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CHICAGO AND THE NEW NEGRO

Studies in a Great Community's
Changing Race Relations

By CARROLL BINDER

Staff Writer of The Chicago Daily News

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Chicago and the New Negro

How the city absorbed the huge post-war migration from the South, and what economic, social and civic changes were wrought thereby.

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Carroll Binder

Chicago and the New Negro

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I.

A million-dollar theater and dance hall for Negroes is being erected at 47th street and South Park way by a syndicate of white men. This center of Negro business and recreational life is located on premises occupied a few years ago by the headquarters of the most active of the numerous neighborhood improvement associations which struggled by legal and extra-legal means to exclude the Negro from that territory and confine him in a well-defined black belt.

There can be no clearer demonstration of the new status of the Negro in Chicago and of the great change in the social, economic and political life of the south side than the metamorphosis of 47th and South Park way, as Grand boulevard is now designated. It is typical of the change taking place throughout that section and in process in several other parts of the city.

The Negro has ceased to invade Chicago from the south in the overwhelming numbers of the war and postwar years. A measure of stability is being achieved by the Negro population of Chicago which ranges somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000. Decline of the southern migration has tempered the anxiety of the white neighbors of the Negro. The colored man has shown a greater capacity for amicable citizenship than his more apprehensive white neighbors believed him capable of.

Achieves New Status.

In the final analysis, however, the new status of the Negro in metropolitan Chicago has been achieved by his own economic, political and personal power. The colored man refused to be confined within a ghetto defined

by his white neighbors and he defied all the economic and social pressure applied to keep him there. He demonstrated that he had the money to invade territory once monopolized by whites and the courage to stay there in the face of bombs which wrecked his homes, churches and business places. He persisted in the face of cold shouldering from his neighbors.

Negroes are therefore to be found in almost all parts of the city. Being among the most gregarious of the races the Negro chooses to dwell in colonies but the boundaries of his colonies are so far-flung that he cannot absorb all the property which white vendors seek to thrust upon him. If anything, he is overloaded with residence, business and above all church property and it will be years before there is a shortage of accommodations such as prevailed in the early days of the migration. Hundreds of Negro families live in health destroying abodes but that is due to lack of income with which to avail themselves of the numerous dwelling places open to them—not to excess of home-seekers over homes.

Impose Own Restrictions.

There are still neighborhood efforts to keep the Negroes out of certain sections of the south side—out of the region south of 60th street to 64th street and east of South Park way, for example, and east of Cottage Grove avenue. Such exclusion efforts as are made seem to be along economic lines—that is, by preserving property values. Bombings are almost unheard of and the check upon Negro invasion of white territories is in part imposed by Negro leaders, who feel that the race has "taken over" as much ter-

ritory as it can wholesomely assimilate for some years to come.

Attracted by the promise of cheaper living quarters, numerous Negro families have deserted the south side for the near north side and two sections of the west side, as well as a few districts farther south. These new colonies are evolving a cultural and economic life independent of the older south side community and some of them are already making themselves felt politically in their respective localities.

Here and there one notes friction between the rowdy elements of Negroes and neighboring racial groups, but on the whole the relations between Negroes and whites are amicable and the prospects of continued interracial co-operation have improved immeasurably since the race commission appointed by Former Governor Frank O. Lowden made its memorable study of race relations in this community between 1920 and 1922.

Purchasing Power Increases.

There has been a phenomenal increase in the number of successful Negro business and professional men in the post-war period. Negro workers have gone far toward filling places formerly occupied by the newer immigration—a source of labor supply sharply curtailed by federal legislation restricting immigration. This expansion has meant a great increase in the wealth and purchasing power of the Negro community. The educational and social level of the race has been raised correspondingly.

Politically the race has shown no great civic advance. It is still the prey of machine politicians of both the white and colored races and it is subject to the same demoralization which is manifest in the rest of a community whose politics is spoils-ridden. Negro civic leaders deplore this condition but rightly argue that until the rest of the community progresses the Negro group

should not be condemned for its lethargy and civic backwardness.

While the mass of Negroes still lives on a low economic level there is evolving a Negro leisure class with social standards and practices similar to those of the white leisure class and a similar detachment to the problems of the less fortunately situated of their own people. Well-to-do Negroes patronize the arts and letters and have country estates and country clubs like those of white people of the same economic and cultural status.

Erect Own Barriers.

A certain degree of segregation is voluntarily practiced by Negroes of this class. They have no desire to penetrate social groups which would not be congenial and find satisfaction in their own social groupings. In other spheres racial barriers are transcended and Negroes and whites mingle freely and amicably because their interests are common.

Places of amusement and dissipation such as cabarets and gambling houses represent one sort of interracial intercourse, while reform and cultural movements in which whites and Negroes co-operate represent another type. The second variety of interracial co-operation is happily on the increase. It leads to better understanding and enrichment of the community life. Wisely directed it should make impossible such social catastrophes as the race riots of 1919.

II.

Expert estimates concerning the size of Chicago's Negro population range all the way from a low of 150,000 to a high of 250,000, with 200,000 as the figure most generally advanced. In 1920 the United States census reported 127,033 Negroes in Chicago.

Frederick Rex, municipal reference librarian, fixes the figure for 1927 at 163,800 on the basis of the federal census estimate of an annual increase of 7,000. When Mr. Rex approaches the problem by way of registration

and voting statistics he is inclined to believe that the actual Negro population is nearer 200,000.

Oscar De Priest, first Negro alderman in Chicago and still an active figure in south side political and business circles, believes there are 200,000 of his people here at this time. A white realtor on the south side who is considered an authority on Negro affairs puts the colored population at 250,000.

Estimates Differ Widely.

Dr. George Cleveland Hall, a leading Negro physician and fifty-five years a resident of the city, thinks that the politicians have exaggerated the size of the Negro constituency and holds the number to be under 150,000. George R. Arthur, secretary of the Wabash avenue branch of the Y. M. C. A. and one of the best informed men on Negro affairs, discerns in the voting statistics conclusive evidence that the Negro population of Chicago is about 149,000, of which 90,000 is located in the territory lying between 18th and 65th streets and Halsted street and Cottage Grove avenue.

Amazing as has been the growth of Chicago's colored community, Mr. Arthur thinks that Chicago still ranks third among American centers of Negro population. He estimated the New York Negro community to number 195,000 (boosters have claimed a Negro populace of 300,000 for that city), that of Philadelphia to be 150,000, and that of Washington to be 145,000.

"Black Belt" Borders.

The so-called black belt starts at 24th street and extends to 60th street, but De Priest thinks there are 5,000 Negroes between 12th and 24th streets. Alexander L. Jackson, who has real-estate holdings over the south side, says that 15,000 Negroes live in the region between 63d and 69th streets and South Park way and Drexel avenue.

There are about 5,000 colored people in Englewood with five Negro churches to focus their community

life. Morgan Park's well-established community of 1,200 has three Negro churches. There are about 2,400 Negroes in Lilydale, a settlement between 92d and 96th streets and LaSalle street and Michigan boulevard, while the 10th ward shelters about 1,200, whose principal income comes from the South Chicago rolling mills.

Three Great Colonies.

While there is hardly a section of Chicago without some Negro families, the remainder of the black population is to be found in three large colonies remote from the south side and constantly growing.

The oldest colony has Lake street from Ashland boulevard to California avenue as its main artery. There are numerous well-established businesses in this community, which goes back several decades and numbers in excess of 8,000 Negroes in the region from Washington boulevard to Kinzie street.

West 14th street is the principal artery of a Negro colony less than four years old, but already numbering more than 15,000. Landlords have prevailed upon great numbers of newly arrived southern Negroes and some from the south side to settle in the run-down houses and tenements vacated by their former Jewish occupants for better homes farther west. This new Negro center is bounded by Canal street on the east and Ashland boulevard on the west. It extends from Roosevelt road to 14th street. According to local Negro political leaders there are 4,000 Negro voters in the 20th ward and 3,500 in the 26th ward.

March on "Little Italy."

Little Italy, too, has capitulated to the Negro influx. There are between 8,000 and 10,000 Negroes on the near north side in houses formerly occupied, and in many cases still owned, by Italians—principally between Division street and Chicago avenue and Halsted and Wells streets.

Metropolitan Chicago includes other Negro colonies. Evanston, for ex-

ample, has a colony of 9,000 Negroes, who work along the north shore, but have their homes in that town of 60,000. There is a growing Negro colony in Maywood, while out at Robbins there is a municipality purely Negro in population and administration.

A \$25,000 clubhouse is being completed on a forty-five-acre tract near Kankakee, where the Sunset Hills Country club, a Negro organization, has its golf course. On the adjoining 250 acres an exclusive Negro summer-home colony is being developed. A colored promoter was prevented from launching a similar project near Joliet, but now owns 122 acres and has options on another 700-acre tract west of Winthrop Harbor, on the Des Plaines river, where he proposes to build a town called Liberia and operate a golf club.

III.

Negroes proudly point out that one of their number—Jean Baptiste Ponté de Saible—was the first property holder in Chicago. A tablet on a structure near the Michigan boulevard bridge commemorates the seventeen-year sojourn of the Jamaican who bought Chicago real estate 'way back in 1779.

Real estate remains the favorite form of investment of the Chicago Negro. Jesse Binga, one of the race's millionaires and a heavy investor in Chicago real estate, estimates that the realty holdings of his people in Chicago approximate \$400,000,000 in value. There are heavy incumbrances, of course, on these holdings, but the ownership is significant of the new economic status of the Negro race. Negro wealth has probably increased more rapidly in Chicago than in any other community, but the Negro has been strengthening his economic foothold throughout the United States.

Desire to obtain a satisfactory place to live is the primary incentive to Negro acquisition of real estate. There is also a strong psychological urge

toward property ownership. The Negro still responds to influences and ideals impressed upon him during his long sojourn in the south, where property ownership gave a desirable social status. The Chicago Negro who has saved a few thousand dollars is therefore a receptive client for a six-flat building. Unscrupulous realtors of both the white and Negro races have played upon these obvious desires to sell costly properties to Negroes whose economic resources counseled a more modest investment if one was to be made at all.

Too Many Lodgings.

All over the south side one will find postmen and stockyards laborers with annual incomes of less than \$2,000 feverishly struggling to keep up the payments of a four or six-flat building. Their women and children are helping swell the family income and they take in lodgers, but there is a surplus of lodgings to be rented at the present time and the economic future of many of these purchasers is unpromising.

The south side is talking about this unwholesome real estate activity and the disservice done inexperienced people by business men who ought to know better. But that is only one side of the picture. There are hundreds of colored families who own homes free of incumbrance and who are too sophisticated to succumb to the honey-tongued salesmen proposing a mortgage on the free property to purchase an apartment building which the vender has on his lists. There are thousands more who will soon own, free of debt, the homes which they purchased since the war.

The rapid extension of residential areas open to Negroes has created a surplus of apartments for rent. It is no longer easy to jump the rent 15 to 25 per cent when a "white building" is turned over to Negro tenants, as was the custom until recently. Nevertheless desirable residential property in the adjusted Negro neighborhoods

continues to appreciate in value, experienced observers affirm.

Deny Depreciation View.

Dr. George Cleveland Hall and Alexander L. Jackson, Negro property holders with extensive knowledge of south side business and social conditions, take issue with the widely held view that Negro penetration of a district means depreciation of property values. They cite numerous instances of boulevard property appreciating in value after the Negro came into the district.

"Panic-stricken white property holders in a changing district often let alarmist realtors talk them into selling their property at a loss 'because the Negroes are coming in,'" Dr. Hall conceded. "Dealers have made fortunes by fanning these fears and then reselling the property at an outrageous profit. The property owner who exercises good judgment and sits tight will soon find a Negro purchaser who will pay him far more than he could possibly have gotten had his street remained a deteriorated white district."

In substantiation of his assertion Dr. Hall cited property in the South Park way block, in which his own well-kept, well-furnished property is situated. Houses which the frightened owners were glad to sell for \$10,000 a few years ago today would not be sold for \$20,000. A \$3,400 house of three years ago today commands \$10,000. Seven to ten-thousand-dollar properties command from \$13,000 to \$15,000.

"Keep cool when you see the Negroes coming and you'll get twice what you will if you mistake them for goblins," is Dr. Hall's counsel to property owners.

Old "Panic" Waning.

Oscar DePriest, a shrewd real estate man as well as a political figure in the Negro community, says that white property holders have gotten over their early panic and no longer

throw their property on the market at ridiculous prices. "We used to pick up some wonderful bargains that way, but those days are gone forever," Mr. DePriest said. He added that waning of the white man's fear of Negro invasion had immeasurably bettered the relations between the two races.

In the slum districts one will see many tenements which the Negro residents do not keep as neat as even those uninspiring abodes might be made. There are better homes which indicate deterioration under Negro occupancy. Negroes deplore this, but observe that these shiftless tenants have their white prototypes. They rightly point with pride to the altogether admirable way in which thousands of Negro families keep up the homes and apartments in which they dwell.

All along Calumet, Prairie, Indiana and Michigan avenues sand blasters are at work cleaning up the houses which once were reckoned the city's finest, but have not enjoyed a face-washing for twenty years. The Negro owners are making their property look fresh and attractive. They plant grass, flowers and shrubs. Jardiniers with attractive plants give color to the neatly scrubbed steps.

This attitude is not confined to the boulevards. More modest residential streets have their neighborhood improvement associations which see that lawns are trimmed, trees cared for and sidewalks kept clean in addition to protecting the district from undesirable tenants so far as residents can make themselves felt in the face of local political conditions.

Savings accounts also witness the growing economic strength of Chicago Negroes. The two banks owned by Negroes report deposits—almost all of which are Negro—of \$2,800,000, and that is only a small fraction of Negro bank resources. Few neighborhood or loop banks keep separate records of Negro accounts, so this form of wealth can only be approximated, but sev-

eral strong south-side banks admit that 90 per cent of their depositors are Negroes.

Jesse Binga, banker himself, thinks his people have \$60,000,000 on deposit in various city banks. Oscar DePriest thinks Negroes have \$25,000,000 on deposit in loop banks and another \$25,000,000 in south-side banks—a view shared by several white bankers.

Negroes carry \$14,000,000 worth of insurance in seven Negro companies and a great deal more in the white industrial and old-line companies. Negro investments in stock of corporations which employ them and which conduct employee-ownership plans run into many hundreds of thousands of dollars. Blue-sky promoters still find easy plucking among Negroes, but there is an increasing tendency on the part of colored people of means to buy listed stocks and bonds through their banks.

Fraternal Orders Thrive.

Negro businesses represent large investments in the aggregate. Although the Negro insurance company is to a considerable degree supplanting the Negro fraternal order as a means of burial and life protection, the fraternal orders, such as Masons, Odd Fellows, Pythians and Royal Circle of Friends, have large financial resources. The Pythians are building a \$1,500,000 temple at 37th and State streets and other orders have large real-estate holdings.

The church is a large economic asset of the Negro race. Some of the denominations have generous treasuries and nearly all of them have enormous investments in church property. Once fashionable white Protestant and Jewish edifices have been taken over by the Negro congregations to such extent that Negro church property today represents at least \$2,000,000 in wealth—incumbered, of course, but with a substantial and increasing Negro equity.

Sinai temple at 46th and South

Park way was the latest to "go over" to the colored people—the consideration being \$425,000. On the whole, the Negroes seem to have struck excellent bargains with the retiring congregations, though it will require countless bazaars and bond sales to pay for the costly buildings purchased.

A south-side authority estimates that the replacement cost of Bethesda Baptist church at 53d and Michigan would be \$300,000. It cost \$225,000. Ebenezer Baptist, 4501 Vincennes, cost \$126,000, but is valued at \$200,000. Olivet Baptist, 3101 South Park way, cost \$85,000 and is valued at \$190,000. Pilgrim Baptist, 3300 Indiana avenue, cost \$75,000 and is valued at \$200,000. Metropolitan Community church, 41st and South Park way, is valued at \$200,000. There are many churches valued at from \$50,000 to \$100,000.

IV.

Comparatively speaking, the Negro is a newcomer in the industrial and commercial life of Chicago, but already colored people are important factors in many large industries. There is a steady influx of Negro youth of both sexes into stores and offices, but the supply of trained "white-collar" workers exceeds the positions open to them.

The world war awakened employers to the reserve of labor existing in America's 11,000,000 Negroes. It was made known to colored leaders in the south that good jobs were to be had in northern mills and overnight whole communities trekked north, bringing their parsons, merchants and physicians with them.

Southern whites, seeing their labor supply disappear and the economic structure of the cotton belt severely shaken, uttered dire predictions concerning the unfitness of Negroes for steady skilled factory positions and the inability of Negroes to withstand the rigors of northern winters and urban life.

Wins Place Here.

After a decade of operation with

large contingents of Negro labor some of the leading Chicago industrialists voice their complete satisfaction with their new man power and their faith in the permanency of the Negro in local industry. The Negro has proved his ability to fill places formerly occupied by white immigrants from Europe.

Between the colored man and the Mexican Chicago employers of man power have all the labor they require despite the low quotas admitted from Europe under the prevailing immigration legislation. At the present time there is an oversupply of labor.

Interviews with personnel managers and shop superintendents in large plants employing Negroes brought out information that the Negro is capable of doing semiskilled and skilled operations as well as the routine jobs to which he was first assigned. In numerous Chicago plants one may see Negroes and whites working side by side with apparent good feeling and no atmosphere of racial friction.

Minor Executives Negroes.

A few plants have Negro foremen in charge of crews in which there are workmen of both races. Those trade unions which admit Negroes to membership seem to have no serious interracial friction, but the Negro is not a big factor in the Chicago labor movement. Some of the more powerful labor unions exclude Negroes. There are no trade unions in several of the industries where the Negro workers are most numerous.

Generally speaking the Negroes get the same pay as whites for tasks in which both are engaged. When the Negroes first came into certain industries they were utilized to reduce the wages and working conditions of their white fellow workers and friction naturally resulted. Equality of treatment reduces friction to a minimum, industrial leaders concede.

At least 30 per cent of the labor force in Chicago packing plants is

colored. Negroes hold important posts in the employee representation plans or company unions at Armour's, Swift's and the other plants. The efficiency rating of the Negro employees in one of the plants is higher than that of any other racial group.

Between 12 and 20 per cent of the employees in Chicago's steel mills are colored, according to H. N. Robinson, director of industrial relations of the Chicago Urban league, which operates the largest employment bureau for Negro workers in the city and which is constantly developing new opportunities for Negroes in Chicago business and industrial establishments.

No Replacement Plan.

"The Urban League never tries to supplant any worker of any race," Mr. Robinson was quick to point out. "We merely ask that Negroes be given an opportunity to fill vacancies as they may occur and that they receive a fair trial as workmen. We are meeting with increasing success in various lines. Seldom does an employer drop Negro workmen once he has given them a trial. When slack times call for a reduction in personnel, seniority prevails and our people come back with the rest of the employees temporarily laid off."

Negro women have won a permanent place for themselves in the twine mills of the International Harvester company and have a lower labor turnover than white women, a Harvester official testified. Negro men perform many tasks in the Harvester plants.

The Corn Products company employed only one Negro eight years ago, but today employs 350, or 20 per cent of its factory personnel. The white and Negro workers at Argo may be seen working on joint tasks with manifest mutual esteem and good will.

E. C. Otis, superintendent of the Beaver Products company, 2226 West 49th street, has warm praise for Negro workers as a result of some years'

experience. Three years ago 20 per cent of Mr. Otis' employes were Negro. A reduction in personnel raised the Negro percentage to 65 and production was increased 8 per cent, while the pay roll was \$40,000 less. Mr. Otis plans to increase still further the percentage of Negro workers.

The American Hide and Leather company, 1320 Elston avenue, was the first tannery to use colored workmen. Satisfactory experience opened other tanneries in Chicago to Negro workmen. The foundries and laundries of the city are heavy employers of colored labor. Eleven per cent of the employes of the Pullman car shops are colored.

In Personal Service.

Negroes, of course, continue to find employment in the various forms of personal service, such as Pullman porters, waiters, porters in stores, offices and barber shops, housemen and chauffeurs. Negro women are penetrating some branches of the garment industry and now constitute about 40 per cent of the workers in lampshade factories.

Negro owned and managed business and industrial establishments provide employment for a number of high school and college trained office workers, but the problem of the educated Negro seeking employment is a serious one. A few have positions in downtown offices, plants and stores, but many well-educated Negroes must work at vocations where their training cannot be utilized.

The Urban league is canvassing the white business establishments in the Negro districts to locate opportunities for young people of promise so that they may acquire business experience as well as utilize the education they possess.

The unskilled Negro workman earns on the average from \$20 to \$22 weekly when he is employed—the hourly rate ranging from 40 to 50 cents, depending upon the severity and congeniality of the work.

Porters in barber shops get \$18 to \$20 weekly, butlers \$20 to \$25 and chauffeurs \$35. General housework without cooking commands between \$10 and \$12 a week, maids get \$12 to \$18, while the rate for day work is \$4 for an eight-hour day.

V.

Illiterate slaves less than 70 years ago, Negroes today conduct banks, insurance companies, brokerage houses, real-estate offices, factories employing numerous skilled workers, merchandising establishments of all sorts, publishing houses and almost every other conceivable type of business enterprise.

The Negro tends to buy where he can get the best service at the least cost. With the exception of the necessary personal services such as restaurants, barber shops, pool rooms, undertaking establishments and, in some instances, groceries, the Negro patronizes the business house which is most convenient and seldom goes out of his way to assist a race enterprise.

Phenomenal growth of Negro business in recent years must therefore be taken as indication that Negroes are attaining business proficiency to such an extent that they can compete with whites for patronage. In a race with so short an experience in business it is to be expected that there will be a certain number of failures arising out of limited capital and skill, but the percentage of Negro failures is less than might be expected.

Seventy-Three Negro Banks.

Students of Negro business say that there are seventy-three Negro banks with a total capital of \$6,250,000, total surplus of \$20,000,000 and an annual business of \$100,000,000. This is said to be a 300 per cent increase over the banking activity of 1918. Seventy thousand Negroes are said to be in business throughout the

country, and the volume of business done has been estimated at more than a billion dollars.

Chicago has become in the last decade one of the great business centers of the Negro race, surpassing New York's Negro community, which is larger in population. W. H. Bolton, postgraduate student at the University of Chicago, who is making a study of Negro business in Chicago, says that the growth has been almost entirely during the last decade and that the great majority of the new businesses have been launched by southern Negroes who came to this city during the great migration of the war and postwar period.

The extent and diversity of Negro business enterprise in Chicago is manifest in the following tabulation prepared by the Chicago Defender—Negro weekly. Mr. Bolton says his study convinces him that the figures are too low for a number of businesses—many new enterprises having been launched in the last year.

Artists	8	Laboratories	7
Bakeries	12	Ladies' furnish- ings	8
Banks	2	Laundries	6
Barber shops	187	Lawyers	106
Book stores	4	Locksmiths	3
Bond and invest- ment companies ..	6	Magazines	4
Brokers	5	Manufacturers—	
Cab companies ..	9	Cigars	3
Churches	98	Ice cream	3
Chiropractors ..	23	Hair preparations ..	8
Cigar stores	17	Medicinal lights ..	1
Coal companies ..	3	Sausage	2
Decorators	15	Toilet prepara- tions	6
Dentists	97	Mattress makers ..	2
Dressmakers	26	Milk distributor ..	1
Druggists	41	Music stores	6
Dry goods	5	Newspapers	6
Electricians	9	Optometrists	4
Employment agen- cies	10	Photographers	4
Express and stor- age	51	Physicians	176
Fish markets	11	Plumbers	7
Florists	7	Printers	20
Furnace repairs ..	3	Real estate deal- ers	56
Furniture dealers ..	10	Restaurants	98
Garages	19	Service stations ..	6
Groceries	153	Shoe repairs	12
Haberdashers	3	Shoe stores	2
Hairdressing par- lours	103	Sign painters	5
Hardware and paint	3	Stone cleaner	1
Insurance	11	Tailors	89
Inventors	3	Transfer	15
Jewelers	5	Undertakers	28
		Variety stores	16

Successes in Amusement.

Amusement might be listed as one of the important enterprises of the Negro race. Hundreds of Negroes

gain their livelihood from musical or dramatic effort. There are several successful orchestras Negro managed and Negro owned and numerous Negro musical and theatrical organizations. Some Negro entertainers command huge salaries.

There is a popular impression that the Negroes are making fortunes in the cabaret business. The so-called black-and-tan resorts are with one exception white owned and the Negro entertainers on duty there are employees, not proprietors. Road-houses and other competing entertainments such as dog races have cut down the attendance at black-and-tan as well as north side cabarets, so that no one is reaping a golden harvest from these enterprises.

There are a number of small dance halls run by Negroes for Negroes in the colored districts. Supervision of these places is rather limited and colored welfare leaders look with friendly eyes upon a project of a syndicate of white men to open a large dance hall comparable to those patronized by white youth. They believe that the better supervision and superior grade of entertainment offered in the larger halls will elevate the tone of colored amusement places, which is capable of improvement at the present time—an improvement difficult to realize so long as there is no centralization.

VI.

Banking and insurance are the two outstanding developments in the business life of Chicago Negroes during the last decade. Colored men have demonstrated that they possess the resources in cash and brains to conduct enterprises calling for the highest degree of character and ability.

Two men, both reputed to be millionaires are the principals behind the banks. Jesse Binga president of the Binga State bank conducted a small private bank as early as 1908, but it was not until 1921 that he be-

gan operating on the state charter, which he obtained the previous year. Mr. Binga is a heavy operator in south side real estate.

Anthony Overton made a fortune in the manufacture of cosmetics and did not enter the banking field until 1923, when he got the first federal charter for a Negro owned and operated national bank and opened the Douglass National Bank. Shortly thereafter Mr. Overton launched the Victory Life Insurance company, which recently passed the acid test for an insurance company by qualifying to write insurance in New York.

For this achievement a committee of well-known white and Negro figures awarded Mr. Overton the Spingarn medal a few weeks ago. The medal is presented annually to "the United States citizen of African descent deemed to have most signally distinguished himself or herself in some honorable field of human endeavor."

Have Negro Stockholders.

Both the banks and the seven insurance companies having headquarters in this city have Negro stockholders, Negro officers and Negro personnel. The two banks employ thirty-five Negroes to handle the \$2,800,000 entrusted to them by Negro depositors. Arthur J. Wilson, cashier of the Douglass bank is a certified public accountant educated at Northwestern university and the Universities of Chicago and Illinois. C N Langston, cashier of the Binga bank, is an Oberlin graduate with twelve years' experience in a southern Negro bank.

Insurance is one of the oldest Negro enterprises, but the earlier ventures were little more than burial societies with lay management. Some of the contemporary insurance ventures are amateurishly handled, but there are some well established "old-line" companies with college trained Negro insurance experts in charge of the business and a commendable record of claims paid and well-invested

funds.

In April, 1927, the Victory Life, headed by Mr. Overton, had \$5,000,000 of insurance in force in eleven states. It had loaned \$233,000 to Negro property owners—mostly in sums under \$5,000. Negro actuaries are being developed by the company and valuations and statements for the last two years were prepared in the company's office by Negro experts.

Liberty Life—the other old line company in Chicago—is headed by Dr. M. O. Bousfield and occupies a fine modern building of its own at 3511 South Park way. This company has \$10,074,624 insurance in force. It owns \$227,072 worth of real estate and has placed \$123,050 in first mortgage loans. W. Ellis Stewart, the secretary, was the first Negro to complete a special course in life insurance in a recognized university. The office equipment of the company compares favorably with that of white concerns of the same size. The profits on investments of both companies also compare favorably with similarly situated white concerns—8 per cent being realized on real estate loans because the insurance companies place their investments at prevailing interest rates, which are always higher for Negro loans.

Five of Industrial Type.

The five other insurance companies are industrial in type and run on the assessment plan, with the Underwriters' Mutual and the Pyramid Mutual as representative companies of this class.

Together the seven companies employ about 1,200 Negroes and have an annual pay roll of \$600,000.

Overton Hygienic company is the largest Negro manufacturer of cosmetics. It enjoys a rating of from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 in Bradstreet. All of the seventy-five employees from chemists to janitor are colored.

Paul E. Johnson, 1824 Albert street, employs a number of white workers in his flourishing therapeutic lamp

business. Mr. Johnson invented a lamp which has a wide vogue in Europe and in the United States. His factory occupies 10,000 square feet of floor space and has \$65,000 worth of machinery with a pay roll ranging from \$350 to \$1,000 a week.

Three manufacturers of sausage are doing a lively business. They employ old-time recipes which find favor with white patrons as well as colored. J. H. Parker, 4607 South State street, has just built and paid for a \$27,000 plant. The Matticx Creole sausage plant at 35th and South Park way is noted for its cleanliness and efficiency. The Uncle Jerry company is the third sausage manufacturer.

In Other Businesses.

There are two manufacturers of ice cream and three soft drink manufacturing establishments among the Negroes. Hair dressing is another profitable line of manufacture for Negroes. A Texas barber with a popular formula has a large Cuban trade in addition to his American business and is said to make a profit of \$6,000 monthly.

Jews still have the lead in groceries, delicatessens and meat markets in the Negro district, but there is a steady increase in the number of Negro merchants meeting with success in those lines. Negroes have not thus far succeeded in establishing purchasing and financing arrangements comparable to those obtainable by merchants of other races.

A Texan named Woodson runs two successful shoe stores which carry a stock valued at \$18,000 and employ four clerks. Lee Averett, a Georgian who began life as a porter, is proprietor of seven second-hand clothing stores which are highly successful. A Fisk university graduate named Farnandis conducts a prosperous trade in class and fraternal pins for Negro students and lodges throughout the country—doing his own manufacturing.

There have been several unsuccessful cab companies, but a few are still

in the field. William Powell, a University of Illinois graduate, operates a large garage and three filling stations and Allen Bacon operates another garage.

VII.

Organized and protected gambling is so well entrenched in the Negro community that it is entitled to discussion as one of the industries of the race. Perhaps 2,000 men and some women earn all or part of their living from the various games of chance which flourish on the south side regardless of the political changes in the city hall and county building. Many times that number are weekly made poorer—if not wiser—by the deluding operations of the several branches of the gambling industry.

There is a widespread belief that gambling is a peculiarly Negro dissipation. "Every Negro from the preacher to the pickaninny gambles," this school contends. One has only to visit the gambling joints outside the so-called black belt to disprove the first premise.

The white race contributes its full quota to the ranks of those who believe that they are smart enough or lucky enough to beat the game. On the other hand, there are many thousands of colored people who are as cold to Lady Luck as are those whites who take no interest in gambling.

Habitual gamblers, nevertheless, abound among the colored people, and colored communities tend to maintain wealth-consuming gambling enterprises. Gambling therefore cannot be ignored in a discussion of the Chicago colored group.

Slump in Business.

Just what the monthly turnover of the gambling business totals no one can say authoritatively. There seems to be pretty general agreement that the prevailing unemployment among Negroes has reduced the volume in recent months and that the high rates exacted in the way of pro-

tection money for the "higher ups" has exercised a blighting influence on the number of places in operation.

Nevertheless there are thousands prepared to spend a goodly share of the week's pay on a chance and the aspiring gambler has no difficulty in locating a place where his desire may be gratified.

About \$250,000 of Negro gambling money is said to leave the district every month to appease the consciences of the downtown politicians who might otherwise turn virtuous and inspire raids on places unmindful of their friends in the loop. "This money leaves the black belt forever," local economists ruefully observe. The theory is that money spent in gambling which remains within the district somehow enhances the prosperity of the entire racial group.

Escape Political Upheaval.

The recent political upheaval seems to have produced only minor changes within the gambling industry. Some sporting gentlemen who were left out in the cold under the preceding police regime were rewarded with choice places for yeoman service during the campaign while others who placed all their hopes and fortune on the defeated side had to pay dearly if they were fortunate enough to be permitted to do business.

But even the friends of the new regime complain of the high price levied by their protectors. The original rate early this spring was said to be \$1,000 cash in advance to open a policy wheel and \$50 for each drawing. Wheels with three drawings daily got no reduction, and settlements had to be made promptly each Monday. One thousand dollars was offered as evidence of good faith and financial stability by those desiring to conduct a crap game and \$600 was collected weekly.

Summer reductions prevail as this is written. Wheels can be started by the proper parties on payment of \$600, the sporting gentry understand, and \$600 a week will assure the play-

ers complete freedom from annoying distractions. Takings of other games are reported to be split three ways, 40-40-20.

"Golf" Still Supreme.

"African golf" is, of course, a prime favorite. Likely looking persons sauntering down the main thoroughfares of the Negro community will be flattered with an invitation to "try your wrist, sir?" "try your wrist, sir?" The games go on in the rear of the omnipresent "cigar stores," which would be hard pressed to make change if some greenhorn tried to purchase a stogie, and in the "literary clubs" and "book stores" which have sprung up in amazing numbers.

"I have never known my people to be so literary as in recent months" a leading Negro professional man observed as we passed five of these clubs in a single block.

Gambling joints of this type operate all over the south side. The residence districts of Hyde Park are no more immune than the main business districts. To assure perfect deportment among the gentlemen players a lookout relieves the visitor of any guns or bottles he may carry for protection and solace.

Visitors are admitted one at a time so that there will be no rushing the barred gate should uncouth elements presume to put in an appearance. If one calls at one of these establishments in the better residential neighborhoods—say, Drexel boulevard—toward the end of the afternoon he will note how completely chance dissolves those barriers which seem to separate races in other milieu.

Gathered about the green table where the croupier is plying his craft and repeating the time-honored incitements to hazard will be a crowd of whites and blacks altogether forgetful of race superiority or inferiority and intent only on the rolling dice. In other parts of the establishment may be seen milling crowds whose bond of interracial co-opera-

tion is mutual interest in the races or some other play of hazard.

Policy Is Big Game.

Policy, however, is the more impressive game from the standpoint of an industry. Well-posted men estimate that Chicago Negroes spend \$250,000 a week on tickets for policy wheels. Two thousand men and women earn all or part of their living peddling policy tickets on a commission basis. They have customers just like milk-wagon drivers or insurance collectors, and make periodical visits to collect and report the wonderful killing made by the housewife on Federal street or South Park way—whichever district will impress the client most.

A few white men and white organizations fatten upon this enterprise. Some Negroes identified with gambling acquire extensive real estate holdings, expensive cars and costly haberdashery. For the majority of the participants gambling means going without pork chops, skimping on the clothes and living in health-destroying tenements.

VIII.

"Our people used to celebrate the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as the great charter of the race, but honor is now due to the eighteenth amendment as a boon for Negroes," a witty colored physician remarked the other day. The doctor was commenting on the economic and social transformation effected in certain Negroes as a result of the prohibition amendment. In his opinion trade in illicit liquor has become a greater source of wealth for lawbreaking Negroes than the old reliable standby—gambling.

This is not a discussion of the ethical or legal aspect of prohibition. The preponderance of opinion among Negro social and civic leaders seems to be that the standard of living of the colored race has been elevated by the prohibition law. Colored people

spend less on drink and more on food and clothing as a result of prohibition, these observers report.

But a considerable number of colored men and women are engaged in the manufacture and sale of contraband alcoholic beverages and it is of their industry that this article treats. Observers who ought to know what they are talking about say that Negroes are close competitors with Italians for supremacy in the business of manufacturing and selling booze.

Many in Business.

A journey through the black belt will provide the investigator with tangible evidence that for a large number of Negroes Volsteadism has been beneficence itself. Bootlegging profits pay for many of the costly apartments which have recently been acquired by Negroes. Parched customers have endowed colored liquor dealers with Rolls Royces and their women folk with diamonds and costly furs and silks.

Negroes are much in demand as runners for Italian bootleggers, where they lack the enterprise to go into business for themselves. The trade concedes that the Negro has a valuable good-will asset as a peddler of white mule. His white customers have heard about the mountain dew distilled by Negroes in the legendary days when mountaineers considered it their sacred duty to make liquor in defiance of the "revenueurs." Whites conjure up a picture of the fabled log cabin and the hidden still in the Kentucky hills and swallow the powerful potion, which probably was concocted in a foul south side tenement basement by a city-born sporting gentleman who never saw corn outside his wash boiler.

Presumably the Italians have the same "good will" asset when it comes to Dago Red concoctions, but Negro purveyors seem to prosper with red colored products as well as the conventional whites and browns. They

have recourse to the same coloring materials as their Italian confreres and are well supplied with "prewar" labels to give tone to their wares.

Many Negro bootleggers have select lists of white clients and some boast of drug store clientele which requires monthly consignment of several hundred gallons.

Hi-Jacking Rare.

One rarely hears of hi-jacking among Negro venders of booze, but there are many cases of painful, if not disastrous, deflation by higher-ups of those bootleggers who waxed too fat on the traffic. A typical case is that of the former chauffeur of a prominent Negro professional man on the south side. Desiring to give the boy a start in life, his employer assisted him to get a position in the postal service. He was somewhat discomfited to learn a few months later that the youth had quit the postoffice to "go into business for himself."

A \$20 gold piece dangling from the watch fob and another in the cravat of his ex-chauffeur suggested to his former patron the new vocation of his protege. A professional visit confirmed the diagnosis. There was an eloquent odor about the place and trucks blatantly called for drug-store consignments.

"I own this six-flat building and I'm looking for other desirable investments," the youth said. "Please direct my attention to any bargains you run across in the way of apartment houses." The professional man essayed the role of Polonius. "There is no art like the art of ceasing, my boy. You've made all you can get away with. Get out of this business while you still have money and before you are so successful as to attract attention to yourself."

Wants His Job Back.

Like most of the Poloniuses who preceded him the advice went unheeded. Last week the boy was around to inquire about the chance of resum-

ing his chauffeuring job. He had "run into a jam" and by the time his friends and attorneys were through with him the gold pieces, apartment buildings, plush furniture and snappy cars were gone. He wants to go to work and pay off the rest of his attorney's fees.

This is a familiar story on the south side. There are scores of others, however, whose success has been less conspicuous but whose prosperity bids fair to be more enduring. Many humble tenders of home-made stills are salting away their proceeds in flat buildings, stocks and savings deposits against the dreaded rainy day.

Like the gambling joints, blind pigs operate unmolested in the residence districts. It is the buffet flat, however, which causes most concern among the self-respecting Negro population. Colored people complain that they cannot isolate their families from the center of organized and occasional prostitution. White and colored women ply their craft on the residential boulevards as well as business streets. Disorderly flats invade each new community organized by colored folks and the worst elements of the two races flaunt their dissipation in the face of decent householders.

Some of the colored papers have entered vigorous protests against this laxity and a group of Negro leaders formed a committee recently to combat the more flagrant forms of vice. In deference to public opinion woman solicitors were driven off Indiana avenue between 35th and 39th streets, and from several other regions.

Call Reports Exaggerated.

Negro political leaders, when reproached concerning this condition, say that it is grossly exaggerated and that relief can easily be obtained in the courts if householders file authentic complaints. There is an attitude of despair on the part of many colored people. They say that their complaints receive little or no atten-

tion from the authorities.

The Chicago Bee, Negro weekly, takes a more hopeful view of a situation which it terms deplorable. The Bee points out that vice was rampant in the second and third ward, long before the Negroes moved into that district.

"The situation has grown worse unhampered and unchecked by any organized, fortified healthy opposition on the part of the minority of better class citizens who are forced to dwell in the midst of these caldrons of cancerous immorality," the Bee declared.

"Everywhere the self-respecting colored citizens, singly or in groups, have fled to new neighborhoods free of vice as a haven for their children and families. Fast on their heels vice has followed in their wake, a menace to society at large and colored groups in particular."

Churches and other organizations of colored people are urged by the Bee to co-operate with the 4th ward alderman in an effort to "keep the 4th ward clean. The police department and other enforcing officers of the law stand ready to aid us in suppressing and stamping it out," the Bee concludes.

IX.

The church continues to exercise a tremendous influence over the life and thought of the urban Negro community despite the presence of distractions and competing agencies which are absent in the simpler Negro communities of the south.

Negro pastors in the south direct the personal and social relationships of their flocks to a degree unknown in the north. Here nonsectarian religious and civic bodies perform functions which the colored church monopolizes in the south. Church members here participate in worldly affairs with a freedom undreamed of in the south.

A considerable political influence is still enjoyed by many Negro clergy-

men—Bishops A. J. Carey of the African Methodist Episcopal church was put on the Chicago civil service commission by Mayor Thompson—but politicians report that that influence is on the decline. They cite cases where leading colored clergy have indorsed one candidate from the pulpit and the parish voted eight to one for the other candidate. "The congregation thought for itself on nonspiritual matters," the politicians explain.

Large Part of Life.

Politics aside, it is apparent that the church holds a large place in the life of the average Negro. The non-church-going Negro is looked upon with some disfavor by his fellows. Church-going brings evident satisfaction to the participants. Thousands of Negroes go two or three times on Sunday and one or more times during the week.

If one wishes to attend one of the more popular churches he must be on hand an hour ahead of the time for service to obtain a seat. The attendance in a dozen Negro churches could hardly be matched by as many white churches. Edifices which once housed fashionable Jewish and protestant congregations are now thronged with fervent colored worshipers.

Maintenance of so many large and costly churches by a race young in economic freedom and numbering proportionately few wealthy people is a serious problem, but the colored people contribute to their churches with a generosity seldom rivaled. Annual collections in Chicago colored churches exceed \$500,000. In addition the parishioners assess themselves heavily to pay installments on church buildings under purchase, to buy automobiles for their pastors and for other church expenses.

\$20,000 Rally "Usual."

Stockyards employes and washerwomen give on the average \$5 a month to the work of the church, a prominent religious leader among the Negroes estimates. A \$20,000 church

"rally" is not unusual. Olivet Baptist church, which does a large institutional work, claims a congregation of 11,000, though the auditorium of the church will seat only a third of that number. There are other parishes with memberships running into the thousands. The "store-front" type of church which holds services in a vacant store still flourishes, though it is not so popular as it was in the first days of the migration from the south, when newly arrived pastors would assemble their flock in such premises.

Most Chicago Negro churches are affiliated with the nationally organized Negro sects, but a number of independent churches have sprung up in recent years—some with very large memberships. The occasion for these churches was an effort of higher ecclesiastical authorities to supplant a popular preacher who thereupon set up his own congregation, or a split within a parish over some doctrinal or personal issue.

Some parishes get into serious altercations concerning doctrines and pastors, with the result that the dispute is referred by a local police captain or a downtown judge to the delectation of the unbelieving, but such episodes are not typical of the religious life of the community as a whole.

That the Negro is not wholly wedded to his historic sects is apparent in the steady growth of Negro membership in such faiths as Roman Catholicism and Christian Science.

St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic church, 41st street and Wabash avenue, is almost entirely Negro in membership, though the windows still bear the names of the old Irish families which formerly worshiped there, and the white priest bears the name of Father Eckert. St. Elizabeth's parish has a flourishing Negro men's club and an eleven-grade parochial school, with 1,100 colored students in attendance.

Eighth Church of Christ, Scientist,

at Michigan avenue and 44th street, has a large colored membership. In the Woodlawn district is to be found one of the three colored Lutheran churches in the United States—now housed in a new building.

Y. M. C. A. Flourishes.

Sharing with the churches the responsibility for the moral advancement of the community are branches of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. especially devoted to colored youth. The Y. M. C. A. is housed in a building valued at \$400,000 and said to be the finest Negro Y. M. C. A. in the nation. Its equipment is valued at \$40,000 and its activities reach into every phase of Negro life. George R. Arthur, the secretary, is a leader in civic activities, who is given credit for promoting better relations between whites and colored people, as well as for opening up new avenues of activity to his own people. Colored people raise among themselves nearly all of the association's annual budget of \$108,000.

The Y. W. C. A. expects to extend its useful activities when it moves into a building in a central location. The colored community maintains other important social-service activities, such as the South Side Community Center, which is a neighborhood house available for club meetings and civic activity, and the Phyllis Wheatley home, which for years has offered shelter and comradeship to Negro girls coming to Chicago, who are without family or friend, to assist them in making their adjustment to urban life.

An important feature of Negro life is the colored woman's club movement, which has far-reaching social, literary and civic influence. There are more than 3,000 women in such clubs, of which there are sixty-three in the Chicago area. One of the latest projects of these women provides for individual social service among the less-favored women of the race and the newcomers in Chicago.

X.

Sons of Ham now vie with sons of Abraham for bargains in the push-cart purileus of Maxwell street market. Abraham's children still have a monopoly on the trading, but they have had to make a concession to the newcomers in the west side ghetto by putting in stock articles of food never contemplated by the Mosaic dietary laws.

At least 15,000 Negroes now live between 12th and 14th streets and Canal street and Ashland boulevard—the newest of Chicago's emerging Negro communities. A few thousand more are clustered about Polk and Taylor streets in the 1700 block west. Colorful Maxwell street is a favorite trading center for these new west siders.

Heavy emigration to more desirable parts of the city by the Jewish residents of Roosevelt road district worried the owners of run-down property in this section. Some one thought of the Negroes and journeyed to the south side with tales of low rents and freedom to expand. The south side community was still in the throes of a housing shortage and recruits for the west side were readily found. Negro newcomers to Chicago were also steered to the west side, with the result that Negro leaders on the west side are able to claim a voting strength of 4,000 in the 20th ward and 3,500 in the 26th ward.

Having themselves known what it is to be a minority race, the Jews of the west side have given a cordial welcome to their darker neighbors. Jewish children play with Negro children on terms of equality and comradeship. Jewish and Negro families share the humble dwelling houses of the west side in perfect concord. The remnant of Italians in the district maintain something of a reserve toward their new neighbors, but I heard of no bad blood between Jews and Negroes in this community.

Negro Invading Business.

Trade and professional life is still principally in Jewish hands, but Negro barber shops, poolrooms, undertaking establishments and other personal services are being introduced into the community. Already there are two Negro dentists, four Negro physicians and two Negro lawyers practicing in this community, which is less than four years old. Two drug stores have been opened by Negroes and other business establishments are contemplated.

Just as in all pioneer communities the newcomers thought early of their churches. A Methodist and a Baptist church function now, and a third church is being arranged for. There are several store-front churches, and at Throop and 14th streets an old-time camp meeting is being held under a canvas tent.

Morris Eller is said to have adopted a friendly attitude toward his new constituents, and the Negroes claim to have been influential factors in the recent election. They supported the winning candidates for alderman in both the 20th and 26th wards—outvoting the Jews in the former and polling second in the latter ward, according to their leaders.

Several Negro lodges have already been formed in the new community, and local Negro leaders are trying to arouse interest in a day nursery. The health situation is very poor, Dr. R. H. Jackson, Northwestern university alumnus, who is practicing at 1403 Blue Island avenue, reports. Many of the houses occupied by Negroes are devoid of screens, and flies are a serious problem in warm weather. The newcomers are mostly unskilled laborers of low income. The colony has none of the wealthy race leaders to be found on the south side.

Vice Lords Absent.

South side vice lords have not extended their operations to this new Negro community, but loose women from the south side have come over

to 14th street to ply their trade, and Negro men of suitable talents have been taken into local vice and bootlegging combinations to operate blind pigs with white capital.

Although the outlay for rent is less than is necessary on the south side, quarters are poorer, so that most of the newcomers are no better off than they were on the south side, Negro welfare workers believe. Negroes pay from \$20 to \$35 a month for deteriorated five to seven room stove-heated abodes on the west side. Rent is invariably advanced when a colored tenant takes over a property formerly occupied by whites—the increase sometimes amounting to 50 per cent. A few Negroes are endeavoring to buy their homes here, but the tendency is slight compared to that found on the south side.

There are some Negroes around Roosevelt and Crawford in the Lawn-dale district, but the other important west side Negro community lies between Washington boulevard and Kinzie street and from Ashland boulevard to California avenue, with Lake street as its main artery. The Negro residence area extends beyond these boundaries, but most of the business and church enterprises of the race are within this territory, which has long been settled by colored people. There has been a great influx since the war, but relations between the Negroes and the white residents are peaceful.

Most of Them Laborers.

Most of the Negroes in this community, which, according to N. G. Aubry, a Lake street pharmacist, numbers in excess of 8,000, are of the laboring class. Many of them own their own homes, which they keep in good order. There are a number of Negro real-estate dealers in this section as well as three drug stores, five undertakers and numerous barber shops, tailoring establishments and grocery stores.

Negro children share school and

park facilities with white children without friction or discrimination, Negro leaders report. The Negroes are active politically and religiously. There are six flourishing churches which Negro congregations have taken over from white groups and several store-front places of worship of the gospel-mission type. The churches, with the assistance of several philanthropic agencies, maintain a day nursery for colored children in the old Wendell Phillips settlement at 2007 Walnut street.

XI.

"Little Italy" on the near north side is rapidly being populated by colored people whose economic resources compel them to live in deteriorated houses vacated by the Italian families who twenty years ago inherited them from the departing Swedish, German and Irish tenants.

"Death corner" is still the favorite spot for shooting out feuds of Italian gangs, but Negroes live in the adjacent houses and a Negro surgeon from the south side is being implored by Italian patients to open an office at Townsend and Elm, where blood has been spilled on many occasions.

A few Negro families settled on the near north side years ago and now own valuable property there, but most of the 10,000 Negroes who dwell between Wells and Halsted streets and Chicago and North avenues are recent arrivals from the south with low incomes from their laboring jobs. They pay from 20 to 50 per cent more than their Italian predecessors paid for houses which welfare experts pronounce a health menace for the entire community. Some of these hapless tenants live in dank, abandoned wine cellars.

Scarcity of Bathtubs.

Superintendent Jones of the Cregier municipal bathhouse, where between 500 and 900 north siders take their baths every week, reports that there are not half a dozen bathtubs in that

thickly populated territory lying between Division street and Chicago avenue and Chatham court and Wells street. Sixty per cent of his clients are colored.

On the whole, the Italian and Negro residents get along without serious friction. The Negroes complain of molestation by burly white gangs and try to keep their children off the streets as much as possible to avoid clashes with their neighbors. Bands of white youths take delight in throwing stones at the windows of the churches which Negro congregations have taken over from their Protestant white forerunners and clashes occasionally result from this activity.

The property destruction imposes a serious burden on the Negro worshippers, who are themselves poor. Churchgoers have come to expect a collection for replacing broken windows after the regular offering has been asked for. The broken window bill last week in one parish was \$52.

Harmony in Schools.

School teachers report that the Negro and white children get along very well, and that the Negro pupils do quite well considering the poor training the older children got in the southern schools they attended and the depressing homes in which their families are compelled to live.

Those colored children and adults who use the resources of Seward park and other public recreational centers report friendly treatment from the personnel and their white neighbors. The police in charge of the district say that Negro arrests constitute a very small percentage of the total number, and that these are chiefly results of domestic difficulties, disorderly conduct and gambling or pool room raid.

"I know of no occasion in which Negroes have taken the initiative where race friction was involved," one police officer declared.

Negroes are taking a lively part in the turbulent politics of the district. The Italian community also

having a predilection for the republican party, there is no incentive to clashes along political lines.

The churches and the lodges are the chief centers of such community activity as the Negroes on the near north side conduct, but the resources are meager when compared with those of the populous south side Negro community. There is no Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. such as the south side enjoys, and there are few persons in a position to push neighborhood clubs.

Seek Community Center.

J. Thomas Gray, 1304 North Wells street, is endeavoring to launch a community center which shall be primarily Negro supported in one of the local church buildings, though independent of any sect. Mr. Gray was valedictorian of his class at Hampton institute twenty-two years ago, and works as a steamfitter during the day. His evenings are devoted to bettering the condition of his people on the near north side and to promoting more cordial relations between white and colored people.

A Negro glee club with singers from the various churches was Mr. Gray's first venture in this direction and his success has encouraged him to try to raise \$2,200 for the community center. Already a number of Negroes have each pledged \$6 a year to finance the center. Mr. Gray believes that if the colored people show their interest and faith in such a movement some of the gold coast neighbors of the colony who now contribute to the support of Negro educational institutions in the south will see the desirability of helping colored people who live in their back yard under conditions no better than those obtaining in the most benighted southern regions.

"But we are not asking for anything until we have shown what the colored people can do," Mr. Gray added.

The civic department of the Chicago Urban league holds meetings to

promote thrift, better health and other causes in this community, indicating the interest of south side Negroes in the advancement of their brethren in other sections of the city.

Evanston Has Negro Area.

Evanston has become one of the important Negro communities of the Chicago area. There are now more than 9,000 Negroes in Evanston—constituting 15 per cent of the total population. Ten years ago there were only 2,500 Negroes in Evanston. The influx of newcomers has seriously taxed the recreational and housing facilities of the community.

Long-time Negro residents of Evanston, many of them property owners, are slightly resentful against the newcomers, whom they accuse of injuring the standing of colored people in the north shore suburb. Unadjusted newcomers have given rise to discrimination against all Negroes in certain amusement places and stores, the older colored residents complain. Newcomers too are blamed for the great increase in juvenile delinquency. A recent study by a welfare expert revealed that although the Negroes constitute but 15 per cent of the population they contribute 50 per cent of the youth arrested.

There are ten churches and missions serving Evanston's colored community, but welfare experts think the civic influence of the churches has been weakened by intra-church strife in certain parishes which has become so scandalous that the police have had to interfere. There is a colored branch of the Y. M. C. A. on Emerson street, but Evanston leaders feel that recreational facilities for the Negro community should be increased, and a full time colored recreational expert will begin his duties in the near future.

Negroes are a political factor in Evanston. In spite of slight feeling arising out of the recent influx, relations between whites and colored people in Evanston are cordial. Both

racers are expected to join in providing a Negro hospital and in furthering other civic and social welfare projects.

XII.

Chicago's Negro community includes a number of men and women of high professional and intellectual distinction. It shelters writers and artists whose work is favorably known among both whites and Negroes, but from a literary and artistic standpoint there is no group in Chicago comparable to the Harlem Negro literati. Chicago's pre-eminence lies in the business and professional attainments of its people.

If Chicago has no outstanding group of Negro artists it has a highly cultured coterie, which cherishes artistic effort of colored people. The steady output of books by Negro authors is eagerly read here. Negro musicians, such as the Johnsons and Roland Hayes, are acclaimed by their people when they give concerts here.

Appreciation of art, of course, knows no racial boundaries. There are thousands of white Chicagoans who follow with intense interest the literary and artistic development of the Negro. The latter, too, appreciate merit in art, regardless of the color or race of the artist. Local white and colored leaders are co-operating with the Chicago Woman's club to hold a "Negro in Art" week in Chicago next November, at which the work of colored people here and in other lands will be made available to Chicagoans.

The Chicago Art League of which William M. Farrow is president is one of the few organizations in the world composed exclusively of colored artists. In its membership are men and women who are successfully practicing the plastic and graphic arts.

Many Race Publications.

Moses Jordan, colored graduate of the Medill School of Journalism, publishes a monthly literary and news magazine called American Life to give expression to local authors. The Chi-