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THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY OF THE NEGRO  
IN BUFFALO, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE  
TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS  
OF FIFTY MIGRANT FAMILIES

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in Sociology in the University of Buffalo

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by  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Index to Tables.

Map I      Showing Origin of Fifty Families Especially Studied According to Division Adopted by Census of 1910.

Map II     Ten Typical Routes of Migrant Negroes from South to Buffalo.

Introductory.

Outline Review of the Social and Economic Development of the American Negro 1 - 18

Development of the Negro Group in Buffalo 19 - 24

Results of Family Studies and Industrial Survey 28 - 79

Where the Negro Lives in Buffalo 28

Employment and Individual Opportunity of the Negro Male Worker in Buffalo 32-46

The Negro Woman in Gainful Occupation 47-52

Opportunities in Business and Professional World 53-59

Family Income 59-64

Efficiency of Expenditure and Living Conditions 66-74

Family Life 75-79

Conclusions 80

Appendix i-xxxviii

Interesting Cases i-xxxiv

Work Sheets xxxv

Bibliography xxxvii

## Introductory.

As set forth in the title, the subject of this thesis is the Economic Opportunity of the Negro in Buffalo with Special Reference to the Economic and Social Status of Fifty Migrant Families.

In general the study has been divided into two parts.

### I. Background.

- A. In Africa.
- B. Slavery.
- C. The post-war period to the recent migration.
- D. The recent migration.
- E. The development of the Negro group in Buffalo.

### II. Facts Obtained in the Survey Proper.

- A. Economic opportunity in industrial and other fields.
  1. Men.
  2. Women.
- B. Social Status.
  1. Standards of living.
  2. Community Interests.

The conclusions have been drawn from the study thus followed.

The material used has been obtained from four sources.

- I. The literature of the subject.
- II. Results of other local surveys.

III. Schedules of fifty Negro migrant families. The fifty families were secured from the records of Public School #32 (forty-four families) and the suggestions of a colored social worker (six families).

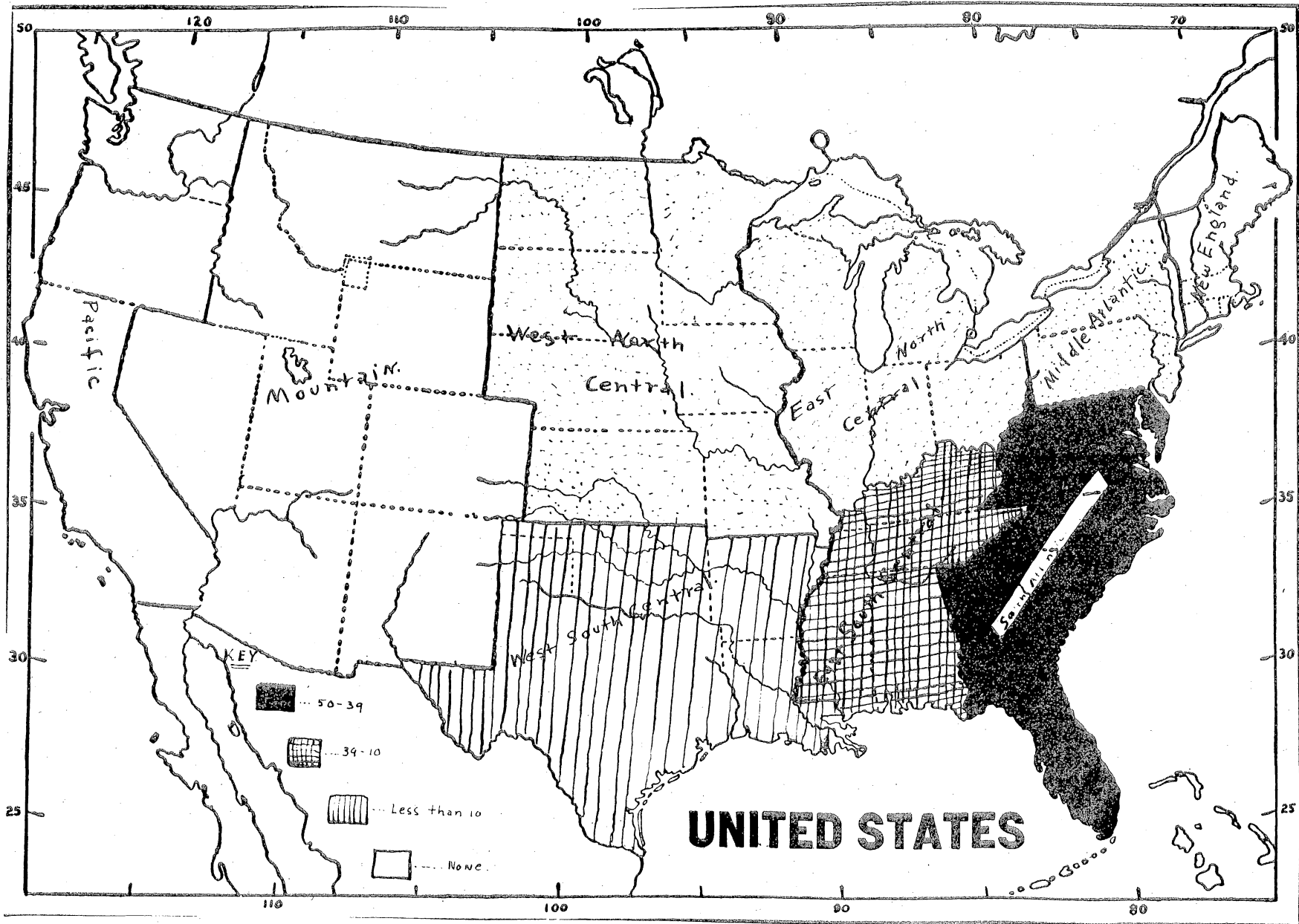
IV. Interviews with employment managers, Negro business and professional men, Negro and white social workers and prominent Negro men and women citizens.

TABLES.

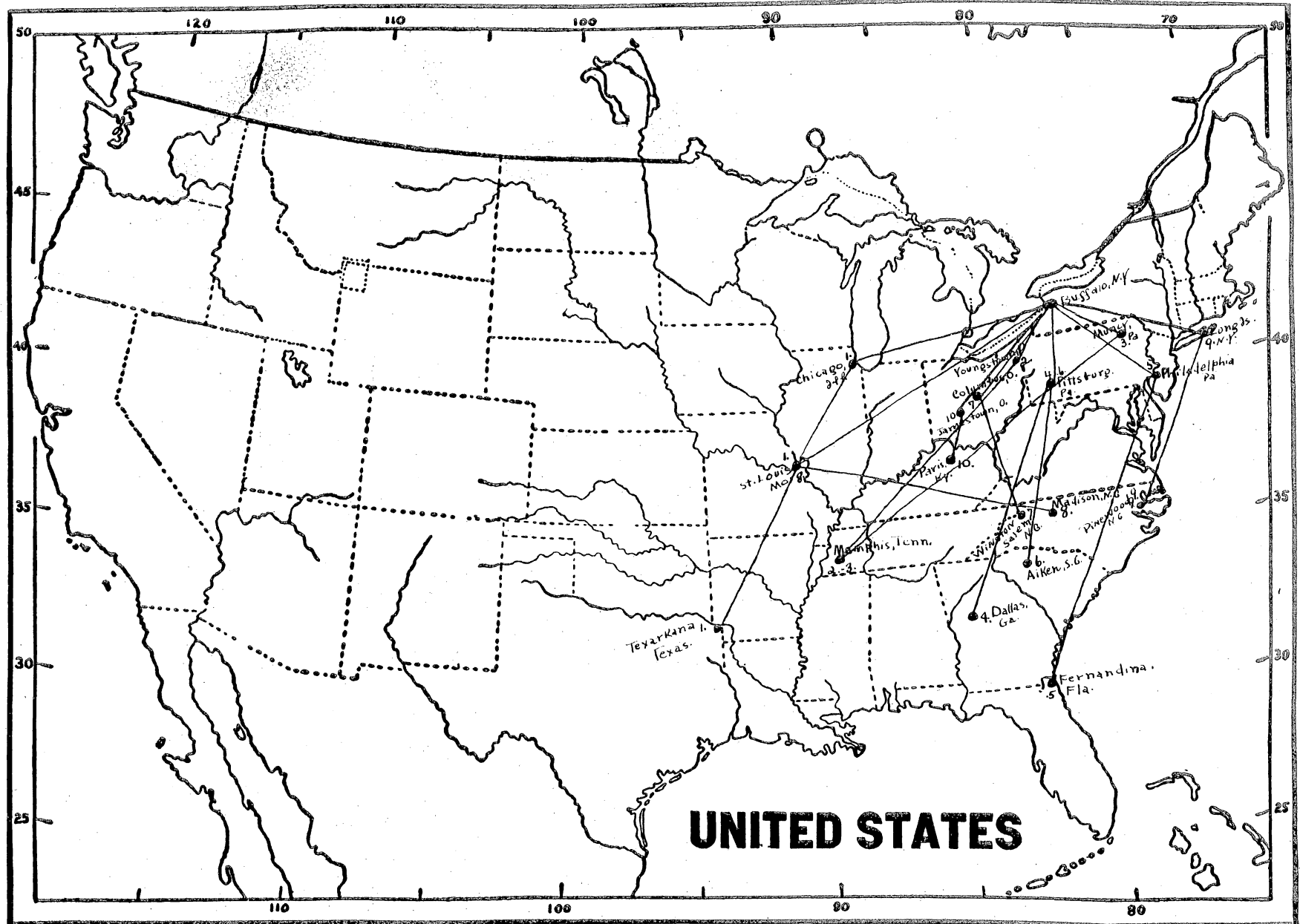
		Page
Map III	Five States From Which Greater Number of Families Have Migrated	25
Map IV	Showing Location of Industrial Plants Employing Negro Workers in Relation to Area Chiefly Populated by Negroes	26
Table I	Showing Place of Marriage and Origin of Participants	27
Chart I	Occupational Distribution of Negro and White Males	31
Table II	Occupational Classification of Fifty-eight Male Negroes	35
Table III	Occupational Classification in Relation to Wage	37
Table IV	Health	39
Table V	Residence and Tenure of Employment	40
Table VI	Education	44
Table VII	Occupation of Women	48
Table VIII	Type of Work	51
Table IX	Size of Household and Members Gainfully Employed	60
Table X	Showing Distribution of Boarders	61
Table XI	Distribution of Children	62
Table XII	Weekly Income and Size of Family	63
Table XIII	Foundation Forum	66
Table XIV	Number of Families and Rent Paid	65
Table XV	Income Expended as Rent	70
Table XVI	Rooms Occupied	73

# Map I

Showing Origin of Fifty Families Especially Studied According to Census Division of 1910



Map II  
Ten Typical Routes of Migrant Negroes from South to Buffalo.



OUTLINE REVIEW  
OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Wherever the negro forms a part of our community he brings with him the peculiar qualities of his racial inheritance and his previous American experience. His future adaptation<sup>at</sup> to American conditions will be moulded and formed from these. It is well then to consider briefly the social and economic aspects of this background.

Africa, next to Asia, is the largest continent. Its area of twelve million square miles has an almost unbroken coastline of fifteen thousand miles. The largest rivers, the Congo, the Niger, the Zambesi and others have their sources in the highlands, and flow seaward, interrupted by falls and cataracts, and this renders them almost impassable for navigation. The deserts and mountains have also contributed to the causes which have kept Africa in comparative isolation from the outside world. Certain men in

The Afri-  
can Back-  
ground.



the 14th and 15th centuries attempted explorations of the coastline but the wealth of newly discovered America drew attention away from the land. Since the beginning of the 18th century Africa has been penetrated and its rich resources developed and exploited to a large extent, but even today vast areas remain unapproached and primitive tribal life continues.

(1)

This isolation combined with the intensely hot climate has kept the native content with the same mode of existence for long centuries. His environment has lacked the stimulus to produce what is commonly called the progress of civilization, and his isolation has prevented to a large extent the diffusion of the cultural ideas of other races.

---

(1) "Unfortunately, for the reputation of the negro, the fullest information we have has pertained to the coast tribes of the equatorial region, where all the conditions militated against the building of large empires. It is true that a large portion of our slaves came from the people who had not developed any large capacity for self-government, but the development of other Negro groups into well organized states is clear proof that the negro as a race is not incapable of self government when and where the conditions admit of such development." Weatherford, W.D., "The Negro From Africa to America." Page 34. See also, Brawley, B., "A Social History of the American Negro," (Revised Edition) pp. 1-3, and Goldenweiser, A., "Early Civilization " 1922, Introduction, also Chapter IV.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, Curator of Anthropology in the National Museum, in recent lectures indicated that he believed such development due to groups containing an Arab, that is, a white strain.

(2)

Weatherford says:

"The climate is so hot and humid that human beings cannot work hard. To do so would be to court death. The native, therefore, acquires the habit of sloth and delay.--- Nature is bountiful in fruit and vegetables. Work is scarcely necessary to secure food. Clothing is neither needed nor desirable from the native's standpoint. Food laid away will not keep in so hot a climate, so why save and be provident? The industrial limitations---are due to the bounty of nature on the one hand, which renders economic development unnecessary, and on the other hand, to the ease of moving about from place to place, thanks to the absence of any insuperable geographical barriers. 'A territory without natural boundaries,' says Semple, 'obviates the necessity of applying more work and intelligence to the old area. Hence dispersion takes the place of intensification of industry.' What little work there is must be done by slaves and women, both of whom despise it and would shirk if possible. No wonder that those of our American slaves

who came from this region - and they were many - should neither know how to work nor desire to learn how."

The social and political life of the group is dominated by religion. There is practically no attempt made beyond the tribal unit for political organization. The tribe is headed by a Chief with a council of warriors. It is in reality dominated by the witchdoctor, who guides his people through a maze of superstitious rites and customs, which reflects fear and ignorance as the foremost influences of the religion.

This religion consists of an absentee god, innumerable spirits which must be placated, fetiches to ward off evil and inflict harm upon enemies, and the witchdoctor, who holds the tribe's destiny in his keeping. Such a religion, combined with the lack of work, can produce no strong moral power and is reflected in the social life of the tribe by the acceptance of lying, stealing, sex immorality, cruelty and constant warfare. The low status of woman, who is merely a chattel, also speaks for the unprogressive

primitive character of the tribe. Family life is submerged in the life of the tribe which is controlled by Fetichism. Life is in the hands of a vast Nature made terrible by superstition and fear and the psychological reaction resulting is a high degree of emotionalism which characterizes the negro of today.

Migration to America

The negro with this background has been transplanted in America. He first came here, some twenty in number, in 1619, part of the cargo on board a Dutch vessel. Negro slavery did not grow rapidly because, at this time, it was cheaper to obtain indentured servants. When this supply was cut off in 1688 the number of negro slaves grew. The

increase by decades is as follows: )1)

Year	Increase	Year	Increase	Year	Increase
1740	58,850	1780	582,000	1830	2,328,642
1750	220,000	1790	697,000	1840	2,873,648
1760	310,000	1800	1,007,037	1850	3,638,808
1770	462,000	1810	1,337,808	1860	4,441,830
		1820	1,771,465		

The revolution slowed down the slave trade for economic and sentimental reasons, but it soon revived with the reaction of war and the keen desire for slaves as a means

(1) U. S. Census Bulletin No. 129, Page 8.  
 Negro slaves were brought into the Spanish West Indies as early as 1500. Brawley, B. O. Cit. p3

to wealth and economic prosperity.

If one disregards the ethical side of the problem, slavery was probably the best condition the negro could find himself in when he came to America. Upon the plantation of the South he was introduced to the customs and social institutions of a country, radically different from his own, without facing the problem of maintaining his economic independence. Although the slavery of the South has been popularly pictured with emphasis on the dark side, as a general thing it may be supposed the slave was well taken care of. He was an expensive commodity, an economic asset and it was essential that his physical condition be good. He was taught the family standard of America, as well as the religious and here he obtained his first lessons in continuous productive labor. He watched the social life of his master and family and on occasion was given an opportunity to enter into it. The fact that the plantation was in itself an economic, self-sustaining unit made it possible for all these phrases of American life to be gradually

Slavery

impressed upon him. Weatherford says: <sup>(1)</sup>

"Life on a big plantation was far from monotonous. Of course the happiness, or sufferings of the slaves depended quite largely on the disposition of the master, but we are persuaded that on the average there was much more of care-free joy than unhappiness. The Negro naturally had a care-free disposition and made the most of every opportunity for rejoicing. More than one Northern man coming down South expecting to find the slaves a terribly dejected lot, was amazed at finding most of them not only well kept, but seemingly very happy. ----- After the work of the day the slaves who lived in quarters gathered in front of their cabins and with bango in hand, and with imaginations that worked freely, they improvised while the children played and the young folk frolicked. During the hunting season, the men and boys accompanied the young white men in their expeditions and not infrequently they were allowed to organize a "possum" or "coon" hunt of their own. On some of the larger plantations provision was made for regular days

(1). Op.Cit. p.4

off for some workers in order that the quarters and "Big House" might be supplied with fish and game. If a fox hunt was organized there were always a few favored negroes who followed the hounds and had as much fun as any of the white men. Dr. Moton in his autobiography tells us of his many happy hours spent with the white boys when he worked on the plantation of the Vaughans. He was no exception to this, for the children of the "Big House" and the children of the quarters often found each other most congenial company."

The fact that the plantations of the South were self-sustaining units where practically everything needed was grown on the land and where much building and manufacturing was done, brought out the fact that the negro so lately imported from primitive life had the actual capacity for varied and skilled occupations. The plantation was in fact, a real industrial school where the negro men worked as blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, shoemakers, tanners, bricklayers and bridgebuilders, as well as in the fields, and the women were occupied in various domestic pursuits

in the "Big House." Beautiful homes, churches, bridges, and other buildings are still standing in the South today, the results of the handiwork of negro slaves.

Slavery had proven itself an economic failure before the war abolished it. Various causes contributed to it, chief of which are as follows:

First, the upkeep of land and labor absorbed profits. If a planter had a successful year he was sure to buy more land and hence more slaves, both of which increased in price during the fifties and late sixties. Variable crops or crop failure meant that he must still continue to keep up his land and feed and provide his slaves.

Secondly, the growth of manufacturing in the North and the use of improved methods in farming and production meant that the slave owner must keep up with these things in order to continue as a Northern competitor. This in itself was expensive and the fact that it included a certain amount of

Economic  
Failure of  
Slavery  
(1) (2)

(1) Weatherford, Op. Cit. pp. 223-225.

(2) Woodson, C. "The Negro in Our History" pp. 117-8.



education among slaves was contrary to the traditions of the South.

Thirdly, although the slave proved himself capable of doing the work of the factories, in fact young white and colored hands worked side by side, slave labor was more expensive, as the factory owner usually did not own the slaves employed, but must pay the owner the same salary as white workers besides being obliged to feed the slaves. It can readily be seen that investing in slaves as part of factory equipment would have been most impractical - the investment and upkeep would have exceeded outright wages paid.

It is a question whether or not it would have been better to allow this institution to be gradually abandoned because of its own inefficient economy. In spite of the period of political exploitation, aimless wandering and maladjustment which followed the emancipation, the act in itself had a certain moral stimulus for the negro and lessened his bitterness toward those who had kept him in bondage. It was, at least, a gesture toward reparation, to

compensate this race with political freedom and an opportunity, if only abstract, to become one of us

After the Civil War, beginning with the decade of 1870, the country became centered upon a period of rapid industrial development and the Negro ceased to be an issue. He became a victim of the system of peonage made possible by drastic vagrancy laws and the development of a rent and credit

(1)  
system copied from Mexico. He suffered disenfranchisement,

Mississippi disenfranchised the Negro in 1890 and South

Carolina in 1895, North Carolina in 1900, Virginia and

(2)  
Alabama in 1907 and Oklahoma in 1910. Maryland tried to

pass such laws in 1905 and later in 1909 and 1911 but failed successively.

One of the chief causes of his retardation in economic development was probably due to political exploitation. By turning his attention to things political the

1) Woodson, C., Op. Cit. P. 270.

2) Brawley, B., Op. Cit. P. 29. "Where disenfranchisement has been based on so-called 'Grandfather Clauses' it has been declared unconstitutional. Where it is based on a discriminating application of educational and property qualifications it has not been interfered with."

From the  
Civil War  
to the  
Recent Mi-  
gration

Negro lessened his economic well being and naturally aroused antagonism. This made it more difficult to enter competition with the increasing number of skilled artisans.

Of hardly less importance was his lack of general education. He had been a good worker when the economic organization was simple and the skill required practical. But with the expansion of industry there came a demand for exact and scientific workmanship of which the Negro had no full knowledge.

In 1880 Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes were founded to meet this problem. They came as a result of a program of construction work outlined by Dr. Booker T. Washington, and from them were patterned other schools established throughout the Southern and Western South Central States.

Under the guidance of Dr. Washington and the other leaders, which have come after him, the Negro has developed within his group men of actual achievement. He has showed a capacity to engage in business enterprise. The Negro Yearbook for 1922 contains the following information: )1)

"The National Business League was organized in 1900, Dr. Booker T. Washington being the moving spirit. At that time there were only four Negro banks in the country; there were in 1922, 74 banks with a total capital of \$6, 250,000 and doing an estimated business of \$100,000,000 annually. In 1900 there were fifty Negro drug stores; today there are probably between four and five hundred. Insurance companies have grown rapidly. Negro companies are now writing \$75,000,000 in policies yearly, and \$9,000,000 in benefits were paid out in 1922."

In other fields than business the Negro has produced men of leadership: Robert Russa Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, in educational work; W. E. Burghardt Du Bois in the field of Social Research and Jean Toomer in Literature. (1) Today the Negro may look to members of his own race for leadership and emulation, where in the past he has had only the white man to spur his achievement in

---

(1) See the New Negro, a Symposium. Edited by Alain Locke, A. and C. Boni, Publishers. *Passim*.

in things economic and social.

In 1914, because of the declaration of war in Europe, immigration to the United States was cut off and a shortage of labor throughout the industrial areas of the United States ensued. This gave the Southern Negro an opportunity to enter these fields and he took almost immediate advantage of it. There was a two-fold enticement - a chance to earn more and a chance to escape from the "jimerowism" of the South. The Negro came North in thousands and began his life as a factory worker in Northern cities.

(2)  
According to Donald B. Henderson, labor agents from the North induced some negroes to migrate in 1915, but the great mass movement which characterized the migration did not begin until 1916. During the two years of 1916-1918 approximately 400,000 negroes left their homes in the South. In Philadelphia the increase in negro population was judged to be 33,500, in Pittsburgh 18,500 and in

The North-  
ern Migra-  
tion

)2) "The Negro Migration of 1916-1918" - Donald B. Henderson. Rep. from the Journal of Negro History, Vol VI, No. 9, Oct. 21st, page 38.

(2)

Chicago 24,000. Henderson says: "The Department of Commerce through the Bureau of Census has issued a special statement pertaining to Negro Migration in the United States as shown by the 14th Decennial Census, taken as of January 1st, 1920.

"The migration of Southern Negroes to Northern and Western states undoubtedly took place to a materially greater extent between 1910 and 1920 than during the preceding decade. While it is impossible to calculate exactly the extent of this migration during the recent decade, the available data indicate that approximately 400,000 or somewhat more than half, of the 733,571 survivors of the net negro migration from the South to North and West prior to January 1st, 1920, left the South subsequent to April 10, 1910."

This mass movement of negroes to the North brought naturally, problems of adjustment. Housing facilities were not adequate and race prejudice was accentuated to a

point where serious race riots occurred in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1917, and in Chicago, Illinois, in 1919. The seriousness of the Chicago episode occasioned the most exhaustive study of the Negro in a Northern area that has been made. <sup>(1)</sup> This study considered the industrial opportunities afforded the Negro in detail and gave by the results, an idea of the distribution of occupation and the kind of work the Negro is now doing, as well as his increase in numbers as a worker. The Chicago Commission investigated 69 manufacturing plants in which whites and Negroes were employed and found 12,854 Negro workers out of a total of 79,354, or 16 per cent., thus showing a large distribution of occupation, but of these workers less than 10 per cent were doing skilled labor.

The Chicago  
Study.

"The number of workers in certain occupations reported by a few establishments is suggestive of the fields recently opened to Negroes in Chicago. In 1910 there were only 31

---

(1) "The Negro in Chicago." Report of the Chicago Race Commission, 1922, Page 365.

Negro molders in Chicago, while in 1920 there were 304 reported by ten establishments. In 1910 there were but 28 factory sewers or machine operators, while in 1920 there were 382 in twelve factories. in 1910 there were 934 Negroes in clerical occupations as compared with 1,400 in two concerns in 1920. In 1910 there were but 287 Negro laundry operatives in Chicago, while there were 764 reported by 20 laundries in 1920."

In briefly summarizing this background, which of necessity is not exhaustive, the following conclusions may be made:

Summary

1. When the Negro came to America he was in the possession of fundamentally different race traits than those with whom he came in contact. These were evidently his native lack of industrial and political co-operation and his moral standards.

2. Upon the plantations of the South he learned American standards of family, social and religious life. He also obtained his first lessons in productive labor and



showed a capacity for skilled work.

3. During the post-bellum period he was a victim of the peonage system and laws of disenfranchisement. He was retarded in his economic development by turning his attention to things political rather than economic, and his lack of general education prevented him from keeping pace with changing industrial technique.

4. His opportunity in the industrial areas of the North, according to the Chicago study, is largely in the field of unskilled labor, although a small percentage (less than ten per cent) have entered the ranks of the skilled worker.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO GROUP IN BUFFALO.

In studying the growth of population the United States

(1)  
Census affords exact figures from the year 1880. Such

figures are as follows:

	Total	White	Colored	Indian, Japanese Chinese, etc.
1880	155, 134	154, 268	857	9
1890	255, 664	254, 495	1, 118	51
1900	352, 387	350, 586	1, 698	103
1910	423, 715	421, 809	1, 773	133
1920	506, 775	502, 042	4, 511	222

During the period of industrial expansion in the city from 1890 to 1910 the Negro did not enter largely in industrial fields. His employment was in the field of porter and domestic service, and the personal and friendly relations with his employers made him content to remain in that group. It is difficult to obtain any statistics as to his life here

(2)  
in the early days but a colored citizen whose family has resided in Buffalo since a few years prior to the Civil War

(1) The 13th and 14th Decennial Census, Bureau of Census, Volume V

(2) Mr. Wm. Talbert, husband of the late Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, who during her life was the acknowledged leader of the group in Buffalo.

Foundation  
of the  
Negro  
Colony

gives this outline:

One of the most prominent Negro citizens of Buffalo in the early days was the grandfather of Mr. Talbert, a free Negro from Virginia, who came here shortly before 1840 and opened a ship chandler's shop in Commercial Street. He became prosperous and owned three boats carrying lumber between Grand Island and Black Rock and at one time owned the site of the old Mansion House at Main and Exchange Streets, besides property on Michigan and Clinton Streets. In 1845 he gave the present site of the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church to the colored group and himself cut and hauled the stone for the cornerstone, from the quarry in Forest Lawn. Owing to his inability to read, write and calculate he was the victim of the unscrupulous and lost much of his property. In his later days he returned to his old trade, that of tailor.

A prosperous barber shop owned by colored people occupied the site of Adam, Meldrum and Anderson's Department Store, while another after the Civil War was established at

the Stock Yards. However, the majority of colored citizens were employed in domestic service and had their homes in Vine, William, Potter and Union Streets in close proximity to their employers, who lived in the then exclusive section of Swan and Eagle Streets. The Negro group mingled with the white with little evidence of race prejudice and Mr. Talbert recollects attending parties as a child where German and Negro citizens attended and German was spoken by both Negro and white.

The group in Buffalo continued in this agreeable relationship and was in no sense a problem until 1916. At that time a group of Southern Negroes was brought to Buffalo during a strike of long shermen for strike breaking. These men eventually were not used in this capacity but hired out in other work. After the depression of 1919 and 1920 further migration was encouraged by the large industrial plants and the actuality of an increased number of Negro workers became evident.

Present  
Population

There are no exact figures dealing with the growth of the colored population in Buffalo in the last six years, and the material for accurately arriving at such figures is meager. In 1924 Charles S. Johnson of the Urban League made

(1)  
a survey of the colored group in this city and with the use of police records, vital statistics and school census records concluded that the population had increased as

follows:

Year	Negro Population	Year	Negro Population
1915	1,778	1920	5,445
1916	3,676	1922	6,894
1917	6,924	1923	9,058
1919	6,711		

These figures are undoubtedly in excess of the actual population. According to the United States Census Bureau's (2) Twenty-third Annual Report on Mortality Statistics, the actual resident population for 1922 when computed comes to 5,930 or 1.4 per cent of the total population, which is

(1) "A Survey of the Negro Group in Buffalo" - Charles S. Johnson of the Urban League. Done in 1924 for the Buffalo Council of Social Agencies. Not accepted by the Council of Social Agencies.

(2) Mortality Statistics, 1922. Twenty-third Annual report published by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. Table IIIa, Page 130.

decidedly below Mr. Johnson's estimate for that year. The present population is probably between eight and ten thousand with the actual negro residents nearer the eight thousand

(1)  
number.

It would seem that the present population consisted largely of negroes and their families from the large increase in the attendance of Negro children at School 32. The school census of School No. 32, which is in the colored district and has the greatest number of colored children attending, shows the following figures:

Year	Colored Children in Attendance
1920	90
1923	360
1925	607

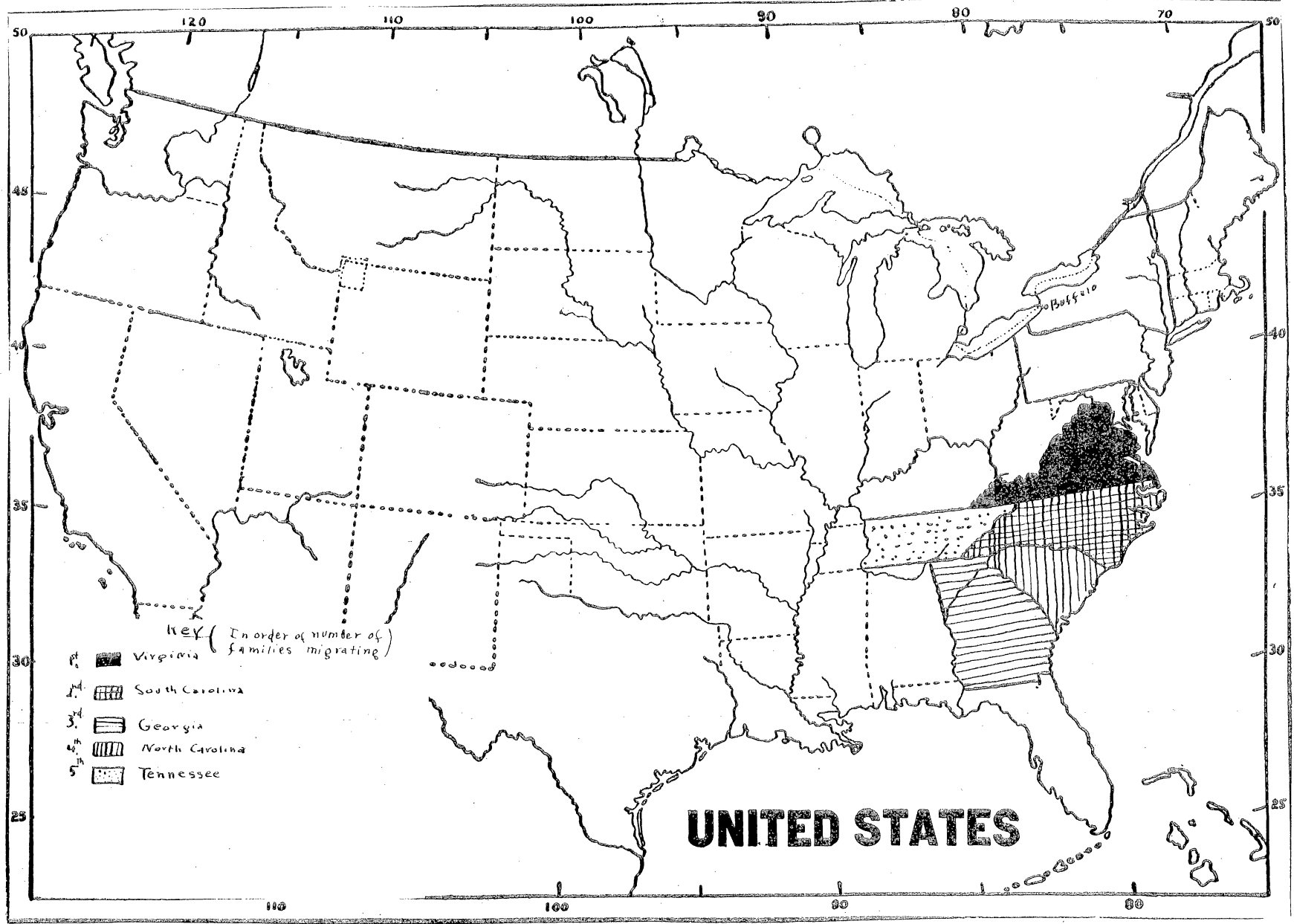
Further indication that the colored man when he decides to stay here sends for his family or marries, was obtained from the fifty families especially studied. Table I shows that the majority came from the South with their families or were Northern Negroes having families. It appears that

(1) Miss Sara Kerr, Statistician of the Buffalo Foundation, believes this to be a fairly accurate approximation.

the Negro man with family will form our permanent resident population, while the unmarried worker, if he does not marry will go elsewhere. Moreover, as the colored population becomes more stable there will probably be less demand for the transient worker. It is therefore to this stable population that this study is primarily directed.

Map III

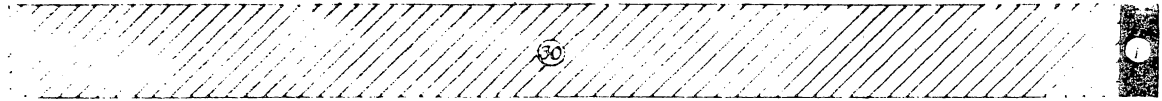
Showing Five States From Which Greater Number of Families Have Migrated.





# TABLE I PLACE OF MARRIAGE AND ORIGIN OF PARTICIPANTS

## OF MARRIAGES IN SOUTH



## OF MARRIAGES IN NORTH

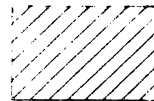


## OF NORTHERN MARRIAGES IN BUFFALO



## LEGEND

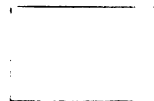
Both Members Southern Born



One Member Southern Born



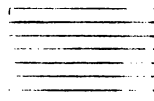
Both Members Northern Born



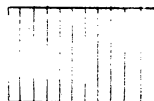
One Member Northern Born



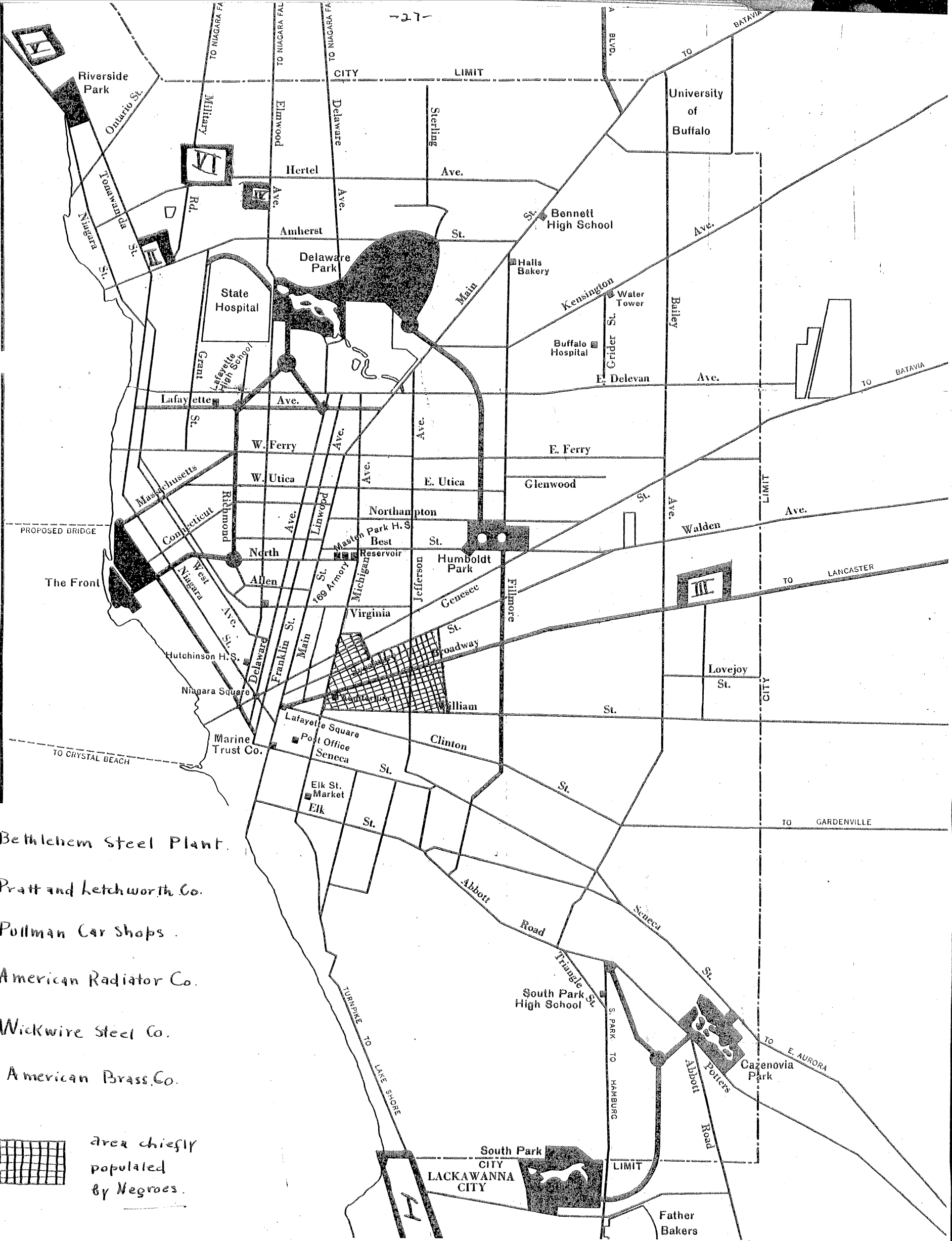
Both Members Foreign Born



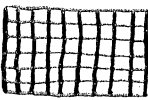
One Member Foreign Born



\* Both members foreign - Natives of West Indies  
 \*\* One member foreign - Native of Greece - (white)  
 \*\*\* Both members Northern - Native born white of French parentage.



- I Bethlehem Steel Plant.
- II Pratt and Letchworth Co.
- III Pullman Car Shops
- IV American Radiator Co.
- V Wickwire Steel Co.
- VI American Brass Co.



area chiefly populated by Negroes.

SOUTH PARK CITY  
LACKAWANNA CITY

RESULTS OF FAMILY STUDIES AND INDUSTRIAL SURVEY.

The present Negro residential section in Buffalo pointed out above has developed from the old center of Vine, Michigan Union and Potter Streets, but unlike his experience in most cities the Negro has always lived in various localities and not in a segregated area. Today families may be found in every ward, although the majority live in Wards Six and Seven. This locality once served as the neighborhood for prosperous Jewish and German shopkeepers. The houses, ten years ago, were the homes of the comfortably situated small merchant and business man. As these people prospered they moved to the more fashionable west side, and colored families came in to take their places. The houses have grown shabby in many cases, but the streets are pleasant, there are front yards and many fine shade trees. The Negro lives in a much pleasanter part of Buffalo than the Polish group, for instance, in the vicinity of Curtiss Street and Efner Place.

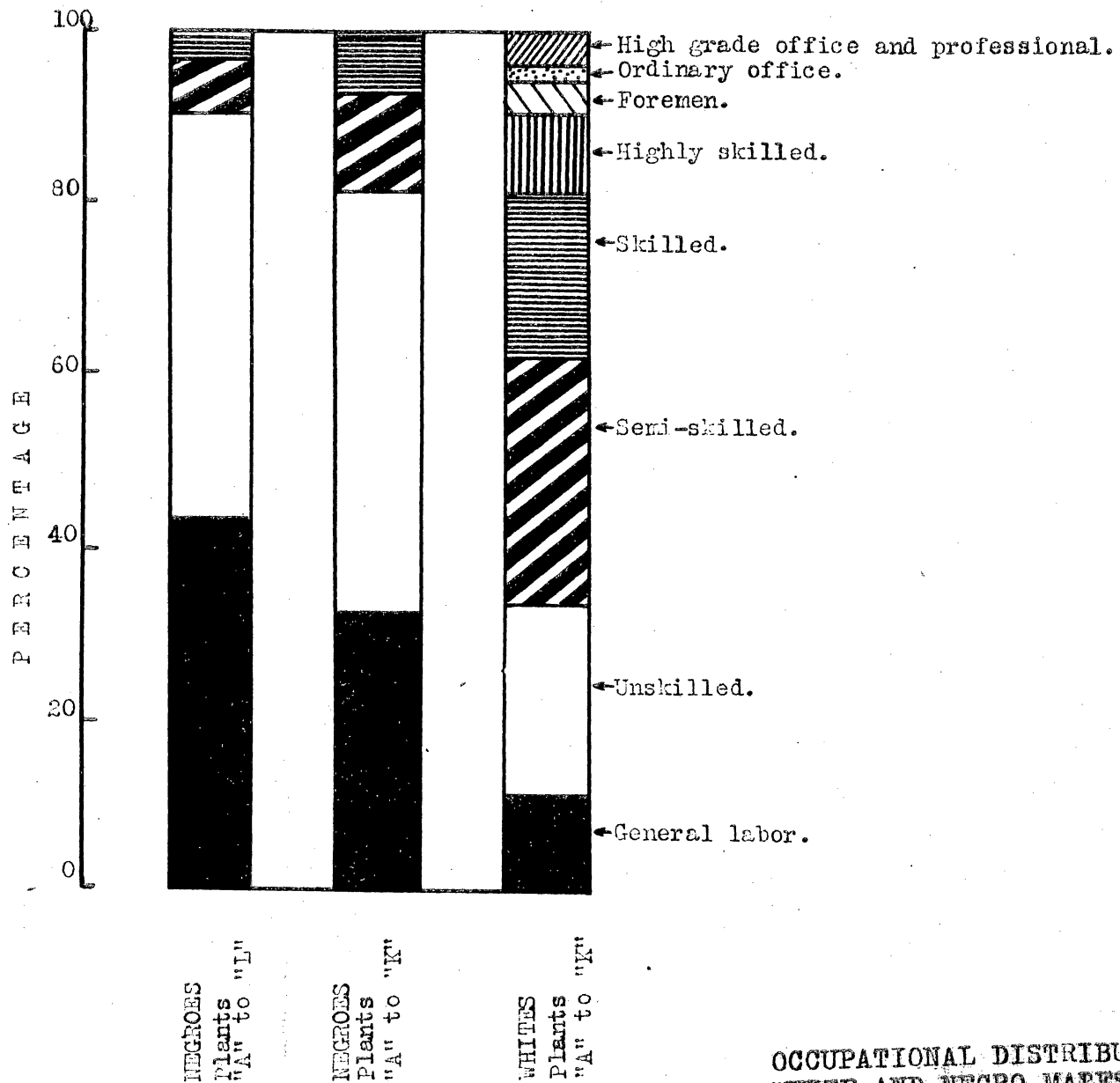
Where the  
Negro Lives  
in  
Buffalo

Many of the more prosperous Negroes have moved into the Seventeenth Ward and have homes in Glenwood Avenue, Laurel Street and other pleasant neighboring streets, while a colored real estate agent has opened a tract of land called Coolidge Park. This section is in the suburbs, near Lancaster and convenient to the William Street car line. Already many of these lots have been purchased.

Map IV brings out the fact, however, that the Negro worker (who lives for the most part in Wards Six and Seven) is at a disadvantage where his work is concerned. He has long distances to travel each day to and from work. The fact of his race is probably the reason why he has kept in this one section of Buffalo and not gone to a greater extent, into the localities near his work, about which Polish and Italian homes are clustered.

The corner of William and Michigan Streets may be said to be the center of the Negro colony. Here are two Negro hotels, several rooming houses, a dance hall and numerous small stores. Restaurants, billiard rooms and

"soft drinkeries" are patronized by those of the group who are transient and those who seek recreation. This district was once known as the "red light section" of Buffalo, but today the lurid atmosphere is gone and a shabby and down-at-heel appearance is more in evidence than anything resembling flaunting vice.



OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION  
WHITE AND NEGRO MALES.

Chart I

Employment and Individual Opportunity  
Of the Negro Male Worker in Buffalo.

According to Mr. C. G. McClelland, Manager of the Industrial Aid Bureau, the plants employing the largest number of Negro workers are as follows:

Bethlehem Steel Company.  
American Radiator Company.  
Pratt and Letchworth Company.  
The Pullman Shops.  
Jacob Dold Packing Company.  
Wickwire Steel Company.  
American Agricultural Company.

(1)

An Industrial Survey was made in 1925 by the University of Buffalo Department of Sociology, with the technical assistance of the Bureau of Business and Social Research, in which twelve industrial plants were studied. The plants included the two most important of the above. It was found that in them were employed 17,896 white workers and 1604 colored workers, the largest number employed in one plant being 856.

(2)

From Chart I, which was made from the results of

(1) To be published.

(2) The data for Plants "A" to "L" was gathered by the writer.

The Industrial Field

this survey, it appears that the colored male worker in Buffalo Industry is employed to the extent of over eighty per cent in the field of unskilled and general labor. Somewhat over ten per cent are employed in semi-skilled work, while slightly over ten per cent come within the skilled group. No foremen or highly skilled workers were found, although single instances of colored men in highly skilled industrial work have been discovered through another phase of the study. (1)

As to Personal and Domestic Service, the only statistics available are those resulting from Mr. Johnson's survey, in which it is claimed that Negro men contribute 29.6% of all porters not in stores (but including "Red Caps"), 13.5% of all servants, 20.8% of the waiters and 9.05% of all janitors. The results of these combined reports indicate that the Negro male worker turns largely to the industrial plants of

Personal  
and  
Domestic  
Service

(1) A college trained Negro man, interested in the industrial opportunity of the Negro in Buffalo, claims that among the skilled workers in industry may be found an expert tool maker, a moulder of heavy bronze castings and a millwright.

(2) Op. Cit. Charles S. Johnson of the Urban League.



Buffalo and to Domestic and Personal Service for employment and finds in the former an opportunity chiefly in unskilled work and general labor

There were fifty-eight men who were the chief means of support in the families studied. In classifying their occupation the same method was used as in the Industrial Survey conducted by the University of Buffalo Department of Sociology and is as follows:

1. High grade office and Managerial position
2. Ordinary Office
3. Foreman
4. High skilled
5. Skilled
6. Semiskilled
7. Unskilled (in plant processes)
8. General labor (outside plants)

A variety of occupation was found among the fifty-eight men, as is set forth in the following table:

Male  
Workers in  
Fifty  
Families  
Studied



Table III shows the relation of weekly wage to the occupational status of these same fifty-eight men.

According to this table 62% of the men in these families were found to be in the unskilled and general labor field while 12% were in the skilled occupations and 15% in Semi-skilled. It will be noted however, that of the skilled men two were employed as chefs (railroad) and in the semi-skilled four were Pullman porters and two were waiters. These occupations cannot be considered in the industrial field.

It may therefore be said that the results of the study of the fifty-eight men included in the families surveyed brings further evidence to the conclusions reached by other statistics, namely, that the colored Negro worker in Buffalo is employed mainly in the unskilled and general labor fields of industry, and secondly, in domestic and personal service.

TABLE III

## RELATION OF WAGE TO OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING OF 53 NEGRO MALES

WAGES	Number of Men	Percentage of Group	Manager and High-Grade Off.	Ordinary Office	Foreman	High Skilled	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	General Labor
Total	58	100.00	(5.1) 3	(1.7) 1	0	(3.4) 2	(12.0) 7	(15.0) 9	(32.7) 19	(29.3) 17
Under \$20	8	12.1							1	7
\$20-\$24	12	21.0							4	8
\$25-\$29	13	22.4		1				2	8	2
\$30-\$34	18	33.0	1				4	7	6	
\$35-\$39	2	3.5					2			
\$40-Over	5	8.0	2			2	1			

Table III also shows that 31 (55.4%) of these men were earning from \$25.00 to \$34.00 a week, while 7 (11.5%) were earning from \$35.00 to over \$40.00. Twelve men earned from \$20.00 to \$24.00 weekly, while eight (12.1%) were receiving meager wages under \$20.00. At the current wage rates in

(1)  
Buffalo wages above \$25.00 indicates steady employment and it was found that the male Negro worker in the families studied appeared to be a steady worker. The chief factor influencing his wage was health. It is interesting to observe that of the ten men shown by Table IV to have had their health impaired, seven fell under the \$20.00 group.

Further evidence of the steadiness of the Negro as an industrial worker is found in Table V. This table shows that since their residence in Buffalo these Negro male workers have been employed in one place for periods from under one year to six years and over.

(1) Obtained from Mr. McClelland, Municipal Industrial Aid Bureau of the Bureau of Public Welfare.

TABLE IV

## PHYSICAL CONDITION OF 58 NEGRO MALES IN RELATION TO EARNINGS

PHYSICAL CONDITION OF MEN EARNING	NO. OF MEN	EARNINGS PER WEEK					
		Under \$20	\$20-\$24	\$25-\$29	\$30-\$34	\$35-\$39	\$40-Over
Total	58	8	12	13	18	2	5
Unimpaired	48	1	12	12	17	2	4
Impaired	10	7		1	1		1
Syphilitic	2	1					1
Industrial Accident	6	6					
Pneumonia	1				1		
Grippe	1			1			

Of those who had lived in the city from one to two years, one had held his job under one year while two had worked steadily at only one place. Of the thirteen who had resided here from three to four years, three had been working at one place less than a year, six from one to two years and four had worked steadily at one place. Of the workers who had been here from five to six years, three had been working at one place under one year, one from one to two years and five had held jobs at one place from three to four years. There were thirty-two men who had lived here over six years. Five had held their last job under one year, ten from a period of one to two years, six from periods of three to five years, three from periods of five to six years. Eight had been holding employment over six years, three of these men having been in business over that time, four were Pullman porters and one a poultry buyer.

The results of this table are contrary to the impression generally prevalent that the Negro worker tends to

(1) (2)  
shift about from one job to another. When he does  
change it may be from "lack of hope" on the job as he has not  
penetrated largely into the higher classified types of work.

The results of the study showed that 37 men (63.7%)  
had received education from the 6th through the 8th grade in  
school. Of these men, six were receiving under \$20.00 a  
week, eight from \$20.00 to \$24.00 a week, ten were in the  
\$25.00 to \$29.00 group and twelve in the \$30.00 to \$35.00  
group.

In the lower wage grouping of those who earned under  
\$20.00 weekly one had gone through the fifth grade and three  
had gone through the sixth.

Of the men who had attended or had completed high  
school two were in the \$30.00 to \$34.00 group, one in the  
\$35.00 to \$39.00 group while one man earned more than \$40.00  
weekly in his own business.

There were only two college graduates and their earnings  
differed widely. One man had received special technical  
training and was earning \$40.00 weekly as a machinist. The

Education  
of Negro  
Make  
Worker  
in relation  
to Wages



TABLE VI

DEGREE OF EDUCATION OF 53 MEN CONTRIBUTING TO 45 FAMILIES WITH RELATION TO WAGES PER WEEK

WAGES PER WEEK	Total	DEGREE OF EDUCATION											
		Unknown	Under 3rd Grade	3rd Gr.	4th Gr.	5th Gr.	6th Gr.	7th Gr.	8th Gr.	Attended High School	Comple. High School	Attended College	Comple. College
Total	58	6	1	1	4	2	14	5	18	1	4		2
Under \$20	8			1		1	3		3				
\$20-\$24	12	2	1				2	1	5		1		
\$25-\$29	13				1	1	3	2	5				1
\$30-\$34	19	3			2		5	2	5	1	1		
\$35-\$39	2				1						1		
\$40-Over	4	1					1				1		1

other man graduated from Tiffin College, Ohio, three years ago after pursuing an "Arts" course. He is now earning \$25.00 weekly in an industrial plant doing general <sup>labor</sup> work.<sub>A</sub>

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(1) This is the prevailing opinion of employment managers in Buffalo although little real information can be secured as to actual turnover.

See also: Mecklin, J.M. Democracy and Race Friction, pages 117-118.

(2) The Chicago Study bears out the results of Table V. Op. Cit: Report of the Race Commission on the Negro in Chicago, pages 372-374.

Table VI. indicates in general that the men with more education earn higher wages, but that many apparently well-educated men are in the lower wage groups. This situation probably is due to the narrowly restricted education of the Negro in the South. Also the information given by the wives or other relatives of the men may have been inaccurate.

These conclusions may be made concerning the employment opportunity of the Negro male worker in Buffalo.

1. The Negro Male worker turns largely to the industrial field and finds there an opportunity for unskilled and general labor.

2. Wages for the main part were between \$20.00 and \$34.00 per week. In no case were they over \$40.00.

3. Health has an important bearing upon earning power.

4. Contrary to the general impression the Negro male worker tends to hold his employment over a fairly long period of time.

5. There is some evidence that education has advanced

the opportunity of the fifty-eight men studied. Of the seven men earning from \$35.00 to over \$40.00 weekly, one man was a college graduate while two had completed high school.

The Negro Woman in Gainful Occupation.

The opportunity of the Negro woman worker in Buffalo is confined almost entirely to the field of domestic and personal service. None of the larger factories employ colored workers in any number. The Crosby Company, Manufacturers of Steel Stampings and Dyes, employed colored women workers only during the war period. The American Palace Laundry employs thirty-five women as hand ironers and in other processes and finds them satisfactory. The Heinz-Munschauer Company, a refrigerator plant employs nine colored girls in inspection work requiring twelve girls in the department. A dealer in rags also employs that number in sorting rags, the working conditions being very unsatisfactory. There are two office workers in a large mail-order house and a few others scattered over the larger offices.

In collecting the data for this study the writer frequently heard the complaint of the lack of opportunity in Buffalo for colored women. Accounts were given of discrim-

Opportunity

ination against the applicants at public employment agencies. A nurse who claimed to be graduated from a city hospital in Kentucky said she could find no work to do here in her field. In the families studied the twenty-four women workers in gainful occupations proved to be employed largely in the domestic and personal service field, with the exception of two factory workers, a music teacher, who taught only colored children, and a tailoress and clerk. The last two, however, were so light in color that they passed as white women. Following are the occupations given, the number of workers employed and the wages received:

Table VII.

Showing Occupation, Number Employed and Weekly Wages Received by Women Members gainfully Employed in Fifty Families.

Occupation	Number of Workers	Weekly Wages
Day Work	6	\$6.00-\$12.00
Domestic	6	8.00-12.00
Laundering in Home	3	3.00- 12.00
Office Maid	2	12.00- 15.00
Factory Work	2	11.50- 13.50
Music Teacher	1	Average 3.00
Clerk	1	12.00
Tailoress	1	15.00
Hand Ironer	1	16.00
Waitress in Restaurant	1	(with tips) 30.00

Judging this group as typical it can be seen that the position of the woman worker in Buffalo is in accordance with conditions throughout the country. (1) However, it appears that in the field in which she is employed she receives the same wages as her white co-workers. (2)

(1) Per cent distribution by general division of Occupation of gainful workers, ten years and over, in each particular class of population, for the United States in 1920. 14th Census of U.S. Vol.I Page 34.

	Colored Women Only	All Classes (colored included)
*Agriculture	39.0%	12.7%
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industry	3.4	22.6
**Extraction of Minerals	----	----
Transportation	1.0	2.5
Trades	.3	7.8
**Public Service	----	.3
Professional Service	1.5	11.9
Domestic and Personal Service	42.4	25.6
Clerical	.2	16.7

\*Applying only to plantation regions of the South.

\*\*Less than 0.1%.

(2) Verified by Industrial Aid Bureau for Domestic and Personal Service Wage.

Further evidence of the limitation of industrial opportunity was given by a colored employment agent. This woman opened an agency in her home in May, 1924. She claims to have filled from 850 to 1000 positions during that year. Contrary, however, to the opinion heard elsewhere that race prejudice prevented the colored woman from entering the industrial field, she held that view that the newcomers from the South were ill-prepared to enter industry. Her experience showed that the woman worker became easily dissatisfied and her applicants returned after working from three to four months in one place. She stated she felt that when the woman colored worker had proven herself steady and efficient she would have an opportunity. She had applications for office maids and waiting-room attendants which she could not fill because there was no one suitable for the work.

Nevertheless, an examination of one hundred cards returned to her by employers who had taken the workers she sent indicates that domestic work is at present the chief field for the colored woman worker in Buffalo.



Table No. VIII.

Showing Type of Work of 100 Women Employed in Buffalo.

COLORED WOMEN WORKERS					
Domestic Service		*Factory		Hotel and Restaurant	
General Housework	38	Matron	1	Waitress	6
Day Work	30	Hand Ironer	1	Dishwasher	1
Second Maid	10				
Laundress	10				
Cook	3				
Total	91		2		7

\*It will be noted that these two factory workers were actually employed in a type of domestic service.

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No concerted action up to the present on the part of the colored group or any other group in Buffalo has been made in an effort to place the woman worker in the industrial field. The fact that she has not found such a place is due undoubtedly, in part to the lack of willingness on the part of the employer to introduce anything of an experimental nature which might upset the morale of his working force or lessen the quality and economy of production.

There has also been no shortage of women white labor in Buffalo during the last four years.

(1)  
While the Chicago study produces evidence that the colored woman worker has proven herself efficient in industry it is certainly a question whether or not she needs the education of Northern home and community standards before she enters factory life in large numbers.

(1) The Commission in Chicago found four large concerns employing many hundreds of women, two of them mail order businesses and one a large wholesale milliner concern:

"Although a long period of training is necessary in order to become a skilled milliner (four years for hand operators and eight years for machine operators), Negro women were keen to learn the trade and willing to accept the low wages paid beginners. Of the forty-seven Negro Women employed on the day of the investigators' visit, thirty-three received less than \$12.00 a week and forty-two received less than \$15.00 a week. These women were all employed as hand sewers and in the opinion of the superintendent they had done 'just as well as the white. They learn as quickly and are as persevering, and in every report equal to the whites as far as the work is concerned. We are absolutely satisfied with their work.' "

The Negro in Chicago. Report of the Chicago Race Commission, 1922. Page 383.

Opportunity  
in the  
Business  
and  
Profession-  
al Field

Opportunity for the Negro in the business and professional field in Buffalo is largely confined to a closed economic group composed of his own race. There are fifteen Negro churches in Buffalo with Negro pastors. One of these men has done much in welding the new group into unity. There are four Doctors of Medicine, with good practices, but only one lawyer. "The Buffalo American," a weekly newspaper, was supported by the group for a few years but recently went out of print. One Negro has developed a business in real estate, while two others have an undertaking establishment. In addition, Negroes control most of the billiard rooms and restaurants, as well as two hotels situated in the vicinity of William and Michigan Streets, and patronized by Negroes.

There are, however, some notable instances of success by colored men who have achieved a measure of success in direct competition with white men. The following instances have been obtained with the co-operation of a member of the Negro race, who has been a resident of Buffalo about ten

years, and it is thought that they include virtually all of the noteworthy instances of achievement of colored people outside their own group.

INSTANCES OF BUSINESS SUCCESS

\*1. THE MY CAB COMPANY.

The My Cab Company is the largest business enterprise conducted by Negroes in Buffalo. Organized on February 26th, 1924 by four men, who still own the company, it has now a good patronage of colored and white. The company owns and operates nine cabs, besides maintaining a garage and gasoline station. It employs 30 men including the drivers. During the last year their records show a mileage of 800,000 miles. A record of every call is kept and the business is conducted in an efficient manner.

At the time of the interview, the interviewer, one of the partners in the company, stated that they had had some trouble about securing insurance. Paying a high rate for

\* Information obtained by the writer.

premiums (\$464.00 yearly for each cab) they have had no accidents during the two years, but at noon the day of the interview the company holding their policies had cancelled them, giving no reason. He stated that he felt this to be an instance of race discrimination as the independent taxi-drivers, who own their own cabs have little trouble in securing insurance at a lower rate, while they are poorer risks, because they do not keep up the condition of their cabs.

2. BOOKKEEPER.

Mr. A., a bookkeeper, is a Buffalo man. His parents were both born here. His father died when he was twelve or fifteen years old, and it was necessary for him to stop school and go to work. He attended night school every year along with his work, and in that way finished high school.

He took a position, and finally, after several years, secured a job as collector for a prominent manufacturing firm here and spent seven years in that capacity. From time to time fellow employees would find he could do their work

and would let him do it in his spare time. Finally, the bookkeeper quit rather suddenly, and the men in authority asked Mr. A if he could take the books. He did, and after a time he was put in charge of their accounting. He worked it out, handled it, and carried on correspondence regarding the policy he had worked out. He developed a model business organization using a model business policy. Mr. A is now 35 or 40 years old and he has several people working under him.

### 3. ESTIMATING FOR CONTRACTOR.

Miss B prepared originally to teach school but secured an office position here instead. She stopped work and went South to teach school a while, then returned to Buffalo. When the firm with which she had been previous to her departure heard that she had returned, they asked her to come back to them. While she was away it took two girls to do her work. She is now back doing the same work alone. It is a contracting firm, and she takes care of the estimating, although she has no particular title.

She was born and raised in Buffalo and lives in her grandmother's house in a fairly pleasant section of the city.

4. STREET RAILWAY WORKER.

Mr. C resembles an Indian and has been featured as one in the newspapers, but he is really a colored man. He has a brother who does not look like an Indian. Mr. C is employed by a street railway company here, and, when the company ordered that a representative of the employees be chosen to make special reports to the management, Mr. C was elected by his fellow-employees.

5. INFORMATION CLERK.

Mrs. D has for many years been in charge of the information department in a large down-town bank.

6. HOUSEWRECKER.

One colored man has worked up a good business for himself as a housewrecker.

7. GROCER.

One man has a grocery and general store worthy of mention.

1. DOCTORS.

Buffalo has four doctors of medicine.

Profess-  
ional

2. DENTISTS.

There are three colored dentists.

3. LAWYER.

A colored lawyer has had an office of his own for three or four years.

4. TEACHERS.

Buffalo has seven colored teachers in the public schools -six regular grade teachers and one domestic science teacher.

5. LIBRARIAN.

A young woman librarian holds a position of responsibility in one of Buffalo's largest libraries.

6.\* ARCHITECT.

A colored architect, who has worked up a good business of his own, is about to erect the building for a new branch of the Y.M.C.A. He is a graduate of Drexel Institute and has resided in this city for fourteen years. He has been employed by several leading architectural firms and states that he has never found instances of race prejudice handicapping him in his work.

\* Interviewed by the writer.



7. CLERGYMEN.

Buffalo has fifteen colored clergymen and three social workers who are doing effective work. The minister at one of the prominent Baptist churches is considered by many to be the leading spirit among the colored people.

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The Negro family seeks to increase its income in two ways.

1. Women members are gainfully employed.
2. Boarders are taken into the households, and come under two general divisions: Single men boarders, and married couples without children or with few children, who provide and cook their own food

In the fifty families studied thirty-two families depended upon one earner, while nine had two, three had three and two had four. Three families had five members of the household contributing to the family income. There were in all 106 contributants, 24 of whom were women. Table IX brings out the fact that the number of contributors tend to increase with the size of the family.

Family  
Income  
Sources

TABLE IX

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN RELATION TO MEMBERS GAINFULLY  
OCCUPIED-EXCLUSIVE OF BOARDERS

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD *	NUMBER OF HOUSE HOLDS	NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS				
		1	2	3	4	5
Total:	49**	32	9	3	2	3
1	1	1				
2	3	3				
3	7	6	1			
4	7	5	2			
5	11	6	2	2	1	
6	7	5	2			
7	9	3	2	1	1	2
7+	4	3				1

\* All children under 13 computed as  $\frac{1}{2}$  person.

\*\* One family totally dependent upon outside assistance.

Additional income was secured by eleven families who took in twenty-two boarders. The distribution of the twenty-two boarders throughout the families was as follows:

Table X.

Showing Distribution of Twenty-two Boarders over Fifty Families.

Number of Families		Number of Boarders
Total	50	
	37	0
	6	1
	5	2
	2	3

Two families had an additional source of income from rentals of property and one had a newspaper and periodical agency besides the regular employment of the husband.

Only 129 children under sixteen years were dependent on the 106 contributants so that with the addition of the boarders, the unnatural family structure with comparatively more adults than children can be seen. While the average number of children per family is 2.58, the distribution over the families was very uneven. It is shown in the following table:

Table XI.  
Showing Distribution of 129 Children over 50 Families.

Number of Families		Number of Children in Family
Total	50	
	1	8
	2	7
	4	4
	6	0
	6	5
	8	2
	11	3
	12	1

It should be noted here that the study produced no evidence of excessive birth-rate. According to a recent (1) study made by L.T.Dublin, each family should average 2.60 children barely to replace itself.

(1) "Population Problems." L.T.Dublin, 1926. Pages 10-11.

See also Rossiter, W.F. "Increased Population in the United States." 1910-1920. Census Monograph #1, Washington 1922. Pages 130-132. Rossiter states that throughout the Northern states and in all cities of the South the Negro death rate exceeds the Negro birth rate.

TABLE XII

SHOWING RELATION OF INCOME TO SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD*	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	FAMILY INCOME PER WEEK							
		UNDER \$20	\$20-\$24	\$25-\$29	\$30-\$34	\$35-\$39	\$40-\$44	\$45-\$49	\$50-OVER
Total	50	8	4	8	10	3	3	2	12
Under 3	16	5	2	4	2	1	2		
3-4	17	3	1	2	6	1	1		3
5-6	15		1	2	2	1		2	7
7-8	2								2
Over 8	0								

\* Each child under 13 yrs. computed as  $\frac{1}{3}$  person.

It appears from Table XII that the weekly income increases with the size of the household. Two families with five to six members in the household had incomes from \$45.00 to \$49.00, while seven families with this number had weekly incomes of \$50.00 and over. The two households having from seven to eight members both had incomes of \$50.00 and over. Of the sixteen households of less than three, eleven had incomes under \$29.00 weekly, two had weekly incomes of \$30.00 to \$34.00, one had an income of \$35.00 to \$39.00 and two had incomes of \$40.00 to \$44.00 weekly. Of seventeen households of three to four persons six had incomes under \$29.00 per week. Two had \$25.00 to \$29.00 weekly income; six had \$30.00 to \$34.00, one had \$35.00 to \$39.00, one had \$40.00 to \$44.00 while three had \$50.00 and over.









The total weekly income of all the families was \$1775.95 for 177.3 persons (children under 13 computed as one-third person.) This makes an average weekly income per family of \$35.52, with a weekly income per person of \$10.00.

Weekly  
Income

Total  
Average  
Earnings

==

TABLE XIV  
NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN RELATION TO RENTS PAID  
PER MONTH

TOTAL RENTS PER MONTH \$1,074.50	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES 46 *	
Av. \$27.37		
\$15-19	6	
\$20-24	7	
\$25-29	10	
\$30-34	4	
\$35-39	12	
\$40-44	2	
\$45-49	2	
\$50-55	3	

\* 4 of 50 families owned homes.

It has frequently been stated that in the city of Buffalo colored people are obliged to pay exorbitant rents and to live in crowded and unsanitary conditions. In 1921 the Buffalo Foundation undertook a study of 429 households to prove or disprove this statement. Quoting from the Foundation Forum (1) the results briefly put are as follows:

Table XIII.

*		Under \$10	\$10 to \$20	\$20 to \$30	\$30 to \$40	\$40 or over	Un-known
	429	4	117	161	81	46	8
1	8	1	2	4			1
2	91	2	38	34	18	5	
3	75		21	31	13	4	1
4	69		26	24	15	3	1
5	57	1	13	18	17	3	2
6	43		12	17	7	6	1
7	32		2	19	6	5	
7+	54		3	14	15	20	2

\*The first column indicates the number of members in household, the second gives number of households of such size.

Twelve families owned their homes.

Two-thirds of the families were found to be paying less than \$30 a month rent, although an impression has seemed to prevail that \$30 to \$40 a month was being demanded quite

(1) Foundation Forum, May 1921, NO.4, pages 10-11.



commonly. In checking results there were no homes under six rooms noted at a rent of \$40 or more. Six large rooming houses were included in the higher rentals. Compared with rentals for the three and four-room homes of the Cincinnati Model Homes Company for colored tenants, described in an issue of the Forum, which were said to range from \$9 to \$16 per month, but which are not indicative of the city at large, these rates recorded are high, but considering the greater number of rooms and the housing shortage they cannot be called exorbitant. There were a few notations of white tenants previously paying lower rentals, but again under present conditions white tenants are succeeding white tenants at greatly increased rentals time and again."

The importance of rent in relation to the workers' income depends however, upon the amount of money it is necessary for him to spend, and the minimum requirement should be considered only as a theoretical ideal, which must be adjusted to varied existing conditions.

In 1917, Miss W. C. Gibbs, Supervisor of Home Econom-

ics in the New York Association for Improving the Conditions

(1)  
of the Poor made a study of seventy-five wage earners'

families and as a result stated that 20% of the family

income should be expended for rent. The United States

(2)  
Railroad Commission also conducted a study in 1917 covering

the families of Railroad Employees and gave an estimate of

17% for rent expenditure, with other estimates in non-urban

(3)  
localities as low as 13%. Other estimates for family

budgets of \$1,000.00 to \$1,500.00 state that 20% to 25% of

the income should be expended for rent. Since these studies

(4)  
were made rents have tended to increase in all localities

of the United States. Therefore a rent expenditure of any-

where from 20% to 25% of the total budget of a family

residing in an urban community such as Buffalo should not

be considered exorbitant. The average for the fifty families

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(1) "The Minimum Standard of Living." W.C.Gibbs, 1917. P.13. See also, "Standards of Living," Prof. W.F.Ogburn, Bureau of Applied Economics, Washington, 1919.

(2) Report of the U.S. Railroad Wage Commission. "Cost of Living for Railroad Employees." 1917. See Family Budgets.

(3) "The Business of the Household." C.W.Taber, 1918. P.64.

(4) "Cost of Living in U.S." National Industrial Board, Inc 1925. Addendum.

included in this study was 22.8% as shown below.

Rentals in the fifty families varied from \$15.00 to \$55.00. Twenty-seven families paid rents of \$15.00 to \$34.00 while 19 paid higher rents of from \$35.00 to \$55.00 per month.

In relation to the amount of rent to income, however, eighteen families expended under 20% of their monthly income, while thirteen expended 20% to 24% for rents. The number of families with rentals under 20% tended to increase with an increase in income while the family with a smaller income paid a larger percentage of rent. The average amount of income expended for rent for the group was \$27.37 or 22.8% of the average income. (1)

It appears from this study that there is a varied range of rentals among the colored group but that the average expenditure for rent is 22.8% of the family income, which is not exorbitant considering the local condition.(2)

(1) See work sheets in appendix.

(2) According to the Statistician of the Buffalo Foundation social workers in Buffalo find great difficulty in securing homes for their white clients, with proper housing conditions under \$25.00, while it is fairly easy to secure houses with rentals of \$25.00 to \$30.00 monthly.

TABLE XV

PERCENTAGE OF INCOME EXPENDED FOR RENT IN RELATION  
TO AMOUNT OF INCOME PER FAMILY

AMOUNT OF INCOME	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME EXPENDED FOR RENT				
	TOTAL*	UNDER 20%	20%-24%	25%-29%	30%-OVER
Total	46	18	13	7	8
Under \$100	10	2	2	1	5
\$100-\$129	10	3	3	2	2
\$130-\$159	10	1	5	3	1
\$160-\$189	5	3	1	1	
\$190-Over	11	9	2		

\* 4 homes owned

The results of this study also bear out Streightoff's (1) modification of the famous Engels Laws, as they are related to American Workingmen. The modified law as applied to rentals is as follows:

"Relative Expenditures for housing

(a) Remain about constant for the country at large, falling very slightly after \$400.00 incomes have been reached, but

(b) decrease rapidly from 30 per cent, or more, to 16 per cent in New York City."

A notation was made on each schedule of evidences of expenditure in the home which might be classed as luxuries. The homes as a whole were modestly but well furnished and the chief evidences of luxury were found in the form of musical instruments. Thirty-two families possessed phonographs while twenty-three had pianos and only four had radios. These radios were expensive sets with five tubes and loud speakers. One man owned a Ford touring car which

Expenditure  
Classed as  
Luxuries

(1) "The Standard of Living," F.H.Streightoff. J.B.Lippincott, 1911. Page. 20.

he used in his work. His income of over \$50.00 weekly was partially derived from delivering Negro newspapers and periodicals to certain newstands. Seven of the families had telephones. Evidence of luxury can be classed as follows:

Automobile	1					
Piano	23	]	19	]	2	]
Phonograph	32		had both		had	
Radio	4				had	had
Telephone	7			three		
					four	all

The five families who had more than a piano and phonograph in the home all had incomes above the average.

We may now take up certain particulars in relation to housing conditions. Table XVI shows that there was no evidence of overcrowding. It will be noted that only three families occupied three rooms (none under) and these families were households of three members. Twenty families with less than five persons in the household occupied four and five rooms. Fifteen families with an average of 6.6 persons in the household occupied six rooms, five families with average households of six persons occupied seven rooms and three families with an average of eight persons occupied eight rooms. The average unadjusted number of persons per

Living Conditions

TABLE XVI

RENTALS IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED  
AND NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF FAMILIES *	NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED	AVER. NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD	AVER. NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM	ADJUSTED AV. NO. OF PERSONS PER ROOM**	AVERAGE RENTAL PER MONTH
(TOTAL 46)	(AV. 5.45)	(AV. 5.47)	(AV. 1.00)	(AV. .765)	(AV. \$27.37)
3	3	3	1.00	.658	\$15-20
7	4	4.42	1.10	.937	\$18-35
13	5	4.83	.96+	.695	\$15-35
15	6	6.60	1.10	.776	\$15-50
5	7	6.00	.85+	.698	\$26-42 <sup>50</sup>
3	8	8.00	1.00	.830	\$22-55

\* 4 families owned home

\*\* <sup>third</sup> children under 13 computed as one <sup>third</sup> person

room was one, while the adjusted average was .765 persons per room. This secures a proper degree of privacy and adequate air space and exceeds the standard suggested by Miss Gibbs in her study, <sup>(1)</sup> of one and a half persons per room. The general degree of light and air was rated on the schedule as Good, Fair and Poor. Thirty-three homes were rated as good, eleven as fair and only six as poor.

It was found that the toilet and bath facilities were in nearly every case adequate, thirty-three families having a complete bath, five having toilet and wash basin, six having toilet only. Six families had outside toilets, that is, used by other families.

Forty-one families had electric lighting in their home, five had gas and four were using oil lamps. Twenty-two families used gas to heat their homes and twenty-eight used coal. All had cooking ranges, twenty-one of which were coal and twenty-nine of which were gas.

It may therefore be said that "----conditions were found much better than expected and few serious complaints

(1) Op. Cit. W.C.Gibbs, P. 15.



as to unsanitary or overcrowded places can be registered from the survey of these households." (1)

In the families studied there were four cases of desertion by the father and none by the mother. Two of these mothers depended upon their children with added assistance from a welfare agency. One depended upon children and one woman, who had no children, maintained her independence by taking in washing.

There was one case of divorce and the woman had remarried and had no children. There were no cases of unmarried mothers. Five women had married a second time and one man also had remarried. There were four cases of widowhood, one of which depended entirely upon a welfare agency for support. Two of the widows worked and received additional charitable assistance, while one widow was supported by her family. The marital condition of the group could be considered about normal. (2)

Family Life

Marital Conditions

(1) Op. Cit. Foundation Forum, May 1921, No. 4, Page 11.

(2) U.S.Census, 1920, Vol II Table 16.

Males, 15 years and over.		Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
	All Classes	36.2	59.0	4.3	-
	Negro	41.2	53.7	3.8	-
Female	All Classes	31.0	58.0	11.2	-
	Negro	18.3	67.5	12.8	*

The fifty families were secured from the records of Public School #32 (44 families) and the suggestion of a colored social worker (six families) with the intention of keeping within the colored group. Nevertheless it so happened that three cases of miscegenation appeared. In each case however, the white party to the marriage had become submerged in the colored group so completely that he could be regarded as part of it. In one case the man, a Greek, had adopted his wife's interests and friends. He was a member of a colored church, which he attended regularly and in which he officiated as an usher. In another case, a white woman had lived in Union Street in the Negro district with her family for eighteen years, and though of French extraction, had taken on the peculiar accent and gesture of the Negro. In fact, the writer could not at first discern that she was a member of the white race. The third, a man of English and Irish parentage had married a Negro and produced a family of ten children all of whom were negroid in appearance although four were very light as to color. (1)

(1) See Appendix for reports on these families.

The writer also heard of three other cases of miscegenation where the white member had entered the life of the community.

The families were all cordial in their attitude and were apparently willing to discuss their condition and interests. They invariably asked the writer to come into the home and be seated and on her leaving they extended an invitation to come again. All seemed eager to make a good impression and explain their situation and this may have resulted in an inaccuracy of statement at times.

The interests of the colored families included in this study lie chiefly in the church and the home. Thirty-two families were affiliated with the Baptist Church and nine were Methodists. Four were Episcopalians and three belonged to a Congregationalist Church. One family professed membership in an "Apostolic Church." One family did not attend church at all. Nineteen families besides attending church belonged to church organizations.

Sixteen families belonged to clubs and organizations outside the church. These were social clubs bearing names

Interests

such as "The Happy Hour Club" and "The Ladies Friendly Club."

Eight families had members attending classes and clubs at Memorial Chapel while four had members attending night school. Only two families belonged to the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

(1)

Fifteen families mentioned attending the movies but only five attended frequently. Almost always the person interviewed would say that the recreation of their family consisted of going to church and "visiting with friends."

One young wife told the writer she and her husband attended the Gaiety Theatre every week, while two other families went to Loew's Vaudeville.

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(1) The Universal Negro Improvement Association, or U.N.I.A. as it is called among the Negroes is a national organization which was founded six years ago by Marcus Garvey in Chicago. Its membership was very large throughout the country and according to Dr. Theo. M. Kazaza, President of the Buffalo Chapter, Buffalo had five hundred members. In 1925 Marcus Garvey was sent to the Federal Prison at Atlanta on charges of seditious action toward the government.

The aim of the organization is the development of race consciousness in the Negro. Extensive plans which never materialized were made for the establishment of an American Negro Colony in Liberia.

The writer attended a meeting of the local chapter in their headquarters in Jefferson Street. It was held with much ceremony, a uniformed guard in attendance at the door. The speeches which were made, were for the greater part a denunciation of the white man's attitude towards the black and were constantly applauded from the floor. In fact, the attitude was so anti-white that it was apparently expedient for the writer to leave. About fifty men and women attended.

As a whole they were a contented and cheerful group but possibly this attitude only reflects the natural disposition of the Negro. (1) Thirty-two families had experienced no race handicap from race-prejudice, stating in most cases that they thought Buffalo unusually free from it. Ten, however, felt that it was a drawback and eight had no opinion on the subject, as they were indifferent to it. These figures might have been different if men only had been interviewed.

Attitude

From the replies of those interviewed it was indicated that there are no outstanding leaders in the Negro group in Buffalo. When questioned on this subject persons interviewed would mention the name of the pastor of his or her church. No leaders outside the church were mentioned except in one case a real estate dealer was cited. Thus it is clear that the Negro churches in Buffalo can do much toward welding the group together and in bettering its social opportunity. Already the Shiloh Baptist Church has done much in this way.

Leaders

(1) Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, in his recent lectures here brought out the happy-go-lucky disposition of the Negro as one of the chief characteristics of the race.

## CONCLUSIONS.

From the results of this study certain conclusions may be made which are as follows:

1. The study of the background shows that the Negro in the United States has a capacity to engage in skilled industrial labor and in business and professional work.

2. At present his greatest opportunity in Buffalo lies in the field of unskilled and general labor, and in domestic and personal service.

3. According to the results of the fifty families studied it appears that:

a. The greater number of migrant families come from the South Atlantic States.

b. The Negro has proven himself capable of holding employment over a fairly long period of time and tends to stay in one place of employment rather than to shift about.

c. Education tends to improve the economic status of the Negro in Buffalo, although men of better

education were found in the lower wage groups.

d. Health is an important factor in the wage-earning capacity.

e. The opportunity of the female Negro worker is narrowly restricted to the field of domestic and personal service.

f. The Negro in Buffalo does not pay a rent disproportionate to his income, although he lives in a somewhat segregated area.

g. The families showed an insufficient number of children to maintain the Negro population by natural increase.

h. Because of this fact and the tendency to take in boarders the households show an abnormal number of adults.

i. Housing conditions are not bad.

j. Housekeeping standards are good.

k. No great evidence of wasteful expenditure for luxury was found.

l. Marital conditions were about normal.

m. The Negro in Buffalo still lives his social life largely within his own group and his chief interests lie mainly in the home and church. Through these mediums his best social interests and group unity will be furthered.



APPENDIX

Following are "stories" of twenty-one of the families interviewed. These stories are written up in much the same manner as they were related to the writer.

Interesting  
Cases

Mrs. E. is much interested in church work and helped to found the present St. Luke's Church. The Rev. Durham said that as she was such an ardent church member she had best be married and establish herself in the community so she became Mrs. E. and proceeded to do this. Two years ago she sent for her two brothers who had been farmers in the South. They were both young, one under age at the time to go to work, but as she said they were both man-size and strong, so as to the youngest - "Well, we lets him go and they kinda lets him in."

The E.'s

Her home is very well kept but very modestly furnished.

Mr. E. is a fine appearing and well spoken man. He seemed interested and keen and eager to talk over the problems of his race in the north. He has been following the steel trade for twenty years in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Buffalo. It has been a great disappointment that he could not advance in his work, but this is impossible on account of the prejudice of the whites. He laments the fact that unions are not actually open to negroes in the north, although he admits that theoretically they are. In Buffalo he says that a colored man is barred from the locals purely because he is black. He says many skilled workers come north - bricklayers, painters and plasterers and are

are forced into unskilled trades on account of this, or else they must depend on picking up a job now and then as best they can. Many of the workers therefore become discouraged and figure that a day's pay is all that they will ever get, and this accounts for their carelessness and unsteadiness when employed. However, he says that in all his travels he has never heard a colored man talk against his country and in radical terms. He is still looking forward to that day when real opportunity will be an actuality. He says it is very disheartening to see the foreigners come here without skill and knowledge and in a year's time be placed in foremen's positions above the colored man, who must often instruct the foreman as to the way of doing the job. Furthermore, when it comes to hiring, if the foreman has any say so about it he will give the preference to his fellow countryman. He spoke especially of the Poles, who he says are particularly arrogant and pushing. The Italians do not have the same prejudice and the Czechs and Jugoslovakians are more friendly also. He says that after all these years he still can draw very little more pay than his young brothers-in law who have been working only a few years in the Industry. Mr. E. workes seven days a week on eight hour shifts which are changed weekly.

Mrs. E. was also strong in her statements against the Poles. She told about a Polish family who had started a very poor little store and were anxious for their trade. Since they have prospered however, they do not want their patronage and will hardly wait on them when they go to the store. Now they go to the Italian store where the family

is very friendly - and prosperous too. She says the Polish people prosper because their women are so strong and go out to work cleaning by the day. A colored woman cannot do the heavy work that is usually demanded in a day's work. Many colored women are taking up sewing as that is a field where they will be admitted on an equal basis in the white families. She herself is taking a course of sewing at the church and she says her pastor is helping the women find work.

She was very glad when her brother John (age 20 years) married a nice girl. It is hard for the young men in Buffalo to find nice girls and there seems to be many temptations for vice. "I don't know what's got into this here town, Miss Mary, there is certainly awful things going on."

This is the first interview where the information given was obviously inaccurate.

The W.s

The home from the outside appears to be a disreputable and shabby unpainted cottage. The gate was unhinged. There is a front entrance to a semicellar and a flight of stairs leading to the first floor which is really one and a half stories above the ground. Black and torn lace curtains hung at the front entrance. Upon my knocking at the door a phonograph was stopped playing and the heavily barred door was opened by an ill-shaven, collarless negro. He said he was just at the point of going out and that his wife was at home from work and with a cold but would be glad to talk to me. Whereupon he led me into the dining room where she was lying upon a sofa and both of them joined in the interview.

The man did most of the talking and the woman, considerably younger and more intelligence in appearance seemed afraid to tell much.

The man said he had had only two jobs since he came here. He was well satisfied with his work and made from \$35.00 to \$40.00 a week, working steady. The fact that he was home today was because he was going out to look for a better place to live. They have no children of their own, but Mr. W. has two children from a former marriage. The boy is incorrigible and will not go to school. They formerly paid \$50.00 a month rent fo that Mr. W. does not think their present rent of \$35.00 so bad, but the house is in dreadful condition. They economize by letting the lower floor to four single men for \$15.00 a month.

The telephone in the shabby house might indicate another additional income of illegal nature.

Mr. W. said he certainly did not believe in unions for this reason: When you joined a union you were apt to be called out on strike a good deal and then what was your family going to do? He had heard a good deal about Marcus Garvey, who came from Ireland, and would have been interested in such a movement if the man had not been a foreigner.

Checking this family with Miss Brock at #32, it was found that the boy is a mental defective and is also handicapped by the loss of three fingers on his right hand. He should be committed to Institutional care. The man was lately in court on a charge or rape committed upon a niece, who resided in the household.

Further information from the C.A.S. verified this. The

girl in question came from the south bringing the three children about a year ago. The stepmother stayed away from home a great deal and at the time of the investigation was in the south visiting. She returned as a witness for the defense but turned out a witness for the prosecution. The man was adjudged guilty and ordered to pay \$5.00 weekly toward the support of the child when born. The pregnant girl is in the Salvation Army Home and when able will be deported with her child. The Case Superintendent thinks the stepmother will soon go her own way.

Mrs. K. is a tall, very black woman who was neatly dressed and had a great deal of poise and assurance in manner. Mr. K. is a Greek with pale skin, blue eyes, and light brown hair. He was just on his way to work at my visit and spoke nicely to me on his way out. Mrs. K. was reluctant to talk until I explained to her thoroughly the nature of my visit, and she was then very willing to give me her story. She was born and brought up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and married at the age of sixteen to a young colored boy who was in the same year at high school with her. After their marriage he proved to be cruel and shiftless, but she stayed with him for six years as her mother was dead and her aunt who cared for her was likewise cruel and used to beat her. At the end of six years she ran away from her husband and went to Chicago. Mrs. K. spoke of the many opportunities in Chicago for colored girls in the factories and in the shops, and deplored the fact that here there was nothing but domestic work. She met her present husband in

The K.'s

Chicago and they went together for two years. She said that it caused a great deal of surprise on the streets when they went out together but that they both found much in common and she admired her husband immensely for his high ideals, his kindness, and his steadiness in work. She said she had always been a Christian woman and that after her unhappiness in her first marriage she looked for a man only with regard to his principles. At the end of two years Mrs. K. came to Buffalo because she felt that it would not be right to marry Mr. K. Her sister came with her and worked for a short time as a waitress and then went into domestic service as it seemed to be the only opportunity here. Mrs. K. had a little money saved and bought a rooming-house on Michigan near William. Her roomers included white men as well as colored men. Mr. K. followed her to Buffalo, and after he had been here a short time they decided that it would be much better if they faced things squarely and were married. After their marriage they rented their present house which is a large old-fashioned rooming place. Their landlord repainted and repapered for them and they occupy the lower floor themselves and rent the upper floor and the attic.

Mr. K. is an enthusiastic worker at Shiloh Baptist Church and is an usher there. She says that in the three years of their marriage they have had many friends among white people and colored people and that they are very glad that they took this radical step.

Their house is most beautifully furnished and very well kept. At the time of my interview Mrs. K. was addressing postal cards for a meeting of the Eastern Star of which she

is a member. Mr. K. has no family in the United States. In fact his only relative is his mother who is living in Greece and is very old. This facilitated their marriage as Mrs. K. is separated from all her family except her sister.

Mrs. C. came here last August to be with her four boys who have been working in Buffalo for a period of five years. She previously had lived in Dundee, New York, with her husband. They had lived there about seventeen years and had raised a family of twelve children. Last August, for some unknown reason, Mr. C. deserted his family and went away. Mrs. C. says they all know where he is but they can't induce him to return. She therefore sent one boy of fourteen to live with his sister in Rochester and brought her two youngest children to Buffalo with her. She also has a young daughter, seventeen years old, who is in college in the South.

The C.'s

Mrs. C. says she does not like city life. She has always been used to the country and does not like to go out. Consequently she seldom goes out and doesn't have many friends. She seldom goes to church but when she goes she visits Reverent Johnson's church.

The family occupies seven rooms in a large rambling ten room apartment. These rooms are barely furnished and with utmost confusion. The remaining three rooms are rented out to young colored roomers who also pay rent to the landlord, and whose occupations I could not obtain from Mrs. C. as she seemed puzzled about my visit anyway. It was very difficult to talk with her, as children and dogs

were constantly running about and various young colored men were coming in or going out.

I finally drew one man into our conversation by speaking of the high rents, and he introduced himself as Mr. T., a man who lived in one of the rooms. Mr. T. says he has been in Buffalo for nine years and with much difficulty has built up a nice little contracting business for himself. He is a man of about thirty-nine years, very black, but apparently intelligent and interested in the welfare of his people. Mr. T. says he came from the black belt down in Alabama where he lived with his mother, father, and brother up to the time he was sixteen years old. He never went beyond the third grade in school, but his father taught him how to work, and he and his brother were running the farm by the time he was sixteen years old. His brother married and settled down in Alabama but he decided to come north. He has worked himself up from the position of laborer by studying and making as good friends as he could. He says that it has been his experience that wherever he went, if he could make it apparent that he was clean-minded and serious about his work, he was given due recognition. "The great trouble with the colored people," says he, "is that they have not learned how to save a dollar. The greatest thing that counts in the world today is money, and if one has money one has whatever opportunity he wishes. The colored people have not learned this lesson and consequently have not gone ahead as they might have." He says the people in Alabama are more thrifty than in other states because they are more oppressed, and they hang on to everything t



they have because they know that when they part with it they will get less than half in return. He said he had brought his nephew up north four years ago and had him helping in the business, and that when he died last year he was worth \$6000. Here and there in Buffalo one sees evidences of the fact that the colored people are settling down and establishing themselves. He mentioned R.A. Brown who recently went to Detroit, as a successful business man type and also Mr. S.A. Wadell. He says there are other moneyed colored men in Buffalo but they are "sporty and crooked and cannot be counted as well-established citizens." In his work he says he hires both white and black men. Of course, it's natural for birds of a feather to flock together, but if a white man gives him a job to do he thinks he ought to hire some white men, and many times he cannot find a colored worker who will work hard enough and skilfully enough to accomplish the job. Mr. T. says he is not a church-going man although he sometimes goes over to "Eckel's" but wherever he goes he is cordially received and people call him brother.

Mrs. C. has a very well appointed home, with evidences of a good income everywhere. She says the chief drawbacks to the colored man and his progress are the foreigners who have come over here in vast numbers and have made work scarce and wages low.

The C.'s

If she had her way she would travel all the time. She loves to get into a train and just sit and watch the scenery go by. As her husband has a good trade they can afford to travel about a little. If it were not for the children she

would pack up and go to California, as she has read a lot about it and thinks that it must be a wonderful country. One place she does not want to go is to the South. When she first went to Richmond, Va., she made the awful mistake of going into the white part of the street car, and when she was reprimanded she could not understand why. She says the colored men in the south are very nice to the colored northern girls, but the girls are a jealous lot. It was a great experience to her, who had always had white friends to go down there and see the segregation.

They came to Buffalo in 1917 and stayed here for two years. Then they went to Richmond for a few months, then to Baltimore and in 1921 and 1922 lived in Pittsburgh. She liked Pittsburgh very much. In January, 1923, they returned to Buffalo and bought a little home out on Lux Street, which is a Polish section. They sold it because the neighbors were so unpleasant and besides the house was damp. She says the little children used to call after her in the street. Her home was right near a still and she reported this to the police.

This led to subject of Prohibition and Mrs. C. had decided views on the subject. She said that Prohibition was like trying to kill a plant by cutting off one leaf. Why do they forbid whiskey and then allow folks to sell all the apparatus for making it? She was raised in Kentucky and her father always had a jug of good whiskey in the house, but never drank to excess. Now a man must pay \$6.00 a quart for whiskey that might be poison when before one could get it for 50¢. She visited her brother in Kentucky not long ago and

he is in the bootlegging business and doing well. - It is more than likely that the C.'s are also engaged in this as well for their home is prosperous beyond their income.

Mrs. C. says she certainly believes in intermarriage. Race mixture has always been in the past and it is better to have legal marriages than illegal unions. Her husband has white blood in him and it may be Jewish as his features are Jewish. She thinks that race mixture has been foretold in the Bible, because at first marriage was just between families, then between tribes, now it is recognized between nations and eventually it will be between races.

Mrs. C. has not been well this winter and has suffered ill-effects from Salvarsan treatment, so she has not gone out much. Most of her interests are in the church. She wishes there were more opportunities for women in Buffalo. She would like to do Hospital nursing.

Mrs. L.'s interest is centered around her boy and about him her story was built. In the first place she was the oldest of six children and upon the death of her father when she was only eleven she stopped going to school in order to take care of her family and help her mother. She kept house while her mother went out to work and between times she learned to do dressmaking. At the age of thirteen she married and continued to help her family. She was widowed at nineteen and left with her boy for whom she was very ambitious. After ten years she married again as the family was self-supporting except her mother for whom she continued to care. William Henry finished high school at the age of eighteen and

The L.'s

his mother wished to send him to college. He begged to have six months before he went in order to work a little. The stepfather was lenient and so they decided to allow him to work for a space. First of all, William Henry went to Baltimore for three months and the next thing they heard he was in Buffalo. He married a girl from Toronto and then enlisted in the army (1917) where he had a good record, becoming a sergeant in a few months. He did not get over-weas as he was very ill with influenza. It seems as though his army experience had made him nervous, and he often says the constant rifle practice made him jumpy. He has since the war engaged in driving and auto mechanics and has worked steadily.

When the baby arrived the L.'s came to see their grand-child and Mr. L. loved the baby so much he persuaded Mrs.L. to come up and make their home here. Mr. L. worked at the steel plant for six months to make a little extra and then started into business, where he is fairly successful. Barring none, says Mrs. L., she has the best husband in Buffalo. During the panic and hard times they kept their kitchen open and she cooked while he brought in the hungry one, white and black. Mrs. L. remonstrated at first, because she said they would spend their savings of \$200 and be on the city themselves, but Mr. L. replied that he was a Christian and he knew the Lord would provide. Mr. L. is head trustee of the church and the chief usher. William Henry and Annabella do not go to church and it makes them feel badly. There feel that there are bad influences here in Buffalo.

There is a good industrial opportunity here in Buffalo, but little chance for other advancement. So many professions are barred to young women. For instance, down south the colored women are allowed to train for nursing, but here there is no field. She feels that it is simply a case that the colored folk must prove their worth against odds and then the matter of color will disappear. That is why she feels that the bringing up of children is so important. The colored child must be made to feel that he has a double duty. She says that there has always been race mixture and that eventually that will not be looked at as a crime. It will come as the people mix more and see that there are the same commendable and lovable qualities in both colored and white.

The home was very comfortable. It was not especially well kept, this being due most likely to the fact that business is conducted there and people are always coming in and out.

She spoke of the problem of finding a good place to live as one of the most important.

This home was in utter confusion and very dirty when the visit was made. Mr. Gordon was at home in his working clothes, playing with the baby and Mrs. G. who expects to be confined any day was sitting by the stove.

The G.'s came here for a change about three years ago and have not had the best of luck. Mr. G. has worked around on various construction jobs, but has frequently been laid off and only manages to make from \$15 to \$18 a week.

The G.'s

They started out to buy furniture but could not make the payments so it was taken away, and now their furniture consists of very broken down and disreputable looking pieces. They would like to move in order to have a better place for the new baby, but cannot as they owe a month's rent. The World War Veterans have given them several grocery orders, and they applied to the city to get medical aid for Mrs. G. and Edward Willie - both syphillitic - but were referred to the Veterans.

Mr. G. is a tall, clean cut young man. He served in the army overseas from June 21st, 1918, to May 15th, 1919. Says he came through the war without any ill effects.

He thinks there is a good deal of prejudice here, but he laughs about it and his troubles. He said he read a book in the barber shop the other day entitled "The Devil's Inkwell" and it was K.K.K. propaganda. He has noticed when he goes for a job at the Broadway Auditorium that frequently there will be calls for help and when the colored men go forward the bosses say "No colored man wanted." The Polish straw bosses also do all they can to make it hard for the colored man.

This family is the easy going, shiftless type one could readily see, upon talking to them. It is quite probable that their claims to grammar school 8th grade education are not true. They had no ideas about the condition of their folk here and seemed perfectly content with things as they were.

Mrs. C. is the sister of Rev. Echols and the social worker for Shiloh Baptist Church. She came to Buffalo four years ago to visit her brother and met and married her husband here. Previous to that she had been a school teacher in the south. Her husband has been in Buffalo for ten years. He used to come here during the summers to work and earn money to go to school in winter. He is a Pullman porter and has done this work for the ten years. He feels that he can best get ahead by working and investing his savings in real estate.

Mr. and  
Mrs. C.

The C.'s own their home and are now planning to buy another. The house is small but in good repair and well furnished. Mrs. T., Mr. C.'s sister lives with them. Her husband is also a porter.

She says that while most of the newcomers are uncouth and ill fitted now to do all the different kinds of work in the north, she feels that the majority are here to stay. They realize that their status is very low in the south, that they cannot get any kind of legal justice, while here there is a better chance to have recognition and the schooling facilities are much better for the children. The more successful of her race have stayed in the south. It is harder for the better type to get along here, as there are not the opportunities to advance although there is a big field in plant labor. In the south although the colored people are segregated there is a better chance to get into the business and professional fields, although there is no chance for social equality.

She has been among various white groups here as she

serves on various church committees, and has been very well treated. Sometimes she feels sensitive because people go out of their way to be nice to her. She has had one unpleasant experience with a white woman with whom she worked who snubbed her when she spoke to her on the street.

She is very much against race intermarriage for she feels that according to the Bible it was not so intended. The Lord would not have made different races if He had not wished them to remain distinct.

She feels that it is a very good thing however for the white people to work and be friendly with the colored. Many people had spoken to her about the work Mrs. Wesley was doing and the fact that she had come into their homes to talk with them had made an impression. She thinks such things stimulate a feeling of self-respect and make them want to progress.

Her chief interest is in the church as at present the needs of her people are to become organized and work together. She feels that something must be done to increase the opportunity for women workers as at present their only field is domestic service.

This young woman came to Buffalo seventeen years ago with her mother and sister. Her mother had heard that things were so good in the north that you could almost pick gold out of the streets but she found that it was somewhat different.

She has had a high school education and for three years was employed at the Perrysburg Hospital. She said at

The R.'s



first that the white girls tried to call her nicknames like "Snowball" but she soon let them know that that was not desirable. She never had any trouble with the men employees either, because she was very strong and they were afraid of her. She soon saw that there was just as much prejudice between whites as between blacks and whites and it was a great lesson. The English and Irish girls were always fighting and the Italians called each other "wops" and "dagoes."

Her husband has been here since 1919 and has worked at the Steel Plant nearly all the time. If he could get into a union he could earn nearly twice as much as he does now, but unions are not for colored people it seems. He is a riveter and his boss says he is one of the best. He never has any trouble with his fellow workers. Sometimes they get fresh. Her man is one who never swears and hates dirty talk and when it is used towards him he resorts to violence. One young white worker once behaved in a manner that deserved "plopping" and after he had been taught a lesson he became great friends with the colored man. In fact, he wanted to take a room at his home, because they have a nice little home. But Mrs. R. knew that such a thing would be foolish, her reputation would suffer among both races.

She says there is a good deal of handicap in the prejudice found. She tried to become a telephone operator with some of her classmates and when she went to apply they gave her an application blank and while she was filling it out they took it away from her. Some of her other friends had the same experience. Her Polish and Italian friends have found it difficult to get office positions. Mayor Schwab

has done something for her folk by putting three men on the police force and letting them work in the Street Department. Down south she says, colored men would not think of becoming ashmen, but up here it is an opportunity.

Mrs. R.'s sister, Miss E., works as a tailor for M.Wile.

Mrs. R. says she does not blame the white folks for being disgusted sometimes, because a good many of the new arrivals from the south don't know how to act. But she thinks the shiftless ones have gone away for a large extent because jobs are hard to get. The colored folk lack unity here, there are too many of these little "honkey-tonk" churches. If they could organize into a few good churches it would be much better. When her mother first came here there were only four churches and now there are about thirty-two.

A lot of trouble is caused by the lack of opportunity to have a decent place to live. Her landlord used to charge \$40.00 a month for his flat. The previous tenants took roomers and there were sixteen adults in the flat. The living room, dining room and kitchen all had beds in them. "How can people be decent when they have to live almost like bugs," asks she. Of course, some of her folk don't know how to live in a modern house as down south they almost live under the trees.

Her husband is a very home-loving man, but they go out together frequently. Sometimes they go to the Gaeity, but lately it has annoyed her because the girl in the ticket office always puts the colored people in one section. She went to the Majestic once, too, to see "Running Wild," and

found that one row had been entirely reserved for colored folks.

She doesn't believe in the U.N.I.A. but thinks that they adopt anti-white propaganda to combat the K.K.K. methods. After all it is a question of fighting fire with fire. She thinks that in fifty years or more there will be no specifically white and black race as intermarriage is increasing. Sometimes on the street cars she will be puzzled by all the variety of color and it is hard to tell what is what. She has a brother who always passes for a white and he has great fun telling about how he goes down south and mingles with the "crackers," who would string him up if they knew about it.

This mother has thought things through pretty well. She is the type that without education would have been terribly bitter, but as it is she believes in holding her own and maintaining her pride.

The home is very well furnished and pleasant. It is immaculately clean.

The C. family came to Buffalo from Memphis, Tennessee, twelve years ago, as they felt that there were better chances in the north. Mr. C. has worked at various plants: The Pullman shops, the American Brass, the Bethlehem Steel, and the Atlas Steel, and as a strike-breaker on the Erie Railroad in 1916. He liked the work at the Pullman shops the best but could not make enough money and for the past two years has been working at the American Brass Company as a molder. Recently this work has not agreed with him, so they have

The C. family

transfereed him to lighter work in the factory. He supplements his income as an agent for the Chicago Defender, Buffalo American, and sells various books on the welfare of the Negro, such as the Tuskegee Year Book. Previously, the C.'s lived at 190 Clinton Street where they paid \$58 a month rent. They felt that it was a better investment to try to buy a little home, so they made a payment on their present home and make monthly payments of about \$35.

Mrs. C. had a great deal to say about the lack of opportunity for women workers here in Buffalo. She says about the only thing a young girl can do here regardless of her education is to be a domestic servant, and this kills the ambition of the younger generation. Her boy went for two years to Hutchinson High but stopped and went to work because he felt that further education would not benefit him. She feels that the colored people who have come to the north have suffered because of the propaganda circulated by southern whites. "There are good and bad in all classes," says Mrs. C., "and definite classes," and she feels "that the intelligent and progressive in her race should not be held back by false prejudice." One of the advantages of the north, she thinks, is that children are compelled to go to school for a certain period, and this is a great advantage.

Mrs. C. is assistant organist in the Shiloh Baptist Church, apparently a very intelligent and charming woman.

Mrs. Al's home is a little attic flat over the rear of a small two-storey house. It is a series of four small rooms with sloping ceilings. One of these is a kitchen, with the lavatory off from it, two rooms are very tiny with scarcely no furniture and the fourth room is the largest and used for a bedroom. It is filled with the bed, bureau, trunks and baby's crib.

This family has been here only two years. The father came here in 1924 and she followed with the children five months after him. For one year he worked at the Lackawanna Steel Plant, but broke down physically last October and went to the hospital. He was operated upon for appendicitis and died the following day, three hours before her baby was born. She said he was very ambitious and really worked himself to death. Through the American Legion she secured relief.

Mrs. A.'s niece is with her because she came north last summer with the oldest girl who had gone to pay the relatives in Florida a visit. When Mr. A. died there was no way to get the child home, so the father sends money for upkeep until a way can be arranged. He does not want the child to travel alone even if the Traveller's Aid looked after her.

Mrs. A. showed me her high school diploma. She said she had taught school in the south. She is well educated apparently and says she would never have been able to get along with all her trouble if she hadn't been able to read. She hasn't much time to go about but always goes to church on Sunday, the children go to Sunday School and to Memorial Chapel. She also goes to a Red Cross class there and

Mrs. A.

belongs to a church club for women.

She thinks the north holds much more opportunity for colored people, but that the winters and hard plant labor make it a struggle to get along. There isn't much in the south but living is "easier."

Mrs. A. said she had not been in a movie for six years.

Mrs. P., the aunt, answered the door and cordially asked me to come in. As soon as I mentioned Miss Shields' name she became very friendly.

The L.'s

This family occupies a shabby little flat, which is really the ground floor of a cottage. The house is in bad repair, ceilings dirty, paper ragged and floors in poor condition. The upper flat is also occupied by colored people - four rooms with a bath for \$25.00 a month.

The house was poorly furnished, but well kept and clean.

Mrs. P. said that she came here two years ago after the death of her sister, Mrs. L., to look after the children. Her husband remains in Memphis, Tennessee, with his mother and father and she never expects him to come north, not did she seem to think it unusual that she might never see him again.

She does not like Buffalo, mostly because it is so cold. She hardly ever goes out socially, but attends church. "I visits round at all the churches."

Mr. S., the grandparent, is too old to work, and he, too, seems to spend most of his time at home. Mrs. P. is very proud of the children. Mattie Alice takes music lessons and plays at Memorial Chapel. She says the older boys are very good and think only of looking after their family.

She says the boys never worry about the future and are always satisfied with their jobs. They don't think much about whether there is an opportunity or not. They like to make good wages, but the job is the thing - that is to have one. James Lee feels that he is doing fine to be with the New York Central Railroad.

This is evidently a happy-go-lucky type of home. Willing workers but not given to think of the future.

When I left, Mrs. P. asked me to come again. She was an attractive young woman about twenty-five years old. She said to me: "Lord, chile, I sure am always happy, you never can tell whether or not I'm broke, 'cause I'm always singin' a song."

Mrs. B. occupies a large rambling flat, shabbily furnished and only fairly well kept. She has had a long winter of sickness with her family and feels tired.

The children are all well nourished and healthy in appearance.

The B.'s have always lived in Washington where Mr. B. worked for the government. They had to pay \$65.00 for a four-room flat during the war and afterwards and so when a brother told them rent was cheap in Buffalo they came here. Rent seems to be Mrs. B.'s great problem. They have never been able to move from this place, because they could never get all the rent paid up. The landlady is willing to take what they can give and so they get along that way. Miss Paine at the B.P.W. has withheld assistance from her because she won't move, but she seems to feel that she

The B.'s

cannot.

She likes it in Buffalo, even though it is hard to get along. People here are much kinder and more helpful, especially the Memorial Chapel, the clinics and the General Hospital where her boy stayed when he had pneumonia.

She belongs to the Red Cross at Memorial and that is her chief means of recreation. They have all been ill this winter and she has not gone anywhere.

Mrs. G. is a very intelligent woman, interested in her church and very proud of her children. She says her oldest girl wants to be a teacher and all her youngsters have "mounted the rostrum" to say pieces before they were four years old. Her people get along slowly because most of them are so poor, but in the church they can all work together and they have faith in a happier future.

Mr. and  
Mrs. G.

Her home is very neat and well-kept. She thinks one of the biggest problems of the colored people is to find a place to live. The entrance to her house is through a very dirty passage and she is ashamed of it.

Her husband does not go out very much. He is interested in the U.N.I.A. but she tries to dissuade him from it, because she feels it has a wrong influence. Mostly when her husband comes home at night he wants a cigar and a little time to play with the baby.

Her husband is against the unions because they keep the colored man out of them. Down south all the railroad work is done by colored folks except the engineering, but up here they are just beginning to get a chance.

They decided to come north because a friend of theirs had come during the war and had secured work in a munitions



factory. He used to send his pay envelopes down to Mr. G. to let him see the big wages. They went first to Long Island to some relatives in 1919. The work there was mostly on rich men's estates and for contractors who looked after the needs of the estates. All the work was out doors and it was hard on Mr. G.

When they came here he worked at the National Analine but the bad atmosphere began to tell on his health. He then played strike breaker for one month and from there went to the Pullman Works where he is satisfied.

Mrs. G. has found evidences of prejudice. Many little children on the street have called her nigger, and she says she always stops and explains to them that "nigger" means something bad in the heart, not some color of the skin. Once a white woman arose in the street car and remained standing when she sat down beside her. On another occasion she was not feeling well and a white man gave her his seat. She thinks many southern whites in the north have accentuated these prejudices.

She thinks colored people are beginning to enter the business world although it is very slow. She knows two men who engage in the Insurance business.

Mrs. G. has a very poor little home with broken furniture and bare floors, but she keeps it very neatly. She has been in Buffalo four years and feels that the colored people are having a good opportunity to get along, and that she and her husband would have prospered but for his health. For two years previous to their coming to

The G.'s

Buffalo, they lived in Pittsburgh where Mr. G. worked as a hod-carrier. When he came to Buffalo he tried working at the Bethlehem Stee, but the work was too strenuous and he stayed only a short while. He then went out as a laborer on contracting jobs for Mr. Frank. Early this winter his eyes began to trouble him and he was unable to carry on this work, and they were forced to ask relief. According to the Bureau of Public Welfare record the man is syphilitic.

Mrs. G. felt that the white people here were very friendly and spoke of the fact that workers at Memorial Chapel would help them a good deal.

Mrs. C. died two months ago from pneumonia, so the eldest daughter, Bertha, carried on the interview and was very much interested in my work. This is a very unusual family, as the mother was of Negro-indian parentage, while the father is of English-Irish parentage. The mother was a native of Cattaraugus County, New York, and the father is a native of Hamilton, Ontario. The father has had no schooling whatever, but Bertha says he is a very bright man and can talk on any subject. The mother was a normal school graduate but had been left an orphan at an early age and had worked about on people's farms for a living and worked her way through school. There are ten children in the family. Their colors are varied. Bertha is brown-skinned with freckles and black, kinky hair; the other two girls are practically white. The two older boys are very pale with kinky hair. Bertha had a good deal to say about opportunities in Buffalo for colored women. She has worked at

The C.-  
Family

Crosby's factory and at the Munschauer Refrigerator off and on for six years, and she feels that these new-comers from the south don't deserve any opportunity because they are very ignorant. She is inspector at the Munschauer factory now and says there are about seven of these colored girls there, the total working force of the girls comprising twelve. These girls are very disagreeable. They fight easily and have a disgusting habit of chewing tobacco. Said Bertha, "Why should anyone who chews tobacco have an opportunity to work in an office? They most certainly would not know how to act." She and her two sisters who are employed in the factory spend most of their time with three Polish girls who are the only white workers in the group. (They evidently don't rate themselves as colored.)

Bertha, from the time she was fifteen until the time she was seventeen, was in Perrysburg Hospital, for six months as a patient and the remaining time as a maid. She said she wanted to be a nurse now, but there was no hospital that would accept her in training.

Her nineteen-year old sister, Mrs. Alice T., of Lackawanna, married a very dark colored man. Her twenty-year old sister, Emma, is engaged to a young German boy whose father is general foreman at the Munschauer plant. She herself goes about with another young German. She says she thinks the Germans are much more unprejudiced than the other white people, although she has many friends among the Poles who, she said, were sly and tricky, and the Italians.

The H.'s have been here not quite two years. The older children came ahead of them five or six years ago, as Mr. H. had two brothers working in Buffalo. When one of the daughters, Louise, married and was deserted, they came up here to look after the family. Mr. H. had worked in Memphis for several years as a waiter in the Elks Club and had not a bit of trouble finding employment on the railroads through the Railroad Commissary. He has had a steady job and has no fault to find, although he says that there are few opportunities for colored waiters except in the dining cars.

The home is very neat and well furnished. Mrs. H. says that when they first moved into the neighborhood no one would speak to them because they were colored - the block is mainly Jewish - but now all the neighbors are friendly. The upstairs tenant was a white family and they had a great deal of trouble on account of their poor housekeeping and drinking, but they were asked to leave by the landlord. Mrs. H. then took the upstairs flat which is much smaller and uses it for sleeping rooms. She showed me this part of the house very proudly because now each member of her family has a room practically to themselves. The whole place was spotless.

Mrs. H. does not care for Buffalo as she misses the good preaching down south. However, she attends Shiloh and has made some friends. She does not think that the colored people have nearly the opportunity that they do down south; for example, down in Memphis they have banks and business houses which are conducted entirely by colored

The H.'s

folks. She thinks the best people stayed down south and the poorer folks have come up here. She is surprised at the ungodliness of the younger generation. Her husband has told her there are some men who work with him who do not believe in a hereafter and there are many who spend their time walking up and down the streets, even associating with white girls. They spend all their money on gambling and moonshine. In other words, she does not like the north.

This mother supplements the family income by taking in curtains to launder and has a neat little sign on her house.

Mrs. W. is a grey haired little lady who appears much older than the age with which she is credited. She lives alone and takes care of herself, of which fact she is very proud. She said, "See, Miss, this is my little place and that yard is my little yard and no one can come in unless I says yes."

Mrs. W.

She says it keeps her "humping" to get along, to pay her church dues and her insurance and the rent. Her husband is a shiftless person and she is glad to be rid of him. He never did like to work and would come home and tell her to get a job and help him, when there were only the two of them. She says he is working at the N.Y.C. yards now, and rooming and for all she knows he may have another woman.

Mrs. W. just loves to do washing and so she enjoys her work. She used to go out by the day for white people who were very kind to her, but she felt the work too hard, so now she has several customers who bring their laundry to her. Several of her customers are colored people in the neighborhood.

She thinks it a good opportunity here for people, but the men when they go to work are not willing to stick to it. They work a week or so and when they get paid lay off and spend the money. Also you cannot expect a job to come running after you, you have to go out to find one.

Her pastor is always telling the folks what is right to do on the job, right from the pulpit. He says if you are late to work you will be the first one laid off, and when you get a job you must not expect to be the boss. He also tells his people all about the fine colored people who have done things, like Jean Toomer and Booker T. Washington.

She thinks white and colored ought to be friendly but that it is wrong to intermarry, because it is hard for the children. She often meets the A. girls in the grocery store. Their mother is white and their father was a Negro. Now these girls are neither and they always act as if they didn't want to talk with the colored folks, but still they are not white and have no white friends.

The interview was carried on with Mr. McKinley G. Mr. McKinley G. is Mr. Henry G.'s brother. Mr. and Mrs. McKinley G. had only recently come there to live, having sold their house in the Kensington district because Mrs. G. felt that it was too far out. Mr. G. does not feel that there is an opportunity for the colored people here in Buffalo. He came here seven years ago after having worked three years in St. Louis. He said that when he first came here he walked the streets trying to get a position and

The G.  
Family

underwent all sorts of unpleasantness because of his color. Finally he met a real red-blooded white man who helped him to get a position with the Post Office. He is very ambitious and has been taking work at the University for his bachelor's degree. "At present," said he, "the colored men of money and influence in Buffalo are mostly a sporting type. The great lesson that the colored people must learn is to be thrifty and save their money. Their long years of oppression instead of developing this trait, have caused them to regard their wages as easy come, and easy go." He feels that one of the things colored people should do for themselves is to develop some locality where they can have nice homes. He himself has tried to get into the real estate business but has been discriminated against because of his color. He has completed a course in real estate salesmanship at Hutchinson High and applied at Pierce and Pierce to take another course, but was told flatly that they didn't want any colored men in their classes.

He said that he and his wife go to the theatre frequently and have had only one unpleasant experience. This was at a time when his wife had just left the hospital and they went to Loew's Theatre. As it was in the afternoon, the tickets were the same price all over the house but they were ushered to the top balcony. They sat there for a little while and two white men in the row behind them lit cigars and blew smoke down at them until it was so unpleasant that they were forced to leave. They went downstairs and complained to the manager who said that there must have been some mistake, and had them shown to seats on the first floor.

Mrs. A. is a native of Buffalo, a white woman of French descent. She has lived in the same house on Union Street for eighteen years. It is well furnished and comfortable and well kept. Her daughters and son now contribute towards the family support and she also has a little money that came as compensation when her husband died as the result of injuries sustained while working.

Mrs. A. said her husband was a man of refinement and education. He had been brought up by the mayor of Pittsburgh and was a chef in his home for some time. He came to Buffalo some 35 years ago and was chef in several places, the old Buffalo Bicycle Club among them, and for many years he was chef at the Markeen Hotel. He died in 1921, when working at a plant - apparently the Wickwire - on the river road. He had worked there three years previously as a laborer. She did not seem to know why he had given up his trade, except that there was a chance to make good money in those days in factories.

She said she married her husband because he was a very good man and she was all alone. She knew she would have to give up trying to go with white people and she did not try to force her way into colored society. She devoted her time to her family. Besides those at home she has two sons, one a chef on a diner, the other a Pullman porter. They have all had grammar school educations.

Her children spend much time at home, because they are all talented. One plays the piano, the other a saxophone (these are the girls) and the boy plays another

Mrs. A.



instrument. They entertain their colored friends and have many good times. She has brought up her family as Catholics, but really prefers the Episcopal church.

She spoke very critically of the newcomers from the south. She said they did not know how to live or act up here. Their ignorance caused them to be exploited and the rest suffered. Ten years ago, she said, her neighborhood had been quiet and respectable and now it is dangerous to go out at night.

Mrs. J. has a comfortable home in the rear of her husband's establishment. She was recovering from grippe when I talked to her and asked me to excuse the condition of her home, which was somewhat disordered.

The J.'s

Mr. J. was a postman in Buffalo several years before he went into active business with his brother. He helped him to establish the work and then went to New York in 1918 and studied for one year. After that he was married and came here to engage as a partner with his brother. She feels that they have done very well and that there is an opportunity here for intelligent people. She says that she finds little prejudice and is always treated with consideration in the theatres and the places where they go. However she realizes that it would be impossible for her to go everywhere - to such places as the Statler Hotel.

Mrs. J. went through Normal but did not teach as she was married. She has two sisters who teach and her father is principal of a colored high school in Indiana. She feels that the colored people will finally be accepted as equals

in all things but there are many years of development before this occurs. Like many of the colored folk of education and economic success she is slightly critical of her uneducated people.

She says she has been unable to make many friends as she is kept at home with the children and the business. She must always be on hand to answer the telephone. She thinks there are few real leaders, but Rev. Durham and Rev. Eckel might be designated as leaders here.

M. Christian Name Born _____ Place                    Date	W. Christian Name Born _____ Place                    Date
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Marital Condition S. M. W. D.      Place of Marriage Date Total Marriages M.V.

Reasons for Migrating  Religion  Education  Health      Good      Fair      Poor	Reasons for Migrating  Religion  Education  Health      Good      Fair      Poor
--	--

Children Name	Place of Birth	Date	Education	Health		
				Good	Fair	Poor

Additional Members of Household				
Name	Status	Occupation	Wages	Contribution per week

Other Sources of Income  
 Total Number of Persons in Household  
 Income and Occupation

Kind of Work	Plant	Date	Wages	Hours	Reasons for Leaving
M.					
W.					
Children					

Home Situation		
Front	Owned	Kitchen
Rear	Buying	Icebox
Story	Mo. Payments	Kind of sink
Rooming House	Total Rooms	" " stove
Flat	Living Room	" " washtub
Tenement	Bedroom	" " heat
House	Bathroom	" " light
Rent per Mo.	Bathtub	

Toilet	Inside	Outside	No. of Persons Using	
General House Repair		Good	Fair	Poor
General Degree of Light and Air in Rooms		Good	Fair	Poor
Housekeeping		Good	Fair	Poor
Neighborhood Morale		Good	Fair	Poor
Nationality and Race of Landlord				
Number of Persons per Room				
General Economic Level				
	a. Automobile			
	b. Piano			
	c. Phonograph			
	d. Washing machine			
	e. Radio	Crystal	Tube	Loudspeaker Headphone
Diet				
	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	

Other Data

Outside Interests	General Information
Church Societies	Satisfaction at Condition
Clubs	Industrial Opportunity
Night School	For, Against, Indifferent to Union
Union	Attitude of White Workers
Type of Recreation	Leaders

	Income Per Month	Rent Per Month	Per Cent of Income Paid as Rent
1	130.00	36.00	27.6
2	65.00	19.00	29.2
3	78.00	15.00	19.2
4	160.00	27.00	16.8
5	212.00	26.00	12.2
6	127.50	18.00	14.1
7	104.00	26.00	25.0
8	216.65	30.00	13.8
9	216.65	35.00	16.1
10	162.50	28.00	17.2
11	108.35	42.50	39.2
12	147.35	35.00	23.2
13	177.65	36.00	20.2
14	78.00	30.00	38.5
15	195.00	30.00	15.3
16	165.65	27.00	16.2
17	78.00	18.00	23.0
18	247.00	owned	
19	151.65	35.00	23.0
20	238.35	50.00	20.9
21	238.35	45.00	18.9
22	184.15	owned	
23	104.00	20.00	19.2
24	119.15	23.00	19.3
25	146.50	35.00	23.9
26	173.35	45.00	25.9
27	73.65	28.00	39.2

28	212.35	35.00	11.7
29	51.00	15.00	29.4
30	117.00	35.00	29.9
31	216.65	35.00	16.1
32	121.35	25.00	20.6
33	130.00	30.00	23.0
34	108.35	25.00	23.0
35	119.15	35.00	29.3
36	108.35	25.00	23.0
37	263.45	55.00	20.8
*38	303.35	owned	
39	130.00	50.00	38.4
40	51.00	24.00	47.0
41	325.00	35.00	10.7
42	95.35	15.00	15.8
43	130.00	36.00	27.6
44	334.35	22.00	6.5
45	138.65	40.00	28.8
46	56.35	20.00	35.4
47	86.65	20.00	23.0
*48	250.00	owned	
49	130.00	28.00	21.5
50	147.35	22.00	14.8
	\$7732.15	1074.50	1053.5

Average Rent, \$27.37

Average Percentage of Income Paid for Rent, 22.8%

(Incomes of Homes owned deducted)

\*Monthly income, 4 1/3 weeks.

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