Economic Competition between the Black and White Races in the United States

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ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY WILLIAM SAMUEL HOFFMAN

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ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE
RACES IN THE UNITED STATES

BRIEF

SECTION I.
Introduction.

I. Period covered is since emancipation.
   A. Conditions differ between North and South:
      Negro is needed in South.
   B. Various localities are different and writers have described the Negroes in many degrees of economic conditions.

II. Three periods of Negro industrialism.
   A. Skilled workmen who had been trained in the days of slavery.
   B. The next generation, unskilled and either uneducated or educated in no practical way.
   C. The present artisan trained in the trade school and competing with whites.

III. Facts to be remembered.
   A. Negroes were practically without possessions at the time of emancipation.
   B. Attitude of whites toward Negroes.
   C. Economic achievement of Negroes.
   D. Changing position of Negroes.
SECTION II.
The Negro in Agriculture

I. This section deals mainly with Southern conditions.
   A. The Negro a competitor.
      (1) Classes of colored farmers.
      (2) Actual comparison of two races.
   B. Criticism of Negro methods.

II. A. Some examples of cooperation of the two races for mutual helpfulness.
      (1) Fairs and institutes.
      (2) What does the census show?
   B. Some real successes in agriculture.
SECTION III.

The Italian as a Competitor in Agriculture with the Negro.

I. The popular belief that no race could compete with the Negro in the South.

II. Farmers of Southern Italy introduced as Negro competitors.

III. Comparison of the two races in the sugarcane industry.

Experiments and results in various places in the South.

IV. Italians challenging the Negro in the cotton industry.

A. Comparison of the two races.

B. Successes and reliability of the Italian cotton grower.

C. Attitude of Southern landowners.

V. What will the future prove?
SECTION IV.
Can the Negro Artisan Compete with the White Man in the South?

I. The immigrant factor.
   A. New industrial South demands immigrants unless Negroes become more efficient laborers.
   B. What will be the result?

II. General competition in the South.
   A. Position of the Negro at the close of slavery.
   B. The changing conditions affect the Negroes.
   C. The struggle to regain the positions that require skill.
SECTION V.

The Situation in the Industrial Field in the North.

I. How was the Negro considered in the North at the close of the Civil War?

A. His strong position in certain trades.
   (1) His efficiency.
   (2) Demand for his services.

II. Competition of others better prepared removed him to a lower place.

A. Reasons for the change based on a study of conditions in several Northern cities.

III. Conditions at the present time.

A. Negro entering new trades.
   (1) Will the new industrial conditions be permanent?
   (2) Will the result be good?
SECTION VI.

The Negro in the Labor Unions.

I. Skilled Negroes held equal places with white laborers in South after the war.

II. Negroes admitted into unions.


   B. Negroes in unions.

      (1) Unions with large Negro membership.

      (2) Unions with few Negro members.

      (3) Unions having no Negro membership.

      (4) Conditions of membership.

      (5) Attitude of unions.

III. Attitude of the Negro toward the union.
SECTION VII.

The Position of Negro Women in the Industrial Field.

I. Negro "Mammy" has disappeared.
   A. Incompetence of many colored domestics.
   B. Lack of desire to work that formerly existed.

II. Domestic training for Negro women.
   A. Conditions in the North.
   B. Conditions in the South.

III. Opinions of employers and records of colored women in domestic service.

IV. New industrial opportunities for Negro women.

V. Organizations for colored women.
SECTION VIII.

A Study of the Negroes in Urbana and Champaign.

I. Introduction.

II. Reports of the Twin Cities United Charities Association and other similar work.

III. Negroes as cooks and domestics.
   A. In hotels.
   B. In fraternity houses.
   C. In sorority houses.

IV. Experience of employers of Negroes.
   A. Railroads, factories and other concerns.
   B. Building contractors.

V. Negroes in labor unions.

VI. Attitude of business firms,
   A. Banks.
   B. Building and loan associations.

VII. Reports of ten Negroes who have succeeded.

VIII. Conclusions.
SECTION IX.
Conclusions.

I. Are the Negroes improving?
   A. Value of the Negro to the South and to the North.
   B. Struggles of Negroes to succeed in business.
   C. Number and proportion of Negroes engaged in gainful occupations.

II. Progress and need of the colored race.
    A. Some Negro achievements given by the census reports.
    B. Significant changes during the past fifty years.
Up to the time of the emancipation of the Negroes economic competition between the black and white races was practically negligible. Since emancipation the Negro has lost the monopoly of certain trades which he had in slavery times, and competition is now taking place in regions in which it did not then exist. The situation in the North is quite different from that in the South. The comparatively few Negroes in the skilled trades in the North would create no prodigious problem were they to leave or be taken away suddenly; while the Negroes constitute so large an element of the population in the South that if they were removed this part of the country would be left practically helpless for all kinds of labor. To quote the apt expression of another writer, "The Negro is tolerated in the North but needed in the South."

Various writers have described the condition of the Negro in many different ways. One author proves his economic position to be in danger, another is certain that he is lost and can hold out only a few years at most; while another proves that he is holding his own, and still another that he is superior to the white man. All are probably correct for some localities and for some classes; but the general conditions

are somewhere between the two extremes. Where equal chances have been given, the actual investigations in both the North and the South, prove that there is a demand for the efficient workman who can really, "produce the goods," and race or color is always a minor consideration.

Many Negroes were trained workmen in all the industrial arts in the days of slavery. This was a natural result for each plantation was a complete industrial unit in itself and the Negroes did all the work. The carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, laundresses, cooks, bakers, etc. in the South were skilled slaves. After emancipation these skilled artisans plied their trades as they had done before; but the next generation had not the restraints that had been imposed upon their parents, and did not become skilled in any trade.

Adjustment to the new-found freedom was very difficult. Since the whites were educated and did not work, it was supposed to follow that the educated Negro would not have to work. Many Negroes, and some of those who possessed considerable skill, thought that to give their children an education would equip them for life without work. These circumstances produced as Booker T. Washington said: "the Negro who could read Greek and Latin but who could not raise a garden or a crop of cotton, or do any practical work to earn a livelihood." Many of the books written about the time that this younger generation began to appear, and the older generation trained in the days of 1. Page, T. N., The Negro: The Southerners' Problem, p.
slavery began to die off, predicted a speedy extermination of
the Negro who was losing in all the occupations unless possibly
in the worst kinds of menial labor.

With a better adjustment to the industrial world as it now
exists, the Negro has begun to reacquire from the industrial
schools the former skill of the days of slavery. He is also
entering the trades that have come into existence within the
last few years.

There are three distinct periods: (1) of the skilled ex-
slaves; (2) of the next generation of unskilled Negroes, char-
acterized by lack of adjustment to the new conditions of free
life; and (3) of technical training or readjustment. One can
almost determine the period of all literature on the economic
competition of the Negro, by the opinions expressed.

A few additional facts to be borne in mind in considering
the black race in the United States are: (1) Negro possessions
were practically negligible at the time of emancipation; (2) a
few whites have faithfully assisted the Negroes, but the major-
ity of them have been indifferent or antagonistic; (3) a very
few Negroes in almost every community have been eminently suc-

1. Brunner, Dr. W. F., The Negro Health Problem in Cities,
2. Kelsey, Carl, Annuals of the American Academy of Polit-
cical and Social Science, v. 21, p. 57.
4. A few free Negroes had acquired considerable property
before emancipation. The Negro Year Book mentions several of
them.
cessful, a few more have gained economic independence, but the
great majority of them have remained in the class of unskilled,
incompetent laborers; and (4) the economic status of the Negro
at present is changing, and especially so since the present war
began.
SECTION II
THE NEGRO IN AGRICULTURE

Since the Negro farmer is found very little in the Northern states, the competition between the two races in the agricultural field is practically limited to the South, and more particularly to the cotton belt.

The better class of Negro farmers have not only been successful individually, but they have shown a capacity for organizations for self advancement and also for working in cooperation with corresponding associations of white farmers. This fact is evident from the action of the great cotton and tobacco associations of the South, which aim to direct the marketing of these products from the farm. They have found it not only wise but also necessary to enlist the cooperation of the Negro farmers. At one of the annual rallies of the tobacco growers at Guthrie, Kentucky, many Negro planters were marching in the parade side by side with the whites. The farmers' conferences held at Hampton, Tuskegee, Calhoun, and at many other similar schools, illustrate in other ways the possibilities of advancement that grow out of landownership by the Negroes.

The most important occupations for Negroes are those of agricultural laborers, overseers, tenant farmers and farm owners. These occupations include two thirds of all the Negro

1. Some of the most notable successes in agriculture on the part of Negroes have been in the North. But statistics show that Negro farmers of the North constitute less than one per cent of the agricultural population of the Northern States.
2. Baker, R. S., Following the Color Line, p. 93.
3. Ibid.
bread-winners. Some light is thrown upon the matter of competition in these occupations by Professor Willcox's statement that the Southern Negroes so occupied increased between 1890 and 1900 by thirty and four-tenths per cent, and the Southern whites in the same occupations increased in the same period forty-three and five-tenths per cent. As a result, while in 1890 the Negroes constituted forty-four and four-tenths per cent of the population in these classes, in 1900 they constituted forty-two per cent. While such figures seem to indicate that the white agriculturalist is gaining numerically on the Negro, they furnish no warrant for assuming that the Negro's position is necessarily threatened by the circumstances. A falling of this extent might be accounted for on other grounds than difference in the comparative efficiency of the two classes. Competitive efficiency is the ultimately decisive criterion by which to measure the probable outcome of competition.

The necessity of some form of white supervision of Negro farm labor on the large plantations is quite universally recognized throughout the South. Many thousands of these Negro laborers who depend on white merchants or planters for advances of cash or supplies or both appear in the census enumeration as farmers when they really work under the constant and immediate supervision of plantation owners or managers. Thousands of

1. The census reports give a loss of one and one-tenth per cent from 1890 to 1900, and a gain of two and five-tenths per cent from 1900 to 1910, of Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits.
others similarly enumerated are under the general or occasional supervision of a "riding boss" or some other form of crop inspector. A number of years of observation, and a correspondence covering the entire cotton belt indicate that such supervision is steadily becoming more generally recognized as a necessary incident to the business of operating with Negro labor.¹ Both the landlords and advancers have found it necessary in order to protect their interests to spend a large part of the time personally or thru agents called "riders" going about the plantation to see that the crops are cultivated. The Negro knows how to raise cotton, but he may forget to plough, to chop,² or to do some other such ordinary routine unless he is reminded of the necessity.³

President Hardy, of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College has contributed toward some definite conclusions in the matter of efficiency in a study of conditions in several Mississippi counties. These counties are given as typical and not selected as special or unusual cases. Lowndes County has a population of seventy-five per cent Negroes and twenty-five per cent whites, is valued at nine ($9.83) dollars and eighty-three cents per acre, and requires three and fifteen-hundredths acres to produce one bale of cotton; while Jones County has the proportion of blacks and whites reversed, is valued at two ($2.85) dollars and eighty-five cents per acre and requires only one and ninety-eight hundredths acres to produce

2. To cut out the excess cotton plants.  
one bale of cotton. Noxubee County contains eighty-four per cent blacks, sixteen per cent whites, is valued at seven ($7.12) dollars and twelve cents per acre and requires three and one-half acres to produce one bale of cotton; but Union County contains twenty-five per cent Negroes and seventy-five per cent whites, is valued at four ($4.81) dollars and eighty-one cents per acre and requires only two and fifty-six hundredths acres to raise one bale of cotton. Hinds County is contrasted with Perry County, the former having a population of seventy-five per cent blacks and twenty-five per cent whites, requires two and a half acres to produce one bale of cotton, and the latter having a population consisting of thirty-three per cent Negroes and sixty-seven per cent whites, requires only one and ninety-six hundredths acres to produce one bale of cotton, with land valued at one third of that in Hinds County. Several other counties gave similar results in the same comparison made about 1906.¹

The reasons for the above results can be readily seen from the Negroes' method of farming. It is a direct economic waste and this crude and wasteful method tends to make the methods of the white farmer less excellent and less scientific.² The improvidence of the Negro is notorious. His neglect of his horse, his mule, and his machinery, his eagerness to spend his

earnings on finery, and his reckless purchase of watermelons, chickens and garden stuff when he might easily grow them on his own patch of ground,—these and many other incidents of improvidence explain the constant dependence of the Negro upon his employer and his creditor.\(^1\) If the Negroes have any garden at all it is likely to be choked with weeds. Altho the climate and soil are advantageous, and often city markets are available, few of the colored farmers reap any benefit from this one of the most profitable of all industries.\(^2\)

W. O. Wilson,\(^3\) of Wilmot, Mississippi, who was reared on a cotton plantation and knows the Negroes from personal contact since infancy, tells of the situation in his district. He says that they are largely dependent and only a few plan ahead to keep out of debt or to provide the necessaries of life. They are just like overgrown children and must be looked after several times each day to keep them working. Thus far they have made so little progress in efficiency that, in the opinion of this observer efforts to help them to better ways are useless. They show no initiative to urge them to a better life. They are provided by the plantation owner with comfortable quarters, school and church privileges, and that satisfies them. They seldom have gardens to provide themselves with vegetables, but they draw all food and other supplies from the plantation store

1. Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 49.
on advanced credit for their crop. However, a few Negroes in this region have acquired land and one colored man near Wilmot owns a large plantation and employs colored laborers as do the white plantation owners. He does not abuse his rights and is highly respected in the community.

As a cotton grower the Negro's greatest fault is not his improvidence or shiftlessness, altho they, unless removed, will cause him to lose to the foreigner. The planter's greatest trouble is the Negro's unreliability—the fact that he cannot be depended upon to be governed by considerations of self interest. He changes his habitation on the most trifling suggestion and frequently for no reason at all.

Somewhat more encouraging reports are made by observers in other localities. If the economic productiveness of nine millions of blacks in the South is destroyed, all of the whites will have to suffer the consequences, whether they be city people, large plantation owners, or small truck farmers. If the Negro does not develop into an efficient farmer, the whole South will be economically poorer for all time to come. The South is seeing this as never before and farm demonstrations are securing the cooperation of both races in many localities.

The Tidewater counties of Virginia have developed remarkably in the last few years by the most friendly relations between the two races. Altho the Negro probably has not been accorded all his rights, yet the encouragement to accumulate pro-

1. Stone, A. H., Studies in the American Race Problem, p. 192. The above gloomy accounts refer more especially to the period of readjustment and to the Negroes on the large plantations. 2. Next page.
property and to become substantial citizens from the better element of white people, has meant more to the Negro than it is possible to estimate.¹

One example of cooperation is the Negro Historical and Industrial Exposition which was held in Richmond, Virginia from July 5 to 27 inclusive and was altogether preeminent in several features. It proved that cordial relations and complete understanding existed between the two races in part of the South. It manifested the natural ability of the Negro to achieve things worth while when living and working under the proper environment. Both races cooperated in financial backing but the Negroes alone managed and entered all exhibits. The exhibits were complete in every way and represented farm products, industrial progress, trades, art, literature, schools, churches, and many other Negro achievements and organizations.²

The Negro farmers' cooperative demonstration work was begun in 1907. The plan is to have a number of farmers in selected communities cultivate a small portion of their land under the direction of and with seed provided or selected by the Depart-

ment of Agriculture. Other farmers in the community are invited to see how the demonstration is carried on and are induced to follow the same plan in their own farming. In 1913 the Smith Lever Agricultural Extension Law was passed and since that time work has been done under state control by a fund from the national treasury. In addition to the demonstration work for adults, the Negroes conduct field and movable schools and corn and canning clubs for the boys and girls.¹

Many of the Negroes who were born slaves labored and struggled heroically and saved sufficient to purchase farms of their own. Now many scientific farm demonstrations are enthusiastically entered into by the Negroes.²

Often the competition between the races on Southern farms could more appropriately be called cooperation. In many instances whites have given substantial assistance to the Negroes. The agricultural demonstration agents are helping the Negro farmers for there exists mutual interest, sympathy and helpfulness, and the Negro farmers are among the most willing and capable co-laborers.³

In St. Helena Island, one of the best cotton regions, nearly every Negro owns his land, usually ten to twenty-five acres.⁴

The Federal Census Bureau gives us some light on the Negro farmers' economic status. In 1900 the Negroes in the South op-

¹ Negro Year Book 1916-17, p. 369.
² Weatherford, W. D., Present Forces in Negro Progress, pp. 107 ff.
erated seven hundred forty-six thousand seven hundred fifteen farms of thirty-eight million six hundred twelve thousand forty-six acres valued at more than three hundred eighty million dollars. In 1910 they operated eight hundred ninety-three thousand three hundred eighty-four farms of forty-two million six hundred nine thousand one hundred seventeen acres valued at more than nine hundred million dollars, or an increase of nineteen and six tenths per cent in the number of farms operated, ten and five tenths per cent in the number of acres and one hundred thirty-six and eight tenths per cent in value. This record is better than the record of the whites. Their rate of increase in agriculture is also greater than their rate of increase in population.¹

A special committee² of Negroes has been appointed by the Governor of South Carolina to assist the Negro farmers to produce the greatest possible amount of agricultural products for the war.³


2. Since the above was written The Chicago Daily Tribune of May 12, 1917, states that Dr. H. B. Frizzell, President of Hampton Institute has announced that more than one hundred thousand Negro farmers have organized for intensive agriculture and the intensive farming movement that was put under way May 10 in a meeting of the Board of Greater Hampton in Hotel LaSalle wants seventy-five thousand Negroes and hundreds of them are flocking to volunteer for all branches of agricultural service.

The following are only a few examples from among the very successful Negro farmers:

Deal Jackson of Albany, Georgia was the most noted Negro farmer in the State. For over ten years he had the distinction of marketing the first bale of cotton for the season, winning by this fact the title of the "first bale man." He owned and worked two thousand acres of land. He had forty tenant families on his plantation.

Junius G. Groves, "The Potato King," was born a slave in Green County, Kentucky, 1859. In 1879 during the Kansas exodus he emigrated to that State and hired out at Edwardsville as a farm laborer at forty cents per day. The next year he rented nine acres of land and planted three acres each in white potatoes, in sweet potatoes, and in watermelons. He cleared one hundred twenty-five dollars. The next year he rented twenty acres, and the next year sixty-six acres. In 1884, after all debts had been paid, Mr. Groves had to his credit in the local bank, as the result of three years' labor, two thousand two hundred dollars. He now bought eight acres of land. His prosperity continued until he owned five hundred acres of the finest land in the State, worth from one hundred twenty-five to two hundred fifty dollars an acre. Mr. Groves got the title of "Potato King," because he raises and ships potatoes on a large scale. In one year upon his own farm he produced over one hundred thousand bushels of white potatoes. In addition to this he bought from other growers and shipped away twenty-two cars
of potatoes. He has accumulated about eight thousand dollars.

Alfred Smith is called the Negro "Cotton King" of Oklahoma. He was born a slave in Georgia, and emigrated to Kansas immediately after the war. Eventually he moved to Oklahoma. He is known all over that State for his success in raising cotton. He has several times taken the first prize for cotton raised in Oklahoma. His cotton received a prize in Liverpool, England. In 1900 at the World's Fair Exposition in Paris, it gained the first prize.¹

¹. Negro Year Book 1916-17, pp. 320 ff.
SECTION III
THE ITALIAN AS A COMPETITOR IN AGRICULTURE WITH THE NEGRO

More than a quarter of a century ago Frederick Douglass took the Kansas exodus of southern Negroes for the text of an address on the dependence of the South upon the Negro. He boastfully declared that for the Negro as a southern laborer there was no competitor or substitute. According to him the thought of filling his place by any other variety of the human family is delusive and entirely impracticable. Neither Chinaman, German, Norwegian, nor Swede would be able to drive him from the sugar and cotton fields of Louisiana and Mississippi. They would certainly perish in the black bottoms of those states, if they could be induced, which they cannot, to try the experiment. "Hence," said Mr. Douglass, "it is readily seen that the dependence of the planters and landowners of the South upon the Negro, however galling and humiliating to Southern pride and power, is nearly complete and perfect. He stands, to-day, the admitted author of whatever prosperity, beauty and civilization are possessed by the South, and the admitted arbiter of her destiny."

It is somewhat curious that in enumerating the various peoples who could not compete with the Negro in the South, Frederick Douglass should have overlooked the Italian.²

2. Ibid.
In marked contrast to his statement is the fact that the Italians have rapidly been coming into the sugar cane districts of Louisana. The Industrial Commission states in a recent report that the Italians in Mississippi and Louisana are rapidly dislodging the Negroes from the sugar cane plantations. There were five parishes of Louisana which had more than twenty thousand acres each, and fifty-four per cent of the total sugar cane area of the state in 1899. This area in 1890 held nine hundred sixty or twelve per cent of the Italian population of the state. In 1900 these parishes contained five thousand seven Italians or twenty-nine per cent of the total number of that nationality in the state. In each parish, also, the per cent of Negroes in the total population decreased, and in four of the five, decreased more rapidly than the average for the whole state. 

Before Mr. Stone began the special study of the Italian factor in Negro competition he was attracted by John Stuart Mill's reference to the achievements of the Italian metayer. Mr. Stone then wrote an article in which he indulged in a little prophecy to the effect that within fifteen or twenty years the ability of the white man to more than successfully compete with the Negro in his own strongest field would be demonstrated thru the medium of the peasant farmers of Italy. Many of Mr. Stone's friends and many newspapers in both the North and the

1. The parishes in question are St. Mary, Lafourche, Assumption, St. James and Terrebonne.
South ridiculed the "impossible theorizing," for Douglass' idea was the prevailing one. In fact, the entire South for one hundred years has clung tenaciously and stubbornly to the conviction, never reasonably or well founded, that Negro labor was essential to the cultivation of her soil. But no great wisdom was necessary to such a forecast as was made by Mr. Stone. The inevitable outcome was clear to one familiar with the Negro farmer and acquainted with what the Italian agriculturalist had accomplished at home on much less fertile soil and under a similarly trying climate. No great credit may be claimed for simply pointing out the probable result of contest between thrift and improvidence, between steady continuous intelligent labor and the mere brute strength of the Negro's "naked iron arm," spasmodically and shiftlessly applied. Do not understand that any sudden revolution in Southern agricultural and industrial conditions is about to occur. Thousands, and perhaps hundreds of thousand of Southern white men prefer the Negro, under any and all circumstances to any class of white laborers because they know how to manage the Negro well and get a reasonable amount of work out of him, while the Italian saves money and in a few years begins to buy land and even dispossesses the white owners.

However there is a problem for the Negro and it is a larger one than a mere preference of his employer. The question is whether in the years to come he is to acquire his share of the soil; whether he or the white man is to bring and hold under the subjection of the plow the million of now undeveloped acres of the South; whether in the progress of what seems destined to be one of the greatest economic developments that America or the world has ever seen, he is to play the part of an active forceful, dominant, contributing factor, or is to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, content with felling the trees and clearing the land for others to reap the reward in abundant crops. This will be the significant movement of the years, the very opening of a struggle between white and black in which there will be no element of sentiment, where sympathy will have no place, where the Negro will be called upon to prove his right to live or accept the consequences of failure—where "success" will be the one and only test. The contest will not be in the slums and alleys of the city. It will be fought out in the open field, under the sun and upon the soil—where the world may look on.¹

The above remarks were elicited especially by reports upon the Italian competition with the Negro in the sugar cane industry but considerable investigations have also been made regarding the efficiency and general economic conditions of one of the

largest groups of cotton growing Italians in the Southern States. Mr. Stone says that this probably is the most important experiment of its kind in the South, not only for the reason that it is the largest, but also the oldest, and further because it has been the subject of a great deal of discussion. It has repeatedly been pronounced a failure by men who could have had no first hand information concerning it. The group under discussion is the colony at Sunny Side, Chicot County, Arkansas, across the Mississippi River from Greenville, Mississippi, and between Memphis and Vicksburg.

In the beginning the experiment was launched by Austin Corbin of New York, who planned to sell a large section of cotton land in Arkansas to the Italians. The Italians were not solely farmers, but represented a number of heterogeneous occupations.

If one should attempt to raise a cotton crop in Mississippi with a lot of Negro oyster shuckers gathered along the coast of Maryland and Virginia, failure would be stamped upon the experiment immediately. But Italian fruit venders, cobblers and organ grinders are no more farmers than are Negro oyster shuckers. There may have been incidental faults of management also but they were comparatively insignificant and bore no special relation to the success or failure of the experiment. Mr. Corbin dies and his experiment ended in failure. One more prop had been placed behind the wall of American superstition of the eternal and necessary conjunction of a Negro and a mule for the production of a bale of cotton.
Many of the Italian families left and a number of them settled about seventy miles from Fort Smith, Arkansas, and founded what is now the flourishing and growing colony of Tontitown. A few Italian families remained at Sunny Side and in 1698 the actual management of the property passed into the control of experienced resident cotton planters through business arrangements negotiated between the Sunny Side Company and the O. B. Crittenden and Company Cotton Factory of Greenville, Mississippi.

The investment was a business proposition, pure and simple, and the company was composed solely of business men. They knew nothing of the Italian and cared nothing from any sentimental or altruistic viewpoint. They were not engaged in an attempt either to solve the problem of the distribution of our foreign immigration, or to relieve the congestion of the New York tenement districts. On the other hand, they did know a great deal about the plantation Negro, although they were engaged in no philanthropic experiment to change his condition. They simply took Italians and Negroes as they found them without favor or prejudice on either side—except some misgivings as to the remnant of Mr. Corbin's ill-fated Italian experiment.¹

It must also be remembered that the Negro was cultivating a crop with which his race had been familiar for generations, while the Italian had never seen a stalk of cotton before he came to America a few years previous to this time. Until they

¹ Stone, A. H., Studies in the American Race Problem, pp. 179 ff.
were shown the difference, they did not know how to distinguish between the plants that were to be saved and the weeds that were to be cut out in the process of cultivation. Altho the difference between the two races in the point of efficiency is no longer a matter of controversy in regions where both races are known, the most vital difference is to be found in the story which each has to tell from season to season and from year to year.

To state it bluntly and coldly, it is the story of Negro conditions as old as his freedom: too much time spent out of his crop and away from his work; too much waiting for the weather to improve; too much putting off his work to a more convenient season; too constant and successful beseeching of those in authority for money, accommodations and supplies; too little reckoning against the future day of settlement; too much, "leaning on the Lord," and too little on himself, in things not spiritual; and too much living for today and not enough for tomorrow.

The following summarizes the results of this experience as given by Mr. Stone. With the Italian there seems to be a predominant determination to have more at the end of the year than he had at the beginning, and to make that amount larger each succeeding year than it was the previous one, regardless of weather or price; to wrest from every square foot of soil he rents, all that nature can be forced to yield; to get a visible, tangible return for every dime he spends; to live on less
than he makes whether that be much or little; to hire nothing done that he can do himself; to keep the future ever in mind; to provide for a rainy day, and to lay by a store against age.

The following records are typical of the results of the Sunny Side plantation.

The records of the year 1896 give only the number of squads of workers, the number of persons in those squads and the number of acres of cotton cultivated. They are?

<table>
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<th>Table I</th>
<th>Year of 1898</th>
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<td>Number of squads</td>
<td>Number of persons</td>
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<td>Negro</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table II</th>
<th>Year of 1906</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table III</th>
<th>Annual average for six years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian advantage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total acres Pounds of lint Cash value Cash value of per person per person crop per acre

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>$128.47</td>
<td>$26.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>277.76</td>
<td>44.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian advantage</td>
<td>170 or</td>
<td>1410 or</td>
<td>148.89 or 18.41 or 69.8 per cent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cent</td>
<td>72.9 per</td>
<td>120.1 per</td>
<td>115.8 per</td>
<td>cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Mr. Stone gives no tables, but the following tables are compiled from data given in his description.
Table IV. A comparison of two separate squads for one year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Acres</th>
<th>Value of crop</th>
<th>Expenses for supplies and labor per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>3 adults 19</td>
<td>$506.80</td>
<td>$11.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2 adults 20</td>
<td>$804.25</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenses for supplies and labor per person for year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total expense</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>$750.58</td>
<td>$243.87 Dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>394.54</td>
<td>409.71 Cr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table V. A comparison of two squads that cultivated the cotton very intensively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Acres</th>
<th>Value of crop</th>
<th>Expense for Balance crop year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>3 adults 25</td>
<td>$730.20</td>
<td>$58.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>4 adults 20</td>
<td>1596.20</td>
<td>1052.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tables give evidence of the Italians' superiority in every case, and the average for six years shows the acreage to be twenty-one and five tenths per cent in his favor, the production of lint to be seventy-two and nine tenths per cent per acre and one hundred twenty and one tenth per cent per person in his favor, and the cash value of the crop to exceed that of the Negro sixty-nine and eight tenths per cent per acre and one hundred fifteen and eight tenths per cent per person. One exceptionally efficient Italian squad that consisted of four adults and two children, worked forty-three acres, and realized two thousand one hundred seventy-two dollars and ten cents for their crop. Their expense account was four hundred twenty-six.

1. This includes $139. that had been borrowed for transportation from Italy.  
dollars and sixty-six cents which left them a profit of one thousand seven hundred forty-five dollars and forty-four cents. This squad had remained on the same farm for several years and was said to have accumulated more than fifteen thousand dollars.

The persistency of the Italian is also noticed in the tables. The records begin with two hundred and three Negro and thirty-eight Italian squads. After eight years there were only thirty-eight Negro squads, while the Italians then numbered one hundred and seven squads. The Negroes were three times as numerous as the Italians when the Sunny Side experiment began, and after eight years the proportion was practically reversed.

Another table illustrates the persistency in a better way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of squads to begin in 1905-6</th>
<th>Number of squads to finish in 1905-6</th>
<th>Number of squads left from sickness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro 61</td>
<td>38 or 62.2 per cent</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian 110</td>
<td>107 or 97.2 per cent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number required to leave crop off with no attempt to harvest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between the two races are as great in their management of expense accounts and the character of their work. Of course with a greater production there is room for heavier accounts, if the tenant desires to gratify his wishes; but it is evident that even if he had a higher degree of efficiency, the Negro could never greatly improve his condition because of his inability to keep his expenses down, as the Italian does. In-

stead of economizing he is continually seeking to gratify his wishes and whims with a blindly fatalistic disregard for the future. Mr. Stone says that in a plantation experience of more than twelve years he has carefully observed the economic life of the plantation Negro and has not known one to anticipate the future by investing his earnings of one year in supplies for the next. On the contrary, scores of them have frittered away thousands of dollars paid them in cash balances in ways that would give no visible returns. Further, "I have seen a man and his wife leave a plantation office in the morning with one hundred and fifty dollars in cash, spend the day in town and return in the evening with no money and practically nothing to show for it. I have also known them, time and again to leave money to their credit on the plantation books, and absolutely insist on buying their supplies on credit at time prices. We have such accounts on our books today, notwithstanding the fact that we repeatedly attempt to show them the folly of such methods and try to induce them to use their money in a businesslike way. The idea seems to be that the money from a crop already gathered is theirs to spend as fancy suggests, while the crop to be made must take care of itself, or be taken care of by the 'white folks.' This sounds ridiculous, and it is ridiculous, but it is none the less true. The money thus thrown away by the Negroes, the Italians put to cold business uses. They will take advantage of a discount offered on a one hundred and fifty dollar purchase of supplies, and I have known instances of their
offering to pay land rent one year in advance for a similar consideration.¹

A knowledge of such facts as these and a familiarity with the "average traits" of the Negro agriculturalist causes one to realize that from the viewpoint of the Negro, the problem is much graver and more difficult than one of mere agricultural efficiency alone.

Professor H. T. Kealing is quoted as to the Negro's "improvidence and extravagance." He said that they would drop the most important job to go on an excursion or parade with their lodge. They would spend large sums on expensive clothing and luxuries while going without things necessary to a real home. They will cheerfully eat fat bacon and "pone" cornbread all the week in order to indulge in unlimited soda-water, melons and fish at the end. In the cities they are seen dealing with the pawnbroker more often than with the banker. Their houses, when furnished at all, are better furnished that that of a white man of equal earning power, but it is on the instalment plan. They are loath to buy a house, for they have no taste for responsibility nor faith in themselves to manage large concerns; but organs, pianos, clocks, sewing-machines and parlor suits, on time, have no terrors for them. It is necessary for some plantations to refuse to admit various kinds of itinerant "agents," or to harassed at the end of each year by the efforts of foreign concerns, generally in the Middle Western states, to

¹ Stone, A. H., Studies in the American Race Problem, p. 188.
force money out of Negroes for every imaginable article peculiar to such commerce. These range from gaudily illustrated "family Bibles" to "sure cures" for rheumatism and nostrums guaranteed to straighten the hair and bleach the skin. Western mail order houses also do a heavy C. O. D. business in the cotton belt, largely in pistols, sewing-machines and medicine. Meanwhile, throughout the year the Italian peddler drives through the country in a covered wagon and exchanges with the Negroes "soda pop," sausage, fish, et cetera for the few stray dimes that chance to remain on hand from the last trip to town.

Another reference to the tables previously given shows us that the children are engaged in labor in the field. This illustrates what may develop into a situation of considerable sociological importance. It is the withdrawal of the women and children from the regular field labor as soon as the step is advisable form improved economic conditions. Occasionally it is being done, although not until the stage in which their labor is necessary has been passed. It is frequently true that women and children who are included in the statement of working hands, merely assist at intervals according to the necessity of extra labor for the crop. Therefore, it appears that after a few years every group of Italian agriculturalists would make a much better showing in this regard than either the Negro farmer or the Southern white mill operator. No large class of our

population can make substantial social progress as long as the
women and children are compelled to play the role of bread-
winners in the field of manual labor outside the home.¹

Mr. Stone says in a later connection: "I have seen Italian
families disembark in my town from New Orleans as fruit luggers,
and within ten or fifteen years pass through all the gradations
of peddlers, oyster dealers, and restaurant keepers and finally
emerge as prosperous merchants and property holders. In every
instance the women did their share of the drudgery as long as it
was necessary, but eventually became only the mistresses of
their homes. There is not one Italian fruit-vender in the town
who is not striving to emulate the successful examples of his
fellows. I do not believe the Italian agriculturalist is dif-
ferent in this respect from his urban brother."²

The Italians are stalwart, industrious and hardy. They
are already good farmers and have the right material, on the
whole for making good American citizens.³ On the other hand
the Negro has the advantage over the Italian that he is already
American even tho he is ignorant and incompetent.⁴ With equal
soil and climatic conditions for growing cotton, the man who
cultivates his crop the best has the advantage; and the Italians
work more constantly than the Negroes, and after one or two

186 ff.
2. Ibid.
years of experience cultivate more intelligently. The difference can easily be seen without going beyond their respective fields. One sees in marked contrast with the half-cultivated fields, the garden spots rank with weeds, broken fences, and patchwork outhouses of the Negro, the well kept premises of the Italian. He will supply his family from early spring until late fall with garden produce, and market enough to largely carry him thru the winter. In the rear of a well kept house a woodshed will contain sufficient sawed wood to run the family through the winter. He does not wait until half-frozen feet compel attention to the fuel, and then tear down the fence to supply warmth to his cottage. And while the Negroes are constantly changing and often cannot be depended upon to remain on the land, the Italians are just the reverse. They come of their own volition during the months of August and September and arrange affairs for the following season. They quickly become wedded to a piece of ground and seldom change unless it is decidedly to their interest to do so. If one returns to Italy for a year, he nearly always arranges for a relative to take his land.

The Sunny Side plantation has been employing both Italians and Negroes in the cotton industry for nearly twenty years. The Italian, here, as on other plantations in the South, has

1. Mr. Stone says that one of his neighbors replied concerning Italians, "I don't have to spend my life in trying to make them work. After the first year, I don't even have to show them what to do." See p. 108.
proven his superiority over the Negro and is still proving it. Mr. O. B. Crittenden of the Sunny Side plantation still finds the Italian a better cotton grower. Mr. W. O. Wilson, of Wilmot, Mississippi, was reared near the Sunny Side plantation, and his father still lives there. He says that the Italians and Negroes usually do not work well together, but if left in separate squads the Italian is a much better farmer. The comparison of the two races as given by the authorities previously cited is confirmed by this additional witness. But the Italian receives no warm welcome for the Southern landowner looks with regret and apprehension on his financial success and his subsequent accumulation of land. The Southerner can control the Negro and get a tolerable amount of work out of him but the Italian soon becomes independent and buys up his land. It is a case of competition between idleness and industry and the industrious Italian replaces not only the inefficient laborer but also the idle white landlord.

Most recent testimony gives a somewhat different account. Mr. James E. Clarke in a recent discussion of the Italian factor of Negro competition in the South makes the following statements: "For the present, at least, the European immigrant is not likely to become a dangerous economic menace to the Negro in

2. Mr. Wilson is a prominent student of the University of Illinois. The information was received from a personal interview.
the South, for the Negroes are more numerous, the ruling classes prefer them and they are constantly securing a firmer footing in Southern industries. Experiments with Italians in Mississippi and elsewhere have not materially interfered with the tendency of the Negro to become a landowner, for 'The Progressive Farmer,' a Southern agricultural organ, has thought it necessary to start a campaign for the passage of laws to check encroachment of Negroes upon territory occupied by white farmers. The position of the Negro in the Agriculture of the South seems to be assured."

Mr. Stone, himself, is mentioned in a previous page of this Section as saying that he has seen the Italian begin at the very lowest stages of the economic struggle and in ten or fifteen years pass through the various steps of advancement and emerge at the top economically independent. The Southerner realizes this fact as does anyone who is familiar with the Italian immigrant. In view of this fact that the Southern plantation owner cannot compete successfully with the Italian immigrant, and that he even finds it necessary to attempt to check the encroachments of the Negro himself upon territory occupied by the white farmer, it is very evident that no enormous immigration of Italians will be encouraged by the Southerner, to the exclusion of the Negro. It is important to bear in mind that the observations of Mr. Stone were made about ten years ago, and during the past ten years a small proportion of the Negro cotton planters have benefited by the new industrial education and
given evidence of capacity for better things. However, the Italian is still a better farmer than the Negro. The Southerner sees more clearly his need of some effort if he would retain his own plantation. It is true that the plantation Negro is the lowest type of Negro farmer, and his salvation probable lies in the emulation of those successful members of his own race, just as every Italian of the lower class is emulating his successful fellow countryman.

1. Statement made by Mr. O. B. Crittenden in a personal letter of November 28, 1916.
SECTION IV

CAN THE NEGRO ARTISAN COMPETE WITH THE WHITE MAN IN THE SOUTH?

I. THE IMMIGRANT FACTOR

"The place for the Negro in the South" is the expression that illustrates the opinion of many of the Negro leaders as well as a majority of the whites. Mr. Booker T. Washington says that the Negro is at his best in the South; there he is given a man's chance in the commercial world; where he has lost ground in the South it is not because of any prejudice against him as a skilled workman on the part of the native Southern white; and nowhere else in the world is there such an opportunity offered to him as that now developing in the industrial awakening of the South.¹

But with this industrial awakening of the South has come a new problem for the Negro—the competition of the immigrant. It was expressed by one writer, thus: "Within the last few years thinking men in the South have begun to see the labor difficulty² and a great new movement has been started to encourage immigration from foreign countries to the manufacturing districts of the South. In November 1906 the first shipload of immigrants ever brought from Europe directly to a South

Carolina port were landed at Charleston with great ceremony and rejoicing. If a steady stream of immigrants can be secured and if they can be employed on satisfactory terms with the Negro, it will go far toward relieving race tension in the South." 1

Another statement is made that the Southern states, railroads and private organizations are discussing the question of foreign immigration with increasing earnestness. 2

Mr. Washington says that if the Negro neglects to occupy the field that is now before him in the South, he will be excluded by those immigrants who are strangers to his tongue and customs. 3

The Richmond Negro Criterion spoke of the foreign immigrant as follows: "We are told that they will turn in the direction of the South. When they come, woe, woe to the Negro. His place will soone be gone, to come no more." 4

The chances for many of the Negroes to succeed against fierce competition of immigrants are not very great. But a slow infiltration of foreigners cannot displace the better class of Negro workers for the growing labor demands of the South cannot spare them. If it is a matter of ability to work,

3. Quoted by Mr. Stone, p. 172.
the result of immigration will be beneficial in differentiating the good Negro workman from the careless and indifferent idler and it might be expected to reduce the number of this latter class by forcing upon them a higher standard of industrial efficiency.\textsuperscript{1}

It is true that immigration into the South has not been extensive, but the foreign immigrants began to come to this country as another source of unskilled labor about the time that the Negro was freed. Yet for about fifty years these immigrants have made but little impression on the Negro laborer of the South.\textsuperscript{2}

The most recent writers seem to think that even with the degree of efficiency already attained by the majority of Negro artisans there is little danger of their being replaced by the foreign immigrant. And if that replacement should occur, it will mean a thorough sifting that will give the efficient Negroes a better chance.

II. GENERAL COMPETITION WITH WHITES IN THE SOUTH.

A. Conditions at the Close of Slavery.

In the days of Slavery the Negro artisans had practical monopoly of the trades in large parts of the South. In technical knowledge they often outstripped their masters and, compared with other slaves, the artisans became independent and

\textsuperscript{1} Washington and DuBois, The Negro in the South, p. 116.
self-reliant. On every plantation there were first class workmen and many of the Negro artisans in the Southern states became masters of their respective trades by reason of their long service under the direction and control of expert white mechanics. Half of the total number of houses in Virginia before the war were built by colored carpenters.

One writer has said: "The South then was lacking in manufacturing, and used little machinery. Its demand for skilled labor was not large but what demand existed was supplied mainly by Negroes. Negro carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, wheelwrights, painters, harnessmakers, tanners, millers, weavers, barrelmakers, basket makers, shoemakers, chainmakers, coachmen, spinners, seamstresses, housekeepers, gardeners, cooks, laundresses, embroiderers, maids of all work were found in every community, and frequently on a single plantation. Skilled labor was so much more profitable than unskilled that many masters developed in their slaves as much skill as was possible under a slave system."

The Negro machinists were becoming numerous before the down fall of slavery. The slave owners were generally the owners of all the factories, machine shops, flour-mills, saw-mills, gin-

houses and threshing machines. They owned all the railroads and the shops connected with them. In all of these the white laborer and mechanic had been supplanted almost entirely by the slave mechanics at the time the Civil War began. Many of the railroads in the South had their entire train crews, except the conductors, made up of slaves. The "Georgia Central" had inaugurated just such a movement, and had many Negro engineers on its locomotives and Negro machinists in its shops.

While the poor whites and masters were fighting, the same skilled black men were at home working to support those fighting for their slavery. The Negro mechanic was found, during the conflict, in the machine shops, building engines and railroad cars, in the gun factories making arms of all kinds for the soldiers, in the various shops building wagons, and making harness, bridles and saddles, for the armies of the South. Negro engineers handled the throttle in many cases to haul the soldiers to the front, whose success in the struggles going on, meant continued slavery to themselves and their people. All of the flour-mills and almost all kinds of mills in the South were in charge of the black men.¹

B. The Generation Following the Skilled Ex-slaves.

With the liberation of the slaves came the salvation of the poor white man of the South. He had been almost completely ousted as a laborer and a mechanic, by the masters, to make place for the slaves whom they were having trained for these positions.²

¹ and ². See next page.
For a time the trained Negro held his own and either monopolized his field, not infrequently patronized by his former master, or plied his trade side by side with the white man. This situation was significant for a generation after emancipation. But as the Negroes, trained for skilled work in the days of slavery, died off, there were no young colored men prepared to take their places, for the next generation did not learn the mechanical trades to the same extent as the slave generations, and white men from the South, the North, from Europe or elsewhere came in and filled their places. This was true in a degree in every skilled occupation.

Altho isolated examples of capable and thrifty Negroes were found in every department of skilled industry, the great number of slave-disciplined mechanics had no successors, for the simple reason that the next generation lacked that intelligence required of efficient artisans, and had not the initiative to provide themselves with that discipline which the masters had previously supplied. This is characteristic of the period following emancipation, for freedom to the slave usually means freedom from labor and responsibility. Also, the opposition of white mechanics to Negro workmen which was evident in ante-bellum days became more intense after emancipation and

2. Ibid.
5. Commons, John R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 46.
in the competition which followed the less efficient black mechanic often found himself outdistanced by his thriftier white competitor, sometimes by fair means, sometimes by foul. Without the protection of his former master and with less and less of his patronage, the Negro artisan found himself being gradually supplanted by the white working man.

As the industrial development of the South made new demands upon the mechanic, old methods of production gave way to new ones. The Negro mechanic, schooled in the economy of ante bellum days and knowing little of the new mills and machinery, found himself unprepared to meet the demands of the new era.

However, the Negro did not cease to struggle, altho he was a severe problem in certain districts in the South. Some students of the race problem have said that the Southern people were more and more coming to the conclusion that they must at least put forth a determined effort to render themselves independent of the Negro. The Southern economic development during the last thirty years has greatly outstripped the growth of Southern population, but the resulting labor scarcity is more apparent than real. The streets are filled with idlers and prowlers and it is difficult to find those who are willing to accept steady employment even when offered the wages they demand. At times it has been necessary to substitute coal for wood as a fuel because in a town full of Negroes it was impossible to get stove wood cut. On one plantation surrounded

1. The Atlanta University Publications, No. 17, p. 38.
by nearly three hundred Negroes it was frequently necessary to patronize a city laundry because of the unwillingness of the Negroes to do laundry work. There is a great deal of unrest in some sections over the labor question. The Negro has it in his power to remove such conditions, at least in a great measure, by making himself a more reliable and dependable factor in the economic life of the South. But this would mean a revolution in the present social and industrial life and habits of the masses.¹

It is true that some individual Negroes have made great progress, but the question is, 'Have the masses advanced?'² A great strike occurred a few years ago in one of the large iron works of the city of Richmond. The president of the company stated afterward that it never occurred to the management or to the Negroes that they could work at the machines, and no one had ever suggested it.³ Mr. Washington, himself, said in 1900 that in no part of the South is the Negro as strong as he was twenty years ago, except possible in the country districts and the smaller towns. In the more northern of the Southern cities such as Richmond and Baltimore, the change is most apparent, but it is felt in every Southern city.

2. Commons, John R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 47.
3. Page, T. N., The Negro: the Southerners' Problem, p. 279. It must also be remembered that machinery had been developed to the extent that little comparison could be made with the machinery that was operated primarily by Negroes before emancipation.
Even in the farther South the Negro artisan sufficiently trained to compete with his white rival is comparatively rare, which is a marked contrast to the time of emancipation when he was the trained workman and built nearly all of the houses and manufactured most of the articles that were manufactured in the South.\(^1\)

C. The Negro Begins to Regain Economic Importance.

The industrial ground that the Negro had lost so easily is being regained with great difficulty. It is a slow process for him to reestablish himself in the higher class of labor so as to fill an important place there. His rise is being achieved with difficulty because of his inability to manage the new labor-saving machinery. The white man began to whitewash the walls and clean the carpets with a mechanical sprayer and cleaner and rob the Negro of that job. The steam laundry began to do the work of the former colored laundress.\(^2\) The Negro could still work in wood and iron and meet little opposition in felling trees and digging ore, but if he followed the raw material into the factory his troubles began. He simply "lacked the skill coupled with brains necessary to compete with the white man."\(^3\)

In general there has been little discrimination because of color but much because of inability to secure competent Negroes. They have been helpers and usually proud of their work, and did

2. Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 47.
good work when told each separate thing to do every time it was to be done; but when left alone they were inaccurate and often did their work the wrong way.\textsuperscript{1}

Mr. Washington says: "The Negro in the South works, and works hard: but too often his ignorance and lack of skill cause him to do his work in the most costly and shiftless manner, keeping him near the bottom of the ladder in the economic world."\textsuperscript{2} It is true that the standard of unskilled labor has been raised as has the standard of skilled labor and Negro servants, farm hands, waiters, janitors and other day laborers now do two or three times the amount of work done by those in the same occupations fifty years ago. And out of three million unskilled Negro workers who were freed in 1863, and the few thousand unskilled and semi-skilled who already had their freedom there have developed the various occupations of Negroes that prevail today. The most notable development is in the emergence of Negro professional men and women, a group of sixty thousand or more persons who follow vocations almost entirely unknown to the Negro race fifty years ago. Next to that comes the development of Negroes in business and skilled trades. They are the economic, moral and intellectual leaders of the race. In all classes of unskilled occupations the Negroes constitute a much greater proportion than their percentage of

\textsuperscript{1} Kelsey, Carl, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, v. 21, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{2} Washington, DuBois and Others, the Negro Problem, p. 35.
the population. In fifteen unskilled occupations there are two million seven hundred fifty-six thousand four hundred forty-two Negroes, or nearly seventy per cent of all Negroes engaged in gainful occupations. The number of unskilled workers in the race must be at least seventy-five cent of those engaged in gainful occupations or about three million.¹ Kelly Miller says that the facts indicate that the race has not more than one fourth of its quota in the professional pursuits.²

Unfortunately, when the Negro demands the same wages as the white man, his industrial inferiority leads the employer to take the white man in his place, which shows again how fundamental manual skill and technical intelligence as a basis for other progress.³ Nevertheless, there are a large number of Negro mechanics in the United States, especially in the South. Some are progressive and efficient workmen, but more are careless, slovenly and ill-trained. In some places there are signs of lethargy among these workmen and work is slipping away from them; but in other places they are awakening and seizing the opportunities afforded by the new industrial South. The testimony of large employers who have no race prejudice, where profits and not favoritism are considered shows that low-priced Negro often costs more than high-priced white labor. The iron and steel mills of Alabama have no advantage in labor.

2. See Out of the House of Bondage, p. 163.
3. Commons, J. R. Jr., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 51.
cost over mills of Pennsylvania and Ohio.\(^1\)

The notable exceptions where Negroes have accumulated property through diligent attention and careful oversight are all the more notable when it is remembered that the education of the Negro has directed his energies to the honors of the learned professions rather than to the commonplace virtues of ownership.\(^2\)

A more hopeful view is expressed by Dr. W. G. Brunner, health officer of Savannah, Georgia for about twenty-five years. "The Negro is going ahead in spite of our neglect of him. He is a good workman and finds employment, whether as carpenter, painter or in any of the other trades."\(^3\)

The black and white races come into most direct competition with each other in the building and mining industries, yet the situation in neither of these occupations occasions any very serious race friction.\(^4\) The Southern working man begins to realize that the economic strength of the Negro must be taken into partnership for it cannot be beaten into weakness.\(^5\) Yet during the Reconstruction period the relations between the whites and the Negroes in South Carolina and North Carolina was often very friendly and helpful. And a great many of the

1. Summary of reports from three hundred forty-four employers of Negroes, in Commons, J. R. Jr., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 47.
2. Ibid, p. 49.
Negroes who achieved success attributed it in large part to the assistance of the whites. The best Southern element is working for the best economic cooperation between the two races.

The Negro owes a great debt to the white man who in turn is indebted to the Negro, especially in the South. With the increasing rapidity of the development of the South, all races of laborers are drawn nearer together for their own interests. It is certain that the Negro is found in every business and occupation, and it depends on the manner in which the masses of colored people improve the opportunities offered by the new Southern development whether they raise themselves up or sink to a lower level.

The Negro has experienced three quite distinct economic periods in the North.

The First Period was characterized to a considerable degree by the kindly feeling in the North toward the slave. The Negroes were famous caterers and were conspicuous as barbers, bootblacks and in all kinds of domestic labor.

The Second Period represented the removal of the Negro from the positions that he had formerly held by whites who were better organized and many of whom were immigrants.

The Third Period represents the attempt of the Negro to compete equally with the white man and to adjust himself to labor organizations and complex economic conditions.

I. The First Period.

The Strong Position of the Negro in Certain Trades in the North during the Period Preceding and Following the Civil War.

About the time of emancipation or a few years later the most famous caterers of New York City were the Downings, Mars, Watson, Vandyke, Ten Eyke, Day, Green and others, all colored. Their names were connected with high-class work and no social function was that complete without one of them.\(^1\) In New York City in 1869, twelve Negro caterers organized as a corporation.

\(^1\) From an editorial in The New York Age, January 12, 1905, p. 2.
to control and keep up the quality of service both by looking after the efficiency of the many waiters they employed and by preventing "irresponsible men from attempting to cater at weddings, balls, parties, and hotels on special occasions."

Several of the original corporators owned imported silver, china, and other caterers' "service" that was valued at one to four thousand dollars, and all of them had ability to manage large banquets, and other social functions, and to supply cooks, waiters and other help. Other members were added as they manifested their ability until the membership numbered more than one hundred. The best estimates gave the total number of colored hotel and restaurant waiters at between four and five hundred in 1876.1

In Philadelphia the Negroes had a practical monopoly in domestic service. Prior to the Civil War their guild of caterers "rose to power and prominence and ruled as remarkably as a trade guild ever ruled in a mediaeval city."2 It led the Negroes steadily on to a degree of affluence, culture and respect such as has probably never been surpassed in the history of the Negro in America. Its masters include the names of Bogle, Augustin, Prosser, Dorsey, Jones and Minton which were household words in the city for a number of years. In this way the whole catering business, arising from an evolution shrewdly, persistently and tastefully directed, transformed the Negro

2. This guild was organized in 1840 and lived thirty years. DuBois, W. E. B., The Philadelphia Negro, p. 32.
cook and waiter into the public caterer and raised a crowd of underpaid menials to become a set of self-reliant, original business men, who amassed fortunes for themselves and won general respect for their people. Just as the butler or waiter in a private family arranged the meals and attended the family on ordinary occasions, so the public waiter came to serve different families in the same capacity at larger and more elaborate functions; he was the butler of the smart set, and his taste of hand, eye and palate set the fashion of the day. The Philadelphia Times of October 17, 1896, in commenting on the condition said that the triumvirate of colored caterers—Dorsey, Jones and Minton—might have been said to rule the social world of Philadelphia through its stomach.¹

Philadelphia also had several prominent Negro coal dealers, furniture men, artists, musicians and other business and professional men.² Referring to these men, John Wanamaker said: "Philadelphia once had a number of Negro business men in whom the local business world took pride."³

At this time Boston contained a number of successful Negroes. A number were domestics and tradesmen and they were represented in nearly all occupations. The Negroes had almost a monopoly of the barbering business.⁴

2. Ibid, p. 36.
4. Daniels, John, In Freedom's Birthplace, pp. 18-19.
These specific examples are typical of the general conditions of the Negroes in the North about the time of the Civil War. The next few years marked a transition and in most cases a loss to the Negro.

II. The Second Period.

The Transition Period.

The generation following the Civil War saw a period of unadjustment to economic conditions in the North not entirely unlike that in the South. The cold hand of industry replaced in a great measure the kindly assistance formerly given by individuals, and the Negro had to prove his efficiency in the face of obstacles and growing race prejudice or sink to and remain on the lowest economic level. Competition became keener with the increase of immigration, and the Negro found his economic position challenged from many sides.

One rather remarkable feature of this period was the ability of the Negro to shift to another kind of work when he was crowded out of his occupation. It was said that in the nonmechanical occupations where the Negro once had a monopoly he was losing. In Chicago there was scarcely a Negro barber in the business district. Nearly all the janitor work in the large buildings had been taken from the Negroes by the Swedes. White men and women supplanted colored waiters in nearly all first-class restaurants and hotels, and practically all the shoe-polishing had been monopolized by the Greeks. However,

1. Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 47.
many Negro barbers disappeared as barbers and reappeared as carpenters or small farmers. This made the census reports prove all sorts of dismal theories when the Negro in many cases had really been forced into a better economic position. Displacement may mean either a gain or a defeat.  

It is true that the Negro has lost the predominance that he once held in the catering, barbering, boot-blackening and other trades. It is also true that certain Negro business houses have disappeared; but this is no sign that in other cities the Negro is not gaining. John Wanamaker said of the Philadelphia Negro business men of the Civil War times: "Many of them lost their business before they passed away. As an old business I am speaking the fact; they lost their business because the Swiss, the Germans, and others who were American white men, did that same business better than they did it."

Mr. Samuel R. Scottron, in an address in Brooklyn in 1905, spoke of the economic position of his race in New York as follows: "I have hardly to go beyond the years of my own individual experience to find cause for grave doubts. Note in this city, which has grown so rapidly that it seems to have been raised by the touch of a wizard's wand, the place in its industrial history that the Negro held forty or fifty years ago, the opportunities that were his to build up and to accumulate, and how these opportunities were neglected! This is evidence

1. Murphy, E. C., The Basis of Ascendancy, p. 64.
2. His address at the New York Convention of the National Negro Business League in 1905.
of a people easily overcome; no, not overcome, but simply re-
tiring without a contest from the places which were not only
theirs, but concededly theirs, before the influx of those peo-
ple who represent all that remains of the ancient Greeks and
Romans. The Italian, Sicilian, Greek, foreign to America's
language and institutions, occupy quite every industry that was
confessedly the Negro's forty years ago. They have the boot-
black stands, the news-stands, barber shops, waiters' situations
restaurants, janitorship, catering business, stevedoring, steam-
boat work and other situations once occupied by Negroes, and
furthermore, occupy the very houses which were once the houses
of Negroes--only the Negroes paid rent while the Italians are
now the owners. Look at West Broadway, Lawrence Street, Thomp-
son Street, Sullivan Street, Bleecker Street, Thomas, Worth
and Leonard Streets, in New York City today, and think of these
streets forty, or even thirty years ago. Look at the ground
upon which we now stand, and on the section about one mile
square, known in early days as Weeksville, after one of our
race, named John Weeks. Think of those of our people who oc-
cupied all these places when building lots could have been
bought for twenty-five dollars and fifty dollars and one hundred dollars
each, and look upon the present occupants--Italians . . . . . .
Who have succeeded to the business that these colored caterers
had in those days? With one exception, Italians. Not one
has left a child in an enlarged business of the same kind.
With all of us the business dies with the fathers. Is this
showing a capacity to build?" Referring again to the former Negro section, he says: "I walked for blocks and blocks recently through that district. I found it strewn with little stores, mainly of produce, native and foreign; every store kept by an Italian and scarcely one in which there was not a Negro present as a buyer. One place, only, was kept by a Negro apparently, and that was a pool or billiard room filled with young men who were making the echoes sound. The guitar, fiddle, banjo, melodeon, and even piano, were all giving evidence of happiness and contentment amongst our people; but the Italian was doing the business. Certainly these gloomy pictures are not all that the Negro had to show in forty years hereabouts, but it does show that he has by no means taken advantage of the position he once held. If we were at the top at any time in the past in any line of industry, why are we at the bottom of it today? That's the question. In lines concededly belonging to the Negro years ago he has been entirely superceded by the Italian."¹

In many of the Northern cities the history of the Negro is similar to his experience in New York City.

III. The Third Period.

The Negroes Begin to Organize.

The masses of Negroes who have migrated to the cities are unprepared to meet the exacting requirements of organized industry, and the keen competition of more efficient laborers, and

they drift into any occupations which are held out to their unskilled hands and untutored brains. Natural aptitude enables many to acquire some skill, and these succeed in gaining a stable place. But the thousands work from day to day with that weak tenure and frequent change of place from which all unskilled unorganized laborers suffer under modern industry and trade.¹

In Philadelphia, the economic opportunities of the majority of Negroes are limited to few trades, although they nearly enter all occupations that do not require large capital.²

Washington, D. C., has appeared a sort of Mecca to many Negroes ever since the time of emancipation. But when the True Reformers built a handsome structure, solely by Negro labor, it was necessary to send South for competent Negro workmen.³

It is significant that Southern Negroes possessed of some degree of specialized skill have remained in the South for they found better industrial opportunities there and the most of those coming North have lacked training that fitted them for work above the level of the least responsible unskilled labor and menial service. Few have been capable of the work of intermediate artisans and skilled workmen, and fewer still have had the qualifications for commercial employment or for independent professional or business enterprise. However, this

does not necessarily mean that out-and-out laziness and idleness are typical Negro failings, for the proportion of Negroes at work is much above that of the white population. Confirmed Negro loafers on the street corners, about saloons, or in the common appear to be rare in Boston.\(^1\)

Persons in Philadelphia who have attempted to secure employment for a considerable number of Negroes, found not more than one in ten qualified for any form of industry above the most menial grade of service. A large part of those for whom positions were secured held them for but a short time either because they became discontented or worked unsatisfactorily. Some even failed to appear at the places of employment after work was secured, and few possessed initiative, resourcefulness and persistence. Many employers of Negroes report similar results.\(^2\) Shortcomings in the basic qualities of trustworthiness, responsibility, accuracy and thoroughness account largely for the relegation of the majority of Negroes to menial and other low-grade labor in the industrial and economic world.\(^3\)

In nearly every large city of the North where there is abundant public work to be done on the streets, sewers, filter plants, subways, railroads, etc., Negro hodcarriers have almost driven whites out of business, while as teamsters, firemen and street cleaners the Negroes are more and more in demand. In the hotel business the Negro is in demand as waiter and bell-

1. Daniels, John, In Freedom's Birthplace, pp. 314 ff.
2. Ibid, pp. 319ff.
man. But the final and most decisive test of the Negroes' ability is the actual extent to which they are advancing by means of their own powers; and this account manifest that they are truly making marked progress along all the most essential lines in Boston.2

The colored people of Chicago are employed in nearly all occupations but are given very small opportunity in many trades.3

The successes of Negroes in Northern cities in both industry and trade are multiplying and with substantial encouragement may change them from the lowest places in labor to the more highly skilled and better paid positions. Since the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor unanimously passed a resolution in 1910 inviting Negroes into its ranks, some of its affiliated bodies have shown active sympathy with this sentiment and have taken steps in different cities to being in Negro workmen. Studies of Negro business enterprises in Philadelphia and New York City, and extensive attendance at the annual meetings of the National Negro Business League show substantial progress over unusual obstacles.4

When Booker T. Washington helped to organize the National Negro Business League in 1900, some prominent colored citizens of Boston only sneered at the idea of getting Negroes together

2. Daniels, John, In Freedom's Birthplace, p. 416.
for better business. One of the scoffers was William H. Lewis, a well-known colored lawyer and former United States Assistant Attorney-General. Recently Mr. Lewis admitted his error, moved his change by becoming a life member of the League, and declared emphatically that the Negro has before him an economic empire to conquer.1

Several authorities think that the recent increase of segregation has proved the fact that the Negroes are competing successfully with whites and arousing the latter to restrict them. The more intelligent Negroes have acquired property in good residence districts and have come into closer personal contact and into keener competition with the whites.2 The whites often resent this aggressiveness, for property usually sells at a lower price when Negroes live in the neighborhood. If they wish to remain, their only alternative is to exclude the Negro.

The industrial conditions developed since the European War began have created new labor opportunities for the Negroes. Many of the factories and business concerns of the North that have never before employed colored labor have accepted the Negroes on equal terms with the whites; and other business houses that have employed Negroes are increasing the number of blacks. The Dean Steam Pump Company of Holyoke, Massachusetts has employed seventy-five Negroes, and is said to want three hundred more. The Carnegie Steel Company of Newark, New Jersey

has just begun to employ Negroes with thirty-five Negroes received and more wanted. Palmer's Ship Yard in Noank, Connecticut and the Dover Stove Works in Dover, New Jersey are beginning to employ colored men. Kaufmann's Department Store, the largest store in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has recently replaced the delivery force with two hundred and fifty-one Negroes.

These new opportunities and high wages are attracting many Negroes to the North. Philadelphia's Negro population is growing at a rate little short of a folk migration. Practically every Negro from one town in North Carolina and whole church congregations headed by their pastors from Virginia have migrated to the North. The Pennsylvania Railroad has brought twelve thousand men from the South in the last nine months. About two thousand five hundred of these are working for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the others have gone to Philadelphia and other large cities. They are offered good wages and many of them have brought from fifty to fifteen hundred dollars realized from selling their property in the South, which they wish to invest in new homes in Philadelphia.

The Negroes have also been coming into Chicago at the rate of about four hundred per day and the most of them seem to be finding work. About forty thousand have come to Chicago in

3. Statement made by Professor Orris J. Milliken, Principal of the Chicago School for Delinquent Boys, in a personal interview, April 12, 1917.
the past few months. "The Negroes are the best laborers in Chicago and are ahead of the Italians, Slavs or any other immigrants," is the statement of Mr. H. B. Knowlton, the Illinois State Manager of The Travellers Insurance Company, which is one of the leading writers of industrial insurance.

At the time of this writing both the New York Central Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad are calling for Negro laborers.

One Detroit factory is seeking for a full force of colored employees.

These illustrations are only typical of the industrial conditions in many of the Northern states at the present time and "the Negro will hold the balance of labor power during the war," is the statement by Mrs. Charles F. Taylor.

As a reaction against the Negro migration the South is offering better inducements to Negroes to keep them for Southern labor. This northward migration is resulting in improved conditions for the Negroes who remain in the South. Time will reveal the complete result of this revolution in Negro labor. It is giving the Negro a new hold on Northern industries. Will he be able to retain this new grip after the War? What

1. From an address by Miss Harriet Vitnum, Head Resident of Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, given at the University of Illinois, April 10, 1917.
2. From a personal interview, April 12, 1917.
5. Ibid, v. 13, p. 19C.
effect will the sensational migration to new environments in Northern cities have on the Negroes? Will the result be good for them? Will it be good for the North? Will it be good for the South? These are open questions. The future will answer them.
Wherever the Negroes, either free or slave, have begun to enter trades that were composed mostly of white men, they have met opposition. This has been true especially in the North where the Negroes have always composed a very small proportion of the population. As early as 1708 the slave mechanics in Pennsylvania were so numerous as to make the freemen feel their competition severely.\(^1\) In several states, both in the North and in the South, either legislative action or trade organizations prohibited negroes from entering certain trades.\(^2\) This opposition was manifested in occasional riots and bloodshed.\(^3\) Local labor organizations began to form national unions about ten years prior to the Civil War, and nearly all of them either tacitly or in plain words excluded the Negro from all participation.\(^4\)

Immediately following the Civil War, officers of the National Labor Union began to see the necessity of the cooperation of the black and white races. In August 19, 1866, an appeal was made to all laborers of every creed, nationality or color, whether skilled or unskilled, unionist or non-unionist to combine to end poverty.\(^5\) The Knights of Labor, organized in Philadelphia in 1869, held its first national convention in

1876, and supplanted the National Labor Union. It began the first really effective cooperation of workingmen. The organization grew and was powerful in uniting all races in one labor union. The total membership probably numbered over half a million at one time and began to decline about 1881 when the American Federation of Labor was organized on a similar basis and gradually supplanted the Knights of Labor. These organizations have held strongly for a union of all laborers, regardless of race, and have experienced little difficulty in drawing Negroes and Negro unions into the affiliated organizations. The greatest opposition that the Negro has met has been from the local organizations or from trade unions that were not affiliated with the national organizations. The American Federation formerly refused to admit any union which in its written constitution, excluded Negroes from membership. There have been a very few unions that have practically ignored this rule and yet have affiliated with the American Federation. In a considerable degree the color line has been actually wiped out in the affiliated organizations. Great unions controlled by Northern men have insisted on absolute equality for colored members in the South. Many local unions receive whites and blacks on equal terms. However, the national unions often organize separate unions for both races where the locals have large numbers of Negroes. In 1896 the Atlantic Federation of Trades declined to enter the peace jubilee parade because col-

2. These are chiefly railroad workers unions.
ored delegates were excluded.\footnote{1}

In 1897 the national conventional of the American Federation adopted a resolution condemning a reported statement of Booker T. Washington that the trades unions were placing obstacles in the way of the material advancement of the Negro, and reaffirming the declaration of the Federation that it welcomed to its ranks all labor without regard to creed, color, nationality or race. One delegate from the South declared that the white people in the South would not submit to the employment of the Negro in the mills, and that the federal labor union of which he was a member did not admit Negroes. President Gompers said that a union affiliated with the Federation had no right to debar the Negro from membership. At times the labor leaders have found it advisable to permit local separate organizations in the South, for occasionally a local had refused to admit members on account of color. In such cases an effort had been made to form a separate colored union and form a trades council of both blacks and whites. This plan was usually successful. Yet in some parts of the South more serious differences had arisen when central bodies chartered by the Federation had refused to receive delegates from local unions of Negroes. In some cases the Federation had been unable to insist that these delegates be received for fear of disrupting the central bodies. The convention overcame this difficulty

\footnote{1. The Atlanta University Publications, No. 7, p. 156.}
by amending the constitution to permit the executive council to charter central labor unions as well as local trade and federal unions, composed exclusively of colored members when it seemed practical and necessary.\textsuperscript{1}

The decade ending in 1900 marked a period of rapid increase of Negro membership in the trade unions. The Atlanta University Publications, v. 7, sums up their special investigations of this period as follows:\textsuperscript{2} The trade unions may be divided into (1) those which receive Negroes freely; (2) those to which Negroes never apply; and (3) those which receive Negro workmen only after pressure. The unions with a considerable Negro membership are given in the following table:\textsuperscript{3}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Unions</th>
<th>Negro membership 1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>Total membership 1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journeymen Barber's International Union</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>6672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brick, Tile and Terra-Cotta Workers' Alliance</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Broom-makers' Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>20000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigar-makers' International Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coopers' International Union</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
<td>4481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>3600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Longshoremen's Association</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>20000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Mine Workers of America</td>
<td></td>
<td>20000</td>
<td>224000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>28000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Seamen's Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Workers' International Union</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>6170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood of Operative Plasterers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers' and Masons' Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1, 2 and 3. See next page.
This list fairly represents the trades in which the Negro was strongest when he emerged from slavery and he has held the same position and hold it today. Most of these unions deny any color-discrimination altho the secretary of the carpenters merely said, "None that I know of;" the carriage and wagon workers: "None that has been reported;" the coopers: "If any, it was many years ago;" and the painters' secretary: "I do not know." However, the carpenters and coopers both admit that local unions could refuse to receive Negroes, and the carpenters and plasterers are not certain that the travelling card of a Negro union man would be recognized by all local unions. More details could be given but the following summary illustrates approximately the order of increasing hostility toward the Negro:

Miners--Welcome Negroes in nearly all cases.
Longshoremen--Welcome Negroes in nearly all cases.
Cigar-makers--Admit practically all applicants.
Barbers--Admit many, but restrain Negroes when possible.
Seamen--Admit many, but prefer whites.
Firemen--Admit many, but prefer whites.
Tobacco Workers--Admit many, but prefer whites.
Carriage and Wagon Workers--Admit some, but do not seek Negroes.

3. Ibid, p. 158. The number of Negro members was reported by the local unions, but the total membership represents the minimum estimates made by the American Federation of Labor based on actual fees paid. See the Report of the Industrial Commission.
Brick-makers—Admit some, but do not seek Negroes.
Coopers—Admit some, but do not seek Negroes.
Broom-makers—Admit some, but do not seek Negroes.
Plasterers—Admit freely in South and a few in North.
Carpenters—Admit many in South, almost none in North.
Masons—Admit many in South, almost none in North.
Painters—Admit a few in South, almost none in North.

The national unions that report a few Negro members are given in the following table: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Unions</th>
<th>Negro Membership</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners' International Union</td>
<td>&quot;Several&quot;</td>
<td>6271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths</td>
<td>&quot;Very few&quot;</td>
<td>4700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America</td>
<td>1CC or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot and Shoe Workers' Union</td>
<td>A few</td>
<td>6037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Union of United Brewery Workers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners</td>
<td>A few</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Society of Coal Hoisting Engineers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Society of Engineers</td>
<td>&quot;Several&quot;</td>
<td>1779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Union of Steam Engineers</td>
<td>A few—1 local</td>
<td>4409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Garment Workers of America</td>
<td>1C</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granite Cutters National Union</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Hatters of America</td>
<td>Very few</td>
<td>7500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


At the time these investigations were made the hodcarriers union was only a local organization and was not mentioned. It was really composed of semi-skilled laborers with a predominating Negro membership in all parts of the country. Now the hodcarriers union is an international organization.

2. The largest blacksmith and repair shop in the state of Kansas is kept by a Negro in Atchison. His income is said to be more than eight thousand dollars a year. See Atlanta University Publications, No. 17, p. 56.
## Trade Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Unions</th>
<th>Negro Membership</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Union of Horse Shoers of United States and Canada</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International League of America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers</td>
<td>&quot;Practically none&quot;</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union</td>
<td>2 locals</td>
<td>3066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tube Workers' International Union &quot;Some&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America</td>
<td>A few</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Federation of Musicians</td>
<td>A few--1 local</td>
<td>8100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journeymen Tailors' Union of America</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Typographical Union</td>
<td>A few</td>
<td>38991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch-case Engravers' International Association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union</td>
<td>25-50?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>14500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following unions report that they have no colored members:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Unions</th>
<th>Negro Members</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders</td>
<td>&quot;Not wanted&quot;</td>
<td>7078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Bookbinders</td>
<td>&quot;No record&quot;</td>
<td>3730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association of Car Workers</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chainmakers' National Union of the U. S. A.</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association</td>
<td>&quot;None in trade&quot;</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers</td>
<td>&quot;Not allowed&quot;</td>
<td>7000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union</td>
<td>&quot;None in trade&quot;</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade Union</th>
<th>Negro Members</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Flint Glass Workers' Union</td>
<td>&quot;Never had any&quot;</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass Bottle Blowers' Association</td>
<td>&quot;None in trade&quot;</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association</td>
<td>&quot;No applications&quot;</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Jewelry Workers' Union of America</td>
<td>&quot;None in trade&quot;</td>
<td>3402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operatives</td>
<td>&quot;Question undecided&quot;</td>
<td>30000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Association of Machinists</td>
<td>&quot;None admitted&quot;</td>
<td>2403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Composition Metal Workers' International Union</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>1269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brotherhood of Papermakers</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern-makers League of North A.</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano and Organ Workers International Union of America</td>
<td>&quot;None in trade&quot;</td>
<td>2450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters' Helpers</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>9745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Operative Potters</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union</td>
<td>&quot;No record&quot;</td>
<td>1269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Railway Telegraphers and Brotherhood of Commercial Telegraphers</td>
<td>Barred by constit't'n</td>
<td>3435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union</td>
<td>&quot;None known&quot;</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union</td>
<td>&quot;Question not settled&quot;</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stove Mounters, Steel Range Workers, and Pattern Fitters and Filers International Union of North America</td>
<td>&quot;No legislation&quot;</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Textile Workers of America</td>
<td>&quot;No applications&quot;</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union</td>
<td>&quot;No applications&quot;</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trunk &amp; Bag Workers International Union</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>3435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholsterers International Union of North America</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>1269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trade Union | Negro Members | Total Membership
---|---|---
The American Wire Weavers Protective Association | "Would not work with Negro" | 226
International Wood-carvers' Association | "No applicants" | 39000
Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers | Barred by constit't'n | 37000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen | " " " | 15000
Brotherhood of Railway Car-men | " " " | 15000
The Switchmen's Union of North America | " " " | 15000
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen | Would not be ad'tted | 25800
Order of Railroad Conductors | Don't admit Negroes | 10000
The Stone Cutters Association | "None" | 10000
Special Order Clothing-makers Union | "None" | 10000
D. A. 3CC, K. of L. (window glass workers) | "None" | 10000
Custom Clothing Makers' Union | "None" | 10000

The reasons given for discrimination against Negroes vary. Some of them are mentioned below.

"Unfit for the business."--Telegraphers.

"Not the equals of white men."--Boiler-makers.

"Color."--Electricians, Locomotive Firemen.

"Race prejudice among the rank and file of our members."--Trainmen.

When asked if these objections would disappear in time, the answers were:

"No."--Locomotive Firemen.

"Eventually; co-operation will come."--Trainmen.

"We hope so."--Electricians.

"Not until prejudice in the South disappears."--Engineers.

"Time makes and works its own changes."--Boiler-makers.

"Think not."--Telegraphers.

The general attitude of the Federation of Labor, and even of the National Unions, has little more than a moral effect in the admission of Negroes to trade unions. The real power of admission in nearly all cases rest with the local assemblies, by whose vote any person may be refused, and in a large number of cases a small minority of any local may absolutely bar a person to whom they object. The object of this is to keep out persons of bad character or sometimes incompetent workmen. In practice, however, it gives the local or a few of its members a monopoly of the labor market and a chance to exercise, consciously or unconsciously, their prejudices against foreigners, or Irishmen, or Jews, or Negroes.

The following unions require a majority vote for admission of any person to the locals:

1. Boot and Shoe Workers Amalgamated Engineers
   Amalgamated Carpenters Metal Polishers
   Bottle Blowers Stove Mounters
   Glass Workers Bakers
   Wood Workers Barbers
   Coopers Steam Engineers
   Stogie-makers Coal Hoisting Engineers

The wood workers, coal hoisting engineers, and coopers, require the favorable report of an examining committee in addition.

The following require a two-thirds vote for admission to the locals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brotherhood of Carpenters</th>
<th>Sheet Metal Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>Pattern-makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile Layers</td>
<td>Tin Plate Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint Glass Workers</td>
<td>Broom-makers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Iron and Steel Workers

These unions require more than a two-thirds vote for admission:

- Electrical Workers, two-thirds vote, plus one, and examination.
- Molders, two-thirds vote, plus one.
- Core-makers, two-thirds vote, plus one.
- Boiler-makers, three black balls reject.
- Blacksmiths, three black balls reject, two require second election.
- Street Railway Employees, three-fourths vote.
- Leather Workers, (horse goods), three black balls reject.

Many of the local unions acknowledged that they could refuse to recognize a travelling card held by a Negro, although several said that the action was illegal.

The Atlanta University again made investigations regarding the position of the Negro in the trades in 1912. Reports from seventy-nine cities selected at random from the whole country showed that forty-five had Negro members in one or more of the local unions and twenty-four had none. A few of these had had colored members at some previous time, some had refused Negroes and more had never had Negro applicants. A larger number of

2. The Atlanta University Publications, No. 17, p. 166.
unions seem to be opening up to the Negro and he had gained in the aggregate, although he had lost in some unions. The United Mine Workers of America reported twenty-five thousand colored members; and eighty per cent of the largest local with one thousand five hundred eight members were Negroes. 1

Where the Negroes become numerous or skillful enough they begin to force their way into the unions as much as the Italians or Russian Jews. Wherever Negroes are prepared, skilled and energetic the unions have had to take them in as matter of self-protection. The Negro is as much a part of labor unionism as the white man in several great industries. 2 And in mining, ship-carpentry and many other industries in the South colored men are admitted into the unions with the whites and they seem to be guaranteed "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in equal security with the white men. 3

The Negro trade unionists have not yet shown the organizing capacity of some other races. In most of these cases the Negroes are being organized by the white men not so much for the protection of the Negroes themselves as for the protection of the white workman. If the Negro is brought to the position of refusing to work for lower wages than the white man he has taken the most difficult step in organization. 4

1. The Atlanta University Publications, No. 17, p. 83.
4. Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 51.
The foregoing facts show that the National labor leaders have shown commendable liberality in their attitude toward the Negroes. However, there is room for decided improvement in this respect on the part of many of the local unions. Their interests are bound up with the industrial freedom of the Negro today as surely as the welfare of the free workingmen before the war was affected by slave labor and cooperation is essential. The Negro and white laborers and mechanics are feeling the necessity of cooperation and unity and the unions are seeing more and more the necessity for a closer union within the various labor organizations. It is only a question of time when white working men and black working men will see their common cause against the aggressions of exploiting capitalists. White and black masons are in one union in Atlanta; white and black miners are working in a unit in Alabama and the executive officials of the miners in Alabama consist of four whites and four Negroes.

In Atlanta about three fourths of the bricklayers are colored but a majority of the carpenters are white. Each race has its union but most employers attribute greater efficiency to the whites who receive somewhat better pay.

The number of Negroes in New York City labor unions is increasing and as they gain in productive efficiency they will become increasingly important to the world of organized labor.¹

The fact that the number of Negroes engaged in trade and transportation and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits doubled between 1890 and 1910 is especially significant for it betokens an increase of skill on the part of colored people, and shows that in spite of general beliefs and some opposition of trade and labor unions to the admission of Negroes into skilled industries, they are opening the doors to these industries themselves on the ground of their own efficiency.² As the Negroes become more numerous in the semi-skilled trades unions they constantly gain greater strength to enter the more highly skilled labor organizations.

It is necessary to consider the attitude of the Negro toward the union as well as the attitude of the union toward the Negro. Often the Negroes do not enter the unions when they are repeatedly invited if they see no special advantage in the Union.³ These cases have usually occurred where competition was not severe. At times the Negro has been employed as a

The barbers of Urbana and Champaign have repeatedly been invited to join the union but have always refused. They also have refused to apply for a separate charter although there is a sufficient number to organize.
strike-breaker, and again the white unions have struck when Negroes have been employed.\(^1\) The problem is seen to be a double one, (1) to educate the unions to the need of admitting all qualified Negroes, and (2) to educate all the Negroes to the advantage of organization. The largest labor organizations are in favor of these steps and working for them and conditions are improving for the Negroes.\(^2\)

1. The Atlanta University Publications, No. 17, p. 73.
The colored "Mammy" was one of the most important individuals on the Southern plantations during the time of slavery. She had the training in the proverbial "trade school" of every plantation, that prepared her for cooking, sewing, nursing and other domestic occupations.

The colored girls chosen for this training were selected from among the highest and brightest classes. The dullest ones were worked in the fields. Those selected for domestic training were frequently employed as ladies' maids, private seamstresses, special nurses or for other selected service. Because of the close personal contact with the whites they often absorbed a considerable amount of their learning, in addition to the skill which they possessed in their respective occupations.  

It has been said that the black hands of the Negro had cooked the food, nursed the babies, cared for the homes and borne other burdens in the South for which a great debt was due the colored race.  

While it is true that the South is indebted to the Negro, it is also true that the Negro is indebted to the South. But many of the colored women that grew up after emancipation had not the advantages of the training that had made their mothers  

the coveted "Mammies" of the South. In addition to the lack of training there developed a careless and independent attitude among many of the colored girls. Their interests were less bound up with those of the "Missus" and their conduct gave evidence of their attitude. They frequently were careless and playful like overgrown children and did little work unless they were driven to it. If they were sent to clean a room, start a fire or do some other small household duty, it was necessary to follow them and direct them in every little detail in order to be sure that the work was done well. They would not mind well and when reprimanded would laugh as tho they considered the whole matter a joke and say that they meant nothing wrong. 

In recent years the situation has changed somewhat, but many of the female domestics of the South are still untrained and incompetent servants. The writer's experience in Southern Illinois and Kentucky showed that many of the white women were irritated and displeased with the inefficiency of colored girls. Many of them could not be trusted to do ordinary work in the kitchen without almost constant supervision, and the general opinion seemed to be that the colored girls that now available are inferior to those a generation ago.

But where the colored girls have had domestic school training they are making good. The Boston Trade School for Girls reports that the year that institution was organized, its enrollment included some Negro girls and their number steadily in-

creased until twenty-eight were attending during the fifth year. There had been eighty-six Negro girls in a total enrollment of nine hundred sixty-one during the five year period ending in 1909. This is nine per cent or four times the proportion of Negroes in the population of Boston. Mr. Daniels in his study of Boston Negroes says that this particular rate of increase may be accepted as typical of the general move for improvement in this direction.1 The records of a representative number of colored girls who had attended the school six months or more showed that of eleven who had attended the dressmaking department from six to nineteen months, only two showed no marked progress, while two advanced from "poor" to "good," four from "fair" to good," and three from "good" to "very good" and "excellent;" that all subsequently obtained positions in the dressmaking trade, and at the end of from six months to four years, all but one showed wage increases averaging two dollars and fifteen cents a week, and several had received an increase of four dollars a week. The presence of the Negro girls at the Boston Trade School for Girls gave rise to no friction and some of them carried their practical education higher into the classes in dressmaking, millinery, and handwork at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Here, also, the colored girls are reported to be doing well. They cause no embarrassment and are able to obtain good positions without much difficulty.2

1. Daniels, Joh, In Freedom's Birthplace, pp. 381-382.
2. Ibid, pp. 379-381.
In Philadelphia there have been few opportunities for Negro girls to receive domestic training, but many are realizing that this training is necessary if they wish to compete with white domestics.¹

It is coming to be recognized more and more that the servant problem in both the North and the South will have to be handled locally by each community. It has been suggested that housekeepers unite to work out the servant problem and to encourage domestic science work among Negro women. In this connection it is pointed out that in almost all the Southern cities the facilities for teaching domestic science work are better in the public schools for whites than in the public schools for Negroes.

In Rock Hill, South Carolina, an attempt is being made to solve the servant problem by establishing a school for Negro servants. The public schools of the town in cooperation with the Rock Hill Gas Company have equipped a model kitchen to facilitate the teaching of domestic science. Only the working class of colored girls and women are admitted. The course is free and is designed to enable workers to earn better wages as well as to produce better servants.

The Atlanta, Georgia, Woman's Club, thru its committee of domestic science has inaugurated a cooking school for Negro cooks. The Gate City Free Kindergarten Association, an organization of representative Negro women, is cooperating in the

movement and assisting by furnishing food stuffs used in the demonstrations. When the school was opened fully a thousand colored women sought admittance but the capacity of the hall limited the number to eight hundred. A group of housekeepers of the community representing some of Atlanta's prominent club women were present in the assembly. They seem to realize that a general cooperation of housekeepers is necessary if the movement to train colored domestic service is to result in general efficiency among colored servants.¹

The persistence of Negro women engaged in domestic and personal service in New York City has been studied by Mr. Haynes. His results are typical, are given in the following table:²

Length of Service for eight hundred two Negro Women in Occupations of Personal and Domestic Service in New York City:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under three months</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From three to five months</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From six to eleven months</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year to one year eleven months</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years to two years eleven months</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three years and over</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>802</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. The Negro Year Book, 1916-17, p. 9.
The records of some of the seventy-two who remained in one place of service for three or more years show that five remained four years; two, four and a half years; nine, five years; three, six years; four, seven years, two, eight years; one, twelve years; three, fifteen years; and one, "eighteen years off and on."¹

Some investigations by Isabel Eaton in the Seventh Ward, the Negro District of Philadelphia, give the service periods of five hundred ninety-one colored women. Four hundred thirteen of these women served less than five years with an average service period of three and a half years. The remaining one hundred seventy-eight women served during periods ranging from five to thirty-five years, the average being six years and eight months.²

Allowances must always be made for the opinions and dispositions of employers. Mr. Haynes investigations in New York City gave the answers of the former employers of eight hundred two Negro women. The results are in favor of the colored domestic and are summed up in the following table:³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Capable</th>
<th>Sober or temperate</th>
<th>Honest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly so</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So far as I know or I think so</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decidedly No2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Public opinion often considers colored women incompetent and unsatisfactory, and sometimes such estimates are correct. But the above results signed by a representative number of disinterested former employers show that the majority of Negro women engaged in domestic and personal service are capable, temperate, and honest, and remain with one employer a reasonable length of time. The results are even more significant when the shifting conditions of city life, the mobility of such wage-earners and the weak tenure of domestic and personal service in a modern city, are taken into consideration.\(^1\)

Investigations of Isabel Eaton\(^2\) in Philadelphia give opinions of fifty-five employers to the effect that the blacks were preferred, both in regard to service and in the attitude toward


the employer, in nearly all cases.

Opinions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites give</th>
<th>Blacks more</th>
<th>No difference</th>
<th>Whites more neat</th>
<th>better service</th>
<th>neat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blacks stay as long Whites stay Blacks give No difference better service

| 10 | 7 | 11 | 14 |

Nearly all of the fifty-five employers had had experience with both black and white servants.

The one who thought that whites did better work employed colored servants, but stated that she did so because they looked more like servants.

The general opinion of the employers was that the Negro domestics were "more willing and obliging" than white servants. Some who had employed colored domestics for a number of years said that there is much more to them than people think. The opinions of the small number of employers have little or no statistical value, but they do have a very practical value. They show that colored servants are like other human beings. Some are trustworthy, and others are not; some are perfectly reliable and others quite the opposite. The whole number of colored domestics cannot be classed together.¹

The colored women are restricted chiefly to domestic service and they do quite as well economically as white girls of similar efficiency.² Their services are more and more in de-

mand in domestic occupations,¹ and the census returns show that in a majority of states there are more colored people in domestic service than in any other occupation. In Pennsylvania over ninety-one per cent of the colored workingmen are engaged in domestic service.²

The Negro domestics in Evanston, Illinois seem to be gaining over the Swedes, their chief competitors, according to Mr. H. B. Knowlton³ who was mentioned in a previous section. The Evanston Country Club and the Evanston Golf Club employ colored dining service exclusively.

Throughout the North Negro women are eagerly sought for domestic service since the recent Negro migration northward.⁴ There are also new openings for colored women in factories which are really creating another field for their services.⁵

Some examples of genuine heroism are found in the economic struggle of Negro women. Their interest in clubs and accomplishments at home are quite persistent, to say nothing of their influence over their husbands.

There are a number of Negro Women's Clubs, one example being The National Association of Colored Women. Many of these

3. Mr. Knowlton is the Illinois State Manager of the Travellers Insurance Company, one of the largest underwriters of industrial insurance in the United States.
clubs have departments devoted to industrial conditions, children's work, mothers' meetings, education and other similar matters, and they are a source of great benefit not only to the women themselves but also to the whole colored communities.  

1. The Negro Year Book, 1916-17, pp. 39C-4CC. Daniels, John, In Freedom's Birthplace, pp. 2C3-214. (This means what it says).
SECTION VIII

A STUDY OF THE NEGROES IN URBANA AND CHAMPAIGN

The twin cities, Urbana and Champaign, have a population of twenty-two thousand five hundred twenty-one. The Negroes constitute six and fourteen hundredths of this number. The proportion of Negroes is much smaller than that in many of the southern cities of similar size, but it is typical of the northern cities in general.

The investigations were made by the writer during the college year of 1916 and 1917. The information was received from the United Charities Association, the Truancy Officer, the Probation Officer, the School Nurse and reports of special work done by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Men's Christian Association and of some other work done by individuals. Personal house to house visits were made among colored families to determine the economic conditions as they really exist in this community. Personal interviews with colored men to obtain their story of their own efforts furnished a valuable and interesting part of the investigations.

Reports from all of the banks and practically all of the Loan Associations give the estimate of these business houses of the thrift of the Negro.

All of the business concerns that employ a large number of laborers were interviewed to learn their position regarding colored labor, and their reasons for that position.

The local labor unions were investigated to ascertain the place that the Negroes hold in the various trades.

Special investigations of the experience of the University fraternity and sorority houses and of the hotels regarding the Negroes' efficiency as cooks, helpers and miscellaneous laborers gave some significant results.


The records of the Twin Cities United Charities Association for the past two years are quite complete. The reports here given are for the year 1916.

The total number of families cared for was six hundred seventy-eight, of which two hundred fifteen or forty-six and forty-four hundredths per cent were Negroes. Each monthly report gave approximately the same proportion as the total number. The number receiving aid is always much larger in the winter than in the summer. The six hundred seventy-eight cases reported represent nearly twice the actual number of different families receiving aid. It is the summary of the monthly reports, which figures one family as two or three families if they had received aid during two or three months of the year, etc. The field worker, a trained expert, makes all reports, determines causes for requiring charity, and conducts the work of the organization in an accurate and comprehensible manner.

Various causes, as accident, sickness, death, etc., were given as contributing to the failure of these families and their
subsequent need of charity. But since many of these causes do not really represent the industrial ability of the workers they are not considered here. Thus, a man might be earning sufficient to keep his family in fairly good economic condition, but leave them with no resources in the event of accident, sickness or death removing him and stopping his earnings.

However, idleness, incompetence, insufficient earnings and unemployment represent very directly the economic ability of the bread winner. The figures show that: of the total number receiving aid because of idleness, the Negroes constituted thirty-seven and one half per cent; of the total number receiving aid because of incompetence, the Negroes constituted sixteen per cent; of the total number receiving aid because of insufficient earnings, the Negroes constituted fifty-three and forty-four hundredths per cent; and of the total number receiving aid because of unemployment, the Negroes constituted fifty-eight and forty-nine hundredths per cent. Since forty-six and forty-four hundredths per cent of the total number of families receiving charity were colored, it is seen that the Negro furnished eight and ninety-four hundredths per cent less than his proportion for idleness; thirty and forty-four hundredths per cent less than his proportion for incompetence; seven per cent more than his proportion for insufficient earnings; and twelve and five hundredths per cent more than his proportion for unemployment.

These causes were determined by the field expert, after the cases had been adequately investigated. Thus, if the
breadwinner failed to make an honest effort to earn when a job was secured for him, idleness was given as the cause; if he worked hard but failed to do the work in a manner that was satisfactory to his employer, he was incompetent; if he was unable to support his family on his wages, the cause was insufficient earnings, even when employed; and if he filled efficiently the position secured for him by the field expert, the cause for his previous poverty was given as unemployment. The causes were quite distinct altho they indicate that the majority of white families who receive charity are the more abnormal members of their race, the idlers and the incompetent and inefficient classes, while it is a large army of the more nearly normal Negroes who are charity recipients. The Negroes furnish six and fourteen hundredths per cent of the total population and forty-six and forty-four hundredths of the population receiving charity, or thirty-nine and seven hundredths per cent more than their proportion of the entire population.

These results seem to indicate: first, that the Negro is not a shirker; second, that he is less incompetent than the white man in his same class; third, that he receives a smaller wage than his white co-laborer; and fourth, that the labor market does not demand his labor as readily as it does that of the white man. The Negroes are in poverty largely because they are engaged in the kind of work which is irregular and in which wages are low. There are few skilled workmen among them. They are mostly day laborers engaged in seasonal or casual employment. It is significant that insufficient wages claimed
the largest number of charity recipients; unemployment, the
second largest number; incompetence a much smaller number; and
idleness only a few. This would indicate a preponderance of
Negroes in the classes of insufficient wages and unemployment.

The school nurse found that more Negro families live under
poor economic conditions, but they make almost as good health
records as the whites. In fact, the records that they make
are quite remarkable when compared with those of white families
living under similar conditions.

The Truancy Officer finds a greater proportion of truancy
because of economic troubles among the Negroes than among the
whites, but thinks they make a better showing under similar
conditions. They seem to be in earnest and they manifest
greater persistence in adverse circumstances.

The Probation Officer has had only two Negro children in
several months, and they were orphans; but hardly a day passes
without one or more white children needing attention. The eco-
nomic condition of the Negro is probably worse, but it does
not react to make the juveniles more delinquent.

The President of the Domestic Science department of the
Woman's Club thinks there are about as many colored cooks and
domestics, as there are white; and they are as faithful and ef-
ficient in the same circumstances.

The Secretary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union
work among the Negroes reports that they found a larger number
of educated colored people than they expected, when they began
their work among them. They work to improve the domestic life and many of the colored people have school certificates and teachers' diplomas, and are anxious to assist their own race. The Secretary thinks that usually colored help is preferable if it is as well trained. It is probably more difficult to find adequately trained colored help for they are more ignorant in many ways and consequently less able to go ahead and assume the responsibility of the house work, but they are more likely to do the work as directed when they do understand.

II. Negro Labor in Hotels.

The Beardsley Hotel has employed colored cooks for a number of years. They are regarded by the management as preferable to whites for they try to please when they learn the work, and can be depended upon. The chief cook has been there several years, and when he leaves a colored cook will take his place.

The Inman Hotel has employed both white and colored cooks and finds them equally efficient but has received better satisfaction from Negro porters than from white porters.

The Columbian Hotel has employed both Negroes and whites as cooks and at other work. There is very little difference in the efficiency of the two races, but the Negro is more inclined to become careless after he has worked a few months and feels quite sure of his job. For this reason they often are less persistent in holding a position than the whites.
The Illinois Hotel has employed both races as cooks, helpers and porters. The Negroes are as good as the whites.

The Hamilton Hotel is run on the European plan with no boarding department. Negroes have been employed as porters but they are considered independable and are not employed when whites are available.

The Burnham Hospital employs colored cooks and considers them better than white cooks.

The culinary work at the hospital is similar to that at the hotels, and for this reason it is classified with the hotels. The total number of places investigated is six, of which three preferred colored help, two preferred white help and one found equal satisfaction in the two races.

III. The Reports of the Fraternity and the Sorority Houses of the University of Illinois on the Efficiency of Negroes as Cooks, Waiters and Porters.¹

A. Fraternities. There are fifty fraternity houses in the University neighborhood that have boarding facilities. The reports given represent the actual experience of the fraternities with hired domestic help, and are summarized in the following table:

1. The fraternities that employed colored help employed men and women in nearly equal numbers, but the sororities employed only colored women. The information was received by interviews directly with the chaperon, matron, commissary, or some other officer. In some cases several officers and other members were interviewed. When the purpose of the data was made known the officer interviewed would often voluntarily give the experience of his or her respective organization with colored domestics. In some cases it was necessary to ask several questions, but all of the persons interviewed seemed glad to supply the information, and the results are significant.
Had employed both  | Colored only  | Whites only
---|---|---
Colored better | 11 | 3
White better | 6 | 
No difference | 15 | 
Didn't know | | 15
Totals | 32 | 3 | 15

Seventy per cent had had experience with colored cooks and domestics, and forty-three per cent of these reported equal results from both races; forty per cent preferred colored, and seventeen per cent preferred white domestics.

Of the six fraternities that preferred whites, four said that Negroes were "dirty;" one, independent and careless; and one, that they "got drunk." One of those who preferred Negroes said that they were, "easy to please;" another said that "they were the best we ever had;" and still another said that the Negroes "deliver the goods better, try to suit better and are less independent than whites."

One of the fraternities that preferred Negroes said that, "the white family fed off them all the time," and another said that the white cooks were independent and careless.

One fraternity has employed Negro cooks for seventeen years, one for seven, one for six, and others for about the same length of time.

B. Sororities. There are sixteen sororities having boarding facilities and ten of these had employed colored cooks.
Two of these found no difference between the two races; seven preferred colored cooks and one preferred whites.

One of the sororities reported that the blacks and whites did not work well together. One said that the colored woman was a good cook but she was 'dirty. Another reported that the entire domestic force for ten years had been colored, they were satisfactory in every way and considered better than whites. Another sorority reported that colored help had always been employed and they feared that they would have to resort to white help for the colored cook was growing very old.

It is interesting to note that the same objections are offered to both races which proves the individuals not the races to be inefficient.

IV. Business HOUSES, Railroads and Other Concerns that Employ Many Laborers.

The reports of eight employers of labor in the twin cities show eleven hundred one men employed of whom two hundred twenty-seven or twenty-one per cent are Negroes. Six per cent of the population of the twin cities are Negroes, which gives them nearly three and a half times their proportion of laborers. However, the majority of these are in unskilled occupations.

Three of the eight employers employed Negroes only when they could get no other workers, and gave as their reasons, "slow and must be driven," "independable," and "whites will not work with them!" One other company reported the Negroes as, "slow and 'unsteady," while four found them satisfactory.
In all cases equal pay was given for equal work, and one of the railroad shops employs several skilled Negro workmen.

V. Reports of Contractors on Negro Labor.

The eight leading contractors in the twin cities reported at times as many as three thousand one hundred ninety laborers, of whom fifteen hundred fifty or forty-eight and five tenths percent are Negroes. Three of the smallest employers whose crews aggregated only one hundred eighty-five men preferred whites and gave as their reasons, the Negroes "don't work as well;" "are undependable;" "require a boss and can't think, but are as good as foreigners."

The other five contractors preferred Negroes for laborers. One of the larger employers said that the Negroes are better workers, more easily pleased, are content to do work that whites will not do, and learn a considerable degree of skill quite easily. Another large contractor said that the Negroes were much better than the foreigners.

VI. The Negroes in the Labor Unions.

The Negroes constitute more than half of the local Hodcarriers Union which is well organized in the twin cities, and there are a few in the Plasterers' Union. They have been represented in the Carpenters and some of the other Builders' Unions but these have no colored members now.

The Barbers' Union has repeatedly invited the colored barbers to join, but they refuse to do this and also refuse to organize a separate union. Some of the best barber shops in the
twin cities are colored shops, but they seem to hold off because they wish to keep longer hours and to keep prices lower.

VII. The Extent of Negro Business with the Banks and with the Building and Loan Associations.

A. Banks. This information was received from the bank officers themselves and represents the general position accredited the Negro by the banking interest of the twin cities. The twelve banks have a total of five hundred twenty Negro customers, and the numbers range from one to two hundred in the following order: one, four, five, five, ten, twenty, twenty-five, twenty-five, twenty-five, one hundred, one hundred, two hundred. One bank said that Negro customers were "good;" five said "satisfactory;" four said "not so good as whites;" the bank having four Negro customers said, "their business is negligible;" and the bank with one Negro customer said, "they don't do business here."

There is no race discrimination made but one bank thinks that Negroes should run their own business houses and do business among themselves. Another said that the Negroes are just like other customers,"some are good and some are bad." In two different banks one hundred ten Negroes had invested fairly satisfactory saving accounts.

B. Building and Loan Associations. There are seven Building and Loan Associations, and all but one do business with Negro customers. That one "never did business with Negroes for they are such slow pay and so uncertain. They sometimes apply but are always refused."
One of the companies has thirty-three and a third per cent Negro customers; one has twenty-five per cent; and another has five per cent; the other three have a few. One said that Negro customers are just as safe and reliable; one finds them not so good as whites, but makes no discrimination; one finds them satisfactory, but is more careful of colored securities; one finds them satisfactory, but restricts their customers to property owners; one has about one per cent colored and finds them like children for they don't understand obligations and when they get into difficulties, they can't get out; one has a very few old customers, but refuses them now for they have found Negro customers unreliable.

VIII. Some Examples of Successful Negroes in the Twin Cities.

This list of names was given by a prominent barber who has been successful both in a financial and a professional way. The men were interviewed and gave the following reports.

B-- has been a chef for nineteen years at B--Hotel and is entirely satisfactory. He worked hard and saved, has property and thinks other Negroes could do as well if they put thrift into their work.

N--, a grocer, worked a number of years for one concern and saved enough to buy property. He attributes his success to saving and hard work. Color made very little difference with him, and he thinks other colored people could do better by sacrificing more and "missing more good times" as he did.
J--, a barber, came to Champaign fifteen years ago with his father, and now is with him in the barber business and owns property, obtained by hard work and saving.

W-- is running a panatorium and began with nothing but determination, and he saved. Color made no difference with him. He began at six dollars a week, quit that for a better job and is now a property owner. Other Negroes are too shiftless to succeed better.

R--, a physician and surgeon in Champaign, says that color discrimination never gave him much trouble, altho it is worse here than in Missouri and in Danville where he practiced before coming here. He thinks color is the main cause for Negroes not doing better, tho perhaps they are slower to qualify for better positions.

E--, a barber, has been in business in Champaign five years. He says color might make a little difference, but his trade is practically all white and he thinks the main reason why so many Negroes do not succeed is because they do not work hard with a determination like he did.

D--, a barber in Champaign, began with nothing and was determined to succeed. He worked and saved and now owns property. He says Negroes fail to succeed because they are careless and don't improve opportunities.

F--, a barber, came to Champaign about fifteen years ago with only clothes on his back. Now he owns his home and the building in which his barber shop is located. He employs about
eight barbers. He says all Negroes could do as well if they would save, for he did it thru thrift and work.

G--keeps a panatorium. He says that color never made any difference with him. He began with nothing, worked for what he got, saved and now owns property and runs his own business. Others fail to succeed for lack of thrift, in large part.

P-- runs a panatorium. He worked for several years as fireman in an engine room, then began his own business with his savings. He worked hard and saved and sees no reason why others could not do as well. Color has not seemed to handicap him, al- tho it probably does some.

The Negroes in the twin cities seem to belong largely to the class of unskilled laborers. A sanitary survey made by students from the University of Illinois indicates that they are in the main quite mobile and do not remain in one place long enough to succeed very well if other conditions were favorable.

Those who have succeeded and become thrifty if not partially independent business men attribute their success to simple "hard work and saving" and not to any special advantages.

Practically all persons connected with social service work among the local Negroes think that they do remarkably well under the circumstances.

Discrimination offers no great handicap here, either in business or employment. Some of the banks and a majority of the boarding houses help and encourage and appreciate the Negroes. The University clubs offer special opportunities for cooks and domestics.
The largest contractors prefer Negroes to any other labor and the unions offer no serious objections and in some cases, as the barbers, would be glad to have Negro members.

The Negroes seem to have many general and a few special advantages, as the cooperation of University speakers, Young Men's Christian Association, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other organizations, and if they fail to advance they will do it in the face of many opportunities to do so.
Conclusions

The Black Man had many achievements recorded in his favor before emancipation, and the question naturally arises, "Have the Negroes improved?" Many persons declare that they have not. But in general, where they have been brought into contact with the stronger race under conditions in which they derived aid, they have in certain directions improved; where they have lacked this stimulating influence, as in sections of the country where this association has steadily diminished, they have often failed to advance.

The South is awakening to the fact that the Colored people have not received justice and more just and liberal policies are beginning to follow altho there is still a great deal to be desired in this respect.

It has often been said that the South is the place for the Negro. There he survives, there he has natural advantages and there he is needed, but the investigations in New York City show that from the early days of the Dutch Colony the Negro has had a place in the laboring life of that community. While most of the wage-earners have been engaged in domestic and personal service occupations, available figures warrant the infer-

ence that the Negro is slowly but surely overcoming his handi-
caps of inefficiency, prejudice and competition, and is widen-
ing his scope of employment year by year. The verdict based
upon a large body of evidence is that, judged by the testimony
of employers as to the length of time employed, the capability,
sobriety and honesty of the workers, Negroes furnish a reliable
supply of employees that need only be justly appraised to be ap-
preciated. ¹

The variety of the many small business establishments indi-
cates further that the initiative of the Negro in using every
available opportunity for economic independence. Some of the
proprietors had early ambitions for business careers and worked
hard and saved carefully from small wages that they might rise
from the class of employed to that of employers. ²

Much has been said regarding the Negro's having lost the
monopoly of northern industries which he once held. In such
considerations the proportion of Negro population must always
be considered. In Atlanta, one of the leading commercial
centres of the South, where over thirty-five per cent of the
male workers are Negroes, the colored men might well be ex-
pected to monopolize certain trades; but in New York City,
where the number of Negroes is less than two per cent of the
total number of males engaged in gainful occupations about the
same proportion as the entire northern section, the control of
even a single industry by the colored people would be almost if

² Ibid, p. 147.
not altogether impossible. Investigations in New York City in 1900, gave the following results for four occupations:¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number of persons engaged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>31,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>12,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors</td>
<td>6,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bootblacks</td>
<td>2,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52,065</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1900 there were only twenty thousand three hundred ninety-five Negro males engaged in gainful occupations in New York City, less than two-thirds the numbers of waiters alone. If they dominated the field of waiters, they must abandon the razor, and there are not enough colored boys, could they be mustered in a body, to black the boots of Greater New York. With any ordinary consideration of the situation, one cannot but recognize that the Negro as a labor factor in New York is comparatively insignificant from the view point of numbers. Yet in a study of more than fifteen of the occupations in domestic and personal service, from laborers to trained nurses, in New York City the Negro furnished more than three times his proportion of the numbers, and in only six of these did he fall below his proportion.² Again, the Negroes of New York not only belong in a great measure to the untrained classes, but all common laborers are handicapped to a great extent by the large number of foreigners, who compete for this class of employment.

1. Ovington, M. W., Half a Man, pp. 76-79.
2. Ibid, p. 60.
For this reason it would seem that New York would not only offer the Negroes no peculiar advantages but would even offer greater obstacles for them to overcome than would many other cities.\(^1\)

The census reports for 1910 and also for 1900 give several per cent higher proportions of Negroes than of whites engaged in gainful occupations.\(^2\)

But one of the most hopeful indications of progress for the Negroes is the large number of voluntary religions, beneficial and insurance societies whose membership is limited to those of their own color.\(^3\)

Negro schools are not maintained by the Negroes themselves altho Negroes are increasing the proportion which they bear of the expense for their education.\(^4\) No matter how or where educated, Negro men and women must come to the rescue of the race in the effort to get and secure its better industrial footing. Just now the need is not so much for the common industrial workers as for leaders who can draw plans, take contracts, manage scientific farming, operate machinery and lead in skilled occupations.\(^5\)

Some writers attribute the lower economic and social position of the Negro race wholly to inherent racial characteristics which can never be overcome because they are inherent.

2. Summary in Negro Year Book 1916-17, p. 296.
3. Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 50, quoted from Atlanta University Publications, Nos. 3 and 8.
Others like Professor Frank Boaz of Harvard go to the other extreme and say that there is no proof that the Negro type is inferior except that it seems possible that perhaps the race would not produce quite so many men of highest genius as other races. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. The Negro race has not had the restraints, rewards and punishments of a highly developed public opinion to the extent of many other races. Without the effects of social evolution we would all be naked savages and dumb brutes. Neither inherited characteristics nor social evolution alone can account for the retardation or the advancement of a race.

The American Negroes have advanced further in fifty years than Germany did during the eight centuries between Julius Caesar and Charlemagne. Of course this progress is due largely to their contact with civilization, and whatever it may fail to show in regard to powers of organization, it is at least evidence of powers of assimilation.

The Federal Census Bureau in a recent summary gives the value of Negro farm property at one billion one hundred forty-two million dollars or one hundred sixteen dollars and twenty cents per capita for each Negro in the United States. Some other Negro accomplishments may be seen in the fact that there

2. Finot, Jean, Race Prejudice, p. 316.
were five hundred fifty Negro Churches in 1863, valued at one million dollars and thirty-six thousand four hundred twenty-one in 1906, valued at fifty-six million, six hundred thirty-six thousand one hundred fifty-nine dollars; two thousand business concerns in 1863, and forty-three thousand in 1913 with an annual volume of one billion dollars worth of business; forty-eight banks capitalized at one million six hundred thousand dollars doing an annual business of twenty million dollars; Negroes have contributed over twenty-four million dollars for schools in the past fifty years, and from nine to ten million dollars to colored Fraternal Societies. They edit and publish four hundred newspapers and periodicals. They own one hundred insurance companies, three hundred drug stores, and over twenty thousand grocery and other stores. There are also fifty thousand Negroes in the professions; three thousand nine hundred fifty in the postal service; twenty-two thousand four hundred forty in other government positions; and over three hundred thousand in the mechanical trades.  

In conclusion, some significant changes among the Negroes during the past fifty years are: (1) the race, then largely unskilled, has developed more than a million semi-skilled and skilled workers, business and professional men and women; (2) the standard of the unskilled worker himself in large sections of the country has been raised; (3) great numbers of the unskilled workers have adapted themselves to a system of wages, as against

the system of slavery; (4) the average of intelligence of unskilled labor has been greatly increased; (5) unskilled labor has become more reliable; (6) Negro labor has survived the competition of the immigrant; (7) the unskilled Negro laborer has migrated in great numbers chiefly to the large cities; (8) unskilled labor, has to a large extent been the foundation on which Negro business, Negro Churches, Negro secret societies, and other Negro organizations have been built up.  

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