

8/102

Migration of Negroes North  
and East St. Louis Race Riots

1917-1926

**Do You Want to Check  
Colored Laborers  
Leaving the South  
for the North?**

**If You Do, Here Is  
Your Chance**

The National Colored Protective Association is an association of colored people organized for the protection of life, liberty and equal justice before the law for all alike.

This organization through its President, R. R. Robinson, is rapidly decreasing the unrest of the colored people of this city and through its efforts has not only decreased the leaving of the colored laborers to the North, but has really caused the return of many who went to other states for employment and protection as they felt, thus accomplishing the end which other organizations have spent much time and money to accomplish and failed in securing the results.

Within the last sixty days the National Colored Protective Association secured the Honorable Sidney J. Catts, Governor of the State of Florida, who spoke to the colored people and aroused much enthusiasm. This meeting alone has quieted and settled the minds of these people to such an extent, that they have become so contented they have since redeposited in one bank alone over ten thousand dollars, to say nothing of others.

It is now the intention of the National Colored Protective Association to hold another meeting along the same line. To do this the services of Honorable Sidney J. Catts, Governor of the State of Florida, and others, have been secured. This meeting is to be held on the night of September 14th, in the auditorium of the colored Masonic Temple, corner of Duval and Broad Streets.

#### GOVERNOR CATT'S

We believe a nail once driven should be immediately clinched. If Governor Catts comes back to speak for us and announces a joint committee of whites and colored whose duty it will be to hear complaints and try to adjust them, as he has promised to do, the nail will be clinched and all parties concerned will be benefited and satisfied.

For this reason, every man or place of business employing colored help, dealing or trading with colored people, renting to, or in any way having business dealings with the colored race, should assist. Hence, if you approve of these improved plans as the plain, common sense way of treating the question of labor you should at once contribute to the cause and help R. R. Robinson and his organization, in a financial way, to carry the same to success. Will you do it? The smallest and largest amount will be thankfully received. Make all checks to the association,

Respectfully,

NATIONAL COLORED PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

R. R. Robinson, President.

920½ East Union Street.

For further information see inside.

## OTHER ORGANIZATIONS FAILED?

Why did other organizations and individuals fail to check the tide of the colored laborers from here Northward. Either they did not know how; knew, but had not the courage to properly apply the remedy.

Can the exodus of colored labor from the South to the North be stopped?

Yes, the National Colored Protective Association can stop it by at least two-thirds. How? By first finding the cause of their going and the cure, which this association has done, by official investigation. The cause of their leaving discovered upon this investigation we found to be this: All men are lovers of freedom, safety, protection, peace and happiness. These, they claim, they were denied of to a great extent. We found they were getting today the same scale of wages which they received in former days when bacon was eight cents per pound, flour eight dollars per barrel; bacon is now twenty-eight cents per pound and flour is seventeen dollars per barrel.

What is the cure and how shall it be applied? The cure is for our Association to secure for the colored race and laborers equal justice before the law in the administration of same, cessation of the rough treatment the colored people have been receiving at the hands of the public officers in many places. The race themselves want to know and should know the facts in each case where members are charged with crime, as to their guilt or innocence.

Let this organization confer with all officials of large plants, mills, factories, industrial interests, wholesale and retail dealers who work large or small numbers of colored men and endeavor to secure for them wages commensurate with the present cost of living expenses. This should be done without creating labor strikes or other sensational, socialistic disturbances, which would have a tendency to stir up strife, thus causing discord between Capital and Labor.

### **How We Propose Dealing With the Question to Insure Confidence.**

On June twenty-ninth, nineteen seventeen the National Colored Protective Association, through the personal efforts of its President, R. R. Robinson, engaged Governor Catts to come to Jacksonville to address the colored people on the line of protection by the enforcement of the law indiscriminately. He came and spoke to a large crowd. He wound up with a strong appeal, advising them to remain in the South, at home, stating they would be protected. This was the scientific way to treat the case, for one in power to give this guarantee of protection to them.

Has the Governor's advice and assurance done good?

Yes, decidedly so. Both the Times-Union and The Me-

of Jacksonville, Florida, and statements  
of Anderson & Co., Bankers, since this meeting, in which they  
stated that the colored labor was not only now remaining and  
returning contentedly to Jacksonville, but that so well had  
their confidence been restored that within one month they had  
redeposited within their bank over ten thousand dollars. What  
is the experience of this firm, is but the plain, honest, truthful  
experience of others. If this is the most effective way to  
treat the case what will you contribute to assist in the work?  
Send us a donation and oblige.

Respectfully,

NATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSO., U. S. A.,

By R. R. Robinson, President.

920½ East Union Street.

SUGGESTED STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF LABOR

(For release as early as possible today)

Secretary of Labor Wilson today made the following statement:

"Through a misunderstanding, an impression has been created that in effort to fill places in northern industries made vacant by the exodus of foreign laborers a drive would be made to recruit negro labor from the South. The impression should be corrected and it should be generally understood that the Department of Labor has not contemplated and does not propose any recruiting activities to bring colored labor from the South. While the Department is desirous of assisting both white and colored workers to suitable employment, it does not seek to supply labor to one section ~~at the~~ of the country at the expense of another."

HERBERT HOOVER

WASHINGTON

June 26 1917

Hon. William E. Wilson,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington.

Subject: Negro Labor, State of Texas.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Under date of June 22d, I received a letter from the General Manager of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, of which I am President, from which I quote as follows:

"As you have probably noticed by the papers, there is almost, what you might call, an exodus of negro labor out of Texas. The Pennsylvania Railroad has an agent here, and we are informed that they intend to take 500 laborers from the city of Houston alone. I think this is going to be very serious, as I understand Alabama and the Carolinas have already been hit very hard in this way, and I would like to have some suggestion from you as to how you think we should go about stopping it. I have heard that these labor agents are telling the negroes that if they do stay here, the Government will draft them to the farms. You also know that a negro will move most anywhere if you give him free railroad transportation.

I have our negro farm demonstrator in town, studying the situation, finding out the promises that are being made, etc. I am also making up a list of the large employers of negro labor in this section, and expect to have a conference with them sometime next week.

Any suggestions you have on the subject will be gladly received and acted upon."

This would seem to be a very serious situation, and in some manner should be met. If you concur, I wish to discuss it further. I will be very glad indeed to make an appointment at your early convenience.

I may be reached during business hours at the office of Mr. Hoover, new Interior Building, 18th and F Streets, and at other times at the Raleigh Hotel.

Yours very truly,

*J. S. Sullivan*

*J.*

JSC/cc

June 27, 1917.

Mr. J. S. Cullinan,  
Care Mr. Herbert Hoover,  
New Department of the Interior Bldg.,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Cullinan:

I have been directed by Secretary Wilson to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 26th -- Subject: Negro Labor, State of Texas -- containing a letter from the General Manager of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, Houston, Texas, and also copy of telegram forwarded by you to Mr. James Z. George, of Houston, in further reference to the subject matter.

The Secretary desires me to thank you for bringing these matters to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

FACT COPY AS ABOVE BY [unclear] [unclear]  
6-27 BY [unclear]

Private Secretary.

K/H

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

Day Letter	X
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY MESSAGE.

Receiver's No.
Check
Time Filed
11:00 A. M.

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms  
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JUNE 27 1917

191

To JAMES Z. GEORGE

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE HOUSTON TEXAS

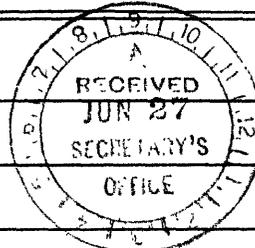
FURTHER REFERRING YOUR LETTER TWENTY SECOND TELEGRAM TWENTY THIRD AFTER  
SECURING NAME OF PARTY SOLICITING AND COMPANY HE REPRESENTS SUGGEST RE-  
QUESTING ALL INDUSTRIES OR OTHERS AFFECTED REPORT NAMES MEN CONTRACTED OR  
SOLICITED INCLUDING OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION TO YOUR LABOR COMMITTEE  
MEANTIME YOU TELEGRAPH INFORMATION YOU NOW HAVE TO INTERSTATE COMMERCE COM-  
MISSION FOLLOWING WITH LETTER GIVING FACTS FAR AS KNOWN SENDING COPIES COUNCIL  
NATIONAL DEFENSE THROUGH MR. GIFFORD ALSO SECRETARIES WILSON AND REEDFIELD  
AND ATTORNEY GENERAL GREGORY ALSO TO GOVERNOR FERGUSON AND MYSELF. KEEP  
ME ADVISED OF RESULTS.

J. S. CULLINAN

COLLECT.

SENDER'S ADDRESS  
FOR ANSWER

Cy. Hon. Wm. B. Wilson

SENDER'S TELE-  
PHONE NUMBER

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT WYATT BUILDING, COR. 14TH AND F STS., WASHINGTON, D. C. ALWAYS OPEN

CH F52 WA 234 COLLECT GOVT

MINNEAPOLIS MINN 134PM JUL 7 1917

TO THE SECY OF LABOR

01153  
WASHINGTON DC

*Copies of this in  
"Extra Copy" Drawer*

I WISH TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION EARNESTLY AND URGENTLY TO A CONDITION OF AFFAIRS THAT IS DEVELOPING IN THIS STATE AND TO THE WEST OF US IN MONTANA AND DAKOTA STOP THE LABOR SITUATION IN THIS STATE IS EXCELLENT WE HAVE NO STRIKE AND NONE IN PROSPECT STOP WE HAVE HANDED THE I W W AGITATION WITH TACT AND FIRMNESS ON THE IRON RANGES AND THERE IS NO TROUBLE IN SIGHT FROM THAT SOURCE STOP THERE HAVE BEEN LABOR TROUBLES ON THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY IN MONTANA AND TO THE WEST OF US LARGELY THE RESULT OF THE TACTLESSNESS OF THE OFFICERS OF THAT COMPANY IN

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

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Day Message	
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Night Message	Nite
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If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT WYATT BUILDING, COR. 14TH AND F STS., WASHINGTON, D. C. ALWAYS OPEN

SHEET 2

01153

HANDLING SUCH PROBLEMS STOP THE GREAT NORTHERN IS NOW IMPORTANG  
 NEGROS IN LARGE NUMBERS TO TAKE THE PLACE OF WHITE WORKMEN ON THE  
 LINE IN THE YARDS AND TO SOME EXTENT TO THE SHOPS STOP THEY ARE  
 BRINGING THEM FROM KANSASCITY STOP IF THIS IS PERMITTED TO CONTINUE  
 THE WHOLE SITUATION IN THIS STATE WILL BE IN CHAOS STOP IT IS A  
 MENACE THAT CANNOT BE OVER ESTIMATED SPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE  
 UNFORTUNATE ROOSEVELT EPISODE STOP THERE IS PLENTY OF WHITE LABOR  
 AVAILABLE AND THE GOVERNMENT MUST STOP THE MOVEMENT OF NEGROS INTO  
 THIS SECTION AT ONCE I SHUDDER TO THINK OF THE CONSEQUENCES IF THIS  
 IS NOT DONE

JOHN LIND CHAIRMAN LABOR COMMITTEE  
 MINNESOTA COMMISSION OF  
 PUBLIC SAFETY

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



CLASS OF	SYMBOL
Day M	
Day	Blue
Ni	Nite
N	N L

If none of these three symbols appear after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

F. F. W. COMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT WYATT BUILDING, COR. 14th AND F STS., WASHINGTON, D. C. 1917 JUL 7 PM 5 50

C125CH 29 BLUE

SU MINNEAPOLIS MINN 130P 7

LOUIS F POST

ASST SECY OF LABOR WASHINGTON DC

I HAVE SENT IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION TO SECRETARY PLEASE NOTE I AM NOT  
HYSTERICAL THE ACTION I URGE MUST BE TAKEN IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN  
PEACE AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

JOHN LIND.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

~~Received  
JUL 27/17  
H. P. L.~~

For the information  
of the Secretary call  
his attention to  
the annexed wire  
from Mr Lind  
of Minnesota

Aug 9/17 L. J. P

The Secy. replied personally on  
July 16/17 re telegram to him  
from Mr. Lind.  
Horner.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

JOHN T. WATKINS, LA., CHAIRMAN  
MARTIN A. MORRISON, IND.  
ROBERT L. HENRY, TEX.  
JAMES T. LLOYD, MO.  
FRANK PARK, GA.  
ROBERT CROSSER, OHIO.  
JAMES H. MAYS, UTAH.  
EDWARD B. ALMON, ALA.  
MERRILL MOORES, IND.  
WALTER W. HAGEE, N. Y.  
ROBERT F. HOPWOOD, PA.  
FRANK D. SCOTT, MICH.  
WALTER R. STINESS, R. I.

LAMONT SEALS, CLERK.  
W. K. WATKINS,  
REVISER OF THE STATUTES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.

COMMITTEE ON  
REVISION OF THE LAWS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 14, 1917.

Hon. W. B. Wilson,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Secretary:

During this time of War when it is necessary to have laborers on the farm to produce food and feed stuffs, there is an effort being successfully carried out to have the colored labor on the farms transported to the North to come in competition with the white labor there.

Agents are travelling about the South making representations to the negroes which induce them to leave the plantations in large numbers.

The planters are becoming very much exercised over it for fear that the depletion in labor will prevent the crops from being harvested, and considerable feeling is engendered. At Shreveport, Louisiana, in the Fourth Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent, the negroes have been leaving in bunches of twenty five to fifty every Saturday night for the last three months. Last Monday night about two hundred of them had congregated at

JOHN T. WATKINS, LAM CHAIRMAN.  
MARTIN A. MORRISON, IND.  
ROBERT L. HENRY, TEX.  
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ROBERT CROSSER, OHIO.  
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

the Union Station to be carried over the Texas and Pacific Railroad on their way to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to work on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

These negroes were congregated under the instructions of F. R. Stier, a special agent of the Pennsylvania System, acting through Maurice Newman, a Labor Agent at Shreveport; but they were prevailed upon by the Sheriff of Caddo Parish and the Chief of Police of the city of Shreveport to return to their homes. It is stated that Mr. Stier said he was going to Galveston on a recruiting expedition. He is supposed to be the same person who had been collecting negro labor at Marshall, Texas, recently. I mention this particular incident to show what is happening in one locality in the South; but the movement is widespread and if there is any chance for it to be stopped through your instrumentality or any governmental regulations, I appeal to you in the strongest possible terms to take the matter in charge at as early a date as you can and put a stop to this traffic.

Of course you understand the demoralizing effect this movement will have in the North when these

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.

COMMITTEE ON  
REVISION OF THE LAWS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

negroes come in competition with the white labor there,  
as this was demonstrated at East Saint Louis, Illinois.

I am, with greatest respect,

Yours truly,

*J. T. Watkins*  
M. C. Fourth La. Dist.

Hon. J. T. Watkins, M. C.,

Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Watkins:

The subject of Negro migration from the South, about which you write in yours of July 14, 1917, is having the earnest attention of this Department.

As you are of course aware, the Department has no power to interfere with the going of workers from one state to another. It does withhold its Employment Service facilities in cases of large migrating groups on the principle that such migration is injuriously disturbing to industrial conditions. It would also discourage as far as possible any efforts at stimulation of ~~migratory~~<sup>ions</sup> of a disorganizing kind, doing so not only in the interest of orderly procession<sup>es</sup> of production and distribution but in the interest also of the individuals whom such tendencies might mislead to their injury. The right, however of men to go from state to state of their own volition cannot be taken away by any power the Department of Labor has.

In the hope of finding a satisfactory adjustment of this embarrassing situation, the Department is having investigations made from which I have every reason to expect good results. As you rightly intimate, the question is not one

of the South alone nor of the workers of one race only. It is economic and affects both sections and all workers. And it is unfortunately complicated by a disposition on the part of some employers to avail themselves of the circumstances <sup>in order to</sup> ~~for~~ enhancing <sup>↑</sup> their profits at the expense of workers. If all employers at the North were as scrupulous as others about placing the workers of their region at an industrial disadvantage, and all at the South were as solicitous as others for the welfare of the workers of their region, the problem would be much simpler or at any rate much easier of adjusting. <sup>ment</sup> ~~ing~~.

Let me assure you ~~that~~, that the Department of Labor is using its limited facilities to the utmost with a view to conserving the individual interests of all whom this problem involves, while protecting as far as possible the industrial interests of the country as a whole.

July 17, 1917.

Hon. J. T. Watkins,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

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Let me assure you that the Department of Labor is using its limited facilities to the utmost with a view to conserving the individual interests of all whom this problem involves, while protecting as far as possible the industrial interests of the country as a whole.

Sincerely yours,

7-17  
Secretary.

July 16, 1917.

Hon. John Lind, Chairman,  
Labor Committee, Minn. Commission of Public Safety,  
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

My dear Governor:

Your telegram of the 7th instant, relative to the importation of Negro labor to the Northwest, came to hand in due time. I have had the subject matter up with the President and Cabinet, and am also taking it up with the Council of National Defense.

The migration of negroes from the South during the past year in larger numbers than can be assimilated in the North has caused a great deal of anxiety to the Department of Labor, both because of the fear of friction in the North and the shortage of labor in the South. Thus far we have not been able to devise any way by which the migration can be controlled without at the same time interfering with the natural right of workers to move from place to place at their own discretion. I can assure you, however, that we are giving our most earnest attention to the entire subject matter.

Sincerely yours,

RECEIVED BY

MAILED

7-17

Secretary.

July 16, 1917.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I am inclosing you herewith copy of a report of the Labor Committee of the State Council of Defense of Illinois upon the inquiry into the recent race riots in East St. Louis. I am also inclosing copy of a telegram received from former Governor John Lind of Minnesota, relative to the importation of Negro workers into the Northwest.

You will observe that the report indicates that there has been some anonymous advertising as a means of inducing negroes to migrate to East St. Louis, and some evidence of labor agents gathering carloads of negroes together and allowing them to reach their destination without any provisions being made for work, food or shelter for them when they arrive.

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After consultation with the President, I take the liberty of suggesting that possibly some way may be devised by which the State

Councils of Defense can cooperate to secure a reduction in the migration to its normal numbers.

Cordially yours,

*Del. — 7-17* *M. C. ...*  
Secretary.

Hon. Newton D. Baker, Chairman,  
Council of National Defense,  
Washington, D.C.

Incl.  
K/H

July 16, 1917.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR STATISTICS.

I am inclosing you herewith correspondence from J. H. Walker, including copy of report of the Labor Committee of the State Council of Defense of Illinois upon the inquiry into the recent race riots in East St. Louis, Illinois. You will observe that the report indicates that there has been some anonymous advertising as a means of inducing negroes to migrate to East St. Louis, and some evidence of labor agents gathering carloads of negroes together and allowing them to reach their destination without any provisions being made for work, food or shelter for them when they arrive.

I would like to have a preliminary survey made to determine to what extent this has occurred in East St. Louis and other points throughout the country as a basis for determining whether a thorough nation-wide investigation of the whole subject matter should be undertaken.

I am also inclosing you copy of telegram received from former Governor John Lind of Minnesota on the same subject matter, and some advertisements that have been gathered under the direction of Mr. Dillard, who is looking into the situation in the southern states for the Department of Labor.

K/H

*L. L. ...*  
*2-13*  
*...*  
Secretary.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON.

120-29  
July 19, 1917.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have received your letter of July 16th, and have asked Mr. Gifford to bring up at the next meeting of the Council of National Defense the suggestion that the State Councils of Defense may be helpful in the matter of restricting the aimless deportation of negro labor from the South.

Cordially yours,

*Woodrow Wilson*

Secretary of War.

Hon. Wm. B. Wilson,

Secretary of Labor.

*Noted July 20-17*  
*W.B.A.*

✓

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1917.

Dear Mr. Lippmann:-

Herewith enclosed please find memorandum of answers received to our letters to the State Councils of Missouri, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, bearing on the migration of negroes from the South to the North, which I hope will be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

P.S.- I shall be very glad to send you the original documents if they are of sufficient interest to you.

WEM-JJKJr.



Mr. Walter Lippmann,  
Office of the Secretary of War,  
War Department,  
Washington, D. C.

July 31, 1917.

On July 12th a letter was addressed to the State Councils of Missouri, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, inquiring whether the migration of negroes from the South to the North had been artificially stimulated and accelerated.

Replies were received as follows:

On July 20th Mr. F. B. Mumford, Chairman of the Missouri Council of Defense wrote stating that in his opinion there had been very little migration of negroes into Missouri:

"So far as I know there are no agencies paying so many dollars per head for negroes brought from the South.

"In a few small towns in South Missouri the attitude toward negroes is very unfriendly. For information on this write to the Mayor of Festus, Jefferson County, Missouri.

"For further information as to organized agencies write to Mr. M. L. Wilkinson, Chairman County Council of Defense, St. Louis, Mo."

Mr. William H. Hayes, Chairman of the Indiana State Council of Defense wrote under date of July 20th:

"A very large number of these men have come into the State, but we have not been able to find that this has been artificially stimulated or accelerated at all.

"Some months ago I was familiar with an investigation quite carefully made to ascertain this very thing and we could learn of nothing of that nature going on."

Under date of July 23d Mr. Fred C. Croxton, Chairman Labor and Industrial Relations Committee of the Ohio Branch of the Council of National Defense wrote stating substantially that they were convinced that the movement of the negroes to the North was being very greatly encouraged by different agencies, including industrial concerns, railroads and private employment agencies:

"The negroes are coming in such numbers that there is grave danger of very serious consequences.

"We have very definite information concerning the fees charged many negroes for securing work for them in the North --- not many, but a number".

Under date of July 27th the Illinois State Council of Defense forwarded a copy of Report on "Race Riots in East St. Louis by its Committee on Labor".

The report states that the riots were due to the excessive and abnormal amount of negroes then and for some months past in East St. Louis. It added that the influx of negroes was due to the natural workings of economic laws, but separate, distinct and apart from this, this migration had been greatly accelerated by the activities of labor agents throughout the South, by the insertion of anonymous advertisements

in Southern papers urging migration to East St. Louis, etc. etc.

At Page 4 the report states:

"The evidence warrants the conclusion that there was an extensive campaign to induce negroes to come to East St. Louis. Such a campaign had required considerable backing and its backers took pains to be unknown".

The report continues:

"that while the managers of the large industries of the cities denied any knowledge of this campaign, the force of motive (sic) points in their direction".

The report recommends:

"That the migration of any class from one part of the country to another be allowed to flow along natural lines, that the equilibrium of population may not be disturbed; that the severest condemnation should be visited upon those who undertake to promote any artificial movement of population."

The report further recommends:

"That the problem of shifting labor, where labor is needed during the war, be handled by the various State Councils of Defense in connection with the Council of National Defense, etc. etc."

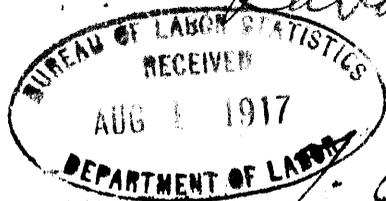
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Aug 1, 1917

MEMORANDUM.

This letter to  
The Secretary  
asks for some-  
thing that only  
the Secretary  
can do.

Edw. Stewart



East 131 St  
W. U. July 25, '17.

Hon. Wm. B. Wilson,  
Sec. of Labor, Wash. D. C.

Dear Sir,

May I ask  
if the riots of E. St. Louis Ill.  
are under the jurisdiction of  
your department?

You doubtless heard of them  
on July 2. Many negroes, women  
and children were slain. The  
crime of these people proves on  
investigation to have been  
"Immigration with a desire to  
better their financial condition"

One of the most eminent le-  
gal authorities in the U. S. in-  
forms me that the "Constitution"

(2)  
of the U. S. as adopted in 1790.  
guarantees the right of citizens  
of one state to immigrate dwell  
and labor in another state and  
be protected in their legal rights  
the same as citizens of the state  
to which they immigrate.

The labor unions of U. S. through  
the attempted apologies of their  
leaders Mr. Samuel Gompers  
of the A. F. of L. and Mr. Whalen  
of the Illinois State branch, have  
convicted those unions of being  
pry to these riots or otherwise  
conspiring to disturb the public  
peace.

I believe that you as a  
"Cabinet Officer" in your oath  
of office have sworn to uphold  
the Constitution. If the facts as  
I have stated them are true I  
have no doubt this is a matter

(3)

of your consideration . . . . .

There certainly must be some Federal statute covering pre-meditated riot especially during the time of war.

A public word from you in condemnation of these acts or a press article would do much to alleviate the intense feeling among negroes at this time.

As a private citizen I feel that I am within my rights in thus addressing you.

Kindly give this matter your earnest attention and let me hear from you.

Resp. yours.

J. P. Belammar.

WAR DEPARTMENT.  
WASHINGTON.

August 6, 1917.

Mr. Hugh L. Kerwin, Private Secretary,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kerwin:

I am forwarding a letter to you which comes from  
the State Cooperative Section, Council of National Defense.  
At my suggestion they made some inquiries into the negro migration  
which has been causing so much trouble in the middle west. I  
don't know whether your Department is looking into this question  
now or not but I am sending the information to you.

Very sincerely yours,

*Will Sippman*

*W. Sippman*  
*Aug 24*

August 10, 1917.

Mr. J. W. Delamar,  
7 East 131 Street,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by Secretary Wilson to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, relative to the recent race riots in East St. Louis, Illinois, and to state that the matter is receiving the attention of the Department of Labor.

Respectfully yours,

8-10 *Allyn*  
Private Secretary.

H

August 13, 1917.

Mr. Walter Lippmann,  
Office of the Secretary of War,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Lippmann:

I desire to thank you for your letter of the 6th instant, inclosing communication, with accompanying memorandum, addressed to you by the State Cooperative Section, Council of National Defense, relative to negro migration from the South. We are very glad to receive this information at this time, as the matter is now under consideration by the Department of Labor.

Sincerely yours,

  
Private Secretary.

K/H

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

January 2, 1918.

File 22-16

Memorandum:

From: The Director of Negro Economics  
To: Chief, Division of Publications and Supplies  
Subject: "Negro Migration in 1916-17"

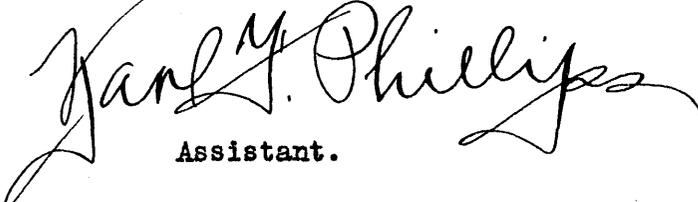
1. Returned herewith is page-proof copy of "Negro Migration in 1916-17", attention being respectfully called to corrections indicated on pages 9, 22, 35, 71, 75, 86, 92, 94, 115, 116, 120, 136, 138 and 143.

2. It is noted that there are no pages numbered 2, 12, 48, 90 and 112. Inasmuch as it is observed that the pages following those omitted are ones upon which a new section of matter is begun, inquiry is made if the pages omitted are to be numbered and inserted in "caption" style.

3. On pages 3 and 4, "Contents" it is noted that the indexing under "Page" has not been completed. Will you please advise this office if you expect us to complete the indexing.

4. This office appreciates your past handling of this report and advances thanks for expediting the delivery of final copies.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF NEGRO ECONOMICS

  
Assistant.

1 enclosure accompanying

A LIGHT IN THE SOUTH.

The recent enormous and still unchecked exodus of the negroes from the South appears to be reacting on the attitude of the Southern white people toward the negro in a thoroughly wholesome and natural way; a way which, if properly and publicly manifested, may serve effectually to halt the flight of the black man before it has gone so far as to cripple seriously the South's growing economic strength. The South needs the negro. He is and has been since early Colonial times the physical staff on which almost its entire industrial life leans. He constitutes practically all of the unskilled labor of a fourth part of the United States. The South knows no other. At heart it wants no other, for, truth to tell, there is a warm, long-standing affection existing between the white man and the colored as long as the colored man "knows his place and keeps it."

There has been no inflow of foreign white labor to the South. The whites haven't encouraged it, the presence of the blacks has prevented it. At the same time the relations between white employer and colored worker, in a broad, impersonal way, have not been happy. A few colored men and women, because primarily of individual rather than racial traits, have here and there made themselves offensive to the white people. Resentfully the whites have in many States passed laws, curbing to the upstarts doubtless, but galling and humiliating to the entire colored population, which they had no desire to offend. The result has naturally been not improved conditions, but bad blood on both sides, relations more strained than before. Neither side was happy.

Then came the great war, with enormous demands in the North and West for labor of every kind, the lowest degrees of skilled white labor being made to do the work denied to it in other times. To take the vacant places in the unskilled ranks labor agents scoured the South for colored men and women and, for the increased wages, found them eager to pull up stakes and leave. The larger pay was, indeed, an inducement, but it would perhaps have been far less attractive if the colored man had not felt, and felt for a long time and bitterly, that in the North and West he would not, as in his Southern home, be reminded of his black skin every time he met a policeman, entered a

street car, railway station or train and in a hundred other less conspicuous ways in the course of a day.

It was such a condition which opened the way for GILES B. JACKSON, a Richmond negro lawyer, to become the mouthpiece of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce at the recent convention in New York of the Southern Commercial Congress, then addressed by a negro for the first time in its history, and to plead with that body to do everything in its power to stop this migration of the negro, which he said had reached the staggering total of 800,000 since the world war began—a total which represents the most intelligent and desirable product of the negro's civilization in the South since his emancipation.

What has been the effect of all this on the Southern white man, contemplating his idle wheels? Information comes from beyond the Potomac that the idea is creeping into his mind and taking root that perhaps he has not always given the negro a square deal in the past. In no head, straight-haired or kinky, is there a thought of racial equality or habitual social intercourse. One group does not want it, and the other would not have it. But the whites are beginning to see that if the negro is to remain with them the conditions under which he lives must be kindlier, the collective attitude of the white people toward him friendlier, and that equal opportunities with the whites for his prosper-

ity, enjoyment of life, and the education of his children be assured to him, not grudgingly, but gladly and abundantly. If this change does come, and comes quickly, it will do much to keep the negro where by nature and endowment he is most at home, where he is best understood, and in reality best liked, and where his best service and highest happiness lie.

No. 8-102.

January 31, 1918.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have your letter of the 24th instant, in indorsement of Mr. N. C. Bruce, Principal of the Bartlett Agricultural and Industrial School of Dalton, Missouri, as one qualified to assist in mobilizing farm workers for the purpose of stimulating farm activities, and in reply thereto permit me to thank you for your indorsement of Mr. Bruce.

Very truly yours,  
EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY W. B. WILSON

MAILED 11/24/18 BY

EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY W. B. WILSON

Secretary.

The Hon. Josephus Daniels,  
Secretary of the Navy,  
Washington, D. C.

THOMAS S. MARTIN  
CHAIRMAN.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 14, 1918.

Hon. William G. McAdoo,  
Director General of Railroads,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McAdoo:

I understand that Mr. Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Virginia, has an appointment with you today at 2 o'clock. He is deeply interested in the labor situation and has gone extensively into the matter both in the South and in the North. He is thoroughly familiar with conditions and is a man of excellent practical ability. He enjoys the confidence of the people of my State and is one of the most prominent and useful colored men in the South. He is worthy of such consideration as you may show him and you may rely on any statements he may make to you. I have always found him thoroughly reliable.

Very truly yours,

*Thomas S. Martin*

Atlanta, Georgia,  
March 5, 1918.

Hon. Wm. B. Baker,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.



Dear Sir:

During the past three decades nearly three thousand American colored men, women and children have suffered butchery and death in almost every conceivable form at the hands of the lynchers of America. Last year alone the number thus murdered was two hundred twenty-two. The reported causes for such appalling brutality run the gamut from alleged violation of the honor of white women to disputing the word of white men. The fact however that only about five per cent of these murders are reputed to have been inflicted upon accused violators of womanhood argues almost conclusively that the desire to protect womanhood is almost negligible among the so-called causes of lynchings.

We accordingly regard lynching as worse than Prussianism, which we are at war to destroy. Lynching is not a cure for crime, either imaginary or real. It decreases faith in the boasted justice of our so-called democratic institutions. It widens the frightful chasm of unfriendly and suspicious feeling between the races and positively foments the spirit of antipathy and resentment. We are accused of concealing criminals. Who has concealed the many criminals that have mercilessly murdered these three thousand defenseless men, women and children of our race? That these murderers frequently ply their trade in broad daylight and in plain view of the entire citizenry even does not facilitate their punishment or detection. Within less than one year one state alone has tortured and burned at the stake three colored men without even the semblance of a trial or an effort to apprehend and punish the murderers. In the last instance an entire helpless colored population was marched around the fire amid fumes of a burning human being and put on notice that as that black man was suffering they too should fear to suffer. Thus the defiant lynching giant strides on apace. While we are sacrificing the best blood of our sons upon our Nation's altar to help destroy Prussianism beyond the seas, we call upon you to use your high offices to destroy the lynching institution at our doors.

We are the one group of American people, than whom there is none more loyal, which is marked out for discrimination, humiliation and abuse. In great patriotic and humanitarian movements, in public carriers, in federal service, the treatment accorded us is humiliating, dehumanizing and reprehensible in the extreme. This persistent and unreasonable practice is but a thrust at the colored man's self-respect-- the object being not merely to separate the races but to impress us with the idea of supposed natural inferiority. Such demoralizing discrimination is not only a violation of the fundamental rights of citizens of the United States, but the persistent segregation of any element of our country's population into a separate and distinct group on the sole basis of color is creating a condition under which this nation cannot long endure.

When we reflect upon these brutalities and indignities we remember they are due to the fact that in almost every southern state we have systematically, by law or chicanery, been deprived of the right of that very manhood suffrage which genuine democracy would guarantee to every citizen in the republic. This propaganda of filching from colored Americans the ballot is but a supreme

effort to re-enslave us and to force our assent to, and our impotence against, any legislation of our opponents. To this policy the black man does not, cannot and will not agree. Of it, our intolerance is cumulative. Against it, we shall exert our righteous efforts until not only every eligible black man but every eligible black woman shall be wielding the ballot proudly in defense of our liberties and our homes.

We are appealing to you neither as vassals nor as inferiors. Bull Run and Appomattox fixed our status in this nation. We are free men. We are sovereign American citizens-- freemen who have purchased with our own blood on every battle field from Bunker Hill to Carrizal full rights and immunities such as are freely granted others but systematically refused us.

We are writing to you, gentlemen, that you may give us the assurance and guarantee which every American citizen ought to have without reference to color. We are loyal and will remain so, but we are not blind. We cannot help seeing that white soldiers who massacred our black brothers and sisters in East St. Louis have gone scot free. We cannot help seeing that our black brothers who massacred white citizens in Houston have paid the most ignominious penalty that can come in this country to a man in uniform. Do not these undemocratic conditions, these inhumanities, these brutalities and savageries provoke the Rulers of the nation to speak out of their long sphinxlike silence and utter a voice of hope, a word of promise for the black man? Do the rulers of the nation also hate us, and will they, Pilate-like, forever give their assent to the crucifixion of the bodies, minds and souls of those in whom there has been found nothing worthy of the death we are dying save that we are black. May not your silence be construed as tacit approval or active tolerance of these things. The effect on the morale of black men in the trenches, when they reflect that they are fighting on foreign fields in behalf of their nation for those very rights and privileges which they themselves are denied at home, might be discouraging.

We appeal to you in the name of democracy!

We appeal to you in the name of our American citizenship!

We appeal to you in the name of God, and

We would be heard!

P. J. Bryant, Chairman  
L. H. King, Secretary  
G. W. Andrews  
John Harmon  
W. H. Ballard  
R. H. Singleton  
C. A. Wingfield  
C. G. Gray  
~~R. T. O'Neal~~  
W. J. Jones  
W. A. Austin  
E. P. Johnson  
J. A. Williams  
L. J. Wilder  
H. D. Gorman  
G. W. Young  
W. F. Paschal  
W. F. James  
C. H. Robinson  
J. T. Dorsey  
J. R. Gardner

F. M. Hutchinson  
J. C. Adams  
D. L. Lowe  
A. D. Williams  
H. R. Rucker  
D. W. Cannon  
John Hope  
J. W. E. Bowen  
D. Weaver  
Thos. I. Brown  
H. H. Pace  
W. H. Crogman  
A. P. Melton  
Henry M. White  
J. S. Flipper  
M. W. Reddick  
Joseph Griffith  
B. G. Brawley  
J. C. Lindsay  
J. A. Hopkins  
Wm. F. Penn  
W. M. Smith  
E. Mitchell  
J. W. Jones  
J. B. Watson  
W. A. Aderhold  
Jesse L. Relford  
Chas. H. Sharp  
J. A. Robinson  
Wm. Driskell  
A. C. Simmons  
J. C. Sherrill  
J. A. Wimberly  
H. W. B. Wilson  
W. J. Trent  
Jas. R. Porter  
F. J. Wimberly  
J. W. Wynn  
J. W. E. Linder  
L. G. Harris  
Chas. H. Stokes  
Ed. Jones  
J. S. Speer  
J. C. Chapman  
J. H. Goss, Jr.  
J. S. Bell  
Geo. L. Pace  
J. L. Holloway  
E. W. Hatchett  
James Stokes  
Arthur Raindrop  
J. A. Moore  
W. H. Whitaker  
Lewis Foster  
Peter Gibbs  
Jas. A. Mitchell  
Thos. W. Alexander  
W. A. Fountain  
E. H. Oliver  
Geo. H. Mahone  
J. F. Demery  
L. M. Hill  
I. H. McDuffie  
Willis Murphy  
W. J. Williams  
D. D. Crawford  
H. R. Butler  
R. M. Reddick  
R. L. Goodrum  
David T. Howard

L. H. Ingraham  
Robt. R. Smith  
Kemper Harreld  
C. P. Bishop  
J. R. Hamilton  
J. L. Wheeler  
L. J. Price  
R. P. Johnson  
T. J. Jarrett  
L. A. Townsley  
Peter Harris  
Lawyer Taylor  
R. L. Edmondson  
O. T. Sutton  
R. L. Craddock  
H. D. Canady  
W. H. Nelson  
M. Thompson  
M. L. Glenn  
A. J. Lewis  
F. E. Eberhardt  
Alex D. Hamilton  
Richard Woodward  
G. W. Towns

March 20, 1918.

Mr. P. J. Bryant, Chairman,  
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Permit me to acknowledge receipt of the communication under date of the 5th instant, signed by yourself and several other members of your committee, relative to the subject of lynching of colored citizens of this country, and to advise you that the same will be brought to the attention of Secretary Wilson.

Respectfully yours,



Assistant to the Secretary.

April 10, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR GENERAL:

Farm Service Reserve (Colored)

Plan of organization:

To enlist the organized support of all leaders among the colored people, and to organize, register and direct colored labor to the farms in the sections of the country where the farmers are dependent upon colored laborers.

To be a branch of the Farm Service Division, with the following staff and field officers:

One Assistant Chief of the Farm Service Division, at \$1,800 P.A.  
One Second Assistant Chief of the Farm Service Division at \$1,500 P.A.  
Two stenographers, at \$1,200 P.A.  
One Asst. State Director of Employment in the following States,  
at \$1,740 P.A.

Maryland,	Alabama
Virginia	Mississippi
W. Virginia	Louisiana
N. Carolina	Texas
S. Carolina	Arkansas
Georgia	Tennessee
Florida	Kentucky

Two Examiners (or more if necessary) to be attached to each Employment Office in the States named, at \$1,380 and \$1,500 each.

The entire force to work under the direction of the Farm Service Division of the U. S. Employment Service.

Suitable badges to be provided (of rather ornate design -- something that will appeal to the negroes love of display), one to be given to each person when they register. Also a certificate of membership, similar to the one used by the Boys Working Reserve.

So far as practicable the entire force should be selected from among the recognized and popular leaders of the colored people, preference being given to officers of the colored secret societies such as the

Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Columbus, etc., as practically all of the negroes belong to some secret society and their leaders in those organizations would have more influence with them than any one else.

In addition to the secret societies, prominent ministers, teacher, and other leaders should be called upon to lend their assistance to this movement. All of the newspapers devoted to the interests of the colored race can be depended upon to make the plan a success.

Government recognition of the ability of the Negro leaders to influence and control their race, by placing them in practical charge of this movement, should have a wide spread and favorable effect and result in making the plan a complete success.

#### Need for Organization.

Because of the low wages paid to farm laborers in those States, and because of the extraordinary high wages paid by various contractors; because of the long hours of labor on the farms, and of the short hours on the other jobs, the negroes have left the farms in such large numbers that there is an alarming shortage of farm labor in those regions, and unless prompt measures are taken the resulting loss of farm products will be serious. (FLC reports.)

Contractors are carrying thousands of men on their pay rolls that could be released to other occupations if all of their employees would work six days in the week. But they do not. Many of them (and particularly the colored men) work three or four days a week and loaf the balance of the time. An active and organized effort should be made to influence these men to work every day, and white men can not successfully

perform that feat. But I am assured that colored men, representing the Government, would meet with a large degree of success.

Information has recently come to hand which indicates that the Germans, working through Gypsy fortune tellers, are carrying on a propaganda among the negroes having for its purpose the incitement of race prejudice. By placing leading negroes in charge of the farm service reserve work, two purposes will be effected, i. e., the Government will have loyal negroes throughout the negro districts who will be in a position to detect and report any disloyalty growing out of this propaganda, and possibly secure evidence to convict the German agents; and also to counteract the work being carried on by such agents. (See report by Lucile Yerdon.)

In the cities and towns in the States mentioned, there are thousands of negroes who work only occasionally, spending the balance of their time loafing around pool halls and other places, gambling and planning crimes. In some of these States these negroes cannot be arrested and convicted on a charge of "vagrancy" if they have any money in their possession when arrested, or if they can prove that they have a job part of the time. An organized and continuous campaign carried on among these negroes by their own leaders under the support of the Government should result in sending many of them into profitable employment, and ultimately in breaking up the resorts frequented by them, resorts where many petty crimes are planned. (See reports of Arnold and Jennifer).

While this campaign of education and direction is being carried on by the colored leaders among the colored people, a similar campaign of education should be carried on among the white people, especially the farmers, for the purpose of informing them fully of what the Government is trying to do, and for the further purpose of securing their active support

and cooperation in carrying on the work to successful completion. Publicity in the Press would be the first and best method, supported by the approval of the Governors and other prominent men in the States affected. One of the first and most important things to receive attention being the matter of wages, housing and hours of labor.

To obtain the best results, and meet an emergency, this plan should be put into force at the earliest possible moment, if it meets with the approval of the Secretary.

EXPENSE - - BALANCE OF THIS FISCAL YEAR.

Force

Department.

One Asst. Chief, Farm Service Division, at \$1800 P.A. - - - - - 375.00  
 One 2nd Asst. Chief, Farm Service Division at \$1500 P.A. - - - 312.50  
 Two stenographers at \$1200 P.A. \* \* - - - - - - - - - - - 300.00

Force

Field.

One Asst. State Director in each of 14 states, at \$1740 P.A. 4060.00  
 50 Examiners in each of the 50 Employment Offices now  
 located in those states, at \$1500 P.A. each - - - - - - - - - -12500.00  
 50 Junior Examiners in each of the 50 Employment Offices  
 now located in those states, at \$1390 P.A. each - - - - - - - - -11500.00

Salaries at above rates, for 2 months of present fiscal  
 year (about) - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 29047.50

Furniture

Department.

Furniture for office in Department (about) - - - - - - - - - 500.00  
 250,000 celluloid buttons @ \$6.50 per M (about) - - - - - - - 1625.00  
 250,000 certificates of membership @ \$312.46 per 100,000  
 (about) - - - - - 781.15

Total (about) - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 31,953.65

<u>States:</u>	<u>No. offices.</u>	<u>States:</u>	<u>No. offices.</u>
Alabama	3	West Virginia	
Arkansas	5	Mississippi	2
Florida	3	N. Carolina	5
Georgia	4	S. Carolina	2
Kentucky		Tennessee,	7
Louisiana	2	Texas	11
Maryland	1	Virginia	5

May 7, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY:

I. In considering the accompanying memorandum of the Farm Service Division, four practical questions arise:

1. The emergency need of supplying labor for cultivating and harvesting crops in the Southern States. The greater part of the planting season is over except for late corn and transplanting tobacco.
2. The need of adjusting labor over the longer period to meet the growing labor shortage in the South. This is industrial as well as agricultural.
3. This is a national need and while the South is most important because of large numbers, the employment program for Negro labor in the South should be connected with a similar program for the North, East and Middle West.
4. The Department's employment program for Negro labor will necessarily involve other plans and purposes of the Department for improving conditions of wage-earners over the Country.

II. The aforesaid memorandum has the following fine, practical features:

1. The staff of workers so far as practicable is to be composed of specially qualified colored men (and women-?).
2. It takes into account the usefulness of existing secret societies and other organizations of Negroes.
3. The plan for certificate and badge of membership in a working reserve similar to the Boys' Working Reserve is very good.
4. The use of Ministers, teachers, and other leaders and the Negro newspapers as publicity channels is good.
5. The selection of the force of workers on the basis of secret society connection may be taken with caution for the volunteer force. For the paid staff it should be avoided and selections made solely upon the probable qualifications for the work to be done.

6. In addition to the states named in the Farm Service Division Memorandum, there will be need of either Assistant State Directors or local examiners at points in the following, to which Negroes have migrated:

Oklahoma,	Pennsylvania,
Michigan,	Ohio,
Massachusetts,	Indiana,
Connecticut,	Illinois,
New York,	Missouri.
New Jersey,	

This will add to the expenses probably one Assistant State Director in the States of Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Illinois,

\$1740 per annum. . . . . \$10,440.

The number of offices in these additional states that will need Negro examiners will be determined by the number of Negroes who have migrated to the places where these offices are located. At present there are approximately 28 such places which may require one examiner, and probably 20 that will need additional junior examiners:

28 examiners at \$1500 per annum . . . . . \$42,000.

20 junior examiners at \$1200 per annum. . \$24,000.

7. The plan points clearly to the need of organization of the Negro labor forces.

III. The following facts bear upon the problem:

1. Negroes are discontented in the South and have been leaving because of
  - (a) Low wages and the credit and advancing system with its interest charges before the Negro draws the advances, and its poor system of settlement on farms and plantations,
  - (b) Attractive wages in industrial centers, especially in the North,
  - (c) Discontent because of treatment at the hands of landlords, overseers, bosses, and others in their localities,
  - (d) The isolation and monotony due to the lack of schools, churches, and other community attractions,
  - (d) Miscellaneous causes.

Other conditions call for necessary adjustments to remove their dissatisfaction. (See Dillard Reports: Leavel on Mississippi as well as the reports on Alabama and Georgia).

2. Legislative and coercive measures have been attempted in some Southern localities to prevent Negroes leaving. These efforts have not been successful but have left many Negroes with the impression that the white people may attempt forcibly to prevent their moving.
3. Negroes will probably regard with strong suspicion a special

effort which has only a back-to-the-farm purpose. This may create an opposition to other efforts of the Department to adjust their problems in industry in the South and in the North, to which so many have migrated. It would then be difficult to help them see the purpose of the Department to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States". As an example of the effects of this suspicion, it may be noted that for years the American Federation of Labor held the most liberal policy of knowing no race or color, but the National officers could make little headway among Negroes because of their suspicions having been kept aroused by the action of a white local here and there in the handling of Negroes.

IV. Therefore, I advise the following alterations or amendments, (Details on any points will be furnished if desired).

1. The plan of organization of this Farm Service Division should be started only as a part of a wider program to attack the difficult problem of Negro employment in industries as well as agriculture, North, East, and Middle West, in addition to the South. Please note that the letter of appeal from Charlotte, N. Car., is made upon the broader basis. (Letter attached to the Farm Service Division Memoranda). The reports of your five investigators of migration point in the same direction, (Dillard Reports).
2. The plan might provide for the necessary organization to bring the representatives of the local white and colored people (industrial and farm employers and representatives of Negro wage earners and farm laborers and tenants) together for mutual understanding and adjustments. It seems to me this is fundamental. An example of rural cooperation is the Community Congress of Bolivar Co., Miss., developed by the County farm demonstration agent and local citizens. It is made up of five leading white planters and business men from each of the five supervisors' districts within the County and five leading Negro citizens of the County. The work of the organization is through Committees to take up any and all County problems. There is a Committee on labor supply. In case Community sentiment will not permit Negroes on the general Committee, there can be a parallel Negro Committee either as advisory or with representatives who meet representatives of the white Committee. The Federal Employment Service will get greater power for results in each locality by working with such civilian cooperation.
3. There are six probable channels through which this might be done:
  - (a) State and County Councils of defense. I am sure of cooperation in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and South Carolina.
  - (b) Chambers of Commerce or similar commercial bodies. The farm extension bureau of Memphis, Tenn., under the

Chamber of Commerce, is conducting educational campaigns to improve farming and rural conditions of Negroes in adjoining Counties of Miss., Ark., Tenn. This service is a part of the work promoted by a joint Committee of white and colored citizens, working on a plan your Director has helped to spread in the South. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Macon, Ga., received readily such a plan. Other forms of cooperation on the plan can undoubtedly be secured from similar commercial bodies. The Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta., Ga., has been considering such a plan. Similar bodies in Cleveland, Ohio, Detroit, Mich., Chicago, and St. Louis, have shown active interest.

- (c) The County agents of the Department of Agriculture. About 200 of these agents are Negroes in counties of the South, and many of the white agents are very sympathetic.
- (d) The rural school superintendents of Negro schools and the rural school supervisors. There are 11 states that have these superintendents on their Boards of Education, all sympathetic white men; 218 county rural school supervisors are all colored. They are all in the closest touch with county superintendents of education and with rural life in the South, white and colored.
- (e) The organizations of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. We can get the active cooperation of the national and local officers of the colored men's department of the United States.
- (f) The local branches of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. This organization has developed in 25 cities, the most effective machinery, and has drawn together the most capable persons for dealing with such problems. In Memphis, Tenn., Savannah, Ga., Detroit, Mich., Cleveland, Ohio, Philadelphia, Pa., New York City, and a number of other cities, North and South, the cooperation of these organizations will be indispensable.

V. The steps in starting this work might be according to the following order:

- 1. A careful publicity campaign to inform the white and colored people of the purpose and scope of the service. For the Negroes, we can secure immediately,
  - (a) Local Negro speakers or messengers to present the matter to Churches, lodges, etc.,
  - (b) Names and addresses of all Negro newspapers, and help to secure ample space in their columns,
  - (c) Moving picture theaters,
  - (d) Cooperation of leaders of fraternal societies and all church denominations,
  - (e) Leaders in colored men's department, Y. M. C. A.

The information we want carried to the people may be prepared by the Department and sent to Negroes everywhere through the above channels.

2. The publicity program to be followed by organizers to call together representatives, white and colored citizens in each locality to form such committees as those in Bolivar County, Miss., Memphis, Tenn., and Chicago, Ill. This work may be done under the auspices either of the Councils of Defense, the Chambers of Commerce, or other agencies named above under the six probable channels (IV, 3, above). Many of the organizers may be secured as \$1.00 a year men for the short period necessary.
3. The selection and appointment of Negro Assistant directors and examiners in the Federal offices already set up in states and localities where local white and colored citizens are ready to cooperate. In some localities the right type of men for these positions may be the means of securing the white and colored organization necessary. In other localities, they may best be introduced after the first steps of organization have been made.
4. To meet the immediate emergency while our publicity and organization programs are under way,
- (a) In some localities near larger towns and cities, the plan being tried in Connecticut through the commercial and industrial employers, might be tried in larger towns and cities where there are Federal offices. This is largely an individual matter worked through individual employers with their own employes.
  - (b) If proper working hours, living conditions, and attractive wages are offered, a number of Negro students might be secured on a plan which has been used by the Connecticut tobacco growers in cooperation with the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. Briefly, this plan took hundreds of young men with their teachers to work on tobacco farms under supervision of their teachers.
  - (c) In some cities, selection and appointment of examiners to work with organizations of reliable white and colored citizens which have already been formed. Probably 25 cities, North and South, are now ready for this.

V. The most delicate and difficult problems will be

1. To have the colored people understand the large purpose and liberal spirit of the Department.
2. The finding and securing of the right type of Negro workers,
3. The approach to the local white people, especially in the South.

The first two are the keys to the third.

GER/LC

Respectfully submitted,

Approved May 17, 18.  
W.B.N.

GEORGE E. HAYNES.

Director of Negro Economics.

Copy

ask S.  
bill

May 10, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY:

The hereunder memorandum of April 10, 1918 from the Farm Labor Service Division having been referred by the Secretary to the Director of Negro Economics when appointed, is now returned to the Secretary along with the report thereon of said Director of date May 7, 1918, also hereunder. On the basis of the aforesaid memorandum and report, and also of the Dillard reports, and of the unsigned recommendations of the Chief of the Negro Division in the Employment Service, I respectfully recommend a conference with a view to outlining Departmental policies as to the subject matter of the memorandum of the Director of Negro Economics of May 7, 1918 hereunder, and with special reference -

- (1) To labor on farms in the sections of the country where farmers are dependent upon Negro labor; and
- (2) To the bearing of the labor problem upon wider problems in which the interests of Negro wage earners are involved.

LOUIS F. POST.

LFP/LC

Assistant Secretary.

May 22, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HAYNES:

The hereunder outline of conference between the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, and the Director of Negro Economics held May 17, 1918, with reference to the said Director's memorandum regarding the Farm Service Division, appears to me to be a statement correct in substance.

It should be placed in the permanent files of the Director of Negro Economics, and for the present be retained in his office for reference from time to time when questions of policy arise. When any part of said file is needed for reference in any other Bureau or Division of the Department, a copy should be furnished for that purpose. Ultimately, the original file should be deposited in the office of the Chief Clerk.

Assistant Secretary.

LMH:JG

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH  
BIGELOW BOULEVARD

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

May 3, 1918.

*Attention  
L. J. P.  
May 4/18*

MAY 5 1918

Dr. James H. Dillard,  
Box 418,  
Charlottesville, Va.

My dear Dr. Dillard:

I have been wondering whether your report on the negro migration is going to be printed in the Bureau of Labor Statistics soon, and whether I would have an opportunity to go over manuscript or proof, of my section.

R.R. Wright, of Philadelphia, has been commissioned by the State Industrial Board here to make a little survey of the negro in Pennsylvania. He seems to have a very small appropriation for the purpose, however.

Very sincerely yours,

*Francis D. Tyson,*  
Professor of Social Economics.

FDT-E.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1918.

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY:

The accompanying five reports with introduction by Dr. James H. Dillard, President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, give in an excellent manner the facts about the extent, causes, and effects of the Negro migration from the South to the North. A number of practical suggestions to help the situation are made in the reports. Therefore, I advise the publication of these reports with the omission of the pages which Dr. Dillard suggests should be omitted. These are put together at the end of the reports.

Neither the investigators nor Dr. Dillard had time to prepare an index. If possible, this should be done to make the reports more serviceable. At least 9000 copies should be published, if funds are available.

Respectfully submitted,

*George E. Hoynes*

Director of Negro Economics.

GEH/LC

*Approved, May 18-18*  
*RBH*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

*102 a*

May 10, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY:

Herewith I am transmitting for your information manuscript of the Dillard report on the Negro labor exodus from the southern states which caused much excitement last year and remains one of the problems with which this Department has to deal.

Before transmission, I have submitted the report to the Director of Negro Economics, whose memorandum thereon of date May 8, 1918, is hereunder.

I advise publication of the Dillard report as soon as possible by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, or as a Congressional document, or otherwise, as may be preferable and feasible; and that in process of publication the investigators respectively, as well as Dr. Dillard, be afforded an opportunity to read the proofs.

I also recommend a modest honorarium to Dr. Dillard by way of recognition of his disinterested services. Although he did not exact and does not expect any compensation, he has not only directed the investigation with exceptional judgment and skill, but has been subjected to incidental expense for which he declines to present a bill.

*Louis J. Post*

Assistant Secretary.

LFP/LC

*Approval May 18-18  
HSH*

COPY

U. S. Department of Labor  
U.S. Employment Service  
Washington

June 7, 1918.

Giles B. Jackson,  
Chief of Negro Division,  
Gordon Hotel, Room 502,  
916-16th St., N.W.

Rev. W. F. Graham,  
1621 Christian St.,  
Phila., Pa.

My dear Rev. Graham:-

Will you kindly inform me when and where the National Baptist Convention meets and if they meet jointly or not and where the New England Convention meets and when? I know you will furnish me this information upon receipt of this letter.

Tell me how did the Dye act operate and whether it did as I said it would do or not?

I am enclosing a self addressed envelope which **needs** no stamp as I am writing official business.

With best wishes, I am

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) Giles B. Jackson,  
Chief of Negro Division.

June 10, 1918. New England Convention meets 13th at Asbury Park, N. J. The National Baptist I am pretty sure will meet second Wednesday in Sept. in St. Louis, Mo. I hardly have time to write this, but must for my old time Friend. Have not tried yet, but will soon.

W. F. Graham

COPY

U. S. Department of Labor  
U.S. Employment Service  
Washington

June 12, 1918.

Giles B. Jackson,  
Chief of Negro Division,  
U. S. Employment Service,  
Washington, D. C.

You are hereby instructed to proceed to Asbury Park,  
N. J. on June 13th for the purpose of attending the New England  
Negro Baptist Convention with regard to securing Negro labor,  
the expenses thus incurred being payable from the appropria-  
tion "National Security and Defense, (Productive Labor)".

A copy of this letter should be attached to your ex-  
pense voucher, in order to expedite settlement thereof.

(Signed) J. B. Densmore  
Director General,  
U. S. Employment Service.

Approved:

Assistant Secretary.

COPY

U. S. Department of Labor  
U.S. Employment Service  
Washington, D. C.

June 12, 1918.

Hon. John B. Densmore,  
Director General,  
U. S. Employment Service.

Dear Sir:-

I am in receipt of a letter from Rev. W. F. Graham of Phila., Pa., bearing date of June 10th, in reply to my inquiry as to when and where the New England Negro Baptist Convention meets, stating that said convention will meet at Asbury Park, N. J. on Thursday, June 13, 1918. It being a part of the plan of operation of the Negro Division of the U. S. Employment Service to have representatives to attend all Negro National and State Conventions, for the purpose of aiding and securing Negro labor and as this convention convenes before another could be appointed to cover the same, I would respectfully ask that I may be instructed to proceed to Asbury Park, N. J. on June 13th to attend this convention.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) Giles B. Jackson

Chief of Negro Division.

GBJ/H

Personnel and Accounts  
Advise Jackson informally he may go. JBD. 6/12

So advised. 6/12/18

COPY

U. S. Department of Labor  
U. S. Employment Service,  
Washington, D. C.

June 13, 1918.

Giles B. Jackson,  
Chief of Negro Division,  
U. S. Employment Service,  
Washington, D. C.

As requested in your letter of the 12th inst.,  
and confirming oral instructions given to you by telephone  
on the same date, you are hereby authorized to proceed to  
Asbury Park, N. J., for the purpose of aiding and securing  
negro labor in connection with a conference to be held at  
that place on June 13th, the expenses incident thereto being  
payable from the appropriation "National Security and Defense,  
(Productive Labor)".

(Signed) J. B. Densmore,  
Director General,  
U. S. Employment Service.

DEM B

It would be imprudent at  
this juncture to make pub-  
licity campaigns as a means  
of procuring Negro labor.

6/14/18 Louis F. Post

June 19, 1918.

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR OF NEGRO ECONOMICS:

Hereunder in lead pencil are editorial suggestions for changes in the manuscript of the Dillard Report. Please consider them in connection with the manuscript and make recommendations as soon as possible, in order that the manuscript may be placed in hand for printing.

Assistant Secretary.

LFP.LC

October 7, 1918.

My dear Dr. Tyson:

Mr. Post has directed me to tell you that the manuscript of the report on Negro migration will be issued from the press very shortly. The proofs only await Dr. Haynes' final approval.

Cordially yours,

Private Secretary.

HR. LC

Dr. Francis D. Tyson,  
Professor of Social Economics,  
University of Pittsburgh,  
Pittsburg, Pa.

Copy

March 21, 1919.  
File 92.

Hon. Westmoreland Davis, Governor,  
State of Virginia,  
Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir:-

The colored labor situation in the South is very serious and, in my judgement, needs united effort to prevent the permanent loss of the majority of those who have gone North. While the tendency might be that the colored labor wish to return to their old homes, they will not do so unless the right effort is made to get them back, and the right method pursued to keep them, after they have returned.

The Manufacturers and Farmers, who are dependent on colored labor, must join hands and heads and devise plans for the economic welfare of this labor, with a view of not only educating it to work consistently and persistently but to live better in every way, but also devise methods of education for the benefit of the employer who needs to learn his own failings,

With this general idea in view, I am venturing to appeal to all Governors of the Southern States to appoint such delegates as they may in their good judgement see fit, to meet at a central point to organize an Association for the purpose of improving the economic status of our colored labor. I would suggest for the preliminary meeting three delegates from each state, who could remain as a permanent board over all the States and after organization each state could have its own board of such number of directors as might be considered best.

The longer the labor that has migrated remains away, the more difficult it will be to get back and it is essential that the employers realize the necessity of new methods being used to keep labor when it does come back.

I sincerely hope that something may be done along the above lines, or such other, as your greater experience could lead you to take. The necessity for some comprehensive and immediate steps being taken is apparent.

Yours very truly,

Vice-President.

ATG-A

March 22, 1919

MEMORANDUM

For: Dr. Haynes  
From: Hugh Reid

Captain T. J. Woofor, American School Det., 76  
Rue Faubourg, St. Honore, Paris wishes some copies of our  
report on Negro Migration. Will you not have four or five  
copies sent to him.

Hugh Reid.

HR:LM

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

*SPD*  
*10*  
*2*  
*a*

*W. D. ...*

March 25, 1919



Memorandum to the Secretary :

It is a pleasure to transmit to you herewith two copies of the Report on Negro Migration in 1916-17, which has now been issued from the press. Additional copies are available at your pleasure.

Respectfully,

*George E. Haynes*

Director of Negro Economics

h-1

*Note*  
*W.D.*

March 28, 1919

MEMORANDUM

For: Dr. Haynes  
From: Hugh Reid

The attached letter comes to me I think because I spoke at Camp Meade to a colored Labor Batallion about two weeks ago. I therefore have an idea that the writer is a Negro. I wonder if you could not put it in the proper channel.

Hugh Reid.

HR:LM

April 4, 1919

given to Mr. Boyle

The first contact that the Department of Labor had with the race question in the South in any pronounced way was some months prior to our entering the war. We had got the Employment Service under way in the Immigration Bureau, and in the operation of that Service Negroes in considerable numbers had been brought from Southern to Northern places. Great complaint arose through Congressmen and Senators who were expressing the feeling in their localities against the Department of Labor using its machinery to take Negro labor away from the South. Of course, the Department could not refuse to any American citizen, whatever his color, the right to get him a job if there was one and he wanted it. But the Department did not feel that it should encourage wholesale transportations. Accordingly, it gave orders to local offices in the South not to cooperate in making large shipments of workers to the North.

At that time it was also charged in circles at the North that these men were being brought to the North under the influence of railroad companies to act as strike breakers in expected strikes. Nothing of importance occurred after this episode except that the Department detailed two Negro officials of the Government to investigate and make reports to it both from the North and the South, so that it might act intelligently. As soon as we entered the war a great outcry came up to the Department from Southern States to the effect that their labor was leaving them and that our cause in the war would suffer from lack of Southern production.

The Department sent for James F. Dillard, a Virginian by birth, of long Virginian lineage, who had been for many years a professor in Tulane University at New Orleans, and had been for a considerable time Dean of the Faculty in that University. He had left the University at the urgent request

of both Northern and Southern friends interested in Negro education in the South to take charge of the Jeannes and Slater Funds, which had been created by some sort of endowment for the purpose of advancing the education of Negroes by common school methods. Dr. Dillard had been engaged on this work for a considerable time, making frequent tours of the South, having the confidence of both races in the South, and had been advancing his work with entire satisfaction on all hands, as this Department understood. Sending for Dr. Dillard, it requested him to undertake a quick survey of labor conditions in the South in order to advise the Department with reference to the exodus which had been the source of so many and such important complaints, very soon after the ~~war~~ ~~war~~ war began. Dr. Dillard accepted this task as a patriotic matter, and organized a force of five investigators, all of them college men, and all of them Southern men. Four of the five were white men, and one was a Negro professor at Hampton University. The oral reports from Dr. Dillard and his associates were received very promptly, but their written reports did not secure publication until within the last month or two. We have now got them printed and issued in one volume.

As a result of the oral reports of Dr. Dillard and his associates the Department considered the advisability of relating itself in some more permanent way to the race question so far as the Negro labor is affected by it and so far as white employers are affected by it anywhere in the United States.

When the Governor Lind Advisory Committee, which the Secretary of Labor appointed to advise him with reference to putting the Department upon a war basis under the instructions of the President, who had turned over to it the administration of all labor problems in connection with the war, had

begin its work, its attention was called to the matter of having in the Department a competent Negro advisor, something which the War Department had undertaken to do somewhat before by the appointment as an advisor in that Department, of a representative Negro. The Governor Lind Committee advised the Secretary of Labor to create in the Department such an advisor, and in accordance with the recommendation of that Committee, the Secretary decided to request Dr. George E. Haynes to become his advisor and for want perhaps of a better title, named him Director of Negro Economics. Dr. Haynes was at the time Professor of Economics and Sociology in Fisk University. He was born in the South, has always lived in the South, is well known and highly respected in educational circles in the South, was a teacher in the common schools of the South before becoming a college student, is a graduate of Yale University, is a postgraduate of Columbia University of New York, and is a man of ability as well as education. In consequence, of his work in the Department, he has commanded the respect of everyone in the Department by his efficiency, his good judgment, his self-suppression, and his fairness. In general terms, the plan he proposed and which the Secretary adopted contemplated his cooperating with the Employment Service with a view to keeping the Secretary advised of questions with reference to the industrial relations of the two races. He organized Negro supervisors to act under the local Employment examiners both in the North and in the South. The whole purpose has been to bring the two races industrially into friendly relationship, and the particular method has been the creation of white and Negro local boards or committees advising one another. That has been very successful. The first successful move that he made was in North Carolina, where he laid before the Governor the whole proposition, and the Governor of North Carolina approved it and took it up and put it through, and in order to avoid any question of

prejudice, he himself became the chairman of the Negro branch of the joint committee. That worked along, and in North Carolina they have done a very good work. So in other States. In Tennessee-I may say that is where Dr. Haynes himself worked out his views before he came here. He had been working on it with the League for the Improvement of Urban Conditions among Negroes,-- in Tennessee it had proved a success.

With regard to Negro organization, he has been very careful to avoid it except in connection with white organization, and for the purpose of bringing the two races into friendly industrial relationships. He has instructed all his men, and the indications all are that his instructions have been followed, not to try to promote labor organization, not to try to get Negroes to join labor organizations, but on the other hand not to discourage men from joining them. In other words, he has followed the long settled policy of the Department, to be neutral in that respect. The Department is for the benefit of the wage earners of the United States, and the Secretary has always been careful to make no discrimination between organized and unorganized wage workers.

*Bolton Smith.*

*J. G. J. Perkins.*

# Smith & Perkins

SUCCESSORS TO CALDWELL & SMITH

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Memphis, Tenn.

Cable Address:  
Wellbath, Memphis.

Please address  
P.O. Box 1008.

REFER TO LOAN NO.

April 7, 1919

P

Mr. Louis F. Post, Ass't Sec'y,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

*R. J. P.*  
*4/10/19*

Dear Sir:

Will you please have a dozen copies of of "Negro Migration in 1916-17" ~~sent me.~~ I have already distributed those you have sent in a way that they will be used efficiently. We are planning Leavell's work which I wrote you about the other day, so that it will be handled sympathetically with the Farm Demonstration Bureau, of which Mr. Raase is the Chairman, but under a separate guarantee fund. He will also help the work in the city, though I suppose that country labor is as much under the protection of your Department as City labor. He has already been of value to us in advising in reference to the enterprise of which the enclosed pamphlet tells.

I am leaving here Tuesday night on the Memphis Special for New York to attend a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the League to Enforce Peace, which occurs Thursday. My address will be the McAlpine. I will be East for several days and could stop at Washington on my way back for a day - thus not making any demand on the terribly over-crowded Washington hotels - to confer with you about his work, if you thought it desirable. I would want him to go with as good credentials as possible. We would have those of the Chamber of Commerce and probably of Peabody College for Teachers,

*Sent*  
*4/10/19*

then if he could also be considered as on special work for your Department, that would help. We are arranging a fund to cover the expenses for four months, which would represent his vacation as teacher. He would travel over the country in an automobile and probably in the time contemplated could cover salient features in Mississippi, Eastern Arkansas and Western Tennessee, as well as aid in the industrial problems of this City.

Yours truly,

*Bolton Smith*

Encl. 47

Bolton Smith.

J. G. J. Perkins.

Smith & Perkins

SUCCESSORS TO CALDWELL & SMITH

Mortgage Loans

No. 66 Madison Avenue,

Memphis, Tenn.

Cable Address.  
Wellchab, Memphis.

Please address  
P.O. Box 1008.

REFER TO LOAN NO.

P

Mr. Louis F. Post,  
Department of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

June 5, 1919



My dear Mr. Post:

I would be glad if you will send me another half dozen copies of the report of your Department on "Negro Migration 1916-1917" by Messrs. Leavell et al. I have distributed all the copies you have sent me except one and I assure you they have been put where they are promoting an understanding of the question. To that end the paper of Mr. Leavell is particularly well suited.

Yours very truly,

Bolton Smith

June 9, 1919

My dear Mr. Smith:

Mr. Post has directed me to acknowledge your letter of June 5th. At his request Dr. Haynes' office is sending you today the copies of the Report of Negro Migration as requested. If there is need for further copies the Department will be very glad to furnish them.

Cordially,

Hugh Reid,

Private Secretary

HR:LM

Mr. Bolton Smith,

60 Madison Avenue,

Memphis, Tenn.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
Office of the Secretary  
WASHINGTON

Dr. George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics, U. S. Department of Labor, gives interesting facts of Negroes in industry.

-----  
Detroit, Mich., October 16, 1919.

Speaking here tonight at the Conference of the National Urban League on "Some experience with Negroes in industry in 1918 and 1919," during the period of the war and since, Dr. George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics of the U. S. Department of Labor, gave some interesting figures showing the large part the Negro had taken in the shipbuilding and seven other typical industries, including the meat-packing and iron and steel industries in which Negroes were largely engaged. His data showed that the Negro has gained a substantial foothold in these industries and that he is making good.

Dr. Haynes said, in part, as follows:

"In 1910, about one-half of the total Negro population was gainfully employed. More than one-half of those gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture. Those who were gainfully employed in manufacturing, trade and transportation occupations were restricted largely to the opportunities to work as laborers; that is to say, in those occupations where the comparative wages were smaller than in other occupations. With the war-labor demands, Negroes have obtained a widening scope of occupations.

"Here are reports from the shipbuilding industry on the Atlantic Coast, as a whole, for the period of the war and during the reconstruction period up to September 15, 1919. I have, also, data from 30 other industrial establishments covering 7 of the principal industries in 244 comparable occupations. These other establishments were as follows: 4 in slaughtering and meat-packing plants, 12 iron and steel plants and plants manufacturing iron and steel products, 7 foundries, 4 automobile and automobile accessory plants, and 1 plant, each, in the manufacture of coke, carbons, and glass. The number of Negro men involved in shipbuilding on the Atlantic Coast during the war was 24,647, and in the period since the war, 14,075. In the 30 other industrial establishments, there were 36,486 men altogether, made up of 32,394 white workmen and 4,092 Negro workmen. We have here, then, a body of facts and figures which give some indications as to the part the Negro is playing and the record he is making in industry.

"During the period of the war, of the 24,647 Negroes in the shipyards, nearly 4,962 (or 20 per cent) or five out of every hundred were in skilled occupations.

"Negroes in skilled occupations in shipbuilding as a whole have held their numbers and shown less decrease since the war than those in unskilled occupations as a whole. This is clearly shown in that Negro workers in all skilled occupations decreased only 20.7 per cent or five out of the hundred workmen, while the unskilled Negro workers decreased about 48 per cent since the war, or nearly one-half their previous number.

"These figures as a whole, however, are firm ground for decided encouragement. For they show that not only did Negro workmen furnish a large share of the labor in the shipbuilding industry during the war, but that they entered into the skilled occupations in very large numbers.

"In 30 industrial establishments other than shipbuilding, constituting the principal, typical industries in which Negroes are employed, they not only were admitted, but, when the circumstances are considered, they compared with the white workmen in the same occupations on the score of turnover, absenteeism, quality of work done, average rates of pay and average time put on the job during a payroll period. They have made a good showing. They have fallen somewhat behind their white fellow workmen on a few points. On most points they have kept along side of them and in some cases have gone ~~xxx~~ ahead of them.

"Negro workmen have made this record during the past two years in the face of the fact that in nearly one-half of the establishments they did not have unrestricted opportunity to enter any and all occupations, and they could not learn the work of advanced positions and enter and retain them on the basis of their ability to compete. Although handicapped in this way, they have made a showing which says in no uncertain terms that the Negro can make good in industry. Yes, he not only can make good, but, in the face of many handicaps, he has made good. Finally, we have seen this handicapped Negro workmen pushing forward to his tasks on very friendly terms with his white fellow workmen and gaining day by day the confidence of his white employer."

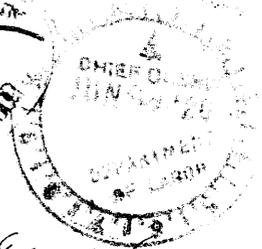
Mr Phillips  
Negro Economics

Dear Mr. Post

you will remember  
me as the wife  
of Congressman Eldon  
Ridge of Colorado - so I  
am asking the favor

that you forward me  
as soon as possible  
the bulletin mention-  
ed. Remember me  
please to Mr. Post.

Sue B. Eldonridge.



Please send bulletin  
Negro Migration in  
1916-17 - published by  
your department in  
1919-10.

Mrs. H. H. Eldonridge  
1015 N. Nevada Ave  
Colorado Springs  
Colorado.

June twenty-fifth,  
Nineteen hundred twenty.

Dear Mrs. Seldonridge:

I am pleased to acknowledge your letter, received yesterday, and to have sent to you, in this mail, a copy of "Negro Migration in 1916-1917".

Mrs. Post thanks you for your kind remembrances and extends her cordial wishes to you, in return.

Yours very truly,

Louis F. Post,  
Assistant Secretary.

Mrs. H. H. Seldonridge,  
1015 N. Nevada Avenue,  
Colorado Springs, Colo.

*Copy*

*File*

*John Brown*

# COMMUNITY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

**"WE NEVER GET TOO OLD TO LEARN"**

## HOME SERVICE

How To Educate Self at Home  
Adjusting Health and Claims  
What to Read and How to Read  
How to Write Letters and Contracts  
How to Write Stories and News Items  
Building Better Homes and Schools  
Building Men and Women, as Christian  
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SERVES BEST WHO SERVES MOST

# THE CO-OPERATIVE SERVICE BUREAU

Laurel, Miss.  
628 S. 7th Avenue  
June 19th '22

8/102



## CORRESPONDENTS

ATLANTA    MOBILE    NEW YORK    MONTREAL    NEW ORLEANS    KANSAS CITY    LOS ANGELES

The Hon. Secretary  
The United States Dept. of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Department of Labor

Gentlemen:

We are going on the press in a few days with a 4000 edition in pamphlet form 6x9 with about 50 pages illustrated and we are asking the favor of allowing us the use of some cut that will illustrate any feature of the industrial spirit so that we can better impress our reader on that page about industry and thrift.

We are certain that you will be interested when we inform you that this work has been accomplished after more than 3 years on the road, making a survey of the Negro life. We find it quite necessary to encourage him to become more settled minded and have some money in the bank and a nice home for his family. This exodus spirit has worn our race to a frazzle and we can make good one place just as well in another, when we are prepared. That is, this will hold water in most cases.

Therefore help us all you can with several of your books, and other statistical reports that you have on the Negro and the condition of the labor market from 1917 to 1922.

Kindly haste this matter by mail, as we are ready to make the copy for the press. Please furnish us a cut of some kind.

You can refer to Mr. Wallace C. Journey, Gen. Sec'y of The Y. M. - C. A. here if you want to be satisfied as to our reliability. But I think that Dr. Poscoe C. Brown in Health Dept, Treas. Div. can satisfy you.

We are certain that out some 4000 printed forms connecting up every department as to the Negro and reaching out for a circulation of over 200,000 by our lecture system, that we can be benefit to your service and our Country too. Give us permission to state in this publication that we are cooperating with your Department in this above described manner. This is costing us some \$4500. including the investigation service. We are, Very truly yours

The Co-operative Service Bureau

By *Dr. Charles H. Jones* Ph.D., Pres.

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

ADVOCATING AND DISTRIBUTING CLEAN LITERATURE IN NEGRO SCHOOLS AND HOMES

No. 8-102

June 22, 1922. *R*

✓  
Dear Sir:

Complying with yours of the 19th instant, I am inclosing herewith copies of two publications issued by the Department, viz.: "Negro Migration in 1916-17", and "The Negro at Work during the world war and during reconstruction." These are the only publications the Department has issued relative to the Negro. The Department has no illustrations that could be furnished, but you are privileged to use any part of these books in your paper, it being understood, of course, that proper credit will be given.

Respectfully,

EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY E. J. HENNING

*6/22/22*  
Assistant Secretary.  
*R*

Dr. Charles H. Dyess,  
628 South 7th Avenue,  
Laurel, Miss.

G P  
2 inclosures.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
Office of the Secretary  
Washington

For immediate release

July 9, 1923.

INCLUSION OF NEGRO WORKERS INTO NORTHERN INDUSTRIES

An unexpected phase in the placement of Negro labor passing from the South to northern industries is the inclusion of skilled workers of this class. The Department of Labor made this announcement today from a survey conducted by Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, who has been detailed as an observer of the migration now in progress. The results accrue from a careful analysis of payroll statistics of 273 employers of Negro labor in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma and Wisconsin. Returns from these firms indicate a heavy intake of Negro labor, but difficulties were encountered in discriminating as to whether those employed were recent migrants or from the class that were already located in the North. However, sufficient specific classification is given to suggest that the South is not only yielding up a great mass of unskilled workers, but a remarkable number of skilled hands are finding employment.

Distribution is difficult as to the source of the present Negro labor utility, whether it is directly from the South or is a left-over from the 1916-1919 shift; but the conclusion is safely drawn that the mass of this labor emerges from southern sources and its entire movement is covered in less than five years. Many employers replying to requests indicated that they were placing Negro labor, but were without definite information as to the number that were purely of Southern origin. Allowances are made for drifters, who are already North, seeking change of locative employment, a disposition strongly characteristic of this labor.

Along the New England coast many cases were disclosed wherein Portuguese black men are employed. These, of course, are rare under present immigration restrictions and are represented only by a few hundred units.

INCLUSION

Comparisons were made between 42,371 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 10,794 skilled and 31,577 unskilled workers, as of April 30, 1922, and 60,421 Negro workers, distributable into groups of 14,951 skilled and 45,470 unskilled employees as of April 30, 1923, as reported by 273 firms engaged in such typical pursuits as are necessary to produce iron and steel, foodstuffs, leather, machinery, tobacco, automobiles, paper bags, copper goods, boilers, billiard tables, brass articles, chain, bricks, oil, saws, wire, railroad equipment, rubber, glass, textiles, chinaware, cement, paper, and varied other articles of necessity and comfort, together with numerous occupations in construction work, railroad work, and transportation.

During the year for which observations were made among the 273 firms listed with the Department, Negro workers were increased on payrolls by 18,050 men, of whom 4,157 and 13,893 were skilled and unskilled workers, respectively. The total per cent of increase was 42.60 and the per cent of increase of skilled and unskilled workers, respectively, was 38.51 and 44.

Based upon a descending scale, the total increases in percentage of Negro workers taken on in the various states were: Connecticut, 88.74; New Jersey, 74.82; Indiana, 70.17; Ohio, 69.93; California, 66.67; Pennsylvania, 64.91; Michigan, 63.77; Wisconsin, 58.24; Maryland, 55.48; Illinois, 45.14; Kansas, 40.42; New York, 37.19; Massachusetts, 25.00; Kentucky, 24.00; Missouri, 18.30; Oklahoma, 14.10; Delaware, 2.63. West Virginia showed a slight decrease in the per cent of Negro workers.

High marks were reached in the increase of Negro skilled workers, who advanced by 186.86 per cent in Maryland; 90.48 per cent in Connecticut; 70.73 per cent in Michigan; 68.97 per cent in Kansas; 68.04 per cent in Ohio; 60.00 per cent in California; 43.68 per cent in Pennsylvania; 39.94 per cent in Illinois; 33.33 per cent in Wisconsin; 30.00 per cent in New York; 18.18 per cent in Indiana; and 13.93 per cent in Kentucky. New Jersey and Oklahoma showed respective increases of 12.96 per cent and 3.85 per cent in the number of Negro workers taken on in the skilled occupations during the year; while West Virginia showed a loss of 1.82 per cent.

Negro unskilled workers are slightly ahead of their skilled associates in a remarkable increase during the year. Returns indicated an increase of this type of Negro labor of 102.86 per cent in Indiana; 88.58 per cent in Connecticut; 85.15 per cent in New Jersey; 77.52 per cent in Pennsylvania; 71.21 per cent in Ohio; 63.00 per cent in California; 62.48 per cent in Michigan; 60.48 per cent in Wisconsin; 46.69 per cent in Illinois; 39.79 per cent in New York; 37.13 per cent in Kansas; 27.67 per cent in Maryland; 27.15 per cent in Kentucky; 16.17 per cent in Missouri; and 15.69 per cent in Oklahoma.

#### MIGRATION

Accurate figures describing the migratory phases of Negro labor coming direct from the South during the year ending April 30, 1923, were nearly as difficult to acquire as they were during the intensive migration during the war-time shortage. Nevertheless, the Department was able to observe 19,747 Negro employees among the whole number of 60,421 on hand April 30, 1923, and to make estimations as to the number included therein whom employers could positively identify as having moved northward into employment during the past year. Of the 19,747 thus observed it was found that 4,702 or 23.81 per cent had come direct from the South during the year. From another viewpoint, taking the whole number as a base and discounting .06 per cent thereof as being impracticable of distribution, the Department estimates that the

Distribution of migrants among the states listed can be approximately indicated by the following percentages:

# 2

Ohio	37.26	per cent
Pennsylvania	21.63	" "
Michigan	10.53	" "
New Jersey	6.4	" "
New York	4.76	" "
Missouri	4.74	" "
Illinois	4.49	" "
Kentucky	4.36	" "
Connecticut	3.04	" "
Maryland	1.30	" "
Wisconsin	.85	" "
California	.32	" "
Oklahoma	.26	" "
Non-distributable	<u>.06</u>	" "
Total	100.00	" "

As a final step in the migratory feature of Negro labor, the Department endeavored to ascertain what proportion of payroll employees, as of April 30, 1923, could be regarded as migrants, and the following results are deemed as reliable approximations:

New Jersey	62.19	per cent
Oklahoma	54.54	" "
Michigan	52.27	" "
Ohio	36.01	" "
California	30.00	" "
Pennsylvania	29.82	" "
Connecticut	20.82	" "
Missouri	19.08	" "
Wisconsin	10.14	" "
Kentucky	14.91	" "
Maryland	12.03	" "
New York	11.88	" "
Illinois	5.17	" "

Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts and West Virginia were omitted from the last conclusion on account of lack of authentic reports from employers.

This last conclusion points strongly to two conditions which evidently have a tremendous influence upon migrants, namely, (1) wages and types of employment available

in northern states, and (2) geographical location of the points considered by oncoming migrants. No doubt, direct touch of trunk lines from southern points and the amount of railroad fare required have their effect upon these workers who desire to move northward; and, on the otherhand, distinctive types of work with attractive wages form another inducement.

It may be of worth to state that the reports indicated that migrants frequently come to border states and after working a while use a portion of their earnings to remove to points of vantage farther north. This particular feature is, perhaps, largely productive of causes of turnover, which was not strongly noticeable in the states farthest north.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
Office of the Secretary  
Washington

For immediate release

October 24, 1923.

NEGRO MIGRATION NEARS HALF-MILLION MARK DURING YEAR.

It is announced by the Secretary of Labor, through Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation, specially detailed to observe the present movement of migratory Negro labor, that 478,700, or nearly half a million Negro migrants forsook their abodes and occupations in thirteen southern States during the year September 1, 1922, to August 31, 1923, according to conclusions made from a series of total figures submitted by State, municipal and civic statisticians and authorities of those States. The round-number estimation is believed to be a fairly accurate summary of similar estimations carefully compiled for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

An analysis of the 478,700 total reveals the fact that of Negro migrants for the year noted, Alabama yielded 90,000; Arkansas, 5,000; Florida, 90,000; Georgia, 120,600; Kentucky, 2,500; Louisiana, 15,000; Mississippi, 82,600; North Carolina, 25,000; Oklahoma, 1,000; South Carolina, 25,000; Tennessee, 10,000; Texas, 2,000; and Virginia, 100,000. From the above, it will be noted that Georgia yielded the largest, and Oklahoma the smallest, quota of Negro migrants.

For purposes of further comparisons and inferences, the table below, showing the normal population of each State, and the number and per cent of Negro migration therefrom, is added:

State	Population	Number of Migrants	Per cent of Total Migrants.
Total	8,441,106	478,700	100.0
Alabama	900,652	90,000	18.8
Arkansas	472,220	5,000	1.1
Florida	329,487	90,000	18.8
Georgia	1,206,365	120,600	25.2
Kentucky	235,938	2,500	.5
Louisiana	700,257	15,000	3.1
Mississippi	935,184	82,600	17.3
North Carolina	763,407	25,000	5.2
Oklahoma	149,408	1,000	.2
South Carolina	864,719	25,000	5.2
Tennessee	451,758	10,000	2.1
Texas	741,694	2,000	.4
Virginia	690,017	10,000	2.1

In commenting upon the migratory movement depicted above, a number of chambers of commerce of the South expressed their surprise at the large number of Negro migrants.

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In commenting upon the migratory movement depicted above, a number of chambers of commerce of the South expressed the opinion that the oncoming winter would cause the return of large numbers of the departees. Other prominent officials were reasonably sure that the yield of their States could be traced to specific areas, and that, hence, it was not a movement of general proportions. Another feature of the exodus seemed to indicate that the movement was semi-perpetual, inasmuch as departing Negroes were replaced by incomers; who, in turn, were continually succeeded, until many of those who first left had returned to their original domicile.

February 23, 1924.

My dear Mr. President:

Following is a brief summary of the investigation of this Department into the migration of Negro workers:

The survey indicates that 478,700 Negroes comprised this migration. The following table shows the normal Negro population of each State and the number and per cent of the migrants therefrom:

<u>State.</u>	<u>Population.</u>	<u>Number of Migrants.</u>	<u>Per cent of Total Migrants.</u>
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Tennessee	451,758	10,000	2.1
Texas	741,694	2,000	.4
Virginia	690,017	10,000	2.1
Total	6,441,106	478,700	100.0

The Department estimates that the distribution of migrants among the States is approximately indicated by the following percentages

Ohio	37.26 per cent	Kentucky	4.36 per cent
Pennsylvania	21.63	Connecticut	3.04
Michigan	10.53	Maryland	1.30
New Jersey	6.4	Wisconsin	.85
New York	4.76	California	.52
Missouri	4.74	Oklahoma	.25
Illinois	4.49	Non-dis-tributable	.06

You may also be interested in what we deem reliable approximations of the proportion of payrolls of Negro labor in the several States. They are as follows:

New Jersey	62.19 per cent	Missouri	19.08 per cent
Oklahoma	54.54	Wisconsin	19.14
Michigan	52.27	Kentucky	14.91
Ohio	36.01	Maryland	12.03
California	30.00	New York	11.88
Pennsylvania	29.82	Illinois	5.17
Connecticut	20.82		

Cordially yours,

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

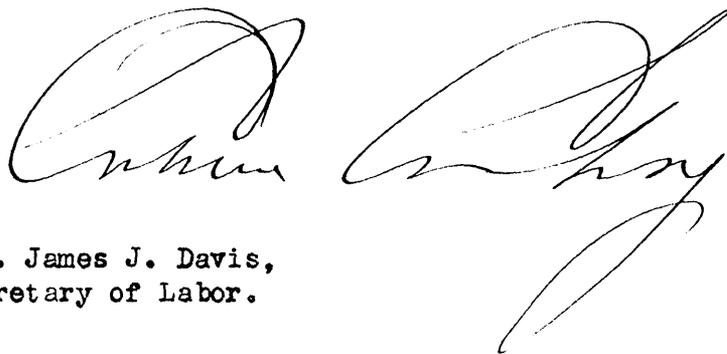
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 25, 1924.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have been interested in the summary of the investigation of your Department into the migration of negro workers which you embody in your letter of February 23d and am much obliged to you for letting me know of this survey and what it indicates.

Very truly yours,



Hon. James J. Davis,  
Secretary of Labor.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON



February 3, 1926.

Memorandum :

To: The Chief Clerk

One hundred (100) mimeographed copies of the attached form letter, February 6, 1926, regarding the migratory movement of Negro labor, are respectfully requested.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Karl F. Phillips".

Karl F. Phillips,  
Commissioner of Conciliation.

Form 12

8/102

REQUISITION FOR DUPLICATION WORK

Bureau No.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
Washington

Date February 3, 1926.

Bureau Secretary

Chief, Division of Publications and Supplies:

Please have work described below duplicated as per copy herewith.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

*HRK*

Title Chief Clerk

Description of work: Form letter re migratory movement of Negro labor.

Copies: 100

~~Micrograph paper~~  
Paper (kind and size): ~~Black bond paper~~  
Printed letterhead:

Additional instructions: \_\_\_\_\_ Will a reprint be required? \_\_\_\_\_

Copy received \_\_\_\_\_ Stencil by \_\_\_\_\_

Operator \_\_\_\_\_ Copyholder \_\_\_\_\_

Stencils used \_\_\_\_\_ Reader \_\_\_\_\_

INSTRUCTIONS

This form to be transmitted to the Division of Publications and Supplies, accompanied by copy and stock upon which work is to be printed.

COPY SHOULD ALWAYS BE CAREFULLY PREPARED as to form, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, etc.

Sufficient paper should be supplied to allow for about 50 additional sheets for each thousand copies. This is necessary for proofs and spoilage.

Each requisition should be NUMBERED by the Bureau in the space provided.

Received the above, \_\_\_\_\_, 1926.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Title \_\_\_\_\_

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

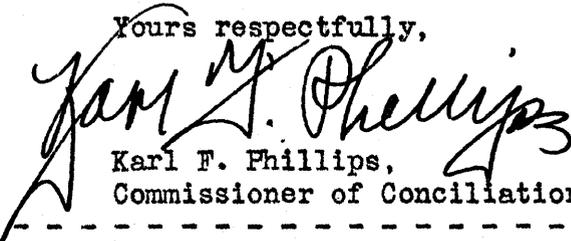
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1926

Dear Sir:

In its observation of the migratory movement of Negro labor, this office earnestly requests your advice and cooperation, in order that information of value to employers, workers, and the general public may be carefully gathered from the different interested sections of the country. Will you therefore grant this office the courtesy of giving answers and estimates in the blank spaces below in connection with the four general questions asked, and return this letter, with your signature and permanent address, to this office, in order that a summary may be prepared, a copy of which will be mailed to you upon completion. A franked addressed envelope, which requires no postage, is enclosed for your reply.

Yours respectfully,

  
Karl F. Phillips,  
Commissioner of Conciliation.

- 
1. Will you kindly estimate, in figures or fractions, the number of Negroes who have come to your City \_\_\_\_\_, County \_\_\_\_\_, and State \_\_\_\_\_ from the North during the past three months.
  2. Will you kindly estimate, in figures or fractions, the number of Negroes who have LEFT your City \_\_\_\_\_, County \_\_\_\_\_, and State \_\_\_\_\_ for Northern points during the past three months.
  3. What was the estimated normal Negro population of your City, County, and State --  

	On Sept. 30, 1925	On Dec. 31, 1925
City.....	_____	_____
County....	_____	_____
State.....	_____	_____
  4. Would you answer "Yes" or "No", that the above estimates are proportionately applicable to the other principal cities and counties of your State? \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_