1921

The Negro Population of Hartford, Connecticut

Charles Johnson

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THE NEGRO POPULATION
of
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

By
Charles S. Johnson
Director
Department of Research and Investigations
of the
National Urban League
1921

New York, N. Y.
HARTFORD

Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, was founded first by the Dutch in 1633 at the mouth of the Park River. Later a settlement of English under Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone moved down from what is now Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in 1635 the site was purchased from the Suckiasge Indians. The boundaries of the city remained about the same. The original purpose of the Dutch was for trading. The English sought land grants and an opportunity for further religious propagation. These later founders belonged to that revered company of Puritans who came to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1629. The influence of this group was one of the strongest factors in shaping the early history of the town. Mercenary considerations with them, it so happened, played a small part. Altho religiously inspired the settlers in Hartford were by no means absolute advocates of personal liberty. Judged relatively they were, however, fairly liberal in their laws, democratic in their conception of government, and generous in their provisions for education.

During the later colonial period the economic life of Hartford was confined very largely to agriculture and trade. For trading it was for a time advantageously located. It ranked among the first as a navigation point for ocean sailing vessels, and for the region northward toward the source of the Connecticut River it served as a principal trade
center. Later, as railroad transportation was introduced and developed, the center of commerce shifted to Boston and New York. Attempts to introduce manufactures failed to keep the pace set during its more prosperous days and many of the struggling industries either failed or moved away.

Significantly enough the city's first notable success was in the manufacture of books, and for a long time held first place in sales by subscription. Perhaps the two most widely known American books of any period were written and first issued from this city. They were: Noah Webster's Dictionary of the English Language, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The Civil War gave considerable impetus to the business of book publishing. At one time as many as 50,000 agents distributed throughout the United States, were employed by the local publishers. Its own distinctive industrial development was late beginning. This subject however, is treated more at length in the section on Industry.

In 1790 the population of Hartford, was 4,090, in 1860 it had grown to 29,152 of whom already 10,517 were foreigners. The growth of certain distinctive industries, particularly tobacco, insurance, the manufacture of tools and firearms, increased its population and added many foreigners. The racial groups represented in largest proportions were the Irish, Poles, Italians, Canadians, Russians, Swedes and Germans. It is indeed not improbable that the threat of foreign influence thru their rapid increase in the
population, inspired the action of the city in voting and attempting to have adopted as a Federal Law that no naturalized citizen could become a member of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, or hold any civil office under the Federal Government.

THE NEGRO POPULATION OF HARTFORD

Negros have lived in Hartford at least two hundred years. The attitude of the older Hartford residents towards them in earlier times was paternalistic and kindly. In 1790, in the State of Connecticut there were 5,572 Negros, of whom 2,618 were slaves. Ten years later there were but 951 slaves, and by 1850 all had been freed. For the most part they were attached in some capacity to the families of the wealthy residents. These positions carried considerable prestige and the Negros thus attached shared the social eminence of their employers. Aside from this they were the personal, public servants, musicians, caterers, and among them also were a few artisans. A custom remembered was that of the yearly "nigger election." Each year there was held a mock election among the Negro population and one of their number chosen to fill the office of Mayor. This function was usually celebrated with great gaiety and feasting.

The Negro population, the larger in proportion to the white in 1790 than in 1910, has never been large enough to constitute a factor of any importance either industrially or politically. The paternalistic attitude of the older whites altho kindly, was most influential in limiting the development of the Negro population beyond the status of servants.
Their field of personal service had of course, been considerably exploited and expanded by the more energetic and industrious of them. Catering, for example, was an extremely lucrative occupation although merely a development of skill as a cook and waiter.

With the increasing competition of foreign immigration, the opportunity for entering the strictly industrial occupations receded to an almost hopeless distance. Not until the severe crisis in industry which began around 1916, was this deadlock broken. With the unprecedented and indiscriminate demand of industrial concerns for laborers an opening was made for them by other Negroes imported from the outside. The situation that followed rapidly in the wake of the first waves of openings affected deep changes in the structure of their relationship to the city, and marked a new period in the life of Hartford Negroes.

THE POPULATION

In 1850 the population of Hartford was 53,230 of which number 1,400 were Negroes. In 1900 the total population had grown to 79,650, and the Negro population to 1,837. Between 1900 and 1910 there was an increase in the total population of but 23.9 per cent as compared with 50 per cent for the decade just previous. During that same period the State increased 34.7 per cent, Bridgeport, a neighboring city, 43.7 per cent, Stamford 57.1 per cent, and Waterbury 59.5 per cent.

In 1910 the total population of the city was 92,915 of which
number 1,745 were Negroses, an actual decrease of 142 persons in the Negro population. The native white population in 1910 composed but 31.4 per cent of the total, a decrease from 34.9 in 1900. The native white population of mixed parentage increased from 33 per cent in 1900 to 35.2 of the total in 1910. The Foreign-born whites showed an even greater increase from 29.6 per cent in 1900 to 31.6 in 1910. The Negro population during the decade decreased from 2.4 per cent of the total in 1900 to 1.8 per cent in 1910.

The displacement of native stock is perhaps one of the most important considerations in the present social structure of the city. In 1920 Foreign-born whites had again slightly decreased to 29.5 per cent while the Negro population was increased to 3.1 per cent. These recent percentages show very definitely the influence of the war, which while stimulating the migration of Negroses to the tobacco fields and industries of Hartford at the same time withdrew many of the Foreign-born to their motherland, and restricted immigration besides. The racial distribution of the population at present is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native white of native parentage</td>
<td>40,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native white of foreign parentage</td>
<td>41,754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroses</td>
<td>4,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native white of mixed parentage</td>
<td>10,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born whites</td>
<td>40,667</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The racial groups represented among the Foreign-born whites are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>6,116</td>
<td>Canadians</td>
<td>2,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>7,652</td>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>1,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>7,101</td>
<td>Austrians</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>4,580</td>
<td>Scotch</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2,049</td>
<td>Danes</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>1,820</td>
<td>Greeks</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>Romanians</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that there is a considerable number of peasant peoples in this distribution. The rich soil surrounding Hartford now used very largely for tobacco growing has afforded a congenial field of employment particularly for the Italians and Poles. These two racial groups because of the experience and familiarity with the soil in their native countries, are especially adaptable for intensive farming and usually drift into these fields. They constitute a seriously competitive element to Negro labor in these fields as well as in the lower grades of the manufacturing industries in which Negroes are now being encountered. Many of the Germans have purchased farms near the city and intensively developed them. With the English, Canadians, Irish and Swedes, the Americanization process is more rapidly accomplished at least on the surface, and they are able to enter freely into the unlimited fields of industrial employment. As a result of the war there has been an absolute decrease among some of these racial groups during the last decade particularly among the Germans and Austrians. In 1910 there were 2,424 Germans as compared with 1,830 in 1920. There were 1,365 Austrians in 1910 and but 919 in 1920. The number of Irish also decreased from 7,046 in 1910 to 6,116 in 1920. On the other hand, other racial groups have shown an increase as the table below indicates:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>POPULATION IN 1910</th>
<th>POPULATION IN 1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>6,647</td>
<td>7,654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1,653</td>
<td>2,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>4,521</td>
<td>7,101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

Hartford covers an area of seventeen square miles and is well laid out. The first settlements were along the Connecticut River where now is located the heavily congested business district. The residences which skirt the boundaries of the first settlements, inasmuch as they were the first ones built, continue the oldest group of dwellings in the city. In Hartford, as in many other cities, this area is inherited by Negroes and the first generation of foreigners. In the case of foreigners, as they become Americanized they may move out to other neighborhoods, and usually do move out. There are however, serious limitations to the mobility of the Negroes living there, and as a result they are to be found packed closely together in communities in different parts of the city. Usually however, in those sections previously occupied by whites who have moved to more desirable areas.
THE CITY BY WARDS

The political division of the city into ten wards, although involving unavoidable overlapping for the purpose desired, yet in a rough manner may be used to delimit the boundaries of social divisions as well. It furnishes at any rate a convenient unit for marking the distribution of the population of the city according to race and nationality. Below is given a table showing the distribution of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, foreign-born whites and Negroes by the wards of the city.

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION
OF HARTFORD BY WARDS
(From 1920 Census Returns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TOTAL FOR THE CITY</th>
<th>WARD 1</th>
<th>WARD 2</th>
<th>WARD 3</th>
<th>WARD 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>136,036</td>
<td>12,271</td>
<td>21,330</td>
<td>16,552</td>
<td>9,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>92,014</td>
<td>9,080</td>
<td>9,339</td>
<td>10,184</td>
<td>8,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parentage</td>
<td>40,327</td>
<td>4,241</td>
<td>1,138</td>
<td>4,027</td>
<td>4,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>41,754</td>
<td>3,745</td>
<td>3,191</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>2,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>10,933</td>
<td>1,094</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>1,131</td>
<td>1,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>40,667</td>
<td>3,111</td>
<td>10,148</td>
<td>4,849</td>
<td>1,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>4,199</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>1,512</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese-Others</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF HARTFORD BY WARDS (From 1920 Census Returns)

Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>WARD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native White</td>
<td>8,505 : 7,035 : 7,308 : 13,157 : 10,388 : 9,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Parentage</td>
<td>3,670 : 3,320 : 3,347 : 5,132 : 5,186 : 5,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Parentage</td>
<td>3,777 : 2,672 : 2,586 : 6,377 : 3,970 : 2,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>3,632 : 2,897 : 1,991 : 5,732 : 3,953 : 2,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian, Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese–Others</td>
<td>27 : 54 : 2 : 5 : 14 : 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that the bulk of the Negro population is concentrated in wards 2, 3, and 5, which hold 3,700 Negroes or 85 per cent of the Negro population of Hartford. It is further significant that in these three wards also live 18,629 foreign-born. To this number may be added 16,493 if persons of foreign-born parentage are included. It will be noted further that of the foreign-born living in these three wards with the Negro population, certain racial groups distinctly predominate. For example, of the 18,629 foreign-born there are 5,241 Italians, or 73 per cent of all the Italians in Hartford; 5,599 Russians, or 76 per cent of all the Russians.
in Hartford, and 2,507 Foles, or 51 per cent of all the Foles living in
the city. The Irish, who form a considerable part of the foreign-born,
live for the most part in the 8th and 9th wards. Altho in the three wards
mentioned there are 1,495 of the total 6,016. Altho the number of Aus-
trians is small, there being but 919 in the city, in these same wards live
461, or over 50 per cent. The native whites are rather evenly distributed
throughout the city. Altho the population of the wards varies from 9,000 to
21,000, there are approximately 8,000 native whites in all of the wards, the
heaviest concentration being in wards 3, 5, 9, and 10.

Roughly descriptive of the areas as they are divided by ward lines
the business district is included in wards 2 and 6. Skirting this district
and included in these wards are sections of the first residence areas.
Along the river front and mixed in with the warehouse areas and factories
further east will be found the homes of 1,315 Negroes.

Wards 1 and 5 form another zone around the business district ward,
but much further removed. These two wards have a combined population of
45,370. In ward 1 there are many native white residents and the section
is well cared for by the city. A large portion of this district is covered
by Colt Park. There are only 77 Negroes in ward 1. Ward 5 represents a
mixture of business and residence areas. The businesses established there
are in a large measure an extension of the main business section. As might
be expected, a considerable number of Negroes live here, about 935. Ward 3
includes the river front and extends to the northern boundary of the city from
Canton Street South. A considerable area is included with three cemeteries,
a number of manufacturing plants, warehouses and railroad yards. The
residences in this section are old and have been long abandoned by the
original owners as well as old residence areas. In this ward the larg-
est group of Negroes live, particularly along the river front. Two distinct
settlements may be noted: beginning with Central Street the southern boundary
of the ward, extending North to Sanford Avenue with Windsor Avenue on the
West and the river on the East, there is perhaps the most densely populated
settlement of Negroes in the city. Another settlement will be found in
the same ward within the area bounded by Westland Street on the North, Capen
Street on the South, Clark Street on the East, and Garden Street on the West.
There are also nine other smaller groups scattered in different sections of
the same ward. The total Negro population of the ward is 1,512.

The more desirable residence areas are found in wards 7, 8, 9,
10, and 14. These constitute the outer limits of the city's growth. In
these five wards the Negro population is scattered about considerably with
perhaps the heaviest concentration in ward 7, where there are 101. They
do not live together however, but are scattered by families over a wide
area, except in one section covering about two blocks. The combined
Negro population of these five wards of obvious physical superiority is
329.
Between 1910 and 1920 pronounced shifts in the Negro population were observed. There is in process a gradual concentration to a few localities. In spite of the increase of 140 per cent in the Negro population between 1910 and 1920, there was an actual decrease in the Negro population of wards 1, 7, 8, and 4. The biggest decrease occurred in ward 4, where the number of Negroes dropped from 395 in 1910 to 38 in 1920. A displacement is very evident for there appears along with this an increase in the number of foreign whites in these areas. For example, in spite of the absolute decrease in the number of Russians, there was an increase in ward 4 from 189 to 302 during this ten year period. Wards 2 and 3 on the other hand, have expanded tremendously. This is very evidently a result of the migration. The largest relative increase occurred in ward 5 where the Negro population jumped from 152 in 1920 to 935 in 1920.

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION**

**BY SOCIAL GROUPS**

Of the total Negro population of 4,199, there are 2,671 persons 21 years of age and over and 1,528 children. This ratio reflects the change of structure in the Negro population as a result of the migration of many adults to the industries of Hartford. The age distribution of the Negro population is as follows:
Sex distribution in the main is about equal altho some considerable disparities appear for the different age groups, for example, from 19 upwards the number of males is consistently greater. Between the ages of 30 and 44 there is very definitely an over-balance in the age distribution among the Negroes considerably greater than among the native whites, the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, and slightly less than the proportion of foreign-born. In this latter instance however, where adults make up the bulk of the immigrants this preponderance within the adult age limits is expected. Again, a disproportion is noted in the proportion of children under five. For the Negro this percentage is 9 as compared with 14.7 percent for the whites.

THE INTENSIVE SURVEY

The Survey of the Negro Population of Hartford was at first intended merely to cover a representative proportion of the population by covering with a fair degree of thoroughness certain selected areas. However, when the returns on these areas were examined it was found that a majority of the entire Negro population had been included. The method of dividing the city was as follows:
A preliminary survey was conducted to locate roughly the areas of Negro residence within the ten political wards. Four sections were easily distinguishable and more significant still they appeared to fall into distinctive groupings.

I. There was a section, for example, in which roughly speaking, the residences of the city's Negroes lived after the more progressive had moved out. This, it so happened, was one of the recognized Negro residence areas of long standing. Here the great bulk of crude Southern Laborers with their families lived along side the hundreds of floaters and ne'er-do-wells, many of whom were also from the South. The more progressive moved out as their circumstances improved. The age of the settlement is attested by the presence there still of the oldest Negro church in the city, over 90 per cent of whose members now live in other sections of the town. At one time this church was the center of a Negro neighborhood.

II. There was another section even less desirable where lived large numbers of American Negroes and colored immigrants, frequently referred to as "Portuguese Negroes" from the Canary and Cape Verde Islands. The latter number among them many men. Little attention therefore, is given to home life or to the community. As a matter of fact, this neighborhood is one of the most unsightly and the least advanced of the Negro residence areas.

There was another area attached to the first by a scattered string
of residences in which a distinctly different type of family group pre-
dominate. They were, many of them poor and variously handicapped, but
their habits suggested more real need for improvement. Scattered among
them were many who were trying to purchase their homes, or who eventually
planned to do so. Some comfortably situated, some wretched, yet together
they appeared to hold in common sufficient traits to distinguish them from
their neighbors.

The fourth grouping seemed one of like economic status rather
than one of common locality. These were the more conspicuously success-
ful, the more exclusive and, incidentally, the more self-conscious on the
question of color. They live by families scattered over a wide area in
the more desirable residence areas, many of them owning their homes. A
bond of sociability exists between them. They form a social set so to
speak. One indication of their economic advantage is the fact that they
could not so easily secure homes in these sections if they were not able
to buy them.

The divisions thus roughly outlined are by no means an attempt
to establish any hard fast classification of the Hartford Negro Popula-
tion by social categories. The accompanying map gives the division of
the Negro population by districts thus selected for convenience in inter-
preting the data gathered.

In this division ward lines are ignored. District I includes
the section enclosed by Tower Avenue on the North, Clark and Hampton Streets
on the East, Capen Street on the South and Vine Street on the West. Approximately 600 Negroes live in this district. District II includes the section enclosed by Greenfield Street on the North, East Street on the East, Albany Avenue on the South, and Vine Street on the West. Approximately 550 Negroes live in this district. District III follows the angular route of Albany Avenue on the North, Albany Avenue and Main Street on the East, Asylum Street on the South, and Garden Street on the West. The Negro population is approximately 400. District IV includes the section bounded by Sanford, Windsor, Canton Streets and Windsor Avenue. The Negro population is approximately 950. District V is bounded by Canton on the North, the Connecticut River on the East, State Street on the South, and Main Street on the West. Approximately 800 Negroes live in this district. District VI is the small area enclosed by State Street, the Connecticut River, Sheldon and Front Streets. Approximately 450 Negroes live here. District VII is practically the remainder of the city. It includes that wide stretch of residence area occupied very largely by whites, but in which about 250 Negroes live. Scattered in other sections of the city, some as servants living on the premises of white families, some in predominantly foreign colonies, some in outlying districts, are about 200 Negroes.

These districts bear an important relation to the roughly established divisions of the population. Districts IV, V, and VI have as
their Eastern boundary the Connecticut River. They are among the oldest
and most deteriorated sections of the city and in character approximate
the description given of Types I and II page 14. These areas have felt
the greatest increases in Negro population as a result of the migration,-
held the worst housing and are among the most neglected sections of the
city. Before the Anti-Vice Campaign in Hartford the Red Light District
centered around Huntly Avenue and Huntly Place, Lower State Street, Front
and Potter Streets. All of these streets are now occupied by Negroes.
On Village, Russell, North and Portland Streets the honest, hard working
Negro families must live here and are surrounded by an element both
vicious and criminal. Assignment houses, gambling clubs, and bootleggers
operated both by whites and Negroes and for whites and Negroes find a rela-
tive immunity from detection.

To the population of these streets were added many of the unsop-
histicated families with children from the South. No measurement of the
influence of their environment, of course, is possible, but is certain that
this influence has registered in some manner. It is not to be supposed
however, that the districts mentioned are uniformly bad. There are occa-
sional blocks in which the houses evince a striking contrast to the sloven
indifference of the whole picture.

Districts I, II, and III represent a distinct improvement in
their general aspect altho there are many cases in which the housing is as
bad as in that of the first three districts mentioned. This is especially
true of District III. However, the movement of Negroes from IV, V, and VI for better housing, suggests the differences manifest in observations of physical surroundings. Here may also be found more home owners and a larger proportion of modernly equipped homes, and conspicuously more attention to the appearance of the neighborhood. The houses of these districts also represent a more recent period of construction, and, quite naturally are in better repair. The growing presence of new Negro churches in these areas is another indication of the drift and anticipation of future trends of the Negro population movement. District VII for the most part is the area in which the scattered independent Negro families live. However, there is frequently encountered some of the worst housing the city. It is a section of extremes with an outstanding characteristic in the fact that practically all of the best types of Negro houses are located here.

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION ON THE BASIS OF THE SURVEY**

The intensive survey covered 639 families representing 2,703 persons or 64.3 per cent of the total Negro population of Hartford. These were distributed by ages and compared with the Census figures for age groups. For 2,009 persons (exclusive of lodgers for whom the information was incomplete) the classification according to age groups was as follows:
**COMBINED TABLE OF AGES**

*(Families, exclusive of lodgers)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SURVEY</th>
<th></th>
<th>CENSUS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ages</td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>PER CENT</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 14</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 19</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 44</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 and over</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,009</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>4,199</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of children found in this Survey is relatively larger than the proportion of children reported by the Census for the city. This is doubtless due to the nature of the inquiry which covered the family as a unit. On the other hand, the proportion of persons between 20 and 45 years of age is somewhat smaller in the Survey than in the Census figures. The large number of lodgers and persons otherwise unattached which would unquestionably draw the proportions the Survey found it difficult to reach. As a matter of fact some statistical data was secured concerning the lodgers, but not suffi-
cient for a minute comparative classification. Using this data to cover
a larger range of ages the following modifications are apparent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>SURVEY TOTAL</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
<th>CENSUS TOTAL</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 19</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>1,047</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>2,773</td>
<td>66.0</td>
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</table>

The composition of the population in the various districts serves as an excellent index to the character of the section.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NATIVE WHITE POPULATION</th>
<th>NEGRO POPULATION DISTRICTS</th>
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<tr>
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<td>WHITE</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 to 14</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 19</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 44</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 &amp; Over*</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*5% Ages Unknown
Using the percentages for the total as a standard, it will be observed that striking differences appear as, for example between districts VII on the one hand, and IV and V on the other. In District VII the proportions for all ages are fairly uniform and conform very closely to the normal and natural age groupings of the total population; in Districts IV and V however, the population is considerably, over-weighted around the ages 20 to 44, suggesting not only an unnatural family structure but large numbers of unmarried adults, persons without families. The grouping of these adults in Districts IV and V is another indication of the effects of the migration and their residence areas.

Children, that is, persons under 19 years of age constitute only 26.0 per cent of the entire population. The percentage for the native white population is 37 per cent. Of the 2,703 persons included 26.0 per cent or over one-fourth were found to be lodgers. It is entirely likely that only a portion of the lodgers were located because of the difficulties of the Survey in reaching them. Many of them were away from home during the day, and little information was obtainable.

The abnormal structure of the population thus observed prompts further inquiry into the very important social factors upsetting normal proportions. Such differences may indeed be related to, or exercise a strong influence upon many of the usual problems of Negroes. For example, it would be most important to know just to what extent the small percentage of children is related to a low birth rate, or a high infant mortality rate. Or again assuming that the disproportion is in large
part accounted for by the migration of adults, other serious questions arise. The separation of parents is usually dangerous to the structure of the family, and access of lodgers is a serious social menace both to health and morals. The excessively large class of men 20 to 44 provides a relatively greater number of persons within the "violent ages" making probable a disproportionate amount of crime.

THE MIGRATION OF SOUTHERN NEGROES TO HARTFORD

Just prior to the general movement of Negroes from South to North the Negro population of Hartford, if we are to judge by the Census figures/decades, was practically at a standstill. It actually decreased in size before the decade in which the migration occurred. In 1900 this population was 1,887 and in 1910 it had decreased to 1,745 representing an actual loss of 142 persons. The increase during the decade 1910 to 1920 can be counted therefore, a result very largely of the migration. Surprising as it might seem, within this decade the increase was 140 per cent, one of the largest percentage increases of the Northern cities affected by the movement. The place of birth of the 1,767 of the 2,709 Negroes included in this Survey shows this tremendous infiltration.

THE MIGRATION TO HARTFORD

Distribution by State of Birth of 1,767 Negroes Included in the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>655</td>
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<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>48</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Distribution by State of Birth of 1,767 Negroes Included in the Survey (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>West Virginia</td>
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<td>Arkansas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virgin Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,767</strong></td>
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</table>

The over-shadowing influence of the presence of non-residents in the city is apparent by these tables. It is shown that of the total of 1,767 Negroes from whom it was possible to learn their place of birth, less than 30 per cent were born in Connecticut. It is possible of course, that scattered thru inconspicuous places there were other Negro Hartford residents not reached by the Survey. There are more Negroes from Georgia than from Connecticut. This apparently is the result of the recent migration. Many Negroes generally counted as old Hartford residents
migrated ten and twenty years before the general movement. The states from which these earlier migrants came were Virginia and North and South Carolina in particular. In 1910 in the State of Connecticut 50.4 per cent of the Negro population as compared with 21.8 per cent of the Whites was found to have been born in other states. Some notion of the significance of this proportion may be gained from the observation that 16.6 per cent is the normal proportion for Negro inter-state migration throughout the United States.

The heaviest concentration of Negroes was found in Districts IV and V, the only housing actually available for the Negro newcomers. The presence of Southern Negroes in the section mentioned is further indicated by the figures as presented by districts. In Districts I, II, III, and VII about half of the Negro population are Hartford Negroes. In Districts IV and V the great majority of them are Southerners, conspicuously from the State of Georgia. Districts I, II, III and VII are, it will be remembered, among the newer residence areas, District VII being the most recently developed. In District III there were 173 Negroes born in Connecticut, and 102 born in Georgia; in District VII there were 173 born in Connecticut, and 96 born in Georgia. On the one hand, as an evidence of the shifting of the Negro population, in District IV there were 61 Negroes born in Connecticut, and 150 Negroes born in Georgia; and in District V there were 72 Negroes born in Connecticut as against 299 born in Georgia. There are on the other hand, included in the totals for Connecticut many children of comparatively recent Southern parents. This shows itself most plainly in the areas inhabited
largely by Negroes from the South. For example, in District V although there are five times as many Southern Negro adults as Hartford adults, the number of children for each group is about the same and in District IV with over three times as many Southern Negroes as Northern Negroes, there are twice as many children born in Connecticut.

BEGINNING OF THE MIGRATION TO HARTFORD

The first migration of Negroes was induced by the efforts of hard-pressed industries, particularly the tobacco fields, left short of men by the withdrawal of their regular labor to the war industries then paying greatly increased wages. Many of the foreign laborers returned to their native countries for military service and no new supply was available with immigration effectively checked. The story of the first migration to Hartford is essentially the story of the first noticeable mass movement to the North which ultimately resulted in the loss of nearly 400,000 Negroes to the South.

The earliest definite trace of the general Northern movement dates back to 1915 when the anxieties of the New England tobacco growers were felt in the New York labor market. Backed up against the infant-prodigy munitions plants that sprang up overnight, they had no means of holding their foreign labor against the tempting offers of 65 cents an hour. These growers rushed to New York and as a first venture promiscuously gathered up 200 girls of the worst type who straightway proceeded to demoralize the town and make themselves obnoxiously conspicuous in the city of Hartford. The blunder was speedily detected and they returned to New York this time to seek the aid of some social agency in the selection of workers. The National Urban League
was importuned for help. Below are extracts from the diary of their representative's first trip which present in themselves a splendid contemporaneous account of the existing situation. The diary reads:

"I reached Hartford at noon on the 15th of December, 1915, and immediately got in communication with the corporation. I found that the Vice President who had invited me to make the trip was snow-bounded in Farmington, a suburb of Hartford; his telephone wire was down as a result of the snow storm; consequently I could not have a talk with him. During the afternoon, Mr. .......... the manager, got in touch with me at the residence of Dr. Ball, a colored Methodist minister. I was directed to come out to the plant in Glastonbury, Station 18, in East Hartford, at which place I found Mr. .......... awaiting me. We went over the following points:

'Mr. .......... stated that the corporation has three plantations - one at Hazelwood, one at Tituville and one near the main factory; that at present Poles, Lithuanians and Czechs are employed as laborers; that these laborers are getting scarce because the war has attracted quite a number back to their countries; that the laborers are paid the usual price of 65 cents per hour; that these firms are willing to guarantee that the work will last two years with prospects of good prices when the war is over. He stated that they had recently had an experiment with importing girls from New York; that they advertised from their New York office for girls and about 200 of the worst types came to Hartford and partly demoralized the town. He wants to be especially careful not to make a similar mistake. Mr. .......... stated that he wanted it distinctly understood that he does not intend to cheapen his product or cheapen his labor; that he will pay colored people well. He stated that the company owns tenements on each farm which are rented at a very reasonable sum to laborers. He is willing to make an experiment at Hazelwood; he needs from 50 to 100 families and will employ an average of two members to each family; 50 families are needed, or at least 100 laborers. During the harvest season it is possible for men to earn $13 per week and girls can earn on an average of $11.50 per week. The pay-roll was inspected and the Secretary say that these prices were verified. One woman, working on piece work, earned $20 per week."
"There are different seasons of employment. The rest of the year workers are paid at the rate of 12½ cents per hour, making an average of from $5 to $12 per week. During the month of May the workers are used to take weeds out of tobacco beds; in June they are used to string lathes, i.e., to string tobacco leaves with long threads. From this time on they are used in the curing sheds for about a month and from July 15th until August 1st, is the only time they are not employed and this is considered their vacation period. Beginning with August until the last of September is the harvest season, at which time the prices are given by piece work.

"When questioned regarding church and school facilities he stated that he himself lived on Floydville farm; that he had a large family and that his children went to the same school with his employees' children; that there is a compulsory law that each child must get an education. Mr.... stated very emphatically that he would under no conditions lower the wages; that he was willing to go into this proposition right away.

"He stated that he wanted the Secretary to see everything first hand before taking up the proposition of getting in touch with families; that he was anxious to start an experiment at any rate and that he would take 12 families within the next few weeks; that he would pay the transportation of the families and the expenses of moving their household effects and guarantees them immediate employment. He stated that he could use 50 men from now until the opening of the tobacco season in April; that these men could be used in clearing 100 acres of forest, clearing trees away, etc., and would pay them $2 per day. He wants a class of people from whom he can develop superior workmen. Mr. has had much experience with colored people, having come from Florida where he conducted a place of business and had in his employ nearly all colored help. He stated that he had been thinking of taking this step for a long time, but did not know just how to go about getting the proper class of people.

"Mr. Floyd suggested that before steps are taken to get in touch with the people that the Secretary take another trip to Hartford so that he can see just what the entire proposition is like and be in a position to present the matter plainly to the people who might be interested in coming to Hartford."
<table>
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REPORT OF INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY'S TRIP
TO HARTFORD, JANUARY 9, 1916.

"Mr. . . . . . informed me that at a meeting of the representa-
tives of all of the tobacco concerns during the past week, the matter of their future labor supply and the poss-
sibility of using colored people in this industry was pre-
presented for consideration; he stated that quite a number of 
the men were intensely interested in this proposition; that 
one Mr. W. K. Whipple of the Ciqle and Whipple Company, has 
a son now in the South who is interested in educating color-
ed people; that thru Mr. Whipple's sons plans have already 
been considered for bringing colored people from the South 
to work in their tobacco plants. Mr. . . . . stated that the 
Kaiser and Powder Company was likewise short on labor and 
would be interested in the importation of Negroes if the 
proposition could be worked successfully. He emphasized 
that fact that this proposition would not be philanthropic, 
but worked on a strictly business basis. Their purpose, he 
stated, is not to import Negroes in order to cheapen the 
labor, but rather to provide steady sources of labor.

"Mr. . . . . . stated that several men, prominent among the Poles, 
had informed him that they plan to return to Europe as soon 
as the war is over in order to ascertain what has become of 
their relatives and properties. The number of laborers is 
also getting fewer because many of the employees are now 
leaving the industry to go into the munition plants which 
offer exceptionally good wages.

"During the harvest season from July 10th to September 15th, 
there is a great demand for extra persons. Mr. Floyd can use 
300, not to mention the number that can be used by other firms. 
Mr. Griffin stated that he could use 200 extra persons. Here-
tofore, he has been obtained in various ways.

"If it were possible to get 1,000 young colored men who are 
accustomed to farm life, but who attended school, they could make 
from $1.50 to $3.00 per day during the harvest season. I suggest-
ed that I thought it possible to get such a number of young men, 
the only question being that of transportation. Mr. . . . . sug-
gested that if a large number could make their way as far up as Nor-
fork, Va., that they could arrange for transportation from that 
point to Hartford. Mr. . . . . stated that one Mr. C. C. . . . is now 
taking up the matter of cheaper transportation for colored labor. 
Mr. G. . . . is a Yankee. His parents came to America in 1635 and 
settled in this locality.
"Within the next ten day, Mr... plans to take a trip to Florida in company with Mr. G... to make investigations about a reliable class of colored people who are accustomed to this kind of labor, to come to Hartford. He suggested that I make a subsequent trip if they find that these people are suitable and can come to a colder climate. He stated that he would come thru New York on his way South; that he would wire the Secretary of his coming and would like to go over the matter with an officer of the League, whom Mr... might suggest."

The material for this first experiment was sought in the schools of Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Georgia. More than 1,400 young students were transported to the State of Connecticut. The idea spread thru New England and before the summer had passed, other firms there had adopted the plan. Statements of the result of the experience of several plants and plantations with this selected class of labor are appended.

The Luizer & Boasberg Plantation
East Windsor Hill, Conn.
September 12, '16.

"We have yours of the 5th inst. and are very pleased to say that the Negro students who have been sent us by your organization have been an unqualified success. They are such a success that we anticipate bringing up the student boys very early in the season next year and employing them during the whole growing period."

E. F. Farnham, (mgr.)

Clark Bros. Leaf Tobacco Growers,
Pocumuck, Conn.,
Sept. 11, 1916.

"In reply to your letter of Sept. 5th would say we are well satisfied with the colored help we received from the South, and we think the boys are, as they want to come back next season."

Clark Bros.
Gurney Ball Bearing Co.,
Jamestown, N. Y.
April 12, 1917.

"Of the men whom you sent to us, all are apparently satisfactory to date excepting those whom you sent us from New York."

A. C. Davis, Works Mgr.

Deane Works
Holyoke, Mass.
Sept. 25, 1916.

"Men making out fairly well; naturally a trifle slow and unaccustomed to our ways, but this will wear off. We are watching them, looking for equitable opportunity to advance any one worthy of it, as we assure you we are anxious to do. The impression they have made with us is good; outside of our plant we do not yet know, but we hope they may remove any animosity that may exist against their class; we have been trying to work them days, evenings, and Sundays so as to keep them occupied and out of mischief. (Of course, they get paid accordingly.) Kind of service they are rendering; probably this is covered by the remarks above. Their fitting into the community; we are more hopeful in this connection than we were when you called upon us, but we are not ready to definitely express ourselves. However, things have been with reasonable smoothness, altho this has required a good deal of diplomatic energy on our part."


L. B. Haas & Co.,
Leaf Tobacco Growers,
Hartford, Conn. Sept. 12, '16.

"We are in receipt of your valued favor of the 5th and contents carefully noted, and while we have not had the need of employing any of the young colored men which have been sent us here from the South to work on the farms, from all that we have heard from our competitors who have employed these young men, we are under the impression that the work which they have done here this summer compares very favorably with that of the several classes of help which have been employed doing our farm work in this locality."

L. B. Haas & Co.
The Haviland Tobacco Co.,
East Windsor Hill, Conn.
Sept. 11, 1917.

"In reply to yours of Sept. 5th in regard to the colored men we have been employing, we are glad to say that they have been very satisfactory -- much more so than the Poles that we have been using."

W. A. Haviland (Pres.)

Griffin-Neuberger Tobacco Co.,
E. Bloomfield, Conn.
Sept. 5, 1916.

"All things being taken into consideration, I figure that the colored men that have been brought into the valley this season have been a success, and I feel certain that if the girls and men get used to us, and we to them, that we will be satisfied both from their standpoint, and from ours."

F. B. Griffin, (Gen. Mgr.)

The Connecticut Tobacco Corp.
Silver Lane, Conn.

"We have your favor of the 5th. In reply beg to say that our experience with the colored help that you have sent to us has in a fairly good measure, been satisfactory. Especially is this true of the young men we received from the various schools."

W. L. Floyd, (Gen. Mgr.)

Good Ford Farm, Avon, Conn.
Sept. 5, 1916.

"I have your letter of the 5th. I would say that I had a very satisfactory experience with the colored men I got for my farm. As laborers they are of course similar to white people. Some much better than others. On the whole I am not only satisfied but well pleased in addition with the service they have given to me."

J. W. Alsop (Prof.)
This step appears to be the first passage thru the gate of groups of Negroes from the South in answer to the call of the North. It was the news of their cordial reception and the manifest dependence on their labor that they carried with them when they returned to school. Whether or not it was possible for them to unsettle the mind of their home communities is here not evident; nor does it appear that they tried. It is apparent, however, that they were an object lesson for their neighbors when thoughts of travel and the great bright North swept over them.

The activities of the employers were as pronounced as that of the migrants. Many of the managers of these tobacco farms were southerners who had employed Negroes in Tobacco and Cotton growing in the South. When the labor shortage threatened them their first thought was of utilizing their services. It is not probable that they anticipated any effect of the importation beyond that of placing them nearer to work. The reports of heavy crew losses, of widespread unemployment, and failures in the South as well as the suspicion of a desire on their part to leave, gave abundant hope to the project. Altho now since the more pressing demands for Negro labor have subsided many of the employers usually disclaiming any connection with it, an interesting three-quarter page article in the Hartford Courant of August 13th, 1916, throws light upon some of the forces behind the Negroes' first movement. This article reads in part:
PLAN OF MARCUS L. FLOYD

Marcus L. Floyd, general manager of the Connecticut Tobacco Corporation, and originator of the shade-growing process, was the main mover in getting the colored help. Last December he noticed that there was a decided shortage in unskilled labor. He sent out scouts to pick up men, but found that the same condition obtained all over the East. The cause is, according to Mr. Floyd, that the high wages offered by munition factories to unskilled laborers drew most of them into the work. This with the fact that emigration has almost ceased caused unskilled labor of all kinds to be in great demand. City Departments as well as contractors had to advance wage scales. The first remedy that suggested itself to Mr. Floyd, who, by the way, is a Southerner himself, was the importation of colored help. He realized, however, that the importation of the ordinary Negro workman, who works for little but does little, would be a dubious experiment. There was a great deal of work to be done, and good workmen were required. The cooperation of some Southern organization was necessary, and the Urban League looked with favor upon the proposition advanced by Mr. Floyd, which was to take the college boys and give them profitable employment in the country during the summer thus relieving urban conditions. Professor Howe of Morehouse College, Atlanta, made a trip up here and talked the matter over, signing up 25 boys to come to the Connecticut corporation's plantations June 1. Mr. Floyd was greatly pleased with them, and 25 more were sent up soon after. He now has 145 colored men at work, and expects to have 300 by the middle of the month working on the 620 acres that are being cultivated under cloth by the corporation.

But the significant feature here was the further effort of these same tobacco planters to insure for themselves a steady year around supply of labor. This lead them to supplement their student labor with Negro families. In 1916 the presence of these new Negroes was being noticed in increasing numbers. The first idea advanced and put into execution was that
these families should live on the plantations just as they were accustomed to doing in the South, and generous provisions were made for them. Warehouses were remodeled into dormitories for single men, buildings converted into tenements for families and all available cottages within a reasonable distance of work commandeered for housing them. But the wages paid were not attractive, the farm life monotonous and the city with its superior attractions, higher wages and generous welcome kept the farms continually struggling to hold a sufficient supply of labor to avoid the loss of unattended crops. This meant more Negroes from the South.

Once a nucleus had been established in Hartford, the rest was but a repetition of the cycle familiar in every city touched by the tide of migrants. The men began writing back to their families and friends extolling with an exaggeration inspired by the exhilaration of a newly found freedom. The returned students also carried glowing reports. Gradually the tide began to swell. They came not to the tobacco field but to Hartford where work was even more plentiful — wives, parents, children. The depth of the path marked by the first arrivals is indicated in this rush of non-students to Hartford. Partly in response to the suggestion of the mass movement, and partly thru the persuasion of employers who provided railroad fare. The New York Age, with a large circulation in Florida and Georgia, published a long feature article, headed as follows:
OPENING OF NORTHERN TOBACCO FIELDS TO NEGRO PROVES A BOON TO RACE.

College students are earning $72,000 in four months, while colored labor will be able to earn more than $300,000 next season.

THE TOBACCO PLANTATIONS OF HARTFORD

A representative of THE AGE visits this new avenue of endeavor to Negroes and tells of conditions as they truly exist.

Positions open to colored help all the year round.

It was forthwith beseeched with letters inquiring about the positions open:

Augusta, Ga.
May 12, 1917.

Dear Sir:

Just for a little information from you I would like to know whether or not I could get in touch with some good people to work for with a frim because things is awful near in the south let me here from you soon as possible what ever you do dont publish my name in your paper but I think people as a race ought to look out for one another as Christians friends I am a schuffer and I cant make a living for my family with small pay and the people is getting so bad with us black people down south near. Now if you ever help your race now is the time to help me to get my family away. Food stuff is so high. I will look for answer by return mail. dont publish my name in your paper but let me hear from you at once.

Another prospective migrant wrote:

"When Spring opens, we want to come North. We see thru the columns of THE AGE very encouraging words for those who want work. We are enthused over this intelligence. Have been reading in THE AGE about employment offered at Holyoke, Mass., and in the tobacco fields of Connecticut. Let us know how we can get our tickets to come North, so we will be ready when the time arrives for our departure."
Social organizations, business concerns, the plantations, even the State Department of Labor received importunate letters of appeal for assistance in moving. Before the middle of the summer of 1917, there were three thousand migrant Negroes in Hartford; and those were not students. A correspondent of a New York daily newspaper in speaking of them said:

"I was talking to one the other day who is a carpenter and had lived all his life in one place until he came to Hartford last year. He spoke of a colored man pushed into an auto, run out of town, riddled with bullets, brought back and thrown on the ground in front of an undertaking establishment as if he had been a hog."

The statement is a sample of the sentiment enshrouded those who followed the students. For many of them were Negroes whose motives for leaving were not wholly economic.

A peculiar feature of the migration here was the process of community transplantation. Certain southern towns, particularly Americus, Georgia, showed a unanimity of sentiment for migration, and poured great hordes of their population into Hartford. Friends joined their friends and wrote back for others. For a while Americus became a by-word. Entire church congregations moved followed closely by their pastors who after a period re-established themselves again as the head of their flock in Hartford.

The present pastor of one of the largest Negro churches of the city composed entirely of southern Negroes was formerly the pastor of three small country churches in the vicinity of Americus, Georgia. His congregation began leaving Georgia in 1916. Two of his deacons left for Hartford
shortly afterwards. When his congregations were almost depleted he himself decided to come. For several months after his arrival he worked as a hod carrier during the week days and spent his Sundays collecting his scattered flock. Finally he located a vacant hall formerly used for dancing and started a church. His congregation now numbers several hundred.

It must be remembered that the movement to Hartford was not merely a movement northward; it was also a movement of rural Negroes to the city - a prim and sedate New England city. The adjustments to their new surroundings were thus attended with a double handicap. They were crude and ungainly, many of them boisterous, with strange habits of dress and manners altogether repellent to the older Negro residents imured to the refinements of the city. The unbridled imaginations of the first of the arrivals had painted pictures of a freedom absurdly impossible of realization. Some of the migrants arriving later were quickly disillusioned. Said one:

"He (my chum) wrote me that the only way you could tell was colored was by looking in a looking glass. The first place I went into after I came up here they wouldn't serve me but they served the white fellow."

The restraints on seats in theatres exercised in the South, for example, made them a coveted pleasure, doubly intensified by the sheer novelty of a city attraction. Many of the more venturesome migrant youth intoxicated by the gaudy poster displays of a cheap vaudeville theatre, went in "as far as their tickets would carry them," that is to say, to the front rows. Their color as well as their dress and unfamiliarity in the city made them extremely conspicuous, and they suddenly discovered that the managers of the theatres were grouping them together in the galleries. It was most natural
to expect that as long as they were uninfluenced by other patterns of conduct they would carry over into their new environment all their old habits of the South. Strangeness alone begets hostility. The peculiar feature of whole sections of a town migrating aided the continuance of these habits.

A rustic lad moving to the city soon "rubs off the green" thru contact with city folk. He becomes ashamed of his oddness and tries desperately to conform. In time he succeeds. This process of rubbing off the green is considerably slower if contact is only casual, and is likely never to be accomplished if in the city he is thrown into the same environment as that which he left, or thru mortification and in desperate defense of pride he is prodded into making a virtue of his manifest disadvantages. Such was the difficulty to the migrants of acclimating themselves - of being Americanized, so to speak. They found themselves living together, with the same associates, the same memories and habits and drawn even closer by the consciousness of a common predicament. Their church services were as before the one opportunity for general social intercourse. And even in this the survival of their practices, so generally misunderstood in the North, served to set them off as strange and uncultured. This drew them closer and was kept in the foreground of discussions officially and unofficially. One of these practices will illustrate: In the south among the rural Negroes, one pastor must minister to two and sometimes three and four congregations. One rural church alone could not support a pastor. He visits his churches on a circuit, one every third Sunday. That means, of course, that the most largely
attended church services are held once in every three weeks. On these occasions all the members from widely scattered places come. It is a general meeting of friends. Many of the men stand outside discussing the crops while their wives go inside.

In Hartford the same practices are continued. Friends seeing themselves for the first time during the week. If anything, they have more to say.

The presence of large numbers of Southern Negroes outside the church while services were in progress was a common spectacle. They would block the sidewalks and express themselves to one another in loud tones. This, of course presented a most unpleasant picture both to the Negroes of longer residence in Hartford and to the white residents.

Another survival was that of idle conglomeration about Negro business places. It was a habit of the South an expression of the "village store psychology" incompatible with the custom of New England - and with business. The Hartford police usually interpreted these assemblages as disorderly gatherings.

Reports in the press tended to stress the unfamiliar sight of large numbers of Negroes with their families coming into the city, everywhere apparent about the streets dressed in the fashion of the south. Men appeared on the street in overalls and not infrequently women were seen on the main thoroughfares in aprons and dust caps. But this was precisely the manner in which they lived and dressed in smaller communities of the South where social regulations were less strict.
The older Hartford Negro residents fearing a restriction of the privileges which they supposed were theirs became insistent on the cultural differences between themselves and the Negroes of the South. They refused to be seen in their company and avoided places where they were likely to be encountered. In discussions with white persons, these Hartford Negroes were quick to call attention to this distinction, and to emphasize their difference and advantages in culture and schooling. Some of the Negro ministers interpreting this attitude very unwisely referred to them in mass as undesirable. One Negro woman migrant who had moved to Hartford at the solicitation of her brother—a one of the school boys who first came up to work in the tobacco field said:

"Reverend———drove Southern Negroes from his church. Our old pastor from Americas, Reverend———was a member of his church for a whole year, and was never invited to the pulpit. Reverend———told his congregation nasty things about Southern people. He said to the girls, 'beware of these Southern men; they are a bunch of escaped convicts!' All of us South erners were lonesome; we wanted the friendship of these Northern Negroes but they stayed away from us. I, myself, didn't make the acquaintance of any of them for a long time and then not until I got real mean. I am a different person since I came here to Hartford. These Hartford people did not open up their arms to the migrants. He couldn't get friends when we first came and now we don't need them."

Another Negro, a man, in commenting upon the difficulties experienced by the migrants on their first arrival said:

"When Negroes first came to Hartford, they met a big opposition in the unfriendliness of Hartford Negroes. They refused to have anything to do with us. The preachers preached that the Hartford Negroes were better than the Southern Negroes and even the Southern Negroes believed him."
This newcomer explained that his policy was to get with those who said they were better than he and show that they were not. Other Southern Negroes thus stimulated to greater self-pride joined the regularly established churches as they declared to "prove" that they were "just as good and just as intelligent" as any of the Northern Negroes.

It was to be expected that the increase of 140 per cent. in the Negro population would exaggerate their presence, particularly since these Negroes were rustic and unlike the others. It soon became an unanalyzed assumption that Southern Negroes were responsible for most anything bad that happened. If a crime was committed it was assumed to have been committed by a Southern Negro. If any Negro was detected in an embarrassing situation he was classed as a Southern Negro. In fact, a distinction between good and bad traits was made synonymous with Northern and Southern. So much so that any misconduct on the part of any Negro was classed as Southern whether the Negro was born in Georgia or in Connecticut. A rather striking example of the persistence of this per version appeared in the reflection of white persons of this same attitude.

Altho for example, there was a slight increase in crime, but by no means in proportion to the increase in Negro population, this increase was generally regarded as Southern, whether Southern Negroes were committing the crimes or not.

Said Mr. George E. Gabb, Prosecuting Attorney,"

"Southern Negroes seem to be a different type, but the Northern Negroes seem to be good citizens, industrious as a rule. They appear to go along the religious activities substantially the same as other races. Crime among the Southern Negroes is spasmodic. They don't seem to have as much schooling and refinement as our Northern Negroes. I tell you there are some mighty fine people in our Northern Negroes."
Now the Southern Negroes were not all composed of these crude and ungainly persons described and the ungainly were by no means unintelligent, thriftless or criminal. For the most part those who were ungainly when they first arrived in Hartford soon became acclimated. In the number that came northward there were many skilled tradesmen—respectable Negroes who could not be distinguished from their Northern brothers. The confusion of strange habits and unfamiliarity with criminality and lack of culture was a most unfortunate one. These Southern Negroes knew that they had made a most important contribution to the ultimate welfare of the Negro population of Hartford in that they had made the first openings in industries where hitherto Negroes had never been employed. They were conscious that they were establishing an enviable reputation for skill as carpenters, moulders, bricklayers and in other lines in which these Northern Negroes were untrained. For prior to 1916 their positions had been limited almost entirely to personal and domestic service.

Father Brown, the Episcopal Rector, himself not a Southerner, confirmed this self-estimate of the newcomers when he said:

"Southern Negroes have been a wonderful blessing to Hartford. They have transformed it. Had they been here fifteen years ago, the Negro population would be well fixed and this would be a much better place. Old residents are slow and unprogressive; all they have and want is to recall some blooming recollection of pleasant association with Mr. So-and-so and Mrs. So-and-so. These things mean nothing."

The Southern Negroes further knew that many of the so-called older resident were older merely in the sense that they had migrated earlier.

As a matter of fact there are in Hartford many residents generally regarded
as native Hartford Negro residents who came to the city from ten to forty years ago principally from Virginia and North Carolina. The attitude of the older residents however, served to draw the migrants together in a closer unit out of sheer measures of self-respect. These Southerners decided to make themselves self-sufficient and force the northerners to regret their haughtiness. Their morale was undoubtedly stimulated by this isolation of ostracism and by the constant aggravation of being classed as inferior Negroes.

The friendliness of these migrants offered an opportunity to Jewish merchants both to aid and exploit them. In expressing themselves on the activities of these Jewish merchants, Southern Negroes unhesitatingly acknowledged the invaluable service rendered them by these Jewish merchants in finding them homes, in aiding them in equipping these homes with furniture, and in granting them a time extension on food and clothing until they were able to earn their first week's or month's pay in their new position. They also acknowledged that they paid dearly for the service, but felt that in the absence of a guiding hand from the Hartford Negroes the aid given them in a most trying crisis was an act of kindness for which no regrets at the expense were entertained.

An interesting account of the method employed by some of these merchants is at hand. When the Reverend C. from Americus, Georgia finally gathered enough of his congregation in Hartford to re-establish his church he hired a chapel and moved in. In this business arrangement he came in touch with a Mr. E. a Jewish furniture dealer. Mr. E. talked sympathetically to him of his problems and in turn learned more about their troubles.
He offered to help. The new church needed a new organ and Mr. G. willingly purchased a small one for them. He even joined the church. The Negro members were aghast at the liberality of a white man. When the collection plate was passed, Mr. B. would put in a dollar. On the occasion of rallies he offered $25 for each $75 raised. The Americus people looked upon him as a friend. When an organization was formed in the church under the name of "The Southern Colored Welfare League" to aid the newcomers, Mr. B. was elected treasurer. At one of the meetings he read a paper for them. He made friends and secured their confidence and in return he got all of their business and has reaped a tremendous harvest from furniture sold on the installment plan. He accepted as security the recommendation of the minister and in return for new customers from him promised to give the church ten per cent. of the total sales of furniture. Mr. B. has one brother in the clothing business and another who is a lawyer. All of these have profited similarly from this connection.

Another Jewish merchant, a grocer on Mott Street, again evidenced this adaptability to new customers and was able to convert his kindness into cash. When Southern Negroes came in asking for white corn meal and black-eye peas which he did not carry in stock, he went South and arranged for large shipments of these commodities by the barrelful. In three years he was able to retire.
MOTIVES BACK OF THE MIGRATION

It might be well to consider from the standpoint of the migrants just why they came to Hartford. The facts concerning new industrial opportunities in this section and the tempting inducements offered by hard pressed employers are covered more at length in another section of this report. It would be difficult, indeed, to draw the line between those who were moved by the economic urge, those who left the South for sentimental reasons and those who were merely picked up by the hysterical current of a mass movement. In the case of many, the brighter prospects of the northern industrial fields were given an added strength of appeal by the solicitation of friends and relatives. In one sense, therefore, the migration, especially in its later stages was as much a uniting of families as a spontaneous movement. As a sort of cross section of the various motives back of their decision to change homes some of the reasons for so doing are given:

"To better my condition."

"I thought I could get along better up here because I could not make a decent living in the South."

"I thought conditions were better here than in Georgia."

"Because the white people in Georgia took all I made."

"I came to work for the American Tobacco Company."

"I came to see my mother."

"I came with my folks."

"Things got dull and I was not able to make a living at home."

"Wanted to make a change."

"Wanted to see relations."

"Wanted to see the country."
"Better opportunities."

"Better health for wife."

"Better education for children."

"More freedom."

"Came because wife wanted to be with her mother."

"Came for better conditions but was disappointed in the high rents and poor tenements."

"Came because of the death of a husband and loss of property."

"Came to live with sister after death of husband."

"Came because she could not keep up her farm after divorcing her husband."

"Came because he sold his farm."

"Found job in Pullman and just drifted into Hartford."

"Came for a change."

"Came on a visit and married."

"Employer brought him to Hartford as a chauffeur."

"Came because his sister wrote for him."

**SOME TYPICAL CASES IN BRIEF**

"A family from Georgia who came up in 1916; the husband was a plasterer and contractor. His reason for leaving was "Better educational facilities for my children." He feels that he has succeeded; finds his biggest difficulty in paying house rent; thinks Hartford industries unfair; plans to remain in Hartford. Although a plasterer by trade he has no regular employment but does "job work."

A farmer from Georgia came up in 1916 and had no other motive than the desire to travel. His biggest difficulty is unemployment and high rent; he was last employed in the rubber works, and has since been unemployed."
A farmer from Georgia, in his former home raised crops on shares. He came to Hartford in 1917 "to better his condition both financially and socially." His work in Hartford consisted in taking care of cattle from the mules of Pratt and Cady. He thinks there is room for improvement in the attitude of Hartford's industries towards Negro workers. He is not certain if he will stay in Hartford but plans to live somewhere in the North or West.

A carpenter from Georgia came up in 1916 with a contractor and builder to work on a special job. In his former home he earned about $18 per week. In Hartford his wages averaged $48 to $54 a week when he could work. He left Georgia "for liberty and better treatment"; finds his biggest difficulty in Hartford one of discrimination; plans to stay in Hartford "if he can do so with any degree of financial success.

A farmer from Georgia came up in 1916 "just to come north." His one ambition is "to stay north." He is an unskilled laborer and when working earns between $30 and $35 a week. His biggest problems are sickness, high rents and unemployment.

"A" came to Hartford from Virginia in 1920 because he "figured he could do better on account of the conditions." To some extent he feels that he has succeeded and plans to remain. In his former home he worked in a bakery shop; in Hartford he was a trucker in a freight house.

"B" came to Hartford from Mississippi in 1919 "for more wages." In his former home he worked in an oil mill for $7.50 a week. In Hartford he earned $33 a week in a coal yard. Illness is his biggest problem but he plans to live in Hartford.

"C", a bricklayer from Georgia, came to Hartford in 1917 to work on a special job. In his former home he was a bricklayer earning about $36 a week when working. In Hartford he earned $54 a week. His biggest difficulty has been discrimination. The terms of the bricklayers union as presented to him were impossible and discouraging. He plans to leave unless conditions change.

"D" came to Hartford from Georgia in 1917 "to better his condition in wages and treatment." In his home he earned $10.50 a week as a driver and ice cutter. In Hartford when working he received $36 a week as a machinist. He feels that he has gotten the things he came for and plans to remain if he can make a living." However, in the five years in Hartford he has lost twelve months' time unemployment.

A classification of the causes given, although not complete gives a rough index to the numbers promoted to come to Hartford for various reasons. Of a total of 501 heads of families who stated their reasons for
coming to Hartford, the economic motive was dominant in 243 instances of 49 per cent of the families. Definitely sentimental reasons like leaving the South because of ill treatment received there; "to see a few free days in my life" "because the white people were robbing me of my crops", were given in 123 cases. The education of their children as a sole motive in coming to Hartford was given in 13 cases. The influence of the solicitation of friends was probably present in a large number of cases of those who came for economic reasons. However, there were 67 who gave this reason solely for coming to Hartford.

Attention has been drawn in several accounts of the migration to the influence of suggestion in a mass movement upon many restless and otherwise unstable individuals. Although the tendency is usually to rationalize activities there were 50 in this group who admitted that they came to Hartford simply because others were coming or that they wanted to make a change or that they "just came" or "came out of a spirit of adventure." Some of these showed the pure influence of impersonal reports of the North. Several stated that "they just followed the crowd" and there were some who after three years in Hartford did not know why they came.

In this motley group it would not be expected that the very rigid processes of adjustment required would proceed with equal smoothness. There were some conspicuous failures among them. But few however, felt that they had been completely unsuccessful in their homes. Many of the disillusioned ones very probably returned home. Those who remained represent a very careful sifting, for at the time of the survey they had passed thru one of the most severe periods of unemployment they had ever known, many of them being without work for as much as 16 months of their
three or four years residence in Hartford.

The adjustments to Hartford life demanded several things. Many of the men were from the rural sections of Georgia and were accustomed only to farm labor. The first adjustment involved a transition from the simple processes of cultivating the soil to the highly specialized processes of modern industries. Home life was entirely different; the state and city were making unaccustomed demands. Their children had to be placed in schools because of compulsory education laws. They were constantly in danger of breaking some of the many ordinances from which they had been singularly free in their rural state. Even in habits of work a change was made necessary. In Hartford the tempo was increased and the relation with employers less personal. Then, for a period, especially during the unemployment crisis the housewife had to step to the helm, since work was frequently possible for women in domestic services when men were unable to get jobs. This brought other difficulties in the family structure. Again, men of local prominence in a small Southern community, when they moved to Hartford lost a great deal of their prestige, quite naturally. Some of them with comfortable, little amounts in the banks in the South standing between them and unproductive old age found that they were practically facing life anew with their savings consumed either in changing residences or in tiding their families thru the long stretch of unemployment. A number of very interesting accounts of these family experiences are available and to throw light on many angles of these problems. But one is given here:
Mr. Jack King came to Hartford in 1919 brings his family. He is 58 years old and his wife 47. Both of them have been married before. They came from Webster County, Ga.; he was a farmer, she helped him. In the family are three sets of children - both had children by their first marriage and a younger set by their present union. In Webster County, Mr. King was a respected farmer. He owned hogs, cows, mules, and other farm equipment to the account of $2,000 and besides had $400 in the bank. He was a member of Zion Baptist Church in Preston, Georgia, belonged to the Knights of Pythias and Masons - established fraternal orders. His wife was a member of the Magnolia Baptist Church and active in the community affairs. Her former husband had been a country school teacher, respected in the neighborhood. One morning he was found dead after a reported argument with a white man. No one has ever learned who killed him.

Mr. King's children by his first marriage are grown and scattered. In their present family are two young children ages five and six and three boys age eighteen, sixteen and ten by Mrs. King's first marriage. Mrs. King's mother also is a member of the family grown. Things have gone adversely for Mr. King since he came to Hartford. He has been out of work and his wife a strong physically, capable woman, has been the chief bread winner for the family by serving as chambermaid at the Victoria Hotel. The boys have also lost some time thru unemployment but when working they bring their money to their mother. As a result Mr. King has practically lost his position as head of the family. The place that he now occupies in his family unit and his new environment has depressed him greatly. He relates the story of his migration:

"I tell you I am a farmer. I never met nothing that bothered me about living until I came here. I have raised up a whole passel of children by my first wife. We both earned an independent living before we came up here. I lost a lot when I moved - lost $500 when I broke up. You see it was this way: I had raised about three hundred bushels of corn and brought it into the city to have it weighted up. A white fellow that I was doing this business with just took my money and ran away with it. I tried to get it back and lost some more money in that. I got discouraged. It would not have been so hard up if I hadn't went like a fool and took $500 that I had and bought an automobile. The thing was worth about $1500 and I was paying the rest in installments and I had that on my hands. My older boys had come up to Hartford and so had two of my wife's plough boys. They told us that we
ought to come up here. I took a notion that I could do better than I was doing in the South so we came up and left my wife’s mother back there for a while. When we told her to come we told her to sell the car. She sold it and did not get enough to pay the rest of the installments and there was my good $300 cash gone and more money that I had said. When we first got to Hartford we were living on Huntley Place upstairs. The house had no water and no toilet. We were paying $35 a month for five rooms. The Jew owner told me that I would have to pay more next month. I tried to argue him off but there were too many who wanted it that I had to pay the price. We have moved from Huntley Place now though to another house with five rooms where we pay $29 a month and $6 for gas outside of rent. It is a terrible old house. The man who had been living in it for fifteen years before we came in said it was as cold as the devil in the winter time. He said that there had not been anything done to it for seven years. The steps are weak, the plumbing is out of order, the sink needs a new box and the roof leaks. Since we have been here, me and my wife have had more trouble with one another than we have ever had before. You know she is making the money, most of it, now, her boys are the only ones working and they bring their money to her. You see she had six children that did not belong to me and I had got thirteen that don’t belong to her but mine aint with me now except the young ones that belong to both of us. She is getting extravagant and she don’t consult me any more about expenses. She has been blowing in a lot of money on clothes and furniture on the installment plan.

When I was working we did better. I had a good job at Taylor and Finn’s. It was pretty hard but I was sticking to it. My job was leading the buggies and pushing them around for a while, then an Irish boss there taught me how to chop. That was very nice work and I did not have any trouble learning. That paid from $27 to $33 a week. The white fellows we were working with were Italians pretty much. We did not have a lot of trouble with them but one day I went to get down some iron and got in the way of an old Italian and he kicked me. A fellow standing by said “kick him back!” but I wouldn’t do it because my wife’s boy Rufus was working over on the other side. If I had told him he would have cleaned him out. He is a good Christian boy, doesn’t fight or make trouble for anybody but if he had known it he would have opened his knife with his teeth. It was no use starting trouble with the Italians there and ruining his life for a little time I have here on earth. He has a pretty good savings account saved up. Then they put in a machine for shipping iron and cleaning iron tumblers, that threw me out of work. The funny thing about it was I was helped to install the machine last Christmas. Even the old Irishman who taught me to chop and had been working there about eight years is gone. I was just talking with Mr. Hug the superintendent over there and he tells me to keep in touch with him. I wish I had not played such a fool in getting rid of everything I had. I am getting old and I don’t think it is right to have to start over again but I can’t afford to go back poor. I could not stand it. 
PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF NEGRO HOUSING

The study of the housing of Hartford Negroes was not intended as a technical one, the emphasis being on the social rather than physical aspects of the question. Yet it became apparent at the very beginning that the two bear an extremely important relation. There is, for example, no formal segregation of Negroes, but when the manner in which they live is considered, the effect is the same. The situation, although no different from that which obtains in practically every city of the country, is the result of a variety of converging factors.

A Negro residence area, in the first place, is a community. In it may be found their institutions, such as exist, their businesses, churches and amusements. It is a functioning unit socially. Their work, of course, is almost as exclusively outside the community. In this sense they are an incidental group of the larger one—a tangent community. Their contacts with the larger community therefore, are casual, occurring only at work or on the street. They are isolated. Such participation in civic affairs as is evidenced is tempered by their relationship of tangency. They think in terms of their community—not so much from a sense of aggressive group egotism as from the fact that they have so little else in which to interest themselves. "Better schools" is interpreted as better schools for Negroes; politics as a square deal for the Negro, or as actually did happen in a recent political campaign, urging the placement of a Negro on the Police Force.

Precisely this isolation accounts in part for the attitude of the community to the Negroes thus isolated. They recognized them as a tangent community and consciously or unconsciously treat them as such. The population
of Hartford is composed of native whites, foreigners and Negroes. There is a middle class: the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. This is a significant distinction and represents a process which, more clearly than anything else, illustrates the difference between the foreign and Negro groups. Altho the foreign group at first constitutes a problem, is isolated, — virtually a tangent — it is assimilable, as this large class of native-born of foreign and mixed parentage shows. It will be noted that these native-born of foreign and mixed parentage live in sections of the city generally isolated from the foreign-born; they are represented in a higher stratum of the city's business and social life; they are not clannish; they retain none of the old customs and habits that stamp them as different, or even as foreigners. They are, unless attention is called to them participating citizens.

With Negroes it is different. Where their communities are established they remain. Public sentiment never changes with respect to them. They are recognizable by their color. They begin and end in isolation. The larger community habitually treats them as the irremediably hopeless group members that they are. It is this aspect of their community life that makes housing a very serious question among them — more serious than with any other group because it is more hopeless. This confinement to certain neighborhoods is aided both by the pressure from without which restrains them as undesirables in "white neighborhoods", and pressure from within which urges coherence out of measures of self-defense, mutual aid and congenial association.

If sufficient houses were available for every one in Hartford, there could still remain a Negro housing question. For the homes of Negroes must, in point of location, conform to the larger community's unwritten code. They
must be located where Negroes are permitted to live. This same law operates to throw upon Negro communities before any others the burden of congestion and high rents. Property with little or no value for residence purposes, deteriorated and impossible to keep in repair, usually takes on value when Negroes begin to vie with each other for it. They at first create a market, then make living difficult for themselves by forcing up rents. But for this situation there is no alternative it seems. They must live here or nowhere and they are willing to pay dearly for the privilege of a dwelling.

An evil quite as serious follows this: To pay these rents on a small income they resort to lodgers. Privacy is sacrificed, the normal family structure disorganized and a moral hazard introduced.

Another phase of this housing that should not be overlooked is that of the customary Negro residence areas themselves. It will be noted that in cities like Chicago, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, in fact most any city, such areas are located near the business centers of the city. This is true of Hartford. The area from Main Street East to the Connecticut River beginning at Charter Oak Avenue and following the expansion of the city northward to Sanford Avenue holds the bulk of the Negro population. The business centers of a city usually are around the site of its first settlement. The first outskirts of the business districts are the first residence sections. As the city grows new residence areas are opened and the older sections are abandoned. Potentially the land is valuable for business purposes and is held. The houses on the land much less desirable, are rented cheaper. The buildings, thru age and a succession of tenants, continue to deteriorate and the rents continued to fall. They eventually reach the economic level of the Negro group, and, altho the deterioration continues, the decrease in actual
value is checked, for the Negroes may not so easily give way to another
group. The homes of Negroes, it will be found as a very general rule, are
these old ones, difficult to readjust to modern requirements, difficult to
keep in repair, and homeless for improvement as residence property. Their
neighbors are persons mostly foreigners of a similar economic status.

When the migration of Negroes from the South occurred, great crowding
was to be expected, for displacement took place slowly. But displacement
does occasionally occur. The Negroes who acquire means are able to purchase
property elsewhere. Less frequently are they able to rent. These general
factors must be regarded in any approach to the question of the housing of
Negroes in Hartford.

Several years ago the city was aroused generally by the seriousness
of its housing problems. Just prior to 1911 the civic organizations thru a
long campaign of exposes of conditions and by means of popular education
succeeded in having a law passed by the legislature giving specific powers
to the Board of Health to deal with the many pressing problems of housing.
In the older sections of the city, those indicated on our chart as District
III, IV, V, and VI, living accommodations were consciously bad. After
about three year's effort by the Board of Health some measure of relief was
given in the form of improved sanitation. A total of 1,493 old toilets were
replaced. This, however, did not affect the general condition of the neighbor-
hood. At that time there were relatively few Negroes living in these
sections. Altho a majority of the Negro population lived in these districts
named, they constituted just a little over one per cent of the city's population
and were to a great extent unnoticed.
It is of course, impracticable from a business point of view to construct new dwellings in the old and greatly deteriorated sections. Aside from the natural deterioration referred to there is another factor contributing to the run down character of these neighborhoods in the absence of individual responsibility for the care of the property and the absence of personal pride in keeping it neat and attractive.

When residents are able to buy or assume a larger responsibility they move out to build.

In 1910 in these dwellings thus described in Wards 2, 3, and 5, there were 3,741 dwellings in which lived 6,102 families. Of these families 232 were Negro families. In 1920 in that same area the Negro population increased over 100 per cent with no new buildings and a sufficient increase in the foreign population to render the housing extremely serious.

Problems of housing for Negroes are complicated by a number of facts: There is first the question of congestion, a serious one to the health and morals of the family. This congestion however, would not be relieved, strangely enough, even tho there were available in the city of Hartford a sufficient room space for the entire population. The result is that with such a narrow market opportunity for consideration exploitation is provided. In order to live somewhere the Negro residents will accept quarters declared uninhabitable and dangerous to health; will over-bid their foreign neighbors, thus stimulating an antagonism against themselves. To keep quarters that are even moderately decent they will over-bid each other and submit to rent gouging and exploitation is met with in the expedient of taking in lodgers with its resultant destruction of the privacy of the home, disorganization of family life, danger to health and morals.
The Chamber of Commerce in 1917 thru the initiative of the Civic Club of Hartford, an organization whose membership was made up of leading men and women, became interested in the very manifest evils surrounding the question of homes for Negroes and actually projected a plan for relieving them. The Negroes had complained, and apparently with good reason that it was next to impossible to secure a house in which to live. Ground was purchased by this Committee and plans started for a five story house to serve as the beginning of a larger program. Several Negroes regarded by this Committee as "leaders", one of them in particular an old resident and the owner of a grocery store and pool room, were called in for advice on the plans. They discouraged it so strenuously that the project was abandoned. These Negroes, who by-the-way, by virtue of their life-long residence in the city had secured places with which they were content, argued that there was no question of housing; that Negroes could get homes sufficient for their needs for about $20 or $25 a month, and that they would have to pay more for the new dwellings proposed because of the higher cost of materials. No further interest had been taken to relieve this very serious situation.

**TYPES OF NEGRO HOUSES**

It is difficult to give a composite picture of the homes in which Negroes live. There appear however, certain definite types. The prevailing building for the working classes of the city is the tenement structure of frame or brick housing two and four families. In physical structure these houses vary between districts and this variation provides an enlightening index to the type of family and neighborhood. The tenements are as a rule, built for investment purposes and are rented, although some are individually owned.
The private houses however, are evidences usually of individual ownership
and these almost unfailingly were found in Districts II, III, and VII,
particularly District VII. These houses may be divided into four classes
as follows:

CLASS "A" - The individually owned homes with modern equipment,
meat and attractively kept premises. These, for
the most part, are scattered over a wide area in the
more desirable parts of the city. All have baths,
electricity, good plumbing and other conveniences.
This class of houses possess more than the bare
margin of comfort. All of them show personal care,
and are valued at from $5,000 to $12,000.

CLASS "B" - The dwellings both of the single residence and ten-
ment type, when the former are owned they are usually
purchased after occupancy by other owners, and are
therefore, old. They are located in slightly less
desirable residence areas from the standpoint of the
city at large. Many such homes may be found in Dis-
tricts II and III. A principal fact about these
homes when owned is that they lack some of the modern
equipment and are harder to keep in repair because of
their age. Located as they are in areas that are
beginning to lose their exclusiveness much is detracted
from their appearance by the condition of the neigh-
borhood and a certain habit of community indifference
toward keeping them neat and attractive. Here live
some of the older residents and an increasing number
of successful migrants. In this class also are in-
cluded a very large number of tenements both brick
and frame, two stories with running water and baths.
Most of them are not owned by the Negro tenants altho
they are usually kept in a fair state of repair. These
also may be found for the most part, in Districts II and
III.

CLASS "C" - The definitely distinguishing characteristic of these
in advanced age. Homes of this class are among the
oldest in the city and were built from twenty to sixty
years ago, so constructed that remodeling if there were
a disposition to do it, would be difficult. They
are for the most part, two story tenements wedged
closely together, of uniform appearance and invariably
either defective in plumbing or lacking in bath tubs,
adequate toilet facilities, light and air. Not infre-
quently all of these deficiencies are combined in one
building. They usually have passed thru one and two
generations of native white or foreign white occupancy
before inherited by Negroes.
CLASS "D" - The worst and oldest houses in the city, uninhabitable and makeshift dwellings - Hartford's alley homes and rear houses. The buildings are insecure and horridly unattractive. In most of them there is no running water and the toilets where they do exist are located in hallways for the common use of many families. In this class also are the numerous basement dwellings, damp and dangerous to health.

SANITATION

The standard by which sanitation was measured in this Survey was not of course, as rigid as might be applied by a more technical investigation by the Board of Health. However, certain definite units were selected. For example, homes in which the plumbing was found to be in good working condition, the structure of the house sound admitting a reasonable amount of light and air, with bath tubs, running water, toilet, apparently comfortable and clean, were classed as "excellent." Those houses which while not possessing all of the modern improvements were yet kept clean and such equipment as existed kept in good condition were classed as "good." Those houses in which there were no facilities such as bath tubs, electric or gas light, with bad plumbing but in which the defects noted were in a measure remediable or did not all appear together were classed as "fair." Those houses in which practically all improvements were lacking, which had no bath tubs, electric or gas light, which evidenced defective plumbing, insecure structure, and untidiness were classed as "poor."

Of 505 homes thus visited the following classification was made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXCELLENT</th>
<th>GOOD</th>
<th>FAIR</th>
<th>POOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A method of checking was used here in order to reduce the inquiry to a closer objectivity. A descriptive account was given of the state of the repairs of the homes without any attempt at the subjective classifications: "excellent," "good," "fair," and "poor." Specifically from these descriptions it developed that there were 138 homes in which there were no bathtubs, 131 in which the plumbing was out of order, and 142 homes in which the plumbing out of order included the toilet. Ninety-six homes had no modern conveniences whatever.

By districts these conditions differed:

DISTRICT I

Houses with bathtubs.........................4
Houses with Electricity......................4
Houses with Gas..............................6
Houses with Toilet in Hall..................1
Houses with no modern conveniences.......1
Houses in Good Condition...................31

DISTRICT II

Houses with bathtubs.......................6
Houses with No bathtubs....................1
Houses with Electricity.....................5
Houses with Gas.............................2
Houses in Good Condition...................4

DISTRICT III

Houses with Bathtubs......................20
Houses with no bathtubs...................11
Houses where Roof Leaks....................1
Houses with Electricity....................22
Houses with Gas.............................9
Houses with no electricity...............13
Houses with no gas........................13
Houses with plumbing out of order........63
Houses with toilet in hall................15
Houses with toilet in yard.................1
Houses with toilet in cellar...............2
Houses with toilet out of order...........11
Houses with no modern conveniences.....36
Houses in Good Condition..................63
DISTRICT IV

Houses with Bathtubs.......................3
Houses with no bathtubs....................1
Houses with plumbing out of order.........17
Houses with no modern conveniences......5
Houses in good condition...............47

DISTRICT V

Houses with Bathtubs.......................6
Houses with no bathtubs...................68
Houses where roof leaks...................11
Houses with plumbing out of order.......36
Houses with no electricity...............3
Houses with no gas.........................3
Houses with electricity...................4
Houses with gas...........................7
Houses with toilet in hall................26
Houses with toilet in yard.................1
Houses with toilet in cellar...............1
Houses with no modern conveniences.....43
Houses in good condition...............23

DISTRICT VII

Houses with Bathtubs.......................17
Houses with no bathtubs...................26
Houses with leaking roofs................3
Houses with plumbing out of order........15
Houses with no electricity...............2
Houses with no gas........................9
Houses with toilet in hall................4
Houses with electricity...................5
Houses with gas............................8
Houses with toilet in yard................1
Houses with toilet in cellar...............2
Houses with no modern convenience......11
Houses infested with water bugs.........7
Houses in good condition...............40

Summarising the estimates of the general sanitary conditions found in the homes by districts, the following tables are given.

DISTRICT I

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SANITARY CONDITIONS</th>
<th>GENERAL REPAIRS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
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**Sanitary Conditions**

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**General Repairs**

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**General Repairs**

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**General Repairs**

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### District V

**Sanitary Conditions**

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<td>Poor</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Repairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow to repair</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### District VII

**Sanitary Conditions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Repairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISTRICT VII (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SANITARY CONDITIONS</th>
<th>GENERAL REPAIRS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>Not Given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the sanitary conditions and general state of repair of the homes vary according to districts, the best homes appearing in Districts I and VII. This is in a sense, a substantiation of the other findings of the Survey which indicate that both Districts I and VII represent the latest stages of the movement of the Negro population. The homes owned by Negroes are for the most part within these two areas. Similarly the buildings recently rented to Negroes or those built to be rented for investment purposes are located in these sections. One notable inconsistency arises in District VII: Although it has a relatively high percentage of first class homes many of which are owned by Negroes, it also has a small but thickly settled colony of Negro families representing about the worst housing in the city. Keeping in mind the descriptive meaning of the classification, excellent, very good, good, etc., some notion of the distribution of good housing among Negroes may be had from the tables named above.

Another, index to the physical condition of the houses in which Negroes live is to be found in the number of violations of the sanitary code. These violations of course, applied only to tenements of more than one flat. Violations are rarely reported unless in an extremely bad condition. Fear of ejection or an increase in rents to pay the costs of repairs usually work an effective restraint upon the tenants who might bring these charges. However, from the city at large during one year (1921) of 2150 violations reported from 243 streets, 44.3 per cent were from sections of the streets in which Negroes
live in large numbers and representing only 16% of the streets covered in the inspections. For example, from Bellevue Street in District IV, with considerably over 50 per cent of the population Negroes, there were 97 violations reported; from Center Street in District II there were 21; from Chestnut Street in District III there were 22; from Market Street in District V there were 23; from Hather Street in District II there were 27; from Canton Street in District IV there were 21; from Pleasant Street in District V there were 73; from Village Street in District V there were 39; from Martin Street in District I there were 46; from Hooper Street in District IV there were 52; from Portland Street in District V there were 52; and from Windsor Street in District V there were 97. The following chart indicates the incidence of these violations, the shaded sections showing the areas of Negro residence:
These violations concern not only the bad state of the repairs of the houses but neglect of street, back yards, alleys, common halls, and common toilets. All of these constitute a menace to health. The following examples are illustrative:

Pigs being kept on the premises.
No running water, plaster and paper down in the bed rooms.
Second floor bathtub stopped up and flowing; third floor plaster down in rear bed rooms and kitchen.
Rubbish piled high in the back yard. The roof leaks in the two front rooms.
Ashes and rubbish uncollected; no receptacles; steps broken from the rear veranda; third floor railings and pickets broken and dangerous; roof leaks over the kitchen; hole in the bottom of bathtub.
Second floor, poor water supply; large leak in the toilet bowl on the first floor; window glasses broken in the kitchen, bed room and front room; ceiling down in the kitchen and bed room on the second and third floors. Vent duct missing from second floor toilet; roof leaks over the rear bed rooms.

The most common complaints were of leaking roofs, defective plumbing, fallen plaster, dangerous defects in structure, rubbish collected in yards, alleys and halls. The property is owned for the most part by Jewish and Italian landlords. These complaints summarized were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complainant</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defective Ceilings complaints</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective plumbing complaints</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective Water Supply</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective Lighting</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaking Roofs</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsanitary Condition of premises</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Adjoining premises)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsanitary condition of hallways</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Complaints 624

The largest number of complaints for the entire city came from the streets in which Negroes live in largest numbers. These were Front, Bellevue, Market, Canton, Avon, Mather and Chestnut Streets. They are essentially the same streets to which attention is called in another section of this Report as being extreme-
ly old and difficult to keep in repair.

THE NEGRO FAMILY

The family is a cultural as well as a natural group. As the smallest social group unit, it affords an excellent starting point for understanding, the problems of the community. Aside from its utility as a reflector of the larger and more intricate community problems, it is the source of the behavior patterns of individuals. Much of that which makes the individual Negro distinctive, derives from this social heritage. Where the family structure is normal and in a functioning relationship with the community, irregularities of conduct are less imminent. When for any reason this structure collapses or disintegrates, or is kept so completely submerged by the pressure of handicaps as to limit the carrying out its function, maladjustments may be expected to follow.

From this point of view therefore, the social structure, habits, traditions and customs, education, economic sufficiency, and relationships to the community of the Negro family are most important. Just as the Juvenile and Police Courts, for example, register the pitiful disintegration of home life among foreign groups in the period of transition from old world to American customs and methods, so this tendency manifests itself among the Negroes.

Where the family income is adequate there follows a larger cultural development, better health, education, and self-respect and community participation. Where it is not, many dangers creep in, as for example, lodgers and the loss of privacy, race suicide, improper care of children, loss of school opportunities thru the necessity for parents or children going to work.
In Hartford where over half of the Negro population is Southern in origin, even more serious problems arise. The migrant family must adjust itself to a completely new environment. This involves the acquisition of new working and living habits, a reconstruction of social aims and conduct, as well as the abandonment of ingrown customs, - in fact, their whole social outlook and training.

The average size of the American family is 4.3; the American Negro family is about the same. Census figures for this population group among Negroes in Hartford were not available, but at least a fair approximation to accuracy is possible from the Survey figures, which correspond closely with those of the Census. The 639 families included in the study covered 2,703 persons, 570 of whom are known to be lodgers. The average Negro family in Hartford thus would be composed of 3.3 persons. Two factors are prominent here: The families of Northern Negroes are usually smaller than those of Southern Negroes; and the migrants, as clearly indicated in the sudden disproportionate expansion of the adult age groups around the period of the migration, numbered among them many unmarried persons, male and female, many who came without their families, and others who were able to move probably because they were not burdened with the responsibility of a large family.

In the matter of fertility Negro families show a most remarkable sensitiveness to environment. The number of children under five years of age to each married Negro woman between the ages 15 to 44 in 1910 was 519. This figure is larger than the ratio (433) for all classes of the population and considerably larger than the ratio (447) for native whites. In Georgia, the state from which most of the Negro migrants to Hartford came, this ratio was 592. For towns of less than 25,000 it was 650. In Connecticut
however, this ratio dropped tremendously. For cities of 25,000 and more it was 263 for Negroes as compared with 405 for whites.

In 1915, the year before the migration, only 34 Negro children were born in Hartford. The Negro population at that time was 1,745. The women of child-bearing age numbered 620, of one child for every 12 women of child-bearing age. During the same period 3,661 white children were born. The number of white women of child-bearing age was 28,016, or one child to every 7 white women of child-bearing ages. A situation develops here, however, serious in its implications, not only with respect to the size of the Negro family, but to many other social problems associated with family life. The number of Negro women between the ages 15 and 19 is twice that of the men, and between the ages 20 and 24 it is 25 per cent larger. Attention has frequently been called to the dangers inherent in too great an excess of women. Not only is the birth rate lowered, but the chances of marriage are decreased, and with restricted marriage there is less individual stability.

RENT AND INCOME

The standard expenditure assumed for a normal family for rent approximates one-fifth of its income. It is natural to expect therefore, that when this proportion is exceeded some other requisite of family life equally essential must suffer. The income of the Negro families studied represented, on an average, a low figure. These incomes were obtained from 125 heads of families and were distributed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $15.00 a week</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00 - $25.00</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25.00 - $35.00</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $35.00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>395</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimated in terms of yearly income 15.7 per cent of the heads of families receive less than $780 yearly, 57.3 per cent receive between $780 and $1300, 25.3 per cent between $1300 and $1820, and 1.7 per cent over $1820.

The most recent estimated budget of articles necessary for the maintenance of a family of five in health and decency, worked out by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1920) sets the minimum figures at $1500 to $2100 depending upon locality. The nearest approach to the living costs of Negroes is found in a study in 1920 of Negro Migrant Families to Philadelphia by Dr. Sadie T. Mossell. In this study it developed that 75 per cent of the Negro families fell below the yearly income of $1,970; that 5 per cent of the children in all the families worked; and that both the family and per capita incomes tended to decrease with an increase in the size of the family. The budget suggested that for these Negro families as the minimum for health and comfort was $1,329.48 a year.

The amount of rent that would permit the full quota of expenditures for other necessities would for Hartford Negro families be for the various income groups as follows:
or, if the suggested budget of Dr. Russell is used as a guide, expenditures for the item of rent should equal about 16 per cent of the annual income. Such an estimate for the income groups of Negroes in Hartford would be as follows:

## INCOME GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNDER $750</th>
<th>$750 - $1300</th>
<th>$1300 - $1620</th>
<th>OVER $1620</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$12.00 - $20.00</td>
<td>$20.00 - $28.00</td>
<td>$28.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rents actually paid by Negroes in Hartford are in reality greatly out of proportion to these estimates of normal requirement. The rents actually paid were as follows:

## AMOUNT OF RENT MONTHLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PER CENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $10.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10.00 - $15.00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00 - $20.00</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20.00 - $25.00</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25.00 - $30.00</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30.00 - $50.00</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVER $50.00</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since over half of the Negroes fell within the income group $750 to $1300, the rents paid by the largest proportion theoretically should fall within the limits of $12.00 to $20.00 to use the most liberal figures. As a matter of fact, less than 40 per cent fell within these limits, and although 27
per cent of all the Negroes earn more than $1300 a year, over 52 per cent pay over $20.00 a month rent.

The variation between districts in rents paid is another indication of the varying types of neighborhoods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT OF RENT PAID</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $10.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10.00 - $15.00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00 - $20.00</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20.00 - $25.00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25.00 - $30.00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30.00 - $35.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35.00 - $50.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequent instances of sheer exploitation and arbitrary increases in rent when Negroes took occupancy came to the attention of the Survey. On the East Side rents increased from $6.00 to $12.00 and from $12.00 to $30.00 a month. On Avon Street a Negro family occupied a house paying $15.00 a month. In two weeks a man representing himself as the owner, came to the family and said: "I'm the new landlord. I have just bought this house and I'll have to raise the rent to $20.00." The next month another man came saying he had just bought the house and raised the rent to $22.00. When still another came a few weeks later and raised the rent to $30.00, the Negro refused because he could not repair the water pipes in the basement.

A collector for a phonograph company came in, saw it and reported the condition to the Health Department.

When the case was investigated it was found that the property had never changed hands since the Negro moved in.
The following are cases which illustrate this very common practice:

The residence at.....Wather Street is at present owned by Mr. W.....J..... Between December 1916 and 1921 it changed owners three times. Early in 1916 the rent was $15.00 a month. In the Fall of 1916 it was increased to $18 a month. In the Spring of 1917 it was increased to $25.00 a month. In the Fall of the same year it increased to $28 a month. In the Summer of 1918 it was increased to $30.00 a month and remained at that figure until the early part of 1921 when it was increased to $32.00 a month. December 1921, a notice was served on the tenants that the rent would be increased to $35.00 a month. He was forced to move. There are no modern conveniences in the place not even ordinary sinks. None of the landlords made any repairs during the six years.

18 Sanford Street: 4 rooms, former rent 1919, $22.00. Present rent $25.00

413 Village Street: 4 rooms. Tenant lived there two years and three months. Former rent $20.00. Present rent $30.00.

227 Talcott Street: 4 rooms, Tenant lived there five years. Former rent $18.00. Present rent $24.00.

18 Bellevue Street: 3 room. Former rent $19.00. Present rent $22.50


249 Windsor St.: 5 rooms. Former rent $25.00. Present rent $35.00

20 Canton Street: 5 rooms, Former rent $30.00. Present rent $50.00

84 Barbour Street: 3 rooms. Former rent $8.00. Present rent $17.00. Notified of an increase of $5.00 more.

3 Arthur Place: Raised from $22.00 to $30.00. The house rented to whites for $22.00.
The Negro tenants not infrequently make easy these arbitrary and persistent increases of the landlords by their zeal to find quarters and their apparent disposition to take them when found at any price. There were complaints of this both from other Negroes and foreigners. When they first moved to Hartford and for a while were forced to live in basements and other make-shifts, many of them had no hesitancy in offering a higher price for a house already occupied by some one else. One family when visited had just moved from a house with five rooms which they had occupied two years. On first occupancy they paid $18.00. Later the rent was advanced to $30.00, and shortly afterwards another Negro offered $35.00 for the house, and they were forced to move.

FAMILIES AND SIZE OF APARTMENTS

Altho it is evident that Negroes pay relatively a higher rent than any other group in the city, it is not so apparent that there is serious over-crowding. The average size of the Hartford Negro family, exclusive of lodgers, in 1910, was 2.6. Census figures for 1920 are not yet available on the size of families, but it is certain that with the migration of many Southern families of larger size this average is increased. The average size of the Southern Negro family is 4.7. The Survey figures indicate a present average of 3.3.

The most frequent size of apartments was that of 4 rooms. Of 325 apartments for which this information was listed by the Survey the distribution was as follows:
### Number of Rooms vs. Number of Families Living in Apartments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Rooms</th>
<th>Number of Families Living in Apartments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 328

The relative frequency in size of the family as represented in the returns of the survey is as follows:

### Number in Family vs. Number of Families vs. Total Persons Reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number in Family</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Total Persons Reported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 631

For the natural Negro family composed of 3.3 members the amount of space seems adequate. However, two factors must be taken into account in any such consideration: Of 631 families there were 216 or 34 per cent who kept lodgers ranging in number from one to eight. Again, a very definite habit of Negro families, particularly those from the South, is that of
keeping "company rooms." These "company rooms" are not guest chambers but usually a front parlor kept clean and instantly available for the reception of visitors. The strength of this habit holds, practically separating it from the other parts of the house used for the ordinary purposes of the household.

A striking difference from the habits of foreign residents is instantly apparent, and a result of this practice, adhered to frequently in the face of serious embarrassment, is to further aggravate the problem of congestion.

The following is a tabulation of families in all districts as related to the size of apartments:

**NUMBER OF ROOMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. IN FAMILY</th>
<th>1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 : 9 : 10 :</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>: : 17 : 12 : 10 : 5 : 3 : 1 : : :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>: 2 : 1 : 20 : 5 : 3 : 4 : 1 : 2 : :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>: : 2 : 1 : : : 1 : 1 : 1 :</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table the figures for the total tend to obscure the more exaggerated instances in certain districts. The table shows, for example, 13 families of less than 5 living in 6 room apartments. As a matter of fact, half of these families live in district 3, one of the more recent Negro neighborhoods. Specific instances of over-crowding are to be noted however, in all the districts, altho frequently depends upon the type of the neighborhood. For example, in District I there were:

1 instance of 6 persons living in 3 rooms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 adults</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

District: I, II, III, IV, V.
HOME OWNERSHIP

The Survey could locate only 42 families owning their homes out of 636 questioned on this point. Since the entire Negro population was not reached it is of course certain that the number is larger. The most recent figures available (1915), show that in Hartford County, the smallest unit for which figures on home ownership were obtainable, there were, exclusive of farm homes, 126 homes owned by 567 Negro families and of the 126 owned homes, but 52 were free from debt. Renters constituted 75.5 per cent of the families. In the ratio of 1 owned home for every 13 of the Negro population, Hartford ranks higher than many Southern and most Northern cities. The population has doubled, however, since 1910, and, altho the ownership of homes has probably increased, it is doubtful if the ratio is maintained.
THE NEGR0 AT WORK IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

The industrial and commercial life of Hartford is characterized by a peculiar mixture of interests. It is the home of the oldest and some of the largest insurance companies in the country. The twenty-four large life, accident, fire and marine insurance companies underwrite millions throughout the country, and provide employment for thousands of Hartford persons in clerical and administrative positions.

It is a tobacco center. Connecticut, although a New England State, in the growing of tobacco ranks ninth among twenty-four tobacco growing states, and practically all of the farms are in the vicinity of Hartford. This is a highly seasonal industry demanding at sometimes many hands at moderate wages, and at other times scarcely any labor at all.

A third feature of the city's commercial life is its manufacturing plants. Although there are many small plants devoting their energies to the manufacture of ordinary articles, the plants that give character to the city are those making goods requiring a high degree of skill. Among these are plants manufacturing small machinery, firearms, fine tools, cyclometers, rubber auto tires, railroad equipment, horse nails, screws, organs, typewriters, blower systems, pins, woven wire, coil pipes, drop forgings, metal castings, plumbers' supplies, harnesses, knit goods, and silverware. In most of these places years of apprenticeship are required before a worker may become skilled and efficient, and among them a sort of caste is established which gives dignity as well as exclusiveness to their vocations.

The nature of the manufactures limits the demand for unskilled workers. Much of the unskilled work may be done by apprentices, or "helpers."
This arrangement influences the selection of workers, for usually a worker added, altho for a time engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled work, is a prospective skilled employee and congenial to the management as well as to the workers on the job. In some of the plants fathers have handed down their skill and eventually their jobs to their sons. The present heads of some of the largest plants, notably Billings and Speazer, and Pratt and Whitney were once skilled workers who in turn had acquired their skill from older masters of mechanical ingenuity.

This combination of interests, - the insurance for thousands of clerical workers, tobacco for fluid, low priced labor, and the manufactures for highly skilled labor - presents a most peculiar situation for Negro labor.

Before the migration Negroes were a negligible factor in Hartford industries. The population was small and the working members linked up with personal and domestic service, by tradition as well as by economic necessity. Many of the older Negro residents were connected in a more or less personal relationship with the older white families either as servants in their homes or porters and attendants in their business establishments. Altho at one time there were a few skilled artisans these were gradually pushed out by the increasing competition of whites most of whom in these areas of economic conflict were foreigners.

Not until the beginning of the war did an opportunity for Negroes present itself in industry. Connecticut industries by their very nature caught a great part of the war demand. Many of its industries were given over entirely to war work. As an evidence of the expansion, in spite of the Federal ban on building operations during the two years ending November 1918, there were 735 building operations of various kinds by 385 manufacturers at a total cost
of $13,637,802, an increase of over 30 per cent, over the preceding two years. The munitions plants of Bridgeport were enormously expanded. Both in Bridgeport and Hartford there are arms manufacturing plants. These industries with their unprecedented wages, shorter hours, together with the patriotic ardor surrounding employment in essential industries drained the less active fields.

With immigration effectively checked these positions were left open. The scarcity of labor induced employers even to employ large numbers of children between 14 and 16 years and at wages considered fair for adults in pre-war times. The industries that suffered most were the tobacco fields in harvest times, and those concerns temporarily requiring large numbers of unskilled men for rough manual labor. It was, in fact, the Connecticut tobacco fields that first experienced with Negro labor from the South, and, according to some authorities, started the migration of Negroes from the South that added half million Negroes to northern communities scattered from New England to the Dakotas. The planting and harvesting season in the tobacco industries fell during the usual summer vacation period of the southern Negro schools. It thus became a practical measure to pay the transportation of these students up to the tobacco fields, give them employment for the season and send them back at its close. Approximately 1,000 Negroes were thus brought up by these interests.

At the time of the Survey, reaction from the war-time fever of expansion and prosperity developed into an almostsettled depression. Many industries had closed and practically all had considerably reduced the number of their employees - as well as wages. Over 320 industries of the State were either closed absorbed by others, or adopted other work in 1919. To this also had been added

2. Negro Migration During the War, Scott J. Scott, p. 54.
the resumption of the immigrant tide. Unemployment was felt rather seriously. In fact so depressed was the city administration with the potential menace to the community in the continually growing army of unemployed that an Emergency Committee on Unemployment was appointed by the Mayor to find work and give temporary relief. Conditions thus were abnormal when the Study began. Many industries that had once employed a few Negroes had either dismissed them in cutting down their working force, or replaced them with white workers. The number of Negroes had been considerably reduced in all the industries.

In the absence of some guiding studies there was no means of locating definitely all the industries employing Negroes. The number and particular industries selected however, proved to represent not only typical industries but practically the entire list of important ones. There were included in the Study 141 plants employing a total of 20,872 men of whom 871 were Negroes. This number represents over 85 per cent. of the total population engaged in 1 industry, and although the exact number of Negroes so employed is not yet obtainable it is apparent that the major portion of Negroes is included. The results of this inquiry will in a measure summarize the status of Negroes in the industries of the city during the abnormal war period and afterwards when the demand of that period had subsided.

WHERE NEGROES WORK:

In 1910, 82.3 per cent. of the Negro males and 50.7 per cent. of the Negro females were gainfully employed. The migration added to the population of Hartford approximately 2500 Negroes, who for the most part were adults in search of employment. Although no exact figures for 1920 are available at this time, it is certain that the number of working Negroes was greatly increased.

1. Census figures for 1920 giving occupations in cities by race have not yet been released.
DOMESTIC SERVICE:

It is a matter of tradition, probably the heritage of slavery, that Negroes are associated in that with domestic and personal service. In Hartford, before the war period, of the Negro working population, 70 per cent. of the men were engaged in domestic and personal service (60 per cent. domestics, 10 per cent. personal service - messengers, porters, drivers, etc.) and 86 per cent. of the women. The men were house servants, cooks, waiters, chauffeurs, porters, janitors; and the women laundresses, day workers, cooks, nurse-maids, house-maids, and housekeepers. The proportion was seriously affected by the temporary unsettlement in industry following the demand of laborers and many domestic and personal servants seeking the greater independence and increased pay of the manufacturing plants deserted their accustomed field. The inducements, however, were counterbalanced by many disagreeable features. For example, the positions opened for them were principally unskilled jobs requiring more exposure, more sustained physical exertion and more forcible adjustment to uninteresting routine than their former work. The Negro men from the South first entered the industries and made openings for the older Negro male residents of Hartford.

Southern Negro women accustomed to domestic service continued this line of work in their new home. Many difficulties of adjustment however, were occasioned. Differences in methods of preparing food, standards of punctuality and relations between employer and employee North and South, developed strange misunderstandings. In their work habits many of them reflected their training in the South, which to the thrifty New England housewife was utterly incomprehensible. One of them in discussing her experiences with Negro domestics said:
"I began housekeeping ............. with a Negro girl. She was extravagant in her cooking as all Negroes are because they have never been taught the value of exactness in all work. She was more or less lazy as the long life of the colored people in the hotter climates has made them. I found her asleep on the top of my set of tubs one afternoon. This was not due to over-work on my part I can assure you, as I myself, an a hard worker about my house, know what to do myself and what to require of servants. She remained less than a year as I would rather have no help than poor. I had a colored cook in 1920. She was the quickest and best worker I've seen amongst the colored but her temper was equally quick. On telling her that she must be responsible for the keeping of the ice chest filled with ice, she turned and said to me "I do not have to work for such low down white trash as you are." Astonishment at her ideas made me laugh so that I told her she couldn't find another place any too quickly. I have a colored laundress now. She will not come as early as the white help does even if she loses her place. I know she needs the money badly and so put up with the inconvenience. As a whole they seem to lack the idea of good efficient service for the money they receive. I have had white help ranging from 6 years through 10, 5, 6, and down."

As in other lines of work however, the Northern standards are eventually understood and they adapt themselves. The experiences of families employing them more recently seem to indicate this. The wife of a prominent lawyer and a discriminating housewife said:

"For about a year now I have employed a Negro woman; during last Spring and Summer one day a week but since September 1, 1921, and throughout this Winter I am employing her three days a week. She has come in as a general utility woman, washing and ironing, cleaning and doing some cooking, in fact, she has been most willing to do anything I have asked her. I have paid her $3.00 a day and curfew - it has been an 8 hour day. This one woman would compare very favorably with any other woman I have employed as day help during the past 13 years. In fact she would be considered superior to some white help I have had. She has no outstanding faults - she is an unusually refined, educated, and clean Negro and one that I trust all I have with. She was recommended to me by a friend."

The competition of foreign domestics principally Swedes and Irish, has limited the employment of colored women as cooks and maids and confined them
largely to day work. For this many reasons have been assigned by housewives, "more efficient service," "objection of other white servants," desire for a "high grade of intelligence around the children of the family," their "ignorance of standards of punctuality and economy." These objections are, of the most part, given to Negro domestics on the strength merely of their opinions concerning them. For many of these housewives have never employed Negroes and base their judgments purely on hearsay evidence. A club woman of prominence said:

"I have had no experience with Negro help in my own household. I have never employed Negro help because I have four young children and did not wish to give over the care of them to any one but a high grade, intelligent person with a knowledge of the care of children. As most white girls object to working with colored girls, my kitchen help has also been white. From my observations of the colored help who have applied at the Housewives League, Bureau of Occupations, I would say that the majority of them are not very clean, and have not a high standard of morals. On the other hand, I can cite cases where friends of mine have had the most efficient capable and faithful service from colored men and women in their employ."

Among other families employing them quite a different experiences have been recorded. Said a member of the Housewives League:

"I have at present a Negro laundress and have had others in the same capacity; they have proved themselves equally efficient and faithful as other women. I am paying them the same wages I would others."

And another:

"I have always employed Negro laundresses, and have been very well satisfied with their work. She gets $3.25 a day. The woman I employ at present is truly excellent."

Negro men may be found working as porters in many of the stores, banking establishments and insurance company buildings, and frequently as elevator operators. In this line of work they appear to give satisfaction, altho it must be
added that a large number of them so engaged were chafing under what they felt to be limitations to their opportunity for advancement. The work, the simple and agreeable is nevertheless of the nature of a blind alley. It leads no where. Pleasant relations usually exist between the Negroes and employees, and occasionally "promotions" to messengers or in the form of increase in pay for length of service, loyalty and similar virtues. Among the older Negro residents, some of the most respected among the white persons of prominence are porters and messengers who have been in the service of the same employer for many years, some as long as thirty-five years. It is quite generally considered that "this is their work."

According to the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce Negro chauffeurs are looked upon as "absolutely trustworthy." The Secretary of the Manufacturers Association thought they "make good as waiters." The Hartford Club, which has employed them as waiters for more than twenty years commands them as "high grade workers." The Superintendent of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company and John Pratt Company find them "satisfactory." The Abbott Hall Company, Aetna Insurance Company find them "excellent" as janitors, porters and messengers. They have not been tried in any of the other branches. Other comments concerning this class of workers follow in the same vein. The Hartford Fire Insurance Company finds them "very satisfactory." The Connecticut General Life Insurance Company sums up its experience as follows:

"On a whole Northern Negroes are quite satisfactory. We have tried more recently Southern Negroes as messengers but they did not prove satisfactory."

The Hartford Aetna National Bank has employed Negroes as janitors for several years and regards their services as "very satisfactory." The Phoenix National Bank think they are irresponsible and efficient only when watched. Their present employees, however, are "courteous and fairly energetic" as satisfactory as the general run of labor for the places they fill. The Hartford Fire In-
Insurance Company has had one messenger for fifty years, and others as long as twenty-five years. They are "very satisfactory." The Phoenix Insurance Company employs only "those Negroes who are well recommended and have an education" for their messengers and janitors.

WAGES IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

During the war period and for some time afterwards wages in domestic service for men were about as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages for Men</th>
<th>Per Week</th>
<th>Per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bell Boys</td>
<td>$4.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus Boys</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>12.00-16.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housemen</td>
<td>10.00-15.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porters</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>$40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauffeurs</td>
<td>16.00-20.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elevator Boys</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors</td>
<td>18.00-20.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages for Women

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Workers</td>
<td>25¢ to 35¢ per hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse Maids</td>
<td>$3.00 to $5.00 per week with board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids</td>
<td>$5.00 to $8.00 per week with board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>$6.00 to $10.00 per week with board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundresses</td>
<td>25¢ to 30¢ per hour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scale of wages here is small, compared with other lines of work, had two compensations: a saving of the item of board, something considerable in the case of single individuals, and gratuities. Waiters and bell boys depend very largely upon "tips." to supplement their wages. Cooks, private chauffeurs,
them as restless as their white predecessors. Altho for two seasons they re-
mained fairly well and without considerable less than a tenth cent. less on their
transportation, they eventually began to seek the cities. For a feverish moment
the tobacco growers tried to keep a sufficient force at work by securing other
Negroes from the South, not students. Finally becoming disgusted with efforts
to keep them in the face of the stronger bids of the city they declared Negro labor
a failure. The report of the Commissioner of Labor for the year 1916 said:

"The Negroes did not take kindly to labor conditions in the North.
They complained that the work was too hard and apparently chafed
under the supervision which they received from their employers.
Several instances came to the attention of the Department where
they refused to live up to the terms of their contract and used
almost any excuse to get away. They did not accomplish as much
in the same time as had been done by the men usually doing this
work. About 900 in all were imported and practically all of this
number returned to the South after the harvesting was over.
They were well behaved and but one instance has come to the attention
of the Bureau where any lawlessness was due to Negroes from the
South. Owing to the scarcity of white labor in railroad work,
they entered this field to a limited extent last Fall, but did
not stay long with few exceptions. In the whole they were even
more unsatisfactory than in the tobacco fields. It is doubtful
whether such labor will again be brought into this State."

What really happened is only partially apparent in the Report of the Commissioner.

The 900 Negroes imported from the South with transportation paid were students
who returned to the South after the harvesting season to re-enter school.

NEON STUDENTS ON THE TOBACCO PLANTATIONS

A survey of the tobacco industry during 1916 b. the Hartford Daily Times shows
that between the various large tobacco industries of Hartford County, 650 students
had been recruited from the Negro colleges and that their services had been satis-
factory. The Report in part read:

1. Note: It is significant that the Polish, Lithuanian, Spanish, Italian
and Irish laborers had in turn left them for better wages long before
the Negroes came. Negroes as a group alone inherited the odium. The
planters expected them to see immediately the philosophy of "their
ultimate good" in working with them for moderate wages, on work that
lasted only four months of the year, when all who proceeded them had
left for the same reason, and there was for them still the speculation
as to whether or not they would be continued when the white workers
were ready to return.
"The employment manager for the tobacco farmers recruited 650 Negroes practically all under draft age and almost all of them from Negro colleges and schools. They included students from Atlanta University, Georgia State College, High Point Industrial School, Howard University, Morehouse College, Tuskegee Institute, Hampton Institute, Tallahassee Agricultural and Mechanical Institute and Shaw University. Teachers came with men from the first five of the places named. Only 14 out of the 650 did not make good and stay on the job. More than $25,000 was forwarded for the transportation of these men, and only two of them did not show up at the end of the journey, a pair who stopped in New York City. The other 12 were weeded out after the season's work was begun."

The present survey included the following plantations:

- The American Sumatra Company
- Tariffville Plantation, Avon
- Griffin's Plantation (Now under the American Sumatra Company)
- The American Sumatra Tobacco Company, Station 22, Burnside
- Farnum's Plantation
- J. A. Sheppard Plantation
- Bogan's Plantation
- Keene and Goodrich Plantation, Glastonbury
- The American Sumatra Tobacco Co., Floydville
- The American Sumatra Tobacco Co., West Gate.

At the time of the investigation, November 1921, the harvesting season was passed and only a few persons were employed on the plantations; many of the workers had been transferred or had otherwise secured positions in the warehouses on other processes of the work. Inasmuch, however, as the various plantations are severally important especially in view of their experience with Negro students, some of them will be treated individually.

**THE GRIFFIN PLANTATION**

The Griffin Plantation contains about 1500 acres and in the harvesting season employs usually between 500 and 600 workers. During 1916, 1917, and 1918, the scarcity of laborers during the harvesting season became so acute that Mr. Griffin went South and on one or two occasions himself went South to secure students from the following Negro institutions:

- Howard University
- Hampton Institute
- Dunbar High School
- Knox Institute
- Tuskegee Institute
- Boston, N. C.
- Washington, D. C.
- Bennett College
In 1916, they secured 125 students, in 1917, 200; and in 1918, 115. The wages paid averaged $2.50 a day. In addition to Bonza System consisting of "A" and "B" grade tickets was instituted. The "A" grade ticket entitled the very efficient one to an extra compensation of $2.50 a week more than their regular pay, and the "B" grade tickets $1.00 a week extra compensation for men making good records. This was done in lieu of a general increase in wages.

The work performed by these students consisted of "hosing tobacco," "topping" (that is, picking out the bud), picking over tobacco leaves in harvesting time and hauling them out in baskets. Along with the students they imported instructors from the schools to act as supervisors, one instructor for every 25 students. These instructors receive $3.00 a day. The impression of the management at the time of the survey in 1921 was that the students did not make good. Those from Tuskegee, in the opinion of the superintendent, did good work. This was one he thought to their prior experience on farms and work in the open. The men from Gammon Theological Seminary were "older men and conscientiously religious," they were, he said, "a mighty fine bunch of fellows, all studying for the ministry." Groups of others from the different schools mentioned made bad records. An analysis of the cases of the men leaving this plant, from the record system kept, throws some light on the management's interpretation of a "bad record." The following are records presented by the superintendent of students making "bad records:"
"A" came July 3rd, left July 13th without notice. Got back $25 of transportation charge of $50.00.

"B" came May 28th, left June 16th. Call for war service. One-half transportation gotten back.

"C" came May 28th, left August 31st for training camp. All transportation paid.

"D" came May 22nd, left June 1st. Left without notice. $10 lost on transportation.

"E" a Howard University student, came June 1st, left June 30th. $12 paid of transportation cost of $30.00. The other Howard men stayed thru.

"F" a Bennett College student came May 10th, left June 1st. Discharged by the foreman.

"G" came July 1st, left August 25th. Voorhees. Transportation taken out of wages.

"H" came June 4th left July 30th. Transportation taken out.

"I" from Bennett College came May 20th, left June 14th, without notice. Transportation taken out.

"J" came May 17th, left June 1st. Mason College man, came back and paid transportation in full although he hadn't earned it.

Another student left for war leaving a Liberty Bond on which $20 was paid. Another from High Point Normal School left for the army.

"K" came June 4th and left June 19th. $9.00 collected out of $25.00 transportation.

Most all of the students according to the superintendent, were "honest, sober and did very little running about at night." This was a period when men within draft ages were being called to the service. The hotel and industries of Hartford also were offering attractive wages and many went to these jobs. Transportation was paid by the company one way. During the third season about one-third of the students left before the season was over. He added, however, that "a lot were honest enough to pay the amount due on transportation when they hadn't earned it."
housemen and practically all the women domestics had little or no additional pay save that given in the form of "gifts."

**INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS**

The influence of the war on the industries of Hartford first unsettled the status of the working Negroes. The older Negro residents, as it was observed, were in very large measure engaged in personal and domestic service positions; and fewer Negro women were working in Hartford than in many other New England cities. The structure of the business and commercial life of the city had accomplished this occupational segregation almost completely. They could not work in insurance except as juniors, messengers and porters; they could not work in the manufacturing industries except in a very few exceptional instances and the nature of the tobacco work, its small wages, isolation and highly seasonal character made it less attractive than personal and domestic service.

A change came with the migration of the Negroes from the South to the tobacco fields. The work there proving unattractive to the majority of the migrants they gradually drifted into cities seeking employment in the numerous plants now recruiting additional workers indiscriminately and paying exceptionally high wages. A number of the plants were making new additions requiring excavating and construction work. The larger plants were constrained to increase their unskilled labor forces very considerably. The Building Trades and many of the less attractive establishments had been drained of their white labor by the munitions plants and other war industries both in Hartford and in other cities of the State, notably Bridgeport. In these plants the migrants found employment and soon were able to write their friends, and to bring up their families. When once this opening in the local industries had been made and fairly satisfactory

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1. Used clothing and food.
2. Three exceptions are noted on page 55.
experiences under the circumstances reported by plants employing Negroes in large numbers for the first time, many of the older Hartford Negro residents sought these positions.

The present inquiry centered itself very largely upon the industrial plants of the city with the purpose in mind of finding out the present status of Negroes, their opportunities for advancement and handicap, types of work in which they have been successful, types of work from which they have been excluded with causes therefor, and so far as possible, of ascertaining their prospects in this line of work for the future. The relatively small Negro population made it unlikely that they would be found in very large numbers in any single industry and in a great majority of the plants no Negroes were employed at all. With the exception of the tobacco farms and factories to be referred to later, no single industrial plant employed more than fifty Negro workers. A classification of 75 plants according to the number of Negroes employed showed 55 with less than 10; 15 with from 10 to 25; 3 with from 25 to 50; 3 with from 50 to 100; and 2 with more than 100.

The special attitudes of employers toward Negro labor, their views of the practical usefulness of this labor, the work of the nature of which the Negro was supposed to be capable, the limits of wages as well as opportunity, became apparent at the very outset in the division of industrial occupations according to the employment of non-employment of Negroes. Before it is possible accurately to discuss the work done by Negroes, the following clear-cut and almost invariable facts should be stated:

(1) Where the manufacturing processes demanded highly skilled workers Negroes were not employed;
(2) Where the position entailed authority over white workers they were not employed;
(3) Where the work entailed association with other workers on an equal footing in operations requiring semi-skill and skill they were rarely employed;
(4) Where the nature of the work required that they must
customers in the capacity of agents or representatives of the establishments they were not employed;

(5) Where the work assumed the mastery of a trade such as bricklaying, carpentry, painting or as plumbers and pipe fitters, they were rarely and irregularly employed in these trades subject to the opposition of labor organizations.

The division of the Hartford industries according to those employing and those not employing Negroes is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATURE OF INDUSTRY</th>
<th>WORK PERFORMED BY NEGROES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tobacco Farms</td>
<td>Planting, seeding, maturing and picking tobacco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tobacco Factories</td>
<td>Sorting, stripping and tying tobacco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Plants Manufacturing</td>
<td>General unskilled labor, trucking and as porters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms and Machine Tools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Plants Manufacturing</td>
<td>Unskilled and semi-skilled work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber Goods, Drop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgings, Machine Screws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Building Trades</td>
<td>Excavating and general unskilled labor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Coal and Lumber Yards</td>
<td>Drivers, Shovellers, and Laborers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRIES NOT EMPLOYING NEGROES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Plants manufacturing precision instruments, precise machinery including electrical appliances, typewriters, small tools, machine parts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Plants manufacturing wood work including office fixtures, boxes and ladders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Plants manufacturing organs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Plants manufacturing clocks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Printing and Publishing establishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Plants manufacturing ball bearings, drop forgings, blowers, gas lights, horse mills, boiler, turbines.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Builders and Contractors for work as bricklayers, carpenters, painters and decorators.

9. Insurance.

The work for which they were employed was characterized by the following features:

(1) Where a large plant was maintained and heavy materials had to be transported, loaded and unloaded;

(2) Where physical strength principally was required;

(3) Where the work was of a simple but frequently disagreeable nature;

(4) Where the work was seasonal, demanding a fluid labor supply;

(5) Where the work was unattractive to white laborers because of wages paid or conditions of employment.

A division according to kinds of work performed by Negroes in 78 of the plants visited was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KINDS</th>
<th>NO. PLANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Labor Only</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service Only</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled and semi-skilled</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is true that in a number of these plants Negroes were found to be doing work ordinarily styled as semi-skilled and sometimes as skilled, but by the management they were classed as unskilled workers. This was true of a Negro doing the work of a first class clerk in one of the insurance offices who was classed as a messenger; of numbers of Negroes engaged at skilled work on a piece rate basis.
in several of the plants; but in general the proportion holds.

THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY

Tobacco has been grown in Connecticut for more than 250 years. The State the not an agricultural one, has continued to produce it as one of its staples. The average yield per acre (1672 pounds) has been exceeded by few tobacco growing states in spite of the constant necessity for treating the soil with nitrogenuous fertilizers. The industry has been recognized as a desirable one and worthy of encouragement. The tobacco fields of Hartford County represent on an average, an investment of $1,000 an acre exclusive of land and buildings for the shade grown and $400 or more for the sun grown processo, and during the Summer seasons there are usually more than 4,000 acres of the former and 2,400 acres of the latter under cultivation. The annual market value is about $10,000,000. But tobacco farming is in a large measure a speculative venture. A severe hail storm, a long stretch of rainy, cloudy weather, an early Fall frost, or a shortage of labor can make it as extremely unprofitable as a good year can make it profitable. The development of manufactures and the competition of other agricultural states a good many years ago made tobacco growing unprofitable except on a large scale and recently, altho the production of tobacco has gradually increased, the number of tobacco growers has grown smaller. In fact, most of the present acreage is in the possession of one concern, the American Sumatra Company, the still operated under the name of the original owners of the farms.

The work is seasonal, and the cultivation of crop requires attention of many hands. In competition with the tractions of the cities and the wages of manufacturing plants, these plantations are not always able to select their workers. The work like that of the fruit growers had been done by foreigners, principally Poles and Italians of recent arrival in this country. This could very easily be done by peasant workers accustomed to the soil and unaccustomed to the highly developed
industrial life of the cities.

With the outbreak of the war in 1914 however, this flow of labor was checked and many left the fields to return to their native countries. As the United States became involved and the industrial centers making arms and other war materials were stimulated to abnormal activity the demand for workers grew. Wages began to soar. The farms were hard pressed and the crops were threatened with destruction. It was then that the managers turned to the South for Negro labor. This was not however, wholly surprising. The managers of many of these farms were Southerners who had employed Negroes before. The "experiment" as it was called, was made with considerable caution, and for the tobacco growers was without doubt an undertaking of small risks. The National Urban League was asked to recruit students from Negro colleges in the South who wished to spend their vacations at profitable employment. Transportation was advanced, sleeping tents, beds and food provided at a small cost and instructors from these same schools employed in the capacity of supervisors. About 80 Negro students were brought to the tobacco fields. For two seasons the students and their employers seemed well satisfied. The manager of the Connecticut Leaf Tobacco Association recruiting for the tobacco fields, near the end of the second season wrote to the National Urban League: "Everything is going along nicely and we are satisfied with the results this year," and offered as an added attraction to other prospective students a certificate signed by the governor of Connecticut "in grateful recognition of the patriotic services rendered by each boy working on the tobacco plantations."

But the persistent lure of anxious industries in the city finally began to have effect, especially with some of the non-student Southern workers also brought to Hartford. Isolation on the farms, lower wages than those paid in the cities, the absence of any amusements, the very temporary and frequently uncomfortable nature of their living accommodations and lack of incentive made
HOUSING OF THE STAFF

The students lived about a mile from their work. They slept in tents, of which there were a number each large enough to accommodate two boys. They boarded themselves for an average of about $5.00 a week. For the whites a boarding house was cut up into tenements to house about 200. Cots and blankets were supplied freely in both the camps. A piano was also provided. There were upon the plantation 54 small five room cottages. They were rented to white families at $2.00 a week. Many of these are tenanted by Polish families.

STUDENT LABOR

The additional complaints against the work of the students were that they "broke down" quicker than the Polish workers who "settled down" on the plantations, and that many of them could not withstand the stifling heat under the tents where the shade grown tobacco was being nourished. "He had the notion" said the superintendent, that the Negroes could be good for working under the canes where it is fearful, hot and close because they had lived in the South, but they didn't stand it as well as the white fellows. They "walked right over." The students naturally were not as hardy on first engagement in this very unusual work as older workers. During the same period 50 Southern white men were working on the plantation. Concerning them the superintendent said, "To tell you the truth, they weren't as good as our best Negro workers. They were lazy, had no ambition and frequently got drunk." An interesting feature in race relations also developed among these two groups transplanted to a new environment. "Knowing that these white men were from the South" said the superintendent, "we felt that there would be difficulty if we didn't keep them separate from the Negroes and we tried because we didn't want any fights. They got together though and became pretty good friends. There never was any trouble between them, that is, race trouble."
The labor trouble of Mr. Griffin continued thru the harvesting season of 1920 and 1921. He gathered up a number of unemployed men whom he classed as "worse than the negroes." In 1920 a group of Hartford citizens urged them to place the boy scouts to work on the farms promising to place Scout Masters in charge. The management re-built tents along the river so that they might swim, and arranged other conveniences. The experience of the plantation superintendent with that was summed up in one exasperated comment. "If there is anybody tougher on the west side of the river than these fellows, I want to see them. Every once in a while one of them would do a little work. They stayed two weeks. The time-keeper used a watch of calling around twice a day. The scouts had a habit of showing up just a few min. before the time-keeper came around and leaving soon afterwards. Finally he kept a time-keeper there constantly and checked up on the actual time that they worked and the parents came out objecting to the small pay. As a matter of fact, none of them worked more than one or two hours a day.

The Indians were divided as to the merits of the Negro workers. Some thought they were careful in handling their work and could not work without them; others would not work with them. At the time of the study 36 Negroes were employed. During the summer of 1921, when labor was plentiful and there was much unemployment especially among the Negroes this plantation was solicited in the effort to secure jobs for some of the unemployed men among whom were Negroes. The manager said then that he would employ no "coons" that he referred to the and Lithuanians.

THE TARIFFVILLE PLANTATION

At the Tariffville Plantation of the American Sumatra Company, 106 Negroes were employed in a total of 400. During 1917, 67 students had been brought up from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga. The manager thought that they "stacked up about the same as white students." Concerning their dispositions he said: "They had a chip on their shoulders. They couldn't forget that their fathers were slaves and couldn't stand orders. They would sulk." This information in inter-
something in view of the objections to the work voiced by many of the students themselves. "The foremen," one of them said, "had an idea that the only way to get work out of a negro was to scare at him and threaten to kick him." This conduct, most of the students resented. In explanation the manager said, "When a man is busy and has 500 acres to get over and 400 men, he will forget and speak rough and short." "The students," he added, "are all right if you use diplomacy." The wages paid during 1917 were $1.00 a day. In 1918, they were advanced to $1.00.

At the time of the survey, 100 negroes were employed about half of whom were Negro women. These lived in Tariffville near the plant and with their families.

Some difficulty is experienced in holding the workers on the plantation. They soon become restless, use their money and disappear. There has been no trouble between the two racial groups alone working together in the warehouses and in the field. Among the negro workers, however, there were several complaints and even other causes of dissatisfaction not expressed. Their housing was a great inconvenience. For some of the families a large boarding house suitable for the accommodation of 70 people had been divided into quarters for 14 families. There was little to recommend them either from the point of comfort or sanitation. Other houses, some of them transformed summer camping cottages, housed individual families. The schools provided for the children were greatly inferior to those of the city; and for their shopping, amusements, or social and frequently their association, they depended upon the city. Few young people would stay and many of the older ones left as soon as water paying jobs in the city were available.

**AMERICAN SUMATRA GARMENT - ATON**

At the American Sumatra warehouse in Atton, 12 negroes were employed in a total of 120 workers. Sixteen of them were negro and five women. Wages for both sexes during November averaged $1.50 a week. Here too, because there were many unemployed seeking jobs, the wages accordingly had dropped. During the summer
and harvesting season of the same year they had been paid $10.00 a week. Negroes had been employed since 1916. The manager, a southern man, in commenting upon the quality of their work said, "The old Southern nigger is better than the city ones. They are used to the farm and are equal to the white employed. They are also good farmers." The firm had had some experience with Negro students. "They would have been all right in the business house" he thought, but were not "cut out for tobacco work." Negro farmers from Southern Georgia and East Florida are preferred for this work.

The workers are all housed in one building in Avon and are so far as known, the only colored residents of the town. The building in which they live contains 22 rooms and was formerly a warehouse. Water and electricity have been installed and the entire building leased for $20.00 a month to one trusted Negro worker to manage privately. There has been no racial trouble between the white and Negro workers and no complaints from the white residents of Avon.

**Farnham's Plantation**

At Farnham's Plantation one Negro family of four has employed in a total of 127 workers. This plantation had been sending its tobacco into Hartford warehouse, but has since decided that in view of the cost of transportation and storage and the presence of workers on the plantation after harvesting season, they would fit up a building for harvesting, tying and sizing. Most of the employees are Spaniards. During the harvesting season, between July 15th and September 15th, between 400 and 500 persons are employed and Negroes are included in this number. In 1921, 15 from Highpoint College were employed and gave satisfaction. Negroes who live in Hartford, that is, who come out from the city in the mornings and go back in the evenings are not employed. Their Negro employees are either students, or families living on the plantation. In 1920, there was one Negro family of 15. The wages paid were $2.25 per day without a house, $2.50 for men with a
house and paying rent, $1.75 a day for roomers, and $3.00 for "removers." The women who work as mowers and tyers do piece work — 100 pounds for $1.80.

Sorters get $2.25 a day for 9 hours. Inspectors get $2.45 a day for 9 hours.

In this work men and women receive the same pay. Practically all of them live around the place which includes something like 1000 acres.

J. L. SHEPARD LEAF TOBACCO PLANTATION

At the J. L. Shepard Leaf Tobacco Plantation only two Negroes were employed, one a night watchman and the other a foreman. On the plantation the entire process of planting, cutting, carrying off to shed is done. During the harvesting time workers were paid as high as $5.00 a day in 1918, 194-15-16 about $1.50 a day; the average during 1921. According to the Unemployment Committee this plant refused to have anything to do with Negro labor until 1920 when the crop was badly damaged. The superintendent sent in for 75 white men. They were secured but did not stay, and he sent for more. The result was the same. Finally the Unemployment Committee decided to introduce Negroes. Under protest he took 10 for one day and brought them back. The next day he asked for 25; the next day for 40; and finally for 75; and kept them thru the season.

THE AMERICAN SUMATRA TOBACCO COMPANY — BURNSIDE

The American Sumatra Tobacco Company Warehouse at Burnsides was, at the time of the visit at the height of its season which lasts about six months from the beginning of Fall until the end of Spring. The number of Negroes employed has been gradually increasing within the last three years. There are at present 28 Negro men and 75 Negro women in a total of 325 employees. The men are engaged in the sweat room, in general labor about the warehouse, and in few instances in the sorting and shaping process, as packers and pickers. The women work as sorters, tyers, shapers and inspectors. Wages have increased since 1917 and 1918. In 1917, men received $1.50 a day and women $1.15 to $2.00 a week; in 1921, the men
received $2.50 a day and the women from $1.00 to $1.25 a day. The highest wage paid to a Negro employs is $3.00 a day to a Negro foreman of the sweet rooms; he has both white and colored workers under him and there has been no difficulty. The manager said, "Most any one could get along with him; he has been with the Company for several years." The lowest wage paid to Negro employees is $1.75, paid to Negroes doing common labor work about the warehouse.

The Negro workers are considered about equal to the white workers on the same kind of work. Speaking about their merits the superintendent said, "They are about the same as the white workers - there are good and bad in all classes. We have good workers here. Of course, there are trouble makers in all kinds of people. Workers are recruited by application at the plant. we don't make any difference." On the matter of relation between employees, he said, "There is very little discrimination; most all of them seem to get along all right, the relations are harmonious. We have had no difficulties with a racial basis." All classes are used the same here as long as they do their work and keep their places. All of them use the same facilities." The remark about common facilities was made in spite of two very conspicuous signs, one reading: "This Room for White Girls Only," and another: "This Room for Colored Girls Only." There have been no strikes in the place, the labor turnover is the same both races. Most of the Negroes live in Hartford and as a result there has been some rudeness among the women, the men have been more regular. About half of the whites live at Burnside near the plant.

At many of the smaller plantations Negroes are employed during harvesting season and paid the prevailing wages. Practically all the plantations employ them at this time, some with satisfactory results and some otherwise. Several of the smaller farmers express a disposition to employ Negroes but felt that they could not compete with the larger farms where greater numbers of Negroes afforded the sociability which made their isolation tolerable.
In the city of Hartford are independent warehouses as well as those whose farms are located in Hartford County. In the handling of the tobacco their methods vary widely, at least, one actually shipping it out of Hartford for stripping and sizing to a cheap labor market and re-shipping it. Among the largest of these local establishments are the American Cigar Company, the A. and S. Hartman Company, and the Allied Tobacco Company. In these three plants, the Negroes are doing practically the same kinds of work; the experiences of the management have been not only different but contradictory. The Allied Tobacco Company employs 14 Negro women for sizing tobacco and finds them "unambitious and unsteady;" the A. and S. Hartman Company employing one Negro man and 75 Negro women sizing and stripping leaf tobacco finds them "good workers" and satisfactory. The experience of the American Cigar Company employing 100 Negroes is typical both of the attitude of many of the employers and the reaction of Negro workers to it. It is therefore, given more fully:

Negro workers, male and female, sort, size and tie tobacco for which work they are paid by the piece, an average of about $1.50 a day. The manager, a southerner, gave his view about their work with a generous insertion of profanity and racial philosophy. Only two Hartford Negroes are engaged in the plant. "The southern darkies," he said, "are better workers as long as they don't pick up with the white trash around the city." He complained that the Negro workers "looked around too much" and "were not attentive to business." The foreman encouraged them in the habit of drawing petty amounts each evening and thus staying short of money. This was given by the manager as one of the evidences of the friendship existing between Negroes and the foreman when they "thought the world and all of." Altogether they were acceptable workers to the plant, they had, in his opinion, no particular merits except perhaps, that they were not susceptible to labor unions which he regarded as an out and out abomination.
The work done by Negroes consists of sorting, marking and tying leaf tobacco. In the packing season only Negroes are used. They are considered more stable than unskilled white workers for this type of work. Opportunities for advancement are limited because of the nature of the business. They are the Negro sub-foramen over other Negroes.

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK IN TOBACCO FOR NEGROES

Negroes are evenly temporarily introduced in large numbers into a new field of work the back wash of nor all times usually leaves a fair sized deposit. Their entrance and continuance in practically all of their present industrial occupations have followed the rule. This is true of tobacco growing. The Harvesting season just proceeding employed them very largely in spite of the plentiful supply of unemployed men both white and colored. A canvass of tobacco farms during 1921, made by the Emergency Unemployment Committee of the city, showed a very large percentage of the larger farms especially those under the control of the American Suntra Tobacco Company, to be willing to use Negro labor although they were in position to select their workers.

The exclusion of Negroes workers from many of the industries of the city, their familiarity with tobacco growing, and the practice of using them for seasonal work seem to insure jobs for them for some time to come. Immigrant labor with the enactment of legislation limiting their numbers, cannot re-establish easily the competition in this field that existed before the war. Furthermore, the foreign workers are not inclined to continue indefinitely on the plantations, and with the greater opportunity of the cities before them there is no sound economic reason for continuing. In all likelihood, with the negro labor supply remaining constant and foreign labor gradually falling off and out of this branch of the industry, Negroes will be retained.
THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

In March 1921, a census was made by the State Department of Labor Statistics for the Federal Department of Labor, and 1800 Negroes were found to be industrial workers. However, 600 of these were then unemployed, leaving a total of 1200 Negroes working in the following plants: Billings and Spencer, Pratt and Cay, Hartford Rubber Works, and the Railroad Stations. In November 1921, unemployment had further increased but the industries mentioned above still retained a few Negroes. Some idea of the decrease in Negro workers in these plants is apparent in the fact that in November the Billings and Spencer, Pratt and Cay and the Hartford Rubber Works together employed only 67 Negroes.

The experiences of the manufacturing plants with Negroes has been largely determined by the type of manufacturing. Where common labor has been in demand Negroes have been kept in comparatively small numbers.

The transition from domestic and personal service and agricultural pursuits to industrial occupations amounts almost to a revolution in working habits ingrained through years of exclusive application to one type of work. Familiarizing with the implements, methods of one type of work is thus gained, only to be discarded or merely partially utilized in the process of learning another type of work. Domestic servants, for example, need not have more than a general knowledge of machinery to perform their duties. Life and a fair measure of comfort may be maintained by the exercise largely of one's ability to attend the physical wants of human beings. A domestic servant is doing for someone else for pay merely what every child is doing for himself. Transplanting a person at this exclusive training to work with machinery amounts to a loss of skill.

Nowhere in the experience of an ordinary farmer is there a demand of machinery much more complicated than the common plow. Years of training and discussion help
fix his bodily motions and habits, and, most important, develop habits of thinking about things. The ability expertly to pick good seed or turn up a straight row at the right depth with a plow are as useless to him in a factory as the knowledge of operating a drill machine is to a field hand. These are situations fought out individually by practically every novice in the industrial field. The Negro migrants who entered the industries of Hartford had many of these handicaps. Coming as they did at a time when labor was scarce many of their failings to adjust themselves immediately to this work until labor became more plentiful were tolerated. Alas unfortunately, these failings were debited against the entire Negro working group.

It would have been difficult indeed for a worker with ordinary industrial training to fit into the highly specialized divisions of the principal industries. The Colt’s Patent Firearms Company which employs in normal times about 3500 men is an institution to which two generations of constantly increasing skill and efficiency have contributed. Colonel Colt established his plant in 1852, surrounded himself in the beginning with men of a high degree of skill, and by his insistence on absolute mechanical excellence and perfection quickly inspired his workers with the dignity and independence of his work as a vocation. Francis A. Pratt, Amos Whitney, George A. Fairfield, Charles Hillings and others who later developed plants quite as exacting in standards of workmanship and as large, were trained in this plant. The Pratt and Whitney Company which employs approximately 3000 men manufactures precise instruments. In this plant was developed the "Comparator", an instrument which measures correctly within the limit of one-thousandth of an inch.

The Hartford Machine Screw Company employing 1150 men, manufactures screws for machinery, ranging in size from the largest to the most diminutive. The Royal Typewriter Company with 1800 employees manufactures instruments of great precision.
In the Royal Typewriter Company, for example, most of the departments are 100 per cent highly skilled workers. One department has 500 men all of whom are highly skilled.

In these plants the casual laborer is completely out classed by men who have held the position since their boyhood apprenticeship days. Two and in some cases three generations of the same family have worked at the same trade in these factories. There is therefore, little chance for a Negro to break in. The work remaining for Negroes, therefore, was either unskilled labor, or jobs as porters and janitors about the plant and occasionally as semi-skilled workers.

PLANTS MANUFACTURING FINE TOOLS AND MACHINERY

Typical of the plants falling under this head are Colt’s Patent Firearms Manufacturing Company, the Hartford Machine Screw Company, Pratt and Whitney, Royal Typewriter Company, Underwood Typewriter Company, and a number of smaller concerns. The Colt’s Plant employs only 4 Negroes in a total of 925 workers, one in a clerical, the others laborers. “As truckers,” said the manager, “they have proved very efficient.” They have never been employed on any of the manufacturing processes.

The experience of Pratt and Whitney is very largely typical of the other plants manufacturing fine instruments. During the war when labor was scarce they employed a few Negroes for rough, unskilled internal transportation work, and as janitors. The Vice-President and General Manager interviewed, found them “all right” as workers. “Human nature doesn’t vary much with the color of the skin” he said, “the weaknesses of Negroes are the same largely as the weaknesses of the white or families.” Only a few Negroes were employed during the labor shortage because there was a shortage of Negro labor as well. Twenty was the highest figure used. None are employed at present.
The class of manufacturing done is of a highly skilled and fine metal manufacturing and very little machine operating. He found it difficult to get a trained Negro machinist, although he admitted that they had not sought many. "There is no reason why a Negro with the same training should not be employed." The plant operates an apprentice school — a four-year course — training men principally for executives and foremen. They pay $2.50 to $3.00 per hour while in training. At one time the pay was 14c per hour. There would be no prejudice shown he thought, if Negroes applied at the apprenticeship schools, but they must be persons of more intelligence with a high school education if possible. The plant selects the boys after their training courses, many go into other plants for their experience. Other skilled workers learn trades working as helpers. They work in the shop until they qualify as journeymen. The wage scale Negroes were highest in 1919 averaging 41c per hour.

At the Underwood Typewriter Company seven Negroes in a total of 3350 workers were employed as laborers in the boiler room. Concerning them the manager said: "The quality of Negro labor that we have is very good and their work is this line very satisfactory." These have been employed only since the war.

The Abbott Ball Company has employed one Negro for three years as a machine operator, who the manager states is "American born, tall, educated, sober, steady and very industrious." Practically all of these establishments began the employment of Negroes during the war emergency and there they were continued in employment, with few exceptions, were very definitely and permanently limited to unskilled work.

PLANTS MANUFACTURING HEAVY MACHINERY, PARTS AND ARTICLES

The manufacture of heavy parts requires a much larger proportion of common labor and the connection of Negro workers with this work is quite evident. Pratt and Colby manufacturing iron and brass foundry products; Billings and Spencer manu-
facturing drop forgings; the Hartford Rubber Forks manufacturing rubber tires; together with Frazier and Foster, and the Railroad shops began employing Negroes during the war and continued to employ them both for unskilled and semi-skilled work. Among the largest employers of Negroes in this group is Pratt and Cady - 25 Negroes in a total of 280 workers were employed and most of these were engaged in semi-skilled and skilled work. Specifically there were:

2 Core Makers  
4 Core Helpers  
1 Cupola Man  
2 Cupola Helpers  
1 Oilers  
1 Molder  
1 Sand Blast Operator  
1 Furnace Man  
1 Tester  
1 Moulder's Helper  
1 Machine Molder  
1 Tumbling Block Operator  
1 Seater  
1 Flaker  
2 Truckers  
1 Miscellaneous Helper

In 1917, seventy-five Negroes were employed. The Negro working force was increased to 100 in 1918, and in 1919 in a total of 600 workers. Thereafter the entire working force declined. The kinds of work done by them is shown in the figures below:

**DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO WORKERS IN PRATT AND CADY FOR THE PERIOD 1917-1919**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knockout Man</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnace Tenders</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grinders</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truckers</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Core Helpers</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oilers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molder</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnaces</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulder's Helpers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Porters
Boiler Maker's Helpers
Night Men
Painters
Tasters
Machine Operators
Tumbling Block Oper. 69
Masons Tenders
Swagers
Assemblers
Flankers
Chippers
Sand Blasters
Cupola Men
Stock Helpers
Clerk
Moulders
Cillers
Melters

Of these operations 9 are classified as semi-skilled, 16 skilled and 5 unskilled.

The measurable success of these workers is indicated in their retention after the release of almost over 60 per cent. of the plant's workers during the period of industrial depression. Of the 226 Negro workers employed only 40 or 16 per cent. were discharged. The others either left of their own accord, or were laid off because of business depression.

An unusual interest and discernment were apparent in the administration department of the plant. Their best workers they found could not be grouped according to race. Among them were many Negroes, American whites, and Pole, and a scattering of other races. All of them, the works manager said, would be retained on the pay rolls as long as work continued. Other workers among whom also were Negroes, were of little value to the establishment and would be replaced as soon as substitutes could be trained. Conviction of the capacity of some Negroes for a high grade of skilled work leads to this reasoning: "If we have found some Negroes with good strong frames who are intelligent and have become our best workers in semi-skilled and skilled work, why cannot all as it?"

Altho a 100 per cent. labor force from any racial group would be a most phenomenal

* This question treated later.
accident, he was of the opinion that what was most needed was some sort of advisory guardianship for the Negro workers. Their blunders have resulted more from lack of business understanding and from sentimental misunderstandings than a constitutional incapacity for the work.

At another plant of the same general character many Negroes were employed during the war, but these were confined to unskilled labor and the force gradually decreased until at the time of the Survey only nine were employed. In 1917, seventy-five Negroes were employed; in 1919, eighty; in 1920, eighty; in the early part of 1921, twenty-five; now about nine are employed. Practically all of the Negroes are doing unskilled work but in keeping with the policy of the plant they are called helpers. The management held the belief that Negro laborers would be placed to the best advantage in department of the work where the heat was intense. They found, however, that contrary to their expectation some of the Negroes from the South were as susceptible to it as many of the white workers. In 1919, the highest position held by Negroes was that of forger's helper, for that they received 65¢ an hour and piece rate in addition to the day work pay. That is, the forger and his helper got 10 per cent. of what the forger earned.

In January 1921, a census was taken of the different nationalities in the plant. There were out of a total of 571 employees, 26 Negroes, 79 Poles and 65 Swedes. A majority of the remaining were American born whites of American parentage. But in this plant despite the limitations imposed by a restrictive policy, the difficulties experienced by Negro workers as a group were recognized. The personnel manager said: "I believe that the inefficiency that we attribute to the Negro is due to the lack of previous opportunities. We know of their past difficulties. They are held down and have not the privileges and opportunities of other classes. To be perfectly frank, we have never employed any Negroes that
we knew were skilled workers. We have had three or four who asked for skilled work as machinists but they did not get employment, - we had no place to put them. There have been a number in the die shops as helpers working on the grounding machines; this is semi-skilled work. They work in the heat room in the drop shop and hardening room. These jobs, while not mechanically skilled require knowledge to go ahead with them. They did pretty good work on the semi-skilled work. They have not had an opportunity to get on the skilled work or close enough to it to get experience. Conditions have existed here that you find in other plants - a sort of feeling with the whites who feel above them. There is of course, no reason to it for I have seen cases where they work side by side all right. But the one reason why they have not been advanced to these better positions is that the opportunity is not yet opened to them in the plants in these particular lines. They have worked in the hardening room and annealing rooms working in groups of two, four and six as helpers.

The labor turnover was slightly higher among the Negroes than among the whites but as this manager explained, "they did not lay that up very strongly against the race for the reason that the particular piece in which we had them we could have gotten the same turnover from the white workers. The Polish, Russian and Italian turnover is also high."

The policy of this plant is to avoid a majority of any one racial group. "We want to keep from having a majority of any particular race in one group," he said, "whether Negroes, Italians or Swedes. If you get too many Italians, nothing but Italians can get along. When once you get a large percentage of any racial group they are likely to dominate in a good many ways. Southern Negroes, he felt, were not likely to be over ambitious. "They will work steadily for several weeks and if they stay they will begin to lose time."

On the matter of suggestions for improving the quality of Negro labor, this manager recommended education. "The largest percentage of men who are apt to be
inefficient are ignorant, and inefficiency is caused by ignorance. We find that the majority of our troubles are coming from the ignorant class promoted by a handful of braves on one side. These are the union men. A few are very smart at handling a body of men who never think for themselves. That is what makes me feel that education is needed. The northern Negroes are better educated."

The plant is run on a nine hour a day basis. The wage scale for the present differs from the wage scale of 1919, as follows: In 1919, 50¢ an hour was the lowest wage and 65¢ the highest wage in the drop ash on furnaces. The present wage is 40¢ an hour for common labor. When the reductions were made a proportionate scale was used. The more they got the more they were cut.

The Hartford Rubber Works employed very large numbers of Negroes during the war but the present force has declined to 33 in a total of 1741 workers. Twelve of these are in what is called the Sanitary Squad, that is, they are cleaners, 12 are mixers and warmers - a semi-skilled process, and 7 are laborers. They were first employed in large numbers in January 1919. The superintendent had found them a "very good class of help, - intelligent and fairly well educated." The two Negroes - mixers - employed are, in the words of the manager, "the best in the plant" and have been there nine years. During the migration hundreds were attracted to the plant because of the temporary high wages being paid. Said the manager: "The first Negroes were a poor lot; we got the plantation merry dancing and loafing around the place. They were attracted from the tobacco fields by higher wages we were paying. We were paying 50¢ an hour while the tobacco plantations were paying 30¢. These were gradually supplanted by Negro students from Hampton and Tuskegee. These students proved excellent workers and some are still in the plant. No distinction is made in hiring men - they are all alike if they render the same quality of labor."

At the office of the Emergency Unemployment Committee, however, it was reported that this company asked for 150 men during 1921, and rejected every
Negro in the group sent. They then definitely requested that only Italians and Polish be sent to them. The Negro workers employed there at the time of the Survey, were apprehensive of the continued unexplained release of Negro workers and the refusal to employ other Negroes while whites were being taken into many of the jobs once held by them. Considerable criticism has been directed at this for abandoning these workers whom they found so useful during their emergency.

THE BUILDING TRADES

The great amount of common labor connected with this branch of industry, and its irregular character make possible a fairly large number of jobs for colored workers. Except in periods of extreme depression competition with white workers is less severe and even during such periods, many contractors show a preference for Negro workers because of their usually hearty physical constitutions.

Rooftop carriers are very largely colored. This is one field in which immigrants of mixed Portuguese and Negro descent from the Cape Verde and Canary Islands have a monopoly. These are also in majority in the Rooftop Carriers Union. American Negroes are used on the work of excavating, trucking and in very rare instances, as brick masons and carpenters. The work is handled by a great many individual contractors, but much of the employing is done thru the Hartford Open Shop Building Trade Exchange. This agency attends to the personal problems of 90 contractors and firms. It is a subsidiary agency of the Hartford County Manufacturers' Association and is intended to act as a central point for reaching workers. Contractors when awarded jobs send to it for laborers. When an award is made public thru the press, men apply there for assignment to the contractor for work. Of the Negroes employed thru this exchange about 50 per cent are migrants. "A great trouble with the older fellows" (native Hartford Negroes), the secretary of the Exchange said, "is the feeling that they can't be told anything."
Partly because this organization is not interested in the unions and because of the nature of work to which the men are assigned, Negroes have secured jobs with less difficulty than usually attends their efforts. During the past seven years many hundreds have secured assignments thru this Exchange at times in as large numbers as 300. At the time of the Study, 75 Negroes in a total of 850 were working on assignments secured thru this agency. Of them the secretary said, "we find our colored workmen are gaining in the quality of their work and the average colored man has recognized that it pays to be guided by the advice of the employer. They know by this time that we weed out promptly any man who acts stubbornly while in our employ." Most of the Negroes working for him now are "good, level headed fellows." He constantly insists, he says, that there's always good pay for experts and if they don't pay attention to work they will be dropped. He has found in the handling of Negro workers that difficulties developing frequently center around foremen and as a result when the labor turnover is unusually high he investigates. An instance was given of a foreman from Springfield who had the notion that only Springfield men could do the work under him. When the trouble was discovered, he was discharged. A Boston contracting firm employing over 1200 men had two foremen who by their tactics kept out all Negroes. He appealed to the headquarters in Boston explaining the scarcity of men and the attitude of the foremen. They were transferred to Waterbury and some Negroes were employed.

The peculiar industrial position of Negroes, the indifference and frequently the hostility of labor organizations, make them in a measure valuable to this Exchange." When from arrogance or policies of exclusiveness or snobbery, these organizations reject Negro members, these Negroes may serve the wishes of the employers. Associations whose avowed purpose is to promote an open shop in all of the trades. And be it said, that in Hartford this ideal has been carried far. Thus it happens that many Negro carpenters and bricklayers have been placed at
work where otherwise no opportunity would have been given. The attitude of the Exchange has been favorable toward the employment of Negro tradesmen. Negroes are frequently used on building contracts connected by the municipal authorities. The Bureau of Parks had 40 (four fifths of its labor force) engaged in excavating for a new school building. The foreman said of them, "You would not want a better crew." The superintendent added that "90% were very good indeed." The success in this work is attributed by the superintendent of the Parks Department to his "knowledge of handling Negroes."

It is likely that Negro workers will be able to secure openings in this line of work as unskilled laborers, but the opportunity for those of them who have trades to work at them is continually contracting. This is due in part to the objection of labor unions to competent ones and in part to the insufficient training of some of the Negroes who presume too far upon their ability to perform the work. This state of affairs however, is not helped by cutting off the avenues to training thru the refusal to employ them as apprentices and helpers.

There are many truly competent Negro artisans, particularly among those who came or were imported from the South, but who are effectively restrained from utilizing their skill. Negro carpenters contracted for and erected buildings for the tobacco companies during the shortage of workers and did excellent work. They and other Negro bricklayers and plasterers have also been employed with success on the construction of several large buildings in the business section of the city. They were qualified. In the South much of the building is done by Negro artisans. But to work at their trades in Hartford they must either belong to the unions or themselves become independent contractors. Sentiment restrains this in the first instance, and capital in the second.
COAL AND LUMBER YARDS

The handling of coal requires strength and a certain willingness to tolerate a number of disagreeable features. It is seasonal, reaching its peak when outdoor work is most distasteful. Its grime is not only unpleasant but destructive to clothing. White workers take these jobs only when nothing better is to be obtained. It leads to no skilled occupation and the number of executive positions at the end of years of loyal effort is too limited to be attractive. As a result the class of white labor willing to take these jobs is usually so poor that the employment of Negroes is a distinct business advantage. In practically all of the coal yards therefore, Negroes are employed.

Seventy-four Negroes were employed as shovellers, carriers, and drivers in the nine of the establishments included in the Survey. The views of two several managers differ on the quality of their work. One feels that they are "less efficient than the Poles" another that they are "as good a class of labor as you can get for the work", one that they were "unreliable", another that they are "conscientious and steady", and still another that they are "equal in every respect to white workers on the same class of work." As coal drivers some managers find that they are unsatisfactory because they are "naturally very poor mechanics" others find that they "render their best services as drivers." The extreme variability of these views under very similar circumstances suggest a rather unsatisfactory classification. As a matter of fact, there was a most striking correspondence between the quality of service of the Negro employees and the conditions of employment between the contact of the Negro workers and the stereotyped views of employers concerning Negroes in general.

Their work with the lumber yards is of a similar character. A manager of the Capital City Lumber company said, "It's about the cheapest work there is, unskilled, and the men don't run to it." But in spite of the limitations and
general character of this work, several employers by their policy of fairness and the sympathetic handling of their men have made the work attractive and succeeded in holding them. Notable among these is the Edwin Taylor Lumber Company. Here, 17 Negroes are employed in a total of 74 workers. In the hay season the number of Negroes is usually 30. They do the same work as the white employees, common labor, truck drivers, bailers and teamsters. The operator of the baling machine is a Negro who has been with the company for 28 years. All the truck drivers are Negroes. Said the owner, "We are particularly blessed with good men." But this is not an accident. The men themselves explained their contribution to what he regarded as his blessing. The wages paid are on a par with that of other unskilled and semi-skilled work. They are reasonably certain of some fair return from the use of their labor. The company encourages thrift by a savings system personally conducted by the president of the company. All of the workers are insured by the company guaranteeing benefits of $100 to $1000 according to length of service. These men are satisfied to remain, and when during the war emergency some of these concerns was unable to compete with the wages of the war plants, not a single employee left, the Edwin Taylor Lumber Company. Of these Negroes, akin by blood and habit to the "unsteady and unambitious ones," Mr. Taylor said, "They are very good workers and they are loyal."

Colored employees in the service of the insurance companies of Hartford number about 35. Of these there are:

- Clerks
- Mailmen, Superintendent
- Messengers
- Mailmen
- Night watchman
- (Various positions in the printing department)
- Elevator Starter
- Elevator Operators

and the remainder janitors. The clerical positions are exceptions, as the number
will show, and further advancement either for the clerks or messengers is extremely doubtful.

**FEDERAL SERVICE**

In the Hartford Post Office there are 17 Negro letter carriers in a total of 233 employees. They have been so employed about 20 years and according to the Postmaster have been found "reasonably satisfactory."

**PLANTS NOT EMPLOYING NEGROES**

Of the 141 plants included in the survey, 87 or over 60 per cent. did not employ Negroes. The small number of Negroes in Hartford and their concentration in personal and domestic service occupations have contributed to the tradition at first that Negroes were not fitted for the skilled trades, and finally that the skilled trades were not for Negroes. Thus, it has been concluded sufficient in explaining the absence of Negroes simply to say that "this is skilled work."

The plants not employing Negroes have their reasons principally on the following grounds:

1. The nature of the work requiring a high degree of skill.
2. The objection of white workers.
3. The objection of the public.
4. Availability of white workers for the jobs.
5. The inability of Negroes to perform the work.

A peculiarly vicious circle is evident in many of these situations. Certain managers have said that they do not regard race in their selection of workers, but it is easy to imagine that there are no Negroes qualified to do their work. That sounds fair, but it is a further fact admitted by those same managers that they do not employ Negroes in jobs from which it is possible to learn these trades or to acquire skill, because of the objection of other white workers in the factory. These white workers in turn object to Negroes for two reasons: They are
non-union man and will lower the standard of wages; they do not know the trade. Of the first objection they say that they cannot become union men until they have learned the trade and as a fact applicable to both objections, they cannot learn the trade unless the employer hires them. The question of economic competition also enters and both white employer and white employees seem agreed that a certain dignity of exclusiveness belongs to some of the trades. A question which persistently crops out in each of these situations points to the apparent fatalism of the Negro workers' lot. Why should they be employed when it is possible to secure white workers?

Most significant still is the stark fact that in Hartford with few exceptions they are not employed when white workers are available. The disposition to regard Negro workers as a group including a mixture of the good and the bad, the efficient and the sub-normal, is partially responsible for this practice. Now and then a Negro is given an opportunity. If he succeeds, he is accepted, and nothing more is heard of it; if he does not, his failure is most likely to be heralded as a racial characteristic and a warning.

The truth of the matter is that few of the plants with strongest objections have ever employed Negroes and do not know whether they could or could not do the work. With some of the questions of employing them has never come up, with others it was settled long before it came up. Typical of the attitude of these concerns is that of the Royal Typewriter Company. This establishment employs 1800 workers (one Negro chauffeur included), its officials seem sincere and even sympathetic toward Negroes in the abstract. One of them considered Booker T. Washington a great man and benefactor, thought that he had no prejudices, and regarded the question of race relations one of "personality." In this plant the work is "of a highly skilled nature, requiring much training and apprenticeship - a precision product in which durability and service of product must be
taken into account.¹ Negroes are not employed because they are not skilled. They must be already skilled before they are employed and they cannot get their training in this plant. As for that matter, they cannot get their training in the Underwood Typewriter Manufacturing Company, or the Colt’s Patent Firearms Manufacturing Company, or the Capewell Horsehair Company, or the Pratt and Whitney Company, or any of a list of 87 of some of the largest concerns in Hartford.

Another type of objection to Negro workers developed in the Sterling Blower Company. This plant makes blowers for machinery, that is, encased hoods that take away dust and fine particles. It is a sanitary and safety device and is usually installed by some of the same workers who manufacture them. Said the manager, "Negroes are not employed because in travelling it is never possible to tell when they will encounter prejudices which will hurt the business probably to the extent of losing the order to the company. He felt strongly that "we must take this prejudice into account." This objection is shared by the department stores and other sales places where workers come into contact with customers, with certain outstanding reservations. For example, they may operate elevators in a department store thus coming in contact, or serve patrons at the lunch counter, deliver packages at their door, but they may not wait on them over the goods counter.

The peak of wages was reached in 1919-20. Later as depression set in there followed a drop in wages as well as in... For the plants employing Negroes in 1921, these wages were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>AV. WAGES</th>
<th>AV. DAILY</th>
<th>AV. EARNINGS ON WORK PER WEEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Hands</td>
<td>$1.50</td>
<td>$4.00</td>
<td>Male 10.50 Female 9.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pay for Tobacco Hands (Farms) was $2.00-$2.50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>AV. WAGES PER HOUR</th>
<th>AV. DAILY $25</th>
<th>AV. EARNINGS ON PIECE WORK PER WEEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors &amp; Inspectors</td>
<td></td>
<td>$3.00</td>
<td>$12-13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Workers (Stripers, Binders etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, Inspectors</td>
<td>$0.00-$4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing Plants</td>
<td>35¢</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal and Lumber</td>
<td>30¢</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck Drivers, Teamsters</td>
<td>35¢</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>35¢-40¢</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>40¢-44¢</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These wages are not wholly comparable to those of white workers. The scale of wages for laborers, semi-skilled and skilled workers is not the same in all establishments and Negroes may not work in some of these establishments. They receive the same wages as the whites when engaged in the same processes. In piece work they may occasionally earn as high as $5.00 a day, but complaint has been made by some Negroes that they are not permitted to work on certain of the jobs carrying highest piece work rates. The scale of wages obtained from the plants corresponds closely with the amount given by Negro workers themselves when visited in their homes. For the 626 chief bread winners interviewed wages were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT OF WEEKLY GAINS</th>
<th>NO. CHIEF BREAD WINNERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $15.00</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00 to $25.00</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25.00 to $35.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $35.00</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given***</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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- One Negro gets $9.00 a day
- Two instances were found of Negroes receiving 70¢ an hour.
- A very large number of these were unemployed.
Negro carpenters and bricklayers seldom get full union rates. They cannot contend for them if non-union workers. In fact one of the conditions of their employment is that they work for less than the union scale. Restricted by the unions as they are, no ethics of the trade have restrained them from taking these jobs wherever they could find them. The minimum income for health and decency estimated by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, after a careful study of working men's family budgets and applied to 1921 prices, was $1,742.68 for an average family of five. If the wages of Negro bread winners were continuous throughout the year, 17 out of 378 heads of families studied would be able to maintain the standard; 100 would fall below by $180.00 and 278 by approximately $700.00.

A similar study made in Lawrence, Massachusetts, set $1,385.79 as a minimum, and $1,858.04 as a more liberal standard for a man, wife and three children under 14 years of age. If the minimum standard were applied to Hartford Negro workers, it would be found that 278 of the 378 would still fall below the sum set as a minimum for health and decency. But in industry their work is seasonal. It is therefore necessary that the family income be supplemented, the earnings of the wife and frequently of the children. As mentioned before, over 50 per cent. of the females 10 years of age and over are gainfully employed.

UNIONS AND THE NEGRO

Employers insist that Hartford is an open shop town. The unions claim that it is not. It is fairly apparent, however, that the unions have not secured a foothold anywhere comparable to their position in many other cities. The Hartford County Manufacturers' Association is a tremendously powerful organization. In its archives are kept the individual records of every worker employed in the membership of the Association. If this record is unsavory (and over activity in the unions may be unsavory), the worker finds himself confronted with a blank wall for a job. This it seems should be a sufficiently compelling economic re-
strait to discourage such activity, and it does. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1920, reported for the year 28 strikes in Hartford. Sixteen of these were for increased wages, one for increased wages and a closed shop, one because the employees wanted an open shop, one because unions wanted a closed shop, one for union recognition, one because workers were discharged, and the others sympathetic. Twelve were unsuccessful, four successful, and the remainder compromised. But they were all minor incidents. The entire 28 strikes during the year involved only 1,553 workers. In none of these striking trades however, were Negroes seriously involved.

The two local unions with which Negro workers were most familiar are the Red Carriers Union with 300 members, 12 of whom are American Negroes and 50 Portuguese; and the Tobacco Workers' International Union, Local No. 12, separately organized with 62 Negroes. The secretary of the latter organization, the himself a tobacco worker, was elected a member of the Central Council of the Federation of Labor. The Tobacco workers' local is no longer active. Effort was made to learn the membership of the Negroes in all of the local unions of the city. Complete returns were impracticable for two reasons: first, separate records of members were not kept and the officers were not familiar with all of their membership; second, the practical impossibility of reaching all of the organization secretaries. However, information concerning those reached is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Union</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters &amp; Joiners Union</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam Fitters Union</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers Union</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigar Vendors Union</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Road Carriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Building &amp; Common Laborers)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Employers Union</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford Typographical Union</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journeymen Tailors Union</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Clerks Association**</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers Union</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford Musicians Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Local Trades Section of C. L. U.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers Union**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Listed</td>
<td>2932</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the total union membership is not available it is fairly certain that all union organizations in the lines of work in which Negroes are engaged are included. The small number of Negroes (less than 13) is due to two sets of reasons:

**On the side of the Labor Unions:**

(a) to the objection of white union members to Negroes because they increase competition and because of a certain knowledge of racial antipathy which union officials claim cannot be curbed among the rank and file;
(b) to the absence of Negro workers in those crafts that have been unionized;
(c) to the belief that Negro workers are not qualified for membership;
(d) to the belief that Negroes do not understand the "class struggle."

**On the side of the Negroes:**

(a) to their indifference to labor unions;
(b) to their distrust of them;
(c) to the inability to become members of many of them.

* In this union are 30 Portuguese Negroes.
** Number not given
*** Number not given.
**** Number not given.
Unions were asked why Negroes did not join the organizations. Some of their replies are given below:

"Number so limited very poor field for recruits."
"Do not know of but two colored compositors in Hartford at present and they are not sufficiently experienced to join the union."
"Some eligible."
"When approached on non-union jobs it was found they were not qualified."
"There are no Negroes employed as bakers in Hartford as far as I know."
"I do not know. I cannot say. But they work together in localities like Tampa, Fla., New Orleans, Mobile, etc."
"Seventy-five per cent. willing to join. Not enough work for membership to get along. The Negroes think they are discriminated against when work is scarce but that depends on selection of the bosses. Treated just alike by the union. Relations good with exception of above."
"In a certain extent both white and Negroes do not understand the class struggle."
"Barbers Union does not accept Negroes."

Ninety-two Negro laborers were asked if they had ever attempted to join a union in Hartford and if so, with what success. Of this number, 20 gave replies; 12 had tried and 76 had not tried to become members. Of the 12 who tried 4 were successful; 3 of these 4 were admitted to the Red Carriers Union and 1 to the Railroad Workers Union. Of the rejections there were 2 by the Bricklayers Union, 2 by the Carpenters Union, and 1 each by the Teamsters Union, Railroad Workers Union, Brotherhood of Firemen, and the Plasterers Union.

Along the leaders of many of the unions, seeing in the Negro labor group a potential menace of their program, concede the necessity of Negro membership and sporadically try to enlist it, the Negroes remain indifferent and distrustful and relate among themselves their several experiences with these unions. Some of these are given:

"Mr. A. came to Hartford during the migration and secured work at Colt's as a steam fitter and plumber. He was told that to continue the work he would have to join the union. He applied for membership and was told that there was no opening for him.
The following case was reported by the personal agent of several building contractors:

In the erection of the Fox Building (1910) by the Stevens Construction Company, hundreds of Negroes came from the South for the work, about 200 laborers and about 100 carpenters from the South. They were union men with their transfer cards and were put to work by the contractors. After a week a white carpenter struck because Negroes were not members of the Hartford Union. Negroes presented their transfer cards. The Union claimed that they did not have business that way and required that the Negro carpenters join the Hartford Union. Most of them did, paying $25.00 for membership fee and went back to work. The men walked out again. At that time the personal agent was advertising for carpenters for the Colt's patent firearm building and was placing fifty. The Negroes went back into the union after acquiescing in the matter as they thought with the walking delegate of the carpenters' union, and when once under their charge the union began shifting them from job to job, sometimes losing from one to three weeks. Each time however, the employer was willing to hire them but white employees objected to working with them.

"Mr. P.," a painter and paper hanger, objected to the union because they cut down the working day. He said: "When there are Negro members and a scarcity of work, they will lay off or cut down on the time of Negroes and divide the work among themselves."

"Mr. G.," says: "They (the unions) give you plenty of work until four are paid, then you wear out your tools travelling from one job to another until finally you have to give up. They tell you that they don't want to use a Negro except as a helper."

"Mr. L." complained that when Negroes asked for machines at Colt's the white union men began talking about walking out.

Practically all the building trades require apprenticeship, say the unions. Unless Negroes have served this apprenticeship they are ineligible for membership in the unions of the building trades. The apprenticeship is the responsibility of the employer and in the case of Negroes they have not provided them the opportunity. And so the cycle goes. The Negro workers are virtually between Scylla and Charybdis. If they ally themselves with the employers, they
antagonize the unions who are indifferent to them and actually send them out of jobs whenever possible. View them as potential strike breakers and a menace to wage standards. If they ally themselves with the unions they lose the favor of the employers and with this their jobs, and throw themselves wholly at the mercy of the unions, few of whom are able to forget that they are Negro workers. Banded between the two, their position is most difficult. To the present therefore, they have inclined toward the employer even the in most cases he has exacted a price for his favor - that of lower wages and uncertainty of continuous employment.

How do these Negroes themselves feel about their problems and opportunities? It is the greatest mistake imaginable to suppose that they all feel the same. Between the northern and southern Negro there is frequently a great difference of viewpoint on certain issues as between white and Negro. Some reasonably sure of their jobs, and standing in personal favor, are satisfied. Their wants are usually not large enough to provoke opposition. They can live comfortably as long as they work and they feel reasonably certain of their jobs as long as they are satisfied and render good service. The numerical proportion of this group to the great mass of Negro workers is suggested in the returns on one question put to 100 Negroes. They were asked if the Negroes in their industries were fair in their dealings with Negroes. Thirty-eight thought they were; sixty-eight thought they were not; and three were uncertain.

This question made way for many individual grievances. One of these was without justification as to foundation except in the fact that the ordinary experiences of Negroes have made them suspicious of conduct they cannot understand. Others had without doubt ample warrant. Most of their grievances appeared to be directed against foremen and employment managers. As a matter
of fact, this is about as close as they get to the administrative offices. A Negro carpenter said:

"The only way for a colored carpenter to get a job is to take one cheaper than a white man. If a white man comes along then to work for the same price they will find enough fault with his work to get rid of him. What is most dangerous are the petty tricks of foremen who stand over colored men pretending that they must show them how to move their squares, hit a nail, and they pretend to be so irritated because they require so much watching. No two men work alike and its confusing to have the foreman's way of working out small points forced on you."

This particular carpenter has a score or more of houses to his credit built for white persons in the South as residences. He also contracted for and built a large number of buildings for one of the tobacco concerns in Hartford.

All of the 68 negroes who thought Hartford industries unfair had some experience to relate in which their color and race deprived them of an opportunity for work, or for the kind of work they wanted to do. Said one,

"I went out to the ......... Plant and applied for a job. They asked me if I belonged to a union. I said "no", and then they said "well we can't use you then." The next day my friend applied and they asked the same question and he told them "yes", and they said, "well we can't use you then, this is an open shop." All the time white men were being hired both union and non-union men."

Said another:

"The contractor ......... hired colored men for their driving when things were bad and they couldn't get any body. When they opened up they let out Negroes and hired Italians. Now I know this because I stood there and saw my team come in."

Shortly after the establishment of the Emergency Unemployment Committee by the mayor, a Negro carpenter wrote to them the following letter:

"Dear Sir:

I wish to call to your attention that the possibilities for skilled labor among us are bad considering the amount of building going on. I want to ask
if there is not some way that we could get some work for us from the city, or if they could not influence some of the prospective builders that the foreigners are not the only builders. I read and work any blue print and am capable of doing any ordinary construction of brick or wood and am well up on residence building.

I am quite sure if I do one residence I could get another from the same party. I hope you will do something for us.

Obligingly yours,

Employers have set down as a Negro trait their lack of ambition, happy-go-lucky air and general undependability. Negro workers say that frequently they are right about the lack of ambition but they add that it is because incentive is killed when they are told both in word and precedent that no matter how efficient they become or how loyal they can never advance. From the viewpoint of Negroes their high labor turnover frequently noted, has its root in the same restriction. Since no job could offer fewer prospects for promotion some other plant might prove a better field. And with restless, half-hearted hope, they go from one job to another only to find that what they got is not different from what they had.

The personal experience of several of these workers were recorded and are given below simply because they are typical of the experiences of hundreds of others:

Eulter C. came to Hartford in March 1917, from Lumpkin, Georgia. In his former home he operated a coca-cola machine and for that was paid $1.00 a day. A friend wrote him that there was plenty of money in Hartford and that “you didn’t know you was colored unless you looked in a looking glass.” He came. His first day in the city he tried to get lunch in a restaurant and was bluntly refused. That shattered his illusions about the North. His first job was setting pins in a bowling alley. There he remained for five months when he heard that Pratt and Cadby were anxious for men paying good wages and occasionally permitting Negroes to become
skilled. He accepted a job at 27 cents an hour to learn the trade and soon became a screw maker earning as much as 70 cents an hour during 1919. He has been with the company four years. He has had no trouble since he went to work there. This is about the best shop in the city for a Negro to work in, he believes.

Clarence C came to Hartford from Atlanta, Georgia, in 1918. He is a machinist having learned his trade at Tuskegee. In Atlanta he operated a machine at the Atlanta Steel Works for a number of years. Came with good references, secured a position in the Hartford Machinery Screw Company. He was the only skilled Negro working there. White workers objected to the foreman first secretly, then openly and finally rather than lose the white workers, the foreman placed him on unskilled work. He does not feel that there is any further chance of promotion. A Pole who worked under him while he was on a machine is now getting $5.00 a day while his pay is that of an ordinary laborer, 35 cents an hour.

Robert J. L came to Hartford from Glenwood, Georgia in 1917. He had heard of the place thru students from the tobacco fields. By trade he is a bricklayer and cement finisher having learned and worked at his trade at the Georgia State College in the South. For one year he worked for a Boston firm earning $1.12 an hour. When their contracts were completed he was out of work. He could not get into the unions because "they say they don't believe a Negro bricklayer can do the work." After much fruitless effort he went to work as a machinist's helper at Billings and Spencer. "They would let you learn the job there but wouldn't let you have a machine." He left for the army and when he returned was forced to abandon his trade entirely and take a job spraying tobacco at the American Cigar Company. They pay him $3.50 a week.

L. J. worked in Hudson, Georgia, as a cotton compress operator and earned $2.00 a day. He came to Hartford in 1917, when he heard that many others were finding work here profitable. His first job in Hartford was driving an electric truck and he held this job for one year. Then he secured a position running a washing machine and held it three years. Said he, "I do my work and they can't kick. There is not a machine I can't run if they let me do it. I am getting kind of shaky tho now. Every now and then they let out a Negro and put a white fellow in his place. They have cut my wages twice but I wouldn't quit."

These men pass their lives in a small circle, they are the reserve labor supply; they make possible the advancement of white skilled workers without helping themselves; they are Negro workers whatever happens. If the employer has had an unfortunate experience with one, all the others pay. Their chances
of employment are about one to three. They may be hired if the unions don't object, if the non-union white workers don't object; and if the employer happens not to object. The combination of these favorable conditions occurs almost exclusively in the lower branches of industry. It is a striking fact however, that in spite of the relative absence of incentive, the limitations to advancement, the disagreeable nature of the work that is theirs, and the disposition to judge all Negro labor by chance experience with an unselected few in only a small number of cases was Negro labor declared unsatisfactory.

Fifty-one employers were asked if this labor had proven satisfactory — twenty-one said it had; four said it had not, and twenty-six had discovered that some were satisfactory while others were not. In practically every case of this last group the present Negro workers were giving satisfactory service and were being contracted with remembered experience with other Negroes. To ask if white workers have proven satisfactory throws a completely new light on this peculiar handicap of Negro workers. For white workers are looked upon as a racial group, but as the normal labor supply. There are of course, good and bad ones, but in their case the experience of employers with bad ones is a personal matter; with Negroes it is radical.

UNEMPLOYMENT

When the plants began to reduce their forces following the depression that set in after the war, two radical adjustments were made, both of which affected Negro labor profoundly. To reduce the expenses of operation men were laid off and wages reduced. The largest inflation of the ranks by Negro labor was in the unskilled branches. Accordingly a disproportionately large number of them were cut off. So far as the plants were concerned they were not intentionally discriminating against Negroes. They were simply cutting down on unskilled labor and it so happened that most of the Negroes were doing this. But they
also made radical reductions in their skilled labor. Many of these white men had been promoted from unskilled and semi-skilled to skilled work.

Priority rights were respected as far as possible and instead of laying all off, many of them were reinstated in their former unskilled jobs. This pushed more Negroes out.

In March 1921, when the State Bureau of Labor Statistics made a survey for the Federal Department of Labor, it found 1800 Negro industrial workers, 600 (33 per cent.) of whom were unemployed at that time. Four concerns employed the bulk of the 1200. In November of the same year only 67 Negroes were found in three of those four concerns. The fourth concern was the railroad companies from whom, at the time of the survey, it was impossible to get definite information. But from an unofficial count of negro railroad employees considerably less than 50 were found. Some idea of the severity of the unemployment crisis is thus possible.

The records of the Unemployment Committee the by no means representative of the whole Negro unemployment, at least provide a deplorable index to it. From March 1921 to October 1921, 714 different Negroes sought work through this agency; of this number there were 51 Portuguese Negroes. It is further apparent from these records that these Negroes applied for work here only as a last resort.

The length of time each had been out of regular employment was noted on first application. The table below is a classification of these applicants according to length of time out of work in 488 cases in which this information was obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length Out of Work</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 6 months</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months to 1 year</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year to 1½ years</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ years to 2 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted however, that the Unemployment Committee was not formed until sometime after the depression set in.
Concerning these unemployed Negroes three facts are conspicuous:

1. They were industrial workers and to a fair degree skilled.

2. A large number of these were new comers to Hartford who had been sent upon the city when the plants no longer needed them.

3. The majority of them had family responsibility.

Of the 663 American Negroes unemployed and applying for work, 134 or 20 per cent, were skilled; 316 listed as laborers, and the remainder personal and domestic servants and tobacco workers. Among them were:

- 18 Carpenters
- 17 Bricklayers
- 8 Painters
- 1 Plasterers
- 1 Blacksmiths
- 1 Cooper
- 15 Stationary Fireman

That they were in large measure Negroes who came up during the migration is indicated in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence in Hartford</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 3 years</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 5 years</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years and over</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant also is the fact that a very large number of these were men with families. In 462 cases the marital status was obtained. Of this number 185 or 34 per cent, were single and 317 or 66 per cent, were married. Of the 317 married 293 or 67 per cent, had children. These figures throw some light on the character of the Negro unemployed and point to the area over which the discomforts and
suffering resulting from lack of work was distributed. The great majority of
them were not floaters, but men with families depending upon them for support.
They wanted work and wanted it badly.

The work of this Emergency Committee at that time was most essential and
their efforts and accomplishments were praiseworthy. During a time when no jobs
were available they gave temporary relief thus forestalling what the most critical
period must distress to the Negroes and embarrassment to the city. That these men
were able to survive such a protracted period of unemployment is most remarkable.
It developed that in a surprising number of instances the traditional belief
concerning their improvidence has been to some degree upset. All the high wages
of the two preceding years had not been squandered, and on their small savings
accounts, they drew with measured frugality as long as it lasted. The women could
more easily obtain work in domestic service and this helped. Occasional temporary
jobs and such relief in kind between friends served to keep the neediest families
from actual privation. Few of them returned South; few sought outside help.
and as business recovered they slowly fell back into work, their work—the
tobacco fields, peach orchards and the coal and lumber yards in season, the building
trades when the weather was good, and the other industries when they needed them.

In personal and domestic service the unemployment crisis was not so keenly
felt. This fact also accounts in part for the relatively small number of Hartford
Negroes among the unemployed. They were very largely engaged in this class
of work.

1. WAGE OF NEGROES IN INDUSTRY

Southern Negroes have the skill, or a large part of it, northern Negroes
have the stamina — much as it is. So evident is this that employers have fre-
quently classified good southern workers as Hartford men and inefficient Hartford
Negroes as South South. But this peculiar confusion there has been some excuse.
The Negroes who came from the South of course, barring exception, were a crude
lot on first arrival. The drifters, following them were more blatantly con-
spicuous than the Hartford Negroes could possibly be. The press called attention
to their crudities and "plantation manners." They had, many of them, habits
formed in the South that were intolerable to northern employers—for example,
the habit of drawing money at the close of each day was encouraged in many southern
communities to keep the Negroes without money. As long as they were without money
the southern employer argued he could remain at work. Another habit was that of
laying off from work on Monday. In many parts of the South "Blue Monday" is an
established holiday. In the North, this habit of drawing money confused book-
keeping and laying off interfered seriously with output and no encouragement for
either habit was offered. It did not require many experiences to convince these
workers that they were in a new and more coldly impersonal environment. Employers
generally testifying to the abandonment of this trait after a short time in the
plant.

These Negroes are now more acclimated; they no longer look like "plantation
darkies" nor act like them. This transformation will undoubtedly improve indi-
vidual opportunities, for they still have strong bodies, industrial experience
and a fair amount of skill.

The limitation of foreign immigration may be expected to make room for them at
least in common labor. The foreigners are permitted to become skilled work re,
and the places once filled by the hordes of newly arrived will most likely be avail-
able for more Negroes. The plant employing Negroes at the time of the Survey
planned definitely to discontinue their services entirely. On the contrary, sev-
eral including the plant offering Negroes largest opportunity would employ more
if some directing agency were at work helping them to adjust themselves and aid-
ing in the careful selection of workers.

It was most evident that a large part of the backwardness of Negroes resulted
from lack of guidance and some sort of mediation between them and the employers. Thus such a provision it is not unlikely that many misunderstandings could be righted, Negro workers guided out of habits dangerous to their success in the plants, new opportunities for them secured, and more competent, dependable Negroes placed in these jobs.
THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

The Negro church has been and still remains by far their most important social institution. It provides a center for intimate personal contacts, a forum for the expression of their troubles, and desires, a source of most of their social philosoph, much of their entertainment, and is at the same time a most powerful religious agency. The influence of this institution on the lives of its members is evident in the importance which attaches to membership. To say that one "belongs to church" is a distinctly favorable classification. It means that he not only is religious, but a member of a group of some distinction in the community, — that he has status. However crude many of the organizations appear it is certain that they exercise a close personal supervision over the welfare of their members. This is particularly true of the smaller churches. Instances have occurred in Hartford in which the pastor's salary was used to pay the rent of an unfortunate member facing ejection.

Scarcely a Sunday passes but someone, frequently not a member, sends a letter to the church requesting an after-collection as an aid in some distress. This form of relief in kind, given so generously and religiously is felt among the charity agencies of the city. A surprisingly few Negroes appeal to these organizations for aid.

This feature of the church is evident again in the close groupings of the members of the various churches, the divisions of these groups according to type, tradition and policy. It will be immediately recognized that the Congregational Church with its Hartford born, tradition bound membership, its pastor a graduate of Harvard and its organist a nationally known concert pianist, differs from the newly formed, though immensely larger Baptist Church with its congregation made up of recent migrants from Georgia, all hard working, sincere,
deeply religious members, but less restrained in their emotional expressions, less sophisticated, different in habits of behavior. In many of the transplanted Southern churches there is noted an almost unaltered survival of the customs of the South even when they no longer serve a useful purpose in Hartford. For example, in the rural districts of the South, where church services were held but once a month, their meetings were long. They began late to permit the members living miles away to reach the church. This hour usually was 12:30 continuing until 3:00. These services were long because one meeting had to accomplish what is usually the work of three or four. In Hartford, with services each Sunday and the members living within a few blocks of the church, some of the transplanted churches cling to these hours as jealously as if they were ritual.

The group distinctions represented in church membership are more than mere passive difference. There goes along with this a group consciousness which is constantly feeding the fires of resentment. The migrants to Hartford whether warrantedly or not, felt particularly in the period of the greatest migration and consequent unsettlement, the chill of aloofness in the manners of the older residents, and sought the company of their own in worship.

The function of intimate oversight exercised by the church has had also another peculiar expression in the frequent bifurcation of churches. The small churches have a certain advantage on the social side. Where like-mindedness ceases to exist in a large church, it separates. Divisions come on issues of belief, church policy, membership conduct, opinion concerning pastors and numerous others. Such divisions naturally entail a greatly aggregate burden of support. From the standpoint of simple economy, one church is easier to support than three, and three of the principal denominations less wasteful than nine churches representing the same three denominations. The divisions along denominational lines is easily understandable, but in Hartford with less than 5,000 Negroes, there are seven Baptist Churches. Besides the Negroes who attend the white churches the
Negro church going population is divided among fifteen churches. A principal cause back of these numerous separations is very probably the desire whether consciously entertained or not, to keep this institution functioning efficiently as a socializing agency. The customs carried over from the South play a very large part here. The rural country churches to which most of the migrants originally belonged, were their sole medium of expression. They provided the satisfactions offered in the city by the Y.M.C.A. lecture forum, the motion picture house, the theatre, the pool room, the crowded street, the community center, the recreation park and playground, - in fact every diversion, cultural entertaining or vicious, which their lives, steeped in uninteresting routine, demanded. Then the minister in Hartford refers to the young migrants attracted by these wider interests, as "straying from the fold when they get up North", he is in more than a casual way expressing the fact that the authority of the church is being endangered.

The pastors of some of the established churches were perhaps sincere in their denouncements of the rapid growth of the small churches. Their methods of criticism, however, failed to attract them in any appreciable numbers to the older churches. Rather their criticism was accepted as an added affront, and a frank rivalry between them inaugurated. In the summer of 1919, the pastor of a large Baptist Church was given considerable publicity for his severe criticism of what he called "hoodoo" churches. In challenging the economy of what he termed "unstandardized" churches, his argument was entirely sound. He said:

*As to the two unstandardized Baptist Churches, improperly organized, against the advice of the Hartford Baptist Association, why ask the public to pay for two other church buildings when one would do? In fact, the two large churches, already established, will accommodate the people in both the new churches. But if you wish to exclude yourself, why not have one church? If you will take the advice of your Baptist brethren they will help you.
This speech however, made him extremely unpopular among the migrants, first because it was a criticism and, second, because the so-called "unstandardized" churches appropriated to themselves the sting of his rebuke of the "Hoodoo" cult, a distinct group with grotesque habits of worship and conduct, and even stranger principles of faith.

THE CHURCHES

A division immediately appears in the types of Hartford's Negro churches. There are first, the regular churches with church edifices, "standardized" according to the requirements of their respective denominations and recognized by the church councils. These churches have had a normal growth. Then there are the transplanted Southern churches made up almost entirely of migrants from the South with relatively large memberships, some of them with church edifices and some of them without church edifices, but recognized by the church councils. These latter are still worshipping in stores-fronts, halls and dwelling houses.

Finally, there are the churches representing cults and "irregular" religious doctrines. Most of these are small, and their membership almost without exception, uneducated. Their forms of religious expression are highly tinged with emotionalism and their ceremonies most un usual.

These churches with their membership, so far as it was possible to secure it, their approximate date of organization and recent membership increase, are given in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF CHURCH</th>
<th>DATE ORGANIZED</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP IN 1915</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talcoit Congregational</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Baptist</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton Baptist</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>377</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. W. &quot;Zion&quot;</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Monica's Episcopal</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transplanted Southern Churches Established Since 1915**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF CHURCH</th>
<th>DATE ORGANIZED</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Olive Baptist</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel A. E. C.</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebenezer Baptist</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship Baptist</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Calvary Baptist</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primitive Baptist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cults**

- Church of the Living God: 25
- Church of God and Saints of Christ: 40
- St. Paul's Assembly of the Church of God in Christ: 20

Total: 2675

It will be noted from the records available, there were 2675 persons included in the membership of fourteen churches, reached wholly or in part by the Survey. Of these fourteen churches eight were established after 1915, and those eight were made up almost entirely of migrants from the South. This membership, it will be noted, is largest in the regularly established churches. One physical reason for the small size of the recent churches is lack of space. The Mt. Olive Baptist Church is located in a reconstructed dwelling house on Bellevue Street and is filled to capacity at every meeting. They plan to secure larger quarters. The investment of the Bethel A. E. C. Church in property for a church was an obvious blunder. A dwelling house was purchased by one of the former pastors and the church located in its basement. The quarters are cramped, damp, dark and un-

* No report on increased membership could be secured at the time of the inquiry.
ceedingly unattractive. They plan to secure larger quarters at the earliest possible date.

The Shiloh Baptist Church has perhaps the largest and most recent building. It is located on Albany Avenue, has a fine structure, is well lighted and ventilated. St. Monica's Episcopal Church is a very small structure, incapable of holding its membership, but most often quite capable of accommodating its regular attendance. Its pastor, a young and energetic man, is making serious effort to purchase a larger building. The Fiskett Congregational Church is perhaps the oldest church organization and structure in the city. It is located in a section of the city where Negroes formerly lived, but which now is very much deteriorated.

The Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, located on Charter-Oak Avenue, is one of the few transplanted Southern churches occupying a church edifice. This building was secured from a former white congregation. The place of worship of the Cult churches are in rooms of dwelling houses, basements and small barns.

In 1914, a canvass was made by the Hartford Federation of Churches to determine the number of families and persons belonging to or expressing a preference for each of the religious denominations represented in the city. They found among the Negroes, 541 families representing 1806 persons who expressed a preference for some religious denomination and listed five Negro churches in a classification by church preferences. The aggregate number of 2876 obtained in the present survey in another method included actual membership in the churches of the city.

VALUE OF NEGRO CHURCH PROPERTY IN HARTFORD

There are six churches with edifices in Hartford. The Union Baptist Church, Shiloh Baptist Church, Congregational Church, St. Monica's Episcopal Church, A. W. E. Zion Church, Mt. Calvary Baptist Church and two owning or purchasing places in which they worship: Bethel A. W. E. Church and Mt. Olive Baptist Church. The value of but five churches, however, could be secured; these total $167,989.
Cavalry Baptist Church and Shiloh Baptist Church in most recent, are omitted from this list.

**ACCOUNTS COLLECTED IN THE CHURCHES**

These figures cover a period of one year, 1921. From four churches, the regular and the transplanted Southern churches, the collection for the year was $14,936, and expenditures $18,953.61. These exclude the very small churches which do not keep records, and some of the larger churches which did not see fit to divulge their collections and expenditures. The excess of disbursements over collections may be largely accounted for in one church which began during the year to make payments on a building, and to have repairs made on it. This excess constitutes their church debt.

**ATTENDANCE**

Attendance is governed by a number of factors. In some of the Southern churches limitations of space reduce the attendance below membership, and the morning and evening services represent practically different audiences.

Very obvious differences in church methods cause the attendance of morning and evening services to vary with the churches. St. Olave Church has a capacity of 350 and a membership of 370. Their evening services are always crowded. With a membership of 370, the regular attendance averages about 250, with 100 attending the morning service and 150 the evening service. The Bethel A. M. E. Church has a seating capacity of 175 and a membership of 350. Their morning services have an attendance usually twice as large as the evening services, the average being 125 and 75 respectively. On the other hand, the L. M. E. Zion Church, one of the older churches, has a seating capacity of 200 with a membership of 370. The morning services average about 150 in attendance, and the evening services about 200. St. Monica's Episcopal Church on the other hand, with a membership of 250 (only 16 of whom are from the South) has an attendance of about 90 at morning services and about 25 at the evening services. The attendance and
membership of the other smaller churches are about the same.

EDUCATION OF THE MINISTERS

The older churches have a distinct advantage over the smaller ones, in type of leadership provided. The pastor of the Congregational Church is a graduate of Howard University and Yale Divinity School. The pastor of St. Monica's Episcopal Church is a graduate of the Hartford Theological Seminary. The pastor of the A.M.E.Zion Church is a graduate of a Canadian school, taking special work in one of the Canadian colleges. The last pastor of the Union Baptist Church, a graduate of Leland University and a student of the Union Theological Seminary. Of the more recent churches perhaps the best trained of the pastors is at the Bethel A.M.E. Church. He is a graduate of Fisk University and was formerly a social worker of the city. Of the other pastors, some represent many years of experience in the ministry, but few have progressed beyond the eighth grade. In this group also are to be found some who are dangerously ignorant. Recognizing their serious lack of training and education, they take advantage of their position of leadership to prejudice their followers against education. Some of the beliefs preached by the Cults are in serious contradiction to current knowledge and as between the two their influence holds not only all their members but the children.

THE CULT CHURCHES:

THE CHURCH OF THE LIVING GOD

This church places an unusual interpretation upon certain passages of scripture. They are sometimes known as the "Holy Rollers." In many ways their services are similar to the informal Baptist's or Methodist's services.
with prayer meeting and preaching services. The emphasis however, is placed on the prayer meetings, and they are extremely protracted. The minister actually talks himself into a state of physical exhaustion while members of his audience respond by shouting or jumping and speaking "the unknown tongue," a sort of unintelligible muttering which they hold is one of the prerequisites of a perfect state. They believe in the utter "sanctification of soul and body; that God is able to keep that which He has saved from sin." The peculiar effect of this doctrine is the relief that it gives to persons ordinarily troubled with sins of the flesh. Once "sanctified," they cannot sin. Such acts as might be committed after "sanctification" do not trouble their conscience if they are "true believers." This church was established in Hartford in 1915 with seven members. It has a membership at present of thirty-six, all of whom are from Georgia.

THE CHURCH OF GOD AND SAINTS OF CHRIST

This church is a branch of a larger one and represents another form of grouping, according to biblical interpretation. It was founded by a former Negro cook named Crowder who felt that he had been ordained by God as a prophet, interpreting his own vocation as a part of the prophecy of the Bible that such an one should come "out of the pots." A school, "The Bellview Industrial Training School, Widow's and Orphan's Home," at Bellview, Virginia, is supported by churches located in different parts of the country. They organized in Hartford in 1915, with a membership of twenty-three. This number has grown to forty. Their belief is that the body is the soul, and that the soul goes into the earth with the body. This is supported by elaborate ceremonies. The men wear full-dress suits or an approximation of this style; the ladies wear black skirts, white blouses, high collars,
white rosettes in their hair, and white gloves. The elder wears gray. They
may be recognized by this dress. Just below the pulpit there is a row of
chairs covered with white cloth and occupied by several ladies and a boy
dressed in blue; the boy is provided with a sharp stick which is used for
waking tired members. To leave the services one must get permission from the
pastor. The elder's influence is exceedingly strong and his knowledge and
authority unquestioned. He "knows everything." The members give a regular
part of their income to the church and a great deal of relief in kind is pro-
vided to indigent members.

ST. PAUL'S ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

This church was established during the Survey and has at its head
a young man of about twenty-six, who shortly before had applied for work at
the Old State House, explaining that he was a writer of music. With no
prior experience in the ministry he assumed leadership of this small group
and drew upon the Scriptures for another esoteric rule of faith. Then one
attains holiness he is able to "heal the sick, drink poison, or be bitten
by poisonous snakes, with no bad effects." They also speak the "unknown tongue."

THE HISTORY OF THESE OF THE OLD NEGRO CHURCHES

The regularly established churches date back over a long period.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH was organized in 1836, THE UNION
BAPTIST CHURCH in 1860, THE PALM STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH in 1820.

All of these churches have a most interesting history and in their establish-
ment provide a reliable picture of the social structure of the early Hartford
Negro population, their relations with the white population, their own group
strivings for expression. A splendid example of the beginning and growth may
be found in the history of THE UNION BAPTIST CHURCH.
What is now THE UNION BAPTIST CHURCH was first organized in 1860. A small group of Negroes numbering about thirty, whose religious principles were not wholly in accord with those advanced by the only existing church for Negroes in the city (The Talcott Street Congregational Church) met in a box-car on Albany Avenue and organized the Baptist Church. They worshipped in this place for many Sundays before they could secure a pastor. Strangely enough, their efforts at organizing a new Baptist church met with some opposition with some of the white Baptists. The Negroes however, persisted and finally moved from their box-car to a room which they converted into a chapel. Their first pastor, Reverend Ebenezer Byrd was called. He gave to the name of this church Mt. Zion Mission. Under his pastorate the first separation in the church membership took place. The succeeding minister a Reverend A. M. Harrison, re-united them and applied Union Baptist. The church flourished, moving to 37 Wooster Street, and again dissention centering about the pastor developed. Some wanted him, others were opposed to his continuance in charge and the church divided. The withdrawing group organized themselves under the name "Shiloh" Baptist Church. The mother church was left with a membership of thirty-five. The Reverend Harrison was then succeeded by the Reverend E. N. Jackson an energetic leader. His first revival added sixty-five members.

At the end of seven years the membership had increased to 200. He left for another field and was followed by a minister whose two years service culminated in serious gossip. His successor was arrested for slander and the pastor finding his relations with his membership uncongenial, moved his family. He in turn was followed by another who remained for one year and left after being accused of burning his house for the insurance on it.
Up to 1906, the beginning of the pastorate of Reverend W. Guy, the activities of the church were concerned very largely with church politics, and its membership increased. There were no clubs connected with it and no effort was made to meet the social needs of its members. With the assumption of the pastorate by Reverend Guy, the first plans were suggested for erecting a new structure and a lot was purchased on Wather Street.

During the seven years of his pastorate only thirty members were added to the church. His unpopularity, it was felt, increased the membership of the rival Shiloh Baptist Church and he was asked to resign. This he finally did after a severe contest which left the church in confusion. The Reverend Virgil Warren of Indianapolis, who followed him, succeeded in bringing back the members and increasing the membership to 600. He organized a "culture club" for the discussion of current problems, a "men's club" for an advanced discussion of biblical subjects, a "missionary society" and organized a choir. In 1906 the new church building was erected at 31 Wather Street with a seating capacity of 350. In 1917 Reverend C. L. Fisher assumed charge and remained until 1921. He added to the church a Five O'clock Bible Class, succeeded in paying off the mortgage of the Church and increasing the membership to 750. At the time of the investigation the church was without a pastor again.

SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH. In December 1899, as a result of a disagreement over the minister then in charge of the Union Baptist Church, a part of this church withdrew and in the home of one of the members organized a new mission. As this membership grew they moved to a hall on Albany Avenue, thence to a hall on Church Street where a regular Baptist church organization was effected under the leadership of the Reverend Benjamin Walker.
The membership number 22. Reverend Walker remained with this small group for two years and a half and was succeeded by Reverend George W. Tyler who pastored for ten years, during which time a church was built on the site where St. Monica's Episcopal Church now stands. He was a capable and well liked minister. When he resigned to accept a larger charge, he was followed by Reverend Smith who remained two years. The church, meanwhile, was greatly burdened with the mortgage which became due during the interval between the departure of Reverend Smith and the arrival of the next minister. One of the trustees of the church, by plea to the owner, succeeded in getting two months grace. There was a balance of $2300 due immediately on the mortgage and such over-due bills for which some twenty-five creditors were insistently demanding payment. The new minister, Reverend A. W. Harrod, was called to face this debt with less than fifty members. He was a man of great energy and resourcefulness, and in a campaign to clear this debt, raised over $5,000, cleared off the mortgage and paid off all back bills and increased the membership to 363. Overrunning their old quarters, they purchased a larger church edifice on Albany Avenue. In 1908 he was called to Philadelphia and was followed by Reverend W. B. Reid, who carried the church forward with great strides. It now stands as one of the principal Negro churches of Hartford.

The churches, with their wide and unquestionably strong influence over what is perhaps the largest "control group" of the Negro population, are in position to render valuable assistance where the need of it can be understood. Like the conflicts which grow out of denominational, class, and sectional differences, and expand themselves into obstrunctive clouds of spurious disputation, the several attitudes on social questions are complicated by numerous differences of views and circumstances.
The church is only incidentally a social agency. Its principal mission is spiritual. Between those who regard social programs as a secular matter in which the churches have no interest, those who naturally are loathe to share their financial support with a secular movement, those who regard social programs essential but confine their advantage to their membership, those who do their own relief work, those who contend for rank as a condition of participation in community work, those who have no conception of social needs, and those whose conceptions of needs contrast those of the rest of the community, there is an enormous dissipation of energy. Much of the lethargy among the leaders of Hartford Negro congregations on questions of community welfare, is due to a simple, perhaps unrepentantly ignorant of matters outside of routine ministerial duties. The sense of power in influencing large groups on these matters however, is by no means absent, and there has frequently been a disposition to demand that all movements secular as well as religious, seek the good will of their councils. There is however, a sufficiently strong leadership and a large enough number of individual ministers equipped for intelligent service in the community to give impetus to any program of community betterment. The greatest apparent obstacle to this is the present lack of coordination of forces, which is in large measure fostered by inter-denominational and intra-denominational rivalries.
November 2, 1994

Dr. Mark H. Jones
State Archivist
State Archives
Connecticut State Library
231 Capitol Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106

Dear Dr. Jones:

It was a pleasure talking to you this morning and letting you know that we were able to locate for you the research paper by Dr. Charles S. Johnson.

I am enclosing two copies, one for your use and the other to be placed in the Hartford Public Library.

Sincerely,

Faith V. Williams
Director
Public Relations and Communications

Enclosures