

THE NEGRO AND HIS HOME

in Minnesota

new



A REPORT TO GOVERNOR LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL

BY

THE GOVERNOR'S INTERRACIAL COMMISSION
OF MINNESOTA

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This is the third of a series of reports to the Governor on various racial situations which may affect the public peace in Minnesota during the post-war years.

THE GOVERNOR'S INTERRACIAL COMMISSION



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Secretary

An Introduction

by

**Governor Luther W. Youngdahl
of Minnesota**

This is the third in a series of reports made by the Governor's Interracial Commission in studying racial and religious problems which exist in Minnesota.

Prejudice is the harvest when seeds of misunderstanding are sown in the hearts and minds of men. The Commission endeavors to help destroy these dangerous seeds by presenting true facts. Towards this end the report objectively sets forth the situation of the Negro and his home in this state.

The housing shortage is one of the gravest problems to be faced in these crucial post-war days. We dare not underestimate the seriousness of its effects. Poor, insufficient housing brings in its wake social defects which endanger the very fabric of our civilization. Our basic institution, the family, is impaired by this failure to provide adequate housing for all, Negro and white family alike.

The Legislature was appreciative of this need for better housing and has enacted a law which will assist municipalities in redeveloping blighted city areas and in encouraging private industry to replace slums with attractive, healthful homes and other buildings. The law further enables Minnesota municipalities to take advantage of federal funds made available for public housing of low-income groups. These provisions should be of benefit to all citizens.

As the preface to this report indicates, the burden of finding a decent home is not a new one for the Negro. He knew its heartache and insecurity before the war and will continue to do so, unless we correct certain attitudes of prejudice. We cannot be satisfied that the housing situation has been relieved until the segregation and inferior housing of our Negro citizens

has been corrected. Basic American principles are at stake in this question.

I believe that the approach of this report is constructive. It shows that there is not absolute segregation and that the Negro's plight is not as bad as in many other states. But it also indicates that white citizens of Minnesota are guilty of prejudice in generally restricting the Negro in his choice and location of a home. And until these wrongs have been put right we can have no cause for self-satisfaction on this score. There are no "second class citizenship ratings" in America and no group of citizens deserves restriction to second class housing.

This study is comprehensive and goes as far as to inquire into what goes on in the mind of the white man. We find, sadly, that 60 per cent of our white people favor segregation. And yet there is also cause for hope in the examples of Negro and white families, which are living harmoniously side by side in some neighborhoods. There is proof that, with understanding, brotherhood really can be achieved.

I commend this report to the reading of all citizens. It is hoped that it will awaken a new spirit and understanding that will give our Negro citizen a fair opportunity to a home on the same basis as that of other citizens. And I wish to express my gratitude to the members of the Commission and its chairman, the Reverend Francis J. Gilligan, for the time and energy devoted to this work.

Letter of Transmittal

April 22, 1947

The Honorable Luther W. Youngdahl
Governor of Minnesota
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Dear Governor Youngdahl:

Under the title, *The Negro and His Home in Minnesota*, the Governor's Interracial Commission submits to you a report on the conditions of the housing which Negroes occupy within the state. Besides the actual status of the housing, an effort was made to examine related factors, such as the attitude of white persons, and devices, such as residential restrictive covenants.

In addition to the survey which the Commission conducted and the reports of an investigator, information was secured from private agencies. Specifically such sources are acknowledged throughout the text. The report was written for the Commission by the chairman in consultation with an advisory committee composed of Major Samuel L. Ransom, Mr. Henry Thomas, and Mr. S. Vincent Owens.

Within the state, as across the nation, the Negro encounters discriminatory practices. The most injurious was studied in an earlier report, *The Negro Worker in Minnesota*. Here an attempt is made to survey an almost equally important evil.

Basic to all such practices are ignorance and false information. The Commission hopes that this document may be a means for correcting some of that false information.

Respectfully yours,

Francis J. Gilligan
Chairman
The Governor's Interracial Commission

Preface

At the present time across the United States a considerable number of American citizens are aware of an acute housing shortage. Some families are crowded in with relatives or friends. Some are living in temporary structures, such as quonset huts. Some are living in old houses expensive to heat and keep in repair. Some are living in neighborhoods they dislike. Many are compelled to pay much more for a house than the house is worth.

For most of the white citizens, this condition is temporary. Prior to the second World War, they enjoyed an extensive range in selecting the type of house they wished to purchase or rent. Probably, within five years, that condition will return for the white citizens.

Unfortunately, the hardships from which the white citizens now suffer have been chronic for the Negro citizens. They have stood as permanent scenery about the colored.

The spotlight of public opinion is now focused upon the subject of the housing for white citizens. There will be much discussion and, within a year, substantial action may be taken both by private associations and by federal and state agencies.

Elementary justice demands that equal consideration be given to the condition of the Negro and his home. As a preparation for such action, the Governor's Interracial Commission of the State of Minnesota presents this information about the Negro and His Home in Minnesota.

The material is presented under seven chapter headings:

- I. Where in Minnesota Do the Negroes Live?
- II. Are the Negroes Restricted to Segregated Areas?
- III. What is the Condition of the Negro's House?
- IV. What Does the Negro Pay For His House?
- V. What is the White Minnesotan's Attitude Toward the Negro's Residence?
- VI. What Practices Perpetuate Segregation of the Negro?
- VII. The Future and the Negro's Home.

Non-segregated housing—Roblyn Ave., St. Paul. House on left owned by Negro.



Chapter I

WHERE IN MINNESOTA DO THE NEGROES LIVE?

The Early Houses

With the exception of a few trappers and hunters, the first Negroes to reside in this territory were slaves that army officers had brought with them when assigned to the strategic post at Fort Snelling. They lived either in the same dwellings with the officers' families or in cabins on the post. Dred Scott, as a slave, lived in one of those cabins.

During the Civil War, a group of Negroes gathered at Jefferson City and St. Louis, Missouri, and migrated to Minnesota. They were not kindly received by white workers who called them "contraband of war." Because of the hostility, some were first quartered at Fort Snelling and then distributed throughout the state, especially in towns on the river. Mrs. Emma Mosby, for example, now residing at 320 West Central Avenue, St. Paul, relates that her parents landed at Fort Snelling in 1863, were branded as contraband, and moved to Eden Prairie. Later they returned to St. Paul where she was born in 1870. It is her recollection that at first they could not buy land. They would rent land and build a house and if they decided to move to another location they would hire a house mover. The first Negro that she recalls as having purchased land was a Mr. Moffatt, who purchased a lot at Kent and Sherburne Avenue. Some subsequent immigrants were not even permitted to land at St. Paul and left the boats at other river towns.

These immigrants were followed by other Negroes who had worked on the river boats as porters and cooks. They left the boats and settled in St. Paul and in river towns on the Mississippi, Minnesota, and St. Croix Rivers.

As early as 1869, Negroes were settled in what is now the commercial section of St. Paul. Maurice Jernigan, a barber, lived on Jackson Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets. Robert Stockton lived on Fifth Street between Market and Washington. Henry Moffatt lived on Fourth Street between

Franklin and Exchange. Thomas R. Hickman, a calciminer, lived in the rear of the northwest corner of Twelfth and Cedar Streets. Fielding Combs lived on Cooper Street and then moved to 86 Temperance Street in 1880.

Often these early settlers occupied houses which white families left for better homes. These houses were situated so far back from the graded streets that they were designated as being in the rear of certain numbers or east of certain corners.

According to the older members of the Negro community, it was only about 1890 when a movement was noticeable to restrict Negroes to certain localities. At that time, they were living on Rondo, St. Anthony, and University Avenues, below Dale Street.

In Minneapolis, the Negroes apparently settled near what is now known as Seven Corners and then moved toward the Loop district. Later they moved to North Minneapolis. The last change was to the southern part of the city.

The Twin Cities

The Negroes who had settled in the smaller towns such as Fergus Falls have, with a few exceptions, left those towns and moved to the Twin Cities and Duluth. By the Census of 1940, there were 4,646 in Minneapolis and 4,139 in St. Paul. The officials of the St. Paul and Minneapolis Urban Leagues estimate that there are more than 5,000 Negroes in each of those cities and 12,000 in the state. It is their opinion that the census interviewers have classified light colored Negroes as whites. Their thinking is influenced by daily contact with Negroes seeking employment.

Duluth

In Duluth, there were 314 Negroes according to the 1940 Census, but because of restricted employment the number is shrinking. It is significant that the Negro in Duluth experiences very little residential segregation at the present time. There are few streets upon which there is more than one Negro family.

Rochester

In Rochester, in May, 1946, there were only six Negro families. But some attention should be given to that community because during any one year a considerable number of distinguished Negroes from different parts of the United States go to the Mayo Clinic at Rochester for medical or surgical treatment. The Mayo Clinic itself has not practiced any racial discrimination, but some Negroes have asserted that the better hotels in Rochester, even when they had facilities, have denied accommodations to some Negroes. In fairness, the Commission should state that some few Negroes have stayed at these hotels. But if these allegations are true, the unhappy consequence of the Rochester situation is that some Negroes of national reputation judge the entire state of Minnesota by the practice at Rochester.

There is, on the statute books of Minnesota, a civil rights law which prohibits any discrimination by hotels and restaurants. But in Rochester it may not be very practical since the injured party must assume the burden of securing witnesses and reporting discriminations. Sick persons are in no mood for such activity.

A member of the Commission, in the spring of 1946, went to Rochester to study the local situation. She gathered the impression that, while some Negroes do stay at the better hotels, yet, at times, those hotels do practice discrimination. She found also that three of the Negro families in Rochester operated homes or small hotels for Negro patients.

One of them, a Mrs. Gatewood, had adapted a private house to serve as a convalescent home. It is clean and cheerful and she provides meals. She has operated the home for fourteen years. It is approximately one mile and a half from the Clinic.

There are two other buildings which are known as hotels. They are proximate to one another and are located near the railroad station. One of them is operated by a man who works on the trains running into Rochester. It was the Commission member's opinion that, while on the exterior they had a clean appearance, interiorly they were very unattractive. It seemed

to this representative of the Commission that, because of their distance from the Mayo Clinic, a very considerable hardship was imposed on sick people who had to make trips back and forth, especially to the diet kitchen.

The reputation of the state of Minnesota for fairness across the nation would be aided considerably if the hotels in Rochester would avoid any policies that were even suggestive of racial discrimination.

Chapter II

ARE THE NEGROES RESTRICTED TO SEGREGATED AREAS?

I. The Fact of Segregation

Some persons, because of a common bond, tend to congregate in a specific neighborhood. The immigrants who came here from Europe went to definite sections of the city so that they might be near those speaking their language or observing their customs. Those professing a common religious belief, at times, settled around a church. But much of that grouping was voluntary. The religious person was free to move into any section of the town if he had the money. The immigrant, as he acquired familiarity with the English language and American customs, was free to leave the national district and build where he pleased. Within the better sections of the Twin Cities, there are many persons of Scandinavian, Italian, or Slavic descent whose parents were immigrants. Such grouping was free and departure was free.

Some Negroes prefer to live near other Negroes. That tendency is strengthened by a desire to be near a church or a community house. In such instances the grouping is voluntary.

What Is Segregation?

The practice to which the Negro objects is the compulsion which is exerted to force him to restrict his residence to one section, the Negro section. When the Negro thinks or speaks of segregation, it is compulsory segregation about which he is concerned. It is in that sense that the word is used here.

How Are Negroes Segregated?

In some cities, segregation was attempted by ordinance. The United States Supreme Court, however, has held such ordinances to be unconstitutional. After those ordinances were declared unconstitutional, the legal device more commonly resorted to was that of attaching to a deed a restriction that the property could not be sold or conveyed to a person of

African blood. The validity of such legal instruments will be discussed later in this report.

The involuntary segregation of the Negro also was often achieved by a tacit understanding amongst real estate agents and others who are professionally concerned about the transferral of property. More potent than that policy, however, is the attitude of a considerable number of white persons, who object to the Negro settling where they live.

Threats of violence have also been used against the Negroes to prevent their moving into the better white districts. Such threats have been made, not only in the South, but even in Minnesota. The use of force is well illustrated by an incident that happened in Minneapolis in June, 1931, an excellent summary of which can be found in Calvin F. Schmid's "The Social Saga of Two Cities," published in 1937, by the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies.

An owner, in a residential area in South Minneapolis near 40th Street, moved out of the city leaving the disposal of his property to a real estate agent. He sold it to a Negro, a veteran of World War I. The neighborhood was of the bungalow type where most of the occupants were home owners. There were no Negroes on that street although they lived some blocks away. After the Negro moved in, efforts were made, possibly through a community improvement association, to buy the property from him. The Negro refused to sell.

Then night after night refuse and paint were thrown at the house. Small groups gathered, shouting and urging him to leave. After several weeks, the crowds numbered over 200 a night. Up to that time, the incident had been kept out of the papers but, after it was recorded in the headlines of the papers, crowds literally numbering over 2,000 persons gathered about the property so that it was necessary for the police to stretch a cordon around the dwelling. There was even talk from the crowd of burning the house and hanging the Negro. Ultimately, the feeling subsided but the Negro was forced to move later because no lending agency would renew the mortgage on the property.

Are Whites Segregated?

The objection may be voiced that Negroes are not the only persons segregated, but that many white persons are segregated because of limited monetary income. There are certain sections of the city from which hundreds of white people are barred because they cannot afford the price of a lot or the type of a house which zoning laws or restrictive covenants require; and such segregation of the white group is perpetuated by the government either through zoning ordinances or through restrictive covenants enforced by the courts.

That is true. But there is little parity between a white person thus segregated and the Negro. The white person knows that if he accumulates enough money he can enter one of the better districts. Furthermore, he has access to a large and variable range of districts. His freedom is considerable.

The Negro's lot is different. His freedom is drastically restricted. There are only two or three areas opened to him. He is socially fettered.

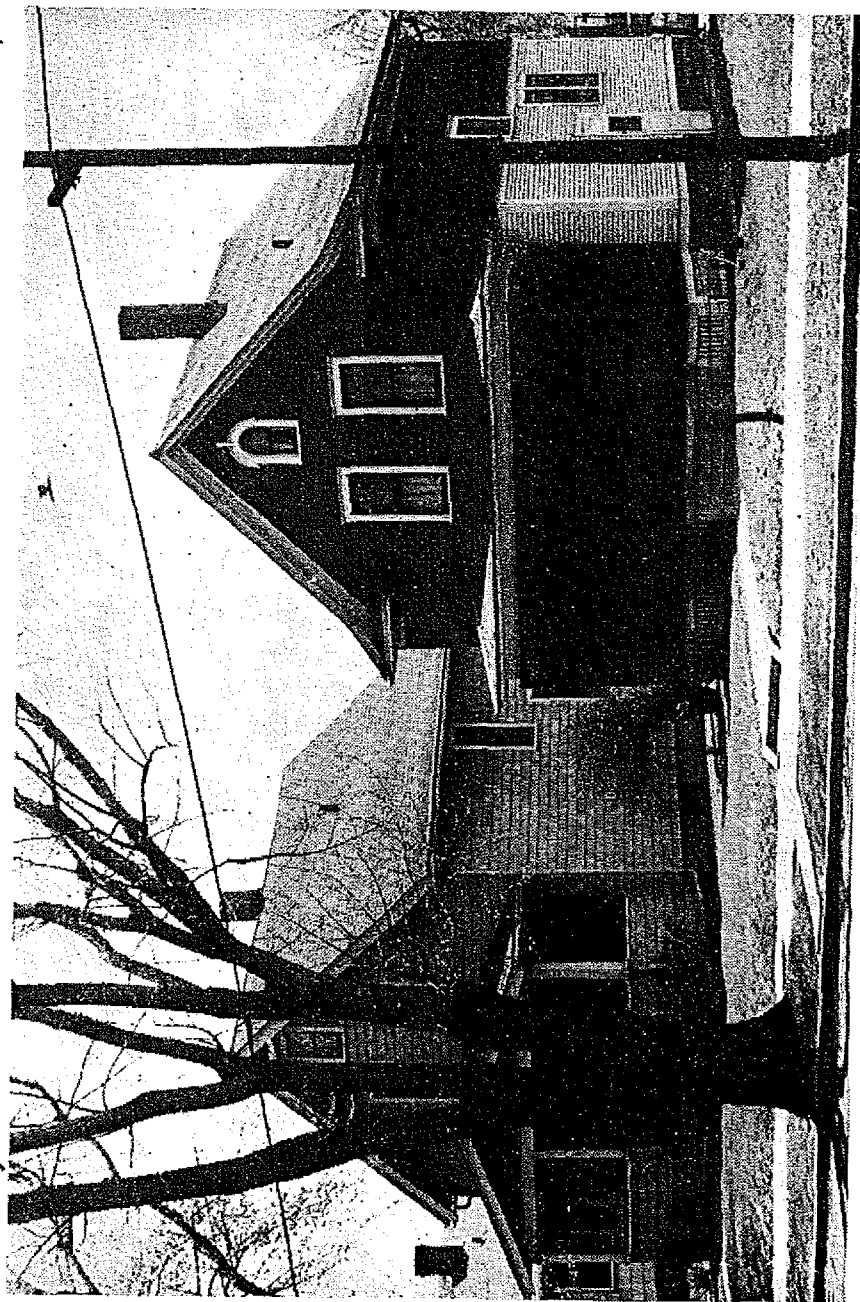
It is ironic that an immigrant can come to these shores and, if he accumulates enough money and some clothes of the current style, he can move into any residential area. The Negro may not, even though his ancestors have been in these cities for two generations; not even if he fought through the recent war and his citizenship came to him by birth.

II. The Extent of Segregation

The Exceptions

In the Twin Cities, the segregation of the Negro is not absolute. It is not such that only Negroes occupy certain blocks, and then at a definite street the Negro district ends, and an exclusively white neighborhood begins. The situations are much more involved.

There are some Negroes who live in neighborhoods in which every other family is a white family. Here are presented the names of some of those Negroes.



Non-segregated housing—St. Clair Ave., St. Paul. House on right owned by Negro.

St. Paul

Mrs. Ada Tobie dwells at 990 Galtier Street and has lived there for 46 years. When her home was built, there were two other houses in the block.

Mr. and Mrs. Clarkson W. Houser live at 1457 Albany Avenue, having acquired the property from his grandfather.

Mr. and Mrs. Owen Howell reside at 1069 Hatch Avenue, and own the house though many of the neighboring whites are renters.

Mrs. Evangeline Jones makes her home at 1390 St. Clair Avenue, and has dwelt there for 30 years.

Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Willis live at 1460 Sherburne Avenue, and have been there for years.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Williams reside at 1559 Roblyn Avenue.

Minneapolis

Mrs. Ellen E. Price has resided at 4055 38th Avenue South for a good number of years.

Mr. J. T. Wardlaw has recently purchased a home at 5717 43rd Avenue South.

Mr. E. L. Lee and family occupy a modern home at 4530 Hiawatha Avenue.

Dr. W. D. Brown and family live at 608 East 14th Street.

Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Moss reside at 3904 46th Avenue South.

For both cities other names could be added. Furthermore, in both cities there are neighborhoods where there are two or three Negro families while all the other families are white.

The Secretary of the St. Paul Urban League estimates that in St. Paul there are over forty families living in such neighborhoods. In St. Paul, for example, Mrs. William Godette has

resided at 852 Albemarle Street for more than 40 years. Mrs. Susie Beasley has lived at 905 Marion Street for more than 30 years. Mr. Lee Washington, 1501 North Western Avenue, has owned a home and land there for 30 years. The Minneapolis Urban League Secretary has furnished the Commission with the names of over fifty such families living in Minneapolis.

The Prevailing Pattern

Despite instances such as those cited, there are, however, definite neighborhoods to which many white persons expect Negroes to be restricted. In the overwhelming number of instances a Negro could not hope to buy or rent outside those areas. It might be noted that in some of the cases mentioned above, the Negroes had been alone on the street for years and then gradually a white neighborhood grew up around them. Extension is usually achieved by Negroes moving across a boulevard or street on a neighboring block which previously had been exclusively white. On some streets there are an equal number of white and Negro families. Indeed, there are few blocks on which every family is colored.

In each city, moreover, there is not just one Negro district. In St. Paul, the heaviest concentration is in the Eighth and Twelfth wards, between Rice and Lexington Avenue and running along Rondo and other parallel streets. But there are Negroes also in the Sixth and First wards in some numbers, as well as in some other sections.

In Minneapolis, there are a greater number of Negro districts than in St. Paul. There are heavy Negro concentrations in two sections of North Minneapolis, and also somewhat smaller ones in South Minneapolis, as well as concentrations at Seven Corners, and a growing group far north in what is now Ward 4, but which until some months ago was designated as Ward 10.

The census of 1930 revealed that both in St. Paul and Minneapolis there was not a single Negro in about 50 per cent of the enumeration districts.

According to a survey of Negro housing in the Twin Cities made in 1946, and which will be described later, about 50 per cent of the Negro dwelling units in Minneapolis and St. Paul are located in predominantly Negro neighborhoods and 17 per cent in mixed neighborhoods.

In summary, this observation may be made. It is true that there are several districts in each city in which a Negro may reside. It is also true that those districts do not have hard and fast lines. Rather they seem to merge slowly into the white districts. Yet, the housing in those districts is older and less attractive, and the Negro usually is restricted to those districts. Unless he is exceptionally daring and resourceful, he may not move into the better residential areas. He is, in effect, segregated to those districts.

The Hope for Housing

Within recent months, a very large and attractive billboard has appeared in Minneapolis carrying a picture of a beautiful house surrounded by trees in a very scenic neighborhood. It carries the caption "A HOME OWNED PLAN THAT MAKES A HOME SO EASY TO OWN." Many white people have looked at it and been stirred by the practical hope that some day they could purchase a home of that type. Negroes, however, looking at it have a feeling of disillusionment. They know that only the older districts are open to them. And they judge the caption might well have read: "FOR WHITES ONLY."

In Duluth, there is practically no segregation in residential areas. The evidence is in the survey made in 1946. There are, however, plenty of other discriminations, especially in regard to employment and civil rights. An effort was made in that city to check every Negro home; seventy-three Negro housing units were visited. The survey indicated that Negroes in Duluth lived, for the most part, in predominantly white neighborhoods. Only 12 per cent of the seventy-three units were reported as situated in neighborhoods in which three or more of the housing units were occupied by Negroes.

Chapter III

WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF THE NEGRO'S HOUSE?

Apart from the question of the extent of segregation, the query might be proposed: What is the condition of the housing which Negroes occupy in Minnesota?

I. Sources of Information

The most perfect method of securing information for answering that question would have been a complete survey by which every house in the Twin Cities would have been visited and checked. The Commission judged that it lacked the resources for such a complete investigation.

Information By Sampling

Other agencies, such as the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, have obtained satisfactory information by scientifically sampling only a small percentage of dwellings. If, in the sampling, the houses are carefully selected and in proper proportions, the results are as reliable as quantitatively complete enumerations.

In the spring of 1946, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made such a sampling survey of all housing in the Twin Cities for the National Housing Agency. Since the Bureau of Labor Statistics had field men in the Twin Cities at the time, it seemed to the Governor's Commission that there would be an advantage if the same personnel would cooperate in making a sample survey of the Negro housing in the Twin Cities.

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs, the Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and Mr. Lester S. Kellogg, of the same department, were receptive to the suggestion and agreed to assist in as far as their own regulations and budgets would permit. Through their office, schedules were drafted similar to those used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. There was an obvious advantage in using uniform schedules.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has further cooperated by taking off its schedules material which could serve for comparison purposes, but which they had not planned to catalogue.

Obviously, the Bureau of Labor Statistics assumed no responsibility for the survey itself, though they did loan to the Commission for five days one of their field men for the purpose of instructing the enumerators and supervising them.

The enumerators used by the Commission were persons who were Negroes and had worked on the Bureau survey.

Technical Procedures

The 1946 survey of all housing conducted by the Bureau covered only five per cent of the housing. Because of the small number of Negroes in the population, a much larger percentage of the Negro homes was scheduled.

The work of editing the schedules and tabulating the information reported was supervised by Miss Thyrza Tyrrell of the Research and Statistics Section of the Division of Social Welfare. Instructions and methods used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics were followed so that the information on Negro housing would be comparable insofar as possible with that reported in the survey of all housing in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. The completed schedules included about 20 per cent of all Negro housing and the tabulated data may be considered to be fairly representative of all Negro housing in the Twin Cities.

In subsequent pages, that survey will be known as the Negro Housing Survey. When possible, the results will be compared with the findings of the survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Both surveys were made in the spring of 1946, and covered only privately financed dwellings. At times, however, comparisons could not be made with the 1946 survey since the Bureau of Labor Statistics did not take from its schedules all the information required. When it seemed helpful, comparisons were also made with the 1940 Census.

II. The Twin Cities

A. The Condition of the Individual Dwelling

A comparison of condition and facilities of dwelling units indicates that fewer Negro housing units were in good condition, and many more lacked one or more standard facilities than was true of all housing units. Only a little over half of all Negro dwelling units were reported as being in good condition with all standard facilities compared with over 70 per cent of all housing units in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

One in every five Negro housing units needed major repairs and lacked one or more standard facilities as against one in every 20 of all housing units:

	Negro Housing Units			
	BLS All Housing Units	Total Reported	Rented Units	Owner- Occupied Units
TOTAL REPORTED	100%	100%	100%	100%
In Good Condition or in Need of Minor Repairs	94	70	54	91
Having All Standard Facilities..	71	52	34	74
Lacking One or More Standard Facilities	23	18	20	17
In Need of Major Repairs.....	6	30	46	9
Having All Standard Facilities..	1	8	12	4
Lacking One or More Standard Facilities	5	22	34	5

Standard facilities include: central heat, electric light, running water in unit, private flush toilet in structure, and private bathtub or shower in structure. Owner-occupied Negro housing units were better than rented units: 74 per cent were in good condition with all facilities as against 34 per cent for the rented units.

B. Standard Facilities

In respect to specific factors the Bureau of Labor Statistics did not take off its schedules individual elements, so there is

nothing that could serve as a basis of comparison. We list here the findings of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Housing Survey:

	Total Reported
Total Reported	100%
Lacks Running Water.....	0
Lacks Flush Toilet.....	1
Flush Toilet Shared.....	10
Lacks Bath or Shower.....	4
Bath or Shower Shared.....	10
Lacks Central Heat.....	32
Lacks Electric Lights.....	0

C. Central Heating

Central heating was the facility most often lacking in the Negro housing units. Only 68.4 per cent of the Negro housing units had central heat compared with 85.0 per cent of all housing units.

D. Age of the Structure

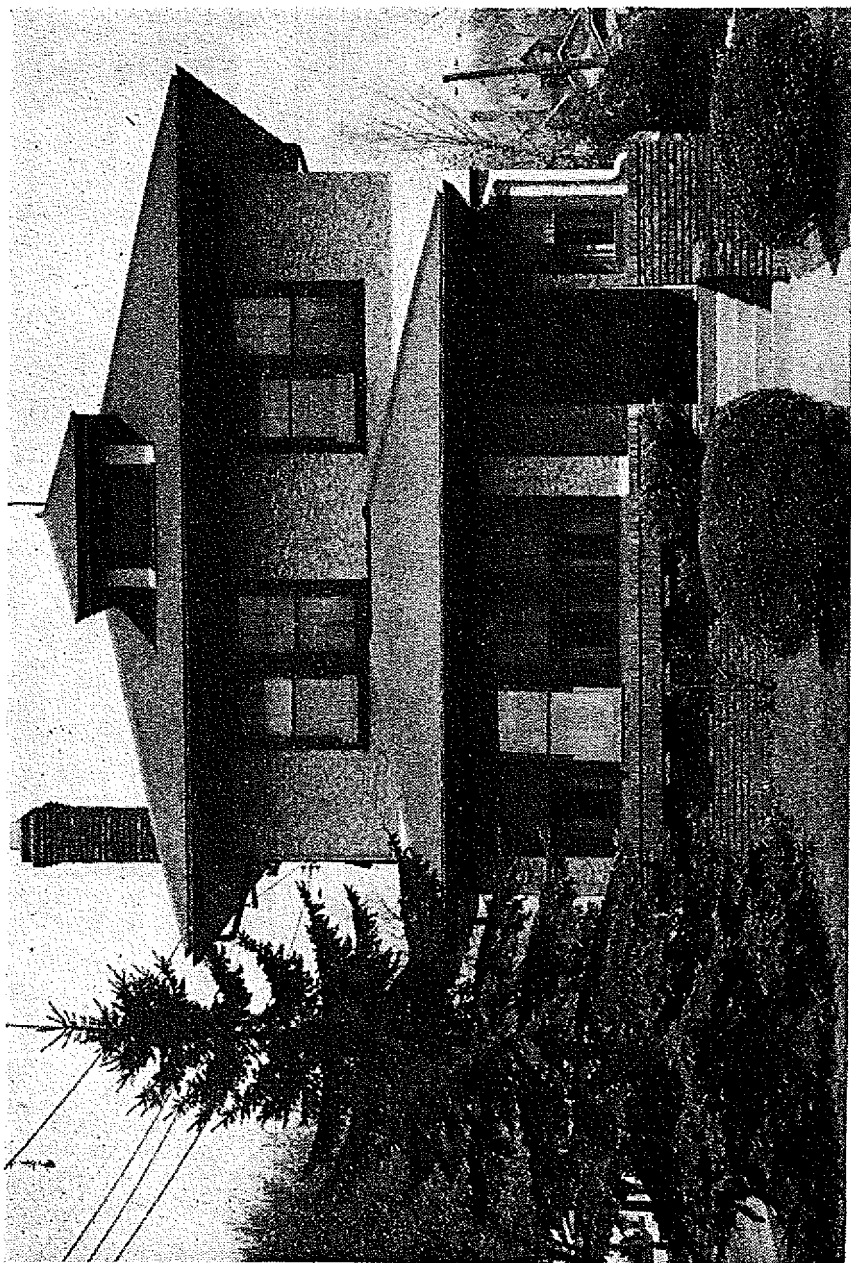
	Total Reported	Rented Units	Owner-Occupied Units
Total Reporting	100%	100%	100%
Built Before 1917.....	70	81	58
Built 1917-1929	25	19	32
Built 1930-1941	3	0	6
Built 1942 or After.....	2	0	4

There was no element for comparison in the 1946 all housing survey.

E. The Type of a House

About 62 per cent of the Negro housing units were single family detached houses; 6 per cent, single family attached units; 25 per cent, two, three, or four family houses; 6 per cent, apartments; and 1 per cent, rooms over stores, etc.

The two following tabulations compare some of the information on rented housing units as shown in the Negro housing survey and the Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of all housing in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area made in September, 1944. They indicate that Negroes who rent are somewhat more



Better Negro housing—St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul.

likely to live in single family detached houses and are less likely to live in apartments than are all persons who rent in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, and that the housing units they rent are somewhat older than is true of the total number of rented houses in the area. This comparison is possible because of a survey of rented units made in 1944.

Tenant-Occupied Dwelling Units

Type of Structure	1946 Negro Housing Units	1944 All Housing Units
Total Reported	100.0%	100.0%
Single Family Detached.....	42.5	13.4
Single Family Attached.....	8.5	2.3
Apartment (5 or more D. U.).....	11.2	43.5
2, 3 and 4 Family and Other.....	37.8	40.7
Year Structure Was Built		
Total Reporting	100.0%	100.0%
Before 1917	77.6	66.7
1917 to 1929.....	18.2	23.2
1930 to 1941.....	...	5.6
1942 and After.....	...	.2
Unknown	4.2	4.3

F. Living Arrangements

Living arrangements reported indicate that in about two out of every ten units Negro families were living "doubled up."

TOTAL REPORTING	100%	
Occupied Exclusively by Immediate Family.....	78	
Tenant-Occupied		43
Owner-Occupied		35
Doubled-Up	22	
With Parents		2
With Others		20

The surveys also indicate that more Negroes were living "doubled up" than was true of the general population:

	Mpls.-St. Paul Negro Housing Units	Mpls.-St. Paul Area All Housing Units
Total Housing Units.....	100.0%	100.0%
Immediate Family Having Exclusive Use of Dwelling Unit.....	77.6	91.8
Immediate Family Having Dwelling Unit with Parents or Others.....	22.4	8.2

G. Degree of Crowding

The census defines a "crowded" household as one in which there are 1.51 or more persons per room. About 8 per cent of all Negro housing units in Minneapolis-St. Paul are thus crowded.

Total Reported	100%
Having less than $\frac{3}{4}$ persons per room.....	46
Having $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.....	46
Having more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.....	8

When these figures are compared with those from the all housing survey, they show housing units occupied by Negroes in Minneapolis-St. Paul were somewhat more crowded than were all housing units in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area in 1946:

	Mpls.-St. Paul Negro Housing Units	Mpls.-St. Paul Area All Housing Units
Total	100.0%	100.0%
Having less than $\frac{3}{4}$ persons per room....	45.5	50.1
Having $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room....	45.7	46.4
Having more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room.	8.1	3.4
Not reported	0.7	0.1

H. Number of Rooms

Percentage Distribution by Size of Unit:	1946 Survey Negro Housing Units	1940 Census Non-White Units	1940 Census All Housing Units
Total Reporting	100%	100%	100%
One Room	1	6	7
Two Rooms	2	8	7
Three Rooms	7	12	10
Four Rooms	15	21	17
Five Rooms	30	26	27
Six Rooms	22	14	16
Seven Rooms	14	6	8
Eight or More Rooms.	9	7	7

This seems to confirm the common observation that at least during the war the Negroes, since they must live in older houses, must buy or rent larger houses.

I. Conditions of the Neighborhood

Negroes in Minneapolis and St. Paul live for the most part in average and below average neighborhoods in the opinion.

of the interviewers. Negroes owning their own homes generally live in better neighborhoods than those who rent:

	Total Reported	Rented Units	Owner-Occupied Units
Total Housing Units Reported	100%	100%	100%
Well-kept.....	22	12	35
Average.....	42	38	46
Run-down.....	22	28	14
Very poor.....	14	22	5

Undesirable features in the neighborhood were also reported in the survey. These included location of the housing units on a block adjacent to in-city truck routes, railroad tracks, noisy factories, refuse dumps, saloons, beer parlors, etc. About one-third of the units (over one-fifth of the rented and almost half of the owner-occupied units) had no undesirable features reported in the neighborhood. In Minneapolis-St. Paul almost four in every ten Negro housing units were reported as located within a block of a saloon or beer parlor, while three in ten were on in-city truck routes, probably indicating these persons had difficulty obtaining housing in better neighborhoods.

Percentage distribution of survey blocks by predominance of race and condition of neighborhood:

	BLS Survey		Negro Housing Survey	
	All Blocks	All Blocks*	Predominantly White Blocks	Predominantly Negro Blocks
Total Blocks Reported....	100%	100%	100%	100%
Well-kept.....	39	31	48	16
Average.....	47	44	43	50
Run Down....	10	17	5	24
Very Poor....	4	8	4	10

*Including those in "mixed" neighborhoods as well as those for which the predominant race was not reported.

The table above is related to total blocks surveyed. Most blocks in well-kept neighborhoods were predominantly white and most blocks in run-down and very poor neighborhoods were predominantly Negro. There are, of course, more Negro housing units in the predominantly Negro blocks than in the predominantly white blocks, so the preceding table presenting this information related to individual housing units shows a larger proportion of run-down or very poor neighborhoods.

J. Some Comments of the Enumerators

Here are reproduced some of the comments and observations made on the block schedules by the enumerators.

St. Paul

Fuller, Central, Fisk:

Block of small well-kept homes.

Iglehart Ave., N. Milton, Marshall Ave., and N. Chatsworth:

Negroes beginning to displace whites on Iglehart. Corner house has white tenants upstairs; Negro owner downstairs. Houses are in good condition; also streets; only five Negro units in block.

St. Anthony, Western, Rondo, Arundel:

Neighborhood in poor condition; streets paved; saloons and beer parlors.

St. Anthony, Avon, Rondo, Fisk:

Three dwellings in bad condition; Rondo Street in very bad condition; houses are in need of repairs; mostly single family dwellings except for two duplexes.

Central, Grotto, St. Anthony, N. Avon:

Families of medium income and houses well-kept; mostly single family dwellings; Negroes concentrated only on St. Anthony.

Charles, St. Albans, Sherburne, N. Grotto:

Clean, quiet area; a very good neighborhood; most occupants own their property; Negroes have lived here for a long time.

Seventh, Broadway, Sixth, Pine:

Indian, Mexican, white, Negro; neighborhood not very clean; in many instances white and colored live in same dwelling.

Rondo, Victoria, Carroll, N. Milton:

Very nice block, well-kept; homes are attractive.

Jessamine, Forest, Magnolia, Mendota:

Very neat area; most houses are fairly new; saloons in block.

Minneapolis

Block bounded by Franklin Ave., 19th Ave., 22nd St. E., and Cedar Ave.:

Slum area — houses not fit to live in — mostly taverns, surrounded by railroad on two sides; busy paved street and carline on the other two; all houses in poor condition except one which has a cover and seems to be repaired also inside.

Block bounded by N. Sixth Ave., N. Fremont Ave., Fifth Ave., and N. Girard Ave.:

This neighborhood in very poor condition; most homes are shat-

tered and falling to pieces. I would judge that two-thirds of them are unfit for living space.

Downstairs — 203 W. 31st St.:

Would like to move out; plumbing poor; landlord claims it is outside stoppage; however, downstairs disposal all right but upstairs often backs up into sink; house very damp; clothes in closet mold.

1215 Washington Ave. S.:

Premises at 1215 Washington, sixteen apartments occupied by ten Negro families and four white families; one bathroom and two toilets shared by all occupants.

Block bounded by Franklin Ave., Cedar Ave., 22nd St. E. and 18th Ave.:

Slum area faces railroad tracks and streetcar line; Negroes concentrated on Cedar, living over business places; houses really not fit to live in

Block bounded by N. Fourth Ave., N. Aldrich, N. Third Ave., and N. Bryant:

Houses generally in good condition; however, only four Negro dwellings in block; homes newly improved.

Block bounded by 51st Ave. N., N. James Ave., 50th Ave. N., and N. Knox Ave.:

Well-kept neighborhood. (House at 5057 James reported to be in excellent condition.)

E. 40th St., Fourth Ave., 41st St. and Clinton Ave.:

This is a fairly new neighborhood — most of the better homes are in this block; homes and lawns are well-kept; all Negroes, except two; all units owner-occupied.

E. 24th St., Fifth Ave., 25th St. and Fourth Ave.:

Neighborhood poor, mixed; many times white families are living in upper duplexes of Negro homes.

3605 12th Ave. S.:

Nice looking neighborhood; Negro home as well-kept as the rest of the houses in the block.

51st Ave. N., N. Irving Ave., 50th Ave. N. and N. James Ave.:

In this territory Negroes own their own homes — self-built.

3825 Columbus Ave.:

Negro home average and well-kept as others; have made repairs recently; in nice neighborhood; have lived there for some time.

2114 35th Ave. S.:

Carline right off high medium white neighborhood; Negro house average with those in block; have been there for long time.

K. Summary

From the material presented above, the following generalizations may be made about the average Negro house.

1. The average house which the Negro purchases or rents is in a poorer condition than the average home occupied by a white person.
2. The district in which the house is located is more deteriorated.
3. The Negro has less chance of occupying a house with central heat. In a Minnesota city that is a serious condition.
4. Probably the Negro lives in an older house. The Negroes who rent definitely live in older houses, and probably those who purchase.
5. However, this material indicates that the houses occupied by Negroes in the Twin Cities are not as bad as those found in some large metropolitan areas in other states. The Negro housing here seems to follow the pattern of all housing, namely, a tendency toward individual homes.

L. Public Housing

At the time this report was prepared, there was only one public housing project in the Twin Cities. That is the Sumner Field Federal Housing Project. Mrs. Mabeth Hurd Paige played a very substantial part in the founding of this project, though she is not now responsible for any of its operational policies.

In the project are 464 living units; 341 are occupied by white families, and 123 are occupied by Negro families.

One hundred and twenty-one of the units occupied by the Negroes are in one section. The two other Negro families are assigned to apartments adjacent to the Community House. The Negroes judge that they are being segregated.

The project is divided into twelve sections and each section has a chairman. There are four Negro chairmen and eight

white chairmen. There is a cooperative store operated by an even number of whites and Negroes who serve both on the staff and on the board of directors.

The white and Negro children are free to use Sumner Field playground regardless of religion or race. The Park Board, Sumner Field Housing Project, and Phyllis Wheatley House have held joint meetings in an effort to bring about a greater use of the playground. Adequate supervision has been limited because of lack of funds and staff. Nevertheless, progress has been made from the point of better race relations in the area, for the matter has been called to the attention of the parents in the area and there has been an increased emphasis on the need of adequate supervision.

The rentals for the apartments are \$36, \$40, and \$44 depending on the size of the unit. The Negroes in the project occupy much better housing than they, as Negroes, could obtain elsewhere at the present time.

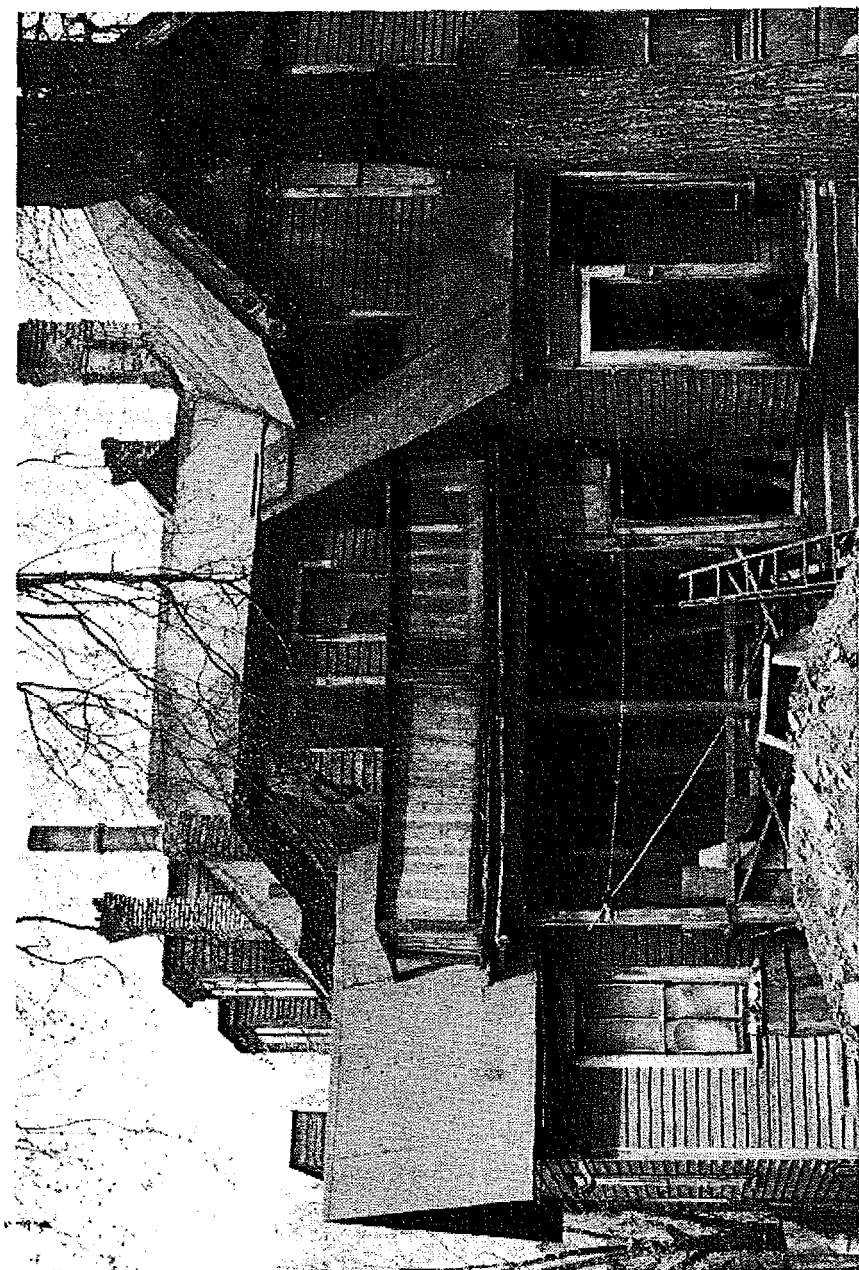
In the war years, however, one difficulty arose since some of the Negro families achieved incomes higher than the project regulations would normally permit. It was built for low-income groups. One family had an income under \$1,500 in 1939, when they moved into the project. Now their income is above \$5,000 and by rule they should be required to leave. Yet they cannot find anything but dilapidated property. The solution may be that the rents will be raised for such families to levels of \$40, \$45, and \$50 a month.

In this public housing project, although they are segregated, the Negroes have just as good housing units as those occupied by the whites.

M. Temporary Veterans' Housing "Quonset Huts"

To provide temporary housing for war veterans in the Twin Cities, as elsewhere, under the assistance of the federal government, temporary housing units are being constructed.

Four hundred and eighty units were assigned to the city of St. Paul and most of them will be completed by the spring of 1947. Ten huts were allotted to Negro veterans at the



Poorer Negro housing—Lyndale Ave. North, Minneapolis.

project at Louis and St. Anthony Avenue. This meant that all of the occupants of this project were Negroes. The St. Paul Urban League intervened and asked that Negro veterans be permitted to live in the project at Oxford and Carroll which had been set aside for white veterans. Conferences with housing officials resulted in two Negro families moving from Louis and St. Anthony to the Oxford and Carroll project. Two white families have moved into the Louis and St. Anthony project, thus making both projects non-segregated.

In Minneapolis there are 526 housing units for veterans. All will be completed in May, 1947. Originally, a designated number of units were to be set aside for Negro veterans in Project 4, or on the northside. The pattern was clearly one of segregation, and the matter was brought to the attention of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations. Six families had moved in under the segregated pattern.

However, the Mayor's Council won the approval of the Welfare Board in establishing the policy of the city government as one of non-discrimination. The following principle will be adhered to by the city in regard to veteran housing:

1. Units are to be assigned without regard to race or religion in any part of the city.
2. All applicants will be assigned according to the date of application and need for housing.
3. Negro veterans already occupying units may select other sites as vacancies occur if they desire to do so.

III. Duluth

The schedules which were prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the Negro housing survey in the Twin Cities were also used in Duluth, and the editing and tabulating work was done by the Minnesota Division of Social Welfare. The enumeration in Duluth was conducted jointly by the Duluth Council of Social Agencies and the Duluth Interracial Council. The workers, who gave their time to the project, refused all compensation. They were: Miss Patsy Rickman, Mr. Robert

Simmons, Mr. George Adams, Mr. Georgie Dozier, Mrs. Edward Nichols, Mrs. W. O. Rodney, Mrs. I. Simon, Mr. Edward Nichols, Mr. James Thomas, and Mrs. A. Albright.

Because of the relatively small number of Negroes living in Duluth, an effort was made to reach every Negro housing unit. The enumerators located seventy-three and, since they were residents of Duluth, it was their hope that they had visited almost every Negro housing unit. In Duluth, the Bureau of Labor Statistics had not made any samplings or surveys, so the only basis of comparison was the 1940 census.

A. Condition of Individual Houses

Complete information on the condition of the dwelling unit and the standard facilities provided in the unit was reported for fifty-six of the Negro housing units. Only 32 per cent of this group were reported as in good condition with all standard facilities available. There is no material on the white homes with which these statements could be compared. Owner-occupied units were better than rented units: 47 per cent were in good condition with all standard facilities against only 13 per cent among the rented units. This difference results from the greater availability of standard facilities in the owner-occupied units.

CONDITION AND FACILITIES OF DWELLING UNIT

	Total Reported	Rented Units	Owner-Occupied Units
TOTAL REPORTED.....	100%	100%	100%
In Good Condition or in Need of			
Minor Repairs.....	80	78	81
Having All Standard			
Facilities.....	32	13	47
Lacking One or More			
Standard Facilities.....	48	65	34
In Need of Major Repairs.....	20	22	19
Having All Standard			
Facilities.....	4	0	6
Lacking One or More			
Standard Facilities.....	16	22	12

Negro housing units were in as good condition as the housing units reported in the 1940 housing survey:

	All Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Total Reporting.....	100%	100%
In Good Condition.....	81	80
Need Major Repairs.....	19	20

B. Standard Facilities

Except for the lack of central heating, Negro homes in the survey were as well or better equipped with standard facilities than were all units in the 1940 census.

Central heating was the facility most often lacking in both rented and owner-occupied housing units, according to the survey. No bathtub or shower or the necessity for sharing bath or flush toilet with another unit accounted for most of the other facilities lacking. All dwelling units on which the information was reported had running water and electric lights.

Standard Facility Lacking:	All Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Running Water.....	7%	0%
Private Flush Toilet.....	18	11
(Shared).....	11	10
Private Bathtub or Shower....	25	27
(Shared).....	12	10
Central Heating.....	26	60
Electric Lights.....	0	0

C. Central Heating

Four out of every five rented units (83 per cent) lacked central heat compared with a little less than one-half (47 per cent) of the owner-occupied units. As a whole, 60 per cent of the Negroes lived in housing units without central heat.

D. Age of the Structure

Age of the structure was reported for sixty-nine of the Negro housing units. Of these, 81 per cent (fifty-six units) were built before 1917.

Age of Structure

Total Reporting.....	100%
Built Before 1917.....	84
Built 1917-1929.....	15
Built 1930-1941.....	1

E. Type of Houses

The type of structure was reported for seventy-one of the housing units. Of these, 70 per cent (forty-seven units) were single family detached houses, 11 per cent (eight units) were single family attached (row) houses, while the others were duplexes, four-plexes, apartments, rooms over stores, etc. Almost all (93 per cent) of the owner-occupied Negro housing units were single family detached houses, but only 32 per cent of the rented units were this type of structure.

More Negro families lived in single family homes than was true of the total population in the 1940 census:

Type of Structure	All Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Total.....	100%	100%
1 Family Detached.....	54	70
1 Family Attached.....	..	11
Other.....	46	19

F. Living Arrangements

Total Reporting.....	100%
Occupied Exclusively by the Immediate Family	59
Tenant-Occupied.....	19
Owner-Occupied.....	41
Doubled-up	41
With Parents.....	5
With Others	36

The survey indicates that two in every five of the Negro households contained persons other than members of the immediate family.

G. Degree of Crowding

The housing units surveyed were not crowded. The census defines a "crowded" household as one in which there are 1.51 or more persons per room. Only one Negro household of the fifty-seven for whom this information was reported was thus crowded—in this there were 1.60 persons per room, eight persons in a five-room house.

The Negro housing units surveyed in the Negro Housing

Survey appear to be generally less crowded than all housing units reported in the 1940 census:

Persons Per Room	All Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Total.....	100%	100%
Having .50 or less.....	31	49
Having .51 to .75.....	27	20
Having .76 to 1.00.....	30	16
Having 1.01 to 1.50.....	8	13
Having 1.51 or more.....	3	2

H. Number of Rooms

Houses occupied by Negroes appear to be larger than those occupied by the general population, according to the survey:

Number of Rooms	All Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Total.....	100%	100%
1.....	6	..
2.....	6	..
3.....	9	..
4.....	17	13
5.....	26	19
6.....	22	30
7.....	7	10
8.....	4	16
9.....	1	6
10 or more.....	2	6

I. Condition of the Neighborhood

On the general condition of the neighborhood, the survey indicates that most Negroes live in average neighborhoods. Of the sixty-six units on which the information was reported, 18 per cent (twelve units) were in well-kept neighborhoods, 41 per cent (twenty-seven units) were classified as average, 31 per cent (twenty-one units) were in run-down and 10 per cent (seven units) in very poor neighborhoods. Negroes who owned their homes were generally in better neighborhoods than those who rented.

Conditions of Neighborhood	Total Reported	Rented Units	Owner-Occupied Units
Total Housing Units Reported..	100%	100%	100%
Well-kept.....	18	4	24
Average.....	41	31	51
Run Down.....	31	42	22
Very Poor.....	10	23	3

Undesirable features in the neighborhood were reported in the survey. These included location of the housing unit on a block adjacent to in-city truck routes, railroad tracks, noisy factories, refuse dumps, saloons, beer parlors, etc. Of the seventy-three Negro housing units in the survey, 45 per cent (thirty-three units) had no undesirable features reported in the neighborhood. The others all had one or more undesirable features. Owner-occupied homes were more likely to be in desirable locations than were rented homes.

Summary

With the exception of central heating, the data presented above indicate that the Negroes in Duluth have fairly satisfactory housing considering their incomes. The explanation may be that very few of the Negroes in Duluth are in segregated districts. Only 12 per cent (nine units) of the seventy-three units included in the survey were reported as situated in neighborhoods in which most of the housing units were occupied by Negroes.

Chapter IV

WHAT DOES THE NEGRO PAY FOR HIS HOUSE?

Akin to the question of the condition of the Negro's house is that of its cost. The question then is proposed: What does the Negro pay for his home?

For this question, the Commission tried to find a definitive answer. But property values have fluctuated sharply, and so many other factors influenced them, that the Commission experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining comprehensive information. It recognizes that the data presented here are not conclusive. However, much of it is significant and may be informative to the reader.

I. The Cost of Housing

A. The Amount of Ownership

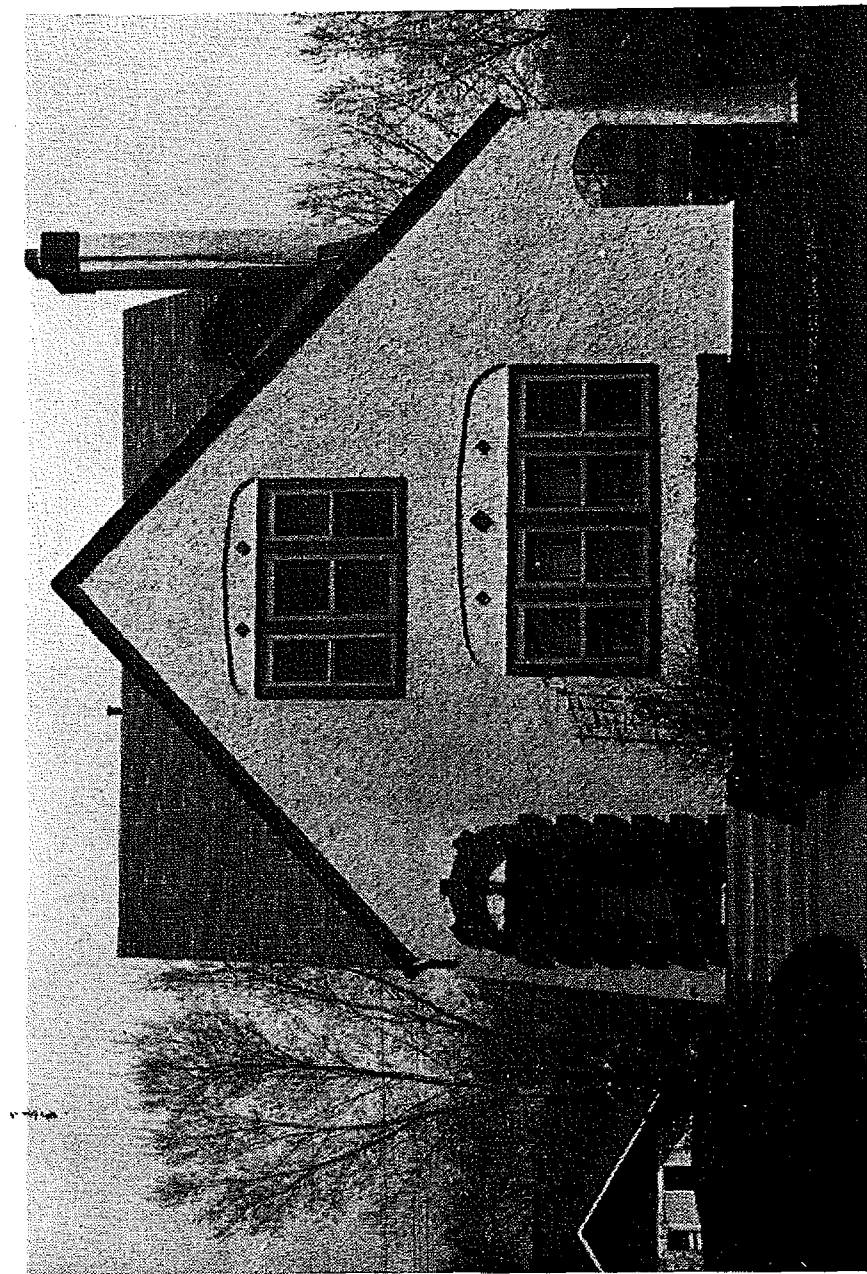
Prior, however, to the element of cost, is the factor of ownership. Ownership gives stability and independence. How many Negroes own their own homes?

The Twin Cities

According to information gathered in the survey of Negro housing units, made in 1946, about 47 per cent of the Negro dwelling units were occupied by the owners. The percentage of ownership in the white population was only four points higher. There are possibly very few sections of the nation where the percentage of home ownership is as high as in Minnesota. The Negroes reflect the general trend of the population.

Moreover, the survey mentioned in the second chapter shows that the percentage of home ownership by Negroes has increased very sharply during the war years. A partial explanation may be the great increase in the number of Negroes who were able to secure remunerative employment. Others, like white persons, may have bought to protect themselves from ejection.

	1946 Negro Housing	1946 All Housing	1940 Census (Non-White)	1940 Census All Housing
Total Reported..	100%	100%	100%	100%
Owner-occupied..	47	51	29	43
Tenant-occupied..	53	49	71	57
		39		



Better Negro housing—St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul.

Duluth

Of the seventy-three Negro housing units listed in the survey, sixty-nine were reported as either rented or owned; two were hotel rooms and two were not specified. Of those sixty-nine, 41 per cent were tenant-occupied and 59 per cent were owner-occupied. In Duluth also there has been an increase in the amount of ownership, judging from the comparison of these figures with the 1940 census.

The Negro housing survey in Duluth in 1946 covered a total of seventy-three dwelling units. The 1940 census listed 114 Negro-occupied dwelling units. The proportion of owner-occupied homes among Negroes has apparently increased according to the data reported:

	Negro Units 1940 Census	Negro Units 1946 Survey
Total Reported.....	100%	100%
Owner-occupied.....	42	59
Tenant-occupied.....	58	41

B. Purchasing Price

It had been the hope of the members of the Commission that they could compare the relative costs of similar houses when purchased respectively by Negroes and white persons to determine whether the Negro in buying a house must pay more because of racial prejudice. But there were too many cross-currents involved. The difficulty in determining costs is indicated by the following incident. In this case, racial factors were involved with others.

The following advertisement appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune in the autumn of 1946. (Such advertisements are not rare.)

Attention Colored Folks!

IMMEDIATE POSSESSION

3 B.R. All Modern Home.

— Clinton Avenue

Comp. redeec. inside & out. All hardw.

fin. H.W. ht. Spacious rms. Lge. lot.

Gar. Only \$8,450. Terms. Call Mr. —

The Minneapolis Urban League attempted an investigation of this piece of property and they discovered that the property offered in the advertisement had never been occupied by Negroes. A lady who lived next door advised the Minneapolis Urban League that the same property had been offered for sale less than ten years ago for \$2,800. Subsequently, it was sold to a real estate firm and later to the man who, through this advertisement, was seeking to attract the attention of a Negro purchaser. The lady informed the representative of the League that the man who was now trying to sell the property for \$8,450 had bought the property for \$6,800 three months previously. The lady could not discover the price at which the property was sold, but it was not sold to a Negro.

C. The Negro Renter in the Twin Cities

Rents paid by Negroes run a little lower than rents for all housing in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area:

	1946 Mpls.-St. Paul Negro Housing Units	1946 Mpls.-St. Paul All Housing Units
Median Monthly Rent.....	\$23.00	\$28.00
One-fourth Rented at, or Less Than	18.00	20.00
One-fourth Rented at, or More Than	30.00	37.50

Very few Negro units rented above \$50 per month, although over 10 per cent of the white housing units rented above that price.

Yet, this does not necessarily mean that Negroes pay less for similar accommodations. Actually, they seem to pay as much or higher, at least for equivalent unshared dwellings. Only 36 per cent of the Negroes had all standard facilities, while 50 per cent of the white group had them.

Rents for housing units in need of major repairs and with facilities missing run as high, or higher, for Negro housing units than for all housing units in this condition.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has furnished a detailed table showing distribution of all tenant-occupied, unshared

dwelling units by monthly contract rent, condition of structure, and available standard facilities. A similar distribution of the rented Negro housing units reported provides a basis for a more complete comparison of rented Negro housing with all rented units in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

Percentage Distribution of Tenant-Occupied Unshared Dwelling Units
by Monthly Contract Rent, Condition of Structure, and Facilities

ALL HOUSING

Monthly Contract Rent	All Tenant Occupied	In Good Condition			In Need of Major Repairs		
		Total	Having All Standard Facilities	Lacking One or More Facilities	Total	Having All Standard Facilities	Lacking One or More Facilities
Total, Mpls.- St. Paul Area,	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
March, 1946...	100.0	89.4	50.1	39.3	10.6	1.5	9.1
Free rent.....	1.3	1.2	.6	.6	.1	..	.1
Under \$10.00..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
\$10.00 - \$14.99	11.0	7.5	.2	7.3	3.5	..	3.5
15.00 - 19.99	12.6	9.8	.7	9.1	2.9	.1	2.8
20.00 - 24.99	11.6	9.9	2.2	7.7	1.8	.4	1.4
25.00 - 29.99	13.3	12.4	5.3	7.1	.9	.3	.6
30.00 - 34.99	13.2	12.2	8.4	3.8	.9	.4	.5
35.00 - 39.99	12.2	11.7	9.6	2.1	.5	.3	.2
40.00 - 44.99	9.5	9.4	8.4	1.0	..	..	..
45.00 - 49.99	4.4	4.4	4.2	.2	..	..	..
50.00 - 54.99	3.7	3.7	3.7	..	..	..	..
55.00 - 59.99	3.4	3.4	3.2	.2	..	..	..
60.00 - 64.99	1.3	1.3	1.2	.1	..	..	..
65.00 - 69.99	.5	.5	.5	..	..	..	..
70.00 and over	2.0	2.0	1.9	.1	..	..	..

NEGRO HOUSING

Monthly Contract Rent	All Tenant Occupied	In Good Condition			In Need of Major Repairs		
		Total	Having All Standard Facilities	Lacking One or More Facilities	Total	Having All Standard Facilities	Lacking One or More Facilities
Total, Negro Housing	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Survey, 1946...	100.0	55.2	36.2	19.0	44.8	11.1	33.7
Free rent.....	1.0	..	..	..	1.0	..	1.0
Under \$10.00..	1.3	..	..	..	1.3	..	1.3
\$10.00 - \$14.99	10.3	2.6	..	2.6	7.7	..	7.7
15.00 - 19.99	17.7	7.4	1.0	6.4	10.3	1.6	8.7
20.00 - 24.99	22.8	9.0	4.5	4.5	13.8	1.9	11.9
25.00 - 29.99	13.8	8.7	5.8	2.9	5.1	3.8	1.3
30.00 - 34.99	14.8	12.3	11.3	1.0	2.5	1.9	.6
35.00 - 39.99	12.9	11.9	11.3	.6	1.0	.7	.3
40.00 - 44.99	3.2	2.3	1.3	1.0	.9	.6	.3
45.00 - 49.99	1.6	1.0	1.0	..	.6	.6	..
50.00 - 54.99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55.00 - 59.99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60.00 - 64.99	.6	..	..	..	.6	..	.6
65.00 - 69.99	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
70.00 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The Negro Renter in Duluth

The number of rented units was small. Rents were reported for nineteen of the twenty-eight rented dwelling units. These ranged from \$8.00 to \$50.00, averaging \$17.93 per unit. The housing unit which rented for \$8.00 was a four-room basement apartment in a three-family unit. No further information on its condition was reported. A five-room dwelling unit renting for \$9.00 was reported as "unfit for use." The unit renting for \$50.00 had twelve rooms and was in good condition but lacked central heat, and toilet and bath were shared.

Amount Paid for Rent	Total Reporting 19 Units
\$ 8.00.....	1
9.00.....	1
10.00.....	1
13.00.....	1
14.00.....	1
15.00.....	3
18.00.....	3
20.00.....	3
21.00.....	1
22.50.....	1
30.00.....	2
50.00.....	1

The median rent for all housing units in Duluth in the 1940 census was \$25.60 and the average \$27.30, compared with \$18.00 and \$17.93 for the Negro housing units in the 1940 survey. Only three units (11 per cent of those reporting rent) in the Negro Housing Survey had rents higher than \$22.50, while over 46 per cent of the total housing units in Duluth reported in the 1940 census rented at \$25 or more.

II. Credit Facilities

Patently, the ability to secure a loan or a mortgage on property or the ability to secure the mortgage at a very low rate is vital in the effort of a man to secure ownership of a home. The refusal of a loan agency to lend money to a Negro seeking a home or the charging of a high rate of interest can be very serious.

Yet every refusal may not be tantamount to the practice

of discrimination. The decision as regards the mortgage may be influenced by some purely economic factors.

1. The ability of the Negro to pay; and that judgment is controlled by the amount of money he earns and the probability of his holding the job. Some of the Negroes who owned the better homes were postal employees.
2. The condition of the property which the Negro wishes to buy. The older the property, the less the amount loaned, since its resale value is less.

Extent of Credit Facilities

An investigator for the Commission called on the following banks and loan agencies and obtained these statements:

Minneapolis

The First National Bank — They accept Negro business, but there is a restriction on all property that is more than 15 years old.

The Marquette National Bank — They had completed two G. I. loans as well as four loans on Negro homes.

The Northwestern National Bank — They have just made six mortgage loans to Negroes.

The Minnesota Federal Savings and Loan — Will accept Negro accounts but will not state the number that they are carrying on their books.

The Minneapolis Savings and Loan — Has quite a few Negro mortgages.

St. Paul

First Federal Savings and Loan — Has Negro mortgages.

Minnesota Federal Savings and Loan — They have quite a few Negro mortgages and will accept more.

St. Paul Federal Savings and Loan — They have worked amongst the Negroes to try to form some kind of cooperative

so that they can do a lot of their own financing. Since real property has some value, they would never turn a Negro away who wanted to purchase a home.

Benjamin Franklin Savings and Loan — They have a few Negro accounts as well as mortgages.

Empire National Bank — They have four Negro mortgages and would like to have more.

American National Bank — They would gladly write mortgages for Negroes. At this time they do not have any mortgages on Negro homes.

First National Bank — Will accept Negro mortgages on the same terms as for white people.

Some banks specialize on loans on very expensive property. That would exclude them from making loans on most Negro property.

When the bank or the home agency makes a judgment about the amount of the mortgage, it takes into account the neighborhood location, the area values, the depreciation, the ability of borrower to repay, resale market in case of foreclosure, condition of property, etc. It is quite possible that the agent who makes the appraisal may have preconceived notions about the ability of Negroes to pay, etc. If he does, the Negro suffers and obtains a smaller mortgage.

Credit Unions

Some larger credit unions now lend money to prospective home owners. Before such agencies, the Negro has an especially good opportunity of being free from prejudice because of the philosophy of the group. The Minneapolis Urban League cited the cases of two Negroes, both employees of the Minneapolis Post Office, securing credit from the Post Office Credit Union. The loans were for new houses in the 3900 block on Third Avenue South. Those houses are in a Negro area.

Federal Agencies

The Federal Housing Administration was established in

1934 to stimulate the flow of credit for residential mortgages. It has, in part, the task of administration of a mortgage insurance system to safeguard the mortgage risks of lending institutions on residential loans. It made popular the long term amortizing mortgages available to home owners at a fixed rate of interest.

The position of the Federal Housing Administration is much like that of a private lending agency and it must consider the condition of the property and the neighborhood and such factors.

In some other states, when the Negroes approached the agency they were told that the property was uninsurable or only a smaller mortgage would be granted. In such cases, if the Negro was to purchase, he then needed more cash for a down payment. Some judged that the agency was discriminating. For Minnesota, the Commission has no evidence of such discrimination. This is true of other agencies such as the Veterans' Administration.

We quote here the report of an appraisal made to the Veterans' Administration relative to a loan a veteran was seeking on property he planned to purchase on Fifth Street, South Minneapolis. It indicates the importance of the attitude of the appraiser.

"There are no detrimental influences excepting it being on the borderline of colored, there is one family second door from subject property. Real estate market in the community is fair, subject property is suitable for its intended use as a residence — and consists of a living room, dining room, kitchen, two bedrooms, and bath on first floor."

The phrase "on borderline of colored" reveals the vital importance of the attitude of the appraiser.

Insurance on Property

Since much of the financing of Negro homes is through loan companies and the monthly payments cover amortization payment, interest, taxes and insurance, the insurance rate is

Poorer Negro housing—Rondo Ave., St. Paul.



tied in with the factors covered above. The same is true of the taxes.

The Negro's Ability to Pay

The question as to whether the Negro has the ability to keep up payments is a fair question for banks and home loan companies and federal agencies. However, the point which should be considered is the actual ability of the Negro to pay — not some prejudiced attitude of some minor official. Lending agencies might give more consideration to these two factors:

1. The Negro in Minnesota Desires to Own a Home

The statistics indicate that now 47 per cent of them are home owners. This data is remarkable if one will keep in mind the material presented in an earlier publication of this Commission, "The Negro Worker in Minnesota." That report revealed that prior to 1939 over 60 per cent of the Negroes were unemployed whereas approximately only 25 per cent of the white group were in that position. The high percentage of Negro unemployment was due in large measure to racial prejudice.

2. The Negro's Economic Status Is Improving

Prior to the war, loans made to Negroes were often to postal employees and workers on the railroads. During the war and for the past year, Negroes have secured jobs in an increasing variety of occupations and kept some of them. Negroes are workers, laborers, and machine attendants. It is commonly alleged now that workers are receiving a larger share of the national income than formerly. Negroes are in that benefited class. If the State of Minnesota or the Federal Government would pass a sound Fair Employment Practices Statute, those jobs will have greater security.

Chapter V

WHAT IS THE WHITE MINNESOTAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO'S RESIDENCE?

Since, in the State of Minnesota, the white group constitutes an overwhelming majority of the population, the members of that group can open or close the gates to any residential area. They are in control. Their actions are determined by their mental concepts. The first barrier, then, which the Negro encounters, is the mind of the white man. All restrictive processes stem from it.

I. Inside the White Mind

The Commission was anxious to discover what white Minnesotans were thinking about the place where the Negroes might live. It wished to look into the mind of the average white man. It would have been desirable, if possible, to interview every white person within the state. That was impossible. As an alternative, in the spring of 1946, the Commission appealed to the Minnesota Poll. The Minnesota Poll of Minneapolis had achieved considerable success in uncovering the thinking of Minnesotans on many matters by the use of polls which were scientifically and cautiously constructed. Their interviewing is done entirely by experienced persons who are compensated and who spend much of their time in that type of activity. The evidence for the merit of their methods is the success achieved in foretelling the outcome of state elections both primary and final. The director, cooperatively prepared questions and conducted a poll on the subject of Negro housing, as a service to the Commission. The results are printed below. It is the opinion of the Commission that these findings are representative of Minnesotans. These results are important, not only because they reveal the thinking of Minnesotans divided into sex, age, and economic groups, but especially because they present the thinking of those in rural areas. A considerable proportion of the increase of the population of the Twin Cities comes from persons moving in from rural areas.

White Attitudes Toward Negro Housing in Minnesota

Question 1

Generally speaking, a white family in the United States may move into any residential neighborhood where there is a vacancy, provided, of course, they can afford the rent or price of the home. Do you think Negroes should or should not be allowed to do the same?

30% Allowed to move where they desire

60% Not be allowed to do so

10% No opinion

By Men, Women:

	Men %	Women %	City %	Town %	Farm %
Allowed.....	32	29	26	29	39
Not allowed.....	58	61	64	60	51
No opinion.....	10	10	10	11	10

By City, Town, Farm:

By Age:

	21-29 %	30-39 %	40-49 %	50-59 %	Over 60 %	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
Allowed.....	35	32	31	24	29	29	30	31
Not allowed.....	55	58	61	64	64	63	62	54
No opinion.....	10	10	8	12	7	8	8	15

By Economic Levels:

Question 2

Supposing a Negro family moved into your neighborhood, would you treat them as you do other neighbors; would you try to have them moved out; would you yourself move; or wouldn't you care?

37% Treat them as I do other neighbors

11% Try to move them out of neighborhood

7% Move out

26% Wouldn't care

11% Depends

8% Undecided

By Men, Women:

	Men %	Women %	City %	Town %	Farm %
Treat as other neighbors.....	35	38	31	39	47
Move them out of neighborhood....	12	9	13	8	7
Move out.....	9	6	9	7	4
Wouldn't care.....	23	30	28	24	25
Depends.....	13	9	11	12	10
Undecided.....	8	8	8	10	7

By City, Town, Farm:

By Age:

	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60
Treat as other neighbors.....	35	37	37	37	37
Move them out of neighborhood....	9	8	12	14	8
Move out.....	5	7	9	8	8
Wouldn't care.....	35	25	23	25	28
Depends.....	10	12	11	11	11
Undecided.....	6	11	8	5	8

By Economic Levels:

	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
Treat as other neighbors.....	31	36	40
Move them out of neighborhood.....	17	10	9
Move out.....	7	11	2
Wouldn't care.....	21	24	31
Depends.....	15	12	10
Undecided.....	9	7	8

Question 3

What effect, if any, do you think a Negro family, moving into your neighborhood, would have on the financial value of your home?

22%	No effect
64%	Value would decrease
4%	Ruin it, make it worthless
1%	Other
9%	Don't know

By Men, Women:

By City, Town, Farm:

	Men %	Women %	City %	Town %	Farm %
No effect.....	26	18	14	28	36
Value would decrease.....	62	67	72	64	48
Ruin it, make it worthless.....	5	3	4	3	4
Other.....	1	..	1	..	1
Don't know.....	6	12	9	5	11

By Age:

	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60
No effect.....	27	20	22	20	27
Value would decrease.....	58	66	65	66	62
Ruin it, make it worthless.....	3	3	6	4	3
Other.....	2	1	..	1	..
Don't know.....	10	10	7	9	8

By Economic Levels:

	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
No effect.....	12	22	26
Value would decrease.....	80	66	55
Ruin it, make it worthless.....	4	5	4
Other.....	..	..	1
Don't know.....	4	7	14

Question 4

Do there happen to be any Negroes living near you?

Yes	7%
No	92%
Don't know	1%

By City, Town, Farm:

By Economic Levels:

	City	Town	Farm	Top	Average	Lowest
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes.....	11	..	3	2	4	13
No.....	87	100	97	98	96	85
Don't know.....	2	..	..	..	..	..

Question 5

(If "Yes") How do they seem to fit into the neighborhood?

66%	O.K., keep to themselves, don't seem to bother anybody
16%	People seem to like them
....	Tolerated, but not accepted socially
13%	Don't fit into neighborhood
....	Other
5%	Don't know

By City, Town, Farm:

By Economic Levels:

	City	Town	Farm	Top	Average	Lowest
	%	%	%	%	%	%
O. K.....	67	..	60	100	70	63
Seem to like them.....	18	..	..	..	20	15
Tolerated.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Don't fit in neighborhood....	9	..	40	..	10	15
Other.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Don't know.....	6	..	..	..	..	7

Question 6

Do you happen to own your home?

Yes	57%
No	43%

By City, Town, Farm:

By Economic Levels:

	City	Town	Farm	Top	Average	Lowest
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes.....	54	60	53	78	66	38
No.....	46	40	37	22	34	62
Don't know.....	..	..	..	..	..	..

Question 7

If you were selling your home and you were able to get a slightly better price from a Negro family than from some other, would you sell it to them?

Yes	24%
No	63%
Don't know	13%

By Men, Women:

	Men %	Women %	City %	Town %	Farm %
Yes.....	26	23	15	28	38
No.....	61	64	75	55	46
Don't know.....	13	13	10	17	16

By City, Town, Farm:

By Economic Levels:

	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
Yes.....	14	26	29
No.....	82	61	51
Don't know.....	4	13	20

Question 8

Do you happen to belong to any organization or church which has Negro members in the group?

Yes	9%
No	90%
Don't know	1%

By City, Town, Farm:

	City %	Town %	Farm %	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
Yes.....	15	1	3	9	8	10
No.....	85	98	97	91	92	89
Don't know.....	..	1	..	..	..	1

By Economic Levels:

Question 9

Would you rent or buy a home where a Negro family had lived at some previous time?

Yes	38%
No	34%
Depends	23%
Undecided	5%

By City, Town, Farm:

	City %	Town %	Farm %	Top %	Average %	Lowest %
Yes.....	36	34	43	39	35	40
No.....	35	34	34	28	36	34
Depends.....	24	28	17	29	24	20
Undecided.....	5	4	6	4	5	6

By Economic Levels:

It is very significant that the findings of this poll indicate that 60 per cent of the white group would restrict Negroes even though they were able to pay for good housing. But it also is important to note that, while 60 per cent would be opposed to their entrance in a white neighborhood, the sentiments would change somewhat after the Negroes moved in. Thirty-seven per cent would be willing to treat them as neighbors and 26 per cent did not care. Moreover, of those who have lived near Negroes, 66 per cent said that they were O. K.

It is disturbing that 60 per cent were opposed to the Negro moving into their districts. It is distressing that 63 per cent would not sell their property to a Negro even though a better price was offered. Nevertheless, there is here a basis for hope. At least 30 per cent thought that they should be allowed to enter any district they desired, and 10 per cent had no set opinion on this matter. The young were more liberal. Upon such persons the beginnings of a better program could be built. An effective educational program might change the others.

II. Alleged Reasons for White Attitudes

With the exception of references to the decline of property values, the survey conducted by the Minnesota Poll did not reveal the reasons which motivate the minds of the majority of the white group. In conversation, however, there are four reasons frequently alleged: (1) that white people cannot live peacefully with Negroes in the same area; (2) that the monetary value of property declines as a result of the Negro's entrance in the neighborhood; (3) that Negroes are more criminally inclined and consequently do not make good neighbors; (4) that under Negro occupancy the appearance of property deteriorates.

1. It is Alleged They Cannot Live Together Peacefully

Previously, there were presented the names of some Negro families who are living quietly in exclusively white neighborhoods. In addition, the Commission presents here the opinions of some white neighbors which were collected by an investigator employed by the Commission.

St. Paul

About the Negro family at:

1457 Albany Ave. — A neighbor bought a house across from the Negro eight years ago, knowing that there was a Negro there. He said he would rather have him than a lot of white neighbors.

1069 Hatch Ave. — A neighbor was glad to have nice people like the Howells as next door neighbors.

123 Winnipeg Ave. — A neighbor objected not to the Negro but to the condition of the property. It is owned by an old person.

872 Simcoe St. — A neighbor said that they were good neighbors.

922 Churchill St. — One neighbor contacted did not object to the Negroes in the block — said they were good neighbors.

1473 Western Ave. — One white man when he purchased a house was told about Negro in the block but was informed by real estate men that Mr. Culver was moving out. He feels he would have trouble selling his house. Yet he is working to have a sewer put in and Mr. Culver is chairman of the committee.

1559 Roblyn Ave. — One neighbor said that the Williams are nice people and she never thought about trying to sell the property.

1144 Virginia St. — Had trouble with a Negro family — tried to sell. A real estate man said they could not sell because a Negro family was living next door.

267 East 15th — White man lived there for 18 years and he says he gets along with Negroes.

Minneapolis

About the Negro family at:

4055 38th Ave. S. — A neighbor states that the Prices are very nice people and that she has known them for 37 years. They mind their own business and are very good neighbors. She further states that the newcomers in the neighborhood got up a petition to get the Prices out of the neighborhood but that none of the old-timers would sign it, so they let it drop and since that time everything has been peaceful.

5717 43rd Ave. S. — A neighbor states that he served in World War II with Negro troops, and that he found them the same as other men. He asked what difference it made whether his neighbor was white or black as long as he was respectable.

4530 Hiawatha Ave. — A neighbor states that he has known the family for the past five years and that he has never heard any of the neighbors make any complaint about their being in the neighborhood and that they are very likable people.

38th Block on 4th Ave. S. — This block has many Negroes and a few white families. A neighbor states that she has lived at this address for the past 38 years and that the colored people that live next door to her have been real friends, and that she does not know what she would have done, when she came home from the hospital after an eye operation, had it not been for this Negro woman who wanted to be neighborly and came into her home, took charge and looked after her as would be expected from relatives. She also states that her former neighbor was white but that she never considered these white people friends like she does this Negro family.

3821 Fourth Ave. S. — A neighbor asserts that in 1919 he purchased his home at a reduced price on account of there being a Negro living next door; he further stated that if an inspection is made of the property in this block, you will find that the property is kept in repair on par with property owned by white people. He is not thinking of selling his property because he is in a Negro neighborhood. He and his neighbor are on the very best of terms.

2. It is Alleged that the Monetary Value of the Property Declines

On this point, the Commission could not secure extensive and conclusive evidence. During the war, the value of all property increased even in those neighborhoods into which Negroes have moved. The housing shortage would tend in some instances to keep the values high.

Neighborhoods which are dominantly colored are composed largely of properties which had been occupied for many years by white families. The property was old and deteriorating before the Negroes took it. Naturally, regardless of racial occupancy, the property would continue to decline. It should be borne in mind, too, that possibly if one Negro gains entrance into a white neighborhood, the remaining white neighbors might even get a higher price for their property, since the Negro buyers might be more numerous in that market.

Here we reproduce comments made by white property

owners relative to the effect upon their property of Negro occupancy.

About the Negro family in St. Paul at:

- 1390 St. Clair Ave. — A white neighboring family stated that they purchased their property 17 years ago and they knew that the people next door were Negro. It was further stated that if they wanted to sell their home they felt that they would not have any trouble finding someone to purchase it though they admitted they had heard people make remarks regarding their living next door to a Negro.
- 1466 Sherburne Ave. — A neighbor said that the Willisses are very nice people and that he feels if he wanted to sell his property he doesn't think that he would have to look for a Negro to sell it to.
- 364 Burgess Ave. — A neighbor stated that if he wanted to sell his place that he is satisfied that he could get a white buyer. He said that it is all "bosh" about white and colored people cannot get along.
- 11 W. Jessamine St. — A neighbor states that having a Negro living across from him would not stop a white person from purchasing his house if he wanted to sell. He stated that he knows so.
- 1481 Cumberland St. — The lady states that 14 years ago her family built their home and at the time they knew that Mr. Bowers was a Negro. She is satisfied that if they wanted to sell their home that they would not have to sell it at a discount.
- 990 Galtier St. — A neighbor who has lived here for the past 38 years does not believe that Mrs. Tobie being a Negro would stop anyone from purchasing her home if she would sell.

3. It is Alleged that the Negro's High Delinquency Rate Makes Him a Poor Neighbor

Some persons think the Negro crime rate is much higher than that of the white group and that the Negro neighborhoods are centers of vice and immorality. What are the facts? In St. Paul, Lieutenant Frank Mondike of the St. Paul Police Department stated that in the Negro districts in St. Paul there is no commercialized vice. In Minneapolis, there were several serious incidents but they were corrected by publicity and good policing. The official figures of the St. Paul Police Department for the year 1945 are:

St. Paul

Persons Held for Prosecution	
Whites.....	3,997
Negroes.....	247
Indians.....	97
Mexicans.....	60

Persons Held for Robbery	
Whites.....	32
Negroes.....	5

Auto Theft	
Whites.....	101
Negro.....	1
Larceny (Auto Theft Excepted)	
Whites.....	251
Negroes.....	14
Indians.....	4

Aggravated and Other Assaults	
Whites.....	144
Negroes.....	36
Indians.....	1

Drunkenness	
Whites.....	3,035
Negroes.....	103
Indians.....	84

Rape	
Whites.....	14
Negroes.....	None

Other Sex Offenses	
Whites.....	29
Negroes.....	4

Gambling	
Whites.....	7
Negroes.....	29

Minneapolis

The official figures of the Minneapolis Police Department for the year 1945 are here presented, but it should be noted that the phrase "colored" includes groups other than Negroes:

Persons Arrested	
Whites.....	7,855
Colored.....	792

Auto Theft	
Whites.....	27
Colored.....	3

Larceny	
Whites.....	121
Colored.....	17

Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	
Whites.....	37
Colored.....	40

Drunkenness	
Whites.....	5,423
Colored.....	498

Murder and Manslaughter	
Whites.....	6
Colored.....	0

Gambling	
Whites.....	61
Colored.....	6

Driving While Intoxicated	
Whites.....	217
Colored.....	5

According to these figures, there is no basis for the sensational opinions that some of the white group advance about the Negro's character, though proportionately the Negro delinquency rate does run relatively high.

For the white group, also, there is, in this material, reason for a humble act of contrition.

4. It is Alleged that Under Negro Occupancy the Appearance of the Property Declines

On this point, because of its complexity, the Commission has no definitive data, yet here again the reader should be mindful of these two facts: (1) Often the property had been declining in appearance when the white man sold it to the Negro; (2) According to the previous report, "The Negro Worker in Minnesota," many of the Negroes were unemployed prior to 1940. Obviously, they had very little means for improving the appearance of the property.

We present here some concrete cases in which Negroes have spent substantial sums to improve the appearance of their homes.

Mr. and Mrs. LaFayette Fields (Negro), 803 St. Anthony Ave., have spent more than \$800 for improvements on their home.

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Williams (Negro), 935 Iglehart Ave., have spent more than \$1,000 for improvements on their home.

Mr. and Mrs. John C. Williams (Negro), 982 Iglehart Ave., have spent \$965 for improvements on their home.

Mr. and Mrs. William White (Negro), 773 Rondo Ave., purchased their home for \$2,600, and since then have made improvements in excess of \$1,000.

In this matter, there is nothing definitely racial. Some white people have attractive homes; some white people have very slovenly homes. Some Negroes have attractive homes; some Negroes have very slovenly homes. Much depends upon the personality of the individual, his training and his financial resources.

We have published in this book pictures indicating the extremes in the appearance of Negro housing. These pictures seem to indicate that the condition of the house is not due to any racial trait.

WHAT PRACTICES PERPETUATE SEGREGATION OF THE NEGRO?

In the preceding chapter evidence was presented which indicated that the attitude of the majority of white persons is a very substantial factor in this situation. Yet the average white individual is quite an emotional creature. Often his attitudes shift with his emotions. During the period of the two great wars, due to the constant stressing of brotherhood, the white man assumed an improved and cooperative attitude toward the Negro in some contacts. During both of those wars, the Negro was permitted to work in industries in which no colored person was formerly permitted.

The residential patterns, however, lacked the same degree of flexibility which characterized the employment pattern. The residential patterns did not yield as readily to the emotional changes of the white man. The reason is that they were crystallized, either through instruments which enjoyed the favor of the civil law, such as covenants, or through the established policy of some organizations.

I. Restrictive Covenants

One barrier which excludes Negroes from residential districts is the restrictive covenant. It is a legal device. So, to be as accurate as possible in this matter, the Commission asked an attorney to prepare a statement relative to the civil law and covenants. Much of his statement is woven into the following text.

What is a Covenant?

Racial restrictive covenants are agreements not to sell or otherwise dispose of certain lands to Negroes, or other races, imposed on the buyer either by the owner of the land when he subdivides it into lots, or the owner of a small tract or lot when he sells. They may arise by the contract of several owners in a neighborhood, apart from any written restrictions

in a deed or conveyance. In most cases, the restriction follows into the hands of subsequent owners.

The racial covenant, wherever found, is variously worded, but from deeds, which are the written documents transferring title from seller to buyer, some representative examples may be taken. The broad restriction provides that the premises shall not be sold, conveyed, mortgaged, or leased to any person of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian, or African blood or descent. Other covenants are not so inclusive but prohibit the sale to persons of "Ethiopian" or "Colored" blood. Not only is the sale prohibited, but, in some cases, an additional burden is placed upon the property by prohibiting the use or occupancy of the real estate by the barred race. Therefore, if by some chance a member of that race secures the premises he would be in a more difficult position for he could not occupy it himself but would be compelled to rent or lease it to an individual not barred.

In passing, it may be noted that some unintended results have apparently been foreseen because the protective clauses have been modified to permit the occupancy of property by Negroes "when employed as servants."

How Are Covenants Enforced?

An appeal is made to the courts. Either one of the parties to the original covenant, or his assignee who succeeds to his rights and obligations, alleges to suffer some economic detriment and attempts judicially to set aside the restriction; or a barred individual buys the property and a decree is sought by the owners of the surrounding protected land to oust him and cancel his deed. The injunction restraining the owner of the land from selling to a person excluded by the covenant is a third method of enforcement.

What is Their Validity Before the Courts?

One of the attacks against the covenant is that it constitutes an unreasonable restraint on alienation of property, or, in other words, that it violates the rule, either statutory or

common law, that the owner of property must not be bound unreasonably in the sale or disposition of his property.

To resolve this question the courts have looked to the wording of the covenant; but the decisions have not been uniform. In *Lyons v. Wallen* (1942), 191 Okla. 567, 133 P. (2nd) 555, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma held an agreement among several property owners not to sell or transfer any interest to a Negro valid. Thus, a whole race was excluded as potential buyers but the covenant was held a lawful restraint on the owner. The justification alleged by the court is that the avoidance of unpleasant racial and social relations and the stabilization of land values outweigh the evils of curtailment of the general power of alienation. Restatement of the Law, A.L.I., Title: Property, Section 406, P. 2393, 2411. This rule is followed by Alabama, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and an inferior court in New Jersey. However, Michigan in the case of *Porter v. Barrett* (1925), 233 Mich. 373, 206 N.W. 532, reached the opposite result as to a restriction on sale and is in agreement with West Virginia and California (by statutory construction).

The restriction drafted to exclude certain races from using or occupying land has been more widely approved by the courts. It is held not to fetter alienation or disposition of property and, consequently, as valid. *Doherty v. Rice* (1942), 240 Wisc. 389, 3 N.W. (2nd) 734. This is the rule in California, Maryland, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York.

It may be concluded that a majority of courts will sustain a restriction against use or occupancy, since, logically, those courts that hold a restriction against a sale or lease legal would also uphold a use or occupancy restriction. A more limited number will sustain a restriction on sale or lease.

The courts have relieved against covenants more readily when the evidence shows that the neighborhood has changed in character and the restriction is no longer of economic or social benefit. Thus, in *Clark v. Vaughn* (1930), 131 Kan. 438, 292 Pac. 783, a Kansas court refused to enforce the restriction created by a group of neighbors because a Negro buyer would create little depreciation in the value of the restricted land,

Negroes having occupied vicinal property, and there was no demand by whites for the premises. But in North Carolina, *Vernon v. R. J. Reynolds Realty Co.* (1946), 226 N. C. 58, 36 S. E. (2nd) 710, where the whole surrounding territory to a depth of one-fourth mile was occupied by Negroes and white persons would not buy the real estate, the court refused to cancel the restriction upon the basis that changed conditions outside the restricted area would not affect the restriction since the purpose was to protect the area itself. In another case, the decision apparently looked beyond the immediate area involved and upheld the restriction, even though Negroes had infiltrated the surrounding area, because the property "furnishes a complete barrier against the eastward movement of colored population into the restricted area — a dividing line." *Grady v. Garland* (1937), 67 App. D. C. 73, 89 F. (2nd) 817, 819.

The constitutionality of these covenants as found in deeds has not been decided directly by the United States Supreme Court, but two cases of racial residential segregation have reached it for decision. In *Corrigan v. Buckley* (1926), 271 U. S. 323, 46 S. Ct. 521, 70 L. Ed. 969, the Supreme Court sustained the validity of agreements made among several property owners, and held that such contracts do not violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment since that is a protection against arbitrary state action. Again in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1916), 245 U. S. 60, 38 S. Ct. 16, 62 L. Ed 149, the court struck down racial segregation attempted by a municipal ordinance forbidding any white or Negro person from moving into or occupying a house in any city block in which the majority of houses were occupied by persons of the other race. Such an ordinance violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

A New Attitude

In Canada in a recent decision a different attitude was taken. The case is *Drummond Wren* (1945), 4 Dominion Law Reports 674. The restriction sought to be set aside was that the land was not to be sold to Jews or persons of objectionable nationality. The court outlawed the restriction upon the following grounds: (1) The restriction is void as against public

policy. The court specifically looked to the public policy as set out in the San Francisco Charter by which Canada pledged herself to universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. Also the court quoted from the Atlantic Charter. The court concluded by saying that the upholding of the validity of the restriction would widen religious and ethnic group differences. (2) Invalid as a restraint on alienation. (3) Void for uncertainty as to the meaning of "Jew" and "Objectionable Nationality."

44, 45, 4

The Minnesota Courts

To the Minnesota Supreme Court the issue has not been presented. It is possible that some legal challenge may have been attempted in a lower court.

The Minnesota Statutes

More than 25 years ago, there was enacted a statute in Minnesota which forbade discriminations against any person or class of persons because of religious belief. No cases have arisen under it. It can be found in Minnesota Statutes 1945, Section 507.

"No written instrument hereafter made relating to or affecting real estate shall contain any provisions against conveying, mortgaging, encumbering or leasing any real estate to any person or persons of a specified religious faith or creed; nor shall any such written instrument contain any provision of any kind or character discriminating against any class of persons because of their religious faith or creed. In every such provision any form of expression or description which is commonly understood as designating or describing a religious faith or creed shall have the same effect as if its ordinary names were used therein . . ."

But this statute does not prohibit those restrictive covenants which bar Negroes from occupying or owning property.

In 1937 there was enacted an amendment to an existing statute which declared that after that date all covenants created in the future would cease to be operative thirty years after their establishment. For the Negro that legislation merely assures him that there will be no legal barriers on property after it has been occupied by white persons for thirty years. It can be

found in Minnesota Statutes 1945, 500.20 Defeasible Estates, Subdivision 2.

Subdivision 2. RESTRICTION OF DURATION OF CONDITION. All covenants, conditions, or restrictions hereafter created by any other means, by which the title or use of real property is affected, shall cease to be valid and operative 30 years after the date of the deed, or other instrument, or the date of the probate of the will, creating them; and after such period of time they may be wholly disregarded.

[R. L. s. 3234; 1937 c. 487 s. 1] (8075)

How Many Such Covenants Are There in Minnesota?

Literally it would require years of work to determine the precise number of such covenants in the Twin Cities, but they do exist. The Commission does not know the exact number. Possibly one-fourth of the area of the Twin Cities is covered by them.

Usually the concrete is more impressive than a general statement, and so the Commission has reproduced below some covenants actually existing in Minnesota. It is not done for the purpose of embarrassing the persons who have titles to these pieces of property. Many of them may be entirely unaware that such restrictions burden their property. If any person is able to identify these owners and is inclined to cast a stone at them, let him first look to his own deed.

Hennepin County

For Hennepin County one member of the Commission has collected the following cases:

Document No. 1881086—Book 1407—Deeds—Page 445.

Lot 2, Block 1, and Lot 3, Block 3—Hanson & Parks 1st Addition Country Club District—Filed 6-1-37

No. 8—"No lot shall ever be sold, conveyed, leased or rented to any person other than of white or Caucasian race; nor shall any lot ever be used or occupied by any person other than one of white or Caucasian race, except such as may be serving as domestic for the owner or tenant of said lot, while said owner or tenant is residing thereon."

Document No. 1740342—Book 1303 of Deeds—Page 339—Filed 12-20-33.

Lots and Blocks—Country Club District, Brown Section Restriction—"No lot shall ever be sold, conveyed, leased or rented to any person other than of white or Caucasian race, nor shall any lot ever be used or occupied by any person other than one of white or Caucasian race, except

such as may be serving as domestic for the owner or tenant of said lot, while said owner or tenant is residing thereon."

Document No. 1740343—Book 1303—Page 344—Filed 12-20-33.

Restrictions same as above.

Document No. 786169—Filed 1-2-16—Book 783—Page 388.

Block 2—Seven Oaks Addition.

"The party of the second part hereby agrees that the premises hereby conveyed shall not at any time be conveyed, mortgaged or leased to any person or persons of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian or African blood or descent. Said restrictions and covenants shall run with the land and any breach of any or either thereof shall work a forfeiture of title which may be enforced by re-entry."

Document No. 1152666—Filed June 19, 1923—Book 970—Page 268.

Block 3—Seven Oaks Addition.

Restrictions same as Document No. 786169.

Document 102-3090—Filed April 15, 1921—Book 912—Page 614.

Block 3—Seven Oaks Addition.

Restriction same as Document No. 786169.

Document No. 1001125—Filed Oct. 19, 1920—Book 838—Page 244.

Block 3—Seven Oaks Addition.

Restriction same as Document No. 786169.

Ramsey County

For Ramsey County one real estate man, well-informed, guessed that only one-fourth of all property in the county carried such restrictions when the property was platted. He said, for example, that the West End Edgecumbe Road district carried them and also the Frankson Como Park area. Incidentally, Frankson was at one time Lieutenant-Governor of the state and he came here from the South.

In one day an investigator for the Commission found these following covenants in Ramsey County:

Book No. 264—Page 82.

Lot No. 25 in Block No. 6 in the Highview to the City of Saint Paul. Restrictions and Covenants . . . "The premises hereby conveyed shall not at any time be conveyed, mortgaged or leased to any person or persons of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian, or African blood or descent."

Book No. 264—Page 63:

Property includes Lot 5 in Block 13, Northome 3rd Addition to the City of St. Paul, Ramsey County, Minnesota.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "The said property shall not be sold or rented or occupied by any person except a person or persons of the white Caucasian race, but persons of other races may occupy the premises when employed as servants by the owner."

Book No. 192—Page 55.

Property includes Lot No. 1, Block No. 1, subdivision of Blocks A and 31, Beaver Lake Heights.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "This land is conveyed subject to the following restrictions and reservations. . . . That it shall never be occupied by a colored person."

Book No. 241—Page 231.

Property includes Lot 11, Block 1, in Chelsea Heights.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "Fourth, that grantee cannot sell or lease said real estate to a colored person."

Book No. 241—Page 186.

Property includes Lot 4, Block 5, in Frankson's Como Park Addition.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "This conveyance is made subject to the covenant, agreement and warranty of the grantee herein. . . . Fourth, that the grantee cannot sell or lease said real estate to a colored person."

Book No. 241—Page 187.

Property includes Lot 4, Block 5, in Frankson's Como Park Addition.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "This conveyance is made subject to the covenant, agreement and warranty of the grantee herein. . . . Fourth, that grantee cannot sell or lease said real estate to a colored person."

Book No. 264—Page 25.

Property includes Lot 14 in Block 4, in Mattock Park, an addition to the City of St. Paul.

Restrictions and Covenants . . . "This conveyance is made upon the following conditions. . . . That the premises hereby conveyed shall not at any time be conveyed, mortgaged or leased to any person or persons of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian or African blood or descent."

II. The Legislature

A. For the future at least the practice of perpetuating segregation by restrictive covenants could be corrected if the Legislature will amend or change the statute quoted above

so that racial discriminations as well as religious discriminations would be prohibited.

B. In the session of 1945, the Legislature enacted a statute in the interest of neighborhood redevelopment which apparently would perpetuate segregation. It provided that the municipal redevelopment commissions would not "displace the predominant primary racial group of the present inhabitants."

That statute was repealed by the Municipal Housing and Redevelopment Act enacted in the 1947 session. This statute makes possible public housing for low-income groups. It does not perpetuate segregation. One phrase, however, which was taken from existing federal laws and is routine in housing statutes for many other states, could have been more specific. It reads: "There shall be no discrimination in the selection of tenants because of religious, political, or other affiliations."

III. Real Estate Boards

In addition to these legal devices perpetuating segregation, the conviction is entertained by some Negroes that real estate boards have an agreement or at least an implicit understanding that property in certain areas will not be sold to Negroes. The Commission cannot prove the existence of such an agreement. Yet a suspicion about the existence of such an agreement does not seem to be a rash one. The data presented in an earlier chapter indicated that 60 per cent of the white Minnesotans thought that Negroes should not enter white districts. Those personal opinions could easily flow over into the corporate action of a real estate board. If such an agreement exists, it is a serious matter, for, while a real estate board is not an official body, it has considerable influence both upon real estate agents and property owners. Before city councils and other public agencies, often the real estate board appears as a representative of property owners. It has almost semi-official power.

An understanding by such a board to restrict Negroes to certain areas is a very effective form for perpetuating segregation.

IV. The Individual Real Estate Agent

The individual agent also occupies a strategic position. A Negro seeking to purchase a home naturally goes to a real estate agent. The agent knows where property is for sale. The agent may then be representing six potential sellers. Patently, if the agent believes in segregation, he can use numerous devices so that the potential seller and the potential buyer will never meet. One can understand that, if the agent represents the clientele in a white neighborhood, he would refrain from doing anything that would antagonize other property owners. One can sympathize with the predicament of the agent. Actually, though, his action perpetuates segregation.

The Minneapolis Tribune for June 27, 1946, in a story about the inability of a Japanese to buy a house and lot, after interviewing the president of a large real estate company, reported as follows: "Although he sympathizes with members of the minority groups, most real estate companies follow the general policy of restricting subdivisions to members of the Caucasian race in order to get high mortgages and good resale value."

Chapter VII

THE FUTURE AND THE NEGRO'S HOME

In the preceding chapters, the aim has been to present the facts relative to Negro housing in Minnesota. Persistently, an effort was made to be objective. In this section, the Governor's Interracial Commission wishes to give expression to some recommendations and opinions about the future. It is the belief of the Commission that these recommendations follow necessarily either from fundamental American principles or from the facts previously presented.

A Basic Principle

It is the opinion of the Commission that there is a moral law more fundamental than any civil statute and, from that moral law, civil governments draw their power. From that moral law, each individual draws his right to a series of reasonable freedoms. Amongst those freedoms is the opportunity of every citizen, if the means are his, to select the part of the city in which he wishes to reside. For the Negro, that right is violated by segregation practices by which he is practically forced to reside in the older sections of the city.

While civil governments enjoy considerable power in defining the limits of property, it seems to the Commission that civil courts are acting unjustly when they enforce restrictive covenants and thus restrict an entire racial group to the older sections of the city.

It is the position of the Commission that a Negro should enjoy the same freedom as the white man in selecting the site of his house.

The White Minnesotan

With the average white Minnesotan rests the power of correcting the situation confronting the Negro. For back of all restrictive covenants and policies of real estate boards are the attitudes of many white persons. They are determined to keep Negroes out of their residential districts.

Of the forces motivating white persons, there are two which are dominant. One is the fear of the monetary depreciation of their property because of the Negro's entrance. In some cases, because of prejudiced attitudes, there has been some depreciation. Yet there are many other factors which can cause the fluctuation of values. Furthermore, this factor, because it is psychological in nature, could be neutralized by strong statements from neighborhood associations, pointing out possibly that the Negro family which has moved in may have the same economic and professional training as the other residents. The people in the more exclusive districts, as proof of a genuine conviction in democracy, might arrange to invite into their exclusive areas, as owners, some Negroes who attended college with them. Concrete actions are much more impressive than general statements. Already, the record shows, some of the middle class and poorer families in the Twin Cities have practiced democracy in this respect. The upper middle class and the rich are now challenged.

The other force is a strong emotional feeling, experienced by white persons, who do not wish to live next to Negroes. The Commission recognizes the intensity of that feeling.

Yet, careful analysis of that emotional attitude will reveal that fundamental to it is the fear of losing social prestige. In the early days of Minnesota, white people did not object to living next to Negroes when they were there in a domestic status. If one accepts the philosophy of the Nazi group that the white race is superior, then that attitude is defensible. If one accepts the principles of the Declaration of Independence, then that attitude is unprincipled.

Emotions vs. Principles

Balanced against that feeling is, in the opinion of the Commission, a very definite moral right which the Negro possesses to enjoy substantial freedom in selecting a home, such as other Americans and even immigrants possess. And this moral right, coming from the eternal law, is more fundamental than any civil right bestowed by government. In every instance in which the conflict is between a clear natural right on one hand

and intense feeling on the other, responsible people decide in favor of the moral law and insist that such feelings or emotions must be suppressed. Any other position would ultimately produce chaos.

And even in the realm of emotion, the white person who is so preoccupied with his own emotions should be mindful that the Negro also has feelings. He watches the same movies, he listens to the same radio programs, he reads the same newspapers, and he sees the same attractive advertisements about housing. He wants a house as the white man does. He wants freedom in selecting the area in which he may live. And when he is excluded from a white neighborhood, his feelings are deeply hurt.

The white persons in Minnesota, who persist in excluding Negroes, should be mindful that about 40 per cent of the white group have fairer and more noble concepts. Already there are some white families that are living in residential districts where one or two Negro families reside. What some white persons have done, others might attempt.

Real Estate Agents

In practice, real estate agents have a considerable voice in determining, through their associations, whether a Negro will be allowed in a district. As associations, they have policies and appeal to the city council's aldermanic groups and the State Legislature. On numerous matters they attempt to influence public opinion.

They have influence. Yet accompanying the influence there must be a commensurate responsibility. They must give some guidance to those who plot new areas and who trade in real estate. One can understand that they must take into account the prejudiced attitudes of home owners and home buyers, and possibly, in some cases, move slowly. Yet the evidence of good faith and sincerity would be a serious educational campaign designed to educate their members and home owners about the evil of residential discrimination. The obligation of

the officials of the association is much greater than that of any single agent.

Some well-intentioned real estate agents are baffled at times by what they appraise as the intransigency of Negroes. They offer to concede the development of a new subdivision for Negroes on the provision that Negroes will be excluded from all other better areas, and the Negroes refuse the offer.

But the point which those boards miss is that the Negro is a citizen like unto themselves. They want the same freedom other citizens enjoy. On a voluntary basis, some Negroes may accept a new subdivision. But no Negro can commit his group to a policy of segregation. Segregation by contract is as abhorrent as segregation by force. There will never be peace until compulsory segregation is abolished.

Banks and Home Loan Associations

In the past, some lending agencies have refused loans to Negroes purely on the belief that Negroes were not earning enough money to make payments on a house.

Yet the facts prove that Negroes are interested in home ownership. Forty per cent now have titles to some kind of housing. Moreover, today the laboring classes are believed to be taking a larger share of the national income. Negroes are in that class. In the Twin Cities, Negroes are now working at jobs where formerly they were not permitted to labor. If the Legislature of the State of Minnesota would enact a Fair Employment Practices Statute, then those economic gains made during the recent war would be insured for the future. These facts warrant some change in the policy of lending agencies.

Churches

At times, it has been alleged that the representatives of some churches had been active organizing movements designed to exclude Negroes from the better residential districts. It is thought that, back of such an alleged policy, may be the belief that the investment by a white congregation in ecclesiastical

buildings would be lost if the Negroes infiltrated into the district.

Churches are erected to provide a place for worship of the Eternal Creator. The Heavenly Father is not a respecter of persons. If the racial composition of an area changes, the newcomers to the neighborhood might conceivably need a place for worship. It is not recorded in the Scriptures that the religious activities of a white man are preferable to those of a Negro.

The Negroes

In Minnesota, the Negroes are a small minority in the midst of a population which is prejudiced against them. The task of changing the prejudiced attitudes of the white group is a difficult one. Some members of the white group can recognize the principles of justice involved. Many do not. They must be educated. They are influenced often by sense impressions. Consequently, while it is gravely unfair in principle, it is unfortunately true that, in practice, the Negroes must be better than the average white.

The Negro who purchases a home in an otherwise exclusively white neighborhood is being watched constantly in a way that no other resident is. His house must be kept more attractive. His yard must be more orderly. His manners and demeanor must be above those of the neighborhood.

The Negroes who prefer to remain in the neighborhood which is dominantly colored also have a special obligation. They are being observed by white persons who pass through. If their neighborhood can be made outstanding for neatness and attractiveness, then the road for them, and especially for their children, will be made easier.

Residential segregation is morally wrong. It is injurious to the Negroes. Yet the facts presented earlier show that some of their housing is decidedly better than the housing occupied by some white persons in the Twin Cities. In general, their housing is not as bad as that found in some of the large urban areas in other states. When one suffers from an injustice, one

should seek to change it. Yet, there is danger that one can so brood over an injustice that it will be raised entirely out of proportion and then the abused person becomes so disturbed that he antagonizes those who try to work with him.

Schools

The findings of the Minnesota Poll, quoted extensively in the fourth chapter, suggest that 60 per cent of the white population in Minnesota thought Negroes should be segregated. That situation is serious, both for the Negroes and for the white population. It indicates clearly that, in this aspect of race relations, many Americans have little concept of the application of fundamental American principles.

To a considerable extent, if society is to reform, it must reform itself through the medium of the schools, public and private. Clearly, in the curriculum of the schools in Minnesota, there is need for more explicit and extensive training on this point.

Public Housing

The question of the extension of public housing projects by the federal government, or by the State of Minnesota, has been bitterly debated in recent years. It is an issue now.

Yet the opponents must concede that the Negroes have benefited substantially by the one project in the Twin Cities, the Sumner Field Housing Project. They constitute one-fourth of the occupants. When it was constructed, it was intended to provide decent housing for low-income groups. The Negroes benefited then. The Negroes are still the beneficiaries. Now they could not rent any units in the Twin Cities comparable to what they occupy. To the Negroes, the opponents of public housing must offer something much more concrete and constructive than the general assertion that such a practice is dangerous.

The Commission commits itself to the principle underlying the public housing statute enacted by the 1947 Legislature. That statute assumes that public housing for low-income

groups is desirable and necessary. But, besides housing projects for low-income families who will never become home owners, there may be some need for public housing projects for those families who may reasonably hope to become home owners.

In Minnesota, such housing projects need not slavishly imitate the practices of New York or Chicago. Here conditions are different, aptitudes are different. There is a Minnesota way. The preferable project for Minnesota would be one made up of small individual homes which the occupants would purchase from a housing agency. By that procedure, the federal government or the state government would encourage private ownership. The federal home subsistence projects, such as that in Granger, Iowa, could be restudied in this regard. Many Negroes in Minnesota wish to own their own homes. A device such as the home subsistence project would assist them in the realization of that wish and ultimately those small homes could be placed upon the tax lists.

The State of Minnesota

Definitely, as it was asserted previously, the Legislature of the State should amend or change the existing statute prohibiting discriminatory covenants. If the statute were expanded so as to exclude racial discrimination, then one of the forces crystallizing racial segregation would be removed. Such a change would not cure the situation completely, but it would constitute a forward step.

* * * * *

Less than ninety years ago, Negroes were held as slaves on the soil upon which the Twin Cities now stand. Slavery is gone. Less than twenty years ago, Negroes seeking employment were restricted, apart from domestic service, to about ten classifications. The employment pattern changed during the war. The doors to possibly thirty other types of jobs have now been opened. Employment discrimination is disappearing. Likewise, residential discrimination will ultimately disappear. It is good citizenship to work intelligently and earnestly for that change.