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THE MONTREAL NEGRO COMMUNITY

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A Thesis presented to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

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in part fulfilment of the requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The Montreal Negro Community.

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Montreal,

September, 1928.

Preface.

The Montreal of 1928 presents a striking contrast to the Ville Marie as founded by Maisonneuve. From its particular geographic location it was destined to occupy a position of dominence in the growth of Canada. The peculiar physiographic features of the St. Lawrence River on the South and Mount Royal on the North have given the direction of the city growth its own particular form. The phenomenon of two nationalities, diverse in language, traditions, religi and cultures, living side by side and paying allegiance to a cmmmnn sovereign has marked the city with an atmosphere that adds to its own natural charms. With the majority French speaking people carrying on their own particular life and the English residents developing their own culture the city has been justly termed the Paris of America.

The growth of Montreal has been phenomenonal since the Industria Revolution. From a fur trading village to a modern metropolitan area has been the history of the past two hundred years. Particularly is this growth more noticeable since the building of the Canadian railroads. Following the War of 1914-18 this influx of population has been so rapid that the housing has scarcely kept pace with the demands.

To this world's greatest inland seaport come large numbers of immigrants who look forward to participation in the life of the Dominion. Montreal is becoming a community with its own nationalistic and racial communities. These people selected after the policy of the Department of Immigration and Colonization become residents of this city. Here they have their own communities in which are to be found the customs and standards to which these newcomers have been accustomed. In the breaking away from the old and establishing themselves in the new there is a slow process of losing some of the past and taking

or the new. The extent of this adoption of the new will depend upon the degree of difference between both the old and the new. Differences of language, religion, customs and traditions are all swept aside in this prodess of assimilation. Differences of a racial nature, as color, ever impede this change. Those of a different color are set off from the wider community in which they reside. Their color tends to make them feel, think and act differently from those who surround them. They thus tend to cling tenaciously to the old.

All the while of the entrance of these newcomers to the city, there is a steady growth in the area and change in use of certain sections. All are primarily interested in the struggle for existence. In the process of economic competition and selection the city is sifting its population and sorting them according to their productivity. All are casting their eyes one step upward in the class struggle in order that they may avail themselves of the opportunity which will come, in a mobile world. The sifting process gives rise to residential areas for different classes. The elite, the intelligensia and the failures all have their own areas of residence which are stamped with the peculiar characteristics of the inhabitants. While there is in the minds of these different groups the desire to live to themselves these different communities are continually meeting the one with the other. No person in city life, can ever reach a stage of living to himself alone. This human organism, which is continually calling and reaching out to newcomers and bidding them come, is so interwoven that the growth of one section is immediately reflected in another. In its growth it molds the new and plastic as the potter in his trade. The old it redirects and remakes to such a degree that the former forms are scarcely recognisable.

The Negro is one of these newly arrived groups, He is that dark, skinned man with pearly teeth, curly hair, large brown eyes thick lips, whose smile and happy laugh have given him that distinctiveness that is his and his alone. The Negro is proud of his color and that something which makes him the quiet, outward acceptor of the role which the greater society has defined as his.

He has come to Montreal and met the experiences that are common to those of his race in other countries. After his freedom was granted, he became a citizen, and one sought to fill a definite need in the community. He has remained, and has had experiences of success and failure in his efforts at remaking his world.

This black community has its own economic function, its own location. From his business experience and place of residence, the Negro is continually in touch with the wider life of the city. At the same time he has retained much of his own standards and mode of life which mark him a different type of citizen with his own problems. It will be my purpose to show what has brought this man to Montreal; to show what is holding him here; where he lives and how he took up residence in this particular section of the city; what means he has of sustaining himself in periods of stress; what points in his life he is dependant upon the wider community and its institutions.

During the period of Negro residence in Montreal a steady growth of group consciousness has been in progress among these people. With similiar language, color, the common heritage of slavery and subjected to similiar experiences they have been moving towards a sense of group unity that is spreading. Group unity emerging as it does from an emotional disturbance or experience, and, when among a mobile group such as are the Negroes, is very slow to take on an outward expression.

It will be my purpose also to show the progress of their growth of group consciousness and the growth of group unity among these people.

THE MONTREAL NEGRO COMMUNITY

1. Ecology of St. Antoine District.
2. Natural History of Negro in Montreal.
3. Elements in Negro Population.
4. Negro Social Organization.
5. Conclusion.

CHAPTER I

ECOLOGY

1. Community defined
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   (b) Area of Negro residence in Montreal.

2. Ecology
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   (c) Tramways in city growth
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   (g) Fin displacing Negro in St. Antoine District
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3. Description of St. Antoine District to-day.
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Ecology

The Montreal Negro Community is located in the area bounded on the east by Windsor Street, on the west by the Glen Road, and lying between the tracks of the Canadian National Railways on the south and extending north to those of the Canadian Pacific. It is in this district that the life of the Negro resident of this city has become largely segregated.

A community is composed of the people who reside in an area about which their life rotates. Out of the interaction of these people in the area, and their outside contacts are developed a set of common practices, experiences, traditions and sentiments. It is this interweaving of common practices, experiences, traditions and sentiments that institutions emerge and the life of the people takes on its own particular organized form.

With a period of residence on St. Antoine street extending now since approximately 1897, it has become a tradition that this street signifies the district of Negro residence in this city. Today, both Negroes and the whites, in popular discussion, use the street name in this sense. It has been found, however, that the life of this group is not confined as largely as is commonly thought. For purposes of this study, the term St. Antoine district is used to designate the area whose boundaries are given above. Another popular misconception is in the matter of segregation of these people in this city. English dictionaries have given meanings to this word suggesting isolation.

from others. Society is made up of persons who are constantly interacting with each other. Never do either individuals or persons live in utter isolation from their fellows. In Montreal, Negroes and whites reside in the same houses, work side by side at their daily occupations, attend churches together, vote at the same polling booths , while the Negro children attend the white schools. Segregation as used in this discussion is in the sense of living largely to themselves. In the modern metropolitan cities this is immediately seen as impossible. The diverse groupings are to be found continually meeting. This study is to deal largely with the Negro life in this city, to show the life of this particular community, and the relation of this black community with the wider life of the city of Montreal.

The St. Antoine district is largely the area in which his social and economic life lies. Yet he is to be found scattered in his résidence in many sections of the city. Negroes are to be found residing in Maisoneuve, Park Avenue extension, in the northern section of the city on Amherst, Papineau and Delormier Avenues, and Christopher Colombe St; in the district studied by Robert known as Dufferin District, an Area in Transition; Notre Dame de Grace, Ville Emard, Cote St. Paul, Notre Dame Street and the City of Verdun. In recent years a marked invasion of this latter city has been in progress. Of these widely scattered units it may be said that only the Verdun resident

has contributed any form of social organization, other than the family, which is functioning outside the limits of this St. Antoine district. Nor can it be said, on the other hand, that Negro life is confined exclusively to this region. This should be noted in the movement of the various associations and corporate bodies about the area, about the city, and in the one case the move outside the city limits.

This widely scattered group of people numbers, it has been estimated, from 1200 to 3000 persons, No check up with any degree of accuracy has ever been made although several have been attempted. These have never been carried through to a completion, with the result that the Negroes themselves do not know their numbers and can offer only estimates.

In connection with the numbers of the Negro population in this city, the figures may all be questioned. A large number of these men are married to white women. When the census representative calls, in these cases of miscegenation, he meets a white woman. Does she reveal the racial origin of her husband? If such be the case, is she classed (for purpose of the census) white or black? If she is considered white, sociologically it is misleading. In such cases of intermarriage the woman's life becomes part of the groupings of her black husband. Again, many of the homes just mentioned above have boarders who also are Negroes. Are they reported after the color of the white wife or that which is theirs? There are many of these women who are so

fair, their hair, eyes and features mark them as of white birth. In many Negro families both the husband and wife are forced to shoulder the economic burden of their home, and are out working daily. In such cases the houses are locked. It has been contended by the Negroes themselves that these homes are omitted in the returns. Lastly, there is an increase in the local population during the summer months, extending from April until October. At this period of the year this increase leaves the city for the places from whence it comes. These people partake of the communal life in some of its different phases during this period and it has been asked, are they included in the returns? These questions which are being asked by the Negro after he has had a lengthy period of residence in this city. They occur to others who are familiar with the life of these people. Thus some of the difficulties in obtaining anything except an approximate knowledge of the number of Negro residents in this city become apparent.

In a study of any community, in attempting to understand the people, it is necessary to know something of the district of residence. As cities grow, different areas pass through various stages in the evolution to their present state of development. The process of change is reflected in the body of tradition which is built up by the community members. Each area tends to take on a particular form, color, pattern of behavior which marks it as distinctive from

the rest of the city. Certain forces are at work bringing about this evolutionary development. Mackenzie has introduced the term ecology denoting such processes. He defines and describes ecology as (1)

> "a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as effected by the selective, distributive and accomodative forces of the environment. Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position, in both time and space, upon human behavior. 'Society (2) is made up of individuals spatially separated, territorially distributed and capable of independent locomotion.' These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility. Human institutions and human nature itself become accomodated to certain spatial relationships of human beings. As these spatial relationships change, the physical basis of social relations is altered, thereby producing social and political problems."

In studying the ecology of this community, the natural history of the area will be considered. The natural history will reveal the forces that brought about its growth, the changes within the area from this growth, changes outside the area which are reflected within. A description of the area at different periods in it growth will be given.

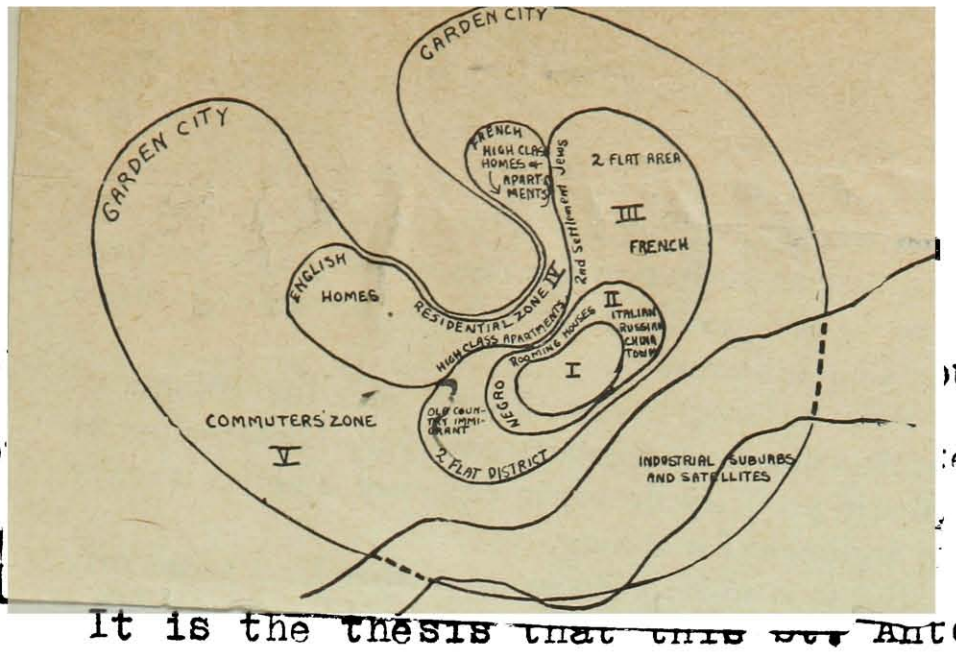
Burgess has shown that cities tend to grow in a series of concentric circles. (3) In Montreal, due to

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(1) The City, Park. The Ecological Approach to the Study to the Human Community - Mackenzie. - pages 62-63.

(2) Park & Burgess. Introduction to the Sciense of Sociology, Page 509.

(3) The City, Park. The Growth of the City. Burgess, Page 51.



geograp[h]uth and Mount Royal o[f]tern of concentric kidneys

It is the thesis that this ~~old~~ Antoine district grew up naturally, and with no direction. This is seen in the lay out of the streets. These are all patterned on the gridiron plan, the intermingling of the railroad property, the manufacturing, and the housing.

This district is the outgrowth of the old St. Antoine suburb, and the satellite cities of St. Cunegonde and St. Henry.

The earliest of the French settlers to this city located themselves near the river banks. Here they were in close touch with the Indians for trading purposes. The mountain was in the distance. A chart (5) of the city as of 1759 portrays the boundaries on the South the river, Fortification Lane on the north, the present McGill Street the western extremity, and but little development east of the present Bonsecours Market.

"The present Craig Street was at that time the bed of a small river with marshy banks. The town was surrounded by a wall four feet thick and nine feet high. Gardens, convents, nunneries and churches occupied most of the land. What is now Fortification Lane between St. James and Craig street, was the location of the northern wall. Beyond that

(4) La Revue Municipale, The City as an Organism, Dawson, Page 12.
(5) Old and New Montreal, Published by the Royal Bank of Canada, 1913.

geographical features of the river on the south and Mount Royal on the North, this has taken on a pattern of concentric kidneys. (4)

It is the thesis that this St. Antoine district grew up naturally, and with no direction. This is seen in the lay out of the streets. These are all patterned on the gridiron plan, the intermingling of the railroad property, the manufacturing, and the housing.

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and the marshy river were a few scattered settlements. At what is now the corner of St. James and McGill Streets was located the Powder Magazine, placed there so as to be some distance out of town, owing to the danger of its contents The Parish Church at the edge of what is now Placed'Armes stood in the centre of Notre Dame Street and remained there almost one hundred years longer". (6)

West and South of the Magazine appears to have had but a few scattered houses, while to the north of this river was the Mons Linieres Gardens.

A description of the city in its embryonic stage of development appears in Travels through the State of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years1795, 1796 and 1797.

Montreal, July 1797.

(7) "The town of Montreal was laid out pursuant to the orders of one of the Kings of France: which were, that a town should be built as high up the St. Lawrence as it was possible for vessels to go by sea. In fixing upon the spot where it stands, his commands were complied with in the strictest sense. The town at present contains about twelve hundred houses, whereof five hundred only are within the walls; the rest are in the suburbs which commence from the north, east and west gates: the houses in the suburbs are

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(6) Borthwick - History of Montreal - Page 50.

(7) Montreal, Its History to which is added Biographical sketches with Photographs of many of its Principal Citizens. Page 13

mostly built of wood, but the others are all of stone; none of them are elegant, but there are many very comfortable habitations. In the lower part of the town towards the river where most of the ships stand, they have a very gloomy appearance and look like so many prisons, being all furnished at the outside with sheet iron shutters to the doors and windows, which are regularly closed towards evening, to guard against fire.

The streets are all very narrow; three of these run parallel to the river, and these are intersected by others at right angles but not at regular distances. On the side of the town farthest from the river and nearly between the northern and southern extremities there is a small square, called La Place d'Armes, which seems originally to have been intended for the military to exercise in; the troops, however, they never make use of it now, but parade on a long walk behind the walls, nearer to the barracks. On the opposite side of the town towards the water, is another small square where the market is held. There are six churches in Montreal; one for English Episcopalians, one for Presbyterians, and four for Roman Catholics."

(8) "The walls round the town are mouldering away very fast, and in some places are totally in ruins. The gates, however, remain quite perfect."

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(8) Ibid 7.

It is evident from the present St. Antoine district that the cities growth has been along the lines of least resistance. The uphill grade towards the base of Mount Royal tends to send the development to the East and West with a gradual Northward movement following. J.H.Darwin writing in the Montreal Star of the period 1815-1816, said:

(9) "Viger Garden was a swamp, and from this swamp a sluggish creek ran south westerly along what is now Craig street, past the east end of St. Antoine street, making a turn at Dows Brewery ..... Five roads, corresponding to St. Mary, St. Lawrence, St. Antoine, St. Joseph, and Wellington streets, ran out of the city to the country, four of them passing through groups of houses forming small suburbs..... (10) St. Antoine suburbs began at a bridge crossing the creek at the east end of St. Antoine street, and was a road with several cross lanes pretty closely built up as far west as Mountain street. There was only one first class house, that of Norman McLeod, a rich Nor' Wester', or member of the North West Company."

A map of the city for 1846 shows St. Catherine and Mountain street as the Northern and Western boundaries while the expansion had proceeded to Victoria road (four streets east of the present Panet street), on the East.

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(9) & (10) Borthwick - History of Montreal, p. 50 - 51.

The Southern boundary was the river. This map also shows that Richmond Street had been named and that a short street immediately west of Richmond . connected St. Antoine and Dorchester streets.

One of the purposes in the founding of this city was the exploitation of the fur trade. Business institutions were located, of necessity, near the river, and, with its gradual growth the residential portion became transferred. The city area as of 1759, in time, became the area devoted to business. As such it occupied the position of dominence for the whole of the city. It is in the business area, which is an area of the most diversified specialization, that the cultural life of the community has its roots. A cultural advance in the development of the city is to be found in the lighting of the city which began in 1815.

(11) "In November, 1815.... part of St.Paul street was lighted by twenty-two lamps, costing $7.00 each. They were distant from each other fifty-four feet. This was the west end of St. Paul street, and by Christmas, same year, the east end of St. Paul street was similarly lighted. Notre Dame street followed, and thus began the lighting of Montreal now in this year 1897, lighted by gas and electricity. With the opening up of St. Joseph street, now Notre Dame street, the city began to spread in a westerly direction. By 1870 Craig street had a number of important business centres, some of which rival any other city in amount of enterprise and

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(11) Borthwick - History of Montreal - Page 21.

energy. From Craig street run north many streets, all very narrow and of little consequence save that in some of them are important manufactures."

The church, as an institution in the city, offers an index to this process of growth and resulting expansion. Professor Holt of the Chicago Theological Seminary in the American Journal of Sociology for July 1927 says (12) "The first and most obvious fact is that since the church is made up of people, the growth and extension of human communities is bound to register on the church."

Douglas in "The Church in the Changing City" shows how the church changes its location or program in the modern metropolitan centres as a result of the changes which are, or have taken place in the use of the immediate areas. Robert in Dufferin District an Area in Transition, has shown how the Roman Catholic Church, organized as it is on a parish basis, tends to remain in its original location. While it remains in its physical plant and outward appearance as the original church, yet signs are not wanting that in its internal workings and program it is beginning to take over the pattern of the down town church. The Protestant Churches, organized as they are on a denominational basis, tend to follow the lines as suggested by Douglas. When a church changes its plant, it should not be taken as a sign that all of its members have

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(12) The Ecological approach to the Church - Page 72
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moved from that section of the city the church has served for such a lengthy period. Rather, it denotes that the majority have ceased to make their homes in that region, there is definite trend away, leaving only the less successful in their places.

Ecology the Church.

The Anglican Church in Montreal dates from shortly after 1764, when the first Episcopalian minister was stationed here. There was at this time no church building nor a sufficient body of wealthy followers to erect one. This group applied to the Recollect Fathers for permission to use their church at such time, as the society did not require their building. By 1789, the congregation had so increased that Lord Dorchester granted them the use of the Jesuits Chapel. A fire in 1803 rendered this building useless. Accordingly, a church was built on Notre Dame Street in 1814. It was also destroyed by fire in 1856, and the congregation worshipped in the Gosford Street Church, until the present Christ Church Cathedral was completed on St. Catherine Street. This congregation has decided to move to Sherbrooke Street in the very near future. St. George's Episcopal Church was completed in 1844 on St. Joseph Street, near McGill street. St. George's Church is now located opposite Windsor Station on Osborne Street. Rumour has it

that the C.P.R. is contemplating the erection of a modern hotel here in the distant future. St.James the Apostle Church, located at the corner of St. Catherine and Bishop Streets, was at one time part of the St.Stephens Church on Dalhousie Street, Griffintown, which was built in 1842. The corner stone of St.James the Apostle building was laid in 1863. The first Baptist Church was opened on St.Helen Street near the corner of Recollet in 1831. In 1860 it was sold, a site procured on Beaver Hall Hill, and the new church opened in 1862. The Baptist Church is to-day located at the junction of Dorchester and Guy Streets. St. Paul's Presbyterian was originally part of the St.Gabriel Church. The first structure for this church (after breaking away) was located on St.Helen Street where it joins Recollet, in 1834. This church became too small for the growing congregation, who were, for the most part, now residing in the West end of the city. Accordingly, in 1867 this building was sold and taken down for business purposes. The members met for worship in the Normal School on Belmont Street awaiting the completion of the present structure on corner of Dorchester and St.Genevieve Streets in 1868. The newspapers have reported that the proposed C.N.R. station will include this land in its plans. The St.Gabriel Church was established on St.Gabriel Street in 1786. The present congregation, known as the American Presbyterian Church, was originally part of this body. In

1823 these people broke away from Old St. Gabriels as the Church became known, and used the Wesleyan Chapel which was located at the corner of St. Francois Xavier and St. James Streets. Later, for a period, the church was held at a two storey house on the South East corner of Fortification Lane and Victoria Square. In 1826 a church was built at the South East corner of Great St. James and Victoria Square. This edifice was later the store of the Morgan Company, now located on St. Catherine Street. This location is today the site of the Bank of Nova Scotia building. The present church on Dorchester Street was erected in 1866. Erskine Church dates from 1830 when members of the Session Church requested that a minister be sent here. The United Synod sent a minister in 1832 and the church services were conducted in Bruce's School room on McGill Street. Then followed the temporary use of the American Presbyterian Church building until their own was completed, at the corner of Chenneville and Lagauchetiere Streets. In 1866 a large building, at the corner of St. Catherine and Peel Streets, was completed. The present building is located at the corner of Sherbrooke and Ontario Avenue. The Unitarian Church was established in 1832 in Mr. Workman's School room, the corner of St. Sacrament and St. Nicholas Streets. Later that year, a more suitable chapel was fitted up, temporarily, at the corner of St. Joseph and St. Henry streets; in 1841 the Bruce School room was secured on McGill Street. The following year a house was rented at the corner of Fortification Lane and Victoria Square. Here

the congregation remained worshipping until a church was completed on Beaver Hall Hill in 1845. The church is now located at the corner of Sherbrooke and Simpson Streets. The building on Beaver Hall Hill is being demolished at the time of writing to make way for a modern office building. The St. James Methodist Church was established on St.Sulpice Street in 1807, with a membership of thirty. In 1821 this church had moved opposite to the Bank of Montreal on St. James Street, and the membership had grown to one hundred and nineteen. In 1834 the membership had so increased that a building was erected on St. James Street, the site of the present Canadian Bank of Commerce. This church at that time was one of the largest Wesleyan Churches in Canada, having a seating capacity for nearly 2,000 persons. The present structure on St. Catherine Street was begun in 1887. This growth and expansion of the city's business enterprises, and how it has affected the church, is clearly brought out in the Chronicles of St. James Methodist Church (13) which reads as follows:

> "The frontal portions of the city have long been given up to business purposes, while residences have been sought for in the more remote portions; a consequence of which has been, that in this, as in other churches, the distance between the church and the dwellings of its members was becoming greater year by year, and, in not a few instances was felt to be a real inconvenience. After much prayerful consideration, a step was taken of very considerable moment, viz; the purchase of a square fronting on St. Catherine Street." (14) "Many streets which forty years ago (book was published in 1888) were considered as being in the best residential part of the town, are now devoted exclusively to commercial purposes".

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(13) & (14) Chronicles of St. James Methodist Church, pp.47-65.

The introduction of street lighting into what is today the business section of the city has been noted. The lamp system was replaced by gas and electricity. In the transfer to these more modern forms of lighting systems, a decided advance was made in the cultural growth of the city. Public utilities, when brought to a community, tend to mark the beginnings of the passing of the small town patterns and the taking on those of the more urban areas.

Tramway lines follow the development of the gas and electric services. Tram cars can only be introduced when the business population has taken up residence at what is considered to be more than an easy walking distance from the area of the daily tasks. This service is introduced first in the business area, for here centres the cultural life of the community. The function of the tram service is to facilitate the movement about the area into which it is introduced. The centre of control for the tramways is, of course, in this highly specialized area. It is from here that it is financed. Its extension to the outlying districts depends upon an adequate population there, in order that " an adequate return upon the capital invested" may be obtained. With the setting of "just charges" for service rendered in the hands of a public utility commission the meaning of this statement becomes evident at once.(1) As the population increases the rates tend to be lowered, in view of the law of increasing returns upon

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(1) This often takes the form of new equipment, increased dividends, and stock bonuses rather than a reduction in the fares.

which principle the public utilities operate.

Tramway lines link up the different areas of a community, but only do so, after the community has been brought into touch with other communities by the railroads. The railroads make possible the movement in and out of any community, and break down its isolation from the outside world. Tramway lines in the early days were concerned with the movement of population in and about a community, thus a wider range of contacts is available to the citizens. Mobility has become a factor in the lives of these people. The gas and electric service tends to integrate the family life from the very nature of their services. Members are kept within the family circle. By way of contrast the tramways tend to remove the members from the home through the opening up of this wider range of contacts to all.

The direction the tram lines take will be that which follow the population, after the general direction of the movement has been noted. Following the introduction of the lines to an area there follows an increasing number of people, from the mere fact of the availability of this service. Thus the tramway lines may be both cause and effect of a population movement in a community. In following the trend of population they offer an index to its direction. The free movement of population will be along the lines of

least resistance. In Montreal this has been the following of the river with a gradual movement to the north towards Mount Royal.

A graphic chart of the introduction and subsequent growth of the Montreal Tramway system has been prepared by their Engineering Department. It will be perhaps more readily understood if this chart is compared with a large map of the city.

The laying of the tracks, in the building of the lines, entails the tearing up of the street as well as interfering with the normal rate of traffic movement. In addition there are often times when it is felt that other matters can be handled, when such work is in progress. Here sewers are renewed, likewise water and gas mains are installed, and other work done beneath the ground at the same time, rather than having each done at separate intervals. Sometimes delays are inevitable in getting concerted action by all parties concerned. This results in delays in the programmes of constructions, which may be seen by noting the dates of the completion of certain sections of the road. Notre Dame street was double tracked as far west as Colborne in 1892. St.James had a single track in the vicinity of Bonaventure station, while Windsor street had become a double track street, also, as far north as Dorchester street. The following year the Eastern connection on St.James street was extended to Fulford street. The same year found the St.Antoine street service extended as far West as Woodstock Avenue, also St.James and St.Antoine streets were

connected and cars went around the loop at Fulford St. In 1894 the single track on St. James street was extended to the Glen Road, while, at the same time, double tracks were laid between Windsor and Aqueduct streets. With the St. James service extended to the Glen a double track was laid connecting the St. Catherine street line. This double tracking of the Glen Road marks the beginnings of the growth of the future city of Westmount. The double track system on St. Antoine street did not come until 1910 when several sections were laid, notably between Atwater and Guy, while Windsor street was the stopping point of the Western advance.. The double tracks were completed on St. Antoine street in 1910, as far west as Convent street. At this point the street narrows by some ten feet with the result that the extension has never been made. This narrowing of the street at this point has given an east bound service from the Glen to Windsor street which is much slower than what is afforded by the St. James street route. The Western service along St. Antoine street is speeded up as far as Atwater by the Westmount cars which proceed up Atwater. On their return journey enroute to Place d'Armes, they proceed down Atwater and along St. James street. Citizens from the vicinity of the Glen Road, who are proceeding east to points on St. Antoine street, thus, avail themselves of the faster service of the St. James line rather than wait for the St. Antoine cars.

In comparing the chart with the plotted map of this St. Antoine district, it will be noted that the St. James, St. Antoine connection via Fulford street has been removed, although the rails are still lying on Fulford street. Removal of these rails depends upon the city and its paving program here. As soon as the city paves this street the rails are to be removed by their owners. Atwater has an auto bus service to and from the city of Verdun. Guy street is served by another of the auto bus lines to and from Point St. Charles district.

Thus, the development of the Montreal Tramway lines give in a graphic form the story of the Westward and Northward movement of population from what was the original boundaries of the city, and which, at this time, has become the business section.

The gradual increase of population to the old St. Antoine suburb has been indicated along with the expansion of the business area. This is reflected in the movement of the churches and their general tendency towards the West and North of the city. The tramways following this movement serve to indicate that the movement had been of some proportion and had attracted attention to itself. The movement had an added impetus in the building of the two Canadian railroads, the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific.

21

Montreal is located on an island at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers. The St.Lawrence is navigable to ocean steamers as far inland as this city. Beyond are the countless rapids. Water transportation is the earliest means of communication in the life of communities which are located on the waterfront, where the water is always available, affording opportunities for movements in and out of the community. Ships driven by oars and sail are the earliest forms of marine carriers. Shipping by water is less expensive than that by the railroads. The railroad dates only from the period following the Industrial Revolution and is a comparatively modern invention. The railroads require the construction of the road bed as well as the laying of the rails. Here the task becomes one for the modern scientific engineer. From the fact of the peculiar geographical location, it became evident, in the early days, that Montreal had a marked advantage in water communication. Nor was this all. The city marked the breaking point between the land and the water types of communication. Thus business institutions were of necessity developed near the waterfront in order to meet the needs in the transfer of goods from water to rail. With water transportation an earlier form of communication than that by rail the development of steamship lines preceded that of the railroad in the life of this city. Mr.Edouard Monpetit in La Revue Municipal, December 1927, says:

(15) "Montreal est un port ..... Un port qui est "le trait d'union entre la navigation maritime et la navigation interieure"..... C'est le transport encore qui assurera sa preponderance" .

Mr. L.G.Toϕmbs in his thesis The Port of Montreal has discussed the port of Montreal economically, But the influence of the city as a port can be seen in other results besides those of an economic nature. There followed the opening of the great country to the West. The Grand Trunk was built connecting Montreal with Brockville in 1855. The Canadian Pacific was built in 1886. Then it was that the city became (16) "le trait d'union entre le navigation maritime et la navigation interieure".

The Grand Trunk station is what is today known as the St. Henry station. It was later in 1888 that the present Bonaventure station was opened. The Canadian Pacific opened their terminals at the present site of Windsor station in 1886. As part of the studies for railroad building, the location of the terminals is always a point to be considered at great length. Convenience to the roads' patrons is at all times essential. These patrons represent a diversified group of people and to have this convenience suited to all is a problem requiring study and vision. The busy business

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15 & 16 M. Edouard Montpetit - L'Urbanisme et la Societe - La Revue Minicipal. Dec.1927 page 67.

executive must be brought to the city conveniently near his offices. The offices of the road itself must of necessity be near the financial districts. The general travelling public must be discharged near their homes. It will be noted that the Windsor station of the Canadian Pacific system immediately answered these requirements, while the Grand Trunk followed at a later date.

When a railroad is entering a city little consideration is given to the social results of this invasion. Primarily its purpose is an economic function, and as such it receives a cordial welcome. The citizens see in this step a decided economic advancement and cultural progress resulting. The social results of these invasions are only observed as the resulting changes are taking place. While the building operations are in progress these changes begin in the immediate area. The tracks act as a barrier, setting off the people on one side from those on the other. In this way the social distances are set up between peoples who formerly were alike and had much in common. They now become very different in thought and action. The community itself emerges from the stage of the small town and takes over the city pattern. The immediate area of the station becomes the location of the hotels. The tramway lines establish a terminus, junction, or have lines passing immediately in front in order to speed up the movement of people in and out of this edifice. In this immediate area all is in a

state of flux. Constant change is seen in the endless stream of humanity, ever coming and going. In such an area the home lover, seeking to escape from its mobitity betakes his home to a more stable region.

In Montreal, the building of the Canadian Pacific elevated tracks shut off the prevailing West wind from the area immediately below (St. Antoine and St. James streets). The uphill grade from Notre Dame to Dorchester street received the soot and smoke from the engines. The dust blew about the streets in the upper level and fell in this area now (17) "below the hill and between the tracks". Engineers shreiked their whistles announcing "on time" (18) arrivals; bells clanged in competition with the whistles' supremacy in creating noise; engines coughed and spit their whitened steam as horses victorious in the races. The building of Windsor terminals brought about the following changes in that area. A map of the city previous to 1886 shows Donagana street as a continuation of the present Lagauchetiere street, as far west as Mountain. Bisson street ran north from St. Antoine about opposite the present Dominion Immigration building. The Olivet Baptist Church stood at the corner of Mountain and Osborne streets. Houses extended along St. Antoine street, the north side, from Windsor to Mountain street. These houses on St. Antoine

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(17) Term used by Social Agencies in this area.

(18) Train bulletins.

street were not disturbed until the building was enlarged some years later. Today this location is given over to the exclusive use of the railroad. The streets, church and houses are no more. Nor is this the last of the physical changes which can take place in this immediate section, as a result of the invasion by the railroad. This corporation owns all the property on St.Antoine street north as far west as Guy, This is being held waiting the day of need, when the railroad will increase its yard capacity, by adding more tracks. With the arrival of that time, another period of property demolition will undoubtedly take place. Residents in this area took the situation under thoughtful consideration. The more successful (19) moved "above the hill" and to the west. The railroads had come to Montreal.

The railroads became another factor in this process sifting the city 's population in the St.Antoine district. The business invasion gave rise to the movement of the more successful to the future city of Westmount and the upper levels. The next level in the economic struggle replaced them for a period. The business leader, executives and professional classes gave way to the salaried classes employed in the white collar positions. This group, too, proceeded North and West, giving the district over to the artisans and the semi-skilled group. These were followed by the marginal whites whose economic position is one of insecurity. These people had to live

(19) Expression denoting a superior position to those below the hill.

near their daily tasks. They were the members of that vast army who early in the morning punch the clock, following the blowing of the "ten to" whistle. Failure on their part to report on time means that their post is given to one of the many in the line outside the Employment Office. Socially this group has but few attachments to the existing institutions. A mobile group, they come and go continually, taking what is offered and contributing almost nothing. It is with the entrance of this unskilled group that the Negro took up his residence in the St.Antoine district.

With the coming of the railways to this city, there followed a new resident, the Negro. He was particularly adapted, from his former occupation as a slave, to that type of railroad work which has been given him. His periods of residence were of short duration. He became a citizen of Montreal only between trains. The railroads established (20) "quarters" for him on St.James street in the part which is now Little St. Antoine, Little Craig, and St.David's Lane. It will be noted that, here it was, he began to organize his social life. It was in this district that he began the club life to meet the spare time and recreational needs while in the city. In time, he, too, reached St. Antoine street. He was the last invader who has given the area of this study its particular colour, its heterogenous population, its diversified life and its own peculiar social problems.

(20) Term used by Negro railway employees to denote Railroad boarding houses.

Two factors tended to give the Negro his residence in this area, the Westward expansion of business with its results and proximity to his work. These former dignified, old, large residences became divided and subdivided to meet the needs of the new tenants. Along St. Antoine street today extending as far west as Greene avenue one observes the A and ½ numbers. These are the old mansions formerly for but one family. Today they house two families at the minimum. Within this section are to be found the one room apartments also. The most outstanding example of this process of dividing and subdividing is that of the old Torrance estate situated on a street of the same name. This estate, old time residents assert, extended to the river and was bounded by the present Aqueduct, St. Antoine and Mountain streets. The estate is no more. This residence today is given over to seven families.

The former ownership by an individual family or its head became replaced by ownership or management under the control of the large trust companies and incorporated estates. Home ownership of itself tends to stabilize the residents. Their owners have vested interests at stake which must be protected. This is especially noticeable in the rapidly growing city where there is opportunity of a future sale with the profit of the unearned increment. Thus the owners are active in their repairs, in resisting the business invasion into the vicinity of their homes. Absentee ownership does not

always result in the antithesis of this proposition. But such will be the situation when a section of the city has been invaded economically and racially. This racial invasion of itself results in lowered property values and reduced rentals. Yet with the business section growing closer to the home area, land values begin to rise. Owners then have the problem of repairs or of letting the property deteriorate ever hoping the time will come (before the city takes it for the non-payment of taxes) when the business interests will offer a profit to the holder. The ownership by the Canadian Pacific Railway is one of keeping the property in repair until such time as it is desirable to change the use of the land from purposes of residence to that of railroad yards. Near Fulford Street, on St. Antoine north, is to be seen a large red stone residence which is going through such a process. The St. Antoine district is decidedly under the control of the absentee owner.

Absorption of Satellite Cities.

The St. Antoine district or area of negro social life, it will be noted, lies between the railroad tracks. This district today shows the lack of town planning. The writer's map of the district shows the distribution of the economic and social units. No plan of locating these units with any attempt at meeting the needs has ever been attempted. Stores, garages, manufacturing plants, warehouse, railroad property and tramways, churches, schools, hospitals, social welfare agencies, recreational centres have all been located in such a manner that the line of least resistance has been followed.

The satellite cities of St. Cunegonde and St. Henry, now part of the city , are within this area of Negro social life. Both were formerly separately incorporated cities with their own government, representation at Ottawa, police and fire control.

The City of St. Cunegonde is very largely a manufacturing district today. As the two cities grew it became impossible to tell where Montreal ended and St. Cunegonde began. Some of these manufacturing plants are still carrying on business, namely, The Robert Mitchell Co. Ltd., Davidson's plant, now the General Steel Wares Ltd., Wm. Rutherford and Sons. Lovell's report of the Montreal census of 1891, tells of St. Cunegonde as follows;

(1) "The City of St. Cunegonde, incorporated in 1876, as a city, adjoining the City limits of Montreal, District of Montreal. This Municipality is governed by a Mayor and Corporation. A permanent Fire and Police Force is maintained; it is lighted with Incadescent light, and possesses first class Water Works. The Corporation purchased the old St. Judes Church, which they have converted into a handsome Town Hall with commodious offices and Court Room, Fire Station and Large Hall, for public meetings, as well as a private residence, for the Chief of Police. The Jacques Cartier Bank has also opened a branch in the building.. The Post Office has been lately.transferred into a Hall. The city contains two Churches; one Catholic and one Protestant; and two Schools; one Catholic and one Protestant. It possesses some extensive industries .... Population 7,089 Catholics and 1,065 Protestants, and 5 Jews."

St. Henry, the other satellite city, to complete the St. Antoine district, is also a former separately incorporated city. It was at this time lighted with gas and oil lamps. St. Henry at the time of the construction of the Grand Trunk railroad became the Montreal terminus. The old station of St. Henry is still in use today. The former town hall, police and fire station are still in use in their original location at St. Henry Place.

Previous to the absorption of these cities by Montreal proper St. Antoine ward occupied a vast area. A

(1) Lovell's City Directory, 1891.

map of the city in 1898-99 shows the St. Antoine wards as bounded on the south by Notre Dame street, extending north as far as Mount Royal; to the east as far as McGill, St. Alexander, City Councillor, and Durocher streets, on the west the line began at Fulford street and extended as far north as the Botanical Grounds of McGill University, touching Arrand street just immediately west of the Seminary of Philosophy. The City of St. Cunegonde was bound on the south by the Lachine Canal, on the north by Dorchester street, on the west by Atwater Avenue. The eastern extremity was the western boundary of Montreal. North of Dorchester street, this map indicates that there was at this time little housing. St. Henry was bounded by the tracks of the C.P.R. on the north, Atwater Avenue on the East, and Cote St. Paul road extending from the Lachine Canal on the South to the Toll Gate at Church Avenue. The Southern extremity was the Lachine Canal.

The vast area of these cities and the ward of the city of Montreal today comprises St. George, St. Joseph, St. Andre, St. Cunegonde and St. Henry wards. Comparing the former divisions of the city with that of the present day, it will be noted that those of the present day are but a portion of that formerly. In this way any political consciousness that may have existed under the former divisions has been destroyed with the change. The Negro living as he does, not exclusively in any one of these wards, and in many cases, outside these arbitrary divisions, becomes a man of

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"THROUGH STREET" SYSTEM PROPOSED

Ald. Allan Bray Will Bring Details of Plan to Council

Star Aug 8/28

IDEA OF PRIORITY

Would Halt Movement on Lesser Intersections to Solve Congestion

The creation of the "through street" system in Montreal to provide that all vehicles make a full stop before entering the principal highways, is to be proposed by Ald. Allan Bray in a motion which he has prepared for council on Tuesday.

According to the plan which the representative of St. Henry explained today he will ask that certain streets, chiefly those on which there are tram lines, and others where traffic is heavy, be designated as "through streets" with priority over all intersections.

This will mean that traffic on these "main boulevards" as they are called in other cities, will be able to proceed without interference from side streets, and that all traffic emerging from lesser arteries shall make a full stop and proceed only when the main artery is clear.

STREETS NAMED.

This will entail making a schedule of through streets, and it is proposed to include in this category St. James, Notre Dame, Craig, Dorchester, St. Catherine, Ontario, Sherbrooke, Mount Royal, Laurier, Bernard and Van Horne, while the intersecting streets will be Guy, Beaver Hall, Park, St. Lawrence, St. Denis, St. Hubert, Amherst, Papineau and Delorimier.

Where through streets intersect order would be maintained by traffic constables.

but little political interest. The spreading out of these people in their residence, when it has been shown that the residence does not correspond with the political divisions, makes the growth and development of a political consciousness most difficult.

The eight Finnish residents of this city at the time of the 1921 census were boarders in French or English homes in the St. Antoine district. They were the only representatives of this nationality in the city at that time. By 1924, their numbers had so increased that boarding houses were established in this district. The proximity to the railroad stations, labour bureaus, and cheap rents for boarding house purposes, tended to bring him to this area of the city. Today there are six of these houses between Mountain and Lusignan along St. Antoine street. These boarding houses have accomodation up to 150, the limit of their capacity at any one time. In addition, some are to be found on Torrance, Mountain streets and Overdale avenue.

These boarding houses give accomodation for males only. The females all are cared for at the Finnish Immigrant Home, 372 - 374 Lagauchetiere Street West. This home is under the direction of the Finnish pastor of the Finnish Congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Montreal. The pastor supervises the placement of these women in domestic

service. The demand for the Finnish domestic exceeds the supply of those offering themselves.

There is a constant state of change among these people in this city. Montreal, for the males, is largely a temporary home. A rural people, they seek work on the farms, in construction gangs, in the woods of the pulp and paper mills companies, hydro electric development work. As soon as the hoped for sign "Men Wanted" appears in the Canadian Pacific Labor Bureau these men line up waiting the opportunity of signing up and shipping out. The turnover in these boarding houses is very rapid as these men are in constant demand by employers. The women remain in the city as part of the permanent Finnish population . .. The Canadian Government has no quota restrictions upon members of this nationality, checking this influx. The movement to Canada from the native land is on the increase as they have only to pass the physical examination, satisfy the demands of the passage money, and they are accepted by the Dominion's representative in that country.

The Finnish people at home in Finland are divided into two political parties, the Reds or Communists, and the Whites, who favor the retaining of the old order. In Montreal due to the high rate of mobility, this division as yet has not asserted itself. It is to be found, however, in Sudbury and Copper Cliff. The newspaper of this Communist party, known as Vapus, established, in January 1928, a reading room in the heart of the boarding house area on St. Antoine street

Five papers come weekly to this address from the head-quarters of the Finnish Communist part at Sudbury, Ontario. This reading-room has become a social centre for these people in this particular district. On Saturday and Sunday evenings, both male and female gather here to read, hear of the home land and tell of their experiences as Canadian citizens in the making.

These people who have come to Canada are largely rural dwellers, farmers and woodsmen. As yet there has been but little movement from their larger centres. The capital and largest city has a population of some 200,000 to 250,000. Their experience on the farms in Ontario and Quebec is for them a training in methods, the use of the more modern machinery. Here they receive their introduction to the Canadian standards, customs and the process of assimilation is begun. As soon as they feel they have learned enough to manage their own property they proceed West and purchase land at points west of Winnipeg. When the men have completed their job upon which they are working and no ready employment is offered them at hand, they proceed to Montreal to the boarding house area in order to ship out once again.

The services of the Evangelical Lutheran Church have been held at the Lagauchetiere residence since August 1,1927. The summer finds an attendance of 100,while in the winter this reaches 200. The present site is too small to meet the demands of church, home, school for the study of English and a social centre for these girls and their men friends.

Previous to the securing of the present site, the St. Johns Evangelical Lutheran Church at the corner of Prince Arthur and Jeanne Mance streets was in use.

The residing of the Finnon St. Antoine street where he is thrown into contact with the Negro is a totally new experience for these people. Negroes are not found in their home land. They associate with the dark skin the feeling that the Negro is a degraded creature. As soon as marriage takes place among these people they move out of the district. They have shown a decided preference for the city of Verdun and signs are not wanting that it is in this city the Fin will establish himself as a citizen of Greater Montreal. This city is, he feels, more like his former home. He is away from the noise and confusion of city life, the housing is superior, rents are cheaper, it is connected by a superior auto bus service with the city proper and it offers first class education opportunities for his future children, and he is removed from the Negro.

Change in use of Certain Streets

Following the invasion of the St. Antoine district by the forces that have tended to make the district what it is, a change came about in the use of certain of the streets.

Windsor on the east, from its location, soon became a main artery of traffic moving north and south. With tram lines and horse drawn vehicles not requiring the speed of the

auto this street afforded sufficient available space to handle the volume offered. With the introduction of the auto, congestion soon appeared certain and relief was sought. This was found in using Mountain street, the first north and south connection west of Windsor, which extended to Sherbrooke street.

Mountain street is competing seriously for supremacy with Windsor as a north and south artery of traffic. The City Corporation, appreciating the situation has paved this street with concrete blocks, from immediately in front of the St. Antoine Market as far north as Dorchester. Beginning with the milk truck in the vicinity of 5 o'clock in the morning, this street is in continuous use during the day, until the city street cleaners have completed their tasks of sweeping and watering about 2 o'clock the following morning. Nor is this street used for only the heavy traffic. Taxis, pleasure cars and tourists are continually passing on their way to and from the Bonaventure station, the financial centre and Victoria Bridge. Saturday, market day, brings an added swarm of these four wheeled vehicles. With trucks and wagons laden with vegetables standing on the sides of the St. Antoine Market, congestion at this point is common. As originally laid out, the houses on each side of the street had lawns between the sidewalks and the houses. The street itself was wide enough for two horse drawn vehicles to pass comfortably. Twice this street has been widened since the

building of the railways, the last during 1928. This last extension of the roadway gave some 10 feet south of the Boys' Home, extending to St. James street, giving added space for the Saturday rush. Buildings on the west side reflect this practice of lawns growing in front of the residence. The Church at Mountain and Torrance streets sets back some ten feet with a plot of grass between the church and the sidewalk. It is also found again in front of the block of houses opposite Osborne street. The only vestige to be found on the east side are the trees directly facing the Boys'Home, which are today surrounded by the sidewalk. It is interesting to note that this institution, founded in 1870, at which time it was located "in the country", is now preparing to move West "above the tracks".

Guy Street from 1896 - 97 to 1926 was served by the tramway line trolley cars. A narrow roadway when used by these lines, traffic was of necessity restricted. With the change to the autobus service and the tracks removed, more space is available. This street has been macadamized from St. James to Sherbrooke, showing that while it is intended as a feeder for the north and south traffic, yet the heavy traffic will be routed up and down Atwater, Mountain, and the Glen Road.

Atwater has been designed as a main division of city traffic. Almost double the width of the other north and south through streets in the St. Antoine district, it has been paved with the heavy block as far north as Dorchester,

thus offering ease, speed, and space for movements between Montreal and Verdun. It is by means of Atwater and St. James that the automobile owner of Westmount and beyond reaches his downtown office during the day and the rush hours.

St.James, St. Antoine and Dorchester streets are all in great demand for traffic at the rush hours, to avoid the congestion on St.Catherine and Sherbrooke streets. The proposal by an alderman in the City Council, of establishing "through streets" in this city, will bring about more changes in the use of certain of the streets in this district. At the time of writing nothing further has appeared in the press on this proposal. The report appears below, and is introduced to show that the problem of the city traffic congestion is to be found in the St.Antoine district, and that this district is an integral part of this growing organism - the City of Montreal.

Description of the St. Antoine District

Distribution of Economic Units

The St. Antoine district is a vast collection of business establishments, railroad property, tramway lines and housing. The large business institutions have located themselves with relation to the railroad property in order to take advantage of the short haul to and from the Canadian National lines. The small shops and stores have followed the tramway lines. St. James street from Chaboillez Square to Richmond street is given over exclusively to railroad use. From this point to St. Henry Place the railroad has not as yet taken the property up to the street. Here are to be found housing and small stores on the ground floor. Between Bourget street and Laporte avenue there is another jutting on the street front. Here are located the St. Henry Freight sheds. Between Delinelle and Lacasse streets is the final invasion of the street frontage by this line to give place to the St. Henry Pullman Yards. It is at this location that porters on the C.N.lines check in and out of Montreal. The training school for porters employed by this line is also located at this point. As a government enterprise this road has the power of expropriating any property which may be necessary for any future expansion. The proposals of a new union station to serve all the systems coming to Montreal, would seem to direct attention to the possibilities of enlarging the already existing facilities of the C.N.R. in this area. The move as is here suggested, of enlarging the yards, would

appear from this study as a logical one. Such a move would afford the C.N.R. a large freight yard and freight service conveniently located to the centre of the city. Mountain Street and Atwater avenue afford through connections to the uptown areas, while the distance is a comparatively short one to the wholesale section of the city. St.James north shows the same intermingling of the business and the housing. The crowding out of the housing is most conspicuously seen at Lusignan to Richmond streets, and Brewster to Irene streets. The Roman Catholic Church has claimed the block from Convent to College, St.Antoine to St.James Street. Here are church, schools and other necessary buildings of such an institution. The further trailing of the business, following the tramway lines, is to be seen from College to the Glen Road. Along St.James street will be found a number of vacant lots. These are being held for prospective purchasers. But three parks or squares are in this vast area where the citizens may sit free from the sun's hot rays in the summer. The general pattern in the location of the different units is one suggesting that it has come about as a real estate venture in absentee ownership. In the building of the houses with a street business frontage one purpose is in mind, - that of greater profits. The lower floor nets from $10 to $20 per month more rental than from the residents above. In the growing cities there are always the possibilities of a future sale, and thus the tendency along the lines of the tramways is to capitalize this future of the property. This has been the case of St.James street, but

holds true for the changing use of St. Antoine street where the stores are being located in the former ground floor flats. In these cases the partitions have been removed a new entrance effected and a store opens its doors to the customers. The St. James street stores are very largely clothing and grocery, while those on St. Antoine are mostly grocery. This seems to indicate that those citizens residing on St. Antoine street buy much of their clothing in the uptown stores, while those living on St. James street do not cross the tracks as do the St. Antoine group, but shop at the nearest point and on Notre Dame street.

It will be noted that Fulford street, the former western boundary of the city, has its stores extending from St. Antoine to St. James. With the removal of the tramway connections at these points the pattern has not been affected. Atwater avenue, served as it is by the autobus lines, is showing a change in the use of property. The chain stores are locating themselves at the points of highest mobility and are to be found in the largest numbers in the St. Antoine district near and on Atwater.

Comparatively little available vacant space is to be found in the St. Antoine district. When building is contemplated in this district there is the need for demolition of the present structures before the new ones can be started. This adds to the expenses of the property. In regions where the building has reached a point of overcrowding among

the residents when coupled with a population drift away from the area, a falling off in the building permits will be noted. The building permits for Montreal for 1926 tend to show that this district is not keeping up the speed with which such work is progressing in other wards of the city.

The Montreal Star. April 16, 1928.

Montreal Made Building Record During Past Year

Total Value of New Structures in 1927 was $45,183,317.

St. George Ward

Heads City With Construction Registered at $18,087,388.

The first official report of the building superintendent for the year, 1927, was handed to the administration today, showing that in the past twelve months buildings were erected in Montreal to a total value of $45,183,317, the highest figure ever reached in this city. Distributed over the 12 months of the year the totals are as follows:- January, $839,305; February $1,349,435; March, $1,218,695; April, $2,061,253; May, $3,025,889; June, $3,177,250; July, $1,984,988 August, $19,206,553; September, $2,635,295; October,$3,715,47 4; November, $3,537,955; December, $2,431,225; total $45,183,317.

Of the 35 wards St. George is the highest with $18,087,388 while St.Cunegonde has the smallest total, $40,755. The six biggest wards in point of construction are: St.George, Notre Dame de Grace, St. Andrew, Villeray, Rosemount, Mount Royal.

Following is the detailed report of the building superintendent, J.E.Carmel, showing the building in each ward separately.

Ville Marie, $509,135; St. Anne, $271,350; St. Joseph $74,415; St. George, $18,087,388; St. Laurent, $501,285; Cremazie, $833,650; St.James, $414,820; Bourget, $218,815; Papineau, $240,935; St. Mary, $107,600; St.Gabriel $175,305; St. Cunegonde, $40,755; St. Andrew, $2,976,718; St. Louis, $590,325; Lafontaine, $103,675; St. Eusebe, $442,300; Prefontaine, $271,074; Hochelaga, $831,325, Maisonneuve, $788,910; Mercier, $818,094; St. Paul, $747,120; St. Henry, $312,315; Notre Dame de Grace, $4,629,190; Mount Royal, $1,590,060; St. Jean Baptiste, $739,895; Laurier, $97,975; St. Denis $380,905; Delormier, $753,890; St. Michael,$280,465; St. John $901,385; St. Edward,$822,523; Montcalm, $502,850; Rosemount, $1,960,905; Vileray,$2,684,095; Ahuntsic, $481,780.

Description of the District

St. Antoine District as a Mobile Area

The very nature of the work of the Negroes is of such a type that they are subject to a high rate of mobility. They travel on the average of sixteen days each month. Their already high rate of mobility is increased by means of the tramway lines which serve this area. The St. Antoine

district is one whose people are continually changing. The residents in the area of this study must of necessity live at no great distance from their tasks. The population consisting as it does of the lower ranks of the semi and unskilled workmen is subjected to the periodic disturbances of industry. This tends to keep the district in a continuous state of change in its people.

The Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated each year obtains from their customers advice of proposals to change residence. The gas and electric meters are removed and installed for each customer that moves from one residence to another. Mobility in the St. Antoine district is so extensive and characteristic of the district that this corporation charges $10.00 deposit before the meters are connected and service ready for the proposed customer. West of Guy Street the charge is decreased to $5.00. In the case of boarding and rooming houses the charge is increased, depending upon the number of rooms in the house. For purposes of meter readings and removals, this concern considers the St. Antoine district as one of the main divisions of the city. Their meter men are not permitted to cross the railroad tracks due to the laws against trespassing on the railroad property. The district is divided into sections, beginning at Windsor street, extending to St. Remi on the West. The following table has been prepared from the figures of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated, showing the number of meter transfers as of May of each year for the period 1924-28.

Section	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	Total by districts 1924-28.	
#363	116	126	98	112	111	563	Between Windsor and Guy Sts. St. James and St. Antoine streets.
203	227	221	231	168	176	1023	Guy to Canning, St. Antoine and St. James
204	231	218	208	181	174	1012	Canning to Vinet St. Antoine & St James.
205	176	182	171	126	128	783	Vinet to Atwater St.Antoine & St. James.
270	112	131	123	106	103	575	Atwater to Rose de Lima, St. Antoine & St.James
271	139	144	120	112	90	605	Rose de Lima to St.Agnes, St. Antoine & St.James
272	146	143	120	130	106	645	St.Agnes to St. Ferdinand, St. Antoine & St.James
273	223	213	216	167	179	998	St.Ferdinand to Lacasse, St. Antoine & St.James
274	181	233	190	163	144	911	Lacasse to St. Remi, St.Antoine and St. James.
Total by years	1551	1611	1477	1265	1211	7115	

These figures do not indicate the change of people within the area but include changes of position within the area and outside with the. They can not be thought of as marking the rate of Negro mobility, but indicate the rate of change in the housing within this area. When similar data will have been obtained for the rest of the city, a comparison may then be made of mobility in the same terms for the different sections.

Mobility in this area is indicated in a case study which appears under the Negro Family. This family in the period June 1923 to November 1926 showed the following moves. These changes of location, it should be noted, appear in the case record only during the periods that this family was actually under the care and protection of the agency.

June 1923,	St.James Street
May 1,1924	Delisle "
"	St.James "
June"	" " "
" " "	Seigneur "
" "	Imperial Avenue
April 1925	St.James Street
"	Canning Street
May 1926	Avenue de Fleurs
November 1926	Fulford Street

Note: The writer has attempted to follow several of these case studies in the moves about the St.Antoine district and the city in the different sections where Negroes reside. Lack of sufficient data prevents him from carrying out the study of mobility farther than to say that it is safe to assume that the Negro family in this city moves at least once a year.

The district, Windsor to Guy street, for the five year period under consideration, shows the lowest rate of change of all the St. Antoine district. This is the eastern hinterland of this study. From Windsor to Mountain, representing some one-half the physical space of this division, the writer's map shows that here the business invasion has been most severe. St. Felix, Imperial, Glackmeyer streets are all beginning to show signs of the severity of this encroachment as does Mountain. The balance of this section, where housing exists, is to be found over shops and stores. The presence of

the business has crowded the residents to the West. Business, when located near railroad yards and stations, will tend to remain nearby for a long period, if the commodities upon which the existence of these businesses depend arrive at the nearby yards. This is the case for this immediate section. Fruit, vegetables, milk and autos appear to be the chief commodities arriving at these yards of the C.N.R., while the C.P.R. is strictly a passenger station. Thus, there is a slow decrease in the number of families in this immediate section, while the balance of the equilibrium is maintained by the business establishments. District No.363 with physically over one half of the area given over to business which from its nature tends to be rather stable, signifies that the apparent low rate of mobility of people really becomes very high when so interpreted.

Districts Nos.203 and 204, comprising the area from Guy to Vinet street, have the most change of population for the whole of St.Antoine district. This, it will be noted, is the section which shows the largest number of social institutions for meeting such conditions as are found in a mobile population. In this region are the settlements, missions, homes for working women and the aged and infirm. More of the manufacturing type of business is located in this section. In no other section of this area of this study does there appear so much of the housing over the stores as in district Nos. 203 and 204. This is well brought out on St.James Street north, from Richmond to Fulford.

From Vinet to St.Ferdinand, there is a decided decrease of population in motion. Vacant lots on St. James street, the solid block of manufacturing from Brewster to Irene, extending from St.James to St.Antoine, and the solid block of the Roman Catholic institutions bounded by College and Convent, St.Antoine and St.James streets, the presence of the St.Henry park, have all prevented the building of a proportionately large number of houses as is the case in the Guy-Vinet district. The manufacturing in this district represents some of the oldest, strongest financially of the city enterprises. Such business is undoubtedly on a sounder basis, has stood the test of the economic cycles better than many of the smaller houses in the Eastern sections.

The remainder of the area, St.Ferdinand to St.Remi street (Glen Road the Western boundary of this study) offers the least space for housing. The converging of St.James and St.Antoine to a point at the Glen beginning at St.Henry Place has greatly reduced available space in this area. This limited space from the physiographic features of these streets has been decreased further by the presence of the car barns and the large manufacturing plant, both located between the Glen and Lacasse street. This district has a vast amount of the street floor business and housing immediately above variety of residences. Proximity to the St.Henry yards of both the C.N. and C.P. systems indicates employment of a menial nature for the residents of this section. The rail-

roads are barometers of the business of the country and the casual and unskilled groups that find such employment in the yards and sheds are subjected to a high and rapid labor turnover. This would all tend to be reflected in their change of position about the city.

In this St. Antoine district a vast army of representatives of government, business and social institutions are constantly at work. Led by the police and the fire patrols whose stations are within and without the area, the peace and safety of the inhabitants are guaranteed and preserved. In the sections where the larger business establishments are to be found, fires are answered from two stations. The equipment is largely motor, aided by a permanent staff of fire fighters. The police service in this district as far west as Atwater is continually in touch with headquarters by means of the fire alarm and telephone system, installed during recent years. At each of these stations motorcycles are available to speed up the work of patrolling and having the staff prepared for any unforeseen emergencies. The tax and rent collectors, insurance agents, V.O.N. and the Social Workers avail themselves of the tram lines and make short cuts through the alleys and lanes, after the pattern of those familiar with the region. The vegetable peddler competes with the chain stores in the process of supplying the householder with commodities and saves them the time of shopping trips. The rag man is ever in motion collecting his wares. The peddlers, rag and ice men, west of Atwater, raise their nasal voices vieing with one another in thinning that

the quantity of business done is directly in ratio to the distance they are heard. These men use the back lanes and alley_ways,hung with the dripping clothes, the mother's daily task in her attempts to keep her brood clean. One of these lanes between Marin and Fulford streets has been paved to facilitate the work of these men and that of the city scavengers. These lanes offer a shady retreat to the adolescent boys during the summer vacations. Here the boys gather for soft ball, football and lacrosse. Following the game all seat themselves on the ground, go "snippin' butts", spin the stories of imagination, repeat those they have heard from the lips of their older associates. Here is one of the gang districts of the city - truly an interstitial area.

In this St. Antoine district there are but two Protestant churches with only one pastor in residence in the area served by the church. The pastor of the Negro church lives within the area, while his church lies south of the district. The other pastors of Protestant churches, outside the area but serving those within, are all residents outside, also. This is true also for the schools, both within and without the area, yet serving those within. By way of contrast one can observe the location of the different Roman Catholic churches, colleges, school, convents, asylums, and hospitals , all serving this area are located with those in charge in residence at the seat of their work. Here they are able to be in constant touch with their people, know their problems, their successes and failures and render the

service they are attempting immediately it is needed. The St. Antoine district is an area where one comes from outside to within its boundaries from economic necessity, completes his tasks and departs upon their completion for the world where the expression of his wishes is more complete and satisfying.

In these areas of high mobility one segment of the organism tends to function to the exclusion of the rest. The result is a form of behavior which tends to follow the line of least resistance on the part of the individual. The actual behavior itself may or may not meet with the approval of the established society. When it is of a nature which is felt to be harmful to the best interest of society, laws are set up as a restraining influence. Typical of such behavior and the use of the law as a form of social control in the behavior of the Negro in the St. Antoine District is found in the following cases.

The Montreal Star. August 6th, 1927.

Negro near death, Woman is held as result of brawl.

Police claim victim was struck by heavy pitcher.

Both are silent.

Quarrel resulted from Argument over drink - Woman injured

Robert Taylor, 222 St. Antoine street, a negro, is in a dying condition at the Western Hospital, while Georgina Thompson, of the same address, also coloured, is being held as a witness at police headquarters in connection with an

alleged brawl said to have taken place at Taylor's home shortly before 9 o'clock last night.

Taylor was admitted to the hospital suffering from loss of blood after having received a severe gash above the ear which lacerated the scalp and cut a vein. For the first few minutes after his admission he was twice at the point of death but was revived by stimulants.

Critical State.

Doctors regarded his condition as extremely critical at a late hour last night.

Information gathered by Detectives Coulombe, Laroche and Captain Lemire, revealed that Taylor, who lived together with the Thompson woman had been in an intoxicated condition and had had an altercation with her. She alleges that he struck the first blow and hospital authorities reported that, when she appeared with the man, her left eye was completely closed and was blackened.

The woman is said to have thrown a glass pitcher at Taylor which caught him behind the ear. A copious flow of blood followed, the man being knocked unconscious for a time.

Woman detained.

The woman summoned a taxi and brought him to the Western Hospital where the authorities detained her and informed the police of No. 10 station, who investigated the case, later turning it over to the police of No. 6 station in whose district the fight occurred. The woman was removed to detective headquarters pending further news of the

man's condition.

At the hospital neither the woman or the man would give their names. Taylor remained silent when questioned and finally lapsed into a state of semi-consciousness, so that stimulants were found necessary to sustain him. Small hope is entertained for his recovery.

The Montreal Star April 20, 1928.

Guilty Porter Claims Himself as Victim of Rum-running Syndicate.

Although James William James, former coloured Pullman car porter, but more recently a painter by trade, claimed that he was only the tool of "a big syndicate of rum-runners," his story failed to convince Judge Enright in the Court of Sessions yesterday when he was found guilty on two charges of theft of liquor. He will be sentenced next Wednesday.

James inveigled one, Martin Walkasoff, St.Antoine street ice-cream parlor proprietor into buying 84 bottles of Scotch worth $400, telling him that he could make $20 for the lot by delivering it to a certain spot. There he was to receive the full price of the liquor and the added remuneration. James told him that he could make this $20 every day he worked. Walkasoff immediately began gathering the liquor and when he arrived at the appointed place James and eight other coloured men pounced on him and made off with the 84 bottles. This was last September. The next the ice-cream man saw of James was when he met him on St.

Antoine street the other day after Christmas. He called loudly for police and the arrest followed. He was allowed out on bail and disappeared.

His second arrest was the result of investigation by detectives following a complaint made by Ubald Meunier, blacksmith and taxi driver, who lost 12 bottles of Scotch to James who had approached him last month with the same proposition. Meunier was to receive an extra $2 for each bottle. When he brought the consignment to a Pullman car in the railway yards where James was to meet him, the latter took the package and went inside the car shutting the door in Meunier's face.

James was very verbose in pleading his innocence. He maintained that he was a victim of the bootleg ring who wanted to put him in jail. He denied ever having seen the complainants before. When he was asked by the judge how he accounted for the fact they positively identified him he replied, "Do you know, Judge, that a man was only a few weeks ago killed on the street because of a mistake in identity." He claimed that the complainants had picked him out as the guilty man because he was the only colored man among a line-up of whites when the identification test was being made at police headquarters.

Other forms of behavior in such areas which are not in keeping with that accepted by the wider community are gambling, drug peddling, confidence games of exploitation. The following cases are not all Negroes who have come before the court on different charges, but cases in which the behavior took place in the St. Antoine district. They are introduced to show other effects of mobility in the behavior of people who enter such an area in the city.

The Montreal Star April 2, 1928.

13 fined on Gambling Charge.

For keeping a betting house at 2137 St. James street, David Jones was fined $50 and costs or one month in jail by Recorder Morrison in the Recorder's Court this morning. Jones had pleaded guilty to the charge. Twelve inmates arrested in the house all pleaded guilty and were sentenced to a fine of $10 and costs or 15 days.

The house was raided over the week-end by Constable Vanini and members of the morality squad.

Detectives detain Suspected "Con" Men.

Arrested, suspected of trying to play a "con" game on a visiting Dane near Dorchester and Windsor streets on Saturday night, John Myers of Detroit, and George Graham of New York, are being held at Detective Headquarters.

Detectives Lapierre and Brodeur who heard the conversation between the two men and the Dane stepped alongside

and decided that the Dane would be richer if Myers and Graham were shifted to a cell at headquarters. Myers had $1,000 in currency on him when searched.

The Negro took up residence and began his social life in the St. Antoine district just east of Windsor street. The first invasion came along St. Antoine street between Windsor and Mountain on the north side. These former residences eventually became his, and here he opened a barber shop and a pool room for his own group. With the demolition of these properties by the railroad, he transferred his activities to the south side of the street. Today he has located his three clubs, two barber shops, restaurant and former tailor shop, news-stands and tavern here.

In time he too followed the lead of the whites and moved to the west. More Negroes are found residing between Windsor and Richmond Square than in any other section of the St. Antoine district. Such segregation is after the skipping pattern - white and Negro residence intermingled. Facing Richmond Square are numerous Negro families made possible by the activities of the Eureka Association Inc. From Richmond Square to Fulford street, along St. Antoine, Negro residences are found with difficulty. From Fulford to Atwater there are no Negro homes. At Atwater the same pattern is observed as exists at Richmond Square.

. Above and below St. Antoine there are considerable numbers of Negroes in residence. From Atwater to the Glen, along St. Antoine street, they do not appear to any degree beyond Greene Avenue.

St. James street exhibits the reverse of the St. Antoine pattern. Negroes are not found east of Richmond

street. Between St. Henry Place and Richmond there is the scattering among the whites once more. From St. Henry Place to the Glen and trailing along the tramway lines west into the city of Notre Dame de Grace there are more Negroes to be found than in any other section of this street. This is reflected in the establishment of the Negro barber shop and tailoring establishment, the European Club all between St. Marguerette street and the Glen Road.

The Negro has followed the western movement of population from necessity due to the crowding out of residence by the business, the greater ease with which he secures his houses, cheaper rents, and his work. In the St. Henry district are the C.N. and C.P. yards, where are located the porter schools and where he checks in and out of this city on his runs. As a resident of St. Antoine street he is familiar with the housing conditions, the tradition that the Negro resident of this street is a failure, that the people who live between the tracks live a life of insecurity, and he is attempting to escape. He is taking up his residence more and more on the side streets running north and south and leaving those extending east and west. In leaving St. Antoine street he is not ashamed to tell the why of this change. Two Negroes were walking west on St. Antoine street one evening. In passing through the sporting district one was heard to say: "I am going to move from St.Antoine street". His companion asked, "Why are you leaving St.Antoine street". The first speaker replied "Do you think that when I go to

look for a job I am going to say 'I live on St.Antoine street'. No sir, St.Henry for me".

2 NATURAL HISTORY OF MONTREAL NEGRO

A. Under slavery.

B. Freedom.

C. Railroad worker.

D. Occupational selection.

Natural History of the Negro in Montreal.

The Negro has passed through stages in the evolution to his present development as has his brother in the United States. He came to this city as the slave of his English and American masters, who took up residence in this city.

(21) "In these days of Montreal's history, this time exactly one hundred years ago, slavery was one of its institutions, and slaves were bought and sold as other goods and chattels on the market." (22) To be sold - A stout, healthy Negro, about twenty-eight years of age, is an excellent cook and very fit for working on a farm. Enquire of the Printer".

The Negro had visions of the day of his freedom, even in this city. Outward expression of this desire on his part of being free and of being placed on an equal footing with his master took different forms. Legal proceedings were attempted, as was the older method of escape.

(23) "As far back as 1777, John King, a Negro petitioned the Governor, and prays that he may be set at liberty, and giving as a reason his services to the Government."

(24) "Ran away on the 15th instant, a slave belonging to the widow Duffy Deslauriers, aged about thirty-five years, dressed in a striped calico, of medium height and tolerable stoutness. Whoever will bring her back will

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21,22,23, , Borthwick, History of Montreal, P. 27, 1891.
24, Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914. p. 529.

receive a reward of $6, and will be repaid any costs that may be proved to have been incurred in finding her". Gazette du Commerce et Litteraire Pour La Ville et District de Montreal, 1778, taken from the first edition of June 3, 1778."

Although he was considered as goods and chattels to be bought and sold, yet this man in his lowered position had developed feelings of attachments to his more kindly master.

(25) "In 1783, Plato, a Negro slave, prays' that he may be allowed to join his own master'".

As a slave to citizens of the British Empire, one of these men upon the completion of service in the navy, applied for freedom.

(26) "In 1784, John Black, a Negro, who had served as a seaman in His Majesty's service 'prays the Government for a passport to protect him in his liberty, of which Captain Martin, with whose wife he is no longer serving, seeks to deprive him'".

Brought to the Dominion by an institution over which he had no control, and from which he was unable to be freed, cases of open hostility to the institution as well as the master came to the courts of this city.

(27) "In the courst of 1781, held in the month of April of that year, one Samuel Judah makes a complaint 'that a Negro named Jacob was sold to him by Mr. Lauzan, having lived with him as his servant for about five months, that he did assault him and take him by the collar, etc. etc'. The Court ordered poor Jacob, 'the Negro man to be committed to

25,26,27, Borthwick, History of Montreal, P. 27. 1891

prison for assault, and to find security for his future behavior.'"

In these meagre accounts of the institution of slavery as practised in this city it will be noted that the Negro wherever possible resorted to the law with a view of obtaining that which he had never known in this country, - his liberty. Within the practise of this institution were ever in operation selection by the one and the acceptance by the other in order to bring harmony out of a situation which would today bring forth outward conflict between the two groups.

Under the slavery stage the Negro was given no opportunity for his self development. His life was largely on a physical basis, his social world was that of his master's home. With nothing but a strong body his behavior took on the form of imitation of the practises which he observed in his master's behavior. The outside whites with whom he would be thrown into contact with must receive the same courtesy as that which he gave his master. Considered as a child in the master's home, his role would, of necessity, be one of pleasing the household, accepting his lowered status in order to avoid the possibilities of being so sold, or being taken to the court. In the eyes of the court, he had equality of status, and received similar punishments as his master.

The practise of selling publicly slaves in this city came to a close in 1797. (28) "The last slave was publicly sold in Montreal, 25th August 1797. The deed was passed by Mr. Guy and his partner, notaries. The name of the slave was Emmanuel Allen, aged 33 years, price £36. The sale was afterwards set aside by legal proceedings."

Under slavery, the Negro was set off from the wider community by the color of his skin. The law, recognizing this institution, tended to increase this setting apart and made the social distance between the two groups the more intense. The white refused to allow these strangers to this city the privilege of burying their dead in the white cemetery. A lot for the exclusive use of these people was set aside.

(29) "A propos d'esclave, je dois dire que le cimetiere des negres a Montreal, en 1800, etait un lapin de terre situe au soin des rues Saint Jacques et Saint Pierre, precisement a l'endroit ou est bati le Mechanic's Institute."

In England the Quakers had from their earliest times been condemning the practise of slavery. At the time of the Reform Movement of 1783 (30) "a few altruistic souls decried the traffic in black slaves, but that evil was quite far from English shores." It was not until Wilberforce had stirred the Empire to this evil that it was eventually abolished in 1834, in Canada.

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(28) Borthwick, History of Montreal, p. 27, 1891
(29) Hector Berthlet, Montreal Le Bon Vieux Temps, p. 3.

(30) Hayes, A Political & Social History of Modern Europe, 1500-1815. p. 437.

(31) Although slavery was abolished in Upper Canada by an Act of Parliament in May 31st, 1793, the importation of slaves into the country was not prohibited until July 9,1793. In Lower Canada an attempt was made in 1793 to abolish the institution, but the bill was not carried. Unsuccessful efforts were attempted in the years 1799 and 1800. Chief Justice Osgood, in 1803 decided at Montreal that 'slavery was incompatible with the laws of the country'. At the time of the Bill of 1799 regarding slavery there was a deputation of Montreal citizens to secure masters' rights over these people. In the year 1804 there were some 142 slaves in the district of Montreal, and more than twice as many in the Province of Quebec.

Following the decision by Chief Justice Osgood, the Negro was given his freedom legally,but the institution did not pass out of existence as readily as the law had planned. Although the Negro had a status in the eyes of the law, yet the practise went on for some years following.

(32) "Hier, en fouillant les archives de la Cout Superieure, j'ai trouve un proces relative a l'esclavage dans la province de Quebec en 1768; ce matin, M.Schiller, greffied de la Couronne, me disait que vers 1825, il a connu un esclave, a Montreal, probablement le dernier de la province. C'etait un negre, age d'environ soixante ans, avec le chevelure toute blanche. Ce negre apportenait a James

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(31) Terrill, A Chronology of Montreal and of Canada, A.D.1752
(32) Hector Berthlet, Montreal Le Bon Vieux Temps, p.3.
(31) Dates only here.

McGill Desrivieres qui residait dans une maison formant l'ecoignure des rue Craig et Saint Urbain."

(33) "L'esclave canadien n'etait pas tente, par son maitre, comme celui qui a ete depeint par Mme. Harriet Beecher dans la case de l'Oncle Tom. Son travail n'etait pas penible et sa conduite n'etait pas abjects comme celles noirs,dans le Sud. L'esclave de M. Desrivieres etait considere comme l'enfant de la maison."

With the days of freedom came a change in the life of the Negro. It was necessary for him to build up his own institutions to sustain him in this new state. His experience had developed in him a state of dependence upon his white masters for all decisions. He began as the pioneer with no experience to guide him in this new state of freedom. Trial and error became the method in his attempts at personal and social organization. When his organization failed to sustain him and he committed acts which brought him before the Courts of the land,he received similar treatment to that given white offenders.

(34) "At the May meeting of 1865 the first felony case was adjudicated. A man and his wife and a negro had been stealing. The sentence of William and Elinor March and George, the Negro, is thus recorded: "They are to go

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(33) Terrill, A Chronology of Montreal and of Canada, 1752.

(34) Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, P.529.

back to the place of their confinement, the said William to be stripped to the waist and Elinor March to have her back only stripped, and the said George, the Negro, and each tyed to the carttail, and beginning at the jail or prison between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock in the forenoon, on Friday next, are to proceed along around by the Intendents, and then go to the Market Place and round by St. Francis street and thru the Parade to place begun at, during which round they are to receive twenty-five stripes each on the naked back, besides twenty-five each on the naked back when at the market place."

Next month, "George, the Negro" was up again for stealing two pieces of silk ribbon..... He was sentenced to be flogged with a cat of nine tails on his march around at the carttail six times with ten stripes each."

Under slavery, the occupation of the Negro was prescribed for him. His position in the home was secure. Nor did he enter the economic competition outside the home of his master, Under a state of freedom, it was necessary that he compete in the economic life of the community where he made his residence. The period from 1834, when he as a citizen of the British Empire had equal rights with his former white masters, is obscure. Little is known of his occupation in this city prior to the building of the Canadian railroads. He had nothing to offer a prospective employer except a strong and untrained body. His experience had made him

dependent upon the whites for his living. With such a background he found employment in the different hotels, barber shops, stores and,in general,he started his apprenticeship in the white man's economic world. The place he filled,and quite successfully,was of the personal nature type, as porter , barber , shoeshiner , elevator boy , and buss boy . He had met this period of crisis in his life in the approved fashion of beginning at the bottom in the upward struggle.

The Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific were completed and running from their respective stations to and from the city by 1888. The Pullman Company which operates the sleeping cars on the American railroads had introduced him to this type of work in that country. With the connecting of this city and the American cities of New York, Boston and points south and west, he came here as a Pullman employee, and returned to his point of origin. When the Pullman service was introduced by this company on the Grand Trunk lines,he was brought to this city from the American cities and detailed to the same work as his brothers had begun on the American lines. On the Canadian Pacific lines,the sleeping cars were introduced in due course along with the growth of the other specialized railroad services. The late Sir William Van Horne in taking up his position here as General Manager of this road, brought one John French, a Negro, as his servant. French acted as the valet and servant in the Van Horne residence, and always accompanied

him on trips of inspection over the lines. With the increase in the mileage of these two Canadian roads, there came the opening of the great Canadian West. An increasing wave of mobility swept the country with the result that the over night travel became popular. In time the number of Negroes increased in this city.

It is only after 1897 that the Negro became a factor in the city and its development. Negroes themselves have estimated their numbers at that time as being some 300. The residence of these people was scattered in different sections of the city. These units lived very largely to themselves. To the porter in the railroad service Montreal was but a "layover" place between his arrival and departure. The few men on the Canadian runs were living in quarters on St.James, St. Antoine and St. David's Lane. The majority of them were American citizens from the largest cities.

The opening years of the 20th century found the people of Canada going West. "Go west young man" was heard on all sides. This was followed by the land boom and the resulting financial crash. Montreal became definitely the headquarters of these two Canadian systems which are today responsible for the Montreal Negro Community. It developed that the porters were hired at this point and shipped out from here. Then followed the increase in these people largely from the United States, rural Ontario, Nova Scotia and later in increasing numbers from the Islands of

the West Indies. All came seeking work on the railroads. Up to the period of the late war the natural migration and movement of these people from their respective domiciles was sufficient to meet the demands for this type of labor after the staffs were at full strength. The American Negro occupied the position of dominence in this city due to his larger numbers and greater experience in city life. With the war came the increasing demands on the railroads and the Negro was sought in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago and points south of the Mason Dixon line in the Negro Colleges there. At the same time began the increased migration of these people from the Islands of the British West Indies. This has increased yearly, with the result that today this group known as the West Indian Negro is seriously challenging the supremacy, and in many cases winning the positions of leadership amomg these people. The Canadian Negro as the representative from Ontario and Nova Scotia is called, is in the hopeless minority. By the end of the war the Negro had been drawn away from his former work in the city and has never returned. Today it has been estimated that about 90% of these people are in the railroad service.

Occupational Selection of Negroes

The Negro in this city is primarily a railroad employee. It is estimated that about 90% of the population are thus engaged. As a railroad employee his post is porter on the sleeping cars, parlor cars, observation cars and as cook in the dining service.

With his meagre experience in the business world he has filled acceptably these positions for which his previous experiences have peculiarly fitted him. As a Canadian railroad employee of some forty years standing, he has come to look upon the porters position as his and his alone. So deeply is this feeling rooted in the mind of the group, that whenever the individual Negro is refused such a post, the inferiority complex takes the expression of denouncing the railroads in their policy of selection of the most suitable. This is especially true in the feeling towards the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Both the Canadian and European have tried, but unsuccessfully, to replace him in this work. The railroads have, however, maintained their ? policy of hiring only Negroes for this particular type of work.

Upon the porter, in addition to his task of attending to the beds of the road's patrons, a number of delicate tasks fall. He is the man to whom is delegated the task of attending the comforts of this group of strangers. Since his contacts here are secondary, he has to become somewhat of a

of a social psychologist. It is necessary for him to think, feel and act in advance of the needs and wants of his passengers. Much depends upon the quality of his service to them. His position is one of great insecurity. Complaints by the passengers result in his dismissal. The return to his road . of members of the travelling public is to him the highest compliment to his efforts. As an added incentive to the most minute detail is the tip at the end of the journey. The tip to this man represents the appreciation of the patron for the considerations which have been extended him by this man in the position of a personal servant.

Four American railroads enter Montreal. The Delaware and Hudson, and the New York Central have running rights over the Canadian Pacific lines and maintain a service between Montreal and New York. These roads use Windsor station. The Rutland and Central Vermont lines connect Montreal with Boston and use Bonaventure station. Porters in this American service are employed by the Pullman Company and are not permanent residents of this city. Other American connections by the Canadian lines use the porter who makes his home here. It is the two Canadian railroads that give employment to the Montreal Negro.

Montreal is the headquarters for employment by the Canadian Pacific for their whole system. It is only in rush or unforeseen occasions that the Negro is employed at points other than Montreal. The Canadian National lines employ

only men for their needs on the Central and Atlantic divisions. The men on the Atlantic Division have their lay over in Halifax and make that city their home. It will be thus observed that from the study of the Porters Mutual Benefit Association, whose headquarters is in this city, when compared with that of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees Iere Local # 128 ; there is a vast difference in membership. The membership of the Porters Mutual Benefit Association represents the porters in the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway all over that system, while in the Iere Local # 128 the membership is confined to the staff on the Central Region.

Each Spring in order to assure a sufficient supply of this porter labor, an agent visits the United States. Cooperation is obtained with different labor bureaus in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and with the different Negro Colleges in the south. Here the selection of the most suitable material takes place. These men avail themselves of the opportunity of travel in this country and come to Montreal. They are quartered in the yards during the period of schooling in which they are taught their tasks and given to understand their role in this work. Upon the completion of this necessary training they secure lodgings in the district of this study and take up their runs when called. At the conclusion of the summer rush these men return to their respective cities and to their Alma Mater. Some of these men desire to become permanent residents of the city. Over a period of years it will be seen how it is

possible for undesirables to become permanently located here.

The very nature of railroad work is such that the workers are away from the city a large portion of the time. It was brought out before a Board of Conciliation that porters travel on an average about 16 days each month. This mobility on the positive side tends towards the development of the individual's powers of observation, rational control and gives a more mature educational development. On the negative side it tends towards freeing him from the older forms of social control to be found in his social organization. The newer ideas and absence from communal life tends to be reflected in a looser form of social organization.

The post of porter is one which can be filled by only those in the prime of life. In some rare cases young men at 19 have been employed. On the Trans-Canada trip the travel is 5 nights and 4 days when Vancouver is reached, Here the porter has 2 nights and 3 days to rest at the quarters provided him by the road. Then follows the return trip to Montreal, followed by a rest of 4 days and 3 nights. While travelling he is permitted on this run to retire from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m., after which time he is on duty until the following day at 1 o'clock again. On the shorter runs he retires at 11.30 p.m., arises again at 3.30 a.m., followed by working until the night has again come. These men experience great difficulty in getting rest, for with a full car of pasengers he must attend to their needs at all hours. The heat on

the prairies is often excessive in the summer. Many complain of the dampness during the rainy season in crossing the prairies. Thus most of these men endeavor to locate themselves on the shorter runs whenever possible.

Salaries are kept at the same levels on the two roads. The first six months he draws $82.50, followed by an increase of $2.50 per month for a full year. This is increased to $87.50 which rate is maintained until three continuous years of service have been completed. Following the completion of three consecutive years of satisfactory service the maximum of $95. is granted. Tips are always obtained on the different trips. These vary with the men, length of the trip and the patrons. A round trip has been known to net the porter amounts varying from $15 to $35.

In the city one's social status tends to be based on his consumption. Prestige in a world of secondary contacts is very largely a matter of outward appearances. This applies to the Negro in his position as a porter. He must maintain this outward appearance of prosperity; his clothes must be neatly pressed. At all times must he maintain the clear, cool mental balance in his attitudes towards his work and the road's patrons. His store of information on the trip, its interesting scenery, its historic content, must be complete and always available, if he is to be anything other than just a "nigger porter".

His casual conversations with his passengers tend to give him a fund of knowledge not to be obtained in any other manner. It is he who overhears the many conversations between the big business men about their deals, of the salesman and his experiences, the college student and his problems and aspirations, and the words of love between the newly weds as they set out on their honeymoon. All this comes and goes as part of the days work. It is a sacred trust which must not be violated. With his status assured him in the minds of his employers through his officially recognized association, he has lifted himself from the level of the worker where he began his railroad life. Just as in city life where more and more occupations are tending to develop their own professional aspects, so, too, the position of porter is beginning to take on a professional atmosphere in the minds of these men.

Attached to the staff at Windsor station are the Red Caps. In this group of Negro workers there are some 50 men. Those numbered from 1 to 10 are employed on a salary and tip basis. From 10 upwards they are on a strictly tip basis. In summer the tips reach $4.00, while in winter this drops to about $1.50 per day.

These are men who have a trade but are unable to locate themselves for the time at mor e lucrative positions. The qualifications for this work were tersely summed up by one of the permanent staff on one occasion with, "a strong back". The work requires these men to be continually

walking about on the concrete floor. This gives rise to much trouble with their feet.

This group has never attempted any organization with a view of obtaining recognition by the employer. The severity of the struggle among these men has given rise to the Red Cap Mutual Benefit Association. This association is handicapped by the lack of funds among its members.

Every seventh day the Red Cap has a day's rest. During his working day he has three hours off, after which time he must report for another period. With considerable spare time on his hands, and there being a lack of wholesome recreational facilities for these people, the Windsor Cricket Club came into existence.

The remaining 10% of the male Negro population (35) "loiters around the ragged edge of industry and is confined to the more onerous and less attractive modes of toil." With their limited education and experience they are to be found in the ranks of the semi and unskilled labourers. They become handy at everything and with not very great dexterity at any particular task. A few are carpenters, electricians, masons, road workers, but not to any extent. They are confined to the steel mills, garage men as car washers, plant nightwatchmen, boiler men. Seldom do members of this group earn more than $25 per week.

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(35) Kelley Miller, Race Adjustments, p. 173.

Wages average from $9.00 to $21 per week for this class of worker.

As all other unskilled workers they are subjected to the seasonal disturbances. In every case of Negro clients receiving service from the Social Agencies of this city, this fact of unemployment is ever to the foreground. So much of their energy is spent in the seeking work that unemployment in many cases obscures the deep and underlying social problems in Negro case work.

To cater to the needs of this group a number of business establishments run by Negroes are in operation. Here are the barber shops, restaurant, news stand,all located in the sporting section of the St. Antoine district, within easy reach of the railroad stations. In order to serve the needs of the St. Henry residents,a barber shop and tailoring establishment are in operation on St. James street near St. Margaret street.

Population Elements.

1. American Negro.
2. Canadian Negro.
3. West Indian Negro.

The Negro population in Montreal is composed of three separate elements, the American, the West Indian and the Canadian Negro. Numerous attempts have been made to formulate an estimate of the relative proportions. As far as can be ascertained, only the guess method has been amployed and the following percentages are to be considered as such: Americans 50%, West Indian 40%, Canadians 10%. So great is the mobility in this floating population that outstanding citizens in the Negro life here confess their inability to arrive at but a hazard of these elements.

The American Negro has had the longest period of residence in this city. Brought by the Pullman Company and the two Canadian Railroads after 1886, it is he who forms the largest portion of this population. This group comes from the largest cities - New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and Chicago. By far the largest of this American population comes from New York, in which city the district known as Harlem has been termed the[1] Mecca of the New Negro. It is the speed and ease of modern travel which have made it possible for this element to have come in such large numbers here.

This American Negro is well informed with conditions of slavery in that country. He has heard stories of Negro life under this institution from the lips of his now deceased grandparents. This man in Montreal does not find the

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(1) Survey Graphic March 1925.

militant and war-like attitudes of persecution that are so commonly found in his American birthplace. It is rather the silent avoiding of contacts with him as part of the process of preserving the status quo of the Canadian whites that he meets, when he attempts to break away from his work on the railroad. Having been sought in these large cities, he tends in Montreal to hold attitudes of superiority towards his other brothers. The American Negro, with his longer period of city residence, has developed the more blase and sophisticated attitudes of the city. He tends to affect the dress, manners and customs of the whites with whom he has had contacts. [illegible] cases of the so-called "overdoing the pattern of the whites", reflect the whites of his previous experiences and contacts. He is the loquacious talker and spokesman for the group.

The Northward march of the Negro from his Southern home is a movement only of importance during recent years. As other population movements it had a small beginning. During the War of 1914-18 there developed a marked shortage of available man power in the Northern manufacturing plants. It was to fill this shortage in the industrial life of the Northern manufacturer that the Negro was extended a welcome. With the demand for labor in this section exceeding the supply, his entering into open competition with the whites was not given any degree of serious thought. It was rather during the period of adjustment following the war expansion that the presence of this worker gave rise to discussion by

papers inform/ing him of the greater economic opportunity to be found in the growing industrial centres in his home land. His limited education has been supplemented by a greater experience which aids him in his life as a citizen of Montreal. This American Negro is in control of the sporting district of St. Antoine Street, extending from Windsor to Mountain Street. With his interests divided and few restraining attachments, his behavior is observed to be different from that of the others.

During the Summer the local population is augmented by the influx of men for the Summer rush on the railroads. Some estimates place this number at about 150.(1) These men come from the Negro colleges in the South, the metropolitan areas in the East. These men return whence they come, following the decrease in the summer travel. They board and room in the available houses in the St. Antoine district. They, too, are part of this American group and are men of divided interests.

Another group from the American cities comes to follow the races which are held every summer. Estimates for this group vary from 150 (2) to 300. Living a life

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(1) Although the Negro does not know the number of these newcomers, his estimate is based on the number of these men the permanent resident comes into contact.

(2) This estimate he has made to include the constant, floating stream of this flitting element which is coming and going all the year, but more largely in the summer months.

the labor unions. In industry he is not given to joining any of the radical associations which seek the overthrow of the present economic order. He is quiet, industrious, and ever filled with the vision of the future Negro people.

The political position of this man must be considered. He is dependant upon the Canadian business institutions for his living. Despite establishing his home here, taking advantage of other Canadian institutions, he is an American citizen. As such he has no vote in the different Canadian elections. The Canadian vote is extended him only when he has taken the necessary steps of taking out Canadian citizenship papers. With his economic life insecure this procedure is seldom followed. Nor do these American citizens register at the office of the American Consulate in this city. This registration gives them the protection of that country and identifies them during their residence in this city. On the other hand their social interests are decidedly Canadian. Thus the American Negro is a man whose interests are divided. His economic life, social life is experienced in this country, yet he has no voice in its political control. Under such a condition Montreal becomes a temporary home and he looks to the time when he will return to his American domicile.

It is the American Negro who has brought his race papers to this city. By this means of communication he is alive to the racial issues. He knows the successes, the failures of his people in their upward struggle. The

based on a carefree "come easy go easy" philosophy, these men are the typical followers of the sporting world. They make their living at the tracks as stable boys, play the bookies in the city, live out of the club life and are the parasites of this community. At the race tracks they are active as is seen in the following case taken from the "Star" of June 20, 1928:-

"ALLEGED RACING TOUT ARRAIGNED
Colored Man Was Arrested
at Blue Bonnets Race
Track.

John Oliver, colored, 1311 St. Antoine Street, was arrested at Blue Bonnets race track yesterday afternoon on a charge of "touting" race horses to patrons and inducing them to make bets. He was taken in charge by Oliver Deschamps, manager of the National Detective Agency, which is in charge of policing the track, and was brought before Judge Monet in the Arraignment Court today. He was also charged with obtaining admission to the track under false pretences by wearing an entrance badge which did not belong to him.

The arrest was the first of its kind since the local racing season opened. He was not asked to plead when he appeared today. A remand for preliminary inquiry until June 28 was fixed with bail of $500. or $2,000 cash security."

These are the men who are seen loafing about St. Antoine Street between Windsor and Mountain. At all hours of the day or night they may be seen. The permanent Negro residents term them the lawless element. They patronise the saloon, lean against the buildings and telephone poles, and, at odd times, seek shelter from the sun and sit on the steps of the barber and phonograph shops. In the evenings they congregate about the corners or watch the Italians as they play a matching game where, in lieu of coins

they use their fingers. He is the hail fellow well met whose life is one of living by his wits. It is essential that he have at least a speaking knowledge of all in this community. With the racing season over and the approach of Fall this group begins to disappear. Many are the "guests" (3) of the railroad and ride the (4) "beams", "the blind", and seem to fade out of existence gradually. The following Spring he again returns to Montreal. During the Winter he wanders about the United States, residing in the Winter resorts. He works at the tables or at porter's work, if there is any available, but his interest is that of the game of chance. He keeps up his gambling interest in these points through the bookies and by following the daily results in the sporting journals. He is truly a man with locomotion but with no direction. He is continually trying to (5) "beat the game" and is always living in the future. As a temporary citizen of Montreal and member of the Negro community, he has played the role of the parasite in his preying upon the ignorant.

The Negro from Nova Scotia has had but a very short period of the slave regime. While originally brought to this province by his masters, legal difficulties in the recovery of the runaways entered and the institution was soon put aside. Since that time the Negroes in this

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(3) (4) Terms used by the Hobo designating his means of Travel, Anderson's Hobo.

(5) Gamblers' expression for getting rich quick by ones wit.

province have been very largely agriculturists and domestics.

(1) "A small portion of the laboring population of the country is composed of free blacks, who are chiefly employed as agriculture and domestic servants, but there are no slaves. Formerly there were negro slaves, who were brought to the country by their masters from the old colonies, but some legal difficulties having arisen in the course of an action of trover, brought for the recovery of a runaway, an opinion prevailed that the Courts would not recognise a state of slavery as having lawful existence in the country. Although this question never received a judicial decision the slaves were all emancipated."

This free body of Negroes was increased from time to time by arrivals from the British West India Islands and the United States.

(2)"In April (1785) 194 Negroes arrived in a most destitute state from St. Augustin, and rations, clothing and blankets were asked by the governor from the military stores for their present relief."

As early as 1791, the presence of the Negro in this province was an item for government attention for (3) "on the 17 November (1791) lieutenant governor Parr met with the council, when he asked their advice in the removal of people of color from his province to Sierra Leone. Mr. Dundas secretary of state for the home department, had

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(1) Haliburton Nova Scotia P. 280

(2) Murdock History of Nova Scotia P. 49, Vol. 3.

(3) Ibid 2 P, 147, " 3.

directed Mr. Parr to hire shipping for the purpose" But, with the death of the Governor shortly afterward, nothing developed from this proposed step.

The majority of the Negroes who have come to Nova Scotia from the British West Indian Island have come from Jamaica.(1) The term West Indian is used by the Negroes in Montreal to denote the Negro from the Bahamas, British Guiana, and Islands in the Caribbean Sea. Of this West Indian element which has come to Nova Scotia, the Jamaican has the more representative history. He is in the majority in that province.

The Negroes were brought to the Island of Jamaica as slaves, by the Spaniards and there lived under this institution. The British captured the island from the Spaniards in 1655. Finding the institution already in existence the new rulers carried on the practice. The Spaniards sowed the seeds of rebellion in the minds of the Negroes with the result that many Negroes escaped to the mountains. Periodic raids were carried out upon the British by the Negroes, the first of which occurred in 1690. This was followed in 1760 by a rebellion of the slaves against their masters. To put an end to all future rebellions by these people a severe punishment was given them. One of the group was slowly burned at the stake while he sat on the ground with the fire beginning at his feet. Two others were hung in irons where they were left to starve, their bodies becoming the prey of the fowls of the air as an object lesson for those people. These troublesome

(1) This appears in the manner in which the West Indian Cricket Club is known

people were eventually removed to Nova Scotia.

(4) "In the Island of Jamaica, when it was conquered from the Spaniards in the 17th century, numbers of African slaves had left their plantations and taken their abode in the mountains. Here they remained in a state of wild freedom, and were known by the name of Maroons. They made treaties with the English authorities from time to time; but about this period a war took place between the English and these people, in which the Maroons were defeated, and a great number of them were transported from theisland to Nova Scotia. Five hundred of these arrived at Halifax on the 22nd July, 1796. On the 25th, the prince engaged to employ such of them as would volunteer, as laborers on the fortifications, at Halifax and to pay them each 9d a day, besides provisions, lodging and clothing."

A minister was appointed to live and work amongst these people, to teach them the Christian religion and to instruct them in education. This plan did not work out as successfully as was hoped.

(5) "But the difficulty of conveying instruction to them on account of their ignorance of the English language, was such, that the delivery of the sermon was a

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(4) Murdock History of Nova Scotia, P. 147, Vol. 3

(5) Haliburton's Nova Scotia, P. 288

mere form, rendered as disagreeable to the preacher as it was useless to the people, some of them amusing themselves with smoking, while others fell asleep from waariness."

Following the completion of the citadel at Halifax, with no training, except as slaves and accustomed to being dependent upon the whites, they became public charges. For two Winters they were saved from starvation. During this time they occupied themselves with card playing and wandering about the city.

Even in the early days of settlement in the province of Nova Scotia they were set apart from the wider community by their color, language, and a different set of social customs and values.

(6) "Polygamy they always refused to abandon, nor did they approve of the performance of the marriage ceremony, and, when predded to forego the former, they generally retorted by making insolent observation on the lattitude in which some of the greatest characters known to them had indulged."

Accordingly,(7) "it was resolved to transport them once more to Sierra Leone, the new British Colony in Africa, thither they were accordingly sent, by an agreement with the Sierra Leone Company, embarking in August, 1800."

In this first conscious attempt at colonization of the Negro from the West India Islands ending in a failure, it will be observed that the social distances between the two diverse

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(6) Haliburton's Nova Scotia, Pa. 288

groups were ever present. No doubt the inability of the Negro to adjust and adapt himself to the more rigorous climate of the North was a factor in the intensity of the operation of the social distances. The two diverse cultures coming into conflict led to the assertion of the former roles of the superior and the inferior. The result of this culture conflict has been shown and the Negro was restored to his former African home.

A number of American Negroes had a temporary home in Nova Scotia following the American Revolutionary War. During slavery days it was possible for them to purchase their freedom from the master. Desirous of establishing themselves under the British domain some of these freed blacks migrated here following the move already made by the United Empire Loyalists.

(8) "There were a number of free negroes, who migrated to the Country, at the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War. But when the Act of Parliament had passed for incorporating the Sierra Leone Company, and a large capital appeared likely to be raised, for carrying on the undertaking, they sent a delegate to England, to solicit a removal to Africa. He stated, that those persons whom he represented had emigrated to Nova Scotia on the express promise of receiving from the Government grants of land, which had not been strictly

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(7) Murdock History of Nova Scotia, P. 157, Vol. 3

(8) Haliburton's Nova Scotia, Pa. 280, 281.

fulfilled; that both the soil and the climate, as well as many circumstances in their situation, were complained of by the blacks, many of whom were desirous of becoming Colonists at the settlement which they understood was likely to be made at Sierra Leone. The director approving of this petition, and obtaining the sanction of the British Government, the number of blacks who were willing to embark for Sierra Leone, proved to be no less than 1196, of which number 1131 arrived in sixteen vessels, in March 1792, the remaining 65 died during the passage". Here they (9) "very soon became turbulent and unruly, and proceeded to the most criminal lengths even to attempting the life of the Governor. This spirit, though checked at first, was never subdued, and it continued to endanger the very existence of the Colony. This consideration had great weight in inducing the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to receive the Maroons ---- they thought that the Maroons would serve as a counterpoise to them."

Thus the attempt by the Negroe Loyalist group at settling in Nova Scotia also was a failure. Another group, this time runaways, attempted to escape the reality of the slavery state. It too ended in a failure as had the others.

(10) "Many of the black slaves in Maryland and

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(9) Haliburton's Nova Scotia P. 291

(10) Murdock History of Nova Scotia, P. 379, 380, Vol. 3

Virginia had availed themselves of the presence of the British Navy in Chesapeake Bay, and had taken refuge on board the English men of war. They were kindly treated by the Navy, and most of them taken to Halifax and Bermuda. On the 1 Sept., 1814, H.M. Brig. "Jaseur", Captain Watt, arrived here, with a transport in ten days from Chesapeake Bay. Several hundred of these negroes came in the two vessels. 24 February, the Lieut.Governor sent a message to the house, suggesting that they should facilitate their settlement upon forest lands, representing them as bringing a large accession of useful labor to the agriculture of the country, and appealing to their compassion in favor of those instances of 'decrepit age, helpless infancy and unavoidable sickness' to be found among them. (There is a list of 336 of these people, with their names among the house of Assembly Ms. documents for 1815 to 1818, bound up by the Record Commissioner). Settlements were formed for them at Preston, Hammonds Plains, and other places in Halifax county." (11) "Unaccustomed to provide for their own necessities, or to receive the produce of their own labor, some wandered through the country without object or design: and others, imagining that liberty in a total exemption from labor, subsisted upon the produce of small gardens in summer, and upon rations allowed by the Government during the winter. At Preston and Hammond Plains,

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(11) Haliburton's Nova Scotia, P. 292, 293

in the neighbourhood of Halifax, there were settlements, composed wholly of blacks, who experienced every winter all the misery incident to indolence and improvidence, and levied heavy contributions on the humanity of their more frugal neighbors. In some instances they have sighed for the roof of their master, and the pastimes and the amusements they left behind them. Some have clandestinely removed to the United States; others charmed with the privilege of locomotion, have become sailors, in order to indulge their propensity to ramble. A petition was presented by abody of them in 1820, to Government, to remove them to a warmer climate, where the spontaneous productions of the earth would preclude the necessity of their having to provide for a long and tedious winter. As they had been a heavy charge to the public, the prayer of their petition was readily granted. Vessels were chartered, having the requisite accommodations, the superintendance of their embarkation and voyage committed to a Commissary; and in the month of January, in the year 1821, seventy-nine men and women and eleven children, in all ninety souls, were conveyed to Trinidad."

The Negro in Nova Scotia has had a history of being an unsuccessful citizen. His life in that province has been one of continual anadjustment. The Northern climate is too severe for him. His personal and social organization has not been able to sustain him in the period of crisis when he attempts to remake his social world. Nevertheless, there were a few who stood the test and survived.

(12) "The remnant of these different bodies of blacks, and their descendants, now resident in Nova Scotia, amount perhaps to 3,000 souls. Although they are in general improvident and indolent, there are good laborers and domestic servants among them, who find employment at a good rate of wages."

These remnants of the Negro have wandered over this province and established themselves upon the land. With little funds at their disposal they are slowly being driven off the land with the introduction of labor saving machinery by the white farmer. They are coming to the Negro settlements on the vicinity of Halifax, Hammond Plains, Preston, Dartmouth, Africaville; to the Negro settlements at Truro and Amherst. A few have wandered about the South shore of the province where there is considerable miscegenation between the two groups. The Halifax population has been augmented during recent years by the free movement of Negroes from the British West Indian Islands. These people come to this city as Halifax is a terminus for the Canadian steamships engaged in the South American trade, Today the West Indian element occupies the position of dominence in the colored community of that city. They are active in keeping alive the institutions which they have brought from those islands. This is especially noticeable in their recreational life.

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(12) Haliburton's Nova Scotia, Page 293.

"Halifax Evening Mail, July 11, 1928.

Reorganizing Eleven - The West Indians cricket Club is being reorganized and it is expected that within a few days they will play their opening game with a Garrison eleven, B. A. Husbands, who has for the past twenty years been manager of the West Indians team, is now making arrangements for the first practice to be held on the Admirality grounds."

In the Maritime Provinces where Negroes are living in the cities, they are able to obtain housing in only the most undesirable localities. They constitute such a minority group that their presence has caused no comments when they enter into economic competition with the whites. As a body they are poor and this has not afforded them the opportunity of travel. Mobility for this group is a negligible factor. It is when this Canadian Negro, as he is termed in Montreal, comes into contact with his brothers in the railroad service that he becomes aware of an occupation which is given over to his people and to his people alone. Here his economic world is unchallenged he thinks. He determines to reach Montreal and get himself a porter's post also. Then he can assert himself among his friends and earn the big wages that he has heard about.

In Montreal, the Canadian Negro is placed in a world of secondary contacts. With his education and experience

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the most fragmentary he occupies the lowest place in the Negro community. Forced very largely to the ranks of the unskilled laborer the result is that more problems of poverty and its results are to be found among this group than among the others.

The Negro from the West Indies has been shown as consituting the basic element in the Canadian Negro population which comes to this city from Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces. A number of these citizens of Montreal have made the city of Halifax a temporary halting place in their journey to this city. The metropolitan areas are attracting them with increasing intensity. It is only in the summer months that this group reach the city direct.

After 1917 they began to come in increasing numbers to this city. This group forms the neuclus of the Negro student body at McGill University in which they are to be found registered in all the departments, with the largest numbers in Medicine and Agriculture. These men are seeking a higher education with a view to bettering their economic position and in the hope of serving their race.

The West Indian and Canadian Negroes are both British subjects and, as such, are given the privilege of the vote as soon as they have fulfilled the residence requirements. Thus in these two groups there is not the division of interest that there is in the case of the American; Montreal for these people takes on the aspect of a permanent home. Both are proud of their British heritage and resent the influx of the American to this city. This is especially keen in the matter of their

hoping to get positions on the railroads. This division in the community has taken open and outward expression as found in the following letters taken from the "Star" during the month of May when the roads are increasing their staff for the Summer rush.

On the islands from whence he has come, he is thrown into personal contacts of a primary nature among his brothers. He sees only the outward appearances of the white overseer and agent. With the whites his contacts are of necessity of the secondary nature. From the whites he has copied the organization of many activities. This group

has introduced the English sport, cricket, to this city, and the Masons' lodge in the making. His family carries the sign of the English influence also.

It is this man who is largely breaking away from the work on the railroad. There are more of the West Indians in industry in this city than from either of the other groupings. His claim is that the color prejudice under which they labor is being slowly broken down in these islands, and he has the vision of a return trip. Here he hopes to show those who have remained at home the possibilities of advancement to Negroes who are willing to work hard. He clings tenaciously to his customs and endeavors to introduce them into Negro life in this city.

In the case of the Canadian and the West Indian Negro, the taking up residence in Montreal represents a distinct break in their lives. Here they are forced to remake their social worlds. Both being rural dwellers and accustomed to the form of social organization on this pattern, they are both with difficulty meeting the different crises in their lives. More cases of unadjustment and disorganization are to be found in the West Indian group than among the Americans.

NEGRO SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Introduction.
2. Institution.
3. Negro Decadent Institutions.
4. Family.
5. Church.
6. Negro Physician and Surgeon.
7. Fraternal Orders.
8. Recreational.
9. Cabarets.
10. Barber Shops.
11. Mutual Aid Organizations.
12. Labor.
13. Press.
14. Political.

Negro Social Organization

In Montreal, as in other metropolitan cities, the Negro has produced a vast amount of social organization. Each group in the local community has brought its own particular institutions which are to be found in the country from whence they come. These institutions are all stamped with their own peculiar characteristics which have made their survival possible.

The American Negro representing as he does a partially accomodated city dweller has contibuted the clubs, churches, barber_ shops and stores, certain forms of recreation which are American, and formsm of mutual aid. In each of these institutions, the basis of organization, it will be noted, is one of mutual interest rather than that of sentiment. While this basis of organization is after the city pattern, yet, their meetings at the different homes, the vast amount of hand_ shaking and well_wishing necessary to their [illegible] operation, all seem to indicate the vestiges of rural attitudes.

The West Indian is a rural and small town dweller who is very largely under the influence of British traditions. He has brought the English game of cricket, the only racial institution whose purpose is the advancement of the race, the doctor, and embryonic Masonry. The West Indian group is increasing in numbers am and in local influence to such a degree that the position of supremacy of the American group is seriously challenged.

The Canadian Negro, the minority group, has contributed nothing to the social organization in this city with the exception of having brought his family with him. He is a rural and small town dweller who has taken over the practises of the whites. In the province of Nova Scotia, from whence the majority of these people come, it will be noted that the West Indian is coming into prominence. In Montreal, from his experiences and contacts, he tends to combine something of the attitudes found in the other two groups.

In the small town form of social organization there is the lack of fulfilling the wants of the individuals. In these different bodies they do not find the expression of the self that they had expected. Thus they tend to bring more and more institutions into existence.

(1) "Social organization in the little town fails to utilize the individual whom town economy has freed from family solidarity. There is more change in human character than is registered in institutions, albeit that institutions are numerous enough and that the little townsman is the champion 'jiner' of America. What he has, however, is multiplicity of or organization rather than aptness and adaptation. His institutions repeat old patterns. Exceptional individuals and partly differentiated groups, whether above or below the town average, do not find vital expression through them."

This is the case existing in the Negro Community of this City. The large number of organizations has given rise

1 Douglas The Small Town p 89.

to rilvalry between the different units for control in the community. This results in a loose integration of the units. Rivalry has reached a stage of conflict with the resulting decay of the less successful. This will be noted in the study of the Decadent Institutions. This rivalry among the different units has resulted in a made scramble for leadership among the members. All want to be organizers or executives rather than shouldering the common burdens as workers. The leadership as found is constantly in demand on all sides by the different bodies with the result that the process of specialization cannot work out to its completeness.

In this manner an unstable social organization comes about. The institutions become ineffectual for the members. Out of the interaction of the various institutions a form of stablization does take place. This stabilization gives a unity for advantage only, largely based upon the common color. In the wider community he is conscious of his black skin. This is impressed upon him by the whites. In his own community he is conscious of being amongst others like himself. These factors always at work in his life tend to set up the mental state of unity based upon color, rivalry within his own community, and the common experience of being considered a Negro by the wider community. In Montreal, the unity of the different Negro units for concerted action, is to be seen in the Loew's Theatre case. Here all rallied to defend the common cause. As soon as the crisis was passed the old divisions once again asserted themselves.

With this community organized as it is on a two pivotal basis in form, and triangular by nature, the members through their different institutions are attempting to meet the demands of this new experience - city life. The two way form of organization is being slowly remodelled tending to take on the more urban pattern. But social change is from its nature a slow and gradual process. In this transitional stage, when the old is fighting for its existence against the assaults of the new, much personal and social disorganization is the natural result.

Institutions.

An institution represents a state of organization of the attitudes of a group towards a more or less fundamental need. Evolving, as they do, from the chance behavior patterns, which for the individual have meant his preservation, they are adopted by the group. In time they are defined in terms of the welfare of the group. As such they are given a sacred place in the group tradition. Thus today we hear of the sacredness of the married state.

These formal and informal states of the public mind have their characteristic forms of behavior observable in the enduring sentiments, beliefs, customs and symbols. Although with the exception of the family, they represent the more mechanical aspects of group life, yet in order to maintain their permanency, they are in a continuous process of change. It is the adaptability of an institution to the existing

conditions which determine the usefulness of the institution to its members.

Through concerted action, this corporate body brings to bear upon the need, all the specialization of its individual members. Thus each member has an opportunity of expressing that phase of experience which has become more developed in him through his membership in certain bodies. Membership in an institution gives status to each within and also when he goes forth into the wider community. While he is establishing himself with new groupings, he has his own personal assets as well as the prestige of the institutions with which he is already associated. His prestige in the new group becomes a matter of individual capacity plus the status of his other groupings in the eyes of the wider community.

In order to have permanency in the functioning of an institution there must be conscious leadership and direction. This leadership must be continually alive to the changing conditions and aware of the newer forms the need is taking. Failure to discover the newer forms of the need will result in an institution not meeting the needs as successfully as the members expect. In this state it is in danger of being cast aside and another form of organization substituted which it is expected will fill this want in the lives of the people. Modern mobility has brought about stages of instability in institutions which were formerly thought to be impregnable.

Institutions have their position in the ecological pattern of the community. Any change in this ecological pattern of the community will immediately be reflected in the action patterns of institutions. In a study of the institutions of any community, the problems of the group will be revealed through the ways in which the community members have attempted to meet these problems. The natural history of these community bodies will reveal the need that existed and the prevailing attitudes towards the manner of coping with the particular situation. The length of life of the body will tell the story of the success or failure from the group efforts. Occasionall the original need which brought about organization does not exist any longer In such a case the body is done away with.

Decadent Negro Institutions.

Modern society is in a state of constant flux. Changes are continually taking place in the economic order. The changes in the economic order are of a very rapid nature. An invention may result in the scrapping of a whole plant to be followed by the changed interior in which newer machinery is introduced. These changes in the economic order are reflected in the established social institutions of the community. The need at any one time in the present or future will, it is clear, not the same as existing at the time of organization. The means of meeting these changes, or the institution in action, will naturally have to be changed.

It
is by means of these changes that the community adapts itself to the new order. This state of constant change in society is readily observable in the growing organism - the modern city.

With these changes much of the old is discarded in favor of new practises. Some institutions, through lack of vision in the leadership or lack of flexibility of the organism itself never successfully meet the new demands of the members. In such a case it is put aside, it dies. Its members form new bodies to replace the old in order to obtain the expression they are seeking. It is by means of these Decadent Institutions that the trial and error attempts at survival in the frontier days of any community are told.

Dominion Lodge of the Eastern and Western Hemisphere Order of Knights of Pythias was established in 1903. Impetus to the founding of this order in this city came from an American Immigration Officer whose offices were in Windsor station. This man was a member of the order at Baltimore, Maryland.

Meetings were held at 12 Desrivieres street during the life of the lodge. Beginning with an initial enrollment of fourteen, the membership grew to twenty-five during the two years of its existence. The basis upon which the Pythian order is one of friendship. The social results of fraternity among these peoples tended to bring together the different elements for a period. Yet there was ever present in their minds the need of an institution which would operate on a

mutual aid basis. In time of sickness and death this was ever being forced upon them. Accordingly the executive approached one of the local members of Parliament with a view of determining the necessary procedure of the law to effect such a change in the local lodge. Finding that the deposit required by the Dominion Government was far beyond the capacity of the local men in order to put the lodge on a death and sickness benefit basis, interest in the lodge was lulled. The members slowly drifted away from the meetings and this reached the stage that the local lodge was disbanded. In this lodge is observed the first attempt among these people at the practise of mutual aid among themselves.

Dominion Lodge #1, North America, South America, Asia, Africa and Australia, Knights of Pythias, was established in September 1913. At the setting up of the local lodge the membership was eighteen. At the time of disbandonment in 1924 it had risen to forty. An entrance fee of $5 followed by a monthly payment of fifty cents gave it a financial basis.

Meetings were held every two weeks at the Union Street Hall, later at the Canning Hall and finally until the break up at the Crescent Hall at the corner of Crescent and St. Catherine Streets. The regalia of this order still is packed away after the final meeting and has never been removed from this location.

The second attempt at getting benefits for the membership was made by this order. Their application to the Dominion Government for a charter to permit them to operate a benefit scheme was met with the opposition of the Grand Lodge of the Canadian Knights of Pythias. The white lodges through their Chicago lawyer in opposing the proposed move pleaded that this lodge was not under a Canadian registry but under jurisdiction of the Negro Grand Lodge at New Orleans. Again the white[1] K.P. insisted that all lodges of this order in Canada should be under the Canadian Grand Lodge and subjected to Canadian control. The local body was unable to make the necessary deposit of $25,000 to be placed with the Government before the scheme could have a legal action. The failure of this lodge to seek its objective for its members again resulted in a second Pythian lodge being disbanded, following the drifting away from the meetings of the members.

The Colored Political and Protective Association was organized in October 1917,, that its members might "take part in all political matters", "promote good government", "protect its members" and "instruct its members in the carrying out of this program". Membership was open only to qualified Negro voters who were admitted upon the payment of an entrance fee of 25 cents followed by a monthly due of 10 cents. This monthly fee was later raised to 15 cents. The first two years of the life of this body meetings were

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(1) Term used denoting the Pythian Order.
Material in quotations from Constitution.

held at the homes of the members in the St. Antoine district. With the membership increased from the original 15 added space was required and meetings were held at the Porters Mutual Benefit Association Hall on St. Antoine street and later at the Canning street Hall. The membership increased to 75, at which figure it stood at the time of its dissolution. To keep interest in these Thursday evening meetings and have a full attendance, absences from three consecutive meetings without a reasonable excuse was punishable by dismissal from membership and its privileges.

The Colored Political and Protective Association is the first attempt by these people at the organization of a form of corporate body for what is known as "racial advancement". While open primarily only to voters, it later became inclusive for all Negroes and as such included all three groups in the community. This body had no connections with either of the two Canadian political parties. Votes of its members were all cast on a basis of which party had the better policy for the Negro in Canada. In the Dominion election of 1921 this body favored Mr. King rather than the platform of Mr. Meighen. In the civic elections of 1923, Mr. Martin had their support.

The protective side of this association is seen in the Loew's Theatre case. Two members of this body attempted to take seats in company with their lady guests, in the orchestra pit of this theatre. The management insisted that the party all take seats in the balcony.

This the party did and later took court action against the theatre for the case of unjust discrimination. Finances for this move were secured from the funds of the Colored Political and Protective Association and the Negro community as a unit supported the case morally and financially. The decision of the first court was in favor of the Negroes, but the theatre appealed the case to a higher court where a judgment of two judges was in favor of the original decision, while three reversed it against the Negroes. The lack of funds by the community as a whole only prevented the taking of this case to the Supreme Court of the Dominion.

The Association of Universal Loyal Negroes, with headquarters in New York City, heard of the success of the Colored Political and Protective Association, and decided to establish a branch in this city. Membership in this body was opened to all Negroes regardless of sex or nationality. The success of the Association of Universal Loyal Negroes in the United States in its program of racial advancement was soon spread in this city. Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining the necessary twenty-five for a charter. The only charge to membership in this association was $1.00 a month, nor were there any sickness or death benefits for its members. Thus there were two bodies whose objectives were the racial advancement of the Negro in

competition in the Montreal field. A third followed shortly with the arrival of Garvey.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, a racial advancement movement headed by Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican, entered the Montreal field in the Winter of 1917, 1918. Garvey addressed meetings in the interest of this body personally at a hall on Chatham street. Garvey, a most outstanding negro orator, was successful in his organization and the local body took over its own direction in 1919. With the Garvey movement in operation there were three of these racial advancement units in the community. Each had its own appeal for membership.

With the members of the Colored Political and Protective Association still retaining their membership in the parent body they were also included in either the Association of Universal Loyal Negroes or the Universal Negro Improvement Association. In this way the older body in its position of dominence was seriously challenged and with the result that its members drifted to the newer organizations. The American Negro supported the Association of Universal Loyal Negroes, which in time became known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, while the West Indian group followed the Garvey Movement. By 1925 the Colored Political and Protective Association had ceased to exist and no attempts were made to arouse interest in this body and it is now very largely forgotten in the community. The National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People, whose program is one of using the courts for the recognition of equal status for Negroes as well as the whites has no sickness or death benefits for its members. Its activities are concentrated upon the lawless activities of the whites for lynchings of Negroes. With no behavior towards the Negro of this nature by the whites in this city the local members felt the program was of little use to them. The West Indian were increasing in numbers and in influence in this city. The Universal Negro Improvement Association offered death benefits to its members, and following the removal of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People movement from this city it too went out of existence and has never been revived here. Today the Universal Negro Improvement Association is the only racial association whose program is in keeping with the apparent needs of the Montreal Negroes.

Dunbar Literary Club.

The Dunbar Literary Club had an active life from its organization in 1920 to the death of its president in 1924. Designed for the development of the Negro along literary lines, the weekly meetings were given over to essays, readings, collecting of literary gems of all races, study of the life of Dunbar. A monthly fee of 25 cents a member provided the means to meet the cost of the using the Porters Mutual Benefit Association on St. Antoine street.

While open to both sexes, the membership never exceeded 20, its maximum. Following the death of the president the group was left without enthusiastic leadership. Interest lagged and a rebirth was attempted the following year. Meetings for a period were held at the Universal Negro Improvement Association hall on Chatham street. Lack of intellectual leadership and appreciation of the higher forms of literature resulted in the rapid disintegration of the body. Today the Dunbar Literary Club is a non-existent body in this community. Only the charter members have the memories of these experience.

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.

In the Union United Church have been brought together all the different religious denominations of the Negro community. A few of these people refused to give up their own church and took part in the proposed ousting of the British Methodist Episcopal group. Unsuccessful in this they set up their own church in this city. A pastor was secured from Chicago and for a time the services were held in private homes of the members. In time their church was formally set up at St. Antoine and Convent streets. Mobility, lack of leadership and finances all registered their effects upon this body. The majority of the former members left the city and the growing influence of the Union

United Church brought some of this body to its register. Some took themselves to the different missions in the St. Antoine district. With but a very small following and one lacking in influence in both the Negro and wider communities the rent of the church could not be met. During 1928 the site was closed, the building is for sale by one of the local trust companies; the pastor obtained a position on the railroad as a porter; the flock met for service at the home of the few members in the St. Antoine district occasionally. All that remains of this former church are the memories, and the state of mind of the group that all the while a minister is in residence in this city there is a church. This is the base upon which all institutions are formed, and when such a state of mind has been reached the members are prepared to proceed with the overt expression necessary.

In the Decadent Institutions are to be seen institutions functioning after the former role in a new community. The new community did not present the problems of the old. Yet it was felt that the old and known form of organization would meet the new needs. Mobility entered in the downfall of these bodies by taking away leadership and direction at the same time registering mental changes in attitudes of the members. In the period of crisis when the old was being changed to meet the demands of the new the basic elements upon which the founding took place were not

strong enough in the minds of the members to successfully meet the situation and disuse resulted.

The Negro Family

It is in the primary institution, the family that one sees a reflection of the life and the problems of any group. In the family, a speaker has said, rests the ultimate destiny of the nation. The family is shown as one of the primary institutions, for in the history of human institutions it was the first to be developed. It is here that the child first enters the social world, and as such, it gives him the introduction and lays the foundation for his future behavior as a member of the greater society. Family life gives its members that expression of their personality which is complete and satisfying; it builds up in its members the sentimental attachments about the ideals and hopes of its participants:

Burgess, writing in the American Journal of Sociology Proceeding for 1928, says; (1) "The family as an institution is the form of relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, sanctioned, if not prescribed, by society. These roles that constitute the family are, in fact, cultural patterns, and, like all cultural patterns, have a history and are subject to social change. At the same time the familial roles are idealized by the members of the family. The stern but just father, the loving and

(1) American Journal of Sociology, p.134 - Vol XXII _ Burgess
The Family and the Person.

prudent mother, the dependable and honest son, the dutiful and virtuous daughter are ideals towards which conduct is directed and by which shortcomings are measured.

"Thus it comes about that the family as an institution performs what seems to be a double function, but what actually is a unitary function. The family still remains the chief social agency both for transmitting the cultural heritages from the older to the younger generation and for the development of personality of its members. It is, indeed, in the circumstances of this cultural transmission and in the interaction of the family and its members with the environing community that modifications and conditionings of the personality of all the members of the family take place."

Havelock Ellis, in the Forum, January , 1928, has pointed out that marriage as an institution has never been static but is always fluid and changing. Any change which takes place in the Ecological basis of a community will be reflected in this institution in some form of disorganization followed by a reorganization on a somewhat different basis. Under slavery in this city the Negro (2) "had practically no home life". The few slaves in those early days leads one to suspect that there was little or no Negro family life in this city as apart from his presence as a servant considered as a child in the home of his master. As a member of the household holding the lowered position it is evident that,

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(2) Washington - The Future of the American Negro - p. 47.

(3)"until freedom came the life of the Negro was so intimately interwoven with that of the white man that it is almost true to say that he had no separate history."

After the year 1804 when the Negro had civil status equal to that of the whites (4) "we may say that the Negro began at the zero point, with nothing to his credit but the crude physical discipline of slavery." To this he had some cultural patterns of the whites which were not mobilized.

About the year 1897, a Negro resident has estimated that the total number of Negro families in this city numbered some 25. He was, as is the case today, a resident in the more miserable sections and near the business district.

(5) "The Negro population is generally concentrated in one or two neglected and undesirable districts to which they have been attracted because of the relatively cheap rents or into which they have been forced by the difficulty of securing living quarters in the better residential areas. The buildings are generally old and frequently dilapidated the surroundings usually neglected, the sanitation poor, and the health regulations not enforced. Even in the better class of homes occupied by laboring classes the ordinary conveniences are oftentimes lacking; the heating is usually from wood or coal stoves, the lighting is commonly from gas or oil lamps, and bath rooms are unusual."

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(4) Washington - The story of the Negro. P.8.
(3) Kelley Miller - Race Adjustments, p. 101.
(5) Reuter - The American Race Problem, p. 219.

The family among the Negroes in this city is of three types, the American, the West Indian, and the Canadian. Each has its own peculiar characteristics which distinguishes it from the others.

West Indian Family

In the West Indian family the husband occupies the dominant and superior position. He is the bread winner of the home. Largely under British influence and tradition his conception of the role of his wife is one of the home maker. To him her place is in the home. To her he delegates the task of attending to his bodily needs and comforts. His life outside the home is largely a personal one and the wife knows little of her husband's outside interests. She receives an allowance from his salary for the management of the home and her own needs. Matters of rent, light, gas, telephone, and accounts other than groceries are all part of his duties. With the father insisting that he be the support of the home, he has to develop habits of thrift and this is soon copied by his energetic wife. The allowance system to her is a constant challenge to be able to show a balanced accounting or a surplus in her expenditures. It is the claim of this group that every West Indian Negro carries some form of insurance.

It has been shown that the West Indian group are rural people. They have to accomodate themselves to this organism which has been called the city. It is only in the

most serious cases of economic depression that the traditional roles are reversed and the wife attempts the shouldering of the economic burden of the family. The home education of the children is one of restrictions, rather than allowing the freedom of city expression. The West Indian parents clings tenaciously to the patterns of child development to which they were subjected. As the child matures, with his wider contacts, he tends toward the development of the city ways. Seeing life through the adult vision in terms of the child is for this group a difficult task. Thus often it has been found that the conflict occurs between the parent, clinging to the past, and the child who is leaning towards the behavior of the city. As the English or Anglican Church is the established body in those islands, the religious education tends towards keeping the child away from the established Negro church in this city. Thus there are Negroes and their children to be found attending the different Anglican churches in this city. It is only after the West Indian family has had a considerable period of residence that the city pattern is accepted and adopted by the parents and the children follow the practise of the other city children.

The American Negro Family.

The family of the American Negro is a contrast to that of the West Indian. His short period of city residence has tended to free him from the rural economy. His is the loosely integrated family characterized by the independence of its members. The change from rural to city life in the family as a whole has been one of leading towards instability.

In this family the position of the husband and wife are equal. The husband no longer dominates the wife and rules as a monarch. Her city experience has filled her with that spirit of independence and he is accepting this. Like the modern woman she knows that marriage is not the escape from the world of reality. There is her economic opportunity in the city and marriage to her is a matter of choice. In the American cities her economic life is expanding and the husband has to put her on an equal footing, or she refuses his proposal. She knows her husband's outside business interests and experiences, and shares his success and his failures.

A tolerant attitude towards the child in his taking on the city pattern in his behavior is characteristic of this group. The children enjoy the freedom of action necessary to their development and make wide contacts. This American father is more of the companion than merely the stern but just father. He makes pals of them, and enters more fully into their confidence.

The older doctrines in religion are no longer held by this group. They are demanding a more socialized form of religion. This is refelected in the program of the Negro church. This liberality in ideas towards religion is accompanied by a marked generosity with which they contribute to the churches upkeep. In the church the American group are the majority and the most influential.

Both the husband and wife appreciate that in order to carry their respective tasks successfully they must have meals of an appetizing and wholesome nature. Accordingly the wife prepares plain meals in keeping with the funds at her disposal. The few delicacies that are added are those she has observed in the homes where she has worked. The Negroes are partial to fried meats such as chicken, ham, pork chops, and steaks. To supplement the natural flavors of the meat she adds red peppers which are chopped finely and fried in the same receptacle. Fresh vegetables are in seasonal demand with these women, sweet potatoes, green cabbage, lettuce, tomatoes, and green beans being the most favored.

Canadian Negro Family

The Canadian Negro family represents the lowest degree of family life in this community. Here too is to be found the break from the small town life to that of the city. The Canadian families live largely in scattered, small

settlements. One of these Canadian settlements is to be found on Albert street, consisting of some six or eight families.

From the intimate life in the small Negro settlements whence they come a marked looseness in the marriage relation had been developed. In many cases this has reached a stage bordering on communal promoscuity in sex relations. The lack of education in the husband forces him to enter the ranks of the already over supplied casual labor. Subjected as the casual laborer is to the frequent discharge, the economic burden becomes one for both husband and wife. The working outside the home is a practise to which the Canadian Negro woman has been subjected since her adolescent days. She accepts it in the city as unfortunate, but nevertheless as something which must be done. While the parents are away at work the children are locked up alone in the home or left with a kindly neighbor.

The home training of the children in the home of the Canadian Negro is little. Poverty, ignorance are themselves the characteristics of the parents. The home life is one of a fierce fight against the ever present foe of starvation. The children receive most of their education in the back lanes and alleys among the children where color has as yet not become a basis for discrimination. With no compulsory school attendance laws in operation in the province of Quebec, the boys enter the world of work at an early age. The girls

go out working by the day as soon as they are large enough to pass for women. Even before they have gone out from the home to help in the common task of bread winning they have helped mother with the washing that has been sent or brought to the house for "some rich lady in Westmount." The boys become messengers and factory workers and the vicious circle of poverty and ignorance is once again in evidence. The Canadian group are little represented in the church. The Negro church in the Province of Nova Scotia is very largely the African Methodist and Baptist. These bodies have but a scanty following in this city. Thus the Canadian Negro lives a life of comparative isolation from the larger life of the Negro community.

Difficulty in securing housing, high rents, economic insecurity and poverty in the Negro life of this city leads many of these families to taking in boarders. In one such case the boarders were male and female. The familiarity resulting from this situation was such that both were requested to leave and seek room elsewhere.

(6) "The general ignorance of parents and the general inefficiency of Negro family life makes impossible proper care of children. In the lower class homes there is little direct training of children and little direct control exercised over their behavior. Because of poverty often both parents work away from home.... The children are in consequence neglected, left unsupervised to play in the streets and alleys where,

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(6) Reuter - The American Race Problem, p 220.

because of the neighbourhood conditions (environment) in which the greater majority of Negro families live, they almost inevitably come into contact with vicious persons and have every opportunity to observe and become familiar with debased standards of life and conduct."

Case studies are frequent, showing that the children in Negro families are not developing their capacities in such a manner as to fit them for the life that they must face.

Robert Alexander was born in Cuba in 1912. His father died in Montreal in 1916 and the mother died in New York in 1922. Two brothers are living in New York, Henry born in 1908, George born in 1914.

Upon the death of the boy's mother, Robert was living with an uncle on Chabot street. The uncle was a laborer at this time earning $15.00 per week. People living nearby discovered that the boy was in the habit of sleeping away from home at night, under sheds and wagons. The case was reported to a Social Agency in 1924, and Robert was removed from the care of the uncle and placed in an institution.

The uncle admitted the boy to be very incorrigible and a definite behavior problem. The school record is one of complete scholastic failure and considerable truancy, concerning which the uncle knew nothing. The boy spent two years in Grade II with no progress, only to be promoted to the next standard on account of overcrowding the room.

Examination of this boy at the time of his coming under the care of the Agency, showed his body filthy with dirt, with signs of severe treatment at the hands of his former guardian. The clothes were ragged and also dirty. Medical examination indicated an undernourished and underdeveloped growing boy, with a mental age of 8.2 years against a chronolical age of 12 years. Psychiometrically he was described as sullen and non-cooperative, and developing a grudge against society.

Four years later Robert had become a leader among the boys at this institution.. The grudge against society had not completely left him and took the form of a bullying tendency amongst his group. His familial ties are completely severed, as are also all connections with the Negro group of this city. He has become accepted as one of the group by the institution and has little consciousness of his darkened skin.

Shielded as Robert has been by the prestige of the institution the question arises, what will be the behavior pattern upon his discharge when he must face reality and accept the standards of his own group in this city after his experience as an adolescent with those of a diverse group?

The very nature of the occupation of these men subjects them to a high rate of mobility. (6A) "Mobility

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(6A) The City, Park, p 58 - The Growth of the City - Burgess.

it is evident, involves change, new experience, stimulation." For the individual, mobility results in a change of ideas and tends towards disorganization. Following the disorganization in the individual the family tie is broken. In the Negro family as a result of the mobility and its changing ideas the marriage tie is frequently broken by the desertion of the husband.

Mary Smofsky in walking down Windsor street one evening fell to the ground in a fainting condition. She was picked up, taxied to the room of John Oscar, a Negro porter, who ministered to the needs of the sickly girl. The girl became the common law wife of this man and in time she became the mother of a daughter: Mary was so much in love with her kind benefactor and ignorant of the ways of the world that she neglected to obtain her husband's name. To her he was just "Sweetness!" Three months later he deserted her, and she had to become another of the clients of a Nursery where she left her baby as she went to her daily tasks. Nor did her husband ever return to his wife with the result that this woman is living in a one roomed apartment in an undesirable section of the city endeavoring to support this black daughter that to her is her whole existence.

This lack of responding to the responsibilities of marriage is not maintained by the men alone. The women set it aside quite as easily.

A Negro family of parents and one child is cited in which the husband has been a periodic deserter over a period of years. The wife during one of these desertion periods took in a roomer to help defray the expenses of her home as her wages from domestic service averaged but $8.00 per week. The husband returned to the city. He became suspicious of this roomer whom he suspected as a "sweetheart" of his wife. Accordingly he found another woman whom he made his "special friend". Both couples to all outward appearances were married. His legal wife and the new special friend were ardent admirers of each other. One Sunday the husband and his "friend" called at her abode, where all spent a happy afternoon, and had "tea together". All spent a pleasant evening until she put her baby to bed. She then dismissed her company, with the best of feelings exchanged between all. When asked sometime later of the call, she answered that "she liked her husband's friend", that "she would take him back", but would not bring trouble between him and the happiness that he had found with his present mate.

Unemployment is always in the minds of the males of this group. In periods when he is out of work and he has the vision of the long search, whenever possible he attempts his fortune in the United States. Through the race papers he is informed of business conditions in that country, and he avails himself of the facilities of modern travel to speed him on his mission. The Montreal Negro shows a preference

in seeking work in the cities of New York, Detroit, and Chicago. At such periods in his life when he has a family depending on him for support he accepts the first post that is available to him. Meanwhile his family is in destitute circumstances in this city and is under the protection and care of some of the numerous Health or Social Agencies. Often he is unable to write immediately, and friends of the family whisper it about that he is a deserter. In time the letter comes explaining his situation. In time with the approach of spring, he again returns to the city in hopes of obtaining a position on the railroads here.

Round House, L.V.R.R.Co.
Tyrone, Penna.
30 Aug. 1922.

My dear Wife:

Your dear letter was received last night and carefully read. You did not state whether the amount of $10 enclosed was received O.K. Since I sent you the money, I wrote you another letter advising you of the money sent, also my address that you may write direct. Now as stated in my last letter, I was to be here for 30 days now today has made me 15 days, so my time, if all goes well, will be finished on 14th September, when I will be good for $350. Now about a house, by all means get one. I have $190. on me now. I will be enclosing $20 in this letter, so as to enable you to get some winter clothes for the kids. Now Otta spend your money wisely.

Now about Detroit, I still have same in view, but

have you made any arrangements with any one about the kids. I should certainly love to have them with me for a few days, but I may assure you that this is a confined job, it is about 12 miles from a town and owing to the strikers, we cannot take a chance into the town, we arefed and sleep on the job. I eat the best that's provided, but I think the water is bad, I suffered terribly the last few days with diarrhea, but today I am feeling O.K. Owing to the impossibility of registering a letter from here on account of no post office, I cannot take a chance of sending you much money, otherwise I would send you $100 to deposit in the bank. If you can arrange for some one to look after the kids I will arrange for you to join me in Detroit. Now if things are improved in Montreal, let me know. Anywhere is just as good for me as long as I can make money. My coming down here was to earn some money quickly, as I could not sell the shop. Now do not fear that you are to spend a winter where you are at present. Yourself and the kids will be better cared for this winter as long as life permits. I have sufficient money now to better conditions, also do not fear of joining me again. I want yourself and the kids. And if you cannot get to me, I will return to you as I previously assured you, but it was useless returning to Montreal without money. Glad to know the kids are O.K. Love to the kids and yourself. Reply early.

Yours affectionately,

(sgd.) FRED

The looseness of the marriage relation has been illustrated for these people. There is an equal ease with which they contract the marriage tie among themselves. These hasty marriages and subsequent disorganization following is shown in the Garfield case. This case illustrates also the lack of sufficient organized communal resources to meet the needs of these people in times of crises, mobility about the city, the frequent failure in their occupational selection, the role of the wife in periods of economic stress and the results of such maladjustment as reflected in the behavior of the children.

Arthur Garfield was born in Jamaica in 1858. He came to Montreal from New York in 1906. His wife Helen was born in Grenada in 1882 and came to Montreal in 1900. The marriage arrangements were made by correspondence. At the time the correspondence was instituted the future Mrs. Garfield was residing in New York city. Friends there told her that Garfield would make her a desirable husband. The woman did not know the man's age, nor did they exchange photos. With his proposal accepted he proceeded to New York, where the woman dared not refuse marriage even though she was not attracted to him.

Three children were born from this union, a boy in 1910, two girls in 1912 and 1916. Garfield has two sisters at home in Jamaica. The parents and other relatives are all dead. His wife has neither parents nor relatives living. Both have been members of the Anglican Church in the West

Indies but since taking up residence in this city have dropped all church connections. The children are never in attendance at any church or Sunday-school

For a period of eight years residence was taken on Inspector street, leaving there in May 1921. From this time to May 1926 they resided on St. Monique, Albert, St. James, and Seigneurs streets.

The husband's occupation since coming to this city has been that of porter on the railroad, proprietor of a small notions shop, worker in lunch rooms, and laborer. His friends and acquaintances have termed him as "bone lazy" from his giving up different jobs for no evident reasons. A chronic heart condition developed early in 1924 since which time the man has not worked. The days and evenings he spends at the Negro clubs on St. Antoine street reading the race papers and entering other forms of behavior to be found in these institutions. During 1925 the family was $100 in arrears on the rent of the St. James street flat. Garfield tampered with the electric light meter in order to prevent complete consumption being registered. For this offence he received one month imprisonment. In 1922 he was found to be living in common-law relationships with another Negro woman in another section of the city.

Mrs. Garfield has had to support the family largely since 1924. In taking up the economic burden of the family she has taken in roomers, done work in private homes by the

day and taken in washing. Each and every time they would be in arrears of the rent, Mrs. Garfield would seek aid from the local Social Agencies. Material relief from the one of colored women's benevolent associations has been rendered on different occasions. The woman's earning capacity has been greatly lessened by the development of varicose veins in the leg in 1924.

The boy became a behavior problem at school and went to work as a messenger boy earning $7.00 per week in 1922. With no occasion he suddenly left this post in favor of a job in a restaurant, where he earned $9.00 for a period of two weeks. The following month he returned to the messenger post earning the same salary. The daughter at school was a scholastic failure but no behavior problem. In her home life her mother could do nothing with her.

When two races are living side by side in such proximity as has been shown to be the case for both the Negroes and the whites a certain amount of miscegenation is the inevitable result. It has been estimated that about 40% of the Negroes are married to white women in this community. Two forces in combination seem to bring about such marriages. In the one the white girl is a newcomer to the city and has not built up the relationships with her own group and its institutions. Hers is the problem of isolation and lack of fulfilment of the wishes for response.

The other is the result of the attitudes of the whites towards the Negro. That (7) "the Negro has almost a monopoly of all the more discreditable characteristics of mankind." When by chance an educated or much travelled Negro enters the life of such a girl she becomes fascinated with this dark skinned man, her emotions direct her behavior and either common law or legal marriage results. Two such marriages have taken place, following a two months' acquaintance. Both to date have been very happy homes. But not always does a family established on such a basis withstand the forces which tend to disrupt its unity.

While the white girl is building up the sentimental attachments about her dark lover she is slowly being emancipated from her white groupings. She becomes a stranger to all, in outward appearances. She avoids contact with them as much as possible. When her behavior is discussed in her own home she departs and returns when she feels the discussion has been closed. She is an outcast. She has lost her status in her white social world and has not built it up in that of the Negro. In her attempts at remaking her social world she builds her organization about her physical charms. Frequently she has resorted to the role of the prostitute in this process of becoming accepted.

Although lost to her former white groupings yet with the arrival of her children she becomes a devoted mother.

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(7) Our White Folks - George S. Schuyler, American Mercury, Dec. 1927, p.385.

She sees in them the vision of the man who has made it possible for her to have this experience which she has looked forward to since her childhood days. She expresses herself with the motherly love and defends them at all times. These women will as all other mothers, give their lives, if necessary, for this child who now is her life.

The following case study of miscegenation that took place in this city and resulted in disorganization of the family is given. It should be noted that drawn as it has been from the social work organizations files it does not contain as much data as the sociologist desires.

Etta Harmer is the daughter of prominent people in one of the Eastern provinces of the Dominion. As an adolescent she came to attend one of the private schools in Montreal, and later the High School of this city. During her High School days Etta met a friend to whom she became greatly attached. Through her friend a native of the West Indies she met Fred Summer, a Negro. She became fascinated with Fred, who later became the father of four illegitimate children, three girls and one boy. The couple were married in Montreal in 1918. When Etta's parents learned of her marriage to Fred, they disowned her and broke off all relations with her from that time forth. Her brother, a partner in a prominent business house in Montreal likewise refused to recognise the family connections.

Fred Summer born in the West Indies in 1896, came to Montreal in company with another Negro. Both took up studies here in different fields. Fred in an engineering school, his friend in a medical school. In 1919 following graduation, he obtained a position as engineer on a ship running out of New York. This was later followed by his opening a plumbing shop in New York City in the Harlem district. During his absence from Montreal his wife, Etta was supporting herself as best she could by doing house work by the day.

During the period of Fred's carrying on business in New York, another child was born to his wife. This the husband denied as being his, and he accused his wife of infidelity. As a result, Fred never returned to the city and sent occasional remittances to his wife as time and circumstances permitted.

Mrs. Summer has been helped by the local Social Agencies for several years. The fact of the color of her children prevented their admission to Institutions. After much effort, Fred's friend, now a practising physician, was consulted to obtain help in returning the children to the home of an aunt in the West Indies. Arrangements were made and the children left Montreal during the summer of 1927.

During the period that the children were being cared for by the Social Agency Etta found out their address and desired to see them. Her letter asking for permission to call and spend some time with them appears below.

It is reproduced in its original state to show the mental attitudes of this woman after her experiences.

M..... Ave., Montreal.
May 25, 1926.

My dear Mrs. P.

Please do not think me too personal in addressing you as such, but before I go on further I am Helen and Edith's mother.

Know doubt you have heard all there is to know about me by now.

I went to see Mary today and she has told me with whom she is staying, and I am so glad to know they fell in such kind hands as yours. I used to worry and wonder who would take them and if they would be kind to them, but my worrys are over now. Words cannot express my feelings, I am so glad the good God has answered my prayers.

Although I did not know you personally I have often heard Mrs. M. Speaking so well of you, also Mr. M. that I almost know you.

Now I would love to see the children and I will be down on Sunday evening if it would be convenient for you, as I am working and it is hard for me to get away in the daytime, but I could arrange an evening to go any evening as it would be convenient.

You could give me a call on the phone and let me know when we could arrange a time.

Thanking you I beg to remain

Finally yours

Whilst waiting a phone call,

(sgd.) Etta Summer.

Divorce is a practise not found among the Negroes in Canada. The cost of this procedure is beyond the financial means of members of this group. For them, it is rather a separation that is arranged. These arrangements may be either the simple words of mouth or a legal document drawn up by people who have the privilege of such acts. When freed from the marital bond, neither party lives up to its terms. There are common law unions contracted by both parties and both propagate their kind. Children born in such a state can never have the lawful status as citizens as long as the other party to the first marriage is alive. The following case, that of the Roskos, illustrates the role of the separation in the lives of these people.

Mabel Jones was born in Truro, Nova Scotia in 1898. In 1914 she married **Smith** at Halifax. Periods of residence in Truro and Halifax followed. Following abusive conduct and non-support by the husband the wife obtained a separation from him at Truro in 1921.

Shortly after the birth of her first child at Halifax in 1921 Mabel became the common-law wife of Henry

Rosko. Since that time she has been known, and lived under the name of Rosko. Three children have been born to this union, one born at Shelborne in 1923, another at St.John in 1924, and the third in Montreal in 1927.

During the period of living as the wife of Rosko the couple toured the eastern provinces in a vaudeville troupe where Rosko was a dancer. Following an illegal attempt at entering the United States they returned to Halifax and later in 1926 came to Montreal.

In Montreal Rosko has worked as a shoe shine worker, dancer in one of the local theatres, and a club cleaner in the sporting district of St. Antoine street. Mrs. Rosko has been forced to take up the economic burden of the family and does house work by the day and takes in occasional washing. During her absences from the home the children are locked up to wait their mother's return.

In the coming of these people to Montreal, they have of necessity to put aside the small town ways and its patterns. They are cut off from the former life of intimate associations and must adopt the more urban pattern. In this there is the change from the world of intimacy to that of secondary contacts where they are but one unit in a loosely integrated whole. Under such conditions the family solidarity is being constantly threatened. They do not know how to break down their isolation. There are no resources to aid them in this state of isolation.

In cases where the marriage is among people of different cultures time alone brings the conflict to a stage in which the lives of the two are continually in unadjustment. Periodic desertions result, but the wanderer returns to his former spouse and the union is a temporary one until the conflict breaks the peace of the home and he again leaves. In the Weyman case the friction is two-fold: diverse religion and diverse cultural backgrounds. Their isolation served to force the issues to the foreground with the resulting desertions by the husband. This desertion gave rise to the social problems resulting from the non support by him in these periods.

Oscar Weyman was born in Jamaica in 1883 and came to Montreal in 1916. Having come to Canada as a seaman he shipped out of Montreal for Halifax, where here he met and married his wife in 1919. Weyman is an Anglican in religion while his wife, a native of Ceylon, is a Buddist in religion.

Mrs. Weyman, previous to her marriage,had come to Canada in 1907, and was employed as a nurse maid in a prominent Canadian family. While thus employed she travelled with the family over most of the United States and Canada. Neither the wife nor her husband have any family connections in this city nor are relatives living at the birth place.

Neither are able to agree upon even the slightest matter; Weyman has become a periodic deserter since 1923. At this time a shop in which he was a partner was burned and the

insurance realized the partners netted them only $300. Shortly after this event he disappeared. During that summer Mrs. Weyman took in two roomers which provided her with funds to run her home. In October of that year the husband was discovered to be working in Detroit. His wife immediately took herself and children to that city, where she took court action against him for non-support and wife beating. The following May she became pregnant once again and returned to Montreal for hospital care during her confinement period. A miscarriage followed in September. During this period of residence in Montreal Mrs. Weyman had no support from her husband and was a charge upon the local Social Agencies.

Before the close of the year 1924 Weyman had lost his job in Detroit and returned a sick man to this city. Here his wife took him into her home and cared for his needs as well as she could. The following July he again deserted her going to Detroit once again. Here the work was of a casual nature and he again returned to this city in November, 1926.

The coming of these people to this city represents a crisis in their lives. They are separated from the friends and relatives. They are strangers in a strange land. When in such periods of crisis, they are unable to affect the necessary adjustments, their only help and support is to be obtained from the white Social Agencies. While it is true there are associations of the mutual aid type doing laymen's social service among these people, yet they deal only with

the immediate situation. This is usually the much sought for grocery order. These associations are not equipped with funds as yet to carry such cases over for any lengthy periods of time should the work be attempted on a scientific basis. This isolation of Negro families from friends, relatives and communal resources to sustain them in these periods of crisis is seen in the Gordon case. In this case one of the regular corps of house visitors and collectors who are constantly moving about the St. Antoine district is seen playing a somewhat different role than customary.

"alter Gordon claims he was born at Halifax in 1882, although he is not positive of the date. By a former marriage he is the father of three children. These children are living with their maternal grandmother, at the Negro settlement near Halifax.

Olive Gordon, his second wife, also has been married previously, the first marriage being a most unhappy one. Three children were born in the first union. Shortly after the death of the first husband the woman married Gordon.

This family came to Montreal in 1923, where two children were born to them. The parents have no church or other social connections with friends or relatives in this city. Gordon had been employed in Halifax as a longshoreman, and finding the work too severe came to Montreal, hoping to obtain work on the railroad, or work of a lighter nature. Here he has been able to obtain work

only as a dock laborer and in a steel mill where he earned $15 per week.

Residence is had on Seigneur street in the rear court for which the rent is $12 monthly for three rooms with no bath. Light is supplied by oil lamps, while a wood stove furnishes the necessary heat. Another resident in the rear court obtains entrance to a small one room apartment by passing through the Gordon flat.

An insurance agent in calling at the home one day in April 1926 observed the building in a dilapitated condition and reported his findings to one of the Social Agencies operating in this area. The Social Agency took the case up with the City Department of Health, and the landlord effected sufficient repairs to satisfy the demands of the law. During the following month Mrs. Gordon gave birth to a baby boy, who, three months later, weighed 9 pounds. During her period of pregnancy the wife had worked up to the eighth month, three days weekly in order to supplement the casual earnings of her husband. The previous winter and spring months one of the lay mutual aid associations of Negro women had rendered material relief and service as well as they could. This relief had been stopped by this body following the woman's refusal to enter a hospital for her confinement period. The baby took pneumonia in November. Mrs. Gordon refused to admit the child to hospital care and treatment, keeping the child in an overheated room which had no ventilation. The child as a result died the same month.

The indifferent state of the husband's health since his leaving Halifax was aggravated by his work at the local docks, and in the steel plant. At the time of the baby's birth he was given an opportunity of entering a Sanitorium in the Laurentian Mountains. This he refused to accept, railing against the fact of the French language and customs in practise in that community and, objecting to the location being "away up in the woods".

During 1927 Mrs. Gordon had been doing house work by the day while her husband did casual and light work, while at the same time, she took hospital treatments weekly. On days when both parents would be away from the home, the fourteen year old daughter was left in charge to play the role of the mother to the other children.

The unadjusted girl is a problem to be found in every community, rural and urban alike. When such a case arises among the Negroes in Montreal she avails herself of the services of the white social agency which is equipped to handle such cases. The case of Dorothy Foster happened previous to the establishment of this specialized agency in this city. The material for this study is drawn from the various agencies that this woman has come in contact with, over a period of years. The data is by no means sufficient to serve as a case study in the sociological sense of showing how the problem came into being and the roles of the parties in the social worlds in which they moved. It is presented to indicate that the problem of the unadjusted girl is to

be found among these people. The resulting problems in this case are typical of cases where there is a lack of communal resources to handle such problems.

Dorothy Foster was born at Plattsburg, New York, in 1888. The first record of Dorothy in Montreal occurred in 1907, when she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter. This pattern has been repeated,with the result that Dorothy is now the mother of eight such children, of whom seven are living.

The oldest child, Louise, born in 1907, followed the behavior of her mother, and she too became an unmarried mother in 1925. The father of this child is reported as the proprietor of a photograph house on the St.Lawrence Main in this city. Of the seven living children, but three are with the mother at the present time: Louise, Fred, born in 1909 and the youngest born in 1925. Three others, Helen, born in 1913, Oscar born in 1915 and Reta, born in 1917, all are under the care of one of the local Social Agencies by order of the Judge of the Juvenile Court. The remaining child, James, was placed by his mother in an institution for boys. He remained here for some five years, and upon his release went to live in another city. At the time of the action against Dorothy for contributing to the delinquency of her children, she wrote asking permission to visit them where they were residing. The first letter indicates the mother's attitude towards the oldest daughter Louise.

Mrs. M.

Dorchester St.
June 17/25.

Secy of ...

I am writing you these few lines to ask you if you will kindly let me know in what institution my children are going to be placed into as you will remember that Judge ... told me that I would be allowed to see my children according to the rules of whatever institution they would be placed into. I am ill just now (another illegitimate child was born on July 1925, the father of which was a 17 year old boy) and cannot go out, or I would have telephoned to you as Louise will not telephone for me. I also want you to know their right ages. Helen will be twelve years old the 21 of October 1925. Oscar will be 10 years old the 9th of January 1926. Reta will be 8 years old July 19,1925. I think that you knowing the proper ages it will be easier for you. I also want you to know Mrs.M. that I am pleased that my little ones were put in your charge for I will know that they are properly taken care of for their sister is not responsible enough to take care of dumb animals let alone little children for I tell you that that girl treated them three little ones like no person would treat a dog, and it is her immoral action in these childrens presence that they are being put away for while I was working from six o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night and trusted her to take care of them she (not legible) and illtreated as well as scandalized them as well. I only hope that Miss ... will never be sorry for the trust she is putting in Louise. I only know that I

am in dire straits through the action that Miss ... saw fit to take against me through her untrustlike. Now Mrs.M. I have living proof of what I have told you in this letter I am asking you again will you kindly let me know where my three little children are going to. Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, respectfully,

sgd. D. Foster.

Note: Material in brackets was inserted by the author.

Dorothy became engaged to be married to Walter Haines one of the Red Cap staff at Windsor station in 1906. Haines at that time was 46 years of age and living as the common-law husband of another married woman. Immediately Haines learned of Dorothy's pregnancy he deserted and took up his residence in New York city. Here he married and later returned with his lawful wife to this city. After the birth of the child, Haines acknowledged the fatherhood as well as for two others. As their father, he refused to allow the children to be placed under the care of one of the Social Agencies, fearing court action which would result in his deportation to the United States. At the time of the birth of the first child, Dorothy received some financial assistance from her parents. With the arrival of the second child her parents refused to recognise her as their child and cut off all familial connections. Haines disappeared from Montreal during the years 1917 to 1920, when he was discovered to be working in Halifax in a restaurant. In time he again returned to Montreal obtaining work as a Red

Cap. Death of this man occurred from pneumonia in May 1927.

Dorothy is not an attractive personality, and, with little education, she has drifted in the lower economic ranks, as charwoman, factory and laundry worker, never earning more than $8. per week. Today this woman is almost blind, the result of syphillis, which she contracted from Haines. A fluent speaker, she tells a semmingly plausible story of the harsh and unfair treatment society has meeted her.

The boy Oscar has been a behavior problem of a sexual nature. After two years of care under the direction of the Social Agency he is still suffering from enuresis. Reta has been expelled from school for behavior. She too suffers from the same complaint as Oscar.

Facing the facts as they are today in this community, one sees clearly that family life among these people is far from the ideal. The very occupation which brings these people to this city is ever threatening its very existence. The children are not being given the opportunities that is the rightful demand for all children - good home life, of a wholesome nature, a place to play and express themselves under direction. In the children of this group problems of a behavior nature are frequently decided on a basis of mental capacity. Case studies, as presented in this study of the Negro family, show that the mental capacity of the child, who is a behavior problem, is but one factor in a highly complex social situation.

The Negroes themselves realize that their family

life is most unsatisfactory and unstable. The realize too that there are forces ever at work which are attacking this old established institution. The district to them is undesirable and they deplore it as a location for the bringing up of their children. Thus the American Negro looks forward to the day when he shall return to his former city and there take advantage of the possibilities that are awaiting him. There the opportunities for child and adolescent training are greatly in advance of these to be found in Montreal. But while a citizen of this city, he feels that something can be done for the young people, and he lends his support to the Negro Community Centre and its activities. The West Indian Negro is only beginning to see the benefits to the young from this activity, and is slow in giving his support. He feels that this work for the young people should be done through the racial organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The position of the Canadian Negro is that he hopes to some day reach that Utopia mentioned in the Bible and its teachings. In his ignorance he knows not where to turn to improve himself, nor how to do it. His only hope is to follow his American brother, leave Canada, and take up residence in the United States.

Cases presented here have been taken from the files of several of the Social Agencies in this city. Names and other personal identifying material have, of course, been changed, leaving only the essential material from the case history as presented.

Among institutions in this community the church followed the development of family and the club life. Previous to the establishment of a church under Negro leadership it was customary for these people to attend the white churches. Here they were received, but they weregiven no voice in the policies or control of the church business. Given no voice in the church's affairs, and, not finding a religion of the highly emotional nature ,they desired, there sprung up in this city a Negro church. This early church took the form of the present day free lance mission.

The function of religion in the lives of any group of people is the giving the members that group experience by means of which they are able to adjust themselves to the unknown and unanalysized elements of life. It is under the influence of the group stimulation that the members have the emotional experience which drives them forward to that (8) "personal adventure on a way of living". Ministering as the Church does, to a fundamental need, it arose in Montreal from the lack of satisfaction to the wish for security in his position in the economic life of this city.

(9) "The Negro church has stood, and still in large measure stands, for the home, the school and the State. It has been and is the greatest enlightening, uplifting, purifying and inspiring influence which actuates the life of the benighted masses."

(8) Harry Emerson Fosdick - Adventurous Religion, p.1

(9) Kelly Miller - Race Adjustments, p. 141.

The relative positions of superior and inferior of the white and Negro races has resulted in the Negro church playing a larger part, than is the case for the whites, in the lives of these people. In their own church there is the opportunity of experience of the self that is denied these people in the larger community. This is readily observed in the feeling with which they enter into the church service. All take an active part in the singing of the hymns. Scattered through the audience are to be found the occasional part singers lifting their voices above the rest in an interesting contrast to the unison of the church body. It is this possibility of expression which has caused the Negro to give such a vast amount of time and energy to the church and its various activities.

The religion of the Negro church has been of necessity one of the highly emotional type, coming as a natural result of their slavery experiences. Signs are not wanting, however, that there is a decided turn in this aspect of the church's teachings. The change in the teachings of any of the Protestant denominations from that of the older and more fundamental position to that of the modern and more practical religion is a slow process. In the Negro church this is more difficult on account of the lack of education of the masses of these people.

(10) "The Negro church is much more than merely an institution of worship. The strictly religious meetings are

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(10) Reuter - The American Race Problem, p. 331.

a small part of the weekly program of the ordinary church. It is a centre around which a great part of the social and public life of the people revolves.... (11) It is a place to meet friends, hear the gossip of the community, meet strangers and carry on flirtations..... (12) There are many minor social institutions or semi-religious organizations connected with the church..... (13) It acts either or through one of its groups as a welfare agency and charity bureau to help the unfortunate, care for the sick ".....

Mobility of these people has registered its influence in the changing positions of the church in the area of this study. It is also seen in the total membership of over 1000 when compared with the present roll call of some 350, and actual attendance of about 150 at the evening services. In such a group of people there is still to be found the free lance church. These free lance churches are not recognized by any of the Canadian denominations nor by the Negro Year Book as published by the Tuskeege Institute. The free lance church gathers to its fold those who are set off from the Negro community by some peculiarity. This may be a decidedly handicapping personality, economic inefficiency, or lack of satisfaction in the wishes resulting from poor choice in the matter of marriage.

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(11) Reuter - The American Race Problem, p. 331
(12) " " " " " 332
(13) " " " " " 333

The Negro Church

Union Congregational (United)

The Union United Church on Delisle street dates from previous to 1897, at which time the British Methodist Episcopalian Mission was being operated on Desrivieres street. This location was donated to the Negroes by a white citizen who was very sympathetic towards the Negro in his attempts at establishing a church. A local Negro citizen, affectionately known by his flock as "Daddy", acted as the pastor. In the early days of Negro church life in this city it was customary for these people to attend one of the white churches for the morning service and to gather to themselves at this Desrivieres street Mission in the evening. With a wide variety of denominations represented by the local Negroes, their influence in the white churches was nil. Pastor Daddy died, after which time a successor was obtained from London, England. This pastor, in addition to his work as religious leader of the body, was employed in an uptown department store, then located on St. Antoine street.

This Desrivieres street Church composed as it was of diverse denominations found itself split in the matter of policy and church management. The board at the time of this difficulty had come largely under the influence of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The latter group attempted to oust the British group from the church and establish the African church in this city. About this time a few of the intellectuals from the United States came into prominence

in the church life and blocked the move on the part of the African group.

A committee of six with a treasury of $1.83 set to work to organize a Negro church which would be inclusive of this diverse group of people rather than follow the lead of the exclusive British following. This group of six was shortly after increased to fourteen. Their application of affiliation with the Canadian denominations was made to the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches and accepted by the latter. Both the whites and the Negroes felt that the Congregationalist body was the most acceptable in order that all the diverse groups in the Negro community could be included. One of the conditons of accepting this proposed Negro church into the Congregational denomination was that a Negro student should receive his education in the white theological college of this denomination; that a white student minister should, while the Negro student was still in college, be given the opportunity of taking the morning service as part of his college training.

The Congregational Church of this group was opened in Welch's Dance Hall where services were held during the first month of the new church's existence. In 1906 with more Negroes in the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway the church approached this employer of Negro labor, and receive permission to use the former Olivet Baptist Church.

This building had been sold to the railroad at the time of the move of the Baptist denominations of Olivet and the First Baptist to Guy and Dorchester streets. The free use of the church, and benches were given by the new owners. A large pulpit Bible was donated by a lay associate of the Emmanuel Church. Following the demolition of the church by the railroad to enlarge the terminal facilities the Negroes used the Sunday School room at Emmanuel Church for a period of six months. An American Negro, a member of one of the Presbyterian Churches in New York city, obtained permission from the American Presbyterian Church to use the Inspector Street Mission. Here the church was conducted for some five years, until the renting of the present edifice from the Methodists.

Mobility in terms of membership has been pointed out. Frequent changes have been made in leadership. In the early days the church had a Negro layman, and the occasional white student. Then followed a student from Howard University, a graduate of Wilberforce University, another from Brooklyn, New York. These men remained as leaders in each case for periods less than one year. The present incumbent began his work some seven years past during his student days at the Congregational College in this city.

At the time of the formation of the United Church of Canada the Union Congregational Church was represented by moderators from the Emmanuel and the Point St. Charles Congregational Churches.

In this city there are several churches with but one of the organized type which has status among white Canadian denominations. The Union United Church located on Delisle street, just west of Atwater, is a member of the United Church of Canada. There are three of the free lance churches. These are, it is claimed, under the jurisdiction of parent bodies in the larger cities of the United States. The High African Methodist Episcopalian Church of Canada, is located on Christophe Colombe street; the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church which up to the summer of 1928 was located at College and St. Antoine streets, but which has given up this property and occasional meetings are held in a private home on St. Antoine street; the Church of God and the Saints of Christ, located on Briand street. One Negro Mission is being operated on St. Antoine street, the Beulah Gospel Assembly.

Activities of the Union United Church.

The Negro Church as this body is known among its members is more than a Church, ministering to the spiritual needs of the group. The only church that includes all the denominational groupings of these people in the local community, it represents a combination of both the urban and rural church patterns. As a city church it tends to follow the lead of the down town bodies. Here are the different societies such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, sponsoring temperance in all things of life; the

Willing Workers who render service in the cleaning of the church and attending the altar; the connection with the welfare work among the young where gymnasia classes are held in the basement. The tenacity of the rural customs in the church life of these people is seen in the greetings between all after the evening services. The followers do not leave immediately following the conclusion of the service. Here they gather in little knots, talking, shaking hands and wishing all well. In such an atmosphere the sociability of these people is greatly increased. The upkeep of the church is jointly shared by the Congregational denominational denominations which contribute 50%, while the Negroes themselves raise the balance.

With many of the Negroes working Sunday mornings and arriving in the city from their travel on the morning trains, the evening services are much larger in attendance. Services are scheduled for the customary hour of seven-thirty At this hour the church contains scarcely over twenty-five people. At a quarter of eight about seventy-five have arrived and the balance to the church's capacity straggle in before eight o'clock. The layman assumes his share in the services, making the different announcements. The members of the congregation are reminded of the sickness of others and of their present condition; the monthly reception is given prominence; picnics of the church, the lodges, athletics meets, social evenings at different locations in the community, and the meetings of the racial and mutual

aid organizations are all put before the congregation.

The Negro Minister

The work of the Negro minister, while primarily one of spiritual leadership, is one of most diverse demands. His church activities are but one small portion of the different tasks that come to him for attention. As a strictly church official he has to prepare sermons, outline church programs, marry the happy young couples, christen the newly born, visit the sick, and bury the dead, all after the accepted rituals of his denomination.

The sermons of the Negro minister are of necessity diverse and tax him to his utmost. The sermon is a difficult problem for he has a wide variety of denominations and there must be something for all. His education is along the lines of modern religious thought. The congregation is not so favored in this respect, as is he, and he must put modern ideas before them in such a fashion that they will understand and appreciate the wisdom of his interpretations. In the process of proceeding from the emotional religion of the past to the socialized of the present the Board of Managers is of great assistance. This Board is comprised of an equal number of older with the young elements in the congregation. In this way the continuity of the Board is more readily assured, and, with their contacts in the community, the church is put before all ages and classes. With this group acting as a helping arm to the pastor and coming to him with problems

of interpretation, difficulties of this nature are slowly being overcome. Seeing such a number of diverse social problems in the community, the pastor is challenged to create in his flock an intellectual awakening in order to raise the status of the Negro in the wider community, make them useful citizens, with an economic position of security. The competitive laws of the present day society are put before the gatherings in language that the layman can appreciate Short accounts of the intellectual successes and accomplishments of outstanding Negroes are given with the hope of stimulating the listeners. The successes of these outstanding personalities amongst the Negroes are passed on in the life of the community and become the common property of all. This process of intellectual awakening of the local Negro is aided by the presence of the occasional McGill Negro student in the body. The teachings of Christ on the neighbor and the self are popular themes amongst these people. Service to the communal life becomes the theme from the pulpit. The pulpit tells of the many serious social problems that are in existence. It is, undoubtedly, through such sermons that many of the mutual aid organizations get their stimuli to carry on in face of financial difficulties. The role of education in the life of all peoples is played up. In education the Negro sees a means of greater tolerance among races, nations and classes of the world. It is through this means that he feels the racial prejudices will become forgotten, and man will be brother to all, and color will be forgotten.

The minister is an important connecting link between his own community and that of the wider city. He acts as the interpreter of the one to the other by giving addresses at churches, forums and meetings. In this manner a better understanding of these two diverse groups is brought about. He sits at the conferences of the white social agencies, when problems concerning his group are considered. His explanation of such problems are necessary before a disposition of the case can be effected. He brings to the welfare work of his own community the benefit of such social contacts.

In his own group of people there are three distinct elements in the population. They are bound together by the bond of color and the slavery tradition. It is the work of the minister to bring these divergent elements to a common understanding the one of the others. These different groupings within the larger whole, lacking outstanding leadership seek his aid at different times. The entire community looks to him as the means of bringing about a higher degree of integration among these groupings, in order to have concerted action for the common good. He is a delegate at the convention of the lodges, the racial organization, and meets all the outstanding Negroes in their period of stay in this city. The presence of the minister at lectures, entertainments where he is in the position of chairman, gives these meetings a dignity, and creates in the mind of the platform artist a prestige that is to be obtained in no other fashion.

In the lodges and racial organization he has a dual position _ chaplain and member.

The High African American Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada.

The High African American Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada was established in this city in 1906, when the present leader was sent here by the Diocese of Philadelphia. This church, following the removal of the Olivet Baptist Church to Dorchester and Guy streets, used the building previous to its being occupied by what is now the Union Congregational group. Later this church was removed to St.David's Lane. Here it remained for twenty-two years, until May 1928, when the pastor removed the church and school, as this body had then become to a private residence on Christophe Colombe street.

Located as the church was for so many years in an area of transition, the membership was considered as including all those who happened to attend. Membership was drawn from all nationalities of the city population. The church property at this location consisted of a two-room street floor residence with the partitions removed from two of the rooms. A parlor organ supplied the music for the singing, while the audience seated themselves upon benches to hear the Bishop from his tiny platform. The largest portion of the pastor's time through the week was spent about the local courts endeavoring to obtain the probation of any of his flock that

might be caught in the toils of the law.

The corner stone of the religion as taught in this church is the Brotherhood of man. In the zeal of the street missions the pastor, during the summer evenings, would preach at the corner of St. James and St. Felix streets. As is the case in any of the mobile areas, these corner preachers are endeavoring to carry on the good work. Among the people for whom this activity was intended, there were no results, and the pastor desisted in his attempts at putting his brothers on the proper road to salvation. This church is a vigorous opponent of ~~the~~ segregation. To members of this flock the residing on St. Antoine street is the preparation of a future racial war between the whites and the Negroes. Nor should the Negro organize any of the racial bodies that seek his advancement is the strongest argument of this church for removing itself from the St. Antoine district.

In common with the church in the changing city, the most serious of the church's problems is that of obtaining sufficient money to maintain itself. The church's pastor and the pastor's secretary openly solicit funds in the financial district of this city in order that they may carry on the work. Here they meet with varying successes from the odd penny or nickel, to get rid of him, or the shout (14) "get out of here". No financial statements are presented by the pastor to his flock for in a changing area of the city and one which is very largely French, his following has drifted away from him. The church thus became a state of mind and has

(14) From an interview with an office employer where the Bishop received this reception.

held, as far as the members of the Montreal Negro community are concerned, only the pastor. Members of the organized group of Negroes in this city have taken this party to task, demanding to have the credentials of his parent body presented for inspection. Upon close questioning it has been admitted that the title Bishop held by the pastor is the pastor's Christian name.

At the time of the move of the church to St. Christophe Colombe Street the work became more of that of an orphanage for colored children who were kept at the home and given their educationthere. The house was given the sign reading "Office of the African Bishop" and hours that the Bishop was available to his parishoners. Several of the Negro residents in the St. Antoine district who are prominent in the work of the Union United Church and other of the social organizations of the Montreal Negro, state (15) "There is only one Negro Church that we recognize, that being the United Negro. These other fellows all make a good thing by their begging for their church when they are too lazy to work." "You will notice that the Bishop seldom comes to St. Antoine street to get his money, We know him!"

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(15) From interviews with different Negroes who gave similar opinions.

The Church of God and the Saints of Christ.

The Church of God and the Saints of Christ was functioning in 1922 at 2131 St. James street west in the residence of the pastor who is known as Elder among his flock. Another of the free lance churches the Elder claims to be an off-shoot from the American Southern Baptist denomination. In the year 1922 the membership included the Elder, one white woman, known as Saint Grace, a deserting wife and her two children, one assistant known as St. John, and the occasional white girl who chanced to hear of the work.

A similar policy of soliciting funds for the church's upkeep is maintained by this group. In 1922 it was the policy of the pastor and his secretary to retain one day's collection for their own personal upkeep, this being their only source of revenue. At the present time the church services are held in what has been attempted as a combination church, school and orphanage for colored children, with no connection established with the St. Antoine district Negro. This building is a one storey structure divided into three rooms separated by one curtain. Of most original design, there is but one door and no windows. One room is used as a church, another as a kitchen, and the third is the bed-room for the residents.

In the Briand location, services are conducted three evenings each week, of the Pentacostal nature. Here the members give their testimony and engage in a religious dance.

In the dance all join hands and sway in a circular manner until their bodies touch. Following the dance the women in attendance show their belief in brotherhood of the world and kiss all the males. The Sabbath services last from early Saturday morning until late that evening. The pastor gives his message to small hearings of white women who have caught the spirit of this new and true religion. These women all bring their meals lest they lose the fervor and spirit of the truth. The pastor denounces all the other recognized denominations and assures his following that they are the only ones who are sure of salvation and they must prepare for the day of "His Coming".

Beulah Gospel Assembly.

The Beulah Gospel Assembly is the only store front mission under Negro leadership in this city. This mission was established as a result of the leader's experience as a regular attendant at the Pentacostal Mission on Drummond street. This party living within a short distance of the sporting district felt that a real need for such a work existed in this area.

Each Sunday three services are held, a mid-week prayer meeting is held on Wednesday, and a holiness meeting on Thursday. These different services bring together a gathering of some twelve or more people. The preaching and the testimonials are of the deep emotional nature in which Holiness, Gift of Redemption, Freedom from Sin, are all emphasized. To the life of people in the city environment,

who have not built up firm attachments to the established churches, the Mission gives the much sought emotional experience and feeling of security, necessary.

In these Missions where the conversions are of a violent emotional nature, the converts feel themselves called to go out in the world and gather in others in order to avoid the inevitable destruction that is to come. During the summer of 1928 regular street corner services were held each evening for a time at the corner of St. Antoine and Mountain streets. Preaching was done by the women of the flock, both white and colored. A small gathering of curious personages stop and listen in to the sermon. The Negro, for whom the service is intended, seldom stops on his passage up or down the streets in this vicinity.

A layman's form of social service activities is being carried on by the congregation. They endeavour to visit the sick from their group. During the Christmas festivities, the children are given trinkets and toys to brighten their otherwise sad lives.

Negro Physician and Surgeon.

The Negro doctor has been practising his profession in Montreal since the West Indian Negro has found it possible to pay his college expenses by working on the railroads. During one summer, since the War of 1914-1918, three graduate and registered physicians worked in the porter capacity in order to aid them in obtaining enough money to set up practises in Canada and the West Indies.

Three Negro members of the medical profession practising in this city during the year 1928. Each has practised continuously since opening up his office in 1921, 1923 and 1928 respectively. While all have located their offices in the St. Antoine district, their patients are residents of all sections of the city. In each case more patients come from the white than the Negro group and include French, English and Scotch families in the residential suburbs. One of these men has been a member of the original committee which founded the Negro Community Centre. A fourth Negro physician was awarded a research fellowship in 1928 for study in Europe for one year. With this award he gave up his local practise and took up residence in France. [Believed to have returned to Montreal]

Fraternal Orders among the Negroes.

The fraternal orders are another of the successful associations modeled on thesmall town pattern. City life, with its wide interests and highly specialized groupings , tendstowards a movement away from these bodies. For the Negro the fraternal orders have a very deep appeal. One seldom in this city passes a group of these men but the emblems of some secret order are to be observed from the watch chain or pinned to the coat lapel.

As members of the fraternal orders there is the feeling of security in this membership. One feels himself on an equal footing with his brothers. The social distances are for the time being set aside during the lodge meetings and all take part as one. The ritual satisfies the emotional make up of these men, while supplying the pomp and dignity of power to the office holders. The holding of office in these orders among the Negroes gives the officers power over their brothers both inside and outside the lodge rooms. Again, in the ritual, religion plays a powerful part in attracting and holding them within the circle. In the work of the lodge, the Diety is brought ever before them, they are taught the reverence that some of them have never known prior to their entrance to the order. Membership in an order promotes ideals of cooperation among them. At the same time the individual learns to subject himself to the accepted patterns of group control, be it for his good or otherwise. The extent of

the Negro lodge's control over its members is seen in the following case.

A Negro lodge man had deserted his wife and family who were in destitute circumstances. His wife reported her case to the lodge officials, who hunted the city for their brother. He was eventually located in a local jail. These men arranged the freedom of the deserting husband, whereupon he was severely reprimanded by them, told to get a job, assume his role as husband and provider of the home, behave himself in the future, or expulsion from the order would result. The influence of the lodge was so great that the extreme step of expulsion has not been necessary and his family relations have been restored to a very satisfactory basis.

With both sickness and death benefits in operation, an added incentive is furnished, tending to draw prospective members. These lodges bring together the diverse elements in the local population for participation in the common practises of the ritual and the resulting good fellowship.

Grand United Order Odd Fellows.

On the evening of September 11, 1918, four American Negroes met at a private house on Richmond street, where they decided "to form an Association" in order "to call together old Odd Fellows of the Grand United Order Odd Fellows". At this time the membership dues were set at 50 cents per month. No entrance fee was necessary, nor were any sickness or death benefits considered in the early days of early Negro

Material in quotations has been drawn from the minutes of this meeting.

Oddfellow life in this city. At the meeting held on November 21, 1918 "It was decided to name this the Maple Leaf Association". With the gradual growth in membership the meetings on August 23, 1919, were transferred to the Canning Street Hall from the former meeting place on Richmond street.

Maple Leaf Lodge #10250, Grand United Order Odd Fellows was set up from the former Maple Leaf Association on August 1, 1920. Three delegates from the Grand Lodge of Boston district number twenty-six brought the necessary requirements to a close in the hall at Point St. Charles, and the local lodge stood alone with a membership of twenty-five. This body has had a slow growth due to its policy of not soliciting membership. Rather a selective process is in operation whereby only honest, clean living, working men are admitted. As is the case of the fraternal orders there are three degress before the candidate is admitted to all the rights and privileges.

For a period the lodge held its meetings at the Canning Street Hall and later at the Fulford Hall, while today the members gather at the Universal Negro Improvement Association on Chatham street.

The initiation fee of $15 and the annual dues of $7 are being promptly met by the members. Early in 1928 the treasury had over $1,000 of fees from the members. This lodge does not operate any death benefit for its members, but a sick benefit of $5.00 per week is available. Since

the lodge has been established in this city, only in the most extreme cases has this benefit been used.

Meetings of the lodge are held bi-monthly at the Universal Negro Improvement Association Hall on Chatham street. Every three months the officers are changed, thus giving an opportunity for the new members to take an active part. Following the installation of the officers, a social evening is passed.

The first meeting of every quarter is given over to the consideration of all problems which affect the order. Once each year the evening is given over to a meeting to which the members of the Household of Ruth are invited.

On August 3 - 4, 1927, the local lodge entertained the district lodges at a convention held in this city. The meetings of the convention were all held at the Victoria Hall in the City of Westmount. Here,too, were held the social and the dance. The convention closed with a tour of the city followed by the shooting of the Lachine Rapids.

The Household of Ruth.

Maple Leaf Lodge #6002 district number twenty-six, of the Household of Ruth, the women's branch of the Odd Fellow order, was established in this city in 1922. The organization of this fraternity was made possible after the male lodge had been firmly established. This body began with a charter

membership of eighteen which has been increased to its present size of forty. Members are only accepted from the wives or daughters of husbands in the Grand United Order Odd Fellows. These proposed applicants must be maintaining a certain standard of clean living and an upright, moral life. The meetings are held each second Monday of the month. Since the local lodge was set up at the Canning street hall, meetings have been held at the Gordon Hall at Mountain and St.Catherine streets. Today the Universal Negro Improvement hall is used. Following the ritual and business of each meeting the members participate in forms of recreation. The strictness of the requirements for membership and the $5. initiation fee have tended to keep this body a rather exclusive one. Monthly dues of twenty-five cents are being promptly met by the sisters.

Forms of mutual aid are in operation for the members. A sickness benefit of $3 a week lasts for six weeks. At death the members' beneficiaries receive $40 to help defray funeral expenses. Members of the Grand United Order Odd Fellows whose wives are members of the Household are eligible to membership in the latter but never can a sister from the Household join the male lodge. Once each year the evening service of the Union (1) Congregational Church is given over to this order, when a special sermon, appropriate to the principles of the lodge, is preached.

(1) Term used by Negroes for "United United Church".

Elks Lodge

Proposals of establishing Elkdom among the Negroes of Montreal were talked of by members of this order whose membership had been taken out in the United States. A strong desire to have a local lodge was set up in the minds of a large number of the local Americans. The West Indian felt that Elkdom had something of a positive nature to aid the local community in its struggle for recognition. Early in 1926 one of the American group, a popular leader and one well accepted by the other groups, made a vacation trip to Washington. Here he was raised by the lodge in that city. His experience at that time was such that he felt that Elkdom could be used to raise the moral tone of the Montreal Negro. Upon his return he gathered about him enough available material to secure a charter.

On the evening of June 6, 1926, Pride of Montreal Lodge #678, Independent Benevolent Protective Order Elks of the World was set up by a delegation from the Negro Grand Lodge at Washington. At the time of the instituting of the local lodge, the question was raised, "should Elkdom accept the riff-raff from the St. Antoine sporting district". After due and serious thought it was felt that Elkdom whose guiding principles were charity, justice, brotherly love and fidelity, had something to offer these men. It was further felt that these men were in so many cases the victims of vicious environments which had surrounded them from their earliest days. It was a direct challenge to the Montreal

permanent group to see if the hidden potentialities of these men could have redirection and that they might see the vision of the higher things of life. The opportunity of membership was extended to all groups in the community, and many of this riff raff availed themselves of this honor. With no costs other than a nominal fee of $1. the local lodge opened with an original membership of 77. Today the lodge has over 200 on its records, all actively taking part in some phase of the work, either inside the lodge meetings or outside in various tasks delegated to them. An initiation fee of $7. has been instituted to give the lodge more funds and a monthly due has been set at $1.

In keeping with the corner stones upon which the Elks lodges are founded, the local order has both sickness and death benefits in operation. During sickness each brother receives $7. a week for a period of ten weeks. Should the sick brother be unable then to again assume his work, each members is obligated to provide for this emergency while the unfortunate is thus situated. During the construction of the additions to the Sun Life Assurance building one member was injured. His rent was paid for a period of two months in addition to the sickness benefit in order that he might not suffer. At death each member is assessed $1., but in no case can the benefit exceed $150. This amount the lodge feels will provide a respectable burial. If the widow is then in necessitous circumstances following the death of her husband, a cash donation is given her to aid in this period of crisis.

During the Christmas season of 1926 this body entertained 200 children with toys and candy, regardless of color, class or creed. In addition some fifteen baskets, suitably filled, were distributed. The cost to the lodge in its initial endeavors at work of a social service nature was some $176. Seeing the results of this type of work, the following year a larger fund was available. Some 250 children were likewise given Christmas goodwill which, otherwise they would have missed. Twelve baskets were distributed among needy families. Each of these baskets contained a chicken, 12 pounds of potatoes, 2 pounds of sugar, ½ pound of butter, fruit, cheese and bread. In this way the local Elks became aware of some of the poverty existing among the under privileged families of this city.

Meetings are held monthly at No. 3 Craig street West, where rooms are shared jointly with the Moose and Buffalo orders. Lack of space prevents the holding of the dances in this building. On such occasions the Auditorium Hall on Ontario Street West is used. The Annual Grand Ball is held at the Auditorium Hall for which each members is assessed $2.50. This is open to the public as the guests of the lodge. During the Easter season another dance is held. The funds from these dances are held for the Xmas program. It is the hope of this body to have in this city an Elks Home where the members can meet for desirable social and recreational functions which will have the approval of both the Negro and the wider community.

On July 4th, 1928 the second annual picnic of the lodge was held at Otterburn Park, at which the lodge was host to the Negro community. A delegation of some 400 Elks from the cities of Baltimore and Washington came to attend this function. As there is no Negro hotel in this city, the visitors were the guests of the local members. Upon the arrival, all gathered at the Standard Club where the evening was spent with cards and dancing. The following day the Utopia Club became the headquarters for these guests. Monday all enjoyed a boat sail on the river. Tuesday they were left very largely to themselves in order to visit their Montreal friends.

This local lodge has been before the Negro Community for some two years. A decided improvement in the moral tone of these men has been noted. Desirous of keeping the lodge in its high position, the proposed applicant must show that he is endeavoring to lead a life which makes him a desirable citizen of any community - be it white or colored. The member, whose behavior, on any occasion, is of such a nature as to bring forth criticism from any class of people is brought before the lodge, lectured severely and threatened with expulsion. A number of cases have been cited, in which the lecture was sufficient to show the member the folly of his ways, with the result that the extreme step has never been taken. The annual church service of the lodge is held at the Union United Church. These men give freely at this service as seen in the first collection, amounting to $150. Officials from both this

church and the lodge assert with pride that since Elkdom has been established many of the former riff raff are regular in their church attendance and are showing a change for the better.

HERE WE ARE

Wednesday, Nov. 30th, 1927

Is the date of the Second Annual Ball

of

Pride of Montreal, 678, I.B.P.O.E.W.

Bigger
Brighter
Better

(Elk's)
( )
(Head)

No expense
will be spared to
make this the

Grandest Affair Ever Held in Montreal

Watch for further announcements.

Auditorium Hall.

Caledonia Club.

Among the West Indian group there is a movement to establish Free Masonry for the Negro of this city. This movement took its present organized form in 1925, when the Caledonia Club was formed. The function of this body is to devise ways and means whereby the Montreal Negro may have a Masonic Lodge established in this city under British registry.

There are many of this group who have been made members of this fraternity in the islands from whence they have come. There are others who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity in Montreal and desire to have Masonry established among themselves. The West Indian Negro has the hope that he will some day return to his former home as a visitor. Masonry in these islands is a powerful institution to him and the Negroes are accepted within its folds on equal footing with the whites. It is possible for these men in this city to have a lodge under American Negro registry, but these lodges are considered in the Islands as clandestine. If, he is able to establish a lodge here under the British registry he will increase his prestige among the whites in this city as well as back home. There are some 75 members to this so-called club who meet upon summons posted at the Porters Mutual Benefit Association hall on Mountain street. With no sickness or death benefits from this club the dues have been kept at Fifty cents monthly.

The West Indian Cricket Association.

The Negro from the British West Indian Islands is a follower of the English sport, cricket. As early as 1910, members of this group had been playing as individuals for different clubs in this city. Among the clubs that have had the individual Negro on their teams are Lachine, Verdun, Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, and McGill. At the organization of the Mount Royal Cricket Club which took place in the present Mountain Street United Church, the

Negro members of this team were about one-half the playing strength. Formal organization of the West Indian Cricket Club took place during the summer of 1914. Since that time their club has been known under the shortened form as "The West Indians".

The opening season of this club found it entering two teams in the Montreal and District Amateur Cricket League. During the War 1914-1918 the "B" division, or second team section, was dropped for lack of players due to the large number of enlistments. Following the return of the men from France the league was again placed on a two division basis.

This club played its home games from 1914 to 1918 on the slope of Mount Royal at the bottom of the Park Slide. The distance from the area of Negro residence in the city made this site difficult to meet the demands of the members. Accordingly permission was obtained in 1920 to use a lot in Notre Dame de Grace. This was used until the property was purchased by the Westward Amateur Athletic Association in 1922. The club then approached the city executive, obtaining permission to use Fletcher's Field for the period 1922-24. The years 1924-26 found them with no grounds on which to play their home games and entertain the visiting team. To meet the situation practises were held on the grounds of the St. Henry Cricket Club on St. Remi Street, while the home games were played on those of their opponents.

At the close of the playing season in 1926, the West Indian Cricket Association became a duly incorporated body with a capitalization of $10,000. Shares are being sold to members at a purchase price of $5. Land upon which a club house is to be erected has been purchased in St.Laurent near the Val Royal station. While the membership in this club began among the West Indian element as the name signifies, yet the success of the club has been such that all groups are seeking admission. The membership comprises two groups, the playing, who constitute the active players, some fifty, and the supporting group, who attend the contests as spectators and are active in other capacities in the club and its work. Since this team has been entered, the league's games have been more keenly contested. They are considered one of the best drawing cards in the league and a good game is always assured when this club is scheduled to perform. No discrimination against them as a team or as individuals outside the playing field has been experienced by any of this group. They meet their opponents in the city streets, trains, at contests, meetings of the league and at banquets. In all their contacts with the outsider they are accorded a cordial greeting.

The playing records of this club's teams show the winning of the league championship in 1914 and 1915. On three occasions they have won the first class cup in the A division. The seasons 1926-27 they finished as runners-up in the league, losing out in each year to the McGill team. In the Dominion championship of 1927 they were successful in reaching the

the semi-finals.

The Winter season is not omitted in their program. To keep the members interested and the club before the Negro community periodic dances and whist parties are held at the Auditorium Hall on Ontario Street West, and at the Universal Negro Improvement Association Hall on Chatham street.

Windsor Cricket Club.

During the summer of 1926 the Canadian Pacific Railroad Amateur Athletic Association approached the members of the Red Cap staff at Windsor station, with a view of securing players for their cricket team, which is entered in the Montreal City and District League. The feeling came to these men that if the Canadian Pacific Railroad Amateur Athletic Association thought there was enough suitable material in their ranks to come out and represent this body in the "A" division of this league, they should have their own team. Accordingly the Windsor Cricket Club was organized from among this group of workers.

With but limited funds at their disposal for such a program second hand equipment was secured, costing some $30. Permission was secured to use a vacant lot on Richmond street below Notre Dame, the corner of William street. Here the contests and practises among the members were held for the opening summer. These Red Caps soon found that the distance from their work was excessive during the off time that they have. Accordingly their executive approached The Canadian Pacific Railway Real Estate department and secured permission

to use the vacant lot at the corner of St. Antoine and Aqueduct streets. This lot is hidden from the view of the curious street sight-seeing person and permission was readily granted. The convenience of this property to Windsor station makes it possible for these men to be away from their work between trains. Here they can engage in friendly competition and pass otherwise wasted time.

At the time of organization the membership consisted of but fourteen. In the two years of its existence this has been increased by a like number. No scheme of fees is in operation. As equipment is needed each makes his own contribution in keeping with his means and his appreciation of the sport itself. These men are all registered with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada in order that they may play on the West Indian Cricket Association team should they be needed.

Chappie Johnson Baseball Team.

During the summer of 1927, the Chappie Johnson Baseball team was introduced to Montreal, in the semi-Professional league. Games in this league are played on the Shamrock grounds. The Chappies have all been recruited in the largest of the American cities, where the Negro has taken the American national pastime with great enthusiasm. The men, who reported to this city in April, had no other occupation here than baseball during the summer and returned to their American home in the months of October and November. During the season this team was a large drawing card and finished

in the semi finals a close loser to the Ahuntsic team. No friction between the Chappies and the opposing teams are reported during the opening season. The players received such a splendid reception from the fans that in February 1928, Mr. Johnson had applications from twenty-seven men for the coming season. During the summer of 1928 professional baseball, class A, was again introduced in the city when the Montreal Royals competed in the International League. The attendance at the semi professional games became so small that the league disbanded. In August the Chappies and the Ahuntsic teams played several exhibition games at the Old Home Week held at Pembroke, Ontario,

Criterion Club.

The Criterion Club was established in February 1928, to be a body of representative Negro citizens of Montreal attending to the reception and entertainment of outstanding Negroes who might come to this city. Meetings are held twice each month at the homes of the twenty-five members.

During the year of the club's formation three outstanding American Negroes were entertained by this body. In each case a banquet in the St. Antoine district closed the Club's entertainment of these personages. The women of the community were tendered a reception, to which the Negro minister was also invited. Membership is drawn largely from the porter group on the railroads, and has been drawn from each of the three elements in the community.

Phyllis Wheatley Society.

The Montreal Negroes are well read in the biographies of outstanding Negroes of the world. Of the women who have been instrumental in obtaining recognition for the hidden possibilites of this group, Phyllis Wheatley ranks among the foremost. Desirous of keeping before the Montreal group the successful struggles of this woman, the Phyllis Wheatley Club was organized in 1925.

The membership is a restricted one, permitting but ten members at any one time. The benefits from this society are of an aesthetic nature. The members meet weekly at the various homes in rotation. Here the activities embrace quilting, embroidery and music. From June to September the meetings are discontinued. During the gossip of the evening the members frequently hear of cases of sickness among the members of the community. From such meetings occasional visiting of the sick takes place.

Negro Clubs

Three Negro clubs are being operated on St. Antoine street between Windsor and Mountain streets. All are privately owned and managed. In the Negro club the spare time problem of these men has attained a commercialized aspect.

Negro club life began in this city when the present Utopia Club was opened on St.James street in 1897, between Roy Lane and Little St. Antoine street. The club at that time was known as the Recreation Key Club. With only some

ten years of experience as an employee of the Canadian railroads, the Montreal Negro as well as the American Negro had considerable spare time during the lay over period. Set off then as he is at the present time by his color and/a diverse cultural background, the club was introduced to minister to the spare time needs of these men. Primarily the function of the club was one of recreation, yet in time the wider community found that Negro labor could be obtained here whenever needed. Located at no great distance from the business area of the city, this dual function became accepted.

The westward expansion of the business area of the city forced the Utopia Club from its original location. In 1911, rooms were secured at 22 St. Antoine street, followed by the taking of the present location the following year.

The increasing number of Negroes taking up residence in this city gave rise to the opening of the Standard Club in 1914. Opening at 80 St. Antoine street, this location was used until 1919, when the present site was rented at the corner of St. Antoine and Desrivieres streets. The Nemderoloc Club (Nemderoloc is "colored men" spelled backwards) was opened in 1922 at its present location, 180a St.Antoine street. An index to the increasing invasion of the St. Henry district of the city is to be seen in the establishment of the European Social Club at 2157 St. James street in 1916.

While these clubs are outwardly "for members only", as signs on the door attest,yet the patronage is not so

exclusive. Members are allowed to introduce their friends as "guests". These guests in time become regular patrons and eventually are full members. A special set of rings upon the bells cause the man in charge upstairs to release the electric control allowing admittance to the members. These clubs are the hang outs of the riff raff from the Negro population in this city. Although they began with the purpose of giving the man with a large amount of spare time recreation, they have gone beyond pure recreation. The group who are the regular patrons are those who make a profession of preying on their ignorant brothers. Gambling in its various forms is the accepted practise here. The thrill and excitement of winning at billiards and pool is heightened by thoughts of the possibilities of winning the bet. Refreshments of beer serve as an added attraction and is available at all hours. The warm club in the Winter, and the cool rooms in the Summer offer a ready escape from the reality on the outside. Here are to be found the race papers, the sporting journals with the results of the days races, the "boys" who work at the tracks with exciting stories of their experience. Here is the great pooling of the daily experiences of the group, and one can be sure of some form of excitement should this be his hope. In times of election "the Niggers are all fixed up through the clubs". Occasional police entrance, in which the premises have been raided for the illegal sale of liquor and gambling have taken place. On one such occasion upon the entrance of the detectives

into the rooms the lights were switched off and the officers of the law fired upon. With the threat of shooting to kill, the lights were turned on and the raid was conducted without any further interruptions.

The question is being constantly asked by both Negroes and the whites in this St. Antoine district: "why does the police allow these clubs to operate?". Appreciating the results of mobility in this group of people, the police by their occasional raids, tend to keep these activities confined to certain sections. In this way behavior does not take place openly on the streets. The Montreal Negro has two distinct attitudes towards the clubs. One group see the race judged by the behavior of this minority group, and, as a solution, "would burn St. Antoine St. from Windsor to Mountain". The other group, representing the more liberal in education, see the problem differently. These people realise that the rehabilitation of this element in their midst is of necessity a long, difficult and most discouraging task. There is nothing in the Negro community to offer as a substitute for the club in its appeal to these men. They ask the question of the more militant group: "to close the clubs would mean the same behavior would take place in private homes and can one estimate the effects of such in the life of the growing child?"; thus the clubs represent a minority grouping in the Negro population and one which has the decided disapproval of the community as a whole. Those who disapprove of the clubs look to the Community Centre as offering a means

whereby the influence of these bodies in the life of the Montreal Negro will become lessened and in time their disuse.

Ideal Tennis Club.

A Negro resident of the city of Verdun upon taking up residence there became a member of the Five Hundred Club. While the West Indian Cricket Club was using the slope of Mount Royal as their grounds, this man organized the Ideal Tennis Club, of which he is still the presiding officer. The members found the distance excessive when added to the climb, whereupon permission was obtained in 1925 to use a lot on St. Remi street near the property of the St.Henry Cricket Club. This is their location until 1929, when the club plans to erect its own permanent courts on property in Verdun loaned by the city corporation.

Beginning with an original membership of ten in 1922, it has increased, until today it numbers twenty-six. Applicants from only the more exclusive set among the Negroes are considered and admitted by a secret ballot. Each season the members are charged a fee of $5. for their membership. It was intended that the Ideal Tennis Club should have a Winter program as well as the tennis activities. The Negro is not the winter enthusiast that he might be in order to take part in the active outdoor life of this city. The only activity of this club during the winter of 1927 was a short sleigh drive followed by refreshments and dancing at the Dominion street hall.

The Matrons' Whist Club.

The Matrons' Whist Club was organized among the members of the Women's Club during the winter of 1923. As the name implies, the club's activities are recreational for whist parties. Whist is the most popular of the card games for these people. One member of this club expressed it that bridge was the game of the more prosperous whites and that the Negro did not feel that he could afford it as yet. At the time of its inception there were sixteen members. This, today, has dropped to twelve, the loss of four members being accounted for by their removal from the city.

Each member in turn entertains the club in her home at whist followed by the customary refreshments. The meetings are held twice each month and in this way each member has the club to her home more than once during the season of its activities. Activities are suspended during the summer months from June to the first of September, when they are again started. The members of this club do not all reside in the St. Antoine district, but are widely scattered about the city. The monthly dues of twenty cents are in operation. These are frequently given to the Sunshine Branch of the Women's Club to help in worthy cases.

Cabarets.

Two Negro buffet parlors are being operated on St. Antoine street at No. 1256 over a tavern, and the other at No. 1323, over a Chinese laundry. Both premises have been former private residences. At No. 1256 the partitions between some rooms have been removed, giving greater floor space for dancing. For a period this location was known as the Owl Club. Membership and admission today is on a basis of being known to the management. These two houses are the Negro cabarets of Montreal.

The cabaret or night club is the night life of this group. During the day only the casual visitor is to be seen seeking admission. After 11 o'clock at night the patrons are to be observed drifting in the direction from their homes and from the auxiliary social centres in the sporting district. The jazz band, of piano, violin and two saxophones, grind out the sensuous blue harmonies with a syncopation that sets the body in ready motion with sympathetic vibrations. With sounds of Broadway's favorites floating through the windows, lowered from the top, the patrons come in increasing numbers. By midnight these places are filled to their capacity. From then till daylight the dominance of the saxophone is challenged by the hilarity and laughter of both male and female voices. Nearby residents have, they claim, learned the words of "Follow the Swallow back Home" and "Whispering", while struggling unsuccessfully to drop off in their blissful slumbers. Another claimed learning the piano version of "Girl of My Dreams".

The lady patrons of these cabarets are largely whites. These girls of the teen age and early twenties, some of whom are never seen in this district, except at night, come from all sections of the St.Antoine district. Above the hill has its representatives also. Here the young are engaging in the promoscuity phenomen as outlined by Burgess. (A) Coming from different sections of the city, they enjoy the freedom and abandonment of their new contacts. There is an emotional excitement to these girls from the fact of being in strange surroundings; the musical rhythm is most penetrating; the eating and drinking with the dark, soft-skinned male, supply that thrill and emotional releawe of unsatisfied wishes which she has sought so long. Live, eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow I may die has become her philosophy for this brief but fascinating period. The patriotic "God Save the King" at 5 o'clock in the morning brings the night's festivities to a happy conclusion. With the break up of these parties, the revellers are observed slowly wending their respective paths homeward. Often the young girls show facial signs of the glorious night that has been hers. Some walk after the pattern of the drunkard in their tired march home to rest for the frolic of to-morrow.

The charming white girl introduced into this group does so as a compensation for her loss of status amongst her own white groupings. It represents her attempt to remake her social world. Some of them have grown up in this immediate locality, known as the sporting district. Here

(A) The City, Park, p 151; The Neighbourhood , - Burgess.

they have contacts from early days with these men. They have never had any other attachments nor have they lived in white groupings. They are the victims of the social and economic environment and from which they have not nor ever can escape. Maintaining their status in such a world of casual groupings forces them to exercise their physical charms to the utmost. They adopt a bravo, blasé attitude towards all. Two of these girls were seeking one of their male friends in a tavern on St. Antoine street shortly after ten o'clock. One peeked through the sliding doors calling to her beau "Come on there! Shake your big, fat, lazy ----- out of the street here." On another occasion, a white resident of the district was loitering at this particular corner when one of these girls accosted him with, "Say what the------are you looking at, eh'."

" Bookies "

In areas of high mobility certain phenomena tend to take place. These phenomena are made more readily possible and occur in greater numbers when the different units of any community are distributed with no relaiton to the existing needs. One of these phenomena is that of gambling on the horse races.

Montreal has its racing season. One of the effects, that of an increase in the Negro population in this city has been noted. But the playin g of the race horses by means of

the bookie is a phenomenon which is taking place all the year. Nor is the practise of gambling confined to the Negro alone in this district. The Negro is but the small player in this game.

The city life is stimulating to all its participants. The contacts are ever increasing and become those of the secondary nature. Modern transportation, the radio, the telephone, the press all afford the extension of the personal social world. The city tramway lines, the trains, the taxis all make it possible for the city dweller to live in different worlds. The behavior in each world is of a different nature. The inhibitions are constantly being set up, restraining expression of the personality. The inhibitions are assaulting the individual's personal organization in such a fashion that he follows the line of least resistance. Gambling is one of these forms of city behavior. It is to be found in all sections of the city. The old time forty-five games of cards are replaced by the all night sessions at poker. In the business section there is the game of playing the stock market on the margin basis. In the recent wave of speculation which has swept the Dominion the crowded brokers' offices give evidence to the extent that the public has participated in this mass movement. In the brokers' offices the bulls and bears gather watching the board. Each is waiting the favorable opportunity to make a turn and shear the innocent lambs. One has only to mix with this gathering and hear the expressions of, "Too bad I sold short" and "I am holding right tight and

and not selling a single stock". In New York, where there is a large following to the local market it is frequently heard. "Be careful or the Canadians will get you". As soon as the bankers have definitely decided that the movement is becoming one of alarming proportions and the credit situation of the country must be considered there comes the crisis. The brokers' loans are called for payment. Calls leave these offices for more margin requirements. A wave of selling sets in - everybody attempts to sell and nobody purchases - prices fall. The little man who has bought on the peak of prices sees his favorite fall and he attempts to answer the marginal call. The bankers refuse to accept his notes and he must sell. The weeding out process sets in. Many of these small operators are caught, and are squeezed out with nothing but the thrill of playing the game and the memories of the experiences. Later if the movement lasts the papers tell of the suicide of some of these unfortunates who left their "financial affairs in bad shape."

The bookies or men who operate a business of placing bets on the results of the races are to be found in the city areas of high mobility. They do not occupy the large pretentious offices as do the brokers; They operate under the guise of a legitimate business. In the St. Antoine district their offices are in the rear of barber shops and the small news stands. During the summer season the five race tracks are operating at Dorval, Blue Bonnets, Mount Royal, Prince Edward and Delormier Parks. Special

trains run from the railroad stations to the tracks. At the stations one can procure the transportation in addition to the admission ticket. At the tracks the betting is part of the afternoon excitement. It is not so much the amount of the winnings as it is the satisfaction in being able to pick a winner that motivates such behavior. The placing of a bet heightens one's interest in the race. As the horses come down the home stretch, male and female alike, project their feelings upon their horse withshouts of encouragement. As the horses near the line the excitement is so great and the emotional experience is being felt, the betters tremble. With the winner announced a great shout goes up from the crowd. The holders of the lucky bets express themselves with more laughter and shoutings. They have experienced the satisfaction of the victor in this great game of chance! The losers attempt like behavior outwardly to show they are good losers. Inwardly they resolve to try again in order that in the next race they may be one of the lucky ones.

The people residing in the St.Antoine district are not of the class who are able to absent themselves from their work and take part in the festivities at the track, but they too wish the excitement from such practises. Their only means of following the pattern of the more successful is by means of the bookie.

In the section of the St. Antoine district bounded by Windsor to Aqueduct there were during the 1928 racing season seven of these bookies in operation. It should not

be taken that bookies and their practises are confined to the St. Antoine district, nor that the Negro has a monopoly of this business. Three reports from the Star during the year of 1928 show that gambling in its different forms is not a segragated activity, but is widely spread over the city.

The bookie transacts his business on a strictly cash basis. Each office is equipped with a battery of telephones by means of which he receives reports on the local results as well as those taking place in other parts of the world. By means of the bookie who takes advantage of modern communication and mobility in city life the opportunity of this expression of the self is extended to all classes, colors, creeds and nationalities. It is not necessary for these people to obtain a half day away from their work. The patron places his bet during the lunch hour, or sends one of his friends to place it for him. He visualizes the course and the hour the race is to begin. He has the experience of being at the track all before his thoughts as the afternoon passes. His emotions are strained as he awaits the report - be it favorable or otherwise. A winner today, and he rubs his hands in delight. A loser finds him swearing under his breath, and his thought is that "to-morrow I shall pick a winner". He is caught in the net and the daily round to the bookie is part of his life organization.

Partnerships are the commonly accepted form of conducting this business. Two is the ideal size, for one can

be always on the job to serve the ever coming patrons. This business in the rear pays the proprietor's rent. At the rear they have the protection of a legitimate business and have but little to fear. Should any stranger approach and show signs of being a representative of the law, the shop keeper in the front warns this group. The bookie papers are made disappear and all are busy reading the newspapers and talking of the events of the day. The shopkeeper benefits from this passing patronage for they get to know him and the suggestion of purchases is always open. One of these partnerships during the peak of the 1927 racing season netted each $800 for one month. On one Saturday in this period the actual count of cash put up by the patrons amounted to $1,000. The bookie as a city personality is a master in the creating and manipulating of a mass movement.

Barber Shops.

The barber shop in the city is of necessity located near or in the areas of high mobility, in railroad stations, hotels, business buildings and in the retail shopping district. In locating his barber shop the Negro has followed this trend in the city life. Two are being operated in the St.Antoine sporting district, and the third on St. James street to accomodate the St. Henry residents.

The barber shop for these people takes the same rôle in this city as it does in the village. Their news stands

and restaurant afford the same opportunities to meet people and chat with their friends. In the barbershop and the news stand one may have his shoes shined and here meet the "boys".

One of these barber shops has in connection a smokeshop and news stand. From this latter store pour forth the wailes of the St.Louis and Memphis Blues to the delight of members of this group who are to be found daily congregating here. A small flight of steps to the verandah affords a shade from the afternoon sun and here in the cool of the evening they sit, smoke, talk and tell stories. The shops are all equipped with several chairs to accomodate the waiting customers.

The small town barber shop is the loafing place for the young. Here they gather to receive the daily paper from the city and read the sport page. The barber is the village authority on news of the day. He knows the moves of the politicians, he knows why the platforms in times of elections are such. To him no party but his own can give the country the necessary prosperity and keep the young in the village. He has been to the city to learn his trade at one of the many Barber Colleges. In the city he has attended the big theatres, burlesque shows. The night clubs are included in his itinerary during his period of getting the skill to return and be a big man in his home town. He can tell the champions

in their respective fields, their ages, place of birth and how many rounds the last fight went. Then he has the latest on the crop reports. He is a human information bureau. Nor does he omit the scandal that is the delight of all. He is the man about which the village gossip rotates. Each changes the story as it reaches him and in time it is an open secret. He is an essential section of the social organization of the village. In the barber shops of the Negroes the barber has come to acquire the silence of the city tonsorial artist. Rather he lets the other man do most of the talking. In so doing, the customer tells his big business experience, his skill in dealing with women, the closeness of the finish at the race, and how the auto is running these days. The loafing Negroes hear all this and attempt to compete for prominence in this situation. Soon all are laughing and merry making is the order for all. The jokes are passed around as food at the table. They are the common property of all. In the barber-shop this secondary contact of city life tends to become one of intimacy.

With the tonsorial operations completed, the customer walks out to the street to meet those that are still waiting for the events of the past week. "Hello Bill" is heard from a dozen of the by-standers. All delight to shake him by the hand, and they form a small knot which obstructs the passing pedestrians. About meal time the gathering slowly breaks up with "So long big boy, see you some more". During the evenings, similar scenes are enacted

in this region termed the Sporting Section of St. Antoine street.

Mutual Aid Organizations Among the Negroes.

Colored Womens Club.

The Women's Club has had an uninterrupted existence since its organization in 1902. Formed among an exclusive set its membership has been limited to fifteen. For a time its activities were of a purely recreational and artistic nature. With the members constantly moving about the community and coming into contact with many problems, chiefly sickness, the vision of work along the lines of the modern social service activities took form. Within the membership the Sunshine Branch was organized which has been in operation for a number of years. The function of the Sunshine Branch is the discovery of those Negroes, male or female, who are in need. One quarter of the monthly dues of twenty cents a member plus assessments and funds from entertainments given by the Women's Club are donated to the Sunshine Branch for the relief of the needy. Cases of burials of four men and two women, of returning men to their homes in the British West Indies and New York City are cited as part of the activities of this group. At the time of writing the Women's Club is playing the leading part in the raising of the necessary funds to return another tubercular case to his home in Demerara. The funds for the Sunshine

Branch were up to 1925 supplemented by an Annual Ball to which all Negroes were invited. Meetings are held regularly at the home of the different members twice each month. During the months of June to September there are no meetings of the Club, yet the work of the Sunshine Branch is carried on regardless of this suspension.

The membership of this body has been up to 1927 confined to the American women. During that year one of the West Indian group was admitted to membership. Today as vacancies occur due to the removal of members from this city other members are accepted from all groups in the community.

During the month of June 1927 the 25th anniversary of this body was celebrated in this city. Members assembled from New York, Chicago, Washington and Winnipeg. These special activities lasted for one week with receptions held at the homes of the different Montreal members. A special service was held at the Union Congregational Church in honour of this club and its activities. The 26th anniversary was quietly celebrated in the form of a luncheon at the home of one of the members.

Colored Women's Charitable and Benevolent Association .

During the War of 1914-18 women from the Negro community were volunteers in a Negro chapter of the Red Cross. This chapter met at the rooms of the Porters Mutual Benefit Association which were at that time on St.Antoine

street. At the conclusion of the war this volunteer service was disbanded. In 1918, twenty-five of these Red Cross volunteers formed the Colored Women's Charitable and Benevolent Association with (a) "the object of this organization is first to care for its members during sickness; that is to pay each member a certain weekly payment, ahd at death a certain amount towards funeral expenses; second, to do charitable work."

The membership was drawn largely from the Colored Women's Club. The constitution of this body was based on a restricted membership. With such a supply of available material, the Colored Women's Club could not admit these women to membership. Accordingly, it was felt that a new body to embrace both the former club and the new workers in the community would answer the purpose. Removals from the city and deaths have reduced the present membership to seventeen.

Meetings are held twice each month at the homes of the different members. At the opening of these meetings all in unison repeat the collect. "Keep us, Oh God from pettiness; let us be large in words, thought and deed. Let us be done with fault-finding, and leave off self-seeking. May we put away pretense and meet each other face to face without self-pity and without prejudice. May we never be hasty in judgment. Let us take time for things. Make us to grow calm, serene, gentle; Teach us to put into action our better impulses straightforward and unafraid. Grant

(a) From the Constitution and By -Laws.

that we may realise that it is the little things that create a difference, that in the big things of life we are one, and may we strive to touch and to know the great common woman heart in us all, and Oh Lord, let us not forget to be kind, Amen."

During the months of June to September this organization has no program. Pressure is brought to bear upon the members to keep regular attendance at the meetings. "Any member failing to attend three consecutive meetings without a reasonable excuse, shall be fined Twenty-five (25) cents, and shall so be notified and for the second offense shall be fined Fifty (50) cents." Regular dues of 25 cents per month are collected in addition to the entrance fee of $1. The entrance fee was raised in 1928 to $2. Both sickness and death benefits are in operation. The former benefit of $50 was reduced to $35 in 1928. The sickness benefit, of $2.50 for a period of five weeks to be followed by a reduction to $1 for a period of ten weeks, has remained unchanged since the organization began its work.

A yearly entertainment is held in order to supplement the funds and extend the work to non members in the community. The program is announced from the Union Congregational Church in order that it may be known by all. The 1928 program took place at the Negro Community Centre on St. Antoine street. Each year a cash donation of $5 is given the Grace Dart Home.

Material in quotation from Constitution and By-Laws.

Red Cap Benevolent Association.

The Red Cap Benevolent Association has been in operation since 1925, when it began with ten members of the Windsor stateion Red Cap staff. Drawn largely from the salaried members of this staff "it was formed in case any of the boys needed help", in times of sickness. Each member paid fifty cents per month for a period of eight months, while during the summer months the charge was raised to $1 per month. The membership grew,until,in 1928, it had reached thirty-two out of a total staff of some fifty. The treasurer had found increasing difficulties in collecting the $1 fee from the members and a solution was felt to be in a new basis of organization. Accordingly this was carried out in February 1928. The change brought about a charge of Fifty cents accompanying the application to be followed by a monthly charge of Fifty cents. All the former members accepted the change and added to the new constitution that any member in arrears for three months, in order to retain membership should have to pay his back dues plus an added charge of Fifty cents for reinstatement. A weekly sick benefit of $5. for three weeks is the only form of mutual aid offered by the body.

Universal Negro Improvement Association.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is the only organization of the racial type whose ideals are directed towards the full recognition of the Negro by the whites. Like other mass movements it has its slogan "Back to Africa". The members fear the literal acceptance of this slogan by the Negroes of the world, yet they feel that the Negro must have something towards which he can direct his energies.

In order to create and maintain a racial consciousness the Universal Negro Improvement Association favors segregation of the Negro to certain sections of the city. In such a procedure the strong will help the weak and the sustaining power of the group will be greatly increased in case of need. Participating in this collective thinking, feeling and acting, which are found only in the organized bodies, the Negro will be more keenly alive to the different problems which are ever before him.

Membership is open to all Negroes in the community, male and female alike as well as the juvenile. The present enrollment is some 200, although early in its Montreal history it reached double this figure. The period of economic adjustment of the Dominion during the years 1921-23, found a large migration of Negroes to the United States. The financial failure of the Black Diamond Steamship Line, a creation of Garvey, followed by the recapitalization caused many of the followers of this movement to sever their connections. The initiation fee of sixty cents puts this body within the reach of all in the community. Of the

annual dues amounting to $4.20, the local organization retains $3 for its upkeep. The balance is forwarded to the New York headquarters. No sickness benefits are in operation. Upon a member's death the New York office remits the beneficiary $75 towards the funeral expenses.

In admitting the juvenile to membership two purposes are in mind. Here the young can become acquainted with some of the problems of his group. Learning of these problems at an early age it is felt will give him the great skill and courage to face them as an adult. In the St. Antoine district "between the tracks and below the hill", the Negro feels there is a marked need for more institutions to train the young. There are none which specialise in work with the Negro youth, and it is with this purpose the Universal Negro Improvement Association has taken to itself this challenge. Early in February 1928 a brass band was organized with some fourteen instruments with regular practises being held at the Universal Negro Improvement Association hall on Chatham street.

While the Universal Negro Improvement Association proposes to work for the racial advancement of the Negro, yet there is no definite program towards this goal. The tentative program as taken from the Universal Calendar and Negro Directory is very largely one of a recreational nature.

COMPLIMENTS OF

MONTREAL DIVISION UNIVERSAL NEGRO

IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

The Division and Advertisers listed here extend their Greetings and trust that the year to come may see a continuance of your patronage and racial cooperation for our mutual benefit.

Tentative Entertainment Program

Tuesday, Jan.17th, Mid Winter Dance (Benefit Boys Bond)

Thursday, Feb. 16th, Valentine Dance

Thursday, March 15th, Inauguration Ball

Saturday, April 21st, Boys Brigade Demonstration

Thursday, May 3rd, Dramatic Concert

Thursday, May 24th, Victoria Day Ball

Monday, July 2nd, Annual Moonlight Excursion

Thursday, August 2nd, Annual Picnic

Thursday, Friday & Saturday, Aug. 30, 31 & Sept. 1st,
Bazar and Street Fair.

Monday, Sept. 3rd, Labor Day Ball

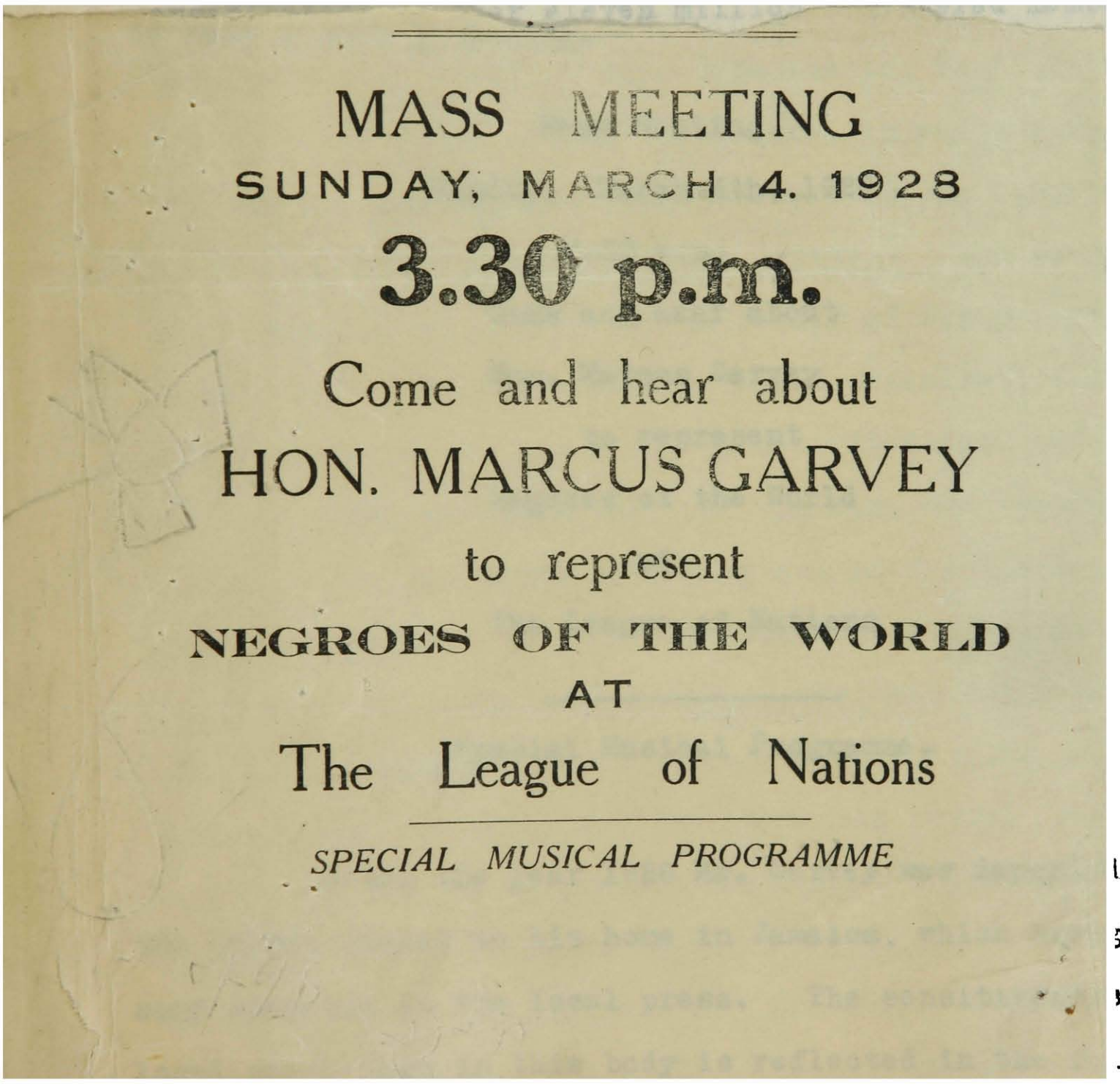
Thursday, October 4th, Juvenile Revue

Wednesday, October 31st, Halloween Masquerade Fete.

Monday, Dec. 24th, Christmas Eve Dance.

Monday, Dec. 31st, New Year's Eve Dance.

Mass meetings are held each Sunday afternoon at the Chatham street hall at which addresses of special interest to the success of the Negroes as a world people are given. When a matter of special interest is to be considered, handbills are distributed in the local Negro shops in order


MASS MEETING

SUNDAY, MARCH 4. 1928

3.30 p.m.

Come and hear about

HON. MARCUS GARVEY

to represent

NEGROES OF THE WORLD

AT

The League of Nations

SPECIAL MUSICAL PROGRAMME

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letter written by a member in response to "an article which is very misleading".

Mass meetings are held each Sunday afternoon at the Chatham street hall at which addresses of special interest to the success of the Negroes as a world people are given. When a matter of special interest is to be considered, handbills are distributed in the local Negro shops in order to have a full gathering.

Mass Meeting
Sunday, March 4th, 1928
3.30 p.m.
Come and hear about
Hon. Marcus Garvey
to represent
Negroes of the World
at
The League of Nations

Special Musical Programme.

During the year 1928 Mr. Garvey was deported from the United States to his home in Jamaica, which brought forth some comments in the local press. The sensitiveness of the local membership in this body is reflected in the following letter written by a member in response to "an article which is very misleading".

The Editor, Montreal Daily Star.

Sir, - There appeared in a recent issue of the Star, under the heading of "Ban put on Negro Emperor Garvey", an article which is very misleading. Marcus Garvey is the president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, an organization of over eleven million registered members throughout the world. This organization was founded in 1918. Governor Al. Smith of New York State, in addressing a mass meeting at Liberty Hall (headquarters of the association), commended the leadership of Mr. Garvey. The present European tour of Mr. Garvey on behalf of Negro people is sponsored by the association. This organization believes that the Negro has his quota to contribute to modern civilization. Our motto is one God, one Aim, one Destiny. We advocate for the Negro self-help and self-reliance, not only in one essential but in everything that contributes to human happiness and human well-being. The Montreal Division of the Association has taken a leading part in the life of the local Negro community for the last nine years. Among other activities we are at present training a Boy's Band and campaigning for funds to obtain a building. The Negro race has its hopes, its longings and its aspirations. It was Ralph Waldo Emerson who said, "Who set the bounds to the possibilites of man?" Marcus Garvey says, "We, too, are men".

203 Coursol St.,

Montreal. (sgd.)W.M.H.Trott

Detweiler writing concerning both the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Community League, which is not represented in Montreal, says:

(1) "The Universal Negro Improvement Association and the African Community League are not to be looked upon as having great political or international significance on account of the absence of ways and means to political power as well as the lack of recognition by political units now in Africa. The organization is rather a nationalistic movement bearing the characteristics of a religious revival and including an effort towards economic independence".

Eureka Association.

Housing has been a problem for these people ever since their increasing numbers have been observed in this city. A people with limited means, they are forced to seek homes within easy access to their work. The presence of an invader, whose color sets him off from the wider community, tends to be met with open resistance by the property owners. The white landlord, feeling that the mere presence of a Negro home in his property will surely lead to an exodus of the whites from the surrounding district refuses to rent desirable houses to these people. They are forced in this manner to seek houses wherever they can be procured. The difficulty in securing a house is seen in the following case, which has been related by the party who had this experience.

For six weeks during 1918 one of the leaders among

(1) The Negro Press in the United States, page 108.

the local Negroes attempted to rent a flat. Although many were in keeping with this man's standard and capacity to pay, yet in each case he was refused. At length, becoming desperate, as moving day approached, he made his arrangements over the telephone. As soon as the prospective tenant came to sign the lease he was refused, or told that the flat was already taken. On one occasion he was told to call at the landlord's home to sign the lease. The flat available was directly over that of the owner, and empty at the time of calling. Meeting the owner and his wife, the latter in French informed her husband that it would be impossible to rent their flat to this man. The landlord then informed his caller that the flat was already rented. In another case this partyhaving made arrangements once again over the telephone was suddenly informed before the owner had seen him that "We do not rent houses to Negroes."

The white landlord, knowing the peculiar situation of the Negro, takes undue advantage of this situation. The same Negro whose experiences are related above told another experience that was his.

Upon taking a flat on Aqueduct street the rent was set at $8 per month. This rate was maintained for the first six months of residence. At the opening of the seventh month it was increased to $12. The conclusion of the year found another increase to $14. and remained at this figure during the remainder of the tenant's occupancy.

A typical behavior pattern of the landlord in this area between the tracks is to be observed in the report of the Day Nursery Visitor, the case being a Negro family.

"During the typhoid epidemic (summer of 1927) an urgent call for help came from one of the women who was ill and had not been able to go to work. When visited, she was found to have very recently moved into a small flat which she was furnishing as she could afford. (This flat is located on Seigneurs street, north of St. James). She said she wanted to see what it felt like to have a real home. This woman, a hard worker and a good mother, had no income but her own earnings, her husband having deserted her some time before, and she had two young delicate children to support. The flat she rented was in such a deplorable state of dilapidation and filth that it made her ill when she tried to clean it. The rent she paid to be permitted to occupy this place was $14 per month, and she said it was all she could get at the price in any district where there was a little air and space without going too far from the Day Nursery. At that, the district was a poor one. Backed by the visiting doctor's word, the visitor reported the state of the house to the Municipal authorities, who ultimately condemned it. The woman later had to be removed to the hospital, suffering from a combination of Pneumonia and typhoid, from which she nearly died. The children were able to be placed in foster homes for three months through

the generosity of one of the woman's employers, and one of them had been in the home only a short time when she came down with typhoid. The house whose condition was mainly responsible for the breakdown of the family health was the scene of intense activity for some weeks. A firm of contractors wrecked the inside of the flat in question and one or two more like it and rebuilt the place from the inside. The result, one must admit, lokked very delightful. It happened that when the woman recovered, she left the city and went to her husband who had made his peace with her in the meantime, but if she had wanted to go back to the flat, she would not have been able to afford it. Why? Because the landlord, in consideration of the fact that the flat is now fit to live in, has raised the rent and it is now $22. per month, an advance of 57 per cent on the original rent. "

(From the Report of the Day Nursery Visitor, 1927, pages 63 and 64 of Welfare Work in Montreal, being the Annual Report for 1927 of thirty of the Agencies in Federation.)

The Eureka Association Incorporated has been established by the Negro to meet such typical situations as have been shown above. In the establishing of this body the Negro has shown that he too appreciates that home ownership tends to build up a sense of responsibility among the owners that can never be established in any other fashion. It is interesting to note the role of leadership in all of the

Negro organizations, which is most clear in this case. The treasurer of the Eureka Association was the driving force in its existence for following his death in 1917, it went into obscurity. Coming by chance to the attention of one of the present executives it was given a re-birth. In 1919 the treasury showed some $450 on hand. Today the funds reach $20,000. In 1921 the organization became a duly incorporated body and the name became the Eureka Association Incorporated, with a capital of $49,900. In all some six houses are totally owned, four of which are on Richmond Square and two on Plymouth Grove. The printed pamphlet and letter to all prospective clients telling of the work of this body appear below.

The Eureka Association Inc.

In the year 1917 even though many families were dividing their domestic responsibilites, and in spite of the fact that at that time many of our young men had shouldered arms, the landlords were not over particular in renting their properties to persons of colour. This situation caused the formation of the Eureka Association Inc.

Registration.

As a registered body the Eureka Association operated for a few years but through the death of its Treasurer, the late Cecil Riley, and the withdrawal of a few members, the danger of registration presented itself, hence the decision for Incorporation.

Yellow pamphlet at conclusion of study of Eureka Association.

Incorporation

Under letters patent issued by the Provincial Legislature of Quebec, through the legal firm of Messrs Godin & Dussault, etc. The Eureka Association Reg., was transferred into The Eureka Association Inc., with an authorized capital of $49,900,00

Our legal advisers are MM.Godin, Dussault, Cadotte & Dupuis and our Bankers are the Royal Bank of Canada.

Progress

The Eureka Association Inc., with only a few shareholders (all of whom are working men), has been able to purchase properties which in spite of repairs and considerable improvements has netted the Company approximately 8% er per last audit.

Outlook

The housing situation among Negroes in Montreal give no hope of improvement in the future. We are still forced to live in unsanitary houses, to pay high rentals and suffer humiliation from landlaords whilst endeavoring to procure suitable residences. This condition will continue indefinitely unless offset by the development of the Eureka Association Inc., which is equipped already for the task.

Programme

We desire to procure at least two more properties before the ending of the year; to prepare a plan by which we can assist our members to own their individual homes and

to enter into the import and export trade. To achieve this we will require no less than (one hundred) 100 new shareholders with a subscription of at least $100. each (one hundred dollars). Terms of payment can be arranged."

" The Eureka Association Inc.
dealers in
Realty, Insurance and Employment,
Montreal, Que.

The Directors of the Eureka Association Inc. after a careful study of the social, economic and industrial condition amongst the race in Montreal have decided that racial improvement will be attained and probably maintained through colonization. We have further decided that the elaborate methods employed in the colonization of Europeans is not practical [illegible] so far as our race is concerned, but we do think that a modified form of colonization can be instituted.

It is to be remembered that the development along all lines and avenues of European races in Canada is made possible by their increasing numbers annually and the careful attention given by the government and private colonization organization.

We do not propose to outline the various plans of colonization as we feel sure that we are familiar with them. What we do propose, however, is to draw your attention to the fact that neither government nor colonization organi-

(10. Letter to prospective clients.

zations seem to be interested in our racial development. They apparently are not worried about our increased or decreased numbers, they are not worried about our social and moral improvement or deterioration, they are not worried about our economic oppression or industrial stagnation, they are not worried about us when passing their immigration and colonization laws, in short, they are not worried about us at all. Their time and energy is centred wholly on the European immigrants.

It is to be further noted that many of us are as much worried about ourselves as the government and the organizations for Europeans are about us.

The Eureka Association in drawing your attention to these facts does not claim that we can colonize or do for the race what the government or varied organizations can do for the European, but we do claim that an attempt should be made to hold ourselves a little closer together and in all probability as the years roll by the government or some organization may interest themselves in our colonization and development.

Just now the Eureka Association proposes to bring us together by the owning of our own homes and the operation of our own little businesses. With this object in view we enclose you application form for shares in the company.

We hope that our proposition is clearly presented and that our appeal to you will not be fruitless, in fact we expect to receive your application for shares in our

company accompanied by your cheque.

Co-operation is the need amongst us, so we are asking you to forward us the names and addresses of all your friends in order that we may speak to them concerning our own your home plan.

OWN YOUR HOME

Every shareholder of the Eureka Association Inc. who possess 100 shares of stock valued at $1,000.00 may be privileged to arrange with the company for the purchase of his or her own home. No restrictions will be made as to locality of purchase or kind of building required, terms will be arranged on the valuation of property and the initial payment only.

Many persons in Montreal are purchasing their homes on a building plan, why not we? If we can procure 100 (one hundred) subscribers who will pay us (five dollars) $5.00 or $10,00 (ten dollars) per month, in a few years we will have them settled in their own homes. A scale of this plan can be seen at our office.

Prices in Montreal today are just right and the city is growing north, south, east and west in a most surprising manner, this is our time and opportunity to realize in real estate that which is due us. A few years from now prices may be so high that our limited means will not be enough to enable us to purchase properties.

For further information write Richmond Square, or phone Up.....

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THE EUREKA ASSOCIATION INC.

DEALERS IN

REALTY, INSURANCE AND EMPLOYMENT

MONTREAL, QUE. 19

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For further information write [redacted] Richmond Square or phone Up. [redacted] or U. [redacted]M.

Negro Community Centre.

The Montreal Negro Community Centre was organized in February 1927, having for its purpose "to improve the conditions under which all people work, live and spend their leisure time. A community morale is sought which shall bind us all together and give sustaining power to each individual and to the community as a whole." The Board of Directors is made up of "public spirited white and colored citizens". This Board of Directors is inter-racial, first, "that the white citizens that go to make up this Board have a far greater experience of the operation of business affairs of such organization and their advice and contact will give the organization a background of solidarity. Second, - It gives an opportunity for the two groups through close contact to understand the appreciation of the one, and the needs of the other more thoroughly."

A financial campaign for $6,500. as a budget for the work of the first year was instituted the week of June 10 - 17, 1927. Some $1465 was raised, the two Canadian railroads having contributed $1,000 to this amount.

During the summer months the activities were directed along the lines of recreation for the children. A playground was opened on the property of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at St. Antoine and Aqueduct streets. A Negro clinic was organized at the time of the Typhoid epidemic, in co-operation with the City Department of Health. Matters of employment for the Negro in the industries in the St.Antoine

Material in quotations from Report of the Executive Secretary.

district were investigated, and cooperation with the different Social Agencies was established. "The City Health Department, through our organization closed up several houses after complaint had been made to us concerning their unsanitary condition." A special Negro night was held at the Central Young Men's Christian Association on Drummond Street at which both Negroes and white participated freely. The Jenkins Orphanage Band was brought to the city from Charleston, North Carolina, giving concerts in the Central Young Men's Christian Association and the Stanley Hall for one week during the summer. In the fall and winter of 1927-28, Boys and Girls Clubs and Gymnasia classes were conducted at the Union United Church under the direction of the staff from the Community Centre. Mothers Clubs, classes in Home Nursing and Domestic Science were organized for the women as well as Clubs for the men. Early in 1928 the Little Mother's League was organized by the Victorian Order of Nurses, for instruction in the care of the baby, personal hygiene, and home sanitation. This class was graduated on May 3rd, the ceremony taking place at the Negro Church. The Victorian Order of Nurses and the Community Centre obtained newspaper publicity from the press with the photo of the class and the instructresses appearing the following day. Under the heading "Little Mothers" Receive Diplomas, the Star issues of May 4th gave the following account of this activity.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1928

"LITTLE MOTHERS" TRAINED BY V.O.N.



The above group of graduates in the "Little Mothers" League of the Victorian Order of Nurses. The girls are proficient in the care of babies and in household duties. Front row, Beatrice Drake and Eunice Layne. Middle row, Alma Thompson, Eva Braithewaite, Mary Joyce, Leona Wellman, Leona Mohammed, Edna Bourne. Back row, Miss N. Nash, V.O.N. Supervisor; Rodessa Lane, Jezerine Drake, Juliet Clarke, Miss C. Dowling, instructress.

Women

"LITTLE MOTHERS" RECEIVE DIPLOMAS

Impressive Scene as 10 Little Colored Girls Graduate

Managing their own graduation ceremony, headed by a capable 12-year-old chairman, 10 little colored girls of the Little Mothers' League, under the auspices of the Victorian Order of Nurses, received their diplomas and badges yesterday in the Union Congregational Church, Delisle street.

The diplomas were the result of classes held in the Negro Community Centre, 245a St. Antoine street, which started in February, and which comprised lessons on the care of the baby, personal hygiene, home sanitation and instruction on communicable diseases. The children had passed an oral examination and written an essay.

A little ten-year-old secretary gave an efficient report, following which each member of the class gave some demonstration of the matters they had studied. Handling the large doll with maternal care, the "little mothers" gave it a mustard bath, dressed it, and explained what its food should be, and how its bed should be made. When questioned by Miss M. Nash, their teacher, they showed a sound knowledge of matters of personal hygiene and health, looking very competent in their white caps and aprons.

The diplomas were presented by Mrs. H. C. Champ, who congratulated the class on their efficiency and expressed the hope that they would spread their knowledge among their friends and in their homes. Special prizes were presented by Mrs. C. Cameron to Miss Juliett Clarke and Miss Alma Thompson. Miss Thompson was in the chair.

Each of the three elements in the local population has its own peculiar attitude towards the work of this organization. The American Negro coming from the larger centres, is familiar with this work and lends it his support. To him it is a means of breaking down the discrimination by the whites against him, and by this means he will participate more fully in the life of the city. The Canadian born Negro has had no experience with the work of the Community Centres. He shows his lack of accomodation to the secondary contact form of life as found in the city when he says, "Oh, I guessit is a place on St. Antoine street, where they are trying to find the centre of the community". The West Indian Negro opposes work of this nature. He feels that it is a frank admission of the inferiority of the Negro people in the competitive struggle. The words"Community Centre" to him mean only charity, and "the colored man in Montreal wants a job - not charity", is his response. Again, "the Community Centre tends towards segregation and the Negro does not want segregation"; "the railroads want the Community Centre for in so doing it will tend to prevent the Negro from getting into industry and if the Negro gets into industry the railroad will be at a loss to get porters". The failure of the financial campaign during the year 1927 can be readily seen as inevitable, with the community itself divided on this common enterprise. The mere fact of the larger number of white citizens on the Board of Directors makes these people feel that the Community Centre is something through which

Material in quotations was expressed the writer.

the whites are trying to conceal their unwillingness to give him the economic opportunity he is seeking. One of the leaders in this movement has declared that the most difficult of the many problems to be solved was the education of the Montreal Negro up to a state of appreciating the role of this organization in their midst. The departure of the Executive Secretary from the city in April 1928 left this body with no permanent leader. Until a full-time worker was employed, this task fell to the spiritual leader, the pastor of the Union United Church . (1)

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Porters Mutual Benefit Association.

Previous to 1912 it was the custom among the porters in the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway to take up a collection for any of their fellow porters in times of sickness or accident. During this year an American Negro met with an accident, followed by the customary collection reaching him. This he definitely refused, feeling that there should be some form of mutual aid among this class of workers, rather than the spasmodic attempts at charity.

For some five years following this occasion there was much talk of labor organizations and those of a purely mutual aid nature among these men. The railroad since 1918 had shown a decidedly antagonistic attitude towards any form

(1) The new worker arrived in Montreal during September 1928.

of organized labor among their staff in the sleeping and dining car services. On two occasions have labor unions attempted to put an organization among men on this line but on each occasion has the railroad been able to counteract such efforts successfully. In both these attempts have Negroes been hired and discharged. The first case occurred in 1918, at which time Negro help displaced white trade union men on the Western lines. The second occasion arose at the time of the formation of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters. The report of the two Boards of Arbitration covering these cases are introduced to show that the Montreal Negro is accepted equally by both Canadian Trade Unions and the Canadian Railway systems without prejudice and on an equal footing with white labor. In each case it will be noted that organized labor has been unsuccessful in proving the contention that organized labor is being discriminated against on this line. The Report of the Board of Arbitration at the time of the Negro's displacing white help appears below. That for the Board which dealt with the Order of Sleeping Car Porters is given later.

Report of Board in Dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Eastern Lines, and its sleeping car porters.

A REPORT was received from the Board established to deal with the dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway, Eastern Lines, and its sleeping car porters. The Board was composed as follows: His Honour Judge Colin G. Snider, Hamilton, appointed on the joint recommendation of the other two members, Messrs. U. E. Gillen, Toronto, appointed by the Minister in the absence of a recommendation from the company, and Fred Bancroft, Toronto, the nominee of the employees. The report was signed by the chairman and Mr. Gillen, and was accompanied by a proposed schedule of rules and wages. Mr. Bancroft presented a minority report together with certain recommendations, which the employees advised were acceptable to them as a basis of adjustment. It developed, however, that a decision on an important point of the dispute had been omitted in the report rendered by the chairman and Mr. Gillen. The Board accordingly reconvened on February 25 and further reports were rendered, the majority report being signed by the chairman and Mr. Gillen, and the minority report by Mr. Bancroft.

Report of Board

In the matter of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, and of a dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, employer, and its Sleeping Car Porters, employees.

To the Honourable
Senator G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour, Ottawa, Ont.

Sir,—

The Board of Conciliation established by you herein has the honour to report as follows:

On Tuesday the 13th day of January, 1920, at 10.30 a.m. the Board commenced its sittings by appointment at the City Hall in Toronto. All members of the Board were present. The employees' representatives were in attendance. They are A. R. Mosher, President of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, J. A. Robinson, President of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, and R. O. Caines, an ex-sleeping car porter of the employer Company. No one attended to represent the employer although due notice of the meeting had been given to W. A. Cooper, the Manager of the C. P. Railway Sleeping, Dining and Parlour Car and News Service. The Chairman issued a notice to W. A. Cooper requiring him to attend. A telegram was received from him saying that he could not attend before the Board on the 13th of January but would attend on the 14th. The Board proceeded to hear the evidence of the dismissed sleeping car porters. Complaint was made before the Board as to the dismissal of seven of these men. Several of them were examined under oath and cross-examined on the 13th as to the circumstances of their service and of their dismissal and of the efforts made to have their cases cases heard by the officers of the Company. At 5 p.m. the Board adjourned. On the morning of the 14th of January W. A. Cooper attended before the Board and he was given a general outline of what had been said by the witnesses heard on the 13th. Mr. Cooper called the Board's attention to his letter to the Deputy Minister of Labour dated the 26th day of December, 1919, and said that the Employer's attitude had not changed and that he attended in obedience to the Order of the Board and not as representing the Employer. Other witnesses gave their evidence as to the dismissals under consideration and were examined and cross-examined in Mr. Cooper's presence on the 14th of January and the morning of the 15th when the hearing of all the Employees' witnesses in reference to the dismissals was completed. The Board then suggested that Mr. Cooper should confer with the dismissed porters alone

with a view to a settlement. This was agreed to and the Board adjourned until two o'clock to permit this conference to be held. On re-assembling at 2 p.m. Mr. Cooper said to the Board that he had undertaken to re-instate these seven dismissed porters temporarily and to receive the Committee which the Order of Sleeping Car Porters had appointed and to discuss with this Committee in Montreal the permanent re-instatement of these men, and the other matters submitted by the Minister of Labour to this Board of Conciliation. He further said he had hopes from the evidence he had heard that this Board would be relieved from further consideration of this dispute. The Employees confirmed the statement made by Mr. Cooper and at request of all the parties the Board adjourned the investigation to Thursday, the 29th day of January, 1920, at 10.30 a.m., at the same place at Toronto.

On the 26th day of January, 1920, the Chairman of the Board received from Mr. Cooper the following telegram:—
"Have had three meetings with alleged
"porters' Grievance Committee pur-
"suant to understanding at last meeting
"Board—find statements then made by
"porters altogether unjustified according
"to evidence submitted. Company must
"therefore maintain their position on
"dismissals of porters concerned. Pre-
"sume hearing will proceed as arranged
"on Thursday, 29th. W. A. Cooper."

On receipt of this telegram the Chairman at once telegraphed to Mr. Cooper and to the Employees to attend on Thursday, the 29th, and bring all witnesses. He also notified the other members of the Board of the nature of these telegrams.

On Thursday, 29th January, 1920, at 10.30 a.m., the Board again met at the City Hall in Toronto and was attended by the representatives of the Employees and other witnesses and by W. A. Cooper, George Hodge, Assistant to the Vice-President of the C.P. Ry., and H. F. Mathews, General Superintendent of the Sleeping and Dining Car Service of the C.P. Ry., Western Lines, all three of whom explained that they attended only to give evidence if required and not as representing the Employer as a party to these proceedings. Evidence as to these dismissals, terms of employment, meetings had as to rate of wages, schedule of rules, etc., was given by George Hodge and W. A. Cooper under oath and examination and cross-examination at length of both under oath was had, and evidence in reply was given by witnesses for the Employees all confined as far as possible to the dismissal of the seven porters whose reinstatement has been demanded by the employees. The seven porters dismissed are R. O. Caines, C. R. Taylor, R. M. DeFreitas, J. A. Samuel, R. J. Marshall, O. Daniel and J. M. Black.

R. O. Caines who is chairman of the Committee appointed by the Order of Sleeping Car Porters stated to the Board that no discussion had taken place in Montreal with Mr. Cooper since the adjournment for that purpose, and that Mr. Cooper refused to recognize this Committee as properly representative of the men, and that he also refused to see them as a Committee of dissatisfied employees on the subject of the dismissal of the seven porters. Mr. Cooper on being asked as to the correctness of these statements replied that Mr. Hodge would make a statement which would answer this question but no direct definite answer was given.

The taking of evidence and discussions and arguments as to the dismissals occupied the time of the Board all the 29th of January and the morning of the 30th and at the conclusion thereof Messrs. Cooper, Hodge and Mathews said that as they had no further evidence to give as to the rate of wages and schedule of rules demanded by the Employees they would with the Board's consent like to withdraw from all further sittings of the Board and they then withdrew. On the afternoon of the 30th day of January and on the 31st day the Board proceeded with the hearing of evidence, statements and arguments put in by the representatives of the employees, no one for, or having connection with, the Employer being present.

As to the seven dismissed porters the two members of the Board who sign report as follows:

Each dismissed porter who has given evidence under oath has sworn that he has no knowledge of the reason for his dismissal or for the dismissal of any others of the seven whose cases we are considering; that he has applied to the proper officers of the Company for information as to the cause of his dismissal and has never been able to get any answer other that "General unsatisfactory service"; that he is not conscious of misconduct or neglect of duty on his part that might give cause for his dismissal.

W. A. Cooper and George Hodge, officers of the Employer who gave evidence and were fully and carefully questioned and cross-examined having been first sworn, answered all questions asked them excepting the question as to the particular definite reason in each case for dismissing these seven men, and each of these two officers refused to give reasons or particulars for the dismissal of any one of these seven men other or further than was given to these men personally, namely, "General unsatisfactory service." They said that they refused on the ground that it is in the interest of the Company and of the night travelling public that the Employer shall have the right to dispense with the service of a sleeping car porter at any time it is of opinion that it is desirable to do so, and without being required to give any reason for doing so. This they said is because the employment of these men is of a domestic nature and involves close personal relations between them and the sleeping car travellers; that for this reason there is a special clause in the contract of hiring which each porter is required to sign on entering the service and which each one of these seven porters did sign which clause is as follows :

"In consideration of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, hereinafter called "the Company" taking me into its services as sleeping car porter, I hereby agree to work as such for the Company on any of its different runs so long as my services may be required, it being understood that my engagement may be terminated by the Company without notice, and without assigning any reason therefor, at any time except during the course of any particular run, and moreover, that it is subject to the terms hereinafter stated."

The two officers also swore that this clause is not contained in the contract signed by any other class of employees, and also that it was in exercise of this right that the Company dismissed these seven men and refuses to assign any reason therefor.

The two members of your Board who sign find themselves unable to make any recommendation in these circumstances. We say that no reason for the dismissal of any one of these seven porters has been disclosed to or discovered by us but we are not prepared to recommend that the railway Company should at all times refrain from acting upon the terms of this contract in this particular class of employment.

The members of the Board who sign recommend the Schedule of Rules and Wages annexed to and forming part of this Report as being fair and reasonable and which in the opinion of those members of the Board should be accepted by the Employer and Employees.

All of which your Board has the honour to report.

Dated this 11th day of February, 1920.

(Sgd.) COLIN G. SNIDER,
Chairman.
(Sgd.) U. E. GILLEN.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS.
RULES AND RATES OF PAY.

Effective 16th December, 1919, following will be revised rates of pay for sleeping car porters and rules governing working conditions:

(1) Class.	Rate per month.		
	1st yr.	2nd yr.	3rd yr. and after.
Sleeping and Tourist Observation Compartment Buffet Sleeping Car porters	$75.00	$80.00	$85.00
	92.50		

For convenience in executing regulations contained in following paragraphs relative to promotion, reduction, seniority, grievance, discipline or transfer of employees, sleeping car department will be sub-divided into districts, or territories:

(2) District.	Headquarters.
Atlantic, Algoma and Eastern..	Montreal.
Ontario	Toronto.
Manitoba and Saskatchewan..... (including employees operating during summer months on trains Nos. 13 and 14).	Winnipeg.
Alberta	Calgary.
British Columbia	Vancouver.

Porters located on above districts, in additiou to porters whose services originate at either one of the above places, will have their headquarters at the place where they are located, or where their line or run originates. Porters operating in service over more than one district, irrespective of where their headquarters are located, will be under the jurisdiction of the Superintendent on whose territory they happen to be.

(3) Seniority List. A seniority list for each district will be prepared and posted on the 1st day of January each year in a conspicuous place at terminal points, and any porters whose standing is incorrectly shown will have opportunity of protesting in writing within thirty days, after which no action will be taken. For all seniority purposes, porters operating in service over more than one district will be considered as employees of the district from which run originates, *i.e.*:

Transcontinental employees—Montreal-Vancouver, trains Nos. 1 and 2, 7 and 8 will be included in seniority list at Montreal.

Transcontinental employees — Toronto-Vancouver, trains Nos. 3 and 4, 9 and 10 will be included in seniority list at Toronto.

(4) Seniority. Employees on leave of absence or who are temporarily off their run will be relieved by employees desiring same, when possible, and will not lose their right to any run which may be bulletined while they are off duty.

(5) During temporary reduction of train service, an employee may, without losing any seniority rights, accept a subordinate position in his own district rather than go to another district in same capacity. Employees, when on Company's request are withdrawn for use in other Departments or when loaned to other companies, will retain their right of seniority when returning to district in which formerly employed.

A porter shall not be loaned to another Company without his consent.

(6) In the event of reduction of train service junior men will be reduced before any general reduction is made; men having others dependent upon them for support will be given preference of employment, seniority and efficiency governing. Men laid off on account of reduction, if competent and available, will, when staff is increased, be given preference over new men.

(7) Vacant Runs. When permanent runs are vacant or new runs created, or at general change in time from winter to summer schedule, or from summer to winter schedule, particulars will be bulletined for 20 days and runs will be given to senior qualified men applying in writing, subject to merit, fitness and ability.

(8) Loss of Seniority. A man who has been out of the service more than a year, if re-engaged, comes back to all intents and purposes a new employee, and seniority will date only from date of re-engagement.

(9) Transfer of Employees. In the event of employees being transferred at Company's request from one promotion district to another, due to withdrawal of service or inauguration of new lines, seniority of employees so transferred will not be affected, and employees so transferred will rank according to seniority with employees in the district to which transfer is made.

(10) Employees transferred from one promotion district to another at their own request, or from another railroad, will rank as junior men, unless an agreement is made for an exchange with a man having the same seniority on the district to which transfer is desired.

(11) Discipline. This will be administered under merit and demerit system.

(12) Investigations. Investigations will in every instance be made of infractions of the general rules to see that they are strictly lived up to by employees and in order that no injustice will be done to employees in assessing records.

(13) Grievances. Any porter has the right to a hearing if he considers he is unjustly dealt with. He shall present the same in writing within five days of the disciplinary notice. Action will be taken by the Superintendent or other proper officer on the receipt of the written request without unnecessary delay. A decision will be given within five days after the completion of the hearing. If any appeal is taken it must be filed within ten days after notice of the decision is given and a copy furnished to the official whose decision is appealed from. At the hearing the porter shall have the right of assistance from one or more employees as duly accredited representatives. If the final decision is in favour of the porter if he was dismissed or suspended he shall be returned to his former position and paid for all time lost. The provisions of this section are not intended to interfere with or as an expression of any opinion upon the rights of the parties under any individual contract which may have been entered into by a porter with the Company.

(14) White Coats. During the summer season, April 30th to September 30th, porters may wear white coats throughout the day and while

receiving or discharging passengers at way stations. Uniform coats must be worn when receiving or discharging passengers at important terminal stations.

(15) Layover Compensation. At change of time, inauguration of new lines or discontinuing of runs in existence, a bulletin will be posted in each district showing minimum layover or rest period to which employees are entitled or for loss of which compensation will be paid.

REGULAR LINE SERVICE.

(16) Home Station. (a) When an assigned layover is reduced due to being called for duty prior to expiration, L.O.C. will be allowed on following basis:

Reduction in L.O.C. Allowance Layover:

1 to 24 hours ..... 1 day.
24 to 48 hours ..... 2 days.

(b) When standby or guard duty performed during assigned layover, one day to be allowed for any portion of day consumed.

NOTE.—Interpretation of call for duty prior to expiration of layover.

(17) Regular line porters who are required to report on any day other than that on which due out will be considered as having been called for duty, except that employees due out on morning trains may be required to report day previous, but in such instances no L.O.C. will be allowed.

(18) Porters failing to report on date due out shall, unless a very reasonable excuse is furnished, incur a penalty by demerit marks, and await return of run with loss of pay for period his line is filled by another porter, unless his services can otherwise be utilized during the interval.

(19) Terminal Away From Home Station. When porters are required to double out before expiration of regular layover of their regular run, or if assigned to local service or standby or guard duty and not allowed regular layover given to porters whose home station is at this terminal, one day L.O.C. to be allowed.

(20) Explanation. No L.O.C. will be paid to porters for late arrival of train at terminal away from home, but if after arrival his regular layover is cut down, one day L.O.C. will be paid to him for any portion of a day that his layover is shortened. In addition, he will be allowed a full day L.O.C. for doing standby or guard duty during his assigned layover.

EXTRA SERVICI

(21) Home Station. Porters on return from extra service are entitled to same layover as that allowed in regular line service, and L.O.C. to be paid on same basis.

TERMINAL AWAY FROM HOME STATION.

(22) (b) Porters away from home station on extra service are entitled to same layover as that allowed in a corresponding regular line, and L. O. C. to be paid on same basis.

(c) Porters when held for extra service in excess of assigned layover at either home station or at terminal away from home station are entitled to be paid for the period held.

(d) When one porter operates two occupied cars, as occasionally happens on military trains, porter while entitled to double pay for actual days service is only entitled to layover and L. O. C. for one car.

(23) Deadheading. (a) Porters in charge of deadhead cars or deadheading on pass will be furnished with food free of charge, either by free meal order in Dining Car or by supplies issued on requisition to D. C. Storeroom; value of supplies furnished not to exceed $1.50 per day.

(b) When deadheading without car porter to be provided with sleeping accommodation in tourist car.

(c) Employees deadheading, if given opportunity for rest in berth en route, are subject to serve immediately. If deadheaded on pass and not furnished with berth accommodation entitled to reasonable time for rest on arrival destination, or payment of L. O. C. to be computed on basis paragraph I.

(24) There shall be no discrimination shown toward or against any porter for being a member of a Brotherhood or Union nor for service on committees representing porters.

(25) Porters on trains to which dining cars are attached shall be given their meals at half rate in dining cars, said meals to be selected by the porters from the passengers' menu for the day and a service of full passenger portions, subject to a minimum charge of twenty-five cents.

(26) When a porter is requested to surrender his equipment wages due him shall be paid within forty-eight hours. If not the Company shall pay in full for all time caused by delay, forty-eight hours grace inclusive, at the regular rates of pay. A porter resigning shall give fifteen days' notice of his intention to resign and his payment shall be governed by the previous clause of his section.

(27) In the event of porters desiring to maintain a paid officer the porter accepting such position will not lose his seniority standing or promotion rights while so engaged.

(28) All white coats for porters shall be supplied at the Company's expense.

(29) Members of porters' committees shall be relieved when required for committee duties, and shall be furnished with the necessary transportation on application, but notice must be given to the Superintendent so that the Company's interest will not suffer. Not more than fifteen days' notice shall be required.

(30) Where a porter is called to the office

during his layover on business not affecting him he shall be paid *pro rata* for the time he is detained.

(31) All men shall automatically become sleeping car porters on assuming such duties, and shall be governed according to the schedule.

(32) Extra men performing relief duties on line runs shall be entitled to all layover assigned to such runs.

(33) This schedule shall become effective on and from the 16th day of December, 1919, and shall continue in force for one year until the 16th day of December, 1920, subject, however, to any change or changes therein that may be made at the conference which Mr. W. A. Cooper has promised to have with a Committee of the company's sleeping car porters before the 1st of May, 1920.

(Sgd.) COLIN G. SNIDER,
Chairman.
(Sgd.) U. E. GILLEN.

Minority Report

In the matter of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, and of a dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway Co., Employer, and its Sleeping Car Porters, being members of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, employees.

To the Hon. G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir,—

I cannot agree with the whole of the report and recommendations signed by His Honour Judge C. Snider and Mr. U. E. Gillen, members of a Board of Conciliation appointed by you to enquire into the differences between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and its sleeping car porters, and present a minority report, and recommendations.

The report of the majority members of the Board deals with the dismissal of seven employees first, and the schedule of wages and rules follows. The concluding paragraph in the report on the dismissals states:

"Your Board finds itself unable to make any recommendation in these circumstances. We say that no reason for the dismissal of any one of these seven porters has been disclosed to or discovered by us, but we are not prepared to recommend that the railway company should at all times refrain from acting upon the terms of this contract in this particular class of employment."

The majority members also quote a paragraph from a personal contract signed by each of the dismissed porters, as a reason, inferentially, why no recommendation is made.

From the evidence given, and the documents referred to the Board by the Department of Labour, it is quite clear that there are two factions among the porters. One represented by the parties to this application, namely, the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, and another alleged to be represented by a Welfare Committee. The representatives of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, a trade union, declare that the welfare committee has no business to discuss wages and conditions with the management, as that should be done by representatives of the organized men. The officials of the company, however, recognize the welfare committee, and claim these employees are authorized to represent many porters, and the officials have conferred with these representatives on such business. The officials have not conferred with the representatives of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, on wages and conditions. The seven men summarily dismissed were at the time "active members" of this Order or Union. Several of them were members of a grievance committee elected to take up a schedule of wages and conditions which had been presented to the management of the company several months previous to their discharge. Their services ranged from 5 to 12 years with the Company.

The company management had established penalties for infraction of rules or regulations by a merit or demerit system; and in a bulletin signed by the manager of this department of the service outlined under the caption "Grievances," stated that employees having grievances should first discuss them with the welfare committee. This the discharged men refused to do, claiming the right to their own organization and representatives.

The Order of Sleeping Car Porters not meeting with success in an attempt to negotiate a schedule, and these men being dismissed, applied for a Board of Conciliation which was granted. The representatives of the company apparently base their case on the dismissal of these men on the terms of a contract under which the porters were hired. And inferentially it is this which prevents the majority members making a recommendation on the matter. What becomes of the right of the seven men under the Industrial Disputes Act in such a case? The majority report only quotes a paragraph of the contract. The full text is as follows :

CONTRACT.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

"1. In consideration of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, hereinafter called the Company, taking me into its services as ...., I hereby agree to work as such for the Company on any of its different runs, so long as my services may be required, it being understood that my engagement may be terminated by the Company without notice and without assigning any cause therefor, at any time except during the course of any particular run, and moreover, that it is subject to the terms hereinafter stated.

2. For such services I am to receive only the ruling rate of wages on each run for the time I am on that run, whatever that rate may be, according to the schedule of wages then in force for the different runs.

3. In order to be so engaged, I represent myself to be a first-class ..... in every respect, having been previously employed by

.. ..

4. Should this representation in the opinion of the Company prove at any time to be incorrect, or should I at any time violate the Company's rules or instructions laid down for my guidance, the Company may at once, and whether in the course of the particular run or not and without any notice to me, suspend me from its said service or wholly terminate my engagement without being liable to me for any demand whatsoever.

5. One-third the cost of the uniform and full cost of white jackets supplied me when I enter the service may at the option of the Company be deducted from any wages or moneys due or owing to me by the Company, the said uniform and jackets to remain the property of the Company, the price charged me being for the use of same while in the service. It is understood that this amount covers only a portion of the full number of jackets which I will require, but the Company will furnish at exchange points the balance up to full complement required. Should I for any reason leave or be dismissed from the Company's service I shall immediately deliver up to the Company in good condition the said uniform and also white jackets up to the number originally furnished me.

6. I agree to be responsible to the Company for the full cost of any uniform winter overcoat supplied me, which cost may at the option of the Company, be deducted from any wages or monies at any time due or owing to me, should I fail to return same in good condition (subject, however, to ordinary wear and tear), to the Company on demand.

7. I am to be responsible for all supplies and movable equipment in any of the said Company's cars while under my charge, and in case of any damage to any such supplies or movable equipment other than that resulting from ordinary wear and tear, or of any loss of the same, the cost of repairing or replacing same may, at the option of the Company, be deducted from any wages or monies due me by the Company, and in case such wages are not sufficient to pay for the same, I shall forthwith pay the deficiency to the Company.

8. I undertake to surrender and deliver to the said Company on demand, every ticket book, whether complete or incomplete, and every punch, key, and form, as well as all other equipment which may be at any time or times furnished me by the Company, and if I omit to do so, no matter what the reason may be, I undertake to pay to the Company, by way of liquidated damages, the respective sums below mentioned in respect of such of the said properties, goods, chattels or effects as I may omit to so surrender and deliver as aforesaid, and the Company may at any time or times withhold from any wages or monies due or owing to me the said respective sums, and if the wages or monies so due to me be not sufficient to satisfy the whole of such sums which I undertake to pay as aforesaid, I shall be liable, and I undertake forthwith to pay the deficiency to the Company, that is to say:

Each Ticket Book, complete or incomplete	$30 00
Each Uniform Overcoat, Winter	30 00
Each Uniform Complete (exclusive of the Winter Overcoat mentioned herein)....	20 00
Each Ticket Punch	2 50
Book of Rules and Instructions	5 00
Other miscellaneous Equipment	10 00

9. It is to be entirely optional with the Company whether I am entitled to transportation from or to any point should I resign, be

dismissed or suspended, at any points whether on the line of the Company's Sleeping Cars or otherwise.''

.....

Signed at .....

.....19.

In presence of

.....

If the contract referred to prevented the majority from making a recommendation regarding the dismissals, although they admit ''that no reason for the dismissal of any one of these seven porters has been disclosed to or discovered by us,'' it did not prevent them from ignoring the contract in the general rules recommended in the schedule. In Section 24 the members recommend ''There shall be no discrimination shown toward or against any porter for being a member of a Brotherhood or Union nor for service on committee representing porters.'' The discharged porters who gave evidence, claim that the only reason they can assign for their discharge, is their activity in the union. The majority members admit they failed to discover a reason, but the contract is there, hence no recommendation. What can prevent discrimination under such a contract when the majority of a Board are prevented by it from saying whether the dismissals were justified or not? The majority members also make recommendations about supplying white coats at Company's expense, and this also is at variance with the contract. Would it not be fair to assume that the individual contracts which do exist in this service on the C. P. R. are for the purpose of protecting the service against inefficiency, the violation of rules or misbehaviour, and that the contract was not intended or designed to be used in interfering with the porters' rights to organize?

Section 26 of the Industrial Disputes Act states: ''The Board's recommendation shall deal with each item of the dispute and shall state in plain terms and avoiding as far as possible all technicalities, what in the Board's opinion ought or ought not to be done by the respective parties concerned.'' If the production of an individual contract can prevent a majority of a Board from making a recommendation on such an important matter, then a personal contract of wider scope made by an employee when being hired, might curtail for him even greater rights under the statute. It is significant also that at one stage of the proceedings the manager said he would reinstate these men temporarily, which suggests that the differences were not insurmountable.

In the absence of evidence to show the slightest reason for the discharge of these men, as indicated by the majority report, with which I agree in this respect; I recommend the reinstatement of those amongst the dismissed porters desirous of returning to the service, with seniority rights unimpaired until Manager W. A. Cooper, or proper official, receives the grievance committee of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, and investigates the causes for the dismissals. If the porters have been unjustly dealt with they should be paid for all time lost, in addition to reinstatement. If there are good reasons for dismissal, none of which have been disclosed, the officials should so inform the committee. It is usual practice in the railway service to allow an employee to appeal all the way from the lowest to the highest officials, if he considers himself unjustly dealt with.

Regarding the wages and rules recommended in the majority report: The present rates of wages are $75 and $85 per month, according to the class of service, as indicated in Circular 231. The majority members have recommended the monthly rates of pay adopted by the Canadian National Railways, and which rates became effective January 1st, 1919, for this class of service. The rates recommended became effective over thirteen months ago on the C.N.R. The majority members perhaps intended to give the porters on the C.P.R. as much as the rates adopted by the C.N.R. as of January 1st, 1919. They did not do so however. It is well known that remuneration of employees in all kinds of services is not completely represented by the wage rate per month. There are many other factors to be con-

idered. In this case the majority members did not recognize the importance of the evidence given by the men's representatives. The representatives stated that the porters on the Canadian Pacific Railway paid for their meals on the train while travelling at half the rates charged to passengers. And the majority have recommended the continuation of this in their schedule. The men also stated positively that the porters on the Canadian National Railways pay a much smaller sum for meals while travelling on the train. The representatives declared that on eastern lines of the Canadian National Railways, the porters get their meals at one quarter the cost to the porters on the C. P. R. According to the evidence the porters are travelling about sixteen days per month. Comparing the cost of meals from the evidence submitted, at a most conservative estimate, it costs the porters on the C.P.R. at least $16 per month more for their meals than the porters on the C. N. R. eastern lines. Therefore, the majority recommendations on wages do not by any means give the C. P. R. porters what the C. N. R. porters obtained over thirteen months ago. In Section 13 of the majority report, dealing with the appeal of an employee if he considers himself unjustly dealt with, and which is a familiar proceeding in the railway service, the following sentence is added to the section: " The provisions of this section are not intended to interfere with or as an expression of opinion upon the rights of the parties under any individual contract which may have been entered into by the porter with the company." First of all the majority members state in their report that no reason was disclosed or discovered by them for the dismissal of the seven porters. Then after quoting a part of the contract, each porter made with the company when being hired, they state "Your Board finds itself unable to make recommendation in these circumstances."

The men were summarily dismissed, and could not get any specific charges against any one of them. They believe it was union activity. The Minister acting under the Industrial Disputes Act appointed a board to enquire into the matter. Because of an individual contract, the majority members cannot make a recommendation as to whether the dismissals were just or unjust, although the Act provides that a recommendation shall be made on each item, and this was the most important item after the schedule of wages and conditions. Later, in the schedule covering rules, after providing the usual and ordinary railway practice, for an appeal by a man, if unjustly dealt with, they take it away by adding the sentence quoted, knowing full well that each man is required to sign the contract when hiring. If the representatives of a public utility corporation, coming within the provisions of the legislation, presented a personal contract with each employee, and it covered wages, and all other items included in the Act, would the majority then be powerless to do anything under the legislation? If this is so, then the sooner the Act is amended to conserve the rights of employees in public utilities under the legislation, despite any contract required when hiring, then the better. However, I think the judgment of the majority in placing the sentence in the schedule is wrong.

I recommend the following alterations to the schedule of rules and rates of pay, recommended by the majority, and with these changes recommend the schedule for acceptance by both parties as reasonable.

That the porters' wages as set out in circular No. 231, signed by Manager Cooper, be increased by $25.00 per month for each porter.

That the sentence in Section 13, beginning with the words " The provisions of this section," and ending with "by a porter with the company," be eliminated completely.

I recommend the elimination of Sec. 16, 17, 19 and 20, in the majority report, and the substitution of the following: A, B, C, and D.

A.—Porters running on regular trains shall be paid detention on the following basis:

B.—When trains arrive at terminal station

over three hours late and less than five hours, one half day, five hours and over up to and including twelve hours, one day's pay; over twelve hours to be paid *pro rata* on the minute basis.

C.—Porters called upon to double out, thus foregoing part or all of their lay-over, shall be paid overtime on the basis of one and one-half day's wage for each lay-over day so worked.

D.—Porters required to stay by their cars after arrival at terminals shall be paid on the basis as above.

I recommend that Section 33 of the majority report be changed to the following:—

This schedule shall become effective on and from the 16th day of December, 1919, and continue in force until May 1st, 1920, and thereafter unless thirty days' notice is given by either party desirous of terminating it, to the other party in writing.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) FRED. BANCROFT.

Supplementary Report of Board

In the matter of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, and of a dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and its Sleeping Car Porters.

To the Honourable,
Senator G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour, Ottawa, Ont.

Sir,—

The Board of Conciliation having been called to meet again, at Hamilton, on the 28th day of February, 1920, pursuant to your directions to that effect, given to the Chairman of your Board, by the Acting Deputy Minister of Labour, in a letter of the 23rd day of February, 1920, met at the time and place appointed. All the members attended.

Your Board has the honour to report as follows:

The communication from the Acting Deputy Minister calls attention to the provisions of Section 26 of the Act, and intimates that the Majority Report of the Board does not state in plain terms what in their opinion ought or ought not to be done by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in regard to the dismissal of seven of its porters whose dismissal and demand for reinstatement was one of the items of the dispute referred to your Board herein.

Your Board having taken this item of the dispute into consideration again and having failed to arrive at a unanimous conclusion, Colin G. Snider and U. E. Gillen, a majority of the Board, adopt as part of this report without repeating it all that was said on this item in the Majority Report herein, bearing date the 11th day of February, 1920, which they, the said Colin G. Snider and U. E. Gillen, had the honour to make to you.

The evidence before the Board was that these seven porters referred to were dismissed for general unsatisfactory service, and that their dismissal was not due to the fact that they were members of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters.

Further that these seven men were among others a total of thirty six sleeping car employees, including conductors as well as porters, that were dismissed during the two months ending October 24th, 1919.

In our opinion the Canadian Pacific Railway acted within its rights under the Contracts of hiring in dismissing the seven porters, and we recommend that such action be approved.

All of which we have the honour to report.

Dated at Hamilton, this 28th day of February, 1920.

(Sgd.) COLIN G. SNIDER,
Chairman.
(Sgd.) U. E. GILLEN.

pplementary Minority Report

matter of the Industrial Disputes nvestigation Act, 1907, and of a dispute between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, employer, and its sleeping car porters, being members of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, employees.

To Hon. Senator G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour, Ottawa.

Dear Sir,—

The Board of Conciliation and Investigation to enquire into the dispute between the C.P.R. and its sleeping car porters, met again at your direction to further consider the item concerning the dismissal of seven porters. Previously, the majority members filed a report on this matter without recommendation, and I filed a report with a recommendation.

In their second report the majority members state:

> "The evidence before the Board was that these seven porters referred to were dismissed for general unsatisfactory service, and that their dismissal was not due to the fact that they were members of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters."

No further evidence was taken since the first report of the majority members was filed as neither of the parties appeared at the subsequent session. The two members of the Board declare that the men were not dismissed for being members of the Order or Union to which they belong. How do they know that? In their first report they state:

> "Each dismissed porter who has given evidence under oath has sworn that he has no knowledge of the reason for his dismissal or for the dismissal of any others of the seven whose cases we are considering; that he has applied to the proper officers of the company for information as to the cause of his dismissal, and has never been able to get any answer other than 'general unsatisfactory service,' that he is not conscious of misconduct or neglect of duty on his part that might give cause for his dismissal."

And the two members of the Board might have added, the porters stated, they believe they were fired for union activity. The majority members also state, referring to the representatives of the Company before the Board:

> "The two officers also swore that this clause is not contained in the contract signed by any other class of employees, and also that it was in exercise of this right that the company dismissed these seven men, and refused to assign any reason therefor."

And, later, the two members state:

> "No reason for the dismissal of any one of these porters has been disclosed to or discovered by us."

The foregoing was in their first report; there has been no additional evidence advanced, and yet in the second report they declare that the evidence shows the men were not dismissed because they were members of the Order of Sleeping Car Porters.

In their second report the two members state that the seven men were among 36 others dismissed during the two months ending Oct. 24th, 1919. The document relating to this was not filed with the Board, was not read by them, and it was distinctly stated that mention of it was not for the purpose of creating an impression against these porters. It is unfair to mention this in the report as it had no foundation as evidence.

Then the majority in their second report state that the C.P.R. acted within its rights in dismissing these porters under the contract they made when hiring, and recommend such action be approved. According to their statements, they did not discover a reason for the dismissal of the men, and because they think the contract is binding they approve of the dismissals. In my opinion the recommendation is illogical, and according to the evidence unfair to the men who asked for an investigation.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed) FRED BANCROFT.

Report of Board in Dispute between the Canadian Express Company and its clerks, messengers, porters, etc.

A REPORT was received from the Board established to deal with the dispute between the Canadian Express Company and certain of its employees, being messengers, clerks, porters, etc., members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees. The Board was composed as follows: the Honourable Mr. Justice T. Fortin, Moncton, N.B., appointed by the Minister in the absence of a joint recommendation from the other two members, Messrs. F. H. McGuigan and Fred Bancroft, Toronto, nominees of the company and employees respectively. The report of the Board was unanimous and was accompanied by an agreement signed by both parties to the dispute.

Report of Board.

In the matter of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, and of a dispute between the Canadian Express Company, employer, and certain of its employees.

To the Hon. G. D. Robertson,
Minister of Labour, Ottawa, Ont.

Sir,—

The Board of Conciliation and Investigation appointed by you to inquire into the difference between the Canadian Express Company and its employees, held its first session in Montreal, January 21st, 1920. The Board met at various times from this date until February 7th, when final adjustment was reached. The employees in their application for a Board, presented a schedule of wages and conditions containing fifty clauses and covering every department of the service.

The Board heard at length a great mass of evidence on both sides on the questions in dispute. From the commencement of, and throughout the sittings, the Board unanimously and insistently pressed the parties to spare no effort to reach an agreement. Many private conferences were held by the parties to the dispute from time to time. When they failed to agree and reached a deadlock, the services of the Board was called in to hear and suggest adjustments. As a result of the continued and earnest efforts of both parties, assisted by the Board, an agreement was reached on all the items in dispute and duly signed by the representatives of both parties.

The members of the Board desire to place on record the fairness of both parties during the negotiations. It was due to the spirit of harmony and fairness which prevailed, that an agreement was ultimately reached.

We have the honour to transmit to you attached to this report, the agreement which is signed by the representatives of both parties, all of which is respectfully submitted.

(Sgd.) THOMAS FORTIN,
Chairman.
(Sgd.) FRED BANCROFT,
Member.
(Sgd.) F. H. McGUIGAN,
Member.

February 7th, 1920.

SCHEDULE OF RULES AND RATES OF PAY GOVERNING CERTAIN CLASSES OF EMPLOYEES OF THE CANADIAN EXPRESS COMPANY.

ARTICLE 1.

The word "employee" appearing in this schedule applies to males and females employed exclusively by the Canadian Express Company, as follows:—

At local Agencies at designated points.

In the office of the Claims Agent.

In the office of the Asst. Auditor of Receipts.

In the office of the Asst. Auditor of Transportation.

In the office of the Asst. Auditor of Waybills.

In the train service.

It does not apply to Agents, Depot Agents, Chief Clerks in the offices of Claims Agent and Assistant Auditors, nor any person whose duties include the employment of others.

The porters in the Canadian Pacific Railway service became divided into two camps in the matter of mutual aid and strength. One group sponsored a strictly trade union to be affiliated with the Canadian Labor Unions. The others noting the attitude of the employer from the above case, and aware of the high degree of labor turnover in the men in this type of work insisted upon an organization from their staff to include only this staff and have no outside connections. Both factions proceeded with organization. The Order of Sleeping Car Porters obtained their charter, and the Porters Mutual Aid Association set up their organization.

In 1917, the railroad requested that the Porters Mutual Benefit Association send to the management a Grievance Committee to discuss the matters of mutual interest to employer and employee. The Order of Sleeping Car Porters was ignored. In 1919 the members of the labor group were all dismissed on the grounds of General Unsatisfactory Service. Upon the dismissal of these men a Grievance Committee from the Order attempted to wait upon the management and were refused a hearing. They immediately appealed to the Minister of Labor for a Board of Arbitration, which was granted. The Government and the Order of Sleeping Car Porters appointed their representatives to the Board while the railway did not avail itself of this privilege. Officials of the road appeared before the Board, not as representatives of the road, but as party to the proceedings. Two reports of the Board were issued. In each case the representatives of the men filed a minority report

endeavoring to show the Board had avoided the issues - the right of the men to organize a trade union to deal with matters affecting the employer and the employee, and the refusal of the corporation to recognize the order; secondly, the avoiding of the discovery of reasons for the dismissal of only members of the Trade Union with no mention of other dismissals at this time. As appears from the report, the men were temporarily reinstated, but later dismissed. In this manner the men were shown the futility of labor organization as a means of mutual help on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Thus the Porters Mutual Benefit Association was shown to be the logical type of organization for men in the service on this road.

Porters Mutual Benefit Association.

Membership in this body has always been on an optional basis for the staff of Canadian Pacific Railway porters. At the time of organization there were 25 on the roll. Each paid a monthly fee of twenty-five cents, which guaranteed them a sick benefit of $3 a week for a ten week period. At the death of any member each was assessed $1. to help defray the funeral expenses. In 1919, the monthly fee became $1. and the sickness benefit was raised to $7. for the ten week period. The taxing each member for death benefits was dispensed with in favor of a cash payment from the funds of $250 to the beneficiary. Membership at this time had reached 75. During the year 1921, a plan of group insurance was in operation. This did not meet with the particular needs of the men and it was retained for only one year. The following year the association itself took aver the insurance of its members. Changes in dues and benefits were instituted. The monthly dues became $1.50 which gave the men a benefit of $10. for a period of ten weeks; the $250 funeral fund was increased $50 each year, after five years of continued membership had been maintained. In no case, it was decided, should the fund exceed $500.

About this time there was an increase in the staff which had been going on quietly and had not caused any comment from the men. They eventually discovered that not all the porters on the Canadian Pacific staff were members. Accordingly, the Executive approached the officials to assist them in having

a full quota. Cooperation was willingly given, and as new porters are hired they are informed of the advantages of taking out membership in this body. The good feeling between the porters' accepted body and the management brought about the desired results. By 1923 the figures had reached some 120 and with the increase in this staff, it numbers today some 700. As Montreal is the point at which the Canadian Pacific Railway hire their porters this does not necessarily mean that this membership is confined to the city of Montreal. It is to be considered as representing the porters in the employ of this corporation all over their lines.

The Board of Directors of fifteen, consists of a President, two Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretary, and six other representatives, all of whom are residents of this city. Four delegates from Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver complete the Board. These Western delegates attend the welfare of any member who may be taken ill or disabled in an accident which occurs in their region. The district representative is first notified, who in turn advises Montreal headquarters from whence authority is given to handle the case as he deems best.

At the time of organization the Canadian Pacific Railway donated the use of one of their houses on St.Antoine street, No.243. With the growth in membership and expansion of activities, this property became too small for the demands. In 1924 the railroad again donated the use of the present property at No.1000 - 1002 Mountain street, immediately above

their overhead tracks. The association spent over $3,000 in improving and renovating this property for its particular needs. The building contains some 22 rooms, given over to the Board of Directors, parlor, billiard room, office, four baths, dining room, kitchen, and twelve bed-rooms for the use of the porter who is not a resident of this city during his short lay over here. Under the Negro Social Organization it will be noted that this building is used by other of the Negro bodies and the close connection that this association has had with other phases of Negro life in this city.

During the early days of corporate existence, much difficulty was experienced in the collection of the monthly fees from the members. After much discussion it was decided to request the railroad to deduct these charges from the monthly salary of the men and turn this amount over in one sum each month to the treasurer. This was readily obtained and the practice is in vogue to-day.

(1)

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Iere Local No.128 Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

Iere Local No. 128, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees was formed in 1921, among the Negro employees of the now Canadian National Railways. This local was formally organized by one of the permanent organizers of this brotherhood with,(A)"The purpose of this organization shall be to promote the general welfare of railroad employees; to guard their financial interests and elevate their standing socially, morally and intellectually.

While realizing that the workers can never obtain the full value of their labor in return for the work done under the present economic system, in which the natural resources and the means of production are privately owned, this organization shall aim, nevertheless, to obtain the highest wages and the best working conditions possible at all times; and furthermore, it shall endeavor to promote a thorough understanding of economics among the workers, in preparation for the emancipation."

Membership in this organization is optional with the workers. No suggestions from the management are made to the new employees concerning the advisability of taking out membership, as is the case of the Porters Mutual Benefit Association on the Canadian Pacific Railway lines. With the open shop practise in force the strength is some 50 from a total number of employees of some 150. At the time of the granting the charter the initiation fee was $3. This was later increased

(A) Preamble to Constitution and By-Laws

to $5. A monthly fee of $1.50 is charged each member in order that the union may have the benefits of affiliation with the parent body. No form of sickness or death benefits are in operation but a group insurance policy is submitted. Each member contributes to this group insurance premiums of $1.20 per month for each $1,000 policy he desires to carry under this plan. Under the group insurance, in order to obtain any benefits, a person must have a permanent disability, or death has to occur. In case of accidents the workers are protected under the Workmen's Compensation Act. A selective policy of considering for membership only those men who have completed six months of continued service also tends to keep the membership open to only the better class of workman.

Meetings of this Local are held at No.1006 Beaver Hall Hill in this city. A reporter from the local sends news items to the Grand Division at Ottawa, to keep this body informed on the local progress. To furnish the necessary number of secondary contacts to such a unit, which is part of a vast national body, the Canadian Railway Employees' Monthly is published. This contains short accounts of each of the locals and news of interest to all. In this manner the consciousness of the different locals in the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees is stimulated.

As is the case of all locals in the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, each has its own Grievance Committee. This representative body from each local meets with the Local Superintendent of the railroad for the discussion of mutual

problems. These meetings take place as occasions arise that seem to require adjustment. If the Local Grievance Committee cannot reach a satisfactory agreement with the Local Superintendent, the difficulty is then referred to the General Grievance Committee of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. In this way the dispute is removed from the control of the local body and becomes one for the other units in the Grand Division. The General Grievance Committee takes up the problem with the company's executives in the region where the difficulty exists. Failure to find a solution of the matter at this point, a Board of Arbitration is called for by the men under the terms of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907. During 1926, a number of Negroes employed in the Dining Car Service of the Canadian National Railway were dismissed and their places filled with whites. Here Local No. 128 took advantage of the privilege of exercising the right of the Local General Grievance Committee and a Board of Arbitration. In this case a number of the discharged men were re-employed in other capacities on the lines. The balance being American Negroes, they returned to their American domicile. The report of the Board of Arbitration dealing with this dispute follows.

their Products group declined substantially, due mainly to lower prices for grains, flour and other milled products, and potatoes. The Non-Ferrous Metals and their Products group declined, because of lower prices for copper, lead, silver, tin and spelter. The Fibres, Textiles and Textile Products group was also slightly lower. The groups which advanced were: Animals and their Products, due mainly to higher prices for live stock, butter and eggs; Iron and its Products, mainly because of an advance in the price of steel billets; and the Wood and Wood Products group. The Non-Metallic Minerals and their Products group and the Chemicals and Allied Products group were unchanged.

PROCEEDINGS UNDER THE INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT, 1907, DURING THE MONTH OF DECEMBER, 1926

DURING the month of December the Department received two reports from Boards of Conciliation and Investigation established to deal with disputes between (1) the Canadian National Railways and certain of its employees in parlour and dining car service (on former Grand Trunk lines), members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees; and (2) the Canadian National Railways and certain of its employees on the Montreal Wharf, being checkers, coopers and porters, members of the Brotherhod of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. The text of each of these reports is given below.

Application Received

During December a Board of Conciliation and Investigation was established by the Minister of Labour on the joint application of the Corporation of the City of New Westminster and certain of its employees in the Municipal Fire Department, members of the City Fire Fighters Union, to deal with a dispute regarding wages and working conditions and concessions similar to those enjoyed by other Fire Departments in the Province of British Columbia and especially by the adjoining Fire Departments of the Municipalities of Point Grey and South Vancouver and the City of Vancouver and the City of Victoria. The Board was constituted as follows: Rev. Dr. Albert M. Sanford, Principal of Columbian College, New Westminster, B.C., chairman, appointed on the joint recommendation of the other two members; Mr. William James Whiteside, of New Westminster, B.C., and Mr. R. P. Pettipiece, of Vancouver, B.C., nominees of the city and employees respectively.

Report of Board in Dispute Between the Canadian National Railways and Its Employees in Parlour and Dining Car Service

The Minister of Labour received on December 23 the report of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation to which had been referred for adjustment a dispute between the Canadian National Railways and certain of its employees in parlour and dining car service (on former Grand Trunk Lines), members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees. The Board was constituted as follows: Mr. E. McG. Quirk, Montreal, chairman, appointed on the joint recommendation of the other two members of the Board, Messrs. Guy Tombs and H. S. Ross, both of Montreal, nominees of employer and employees respectively. As a result of the Board's efforts an agreement between the parties to the dispute was consummated and its terms incorporated in the report of the Board.

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Report of Board

MONTREAL, December 22, 1926.

Hon. PETER HEENAN, M.P.,
Minister of Labour,
Ottawa, Ont.

Re Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907, and re differences between the Canadian National Railways and certain of its employees in parlour and dining car service (on former Grand Trunk lines), members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees.

SIR,—The Board of Conciliation established by you on October 21, 1926, composed of Mr. E. McG. Quirk, Chairman, Mr. Howard S. Ross, K.C., and Mr. Guy Tombs, has the honour to submit its report:—

Board hearings and sessions were held in Toronto and Montreal, where a number of witnesses from both sides were heard. Mr. A. R. Mosher, President, and Mr. J. E. McGuire, General Chairman of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, appeared on behalf of the employees. Mr. E. W. Smith, General Superintendent, Dining and Parlour Car Service, with Mr. J. M. Grieve, Superintendent at Toronto, appeared on behalf of the railway company.

The dispute arose out of the removal by the railway company of a number of coloured employees engaged on the dining car service, on former Grand Trunk lines, and the replacing of these employes by white help. The representatives of the employees contended that the removal of these coloured employees from the company's dining car service was contrary to agreement, affecting their status and seniority rights; creating also in the minds of other coloured employees engaged in similar service an uneasiness as to security of position—an uneasiness which might, in the minds of these employees, be attributed to colour prejudice.

The railway contended that the removal of these coloured employees and replacing them by white help was due to no other reason than that of the difficulty it experienced in securing competent coloured help. It strongly resented any allusion as to it being prejudiced towards its employees on account of colour. The Board here unhesitatingly assures the employees that, in its opinion, such prejudice does not exist. It was evident to the Board that a number of these coloured employees have been already placed by the company on other runs, while a few are being carried on payrolls pending assignment to runs or positions. In a measure this was satisfactory. It did not, however, settle or dispose of the matter of seniority rights, or the uncertainty of positions presently held by coloured employees.

Having listened to the respective presentations and arguments, the Board reached the view and expressed the opinion that there exists a common ground whereon the parties —having proper regard for justice and equity —could satifactorily reach a settlement of their differences. The Board suggested further conference which was agreed to by the parties.

The Board was pleased to receive a communication enclosing an agreement signed by representatives of the company and that of the employees, and which is attached. The text of the agreement is written into this report as follows:—

MONTREAL, December 16, 1926.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

It is agreed that the dining cars on trains 7 and 8 (Chicago and Port Huron), shall be manned by coloured crews as at present. Should the railway, at some future date, deem it necessary to replace such coloured crews with white help, the committee representing the employees affected will be called into conference with officers of the department and an amicable arrangement made to take care of the employees displaced. It is also agreed that coloured kitchen help will be continued on trains where coloured help is at present employed in kitchens, and in the event of any change the employees' committee will be called into conference and amicable arrangements made in the same manner as herein provided for crews on trains 7 and 8.

Coloured employees who have been removed from positions on dining cars but who have been continued in the service of the company in other positions, or who have been continued on the payrolls of the company without having been assigned positions, or who have been granted leave of absence for sickness or otherwise, will retain and continue to accumulate seniority for the purpose of filling vacancies or new positions on dining cars operated with coloured crews.

Coloured dining car employees who are assigned duties as buffet or parlor car porters will exercise their seniority in retaining or bidding in such positions and will also retain and accumulate seniority to secure and retain positions on dining cars operated with coloured crews.

All employees referred to in this memorandum of agreement who have been, or may be, displaced as a result of the change from coloured to white waiters and have no regularly assigned runs, will be continued on the payrolls of the company at a rate not less than ninety ($90) dollars per month, until such time as they are placed on regularly assigned runs.

FOR THE COMPANY
(Sgd.) W. PRATT,

FOR THE EMPLOYEES
(Sgd.) J. E. MCGUIRE,

The Board is glad to adopt this agreement as its recommendation.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) E. McG. QUIRK,
Chairman.

(Signed) HOWARD S. ROSS,
Member.

(Signed) GUY TOMBS,
Member.

American Race Papers in Montreal.

Several Negro papers published in the United States are on sale in the local Negro stores. One barber shop handles some twenty-five to thirty-five copies of the Chicago Defender, which has the largest circulation of all the Negro papers in that country. The Pittsburgh Courier (The Nations Weekly) is on sale at a local tailor shop, with a weekly clientele calling for some twenty-five copies. Other papers coming directly to the local subscribers are The Guardian, Negro World, (the official organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association), the Tattler, the Crisis (the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) the Oddfellows Journal, and the Amsterdam News.

It is impossible to estimate the direct influence of these papers on the local community. Here the active and more capable find inspiration and a daily challenge of doing something which will raise the status of his race in its upward struggle. The success of one Negro as played up in these papers becomes the success for the race. They act as informants to the great economic opportunity open to these people in the United States. A growing class consciousness is being slowly built up by the spreading of the experiences which in this way becomes the common property of all. In no other way could this class consciousness be as rapidly spread, nor come to such large numbers of these people as

through this form of secondary contacts.

In the local community there are correspondents to these different journals which keep the local life before the eyes of the American Negro. It is by means of these race papers that the Montreal Negro visualizes and feels himself as a part of that great Negro nation that is to come.

"A great many Negro papers may be recognized as such at a glance, even by one who is unacquainted with them. This is generally due to the prominence of pictures of coloured people, emphatic news headings, or a special type of advertising. Sometimes one finds a poor quality of printing, or an apparent absence of classification of material on the page. But as papers attain economic success they are likely to show a decided improvement in these matters, and the leading newspapers and magazines will stand favorable comparison with those of white people in make up and general attractiveness."

Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States, page 101.

Negro Political Associations.

Several prominent Negroes for years had been associated in the St.Joseph Conservative Association. As members of this body, their task was one of spreading the education of the Conservative platform among the Negroes in this city. Several Negroes were delegates to the Conservative Convention of 1923. Following the convention came the organizing of the separate body, the Negro Conservative Association. The body corporate consists of the executive of five members whose role is to disseminate the Conservative platform among, and enlist the local Negro vote. This association as a body in action exists only in the minds of its executive. Action is only taken by the body during election times, following which it becomes a decadent association to be revived in time for the next election. Membership in this Conservative Association is based on the estimated number of Negro votes that have been cast for the Conservative party. With the Canadian political life organized on the two party system, a similar political party is maintained by the local group which sponsors the Liberal party. Its life, like the Conservative Association, is one of short existence during election periods.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing this thesis to a conclusion some observations may be in order on Negro life in this city. It has been shown that the Negro is not in control of the St. Antoine district. More Negro life takes place away from St. Antoine Street than actually takes place here. It is true that St. Antoine Street contains his shops, and subsidiary social centres, but this immediate section is only part of the Negro social organization and means of expressing himself. He too, is following the general trend of the city development to the West. The general pattern of the St. Antoine district is one of disorganization coming from the insecurity of its people who appear to have no clear status; a highly mobile area, all endeavour to escape as soon as possible. These facts made it possible that the population is heterogeneous and as such gives rise to the battle of the standards with the lower standard driving out the higher.

Negro life itself is one of difficulty. His position on the railroad is no sinecure. His security is being constantly threatened by white workers. A task is his which involves diplomacy, tact and sympathy, yet his status in the eyes of those he serves is but that of a servant and treated as such. His work involves absence from the city a large portion of the time and this mobility is threatening the very existence of those institutions through which he hopes to find his satisfactions. As a result many institutions spring up at the slightest provocation. In some cases the members are not sure of the need, nor how to meet it. Others again, it is felt, will meet the existing situation in this community and as a result are modeled after the old patterns, not realizing that what holds

true for other communities does not of necessity follow in Montreal. Many of these institutions live for a time and die. With over one-half of the community having no political interests at stake these members live the life of a divided personality. Their interests are largely economic with the vision ever before them of the return to their former country should difficulties arise here or old age overtake them. Thus mature and clear judgment is difficult to be brought to bear on the local situation.

To the larger community these people are set off by the fact of their color. Color is the badge of distinction between the Negro and the whites. To this must be added the whole background of his experiences which are totally different from that of the members of the wider community. Yet he is a citizen of the Canadian metropolis and one who has been recruited and sought from an alien country. He renders a service to the white Canadian corporations, one of which is owned by the citizens of this city and the Dominion of Canada. It is this service that he renders that keeps him a citizen of Montreal. As a citizen of the city he is attempting to adjust himself as well he can to the situations that present themselves. Where his own organizations fail to sustain him he seeks the aid of the whites. In this experience he is seeing that changes in his own life will have to be made if he is to survive.

The dominence of this city in being able to draw to itself the rural and small town dwellers is evident if one but glances at the figures showing its growth. Especially is this more evident in recent years. It will be noted, however, that the increase in Negro population has not kept pace with that of the whites during the period of remarkable expansion. His world has been limited and the law of supply and demand is ever

in operation, even among the dark skinned races.

City life from its wide range of contacts and stimulations gives rise to problems in the old social order. The Negro has been shown to be experiencing the same difficulties as those commonly found in the great centres of population of the new world. It is the lack of facilities for both black and white peoples that seems to be coming more to the fore as time passes.

The question has been frequently asked "How is it possible to obtain such information concerning these people?". A wide range of methods have been employed in the process of gathering the data. The writer has been most fortunate in being able to take up residence in the St. Antoine district from whence he was on the scene of the investigation. A reading knowledge of Negro and white literature dealing with the Negro is of necessity necessary before one can hope to establish contacts with members of such a diverse grouping. In moving to and fro in this area of the city, both for purposes of study and the writer's own life, he has come into contact with both Negroes and whites dealing with these people. With a background of seeing at first hand the Negro in certain of his habitats in the American cities and rural communities, working with them on different occasions, data has been supplemented.

In this city contacts have been established with the Negro in different stores, homes, the church, entertainments, in the streets and whenever and wherever occasion permitted,the writer was moving about seeing, hearing and talking with these people. For the intimate study and analysis of the different institutions executives, members and non members were interviewed. Trained as was writer after the methods of modern social service investigations

and in this aided by the study of the science of society itself all were brought to bear on such occasions. In some cases the institution as presented represents material from one to six different sources. With many different accounts concerning the body from the state of mind previous to organization to the institution in its behavior it can be readily noted that error may exist as to dates and other trifling matters. Again the data had to be sifted and weighed and compared with those actually within the body studied. In this way the data has been attempted to be brought to unity and fact as is possible among such a changing people.

In establishing contacts to obtain the data the fact of the social distances between both races had to be considered. In this the reading knowledge of both sides of such controversies and the scientific approach served as breaking down the barriers. With the barriers broken down and the writer known to most of the executives personally, being frequently seen among them established the friendly feeling on both sides which secured the necessary cooperation.

Sympathetic appreciation of the task came from the local Social Agencies who aided wherever possible with material from case records. The role of the social agency being one of adjusting the difficulties and in so many cases the immediate need of material help tended to result in the records not having as much material as such cases for purposes of sociological study would require. Such cases and studies as have been presented have been disguised and only the essential points brought forth.

One of the most extensive helps in all studies in sociology is of course the city directory. The use of the city directory

has been continuous beginning with 1895 and concluding with the most recent. In the case of the Negroes they are considered, not as is the case in some cities with a special type of marking, but as if white. Thus the use of this means of information was made doubly difficult and necessitated the checking with the help of the Negroes themselves. Wherever possible available maps were consulted.

For a knowledge of the behavior in the district and the making of the map, considerable street observation was necessary. Observation of the streets did not take place at the same hours, but varied from eight o'clock in the morning, the afternoon, evening, to three o'clock in the early morning. Contacts were had with workmen who move about in this area at all hours of the day and night. In this manner greater familiarity with conditions came. On different occasions the writer has been mistaken for a detective, gas man, insurance agent and spotter for the railroads.

The St. Antoine district has been shown to be an area of change, both in use and of people. During the period given over to making the map of the district certain locations were plotted as empty lots. The writer did some checking during the last two weeks of August and found that the empty lot plotted on Richmond and St. James Streets North is undergoing a change. A building of some description is in the process of erection. With changes ever taking place the map in a short period of time will be but history. With the proposals of study for the location of new terminals for the transportation companies sweeping change may take place. With the facts from such thesis available and plans of such changes before a representative group some idea of the probable results may be developed.

The making of social science studies has become an accepted part of the college and university activites. As such they represent a body of isolated facts on peoples, communities, brought together in a frame of reference where human behavior can be studied. With the modern city in a constant state of change such studies tend to throw light on social problems, results of the lack of town planning, also that the arbitrary political divisions of a community do not correspond with the areas in which the lives of the different peoples are lived. With such a body of facts the problems can be faced in their different settings leaving the field clear for the social reformer, the educator, the town planner and others interested in allied fields.

But one section of any city is so interwoven with the rest that to have one study made gives little to build upon. The St. Antoine district has been shown as an integral part of the city as a whole. Thus any plans for changes in the city streets, for permitting certain areas to become specialized would not be complete unless the probable effects be noted in all other areas. After the different areas are studied in somewhat detail and the data in the possession of those whose daily tasks take them into such areas, these workers are in a better position to carry on these tasks.

Knowledge from such studies introduces administrative interests to the organization of social forces in such areas. It then becomes evident just how the given types of organization have come about. From this the administrators are able to direct and remake if necessary the existing social machinery. Where the lack of such social forces exists organization to meet the special needs can then take place.

APPENDIX.

Park and Burgess	Introduction to the Science of Sociology.
Park	The City.
Burgess	The Urban Community.
Cooley	Social Organization.
Cooley	Human Nature and the Social Order.
Park and Miller	Old World Traits Transplanted.
Thomas	The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.
Bogardus	Making Social Science Studies.
Douglas	The Little Town. (Douglas The Surburban Trend)
Douglas	The Church in the Changing City.
Steiner	Community Organization.
Sims	The Rural Community.
Galpin	Rural Life.
Woodburne	The Religious Attitude
Durkheim	Elementary Forms of Religious Experience.
Harrison	Themis
Vidal Blache	Human Geography.
Thrasher	The Gang.
Anderson	The Hobo.
Mac Kenzie	The Neighborhood
Lind	A Study of Mobility in Seattle.
Henry Miller	Races Nations and Classes.
Fosdick	Adventurous Religion.
Reuter	The Mulatto in The United States.
Reuter	The American Race Problem
Dreiser	The Color of a Great City.
Survey Graphic March 1925	Harlem the Mecca of the New Negro.
Detweiller	The Negro Press in the United States.
Kelly Miller	Race Adjustments.
Washington	The Story of the Negro
"	The Future of the American Negro
"	The Negro in Business
The Chicago Race Commission	
Haney	Business Organization and Combination.
Mead	Corporate Finance.
Taussig	Principles of Economics.
Murdock	History of Nova Scotia.
Haliburton's	Nova Scotia.
Renny	An History of Jamaica.
Sandham	Montreal Past and Present
Atherton	Montreal 1535-1914.
Borthwick	History of Montreal
Terrill	Chronology of Montreal and of Canada A.D. 1752 to A.D. 1893.
Berthlet	

Montreal City Directory 1896 to 1928 inclusive.
Maps and papersdealing with Montreal at different periods.
American Journal of Sociology
Journal of Applied Sociology.

P O P U L A T I O N

From Dominion Census figures' as shown in Canada Year Book

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Montreal	115.000	155.238	219.616	328.172	A-490.504 B-470.480	618.506
Negro	72			187	293	862

A. B. Both figures from Census of Canada and Canada Year Book, covering this year.

Distribution of Negro Population for Montreal

1871 Dominion Census, African

West Ward	1
Centre Ward	2
St. Mary's Ward	18
St. Annes "	15
St. Antoine "	16
St. Lawrence"	20
	72

1901

St. Antoine	122
St. Jacques	12
St. Lawrence	23
St. Louis	27
St. Marys	3
	187

1911

St. Anne	1
St. Joseph	133
St. George	2
St. Andrews	54
Larontaine	2
St. Lawrence	14
St. Louis	5
St. Marys	4
St. Cunegonde	2
St. Henry	38
Westmount	7
St. Lawrence	4
Lachine	1
Verdun	1
St. Pierre au St. Louis	2
	270

NOTE: Figures in Canada Year Book show Negro Population as 293.

Distribution of Negro Population for Montreal

1911

Verdun		1
Westmount		7
Montreal,	St. Anne	1
"	St. Antoine	189
"	St. Jacques	2
"	St. Lawrence	19
"	St. Marie	4
		223

Figures from Dominion Census, total above.

Negro in Present Political Division of St. Antoine District

1911

St. Joseph	133
St. George	2
Cunegonde	2
St. Henry	38
	175

Atherton, Montreal 1535- 1914

1921

Montreal	862
Verdun	36
Outremont	1
Westmount	29
	928

Negro Distribution from 1921, Dominion Census

Householders

St. Anne	92	M	St. Antoine	312	St. Denis	3	St. James	3
	77	F		212		3		3
St. Lawrence	34		St. Mary	6	Westmount		St. Henry	34
	21			8				37

NOTE: Dominion census grand total is 862. Total for above is 845.

Census of Montreal, Origins of the People By Sub District of the City of Montreal for 1911 from "Montreal" 1535 - 1914, Atherton.

	St Joseph W.	St. Geo. W.	St. Cunegonde W.	St. Henry W.
English	3.184	4.741	1.519	3.463
Irish	3.042	2.875	581	804
Scotch	1.128	2.885	390	640
Other	13	70	..	1
French	8.636	1.688	8.285	24.734
German	178	259	18	95
Austro Hungarian	7	11	10	4
Belgian	26	29	..	10
Bulgarian	..	2	..	7
Chinese	34	137	25	28
Dutch	19	26	12	4
Greek	54	58	7	10
Hindu, Indian, Italian	1.688	4.271	3.163	8.143
Japanese Johaness	..	2	..	..
Jewish	504	436	102	50
Negro	133	2	2	38
Polish	53	6	2	77
Russian	13	4	8	23
Scandinavian	38	50	5	38
Swiss	2	34	10	2
Unspecified	126	184	32	156

Negro Immigration to Canada, during the Ten Years ended March 31st, 1927.

		Via Ocean Ports	From the United States	Totals
Fiscal year	1917-18	35	17	52
"	1918-19	22	35	57
"	1919-20	61	..	61
"	1920-21	144	..	144
"	1921-22	42	..	42
"	1922-23	42	..	42
"	1923-24	42	..	42
"	1924-25	39	..	39
"	1925-26	53	269	322
"	1926-27	51	241	292
	Totals	531	562	1.093

Statement of Negro Immigration to Canada, showing Sex, Occupation and D

Via

Fiscal Years	Sex.				Occupation.													
					Farming Class			Labouring Class			Mechanics			Trading Class			Minin Class	
	M.	F.	C.	Totals	M.	F.	C.	M.	F.	C.	M.	F.	C.	M.	F.	C.	M.	F.
1916-17	82	14	2	98	2	..	..	70	..	..	9	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
1917-18	17	15	3	35	..	..	..	1	1	..	13	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
1918-19	10	12	..	22	..	..	..	6	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1919-20	20	32	9	61	..	..	..	7	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1920-21	72	61	11	144	1	1	..	50	1	1	5	4	..	2	..	..	..	..
1921-22	3	33	6	42	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
1922-23	2	37	3	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
1923-24	7	31	4	42	1	..	..	2	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
1924-25	7	28	4	39	1	..	..	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1925-26	4	38	11	53	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
1926-27	10	36	5	51	1	..	..	7	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	..
1927-28	4	74	10	88	1	..	1	1	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	238	411	68	717	8	1	1	147	3	4	44	21	2	8	2	..	..	..

Fro

1916-17	2	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1917-18	17	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..
1918-19	28	6	1	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1925-26	190	58	21	269	5	3	..	153	8	2	3	1	..	2	4	..	..	..
1926-27	160	53	28	241	7	..	..	123	6	..	9	..	1	2	1	..	..	..
1927-28	164	60	13	237	3	..	..	127	5	2	8	1	..	4	3	1	..	..
Totals	561	178	63	802	15	3	..	403	19	4	22	2	1	8	8	1	17	..
Grand Totals	799	589	131	1,519	23	4	1	550	22	8	66	23	3	16	10	1	17	..

estination, for the Twelve Fiscal Years ended March 31,1928.

Ocean Ports

g C.	Fem. Dom. Servs.	Other Classes M.	F.	C.	Destination. East. Provs.	N.S.	N.B.	P.E.I.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Not given
..	10	..	2	2	77	..	..	..	11	10	..	..	..	..	..
..	10	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	24	8	..	..	..	3	..
..	10	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	11	9	..	..	..	..	..
..	18	8	13	9	16	..	..	..	25	20	..	..	..	..	..
..	46	14	9	10	..	61	2	..	40	40	..	..	1	..	..
..	25	..	6	6	..	7	1	..	14	20	..	..	..	..	..
..	28	2	7	3	..	8	1	..	20	13	..	..	..	..	..
..	29	..	1	4	..	4	..	..	17	21	..	..	..	..	..
..	24	2	3	4	..	11	2	..	10	16	..	..	..	..	..
..	34	1	1	10	..	9	1	..	20	20	..	1	..	2	..
..	28	..	6	5	..	12	..	..	13	24	2	..	..	..	..
..	67	1	5	6	..	14	3	..	37	32	1	1	..	..	..
..	329	31	55	61	95	126	10	..	242	233	3	2	1	5	..

m The United States

..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	..
..	2	27	4	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	24	6	..
..	23	27	19	19	..	..	1	..	46	193	15	2	9	2	1
..	15	19	31	27	..	..	2	..	14	198	16	3	6	2	..
..	27	22	24	10	..	1	..	..	33	181	14	1	3	4	..
..	68	96	78	57	1	1	3	..	98	572	63	6	42	15	1
..	397	127	133	118	96	127	13	..	340	805	66	8	43	20	1

COPY

Department of Immigration and Colonization (1)
Canada

Ottawa, October 31st, 1927.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 20th instant, I beg to say that I am sending you, herewith, a statement of negro immigration to Canada, during the ten years ended March 31st, 1927.

In our records we have two groups, those arriving at ocean ports and those coming from the United States and entering via ports at the International Boundary. The majority recorded as landing at ocean ports come from the West Indies, Central America and South America. A few colored immigrants come from British ports.

Yours truly,

(Signed) R. Fraser,

Statistician.

June 1st, 1928.

"It must be admitted that the figures are not complete for the reason that our officers in many instances gave results under the heading 'Nationality' and not 'Race.' It can not be doubted that many colored people arriving at ocean ports were classified according to citizenship without reference to race. This is true also, and to a much greater extent, regarding arrivals at the Border: many native born colored immigrants were classified in returns as U. S. A. citizens.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) R. Fraser.

Statistician.

(1) Letter and paragraph of letter to the author.

Note:

From the above figures it will be noted that there have been changes in the political divisions of the city; changes in the mode of taking the census; changes in the classifications of the Negro (per letter from the Department of Immigration and Colonization). Thus it becomes apparent that the writer is unable to present more accurately in figures the material as presented in the chapter on Ecology.

QUARTIER St HENRI

Échelle: 500'=1"

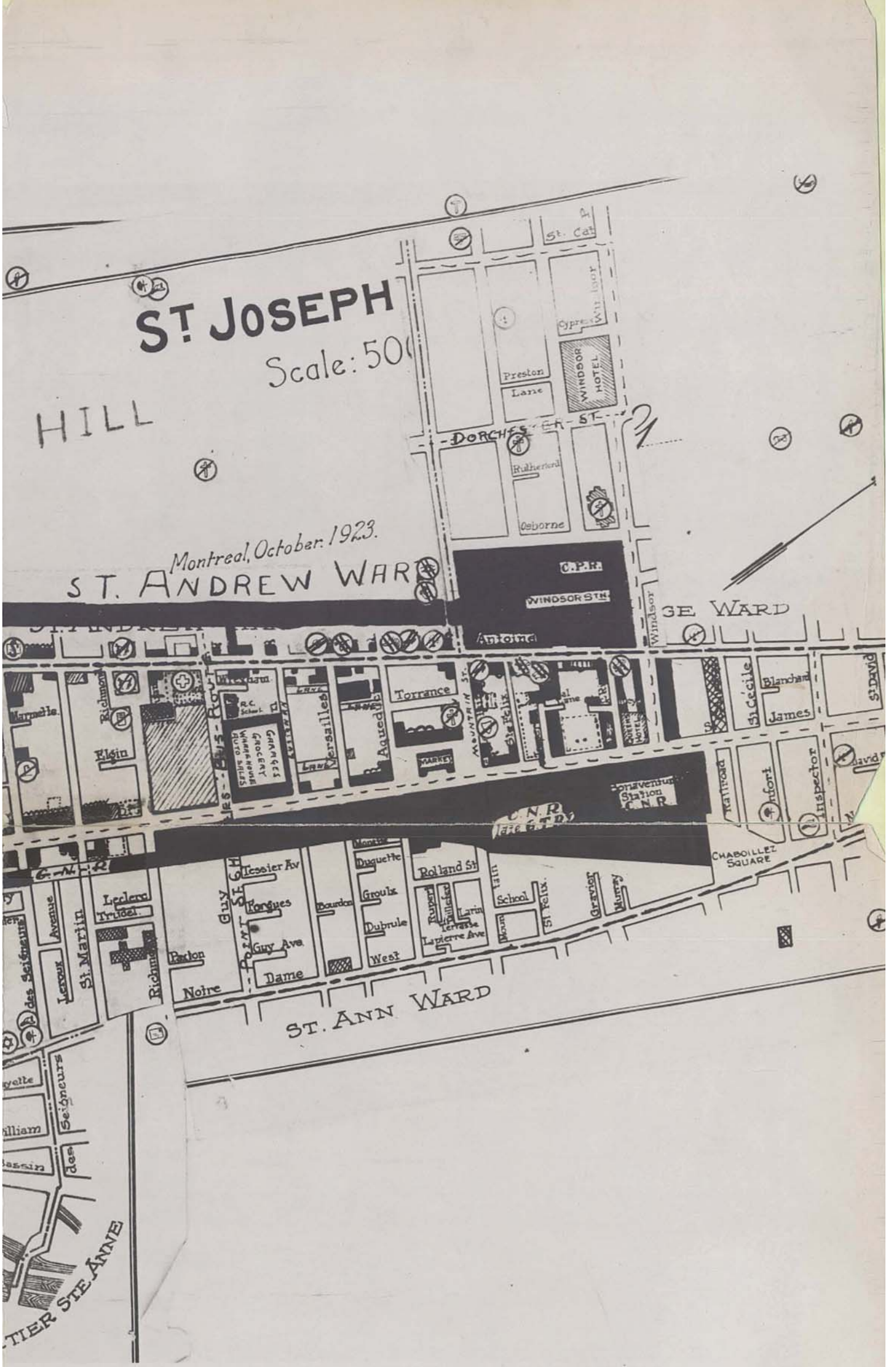
E. Meunier

Dessinateur en Chef



ER ST. PAUL


QUARTIER STE CUNÉGONDE
ABOVE THE
C.P.R
C.P.R
DE WESTMOUNT
St. Antoine
QUARTIER ST. ANDRÉ
Walker
Marin
Carsol
Bleibe
Quesnel
LANE
Albert
Albert
Delisle
Delisle
Workman
Workman
Notre-Dame
Ouest
Ruelle
Fauteux
Duvernay
Fabien
Cunégonde
Ste. Cunégonde
Tracy
Charlevoix
de Levis
Lima
Dorré
Rose de
Bérard
Ave. Greene
Ave. Atwater
VERDUN-ATWATER-BUS-ROUTE
2507
2508
Albert
Delisle
Workman
Ave
Hunter
CANAL
LACHINE
IER ST. PAUL
QUARTIER ST. GABRIEL
QUAR


ST JOSEPH
Scale: 50
HILL
Montreal, October 1923.
ST. ANDREW WARD
C.P.R.
WINDSOR STN.
WINDSOR HOTEL
Preston
Lane
Rutherford
Osborne
DORCHESTER ST.
Windsor
GE WARD
Antoine
Torrance
Versailles
Aqueduct
Ste Elix
MARKET
Mountain St.
St Cécile
Blanchard
James
St David
Richmond
Elgin
Larmette
Grocery
Notre Dame
Inspector
Chaboillez Square
Rolland St
Tessier Av
Duguette
Grouls
Dubrule
West
Guy St
Guy Ave
Dame
Noire
Parton
Richmond
Leclerc
Trudel
St. Martin
Lesour
Avenue
des Seigneurs
Seigneurs
ST. ANN WARD
TIER STE ANNE

LEGEND.

BUSINESS

HOUSING OVER BUSINESS

MANUFACTURING

RAILROAD PROPERTY

VACANT LOTS

PARKS

MARKED C.N. OR C.P.

TRAMWAY, BUS LINES. — — — — — — — —

INSTITUTIONS; NEGRO, and FUNCTIONING for NEGRO ONLY.

" " " " NEGROES and WHITES

DECADENT INSTITUTION, NEGRO

INSTITUTIONS; WHITE AND USED BY NEGROES AND WHITES.

ROMAN CATHOLIC, ALL FORMS

STREETS WITH NO OTHER MODIFICATIONS INDICATE RESIDENCE.

SYMBOLS

COURT

POLICE STATION

FIRE STATION

POST OFFICE

SUB POST OFFICE

HOSPITAL

PHYSICIAN'S OFFICE

CLUB

LODGE

Y.M.C.A.

PORTER SCHOOL, EMPLOYMENT REPORTING HERE, CHECKING IN AND OUT

PUBLIC BATH

SCHOOL

UNIVERSITY

PROTESTANT CHURCH

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MEETINGS

MISSION

SOCIAL WORK ORGANIZATION, RELIEF, EMPLOYMENT, ETC.

SETTLEMENT HOUSE

DAY NURSERY

HOME FOR BOYS

HOME FOR AGED AND INFIRM

COMMUNITY CENTRE

TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

RACIAL INSTITUTION

DANCE HALL, CABARET

ATHLETIC FIELD

PLAYGROUND

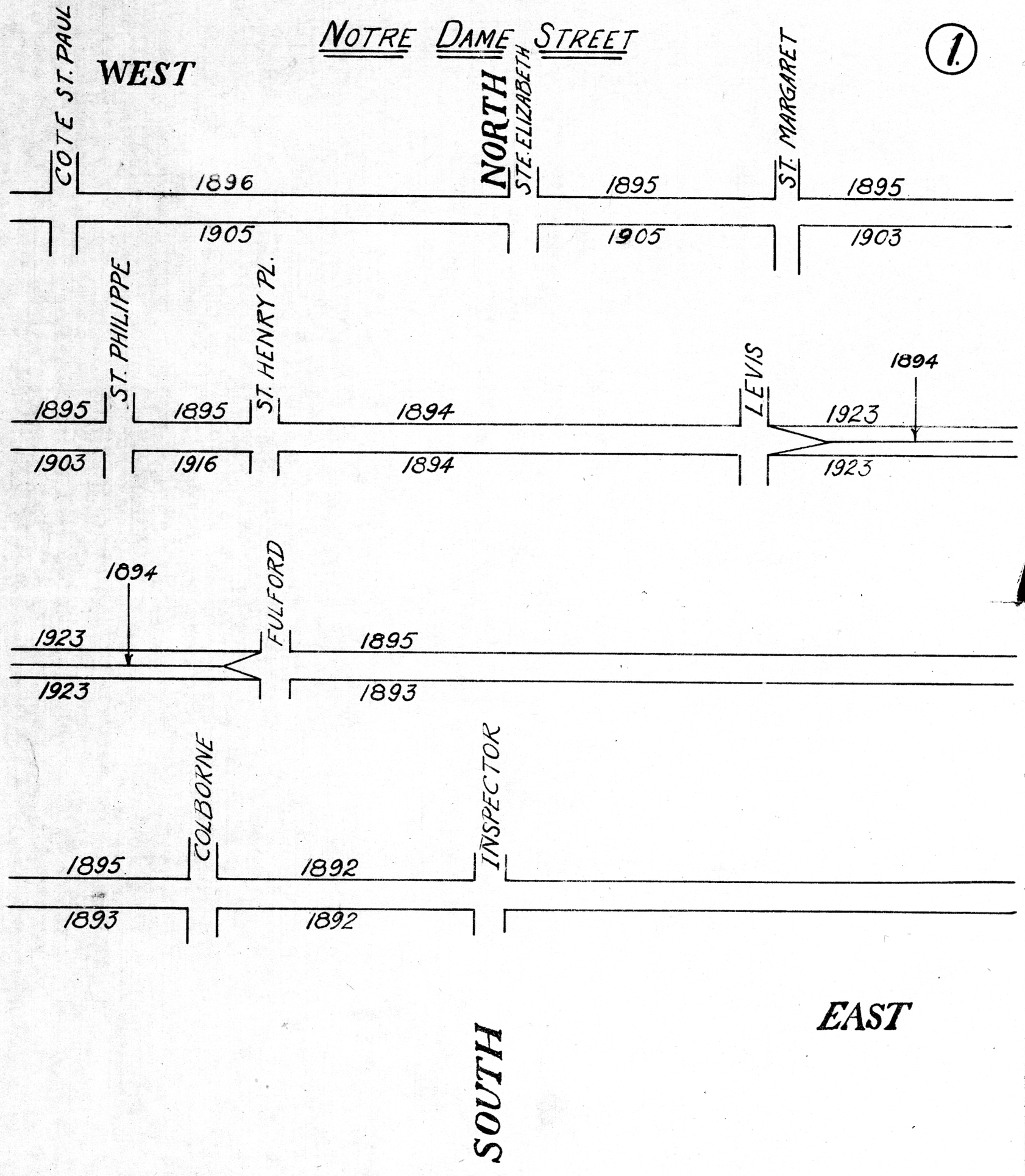
TENNIS CLUB

RAILROAD STATION, OUTSIDE AREA

LABOR INSTITUTION

JEWISH SYNOGOGUE

NOTE. INSTITUTIONS OUTSIDE ST. ANTOINE DISTRICT ARE NOT ALL LOCATED IN THEIR EXACT LOCATIONS. SPOT MAP LOCATIONS INDICATE THEY LIE OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT BUT ARE FUNCTIONING FOR THOSE WITHIN. LOCATIONS, APPROXIMATE TRUE POSITIONS AS MAP SPACE WOULD PERMIT. MAP TO BE INTERPRETED BY COMPARISON WITH LARGE MAP OF CITY OF MONTREAL. INSTITUTIONS TO BE INTERPRETED FROM CHAPTER DEALING WITH NEGRO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.


NOTRE DAME STREET
1.
WEST
NORTH
EAST
SOUTH
COTE ST. PAUL
STE. ELIZABETH
ST. MARGARET
ST. PHILIPPE
ST. HENRY PL.
LEVIS
FULFORD
COLBORNE
INSPECTOR
1896
1895
1895
1905
1905
1903
1895
1895
1894
1894
1903
1916
1894
1894
1923
1923
1894
1923
1923
1895
1893
1895
1892
1893
1892

ST. ANTOINE STREET.

(2)

WEST

NORTH

EAST

SOUTH

GLEN — 1894

CONVENT — 1894

WOODSTOCK — 1915

GREENE	ATWATER	WOODSTOCK
1894	1894	1893
1915	1911	1910

GUY	WINDSOR
1893	1893
1910	1911
	1911
	1910

ST. JAMES STREET

WEST

NORTH

SOUTH

EAST

GLEN

ST. FERDINAND

ST. HENRY PLACE

DOMINION

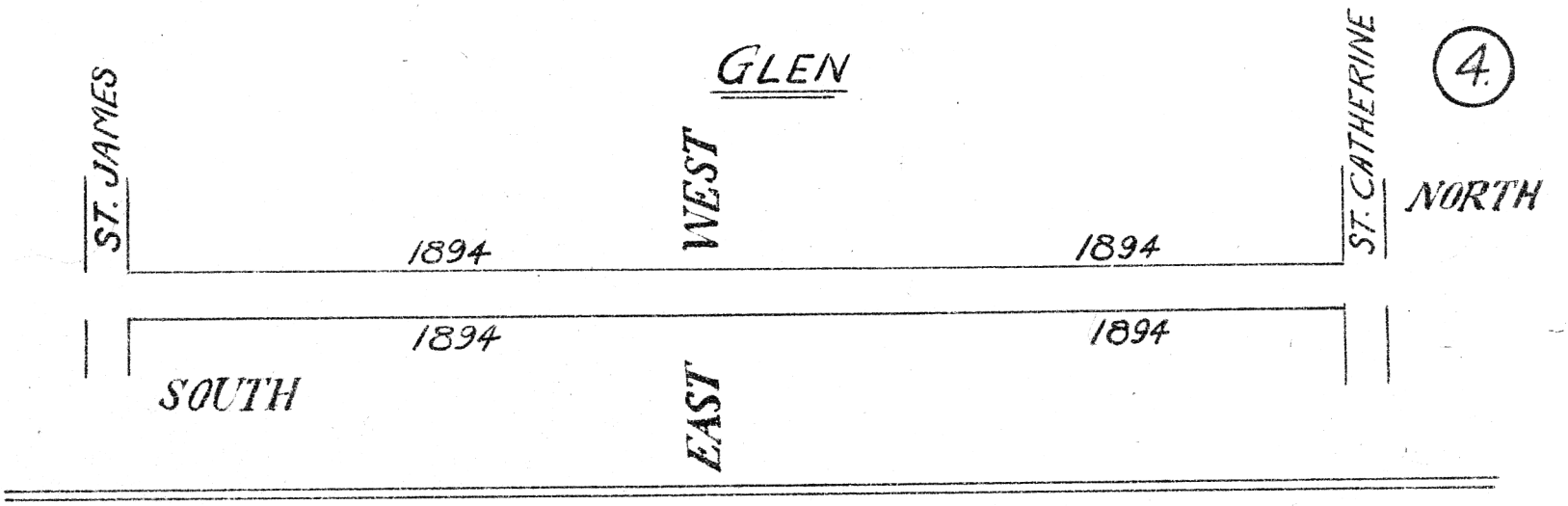
FULFORD

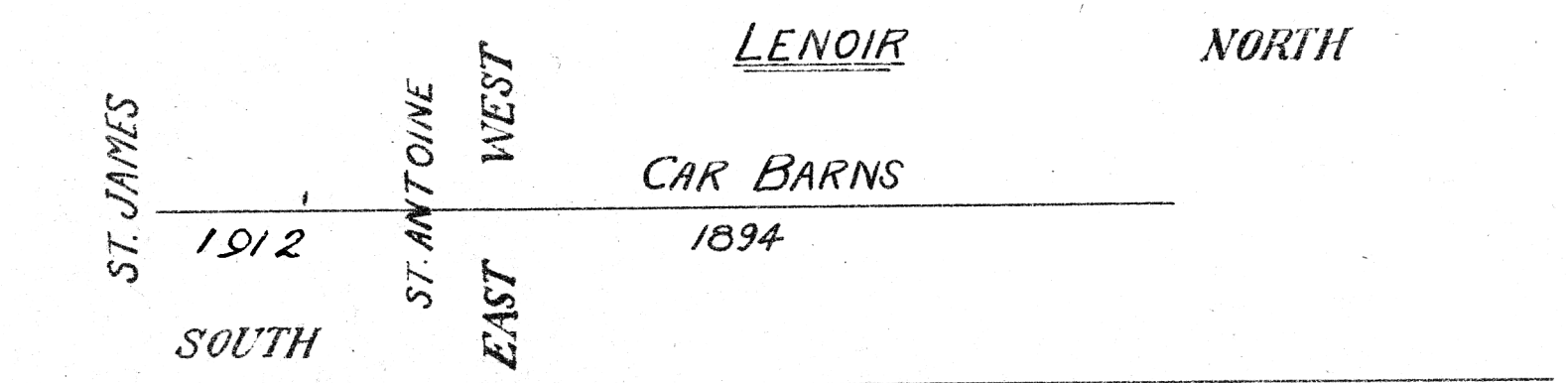
GUY

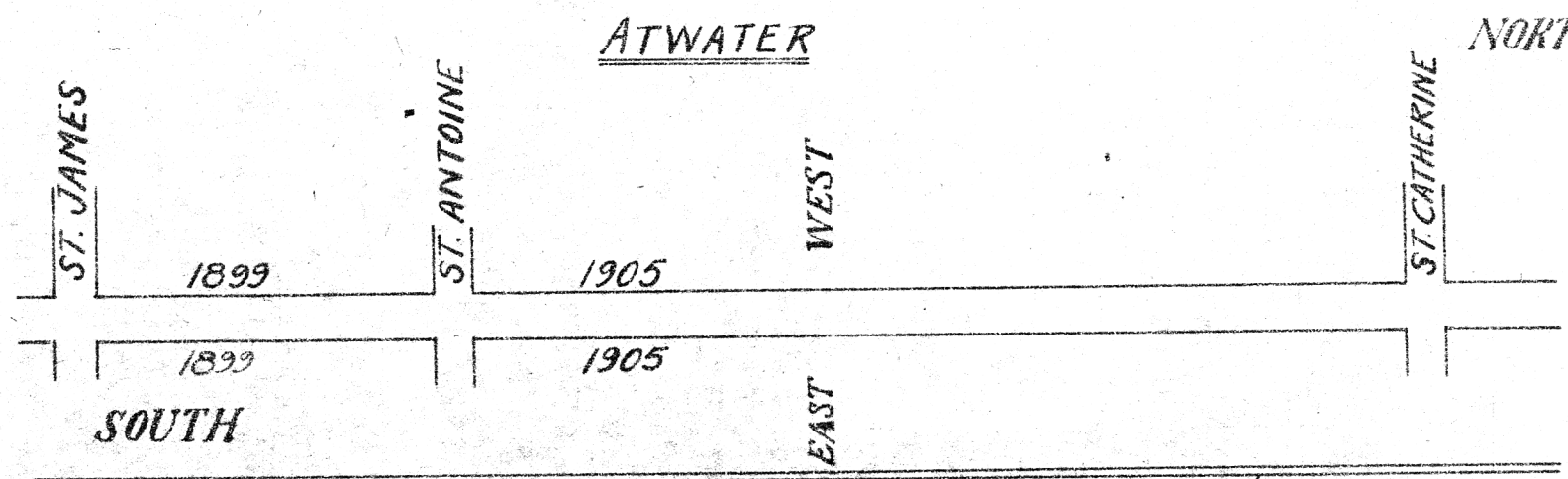
AQUEDUCT

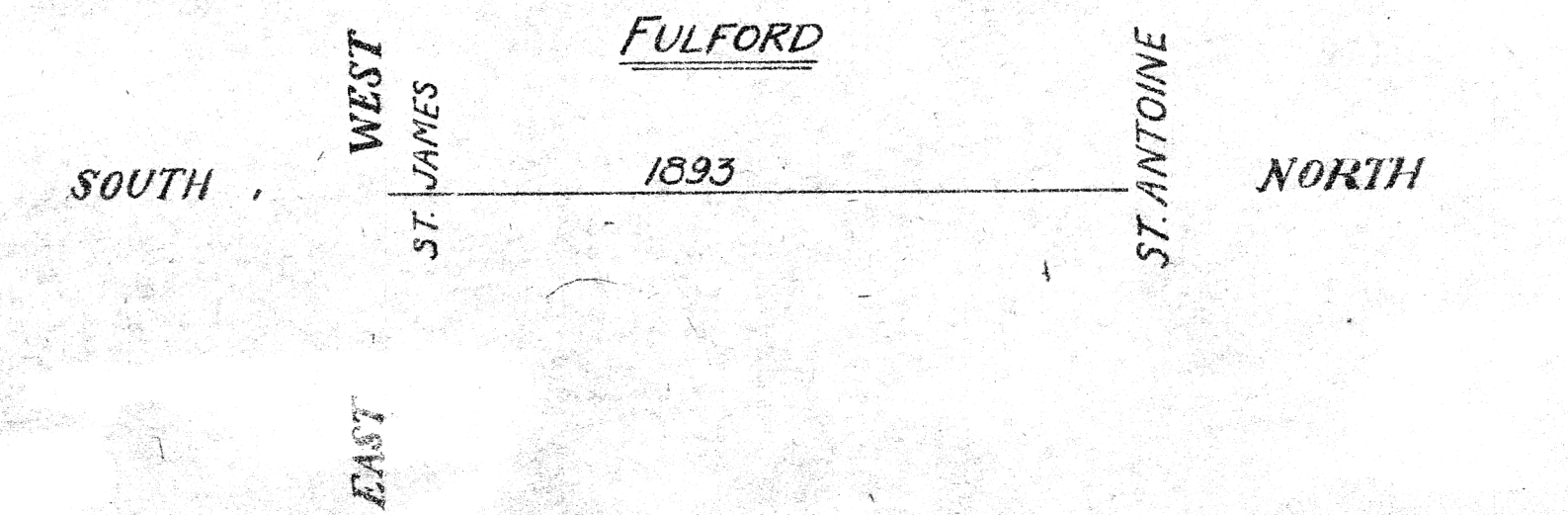
WINDSOR

1894		1894		1894		1894		
1925		1907		1908		1909		
1894		1894		1893				
1909		1908		1908				
1893		1893		1893		1892		1893
1908		1897		1894		1892		1898

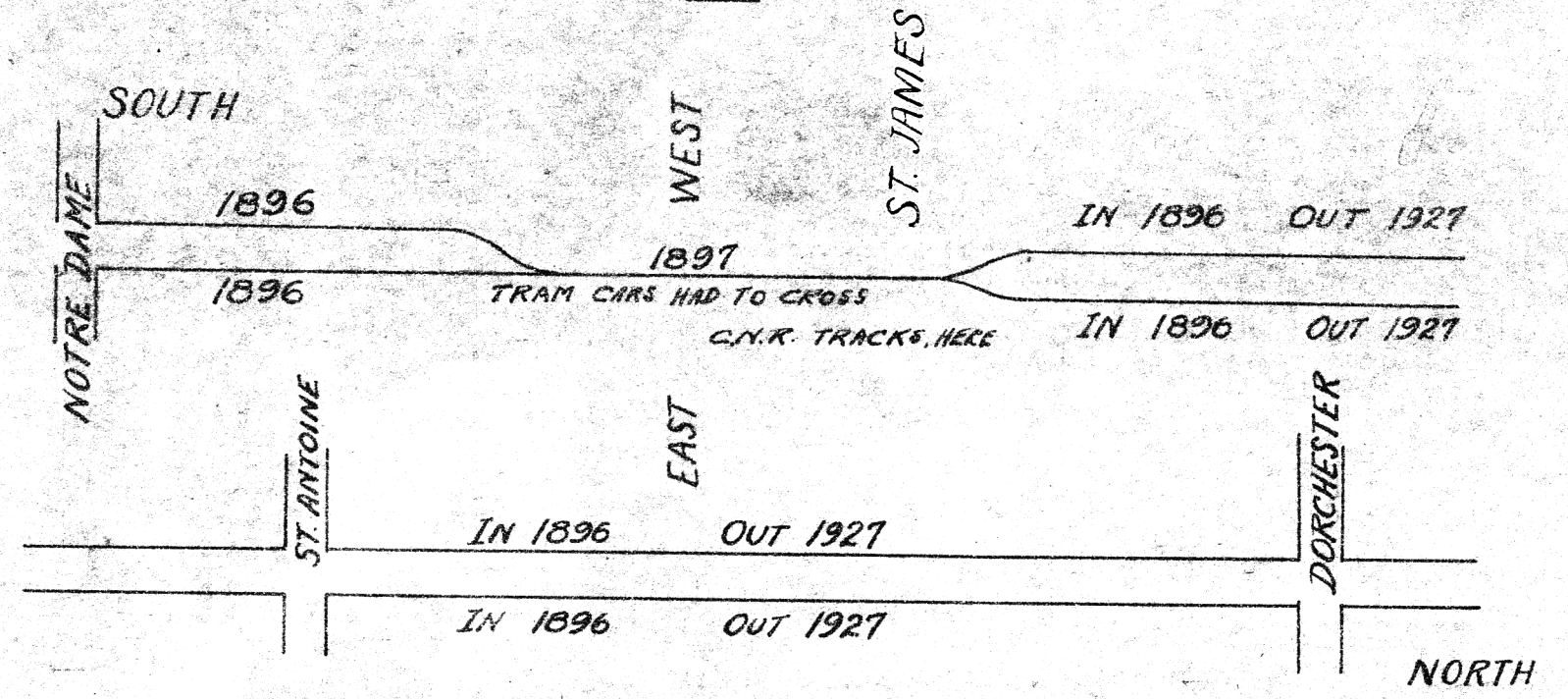

GLEN
ST. JAMES
ST. CATHERINE
WEST
NORTH
1894
1894
1894
1894
SOUTH
EAST


LENOIR
NORTH
ST. JAMES
ST. ANTOINE
WEST
CAR BARNS
1912
1894
SOUTH
EAST

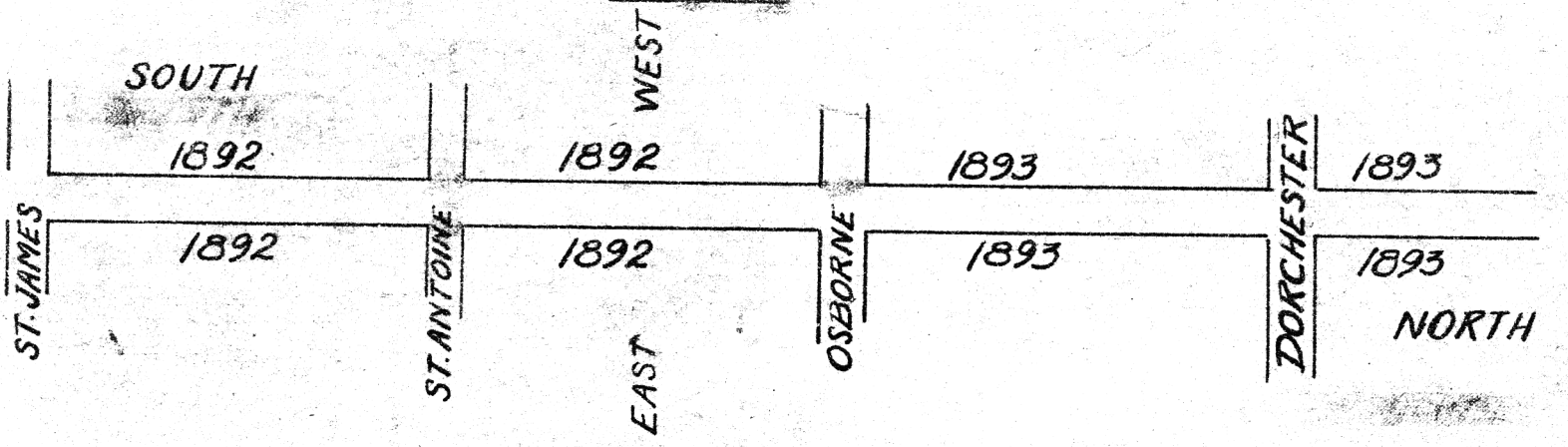

ATWATER
ST. JAMES
ST. ANTOINE
WEST
ST. CATHERINE
1899
1905
1899
1905
SOUTH
EAST


FULFORD
WEST
SOUTH
ST. JAMES
1893
ST. ANTOINE
NORTH
EAST

GUY



WINDSOR



ST. HENRY PLACE

