courses conducted by the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.'s, certain settlement houses, churches, etc. It is estimated that there are upwards of 1000 colored adults enrolled in the special classes of these institutions. Exact figures were obtained only in the case of the Baptist Christian Center which has a total of 234 enrolled in its various adult classes.

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section IX

### CRIME

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.  
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# The Negro in Detroit

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## NEGRO CRIME

### I. INTRODUCTION.

An inquiry into the volume, nature and causes of crime among Negroes is of peculiar importance because of their general social status. The whole question of race relationships not only in actions, but in feelings and opinions is involved. The prejudiced white person is quick to ascribe to the Negro egregious criminal tendencies and where Negro populations are concentrated, such prejudices are intensified progressively. Hence, it is of particular importance that every accessible fact concerning Negro crime be made known in Detroit.

### II. SOURCES OF THE STUDY.

1. The police records of arrests and convictions (January 1 to June 30, 1926.)

These records are kept by the Police Department on Hollereth Tabulating Cards from which the statistics for this investigation were prepared.

2. Records at the House of Correction.

These are preserved in a regular card filing system, which were studied by two pairs of graduate students of Criminology of the University of Michigan. One pair made a general analysis of the population, July 15 to 17, 1926. The other pair made a study of recidivists in the institution on July 23, 1926.

3. Interviews with fifty colored and fifty white prisoners, male and female, at the House of Correction - July 15 to 17, 1926.

This investigation was carried on by a white male and white female student from the University of Michigan, a colored student from the same institution and a colored woman from Ohio State University. The cases were not chosen from a selected group further than that an attempt was made to have the group

representative of various types of offences.

4. Records at the Juvenile Court.

The figures for the boys were summarized by two students from the University of Michigan and those of the girls by a young woman volunteer worker.

5. Case Studies of Colored Boy and Girl Delinquents Taken from the Records at the Juvenile Court.

The studies of the boys were made by a student from the University of Michigan and the girls by the same volunteer worker.

6. Case Studies Taken from the Records of the Psychiatric Clinic, Records Court.

The investigation was made by a student from the University of Michigan and members of the Staff of this Survey.

7. Report on Probation, January 1 to June 30, 1926.

Prepared by the Chief Probation Officer.

8. Records of the Homicide Squad January 1 to Dec. 31, 1925.

This study was made by a member of the Staff of this Survey.

9. Reports of the Detective Bureau, January 1 to June 30, 1926, by a member of the staff.

10. Records at the Coroner's Office.

11. Statistics of the Negro population of State Penal Institutions, prepared by the State Department of Labor and Industry.

12. Interviews by Members of the Staff with Judges, Lawyers, Police Officers, Public Officials, Social Workers and other Citizens.

13. Population Statistics taken from the 1925 Detroit City Census.

14. Comparative Statistics of Previous Crime in Detroit (from an unpublished study by the Bureau of Governmental Research 1921)

15. Comparative Statistics on Negro Crime in Philadelphia (from a study of the Negro in

Pennsylvania in 1925 made in Pennsylvania in 1925 for the Department of Welfare of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.)

III. VOLUME OF NEGRO CRIME.

The following statistics taken from the Police Records summarize Negro arrests and convictions.

Note - Where comparisons are made with population, unless otherwise designated, the population figure is for the particular group concerned, e.g. adult male population for colored male arrests, but the ratios are not exact. Police statistics are for the ages of seventeen and over. The adult population statistics compiled by the Board of Education in 1925 are for the ages of twenty and over. Thus the Crime rate in each case is actually somewhat lower than the following statistics show.

TABLE 1

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

January 1st to June 30th, 1926.

(Police Records)

Felonies

Male

	Arrests	Per- cent- age	Per 10,000 Adult Pop.	Con- victions	Per- cent- age	Per 10,000 Adult Pop.	Percentage of arrests Convicted.
Col.	2094	22.2	676.6	432	28.9	139.5	20.6
White	7338	77.7	202.3	1061	71.0	29.2	14.4

Female

Col.	538	42.7	206.8	36	21.3	13.8	6.6
White	721	57.2	22.9	133	78.6	4.2	18.4

Misdemeanors

Male

	<u>Arrests</u>	<u>Percent- age of arrests for misdem.</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Adult Pop.</u>	<u>Convictions</u>	<u>Percent- age of convict. for misdem.</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Adult Pop.</u>	<u>Per- centage of Arrest Con- victed</u>
Col.	2395	15.4	773.8	1428	12.9	461.4	59.6
White	13089	84.5	360.7	9632	87.0	265.5	73.5

Female

Col.	2085	34.7	801.6	1282	45.5	492.9	61.4
White	3917	65.2	124.6	1532	54.4	48.7	39.1

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF ALL CRIMES

Felonies and Misdemeanors

Male and Female

	<u>Arrests</u>	<u>Percent- age of Arrests</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Adult Pop.</u>	<u>Con- victions</u>	<u>Percent- age of Convict.</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Adult Pop.</u>	<u>Percentage of Arrests Convicted</u>
Col.	7,112	22.1	1,248.6	3,178	20.4	557.9	44.6
White	25,065	77.8	370.2	12,358	79.5	182.5	49.3

These figures are large so far as Negroes are concerned, but a perspective concerning them may be obtained from a consideration of the following statistics.

TABLE 3

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

for

1913 - 1919

(Study made by the Bureau of Governmental Research)

<u>Arrests per</u> <u>10,000 Pop.</u>	<u>Ratio Colored</u> <u>to White</u>	<u>Convictions per</u> <u>10,000 Pop.</u>	<u>Ratio Colored</u> <u>to White</u>
<u>Male</u>			
Col. 4008.0	2.59	1015.5	1.92
White 1544.0	1.00	526.9	1.00
<u>Female</u>			
Col. 1676.7	5.6	843.00	8.56
White 299.4	1.0	98.44	1.00

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

for

January 1st to June 30th, 1926

(Present Survey Study)

Male

Col. 1450.4	2.57	600.9	2.03
White 563.0	1.00	294.7	1.00

Female

Col. 1008.4	6.83	506.7	9.57
White 147.5	1.00	52.9	1.00

From Table 3 it is obvious that

(a) The ratio of arrests and convictions of Negro women has uniformly increased.

(b) While there seemed to be fewer male arrests in 1926 than in 1913-1919, convictions have been more frequent in the case of both males and females.

TABLE 4

ARRESTS IN PITTSBURG - JANUARY 1 to JUNE 30, 1924 (1)

(Study made by Miss Lowman)

	<u>Arrests per 10,000 Total Col. Pop.*</u>	<u>Ratio Colored to White</u>
Col.	970*	2.15
White	450	1.00

(1) Forrester B. Washington, "A Race Emerging; The Negro in Pennsylvania" (manuscript) p.91.

\*Population Statistics from 1920 Census.

ARRESTS IN DETROIT (Jany 1st to June 30th, 1926)\*

	<u>Arrests per 10,000 Total Col. Pop.**</u>	<u>Ratio Colored to White</u>
Col.	861.9**	3.99
White	216.0	1.00

\* Present Survey Study.

\*\* Population Statistics from Boards of Education Census 1925.

Before discussing the apparently higher criminal record for the Negro than for the White population, some figures from the House of Correction study will be introduced because of the additional light they may throw on Negro crime.

TABLE 5. (2)

Male Inmates in House of Correction

July 15-17, 1926.

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Male Inmates</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Male Pop.</u>
Colored	211	68.1
U.S. White	645	32.3

The House of Correction population is not representative of all types of offenders. Only male misdemeanant and felony first offenders are incarcerated there, but the ratio per population of colored male inmates of the House of Correction to all white male inmates (2.97 to one) is less than the ratio of

colored male felony convictions to white (4.77 to one). (2)

It was not possible to use statistics of women as female inmates come from other places in the state than Detroit and population figures are not available.

#### Discussion of Tables 1 - 5

Certain Facts, implicit in Table 1 are worthy of note.

(a) Per unit of population, the figures for arrests and convictions of Negroes are considerably higher than the figures for arrests and convictions of whites.

(b) This disproportion is greater in the felony statistics for males than in the misdemeanor statistics, especially as regards convictions, the Negro being more readily convicted for felonies than for misdemeanors as compared with the white. It has even been asserted by a City Judge and by other important officials at the Recorder's Court that it is the practice of the police to arrest Negroes on suspicion.

(c) The arrest rate of colored women in comparison with white is higher in the case of felonies while the conviction rate shows less disproportion between the races. In nineteen colored women killings in the Homicide Reports for 1925, ten killed their husbands, common law or otherwise, 4 killed men and 5 killed other colored women as the climax of quarrels. Nine of these women were exonerated by the police. The inspector of the Homicide Squad said that in most cases these violent acts were provoked by the harsh treatment of the women by their husbands or their men. In none of the above cases did a colored woman kill a white person. According to police records, 22 colored women were arraigned for murder from January to June 1926 but not one was convicted.



IV. THE NATURE OF COLORED CRIME

The following statistics taken from the police records show the general nature of colored crime.

TABLE 6

FELONIES

	<u>Arrests</u>	<u>Percent- age of arrests</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Pop- ulation</u>	<u>Con- vic- tions</u>	<u>Percent- age of convict- ulation</u>	<u>Per 10,000 pop- ulation</u>	<u>Percent of Arrests Con- victed</u>
<u>LARCENY (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	810	40.2	142.2	65	22.3	11.4	8.0
White	1203	59.7	17.7	226	77.6	3.3	18.7
<u>BURGLARY, BREAKING AND ENTERING (Male)</u>							
Col.	211	36.3	68.1	76	57.5	24.5	36.0
White	370	63.6	10.1	56	42.4	1.5	15.1
<u>ROBBERY ARMED (Male)</u>							
Col.	290	24.6	93.7	54	49.0	17.4	18.6
White	875	75.1	24.1	56	50.9	1.5	6.4
<u>ROBBERY - UNARMED (Male)</u>							
Col.	190	61.2	61.3	17	53.0	5.4	8.9
White	120	38.7	3.3	15	46.8	.4	12.5
<u>ASSAULTS (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	195	46.3	34.2	18	24.3	3.1	9.2
White	226	53.6	3.3	56	75.6	.8	24.7
<u>MURDER (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	76	57.1	13.3	14	53.8	2.4	18.4
White	57	42.8	.8	12	46.1	.1	21.0
<u>MANSLAUGHTER AND NEGLIGENT HOMICIDE (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	3	9.6	.5	10	55.5		333.3?
White	28	90.3	.4	8	44.4		28.5

(Inserted)

TABLE 6 - MISDEMEANORS

	Arrests	Percent age of arrests	Per 10,000 Pop- ulation	Com- vic- tions	Percent- age of convict.	Per 10,000 pop- ulation	Percent of Arrests Com- victed
<u>SIMPLE LARCENY (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	521	32.8	91.4	328	34.6	57.5	62.9
White	1064	67.1	15.7	619	65.3	9.1	58.1
<u>ASSAULT AND BATTERY (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	153	24.7	26.8	75	24.7	13.1	49.0
White	466	75.2	6.8	228	75.2	3.3	48.9
<u>DISTURBING THE PEACE (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	278	17.9	48.8	205	18.2	35.9	73.7
White	1268	82.0	18.7	919	31.7	13.5	71.6
<u>DRUNK (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	597	8.4	104.8	541	8.1	94.9	90.6
White	6547	91.6	96.7	6064	91.8	89.5	92.6
<u>GAMING (Male)</u>							
Col.	452	25.8	146.0	298	25.6	96.2	65.9
White	1298	74.1	35.7	865	74.3	23.8	66.6
<u>BEGGING AND VAGRANCY (Males)</u>							
Col.	55	11.7	17.7	48	11.4	15.5	87.2
White	415	88.2	11.4	370	88.5	10.1	89.1
<u>ACCOSTING AND SOLICITING</u>							
Col.	1105	48.2	424.8	976	52.6	375	88.3
White	1184	51.7	37.6	877	47.3	27	74.0
<u>COMMON PROSTITUTE</u>							
Col.	125	18.9	48	88	22.4	48.0	70.4
White	536	81.0	17	304	77.5	9.6	56.7

(Inserted)

TABLE 6 (Continued)

	Arrests	Percent- age of arrests	Per 10,000 Pop- ulation	Con- vic- tions	Percent- age of convict,	Per 10,000 pop- ulation	Percent of Arrests Con- victed
<u>SEXUAL CRIMES - INCLUDING RAPE (Male &amp; Female)</u>							
Col.	121	19.0	17.7	13	23.2	2.2	12.8
White	428	80.9	6.3	43	76.7	.6	10.0
<u>RAPE</u>							
Col.	15	29.4	4.8	1			
White	36	70.5	.99	0			
<u>DRUG LAW (STATE AND FEDERAL) (Male &amp; Female)</u>							
Col.	97	27.2	17.9	24*	27.9*	4.2*	48.0*
White	259	72.7	3.8	62	72.0	.0	31.2
							(Male & Female)
<u>PROHIBITION LAW (STATE &amp; FEDERAL)</u>							
Col.	225	12.0	39.5	72*	15.8*	12.6*	35.8*
White	1643	87.9	24.2	383	84.1	5.6	31.4
* State Law only.							
<u>EMBEZZLEMENT, FORGERY, UTTERING &amp; PUBLISHING (Male and Female)</u>							
Col.	27	7.3	4.7	8	8.6	1.4	29.6
White	341	92.6	5.0	85	91.5	1.2	24.9

(Inserted)

TABLE 6 (Continued)

SUMMARY

	Arrests	Crimes	Percent- age of arrests for all popu- lation	Per 10,000	Convictions	Percent- age of convict. for all popu- lation	Per 10,000	Percent of Arrests Convicted.
<u>LARCENY, BURGLARY, ROBBERY (Male and Female)</u>								
Col.	2022		28.4	355.0	540	16.9	94.8	26.7
White	3632		14.4	38.8	972	7.8	14.3	26.7
<u>ASSAULTS, MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER (Male and Female)</u>								
Col.	327		4.5	57.4	117	3.6	20.5	35.7
White	777		3.09	11.4	304	2.4	4.4	39.1
<u>SEXUAL CRIMES (Male and Female)</u>								
Col.	101		14.1	17.7	13	.004	2.2	12.8
White	428		1.7	6.3	43	.005	0.6	10.0
<u>COMMON PROSTITUTE, ACCOSTING AND SOLICITING (Female)</u>								
Col.	1230		46.8	472.9	1064	80.7	409.0	86.5
White	1720		37.0	54.7	1181	70.9	37.5	68.6
<u>DRUG, PROHIBITION LAWS, DISTURBING THE PEACE, DRUNK, GAMING, BEGGING AND VAGRANCY (Male and Female)</u>								
Col.	1704		23.9	299.1	1188	37.3	208.5	69.7
White	11430		45.6	168.8	8663	70.1	127.9	75.7

V. THE COLORED CRIMINAL AND HIS BACKGROUND.

The high crime rate among colored people may be explained by the social characteristics of the negro or by lack of education. Since the colored group as a whole is generally less literate than the white. The following tables show the only available comparative statistics of the intelligence and education of the criminal.

TABIE 7

ILLITERATES (Unable to Read or Write)

Police Records - January 1 to June 30, 1926.

	<u>Arrests</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Convictions</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Males</u>				
Colored	510	11.3	244	13.1
White	1570	7.6	818	7.6
<u>Females</u>				
Colored	60	2.2	35	2.6
White	179	3.8	62	3.7

EDUCATION OF INMATES OF HOUSE OF CORRECTION

July 15 - 17, 1926.

	<u>Per cent no school- ing</u>	<u>Per cent under 3 years</u>	<u>Per cent 3 years &amp; over</u>	<u>Per cent eight years</u>	<u>Per cent High School</u>	<u>Per cent Uni- versity</u>
<u>Male</u>						
Col.	14	4.6	81.4	18.0	9.0	0.9
White	13.8	2.0	84.2	21.9	13.9	1.8
<u>Female</u>						
Col.	2.7	4.0	93.3	22.9	13.5	0.0
White	15.8	0.7	83.5	23.7	13.6	0.7

At first glance the above figures seem to show no correlation between crime and intelligence and education. Unfortunately these illiteracy statistics are doubtful. The statistician of the Police Department thinks they are determined by "rule of thumb". The Police official who makes the entries in the records is probably often likely to mark down a prisoner as illiterate or illiterate without taking the trouble to examine him. It must also be borne in mind that the figures for years of education are not comparable as between colored and white since so many of the

Negroes received their education in the South where a year of schooling is not the equivalent of the same period in northern schools. The Director of the Department of Special Education says that often colored children can attend school only three months out of the year. Furthermore information concerning the school years must be obtained from the prisoner himself, and there is no way of checking up on his statement.

The crimes of embezzlement, forgery, uttering and publishing are pre-eminently masculine of 366 arrested persons 348 being men. Yet the negro rates for these offenses are comparatively low. Possibly there is a direct economic interpretation of this fact, but it is probably true that a negro is less likely to commit forms of crime which require some education and in general the colored male criminal has less education than the white male. The female prisoner is in a different case and one explanation of her comparatively higher rate of education is that because of a more limited economic opportunity negro women are more readily driven to lives of crime.

Another factor which is known to aggravate the criminal tendency of a social group is the presence of a majority of young men. Unfortunately there are no current statistics to show the ratio of young men to older populations in the city.

In the Board of Education census statistics of 1925, there is revealed a disproportionate number of colored males twenty years and over, as compared with the white males of the same age. (37.8% to 31.3% of the respective groups) The following table shows a greater proportion of criminals between 20 and 40 years of age in the colored than in the white group.

TABLE 8

AGES - ARRESTS

	<u>White</u>	<u>Male</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Female</u>		<u>%</u>
		<u>%</u>	<u>Colored</u>			<u>%</u>	<u>Colored</u>	
17 - 19	1300	6.3	268	5.9	191	4.1	65	2.4
20 - 29	7268	35.5	2203	49.0	3403	73.3	1899	72.3
30 - 39	6365	31.1	1377	30.6	812	17.3	599	22.8
40 - 49	3657	17.9	506	11.2	176	3.7	55	2.09
50 - 59	1431	7.0	109	2.4	49	1.0	5	.1
60 - 69	358	1.7	24	.5	6	.1	0	.0
70 and over	488	2.3	2	.04	1	.02	0	.0

CONVICTIONS

17 - 19	426	93	22	19
20 - 29	2827	846	1156	964
30 - 39	3551	577	399	304
40 - 49	2532	249	83	28
50 - 59	1032	75	22	3
60 - 69	265	18	2	0
70 and over	40	2	1	0

AGE OF INMATES OF HOUSE OF CORRECTION

July 15 - 17, 1926

	<u>Per cent</u> <u>16-19 yrs.</u>	<u>Per cent</u> <u>20-29 yrs</u>	<u>Per cent</u> <u>30-39 yrs</u>	<u>Per cent</u> <u>40-49 yrs</u>	<u>Per cent</u> <u>50 yrs &amp; over</u>
<u>Male</u>					
Colored	5.6	51.1	28.9	9.9	4.2
White	7.2	34.2	29.5	17.8	11.0
<u>Female</u>					
Colored	2.7	63.0	30.1	4.1	.0
White	9.1	35.9	30.9	16.3	7.0

Another factor which is generally considered to contribute to criminality is the prevalence of single men and women. The following table shows the marital condition of colored and white criminals.

TABLE 9

SINGLE\* MEN AND WOMEN ARRESTED AND CONVICTED

Police Records-January 1 to June 30, 1926

	<u>Arrests</u>	Percentage of total Colored <u>Arrests</u>	<u>Convictions</u>	Percentage of total Convictions
<u>Male</u>				
Colored	2412	53.7 (total colored)	1027	55.2
White "	12964	63.4 (total white)	7154	66.9
<u>Female</u>				
Colored	1658	63.2	866	65.7
White	3729	80.4	1336	80.2

\*Includes "single, separated, widowed, divorced."

SINGLE\* INMATES OF HOUSE OF CORRECTION

July 15 - 17, 1926

	<u>Percentage of Total Population</u>
<u>Male</u>	
Colored	73.0
White	71.0
<u>Female</u>	
Colored	63.1
White	65.6

\* Includes "single, separated, widowed, divorced".



In the case of police records of arrests and convictions the statistics show a predominance of colored husbands and wives as compared with white criminals. But it has to be remembered that a great many negroes have left wives or husbands in the South and have registered as married. It is also the general opinion that there is a great deal of common law marriage among certain classes of the colored population and in any case the ties of home and family and community influence cannot operate among the colored to the same degree as among the whites because so many of the negroes are recent migrants. The Chief Probation Officer of the Recorders Court says that the percentage of negroes on probation is smaller and probation is less successful because in many cases the negro cannot offer the promise of stability which home ties produce.

A considerable floating colored population in Detroit contributes to the criminal group a percentage out of proportion to its numbers. Of 25 colored male prisoners interviewed at the House of Correction, two were brought here on Federal Charges. Five gave "wanderlust" as their reason for coming to Detroit, three came to visit and remained and ten came to seek work. Of these same twenty-five prisoners, five had lived previously in one Northern city, five in two, three in three, two in four and one professed to have resided "in every large city in the country". A lieutenant of the Italian squad, basing his estimate on police notices received from other cities, believes that this floating population includes a large number of negro criminals and it seems probable that negroes form a considerable proportion of the criminals who have been attracted to Detroit. But there can be

no question that a large element of this floating negro population has been attracted to Detroit because of its national reputation among Negroes as a city of industrial opportunity, particularly in its automobile plants.

Lack of Adjustment to Northern Urban Environment.

The high colored crime rate in Detroit is also to be traced among other causes, to the abnormal increase of the colored population during the last few years and the failure of Southern Negroes to adjust themselves to a Northern Urban environment.

The following table gives the movement of negro population here.

TABLE 10

POPULATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Per cent Negro</u>
1900	285,704	4,111	1.44
1910	465,766	5,741	1.23
1920	993,739	40,838	4.11
1925	1,242,044	81,831	6.59

One of the maladjustments arises from the failure of the newcomer to realize his relationship with the "Law" in the North. Two colored police officers say that in the South the authorities are much more "easy-going" as regards crimes of Negroes when kept within their own race. Hence the Southern Negro is less likely to expect and understand what he calls "interference" by the police in his private affairs. Of 75 murders committed by colored men and women, according to the Homicide reports for 1925, in 63 cases the victims were colored. The high rate of negro arrests for carrying concealed weapons is due to the fact that this practice is much more frequent among

both whites and negroes in the South than in the North.

To understand more fully the negro criminal, one must consider him in relation to his environment in Detroit. Living conditions for the negro are worst in what is known as the St. Antoine district. The following table shows the proportion of arrests made during the first six months of the year in the precincts which include this district.

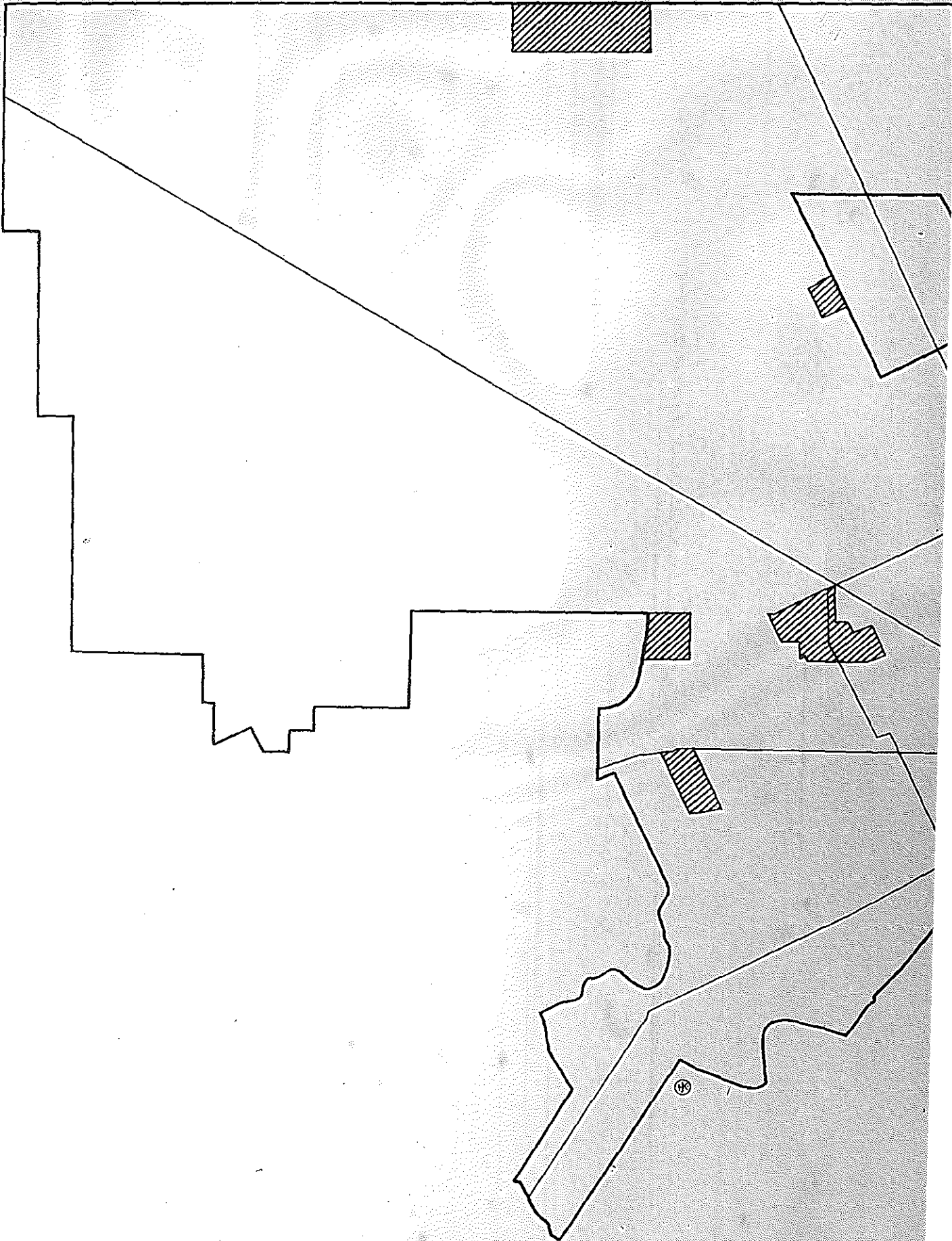
TABLE 11  
ARRESTS IN DOWNTOWN DISTRICT

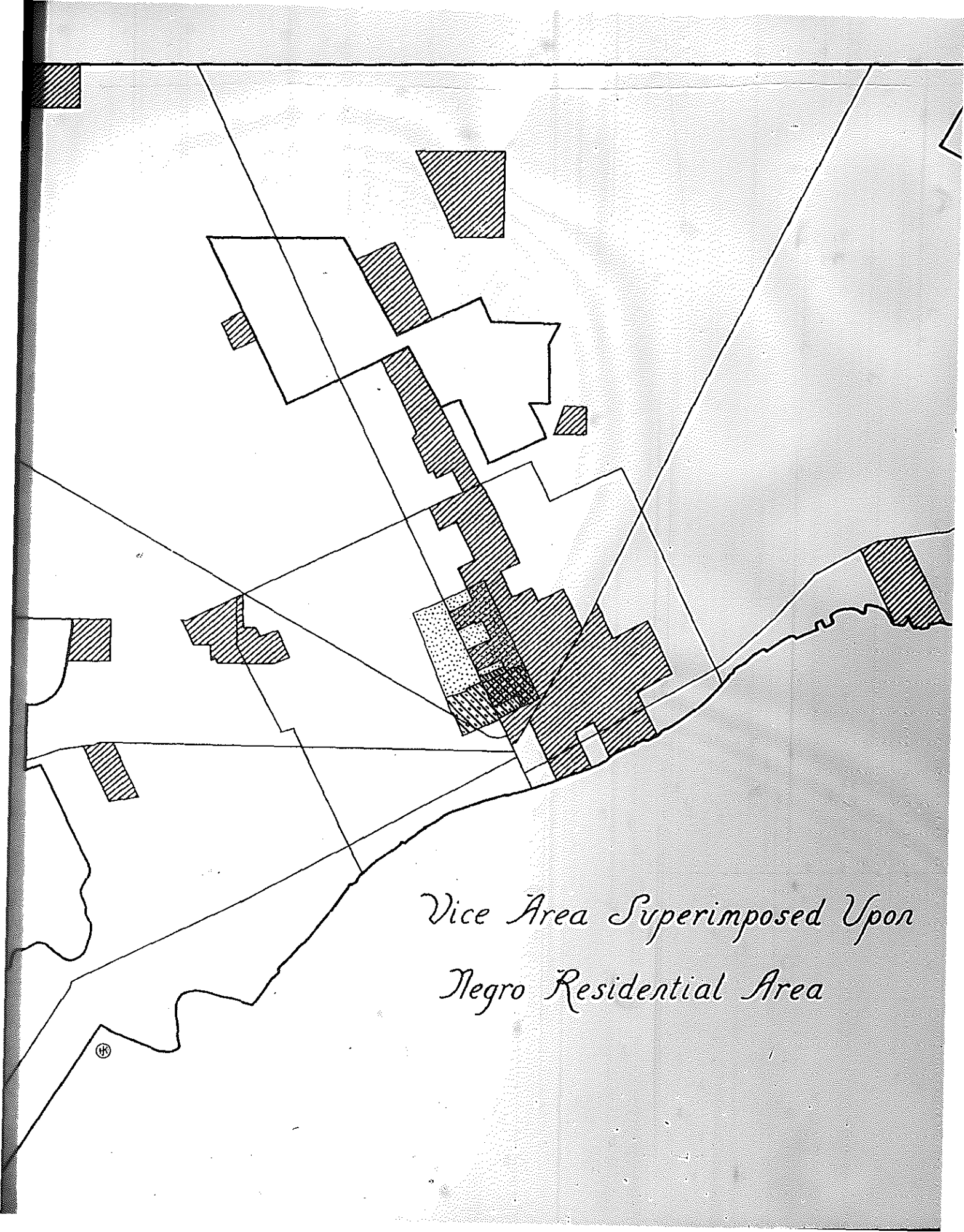
(Precincts 1, 3 and 13)

	<u>Misde- meanors</u>	<u>Percent of total Misde. Arrests*</u>	<u>Felonies</u>	<u>Percent of total Felony Arrests</u>	<u>Popu- lation of District</u>	<u>Percent of Total Col. &amp; White Popu- lation</u>
Col.	3252	88.9	954	73.0	54,170	66.1
White	8618	60.7	1871	39.7	158,623	13.67

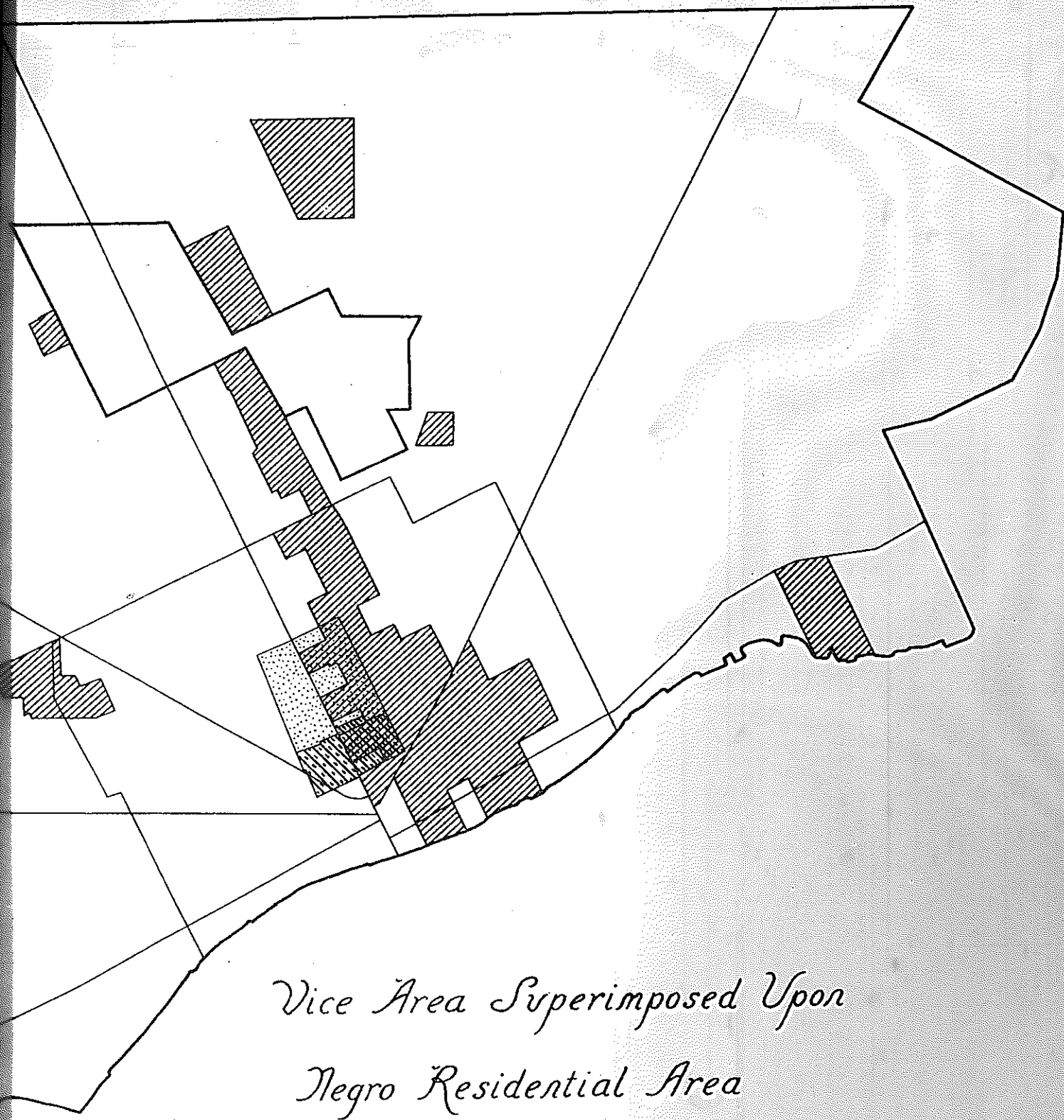
\*Exclusive of arrests by the Detective Bureau and those headed "Miscellaneous".

The arrest rate for felonies might be higher in actual fact than the statistics show because the Detective Bureau handles more felonies than misdemeanors and the figures for Bureau had to be omitted because it works all over town, making for instance 54 out of 76 colored murder arrests. The statistics show a disproportionately high number of arrests of colored people in this district, but in these three precincts the arrest rate for white people is also abnormally high, possibly because the region is vice-infested. The arrests in the down-town district for accosting and soliciting, acting as common prostitutes and disorderly persons during the six months numbered 2596 for white women and 1496 for colored.





*Vice Area Superimposed Upon  
Negro Residential Area*



As this region is the heart of the crowded business district, the larceny arrests are more numerous and probably law enforcement is stricter. Of 5846 arrests of white males for drunkenness, 3121 were made in these precincts. Of 105 arrests of white, 30 were made in this locality, while of 73 colored arrests, 42 were made in these precincts. In both cases numerous arrests made by the Detective Bureau are omitted.

Overcrowding in this district induces more readily acts of violence. Many such crimes are hasty explosions due to quarrels which may even have their origin in good-natured joking. Dr. Jacoby has noted that the Negro is more primitive in his reactions than the white man. Instead of having recourse to complicated and unfamiliar litigation the Negro migrant is prone to act directly and often violently to redress an injury. Reports of the Homicide Squad ( ) show that of 75 colored killings, 64, and of 80 white, 61 occurred in quarrels born of the moment. Negro robbers or hold-up men were responsible for only 8% of these killings as compared with 20% committed by whites.

Overcrowding, with the resulting lack of privacy which frequently makes members of both sexes occupy the same room, and the presence in the population of a majority of men are factors responsible for the large numbers of sexual crimes (Table 6). Although in this table the arrests per unit of population are more numerous than for white men, only one negro in 6 months was convicted on the charge of rape and Deputy Sheriff Carey said that, contrary to general assumption, the number of arrests for this offence is small.

Economic Status.

The general economic status of the great majority of the Negro population is an important factor in encouraging crime. The following table shows the occupations of those arrested for all crimes.

OCCUPATIONS

Police Records-January 1 to June 30, 1926.

Arrests

	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>
Professional	184	35	45	10
Mercantile	2895	116	192	91
Executives	157	46	2	0
Skilled Labor	3641	296	187	62
Unskilled Labor	9926	3086	73	6
Office Employees	51	2	41	33
Domestic Service	974	273	4021	2366
Govt. & Public Service	429	48	30	6
Unlawful Occupations	262	87	6	0
Miscellaneous	1908	500	101	49

There are no accurate statistics of the population of the colored and white industrial population nor can any reliable correlation be made between crime and occupations in themselves, but whatever the classification of the negro, he is more subject to unemployment, because there is a limited field of occupation open to him. Hence it would seem that more economic pressure is strongly conducive to crime. Negroes are heavily represented (Tables 6 and 7) in the economic crimes of larceny, burglary and



robbery. Negro women have still less occupation for employment and Miss Hutzel, Head of the Women's Division of the Police Department says that in this situation is the root of the prevalence of prostitution among colored girls (Table 7). This situation would be aggravated by the large proportion of colored adult males to females. There is some fear among colored people, expressed by an important law-enforcing official and a colored minister that this region will be allowed to become an unofficial, but tolerated "Segregated district".

#### The Negro and the Law.

Statistics of negro arrests and convictions are not absolutely reliable and the relations between the negro and the police and court system have to be expressed in generalizations which may not be capable of scientific proof. A (prominent) Judge of the Recorders Court says that negroes are more often arrested than white and their homes more often invaded without warrants. A prominent court official says that in the matter of arrangements the negro is likely to get a relatively heavier charge than a white man would receive for the same offence, as in the following incident:

"A Negro working on a constructive job got into a dispute with a white fellow laborer about raising the hoist high enough for the wheel-barrow. Four white laborers chased the Negro several times round the building and finally the Negro picked up a rock and struck one of the white men. He was arraigned on a charge of assault with

The court officials already mentioned feel that the Negro is more readily convicted when once arraigned on the ground that the existing legal authorities assume that the Negro is a bad man. Conversations of the writer with officers of the Italian Squad and with other policemen show that they proceed on the principle that the Negro is essentially vicious and are thus more ready to arrest him. Yet of 53 arrests of Negro males on the charge of murder only 12 were convicted as compared with 14 out of 54 whites. A Judge of the Recorders' Court believes that judges and juries are unconsciously prejudiced against Negroes. Negroes are usually tried by white juries and generally have only colored witnesses with the result that their testimony is discredited in advance.

The following table shows the disposition of cases by judges of the Recorders Court:

TABLE 12

DISPOSITIONS OF JUDGES OF THE RECORDERS COURT

(Police Records January 1 to June 30, 1926)

Felonies

Judges	No. Cases	Fine or Sentence	Sentence	Pro-bation	Sus-pend. Sen-tence	Total Con-victed	Per-centage of Con-victions
Kaidan	(Col. 116	5	36	7	0	48	41.37
	(White 272	13	51	45	2	111	40.80
Jeffries	(Col. 129	7	25	5	3	40	31.007
	(White 455	71	64	41	9	185	40.65
Murphy	(Col. 85	8	21	13	10	52	61.17
	(White 261	49	56	57	11	172	65.90
Van Zile	(Col. 153	16	45	10	16	87	56.86
	(White 443	84	58	69	38	249	56.20

TABLE 12 (Cont.)

DISPOSITIONS OF JUDGES OF THE RECORDERS COURT

(Police Records January 1 to June 30, 1926)

Felonies

<u>Judges</u>	<u>No. Cases</u>	<u>Fine or Sentence</u>	<u>Sen- tence</u>	<u>Pro- bation</u>	<u>Sus- pend. Sen- tence</u>	<u>Total Con- victed</u>	<u>Per- centage of Con- victions</u>
Bartlett	(Col. 59 White 211)	18 59	16 30	10 29	3 4	42 122	71.18 57.81
Stein	(Col. 131 White 328)	14 44	50 71	4 38	0 1	68 154	51.30 46.95

TABLE 13

DISPOSITIONS OF JUDGES OF THE RECORDERS COURT

(Police Records January 1 to June 30, 1926)

Felonies

<u>Judges</u>	<u>No. Cases</u>	<u>Fine or Sentence</u>	<u>Sen- tence</u>	<u>Pro- bation</u>	<u>Sus- pend. Sen- tence</u>	<u>Total Con- victed</u>	<u>Per- centage of total Con- victions</u>
Brennan	(Col. 67 White 120)	0 130	40 32	5 8	0 1	45 54	67.16 45.
Skillman	(Col. 113 White 267)	4 25	31 16	8 19	0 3	43 63	38.05 23.59
Cotter	(Col. 48 White 141)	1 4	12 27	3 21	1 1	17 53	35.41 37.58
Boyne	(Col. 60 White 223)	0 6	21 18	5 7	0 0	26 31	43.33 13.90
<b>TOTALS</b>	(Col. 981 White 2721)	68 368	297 422	70 334	33 70	468 1194	48.69 43.88

TABLE 14

DISPOSITIONS BY JUDGES OF THE RECORDERS COURT

(Police Records January 1 to June 30, 1926.)

MISDEMEANORS

Judges	No. Cases	Fine or Sentence	Fine Only	Sentence	Pro-bation	Sus-pend. Sentence	Peace Board	Total Con. tions	% of Total
Kcidan (Col.)	562	356		71	31	50	508		90.3
(White)	2266	1214		164	254	371	2003		88.39
Jeffries (Col.)	412	240		11	5	18	274		66.5
(White)	1942	1097	1	23	38	155	1313		67.61
Van Zile (Col.)	723	326		79	18	124	547		75.65
(White)	2356	881		176	119	733	1909		81.02
Skill-man (Col.)	297	151		25	15	70	261		87.87
(White)	1074	386		56	60	381	883		81.91
Cotter (Col.)	283	125	1	46	13	11	196		69.25
(White)	1562	660	2	154	213	216	1245		79.70
Stein (Col.)	592	392		11	5	68	476		80.56
(White)	2484	1188		18	41	831	2078		83.65

The following table shows the comparison of the penalties imposed on white and colored convicted:

TABLE 15

FINES AND SENTENCES (Police Records Jany 1 to June 30, 1926)

Felonies

	<u>Fined or Sentenced</u>		<u>Sentenced without Fine</u>	
	<u>Av. Fine</u>	<u>Av. Sent.</u>	<u>Av. Minimum</u>	<u>Av. Maximum</u>
<u>MALE</u>				
Colored	\$80.89	94.6-176.7 da.	43.5 Mos.	128.0 mos. (10 "Life")
White	91.65	92.4-123.1 da.	32.2 Mos.	111.0 mos. (10 "Life")
<u>FEMALE</u>				
Colored	66.66	47.5-47.5 da.	18.4 Mos.	88.6 Mos.
White	55.66	77.5-80.5 da.	12.8 Mos.	93.2 Mos.

TABLE 15 (Cont.)

Misdemeanors

<u>Fined or Sentenced</u>		<u>Fined and Sentenced</u>		<u>Sentence without Fine</u>	
<u>Av. Fine</u>	<u>Av. Sent.</u>	<u>Av. Min.</u>	<u>Av. Max.</u>	<u>Average</u>	
<u>MALE</u>					
Col.	\$15.08	16.6 da.	\$65.00	30.0 da.	50.4 da.
White	14.13	14.8 da.	68.71	24.2 da.	42.5 da.
<u>FEMALE</u>					
Col.	29.15	27.9 da.	27.50	20.0 da.	39.4 da.
White	30.80	28.9 da.	50.00	37.5 da.	45.0 da.

VI. TREATMENT OF NEGROES BY THE POLICE

CASE 1.

Case of Mr. "Blank", a prominent colored attorney.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has a law suit pending against a certain police officer for \$50,000 damages as a result of that officer's actions on the night of December 8, 1923.

The officer in question came along Hartford Avenue and found a Negro couple sitting in their car which was parked at the curb. It was in front of their house. This gentleman had lost his key and they were sitting out in front waiting. The officer spoke roughly to them. He pulled out his revolver and made them get out of the car, but was finally convinced that they had a right to be there.

Right after this Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ came out of his garage after putting his car away. The officer came up to him and said "stick up your hands, I'll show you Negroes from the South who's boss in this neighborhood. In the South they have separate cars for you and we will have them soon for you here in Detroit". Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ told him that he lived in the neighborhood and was a peaceful gentleman, but the officer pushed and jostled him and threatened him with arrest.

The officer is now out on a \$500.00 bond pending suit on a writ of capias.

(This testimony was taken August 10, 1926)

CASE 2.

The case of Mr. Robert E. \_\_\_\_\_ who was insulted by a policeman on the night of July 3, 1924 in front of his home on East High Street.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was born in Ohio and is 51 years old. He is a local representative for a drug and toilet product firm, condiments and food flavorings. He canvasses from house to house and has a sub-agent under him. He owns a 40 acre truck farm and two lots in Ferndale.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ said:

"On the night of July 3, 1924, I and Mr. X., one of my roomers, went out to get some night-crawlers to go fishing with the next day. We were coming back and we had a bucket with the night-crawlers in it. Two officers came out of the house of prostitution that used to be across the way before the city cleaned them out a few weeks ago. One of the officers was as drunk as he could be. He hollered across the street: 'Hey you, nigger, where the hell are you going?' I wondered who they were hollering at. He came across the street and hollered: 'You \_\_\_\_\_, what you got in that bucket.' I said I had night-crawlers and we were going fishing. I started to go into my house and he said, 'You stop, you god damned nigger, don't you walk away from me'. And he pulled out his gun and pointed it at me. You don't know what went through my mind. I declare if I had had a weapon in my hands both of us would have gone to Judgment that night. I was that mad because he was talking like that to me who hadn't done anything and who has always acted like a decent citizen. I said I was going to take his name and number. So he pulled off his cap and pushes it right before me and said: "\_\_\_\_\_ is my name, No. \_\_\_\_\_." They went off and I went in and wrote it down. I was going to report him but when I came back from fishing next day my wife told me I hadn't better and so did my friends so I didn't do anything about it. I have been through that once but I never would again. I would rather go to Judgment first.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ says he used to see policemen night after night frequenting the house of prostitution across the way. Sometimes they would stay so long that one of them would go out and register through the police phone box and then go back and stay.

(Testimony taken Aug. 11, 1926.)

CASE 3.

Case of colored man known as "Brother" who was beaten up on Napoleon Street near Rivard, late in June, 1926.

Mr. "Y" who runs a restaurant on Napoleon Street was the first to mention this affair.

He said, "A fellow was creating a rumpus in the next house at 1041 Napoleon Street. It started between a few men and then a woman came out and she kept following this man - calling him names. Two officers came up and they didn't know what he had done. They began beating him with a blackjack before they knew what he did. They handcuffed him and beat him some more and hauled him up the steps and knocked him down with the blackjack while he had the handcuffs on. They knocked him down on the steps and his head hit the stone steps. They kept on beating him. They had to haul him into the house to see what he had done. They called the patrol wagon and took the woman and took him in a scout car.

(Testimony taken Aug. 1926)

CASE 4.

Case of Eddie \_\_\_\_\_, who was beaten up by two policemen on the evening of April 30, 1926.

Eddie \_\_\_\_\_ is a good natured, not overly intelligent colored boy twenty-six years of age. He is married and has five children. He works for a contractor. He moved here three years ago from Tennessee. He seemed to be of a lackadaisical sort with no grudge against the police and anxious to avoid any farther trouble.

He said, "Sometime after six o'clock I was coming home from work. My little boy was throwing stones at the window of the store kept by an Italian here on the corner. I told him to go home and he wouldn't pay no attention to me, so I just pulled off this little belt and licked him around the legs. Then the cops jumped on me. One of them came up behind me and hit me in the side of the jaw. I don't know what happened to me after that for awhile. They took me to the Hunt Street Station.

"My sister, she came out and asked them what I had been doing and they took her to the station, too. They kept her there all night. Down at the station they said I was drunk. They hit me with a piece of rubber hose. This was Friday night. About Saturday or Sunday they took me to the Receiving Hospital. The Doctor down there said my jaw was fractured. The cops had knocked one of my teeth out and I had thought my jaw was broken. They handcuffed me to the bed all the time I was in the

hospital, but outside of that they treated me all right. I was in the hospital thirty days. Then I was in the jail for twelve days, upstairs in the police building. No, I was not in court at any time. After twelve days upstairs they hauled me down and let me go."

(Testimony taken August 12, 1926)

CASE 5

Case of David \_\_\_\_\_ who was shot by a policeman July 22, 1926 at the home of Mr. X. on East Montcalm Street.

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Mr. X. said:

"David \_\_\_\_\_ lived with a woman whom he called his wife at my house during last March. They moved away. Sometime after the woman came back. On the night of July 22 David came to the house and tried to persuade his wife to come back to him. She came to me and said she was scared of David and that he had a gun.

"I talked with David. He said he didn't have any gun and he didn't mean any harm. He was very quiet and didn't make any disturbance. They went upstairs together. Later David came down and asked to use my phone. He wanted to call a taxi because his wife was going with him. I said my phone wasn't in use so he went out to telephone.

"Then his wife offered a man 50¢ to call the 'Law'. He told her if she wanted the 'Law' she would have to call them herself. She went over to the corner store and telephoned. The 'Law' came up. There were several of them. One had a sawed-off shot gun. The woman said David had gone but would come back. The 'Law' went away.

"The boy came back and went upstairs with the woman again. They all told him the 'Law' was after him. The woman claimed she had not called them. The boy came downstairs again. I asked him if he had a gun and he said no, and raised up his coat and showed me he hadn't. I told him if he saw the 'Law' to go up to them and tell them all about it and when they saw it was a mistake, they would let him go. He started off and the woman kept him on the steps talking. I sat inside. I saw the 'Law' come up. 'Stick 'em up'. Bang. Bang. He ran into the house with the officers after him shooting at him. He just got across the dining-room when they got him in the shoulder and he whirled around and fell on his back by the sink. One of them - the chunky one, not the tall fellow - stood right over him and shot into his



stomach four times, I think. I went up to him and hit him on the shoulder. I said, 'Don't you kill him in here - he hasn't done no wrong.' The officers claim the boy reached for his hip. I can't say because I couldn't see him on the steps, but I don't think so. He didn't have any gun. They searched him before they took him off and couldn't find any.

"They must have shot at him even before he began to run because the bullet hole is square in the middle of the front door. If the door had been opened the bullet would have come right in.

"My wife says when I was down at Police Headquarters the officers came back and claimed they found a gun. They showed it to my wife, but didn't say where they found it.

"David was a good man so far as I know. He was quiet and kind all the time he lived with me. The officers say the woman called them up and said that a man was going to kill her. We need all the officers we have got. We need protection, but we need someone who will understand. An officer who did what that one did couldn't have a clean heart. I have seen things go on in this neighborhood that they ought to stop, but they don't, but they do a thing like this. One of the bullets broke a dish in my china closet. If my little boy had been sitting where he usually does they might have hit him.

(Testimony taken August 12, 1926)

Mr. Julian Perry supplied some further facts in this case, which he obtained from the boy himself, who is at the present time in the Receiving Hospital, chained to a cot, from the people with whom the boy was last living and from Mr. X.

Mr. Perry says that David's wife induced her husband to buy a new set of furniture and after he had got it she left him. After a week he found out that she was living at the home of Mr. X. again. Mr. Perry's account of the shooting was obtained from Mr. X. and tallied with those facts which Mr. X. gave the interviewer, but Mr. Perry further said that the officers claim to have found the gun behind a trunk in the rear bedroom, which David never entered.

The officers claim that the woman called them and said a man was threatening her with a gun. They also claimed that when they shot David he was coming out of the bedroom and had a gun in his hand. The people in the house say this particular officer who testified never came in the house at all. Mr. Perry tried to

get a writ of habeas corpus for the boy but was denied by the court on the grounds that the boy was too weak to appear in court.

(This Testimony taken August 10, 1926)

### Negroes Killed by the Police.

The homicide reports show that during the period from Jan'y 1, 1925 to June 30, 1926, 25 Negroes, as compared with 24 whites were killed by the police. The following are case studies of samples of these killings, beginning with June 30, 1926 and working back through 1925. The names were selected according to date. Only those cases whose families could be located are included. The method followed is to submit for each case (1) the findings of the Survey Staff (2) the verbatim police reports (3) Negro Newspaper Reports and Comment.

1.

#### Henry Noble

#### Survey Findings

Henry Noble was born in Fort Valley, Georgia in 1898. When he was around fifteen years old his family migrated to Steubenville, Ohio, where the children were partly reared.

Because of the high wages which can be obtained in Detroit, Henry and his brother came here for the purpose of accumulating sufficient money to purchase their mother a home. When they first arrived he and his brother resided in the same home, but in October, 1925, he moved to 972 Lafayette Avenue, because of his continual connections with petty theft charges. Here his landlady informed him on the first of December that he would have to vacate his room. While there he did not work but spent a great deal of his time in pool rooms and gambling joints.

He was absolutely illiterate. His landlady had to read and write his letters.

He was married, but separated before coming to Detroit.

At the time of his death Henry did not own any property nor did he have a bank account. He was insured, however, in the Metropolitan and National Benefit. These policies provided enough money for his burial and left a surplus for the family.

The Police Report:

"About 3:25 A.M., March 31, 1926, Henry Noble, Frank Foster and Jack Griskell were breaking into the Congress Pharmacy at 901 E. Congress Street, Frank Foster and Jack Griskell were arrested by Patrolmen W. Burkuhl and H. Bartlett. Henry Noble was inside the Drug Store, and when he saw the officers he ran out of the side door. The officers commanded him to stop, but he kept running, so they fired several shots, which struck him in the head and chest. He was taken to Receiving Hospital in sub-conscious condition in #1 Auto where he died shortly after arrival. Patrolmen Burkuhl and Bartlett were exonerated by Assistant Prosecutor Oscar Kaufman. Inquest pending."

The Detroit Independent: (Negro Newspaper)

"Henry Noble, 22 years old, who resides at 972 E. Lafayette was shot and killed by Patrolman Burkuhl of the Central Station. The killing took place at the Congress pharmacy, 901 E. Congress Street, where Patrolmen Burkuhl and Harry Bartlett went in response to an alarm that the store was being robbed. On reaching the scene the officers are said to have found and arrested two colored lockouts stationed outside the building. After handcuffing the two men to their automobile wheels, they returned to the store, where it is reported they saw a third man on the inside busily engaged in plundering the place. Burkuhl then fired at the man through the window, at the same time calling to him to halt, and as the latter fled through the door, Patrolman Burkuhl fired four shots in his body. Noble died before he reached the Receiving Hospital. Officer Burkuhl has the reputation of being one of the crack shooters of the local police department, having to his record the killing of three other alleged bandits.

2.

Bartram Johnson

Survey Findings

Bartram Johnson was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1891. When he was ten years old the Johnson family migrated to New York City.

He came to Detroit about eleven years ago and was married six months after his arrival. Since coming to Detroit the family has resided at 4179 Beaubien Street for the last seven years.

Johnson had worked steadily since his arrival in Detroit. For the last four years he had been operating a tailor shop at 4181 Beaubien. He worked with the D. & C. Navigation Company for five years and for three years as captain of waiters at the Charlevoix Hotel.

His chief recreation outside of home was race horses. The greater part of his spare time was spent attending the race tracks. He was not especially interested in any other sport.

Johnson was an intelligent man. He took advantage of the educational opportunities offered in New York and completed three years of high school work there.

His educational training enabled him to take part in much of the Negro community life of Detroit. He was a member of the Catholic Church and was associated with a number of fraternal organizations, among which were the Elks and Moose. Johnson was a voter and was interested in political issues.

#### The Police Report

"Bert Johnson, colored, age 25, 4181 Beaubien Street, about 6:15 P.M. February 17, 1926. Bert Johnson, colored, while resisting arrest for violating the prohibition law and attempting to attack Patrolman Cornelius Everdyke, Harold McWinch, and Paul Perdew with a large knife in his blind pig at 3725 St. Antoine Street. He was shot in the neck by Patrolman Everdyke. Bert Johnson was taken to Receiving Hospital in #1 auto where he died shortly after arrival. February 23, 1926, Patrolman Everdyke exonerated by coroner's jury in charge of Coroner Albert L. French."

#### The Owl: (Negro Newspaper)

"Bertram Johnson was murdered when he tried to compel Patrolmen Everdyke and Perdew to respect the legal rights of another Negro, Roland Hicks. These Patrolmen were invading Mr. Hick's place of business without search warrant, and without any other right under the law, to proceed. Johnson demanded that they leave--this so wrought up these policemen who were acting, seemingly, under the old adage of the South, that the black man had no rights that needed to be respected--that they began to assault Bertram Johnson and when he resisted

Patrolman Everdyke shot at him."

"Investigation discloses that on the first shot Johnson stopped dead still with his hands down and his head erect, looking at the policeman, at which time, Patrolman Perdue grabbed Johnson from the back, held him, while Everdyke, taking aim, shot Johnson through the neck murdering him in cold blood."

3.

### Gertrude Russian

#### Survey Findings:

Gertrude Russian was born in Arkansas in 1892. Because of the poor educational opportunities offered, she was unable to go any further than the third grade.

She spent her childhood and practically her entire womanhood in Arkansas. It was not until the fall of 1924 that she and her husband migrated to Detroit. While in Detroit she was not engaged in any work outside of the home.

Mrs. Russian had not taken much part in the community life of Detroit. She was not associated with any of the fraternal organizations of Detroit nor was she a member of a church here, but held policies in several insurance companies.

#### The Police Report:

"Gertrude Russian (colored) age 31 years, 2494 Beaubien Street. About 11:40 P.M. November 25, 1925, Patrolmen Joseph McManus, James Dooley and John Nee, while walking in plain clothes and when in front of 2494 Beaubien Street Patrolman Joseph McManus was accosted by Gertrude Russian (colored). The patrolman placed her under arrest for accosting men on the street. They placed her in a Ford police car near by and Patrolman McManus sat alongside her, while Patrolman James Dooley and John Nee were taking care of a disturbance across the street. Gertrude Russian drew a knife and stabbed Patrolman McManus in the abdomen and right side of back. Patrolman McManus drew his gun and shot Gertrude Russian in the neck, killing her instantly. Patrolman McManus was taken to Receiving Hospital. Inquest pending."

#### The Detroit Independent: (Negro Newspaper)

"Gertrude Russian was shot and killed on Thanksgiving Eve, November 25, 1925 at the corner of Beaubien

and winder. She was arrested for soliciting and thrown into scout car No. 320-015 by three policemen. There was a disturbance a few yards away on Beaubien Street and two of the officers who made the arrest were called away from the car. The officer remaining got into a heated dispute with his arrested victim and was seen in the act of striking her with his blackjack.

"The woman made desperate by the blows pulled out her knife and began slashing the officer across the stomach; the officer fired, the bullet making a gunshot wound in the leg. As the two officers who were called away approached the car, the wounded officer in charge of the woman yelled to them, "She cut me". 'He shot me', the woman answered.

"The other two officers then jumped into the car and drove away, but when only a few yards, two other shots were heard fired into the body of the woman, and she died instantly."

5.

### Marcus Lawhorn

#### Survey Findings

Marcus Lawhorn was recognized by neighbors as an outstanding character in Negro Underworld. It is said that he was both a user and a peddler of narcotics.

Because of the absence of relatives there is not very much known about his early life. It is said, however, that he had only a meagre amount of education.

He was not lawfully married, but at various intervals, kept several women in his apartment.

Lawhorn was not a member of a church nor was he associated with any of the constructive forces of the city. He was buried by the Welfare Department.

#### Police Report

"Marcus Lawhorn, alias George Williams, alias Wilson, alias Markus De Horn, colored, 45 years, of 550 Watson, about 12:50 P.M. January 20, 1926, Patrolman Alfred Letournean, Roy Rollyson and Clarence Mayo of the 13th Precinct, went to 550 Watson Street to serve a warrant for assault and battery on a Mrs. W. Smith. Patrolman Letournean was searching the house for Mrs. W. Smith when he found Marcus Lawhorn, alias Marcus De Horn, alias George Williams, alias Wilson, lying

on a bed in the house smoking an opium pipe. Marcus Lawhorn, alias De Horn, offered Patrolman Letourneau some money if he would not arrest him on a dope charge. The officer upset the money, Marcus Lawhorn then ran out of the house. Patrolman Roy Rollyson chased him and commanded Lawhorn to stop. He refused and when in the rear of 534 Erskine Street, Lawhorn reached for his hip pocket and Patrolman Rollyson drew his gun and shot, striking Lawhorn in the left side of the back, killing him instantly, January 26, 1926. Patrolman Roy Rollyson was exonerated by coroner's jury in charge of Coroner J. E. Burgess."

The Detroit Independent (Negro Newspaper)

"Marcus Lawhorn, 550 Watson Street, was shot in the back and killed here January 20, 1926 by Patrolman Roy Rollyson.

"It is reported that a squad of officers, of which Rollyson was a member, went to the Watson Street house in answer to a telephone call informing them that there was a disturbance in the house. They found Lawhorn in his apartment where it is said a quantity of narcotics was thought to be concealed. It is alleged that when the officers attempted to arrest Lawhorn, he ran from the house. He was followed by Patrolman Rollyson through the back door and out into the alley at the rear of 534 Erskine, where Lawhorn and the officer stopped. The officer shot him in the chest. Death came instantaneously. Rollyson was brought before the police trial board and exonerated. Lawhorn did not have any weapons on his body."

6.

Abe Mattingly

Survey Findings

Abe Mattingly was born May 21, 1900 in Homesville, Kentucky. He attended the public schools of Homesville until he completed the fourth grade. As the economic status of the Mattingly family did not allow him to continue his education, he was forced to drop out of school and help his father.

He came to Detroit three years prior to his death and married after being here a short time. During these three years he was a laborer at one of Ford's plants.

Mattingly was not a member of a Detroit Church and was not closely connected with the community life of the city. He was not associated with any of the

lodges here, but had enough insurance to pay burial expenses.

### Police Report

"Abe Mattingly (colored) age 30 years, 3624 Rivard Street, about 10:20 P.M. August 9, 1925, Patrolman Thomas Logan and Patrolman Henry Wiese arrested Abe Mattingly in a store at 3621 Rivard Street for suspicion of robbery. When the officers got Mattingly on the street he broke away from them and ran. Patrolman Thomas Logan chased Mattingly, called to him to halt, and fired three shots into the ground. He refused to stop and Patrolman Thomas Logan fired another shot, striking Abe Mattingly in the back. He was taken to Receiving Hospital in No. 3 auto, where he died September 1, 1925 at 10:30 P.M. inquest pending."

Neither the Detroit Independent nor the Owl carried a report of the killing.

7.

### Steve Tompkins

### Survey Findings

Steven Tompkins was born May 25, 1885 at Parsville, S.C. Tompkins attended the public school at Parsville until he reached the fourth grade.

He and his wife came to Detroit in 1917 to answer the great demand for Negro labor. During the eight years he spent here, he was employed as a laborer at Ford Motor Company. He was not a member of a church here nor did he take an active part in the community life of Detroit. Tompkins was not associated with any of the fraternal organizations, but held several policies in insurance companies.

### Police Report

"Steve Tompkins (colored) age 42 years, 7727 Russell Street, about 12:20 P.M. August 20, 1925, Patrolman Proctor Pruitt was serving a summons on Steve Tompkins at his home at 7727 Russell Street for violating the Prohibition Law. Steve Tompkins is the colored man that shot Patrolman Proctor Pruitt back in April, 1923 and Judge Jeffries discharged Tompkins. When Patrolman Pruitt tried to serve Steve Tompkins with the summons he recognized the officer and ran to his bedroom. Patrolman Pruitt followed Tompkins into the bedroom and, when the officer saw Tompkins reaching into the dresser drawer and drawing a gun, Patrolman Pruitt shot Steve Tompkins in the left temple, killing him



instantly. Inquest pending."

The Owl (Negro newspaper)

"Steven Tompkins, colored, was peacefully residing in his home at 7727 Russell Street when Patrolman Proctor Pruitt knocked on his door. He was admitted by his wife. The officer served a summons on Steven Tompkins, and investigation disclosed the fact that while Tompkins was reading the summons Patrolman Pruitt pulled out his gun and deliberately, in cold blood with malice aforethought, killed and murdered Tompkins in his own home on the pretext that Tompkins, a few years before had shot him."

8.

Mrs. Lillie Smith

Survey Findings

Mrs. Lillie Smith was born in 1900 in Charleston, S.C. The meagre amount of education that she had was received in the public schools of that city. She completed the third grade.

Mrs. Smith was a church member but was not allied with any of the fraternal organizations of Detroit. She was insured in several insurance companies.

Police Report

"Lillie Smith, colored, age 25 years, 1545 Alger Avenue. About 7:25 P.M., February 1, 1925; Patrolman Fred Williams, while walking his beat at Russell near Brewster Street, heard two shots fired in rapid succession and then saw an International Truck, No. 95-485, driving at a rapid speed north on Russell near Brewster Street with James Smith driving and Lillie Smith, his wife, beside him. The Patrolman went out in the street, flashed his light and called to them to stop. They refused and the patrolman fired two shots, one bullet striking Lillie Smith in the left jaw. She was taken to Receiving Hospital in No. 3 Auto where she died February 8, 1925 at 5:00 P.M. Patrolman Fred Williams arrested and now waiting trial (February 28, 1926)".

The Detroit Independent's Report: (Negro Newspaper)

"Fred Williams, a policeman, deliberately murdered Mrs. Lillie Smith, expectant mother, by shooting at the truck driven by her husband, February 1, 1925, near the corner of Alfred and Russell Streets, striking her directly in the neck, was freed in five minutes by a jury. Mrs. Smith was taken to the Receiving Hospital after the shooting where she died a double death, by

giving birth to an infant who still lives. Mrs. Smith died as a result of the wound."

9.

George Sims

Survey Findings

George Sims was born in Knoxville, Tennessee in 1893. Sims spent his childhood and part of his manhood in Knoxville. After he completed the graded school, he matriculated at Knoxville College, where he successfully completed three years of high school work.

In 1915 he married and the following year he and his wife migrated to Detroit in response to the great demand for Negro labor. At the time he was killed, he was employed at Ford's River Rouge Plant. He supplemented his pay roll by peddling coal because at this time Ford's plants were only working four days a week. Sims was a member of the St. John's Methodist Church.

The Police Report:

"George Sims, colored, age 39, 1985 Mullet Street. About 1:10 A.M. February 25, 1926, Patrolman Peter Scally and Kenneth Lawrence while patrolling in a scout car, they saw a man in the alley between Hastings and Rivard, Clinton and Macomb Streets. The officers approached this man and ordered him to throw up his hands. He immediately reached for his pocket. Patrolman Scalley, thinking the man was reaching for a gun, shot him in the chest and below the heart. He was taken to Receiving Hospital, where he died shortly after arrival. This man was later identified as George Sims, colored, and has the reputation of being a strong-arm man. Inquest pending.

The Owl's Report: (Negro Newspaper)

"Last Thursday morning about one A.M. George Sims, a Ford worker, was killed by Patrolman Peter Scalley, in cold blood.

"Sims, a Ford worker working four days a week, has a wife and two daughters and lives at 1985 Mullett Street, called at a friend's house who lives in the alley off Russell between Clinton and Macomb Streets, to borrow his wagon, to peddle coal with, in order to make extra money for his family, due to the loss of two days in the factory.

"He was standing in the alley talking with this

friend from the window, with a thermos bottle under his arm; when officers Scalley and Kennedy drove up. Scalley ordered Sims to 'throw up his hands' which he did. The thermos bottle he was carrying under his arm fell on the pavement and Scalley fired and killed Sims in cold blood. Sims had no weapons on his body."

10.

Robert Brown

Survey Findings

Robert Brown was born in 1895 at Nashville, Tennessee, entered one of the public schools in Nashville at an early age and continued until he reached the fifth grade.

He came to Detroit in 1917 with the great influx of Negroes who were drifting in from various sections of the South. While here, he was irregularly employed as a repair man in a garage.

Brown was not affiliated with the church nor any of the fraternal organizations which stand for the betterment of the community. Because of the fact that he had neither a bank account nor any insurance the people with whom he roomed were forced to turn his body over to the city.

Police Report:

"Robert Brown, colored, age \_\_\_\_\_ years, 1416 E. Lafayette Ave. About 7:30 P.M. Jan. 23, 1925, Paul Livingston was furnished with two \$20.00 bills by U.S. Narcotic agents Frank Ranlon, Paul Petit and Patrolman Anthony Yank and Hugh Quinn to purchase an ounce of morphine from Robert Brown. Brown lured Livingston into an alley North of Lafayette between Russell and Riopelle Streets and struck Livingston and took the two \$20.00 bills and ran. Patrolman Yank chased him two blocks and ordered him to throw up his hands. Brown reached for his pocket, and as Patrolman Yank thought that Brown was reaching for a gun, shot Brown twice. When Brown was searched the two \$20.00 bills of which the numbers were taken before they were given to Livingston were found on Brown. Brown was taken to Receiving Hospital in No. 3 auto where he died January 25, 1925 at 5:10 P.M. January 29, 1925 Coroner's Jury in charge of Coroner Albert L. French, exonerated Patrolman Anthony Yank."

The Detroit Independent's Report (Negro newspaper)

"It is said that Robert Brown, 35 years old, 1416 Lafayette Avenue, was shot last Thursday by Detective Anthony Yank of the Narcotic Squad and died Sunday night

at Receiving Hospital. The story says that Yank send an "informer" to Brown to buy dope. Brown snatched \$40.00 and ran. Yank told him to halt. He shot him for \$40.00 resulting in his death."

The explanation given rather generally by the police especially by the inspector of the homicide and Italian squads as to why there are so many killings of Negroes is that the Negro is a desperate criminal and officers have to shoot first. The Inspector of the Italian Squad and others have spoken of the number of brutal killings of the police by Negroes. The reports of the homicide squad, however, show that during the eighteen months from January 1, 1925 to June 30, 1926, policemen were killed by four Negroes. In one case, that of Edward Jordan, the policeman received a bullet which was intended for another Negro with whom Jordan had been fighting. This other Negro ran out of the hotel and Jordan firing after him killed the officer who was standing on the corner. In the other two cases the officers were killed by men whom they cornered.

During the same period seven white men killed officers and in six of these cases the murder was committed by a hold-up man who turned on the officer when he interfered. In other words, so far as killings were concerned, the records do not show the Negroes to be hunters of policemen.

As an example of what may be done by a different method of handling there is a case of a lieutenant of the Italian Squad who is in general charge of that Department dealing with Negroes.

He has not shot a man in fifteen years yet the Inspector of the Squad says that he can go into a den and arrest any man he chooses with perfect impunity. The general situation may be inferred from a comparison with the statistics for New York, which has the largest Negro population in the country (183,243). The Secretary of the Police Department of New York City says that in 1925 there were three Negroes killed by policemen. In the same year 14 Negroes were killed by policemen in Detroit with its Negro population of 82,000 in 1925.

As a complication of the situation it is commonly believed among colored people that a large number of Southern policemen are employed in Negro districts, having been recruited for the specific purpose and that they come with deep-seated prejudices against the Negroes which make it impossible for them to give him fair treatment. At any rate Detroit has not followed to any great extent the policy adopted by some cities of using colored policemen and on the local force there are only 14 colored men out of 3000. The colored male officer of the Women's Division said there had been numerous attempts to "frame" him but that he was supported so strongly by the Head of the Department that he was able to carry through unflinchingly. He thought it was true that some colored people expect an officer of their race to stand in with them against the Law, but that he had readily disabused their minds of this. He made the important point that a colored officer can know and identify the colored criminal, no matter in what circumstances or in what disguise he appears, better than a white officer. A female colored officer appears to have been very successful in dealing with the dance-hall problem.

VII. THE NEGRO ON PROBATION.

(Information and comment furnished by the Chief Probation Officer of the Recorders Court.)

TABLE 16

PROBATION STATISTICS

January 1, 1926 to June 30, 1926

	<u>White</u>		<u>Negroes</u>	
Placed on probation .....	1,275		165	
Discharged from probation.	1,097		170	
		<u>Per cent of discharged</u>		<u>Per cent of discharged</u>
a. Discharged with improvement .....	763	69.5	83	48.8 (54.6)*
b. Discharged unimproved .	128	11.6	11	6.4 (7.2)
c. Committed for violation .....	58	5.2	12	7.0 (7.8)
d. Committed on new charge	50	4.5	9	5.2 (5.9)
e. Died .....	8	.7	3	1.7 (1.9)
f. Suspended by limitation (absconded) .....	77	7.0	47	27.6 (19.0)
g. Appealed .....	13	1.1	5	2.9 (3.2)
<u>TOTAL CONVICTIONS</u>		<u>PLACED ON PROBATION</u>		<u>PER CENT ON PROBATION</u>
White 12358		1275		10.3
Colored 3178		165		5.19

\*note the third paragraph of the excerpt from the following letter from Mr. Johnson, Chief Probation Officer:

(Here are the results of our inquiry concerning probationers which you requested us to make.)

The term 'suspended by limitations' means that contact has been lost with the probationer and that at the end of the statutory period, two years in the case of misdemeanors and five years in the case of felonies, the probationer cannot be found.

It happened that during the period in question a special effort was made to clear up old records in the Women's Division. For that reason there were eighteen old warrant cases of Negro women discharged which it was necessary to include in these statistics. This swelled the figure under "f" from 29 to 47.

Stability of residence and of family connection is a primary test of probation. In this respect our Negro group, being largely newcomers, suffers in contrast with the general average of the population, although a substantial percentage of our whole population is of a transient character."

It is perhaps to be expected that the Negro as a rule would not make so successful a probationer even when he is given the opportunity because his whole environment and background would tend to make him more irresponsible. But the local probation department seems essentially fair-minded in this matter and as the general status of the Negro is raised, successful probation in his case should ensue.

#### VIII. THE NEGRO IN STATE INSTITUTIONS.

(Statistics furnished by State Department of Labor and Industry.)

The following are the only available statistics concerning the Negro population of State Institutions. There are no facts to be had concerning the quality of the Negro as an inmate of the State Institutions nor any detailed statistics with regard to recidivism, types of offenses. More information is available

and is herewith appended concerning the House of Correction, where most misdemeanants, all women felons and many male felony first offenders are incarcerated.

TABLE 17

ALL NEGROES IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

	Total Negro Population	Percent of Total Inmates	(Whites) & (Negroes)
Jackson	547	25.3	
Marquette	149	23.0	
Ionia	138	9.6	

NEGROES FROM WAYNE COUNTY IN STATE INSTITUTIONS

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of all Negroes in Institutions</u>
Jackson	424	77.5
Marquette	114	76.5
Ionia	79	57.2

TABLE 18

SUMMARY OF HOUSE OF CORRECTION POPULATION

July 15 - 17, 1926.

<u>Males</u>	<u>Number of Inmates</u>	<u>Per 10,000* Population</u>
Colored	211	68.1
White	831	22.9
<u>Females</u>		
Colored	73	
White	145	

\*This comparison may not be made for females since women come to the House of Correction from all over the State.



NATURE OF OFFENSES

<u>Male</u>	<u>Per cent Misdemeanors</u>	<u>Per cent Felonies</u>
Colored	52.1	47.9
White	58.1	41.9
<u>Female</u>		
Colored	42.5	57.5
White	29.7	70.3

The fact that the percentage of felony commitment is higher in the case of the colored male than the white male may indicate either that the white man commits fewer felonies or that the colored felony transgressor is a repeater. As regards the women these figures seem to indicate a greater proportion of commitments for felony on the part of the white women than the colored. The following table indicates the only approach that the survey investigation has found to the question of recidivism:

TABLE 19

RECIDIVISTS

House of Correction - July 23, 1926.

<u>Males</u>	<u>Percent of total group in Institution (First offenders and Recidivists)</u>
Colored	46.9
White	33.2
<u>Females</u>	
Colored	50.0
White	41.7

NUMBER OF OFFENSES

<u>Offenses</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent of Total Recidivists</u>
Colored Males 2nd	45	56.9
3rd	15	18.9
4th	3	37.9
5th & over	16	20.2

TABLE 19 (Cont.)

NUMBER OF OFFENSES

<u>Offenses</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent of Total Recidivists</u>
White Males 2nd	117	42.3
3rd	62	22.4
4th	25	9.0
5th & over	72	26.0
Colored Females 2nd	7	19.4
3rd	11	30.5
4th	0	0.0
5th & over	8	50.0
White Females 2nd	24	41.3
3rd	6	10.3
4th	3	5.1
5th & over	25	43.1

The figures in the above table concerning males apply only to misdemeanants. Of the male misdemeanants, there are more second offenders among the colored and more numerous offenders among the whites. The figures for females include both misdemeanants and felons and there are more white women second offenders than colored, partly to be explained, perhaps, by the periodic commitment of women for prostitution. In general, the authorities at the House of Correction seem to agree that the Negro presents more of a problem than the white. The women's social worker says that the colored inmates cause 95% of the disciplinary trouble and attributes this to a primitive habit of mind which makes them react to situations as their instincts direct them, their most common offense being fighting. There are 17 colored women at the farm run in connection with the House of Correction. As prisoners at the Farm are for the most part on their honor, commitment to it is looked upon

somewhat as a reward and especially in the summer time is desired by the prisoners. Since reliability and co-operative inclination are essential to qualify for residence, it speaks well for Negro women offenders that 17 out of 73 should be sent there.

The director of welfare for the men's division said that Negro prisoners were noisy, being given to shouting and singing a great deal and that their sexual morality was worse than that of the white. Granting that these observations are accurate, the Negro prisoners' offenses do not seem to be of a desperate nature, but are an expression of their background and environment.

IX. THE NEGRO JUVENILE DELINQUENT.

(Juvenile delinquency as recorded in the Juvenile Court.)

TABLE 20

Records at the Juvenile Court - January 1 to June 30, 1926.

COMPLAINTS

<u>Boys &amp; Girls</u>	<u>Complaints</u>	<u>Percentage of Complaints</u>	<u>Per 10,000 Population</u>
Colored	139	10.5	55.8
White	1179	89.4	24.4

DISPOSITION - SUMMARY

<u>Boys &amp; Girls</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>missed</u>	<u>Percent-</u> <u>age Dis-</u> <u>missed</u>	<u>On Pro-</u> <u>bation</u>	<u>Percent-</u> <u>age on</u> <u>Probation</u>	<u>Committed</u>	<u>Percent-</u> <u>age</u> <u>Committed.</u>
Colored	19	13.6	45	32.3	21	15.1
White	170	14.4	518	43.9	137	11.6

TYPES OF COMPLAINTS

	<u>Boys</u>				<u>Girls</u>			
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>%</u>	
Breaking and Entering	13	12.4	189	19.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Destruction Property	0	0.0	18	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Immorality	0	0.0	0	0.0	26	76.4	101	49.0
Incorrigible	15	14.2	79	8.1	4	11.7	16	7.7
Larceny	22	20.6	248	25.5	2	5.8	11	5.3
Malicious Assault	6	5.8	19	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Robbery	6	5.8	7	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Truant Home	11	10.4	42	4.2	2	5.8	11	5.3
Truant School	8	7.8	171	17.5	0	0.0	69	33.4
Unlawful Use Auto	14	13.3	150	15.5	0	0.0	0	0.0

PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS

	<u>Boys</u>			
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Percent</u>
No previous commitments	57	63.3	614	69.2
1 " "	20	22.2	183	20.6
2 " "	9	10.0	66	7.4
3 " "	3	3.3	19	2.1
4 " "	1	1.1	4	.4
More than 4 "	0	0.0	1	.1
	<u>90</u>		<u>887</u>	

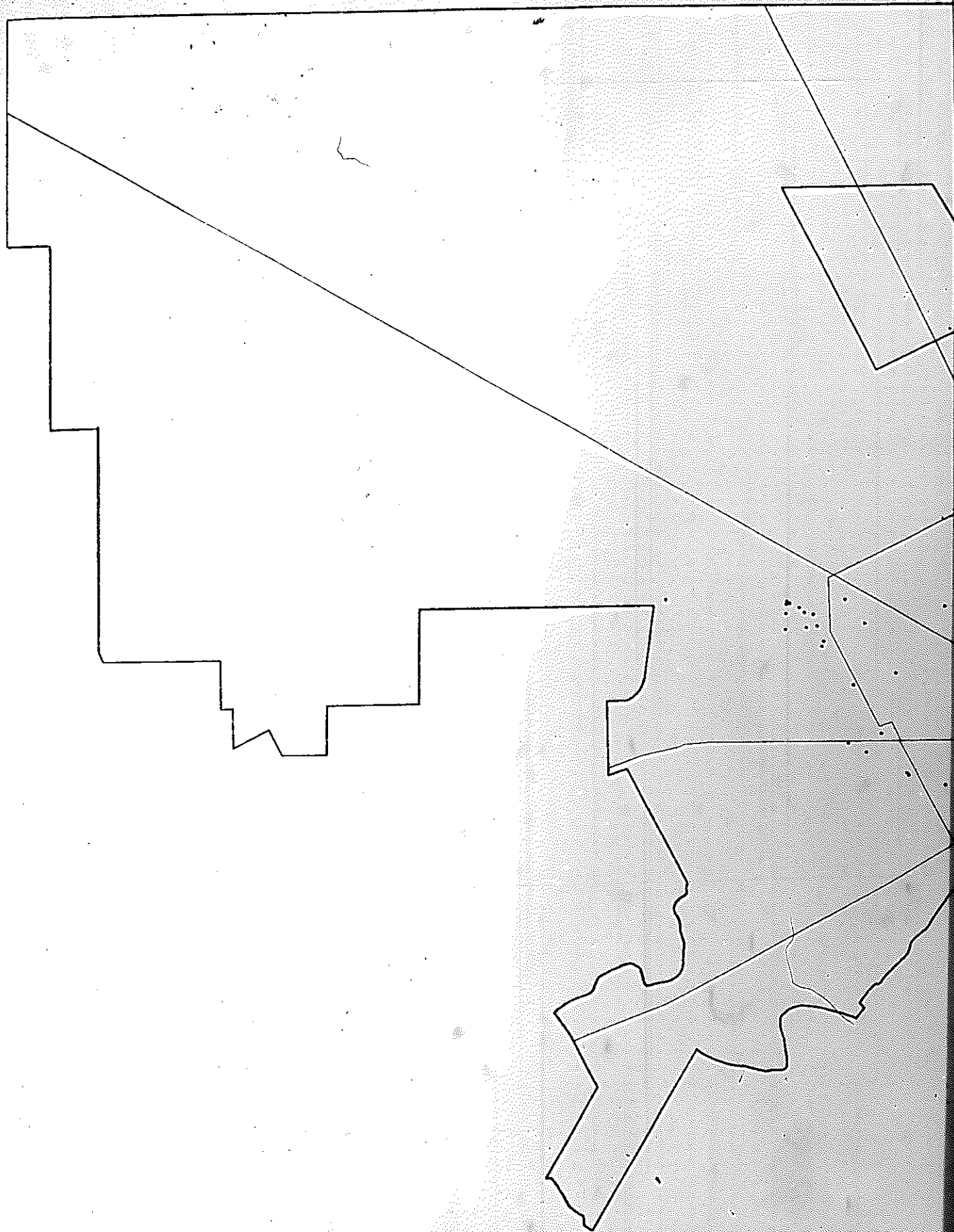
STATUS OF PARENTS - GIRLS

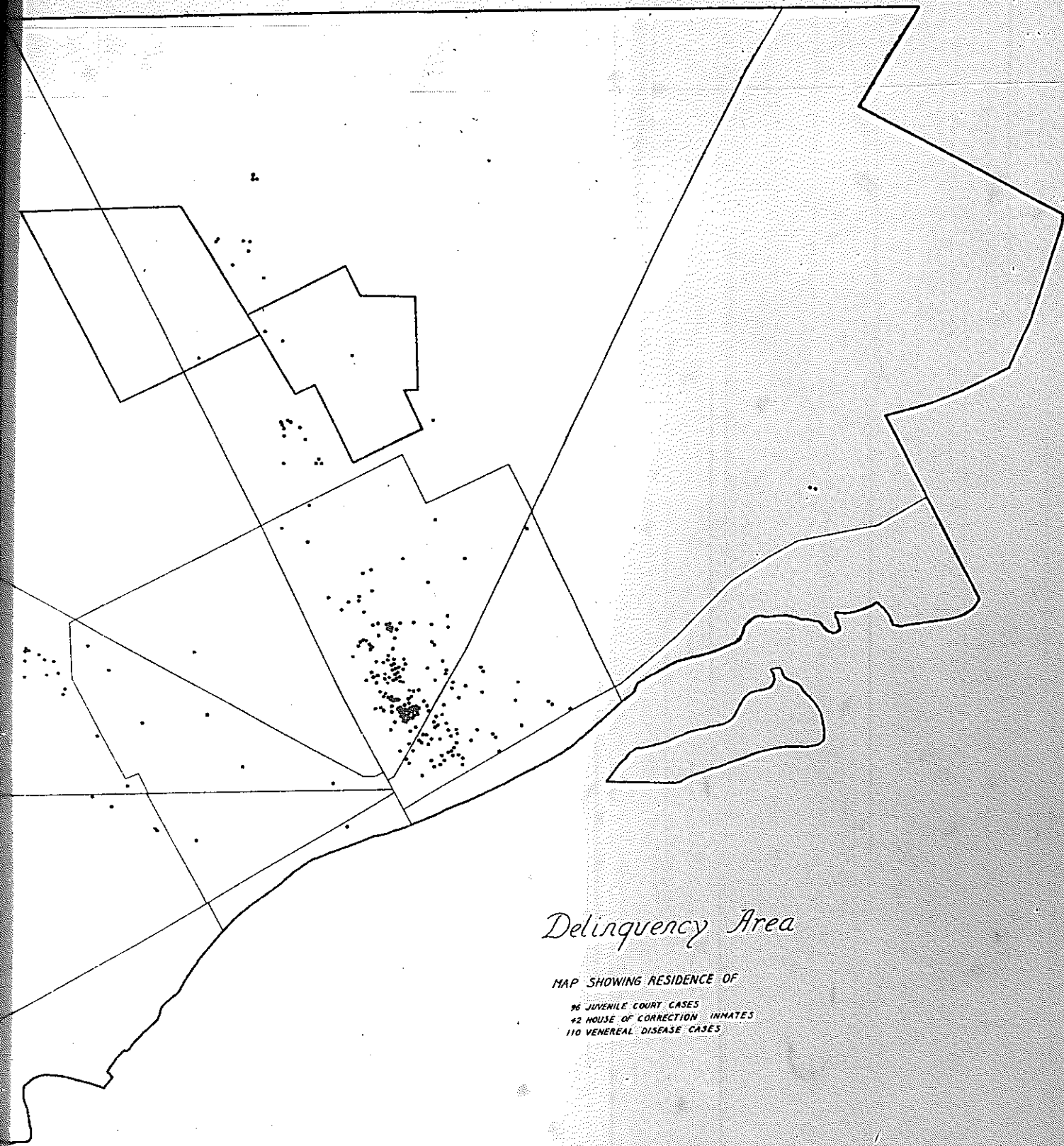
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Natural Parents	7	20.5	117	56.7
Father Dead	5	14.7	15	7.2
Step-father	8	23.5	32	15.5
Parents Separated	4	11.7	13	6.3
Unmarried Mother	5	14.7	0	0.0
All others	5	14.5	29	14.0

The figures for probation are lower in the case of the colored than the white and the same explanation is given by the authorities as was given by the chief probation officer for adults. Judge Hulbert testified that the colored child was a willing probationist, but that he is likely to fail because of lower home standards and the floating characteristics of the colored population.

The chief probation officer for girls said that the department has a different standard of probation for colored and white, being less exacting in the case of the former. Here especially the environment factor enters. For instance in the case of white children the department can force the family to move when the neighborhood is unfavorable, but this is not possible in the case of the colored family because so often there is no place to which a colored family may move. Two of the probation officers for boys maintained that in general probation was quite as successful in the case of the colored as in the case of the white boys.

One striking fact which is seen in the above table is the large percentage of complaints on the charge of immorality registered against the colored girls. The chief probation officer for girls said there is much more prostitution among colored girls and that many of these children either live or seek recreation in houses of prostitution and are thus brought up in this atmosphere. She thinks it is especially true of those most recently come from the South among whom a different standing of morals seem to prevail. This situation very largely has its origin in the South. Judge Hulbert suggested the theory that the sexual immorality of the masses of Negroes was the result of their proximity in time to





the days of slavery when sexual immorality was the prevailing situation.

The chief probation officer for boys said that this same tendency is to be noted among colored boys and that the parents didn't seem to take the matter seriously or make any efforts to correct disorder.

Another offense of colored children which is somewhat higher proportionately than in the case of the white is incorrigibility. The chief probation officer for girls thought this was the product of two factors. In the first place, the colored children are brought up to fight as a means of self-preservation and in the second case teachers are likely to be over-bearing in their treatment of colored children.

It must be noted, however, that not one colored girl and only eight colored boys were arraigned during the six months on the charge of school truancy. (See Table 22). Judge Hulbert believes that this absence of school truancy was the result of a greediness on the part of colored children for education and that they are more likely to submit to discipline than white children. The chief boys' probation officer and one of his subordinates testify that colored boys are not more quarrelsome than white, but on the contrary are inclined to be happy-go-lucky and good-natured.

The chief probation officer for girls said that the question of the Negro child from the point of view of institutional care presents great difficulties. The placing of colored girls in the detention home is avoided wherever possible, because, as a rule, they are sexually more precocious than the white girls and impart their knowledge to the latter freely. When white children have



to be taken out of their homes it is relatively easy to find places for them. It is almost impossible to place colored children in Detroit and some have to be sent to the House of the Good Shepherd in Carthage, Ohio.

In general all of the officials agree that the problem is primarily environmental. The housing problem is a very serious factor. Probation officers for both boys and girls agreed that as a rule the colored parents proved very cooperative. The chief boys' probation officer considered them to be much more cooperative, than some other races. The chief probation officer for girls maintained that the Mothers' Pension had been very successful among the colored women. Another element of the environment problem is the factor of recreation. The chief probation officer for girls believes much improvement has been wrought as far as the city is concerned, but that there is a tremendous need for places where colored children may be taken on summer outings. This is as much of an essential need for the mothers as for the children. The only place that the department has been able to find is the Associated Charities Home at New Baltimore where colored mothers and children may be sent late in the fall after the other groups have left.

The following Negro cases taken from the studies on file at the Juvenile Court are samples which indicate how important a factor is poor home environment in disposing of juvenile crime:

1.

Charge - Breaking and Entering and Larceny.

Age 11.

Environment: This boy has a fairly good home. His father has regular work. Mother works occasionally. Boy is retarded in school but is physically O.K. Parents seem to move about a good deal in Detroit. Boy had previous court record. The trouble seemed to be lack of discipline at home. The parents were inclined to defend the boy. He did well when on probation and is now working and saving money.

2.

Charge - Larceny.

Age 11.

Environment: This boy has been in the industrial school at Lansing. He lives with his foster parents. Home conditions are bad. Father out of work and mother runs rooming house in questionable neighborhood. Sanitary conditions are very poor. Parents seem to want to do well by boy but lack means and knowledge. Boy seems to have fair mentality but has had venereal disease. Some evidence that boy is sexual prevert. He is untruthful, sulky and does only fairly well on probation.

3.

Charge - Larceny.

Age 16.

Environment: Was in a bad neighborhood. The home was very crowded and he was forced to play in the street much of the time. He is a bright boy and in good health. Has been at the Ford Republic. His father is out of work much of the time, but his mother and two sisters are working. The financial condition of the family is not bad. Sanitary conditions are very bad. The boy did well on probation and needs supervision more than anything else. At the last report he was doing well, working and saving.

Charge - Larceny.

4.

Age 12.

Environment: Here is a boy who showed wonderful improvement after he was on probation. He lived with an aunt and uncle who both worked and he was left alone much of the time. The home conditions were fair. After the boy got into trouble the aunt moved to another neighborhood and took roomers. The boy was born in South Carolina as were both of his parents. After changing his school and moving to a new neighborhood he became president of his class and seems to be doing well. He is a bright boy.

5.

Charge - Breaking and Entering and Larceny.

Age 10.

Environment: Both the mother and step-father of this boy work and are away from home most of the time. They live in a typical Negro district. The sanitary conditions are fair and the financial condition is about the average. The boy got in with bad companions and there was one serious theft. He needed discipline and supervision and did well on probation. Boy is healthy and bright.

6.

Charge - Breaking and Entering and Larceny.

Age 16.

Environment: This boy's mother and step-father move about a good deal and the boy has no interest in school nor in anything else. The father's wages are very uncertain and the sanitary conditions are poor. Parents and boy were born in Georgia. The boy and his brother stole from a man for whom their mother was working. The boy has a work permit and at last report was doing fairly well on his job.

7.

Charge - Larceny.

Age 16.

Environment: This boy lives with his uncle and aunt. His parents are both living but are working in Ohio. The financial and sanitary conditions of the home are very good. The boy had no previous court record. It seems that this boy in company with another were collecting junk to sell and took some plumbing supplies which were left outside the Bonstelle Play House. The boys claim that they thought that these supplies had been thrown away and had no intention of stealing them. The boy is doing well at present. This lad has a good mind, but seems in poor health.

8.

Charge - Unlawful use of auto.

Age 10.

Environment: This boy lives with his grandparents. His father has been dead ten years and his mother's whereabouts are unknown. The home is very dirty and unsanitary. The financial condition is fair. He was apprehended while riding in a stolen automobile with several other boys. He claims that he did not know it was stolen but thought it belonged to an uncle of one of the boys. It is evident that he was not involved in the actual theft. He is much better on probation, however, as his home environment would tend to lead him into trouble.

9.

Charge - Breaking and Entering and Larceny.

Age 13.

Environment: This boy lives with his mother and step-father in one room of a very poor house. The sanitary conditions are bad and the father is out of work much of the time. The boy himself is below the average in mentality and partly deaf. He stole several oranges from a store and then stole a whole bushel so that he could make orangeade to sell over the 4th. Since

being on probation he has failed to report. There seems to be no question but what this boy's health and environment have a very decided effect on his conduct.

10.

Charge - Larceny.

Age 13.

Environment: The living conditions at this boy's home are very bad. The house is poor and unsanitary. He lives with his father and step-mother. The financial conditions are fair. The boy is below the average in mentality, retarded in school, and in poor health. There are four female roomers in the house, a senile grandmother and the mother is of the nagging type although she is not cruel to the boy. The boy was brought into court for stealing automobile tires. He seems to be easily led and needs supervision.

11.

Complaint - Immorality.

Charge - Girl 13 years of age, illegally married to man 26 years of age. Returned to her home because husband abused her. Pregnant.

Environment: Mother habitual drunkard, neighborhood very poor, home conditions bad. Lack of adequate supervision and abuse by mother given as causes of girl's delinquency. Left school at 12 years of age. Morley School - 3-B grade. Step-father fairly steady worker.

Disposition - Girl now at Valley Farm.

12.

Complaint - Immorality.

Charge - Admits sex delinquency since 13 years of age. Girl is now 17 years old. Was taught to prostitute and was just beginning when picked up by an officer.

Environment: Girl is illegitimate and has been brought up by mother and grandmother.

Disposition - Summons refused.

13.

Complaint - Delinquency.

Charge - Friction at home, disobedience, truant from school, illegal marriage at Monroe.

Environment: Father always had girl's confidence until he remarried. Girl is not congenial with step-mother and lately has been disobedient. Father works at Ford River Rouge plant.

Disposition - Girl, age 15 years, placed on probation in own home.

14.

Complaint - Immorality.

Charge - Girl sent to Detention Home by Board of Health. Eight months pregnant and had been attempting to secure a marriage license by giving age as 17 instead of 13 years.

Environment: Girl attended Garfield School, grade 5-B. Lives in typical colored home in better colored district. Family almost entirely supported by girl's older brother but mother works often. She holds herself partly responsible as she was working at time of delinquency and had left girl in care of another woman who allowed her to run around alone or remain at home alone where man could find her. Man lived downstairs in same house. Mother not to be relied on for truthfulness.

Disposition - Girl will be placed on probation and returned to school when physically able.

15.

Complaint - Girl taken in raid - held in Detention home as witness against man 21 years of age. Girl is 16 years old.

Charge - Immorality. Girl found in undesirable place. A minor not attending school, and working very little. Admits promiscuous sex delinquency for past three years.

Environment: Home situation very poor. Mother, employed and away all day, is unable to give proper supervision. Father dead; step-father drives coal and ice wagon. Mother cannot see why her absence has made any difference. Girl has had relations with several boys even before coming to Detroit three years ago.

Disposition - Girl placed on probation. Mother warned to take matter of supervision seriously.

16.

Complaint - Incurability.

Born in Georgia, lived in Detroit one year.

Charge - Girl reported by Lincoln School, as incorrigible. Goes with fast crowd.

Environment: Fairly respectable home. Mother is easy going and not able to cope with the difficulties of raising two girls in that district. Mother is separated from her common-law husband and supports family by having roomers (aunt and uncle), doing day work and occasional washings. Girl stays at home or on street rather than in school. No mental test. Sister of girl has been on probation.

Disposition - Placed on probation which she takes as a joke. If unsuccessful she will be sent to House of Good Shepherd at Carthage.

17.

Complaint - Incurability.

Charge - Runs away from Children's Aid Society Boarding Home. Steals, lies.

Environment: Girl is illegitimate child. Was placed in C.A.S. Boarding home but won't stay in the place. Lived in North for five years, three years of which she has spent in children's aid boarding homes. Mother contributes little to support. Girl has always been a problem to C.A.S. Steals from home, school, etc. At first denied but later admitted sex experience. I.Q. - 68. Chronological age 12 yrs. 8 mo., mental age 8 yrs. 8 mo.

Disposition - Sent to Carthage.

18.

Complaint - Truant from home.

Charge - Girl, 16 years of age, brought to Detention home by mother for impudence and staying away from home. Medical examination shows sex experience.

Environment: lives in good residential colored district. Father died some time ago and children have been looked after by grandmother while mother

worked. Mother is quite severe and girl claims she was afraid to go home after late movies. Mother wants to do right. Girl attends Northwestern High School. She has had intercourse with two men, one white and 60 or 70 years old.

Disposition - Girl placed on probation in working home.

19.

Complaint - Incurable - Truant from home.

Charge - Girl lives in Florida. Is here only temporarily. Lies and steals and stays away from home.

Environment: Parents divorced; environment poor. Attends school, 4-A grade.

Disposition - Returned to Florida.

20.

Complaint - Immorality.

Charge - Girl 15 years of age - reported after an investigation by police of central district schools. Girl admits immorality with boy 17 years of age. Has had relations with this boy for over two years.

Environment: Girl comes from an above-average colored home but its influence is negative. Mother lives with man to whom she is not married and supports girl in school truancy. She permitted plans for an illegal marriage with this same boy and thinks the whole affair not serious. Girl is diseased. Attended Russell School - 8th grade. Step-father works for Detroit Twist Drill Company.

No mental test given. Girl lived in North four years. Time spent on streets mostly - even when girl is supposed to be in school.

Disposition: Girl placed on probation and ordered to take treatments at Board of Health. While on probation girl planned her marriage but was sent back to school. Ran away and was married in Toledo. Girl was continued on probation.

In general Judge Hulbert believes that it is the children of recently arrived colored families who are most likely to get into difficulties. Newcomers tend to move into the crowded St. Antoine district. He said that the Northern Negro children



are the least disorderly of any group of the city, and believes it is all a question of environment-home conditions, family training and economic status. He said "let any white boy be brought up in the same surroundings and he will be no different."

APPENDIX I

TABLE SHOWING USE OF COLORED POLICE IN TEN AMERICAN CITIES

<u>City</u>	<u>Total Popu- lation</u>	<u>Negro Pop- ulation</u>	<u>Total No. Of Police Officers</u>	<u>No. of Negro Police Officers</u>	<u>Per- centage of Negroes to Total Population</u>	<u>Per- centage of Negro Police to Total No. of Police</u>	<u>Number of Neg. Off. per 1,000 Negroes in Population</u>
Boston	748,060	17,000	1,724	21	2.3	1.2	1.2
Chicago	3,000,000	140,000	5,500	114	4.7	2.1	.8
Cleveland	900,000	43,191	967	10	4.3	1.0	.232
Columbus	291,000	50,000	268	18	17.2	6.7	.4
<u>Detroit</u>	1,242,044	81,831	2,848	14	6.6	.5	.172
Kansas City	398,620	-----	650	17	---	2.6	----
Los Ange- les	950,000	50,000	1,200	41	5.3	3.4	.8
New York	5,873,356	207,379	14,800	67	3.5	.4	.3
Pittsburg	614,487	39,450	764	36	6.4	4.7	.9
St. Louis	780,000	80,000	1,500	18	10.3	1.2	.225

Note - The figures above are for 1923 except in the cases of Detroit and New York. The New York figures are for 1926. The Detroit figures give 1925 population figures and number of police employed September 21, 1926.

Among these ten cities, according to the above table, Detroit ranks third in the percentage of Negroes to the total population, ninth in the percentage of Negro police to the total number of Negro police and tenth in the number of Negro police to 1000 Negroes in the population.

APPENDIX

II A

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT  
Bureau of Records

September 22, 1926.

From: Commanding Officer, Record Bureau.

To: Commissioner.

Subject: States and Countries in which Officers were born  
who shot colored people from January 1, 1925 to date:-

Michigan-----	32 Officers
Illinois-----	7 Officers
Poland-----	6 Officers
New York-----	6 "
Pennsylvania-----	6 "
Ohio-----	5 Officers
Ireland-----	4 Officers
Holland-----	2 Officers
Massachusetts-----	2 "
Tennessee-----	2 "
Canada-----	1 Officer
Germany-----	1 "
Alabama-----	1 "
Colorado-----	1 "
Indiana-----	1 "
Kansas-----	1 "
Louisiana-----	1 "
Maryland-----	1 "
Mississippi-----	1 "
Missouri-----	1 "
New Hampshire-----	1 "
N. Dakota-----	1 "
Oklahoma-----	1 "
W. Virginia-----	1 "

---

Total 86 Officers

There were 78 colored people shot by the above officers in  
the period from January 1st, 1925 to date.

(Signed) B. Girardin

Inspector.

L.J.P.

APPENDIX

II B

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT  
6th Precinct Sta.

Sept 22nd, 1926.

From: Inspt. Commanding 6th Precinct.

To: Superintendent.

Subject: Birth Places.

The following is a complete list of birth places of Officers and Men of the 6th Precinct Sta. as per request of your office.

Connecticut-----	1
England-----	1
Germany-----	3
Georgia-----	5
Hungary-----	4
Iowa-----	1
Indiana-----	7
Illinois-----	4
Ireland-----	1
Kentucky-----	8
Kansas-----	2
Michigan-----	69
Minnesota-----	6
Missouri-----	5
Maryland-----	1
New York-----	1
North Carolina-----	1
Ohio-----	7
Oklahoma-----	1
Pennsylvania-----	10
Poland-----	1
Rhode-Island-----	1
South Dakota-----	1
Texas-----	2
Tennessee-----	6
Virginia-----	1
Vermont-----	1
West Virginia-----	3
Wisconsin-----	1

Total --151

(Signed) William Fisher Inspt.

Per Nestor Lt.

APPENDIX

II B

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT  
Third Precinct Station

FROM: COMMANDING OFFICER - THIRD PRECINCT STATION  
TO: JAMES SPOTT - SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE  
SUBJECT: State of Birthplace of Officer and Patrolmen  
under my command.

Michigan . . . . .	70	Wisconsin . . . . .	6
Ohio . . . . .	14	Poland . . . . .	3
Illinois . . . . .	12	Maryland . . . . .	2
Pennsylvania . . . . .	12	New Jersey . . . . .	1
Indiana . . . . .	12	Arkansas . . . . .	1
Indiana . . . . .	12	Germany . . . . .	1
Kentucky . . . . .	9	Serbia . . . . .	1
Tennessee . . . . .	5	Kansas . . . . .	1
Texas . . . . .	3	Massachusetts . . . . .	1
New York . . . . .	4	Virginia . . . . .	1
Canada . . . . .	3	Unknown-Absent . . . . .	17

(Signed) Louis Berg  
Inspector

APPENDIX

II B

DETROIT POLICE DEPARTMENT.  
Seventh Precinct Station

September 22nd 1926.

FROM: COMMANDING OFFICER, SEVENTH PRECINCT STATION.  
TO: JAMES SPROTT, SUPT. OF POLICE.  
SUBJECT: STATE OF BIRTH PLACE OF OFFICERS & PATROLMEN  
UNDER MY COMMAND.

Michigan-----	71	Massachusetts-----	1
Ohio-----	8	New York-----	3
Indiana-----	6	Pennsylvania-----	5
Illinois-----	6	Ireland-----	3
Wisconsin-----	1	Holland Netherlands-----	1
Missouri-----	4	Italy-----	1
Kansas-----	1		
Arkansas-----	1		
Minnesota-----	1		
Mississippi-----	1		
Virginia-----	1		
Tennessee-----	1		
Georgia-----	1		
Kentucky-----	6		
North Carolina-----	1		

Lawrence Moloney

INSPECTOR

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section X RELIGION

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.  
1926

# The Negro in Detroit

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1926



The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## THE NEGRO AND THE CHURCH

### Material Side

There has been such a rapid development of Negro Churches in Detroit within the last ten years that it is impossible to give the exact number. As one walks through the several Negro neighborhoods he finds numerous store fronts, basements, front rooms of dwelling houses, platforms in vacant lots, and other small and insignificant places being used as church buildings. Consequently, the members of the Survey staff did not undertake the task of endeavoring to ascertain the exact number of churches irrespective of size and social standing, but instead, confined themselves to churches which were more or less stable and well organized and whose pastors had a fair degree of educational training. Applying these standards they found 44 representative Negro Churches in Detroit.

Table 1

### DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO CHURCHES IN DETROIT BY DENOMINATION

Baptist.....	25
African Methodist Episcopal.....	6
African Methodist Episcopal Zion .....	3
Protestant Episcopal.....	2
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	1
Seventh Day Adventist.....	1
Presbyterian.....	1
Roman Catholic.....	1
Congregational.....	1
Methodist Episcopal.....	2
(Community Church) Non-Denominational.....	1
TOTAL.....	<u>44</u>

The Aggregate Church Membership

The reports of the various churches show that there are 44,907 Negro Church members in greater Detroit, which is more than half of the entire Negro population of approximately 80,000, or in other words more than 55%. Probably no other racial or nationality group in Detroit has reached this mark.

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATIONS

Baptist.....	30,000
African Methodist Episcopal.....	7,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	2,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion.....	1,600
Methodist Episcopal.....	1,450
Protestant Episcopal.....	950
Roman Catholic.....	600
Seventh Day Adventists.....	275
Congregationalists.....	225
Presbyterians.....	207
(Metropolitan Community Church) (Non-Denominational).....	600

The above distribution does not include the entire number of Negroes who are connected with some church. There are many Negroes who have no specific membership but constantly shift from church to church. Because of their lack of stability, it is very difficult to determine the exact number of Negroes connected with certain denominations. Some are associated with the Evangelical Lutheran Churches and some with the Christian Science Church.

Leading Faiths

The Baptists have the largest number of members by a large

margin, chiefly due to the fact that their faith has almost absolute sway among Southern Negroes. The next ranking church is the African Methodist Episcopal. Combined, four types of Negro Methodist churches make up more than 25 per cent of the entire Negro membership.

Baptists.....	more than 60%	of the entire membership.
African Methodist Episcopal.....	more than 15%	"
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	more than 4%	"
African Methodist Episcopal Zion.....	3.5%	"
Methodist Episcopal.....	more than 3%	"

Table 3

MEMBERSHIP IN THE TEN LARGEST NEGRO CHURCHES.

<u>NAME OF CHURCH</u>	<u>Year Established</u>	<u>Membership 1925</u>	<u>Membership 1926</u>
Second Baptist	1836	1490	4000
Bethel A. M. E.	1841	2737 (1919)	3500
Calvary	-	-	2000
St. John's C. M. E.	1913	-	2000
Shiloh Baptist	1913	104	1600
Ebenezer A. M. E.	1887	500	1500
Mt. Olivet	-	500 (1919)	1200
Hartford Avenue Baptist	1915	-	1100
Scott M. E.	1900	600 (1919)	1100
St. Paul A. M. E. Z.	1893	650 (1919)	1100

The rest of the recognized Negro churches range in membership from 200 to 1000 and there are numerous smaller churches whose memberships vary from 50 to 150.

Taking the above named Churches as a sampling it may be said

that 85% of the total Negro Church members of Detroit have joined since 1915.

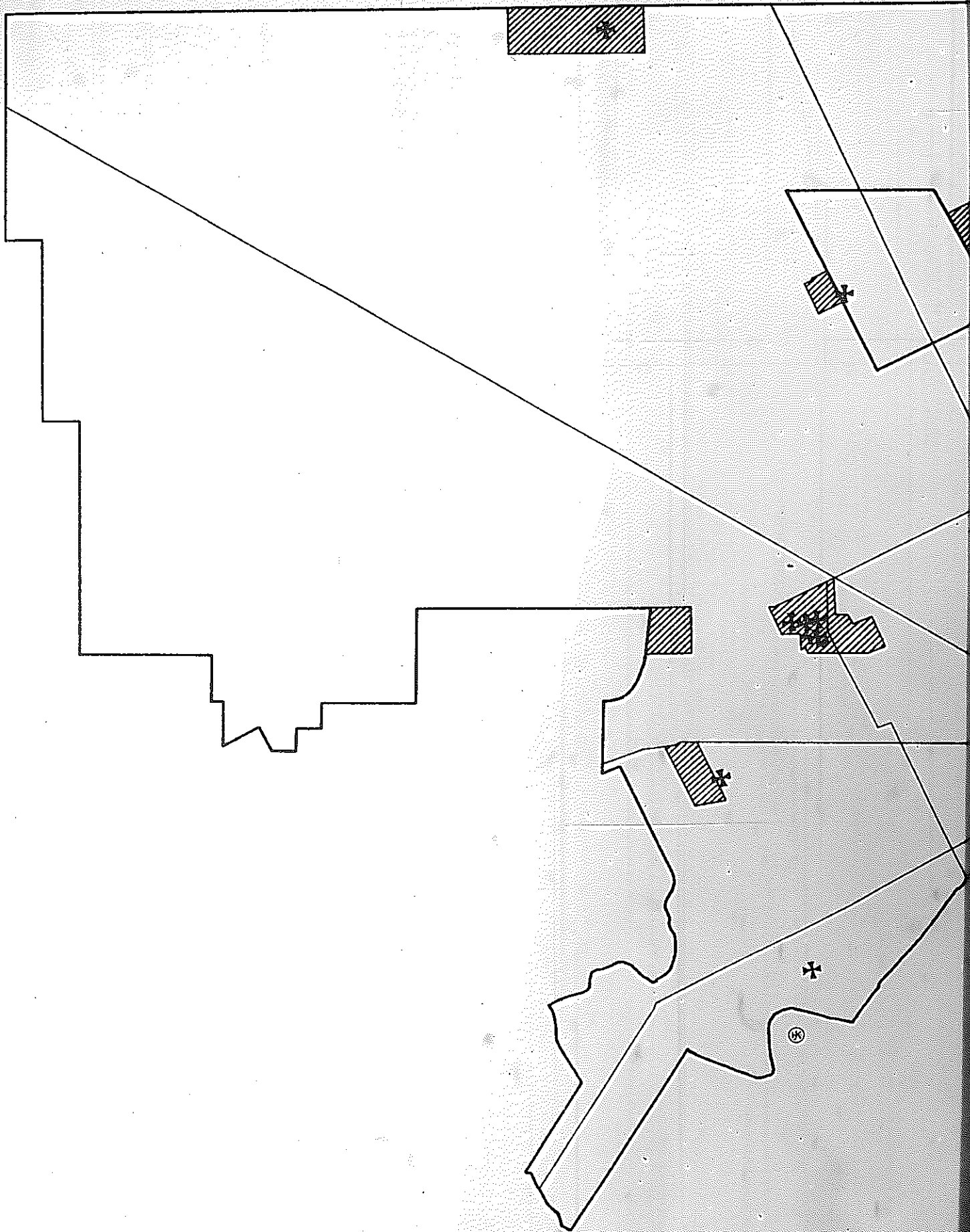
The General Relationship between Membership, Attendance and Seating Capacity.

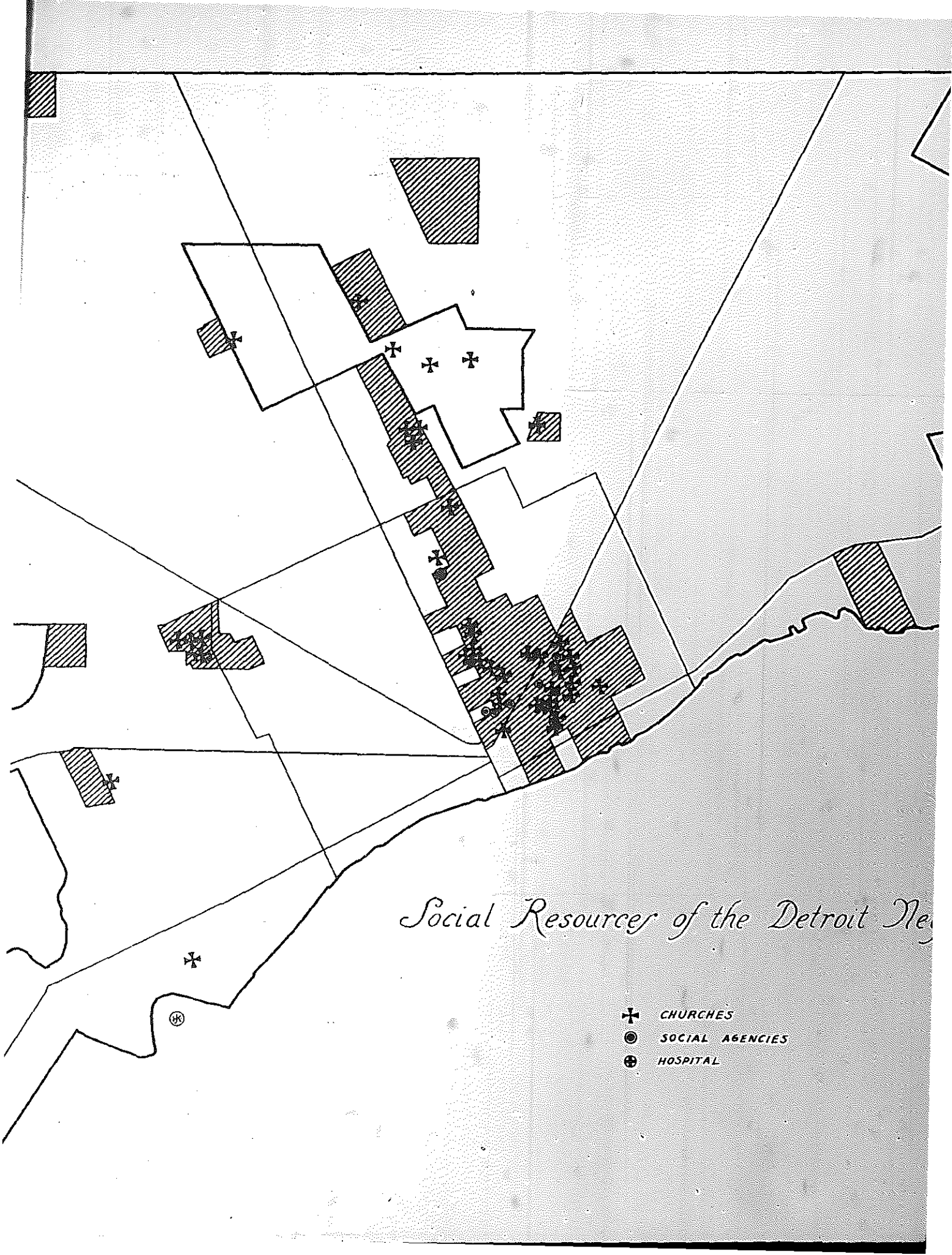
The membership of the average Negro church far exceeds its seating capacity, which is 22,007 for the entire group whereas the church membership is 44,907. Consequently, Negro churches can seat only a little more than 50% of the membership. Such churches as Second Baptist, Bethel A. M. E., Shiloh, St. John's C. M. E., and Calvary are forced to turn away hundreds of people each Sunday morning because of the lack of space. This is not only true of the churches mentioned, but of practically the whole group of large Negro churches. Those individuals who wish to get seats must be there an hour or more before services begin. In order to meet this problem Negro churches throughout the city are either constructing new edifices or are enlarging their present buildings.

Geographical Distribution of Negro Churches

The West Side Negro district--which extends West from Williams Street to Beechwood and North from Warren to Scovel Place--is probably the newest settlement of large Negro churches. In this locality there are five representative colored churches, three in Highland Park and six in Hamtramck.

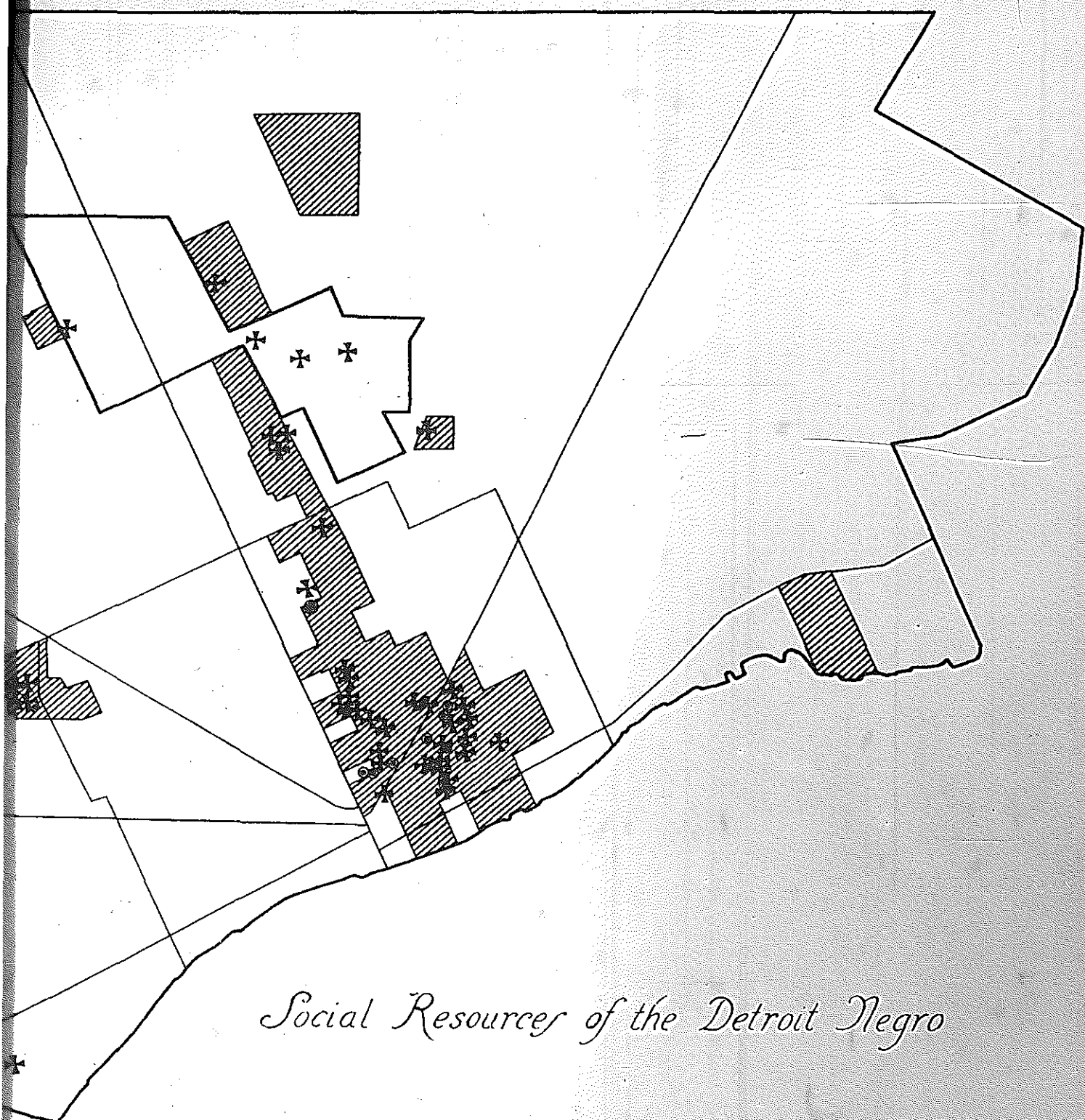
The oldest colored district in Detroit extends from Brush East to Hastings and from Lafayette North to Leland. In this section some of the oldest and most prominent colored churches are located, for example, Ebenezer, Second Baptist, St. Mathews, Shiloh, Scott, M. E., Bethel A. M. E. remained within its boundaries for a number of years, but has recently moved into a new building on Frederick.





*Social Resources of the Detroit Ne...*

- ✚ CHURCHES
- ⊙ SOCIAL AGENCIES
- ⊕ HOSPITAL



*Social Resources of the Detroit Negro*

- ✚ CHURCHES
- ⊙ SOCIAL AGENCIES
- ⊕ HOSPITAL



The total number of churches within this section is nine. Another group of churches, ten in all, are located in the district which extends from Hastings East to Elmwood and from Fort North to Gratiot. This is a newer Negro district than the St. Antoine section and practically all of the churches in it have been started since the World War. The rest of the colored churches are scattered. Quite a number of the smaller type are found in the colored subdivisions. Two well organized churches are located in Delray.

The Migration as a Force in Increasing the Number of Negro Churches.

The great influx of Southern Negroes into Detroit has played a very important part in the multiplication of churches among the Negro population. Before the migration began the total of Negro churches was very small and insignificant in comparison with the large number today. In 1914, according to Mr. F. B. Washington's Survey of 1919, there were nine Negro Churches in Detroit, only six of which had fairly large memberships. In 1919, five years later, the number had increased from nine to thirty-eight, all well organized and equipped. Between 1914 and 1919 there was an increase of more than 400% in the number of Negro churches. From 1919 to 1926 the number of representative Negro Churches increased from 38 to 44. This comparatively small increase in the number of recognized Negro churches is probably due to the tendency of many of the leading churches to meet the growing demands for space by either enlarging their old buildings or constructing new ones.

The following pioneer churches were in existence before 1919; the oldest, Second Baptist was founded in 1836; the second

oldest, Bethel A. M. E. in 1841; the third oldest, St. Mathews Protestant Episcopal in 1846; the fourth, Ebenezer A. M. E. in 1887; the fifth, St. Paul A. M. E. in 1893; the sixth St. Peter Claver Roman Catholic Church in 1900; the seventh, Scott Methodist Episcopal in 1900; and the eighth, Shiloh Baptist, in 1913.

Sunday School Enrollment of Churches as a Whole.

Within the last six or seven years there has been a notable increase in the membership of the Negro Sunday School. In 1919, Mr. F. B. Washington's study showed that the total Sunday School membership was 5,339 or 25.3% as large as the entire Church membership. In 1926 the total enrollment of the Negro Sunday school is 10,864, an increase of 5,525 or more than 50%. In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the Sunday school enrollment comprised more than 72% of the total church membership. The Sunday school enrollment of the C. M. E. was 20% of the total church membership. In the Baptist church the Sunday school enrollment was also 20% of the church membership.

The average Negro Sunday school is so crowded that very often scores of young people are forced to return home because of the lack of seating facilities.

It is noteworthy that many of the churches reported a large percentage of individuals over 21 years of age at Sunday School. The seventh Day Adventist reported that 75% of its attendance were men and women over 21 years of age. St. John's C. M. E. Church has an average attendance of 300 and 331/3 of these are young men and women over 21 years of age. The Mt. Olive Baptist Church Sunday School has an average attendance of 200, 75 or 37 1/2% are over 21 years of age. Thus there is a tendency on the

part of many of the Detroit churches to get the older people out as well as the younger group.

Enrollment in Young Peoples' Societies.

Six thousand nine hundred eighty-eight men and women, more than 15% of the total Negro Church membership, are enrolled in the various young peoples' societies. All the denominations reported that their young peoples' societies were well attended and that the boys and girls take an active part in the discussions.

The Financial Value of the Negro Church

Within the last seven years there has been a very large increase in the amount of property owned by the well organized and representative Negro churches. The total value of the 44 churches considered in this Survey is \$2,297,000, more than half of which has come under their control within the last seven years.

This \$2,297,000 is distributed among the various denominations as follows:

Baptist.....	\$1,250,000
African Methodist Episcopal.....	500,000
Episcopal.....	215,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	101,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion.....	100,000
Catholic.....	50,000
Metropolitan Community.....	45,000
Methodist Episcopal.....	40,000
Presbyterian.....	36,000

The Congregational Church which does not own any property in the city is at present worshipping in the Masonic Temple. In 1919, Mr. F. B. Washington's Survey showed the value of recognized Negro Churches to be \$713,500, since which time there has been an increase to \$2,297,000.

The Financial Status of Negro Churches.

The large amount of property in the hands of the Negro churches of Detroit obviously needs intelligent management, but the failure

of most of the smaller churches to handle their financial problems intelligently has been one of the leading obstacles in their progress. In most of these smaller churches the financial affairs are placed in charge of committees of men who are ignorant of business, and who as a result of their lack in this respect are often forced by unscrupulous real estate dealers to pay too much in the buying or improving of property. This state of affairs is all the more serious as most of the members who make contributions to the support of these churches do so at a sacrifice. The larger churches usually have a higher calibre of men upon whom to depend for the handling of financial problems. The intelligent business men of their congregations are more likely to get fair treatment from real estate agents and others with whom the churches have dealings.

The present building program which seems to be engaging the attention of the Negro churches of Detroit makes it essential for them to raise huge sums of money to pay off principal and interest. Reports from the ten largest churches show that they raised \$237,000 or an average of \$23,700 each the past year. The amount raised by the individual churches ranged from \$3,000 to \$75,000 per year.

Only a few of the churches reported that they owed large sums of money on their property. This is a good record when the large building program that is being conducted by many of the churches is taken into consideration.

THE PROGRAM OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

SOCIAL

The Negro Church as a Social Center in the Community.

The church is the most frequented institution in the social life of the Negro population of Detroit. It is to the church the Negro can go with the greatest assurance of being courteously received. He has been humiliated in so many public and privately owned institutions and amusement places that he has resorted to the church as a place in which he can be sure of peacefully spending his leisure time. To a large extent it takes the place of the theatre, the dance halls, and similar amusement places and fills the vacancy created by the failure of the public and commercial places of recreation and amusement to give him a cordial welcome. Consequently, the average Negro church in Detroit keeps its doors open constantly for the use of the community. Numerous suppers, lectures, recitals, debates, plays and the like are given by clubs and individuals from within and without the congregation. In order to serve his congregation most efficiently, therefore, the Negro minister must be a community worker as well as a moral teacher. The family schedules which were taken to the heads of one thousand families show that with the exception of the "movies," church entertainments are the principal form of recreation. This wider use of the church is forcing many of the more old fashioned churches to acquire a broader vision of providing facilities for wholesome leisure time activities for the community.

Notwithstanding the fact that there are no set and fast social classes among Negro churches, yet there is a tendency on the part of those who fancy themselves to the intelligentsia

and of the better paid workmen and business men to seek membership in the larger Protestant Episcopal churches, while the masses of the laboring classes make up almost the entire membership of the smaller Baptist and Methodist churches. The membership of the so-called "hysteria" churches is also made up entirely of the unskilled laboring classes. The flocking of the masses of Negro migrants to these smaller and less efficient churches has been due largely to the belief that many of the large churches have given them "the cold shoulder" instead of the warm welcome which is supposed to be due every applicant for membership irrespective of his social standing. It is this belief which has largely helped to create the numerous little churches that are found in the various Negro areas of Detroit, and the fact should be carefully weighed before criticizing them too severely.

The Negro Church as a Force for Community Betterment.

The Negro churches of Detroit are beginning to have a vision of social betterment. The old type of church that appealed only to the spiritual side of the individual is being replaced by the type which is striving for both the spiritual and the social improvement of the community. A great deal of the social work conducted in Negro churches has been unscientific and consequently there has been much overlapping of effort, in each case largely due to the employment of workers who have not the proper educational background.

The large influx of Negro migrants to Detroit has probably given greater impetus to community betterment work among Negro churches than any other force. Many of these migrants needed aid and a number of the larger churches developed social welfare

departments to meet their needs. In most cases, the work was turned over to untrained laymen and in other cases pastors, little qualified themselves, attempted to conduct this phase of the church activities.

The introduction of such untrained and unqualified workers into social welfare work was a handicap in the development of a program that would be of help to the newcomers. These untrained laymen were handicapped both by their own inexperience and by a lack of the necessary facilities for the efficient carrying on of a welfare program. They endeavored to find employment for the newcomers, to find houses, and in general to do everything within their power to adjust the migrants to urban life. Although these activities were carried on in an extremely unscientific manner, yet the motive behind them was one of real helpfulness and service.

Today several of the larger churches maintain trained social workers to minister to the social needs of the Negro community. There is need for more trained workers who will coordinate their efforts in such a way as to prevent duplication. If the welfare departments of the various churches are not carefully welded together, many undeserving families and individuals will take advantage of the lack of coordination and receive help from several churches at the same time.

The welfare departments of some of the larger colored churches provide for such activities as sewing, cooking, millinery, music, the securing of employment for men and women, and such leisure time forms of play as baseball, basketball, tennis and

volley ball. The recreational phase of welfare work, however, has been sadly neglected by the majority of Churches because of lack of equipment. The only real gymnasium among Negro Churches is located at Bethel A. M. E. though plans are on foot at Second Baptist and several other churches for the construction of gymnasiums to meet the recreational needs of the community.



RELIGIOUS

The Negro Church as a Religious Force in the Community

Notwithstanding the fact that the Negro Church is more and more becoming a social organization yet it still has a powerful influence upon the religious life of the Negro, who though has suffered much at the hands of men and governments, is not embittered. On the contrary his natural religious endowment enables him to take an optimistic view of life. He believes that God will eventually make brighter his dark paths. No matter how many obstacles rise in his way yet he keeps a constant allegiance to his church. Nevertheless, there is a growing spirit of discontent with the church, particularly among the younger people, who in many cases feel that their more immediate needs and interests are being neglected. They are growing tired of the emotional type of sermon and are asking for teachings that will give them real, practical aid in meeting the perplexing problems of every day life. Only a few churches have pastors with sufficient educational background to sense the real wants and needs of the congregation. In the majority of cases the pastors are so ignorant that they have not the ability even if they had the desire to see what is in the minds of the present generation of young people.

That the Sunday school is playing an outstanding part in the religious life of the Negro is demonstrated by the large membership in the majority of churches and the enthusiasm which is exemplified. The Sunday School departments are usually well conducted and very carefully graded,

the number of classes ranging all the way from four to thirty-five. Most of the Sunday schools maintain a teacher's training class so that well trained teachers can be recruited to meet the increasing demands.

The largest Sunday school membership among the Negro churches of Detroit is Second Baptist Church. Sunday School has a membership of 800

The following churches have Sunday schools ranging from 300 to 600, Macedonia, Shiloh, New Hope, Bethel A. M. E., Mt. Olivet, Calvary and Ebenezer. There are numerous churches which have memberships from 100 to 200. In the more isolated Negro settlements such as Eight-Mile Road and Conner's Creek where there are few or no churches, the Negro residents have gotten together and have organized Sunday schools to meet the social needs of the community. These groups usually meet in individual homes or in some hall which happens to be located in the neighborhood.

### THE NEGRO MINISTER

#### Educational Training

One most potent obstacle to the development of the church is the ignorant minister. Only a comparatively few ministers have sufficient educational background to lead their congregation intelligently. Scattered throughout various parts of Detroit are pseudo- organizations so temporary, unstable, and demoralized that they are not worthy of being classified under the name of churches. The majority of the pastors of these congregations are not only incapable and immoral, but frequently are absolutely unfit

to lead any group, secular or religious.

The fact that there are such a limited number of capable ministers in such large church membership as Detroit's Negro community possesses presents a very pathetic situation. Not more than 10% of the 44 pastors of leading and reputable churches are graduates of high schools. This fact throws some light on the real reason for their incapability. There are only six ministers in Detroit who are graduates of recognized schools of learning or of leading theological seminaries. The schools of which they are graduates are Oberlin, Wilberforce, Dickinson, Boston College of Theology and General Theological Seminary. Since the ministry offers such a large opportunity for leadership and constructive service in the Negro community, it is very necessary that the minister be well trained, but the mass of the Negro ministers have not even completed a grammar school education. This type of individual is a liability rather than an asset.

#### How the Minister is Regarded by the Negro population.

From time immemorial the Negro has looked to the minister for leadership. Whenever he has experienced difficulty, in religion, education, industry, finance or what not, he has always called upon the minister for consultation and advice. But he is now beginning to weigh the leadership that he has been following blindly for so many years. This new attitude on the part of the Negro is due to the fact that the masses are becoming better educated, and as a result, are learning to differentiate between ignorant and intelligent leadership. This increasing intelligence on the part of the masses is one of their greatest

protections against exploitation. Notwithstanding the fact that the masses of Negroes are beginning to question their leadership yet, at the present time, the ministers still exercise a very great influence over the Negro community.

Poor as has been the leadership among the clergy, it has nevertheless been superior to that among physicians, lawyers and other professional men. Yet within the last few years these have begun to develop some social mindedness and may become a great asset to the Negroes.

The Negro migrant is a victim of circumstances. He comes from a section of the country where the Negro ministers are looked upon as the leaders of the race regardless of their educational background. He is beginning to see, however, that there must be discrimination made between trained and untrained leaders. Consequently, he is coming to realize that often times the best qualified leaders are laymen and professional men and that a man is not necessarily a capable leader because he happens to be a minister.

#### How the Negro Minister is Regarded by the White Community

The general community regards the Negro minister as the leader of his race. Whenever white people have an idea or program that they wish to sell to the Negro population, they usually try to use the Negro ministers as salesmen. On countless occasions they have called in only Negro ministers for consultation when problems which are common to the community at large have arisen.

Income in the Large and Small Churches

The larger Negro churches of Detroit have stood out very prominently in the paying of high salaries to their pastors. They pay better salaries than churches in other northern cities. The small churches also pay their ministers a comparatively high salary, although some of them are not able to provide entirely for their ministers because of the small membership. The highest paid minister in Detroit gets \$4,000 per year. The average salary for the 44 ministers is \$1,800, without a house. This compares favorably with the low salaries that are paid colored ministers in other sections of the country.

RELIGIOUS HYSTERIA

The Part Migration has Played in the Increase of the Hysterical Churches and an Outline of Their Type of Services.

There are scattered in various sections of Detroit a group of churches whose services cannot be better described than as religious hysteria. These are largely made up of individuals who have strayed so far from the reputable denominations in their methods of service that they are not claimed or recognized by them.

A group of these churches are known as "Church of God and Saints of Christ;" another group as "Fire Baptized Holiness Church;" and still another as "White Horse and Riders' Church;" and others by names equally startling. In 1919 there were only ten "Church of God and Saints of Christ" Churches in Detroit, but with the great influx of Southern Negroes to the city there has been an increase from ten to fifteen, with a membership around 1,000. The "Fire Baptized Holiness Church" has about three churches and the "White Horse and Riders' Church" has two.

In some cases a single congregation represents the whole

membership in one of these denominations. These independent types are usually started by individual preachers who have decided there is more opportunity for them if they pull out from some of the larger sects, and operate untrammelled by any outside connection. They have set up churches whose religious forms are based upon their own individual ideas. In other cases such churches are begun by eccentrics who are anxious to be looked upon by the community as the preachers of something new. The services and rituals of these churches are usually more barbaric than those of the "Church of God and Saints of Christ" or the other large emotional groups.

Notwithstanding the fact that the religious sects mentioned above have different names yet their services are practically the same. They are characterized by the clapping of hands, shouting, yelling, moaning, rolling, and the exhibition of general emotional instability. Many of the members work themselves to the point where they roll up and down the aisles, shake their bodies, jump, fall into trances, and while in this emotional state they often profess that they see visions of angels, demons, or some of their loved ones "sitting around the throne of God." While the congregation is giving way to emotional orgies, ignorant and insincere ministers endeavor to keep them "near the throne of grace," as they call it, by moaning, groaning, and reminding them of hell fire and the eternal punishment they will receive if they do not come under the shelter of the Lord.

The individuals who form the membership of these hysterical churches are extremely ignorant, which fact is exemplified in the noisy and irreligious manner in which they carry on their services. There seems to be a general impression among them

that shouting, dancing hither and thither, groaning, howling, crying, protracted prayers, frantic embracing, the waving of handkerchiefs, grovelling on the floor, the throwing up of arms, and similar "hysterical" outbursts are the sole means of expressing devotion to God.

Not only are the members of these churches ignorant, but the ministers are rarely more intelligent than their flocks. They are usually persons who have had little or no educational training. Their greatest ambition seems first to be so arouse the emotion of the so-called "saints" as to produce a general uproar in the Church; second, to exploit for their own personal profit the barbaric superstitions of the class of Negroes who make up their congregation. Frequently sexual indulgence is a third motivation.

It is probably true that the individuals who take part in these exercises get much emotional satisfaction from them, but those who have become addicted to this type of service often become so unbalanced mentally that they lose all sense of reason and, as a result, are not able to control their passions. Often those who shout, cry and groan the most and pray the longest prayers are the most immoral and hypocritical people in the community, who are constantly getting into trouble for stealing and for committing other crimes which are supposed to be contrary to their religion.

A visit to one of these churches would convince those who have some knowledge of psychiatry that a quite a number of the adherents are abnormal and that these services only contribute toward the further dis-organization of their minds.

Many of the pastors of these hysterical churches use immoral

tactics to encourage people to join. They frequently visit members of other congregations with the argument that they have had a vision from God who told them to approach others and urge them to ally themselves with them. They often tell women that if they wish to divorce their husbands the only thing that they need to do is to join their church. When women do join, the ignorant and immoral pastors often prevail upon them to leave their husbands and select a mate from among the male members of the church. The demoralizing practices in these institutions make them a dangerous element in the community.

### COOPERATION

#### Cooperation Among Colored Churches

The migration of large numbers of southern Negroes to Detroit has been a powerful factor in the development of a strong denominational feeling among the Negro churches of Detroit. These migrants have come from a section of the country where church members place great importance upon denominations. Many of them go so far as to claim that they are the only group of Christians that are worshipping according to the commandments of God and that members of other denominations will be rejected as unworthy on "the day of great day of judgment." Before the influx, the pastors of the various denominational churches often exchanged pulpits and otherwise assisted each other. Now they seldom do so but this lack of cooperation will doubtless gradually diminish as the education of the mass of Negroes progresses.

The growing race consciousness of Negroes, however, causes denominational feeling to be laid aside for such programs as protest meetings against racial discrimination or anything that tends to jeopardize the civil rights of the group. For instance,



when the Urban League or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wants to put over a program and asks the help of the churches there is always a willing response from all churches irrespective of denomination.

In order to create a better feeling and a more intelligent attitude between the denominations, and Inter-denominational Council made up of the pastors of Detroit Negro churches was formed years ago when the number of churches was small. They still hold meetings and discuss problems which are of vital importance to the friendly existence of the group as a whole. Within recent years there have been developed separate organizations of Baptist, Methodists, and ministers of several other groups which meet weekly and discuss issues that are peculiar to them. This is due to the great increase in the intensity of denominational feeling. In spite of the fact that these separate organizations have sprung up, it is felt that with careful management of the Inter-denominational Council much can be done towards the elimination and prevention of bitter denominational feeling.

#### Cooperation with White Churches

There have been occasional though not very extensive instances of cooperation between colored and white churches. There has not been, however, a hostile or unfriendly feeling existing between the two groups of Churches. The organization that has probably done most toward creating whatever cooperative spirit exists between colored and white Churches is the Detroit Council of Churches, which is open to both groups. Not only are colored churches included in its membership but there are two Negro pastors representing the Baptist and Methodist Churches on

the board of directors. Colored and white churches through the Council often unite in such programs as financial campaigns, revival services, and educational drives. Through the influence of the council there has been a growing tendency on the part of colored and white pastors to exchange pulpits at least once each year. They exchanged pulpits in 1924 and most of the colored and white ministers reported that they received a cordial welcome. Some of the colored preachers stated, however, that they were treated very discourteously by the white congregations and that in some cases a number of the white people walked out and refused to hear them. It is felt, however, that the pastors of the churches in question can do much toward eliminating such hostility and that the continuation of such services will aid materially in bringing the two groups to a more intelligent mutual understanding.

#### Other Religious Organizations in the Community

Heretofore because of the lack of a modern building the religious department of the St. Antoine Branch of the Y. M. C. A. has not been able to function efficiently but with the construction of a new plant and the employment of a trained religious leader the "Y" is beginning to play an important part in the religious life of the Negroes of Detroit. In order to carry out its ideals their religious department aims to bring some of the best religious speakers in the country to Detroit. This is one of the outstanding phases of the religious program of the "Y" because it puts before the Negro youth the leading men of the race and has a tendency to instill into the minds of young Negro men a desire to strive for the higher things of life. Another phase of the religious work of the "Y" is the holding of public forums,

at which the young men actively take part in the discussions. Other religious activities are Sunday school classes, courses in Bible study and sociology, church membership campaigns, and personal interviews. The report of the first nine months of operation of the "Y" shows that 548 personal interviews were given and that 168 of these were referred to the churches.

Another religious organization that is exerting a constructive influence in the community is the Y. W. C. A. It does not have a definite religious program but aims to teach young women to live a clean Christian life. During the winter months vesper services are held every Sunday afternoon, where live current social problems are discussed. One of the outstanding aims of the Y. W. C. A. is to train Sunday School teachers for the Negro community. In order to carry out this ideal a teachers' training class is maintained which in 1925 had a membership of 600 drawn from the various Negro churches of the city. Other phases of the work conducted by this organization are the presentation of leading Negro speakers to the young women, the giving of personal interviews, and the creation in general of a wholesome atmosphere for the Negro community. With the construction of a modern building the Y. W. C. A. would be in a position to exert a wider religious influence.

The Cristian Center is also making a great contribution to the religious life of the Negro. It was organized five years ago through the cooperation of colored and white Baptists of the city. It conducts such religious activities as Bible Study, missionary classes, primary teacher for training for Sunday School, and personal interviews for religious guidance. The present location of the Center makes it an ideal place for service, but because of the

lack of adequate space and equipment its work is circumscribed. Present conditions permit it to serve only a portion of its vast number of applicants. It is believed, however, that with proper equipment the Center will be able to exert a powerful moral and social influence in the neighborhood.

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section XI COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Prepared for the  
**Mayor's Inter-racial Committee**  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
**Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.**  
1926

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## Section XI

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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A good index of the nature and state of progress of any group of people may be gained by an examination of the character of the organizations which they have formed to bring about a better and fuller life among themselves.

It is interesting to note the extent to which these organizations come into being as the result of definite forces within the community. In response to given industrial conditions one would expect to see the emergence of industrial organizations within the community designed to meet these conditions. Likewise, certain political organizations are born in response to particular political issues important at particular times. Certain leisure time activities reveal with rather barometric certainty the attempt of a group to provide for itself amusement denied elsewhere. Thus, from a study of the community organizations among the colored people of Detroit, we find many features that afford us a view of the forces affecting the efforts of the group towards gaining a better and fuller existence.

The community organizations have been classified under the following heads:

- a. Artistic
  - 1'. Dramatic
  - 2'. Literary
  - 3'. Musical
- b. Economic
- c. Educational
- d. Fraternal
- e. Political
- f. Protest
- g. Welfare
- h. Social



For the purposes of this study the community organizations have been further classified from the standpoint of the effect they have had on the colored people of the community. In this connection a categorical analysis of these organizations has been made having in mind the following points;

First, community organizations whose roots actually reach down into the masses of the colored people; and

Second, community organizations which have no roots.

In Detroit we have found various types of organizations which can definitely be placed within the first class. The church which would come under this category, has been treated in a special chapter, but the hold which it has upon the masses of the colored people in Detroit is shown by the fact that the aggregate church membership is 45,000; and the aggregate wealth of these organizations is in excess of two million dollars. These figures are for the established denominational churches and do not take into account the numerous "store-front" churches. It is significant that there is a change in the character of the influence which the church is exercising. Although there is still a too reactionary attitude among the colored churches, yet there is a healthy sign of progress with reference to the types of worship these churches now exercise and the kinds of community work which they do.

Next under this first head, also, will come the lodges, of which there are all of the usual types in Detroit, with an aggregate membership of over twenty thousand. Financially, some of them are quite strong and their business affairs are well managed.

Recently, the Hiram Lodge of Masons have acquired a temple building at 632 Livingston Street at an expenditure of \$63,300.00. The Elks own valuable property on the corner of Sherman and Hastings Streets, and contemplate the erection of a modern building in the near future on the present site. The glamor of the ritual and the mummerly of the open lodge are losing their attraction and these bodies appear to be turning towards constructive work in the community, a field in which they have hitherto failed to grasp potential opportunities for far-reaching, helpful service to the extent that they should have done.

Another group that will come under this head is the Association of Colored Womens' Clubs. In proportion to their membership these clubs have probably done more in a community way than any other group. The first of these clubs to be organized was the Willing Workers' Club, which came into existence in 1886 for the purpose of carrying on philanthropic work in the community. The In-as-much Circle of King's Daughters was organized in 1892. The Phyllis Wheatley Association, founded in 1898, has for its chief aim the care of the aged. The Detroit Study Club was organized in 1898 for the purpose of studying Browning's poetry. But although its initial object followed the vogue of the day, the club has since widened the scope of its activities and is giving commendable service to the community through the activities conducted by its members. This organization has the unique distinction of being the only colored society affiliated with the Detroit Federation of Womens'

Clubs. The Study Club has always been active in civic, patriotic, philanthropic, social and educational affairs. Because of its recognition of the urgent necessity of its efforts on behalf of the race it represents, and because it also realizes that these efforts are not mere gestures but permit of wide and vital application, it has fully justified its existence than any of the other similar Negro groups.

Most of the other clubs among the women have only recently come into existence. But they are following various programs of activities all of which are designed to be positive in character. The members on the whole, have tired of the inane practices characteristic of most womens' clubs of bygone days and have set their efforts towards bringing about results that really count. The lure of pseudo-philanthropic work, for instance (which has always been a popular feature of these clubs doubtless because of its obvious necessity and because of possession of finances needed to conduct it) does not hold such a conspicuous place on the program as it did formerly. Instead of literary and artistic dilettanteism these clubs are inaugurating programs designed to foster practical measures. They are not only making efforts to remedy bad conditions but to stimulate forces tending to bring about good conditions. Some of them are providing scholarships for assisting worthy boys and girls in their efforts to gain an education; some are offering prizes for the purpose of encouraging talented youths among the colored people to develop that talent; others are studying political conditions in order to inform themselves concerning public issues and the men seeking public prefer-

ment; while others are informing themselves of the best social service practice to the end that their own efforts in this field may be directed to the best advantage. One of the most significant features of the whole situation is that the colored club women seem to realize as never before the power of good which they possess and are calmly and purposefully endeavoring to equip themselves to use this power wisely.

Among the organizations whose membership is composed entirely of men, mention must be made of the Nacirema Club. Although this group is similar in organization to the usual clubs whose purpose it is to secure for their own membership facilities for congenial companionship amid suitable surroundings, yet its activities have not been entirely self-centered. It has done much which has had a very favorable effect upon the community as a whole, in addition to trying to build a wholesome morale among the ambitious of the colored citizenry, who generally look with pride upon civic projects promoted by the club.

There are in Detroit three graduate chapters of national college fraternities composed of colored men, the Alpha Phi Alpha, the Omega Psi Phi and the Kappa Alpha Psi which have been quite active in trying to improve conditions for the general population. Each spring they conduct campaigns, the Alphas urging the colored youths in school to continue their studies as far as through high school and college; the Omegas seek to interest the people in Negro literature, Art and History; and the Kappa Alphas, through their "Guide Right" activities strive to do what they can to assist colored youths

in properly choosing their lifes' work.

An important feature in the life of Detroit colored people is the work of agencies which, among other objects, aim to defend the civil rights of the Negro. The most important organization of this type are the National Associations for the Advancement of Colored People and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The first and oldest of these is the N. A. A. C. P. with a present membership of 3386 and a plan of campaign for 10,000. While both these organizations try to secure for the Negro all his constitutional rights their methods are different. The N. A. A. C. P. operates through groups composed of white and colored persons who endeavor to obtain for the Negro everything to which he is legally entitled in American life, in the belief that mutual respect and understanding will in itself do much to bring nearer the goal towards which they are working. This organizations maintains that the maintenance of the rights of Negroes is as much the concern of white citizens as of colored and that under representative institutions no group should be content to see any other deprived of its rights.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association confines its membership to members of the colored race. It is not a mere "protest" organization but tries to induce the colored people to meet injustices and denial of rights by starting all kinds of enterprises of their own with the purpose in view of finally becoming so independent of the white people financially that they can organize a government of their own in

Africa. It believes that by possessing financial independence and by controlling the political power which the United States government will be forced to recognize, the Association will be able to secure for those Negroes who remain in this country and those who go to Africa a greater measure of justice and more favorable opportunities of all kinds than are otherwise possible. Notwithstanding the impracticability of many parts of its program, the activities of this organization are an evidence of the extent to which the Negro is discontented with his present condition in the United States. The Detroit unit of this organization has a membership of 5000.

#### Political Organizations

The section concerning Population shows that the majority of Negroes in this city have only recently arrived. More than one-half of the present members of this group have come here since 1920. Notwithstanding this fact, the Negro has been steadily advancing politically. It is estimated that there are between twenty-five and thirty thousand qualified colored voters in Detroit. The majority of these had no experience in voting before coming to Detroit because they lived in states that denied them the ballot. It is a remarkable fact that these newly arrived migrants have exercised the use of the ballot in a commendable fashion when one considers their lack of experience in politics and the fact that they have been so completely exposed to the activities of political demagogues. The political exploiters have been diligent in trying to corral the Negro vote. As an example of the

difficulties in the way of Negro political organizations mention may be made of a society formed for the laudable purpose of educating the Negro to the necessity of registering and voting, but it soon fell under the control of selfish politicians with the result that its public usefulness was wrecked. On the whole, however, the colored forces making for good government, though there has been little cooperation between the old Detroiters who had gained a foothold in politics and the newcomers. Recently there have been efforts among the colored people to form stable and substantial political organizations for the purpose of educating the Negro in the use of the ballot and making him acquainted with men and measures in government. The most recent of these organizations is the Cosmopolitan Political League which is governed by an Executive Committee composed of delegates from a large number of colored group organizations of various kinds interested in political affairs. The members of the various groups affiliated with the general body are pledged to support the men and measures endorsed by the Executive Committee. The Chairman of the Committee states that the combined membership of the affiliated organizations is between thirty and forty thousand, of whom about 25,000 are qualified voters.

#### Cultural and Artistic Organizations

In most communities which have as large a colored population as Detroit, cultural activities of various kinds have been rather extensively developed. That the Negro is

naturally of an artistic temperament will be discovered by anybody who will take more than a passing interest in him. The emotional life of the Negro tends to be of the spontaneous, ebullient kind, and finds its expression in acts that are fanciful and picturesque. It is natural for him to dramatize even the most ordinary events of life; to lend color and point to the most uneventful affairs. While the possession of the artistic temperament seems to be characteristic of the race as a whole it is unsound to regard every random Negro as an artist. But the recent arrival in Detroit of the bulk of the present Negro population has operated as a deterrent to the ordered development of the artistic and cultural activities of this group.

Nevertheless the colored people of Detroit are on the eve of a great revival of interest in things artistic. Already several organizations of various kinds having for their purpose the fostering and developing of the artistic capacities of the colored people are coming into existence. Likewise, individuals who possess artistic talent are beginning to avail themselves, in increasing numbers, of the opportunities that exist in the community for cultivating these talents. There are numerous private music studios among colored people, and the attendance of members of this group at first class schools is increasing. There are in the city more than 20 colored graduates of the Detroit Conservatory of Music, and several others who have studied at other conservatories in this country or abroad. Some attend



institutions that give instruction in the dramatic art; others of painting and design. There are independent literary clubs and others connected with the churches, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. One newspaper, the Peoples' News, in an effort to stimulate among young people an interest in writing has organized the Detroit Writers' Club which conducts a weekly column in the paper.

There are two or three musical organizations among the colored people of Detroit which have striven to develop community music. Among these are the Detroit United Choirs and the Musicians' Alumni Association, the latter of which is composed of colored graduates of the Detroit Conservatory of Music. The most notable achievement of these two organizations was the promotion, in collaboration with the Craftsmens' Band, of a Musical Festival at Orchestra Hall last April, the first time that colored performers had ever given a program at Orchestra Hall. Recently there has been formed in Detroit a branch of the National Association of Negro Musicians. This organization is national in scope and has branches in most of the principal cities and in many of the smaller cities of the country. Its primary purpose is to educate the public as to the capabilities of the Negro in music. One of the most important of the many national gatherings of the Negroes of the country is the annual convention of this body. The various branches are doing much in their various communities to create an interest in and appreciation of Negro music and Negro musicians.

Community Organizations which have no Roots.

Under this head we find a number of so-called "good time" social clubs which are not taken seriously even by their own members. They spring up when a number of like-minded individuals seek to meet more regularly for diversion. Their numbers in Detroit is legion, and their membership large. Here also may be mentioned community organizations of an economic nature the growth of which has been retarded by the newness of the population, though in this respect conditions are changing.\*

Another group are alumni associations composed of graduates and former students of colored schools. Most of these associations have no programs which affect the general community life and were organized merely for the purpose of preserving interest in particular schools and for perpetuating connections made while there.

Types of Leaders

Leadership among the colored people of Detroit has been fairly effective. As is usually the case the colored minister has supplied the bulk of leadership, good and bad, among Negroes. But in Detroit there have been important leaders drawn from other walks of life. Undisputed leadership among colored people is not easily obtained because there are so many elements involved. Lack of economic independence often operates to make would-be leaders succumb to financial temptations.

\*See chapter on Thrift and Business.

The ignorance of the masses too often makes them a prey to the machinations of scheming politicians and causes them to reject those of their own race, who, by training and other qualifications, are most worthy of being leaders. As among other groups, likewise among Negroes it too often happens that base motives on the part of men in no way equipped for constructive leadership who nevertheless believe themselves to be leaders, militate against the progress of those who really have qualifications of positive leadership and a willingness to serve. Such handicaps are to be found in every branch where good leadership among Negroes is needed.

### The Negro Minister

The Negro minister does not occupy the general position of leadership which he formerly held. But there are a number of ministers in the city who are looked to for guidance in many temporal affairs by the community at large and not simply by members of their own flocks. There are a few ministers who have resisted to a commendable degree the temptation to become big fish in little ponds, merely, and who have sought to be of real service to all the community.

### The Negro Labor Leader

#### No Negro Labor Leader as Such

The leadership of the Negro labor group in Detroit is almost entirely furnished by the Industrial Departments of the

Urban League, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and a few of the more alert and progressive ministers. This leadership consists mostly of actively advising colored workers, as to the necessity for cultivating qualities highly prized by employers, viz., punctuality, reliability, dependability, loyalty. Detroit is not extensively unionized as a town and in any case Negroes are not welcomed as members in most of the Unions.

#### The Negro Social Worker

Negro social workers in Detroit have furnished much leadership that has proven to be beneficial, particularly if they have been connected with the major Negro social service agencies and probably because of their larger opportunities for such service. In the first place, the trained social worker is socially minded and has a definite technique for attacking various problems of social relationships. Because of his especial knowledge on many important aspects of community life his opinion is regarded with respect by most people who realize the necessity of expert testimony. He is, for the most part, a person whose interests are as broad as the community and who desires only the best for all the community, not merely one special group. As his advice is often sought by representatives of white social agencies and by public officials and other important people interested in affairs, he acquires a prestige which colored people look upon as valuable. As he is rarely a

demagog he inspires general confidence. All of these considerations have contributed largely to the position of leadership which a well equipped social worker enjoys in the community.

### The Negro Club Woman

The Negro Club Woman is extending her influence more and more. Formerly her activities were generally limited to those within her own circle, but at present she is responding to the necessities of the general community. The colored club woman represents a force for good as she represents the newer type of leader; who is interested in the affairs of the day and has emancipated herself from the grip of trivialities. The club woman in Detroit, more than any other distinct type, is turning her attention to substantial and constructive things. The social service work which she is doing is assuming more of a scientific character; she is taking an intelligent interest in political affairs, and her religion, recreation and general activities are of the vital sort. The leisure which she has at her command, and her rather high average of intelligence; her zeal for the right and her will to act, together with her willingness to learn - all operate to make her a force to reckon with.

### The Negro Fraternal Leader

The fraternal leader still has a great influence with

the colored masses of Detroit. The hopeful thing in this is the fact that this leadership rests not upon a capacity to perform the ceremonies of the ritual, but upon his demonstration of real qualities of leadership. This does not mean that the fraternal leader, as such, stands out as a general community rallying point, but he is an important factor by virtue of the esteem in which he is held by his fraters and the heed that is given to his counsel. Much of this leadership is of a constructive nature. The fraternal leader's advice carries over into the fields of politics, business and general community affairs. With the spirit which at present characterizes Detroit lodges, the fraternal group should soon produce a more civically-minded leadership.

#### The Newspaper Editor

There are three colored weekly newspapers in Detroit that have a fairly good circulation. These sheets are on the whole well composed and two of them carry some relatively good editorials. But the editorials do not compare with those appearing in the Chicago Defender, The Pittsburgh Courier, The New York Age, The Baltimore Afro-American, and other colored journals. The news is fairly well written, but the reporting service is not at all comprehensive. Much of the most important news among the colored people is not gathered and written up, and there is too much proportionately of news of a negative nature - crime, scandal, etc. The local papers have not yet developed the sections which made up a good modern newspaper. There are no well organized feature

departments such as those carried by the Norfolk Journal Guide, the Pittsburgh Courier and others. Nevertheless, that the managers of two of these sheets have recently acquired up-to-date equipment wherewith they can remodel their plants and secure greater general efficiency. The fact that these papers are rather widely read and frequently quoted by the general colored population indicates the leadership which a really first-class colored newspaper could supply. But colored newspapers, for various reasons, have been guilty of neglecting the most important department, viz. the editorial department, which is concerned with the interpretation of the news.

#### The Negro Professional Man

While it is true of the Negro professional man in some communities that they have failed to assume the places they should occupy as leaders of their group, it is not true on the whole of the Negro professional man in Detroit. Constructive leadership of the colored group, because of many factors that enter into the situation, has not been easily attained in Detroit. But of what worthy leadership the Detroit Negro enjoys the professional man has contributed his share. From the earliest days of the residence of the Negro in this city there is abundant evidence that tends to show that the professional group has exerted a wholesome influence towards bettering the conditions of the colored people. The Detroit Negro professional man seems to realize that, by virtue of his superior education, training and opportunities he owes it

to the community to do what he can in bettering ~~his~~ conditions of the group with which he is identified.

The majority of the Negro professional men of Detroit, like the general population, are newcomers. But it would seem that extraordinary opportunities for making money were not the only consideration in the minds of professional men who were attracted to this community. In every movement that has been launched among the colored groups having for its purpose the bettering of their condition the Negro professional man has been well represented. At the present time we find professional men who are leaders in politics, in business ventures among colored people, in the church, and in the carrying out of the programs of welfare agencies that have for their purpose the satisfactory adjustment of interracial relationships and of social relationships in general. We find them taking an active part in attempting to secure better opportunities for Negroes in industry; we find them attempting to gain for the Negro the civic and political rights to which he is entitled; we find them cooperating with the proper officials in an effort to enforce the laws and to eradicate the vicious conditions which made it easy in colored communities to come in contact with the law.

This does not mean that every Negro professional man is a socially-minded individual. Unfortunately there can be found a few professional men who are apparently without conscience in their dealings with their people, and whose



chief aim seems to be the exploitation of their group. But, on the whole, so far as the Negro professional men of Detroit are concerned, those with parasite tendencies represent a very small minority.

APPENDIX INEGRO GROUP ORGANIZATIONS

<u>TYPE OF ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>NO. OF GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP AS GIVEN BY OFFICERS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS</u>
<u>ECONOMIC</u>		
Business	1	60
Beneficial	1	125
<u>WELFARE</u>		
Home for Working Girls	2	75
Home for the Aged	1	40
<u>WOMENS' CLUBS</u>		
Federated	22	700
Miscellaneous	2	154
<u>POLITICAL</u>		
Consolidated	15	40,000
Independent	2	5,125
<u>CULTURAL</u>		
Music	6	175
General (Nacirema)	1	200
<u>PATRIOTIC</u>		
(American Legion)	1	56
<u>RACIAL ADVANCEMENT</u>		
N. A. A. C. P.	1	3286
U. N. I. A.	1	5000
<u>YOUNG PEOPLES' CLUBS</u>		
Federated	35	3500
<u>FRATERNAL</u>		
Masons		
Blue Houses	12	5400
O. E. S.	6	2100
Shrine Temples	2	2250
Chapters	2	650
Consistories	2	1800
Knights of Pythias	10	875
Courts of Calanthe		350
Odd Fellows	5	2000
House Holds of Ruth	6	7000
Elks		2500
Moose		
American Woodmen	1	1500
Knights of Ethiopia	1	2200
Mosaic Templars	13	
<u>GREEK LETTER FRATERNITIES</u>		
Alpha Phi Alpha	1	60
Kappa Alpha Psi	1	51
Omega Psi Phi	1	25

# The Negro in Detroit

## Section XII

### WELFARE

Prepared for the  
Mayor's Inter-racial Committee  
by  
a Special Survey Staff  
under the general Direction of the  
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.  
1926

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The survey of the Negro in Detroit, of which this report is one of twelve sections, has been made for the Mayor's Inter-racial Committee under the immediate direction of Forrester B. Washington, executive secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, and Robert T. Lansdale, of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, assisted by Glen E. Carlson of the sociology department of the University of Michigan, Frederick I. Daniels of the sociology department of Central Normal School, Nelson H. Harris, graduate student, University of Michigan, Wayne L. Hopkins, former instructor at Bluefield Institute, West Virginia, Donald C. Marsh of the sociology department of the University of Kansas, and Delos S. Otis, graduate student, University of Wisconsin. It is expected that this survey will furnish the basis for an official report to be prepared and published by the Mayor's Committee. The survey was financed by the Detroit Community Fund, the funds being expended through the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. This Bureau has edited the survey but has not assumed responsibility for the collection of the data used in the reports.

## WELFARE

### I. INTRODUCTION

That the Negro's presence in Detroit should react upon the social service program of the city seems obvious in the light of his economic position in the community. A study of the welfare agencies of the city in relation to a particular racial group should reveal some of the problems of the adjustment of that group to the life of the city and should at the same time show what is being done by the community to relieve and prevent maladjustment. This report attempts to show what agencies are dealing with the unadjusted Negro and on the basis of their practical experience to suggest some of the causes of the Negro's social failure. As this report has been limited to a particular racial group, very little comparison has been attempted.

This study deals with, first, the public welfare agencies, and secondly, the private welfare agencies. Some attempt has been made to consider special problems confronting these organizations and to point out some of the deficiencies in the program of social work in Detroit from the standpoint of the colored group.

### II. PUBLIC AGENCIES

#### A. Department of Public Welfare

The following tables present comparative figures on the number of colored receiving relief:

TABLE 1

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES RECEIVING PUBLIC WELFARE AID AS COMPARED TO TOTAL NUMBER RECEIVING AID FOR 1920, 1915, 1921, 1925

	<u>1910</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>1921*</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Total No.	5,030		19,085		76,173		24,437	
No. Negroes	255	5%	506	2%	16,781	22%	5,806	23%

\*Note: Statistics are given for 1921 as those for 1920 are not available.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES RECEIVING PUBLIC WELFARE AID AS COMPARED TO TOTAL NUMBER RECEIVING AID FOR FIRST SIX MONTHS, 1925

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>NEGRO</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NEGRO PER CENT OF TOTAL</u>
January	1,934	6,625	8,559	22.6
February	2,054	7,059	9,113	22.5
March	2,072	7,159	9,229	22.5
April	1,604	5,860	7,464	21.5
May	1,245	4,892	6,137	20.3
June	1,179	4,398	5,577	21.1

ADMISSIONS TO ELOISE

INFIRMARY

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total No.	907	2,015	1,732	3,569
Negroes	32	38	215	425

HOSPITAL

Total No.	201	227	1,210	844
Negroes	5	13	No. Negroes not shown on report	131

It will be noted from the above tables that the proportion of Negro cases in the Department of Public Welfare has been disproportionately high during the last six years.\*

Workers in the social service department bear out these statistics by claiming that they are swamped by the number of colored applicants for assistance.

Various theories are offered to explain this condition. One worker claims that the Negroes have adopted the attitude that the city of Detroit should support them. She claims that families come to Detroit from the South with the word from friends here that they will find it easy to secure relief.

\* Forrester B. Washington in his 1919 study showed that the proportion of Negro cases remained about the same from 1915 to 1919.



Another worker reports that the colored people in the St. Antoine section think that material relief can be easily obtained from the Public Welfare Department, and they cooperate to get this relief. A Negro leader made the statement that this department is used as a means of obtaining political support and the colored people, knowing the situation, take advantage of it.

All of the social workers interviewed, both colored and white, were agreed that the amount of Negro dependency is directly related to the employment situation. One social worker, dealing with practically all nationality groups, says that her colored clients are the first to be laid off when there is any slack time. Another social worker reports that her applications, colored and white, furnish a barometer of the status of employment in Detroit and that this year particularly colored workers are not wanted in the factories. Another worker claims that the industries "let families break under Detroit conditions before relief can be administered".

Another factor mentioned by several social workers is that the Negroes seem to bring with them a tradition from the South of dependency upon white men. This, they say, is responsible for their feeling that the city will take care of them.

Another reason give for the increase in dependency is that formerly Negroes were liberal with their food and possessions and the poor of the race were taken into Negro

families. Now, however, because of high rents and general high cost of living, the Negroes are no longer so ready to do this. This theory is borne out by some of the comments of the house to house investigators on this survey, who discovered many families who were practically without friends in Detroit.

Colored leaders say that each year thousands of dollars are spent on relief to Negroes that is a mere pauperization of the families aided and that little constructive work is done. This claim is substantiated by a white social worker in the Public Welfare Department who says that they are so burdened with cases, both colored and white, that she and her colleagues cannot make proper investigations to find the causes for dependency.

She illustrated this situation by one of the cases for the Survey in which she discovered the cause for the maladjustment of a family and thereby had suggested to her a method of straightening out the difficulty, but nevertheless admitted she had been merely handing out relief for some time.

On the other hand, workers in the Public Welfare Department answer that there are many special difficulties which make constructive work with Negroes difficult. The reasons they give may be summarized as follows:

1. It is impossible to get a history of the families as many of them are illiterate and their replies untrustworthy.
2. The families are continually moving about and, because of this, they are not known in the neighborhood.

3. People are known by their first names only and it is hard to check up on the family.
4. Negroes are very self-willed and it is hard to work out a scheme for family rehabilitation that they are willing to follow.
5. The department does not understand how to handle the Negro problem adequately and needs the assistance of leaders of the race.

The contents of Table 4 are indicated by its title.

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF 854 ACTIVE CASES IN THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Marital State

	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
Married	196	309	60.4	58.9
Single	6	18	1.9	3.4
Widowed	44	109	13.6	20.8
Separated	72	73	22.2	13.9
Divorced	6	16	1.9	3.0
Total	324	525	100.0	100.0
Unknown	0	5		

GRAND TOTAL 324 530

NATIONALITY

	<u>NUMBER</u>			<u>NUMBER</u>	
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>COLORED</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
American	318	271	Greeks		4
Canadian	4	54	Mexicans		3
Polish		25	Scandinavians		3
Italian		23	Swedes		2
English		20	Galicians		2
German		18	Spanish		2
Russian		18	Belgians		2
Syrians		15	Maltese	2	2
Jews		14	Serbians		2
Irish		11	Turks		1
Austrians		11	Bulgarians		1
Scotch		9	Dutch		1
Slavs		5	Unknown		11
			GRAND TOTAL	324	530

TABLE 4 - continued

TIME IN UNITED STATES

	<u>Number</u>			<u>Number</u>	
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>		<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
Life	318	245	10-20 yrs.	1	22
70-80 yrs.		1	5-10		76
60-70		6	0-5		102
50-60		5	Unknown	4	
30-40	1	25	GRAND TOTAL	<u>324</u>	<u>530</u>
20-30		34			

TIME IN DETROIT

	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
	<u>COLORED</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>COLORED</u>	<u>WHITE</u>
Life	6	45	1.9	9.0
60-70 yrs.		1		.2
50-60	1	6	.3	1.2
40-50	1	18	.3	3.6
30-40	3	51	1.0	10.2
20-30	7	43	2.2	8.6
10-20	35	102	11.1	20.5
5-10	122	117	38.9	23.5
Less than 5 yrs.	<u>139</u>	<u>115</u>	<u>44.3</u>	<u>23.1</u>
TOTAL	314	498	100.0	99.9
Unknown	<u>10</u>	<u>32</u>		
GRAND TOTAL	324	530		

TABLE 4 - continued

	<u>RENT</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
	<u>Number</u>		<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
\$60.00-\$70.00	3	7	.9	1.4
50.00- 60.00	17	19	5.3	3.8
40.00- 50.00	32	70	10.0	14.
30.00- 40.00	57	68	17.9	13.6
20.00- 30.00	84	98	26.3	19.6
10.00- 20.00	42	138	13.2	27.6
5.00- 10.00	63	80	19.7	16.
1.00- 5.00	12	13	3.8	2.6
None	9	7	2.8	1.4
TOTAL	319	500	99.9	100.0
Unknown	5	30		
GRAND TOTAL	324	530		

	<u>AGE AT APPLICATION</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
	<u>Number</u>		<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
80 - 90 yrs.		4		.8
70 - 80	5	6	1.6	1.2
60 - 70	8	57	2.6	11.2
50 - 60	20	42	6.5	8.3
40 - 50	37	89	12.0	17.5
30 - 40	115	173	37.2	34.1
20 - 30	114	137	36.9	27.0
15 - 20	10	0	3.2	0
TOTAL	309	508	100.0	100.1
Unknown	15	22		
GRAND TOTAL	423	530		



TABLE 4 - continued

WEEKLY WAGE

	<u>Number</u>	
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
Over \$50.00	2	6
\$40.00 - \$50.00	3	16
30.00 - 40.00	19	56
20.00 - 30.00	50	63
15.00 - 20.00	7	46
10.00 - 15.00	11	17
5.00 - 10.00	17	8
- - 5.00	9	10
None	68	248
Unknown	138	60
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>530</b>

CAUSES OF DISTRESS

	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>White</u>
Old Age	4	40	1.2	7.5
Desertion	76	76	25.5	14.3
Widowhood	39	55	12.0	10.4
Disabled	10	36	3.1	6.8
Illness (physical)	73	159	22.5	30.0
Illness (mental)	1	10	.3	1.9
Imprisonment	17	8	5.2	1.5
Unemployment	82	107	25.3	20.2
Insufficient Income	15	19	4.6	3.6
Divorced	2	9	.6	1.7
Non-support	5	10	1.5	1.9
Deportation	0	1	0	.2
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>99.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As the above tables present a cross-section of the Public Welfare cases, some comment may be made upon them. There are no significant variations in the marital status of the two groups. The figures for length of time in Detroit show the colored families to be a new group, as 83.2 per cent of them have lived in Detroit less than ten years. The figures for rent paid show

that on the whole the colored group pay a slightly higher rent than whites. From figures on the age at application it appears that 64.1 per cent of the colored applicants are between the ages of 20 and 40. According to the 1920 population figures, 50 per cent of the Negroes in Detroit were between the ages of 25 and 44, and the Public Welfare Department is drawing apparently a high percentage of cases from these active ages. Fewer of the colored families applying to the Public Welfare Department are childless than white. In other words, the colored families have proportionately a greater number of children, but this is not true of the Negro population as a whole as shown in the population section of this report.

Some caution must be taken in analyzing the causes of distress. The cause hereafter given is that listed on the face sheet of each case. It has been pointed out in many family case work studies that to give a single cause to distress is unsound because the factors bringing about the maladjustment of a family are numerous and complex. The figures show that of the causes of distress under which at least 10 per cent of each group are classified, the colored cases lead in desertion, widowhood, and unemployment, while the white cases lead in physical illness.

Cases from the Department of Public Welfare.

The following cases, selected as typical by the supervisor of each of the two districts from which they come, are presented to give the social background of the colored families receiving relief from the Department of Public Welfare.



A. Cases from the Central District

Case 1.

Case of Lloyd 34 and Estelle 21 and three small children. M\* worked as laborer but laid off for five weeks. Lives with sister-in-law who charges \$10 week, room and board. Four weeks in arrears. Wants food order. W. in Eloise as mental case. Sister-in-law cares for children, but unable to care for them longer without pay. M. cannot find work. Two years later M. in Jackson prison on charge of rape; sister-in-law asks relief for care of M's and W's children. M. dies in prison. Sister-in-law made beneficiary in insurance policy of \$600 - money to be used for the care of the children.

Case 2.

W. was born in Georgia in 1894. Parents died while she was very young. She completed the fifth grade at age of 14 and was unable to continue further as she had to keep house for her brother and younger children. In 1918 left Georgia and came to Chicago. D-- an illegitimate child, born in Georgia came to Chicago with her. February, 1920 met and married. John was born in September 1920. In 1922 she left husband as he was cruel to her. March 30, 1922 Joseph was born; his father was W-- B--. She had him prosecuted and he gave \$4.00 a week towards baby's support. Joseph died June 6, 1924. In March 1924 W. and children went to Ypsilanti to sister's - working in Detroit and leaving her children with her sister. In June she brought her children here and tried to establish a home for them. W. is shiftless and immoral. Takes washing. Behind in rent. Put in touch with St. Mary's Hospital and Mother's Pension and given temporary relief.

\*In this study "M" means Man and "W" means Woman.

Case 3.

Case of the family of Andy and Eliza aged 39 and 25 respectively and their six children. Family sought relief because of unemployment and illness. Bills due first on March 11, 1925. W. formerly married in South. M. has five children by first marriage. M. given job cleaning alleys. April 6, 1925. M. in County Jail awaiting trial for rape of his 14 year old daughter. Daughter and mother both pregnant. Robert, age ten, in Detention Home for staying out late; Hubert has been in Detention Home for taking parked cars. Maude supposed to have had relations with men. W. does not think M. guilty. M's case called. M. working for a Construction Company at 50¢ hour. Nothing further about the trial.

Case 4.

This case came to the notice of the Department of Public Welfare on December 21, 1923 at which time the woman, a widow, came to the office because she was unable to earn enough money to keep even with her expenditures. She does not know how to read or write. Her husband died only a short time before she applied to the office. She has three children dependent on her. The family came to Detroit from Richland, Georgia, but the woman could give no date as to when it was they moved here other than she thought that it was four or five years ago. At this time they left the children in the South; she and her husband coming here alone. The man took sick and returned to Richland, dying a short time after. The woman does not remember just when her husband died although she did return to Richland for the funeral. At this time her son, George Calhoun, sent her money, she claims, with which to pay railroad fare to Detroit for herself and her children. Upon her arrival in Detroit the woman went to her son, George's house. She stayed there for some time but at length had to move. However, she has moved several times from the time the case came in up to the present date, July, 1926.

During a period of five months, March to July of this year, she has been in the office of the D. P. W. 19 times, each time receiving on an average of \$13.00 for room rent and groceries. She is in ill health, unable to earn more than \$2.00 per week at the most. Wallace the eldest of the three dependents, sells papers, but his income is not even sufficient to supply himself with clothing. The woman so far has not been able to establish by record the birth of her three dependent children, nor residence in Detroit, and as a consequence has not been able to receive the benefits of the Mother's Pension. Until the above is established, there is no doubt that the Department of Public Welfare will have to care for this case.

Case 5

This case first came to the notice of the Welfare Department on August 26, 1925. At this time the wife, Mary, came to the office soliciting money to pay for rent which amounted to \$8 per week. She stated that her husband, William, at this time washed cars on commission and that because of delinquency in paying the rent the landlady had ordered them to move if the rent was not paid in the immediate future.

The case was investigated by the Department of Public Welfare. It was found that the man in his present employment of washing cars was unable to support the family -- some days earning only 75¢, while on other days he would make enough to meet his obligations. It was further found that Mary's mother had been helping in the support of the family, but that illness had set in which has cut down her earning powers. Mary's two children, both boys, by her first husband were as yet too young to take jobs, one being aged nine years, while the other was 11 years old.

From the time that the woman first came to the Department of Public Welfare office up to July 17, 1926, the couple, either single or together, have visited the said office on an average of about once every three weeks. All of these visits have been for the purpose of soliciting funds to pay off rent. The man had completed the sixth grade in school, but had not received

any education since that time. It was apparently impossible for him to keep a job other than washing cars because of his health. He was often forced to quit and consequently could not hold a paying job for any length of time. The woman was likewise in illhealth. She was very nervous and this is due evidently to a mental condition for at one time she was in a psychopathic Hospital in Cincinnati. For this reason she is unfit for work and, furthermore, is hard to get along with. From time to time they were forced to move to different rooming houses for delinquency in paying rent. The condition of this family was the result of two factors - (1) Insufficient education, especially on the part of the man; (2) Illness with all members of the family.

### B. Cases from the Eastern District

#### Case 1

W's parents lived in Nassau, West Indies, owning their farm. W. one of 18 children. All but three have died, some in infancy, some after grown up. W. was about the middle one of these children, born in 1895 in Nassau. Mother died at the age of 51. Her father sold the farm and went to Miami. He was a bricklayer.

Couple were married in 1908 in Miami. M. was a West Indian also, separated shortly after the birth of their only child 10-18-10. W. worked cared for her own child, and the two children of one of her deceased sisters. When the father of these children came and got them W. came to Detroit April 1925 as she had a married sister living here. Became illegitimately pregnant by a married man and expects confinement this month.

Both W. and 15 year old daughter normal. W. went to school once in a while. Can read, but not write. Daughter has completed the 7-B grade.

W. Baptist. Daughter Methodist.

W. did laundry work in Miami. Day work in Detroit. Daughter a dishwasher in a restaurant whenever she can get work.

Occupy one room in the house of a widow who has been receiving relief from the Public Welfare. Good clean home. Both W. and daughter keep themselves clean. Both dark and large build. 15 year old girl is as large as a woman of 40, very black.

W's sister unwilling to help and claims unable. Is disgusted with W. W. and daughter placed by this department with a family whose rent we are paying. An occasional food order has been given. Daughter has been working off and on earning \$8 a week when working. Warrant secured for alleged father but W. has done nothing towards pressing this. This man has been giving her money from time to time and has promised to support the baby on arrival. We have so far been unable to control the situation. After birth of baby an effort will be made to secure W. work with the baby and place the daughter under the care of the Girl's Protective League.

Case 2.

M. born near Atlanta, Georgia, in 1885. Was about the middle child of 12 children, some by previous marriage. The mother inherited the farm from her first husband who died. M's father worked this farm and M. also worked on the farm until 1902. Completed only the third grade in school. The younger children went as far as the 7th and 8th grades.

W. was born in 1902 in Georgia. Was one of 11 children. Father worked a farm on shares.

M. came to Detroit in 1902, lived here seven years. Went to Chicago and lived there until World War. Was in Camp Gordon, Atlanta, all during the war. In 1919 returned to Atlanta and married W. in 1920. This was the first marriage of each. Returned to Detroit with W. in 1922. Three children born 1922, 1925 and 8-19-26 all in Detroit.

M. never sick as far as he remembers until about a year ago. Is now suffering from lues and receiving treatment at the Board of Health Clinic. Children suffering from summer complaint.

M. completed 3rd grade, W. the 7th. Baptist.

Since leaving the farm in 1902 M. has mostly done paperhanging. In 1922 earned \$2.50 and \$3.00 a day. After the war in Atlanta he had a janitor's job earning \$7.00 a week and room and board. On first returning to Detroit in 1922 he also had a janitor's job earning \$30.00 a month and his meals and a place to sleep in the boiler room. Had to provide elsewhere for W.

Family had just moved to a five room house with shed. No bath, inside toilet, gas and electric. Fair condition. Not very good neighborhood. Rent \$35. Have been living in a very unsanitary house.

Family have been receiving relief on account of M's luetic condition and W's pregnancy. W. has just been confined. M. caring for the two children at home and Infant Welfare nurse visiting and supervising. Relief to be continued until M's condition warrants return to work. He is a light colored, sickly appearing and stammers. Family are poor type. Home never well kept up. Total relief given, food \$330.00, rent \$210.00, moving \$5.00, coal \$3.68, total \$548.68.

### Case 3.

W. was an only child. Her father was a houseman and drove a buggy for a doctor. She was married at the age of 21, had one child. This husband deserted and she was married to M at the age of 23.

There were eight children ranging in age from 14 years to the infant born 9-27-25. There are twins born 8-11-24. The man's father came to Detroit in October 1919, secured work at good wages and the man followed in two months and brought his family. All family normal.

M. third grade W. sixth grade. Fourteen year old boy is in the 6-A grade, 12 yr. old girl in 6-B grade, 10 yr. old girl in 4-B, 6 yr. old girl in 2nd. Protestant.

Before coming to Detroit M. was a skilled laborer in a plough factory. Wages \$13.50 week. Rent \$7. month. On coming to Detroit December 1919 he worked for the Kelsey Wheel Company earning \$28.80 a week for the first month and \$40.00 a week after that. He was employed until April 1920, then out of work for a year and a half. He returned to the Kelsey Wheel Company. Wages were cut from 75¢ to 60¢ an hour. Since then his wages have averaged from \$30.00 to \$35.00 a week. His longest lay off since April 1922 has been three months. There have been several layoffs of 2 or 3 weeks. M. is at present employed at the Kelsey Wheel Company working 2 and 3 days a week. W. did cooking and laundry work before marriage.

Soon after coming to Detroit family started buying a home for \$4,900. They had paid on over \$700 when the man was unemployed and lost the home. They have never been able to start buying again.

Family pays \$45 a month rent for five rooms and bath. House in good locality, good condition. They have lived there one year and month. There are no roomers or boarders. Family has two adults and eight children.

From December 1920 to April 1921 and from August 1921 to February 1922 the family received continuous relief in the form of a grocery order. The man did unpaid work for the city in return for this. Their income was supplemented by milk tickets during the fall and winter of 1924 and 1925 with five grocery orders of \$10.00 each during the winter when the man was laid off. The income was again supplemented in August 1926. The only problem in this family has been unemployment and insufficient income for so large a family. They are self-respecting, good type of family, children clean and well kept. Relief given. M. worked for City in exchange. Food \$253.74, shoes \$12.75, coat \$24.00 - Total \$290.49. Relief given, no work done, Food \$70.00, Milk \$62.16, coat \$28.13, shoes \$5.00 - Total \$165.29.

M. states that in Columbus, Georgia, where he grew up the colored people can vote for president but not for any other office unless they own \$1500 property or more. M. has always paid his poll tax but did not own property enough to vote. Always voted for president and has always voted since coming to Detroit. Mentioned the fact that in the factories the foremen bring pressure to try and make the colored people vote the Democratic ticket. Said many of the colored votes are bought up that either because of being bought or frightened into it almost all the colored votes are Democratic though at heart they are Republicans.

Case 4

M. was born in Georgia in 1875. Was one of four children. The father worked the farm on shares. A younger brother went to school a little but M. and the other three never went.

W. was one of eight children. Her grandmother was sold away from her husband and two children in Virginia and was brought to Georgia with two babies. W's father being one of these two. The grandmother always pined for the other children, but when freedom came W's father and his brother were settled in Georgia, and she never went back or learned what became of them. W's father also worked a farm on shares, grew cotton and corn. Of the eight children only two are living. Six died after growing up. Two of T. B., one of 'fever'. Some went to the 3rd grade in school, some the 5th.

M. died in 1921 in a little place ten miles from Bethlehem, Georgia, where he worked a farm on shares. W. worked out. Came to Detroit in June 1922 to be with a niece who had T. B. and who returned to the South and died April 1924. W. brought only the youngest child, Essie Mae, born October 1920, when she came to Detroit July 1923. Left the three older ones with M's mother near Atlanta. W. returned and got them in March 1925 and soon after that M's mother and sister joined her, and are still living with her.

W. is at middle age and not very well. M's mother is 70 years old and feeble. M's sister about 59 years old, has been 'afflicted' for four years. Refuses to have medical attention, possibly has some internal growth. Children not very rugged -- as there has been so much T. B. in the family they are to be examined.

M. no education. W 3rd grade. Protestant.

W. does day work when she can, which is very irregularly. The aged mother-in-law does an occasional day's work and cares for the sick sister-in-law.

Family occupy a little cottage of four rooms and toilet. Rent \$25. month. Family keep it neat and clean. The occupants are three women and four children.



W. should be eligible for a Mother's Pension, but has been unable to prove two years residence in Michigan. Also has given uncertain information as to M's death and we have not succeeded in verifying it. W. appears to be truthful but illiterate. Has received relief continuously since August 1925. Whole family to be examined at T. B. Clinic and 'afflicted' sister-in-law to be examined at Clinic.

Total Relief Given

Food	505.50
Rent	171.00
Coal	15.40
Shoes	15.00
Dentures	<u>10.00</u>
	\$716.90

Case 5

Man was born 9-6-96 in Utah, Alabama, one of two children. Father worked at a logging camp. Was killed by fall of a log and M's grandparents brought up the two children while their mother worked out. Mother died when M was 20. The grandfather worked a farm on shares.

W. was born 4-13-98 in Birmingham, Alabama. Was an only child. Mother married at 15. Her father deserted when she was four months old and the mother and she lived with the grandparents. The mother worked out at housework and laundry, etc. There were no other children in the family. The grandfather owned his own home in the city and ran a public dray for wholesale house.

M. was married at 19, W. at 16. They came north to Detroit, in 1918 with their one child. M. had always wanted to come North and took trips at every opportunity to see where to locate. Lived in Detroit since 1918. W. returned to her grandparents for confinement of the second and third child. They have had six children, all living. Family got along well until about four years ago when M. was fired from Ford Motor Company. W. in hospital at the time, confined with the fourth child. M. unable to secure steady employment since. Lost his property, took to drinking, became irritable toward the family and failed to assume responsibility. Separated in May 1925. In July M. broke his leg and was in the hospital and W. tried living with him again but it lasted

for only three weeks. M. finally deserted in January 1926 and has not been heard from since.

M. was hit on the head with a baseball bat several years ago and W. has thought sometimes that this affected his mind. W. sickly and nervous from her domestic troubles though stout and healthy appearing. None of the children are very well though nothing radically wrong. Baby born 6-17-26 has always been sickly.

M's education not known. W. says he did not have much of any. W. completed the 8th grade. The oldest children, age 9 and 8, attend school.

Protestant.

M. always worked around automobiles. In the South earned \$8 to \$12 a week. The last month and half he was there earned \$20 a week running the garage for another man. This enabled him to have funds for coming to Detroit. Employed at Ford Motor Co. about three years. Discharged about four years ago. Has worked for contractors as plasterer. Has sometimes earned as much as \$13 a day and other times averaged only \$24 or \$25 a week.

W. and her six children, ranging in age from 9 years to 2 mos. live together with W's mother and adopted boy of ten years. They have six rooms, rent \$25. The house is dilapidated and unsanitary. There is a creek right back of the door. The family has located in more sanitary house on the west side, also with six rooms and with a good sized yard in good condition, rent \$30.00 a month. Family to be moved by this Department.

Family has received relief during all of 1925 on account of illness and unemployment and desertion in June 1925. M. located in July in the Hospital and relief given until October. Relief began again in April 1926 on account of desertion and continued to date. Will have to be continued until M. located. Plan to move family to more sanitary house to get at the bottom of the trouble at Ford Motor Company and through the colored worker, see if there would be any possibility of M's reinstatement if he can be located. W. feels that he is fond of the children and that there might be some hope of beginning again, if he had steady work. Thinks possibly some of his old friends might get word to him in a round about way if there were incentive for his return. Feels sure that he is not far away but never can get any-

one to tell her anything of his whereabouts.

Total Relief Given

Food	\$476.00
Milk	52.48
Rent	160.00
Coal	18.50
Shoes	22.00
Gas and Elec.	<u>9.75</u>
TOTAL	\$738.73

Mother's Pension Department

The Mother's Pension Department of the Juvenile Court had 125 colored mothers on its list in August 1926. The basis on which the pension was granted in 114 cases is given in Table 5 below:

Table 5

Causes of Dependence  
in  
114 Negro cases from the Mother's  
Pension Department

Death	89
Desertion	19
Tuberculosis of Husband	3
Insanity of Husband	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	114

The following five cases selected as typical by the director of the Mother's Pension Department are given to show the social background of the cases receiving support by mother's pensions.

Case 1

Since coming to Detroit two and a half years ago M. worked regularly at the Ford Motor Plant. He was unable to accumulate any savings because of the large family. M. was sick with pneumonia for eleven days. The funeral expenses were paid by the P. W. D.

W. is strong and healthy looking. She is slow and easy going. She married M. in Duncan, Mississippi, February 1, 1910 when she was 17 years old. Before marriage she worked as a housemaid. She has had eight children. One child died in infancy. Because of large family of children and small baby she is unable to do any work outside of the home. Department of Public Welfare has helped W. since M's death.

Family live in colored section north of Davison Avenue. They rent three small dark rooms in a four family house. The home is very poorly kept and the kitchen was dirty. W. and the children were clean but very poorly clothed.

According to W. family are in good health. Dessie's eyes treated at Children's Hospital, August 30, 1924. Diagnosis, Interstitial Keratitis suspected Luetic etiology but not confirmed.

Ora is robust and large for her age. She should be able to get work during the summer vacation. Ora, in "A, Z grade. Conduct and effort good. Days absent 28. Florence, 3B grade, conduct good, effort fair. Days absent 12. Mary, 2A - Y grade, conduct and effort good. Days absent 31. Rosele, A-1 grade, conduct and effort good. Days absent 11.

Family should move into larger house. Help W. get clothing for the children. Have entire family examined at Board of Health.

Case 2

M. born in Georgia, one of three children. Parents died when the children were young and an aunt brought them up. M. began working out when very young--was only five years old when he first worked out as a nurse for children. He was a hired hand on a farm when W first knew him. M. farmed on shares after he married. M. was an invalid for eight years during his early married life and W had to make the living. Later M's health grew better and he was able to farm. Also preached on Sunday. M. died in March, 1920 in High Shoals, Georgia, of the "flu", Was 50 years old.

W. born near Skull Shoals, Conee County, Georgia, one of ten children. W. stated that she had always been told that she was the daughter of \_\_\_\_\_, owner of the plantation on which they lived. W's mother married to man by the name of Bonnet and W's brothers and sisters were children of this union. W. did not have any schooling. Was hired out when a child and nursed until 16 years of age when she was married to M. in High Shoals, Georgia. W. has had 11 children, ten of whom are living. After the death of M. in High Shoals, W. continued to farm for a year and a half. After that time she moved to Athens, Georgia with some of her children and stayed there a year working out. Several of W's boys and girls came to Detroit thinking that advantages for work were better here. W. later followed them, coming in the fall of 1923. Stated that she did very well at first when the children were with her and the boys and girls working, but children gradually left home--one daughter married and three sons became very wild and were of no help to W.

W. living in a colored and Jewish section just off Hastings Street. She has six comfortable rooms on the second floor of large house. W. rents one of her front rooms to a man. House is comfortably furnished and well kept. Is not very well arranged for keeping roomers, as rooms are in a row and have to be passed through in order to reach others.

W. large and very light in complexion. Is without education, but has natural refinement and high ideals. Has a very kind and pleasant manner and talks well and freely. W's health is only fair. However, she is able to work most of the time. W. will receive some assistance from her daughter, Mrs. Williams, (pension case) when she moves into the house. This will make a difference of about \$13 per month, as single roomer who is there now will have to go at that time. She does not own property but carries insurance.

### Case 3

W. knows very little regarding M. Stated that he came originally from Cincinnati, and that she knows nothing of his people. Does not think that he has any family living. Thought when she married him that he was a good man and would support her and the children well, but instead of this, he was out of work most of the time, and lived on her father and mother. M. was born in Ohio.

W. was born in Cordale, Georgia, one of four children. She went only to the third grade in school, and married first when only 16. Has three children by her first husband and after his death came to Detroit to live with her sister, thinking she could get plenty of work. Was not at all well and not able to work for some time after coming here. Her mother and father also came with her and took care of her after coming here. Mildred, the third child, was born after W. came to Detroit, in Herman Kiefer Hospital. Later W. met M. here and married him. He deserted in several months time, and she had one child by him, stillborn.

W. lives with mother, who has the lower four rooms of a double house which is occupied by three families. W's uncle lives on the lower floor of the adjoining house; house is situated in a colored neighborhood. Surroundings on the outside are quite dirty and unattractive, but inside, house was fairly clean though disorderly.

W. is small and thin, very quiet and rather unresponsive. It was rather hard to get much information from her, but she did not give the impression that she was trying to conceal anything. W. is not very strong, and daughter has a bad heart, but is improving.

W. does housework for two families, earning about \$4 per week. Uncle has given W. some assistance with the children and will continue to help her a little so long as he has work. W. does not own any property nor does she carry insurance. She does not have any debts, however.

#### Case 4

M. was born in New Orleans where he went to school through the seventh grade. When W. met him he was a fireman on a river boat; at this time he had one child although he had not been married. His mother had been caring for this child. The whereabouts of this child's mother are unknown at present. He married W. at the age of about 35 and they assumed the care of the child at once. They remained in New Orleans, where two children were born, until they were burned out about four years ago. Then they came to Detroit where M. was immediately employed as switchman at the City Power House, remaining in this position until his death. He had always been unusually well and died unexpectedly about an hour after coming home from work on January 29, 1924. W. states he had worked

steadily and had been a good husband and father. They had never applied to any organization for help.

W. was born in New Orleans where she attended school to the sixth grade. As her parents died when she was young she was brought up by her grandmother, who, at an early age, placed her to work part time while she attended school. Until her marriage, at about 19 years, she did housework. She has had three children, Felix, Alfred and Joseph. At the date of home visit (February 18, 1924) she expected any hour to be taken to the hospital for fourth confinement.

W. lives on first floor of fairly good frame building in fair neighborhood of Negroes, Italians, and Syrians. House was clean and well ordered, and was furnished with substantial furniture.

W. is a Negro of the better type, pleasant, neat and quiet. She talked readily and seemed to tell an accurate story. W. is probably not especially ambitious but has done fairly well considering the opportunities she has had. W. states that they have never had a Doctor in Detroit except for confinements. Children usually well.

W. is her own support. She does not have anyone to aid her in her struggles. She does not own any property nor does she have any debts.

#### Case 5

M. was born in Florida, worked in a brick yard in Cleveland, when W. first knew him. Followed to Detroit when she came here to stay with her mother. While in Detroit M. worked longest for the Michigan Copper and Brass works, then was out of work for a long time except for small irregular jobs. Was unable to support family but never had any special quarrel with W. He left on February 24, 1923 and has never been heard from since. W. thinks he left because of his inability to support family.

W. was born in Georgia, went to the fifth grade in school, began to work in a laundry in Macon, Georgia when 12 years old. Went to Cleveland with her parents in 1915, worked here in a laundry. Emma was born when M. and W. were married. W. has no marriage certificate. States she was married in Cleveland in September, 1916. After her marriage W. did not work outside of her own home until M.

was out of work in Detroit. She then did laundry work in her mother's home, which was in the City. Was able to support herself and the five children in this way. Moved to the Eight Mile Road in May, 1924 and is unable to do as much work as when she lived in the city. Her mother cares for the children two days a week while W. does day work and W. cares for the children the rest of the week; has received help from the Public Welfare since.

W. and the children are living with her parents south of the Eight Mile Road and west of Livernois on Greenfield Township in a settlement made up of Negroes. The shack is set upon posts and has four very small rooms. Sleeping conditions are crowded. There is almost no furniture except beds. The house is a long ways from the bus line and from school. The housekeeping is indifferent. W's brother is buying the lot and in May, 1924 put up a shack for his mother and sister to live in.

W. is very large, easy going and good natured. She was frank and truthful in her statements. Children were poorly clothed. W. is well. Florence her child, has been ill for several months, and is under the care of Woman's Hospital Clinic and is probably tubercular. School report stated that Marie had naval hernia. W. promised to take her to Woman's Hospital Clinic.

W. doesn't have anyone upon whom she can depend but the brother with whom she lives. She is able to work two or three days a week.

All the children should be given physical examination, and medical care for Florence should be followed up closely. Standards of living should be raised. W. has been granted a pension and every possible effort is being made to safeguard the health of the children.



### III. PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES

#### A. Organizations Working Entirely with Negroes

Amongst the private agencies those of most importance to the Negro are the ones having to do strictly with the colored race. Below is given a list of the colored welfare agencies in Detroit and a brief description of the work of each. These organizations are named entirely by colored workers and have boards of directors made up either partially or entirely of colored laymen.

At the present time all of these agencies are financed by the Community Fund. Contributions from Negroes are made to the annual campaign carried on by the Detroit Community Fund for its member agencies. A group of colored men serve in the Community Fund Drive. In 1925 this group secured 1306 pledges to the Fund. This number, of course, represents only the Negro givers solicited by this group. A large number of colored men and women contributed to the fund through the factories where they are employed. Since no record is kept of these pledges according to race it is impossible to gage the total number of colored contributors to the Fund. In the section of the survey on community organization mention has been made of colored organizations which give to the welfare drive. The following agencies do not include the colored churches whose social service activities have been treated in the report on religion:

Phyllis Wheatley Home -1-

The Phyllis Wheatley Home was established in 1897 for the purpose of providing a wholesome place of abode for aged people. The building at 558 East Elizabeth, which was purchased in 1901, accommodates eight persons. The Board of Trustees which is composed of 24 individuals, hopes to enlarge the present capacity of eight persons so as to accommodate a larger number of applicants. The organization is financed by the Community Union. A trained matron has charge of the home.

-2-

The Detroit Urban League

The Detroit Urban League was established in 1916 for the purpose of administering to the social needs of Negroes who were migrating to this city in large numbers. It was the migration that directed the activities of the League. Its executive board is made up of whites and Negroes of high standing and wide influence. Ever since its organization the League has been playing an important role in adjusting the newcomers to urban life. It has a well-trained staff of eight paid workers who are carrying out a constructive program.

The League has organized its activities under the following heads: health, recreation, employment and housing. The League puts on an annual health campaign for the purpose of instilling into the Negro population the value of good health. It seeks to emphasize the value of wholesome recreation and to educate the Negro population to the point where they will make use of playgrounds, athletic field, recreation centers and other wholesome leisure time activities. It maintains an employment agency to aid the newcomers in finding jobs. It also secures openings for men, selects and fits men for positions, investigates complaints, and in general does whatever it can to adjust the newcomers to the industrial life of Detroit. The League has also done much toward finding homes for the migrants.

-3-

The Urban League Center

The League maintains a center on 1564 Chestnut Street, with an enrollment of 664. Such activities as sewing, cooking, music, dramatics, are carried on by the center, but the center also maintains a baby clinic which during the year treated 1300 individual babies who made 7000 visits to the clinic.

-3- continued

The center has a recreational room for the physical development of the boys in the neighborhood, to which the city furnishes a trained worker. More than a hundred boys make daily use of the recreational facilities furnished here.

At various times of the year musical concerts, art exhibits, parties, and other entertainments are given. The community have always attended and have contributed their share to the success of the programs.

-4-

The Thurman Lucy Branch of the Y. W. C. A.

The idea back of the organization is to adjust the Negro girl to Detroit. There are 36 girls in the building at 2111 St. Aubin Street. The Y. W. C. A. only takes girls who have no relatives in the city. The work of the organization may be divided into four sections.

1. Grade School Reserves
2. High School Girl Reserves
3. Work with employed girls,  
work with business women.
4. Work with women of leisure,  
who support the organization.

The institution has a teachers' training class in which there is a membership of 600 women, most of whom are from the South. The organization also maintains departments of music, art, citizenship, and industry. The "Y" has four trained workers on its staff.

-5-

West Side Center

The Y. W. C. A. maintains at 5624 Scotten Avenue, a center of which one of the members of the staff has charge. The Y. which has organized girls clubs in that section does work similar to that done at the Thurman Lucy Branch.

The St. Antoine Branch of the Y. M. C. A.

The location of the Y. M. C. A. makes it especially promising as an enevating influence among the masses of Negroes. The Y. M. C. A. has six well-trained men on its staff and has a new plant with modern facilities constructed at a cost of \$500,000. More than \$29,000 of this amount was contributed by the colored citizens. This well equipped building makes it possible for the "Y" to carry out a constructive program among the boys and young men and in the general community, with the result that it has a membership of 1,000 boys and men.

The following list gives some statistics of activities for the first nine months of operation:

Social Activities

Attendance at building.....	120,038
Attendance at Bible Classes.....	3,858
Attendance at Sunday afternoon meetings.....	111,229
Number took part in religious work program.....	16,372
Meals served.....	56,858
Number of different men lodged in dormitories.....	1,464
Personal religious interviews.....	548
Number referred to churches.....	168
Number of Christian decisions made.....	68
Number barber shop served.....	4,439
Attendance for boys' department.....	31,414
Number present at club meetings.....	6,248
Personal interviews on vocational guidance.....	8,060
Aggregate numbers using the physical department...	21,487

B. General Social Agencies

The following material presents the results of an attempt to find out what general social agencies are serving the colored community. The replies given below are responses to a questionnaire sent out to private agencies and also to a few public agencies not covered in the section above. In addition to a statement of the number of colored cases handled, the agencies reported on whether or not Negroes were given special consideration and whether or not there was segregation in their

work. The executives of the organizations were also asked to make any general observations on their work with colored people, and some of these have been included below. The agencies are listed in the order suggested by the outline of the American Association for Community Organization. The health and recreation agencies have been included in the summary below although more complete treatment has been given to them in the Health and Recreation sections of the Survey.

## 1. DEPENDENCY

### A. Detroit Children's Aid Society.

About 10 per cent cases are Negro. "We have a colored worker on the East Side of the city who handles most of the Negro cases located there. We are experimenting to see if a Negro worker can do a better job than a white worker."

"Naturally, we discover the obvious in the work with the Negro. Irresponsibility, very poor pay, etc. We know that this is because of environment, poor economic conditions, lack of community assimilation, lack of opportunities, etc. We find a very fair cooperative spirit among them themselves in regard to their children. This is perhaps due to their being a minority group perhaps to a naturally strong love of children, frequently to be found among simple peoples."

### b. The Michigan Humane Society.

"The principle cases handled by this society are those of non-support and cruelty cases which have to be dealt with at the Recorders Court. We do not discriminate between white and colored persons, and deal with both without bias. Hitherto our records have not always shown whether the case refers to white or colored persons, and consequently no accurate statement can be made as to the number or variety of colored cases handled."

c. Community Center of Highland Park

1925 - 1926

Total number of cases	622
Total number of Negro cases	102

About 60% of these colored families applied for advice, legal or otherwise, and general social adjustment. Only one or two of the families applied for relief because the Center operates a free employment bureau for day labor applicants and this bureau handled about 1720 cases during 1925 and up to the present date of 1926.

"In our work with the Negroes we have had much pleasure and satisfaction.....the Negro is most grateful for assistance given in the way of relief or employment, seldom asking for the former unless it is absolutely needed. Indeed, we cannot always say as much for the whites. The Negro gets along with a comparatively small amount of relief and seems to be able to hold his self-respect as against becoming a public charity."

"As to the moral standards of our Negroes, we may say that our Community House is in a very poor section of the city and much bootlegging and, of course, attendant drunkenness are to be found among our Negro population. However, in spite of this, they do not figure in our court and criminal problems, to any great extent more than the whites. If housing conditions could be bettered for our Negroes, undoubtedly their moral standards would be raised accordingly. They have to live in very poor quarters for which they have to pay an amount paid for much better quarters among the whites."

D. Visiting Housekeepers Association

	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases	210	615	731
Number of Negro cases (no record kept)		48	92

A total staff of 18 workers of whom one full time and one part time worker are colored. "Negro worker handles all Negro cases "Because better response given to Negro workers".

e. Servicemen's Bureau

About 25 per cent of the cases are colored.

"This organization handles all problems pertaining to servicemen and ex-service men. We do not segregate the work in any way and have had no reason to keep a record of the number of Negroes to whom we have rendered service. This organization handles all problems pertaining to relief and claims for the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, United Spanish War Veterans, Home Service Section, American Red Cross and Yanks Convalescent Camp."

f. Detroit League for the Handicapped.

Total number of cases, January 1 to July 31, 1926	.....390
Number of Negro cases, January 1 to July 31, 1926.....	20
No segregation	

g. Good-Will Industries of Detroit

"We are a welfare agency, gathering discarded clothing, etc., from homes, and after they are reconditioned, selling them in our stores for a small amount to those who cannot afford to buy new. In the reconditioning of these materials we employ the aged, the convalescent and the handicapped of whatever race come to us needing the help. In our work we come in contact with Negroes both as customers in our stores and as employees. They are usually found to be easily managed and willing to work."

h. St. Joseph's Home for the Aged.

"We have had only four or five colored people during the last ten years and as we keep no particular records, we are unable to give much information concerning them. They were poor and old, as is the condition of all our inmates, and they made us no trouble. We make no distinction and treat all the inmates alike."

i. McGregor Institute.

Capacity per night.....650  
Number of Negroes per night.....175 - 200

	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Aggregate number of cases..	24,248	10,217	18,989*
Aggregate number of Negro cases.....	1,561	3,023	4,759

Negroes and whites together first night and separated after that. This policy of segregation has been enforced for six or seven years. "Most of the colored and white like this plan."

j. Detroit Episcopal City Mission.

"On an average the year round we handle about 300 cases per month. A very small percentage of these are Negroes. In the matter of family case work we make no distinction whatsoever but in the case of transients we invariably refer them to the Detroit Urban League. I might also say that we work in close cooperation with the Public Welfare Department, Registration Bureau and Detroit Urban League in dealing with the Negroes."

k. St. John's Episcopal Church

	<u>1923</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases	686	209
Number of Negro cases	1	5

"Almost no work done with Negroes because "most of Negroes go to churches of their own--also small percentage of Negroes in Episcopal Church."

\*The location of McGregor institution seems partly to account for the high percentage of colored transients cared for. The Salvation Army, which does a similar work in a different section of the city, reports no Negro applicants for lodging.



## 2. DELINQUENCY

### a. Boys Vocational School, Lansing

Impossible to give information, "as the records have not been kept in such a way in the past to make it possible."

### b. Ford Republic

No figures available on number of Negro boys. No segregation.

"This is a self-governing school for delinquent boys. The Negro boys with few exceptions who are sent to us are mentally too young to profit by self-government. The reports from teachers are that they 'are naughty little boys and should be spanked at once instead of waiting for court trial.' In my judgment they need paternal oversight instead of self-government."

<u>c. Girls' Protective League.</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases	409	1525	1155
Number of Negro cases	15	146	123

"We note how much more difficult and acute the social and economic conditions have been during the past 5 years, which have, we believe, resulted from the earlier influx of rural colored people from the South, and the period of unemployment that followed."

### d. Florence Crittenton Home & Hospital

"As our hospital is very small we are not always able to separate the colored from the white, but when it is possible we do so, to eliminate any unpleasant feeling or any friction."

"We find very little difference among the delinquent girls as the number we care for in the home is limited. We do not admit any woman of the street here, black or white, and naturally we have a higher type of both colored and white girls, usually of a very high type. From our observation illegitimacy is not looked upon by the Negroes as so serious an offence as with the white people and we feel that this is due to the past history of the race in our own country."

e. Williams House

1920 - 1925

Total number of cases.....	1200
Total number of Negro cases.....	42

The daily population is between 45 and 50, including four or five Negroes.

"The Negroes admitted here have been especially well-behaved and appreciative."

3. HEALTH

a. Dodge Community Center Clinic

Negroes have been coming to the clinic for about four years. They now make up about 15 per cent of those using the clinic. There is no segregation in the clinic. The clinic gets more Negro adults than Negro children.

Report of director of clinic: "Negroes are apt to become 'clinic tramps'".

b. Visiting Nurse Association

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases (new)	1232	3328	9455	12598
Number of Negro cases (new)	30	28	948	1765

"The visiting Nurses Association of Detroit has been organized for 27 years and has never made any race or nationality distinction in service. The last ten years we have employed Negro nurses who do the bulk of our home nursing care for the Negro community. The white nurses, however, often care for colored patients. In River Rouge and Hamtramck where we have infant, preschool and prenatal clinics, we have employed only white nurses, though the attendance is at least half Negro. We have no particular philosophy back of this policy, except that by this method we avoid any possible unpleasantness on the part of the nurse as well as the patient."

c. Dubois Health Center

Total number of cases diagnosed for Tuberculosis.....	124
Number of Negro cases diagnosed for Tuberculosis.....	5
Total number of active cases of Tuberculosis.....	47
Number of Negro cases of active Tuberculosis.....	2

4. CHARACTER BUILDING

a. Community Center of Highland Park

(see dependency for number of cases handled)

"The settlement groups are entirely separated from the social department. "Our work among the Negroes includes a group of Girl Scouts, a group of Girl Brownies and a Women's and Girls' Swimming Class. These girls have voluntarily separated themselves from our white groups."

b. Franklin Street Settlement

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases	2000	2000
Number of Negro cases	One family	950

Segregation in clubs and classes, but no segregation in clinics, day nursery, picnics and outings.

"Negroes, children and adult, seem better satisfied when in clubs and classes of their own. Colored women's club asked to have its activities separated from foreign groups."

c. Gershom Home Settlement.

One colored family.

d. Sophie Wright Neighborhood House

Negroes first admitted to the house in the fall of 1924. They now make up about 25 per cent of the house membership.

One day each week allotted for Negro clubs and one evening for Negro boys. Branch of Public Library open to all people at all times. Work in music is open to both groups and they expect to have a colored and white orchestra. There is a special colored girls' chorus.

They have no race friction in the house or neighborhood which is made up of Polish, Jewish and Roumanians.

Day Nursery has capacity for 20 only, so Negro applications are sent to Franklin Street Settlement.

"The Negroes are willing to cooperate, but they do not come at scheduled hours. There is no more fighting in Negro groups than the white. Negroes are more willing to pay their small dues than other clubs."

e. Industrial Women's Service Center.

"Last winter a few Negro children, about six in number, were active in our Saturday morning children's play group. These, and the few Negro men and women who are members of the International Club, which this Center is sponsoring, are the only colored people using this Center, outside of those who come or call on the telephone in regard to employment. As all employment work is turned over to the Michigan State Employment Agency, we have no figures to report."

f. Pathfinders of America

"As our work is primarily a work of education, we find the colored race a little slow to grasp some problems.

"People that come to us for material relief, are not asked any questions as to age, nationality, color, tongue or creed. All we do is to satisfy ourselves as to their need.

"The thousands that we reach annually in prisons and in the public schools, would make it almost impossible to keep individual records, even if we had the money and help."

g. Detroit Council of Camp Fire Girls & Girl Scouts

	<u>1922</u>	<u>1926</u>
Total number of cases	Camp Fire Girls	100 groups
Number of Negro cases	Two groups started	4 individuals

"A few years ago a Negro Camp Fire Girl went into the swimming pools with white children and parents of white children objected. Same problem occurs at camp. Also a Negro Girl Scout attended meetings with white children and parents of white children objected."

h. Boy Scouts of America

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of boys	3500	5600
Number of Negro boys	100 (4 troup*)	200 (8 troup*)

"Segregation in camps and separate troup\* because of public opinion among parents of white boys".

"Our work with Negroes has not been at all adequate owing to lack of volunteer leadership among this group. Scout work is 99% volunteer and its effectiveness hinges entirely on the quality and quantity of volunteer leaders available. If some means could be found to recruit college trained Negro men leaders for this work among their own boys much could be accomplished".

5. MISCELLANEOUS

a. Michigan School for the Blind, Lansing

	<u>1919</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1923</u>	<u>1926</u>
Colored enrollment	1	1	1	2	4 (two from Detroit)

"Colored pupils are given the same privileges and treated the same as any other children."

b. Michigan school for the Deaf, Flint, Michigan.

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>
Total number of cases	325	335	345	355
Number of Negro cases	2 or 3	2 or 3	2 or 3	6

Four of the six colored children are from Detroit where they have lived about two years.

"The Negro children coming to us from Detroit are of a distinctly southern type compared with those of ten years ago. They are a somewhat lower type of mentality and have had but little in the way of education."

c. Provident Loan and Savings Society

"We have been making loans to Negroes ever since 1906. We draw no lines on race, color or religion, and Negroes are treated exactly the same as whites.

"We keep no statistics as to how many loans we make to Negroes, nor how many we refuse, although a small proportion of our borrowers are colored. Would far rather make a loan to Negroes who prove themselves to be thrifty than to a lot of whites. Have found them as a whole to be honest and as well able to secure credit as white people."

d. Detroit Newsboys Association

"The downtown newstands take care very largely of the floating downtown population. When we were more active, we had quite a number of colored boys on our list, and we considered them among our best behaved, and best disciplined members."

6. ORGANIZATIONS WHICH DO NOT WORK WITH NEGROES

<u>Name of Agency</u>	<u>Reason given for not doing work with Negroes.</u>
Brightmoor Community Center	"There are no Negroes in our community."
Detroit Esther Home	Reason not given.
Detroit Free Press Fresh Air Fund.	"We never have been able to take care of all the white children on our lists to go to camp, so have not begun registering Negro children."
House of the Good Shepherd	Reason not given.
International Institute	"Our work is confined to the foreign-born."
Neighborhood House	"Do not live in the Community."
Society of St. Vincent de Paul of Detroit	"No applications"
St. Agnes Home	"Because our institution is small we limit it to white children."
St. Joseph's Home for Boys	"Because white and Negroes do not live in peace."
St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum	"All our children are white, and we do not want colored mixed".

#### IV. EMPLOYMENT OF COLORED WORKERS

A number of the agencies listed above employ colored workers to handle their work with Negroes. The effort was made through personal interviews with executives to determine the effectiveness of this policy. The consensus of opinion was favorable to the employment of colored workers. While it was generally conceded that Negroes recently arrived from the South have been inclined to seek a white worker rather than a colored because they are not accustomed to members of their own race in professional capacities, yet by this time the colored group recognizes the leadership of its own members and prefers them to whites. The executives say that colored workers are able to deal more effectively with their own people.

The following is the experience of some of the Detroit social agencies with colored workers.

##### a. Public Welfare Department

There is a colored worker in the Central and Eastern districts. Two white workers interviewed said that the colored workers understood the clients better than the white workers. One reported that the colored worker is better able to make the investigation.

##### b. Mother's Pension Department

This department does not use colored workers. The executive feels that the Negroes respond more quickly to white workers.



c. Detroit Children's Aid Society

This organization has had a colored worker for about nine months. The executive states that she has proved so satisfactory in handling colored cases that he is planning to employ an additional colored worker. He is of the opinion that colored workers can do a better job than white workers in their own group.

d. Girl's Protective League

This organization employed a colored worker more than five years ago and at that time the executive noted a failure of the Negroes "to value her efforts and "their preference for a white worker". This year a Negro worker has been added to the staff and the executive reports that her work has been most satisfactory and although her burden is heavier the results are outstanding in comparison with the previous worker. "There has been no indication of failure to recognize and appreciate her services among her own people". This executive feels that she could use additional colored workers.

e. The Visiting Nurses Association

This organization employs five colored nurses out of a total of approximately 90. The executive says that she is able to get colored nurses with a good educational background. One reason why this agency can obtain effective workers is because the colored nurse in Detroit who operates privately has a hard time getting a job in the opinion of the executive. The Visiting Nurses Association has not been successful, however, in using a colored nurse in a supervisory capacity.

f. Visiting Housekeeper Association

This organization has one colored worker on full time and one on part time who work with the colored families. The executive reports that her full-time visitor is overburdened, not only with the number of cases, but with the responsibility which she has in the Negro community. The executive would like to have another colored worker if her budget permitted.

One settlement has been using a colored woman, who is an employee of the house in a different capacity, for some of its work with colored people. For instance, some difficulty was met with when the white workers gave out milk to colored children, but this worker took charge and straightened out the situation to the satisfaction of all. The executive of the settlement may possibly secure a colored worker for full time.

#### V. A COMPARISON OF COLORED AND WHITE FAMILY BUDGETS

One of the problems brought out by many of the welfare workers interviewed is that the colored family does not know how to adjust its expenses. The following budgets were prepared for the Survey by the Visiting Housekeeper's Association, on the basis of income and expenditure of families which this agency was helping. In the first nine cases a comparison is made in each case between a colored and white family of approximately the same economical status. Six additional budgets are given of colored families. At the end is an average budget for the two groups. The average budget shows a slightly higher income for the white families than the colored and a slightly higher expenditure of the colored family than the white, but the average number in the family for the whites is 6.3, while for the colored it is 5.9. Without taking into consideration the number in the family, the expenditure for food

rent, health and insurance are about the same; the white are spending more for clothing and fuel and light; and the colored families are spending more for furnishings and extras. In the light of the difference in the size of the family it might be said that the colored families are spending more for food and for rent.

TABLE 6

(The comments made below are by the Visiting Housekeeper's Association which made this study)

BUDGET NO.1 WHERE EMPLOYED-Detroit Creamery		WHITE	BUDGET NO.1 WHERE EMPLOYED - Central Spec. Co.		Colored
NO. IN FAMILY - 6			NO. IN FAMILY - 5		
INCOME - \$172.95			INCOME - \$185.00		

	AMT.	PER CENT		AMT.	PER CENT
Food	39.38	21.974	Food	60.49	36.267
Clothing	23.15	17.326	Clothing	28.23	16.925
Rent	40.00	29.937	Rent	30.00	17.986
Furnishings	2.12	1.586	Furnishings	14.00	8.393
Fuel and Light	21.35	15.979	Fuel and Light	6.06	3.633
Extras	6.55	4.902	Extras	19.14	11.475
Insurance	1.08	.808	Insurance	6.87	4.118
Health	-	-	Health	2.00	1.199
Total	133.61	99.998	Total	166.79	99.996
Balance	39.34		Balance	18.21	

Family receive medical attention from Harper Clinic. Man must keep money on hand to pay bills and is then reimbursed by Company.

Balance is used to pay debts and carry family to the next pay-day.

BUDGET NO. 2 WHERE EMPLOYED - Ford Motor.		WHITE	BUDGET NO. 2 WHERE EMPLOYED - Whitehead & Kales		COLORED
NO. IN FAMILY-5			NO. IN FAMILY - 5		
\$180.00			\$120.00		

	AMT.	PER CENT		AMT.	PER CENT
Food	45.00	30.00	Food	72.12	49.06
Clothing	10.00	6.67	Clothing	7.48	5.088
Rent	30.00	20.00	Rent	24.00	16.328
Furnishings	6.00	4.00	Furnishings	5.00	3.401
Fuel-Light	12.56	8.37	Fuel-Light	8.50	5.783
Extras	13.44	8.96	Extras	16.28	11.076
Insurance	-	-	Insurance	7.60	5.17
Health	-	-	Health	6.00	4.082
Debts	33.00	22.00		-	-
TOTAL	150.00	100.00	TOTAL	146.98	99.988
			Deficit	26.98	

BUDGET NO. 3

WHITE

WHERE EMPLOYED-Studebaker Corp.  
NO. IN FAMILY - 5 - \$130.00

BUDGET NO. 3

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Brownwell Corp.  
NO. IN FAMILY - 5 INCOME \$132.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	58.66	48.31
Clothing	15.00	12.353
Rent	15.00	12.353
Furnishings	9.00	7.412
Fuel-Light	6.48	5.336
Extras	4.97	4.093
Insurance	12.31	10.138
Health	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>121.42</b>	<b>100.005</b>
Balance (Debts)	8.58	

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	51.09	33.8
Clothing	28.44	18.815
Rent (taxes repairs)		
Furnishings	12.00	7.939
Fuel-Light	2.56	1.693
Extras	9.54	6.311
Insurance	11.10	7.343
Health	.56	.315
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>151.15</b>	<b>99.970</b>
Deficit	19.15	
Buying Home.		

BUDGET NO. 4

WHITE

WHERE EMPLOYED - Detroit Copper and Brass Rolling Mills  
NO. IN FAMILY-6-INCOME \$150.00.

BUDGET NO. 4

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Detroit Copper & Brass Rolling Mills  
NO. IN FAMILY - 7- INCOME \$160.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	53.00	35.34
Clothing	16.86	11.24
Rent	35.00	23.34
Furnishings	11.00	7.34
Fuel-Light	11.20	7.41
Extras	11.00	7.34
Insurance	8.86	5.91
Health	3.08	2.06
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>150.00</b>	<b>99.97</b>

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	51.60	25.624
Clothing	10.00	4.865
Rent (Payment and taxes)	88.00	43.7
Furnishings	25.00	12.414
Fuel-Light	2.77	1.375
Extras	12.00	5.959
Insurance	6.00	2.979
Health	6.00	2.979
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>201.37</b>	<b>99.995</b>
Deficit	41.37	

Man has been out of work. Woman takes roomers. Man receives compensation for loss of finger. Buying home and furniture.

BUDGET NO. 5

WHITE

BUDGET NO. 5

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Man Owns Pool Room

WHERE EMPLOYED - Ford Motor Co.

NO. IN FAMILY-10-INCOME 259.33

NO. IN FAMILY - 7 - INCOME 190.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	77.37	29.28
Clothing	15.00	5.679
Rent (taxes payments)	136.41	51.62
Furnishings	10.50	3.97
Fuel and Light	10.00	3.785
Extras	4.50	1.7
Insurance	6.25	2.77
Health	4.17	1.578
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>264.20</b>	<b>100.3</b>
Deficit	4.87	

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	79.08	35.64
Clothing	12.00	5.68
Rent	40.00	18.03
Furnishings	30.00	13.52
Fuel & Light	5.85	2.636
Extras	20.00	9.013
Insurance	33.97	15.31
Health	1.00	.005
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>221.90</b>	<b>99.83</b>
Deficit	31.90	

Attend clinics. Buying home and two other houses. Buy second hand clothing.

Family buying furniture on time. Man owns truck and has express business of own. Woman takes boarders.

BUDGET NO. 6

WHITE

BUDGET NO. 6

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Ford Motor Co.

WHERE EMPLOYED - Ford Motor Co.

NO. IN FAMILY-6-INCOME 136.00

NO. IN FAMILY-6 - INCOME \$136.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	52.72	45.62
Clothing	2.84	2.457
Rent	35.00	30.2
Furnishings	-	-
Fuel and Light	4.19	3.625
Extras	15.60	13.50
Insurance	3.11	2.691
Health	2.10	1.817
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>115.56</b>	<b>99.92</b>
Balance	20.44	

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	40.71	29.933
Clothing	8.02	5.897
Rent	49.00	35.294
Furnishings	-	-
Fuel and Light	6.64	4.882
Extras	21.00	15.441
Insurance	3.00	2.205
Health	8.63	6.345
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136.00</b>	<b>99.997</b>
Children constantly ill.		

BUDGET NO. 7

WHITE

WHERE EMPLOYED - Morgan-Wright

NO. IN FAMILY-4 - INCOME 128.72

BUDGET NO. 7

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Solvey Process

NO. IN FAMILY - 4 INCOME 120.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	59.46	35.551
Clothing	47.08	28.16
Rent	30.00	17.937
Furnishings	7.75	4.633
Fuel & Light	3.01	1.80
Extras	16.86	10.08
Insurance	-	-
Health	<u>3.09</u>	<u>1.84</u>
TOTAL	167.25	100.00
Deficit	38.53	

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	60.00	28.32
Clothing	15.00	7.08
Rent	45.00	21.24
Furnishings	16.00	7.56
Fuel & Light	3.50	1.65
Extras	20.00	9.43
Insurance	27.40	12.93
Health	<u>25.00</u>	<u>11.33</u>
TOTAL	211.90	99.54
Deficit	91.90	

Woman sometimes takes roomers to supplement income. Child 10 requires special diet, Make use of clinic. Have large Dr. bill and furniture bill.

BUDGET NO. 8

WHITE

WHERE EMPLOYED - Conductor.D.S.R.

NO. IN FAMILY-8 - INCOME 243.21

BUDGET NO. 8

COLORED

WHERE EMPLOYED - Detroit Soap

Factory  
NO. IN FAMILY-10 - INCOME 258.80

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	63.35	26.05
Clothing	23.06	9.48
Rent (payment-taxes)	81.52	33.51
Furnishings	4.00	1.65
Fuel & Light	9.38	3.86
Extras	8.12	3.33
Insurance	24.32	10.00
Health	6.85	2.82
Savings	<u>22.61</u>	<u>9.30</u>
TOTAL	243.21	100.00

	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>
Food	73.60	28.438
Clothing	<del>20.00</del>	7.72
Rent (payment taxes)	52.00	20.09
Furnishings	20.00	7.72
Fuel & Light	<del>5.72</del>	2.21
Extras	19.50	7.53
Insurance	1.50	.579
Health	2.25	.869
Balance	<u>64.23</u>	<u>24.82</u>
TOTAL	258.80	99.976

Insurance item large as man carries sick benefit.

Building addition to house. Spent balance for same.

<u>BUDGET NO. 9</u>			<u>WHITE</u>	<u>BUDGET NO. 9</u>			<u>COLORED</u>
WHERE EMPLOYED - Breed Trucking Company				WHERE EMPLOYED - Detroit Pressed Steel Co.			
NO. IN FAMILY - 7 INCOME 142.20				NO. IN FAMILY - 5 INCOME 140.00			
	<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>		<u>AMT.</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>		
Food	65.40	50.249	Food	53.70	40.920		
Clothing	12.00	9.220	Clothing	3.50	2.667		
Rent	30.00	23.050	Rent	35.00	26.670		
Furnishings	6.50	4.994	Furnishings	13.00	9.913		
Fuel & Light	3.37	2.589	Fuel & Light	5.19	3.954		
Extras	12.88	9.896	Extras	11.04	8.412		
Insurance	-	-	Insurance	8.80	6.705		
Health	-	-	Health	1.00	.762		
TOTAL	130.15	99.998	TOTAL	131.23	100.003		
Balance	12.05		Balance (Debts)	8.77			
Balance is used to pay on debt and repairs on automobile.				Supposed to pay \$16.00 on furniture and \$10 on other debts. Practically nothing for clothing.			

General Comment:

Rent is one of the items in the budgets which is usually out of proportion to other items.

Where a family is buying the home, the repairs and up-keep have been included in the payments.

Fuel and clothing are items which cannot be averaged satisfactorily over a short period of time; consequently, the percentages given here are not a fair basis for consideration.

In almost every instance the families make use of the clinics, as an illness of any length cannot be taken care of by the average laboring man.



Under the heading "Extras" has been included all miscellaneous expenditures such as: carfare, giving, recreation, etc. Recreation is such a small item in all of the budgets that it was impossible to take care of it under a separate heading.

Most of the items headed "Furnishings" are furniture bills that the families owe.

Practically all of the insurance items are the only savings that the families have. A balance is usually applied on debts owed here and there. A family is usually able to carry along a fairly large deficit over a long period of time as the pay days come two and sometimes three times a month.

BUDGET NO. 10    COLORED

Food	\$35.10
Clothing	15.44
Rent	50.00
Furnishings	25.00
Fuel and Light	5.49
Extras	9.37
Insurance	5.25
Health	7.25
TOTAL	<u>152.90</u>

Balance                    53.10

EMPLOYED AT - Temple Beth El  
(Porter)

INCOME -            \$206.00

3 in Family  
Woman takes roomers.

BUDGET NO. 11    COLORED

Food	60.00
Clothing	12.00
Rent	65.00
Furnishings	20.00
Fuel & Light	4.00
Extras	18.42
Savings	30.00
Health	5.00
TOTAL	<u>214.42</u>

Deficit                    13.42

EMPLOYED AT - Ford Motor Co.

INCOME -            \$201.00

3 in Family  
Man has extra job. Woman  
takes roomers.

( Ford Certificates)

BUDGET NO. 12      COLORED

Food	\$45.38
Clothing	2.61
Rent	100.00
Furnishings	20.00
Taxes	17.44
Fuel & Light	5.00
Extras	10.11
Insurance	5.56
Health	4.00
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TOTAL	210.00
Deficit	23.00

EMPLOYED AT - Ford Motor Co.  
INCOME - \$187.00  
4 in Family

Buying home; do not allow  
sufficient for clothing.  
Attend Clinic.

BUDGET NO. 13      COLORED

Food	61.17
Clothing	8.00
Rent (payment- taxes)	22.50
Furnishings	2.80
Light	2.77 (no gas or fuel)
Extras	9.25
Insurance	5.00
Health	2.00
<hr/>	
Total	111.49
Balance	21.51

EMPLOYED AT - Ford Motor Co.  
INCOME - \$133.00  
7 in family  
Buying home.

BUDGET NO. 14      COLORED

Food	61.48
Clothing	5.00
Rent	13.50
Furnishings	10.00
Fuel & Light	3.76
Extras	43.87
Insurance	9.25
Health	4.50
<hr/>	
Total	151.36
Deficit	18.86

EMPLOYED AT - Ford Motor Co.  
INCOME - \$132.50  
8 in family  
buying home and furniture

Extras are high as man has  
to use automobile to work  
No other transportation.

BUDGET NO. 15

COLORED

Food	54.07
Clothing	4.00
Rent	45.00
Furnishings	12.00
Fuel & Light	6.55
Extras	6.00
Insurance	4.39
Health	6.50
<hr/>	
Total	138.51
Deficit	23.86

EMPLOYED AT - Kelsey Wheel Co.  
 INCOME - \$114.65  
 10 in family

Man owes two months back rent  
 and a \$60.00 clothing bill.  
 Department of Public Welfare  
 is supplementing \$49.71 but  
 family still runs behind.

AVERAGE BUDGET

TOTAL AVERAGES

WHITE

COLORED

Number in Family	6.3	5.9
INCOME	168.05	161.06

EXPENDITURES

Food	57.15	57.31
Clothing	18.33	11.85
Rent	48.10	46.26
Furnishings	7.11	16.06
Fuel & Light	9.06	8.96
Extras	10.48	16.37
Insurance	9.32	11.05
Health	3.86	5.45
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TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$163.41	\$169.31

VI. GAPS IN THE WELFARE PROGRAM FOR NEGROES

The following are some of the services which are either not available to or adequate for the colored people of Detroit. These are needs which seem outstanding as a result of this investigation.

### 1. Day Nursery

A number of social workers, colored and white, pointed out the need for a day nursery in which colored mothers may place their children when they are at work. Two settlements conducting day nurseries are crowded with colored applicants. One of the difficulties as pointed out by a colored social worker is to find a suitable location for it. If it were placed below Gratiot Avenue it might quickly lose its usefulness because of the change in the character of the neighborhood. If it were placed about Gratiot Avenue it would be hard to avoid an undesirable district. Yet the need is more in the East side than on the West side for this service.

### 2. Summer Camp

The need for fresh air camp for colored boys and girls and a summer camp for colored women and their children has been pointed out in the Recreation study. The need for the summer camp was expressed by a great many social workers interviewed.

### 3. Provision for colored unmarried mothers.

The need has been stressed in the report on health.

### 4. HOME FOR girls

The lack of institutional care for delinquent girls has been brought out in the Crime report.

### 5. District needs

It has been impossible in the time of this study to determine exactly the needs which some of the outlying Negro communities have although some observations have been made.

The Eight Mile Road section has begun to receive some attention. The St. Augustine Community house which is maintained under the auspices of the Episcopal Church is organizing some recreational work of a club nature. The Y. W. C. A. has a group of Girl Reserves in this section. One aspect of the problem in this area is that the residents do not know of the services which city wide social agencies afford. The Quinn Road Sub-division which is outside of the city receives from the Detroit agencies. It is without organized recreational or welfare activities although there is need for this type of work.

These outlying sections are easily overlooked, but colored and white social workers feel that it is important that these neighborhoods be studied and general services be extended to them on the basis of needs found.