

THE NEGRO OF TUCSON,  
PAST AND PRESENT

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The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present

by

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## Preface

The obtaining of the data for the present thesis would not have been possible had it not been for the cooperation of many people and organizations of Tucson whose names space will not permit to be included. But I would especially like to make acknowledgments of the assistance of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society in helping me to secure information on Negro Pioneers of Tucson; the aid of Mr. Carl Hitt while getting data from the Records of the Recorder's Office on Negro taxpayers of Tucson; and the assistance of Mr. Henry Fred Holliday, Mr. E. O. Schlotzhauer, and Mr. A. Wayne Walker in helping to tabulate the data.

The authenticity of the data collected on the activities of the pioneer Negroes (excluding "Lee") who lived in Tucson during the early period is based entirely upon personal interviews with five pioneer Negroes who are still alive in Tucson and personal interviews with old settlers (other than Negroes) of Tucson.

The authority for statements made concerning Mr. Embers' being the oldest Negro in Tucson, on page 16; the oldest Negro home in Tucson, on page 24; the oldest tree in Tucson, on page 31; the Dining Room run by Mrs. Lee at the Orndorff Hotel, on page 38; and the last of the Tucson Nineteenth

Century Negroes is based upon personal interviews with the five pioneer Negroes who are still alive, and interviews with Mrs. G. F. Kitt, 2026 East Third Street; Mrs. Shaw, 937 North Stone Avenue; Mrs. Fred Roberts, 925 Tyndall Avenue; Mrs. Meneger, 534 South Stone Avenue; Mr. Vail, 933 North Stone Avenue; and Mr. Moses Drachman, 35 East Third Street.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Every American city, town, and village is composed of more than one group of races. The city of Tucson, with a population of 32,506 in 1930, of which 1,003 are Negroes, is no exception to the rule. The present thesis is a study of the Negro of Tucson, Arizona, attempting to show his economic condition.

#### PART I. THE SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into three main divisions. These are: (1) a historical treatment of twenty early pioneer Negroes of Tucson from 1850-1900; (2) a survey of the present economic condition of the Negro of Tucson; and (3) the summary and conclusions.

Beginning with Estevan, the first Negro to enter Arizona, there follows a brief account of Negro pioneers.

The second division is considered under seven sub topics, namely: (1) Negro population of Tucson; (2) Negro employment; (3) the Negro housing problem; (4) Negro investments and savings; (5) the school cost of Negro children from the elementary through the junior high school; (6) the comparison of Negro population of Tucson with Negro population of nine other

cities; and (7) Negro business, political and religious organizations.

## PART II. SOURCES OF MATERIAL

The data for the present study were obtained from the following sources: (1) the local newspapers; (2) the United States Census Reports, and other governmental documents; (3) personal letters written by Arizona pioneers; (4) text books and periodicals; (5) records of the county court house, including data from the Recorder's Office, the Board of Health, the County Supervisor's Office, and Municipal Reports of 1931-1932, for the city of Tucson; (6) the Records of the Public School Administration, and the Reports of 1930-32 of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Tucson; (7) the records of the Title and Guaranty Company of Tucson; (8) a personal survey of five different types of establishments in Tucson; (9) a personal interview with about one hundred old settlers of Tucson; and (10) 317 questionnaires.

## PART III. METHODS AND PROCEDURE

The newspapers from 1873 to 1931 were searched to find incidents concerning Negroes. After 1900, however, only major incidents concerning Negroes were considered. The census reports of the United States from 1880 to 1930 were studied. Since the population of Tucson was not recorded until 1900,

the population of Pima County, which was recorded since 1880, was used in attempting to get an estimate of the Negro population of Tucson before 1900.

Text books were only resorted to in connection with the Negro, Estevan, who came near Tucson in the sixteenth century.

At the Court House, the records of Negro taxpayers were looked up in order to find accurately the number of Negro taxpayers. The records of the Board of Health gave the number of births and deaths of Negroes in Tucson. From the Board of Supervisors an account of all Negroes who had ever been employed by the county was obtained. In order to find out the pro rata distribution of the Negro tax dollar, the Municipal reports of 1931 and 1932 were used.

The Reports of the Superintendent of Public Schools and the Records of the Public School Administration were used to get information about the cost and school attendance of Negro children from the elementary through the junior high school. Information concerning Negro communities, restricted and unrestricted districts, was obtained from the Title and Guaranty Company of Tucson.

The personal survey of five different types of establishments was made in order to get an estimate of the annual amount of money spent by Negroes in Tucson. Only establishments were interviewed which had been operating and receiving Negro trade for at least five years. An average year out of the five years was reckoned as an average year of trade. The trade of

this average year was used as a basis to form a conclusion as to how much money Negroes spend annually.

To get a picture of the home conditions, employment, and general living conditions of the Negro, three hundred and seventeen questionnaires were used. The data from these questionnaires were tabulated and put in the form of tables. Another set of questionnaires was applied to operators of Negro business organizations. A copy of both types of these questionnaires are included at the end of this chapter.

The growth of the Negro population from 1900 to 1930; the school attendance of Negro children since 1918; the cost of Negro school children yearly, since 1918; and the distribution of the Negro tax dollar are graphically illustrated by means of four graphs.

To obtain a historical background of the Negro of Tucson from 1850-1900, an interview of about one hundred old settlers of Tucson was made. From these interviews resulted sketches of the lives and economic activities of twenty Negroes who lived in Tucson during this period.

#### PART IV. LIMITATIONS

The major limitations of these data are these: the list of taxpayers do not include all the Negroes who own property. Neither is there any indication of the period Negroes have been paying taxes. This information was obtainable, but it would

have required most of the entire office force of the Recorder's Office, which was impossible.

An attempt was made to find out how many Negroes were buying homes, the amount of money paid for them and the terms of the contracts. Many of the contracts were not recorded and the buyers of homes would not disclose the information. There are also Negroes who have married into other races. Some of these Negroes own property, but it was impossible to distinguish that part which belonged to the Negro from that part which belonged to the party of the other race. Also there are people in Tucson of Negro descent, but who identify themselves with the white race. These people are excluded from the discussion of the thesis.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NEGRO POPULATION

1. Place of birth \_\_\_\_\_, former resident \_\_\_\_\_ transient \_\_\_ or citizen of Tucson \_\_\_\_\_ (If trans., length of time here \_\_\_\_\_). Motive for coming to Tucson \_\_\_\_\_ date \_\_\_\_\_ church affiliation \_\_\_\_\_ here \_\_\_\_\_ . Labor organization affiliated with here \_\_\_\_\_
2. Marital Status: Sex \_\_\_ married \_\_\_ number in family \_\_\_\_\_ (boys \_\_\_) (girls \_\_\_), ages of children \_\_\_\_\_ number attending school \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Employment: Type \_\_\_\_\_ (number working (adults \_\_\_) boys \_\_\_) ( girls \_\_\_), wages of each \_\_\_\_\_ hours of employment \_\_\_\_\_ (each person). Prerequisites connected with the job \_\_\_\_\_? length of unemployment \_\_\_\_\_ causes \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Property: (a) Owned home \_\_\_ valuation \_\_\_\_\_ amount taxes paid \_\_\_\_\_ used as home and rental purposes both \_\_\_\_\_ amount of insurance on home \_\_\_\_\_. (b) Renters \_\_\_ amount of rent per month \_\_\_\_\_. (c) Roomer \_\_\_ amount of room rent per month \_\_\_\_\_. Outline for (a) & (b): Number of rooms in home \_\_\_ beds in room \_\_\_ number of bed rooms \_\_\_ living rooms separate \_\_\_\_\_ dining room separate \_\_\_ sleeping porch \_\_\_ kind of fuel and lights \_\_\_\_\_ car \_\_\_\_\_ (bought new or used \_\_\_ ( model \_\_\_ make \_\_\_\_\_ owned \_\_\_\_\_ payments per month if not owned \_\_\_\_\_ insurance on car \_\_\_\_\_

car used to facilitate work or for pleasure \_\_\_\_\_  
bath room \_\_\_\_\_ toilet indoor or out \_\_\_\_\_ furniture  
owned or buying \_\_\_\_\_ payments per month of buying \_\_\_\_\_  
musical instruments \_\_\_\_\_ value of entire furniture \_\_\_\_\_  
condition of floors \_\_\_\_\_ windows \_\_\_\_\_ screens \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ doors \_\_\_\_\_

5. Trading and Consumption: Cash \_\_\_\_\_ credit \_\_\_\_\_ or both \_\_\_\_\_ .

Expenditures: General consumption \_\_\_\_\_ medical bill  
annually \_\_\_\_\_ dental bill annually \_\_\_\_\_

Race of Doctors patronized \_\_\_\_\_ church donations

\_\_\_\_\_ . Thrift: Kinds of savings \_\_\_\_\_

kinds of investments \_\_\_\_\_ other sources of  
income \_\_\_\_\_ amount \_\_\_\_\_ life insurance  
on family.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NEGRO BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

Business owned \_\_\_\_\_ renting \_\_\_\_\_  
Amount of rent paid monthly \_\_\_\_\_  
Valuation of equipment \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of employees \_\_\_\_\_ Salaries per month \_\_\_\_\_  
Amount of monthly incidental expenditures, water, light,  
fuel, etc. \_\_\_\_\_  
Annual volume of trade \_\_\_\_\_  
Approximate percentage of racial patronage; Negro \_\_\_\_\_  
Mexican \_\_\_\_\_ American \_\_\_\_\_  
Business on cash basis \_\_\_\_\_ credit basis \_\_\_\_\_ or  
both \_\_\_\_\_  
Length of establishment \_\_\_\_\_

## CHAPTER II

### NEGROES OF TUCSON, ARIZONA, BEFORE 1900: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

#### PART I. ESTEVAN AND HIS RELATIONSHIP TO TUCSON

The first man (not counting the Indians), as far as we have a record, to come to Arizona was not a white soldier, nor a priest, but a gigantic Negro, Estevan, a native of Morroco.<sup>1</sup> This explorer was first the slave of Dorantes, later of Mendoza, and then finally served as guide to Fray Marcos de Niza.<sup>2</sup>

It was this black guide, Estevan, who first stepped over the line which forms the southern boundary of Arizona to break the way for Spanish exploration, conquest, and military enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

There is a unique relationship between Estevan's crossing the southern boundary of Arizona and the present site of Tucson. For according to the route he travelled, his itinerary crossed between the Pima Villages and Florence, near Tucson.<sup>4</sup> Estevan was not on an expedition of his own; he was a mere guide to Fray Marcos de Niza. Nevertheless, this native of

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1. Lockwood, F. C., Pioneer Days in Arizona, pp. 9-14.
  2. Robinson, W. H., The Story of Arizona, pp. 33-52.
  3. Lockwood, F. C., op. cit., pp. 9-14.
  4. Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico--1530-1888, p. 34.

Morroco deserves credit for not only being the first person to put his foot upon Arizonian soil, but also for being the first Negro to come near Tucson. The party of Fray Marcos usually kept four days behind Estevan.<sup>1</sup>

It is of peculiar interest to consider how Estevan became guide for this group of explorers, how this Negro slave chanced to be the first person to enter into Arizonian territory and later approach near Tucson, how Fray Marcos got to be honored as the first white man to enter the southern boundary of Arizona, and finally why this group of explorers undertook this great expedition to the Northwest.

The unfortunate expedition of Navaez, authorized by the Council of the Indies, was sent out to the new world to conquer the country from the Rio de los Palms to the Cape of Florida.<sup>2</sup> This ill-fated expedition landed on the west coast of Florida in the spring of 1528.<sup>3</sup> Through hardships and sufferings, this crew of men decreased from four hundred to two hundred and forty-seven. Then the members of the group further died until there were eighty men left. These eighty men were finally reduced to only four men. These four men were De Vaca, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, Andres Dorantes, and his Negro slave, Estevan.<sup>4</sup>

In 1536, eight years after they had been shipwrecked in

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1. McClintock, J. H., Arizona, the Youngest State, p. 47.
  2. Robinson, W. H., The Story of Arizona, pp. 33-34.
  3. Lockwood, F. C., Pioneer Days in Arizona, p. 34.
  4. Ibid., p. 35.

Florida, the group of four arrived at Culiacans, where they were received by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. Mendoza at once commissioned Fray Marcos de Niza, who was at this time Vice Commissioner-General of New Spain, together with a large group of Christian Indians to set out on an expedition north-westward for the express purpose of annexing the Seven Wonderful Cities of Cibola to New Spain.<sup>1</sup>

There were Mexican and Indian legends about the Seven Wonderful Cities of Cibola told to the Spaniards. These strange and wierd stories pictured these Seven Cities as containing houses of lime and stone and some of them being four stories high.<sup>2</sup> It proved, however, in the end that the Seven Wonderful Cities of Cibola were none other than seven Indian villages in Zuni County, New Mexico. Estevan, who had been purchased from Dorantes by Mendoza was to serve as guide for the party, since on account of his eight years of experience in wandering around in the uninhabited region of the Southwest with this remaining group of the ill-fated crew of Navaez, he was the most capable man to lead the explorers to the Cities of Cibola.

The Negro was instructed to precede the party by the distance of from fifty or sixty leagues (from 150 to 180 miles) north.\* If Estevan should discover something of merit, he was

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1. Lockwood, F. C., op. cit., p. 36.

2. Woodson, Carter G., The Negro in Our History, p. 60.

\* A league is a measure of distance varying for different times and countries from 2.4 to 4.6 miles. In English-speaking countries, a league is estimated at three miles.

to send a message back by Indians to the group following, and he was to remain in his place until the explorers could reach the spot. The Negro could not read, so he used a wooden cross as a sign for notifying Fray Marcos of his discoveries. If the discovery were of small significance, he was to send back a cross as large as his hands; if the discovery were of greater importance, a cross the size of Estevan's two hands was to be sent back to Fray Marcos, and so on. But imagine the Indian's coming back after four days' journey bearing a cross as big as the gigantic Estevan himself!<sup>1</sup>

On March 7, 1539, the expedition set out, Fray Marcos with his thirty-five men and a group of friendly Indians, and the guide with his group of Christian Indians preceding. Estevan erected at stated intervals sheds for Marcos' accommodations.<sup>2</sup> After four days the Indians came back bearing a huge wooden cross. This cross was not only the sign of the discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, but three other magnificent cities which lay beyond them, Marota, Acus, and Tatontiac, cities greater than those of Cibola. Estevan did not wait for the party to catch up with him as were his instructions, but he went on by himself to the Seven Cities of Cibola, where he was warned not to enter.<sup>3</sup> Fray Marcos followed Estevan until on the last day of May, when he was within two days' journey of

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1. Robinson, W. H., The Story of Arizona, pp. 33-52.
  2. Farnish, T. E., History of Arizona, pp. 11-13.
  3. Ibid.

Cibola, he met some of the Indians coming telling of the sad news of Estevan's death. Estevan was dared to enter the Seven Cities of Cibola. He ignored the Indians and was killed by the inhabitants of these cities.

It took a long time for Fray Marcos to induce the Christian Indians to follow him any further. Finally, two of the number agreed to conduct him to a high hill from which he could see the town of Ahacus, which is identified as that of Hawikuh, a pueblo occupied by Zunis until 1870, when the Apaches compelled its abandonment.<sup>1</sup>

From the time of Estevan to about the middle of the nineteenth century, there is no account to be had of Negroes in Tucson. There might have been Negroes in Tucson before 1850, but there is no information available on the subject.

## PART II. NEGROES OF TUCSON--1850-1900

There was no record of the population of Tucson before 1900. However, by making a study of the number of Negroes who lived in Pima County since 1880, there may be gleaned some idea as to how many Negroes were in Tucson during this time. In 1880, there were seventy-six Negroes in Pima County; in 1890, there were fifty-seven; and in 1900, there were one hundred eighteen. The last figure can be compared with the number of Negroes in Tucson at this time as a basis of estimating how

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1. Farnish, T. E., History of Arizona, Vol. 1, pp. 11-13.

many Negroes might have been in the county and the number in the town proper. In 1900, there were eighty-six Negroes in Tucson. This left only thirty-two Negroes residing in Pima County excluding Tucson. This ratio gives an idea as to how many Negroes may have been in Tucson from 1880 on. This also shows that the majority of the Negroes of Pima County probably lived in Tucson. Of this group living in Tucson, there will be discussed the lives and economic activities of some twenty Negroes. This cross-section of the activities of these twenty Negroes will serve as a prototype of the lives of all the other Negroes who came to Tucson during these early days.

#### Mr. and Mrs. Wiley Box

The first Negro settlers of Tucson, as far as investigation was able to obtain facts, were a Negro woman from Oklahoma and a Negro man from Louisiana. Mr. and Mrs. Wiley Box were married in the Territory of Oklahoma and came to Tucson between 1850 and 1855. Mr. Wiley Box was the son of an English physician and a Negro woman of New Orleans. Mrs. Hannah Box was the daughter of a Negro man and a Cherokee Indian squaw. There was no particular kind of work that this couple followed. Their method of gaining a livelihood carried them into various and diverse pursuits of labor. First, stage coach driving would be resorted to, then manual labor was tried. The Boxes did some prospecting in mining, but to no avail. Mrs. Box realized quite a bit of revenue at one time from gathering for the mar-

ket rarely figured and uniquely colored rocks from the mountainsides. They managed to buy a home and resided therein on Convent Street.

This couple remained together until the late eighties, when the death of Mr. Box was brought about as the result of a trick played on him by one of his Negro friends. One day, while Mr. Box was sleeping, this friend tied a rag around Mr. Box' first toe, saturated the cloth with kerosene and ignited it, only intending to frighten the reposing friend. The flaming cloth could not be removed until it had inflicted a wound upon the flesh of Mr. Box. The patient was immediately put under the care of a physician, but blood poison set in and he died. Mrs. Box lived only a few years longer.

#### Mr. Charley Embers

About 1866, Tucson witnessed the coming of another Negro, Mr. Charley Embers, who came from the state of California. He was born in San Bernadeen, California, in 1849, of Negro parentage, his mother and father being natives of the states of Tennessee and North Carolina, respectively. Mining in those days was quite an enterprise, and this undertaking began to attract Negroes from various sections of the country due to the fact that then there was a great demand for Negro cooks in these places. It was this incentive that brought this Californian to Tucson. Upon his arrival here, he immediately began cooking at the mining camp at Ajo, getting \$30.00 a month, room,

and board. He cooked there for ten years, after which he got a job unloading freight at Maricopa Wells. This place was a



Mr. Charley Embers. 1849\*

freight junction northwest of Tucson. All of the overland freight passed this way since the railroads did not come to Tucson until 1881. At this job he received \$40.00 a month, but no room and board.

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\* This photo was taken March 1, 1933.

Leaving this job, he began working for Mr. A. W. Maxten, assisting him in surveying. At this job he worked for five years at \$45.00 a month, receiving no room or board. Of his sixty-seven years of residence in Tucson he has worked at a number of places, including the San Xavier Hotel, the Eagle Mills, and with private families. He kept his money at home because he "never trusted banks". During his lifetime, he has owned three homes. His first home was purchased in the early eighties, his second home was bought in the nineties, and his last home at 38 North Tenth Avenue was bought in the early part of the twentieth century. He was married only once, his wife being a Mexican girl from Sonora. To this union one child was born, who now lives in California. Mr. Embers is the oldest living person in Tucson and is also the first person living who came to Tucson. Now, eighty-four years of age, he resides at the County Hospital, among his very aged and unfortunate friends.

Mr. Emmet Woodly

About 1869, Mr. Emmet Woodly, "Dick Woodly," made Tucson his home. He was a native of Arkansas, and while enlisted in the United States Army, he came to the western territories to protect them against attacks carried on by Indians. Upon receiving his discharge from the army in 1869, he came to Tucson and began working for M.E.N. Fish as a common laborer at his flour mills. There he worked for eight years for \$20.00 a

month. The employer, becoming very fond of him, took Dick Woodly to his home to be employed as a cook, housekeeper, and general handy man around the house. It is here that this employee spent the greater part of his then remaining life, helping to rear the family of Mr. Fish. The daughter of this family, Mrs. Fred Roberts, now lives at 925 Tyndall Avenue. Mr. Woodly got \$30.00 a month, room and board.

It was at this place, while working, that he espoused and married a Mexican girl. To this union was born a boy and a girl, whose history we are unable to trace. Mr. Woodly never owned any property. He lived in Tucson until the late eighties, and then left. His present address is unknown.

#### Mr. Joe Mitchell

The first Negro to homestead land in Tucson was Mr. Joe Mitchell, a barber. He homesteaded 160 acres of land, and his residence was in the southern part of Tucson. Although barbering was his profession, he resorted to chicken raising as an avocation. His barbershop could accommodate two barber chairs. He employed a Mexican helper, who got about \$30.00 a month. After paying this wage to the Mexican and paying rent, which was \$10.00 a month plus other monthly expenses, Mr. Mitchell was able to clear about \$70.00 or \$80.00 a month. The barbershop had white trade exclusively. There is no account of how much money he saved, but evidently he did not have much money. On Sunday, August 4, 1873, he was arrested for shielding in

his home two deserters from the United States Army--John McEntire and Blank Rose, Negroes. His bond was \$600.00, which he was unable to raise. However, he was able to get one of the best attorneys of Tucson at that time, Judge F. E. Hughes. The attorney for the United States Government was United Commissioner J. E. McColfrey.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mitchell was acquitted of the charge.

Mr. Mitchell continued to reside in the southern part of Tucson until his death, in the middle of the nineties. He married a Mexican girl and there were three children born.

#### Mr. Harvey Merchant

Not only was cooking in mining camps alluring to Negro men, but working on ranches and attending to cattle caused many Negroes to be employed too. Mr. Harvey Merchant, born in Texas in 1860, came to Tucson in 1870 and began working on a ranch as a dish-washer. But he had a desire to become a cowboy some day and this aspiration was fulfilled.

When a boy eight years of age he left Texas with two white boys ten years of age and three white men. The party started across the wild Indian territory and was captured by them. The three white men were killed and the three boys were taken back as captives by the Indians. They remained with the Indians in the northern part of Arizona for about four months.

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1. The Arizona Daily Citizen, August 9, 1873, Vol. 3, p. 3, Col. 2.

In the fall of that same year the Indians went on a campaign across the Arizonian territory and thence into New Mexico. But while passing on a trail near Tucson, half of the tribe was killed by the soldiers of the United States Army, and the small boys were rescued and brought to Tucson. It was at this time that Mr. Merchant, who was then a small boy, began work washing dishes on a ranch for \$10.00 a month. He later became cook for the ranch and received \$30.00 a month, room and board. At the age of thirty years, he became skilled enough to become a cowboy and received \$85.00 a month until about a year ago. He also got room and board free.

Mr. Merchant never saved any money. He refers to his long years of employment as "saving up money for two or three months, coming to town and blowing it in". It is really pathetic when one considers his present condition, working now at the age of seventy there as cook and yardsman for \$7.00 a week and board. His lodging accommodations are poor, as he lives in a one-room house with no modern conveniences whatsoever. He was married once, his wife being an Indian squaw from Oklahoma. They lived together for twenty-five years. There were no children.

Mr. Charley Williams

The person with the most illustrious career and the Negro who by far stamped his personality upon the pioneer citizenry of Tucson more than any other Negro was Mr. Charley Williams--

known to all Tucson music lovers as "Banjo Dick". Any of the old settlers of Tucson who are able to recall the reminiscences of the gay seventies and eighties in old Tucson, cannot help but call back to their memories the beautiful strains played on the banjo by this serenader.

"Banjo Dick" was born in Kentucky on December 30, 1849. Between this date and 1870, he went to California and sought employment as a common laborer, later finding employment with Mr. Beaumont, a United States Army Officer. Leaving the employment of Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Williams came down to Yuma, Arizona, on a boat. It was at this time, in 1871, that "Banjo Dick" met Mr. L. A. Smith and later became employed by him.

In 1872, the Smith family, together with "Banjo Dick", moved to Tucson. "Dick" then proceeded to become general utilitarian around the home. Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of Mr. L. A. Smith, and who is now located at 937 North Stone Avenue, refers to "Banjo Dick" as an "all around man"--raising the children, washing, ironing, and taking care of the livery. For this work he got around \$25.00 a month, room and board.

But Mr. Williams is not remembered for his work around the Smith home. He is remembered for his sweet strains of music. As a means of expressing his soul and also as a method of getting a little extra money, "Banjo Dick" began to play this instrument. He would even play it while going on errands to and from stores and back home. At night, after he had finished his work, he would put the cowhide string around his



"Banjo Dick"--Played at  
Le Vennis Park\*

neck, the instrument under his arm, and go on a serenade, thrilling the entire populace of Tucson.<sup>1</sup> His biggest attraction was that of playing at Le Vennis Park, the exclusive rendezvous of the Tucson aristocrats.

In 1891, Mr. Williams went to Nogales, Arizona, put up a shoe shining parlor and ran it for some three or four years. He never married.

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\* The photo is a copy from a picture in the possession of Mrs. Shaw at 937 North Stone Avenue. The copy was made on February 15, 1933. No one knows when "Banjo Dick" died.  
1. Arizona Weekly Star, March 26, 1886, Vol. XI, p. 3, Col. 1.

Mrs. E. Lucas and her son--Dave Lucas

The coming of General Carr to Fort Lowell brought two more Negroes to Tucson. These Negroes were Mrs. Elizabeth Lucas and her son, Dave Lucas. The two were born in Kentucky. There is no definite date as to when they came here, but it is assumed that they came here about 1873. This date is based upon the fact that in 1873, the United States government erected in the northeastern section of Tucson, Fort Lowell. Mrs. Lucas cooked at Fort Lowell, while her son took care of the dining hall and cared for the horses of General Carr. For this work they averaged around \$40.00 and \$25.00 a month for mother and son, respectively. Mrs. Lucas died in the eighties and her son continued to live at Fort Lowell until his death. While working at Fort Lowell, Mr. Lucas became skilled in handling horses and soon became a jockey with unusual ability. The other jobs held by Mr. Lucas consisted of working for Captain J. T. Young at the Catalina mountains for \$30.00 a month, room and board. In the later years of Lucas' life he worked for Mrs. Meneger on South Stone Avenue. Later he worked for Mr. Manning on Main Street. The photo below is the picture of Mr. Lucas' home. This home was bought while he worked for Mrs. Meneger. The house has been vacant for about twenty-five years. It is the oldest Negro home now standing in Tucson. Mr. Lucas married an Indian girl and to them two children were born.



The oldest Negro home in Tucson\*

Mr. Henry Conley

Mr. Henry Conley became the first Negro employed by the city of Tucson. He was hired by the city as garbage man, getting \$40.00 a month and living in city property, residing on South Convent Street.

While working for the city, Mr. Conley began to develop a project out at the Rillito, in the Fort Lowell Area. The project was first begun by Mr. Conley buying a ranch on the Rillito from a Mexican by the name of Sarachin. The tract of land consisted of 160 acres of homesteaded land. It is

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\* This photo was taken on February 28, 1933.

claimed that Mr. Sarachin had government papers on the land. But this is doubtful from the standpoint that when the claim of the land as held by Mr. Conley came into conflict with some of the claims to the same land, Mr. Conley was dispossessed of the part in question. However, he possessed the land again when Fort Lowell was abandoned. The money that Mr. Conley bought the land with was borrowed from Mr. William Neal, then Negro cook at the Maism Dairy, located then where the Plaza Theater is now.

Horses were brought from California, placed on the ranch and Mr. Conley began to farm. The operation of the entire farm proved too much for Mr. Conley, so he offered eighty acres of his land to Mr. Henry Ransom, a Negro friend of his. Mr. Ransom refused this gift on the grounds that there was no water on the land. Later Mr. Conley sold the entire one hundred sixty acres of land to a telegraph operator in Tucson. Mr. Conley then moved into the San Xavier Mission vicinity, where he lived until his death, which was approximately eleven years ago.

#### Mr. William Neal

In 1878, Mr. William Neal came to Tucson with the United States Army. He stayed in the army only one year after he came here. After receiving his discharge papers, he began working as cook at the Maison D'Aray for \$40.00 a month, room and board.

While working here he began to launch out into other fields of undertakings. His first job was the acceptance of a contract to dig a cellar under a building which was located where the present site of the Legal Tender Building is. The contract stated that the cellar was to be completed thirty days from the time of beginning. The contract was not complied with and Mr. Neal lost \$300.00. Over this work, Mr. Neal put Mr. Henry Ransom as foreman, giving him \$1.50 a day and board. Under this foreman were employed from five to seven Mexicans a day at \$1.25. Through the advice of Mr. Ransom Mr. Neal saved his small bank account. There was a custom among the Mexicans that they had to be paid off every evening. The foreman had Neal, on the Saturday, draw all his money out of the bank in order to always have it on hand. Mr. Neal drew his money out of the Hudson Bank on a Saturday and it closed on the following Monday, May 9, 1884.<sup>1</sup> When the contract expired, Neal quit cooking and began taking freight from Tucson out to a junction north of Tucson. Later, he got a contract hauling ore from the Mammoth mines over to the mills on the San Pedro River. The horses which Neal used in hauling this ore were obtained from the foreclosure on Mr. Conley's horses since Mr. Conley had no money to pay when the mortgage came due. The wagons were made in Tucson. Later on Mr. Neal went to Kansas City and bought a carload of mules, had more wagons built and continued

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1. The Hudson Bank was located in the wedge on Congress between Court and Meyer.

to launch out in the carrying business. To get this start, Captain Johnson, who owned the mines, advanced Neal the money. The contract which Neal had with the company stated that in case Mr. Neal caused delay he would pay all the expenses due to the mill's lack of ore.

In 1885, Mr. Neal obtained a contract from the government to carry mail from Tucson to Oracle. It was at this point that he moved to Oracle and began operating a hotel. Mr. Neal is still living at Oracle. He was married twice and has one daughter.

"Lee"

On Tuesday, October 18, 1878, Miss Anita Rose, together with a group of pioneers coming from the East entered Tucson. With them came a Negro man, to whom Miss Rose refers in a series of letters written to friends back east, as "Good and obliging Lee". Lee was added to their group in Silver City, New Mexico, October 16, 1878.<sup>1</sup>

On the journey from Silver City to Tucson, this Negro acted as sentinel in the rear, in order to give warning if Indians should appear. According to Miss Rose, the population of Tucson then was six thousand, one thousand floating. Among that six thousand inhabitants, there were only two hundred and fifty white Americans, the remainder of the population consisted of foreigners and Mexicans.

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1. Correspondence of the Arizona Enterprise; Rose, Anita, October 24, 1878, p. 2.

Food and lodging were extremely high. A poorly furnished three room house cost \$50.00 per month. Eggs were from 75¢ to \$1.00 a dozen, apples forty cents per pound, lard and sugar were high; meats were cheap, however, the finest cuts being 12½¢ a pound.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of Lee in Tucson did not stop his acting in the capacity of guard. Around the home he acted as guard at night to protect the family from the Indians. Lee worked for his employers handling their teams and hauling express. From this work he received from two and one-half to thirteen dollars a day. On both sides of the wagon were attached signs bearing the words, "Job Work". While in this type of work he did everything from carrying a band of musicians to a Mexican funeral to carrying the musicians of the candidate for sheriff, Shiebell, to the polls on election day.<sup>2</sup>

Lee stayed here until about the middle of the eighties, according to information given by one of his friends, Mr. Henry Ransom. But from this date there has been no account available concerning him.

Mr. Samuel Bostic and Mr. Henry Anderson

There were a few Negroes who came during this period, but they lived so seclusively that no one seems to have been able

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1. Correspondence of the Arizona Enterprise; Rose, Anita, October 24, 1878, pp. 7-10.

2. Ibid., November 13, 1878, pp. 12-16.

to know much about them. Among this group of Negroes was Mr. Samuel Bostic, who ran a barbershop for Mexicans, located on Convent Street. Mr. Henry Anderson operated a barbershop on Congress Street, exclusively for white trade. Mr. Anderson was the first barber that Mr. Moses Drachman had. Mr. Drachman refers to him as being such an accurate barber that he would often sever the body of a fly with his razor, while the insect was flying in the air, lest it disturb the customer upon whom the barber was working. Mr. Anderson was married to a Negro woman and they had four children, two boys and two girls. They owned a home located on North Stone Avenue.

#### Mr. Fred Sparrows

Mr. Fred Sparrows, a Negro barber, also belongs to this group of men. He came from California in 1881, opened up a barber shop on Congress Street, beside the present location of the Tucson Hotel. Mr. Sparrows also operated a saloon. He finally, within a course of years, went out of business and left town. Mr. Sparrows was considered among the Negroes of Tucson as a political boss.

#### Mr. Henry Ransom

In 1881, there came to Tucson a Negro man who was to become, within the course of years, Tucson's most famous transfer driver. This man, Mr. Henry Ransom, was born in Ozark, Arkan-

sas, in 1855. Upon his arrival here, he became employed by Mr. A. M. Bucklow, hauling freight and ore, and receiving for his wages \$60.00 a month. Here he worked for three years. Being so faithful on this job, his employer allowed him to room on his premises, even after Mr. Ransom ceased working for him. This concession was used by Mr. Ransom for five years after he quit working for Mr. Bucklow. Going from this job he began working for Mr. Neal, as foreman of a cellar digging contract and getting \$1.50 a day. This job did not last long, however.

The Cosmopolitan Hotel employed him as a cook. Here Mr. Ransom got \$40.00 a month, room and board. The cosmopolitan Hotel was later changed to the Orndorff Hotel, located on North Main and Pennington Streets. But Mr. Ransom did not remain here long. The San Xavier Hotel, located at the present site of the Southern Pacific Depot changed hands and went into new management. The new management called for a crew of Negro attendants in the Hotel. There were ten Negroes brought from Kansas City, Missouri, to serve as table waiters in the dining room.<sup>1</sup> These waiters received \$40.00 a month, room, and board. It was at this place and during this change of management that Mr. Ransom got a job as yard man and porter.

One of the main duties of the yardman was to use all possible efforts to beautify the surroundings of the place in order to make it attractive to the tourists who stopped at the hotel. Immediately Mr. Ransom began setting out trees along

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1. Arizona Weekly Star, Nov. 12, 1885, Vol. X, p. 3, Col. 1.

the front terrace of the hotel. He got these cottonwood trees from the Santa Cruz River area. All of these trees have died



The oldest tree in Tucson\*

but one. Mr. Ransom claims that this is the oldest tree in Tucson today. Before Mr. Ransom left this place he had seen the Hotel change hands twice. The proprietors were Mr. Phillips Crout first, and later, Mr. Thomas Cordiz and Mr. Perry. Leaving this job, Mr. Ransom secured a job of a peculiar nature

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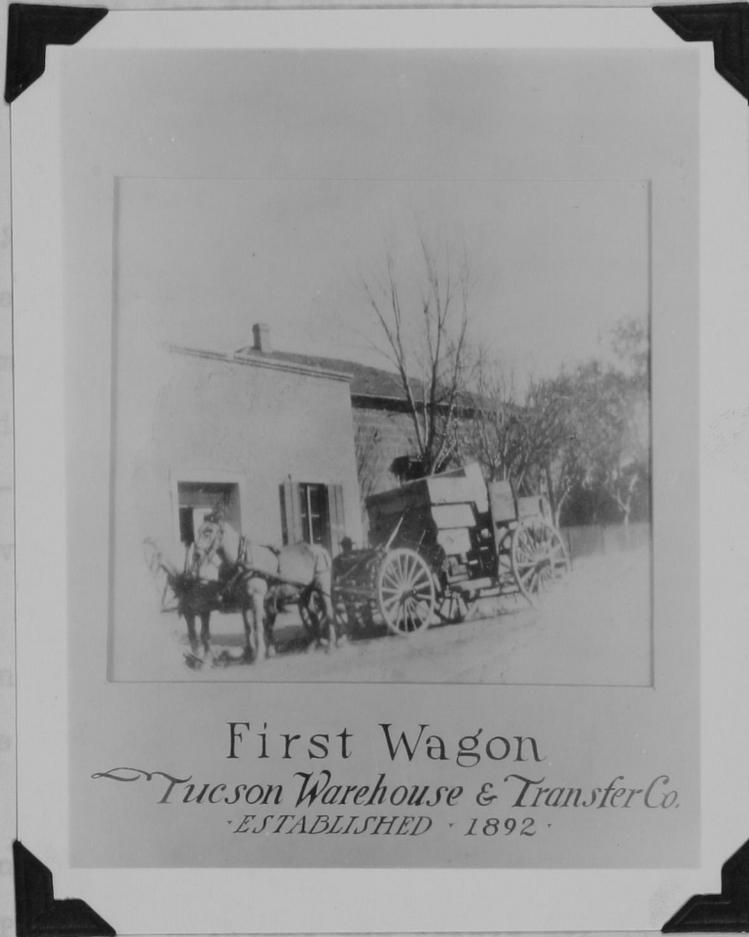
\* This photo was taken May 1, 1933.

at the Palace Hotel, located on Meyer Street at the head of Broadway. On this job, Mr. Ransom was to act as arbitrator in settling disputes among the degenerate women who frequented this place. For these services he received \$60.00 a month, room and board. The last job was the one which lasted him until he was pensioned. This job began by Mr. Ransom's getting employment from Mr. Jack Boldin, an ex-sea captain from Canada. He hauled freight to various sections of the town and got from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a day. Mr. Boldin turned his business over to Mr. DeGraw of the Orndorff Hotel. In 1890, Mr. Ransom began working for Mr. Vick DeGraw. The job consisted of hauling freight and passengers to and from the hotel. For this purpose the wagons were made by Mr. Ronstadt. For this work, Mr. Ransom received \$2.00 a day. This business was the forerunner of the present Tucson Warehouse and Transfer Company.

Mr. DeGraw finally decided that he would leave Tucson. So he sold the freight hauling project to his brother. His brother in turn gave it over to his step-son, Mr. Orndorff and Mr. Harvy Lee. Then, in 1891, there came to Tucson the Pioneer Transfer Company from Phoenix, Arizona, owned by Mr. Joe Reed and Mr. Beck. This establishment bought out the Orndorff and Lee project, taking over with the deal Mr. Henry Ransom as transfer driver.

The Tucson Transfer Company then opened up a service. But seeing that it could not compete with the principal Phoenix concern, methods were resorted to which resulted in the purchase

of the Pioneer Transfer Company by the Tucson Transfer Company. The negotiation did not work to the disadvantage of Mr. Ransom. He continued working as before, receiving the same wages.



Mr. Henry Ransom on the job\*

Through faithful service and honest dealing he remained with the Tucson Transfer Company from 1892 until 1931, when he was retired. As a means of gratitude for this wonderful service, the Tucson Warehouse and Transfer Company allow him a life

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\* This photo was copied from a photo in the possession of the Tucson Warehouse and Transfer Company.

pension of \$70.00 a month.

Mr. Ransom was married only once, his wife being a Mexican woman from Sonora. To this union one son was born. Mr. Ransom owns a home where he lives at 933 South Osborn Avenue, which he bought for \$85.00 over thirty years ago.

### Mr. Henry Varnom

Many of the Negroes that lived in Tucson came here in the United States Army and after being discharged made this their home. In 1894, Mr. Henry Varnom came to Tucson as a soldier in E. Troop, after having spent five years in G. Troop in Texas--South Casoby. In this regiment of sixty-five Negroes, he received \$25.00 every two months. These Negro Troops were sent out at various occasions to quell Indian disturbances and to put an end to the Indian raider, Geronimo.<sup>1</sup> However, sometimes these soldiers did not stand bravely against the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Securing his discharge from the army in 1892, Mr. Varnom went to Phoenix, Arizona, and worked for four years as porter in Mr. Ainsworth's Hotel. While here he married a white girl of the Mormon faith. In 1896, his berth failed him and he had to come back to Tucson. From this time onward until he died in 1931, he worked for Mrs. Franklin, on Main Street, for \$8.00 a week and board. In 1910, Mr. Varnom bought a half of a lot

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1. Arizona Weekly Star, May 28, 1885, Vol. X, Col. 1, p. 3.

2. Ibid., November 23, 1885, Vol. X, Col. 1, p. 3.

for \$100.00 and erected a home thereon. There were three children born to this union of marriage.

Mr. Richard Holt

Mr. Richard Holt, born in 1865 in Charlotte, North Carolina, and also a soldier, came to Tucson in 1884. He was a soldier in E. Troop in the Tenth Cavalry. This troop, together with H. Troop went on the campaign in 1886, against Chief Geronimo. These soldiers were put on guard at Bonita Canyon, cutting the Indians off at their stronghold and keeping them in abeyance for nearly nine months, after which time the Indians surrendered. Mr. Holt carried mail from the railroad to the interior while on this campaign.

In 1889, he got his discharge and began working on a cow ranch, getting \$30.00 a month, room and board. This job lasted until 1897. The most of his work consisted of employment in mining camps, hotels and private families. Mr. Holt owns no property; however, he owns a small amount of personal property, an old car, some furniture, etc.--all amounting to about \$50.00. He is not able to work, but he receives a pension of \$40.00 a month from the government.

Mr. Holt has never been married, but has two children as the result of his association with his French common-law wife while working at the mining camp.

Mr. Thomas Grant

The last of the Negroes who came to Tucson with the Tenth Cavalry was Mr. Thomas Grant. Mr. Grant was born in German-town, Kentucky, in 1848. Immediately after reaching Tucson in 1892, he retired from the army and secured employment with Mr. John L. Martin, on Court Street. He has been working for him ever since. In 1910, he homesteaded twenty-two acres of land at Fort Huachuca from the government. Upon this land he put cattle, horses and wagons.

But misfortune overtook Mr. Grant; he became mentally deranged and had to be taken to California for his malady. When he returned to Tucson, he found all of his property but the land gone. The next effort put forth by this retired soldier was to buy himself a home in Tucson. This effort was carried through. An adobe house was bought just outside the city limits on Main Street for \$45.00 for the lot and \$75.00 for the improvement. The house still stands, but the owner has lost his title and connection with the property.

His job for attorney Martin brings him in \$18.00 a month, plus a room, and he gets \$45.45 as a pension from the government. Mr. Grant has no relatives and no children, but was once married to a Negro woman from Texas

Mrs. Lee

About the middle of the nineties, there was a Negro woman,

Mrs. Lee, who came from Phoenix, Arizona, to specialize in a restaurant, run exclusively for whites but under colored management. Mrs. Lee knew the possibilities in this line of work from past experiences in Phoenix. Coming to Phoenix, in 1888, as a cook for a rich eastern family, she sought greater opportunities for the application of her unique "cuisine art". She immediately began to operate a cafe for the white tourists who came from all sections of the country to visit Phoenix. After a few years, her place became the most exclusive eating house in Phoenix. But this did not last long; she became entangled in a love affair and was forced to leave Phoenix. Her next chance was to come to Tucson and begin all over again.

Upon coming to Tucson she immediately began negotiating plans for the renting of the dining room of the Orndorff Hotel from Mr. DeGraw. This dining room had been closed for some time, due to the fact that it was not profitable to the hotel to operate it.

Mrs. Lee at once opened the dining room. She took care of the cooking herself. In the dining room she put a number of colored waitresses. Over these waitresses she placed a Negro man. This place was operated for three years and it received the patronage of the best people in Tucson. On account of ill-health Mrs. Lee was forced to abandon this work. The picture below shows the Orndorff Hotel. The upper picture shows the main entrance to the body of the hotel. The lower picture shows

the main entrance to the dining room.



The Orndorff Hotel where Mrs. Lee  
ran her Dining Room.\*



Main Entrance to the dining room\*

Mrs. Lee owned a home on the southwest corner of Stone Avenue and Third Street. She died about the beginning of the twentieth century.

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\* These photos were taken March 14, 1933.

Through this survey of the twenty Negroes of whom we have information, a picture can be drawn by way of deduction as to the economic existence of the entire population before 1900.

Estevan, a native of Morroco, was the first Negro to come near Tucson, but he was only with a group of explorers. Therefore, from a brief study of his existence, we can only connect him with the Negroes of Tucson through the fact that his exploration merits it.

The lives of the twenty Negroes who lived in Tucson illustrate a more precise conception of the lives of all the other Negroes who lived in Tucson during this period. There was no staid and fixed type of work that any one Negro did during this period. They usually worked at any conceivable kind of employment. However, domestic work seemed to be a category into which we can put the majority of them. The next type of work which would apply to a large number of Negroes was that of the barbering trade. Three of these Negroes were never married, twelve of them were legally married, and one had a common-law wife. Of this group, three Negro men married Negro women, five men married Mexican women, one man married a white woman, one man had a common-law French wife, and three men married Indian women. Thirteen Negroes owned property, and seven did not. One Negro during this period homesteaded land. The wages of the entire group during the period ranged from \$10.00 a month to \$85.00 a month.

There are only five of these pioneers living now. The

picture below shows three of them. On account of Mr. Embers' being at the County Hospital, it was impossible to get him with this group. These men are also the oldest Negroes in Tucson. Of these five men, two of them have incomes from the government,



The last of the Tucson 19th. Century Negroes\*

three of them own property. Two of them are dependent for a means of living. One of these dependents is at the County Hospital and the other one works hard for a living at \$7.00 a week and board. One of the five receives a pension for his past work at an establishment in Tucson.

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\* The names are, left to right: Mr. Richard Holt, Mr. Henry Ransom, and Mr. Thomas Grant. The other two Negroes are Mr. Harvey Merchant and Mr. Charley Embers. The photo of the three men was taken March 1, 1933.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PRESENT NEGRO OF TUCSON, ARIZONA

##### PART I. NEGRO POPULATION OF TUCSON

The Negro population of Tucson, as reported by the Federal Bureau of the Census, was eighty-six in 1900; 222 in 1910; 346 in 1920; and 1,003 in 1930.<sup>1</sup> Negroes constituted 1.1 per cent. of the city's total population of 7,531 in 1900; 1.7 per cent. of the total population of 13,192 in 1910; 1.7 per cent. of the total population of 20,294 in 1920; and 3.08 per cent. of the total population in 1930. The increase in Negro population during the three decades from 1900 to 1930 was 158%, 56%, and 189% respectively. The increase in population of the other races in Tucson during these decades was 74%, 50% and 57% respectively. Figure I on page 42 will illustrate the growth of the Negro population of Tucson since 1900.

The age distribution of the population can be seen below in Table I.

Table I  
Age Distribution of Population in 1930

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Under 1 year of age	43	42
Under 5 years of age	10	9
From 5 to 9 years of age	37	37
" 10 to 14 " " "	29	23
" 15 to 19 " " "	22	40

1. United States Census Reports; 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

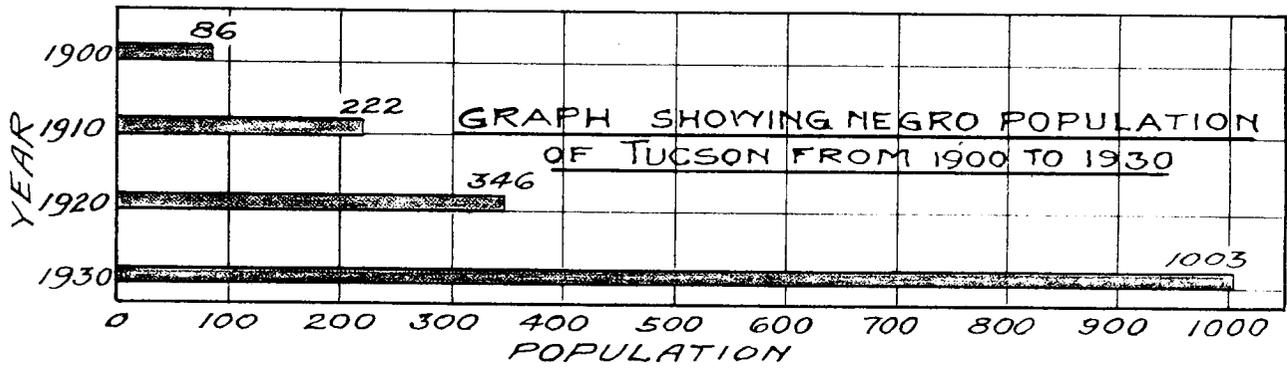


Table I (Continued)

	Male	Female
From 20 to 24 years of age	38	40
" 25 to 29 " " "	44	58
" 30 to 34 " " "	54	57
" 35 to 44 " " "	126	115
" 45 to 54 " " "	80	50
" 55 to 64 " " "	19	17
" 65 to 74 " " "	11	16
Over 75 years of age	3	2
Unknown	2	7
Average age - 35.8	Total population - 1,003	

An attempt was made to get statistics on the average birth rate and death rate of Negroes and other races of Tucson, in order to compare the birth rate and death rate of Negroes with that of other races. But owing to the inadequacy of the County Health Reports, the attempt was in vain. Nevertheless, data was secured for the year 1932. A comparison of the data is shown below in Table II.

Table II  
A Comparison of Birth and Death Statistics in Tucson for 1932

	Negro	American	Mexican	Indian
Births	24	512	725	4*
Percentage	2.3%	2.6%	7.0%	--
Deaths	34	581	309	175
Percentage	3.4%	2.8%	2.9%	1.6%

It can readily be seen that the highest percentage of the birth rate per race belongs in the Mexican group. The Negro has the lowest percentage of births a year and the highest percentage of deaths per group of the entire group of races. But the birth and death rate of the white race is relatively stable, the birth and death rate varying only by .2%. The Indian has

\* All the births of Indians were not recorded.

the lowest death rate of all the races. The percentage of deaths a year is 1.6.

This birth rate and death rate of Negroes of Tucson can be compared with the birth and death rates of Negroes in the United States at large. The birth rate of Negroes in the United States is 20.7, and the birth rate of Negroes in the United States is 15.6. The rate is per 1,000 population.<sup>1</sup>

Places of Birth and Former Residence

Data obtained from 317 questionnaires show that the majority of the population is of southern origin. The majority of Negroes were born in the south and came from southern states to Tucson. The most prominent states of Negro origin and former residence are Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kentucky and South Carolina. California is an exception to the rule, but its proximity accounts for the number of Negroes coming from that state. Table III below shows the states of birth and places of former residence.

Table III  
Places of birth and former residence

Places of Birth	No. of Persons	: Places of : Former Residence	No. of Persons
Texas	132	: Texas	102
California	32	: California	34
Louisiana	19	: Alabama	14
Arkansas	18	: Louisiana	14
Alabama	16	: Arkansas	13
North Carolina	11	: Kentucky	13
South Carolina	11	: South Carolina	11

1. World Almanac, New York, 1933, p. 362.



to come to Tucson. About two-thirds of the number came out

Table IV  
Motives for coming to Tucson(1)

Motives	:	No. of Persons
Work	:	227
Health	:	37
No motive	:	36
Pleasure	:	17
Prostitution	:	<u>3</u>
	:	
Total	:	317

for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, while the other motives constitute the other third. It is of interest to note, however, that thirty-six, or about 12.5% of the number had no motive at all; they were just drifters.

### Negro Neighborhoods

As the Negro population of Tucson increased, certain sections of the city became the districts for Negroes to live in. The Negro population can be divided into three residential sections or Negro communities. The largest district is found from Ninth Avenue to Main Street, going west; and from Main Street to Speedway going north. This section contains about sixty per cent. of the Negro population.

The next largest area can be found on Fifth and Sixth Streets extending from Fourth Avenue to Stone Avenue. This area has about twenty-five per cent. of the Negro population. The residential section in this area is very densely settled.

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1. See appendix, page 1, for the states whose population was affected by motives.

Negroes live in the alleys and on the streets in this section.

In the southeastern part of Tucson, about ten per cent. of the Negroes live east of South Sixth Avenue, and between the railroad on 22nd, 23rd, and 24th. streets.

About five per cent. of the Negro population resides in scattered areas over the city. The districts of these areas are not entirely of any one race, but they are composed of a composite of races.

The concentration of Negroes into these distinctive districts as the Negro's population increases is not an uncommon phenomenon. This is a natural result which happens in many other cities when the influx of Negroes begins. New York has its "San Juan Hill" in the West Sixties, and its Harlem with over 35,000 Negroes within eighteen city blocks. Chicago has its State Street, Philadelphia has its Seventh Ward, Washington has its northwest neighborhood, and Baltimore its Druid Avenue. Louisville, Kentucky, has its Chestnut Street, and its "Smoke-town," and Atlanta has its west end and Ashburn Avenue.<sup>1</sup>

There are, however, certain areas in Tucson which are restricted against Negroes living or purchasing property within them. There are instances in which Negroes have bought property in these districts, but it was before there were restrictions. But when this occurs, restrictions are put on in order to keep out other Negroes. There are approximately 250 districts in

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1. Annals of American Academy, September, 1913, pp. 109-110.

and around the Corporation, according to the reports of the Title and Guranty Company of Tucson. Approximately sixty-nine of these subdivisions are restricted against Negroes. Twenty-five of the sixty-nine have clauses of restrictions incorporated within the deeds of conveyance. The remaining thirty-four districts are restricted as a whole against Negroes.\* This leaves approximately 190 districts in which Negroes can purchase property and reside.

PART II. EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES

The report of the Federal census of 1930 showed that there were 538 Negroes over ten years of age gainfully occupied, or in other words over half of the entire Negro population was employed. Table V below shows the status of the group surveyed with reference to employment.

Table V  
Status of group with reference to number employed

No. of families with one adult working	124
No. of families with two adults working	28
No. of single persons working over 21 years of age	<u>165</u>
Total	<u>317</u>

\* The districts which are restricted as a whole are: Catalina Foothills, Catalina Poultry Acres, Catalina Poultry Acres No. 2, City Parkside, Colonia Salano, Colonial Estates, Country Club Heights, Country Club Flomesitis, El Montivedio Estates, El Encanto Estates, El Pasadena Tract, El Reo Acres, El Reo Park, Golden Dawn Farms, Government Heights, Highland Park, Monterey Addition, Mundo Vista, National City Subdivision, Old Wall Addition, Parkway Terrace, Ridgeland, Rincon Heights, Riverside Park, San Clemente, Speedway Park Addition, Speedway Park Subdivision, University Manor, Vericu Addition, Veteran's Addition.

There are 124 married families where only one adult was working. The only breadwinner was in some cases found to be a man and in some instances a woman. There are only twenty-eight families where both adults are working as breadwinners. Among the twenty-eight families, eighteen of them had children. This means that these children must be without maternal and paternal care daily. Of course all of the single individuals were over twenty-one years of age and relying upon themselves for support.

Types of Employment

The occupations of this group surveyed fall under the head of thirty types of employment. Table VI below shows the types of employment and the number of persons per vocation. The occupations are listed in descending order according to number of persons engaged in each type of work.

Table VI  
Types of Occupations and No. of Persons per Occupation

Types of Occupations	No. of Persons per Occupation
Cooks	59
Maids	50
Common Laborers	46
Porters	40
Janitors	40
Chauffeurs	15
Table Waiters	15
Bootblacks	11
Teachers	7
Auto Mechanics	5
Barbers	4
Bakers	3
Proprietors of Service Stations	3
Preachers	3
Prostitutes	3
Laundresses	2

Table VI (Continued)

Types of Occupations	No. of Persons per Occupation
Insurance Agents	2
Poultrymen	2
Trained Nurses	2
Carpenters	2
Well driller	1
Herb doctor	1
Chiropodist	1
Physician	1
Road foreman	1
Proprietor of Wash Rack	1
Clothes presser	1
Tailor	1
Electrical Engineer	1
Post Office Clerk	1
Total	317

According to the classification by the Federal census of 1930, of the occupations engaged in by Negroes, and the percentage of Negroes engaged in the various occupations, the vocations of Table VI fall roughly into three types--domestic and personal service, professional service and trades. According to the classification of the Census, under domestic and personal service are classified cooks, maids, table waiters, janitors, common laborers, barbers, and bootblacks. Under professional service are classified doctors, preachers and teachers. Under trades are classified mechanics. Table VII below shows the comparison of the percentages of Negroes of Tucson engaged in the types of occupations with the average percentages of Negroes engaged in these occupations in the United States as a whole.

Table VII  
Comparison of Percentage of Negro Workers in Tucson with Average Percentage of Negro Workers

	Domestic and Personal Service	Professional Services	Trades
Per cent. of Negroes in Tucson	71%	3.1%	2.5%
Av. Per cent. of Negro workers	31.8%	4.2%	3.0%

This analysis of the employment situation shows that Tucson is above the average in domestic and personal service employment and below the average in professional service and trades.

Monthly Wage Incomes of Negroes Employed

There are nine major occupations to which Negroes resort. The average wage income per month of the particular occupation is given in Table VIII below. The occupations will be listed in numerical descendency.

Table VIII  
Average Wage Income per Month for Nine Major Occupations

No. of Persons	: Types of Occupations	: Average wage income per month
59	: Cooks	: \$59.00 per month
50	: Maids	: 42.00 per month
46	: Common laborers:	45.00 per month
40	: Porters	: 59.00 per month
40	: Janitors	: 89.00 per month
15	: Chauffeurs	: 50.00 per month
15	: Table Waiters	: 52.00 per month
11	: Bootblacks	: 44.00 per month
7	: Teachers	: 126.00 per month
Average wage income for this group - \$63.00 per month		

The bulk of the Negroes are engaged in these nine major occupations. From this group, the janitors are the largest group which has the highest monthly wage incomes. The average

monthly wage incomes of the nine major occupations is \$63.00.

Corresponding with the average monthly wage income per occupation is the average number of hours per day spent in each type of occupation. This is shown in Table IX below.

Table IX  
Average Hours per Day of Nine Major Occupations

	:	Average No. of Hours per day.
Cooks	:	7
Maids	:	8
Common Laborers	:	9
Porters	:	8
Janitors	:	8
Chauffeurs	:	10
Table Waiters	:	9
Bootblacks	:	10
Teachers	:	8

The bootblacks, chauffeurs, table waiters, and common laborers are on duty longer than any other group in Tucson.

The monthly wage incomes of the entire group can be seen in Table VIII. This monthly wage income is not relative to particular types of work, but it is a frequency distribution of wages ranging from \$0.00 to \$581.00. Table X below shows the results.

Table X  
Monthly Incomes of Entire Group

Monthly Wage Incomes	:	No. of Persons Receiving Income
\$ 0 - 9	:	18
10 - 19	:	2
20 - 29	:	12
30-- 39	:	22
40 - 49	:	111
50 - 59	:	12
60 - 69	:	32
70 - 79	:	28
80 - 89	:	28
90 - 99	:	3
100 - 109	:	27

Table X (Continued)

Monthly Wage Incomes	No. of Persons Receiving Income
\$110 - 119	2
120 - 129	1
130 - 139	1
140 - 149	2
150 - 159	6
160 - 169	3
170 - 179	3
200 - 250	3
581 -	1
Total	317
Average monthly income for entire group - \$94.00.	

The largest number of people receive from \$40.00 to \$49.00 a month. However, it is in this group that the majority of the workers fall. The average monthly wage income for the entire group is \$94.00. This figure is higher than the average of the general group of workers, but it is raised to this level on account of the few high monthly wage incomes of a few Negroes. The entire wage income a month for the whole group is \$29,798.00. The majority of the Negroes work eight hours a day. There are 232 who fall in this lot. Nevertheless, some work longer and some work shorter hours a day. The average number of hours being employed a day for the entire group is 8.4 hours.\* The average number of months of unemployment a year range from one to eight months. The average period of unemployment is one month per year.

An attempt was made to get data on the employment situation of Mexicans and whites in Tucson, in order to make a com-

\* For a more detailed analysis of Negro employment, wage incomes per month and hours per day, see appendix, p. ii.

parison of the wage incomes of the three races. A scientific study of the matter proved impossible, however. Nevertheless, a few casual estimations of a certain type of work engaged in by Mexicans was obtained from Mr. A. C. Knowles, former agent of the Federal Employment Bureau located in Tucson.

Mr. Knowles states that for the last year he had secured employment for 738 Mexicans. This number included unskilled, clerical work, domestic and personal service workers for an average of \$1.25 a day or an average of \$37.50 a month. These employees work for an average of nine hours a day. He further stated that during the last year he had secured domestic employment for approximately nine hundred Mexican women at an average of \$2.50 a week, or \$10.00 a month.\*

### Part III. THE NEGRO HOUSING PROBLEM

#### Negro Families

From the report of the Federal Census of 1930, it was found that eighty-six families own property in Tucson, and that there were 223 tenant families. In order to analyze the general living conditions and the home surroundings of Negro families, 152 families were studied. Table XI below shows the grouping of the 152 families according to the number of persons.

Table XI  
The Size of the Families

Families	:	Persons to Family
85	:	2
37	:	3

\* This information was secured June 6, 1933.

Table XI (Continued)

Families	:	Persons to Family
22	:	4
3	:	5
2	:	6
3	:	7
152		
Average size of family - 3		

The average size of the 152 families is three, there being thirty-seven of such families. The average size of this group differs from the average size of the entire number of Negro families in Tucson. According to the Federal Census of 1930, the average size of the Negro family in Tucson is 2.03. The average size of the Negro family is smaller than the American family in Tucson, which is 2.86, and the Mexican family, which is six.

For the sake of clearness, and a more detailed analysis of the Negro homes, the study of the homes will be discussed under the following heads, namely: ownership in fee simple; buyers on conditional sales; and rentals or negro tenants and lodgers.

Homes Owned in Fee Simple

In 1930 eighty-six Negroes owned homes in Tucson. Data on sixty of the home owners were obtained. The discussion will center around these sixty homes. The size of these homes will be seen in Table XII below.

Table XII  
Size of Homes Owned in Fee Simple

Size of Home	:	No. of Houses
Two rooms	:	1
Three rooms	:	13
Four rooms	:	13
Five rooms	:	21

Table XII (Continued)

Size of Home	:	No. of Houses
Seven rooms	:	1
Eleven rooms	:	1
Total	:	60
The average size of home - five rooms.		

The five room house seems to be the most common house used by this group of Negroes. Thirty-eight of these houses contain sleeping porches and fifty-four have bath rooms. Fifty-three houses have toilets inside and seven have toilets on the outside of the houses.

Assessed Valuation of Property\*

The assessed valuation of the property owned by these Negroes falls under the head of real estate and personal property. The real estate consists of the land and improved property; and the personal property includes automobiles and the household furniture. Table XIII below shows the assessed valuation of the real estate.

Table XIII  
Assessed Valuation of Real Estate

Assessed Value	:	No. of Persons
\$ 0 - \$ 999	:	20
1,000 - 1,999	:	26
2,000 - 2,999	:	13
3,000 - 3,999	:	1
4,000 - 4,999	:	1
5,000 - 7,400	:	1
Total	:	60

\* The assessed valuation of property was taken from the tax roll of 1932.

The valuation of the real estate is \$84,135.00, and the average assessed valuation is \$1,663.00.

There were only thirty-eight owners of personal property who had any assessed valuation recorded. The assessed valuation of the personal property will be shown in Table XIV below.

Table XIV  
Assessed Valuation of Personal Property

Assessed Value of Personal Property	No. of Persons
\$ 0 - \$ 99	10
100 - 199	10
200 - 299	4
300 - 399	3
400 - 499	3
500 - 599	2
600 - 699	2
700 - 1,075	4
Total	38
Total assessed valuation - \$11,845.00	
Average assessed valuation - \$304.80	

From Table XIV it can readily be seen that the average valuation of personal property is \$304.80. The majority of the people have an average assessment of around \$175.00. But the assessed valuation of the minority of the owners brings the figure up to \$304.80 for the average of the entire group. The total amount for all the assessed valuation is \$11,845.00.

The entire assessed valuation of property owned by the sixty Negroes is \$99,775.00. This amount consists of \$19,240.00, the assessed valuation of the personal property.

Annual Tax Levy on Property\*

The annual tax levy includes all the persons who have

\* For more detailed table see appendix, page iv and v.

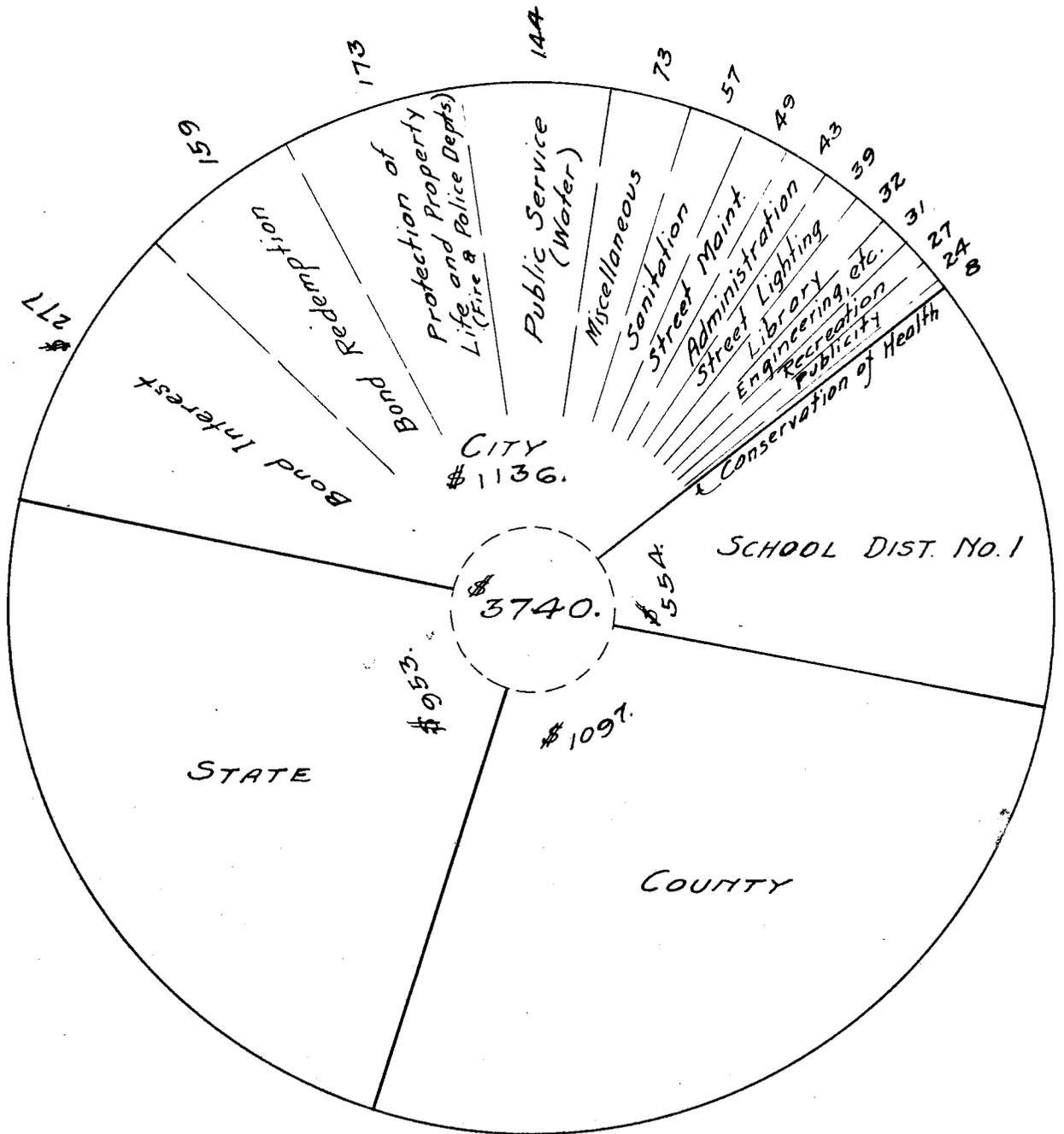
paid taxes for 1932, and those whose taxes are delinquent. The annual tax levy can be seen below in Table XV. Only forty-seven pay taxes, thirteen are exempt.

Table XV  
The Annual Tax Levy on Property

Amount of Taxes	No. of Persons
\$ 0 - \$ 99	33
100 - 199	12
200 - 299	1
300 - 499	1
Total	47
Total amount of levy -	\$3,740.00
Average " " "	\$79.50

The average tax levy is \$79.50. The levy for the entire group a year is \$3,740.00. Of this amount, \$329.25 are delinquent taxes, some of which have not been paid since 1921. Most of the veterans get exempted from paying taxes. The amount of tax levy on the veterans who pay taxes is only \$52.82, as compared with the assessed value of their property, which is \$7,190.00. Widows whose husbands are deceased also are exempt from paying taxes. By this exemption, the assessed valuation of \$14,765.00 goes untouched with regard to paying taxes. The annual tax levy does not include property which is exempt from taxation.

The distribution of the Negro tax dollar is graphically illustrated by Figure 2 on page 59. To the city, \$1,136.00 goes for various purposes which can be seen in the graph. Of this sum, a certain amount of money goes for each phase of city administration. To the state, \$953.00 are pro rated for the state expenditures. \$1,907.00 goes to the county. To School District



### DISTRIBUTION OF TAX MONEY

1932

No. 1 \$554.00 goes for the financial support of the educational system in Tucson. The basis for the distribution of the Negro tax dollar is the pro rata per hundred dollars of the general tax levy. This pro rata is \$1.20 per hundred for state, \$1.38 per hundred for county, \$.69 per hundred for School District No. 1, and \$1.83 per hundred for city, or a total of \$5.10 per hundred.

Negro Homes Bought on Conditional Sales

A detailed discussion on the financial condition of the houses of this type is impossible, since inadequate information was obtained. Nevertheless, the discussion will center around the size and general conditions of the homes. There are thirty Negroes who are buying homes on conditional sales. The size of these homes can be seen in Table XVI below.

Table XVI  
Size of Homes Bought on Conditional Sales

Size of Homes	:	No. of Persons
Four rooms	:	1
Five rooms	:	14
Six rooms	:	11
Seven rooms	:	2
Eight rooms	:	2
Total	:	30
Average size of home - six rooms		

The five room house is the most common type of house in this group of houses. However, the six room house is the average size home of the conditional sales type. Thirteen of these homes have sleeping porches, and twenty-five contain bath rooms.

There are twenty-five toilets inside and five toilets outside.

Negro Tenants

Of the 223 tenant families in Tucson, only a group of eighty-one was studied. The size of the tenant home can be seen in Table XVII below.

Table XVII  
Size of Tenant Homes.

Size of Homes	No. of Persons
Two rooms	2
Three rooms	28
Four rooms	30
Five rooms	15
Six rooms	5
Eight rooms	1
Total	81
Average size of home - four rooms.	

It is the tenant Negro family which is lacking most for sanitary conditions and comfortably sized homes. The four room house is the average size. There are only forty-five bath rooms in the eighty-one houses. This means that thirty-six houses are without bath rooms. Only ten houses contain sleeping porches. There are forty-five toilets inside and thirty-six toilets on the outside of the houses.

The situation can be understood, however, when a glance is taken at the rental per month. Table XVIII shows the amount of rent paid a month for these houses.

Table XVIII  
Rental Fees per Month for Rentals

Fees per Month	No. of Persons
\$ 5 - \$ 6.99	3
9 - 10.99	7
11 - 12.99	10
13 - 14.99	6
15 - 16.99	21
17 - 18.99	24
19 - 20.99	6
25 - 26.99	2
29 - 30.99	2
Total	81
Average rental fee - \$18.50	

The average rental fee per month is \$18.50. But the rentals range from \$5.00 a month to \$30.00 a month. The low rental fee per month explains the reason for so many rentals being without sanitary and modern facilities.

The screens, doors, windows, and floors of the three classes of homes were classified according to "good", "fair", and "poor".

The screens, which were classed as "good", had no breaks in the mesh, the frames did not need repair and were painted. The doors of this class were painted, had no holes in them and were not in a sagging condition. The windows in the first class type were without broken panes, they were painted and did not need repair. The floors of this type were hardwood, or if they were not hardwood, they were covered with some type of rug or the floor was painted.

The second type of screens, those which were classed as "fair" did not contain breaks in the mesh, the mesh needed to be painted in order to do away with the rust on it. The frames of the screens needed painting and tightening up in order to do away with the sag in them. The doors of the group were minus

holes, but they either needed painting or needed repairs. The windows which were rated as "fair" had no broken panes, but the frames were in need of repair and painting. The floors of this type were not hardwood. They did not contain any covering, but they were free from grease and dirt and were without breaks.

The condition of the screens of the third class or those rated as "poor" was such that the screens contained breaks in the mesh, some of which were patched and others which were not patched. Some of these holes were eight inches in diameter. The frames were rotten and nearly falling to pieces. The doors of this type contained breaks in them, were not painted, and were not capable of being easily closed. The windows had broken panes in them and in these holes were put rags and pillows. The floors were not clean, containing grease spots and dirt, and the majority of the floors were badly worn and were in dire need of repair. Some of the floors even had holes in them.

The results of the study of the condition of these screens, windows, doors, and floors of the 171 homes, including those owned, those being bought on conditional sales and the rentals can be seen in Table XIX below.

Table XIX  
Condition of Screens, Doors, Windows and Floors

	"Good"	"Fair"	"Poor"
No. of Screens	30	66	75
No. of Doors	100	41	30
No. of Windows	95	45	31
No. of Floors	95	42	34

There are thirty houses with good screens, sixty-six houses with fair screens, and seventy-five houses with poor screens. The majority of the houses have good doors. One hundred houses

have good doors, forty-one homes have fair doors, and thirty homes have poor doors. There are ninety-five homes with good windows, forty-five homes with fair windows, and thirty-one homes with poor windows. The floors of ninety-five homes are in good condition, the floors of forty-two homes are in fair condition and the floors of thirty-four homes are in poor condition.

There are only a few homes which use more than one fuel for heating and cooking purposes. The majority of the homes use wood. Only a few homes used gas for heating and cooking purposes. There are only fifteen homes that use gas, wood, and coal. For lighting purposes, the majority of the homes use electricity. Only eleven homes use kerosene lamps. However, several homes use candles for lighting purposes.

On page 65 will be found pictures of the contrast of two types of homes occupied by Negroes.\* The picture above is an owned home and the condition of the screens, doors, windows, and floors are all classed as good. This home is not one of the most expensive homes of Negroes in Tucson, but the modern conveniences, yard, and general home conditions make it an ideal residence. Contrasted with this picture is the photo of a poor Negro home in Tucson. This home is a rental residence and the windows, screens, floors, and doors fall within the "poor" class surroundings. The front of the house cannot be seen for the obstruction of rags hanging on the screen porch.

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\* These photos were taken May 1, 1933.



An Ideal Negro Home of Tucson



A Poor Negro Home in Tucson

On the inside of the screen porch can be found rabbits, chickens, and dogs. The house consists of two rooms. There is no bath room and the toilet is on the outside. Kerosene and wood are used for fuel and lighting purposes.

#### Negro Lodgers

The term "lodgers" includes relatives as well as other

adults unrelated to the immediate family. These lodgers pay a fee for room rent, and share a room in the house with the proprietary family.

The majority of lodgers occupy rooms in private homes of Negroes of Tucson. Some of the families in the private homes move out into smaller apartments and rent the rooms of the house to lodgers. Of the 171 homes discussed above, four families resort to this method. Other families use a part of their homes and rent the other part out. There are five families who use this method.

The monthly fees for lodging of 118 persons were studied. The results of this study are shown in Table XX below.

Table XX  
Monthly Room Rent for Lodgers

Amount per Month	:	No. of Persons
\$ 5.00 per month	:	2
6.00 per month	:	7
7.00 per month	:	1
8.00 per month	:	28
10.00 per month	:	52
11.00 per month	:	3
12.00 per month	:	14
14.00 per month	:	3
15.00 per month	:	3
18.00 per month	:	3
20.00 per month	:	2
Total	:	118

The average room rent per month is \$11.50. The majority of the lodgers pay \$10.00 a month. But the average room rent fee per month for the entire group is \$11.50. The houses which charge from \$5.00 to \$8.00 a month have no bath rooms and the toilets are outside. Thirty-eight lodgers live in houses of

this type. An attempt was made to get information on the rents paid by lodgers of other races in Tucson, so as to draw a comparison of the rents paid by Negro lodgers and those of other races. This attempt proved fruitless.

#### PART IV. NEGRO INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS

Negroes have made investments along several lines in Tucson. Some of these investments have been prudent and some have been unwise. A discussion of these investments in detail will follow below.

##### Investments in Automobiles

There are more automobiles in the possession of the group of 317 Negroes in Tucson than any other kind of personal property. These automobiles are of all makes, varying from the Ford to the Lincoln. In Table XXI below can be seen the different makes of automobiles.

Table XXI  
The Makes of Automobiles

Make of Automobile :	No. of Automobiles
Ford	40
Chevrolet	30
Dodge	18
Buick	12
Studebaker	8
Nash	7
Chrysler	5
Page	2
Essex	2
Packard	2
Willlys Knight	2
Lincoln	2
De Soto	1
Durant	1

Table XXI (Continued)

Make of Automobile :	No. of Automobiles
Chandler	1
Auburn	1
Marmon	1
Roosevelt	1
Pontiac	1
Oldsmobile	1
Hupmobile	1
Total	144

Of the 144 automobiles in the possession of Negroes, the four makes of automobiles that are most prevalent among Negroes are the Ford, Chevrolet, Dodge, and Buick.

These automobiles were not all bought new. Only forty-one were bought new and ninety-one were bought as used automobiles. One hundred and thirty-seven of them are owned and seven are being bought new on conditional sales. The payments a month run from \$12.50 to \$29.50. There are only thirty-nine automobiles which have any kind of insurance carried on them.

It is of interest to notice the motives for which the automobiles were bought. Thirteen automobiles were bought to facilitate the working conditions of the owners. Nineteen automobiles were bought for the use of work and pleasure. And 109 automobiles were bought exclusively for the use of pleasure.

These models of the automobiles date from 1921 to 1932. In order to get a detailed analysis of the number of models per year, Table XXII is given below.

Table XXII  
The Models of Automobiles

Year of Model	No. of Automobiles
1929	43
1928	28
1926	21
1930	16
1924	10
1925	7
1923	3
1921	3
1932	2
1922	2
1931	2
Total	144

The most prevalent models among Negroes are those of 1929, 1928, 1926, and 1930. The majority of the models are those made in 1929.

Investments in Insurance

Only thirty-one Negro homes, including those owned in fee simple and those bought on conditional sales, have fire and tornado insurance carried on them. The amount of insurance ranges from \$1,000.00 to \$8,000.00. Table XXIII below shows the different amounts of insurance carried.

Table XXIII  
Insurance Carried on Homes

Amount of Insurance	No. of Homes Insured
\$ 500 - \$1,499	16
1,500 - 2,499	5
2,500 - 3,499	1
3,500 - 4,499	2
4,500 - 5,499	2
5,500 - 6,499	2
6,500 - 7,499	1
7,500 - 8,499	2
Total	31
Average amount of insurance - \$1,200.00	

The average amount of insurance is \$1,200.00. This amount of insurance is carried on sixteen houses. But there are fifty-nine houses left which carry no insurance of any kind.

On the whole, the investment made by the group in life insurance is very commendable. One hundred and four families out of the one hundred and fifty-two carry some kind of life insurance. There are forty-eight families who do not have any kind of insurance. This situation is also true of the single couples in Tucson. One hundred and thirty-two single persons have life insurance policies, and only thirty-three do not have life insurance. The main type of life insurance carried by these people is sick and accident, though a large percentage carry both straight life and sick and accident insurance.

#### Investments in Stocks and Bonds.

Among this group of people, there were Negroes who had invested money in Government Bonds, El Conquistador stock, Clarence Saunders stock, and the stock of the Arizona Southwest Bank and Trust Company. With the exception of the stock of the bank and the government bonds, the other stock has yielded no return. But those who invested in the bank stock and the government bonds are relatively few in number. Only two Negroes had stock in the bank, and three Negroes have invested in government bonds.

#### Savings of Negroes

Only 104 Negroes out of the entire group had bank accounts.

The majority of these accounts were for the purpose of checking. Only a few had money in the bank on savings accounts. Some of them have their savings in the Postal Savings. There are only twenty-five Negroes who had this type of savings.

Annual Expenditures of Negroes in Tucson

An attempt to get an approximate estimation of how much money Negroes spend annually in Tucson was tried by the following plan: five different types of establishments operated by races other than Negroes were interviewed in order to find out the approximate amount of money Negroes spend annually with each of the five types of establishments.

These five types of establishments consisted of fifty-one physicians, twenty-one dentists, twenty-three cleaning and pressing plants, fifty-seven garages and service stations, and forty business establishments. The forty business establishments included clothing stores, jewelers, curio shops, drug stores, photographers, hardware stores, music shops, milliners' shops, and theatres. These forty places are located on Congress Street and North Stone Avenue in the one hundred block. The entire group of establishments is located within the city limits. The findings of the interview can be seen in Table XXIV on the following page.

Table XXIV  
Annual Amount of Expenditures

Establishment	Number	No. of Negro Patrons	Annual Expenditures
Physicians	51	581	\$3,215.00
Dentists	21	237	1,945.00
Cleaning plants	23	No report	2,010.00
Gar. & Ser. Stations	57	" "	9,001.00
Business Establish- ments	40	" "	41,779.00
Total			\$52,790.00

There is really no way by which a scientific method of approach can be used to analyze the amount of expenditures and really determine the exact amount of money spent annually by all Negroes. There is further no way of determining what percentage of the Negro trade this sum represents. Neither is there any way of knowing what percentage of the group studied or the entire Negro population in Tucson patronizes the establishments listed above. But using this sum as a basis for an approximate estimation of what the annual expenditure might be like, it is possible to get some idea of the amount of money Negroes spend annually in Tucson.

PART V. FINANCIAL COST AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF NEGROES: ELE-  
MENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

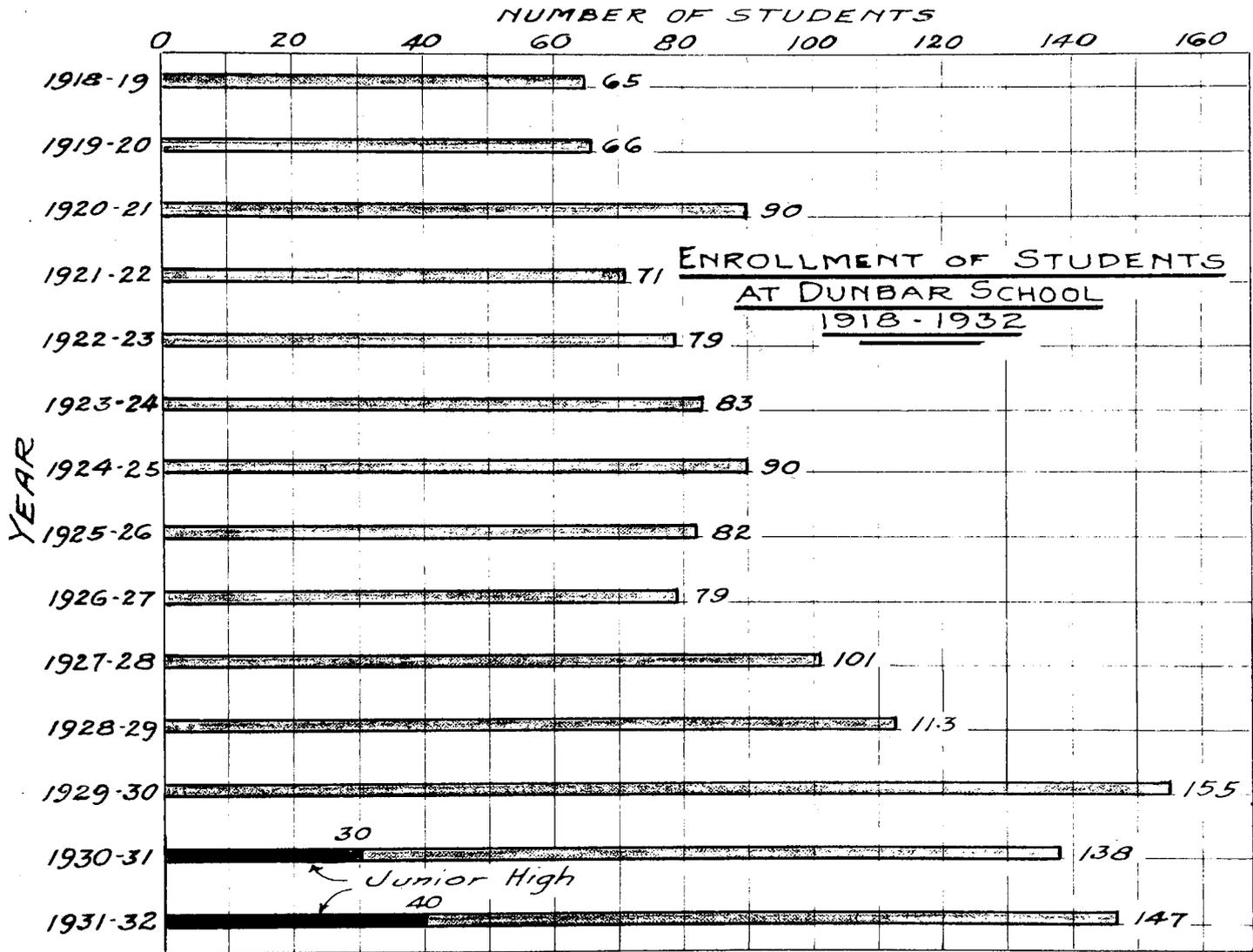
Owing to the fact that since 1918 Negro children have attended a separate school, it is possible to discuss the financial cost, and the school attendance of Negroes. Since the junior high school was only added to the Paul Laurance Dunbar School in 1930, the greater part of the discussion will be on the elementary school, which was begun in 1918.

School Attendance

The attendance of Negro students at Dunbar School from 1918 to 1932 can be seen in Figure 3 on page 74. The attendance for the first year was sixty-five pupils. The attendance for the elementary grades has not been a continual growth, rather it fluctuates, as can be seen in the figure. There was an increase in attendance until 1921, the total enrollment being ninety. Then there is a decrease in attendance from 1923 until 1925, when the attendance increased to ninety. In 1926, the attendance decreased, but after 1927, there is a gradual increase in attendance until 1930, when it reached the highest attendance, which was 155. Then, in 1931, the attendance decreased to 138, but it increased to 147 in 1932, the elementary enrollment from 1918 to 1932 being 1,359, or an entire attendance of 1,359 elementary students since 1918.

The attendance to the junior high school during the last two years has only been seventy students. The entire enrollment at the Dunbar School since 1918 is 1429.

Owing to the fact that the School District Number One has only one Negro school, the District for that school remains the same from year to year. In the other schools, the district is changed from time to time, owing to the change in population. There is therefore no way of comparing the attendance of the Dunbar School with the schools where the other children are enrolled. Nevertheless, a few general statistics will give some sort of an idea of the comparison of the Negro attendance



from seven to thirteen years with the white attendance from seven to thirteen years. The age limit, from seven to thirteen, is used as a basis of comparison, since 106 or 68.2% of the attendance at Dunbar School in 1930 was composed of students from seven to thirteen years of age.

There were, in 1930, in Tucson, 4,268 children of school age from seven to thirteen years old.<sup>1</sup> Of this number, 4,128 were attending school. One hundred and six students, or 2% of that number, were Negro students between the ages of seven and thirteen who were going to school. The total percentage of attendance at schools of white and Negro children from seven to thirteen years of age in the United States is 96.6 and 87.3% respectively.<sup>2</sup> However, the percentage of attendance of all children from seven to thirteen years of age in school is 90.8 in Arizona, and 96.7 in Tucson, as compared with the total percentage of attendance of all races from seven to thirteen in school in the United States, which is 90.6<sup>3</sup>

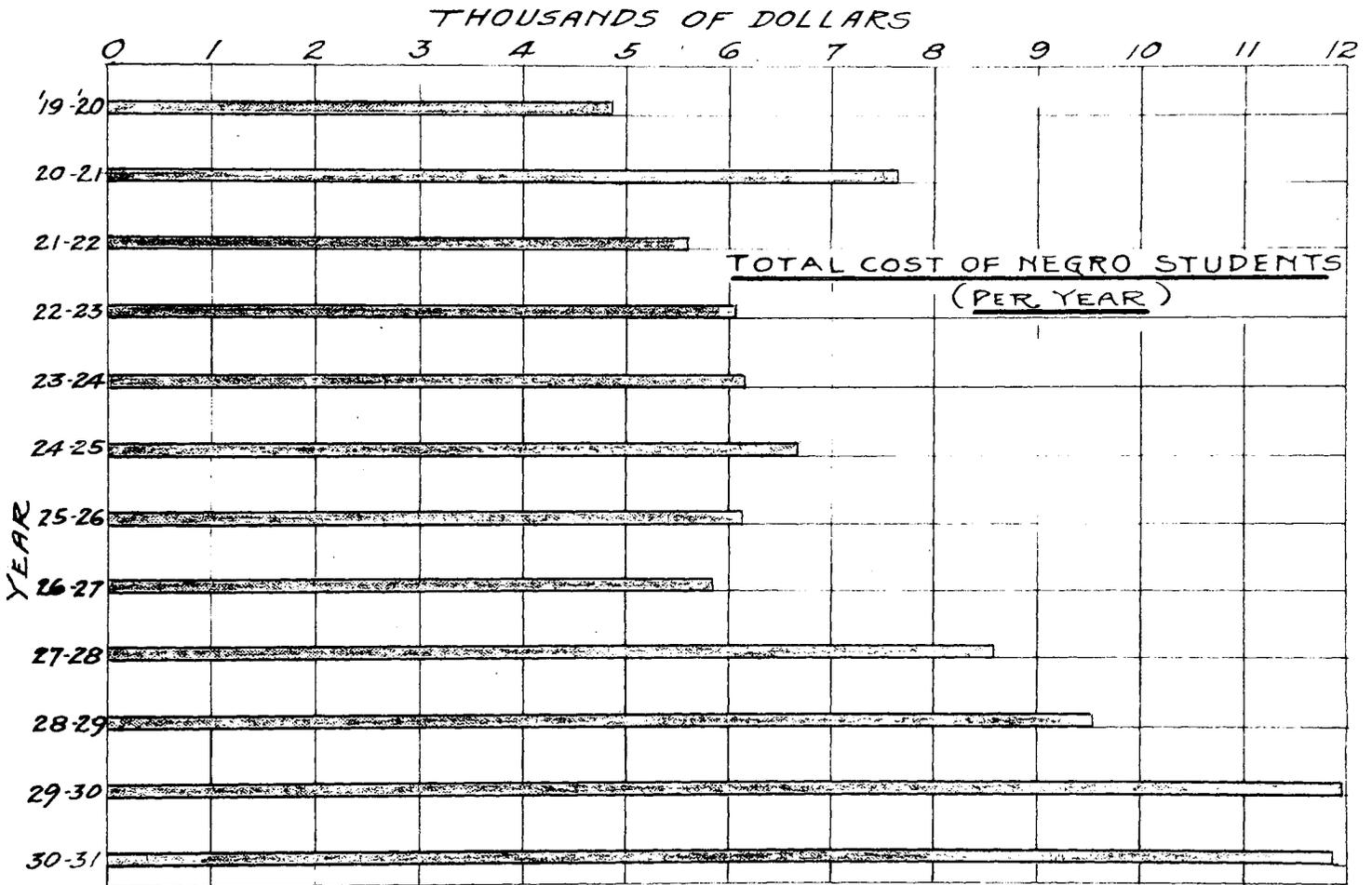
#### Financial Cost of Students: Elementary and Junior High School

The Paul Laurance Dunbar Elementary School was erected in 1918, at a cost of \$5,699.00. Subsequent additions were made in 1922, at \$11,426.94, and in 1930, at \$13,032.79, at which time the Junior High School was added. The cost of the building and improvements amounts to \$30,428.73. The employment of

- 
1. U. S. Census Reports, 1930.
  2. World Almanac, New York, 1933, p. 247.
  3. U. S. Census Reports, 1930.

teachers at this school ranges from two, who were employed in 1918, to six teachers in 1932. The salaries of the entire teaching force ranges from \$1,640.00 in 1918, to \$9,256.50 in 1932. The entire salary paid to all the teachers during the fifteen years of the school's existence is \$72,033.25. This marks a total of \$112,285.48 that have been spent for Negro education in District No. 1 in the last fifteen years. This is an average of \$7,485.70 a year.

From the 1931 Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Tucson, the per capita cost for the last twelve years of the elementary schools is available. These per capita costs are based upon average daily attendance. The per capita cost is applied to the daily attendance of Dunbar. The last twelve years' daily attendance consists of the school years from 1919-20 and 1930-31 inclusively. The per capita costs range from \$73.40 in 1919-20, to \$81.97 in 1930-31, or an average of \$75.85 per capita cost for the last twelve years. Figure 4 on page 77 will graphically illustrate the per capita cost of Negroes based on the daily attendance of Dunbar. From the graph it can readily be seen that the per capita cost has steadily increased since 1919-20. Although there are decreases in the per capita cost, the decrease is not as low as the first per capita cost in 1919-20. The highest per capita cost was in 1929-30. The cost for the entire group based upon the per capita cost for each individual was from \$4,844.40 in 1919-20 to \$11,967.55 in 1930-31. The entire cost for these twelve years for all the attendance of Dunbar is \$90,542.16, or



\$7,546.84 for the cost of Negro students.

The sum of \$112,285.48 is the actual sum paid out for Negro education since 1918. But the sum of \$90,542.16 is the aggregate cost to the entire attendance of Dunbar from 1919-20 to 1930-31 as based upon the per capita cost. The amount of taxes that go to District No. 1 out of Negro money is \$554.00. It can readily be seen that this meager sum could not start to pay for the cost of Negro education in Tucson, which is an average of \$7,485.70. The money paid by Negro tax money is only 7.3% of the average amount of money spent annually for Negro education. There is, then, no line of reasoning that would be conceptive of the idea that the levy of Negro taxes in any sense of the word comes near defraying these expenses. But this idea is overshadowed when we consider the American ideal of financing education, which is, "the levying of the taxes where the wealth lies and distributing them where the children reside."

PART VI. A COMPARISON OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF TUCSON WITH THE  
NEGRO POPULATION OF NINE OTHER CITIES

An attempt was made to compare the Negro population of Tucson with the Negro population of other cities. All of the cities with the exception of Phoenix, Arizona, were on the basis of a comparable population and sectional location. Phoenix was chosen on account of its being a sister city to Tucson. The cities which will be compared with Tucson are: Albuquerque, New Mexico, Alameda, California, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Boise, Idaho, Centralia, Illinois, Colorado Springs, Colorado,

Ithaca, New York, Monessen City, Pennsylvania, and Phoenix, Arizona. The comparison of the Negro population of these cities will be on the population, illiteracy, occupation, and family. Table XXV below will show the results of the acquired data.<sup>1</sup>

Table XXV  
Comparison of Negro Population of Various Cities: 1930

	:Tucson, :Arizona	:Albuquerque, :New Mexico	:Alameda, :Calif.	:Ann Arbor, :Mich.	:Boise :Idaho
I. Population	:	:	:	:	:
A. Total	: 32,506	: 26,570	: 35,033	: 26,944	: 21,544
B. Negro	: 1,003	: 441	: 294	: 940	: 81
C. Percentage	: 3.08%	: 1.7%	: 0.8%	: 3.5%	: 0.4%
II. Illiteracy:	:	:	:	:	:
A. No. Illit.	: 6	: 9	: 20	: 12	: 1
B. Percentage	: 0.7%	: 2.5%	: 9.1%	: 1.5%	:
III. Occupation:	:	:	:	:	:
A. Over 10 yrs.	: 538	: 210	: 112	: 539	:
B. Percentage	: 53%	: 47%	: 38%	: 57%	:
IV. Families:	:	:	:	:	:
A. Number	: 334	: 127	: 64	: 258	: 30
B. Size	: 2.03	: 3.36	: 3.04	: 2.31	: 2.46
C. Owner home	: 86	: 65	: 41	: 105	: 13
D. Percentage	: 8%	: 14%	: 13%	: 11%	: 16%
E. Tenant home	: 223	: 61	: 22	: 151	: 16

Table XXV (Continued)

	:Centralia, :Illinois	:Colo.Springs, :Colorado	:Ithaca, :N. Y.	:Monessen, :Penn.	:Phoenix :Arizona
I. Population	:	:	:	:	:
A. Total	: 12,583	: 33,237	: 20,768	: 20,268	: 48,118
B. Negro	: 1,108	: 965	: 760	: 1,201	: 2,266
C. Percentage	: 8.8%	: 2.9%	: 3.08%	: 5.9%	: 4.9%
II. Illiteracy:	:	:	:	:	:
A. No. Illit.	: 4	: 47	: 4	: 67	: 73
B. Percentage	:	: 5.6%	:	: 7.1%	: 3.5%
III. Occupation:	:	:	:	:	:
A. Over 10 yrs.	:	: 420	:	:	: 1,267
B. Percentage	:	: 43%	:	:	: 56%
IV. Family	:	:	:	:	:
A. Number	: 301	: 295	: 162	: 302	: 709
B. Size	: 2.96	: 2.30	: 2.39	: 3.21	: 2.17
C. Owner home	: 154	: 173	: 70	: 56	: 181
D. Percentage	: 13%	: 18%	: 9%	: 4%	: 8%
E. Tenant home:	: 126	: 115	: 79	: 232	: 490

1. Statistics on occupations are only given on cities of 25,000 population. This excludes Centralia, Illinois, Boise, Idaho, Ithaca, New York, and Monessen City, Pennsylvania.

The percentage of the Negro population of Tucson to the total population of the same city is larger than that of four of the other cities; namely, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Alameda, California, Boise, Idaho, and Colorado Springs, Colorado. It has the same percentage as that of Ithaca, New York, but the percentage is smaller than the Negro population of Ann Arbor, Michigan, Centralia, Illinois, Monessen, Pennsylvania, and Phoenix, Arizona.

The percentage of illiteracy among the Tucson Negroes over ten years of age is lower than the illiteracy among those of all the other cities but three. In other words, Tucson stands in fourth place with regard to the least percentage of illiteracy among its Negroes. Alameda, California, and Monessen, Pennsylvania have the highest percentage of illiteracy, which is 9.7% and 7.1% respectively. In Centralia, Illinois, Ithaca, New York, and Boise, Idaho, there are only four illiterate Negroes over ten years of age for the first two cities named, and only one for the last city named, although the Negro population is not as large as that of the other cities.

There was not much detailed information available on the occupation of Negroes in these cities. Over half of the population of Negroes over ten years of age are working in Tucson and Phoenix, Arizona, and Ann Arbor, Michigan. The percentage of these cities is 53%, 56%, and 57% respectively. The percentage of Negroes over ten years of age who are gainfully occupied in Colorado Springs, Colorado, Alameda, California, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, is 43%, 38% and 47% for these cities

respectively. Thus Tucson stands in third place with regard to the greatest percentage of Negroes gainfully occupied.

With the exception of Phoenix, Arizona, there are more families in Tucson than in any of the cities. Tucson stands in first place with 334 families. The only cities that come near this number are Centralia, Illinois, with 301 families, and Monessen, Pennsylvania, with 301 families. However, the size of the family of Tucson is smaller than that of any other city. The size of the Tucson Negro family is 2.03. The largest families live in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Alameda, California, and Monessen, Pennsylvania. The size of these families are 3.36, 3.04, and 3.2 respectively. Eight per cent. of the Negro population of Tucson own homes. With the exception of Phoenix, Arizona, Tucson stands one place from the bottom of this list. Only 4% of the Negro population of Monessen, Pennsylvania, own homes. Eight per cent. of the Negroes of Phoenix own homes. The highest percentage of Negroes who own homes live in Colorado Springs, Colorado. This percentage is 18%. Alameda, California, and Centralia, Illinois, have a percentage of 13% each, Boise, Idaho, has a percentage of 16%, Ithaca, New York, has 9% of Negroes who own homes. Albuquerque has 14% of Negro owners of homes, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, has a percentage of 11%. With the exception of Phoenix, Tucson stands one from the top of the list with regard to the number of Negro tenants. Monessen, Pennsylvania has nine tenant Negroes. The number of Negro tenants in Tucson is 223, and the number of Negro tenants

of Monessen, Pennsylvania, is 232.

Thus it can be gleaned from the comparison of the Negro population of Tucson with the other cities that the percentage of the Negro population to the entire population of the city is greater than four cities and smaller than four cities. The illiteracy is less than that of three cities. Tucson ranks third with regard to the number of Negroes over ten years of age gainfully occupied. Excluding Phoenix, more families are found in Tucson, but the size of the families are smaller than those of the other cities. There is only one city whose Negroes own less homes than Tucson. But with the exception of Phoenix, Tucson has more tenant Negroes than any other of the cities discussed.

## PART VII. THE BUSINESS, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF NEGROES

A careful study of organizations that are operated exclusively by Negroes was attempted. Owing to the failure to get data from all of the organizations operated by Negroes, three types of organizations will be discussed below. The treatment will center as much as possible around the financial structure of these organizations.

### Negro Business Organizations in Tucson, Arizona

#### The Auto repair and Service Stations

There are three auto repair and service stations operated

by Negroes in the city. The building of one of these stations is owned by the proprietor, and the other two proprietors pay a rent of \$25.00 and \$50.00 each monthly. The equipment of the three plants is valued at \$4,500.00, \$1,000.00 for one station and \$2,500.00 for the other two stations.

The employment in these plants consists exclusively of Negroes. There are four employees for the three stations. This does not include the work done by the proprietors themselves. The wages of the employees are \$40.00 a month each.

The daily volume of trade for all of these plants is estimated at \$54.00 gross income. The net income a year is \$3,040.00 or \$1,019.00 for each plant. The expenses a year for the stations are \$2,360.00, which includes the wages of the employees, the rent and incidental expenses, which are \$35.00 a month. The businesses are operated on cash and credit bases.

Of the annual volume of trade, the percentage of racial patronage is as follows: 59% is Mexican trade, 24% is white trade, and 17% is Negro trade. The 17% of trade received by these stations from Negroes means that only \$516.80 is spent annually by Negroes at filling stations operated by members of their own race.

The sum of money spent by Negroes at colored operated plants might be compared with the amount of money spent annually by Negroes at garages and service stations which are operated by other races. After having made a survey of the Negro trade carried on at fifty-seven garages and service stations

within the city limits of Tucson, it was found that Negroes spend at least \$9,001.00 at these establishments annually. In other words, Negroes spend about eighteen times more money at garages and service stations that are operated by members of other races than they do at their own places.

There are several causes for this amount of colored trade going into these other channels. Bad service, unreliability, and inefficient employees drive some of the Negro customers elsewhere. Then the proximity of other filling stations may also be considered a cause. Finally, since some white establishments employ Negro help, it is out of gratitude that some Negroes trade with other stations.

#### The Cleaning and Pressing Plant

The only Negro cleaning and pressing plant in Tucson has equipment valued at \$2,000.00. The annual volume of trade is estimated at \$1,300.00. The expenses a year are \$1,080.00. This sum includes \$25.00 a month for rent, two employees receiving \$30.00 each a month, and a monthly water and light bill of \$10.00. The net profit realized by the proprietor a year is \$200.00.

The percentage of racial patronage consists of 50% colored trade, 30% Mexican trade, and 20% white trade. The percentage of Negro patronage makes the colored trade amount to \$650.00 a year at this plant.

Making a survey of twenty-three cleaning and pressing es-

tablissements in the city that had colored trade, it was revealed that \$2,010.00 a year is spent by Negroes at cleaning and pressing plants not operated by Negroes. Three times as much Negro trade goes to these plants as goes to the plant that is operated by a Negro.

#### Rooming House

The people who room in Tucson mostly secure private dwelling homes. Nevertheless, there is one rooming house for Negroes. Rooming house A, located at 138 West Ochoa Street, was established in 1917. This house has the present assessed valuation of \$2,000.00. The furniture and equipment is estimated at around \$800.00. There are twenty rooms to the house, which rent for \$3.00 a week and up. But only a third of these rooms are ever occupied. Business is done on a cash and credit basis. This method results in the proprietors not getting over half of their money.

The place has not brought in any income for the last eight years. The only reason that the owners keep operating the place is that it is paid for and the taxes are not so very much.

The expenses equal about \$50.00 a month. This sum includes light, water, fuel, and other incidentals.

The patronage consists of 90% Negroes, 5% Mexicans, and 5% whites.

### The Restaurants

Vieing with the Chinese restaurants for Negro patronage, and almost succumbing to the keen competition of the Chinese eating houses, the Negro cafe and restaurant businesses manage to halfway survive. There have been innumerable cafes, restaurants, and eating houses opened up for Negroes, but they never manage to stay open very long. However, there are three eating places operated solely by Negroes which are still open. They will be discussed in the following pages under the heads of restaurants A, B, and C.

Restaurant A, located at 84 South Convent Street, has \$100.00 worth of equipment. The rent costs \$24.00 a month, and two employees are kept at \$1.00 and board a day each. The light, water, and fuel bill runs around \$6.00 a month. The monthly income is \$75.00. The figures show that every month passed finds the restaurant \$25.00 in the red. It is only a matter of time and this undertaking will be closed.

The interior of the place is not so appealing to any one seeking food. There is no partition between the kitchen and the dining room. The floor space for both the kitchen and the dining room is twenty feet by fifty feet. The floors are filthy, and there are grease spots all over them. The walls were dirty, smoky, and soot and cobwebs were on them. Two tables accommodated all the guests. These tables had no covers on them, were not clean, and were not in good condition. The meals cost 25¢ each. The restaurant runs on the average of

two meals a day to each customer. The best days for patronage are Saturdays and Sundays.

The patronage consists of about 95% colored trade, and 5% Mexican trade. The location of the establishment is very desirable, being near the places which Negroes frequent the most. The business is operated on a cash basis.

Restaurant B is located just down the street from A, at 162 South Convent Street. In fact, one man attempts to operate both of these places. Room rent here is also \$25.00 a month, and the operating equipment is valued at \$95.00. The other expenses a month amount to about \$6.00. There being no employee, the proprietor realizes a profit. The monthly income is \$75.00, which allows a profit of \$40.00 a month to go to the proprietor.

The interior of Restaurant B shows a little better appearance than the one discussed previously. However, there is no partition between the kitchen and the dining room either. There is a barby-cue pit constructed in the front of the dining room. This makes the place very crowded, since the entire floor space is only nine feet square. The floors, walls and tables were in fair condition. There were only two tables in the establishment. The average meal is 25¢; there are two on the average served a day to each customer, and the best days for trade are Saturdays and Sundays. All of the patronage here is colored. The business is operated on a cash basis.

By far the most wholesome restaurant of the three is

Establishment C, located at 38 Sabino Street. This eating house is operated by a Negro woman who has had eight years of this kind of experience. The rent here is \$12.00 a month, and the other monthly expenditures amount to about \$8.00. The equipment of the place is valued at \$100.00. The gross income per month is \$72.00. This leaves a return of \$42.00 a month to the proprietor.

The surroundings of this house are most ideal. There is a partition between the kitchen and the main dining room. The floors were spotless, the towels clean, good screen doors, and the entire surroundings were in excellent condition. There was also music in the dining room. All of the meals served were balanced menus. They cost on the average of 25¢ each.

The location of Restaurant C is not in such a desirable district, however, being near a degenerate section. Ninety per cent. of the trade at Restaurant C is colored patronage, and ten per cent. is Mexican trade. The business is operated on a cash basis.

#### Wash Rack

There is only one wash rack operated by a colored man in Tucson. The valuation of the equipment is \$150.00. The expenditures per month are as follows: rent, \$40.00; one employee, \$40.00; and water, light, and fuel bill, \$15.00. The annual volume of trade is \$1,500.00. The total yearly expenditures are \$1,040.00, which leaves a profit of \$460.00 a year.

Ninety per cent. of the trade is white, and the other ten per cent. is composed of Negro and Mexican trade. The business is carried on a cash and credit basis.

### Shoe Shine Parlors

The vocation of shining shoes has always been a special occupation resorted to by Negroes. There are three such undertakings in operation now, one located at 530 East Pennington, the second parlor located at 268 East Congress, and the third one located at 175 South Meyer Street.

The shine parlor on East Congress Street does the largest amount of business. The valuation of shoe shining equipment is \$50.00. The monthly expenditures are \$48.00 a month for rent, two employees who receive \$30.00 each a month, and incidental expenses of \$32.00. The present volume of trade is \$200.00 a month. The total expenses a year are \$1,580.00, leaving a profit of \$824.00 annually. About 90% of the trade is white, and the remainder consists of Negro and Mexican patronage.

The other two shine parlors are of minor importance. The equipment of both is about \$25.00. The rent for both places is \$12.00 a month, and the expenditures per month are around \$9.00. The volume of trade a year for both concerns is \$1,080.00. The outlay for both parlors is \$552.00 a year. This leaves a balance of \$828.00 net profit for both shine parlors. The item of employment does not enter into the monthly expenditures, both proprietors doing all of the work. The trade at these places consists in the majority of white and Mexican customers.

### Places of Amusement

For places of amusement operated by Negroes, the colored people are limited and have but two places to go. These two resorts take the form of a soft drink fountain, and a billiard parlor.

The billiard parlor was established in 1920, has an equipment of \$5,000.00, and takes in \$300.00 a month. The expenditures are as follows: rent, \$30.00 a month; two employees, \$40.00 each a month; and gas, water, and light, \$15.00 a month. The net profit from this place is around \$2,000.00 a year. All of the patronage here is of colored origin.

The soft drink fountain is composed of a similar nature. However, there are no billiard tables. The present equipment is valued at \$250.00. Rent is \$20.00 a month, two employees receive \$40.00 a month, and water, light, and fuel bills run around \$6.00 a month. The monthly income from the place is \$200.00. There is an annual net profit of about \$1,000.00. All of the trade is done by Negroes.

### Barber Shops

The only barbershop operated by a Negro for white trade exclusively is located in the Heidel Hotel building. The valuation of the present equipment is \$700.00. The gross income is \$40.00 a week. There is one employee, who works on a percentage basis and makes from \$12.00 to \$15.00 a week. The monthly expenditures average around \$100.00. The net profit

from this barbershop is \$696.00 a year.

The proprietor also owns the equipment in the Kitty Kat barbershop, located on East Congress Street. This equipment is valued at \$500.00. The rent for the use of these barber supplies is \$30.00 a month. The proprietor has had thirty-one years of experience operating barbershops for white trade in Tucson.

There are two barbershops for colored trade also. The one which receives the largest amount of Negro patronage is located at 48 East Jackson Street. The equipment is valued at \$500.00. The amount of gross income a year is \$1,800.00. There is one employee, who works on a percentage basis, usually making from \$12.00 to \$14.00 a week. The monthly expenditures above the employee's wages are \$3.00 a month for water, light, and fuel and \$15.00 a month for rent. The yearly net income is around \$1,400.00.

About 95% of the work is done on a cash basis, and 5% on a credit basis. This establishment has been in operation for sixteen years.

The other barbershop is of minor importance. The equipment is valued at \$150.00, and the income is \$60.00 a month. There are no employees, the proprietor does all of the work. The monthly expenditures are \$20.00, \$5.00 for incidentals and \$15.00 for rent. The net income a year is about \$400.00. This barbershop has been in operation for nine years.

Negro Doctors

There are three Negroes in Tucson who follow the practice of medical pursuits. One is a physician, the other is a chiropractor, and the third is an herb doctor.

The equipment of the chiropractor is valued at \$2,000.00, and the yearly income is \$2,400.00. The expenses are \$75.00 a month for rent, and \$15.00 a month for incidentals. The net income is \$1,320.00 a year. There are no employees, the proprietor does all of the work himself. This work is done exclusively for white people. The business is operated on a cash basis.

The most novel practitioner of medicine is the herb doctor. This profession was acquired through correspondence. The doctor was formerly an assistant of the Reiley Undertaking Company. All of the medicine comes from the mountain sides.

In order to build up his trade, as well as to prove the superiority of his profession over that of the physician, he gave a number of free treatments. This was very successful in building up his trade.

The equipment is valued at \$50.00. The monthly income is \$80.00. The monthly expenditures are \$15.00 for rent and \$5.00 for incidental expenses. From this practice, the doctor receives \$700.00 a year. There are no employees. The patrons of this service are all Negroes. This business has been in operation for three years.

The physician is located on West Broadway and Meyer. The valuation of his equipment is \$3,500.00, and the yearly income

is \$7,000.00. There is one employee, who receives \$10.00 a month. Operating expenses are \$100.00 a month and rent is \$27.50 a month. This allows the practice to realize around \$5,000.00 a year clear profit. All races patronize the establishment. The practice is carried on on a cash and credit basis. But about 20% of the credit accounts default.

An attempt was made to find out the valuation of equipment and the annual volume of trade of some of the white physicians in order to make a comparison with the establishment discussed above. But all efforts were in vain.

However, some information was obtained as to the number of Negroes patronizing physicians other than Negroes. A survey of fifty-one physicians was made, and it was found that yearly around fifty-eight Negroes patronize these men. This patronage yields the sum of \$3,215.00 yearly. This means that Negroes spend less than half of their money with a physician of their own race. But quite a bit of this patronage comes from people who work in domestic service and who go to their doctors upon the recommendation of their employers, as was explained by some of the medical informants who were included in the survey.

#### Negro Mining Projects

In 1912, a Negro named J. W. Miller came to Tucson from Missouri and became employed in a mining camp as a cook. While working around the camp, the idea of starting a Negro mining corporation dawned upon him.

This idea gleaned by Mr. Miller was executed. The Negroes of Tucson began a mining corporation, known as the Afro-mining Company, and it was located in the Comobabi region. This corporation only lasted a short while. There were only about two tons of ore shipped to El Paso as a result of the operating of the mine. All of the money gave out and the people of Tucson ceased to give funds.

Mr. Miller then went to California, got in touch with a wealthy Negro, Mr. McBeth, and a Negro lawyer, and formed a corporation in California known as the Comobabi Group of Mines. Upon these claims he proceeded to collect money, sell shares, and send two high school boys back to Tucson to drill more shafts. The money ran out and the mines again became idle. Mr. Miller went back across the mountains, formed another corporation, known as the Missouri Co-Owner Group of Mines, and went back into California, telling the people there that he had formed a new corporation with forty-five claims. Upon this fiction he managed to raise \$15,000.00.

Then, in June, 1916, Mr. Miller bought from Mr. M. J. Johnson of Ajo, in the name of the newly formed corporation, one-fifth interest in thirty-one claims, located about sixty miles from Tucson. The consideration was 400,000 shares of stock in the company, the par value of the stock being one dollar and the market value twenty-five cents.<sup>1</sup>

This undertaking attracted the money of Negroes who were

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1. The Arizona Daily Star, June 29, 1916.

seeking investment. Funds in the neighborhood of \$100,000.00 were collected.

On October 1, 1919, this company was incorporated under the rules of the Arizona Corporation Commission, Mr. W. H. Daily and Mr. R. W. Longworthy being the incorporators. The capital stock was \$5,000,000.00, divided into five million shares, par value being one dollar each. Four hundred thousand shares were issued for property and 22,000 shares were sold at twenty-five cents each. The shares were to be sold by, or to, Negroes only.<sup>1</sup> The stock was to be issued fully paid and forever non-assessable. The Board of Directors might exchange stock for property, cash, services or any other valuable thing or right, and the judgment of the Board to the value thereof was to be conclusive. The life of the corporation was to be twenty-five years.

The affairs and the business of the corporation were to be controlled by the Board of Directors, of not less than five and not more than seven persons, who were elected annually by the stockholders at the regular annual meeting of the stockholders, to be held on the third Monday in October.<sup>2</sup> The Board, with the assent in writing of the holders of the outstanding stock or the majority thereof, had the full power to option, lease, sell, grant, convey, and dispose of any or all of the property in the corporation. A majority of the said Board was to constitute a quorum, and any meeting at which a

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1. Mines Handbook, Weed, Vol. XVI, Tuckahoe, New York, p. 286.  
2. The Arizona Daily Star, October 1, 1919.

quorum was present was to be deemed a lawful meeting. The meeting of the Board of Directors could be held at any place, either within or without the state of Arizona. The following persons, who were subscribers to the capital stock of the corporation constituted the first Board of Directors, to wit: R. W. Longworthy, W. H. Daily, M. B. Hall, Geo. M. Miller, and W. D. Health. The officers of the corporation were: Mr. G. W. Miller, president, and Mr. W. B. Hall, Secretary. Mr. R. W. Longworthy was appointed agent of the corporation, this office being revocable at any time by the Board of Directors.<sup>1</sup>

The highest amount of indebtedness or liability direct or contingent to which this corporation at any one time was to be subjected was limited to the sum of \$3,375,000.00. The stockholders and their private property were exempt from the corporate debts of the corporation. The articles of incorporation could be amended at any time by a majority vote of the outstanding stock of the company at any regular or special meeting, except Article VIII, which refers to the exemption of the stockholders and their private property from the corporate debts of the corporation.<sup>2</sup>

Attempt after attempt to develop the mines resulted in an utter failure. However, they managed to keep this corporation together, for in February, 1921, the following Comobabi officers were elected: President, G. W. Miller; Vice-Presidents, H. A. Walls, E. H. Patterson, T. L. Graham, Fred Roberts;

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1. The Arizona Daily Star, October 1, 1919.

2. Ibid.

Secretary, Le Roy Brown; Treasurer, P. L. Watson; Directors, E. H. Patterson, T. L. Graham, Fred M. Roberts, and G. W. Miller.<sup>1</sup>

Not only did this mining industry arouse local interest, but its credit rating and financial status were questioned by institutions in various sections of the country. The two outstanding inquiries among the many came in 1921 and 1922 respectively.

On June 20, 1921, attorney Charles S. Dorden of Los Angeles, as an agent for the Los Angeles Chamber of Mines inquired from Dr. Butler, Dean and Director of the Arizona Bureau of Mines as to the condition of the Comobabi mines. To this inquiry, Dean Butler replied that nothing was being done with the Comobabi mines, or he would be familiar with the fact.

Hatchell and Lewis, bankers at Biddle, North Carolina, inquired in March, 1922, from the mayor of Tucson concerning the credit rating of this mining project. The investigation was made following an attempted loan made by a depositor of the bank mentioned above. The security for this loan was some stock certificates issued by the Comobabi Mining Company in May, 1921.

In 1923, the funds for promoting the corporation ran out, the land reverted to the government, and Mr. Miller went east to put on a subscription campaign to raise more money. He carried with him some of the silver ore and showed it to Mr. W. M. Thornton, who in turn put the proposition up to Mr.

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1. The Arizona Daily Star, February 6, 1921.

Marcus Garvey. Mr. Garvey was in the midst of a long court procedure and hence could not consider the project. Mr. Miller began a campaign himself. Afterwards, Mr. J. E. D. Johnson of Hemestead, Pennsylvania, Mr. O. B. Chambers, and Mr. H. B. Payne joined the sales campaign promoted by Mr. Miller. From this campaign \$40,000.00 and six hundred and ninety-nine subscribers were secured. Mr. Miller told the subscribers that he owned thirty-three claims worth three million dollars. He claimed that if the people would subscribe to the amount of \$65,000.00, he could sell his claims for \$3,000,000.00 and pay them 40:1. He sold \$6,000.00 worth of stock in Pittsburg, but used the money up for expenses during the two years he stayed in the city. The proponents of this industry returned to Tucson, invested funds gathered, but got no further with the development of the mine. Mr. Miller again began his journey to the east to mobilize more funds. But on this trip he died, and the venture was dropped.

There is no accurate account of how much money was spent in this Comobabi mining region by these "trial and error" Negro miners. But one of the subscribers to the enterprise estimated that the funds mobilized for this project exceeded \$250,000.00. There are certain reasons why this undertaking did not succeed.

A claim consists of a tract of land six hundred feet wide and fifteen hundred feet long. After a claim is secured from the government, sixty days are allowed for the possessor of

the claim to begin making improvements. Then upon each claim an improvement of one hundred dollars must be made each year or the claim reverts to the government. The Comobabi Mining Corporation having thirty-three claims meant that each year \$3,300.00 worth of improvement alone had to be made in order to even hold the claims, not to say anything about the amount of money for the development of the mines. This explains why the mines reverted to the government at certain intervals. The fact is that the amount of claims was too large for their undertaking.

They did not have a metallurgist to examine the ore. They used their own judgment as to the profitable place to sink the shafts. Neither did the miners have an assayer of their own. They relied upon commercial assayers, and this is the most expensive method in mining.

However, this attempt is one of the largest ever begun by Negroes, and it is to be admired from the standpoint of a group of Negroes being able to muster up a sum of money this large exclusively among themselves. This mining experience helps to bring out the fact that what was needed in the industry was efficient leadership and management.

#### Negro Poultry Ranches

Scientific poultry raising in the United States is an undertaking which has in the past been very unattractive to Negroes. This does not mean, however, that there were not many

Negroes in this field. Quite the contrary, but nearly all of these men based their knowledge upon practical experience and the "trial and error" method. Within the last two decades more Negroes have entered the poultry field, conducting it on more scientific principles. The practical poultry men have not been entirely eliminated from the field.

In Tucson there are examples of both types, the technically trained poultry grower and the practical trial and error poultry raiser. Within the last fourteen years, over ten different Negroes have attempted to operate poultry ranches. They, with the exception of one, had no previous experience, and relied upon government bulletins for information. All but two of these original beginners have been eliminated from the field. The remaining two are a practical poultry man and a technically trained poultry man. A brief sketch of the businesses of both will demonstrate the condition and success of both types of poultry men.

Poultryman A began the construction of a poultry farm on his homesteaded land, making occasional preparations at odd times while not working at his regular job. When the construction of the equipment was completed, he devoted his whole attention to the business. On the ranch of Poultryman A can be found White Leghorns, raised for the market; Rhode Island Reds, kept for breeding purposes; Pigeons of sundry breeds, and turkeys, raised for the market. He keeps guinea fowls for aesthetic purposes. Every year one hundred baby chicks

are added to the flock.

No records were kept, but Poultryman A says he "manages to make things meet". A few estimates of the financial condition of the business can be given as estimated by Poultryman A. About forty turkeys are raised every year and they sell in the fall for about three dollars each. The hens average eight dozen eggs a day. The Rhode Island breeding chickens bring in above \$25.00 each spring. The pigeons average about \$250.00 a month.

Poultryman A accredits his success to the revelation he witnessed in a dream. In 1915, in Denver, while asleep, a vision of a "country" by the name of Arizona (a place of which he had never heard) appeared unto him. In the dream he visualized himself situated in this "country" on 160 acres of land, sitting down eating grapes from the grapevines that were produced on this land. He immediately set out for this "country", and he has at present acquired the 160 acres of land and has been eating grapes from the vines for seven years. But a far different account can be given of Poultryman B.

Poultryman B, a native of Oklahoma, came to Arizona in 1923, with the express intention of operating a chicken farm. To do this he realized that technical training and skill had to be obtained. So he entered the Agricultural Department at the University of Arizona and began to make himself proficient along this particular line. This rigorous training divested him of all his previous ideas concerning chickens.

Before beginning the business, he made an extensive study of marketing conditions and flock management. He learned what it would take to develop the body of a baby chick into the body of a healthy grown fowl, the cost of the feed for young chicks, brooding, the mortality rate to expect, the culling of the flock, sanitation, and cure of diseases. By carefully studying market conditions, the egg production cycle of chickens, he has been able to keep an open market yearly for his produce. All of this information and study was necessary in order for his first \$1,000.00 invested in the poultry business to be safe.

He keeps a careful record of all the business transactions connected with poultry raising. The present valuation of the poultry is \$500.00, the valuation of the buildings and other equipment is \$2,000.00. The annual volume of trade realized from this business is \$2,000.00.

Poultryman B has built up a high grade of patronage and he has maintained some of his customers for five years. Of the trade, 80% of it is white and 20% colored. Sixty per cent. of the marketing is carried on a credit basis with no default in the payment of debts. The remaining 40% is carried on on a cash basis. There are no defaults in any of the customers. Some of the oldest customers of Poultryman B are: the guest ranches, the sanatoriums and stores.

The picture on the following page shows a view of part of the flock of birds and the chicken houses of Poultryman B. Twice some of the produce from this ranch has been put on ex-

hibit at the Pima County Fair. Each time all of the exhibits



have been placed within sections that won money as prizes for their quality. The exhibits have also won several blue ribbons. Poultryman B has been in the business for six years.

The are ten different types of business enterprises operated by Negroes in Tucson. Under these different types are twenty-two separate establishments. The operators of six of these places have no employees. Sixteen of these establishments employ twenty-one Negroes at an average of \$40.00 each a month. The operating equipment of all these places is estimated at \$22,925.00, or \$1,146.00 per place. The annual volume of trade is \$35,170.00, or an average of \$1,758.00 per establishment. The percentage of Negro patronage to the entire Negro business in Tucson is less than that of any other race.

1. The Arizona Daily Star, October 7, 1934.

2. Mr. Sawyer and General ...

3. The Arizona Daily Star, October 7, 1934.

4. The Arizona

PART II. POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO  
THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE NEGRO.

The Wide Awake Colored Club

Negro politics in Tucson did not get its birth in the first quarter of the twentieth century, as is thought by most people. For, in 1884, in Tucson there was a "Wide Awake Colored Club," a Negro political organization. This club was Republican in character, with an autonomy and clearly defined purpose.<sup>1</sup> The regular meetings usually took place at Mr. Fuman Hall's home. Such men as Mr. Pomroy, Mr. Sparrows, and General Tom Cardis would frequent the meetings and on these occasions would portray in great eloquence the benefit the Republican party had been to the Negroes.\* The same method of supporting candidates in return for the patronage used today was used then. Only each person made himself a committee of one and sought patronage.<sup>2</sup>

There is no record or account of how long this club existed, but by 1920 the Negro political situation was in a chaotic situation.

There had ceased to be any political organization among Negroes. Getting out the Negro vote was done under the tyranny of "Negro Political bosses".

These Negro bosses were handed out ten and fifteen dollars

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1. The Arizona Daily Star, October 7, 1884.

\* Mr. Pomroy and General Cardis were army officers at Fort Lowell.

2. The Arizona Daily Star, October 7, 1884.

from the whites to get Negro votes. The bosses took the money from the candidates, but none of it went to the voters. This situation caused much trouble between the whites and Negroes. The candidates were double-crossed as a result of one Negro working for more than one candidate who was running for the same office. The Negro voters were misled more so because they did not much know which was the proper candidate for them to vote for when the election came.

The Non-Partisan Civic and Political Club of Pima County

These were a few Negroes in Tucson who, in 1922, saw the need of a clean-cut political organization and who immediately set about organizing themselves. This political body was organized under the name of the Non-Partisan Civic and Political Club of Pima County. The purposes of the club were as follows: to improve the Negro electorate and eliminate bossism; to form an organization that would function twelve months in a year; and thus by being solidly behind the candidate, Negroes could receive more patronage from the party. This organization was nominally non-partisan, but actually it was Republican in nature.

The Non-Partisan Club worked through party representatives only and not through individuals. Only capable men were placed on executive committees. All outside matters were taken up by the committee and then referred to the group as a whole. The connecting link between the club and the white political party was the president of the club, Mr. G. B. Taylor, who was presi-

dent of the Non-Partisan Club for ten years, and a member of the Republican city, county, and central committee.

Through the Non-Partisan Club, seventeen Negroes, from 1922-1931, received work throughout the city, and twelve colored people obtained jobs in the county. Among the seventeen who were employed by the city, four persons got \$120.00 a month; and thirteen persons received \$85.00 a month. The twelve men who worked for the county constituted a foreman, getting \$150.00 a month, and eleven men who worked for four years at three dollars a day.

When the 1931 administration came in the Negroes who worked for the city were displaced and their vacancies filled by whites. There is only one city janitor who has kept his job since 1916 at \$110.00 a month, but the maintenance of his job does not depend upon politics. The present administration of 1932 eliminated the crew of Negroes who worked for the county. But janitors are retained at the County Court House. However, these janitors are not affiliated with the Non-Partisan Club and their jobs came through the Negro Democratic Club, which will be discussed later.

The Pima County Civic and Political Club has also been influential in defeating certain measures adversely affecting Negroes. Three times the club has been instrumental in defeating a bill introduced in the state Legislature to segregate all Negroes in the schools. The club would select a committee and send it to Phoenix to lobby. The influence of many outstanding men of the state and also of Tucson was thrown against

the measure. This same organization joined in with the N.A.A.C.P., the Charles Young Post of the American Legion, the Veteran's Bureau of Arizona and various other local organizations and through intercession at Washington, D. C., defeated an attempt to exclude disabled Negro veterans from the Veterans' Hospital on South Sixth Avenue.

The Non-Partisan Civic and Political Club was organized by taxpayers, is controlled by 95% of the taxpayers, and up until 1932 it controlled about 95% of the Negro votes in Tucson. The membership is about four hundred. The club has always supported the Republican candidates.

#### The Pima County Democratic Club

Even within the smoothly working organization of the Civic and Political Club of Pima County, there were those who felt that improvement could be made upon the organization. Seeing the necessity for two political clubs, such innovators as Mr. A. C. Jones and Mr. Le Roy Jones began, in 1929, the Pima County Democratic Club.

The Negro leaders of this group felt that sufficient schooling of the masses in proper procedure of voting was not resorted to in the other club. The Negro leaders were not so much concerned about decreasing the illiteracy of the Negro voter-- "the more illiterate, the more easily mobilized on election day." Then, too, there was the idea as gleaned by the promoters

of the Democratic club, that if there were two political organizations of different parties, they would serve as an equilibrium, safeguarding the Negro in the event that either of the major parties would win the election. By having these two parties "as a check and a balance," the whites would assume the pendulum position of dickering with both Negro parties--thus benefitting the Negro after all. The Pima County Democratic Club has for its goal--"the economic, political, and social betterment of the Negro race."

For the first two years the club was not successful. It had to first break down the antipathy possessed by the average Negro against the Democrats in general; and it also had to win the confidence of the whites and show them that Negroes could vote another way than by the Republican ticket. This was decidedly proven in the election of 1931.

By supporting the Democratic candidates in the 1932 election, the club secured for its members five jobs, three janitor jobs at the County Court House, a matron at the County Jail, and one janitor at the County Hospital. Negro Republicans who were employed by the city were removed and their jobs were given to Negro Democrats. Also a job that was formerly held by a white person was given to a Negro.

The membership of the Pima County Democratic Club consists of 350 persons. A committee is always appointed to confer with the white Democrats when questions of importance arise.

It is of peculiar interest, however, to note the qualifica-

tions one must comply with in order to be eligible to have any of the spoils which fall to the party after a successful election. This principle is the same in the Non-Partisan Club and the Democratic Club. First a person seeking a job through the political club, must by all means be a member of the party. For members always have the preference. Then the applicant must be a person of honorable merit and capable of upholding the dignity and integrity of the organization. If he can qualify with these specifications, he proceeds to get the political club to recommend him for the job. If he should prove worthless, the club replaces him with another person, since a job can be obtained only through the organization. There are no fees for holding a job and corruption is scarcely known in these two political clubs.

#### The International Labor Defense

The latest and most interesting organization in Tucson designed to bring pressure upon bodies is the International Labor Defense, organized in 1932. This organization is not a political organ within itself, but it brings pressure to bear upon other organizations.

The Tucson branch of the I. L. D. is a non-partisan group of an inter-racial mixture. The club is composed of about thirty members, consisting of nine races: Caucasian, Negro, Mexican, South American, Polish, Italian, Greek, Indian, and Swedish. All the meetings are held together with the wives and

even sometimes the children of each member being present.

Mostly all the members of the city branch of the I. L. D. are the result of class struggle and come from one certain class of people. The oath which a person must take before becoming a member will serve to show the nature and the purpose for the existence of the I. L. D.: "I, the undersigned, relying upon the importance of the campaign to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism Law which is used as an instrument to crush the workers who are organized against starvation, oppression and the police terror, feeling that the united campaign to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism Law is a necessary step in developing the solidity of those who are determined to fight against boss-oppression, to free Tom Mooney, to retain a release of the Scottsboro boys, hereby prescribe to the aims of the International Labor defense and wish to be enrolled as a member." The persons wishing to join sign the above statement and pay twenty-five cents if employed and five cents for initiation dues. Monthly dues are twenty cents.

The highest body of the I. L. D. is the national convention which meets once a year. The representatives to this convention are elected by members of district branches on the basis of proportional representation. The national convention elects a committee which carries on the work during the periods when the convention does not meet. The next highest body is the district central committee, which is higher than the district committee. Then comes the city central committee, which elects

a city executive committee of not more than nine persons, but they can be a member of the city branch. It is in this branch that the Tucson branch of the I. L. D. falls.<sup>1</sup>

### PART III. NEGRO CHURCHES IN TUCSON

There are five Negro denominations in Tucson. Three of these denominations are among the principle denominations of the Negro faith. These three churches are the African Methodist Episcopal, the Mount Cavalry Baptist, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Churches. The other two churches, the Church of God in Christ and the Holiness Church are of minor significance and will be treated in a casual manner. The majority of the discussion will center around the three principal churches.

#### The African Methodist Episcopal Church

The Prince Chapel African Methodist Church, located at Seventeenth and Convent Streets, was organized in 1906. The church has a seating capacity of 185, but it contains no basement.

The salaried offices in the church are the pastor, the organist, and the janitor. The salary of the pastor is \$1,400.00 a year, plus the prerequisites of a furnished home. Each pastor is paid up in full before the end of each conference year.

There are five money-raising auxiliaries, in Prince Chapel,

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1. The Constitution of the International Labor Defense, International Labor Office, 80 E. 11th. Street, New York.

which raise above \$50.00 each a month, or a total of \$250.00.

The membership consists of 165 persons. This increases by ten persons per year and there are none dropped from the church roll. The average contribution per member a month is \$1.50. The average age of the membership is thirty-five years.

A careful study of the financial condition of these three major churches in America was made in order to make some comparisons of the three churches in Tucson with the average church of its particular denomination.<sup>1</sup> The survey was limited to urban churches and to places of 2,500 people or more. The comparison of each church in Tucson with the average church of its denomination follows the discussion of the particular church in natural order.

Table XXVI  
Comparison of Local Church with Average Urban A.M.E. Church

	Prince Chapel A.M.E.	Average A.M.E. Church
Value of church edifice	\$25,000.00	\$16,850.00
Value of parsonage	2,500.00	2,276.00
Annual expenditures	3,000.00	3,135.00
Membership	165	171

It can readily be seen that Prince Chapel Church is above the average for the denomination in valuation of church edifices and parsonage. But the church is below the average in yearly expenditures, and in membership.

Mount Cavalry Baptist Church

Mount Cavalry Baptist Church, located on the corner of

1. Religious Bodies in the United States, Vol. I, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1926, pp. 706-726.

North Tenth Avenue and Fourth Street, was established in 1907. The seating capacity of the church is three hundred, and the edifice contains a basement which can accommodate two hundred people.

The salaried officers of Mount Cavalry Baptist Church are the minister and the janitor. The salary of the pastor is \$1,500.00 a year, beside his home, which is free. The janitor receives \$100.00 a year for his services. There is only one visiting preacher a year who runs a revival for two weeks and receives \$100.00 for his work. There are nine money raising auxiliaries in the church. These bodies raise on the average of \$100.00 each a year. There are two rallies a year and from \$400.00 to \$700.00 are raised from each rally.

The membership consists of 206 persons. There is an addition of thirty members a year to this congregation. The annual loss in membership is about ten. The average age of the membership of this church is thirty. The average monthly contribution per member is \$1.06.

The table below will give a comparison of the financial condition of the Mount Cavalry Baptist Church with that of the average Negro Baptist church.

Table XXVII  
Comparison of local church with Average Urban Negro Baptist Church

	Mt. Cavalry Baptist	Average Negro Baptist Church
Valuation of church edifice	\$20,000.00	\$17,000.00
Valuation of parsonage	2,700.00	3,359.00
Annual expenditures	3,000.00	2,760.00
Membership	206	530

Mount Cavalry Baptist Church excels the average Baptist Church on yearly expenditures and the valuation of the church edifice. But the church is below the average in the valuation of the church parsonage and the membership of the church.

Phillip's Chapel Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

Phillip's Chapel C.M.E. Church is located on Ninth Avenue and Fourth Street. This church was organized in 1925. It has no auditorium, but regular sermons are held in the basement. The seating capacity is seventy-five.

The salaried officers are the pastor, the organist and the janitor. The preacher gets \$60.00 a month, the janitor gets a dollar a week, and the organist gets \$5.00 a month. There are usually two revivals held annually; the preachers get \$20.00 each for their services.

There are three money raising auxiliaries in the church. The amount collected monthly varies from \$60.00 to \$80.00 a month. This church is being purchased on contract; they still owe \$2,700.00 on the property. Payments are \$30.00 a month. This means that it will take nine years before the property can be paid for.

The membership is eighty-five. An average of five persons are added to the membership each year. There are no losses in members during the year. The average age of the membership is thirty-two.

The table on the following page shows just how far the

C. M. E. church here deviates from the average church of its denomination.

Table XXVIII  
Comparison of Local Church with Average C.M.E. Urban Church

	Phillip's Chapel C.M.E.	Average C.M.E. Church
Value of Church edifices	\$2,700.00	\$11,115.00
Value of parsonage	300.00	1,856.00
Annual expenditures	1,000.00	2,136.00
Membership	85	141

It can be clearly seen that in every instance Phillip's Chapel C.M.E. church is below the standard, and it will take time and effort to raise it to any comparable level.

The Holiness Church and the Church of God in Christ

The Holiness Church and the Church of God in Christ possess no edifices. The worship is held in rented buildings. The former church pays \$15.00 a month, and it is not known how much rent the latter church pays. The latter church owns a lot upon which it expects to put a building some day.

Both pastors of these churches receive a "free-will" offering which goes toward the support of the ministers. This offering varies from \$30.00 to \$50.00 a month. There are usually two rallies a year at each church. From each rally each church receives about \$100.00.

The membership of both of these churches consists of about eighty persons. The average age of the membership is thirty-five. The expenditures run around \$30.00 for each church per month.

An attempt was made to find data of similar churches of these types in the United States in order to make a comparison of these in Tucson. But all efforts were in vain.

There are 526 Negroes in Tucson who belong to church. This is 52% of the Negroes' population in 1930, which was 1,003. The value of the church property is estimated at \$45,940.00, or an average of \$8.50 per church member. The annual revenue paid to Negro churches is \$6,800.00, or an average of about \$12.68 per member.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The majority of Negroes of Tucson, Arizona, during both periods, from 1850-1900, and 1900-1930, have come from southern states. Nevertheless, the percentage of Negroes from southern states during the first period is less than the percentage of the Negroes from southern states since 1900. The trend since 1900 is for more Negroes to migrate to Tucson from the south.

Work was the only motive which led Negroes to come to Tucson before 1900. But the motives of the present Negro for coming are various. However, the motive of gaining a livelihood still has a predominant position among the other motives.

The Negro population of Tucson since 1900 has made inroads on the total population of the city. The population of Tucson (other than Negroes) increased from 1900 to 1930 at a rate of 60% per decade, while the Negro population increased 134% per decade during this period.

There is a striking difference between the marriages that affected Negroes during the earlier period and those since 1900. With only a few exceptions, Negroes married people of other races during the pioneer period. The pioneer Negroes, who are still living explained the marriage situation as the

result of the lack of Negro women in this section of the country during this period. Of the entire group of 317 people studied, only two were found to be married to people of other races. The writer does not know, however, whether to attribute this trend of marriages among the Negro race to the development of race consciousness among the Negroes of the present period, or to the rigidity of laws affecting interracial marriages during this period, as compared with the laxity of these laws during the former period.

Only a fraction of the Negro population is employed by Negroes. Of the 539 Negroes over ten years of age, working, only 3% are employed by Negroes. Ninety-seven per cent. of them seek employment from people of other races. The majority of Negroes are employed by whites. The majority of the group of Negroes studied are engaged in domestic and personal service pursuits. It is to be commended to note the percentage of professional Negroes represented in this group. The percentage is just 1.1% lower than the average percentage of Negroes engaged in professional service in the United States. The percentage of professional Negroes in the group studied is 3.1%, while those of the average professional Negroes in the United States is 4.2%. This is one of the marked contrasts of the Negro of the present time in Tucson with the Negro of the former period. There were no professional Negroes in Tucson during the first period.

It is regretted that, with the exception of the places

where Negroes are forced to patronize people of their own race, their trade is directed into other channels. This fact is evident when we consider that out of the annual volume of trade of establishments operated by Negroes--an amount of \$35,170.00--the percentage of Negro trade is the smallest of any other race. All of these establishments, with the exception of the billiard halls and the barbershops have competition with similar establishments operated by people of other races.

The Negroes of the present period have begun to use politics as a means of bettering their economic condition. The old party allegiance which plays such a dominant part in the politics of Negroes has been altered. They are beginning to learn that in order to get any benefit they must patronize each major party.

The greatest development during the last two decades is that of the Negro church. Beginning with one church in 1906, the growth of churches has continued until there are, at present, five Negro denominations, or a church for every two hundred people. The valuation of three churches of three of the major Negro denominations equals about 50% of the entire assessed valuation of the real and personal property of the group of sixty Negro taxpayers. The annual expenditures of these three churches is approximately 25% of the entire wage incomes of the group of 317 people studied.

But if Negroes of Tucson are to gain economic liberation, it must come through voluntary racial patronage. There must be

an inherent desire on the part of all Negroes to have commercial and financial intercourse with themselves. It should not be brought about involuntarily--as a result of external forces compelling them to have dealings with themselves.

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APPENDIX

Table I  
Motives for Coming to Tucson

	:Work (No. : :of persons):	:No Motive:	:Health:	:Pleasure:	:Prostitution
Alabama	: 6	: 1	: 1	: 4	: 1
Arizona	: :	: 2	: :	: 4	: :
Arkansas	: 7	: :	: 6	: :	: :
California	: 10	: 10	: 8	: 1	: :
Colorado	: :	: :	: 4	: :	: :
Georgia	: 1	: 1	: 2	: :	: :
Hawaii	: :	: :	: :	: 1	: :
Illinois	: 7	: 1	: :	: :	: 1
Indiana	: :	: :	: 1	: 1	: :
Iowa	: :	: 1	: :	: :	: :
Kansas	: 4	: :	: :	: :	: :
Kentucky	: 8	: 3	: 1	: :	: :
Louisiana	: 10	: :	: 2	: 2	: :
Mexico	: 1	: 1	: :	: :	: :
Michigan	: 1	: :	: :	: :	: :
Minnesota	: 1	: :	: :	: :	: :
Mississippi	: 6	: :	: 1	: 1	: :
Missouri	: 4	: :	: 1	: :	: :
Nevada	: 1	: :	: :	: :	: :
New Mexico	: 1	: 1	: 1	: 1	: :
New York	: 1	: :	: :	: :	: 1
N. Carolina	: 8	: :	: 1	: 1	: :
Ohio	: :	: 1	: 1	: :	: :
Oklahoma	: 2	: :	: 2	: :	: :
Pennsylvania:	: 1	: :	: :	: :	: :
S. Carolina	: 10	: :	: 1	: :	: :
Tennessee	: 6	: :	: 1	: 1	: :
Texas	: 127	: 10	: 2	: :	: :
Virginia	: 4	: 1	: 1	: :	: :
Totals	: 227	: 33	: 37	: 17	: 3
Grand Total - 317.					

Table II  
Employment: Types, Wages per Month; Hrs. Per Day

Occupation	No. of Persons	Wages per Month	No. of Persons	Hrs. per Day	No.
Cook	59	\$20	4	2	1
		32	12	4	2
		40	25	8	25
		50	10	8	10
		60	3	8	10
		80	1	8	1
		90	1	8	1
		100	3	8	3
Maid	50	30	5	4	4
		35	10	8	10
		40	30	8	30
		50	2	8	4
		60	2	8	2
		70	1	8	1
Nurse	2	35	1	8	1
		40	1	8	1
Chauffeur	15	50	5	10	5
		60	10	11	10
E. Engineer	1	250	1	8	1
C. Presser	1	45	1	8	1
B. Black	11	25	2	8	2
		40	5	8	5
		50	2	10	2
		60	2	14	2
P.O. Clerk	1	165	1	8	1
T. Waiter	15	45	10	8	10
		60	5	10	5
Laundress	2	20	2	10	2
S. Station	3	80	1	10	1
		85	1	8	1
		150	1	8	1
Aut. Mechanic	5	80	2	8	1
		125	3	8	1
Well Digger	1	80	1	8	1
Tailor	1	175	1	8	1
Barber	4	48	2	9	2
		60	2	12	2
Carpenter	2	80	1	8	1
		85	1	8	1
Com. Laborer	46	30	4	6	5
		40	20	8	25
		50	15	10	10
		60	7	11	8

Table II (Continued)

Occupation	No. of Persons	Wages per Month	No. of Persons	Hrs. per Day	No.
Teacher	7	\$150	1	8	1
		130	1	8	1
		130	1	8	1
		130	1	8	1
		120	1	8	1
		115	1	8	1
		108.75	1	8	1
Preacher	3	125	1		1
		95	1		1
		60	1		1
Porter	40	45	4	8	4
		50	25	8	30
		58	5	8	5
		64	6	10	6
Janitor	40	60	20	8	
		72	7	8	7
		75	1	8	1
		85	2	8	2
		100	8	8	8
		110	1	8	1
		125	1	8	1
Physician	1	585	1	8	1
Herb Doctor:	1	80	1	8	1
Chiropodist:	1	150	1	8	1
Poultryman	2	100	1	12	1
		190	1	10	1
Baker	3	45	1	6	1
		75	1	8	1
		100	1	10	1
Prostitutes:	3	70	3	Indef.	3
Ins. Agents:	2	72	1	8	1
		150	1	10	1
Wash Rack	1	150	1	8	1
Road Foreman:	1	160	1	8	1



Table III (Continued)

Ass'd Val. of Real Estate	No. of Per.	Ass'd Val. of Personal Property	No. of Person-	Total Ass'd Val. uation.	Amt. of Taxes Pd. yr.	No. of Exempt	No. of Delq.	No. of Exempt
\$1410	: 1	\$ 50	: 1	\$1460	: \$widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
1470	: 1	-	:	1470	: 49.06	: 1	: Delq.	:
1500	: 1	-	:	1500	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
1600	: 1	150	: 1	1750	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
1735	: 1	350	: 1	2085	: 104.34	: 1	: Delq.	:
1805	: 1	1075	: 1	2900	: 147.26	: 1	:	:
1870	: 1	135	: 1	1905	: 100.06	: 1	:	:
1885	: 1	-	:	1885	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
1920	: 1	100	: 1	2020	: 108.36	: 1	:	:
1940	: 1	440	: 1	2380	: 156.62	: 1	:	:
1975	: 1	475	: 1	2450	: 118.08	: 1	:	:
2120	: 1	100	: 1	2220	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
2225	: 1	150	: 1	2375	: 82.08	: 1	:	:
2270	: 1	575	: 1	2785	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
2300	: 1	125	: 1	2425	: widow	: -	: Exempt	: 1
2340	: 1	-	:	2340	: 109.34	: 1	:	:
2410	: 1	700	: 1	3110	: 115.26	: 1	:	:
2425	: 1	650	: 1	3185	: 162.44	: 1	:	:
2520	: 1	245	: 1	2765	: 141.02	: 1	:	:
2525	: 1	-	:	2525	: 128.78	: 1	:	:
2650	: 1	400	: 1	3050	: 156.06	: 1	:	:
2700	: 1	-	:	2700	: 92.00	: 1	:	:
3285	: 1	825	: 1	4010	: 131.14	: 1	:	:
4330	: 1	355	: 1	4685	: 240.46	: 1	:	:
7940	: 1	760	: 1	8600	: 428.42	: 1	:	:
<u>\$84,135*</u>	<u>: 60*</u>	<u>\$11,845*</u>	<u>: 39*</u>	<u>\$99,775*</u>	<u>: \$3,740*</u>	<u>: 47*</u>		<u>: 13*</u>
<u>\$1,402.25#</u>		<u>\$30.40#</u>		<u>\$1,663.00#</u>	<u>: \$79.50#</u>			

\*--Total.

#--Median.