

6902M6

..CI

Pam 57-2400

MILWAUKEE'S NEGRO COMMUNITY
by the
Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau
125 E. Wells St., Milwaukee 2
March 1946
Prepared for a Special Committee of the
Council of Social Agencies

MILWAUKEE'S NEGRO COMMUNITY

IN BRIEF

SEGREGATION

Three-fourths of Milwaukee's Negroes live in the area of a little less than one-half square mile which is bounded by W. Brown, W. Juneseu, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets. The area is referred to in this study as the "Negro Community", although the 1940 census reported half of the population to be white persons. (See the map on page 2.)

Nearly all of Milwaukee's Negroes, according to the 1940 census, live in the one square mile bounded by W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets, which is referred to as the "northern near-downtown district". This area includes the Negro Community plus one-fourth square mile of area added to the north, and another one-fourth square mile to the south. The additional area changes the composition of the district so that instead of being one-half Negro and one-half white, it is one-third Negro and two-thirds white. (See page 34.)

The 1940 census block statistics showed that three-fourths of Milwaukee's nonwhite households lived in blocks which had more than 50% nonwhite occupancy. This degree of segregation is similar to Birmingham, Alabama, and Atlanta, Georgia. About 90% of the city of Milwaukee area platted since 1910 is said to be recorded with race restrictive covenants. (See pages 16 to 18.)

A special census taken in 1945 of the southern half of the Negro Community area by the Milwaukee Health Department revealed that the total population had increased 17%, comprising a 43% increase in the nonwhite population, and a 16% decrease in the white population. The area is now two-thirds nonwhite and one-third white. (See pages 6, 7, and 35.)

POPULATION TRENDS

The northern near-downtown district experienced a 21% decrease in population during the twenty years of 1920 to 1940 as compared with a 23% increase in the city's total population. (See map on page 5, also pages 6 and 34.)

Milwaukee's Negro population trebled between 1920 and 1930, and increased 18% between the 1930 and the 1940 census. The 1940 nonwhite population of 9,295 (95% Negro) was 1 1/2% of the city's total—and ranks Milwaukee as the city with the third lowest percentage of nonwhite population among the 25 largest cities. (See pages 4 and 33.)

The most plausible estimate for Milwaukee's Negro population as of 1945 appears to be 13,000, or about 2% of the city total. Other estimates range from 10,200 to 12,600 to 15,800 as shown in the following table:

CITY OF MILWAUKEE—NEGRO AND TOTAL CITY
Death, Live Birth and Marriage Rates per 1000 Population

	Death Rate		Live Birth Rate		Marriage Rate	
	Negro	Total City	Negro	Total City	Negro	Total City
Average 1930-1940	15.5	9.8	18.3	16.3	6.4	8.0
Average 1940-1945	13.6	9.8	22.7	17.4	10.8	9.9
1945		10.4		17.2		10.2
Various estimates						
10,200	13.1		26.6		15.4	
12,600	10.6		21.5		12.5	
13,000	10.3		20.8		12.1	
15,800	8.5		17.2		9.2	

HEALTH CONDITIONS

Data as to the number of deaths, infant mortality, tuberculosis, and the natural increase in the population indicate improved health, social and economic conditions in the Negro population. But in terms of progress made by the city as a whole, health conditions among Milwaukee's Negroes today are at the level of the city's white population as of 15 to 20 years ago. To illustrate:

1. Infant mortality is the most sensitive index available of social welfare and of sanitary administration under urban conditions. It is computed on the basis of the number of deaths under one year of age per 1000 live births. The 1945 condition among Negroes was similar to the rest of the city prior to 1930. During the last six years the infant mortality among Milwaukee's Negroes averaged 75% higher than the city as a whole. This is approximately the same differential as exists nationally between Negro and white. Scientific studies indicate that when Negro and white babies are given the same care, their mortality rates are also the same. (See pages 13, 14, 47, 48.)
2. Tuberculosis accounted for 3.7% of the total deaths in the city of Milwaukee during the last six years, but tuberculosis as a cause of death was four times more significant among Milwaukee's Negroes since it caused 13.0% of their total deaths. However, the last six years represents a decided improvement compared with the three worst depression years of the 1930's when tuberculosis was the cause of one-third of the deaths among Milwaukee's Negroes. (See pages 14, 49, and 50.)

The available evidence indicates that the color groups (Negro, Indians, etc.) were free from tuberculosis before contact with the whites but once exposed they are relatively more susceptible owing to ignorance, unfavorable environment and low scale of living.
3. Natural increase in population among Milwaukee's Negroes was practically nonexistent during the 1930's inasmuch as the number of live births almost equalled the number of deaths. In the 1940's the number of Negro live births has been two-thirds more than the number of deaths. (See pages 9 and 39.)

NEGRO YOUTH

As of 1940, there were approximately 2,000 Negro children in the age range of 10 to 24, youth being a smaller proportion of the Negro population than for the city as a whole. (See pages 8, 19, and 20.)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Negroes are almost entirely confined to the low-income group engaged in unskilled marginal jobs. Nearly one-half of the employed Negroes in 1940 worked as laborers, janitors or porters, as compared with less than 10% of white workers in those fields. The 1940 census indicated a 3-to-1 ratio of Negro unemployed to the white unemployed (51 persons per 100 compared with 17 per 100). In the 1934 depression year, there was one Negro for every 100 white persons in the city's population, but six Negroes of every 100 persons received general relief. (See pages 21, 22, 59 and 60.)

In the depression year of 1935 the disproportionate amount of unemployment among both the white and Negro residents of Milwaukee's Sixth Ward is indicated by the fact that the percentage of people in receipt of general relief was twice the population percentage: on relief 9.6% of the city's total; population 4.6% of the city's total. But in 1945—the prosperous year—the percentage of people in receipt of general relief was four times the population percentage. (See pages 21, 22, and 58.)

Lodgers were 3.8% of the household members in the city as a whole, compared with 16.2% of the Negro households (1940). Three out of four Negro families paid less than \$25 rent per month in 1940—indicating a degree of poverty existing in one out of three households in the city as a whole. The 1940 Negro population (14% of the city's total) occupied over half of the city's dwellings which were unfit for use. Negro home ownership was one-sixth that of the white population (5.7% as against 32.6%). (See pages 23 to 28, and 61 to 69.)

The following facts are descriptive of the Negro Community, the northern near-downtown district, and the city of Milwaukee:

	Negro Community	Northern Near- downtown District	Total city of Milwaukee
<u>Population change: 1940 over 1920</u>	-26%	-21%	+23 %
<u>Percentage Negro: 1940</u>	53%	30%	1.5%
1945	68%		
<u>School census: 4 to 19 years</u>			
1945	3,202	6,673	125,519
% change 1945 over 1940	+11%	+ 8%	- 4 %
<u>% of population on the rolls of the Department of Public Assistance</u>			
1935		30%	14 %
1945		1%	0.3%
<u>% owning own home: 1940</u>			
Among nonwhite families	4%	5%	6 %
Among white families	16%	16%	33 %
<u>Less than \$25 rent per month: 1940</u>			
% of all tenant families	69%	61%	32 %
Nonwhite	73%	73%	72 %
White	62%	54%	

Chapter I.

POPULATION TRENDS

Field of Study

Population trends are presented separately for:

1. Negroes living in the City of Milwaukee as a whole.
2. The so-called Negro Community described as the one-half square mile of area bounded by W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets. Three-fourths (78.2%) of Milwaukee's Negro population were reported by the 1940 census to be living in this area consisting of 74 blocks. Half (52.8%) of the 13,059 population were reported by the 1940 census to be Negro.
3. The northern near-downtown district described as the one square mile of area bounded by W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets. This area includes the Negro Community plus 32 additional blocks directly to the south, and 45 blocks to the north. Less than one-third (29.6%) of the 27,580 population was reported by the 1940 census to be Negro. Almost all (92.6%) of Milwaukee's 8,821 Negroes lived in this area in 1940.

A map of the number of nonwhite households living in each block of the two areas is shown on page 2 as reported by the 1940 census.

Relation of Northern District to DOWNTOWN

Downtown Milwaukee is the relatively small district in which the large office buildings, wholesale and retail stores, theaters, and public buildings are concentrated. The Urban Land Institute in its publication: "Proposal for Downtown Milwaukee" gives the following boundaries for this area:

URBAN LAND INSTITUTE BOUNDARIES OF DOWNTOWN MILWAUKEE: 1941

W. Juneau Avenue on the north,
Menomonee Valley on the south,
N. 8th Street on the west, and
Lake Michigan on the east.

It will be seen on the accompanying map that the northern near-downtown district is within walking distance of downtown Milwaukee. This area, now considered one of the worst, if not THE worst blight or slum in the city, is situated on a hill overlooking the city. At one

CITY OF MILWAUKEE

DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY NON-WHITE HOUSEHOLDS

Source: 1940 Census

Figures indicate the number of non-white households living in each block.

South

Upper Community - 20, 21, 29, 30

Wacker near downtown - 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 35, 36

	16th	14th	12th	10th	8th	6th	4th	3rd	
Meinecke			1	1					Meinecke
North				4	1	5	29		North
		1		1	9	10	30	19	Garfield
Lloyd			1	5	11	16	31	30	Lloyd
			8	13	23	60	59	28	Brown
			3	6	78	103	44	46	Reservoir
			6	3	7		51	49	Vine
Walnut							68	3	Walnut
	1		2	43	51	80	41	43	Galena
Galena			1	18	28	47	58	8	Galena
Cherry	1			5	3		51	4	Cherry
		1	2				29	35	Cherry
Vliet				23	55	72	32	34	Vliet
McKinley	1			3	3	9	37	22	McKinley
						6	27	14	McKinley
Juneau					4		27	14	Juneau
			4			9	18	17	Highland
						5	20	8	State
Kilbourn			2	2		5		5	Kilbourn
	16th	14th	12th	10th	8th	6th	4th	3rd	

Non-White Households

	Number	Per Cent of Total
Number living in these blocks	2,376	90%
Balance of city	274	10
Total in the city	2,650	100%

time it was one of the city's best residential districts. Evidences of this past prosperity are still to be seen in a few fine old residences which remain.

A circle with a five-mile radius drawn from the center of downtown (6th Street and Wisconsin Avenue) would encompass practically the entire city. The central location of the northern near-downtown district can be visualized by the fact that a two-mile radius circle from the center of downtown would include all of this area.

Population Estimates

Three comprehensive population studies have recently been made locally. They were prepared by the Board of Public Land Commissioners, the Milwaukee County Regional Planning Department, and the firm of Horner and Shifrin. The first two limited their studies to MILWAUKEE COUNTY, and the first estimate given in each case is for the year 1950. Horner and Shifrin submitted estimates for Milwaukee County which itemized separate estimates for the City of Milwaukee and several of the suburbs. The first estimate is also for 1950.

An estimate of the City of Milwaukee population trends is complicated by the tendency of people to move from the city's congested residential districts to the outlying still relatively unpopulated towns, cities and villages. We know, for example, that in 1929 and in 1941 the value of the total residential building permits issued in Milwaukee County was approximately the same (\$25,506,635 in 1929; \$22,018,688 in 1941). However, in 1929 58% of those permits (expressed in estimated value) were to build residences in the City of Milwaukee; in 1941 the proportion had declined to 36%. The figures show that the building in the villages and cities in the county other than the City of Milwaukee had remained relatively the same, but the amount lost by the City of Milwaukee had, in effect, been transferred to the TOWNS in Milwaukee County.

The war, with the accompanying gas rationing and building restrictions, temporarily stopped this decentralization trend. But the exodus is expected to be even greater as soon as building construction can proceed rapidly again.

The war has created the problem of estimating both the number of migrant war workers, and the number of persons who have not been released from the armed forces.

An estimate of the population trends of a relatively small group, such as the Negroes of Milwaukee, is more subject to error than estimates for a large group. One major cause of this difficulty is the fact that the vital statistics for a small group are likely to fluctuate greatly from year to year. See pages 30, 31 and 32.

The estimate of the population trend in the northern near-downtown district is further handicapped because vital statistics are not available by census tracts for births, deaths, and marriages.

Negro: 1900-1940

Racial growth in the United States has been characterized by the somewhat more rapid rate of growth of the white race than that of the total population. Negroes have decreased from 11.9% of the total population in 1890 to 9.8% in 1940. Forecasts of future population indicate that the proportion of whites and Negroes probably will change only slightly during the next four decades.

The federal population census of 1900 was the first to record Negroes as a separate group in the City of Milwaukee. The following table shows that there was very rapid growth in Milwaukee's Negro population after World War I.

NEGRO POPULATION
Source: United States Bureau of Census

	City of Milwaukee			Wisconsin		United States	
	Negro	Total	% Negro	Negro	% of Total Population	Negro	% of Total Population
1890	467 1/2	204,468		2,444	.1	7,488,676	11.9
1900	862	285,315	.3	2,542	.1	8,837,994	11.6
1910	980	373,857	.3	2,900	.1	9,827,763	10.7
1920	2,229	457,147	.5	5,201	.2	10,463,131	9.9
1930	7,501	578,249	1.3	10,739	.4	11,891,143	9.7
1940	8,821	587,472	1.5	12,158	.4	12,865,518	9.8

1/ Includes Negro, Chinese, Japanese and Indians.

Negro Population in Other Large Cities

The 1940 federal census reported nonwhite persons as constituting 1.6% of the City of Milwaukee's total population. Only two of the twenty-five largest United States cities had a smaller percentage of its population reported as nonwhite. They are Minneapolis and Rochester, both with 1.1% of their populations reported as nonwhite.

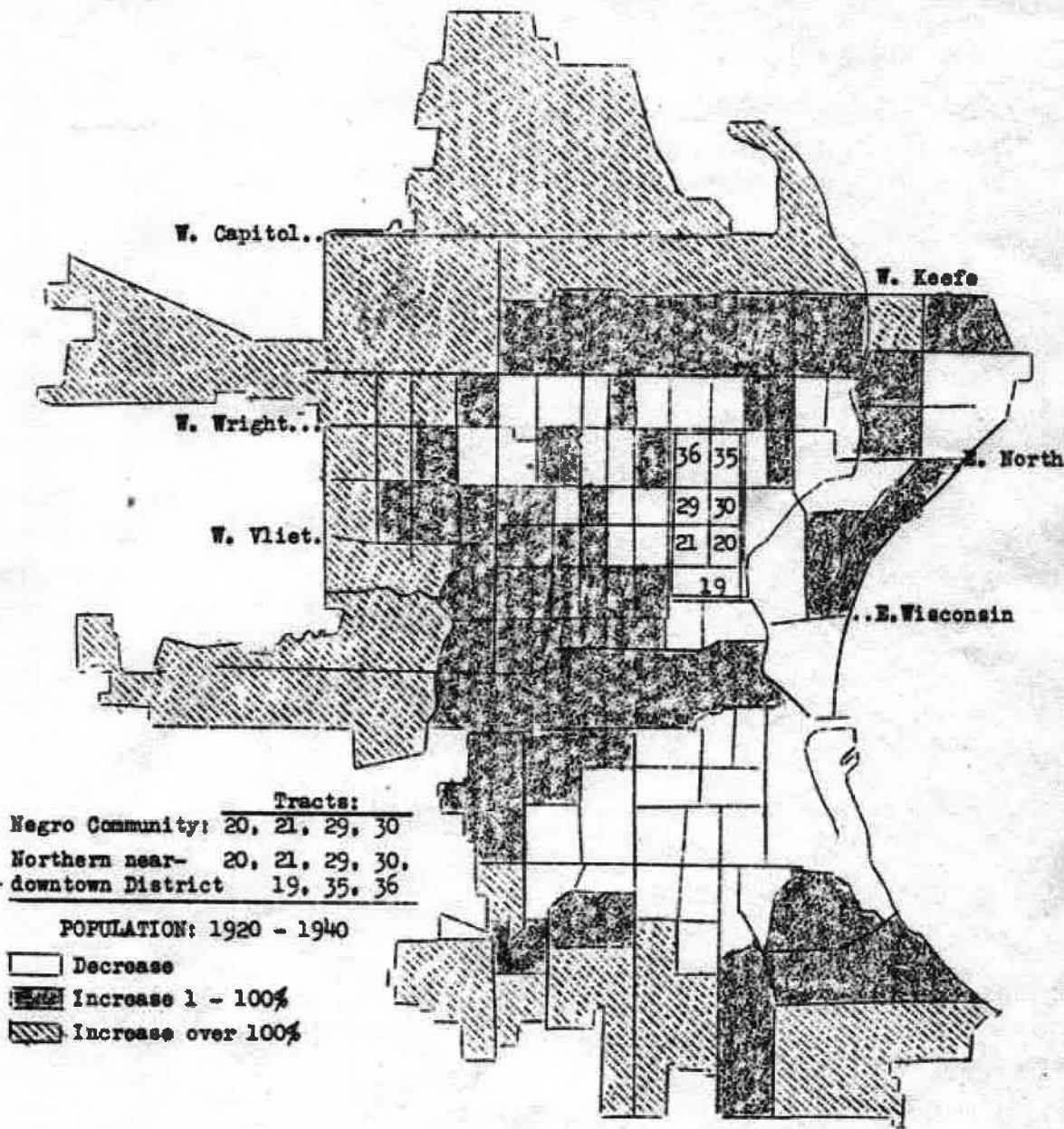
A tabulation on page 33 shows that in eleven of the twenty-five largest cities reported by the 1940 federal census, more than 10% of the population consisted of nonwhite persons.

Northern Near-Downtown District

The Negro Community, bounded by W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets, has had a 26 per cent decrease in nonwhite and white population, 1940 compared with 1920. A decreasing population in the central part of the city is typical of substantially all our large cities. The map on page 5 shows that the area of decreasing population is quite extensive in the City of Milwaukee.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE POPULATION TRENDS: 1920 - 1940

Source: Board of Public Land Commissioners



Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau. Paula Lynagh. 3/4/46

The northern near-downtown district, bounded by W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets, is reported as having experienced a 20.8 per cent decrease in population, 1940 compared with 1920. The detailed tabulation is submitted on page 34.

The population of the City of Milwaukee as a whole has increased 22.8 per cent during this period as shown in the following table. One reason for this increase is that the city's 1920 area of 26 square miles was expanded to 44 square miles by 1940.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE POPULATION TRENDS: 1920-1940
Negro Community and Northern Near-Downtown District.

Year	Negro Community Tracts 20,21, 29,30	Northern Near-Downtown District; Tracts 19,20, 21,29,30,35,36	Total City
Area	1/2 square mile	1 square mile	44 sq.mi.
Population			
1920	17,650	34,820	478,398
1930	14,825	30,284	581,012
1940	13,059	27,580	587,472
Percentage Change			
1930 over 1920	-16.0	-13.0	+21.4
1940 over 1930	-11.9	-8.9	+1.1
1940 over 1920	-26.0	-20.8	+22.8

1945 Special Census

The City of Milwaukee Health Department is appraising Milwaukee's housing conditions according to a scientific procedure prepared by the American Public Health Association. The survey of census tracts 20 and 21 is almost completed, and includes an enumeration of the population. Census tracts 20 and 21 are comprised of 43 blocks in the area bounded by W. Galena, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets. It is the southern half of the Negro Community.

This population census was painstakingly done, and is probably more accurate than the 1940 census. A comparison of the 1945 with the 1940 population figures shows:

1. The area has changed from roughly one-half nonwhite (55.2%) and one-half white (44.8%) to two-thirds nonwhite and one-third white (67.8%; 32.2%). Negroes constituted 99 per cent of the nonwhite population of the two census tracts in 1940.

2. The nonwhite population increased 43.2%, 1945 compared with 1940.

3. The white population decreased 16.2%.
4. The population of the area increased 16.6%.

In 1940 the 2,787 nonwhite population in these two census tracts comprised 30 per cent of the city's total nonwhite population. Negroes were 95 per cent of the city's total 1940 nonwhite population, thus:

1940 CENSUS - CITY OF MILWAUKEE

	Number	Per cent of total city
Negro	8,821	1.5%
Other colored	474	.1
Total nonwhite	9,295	1.6
White	578,177	98.4
Total	587,472	100.0

For further details, see page 35.

School Census

The Board of School Directors has a house-to-house census taken each June of the children 4 to 19 inclusive years of age. This includes children who attend public, private and parochial schools, and also includes children who are employed, unemployed or in the military service.

The number of children living in the Negro Community (that is, in the four census tracts bounded by W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets) is reported to have increased 10.3 per cent, 1945 over 1939. In the seven census tract area (W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets) a 2.6 per cent increase is reported. This compares with a 4.0 per cent decrease for the city as a whole. See page 36.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE CHILDREN AGE 4 TO 19 INCLUSIVE
Source: Census taken by Milwaukee Board of School Directors

Year	Negro Community W. Brown; W. Juneau N. 3rd; N. 12th (Tracts 20, 21, 29, 30)	Northern Near-Downtown W. Wright; W. Kilbourn; N. 3rd; N. 12th (Tracts 19, 20, 21, 30, 35, 36, 29)	Total City
1939	2,903	6,503	130,705
1940	2,918	6,260	130,330
1941	2,892	6,191	127,161
1942	3,056	6,313	126,026
1943	3,355	6,979	128,116
1944	3,076	6,502	125,437
1945	3,202	6,673	125,519
Percentage change			
1945 over 1939	+10.3%	+ 2.6%	-4.0
1945 over 1940	+11.1	+ 8.0	-3.6
U. S. Census April 1940 - age 5 to 19 inclusive	3,038	6,517	132,786

Chapter II

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Segregation

The city of Milwaukee was the home of 95.3 per cent of the 9,755 nonwhite persons reported by the 1940 census to be living in Metropolitan Milwaukee (all of Milwaukee County and part of Waukesha County).

The 1940 census reported three-fourths (78.2) of the city's Negroes to be living in the 74 blocks bounded by W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets which comprise census tracts 20, 21, 29 and 30; (that is, 6,901 Negroes were living in these blocks of the city's total 8,821 Negro population). In this area half of the population (52.8%) were reported to be Negro by the 1940 census.

In the blocks comprising the northern near-downtown district there lived 92.6% of Milwaukee's Negro population according to the 1940 census. This is the area bounded by W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets. Less than one-third (29.6%) of the population of this larger district was Negro in 1940.

The special census taken in 1945 by the Milwaukee Health Department of the 43 blocks bounded by W. Galena, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets reported that the population had changed from half nonwhite and half white, to two-thirds nonwhite and one-third white. It reported a 16.2% decrease in the white population, a 43.2 per cent increase in the nonwhite, and an overall increase of 16.6%.

Segregation—Milwaukee and Other Cities

The book entitled: "The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities", prepared by Homer Hoyt for the Federal Housing Administration (1939), Part I, Chapter V) contains the most comprehensive analysis to date of the racial patterns which occur in the development of cities.

On the basis of data tabulated by blocks for the first sixty-four cities in which federal Real Property Inventories were made in 1934, the conclusion was reached that "The degree of nonwhite concentration in any city increases directly with the number and proportion of nonwhite persons in the population. Either a large nonwhite population in absolute number or a high proportion of nonwhite persons in the total population is necessary to produce concentrated nonwhite areas." ^{1/}

Mr. Hoyt's study states that southern cities which have an average of 37% of their populations nonwhite in 1934 had an average of 42% of the nonwhite population living in blocks which consist entirely of nonwhite residents. (The U. S. census did not report any block in Milwaukee as being occupied entirely by nonwhite persons.) Another 33.6% of the nonwhite population lived in blocks of 50 to 99% nonwhite occupancy. That is,

^{1/} Richard Sterner, The Negro's Share, 1943, page 204.

three-fourths of the nonwhite population in these southern cities (including Charleston, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Atlanta) lived in blocks which had 50% or more of the population nonwhite.

The City of Milwaukee was not included in the Hoyt survey. We have computed the data based on the 1940 census which reported the dwelling units in each block occupied by nonwhite households. Almost half (40%) of the City of Milwaukee's nonwhite households lived in blocks which had 75% or more nonwhite occupancy. Another one-third lived in blocks which had from 50 to 75% nonwhite occupancy.

The segregation in Milwaukee is therefore much greater than in Minneapolis, for example, which had about the same proportion of its population nonwhite in 1940. The Minneapolis data for 1934 reported that only 17.1% of the nonwhite population lived in blocks which were 50% or more nonwhite occupancy.

DEGREE OF SEGREGATION IN CITIES

Source: Homer Hoyt "The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities." 1939. Pages 66-67

Cities	% of Nonwhite in Total Population 1934	% Distribution of Nonwhite Population in Blocks				Total
		Less than 10% Non-white	10-49% Non-white	50-99% Non-white	100% Non-white	
Birmingham, Ala.	40.2%	10.8%	12.7%	28.8%	47.7%	100.0%
Atlanta, Ga.	35.2	17.0	12.8	22.9	47.3	100.0
Washington, D.C.	27.8	2.5	31.1	66.4		100.0
Indianapolis, Ind.	11.8	24.9	23.1	26.1	25.9	100.0
Cleveland, Ohio	8.4	40.0	17.2	40.4	2.4	100.0
Chicago, Ill.	6.7	4.9	4.7	90.4		100.0
Seattle, Wash.	2.3	37.1	42.1	18.1	2.7	100.0
Providence, R.I.	2.2	41.8	47.3	10.3	.6	100.0
MILWAUKEE, WIS. 1/	1.6	1.4	23.3	75.3		100.0
Minneapolis, Minn.	.7	60.3	22.6	16.0	1.1	100.0

Increasing Segregation Here

Based on the comparison of the 1940 census with the 1945 census taken by the Milwaukee Health Department in 43 blocks bounded by W. Galena, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets (census tracts 20 and 21), it would seem that segregation is becoming more concentrated here. Whereas blocks in this area with three-fourths or more nonwhite occupancy accounted for 75.4% of the households in 1940, in 1945 there were 80.4% of the nonwhite population in blocks of three-fourths or more nonwhite occupancy.

Race Restrictive Covenants

Mr. George Brawley, a Milwaukee attorney, has recently completed a study of the race restrictive covenants contained in plats filed with the

1/ Data computed by Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee based on nonwhite households as reported in the 1940 census.

Register of Deeds office of Milwaukee County. He estimates that 90% of subdivisions which have been platted in the City of Milwaukee since 1910 contain some type of covenant which has the effect of prohibiting the sale of the property to Negroes.

He states that in other parts of the city there are "gentlemen's agreements" not to sell or rent property to Negroes except within the area bounded by W. North, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets.

Richard Sterner states in his book, "The Negro's Share", page 209: "Current trends appear to be leading toward more rigid segregation than in the past. Not only are the formal restrictions which have been upheld by the courts apparently increasing but also housing developments resulting from public planning are organized for Negroes or whites separately."

In Chicago, it has been estimated that 80 per cent of the city is covered by restrictive compact or covenants for enforcing segregation. 1/

Population Density

Sixth and Tenth Ward Study: The aforementioned study of the Housing Survey in the Sixth and Tenth Wards made in July of 1944 by the Milwaukee Board of Public Land Commissioners states (page 3):

"One of the most interesting results of this survey is in correcting the wrong conception of the density of this area. Actually the number of families per acre is lower in the Sixth and Tenth Wards than in any of the older sections of the city. This condition exists because there are numerous unused lots scattered thru the area and because of the amount of non-residential usage. In most of the residential blocks near Wisconsin Avenue and east of 27th Street the density per acre runs from 30 to 150 families per acre. The average for the area is 28.3.

"The chart shows the families per net acre of living area. In other words, the non-residential use was deducted before the densities were calculated."

Negro District (Tracts 20, 21, 29, 30): The families per net acre of living area as computed by the Board of Public Land Commissioners for the Negro District of the above study shows that 38 of the 74 blocks have densities of less than 30 families per acre, 35 are between 30 and 50 and the highest density is one block with 51.

Overcrowding

The Board of Public Land Commissioners' study of the Sixth and Tenth Wards states on page 1:

"Both the U. S. census and the Real Property Survey conclude that overcrowding within a residence occurs when there are more than 1.5 persons per room. The chart shows the per cent of dwelling in each block that have

1/ "Iron Ring in Housing", The Crisis, Vol. 47, July 1940, p. 205.

overcrowded conditions.

Average % of overcrowding for area = 4.11
Average % of overcrowding for city = 3.53

"Fourteen census tracts in other parts of the city show more overcrowding than any tract in this area."

Crime

The Milwaukee Police Department has tabulated their arrests for the years 1942, 1943 and 1944 according to race. The detailed figures are tabulated on pages 55 and 56. ✓

Arrest statistics are not available by census tracts, or by precinct districts.

Juveniles: The Police Department defines "juveniles" as persons under 18 years of age. The 1940 census reports 92,975 children between the ages of 10 to 19 inclusive. Negro children in this age group total 1,327 or 1.4% of the city's total children.

During the three-year period Negro children averaged 5.4% of the total juvenile arrests.

The number of arrests per 1,000 children (10 years to 19 inclusive) was nearly four times greater among Negroes than the city as a whole—that is, 263 compared with 70. }

The number of arrests, 1942 compared with 1944, showed a 37 per cent increase for Negro children compared with an 8.8 per cent increase for the city.

The arrest of Negro children on robbery, aggravated assault and burglary charges accounted for 8.6% of juveniles on these charges in the City of Milwaukee.

Adult: Negroes comprised 3.4 per cent of the adult persons arrested on all charges in the City of Milwaukee. They were 7.5% of the arrests on all charges excluding traffic violations.

For the serious offenses of murder, non-negligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary, Negroes accounted for 24.4% of the total arrests during the three-year period. The number of Negroes arrested in 1944 on these charges showed a 32% decrease over 1942, which was practically the same as the 33% decrease for the city's total arrests for the same offenses.

Negroes accounted for 53.8 per cent of those arrested for prostitution and vice during the three years. The number of these cases among Negroes was 67 in 1942 and 69 in 1944 compared with 125 and 123 for the city as a whole.

Negroes constituted one-half (53.3%) of the persons arrested for gambling during this period.

The number of arrests, exclusive of traffic violations, increased 21.5% among Negroes, 1944 compared with 1942; and decreased 8.8 per cent for the city as a whole. If traffic violations are included, the Negroes arrested increased 36.6% compared with a 14.1% decrease for the whole city.

The report for the number of juvenile arrests in 1945 indicates a 3.1% decrease over 1944 and a 3.0% increase for adult arrests exclusive of traffic offenses.

Juvenile and Adult

The number of adults and juveniles arrested per 1,000 population was as follows:

		1941	1942	1943	Average
Population estimate (Source: Milwaukee Health Department)	Negro	9,000	9,000	10,000	
	City	600,000	602,000	602,000	
Total arrests (adult and juvenile) per 1,000 population	Negro	225	284	277	263
	City	124	108	109	113
Total arrests excluding traffic violations	Negro	150	172	168	164
	City	36	36	34	35

It will be seen that the number of arrests for the city as a whole, exclusive of traffic violations, remained almost constant in the three years. If it is assumed that the Negro rate also remained constant at 150 per 1,000 population, then the population would have been as follows:

	Population	Arrests	Rate per 1,000 Pop.
1940	8,800		
1942	9,000	1,350	150
1943	10,340	1,551	150
1944	11,200	1,680	150
% Increase 1944-1942	+25%	+25%	

Taverns

There were 178 taverns (Class B license) operating in the Sixth Ward as of November of 1945. This was one tavern for each 134 people living in the Sixth Ward compared with one tavern for each 272 persons in the city as a whole. 1/ To state the situation another way, the Sixth Ward with 4.1% of the city's population (1940 census) had 8.2% of the total number of taverns, or twice as many taverns per 100 population as the average for the city. A table of the number of taverns in each ward is submitted on page 57.

Economic Status

1934 Depression: The Federal government published in June of 1937 a study entitled: "Urban Workers on Relief in 79 Cities". The survey analyzed the situation as of May 1934 which was just after the CWA program had been discontinued, and when the FERA was getting under way.

Milwaukee was reported to have 13% of its population in receipt of public assistance at this time. Of the 19 cities with populations over 300,000 for which information was available, 11 had a larger proportion of their populations in receipt of general relief and 7 had a smaller proportion on the relief rolls.

Based on the 1930 census, 1.3% of Milwaukee's population were Negroes, but were 6.3% of the total persons receiving relief in 1934, according to this study.

1945 Experience: The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin reports that the number of wage earners employed in the city of Milwaukee manufacturing industries expanded from an average of 75,000 in 1938 to 144,775 in 1943—or almost doubled (+93%). It is known, of course, that employes from all types of relatively low paid occupations left their former employment to enter the employ of manufacturing industries. The total labor force for localities is not available, but the non-agricultural labor force of the country was at an all time peak of 39,876,000 in July of 1943, and Milwaukee probably shared in this condition.

1935 and 1945—Depression; Prosperity: The frequently repeated statement that Negroes are the last to be employed in times of prosperity and the first to be laid off when employment is contracting—seems to

1/ Chapter 176.05 (21) of the Wisconsin Statutes (enacted by Chapter 397, Laws of 1939) provides that: "No governing body of any town, village or city shall issue more than one retail 'Class B' liquor license for each five hundred inhabitants or fraction thereof, except that if a greater number of such licenses have been granted, issued or in force, in such town, village or city at the time of the taking effect of this subsection, than would be permissible under said limitation, such town board, village board or common council may grant and issue such licenses equal in number to those granted, issued, and in force on the taking effect of this subsection,..."

be borne out in the meager data which is available for Milwaukee. The Milwaukee Department of Public Assistance reports its case loads by wards. In 1935 and also in 1945 the Sixth Ward had the highest proportion of any ward's population in receipt of general relief in the City of Milwaukee, that is an average of 30% of the Sixth Ward population were in receipt of general relief in 1935 compared with 14.4% for the city as a whole. In 1945 an average of 1.2% of the Sixth Ward population received general relief compared with .3% for the city as a whole. See tabulation on page 58.

That is, in 1935 the Sixth Ward represented 4.6% of the city's population and accounted for 9.6% of the persons on relief. But in 1945 this district represented 4.1% of the city's population and accounted for 15.9% of the persons in receipt of general relief.

In bad times the disproportionate amount of unemployment among Sixth Ward residents is indicated by the fact that the percentage of people in receipt of general relief was twice its population percentage: on relief 9.6% of the city's total; population 4.6% of the city's total. But in 1945—the prosperous time—unemployment or other causes of poverty resulted in an even greater disproportionate number in receipt of general relief. The percentage in receipt of general relief was 15.9% of the city's total which was FOUR TIMES its 4.1% of the city's total population.

Unemployment: The 1940 census reported 51.2% of the Negro labor force in the City of Milwaukee as unemployed compared with 17.3% unemployed in the white labor force. For details see page 59.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE LABOR FORCE IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE: 1940

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, The Labor Force, Third Series, Table 4

Employment Status	TOTAL CITY		MALES		FEMALES	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
In labor force	3,933	254,099	2,818	183,106	1,115	70,993
Employed	48.8%	82.7%	49.0%	81.0%	48.3%	87.1%
On emergency work (WPA, etc.)	21.4	5.5	21.6	6.2	20.9	3.5
Experienced workers seeking work	26.5	9.3	26.8	10.7	25.9	5.8
New workers seeking work	3.2	2.5	2.5	2.1	4.8	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Occupation—1940 Census: The 1940 census reported the occupation of employed males as "laborer, janitor or porter" in the City of Milwaukee for 47% of all employed Negro men compared with 8% of all employed white men.

Similarly, the occupation of employed females was reported as "laborers, domestics or charwomen" in the City of Milwaukee for 49% of all Negro employed women compared with 12% of all white employed women.

The data are presented in detail on page 60.

cd 76oms

Composition of Family--1940 Census: In the City of Milwaukee as a whole the head of the family, the wife and children are 83.4% of the total household members. Other relatives are 7.2% of the household, lodgers 3.8%, servants .5%. See page 61.

Among Milwaukee's Negro families the head of the family, the wife and children are only 73.5% of the household members. Other relatives are 9.8% of the household, lodgers 16.2%, and servants .5%.

Illegitimacy

A study was recently made under the supervision of the Milwaukee Health Department, Division of Vital Statistics, which correlates housing conditions based on overcrowding, need of major repairs and rental values with the total live birth rate and the illegitimate birth rates. The housing conditions index was prepared by Dr. Gerald F. Burgardt, former Deputy Commissioner of Health, from the 1940 housing census data reported by census tracts. The number of living births are for the year 1941.

It will be seen in the following tabulation that the illegitimacy rate increases in each group as housing conditions worsen until the "bad" housing area illegitimacy rate is 8 times greater than in the "very good" and "good" areas of the city.

CITY OF MILWAUKEE--PER CENT OF 1941 LIVE BIRTHS WHICH ARE ILLEGITIMATE

Housing Score	Population	Total Live Births	Illegitimate Births	Per cent total births which are illegitimate
Group I. Very Good	39,207	510	5	.98%
Group II. Good	120,441	1,913	19	.99
Group III. Fair	175,138	2,952	52	1.76
Group IV. Below Average	184,878	3,112	84	2.79
Group V. Poor	57,808	901	40	4.44
Group VI. Bad	9,982	159	13	8.18
Total	587,454	9,547	213	2.2

Illegitimacy Northern Near-downtown: The only census tracts in the entire city which had more than 10 per cent of their total births reported as illegitimate were the four tracts in the center of the northern near-downtown area, namely tracts 20, 21, 29, and 30. In this area 27% of the population are reported by Dr. Burgardt to be living in bad housing conditions, 60.6% in poor housing conditions, and 12.7% in below average conditions.

Negro: The number of illegitimate births among Milwaukee's Negroes is available for the last six years (1940 to 1945 inclusive). During this period an average of 17.5% of the live births are reported to be

illegitimate for Negroes, compared with 2.7% for the city as a whole. Negroes accounted for 13.1% of the city's illegitimate births.

Age of Residential Structures

Oldest Part of the City: Almost all of the northern near-downtown district was part of the original seven square miles which were incorporated as the City of Milwaukee in 1846. The city now has 44 square miles. It is not surprising, therefore, that over two-thirds (68.3%) of the residential structures in this oldest part of the city have been built over 50 years ago compared with less than one-third (28.9%) for the city as a whole.

These data are quoted from the 1939 Real Property Inventory and agree very well with the 1940 Housing Census, although one is reported on the basis of dwelling units and the other on residential structures. See page 62.

New Construction: Practically no residences have been constructed in the northern near-downtown district in the LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. The Real Property Inventory reported that 1.5% of the residential structures-- 54 out of 3,509--have been built since 1920. In the city as a whole nearly one-third (29.5%) of the residential structures have been built since 1920.

The 232 dwelling units now being built by the Milwaukee Housing Authority to provide homes for low-income families is equal to 3.1% of the 7,470 dwelling units now in the near-downtown district (Bright, Kilbourn, Third, Twelfth).

The concentration of Milwaukee's largest group of nonwhite population in the oldest section of the city is characteristic of all of the cities of this country. (Sterner, page 204).

Milwaukee Compared with Other Cities: The 1940 Housing Census reported that 22.1% of the City of Milwaukee's dwelling units were in need of major repairs or lacked a private bath. Of the 25 largest United States cities, 13 had a worse record in this respect than Milwaukee and 11 had a better record. Milwaukee was therefore somewhat better than "average". See page 63.

Relation of Deterioration to Age: It does not necessarily follow that because a residential structure is old, say over 50 years, that it is in bad physical condition. For example, a study of two areas of similar size within four blocks of one another in Milwaukee's northern residential district--one the nonwhite district (W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th) and the other a white district just four blocks away (W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 16th, N. 24th) was made from the 1939 Real Property Inventory. The age of residential structures was almost the same in both areas, involving the fact that more than two-thirds were over 50 years old. However, 50.6% of the residential structures of the white district was reported as being in "good" condition and only 6.7% as needing major repairs or "unfit for use". The situation was almost exactly opposite in the nonwhite district: only 7.0% were reported as in "good" condition, and 58.7% were in need of major repairs or "unfit for use". See pages 65 and 66.

Negro Occupied Residences: The 1940 Housing Census does not analyze the physical condition of dwellings occupied by Negroes in the City of Milwaukee because the number of Negroes here was not considered large enough to be included in the Federal publication entitled: "Characteristics of Nonwhite Population by Race: 1943".

The 1939 Real Property Inventory does not report the physical condition of dwellings occupied by Negroes specifically. However, Sterner in his book "The Negro's Share", presents previously unpublished data from the 1939 Real Property Inventory which show that while Negroes were 1.5% of Milwaukee's population, they occupied HALF of the city's dwellings designated as "unfit for use". These data follow:

1. Negroes occupied--

1. 5% of all the dwelling units in the city of Milwaukee; but

Negroes occupied--

10.1% of the city's total dwellings in need of major repair; and

Negroes occupied--

51.7% of the city's total number of dwellings UNFIT FOR USE according to the 1939 Real Property Inventory.

2. 67.7% of the dwelling units occupied by Negroes in the City of Milwaukee were in need of major repairs or were unfit for use, compared with 6.5% of the dwelling units occupied by the city's white population. It will be seen in the following tabulation that a far greater proportion of Milwaukee's Negroes live in houses in need of major repair or unfit for use than any of the other four large cities for which the information is available, namely, Buffalo, Detroit, Philadelphia and Chicago.

PERCENTAGE OF DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY NEGRO AND WHITE IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIRS OR UNFIT FOR USE

Source: Unpublished Tabulations of the Real Property Inventory

City	Occupied by	
	Negro	White
City of Milwaukee	67.7%	6.5%
Buffalo	36.2	8.9
Detroit	33.7	6.8
Philadelphia	22.9	3.5
Chicago (Woodlawn Area)	5.6	2.1

Northern Near Downtown District: In that part of the northern near-downtown district which we refer to here as "Negro" (census tracts 20, 21, 29 and 30), although it was reported in 1940 to be half Negro and half white, 41.3% of the dwellings were classified as "good" or "need minor repairs".

Wisconsin Historic

The remaining 58.7% were reported as "need major repairs" or "unfit for use". (1939 Real Property Inventory).

If the entire northern near-downtown district is considered—which was reported in 1940 to be one-third Negro and two-thirds white—58.8% of the dwellings fall in the first group of "good" or "need minor repairs" and 41.2% as "need major repairs" or "unfit for use". In other words, the expansion of the area considered to the north and south (by adding census tracts 35 and 36 to the north, and census tract 19 to the south) has eliminated the predominance of the Negro and the figures indicating the physical condition of dwellings are EXACTLY REVERSED.

Note in the following tabulation that for the city as a whole 92.4% of the dwelling units are reported to be "good" or "need minor repairs":

CONDITION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE
Source: 1939 Real Property Inventory

Classification	Negro Community Tracts #20,21, 29,30	Northern Near-downtown Tracts 19,20,21, 29,30,35,36	Total City
Good	7.0%	21.2%	60.1%
Need minor repairs	34.3	37.6	32.3
Need major repairs	41.8	31.7	6.9
Unfit for use	16.9	9.5	.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Home Ownership

Comparative Rank Among Large Cities: One-third (32.2%) of Milwaukee's homes were occupied by their owners in 1940 according to the federal Housing Census. Thirteen of the 25 largest United States cities had a greater proportion of owner occupied homes than Milwaukee, and 11 had less. Milwaukee was therefore a little less than "average" in this respect. See tabulations on pages 63 and 64.

Value of Homes--Nonwhite: The 1940 census reported that only 157, or 5.9% of Milwaukee's nonwhite families occupied their own homes compared with 32.6% among Milwaukee's white families. The average value of the dwelling was \$2,762 among nonwhite owners; or 38% less than the \$4,485 value of homes occupied by white owners. See page 67.

Negro Home Owners: Of the 2,488 dwellings occupied by Negroes in 1940, only 141, or 5.7% were owner occupied.

Northern Near-downtown District: Both the federal Housing Census and the 1939 Real Property Inventory reported that there was little home ownership in the northern near-downtown district as a whole—and the home ownership which did exist was largely among the white families. Thus, in the four

census tracts (W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, N. 12th) only 4.4% of the nonwhite occupied dwellings were occupied by their owner (1940 U. S. census) as compared with 15.8% among the white families. In the seven census tracts (W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, N. 12th) the corresponding figures were 4.9% for nonwhite and 16.3% for white.

1945 Shows Increase in Ownership: The Milwaukee Health Department 1945 survey of the 43 blocks bounded by W. Galena, W. Juneau, N. 3rd and N. 12th Streets reports that 11.7% of the dwellings were owner occupied. The 1940 census had reported that 8.5% of the homes in these two census tracts (20 and 21) had been owner occupied.

Rent

As an Indication of "Blight": The Milwaukee Board of Public Land Commissioners' Housing Survey of the Sixth and Tenth Wards states on page 2: "Most of the studies on blight have shown that a relationship exists between the degree of low rent and the degree of blight. It will be found that the average rent for Milwaukee in a residential neighborhood without any form of blight is around \$ 50 a month..."

Less than \$25 Rent: Facts of the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the ratio of rental payments to total family expenditures increases steadily from about one-fifth for the middle income group to over one-third for the low-income families. Estimating one-fifth of income for rent, a \$25 monthly rental would indicate a \$1500 annual income. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that a working man's family of four individuals needed \$1,414 in March of 1941 to provide for his family in Milwaukee on a "maintenance level" as contrasted with a "relief level". The corresponding figure for March 1943 was \$1,672.

In view of these figures a rental of less than \$ 25 is certainly an index of poverty. A detailed analysis of rents paid by white and nonwhite tenants is shown on pages 68 and 69. The following tabulation shows the percentage of various groups which were reported by the 1940 census as paying LESS THAN \$25 monthly rental in the City of Milwaukee:

**ANALYSIS OF GROUPS PAYING LESS THAN \$25 RENT PER MONTH
IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE: 1940 CENSUS
CONTRACT OR MONTHLY RENT OF TENANT OCCUPIED DWELLINGS**

	% of Total Group Paying less than \$25 Rent	Average Rent
City as a whole	32.1%	\$ 30.32
Nonwhite in the City of Milwaukee	71.9	20.04
Negroes in the City of Milwaukee	72.0	
W. Brown, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, N. 12th	69.0	20.88
Nonwhite	73.4	
White	62.1	
W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, N. 12th	60.6	22.27
Nonwhite	73.1	
White	53.7	

Other Low Rent Areas: The average (median) contract or estimated rent in each of the seven census tracts in the northern near-downtown district was less than \$25 per month according to the 1940 census. The average rent was less than \$25 in only 23 of the city's 153 census tracts. These low-rent areas were equally divided between the city's area which is north of the Menomonee valley (12 census tracts), and the area which is south of the valley (11 census tracts).

1945 Rentals: The 1945 survey of the Milwaukee Health Department of the 43 blocks bounded by W. Galena, W. Juneau, N. 3rd, and N. 12th Streets, obtained the contract rents paid by the tenants of this area. It was found that whereas 76.0% of the tenants had paid a contract rent of less than \$25, this percentage had been reduced to 68% in 1945. It appears that rentals must have been raised during the period between April of 1940 and March 1, 1942, the level at which rents were stabilized here.

Do Nonwhite Pay More? One-third of the dwelling units were scored as "slum" in the 1945 survey of the Milwaukee Health Department by the use of the scoring procedure prepared by the American Public Health Association.

In the "slum" area which presumably was the same type of deteriorated dwellings, a rental of less than \$15 was paid by only one-third of the non-white occupants, compared with two-thirds of the white occupants.

Zoning Problem

Bad Living in Mixed Land Use Areas: The northern half (approximately 43%) of the northern near-downtown district under discussion (W. Wright, W. Kilbourn, N. 3rd, N. 12th Streets) is zoned for a high population density residential district. The southern half is zoned as a commercial and light manufacturing district. In December 1943 approximately twenty blocks were rezoned from a commercial and light manufacturing area to residential.

Only a small part of the land still zoned for commercial and light manufacturing in this district is actually used for that purpose. However, when land is zoned for commercial and light manufacturing, the price of that land is inflated by the speculative element since it is the potential site of a factory building or apartment house. It follows that there is little incentive to maintain the residential structures of this area in good condition. The study of the Board of Public Land Commissioners (July of 1944) found that the worst living conditions existed in the blocks zoned for commercial and light manufacturing, but used for residential purposes.

Commercial and light manufacturing areas are in the "fire district" which requires all buildings to be of fireproof construction. Residences and apartments of fireproof construction can be built in commercial and light manufacturing districts, but this is not likely because factories could be constructed on adjacent lots.