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Report on  
**MASSACHUSETTS**



**Housing Discrimination in the  
Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee  
Metropolitan Area**

By

**The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee  
to the  
United States Commission on Civil Rights  
December 1966**

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# Preface

## The United States Commission on Civil Rights

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. By the terms of that Act, as amended by the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964, the Commission is charged with the following duties: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting denials of the equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

## The State Advisory Committees

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105 (c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as amended. The Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters which the State Committee has studied; assist the Commission in matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

This report was submitted to the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee. The conclusions and recommendations are based upon the Advisory Committee's evaluation of information received at an open meeting in June 1964, and also upon other materials studied by the Committee. The Commission has not had occasion to evaluate or act upon this report of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee.



# Acknowledgments

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights is indebted to Walter English, former Municipal Intergroup Relations Specialist for Springfield; Chester N. Gibbs, former member of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and Executive Director of the Springfield Urban League, and, at present, Intergroup Relations Specialist, city of Springfield; Malcolm Webber, former Commissioner and Administrator of the Springfield Office of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and now chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination; and the 16 individuals who provided information at the open meeting of the Committee in Springfield on June 18, 1964. Particular mention is made of the invaluable service of Roger L. Putnam, a member of the Advisory Committee, for the many services he performed in arranging the Springfield meeting.

This report could not have been written without the good offices of William D. Toole, Planning Director, and Sol E. Gerstman, Principal Planner of the Planning Board of Springfield, in making available statistical material and maps. For the distribution of the housing questionnaire to Westover Air Force Base personnel and the processing of the data, the Committee is grateful to Colonel William E. Keefer, Base Commander, and Major James S. Haught, Staff Judge Advocate.

The Committee thanks Professor Victoria Schuck of South Hadley, a member of the Committee, for her research and special services in the preparation of this report.

# Introduction

To the casual observer, the Massachusetts cities of Springfield, Holyoke, and Chicopee appear to be racially integrated northern cities. In any one of the cities, the observer would see Negroes and whites in the same public places ---- restaurants, stores, schools, and parks.

The Negro communities of these cities would not appear to be cultural wastelands either. In Springfield, for example, one finds a branch of the public library, the city's Classical and Technical High Schools, museums, and leading churches within the boundaries of the Negro community. Strolling along some of the city's tree-lined streets, one glimpses old mansions, a reminder of yesteryear when the rich lived in the area.

Outwardly, the cities have no racial problems. But like the proverbial iceberg, the area's racial problem is below the surface. Racial incidents such as the Octagon Lounge disturbance in 1965 with its attendant questions of police administration and the court cases on racial imbalance in the schools have been exceptions.

An examination of the data on the cities and towns in the metropolitan area reveals that the subtleties of racial segregation exist even when the Negro area does not resemble the ghetto of Roxbury or Harlem; that the crowded Negro area takes on the general appearance of the city; that Negroes are the victims of unequal treatment and job discrimination; that de facto segregation characterizes an educational system because of Negro concentration in housing; and that a "white noose" encircles the Negro areas within the core city.

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee decided in 1964 to study housing in the Springfield Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area after it completed a similar study in the Boston Metropolitan Area in 1963. On June 18, 1964, the Committee received information about housing conditions in Springfield, Holyoke, and Chicopee from 16 individuals who participated in an open meeting in the Aldermanic Chambers in Springfield. Based primarily on the information given at that meeting, this report also includes material from other sources such as the Springfield Planning Department, the Department of Public Health, reports of the Planning Services Group for the Springfield Community Renewal Program and the Lower Pioneer Valley Regional Planning Commission, and the data from the housing questionnaire which was circulated to personnel at Westover Air Force Base in December 1965.

While some of the data collected is more than two years old, the Advisory Committee believes that the basic solutions to the housing problem are of a long-term nature and that its conclusions and recommendations are relevant to an understanding of the problem. There have been no dramatic changes in the housing situation in the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee area since the Committee completed its study.



# 1. Demography of Negro Housing in the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee Metropolitan Area

## Population Growth

The Springfield Metropolitan Area, though not among the fastest growing in the Northeast, has had a more rapid increase in population during the last 20 years than New England as a whole, Massachusetts in particular, or even such metropolitan centers as Boston or Worcester. The area's core cities--Holyoke, Chicopee, and Springfield--are surrounded by two other cities--Westfield and Northampton--and 12 towns, Agawam, Longmeadow, East Longmeadow, Monson, Palmer, Warren, West Springfield, Wilbraham, Ludlow, Easthampton, South Hadley, and Hadley. The population of the area has doubled during the past 50 years from 263,000 inhabitants in 1910 to 478,500 in 1960.

## Nonwhite Increase

The area's nonwhite population has increased at a much greater rate than the white. During the past 20 years, nonwhites have increased by more than 400 percent. The number of nonwhites doubled between 1940 and 1950 and redoubled between 1950 and 1960. In 1940, the 4,000 nonwhites constituted one percent of the metropolitan population; in 1960, the 15,500 nonwhites constituted 3.2 percent. The proportion of nonwhites to whites in the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee area was almost equal to that in the Boston area in 1960, but the percentage of increase was almost double that for Boston in the last decade. (see Table 1.)

## Nonwhite Concentration in the Three Major Cities

Another characteristic of the expanding nonwhite population in this metropolitan area is its concentration in the three central cities. In the decade ending in 1960, while the whites, particularly in Springfield and Chicopee, were moving to the suburbs and the undeveloped land within the city, the nonwhites were settling in greater number in each of the three cities. <sup>1/</sup> By 1960, 86.2 percent (13,361) of the

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<sup>1/</sup> Between 1950 and 1960 Springfield and Holyoke had a net out-migration. In Holyoke this resulted in a decrease in the population.

total nonwhite population in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) lived in Springfield; 5.4 (844) in Chicopee; and 4.0 (625) in Holyoke. Nonwhite settlements in suburbia like those in such metropolitan districts as Boston, Worcester, or Providence were non-existent. (see Table 2.)

In 1960, no community outside the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee Metropolitan Area except Northampton had more than 100 nonwhites. That community had a total of 141 nonwhites in a population of more than 30,000. Some towns had scarcely any nonwhites. South Hadley, for example, had 3 Negroes and 25 other nonwhites among 14,900 inhabitants; Easthampton, 10 Negroes and 2 other nonwhites among 12,000.

In the nine suburban communities for which the U. S. Census recorded the nonwhite population in 1960, the actual increase was slightly more than 175 with a range in individual towns from 8 in Northampton to 39 in Ludlow. West Springfield ended the decade with a decrease of four; Wilbraham, which had no nonwhites in 1950, had 11 in 1960. (see Table 3.)

These suburban towns, with no more than .14 percent to .46 percent of their populations nonwhite, ring the core cities like a "white noose". 2/

## **Negro and Puerto Rican Increase**

This rapidly increasing nonwhite population centered in the core cities consists principally of Negroes. Puerto Ricans comprise another minority group. They have been brought into the Connecticut Valley by the tobacco farmers. There is a temporary increase in the population when migratory workers move into the area at harvest time. 3/ (see Tables 4 and 5.)

The Puerto Ricans outside of Springfield number about 100 (99 to be exact) in Holyoke; 100 (107 to be exact) in Chicopee; and 250 in West Springfield.

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2/ The phrase is taken from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

3/ Planning Services Group. (Hereinafter cited as PSG). *Neighborhood Analyses, North End, Census Tracts 8 and 10*, p. 8; *Springfield Republican*, August 19, 1956; *Springfield Union*, December 28, 1958.

## Neighborhood Segregation

Not only are Negroes and Puerto Ricans concentrated primarily within the three core cities enclosed by a "solid" ring of white suburbs, but they are increasingly concentrated in racially segregated neighborhoods within these cities. There is only a sprinkling of Negro households in white areas.

In Springfield, for example, in 1960, 15 of the 33 census tracts in the city had fewer than 75 nonwhites. There were no Negroes in three tracts; two to four Negroes in three other tracts; eight to 10 Negroes in three other tracts; and 11 to 17 Negroes in five census tracts. As to the Puerto Ricans, 20 tracts had none in 1960. <sup>4/</sup> While one might have expected that all-white areas would show the presence of more non-white families in 1960 than in 1950, it must be noted that tracts within the three city sections, Forest Park, Liberty Heights, and Sixteen Acres, showed a decrease in non-white families. <sup>5/</sup>

As a matter of fact at the same time, the Negro and Puerto Rican communities are concentrated in six tracts--the Old Hill (2), Upper Hill, McKnight Bay and Watershops Pond area, and the North End. The districts are centered in the old sections of the city--72 percent live within a mile radius of Winchester Square at the junction of State and Wilbraham Roads, the focal point of the Old Hill. They fan out into the old Upper Hill, McKnight Bay, and North End sections. In 1950, 60 percent of the nonwhites within the city lived in these tracts; 10 years later, 78 percent. The Puerto Ricans live in the North End where some 75 percent have congregated in the Memorial Square area. The remainder live in Tract 19 of the Old Hill.

If one looks closely at population changes, the details are startling. The two census tracts in the Old Hill showed an increase in nonwhites of 50.1 and 179.7 percent respectively between 1950 and 1960. But these increases could not match what took place in the Upper Hill (Tract 17) where the increase was 719.7 percent or in

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<sup>4/</sup> U. S. Census, 1960 Census Tracts, Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass. Final Report, PHC (1) 150 (1961) pp. 18ff.

<sup>5/</sup> See PSG. Neighborhood Analyses (see all reports). Tracts include 4, 22, 16 b, d, e.

the McKnight Bay area where Tract 13 increased by more than 1430.9 percent and Tract 14 increased by 1821.4 percent. 6/ The North End (Tract 8) showed an increase of 99 percent. The net loss of whites ranged from 10 to 47 percent in these tracts.

But percentages do not tell the entire story. The actual numerical shifts add another dimension to the account of segregation. Segregation increases as newcomers move into the city and the Springfield Redevelopment Authority has had to relocate Negro families who were displaced by the North End Urban Renewal Project. 7/

The Old Hill area (Tracts 18, 19) between 1950 and 1960 showed a decrease in white population of 5,100 and an increase of 2,000 Negroes; the Upper Hill (Tract 17), a decrease of 700 whites and an increase of 510 Negroes (from 90 to 600). In McKnight Bay's two tracts (13 and 14) the Negro population increased from 235 to 4,035, while the white population decreased from 14,047 to 9,753--a shift of 2,000 whites out of each of the two tracts and 2,000 Negroes into each of the two tracts. 8/ Among the Negroes coming into the area were about 125 Negro households from the North End Urban Renewal Area who were relocated by the Springfield Redevelopment Authority. 9/ Indeed, the report of the Redevelopment Authority shows that 19 percent of the displaced families from the renewal area were relocated in the Winchester Square area and that most of these--80 percent--were Negro.

The North End--once the area of largest Negro concentration--still remains the "port of entry" for the newest immigrants, the Puerto Ricans. Although the urban renewal project in this area displaced a number of Negro households, 101 were relocated

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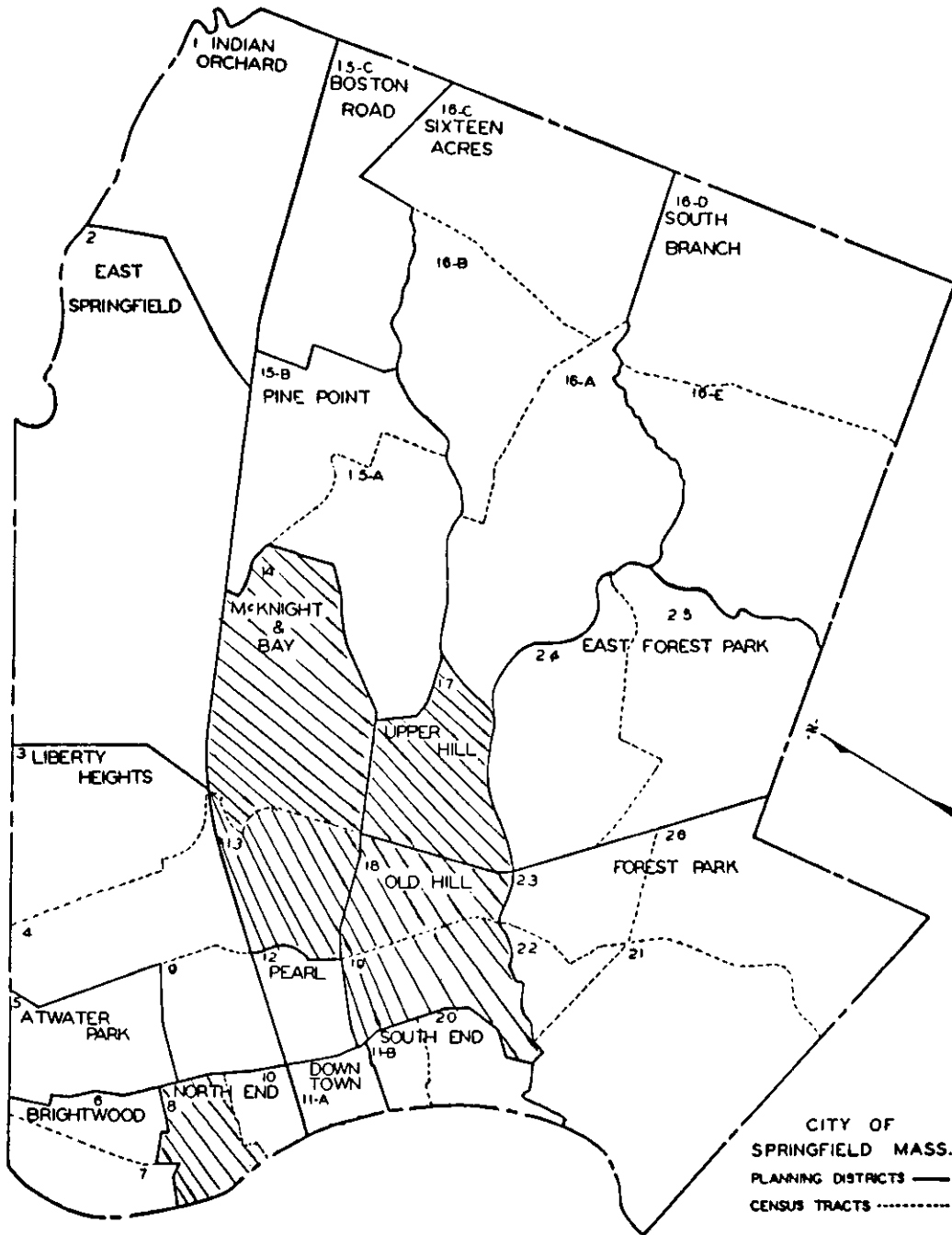
6/ See Appendix A. Also see ethnicity, core and percentage for city from PSG Neighborhood Analysis Reports.


7/ Massachusetts State Advisory Committee, Transcript of Proceedings, Aldermanic Chambers, City Hall, Thursday, June 18, 1964, Springfield. Hereinafter cited as MSAC Record. See map of Springfield.

8/ PSG Neighborhood Analyses, Old Hill, p. 9; Upper Hill, pp. 4-6; McKnight Bay, pp. 4-7.

9/ See PSG Neighborhood Analyses: Old Hill total, 85 of which 67 were Negro; McKnight Bay, 61 of which 45 were Negro; and Upper Hill, 16 most of which were Negro. Also see supra, p. 7 map showing urban renewal areas and relocation of nonwhite families from North End project into nearby census tracts (from records of the Springfield Redevelopment Authority).

CENSUS TRACTS IN SPRINGFIELD CITY 1960



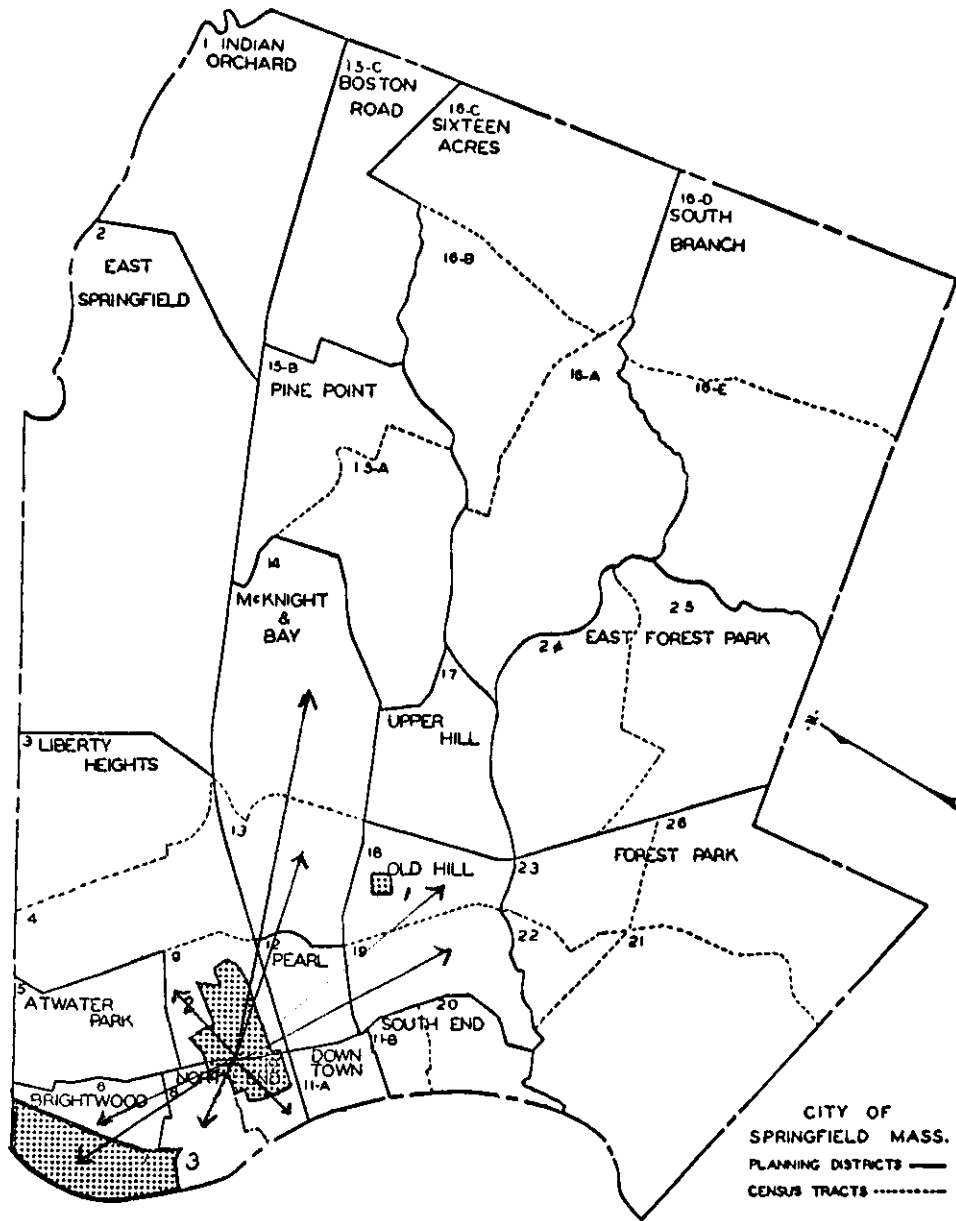
 Census tracts with more than 400 nonwhites in each.

# URBAN RENEWAL

Relocation of Families from North End (arrows point the direction and the census tracts in which the nonwhite families moved)

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD

and the census tracts in which the nonwhite families moved)



## LEGEND

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>PURPOSE OF REUSE</u>
1 DeBERRY	CLOSED OUT	SCHOOL AND NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYGROUND
2 NORTH END	ACQUISITION, DEMOLITION SITE IMPROVEMENT, NEW CONSTRUCTION	RESIDENTIAL, COMMERCIAL LIGHT INDUSTRY INSITITIONS
3 BRIGHTWOOD	PART I OF FINAL PROJECT REPORT	TO BE DETERMINED IN THIS STAGE OF APPLICATION PROCEDURE

in adjacent blocks in the North End so that 60 percent of the relocatees simply moved to another part of the area. <sup>10/</sup> (The Redevelopment Authority accounts for 69 percent of the relocatees in the North End and Winchester Square area. The remainder was scattered throughout the city).

In Holyoke the same trend appears. Eighty percent of the Negroes live in three census tracts located in the downtown section. Here again there are growing concentrations of nonwhites within limited neighborhoods. <sup>11/</sup>

In Chicopee, 90 percent of the nonwhites in 1960 (more than 700) were reported in the census tract covering Westover Air Force Base. They probably were servicemen. All other tracts in Chicopee recorded fewer than 20 nonwhites in each. <sup>12/</sup>

## **Income, Employment, Education in the Springfield Area**

The Negro or Puerto Rican in the metropolitan area is young, mobile, more often unemployed or employed in menial jobs than the white and receives less pay for what he does. <sup>13/</sup> He is less well educated and is more often at the poverty level of income than the white. The contrasts evidenced in Springfield point up these differences.

In 1960, the median income of all families in the metropolitan area was \$5,330. For the nonwhite it was \$3,249 or approximately \$2,000 less. The Springfield median figures for all families and for nonwhite families were \$5,112 and \$3,477 respectively. The median for the Negro family in Springfield was a little higher, \$4,343 (compared with Boston's \$4,447). The Springfield median for white families was \$5,994 or

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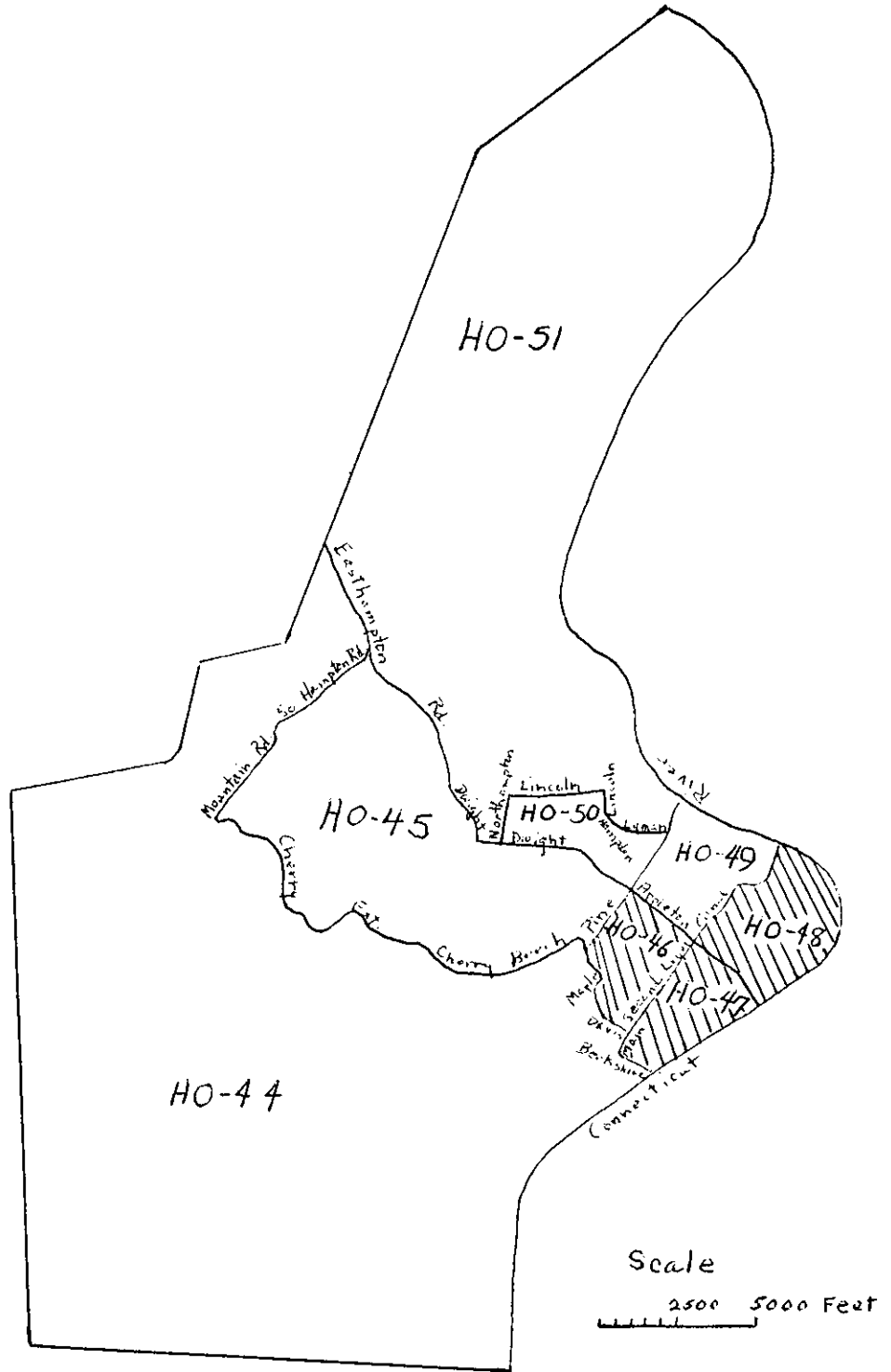
<sup>10/</sup> PSG. Neighborhood Analysis, North End, p. 9; Brightwood, p. 6. The total number of households was 163.


<sup>11/</sup> See Appendix B Population Characteristics by Color: Cities of Chicopee and Holyoke, 1950 and 1960, also see map of Holyoke, Census Tracts Ho 46-48. For discussion of Holyoke see infra p. 20.

<sup>12/</sup> See map of Chicopee, census tract Ch 35. Also infra p. 24.

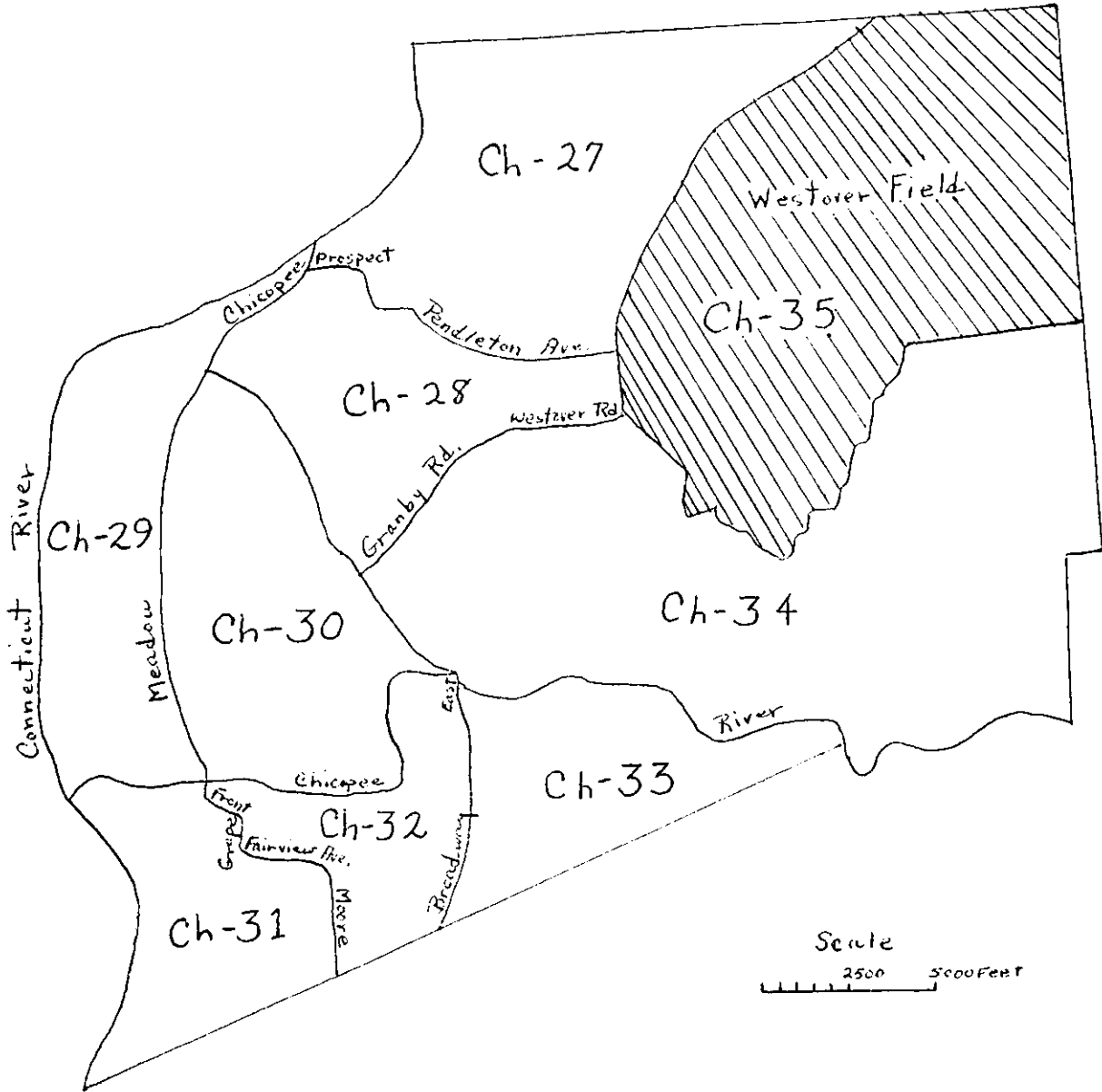



CENSUS TRACTS IN HOLYOKE CITY 1960



 Census Tracts with 100+ to 200+ nonwhites

CENSUS TRACTS IN CHICOPEE CITY 1960



 Census Tract for Westover Field--U. S. Air Force Base--over 700 nonwhites.

All other tracts have fewer than 20 nonwhites in each.

somewhat higher than the metropolitan median of \$5,374. <sup>14/</sup>

Neighborhood figures for 1960 put additional emphasis on the low income of the nonwhites as compared with the whites in Springfield. The median income of the nonwhite family in 1960 ranged from a low of \$2,813 in the Upper Hill area (Census Tract 17) to a high of \$3,708 in the McKnight Bay area (Census Tract 13.) <sup>15/</sup> In Sixteen Acres (Census Tract 16-C), an almost all-white neighborhood, incomes ranged from more than \$7,200 to more than \$8,200.

Only 29 percent of the Negro families in Springfield earned more than \$6,000 a year in 1960. Families with an income of less than \$3,000 are defined as being within the poverty level. In 1960, 12.3 percent of all families in the metropolitan area were at the poverty level with incomes of less than \$3,000. The Springfield total of 14.6 percent was higher. In Springfield 13.6 percent of the white families were at poverty level in 1960 whereas 29.9 percent of the nonwhites were at poverty level. The nonwhite neighborhoods showed a range of families at poverty level from a low 21.7 percent (McKnight Bay Census Tract 14) to a high of 36.8 percent (Old Hill Census Tract 19). In short, nearly 33.33 percent of the nonwhites and 14 percent of the whites were in the poverty category. <sup>16/</sup>

The nonwhite in 1960 was primarily employed in such categories as household service, laborer, and operative. Few of the nonwhites, 13 percent in Springfield, were in white collar jobs. But 61.6 percent were in the skilled and semi-skilled jobs compared with 44.1 percent for the city as a whole, and 11.2 percent in the unskilled category or more than double the number in the city as a whole. Over and over the

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<sup>14/</sup> See Table Appendix C Income, Educational, and Labor Force Characteristics by Color for the State, SMSA, Springfield and Census Tracts in Springfield with 400 or more Nonwhite persons in 1960.

<sup>15/</sup> Ibid. Also see PSG Neighborhood Analyses.

<sup>16/</sup> For Negroes the median male income was \$3,104 (compared with Boston's \$3,027); the median family income was \$4,343 (compared with Boston's \$4,447); 29 percent of the 3,204 families in Springfield earned \$6,000 as compared with Boston's 31 percent. See Planning Services Group, Community Renewal Program (Springfield, Massachusetts), Introduction to Neighborhood Analyses, 1965.

neighborhood studies contain the words, "extremely large proportion of families living at poverty level"; "1/3 of families at poverty level". 17/

The unemployment rates in 1960 were almost twice as high for nonwhites as for whites in Springfield: 9.5 percent for nonwhites and 5.6 for whites. Unemployment was down for the metropolitan area to slightly more than 4 percent for the total population, slightly less for whites. The neighborhood rates ranged from somewhat more than 7 percent in McKnight Bay (Tract 14) to more than 14 percent in the North End (Tract 8) 18/ which has the highest unemployment percentage in the city.

According to the 1960 census, the nonwhite has had fewer school years (census 1960) than the white. The median for Negroes in 1960 was 10 years and for the whites, 10.9 years. The range for nonwhites, according to the neighborhood studies, was from 8.9 years in the North End (Tract 8) to 11.3 in the Upper Hill (Tract 17).

## Housing

The nonwhite occupies a disproportionate share of substandard and dilapidated housing, has less space in proportion to his needs, and pays a higher rent and a larger percentage of his income for rent than does the white in the metropolitan area. These conclusions are derived from the 1960 census data and the community renewal program studies of the Planning Services Group (1965). 19/

In 1960, there were 3,768 nonwhite housing units in the metropolitan area, practically all of which were located in the three major cities, with more than 90 percent in Springfield. (see Table 6.)

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17/ PSG Neighborhood Analyses: McKnight Bay, pp. 8-9; North End, pp. 2, 9; Upper Hill, pp. 7, 10, 19.

18/ Boston's unemployment rate was 7 percent in 1960 for nonwhites; Boston's rate of poverty level was 31 percent for nonwhites.

19/ The Census and the Neighborhood data do not always agree in detail.

About 70 percent of the nonwhites in the metropolitan area are renters as compared with 42 percent of the whites, the range being from about 69 percent in Springfield to 92 percent in Chicopee. The surrounding towns also show a larger number of renters than homeowners. 20/ (see Table 7.) A conspicuous cause of the high rental occupancy of Negroes and Puerto Ricans is the low income of these families. According to the Planning Services Group report on housing, in 1960, 45 percent of all nonwhite families had incomes of less than \$4,000 a year as compared with 20 percent of the white families. Also according to the PSG study, the future increase in the nonwhite populations and their relative incomes will lead to increasing occupancy by nonwhites of substandard rental units, if there is no rise in incomes and if open occupancy does not become a pattern for the metropolitan area. 21/

In 1960, there were 139,031 white and 3,822 nonwhite households in the metropolitan area and a disproportionate number of nonwhite households were in deteriorating and dilapidated housing. 22/ Stated in terms of "substandard" and "blighted" categories,

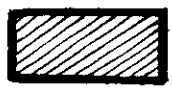
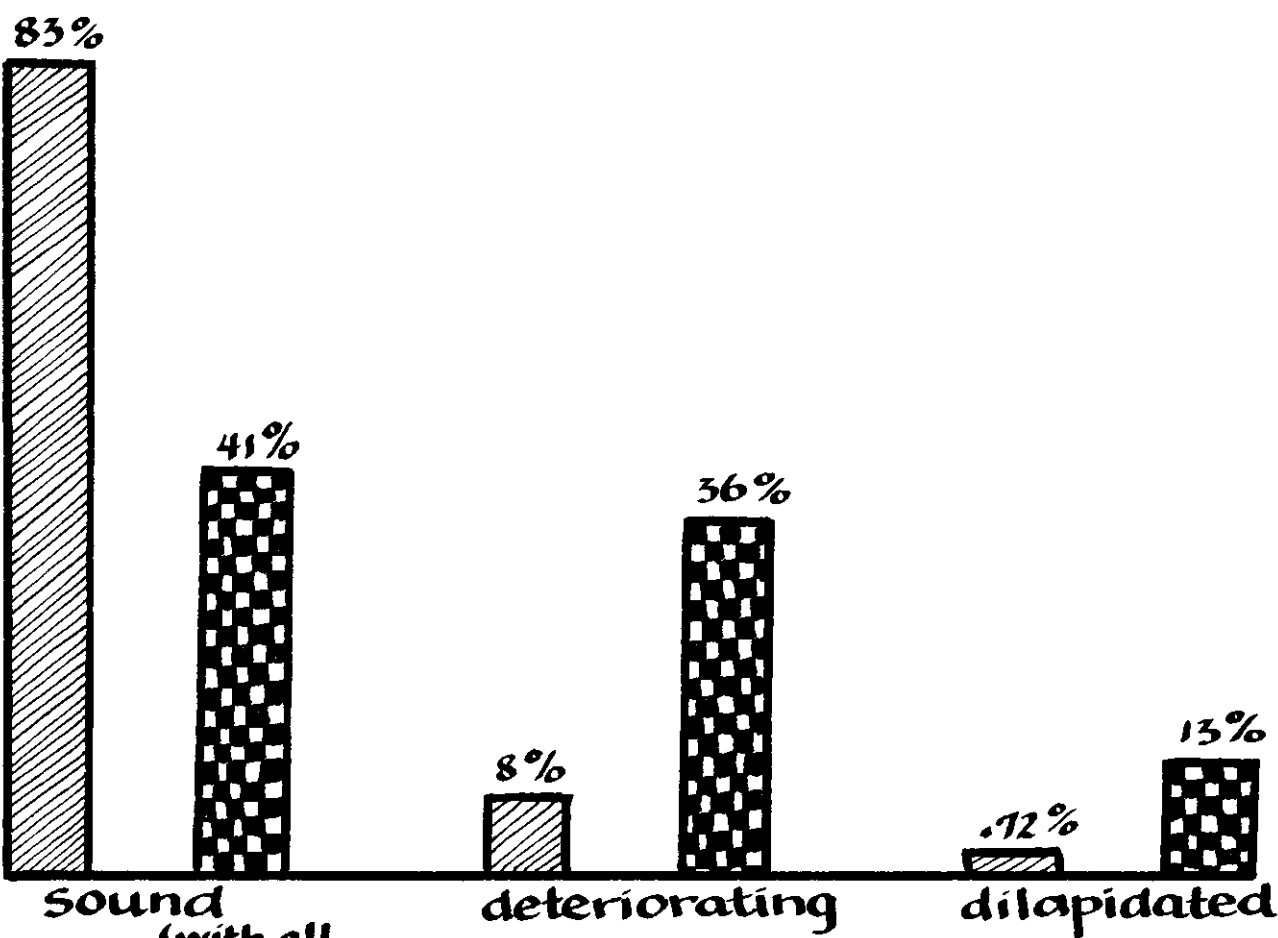
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20/ See Appendix D Housing Characteristics by Color of Occupants for the State, SMSA, Springfield and Census Tracts in Springfield with 400 or more Non-white Persons in 1960. Also, Planning Services Group, Housing Inventory, prepared for Lower Pioneer Valley Regional Planning Commission, October 1965. The average value of the white home is \$5,900; that of the Negro home, \$4,300.

21/ PSG. Housing Inventory, p. 63.

22/ See charts: "Condition of all Housing by Color of Household in Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, 1960" and "Substandard Housing by Color of Household in Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, 1960". For housing classification as defined by the 1960 Census see Massachusetts State Advisory Committee, "Report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Discrimination in Housing in the Boston Metropolitan Area", December 1963, p. 11.\* "Sound" housing has no defects or those which can be corrected by regular maintenance; "deteriorating" housing requires more repair before it can be termed "safe and adequate shelter"; "dilapidated" does not among other things provide safe or adequate shelter because of construction inadequacies. The Public Housing Administration in Washington defines a substandard unit as either dilapidated or lacking in plumbing facilities.

\*Hereinafter cited as MSAC "Report on Massachusetts: Housing in Boston" 1963.



white

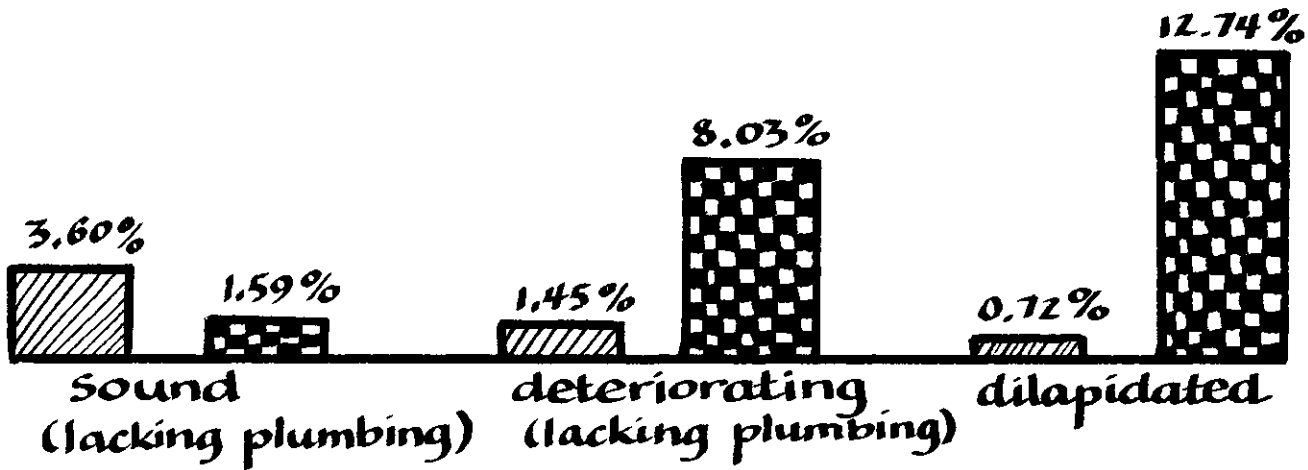


non-white

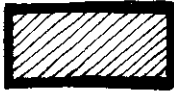
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CONDITION OF ALL HOUSING  
 by color of household  
 in Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke  
 1960

source : U.S. census  
 of Housing 1960  
 Part 4  
 Table 38 pp. 23-109  
 Table 12 pp. 23-22 15



**Legend**



white



non-white

**SUBSTANDARD HOUSING  
by color of household  
in Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke**

**1960**

Source: U.S. Census  
of Housing 1960  
Part 4  
Table 38 pp. 23-109  
Table 12 pp. 23-22



the PSG study said:

"...Census figures show that the rate of substandard occupancy is four times (white 14.6) as high among nonwhite households (58.2), and the rate of blighted occupancy is seven times as high among nonwhite households (20.7) than white households (3%). While nonwhite occupied units represented only 2.6 percent of all occupied units, nonwhite families lived in almost 10 percent of all substandard units and 16 percent of all blighted units". 23/

In Springfield, putting all deteriorating, dilapidated, and sound units (lacking some or all plumbing facilities) together as substandard, one finds that nonwhites occupied 25.1 percent of the substandard units or 929 of the total 3,822 units while whites occupied 9.5 percent or 4,756 of a total of 51,539 housing units. 24/ In the census tracts studied, the substandard units occupied by nonwhites ranged from a high of 45 percent in the Old Hill (Tract 19) to a low of 2.4 in Tract 14 of the McKnight Bay area. In all of the neighborhoods except the North End, nonwhite occupancy of substandard units exceeded white occupancy. 25/

Overcrowding is another characteristic of nonwhite households. The Negro and Puerto Rican families live in fewer rooms in proportion to their needs than do white families. The standard of one person per room was exceeded by about a fourth of the nonwhite households in the metropolitan area in 1960. There were five times as many nonwhite as white households with 1.5 person per room in 1960 in the metropolitan area. (see Table 8.) 26/

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23/ PSG Housing Inventory, p. 63, defines "substandard units" as dilapidated or deteriorating and units in sound condition but lacking some or all plumbing facilities. "Blighted" units are defined as in dilapidated condition as well as deteriorating and lacking some or all plumbing facilities.

24/ See Appendix D.

25/ Ibid.

26/ PSG Housing Inventory, p. 64.

Although nonwhites were crowded in substandard housing, they paid higher rents than white families--a situation typical of Boston and other northeastern centers. White householders in the metropolitan area paid a median rent of \$70 in 1960, while the median rent for nonwhites was \$75 a month. <sup>27/</sup> Nonwhites were at a disadvantage at both ends of the rent scale. A third of the white households paid more than \$80 a month while 40 percent of the nonwhites paid more than \$80 for rent. At the lower end of the scale, fewer nonwhites than whites--one-fifth of the nonwhite and one-third of the white renters--paid less than \$60 a month. According to the Public Housing Administration, families in low income brackets should not spend more than 20 percent of their income for housing, and large families should spend even less. But the study of the Planning Services Group shows that families with less than \$3,000 annual income were those paying high rents. "About 60 percent of those spending over 20 percent on rent and about 95 percent of those spending over 35 percent of their income on rent were in this lowest economic group," the study said. <sup>28/</sup> (see Table 9.)

## Public Housing in the Springfield Metropolitan Area

All but four of the towns in the metropolitan area have created public housing authorities to provide low-income public housing. <sup>29/</sup> The projects have been constructed with State or Federal aid especially for veterans, the elderly, or low-income persons. In 1965, State aid projects for veterans and the elderly totaled 1,532 units in the core cities and 789 units outside the core cities. Federally aided projects in the core cities total 1,179 units with only 112 units outside the core area in the town of Ludlow.

In 1965, public housing in Springfield consisted of one Federal project, the Riverview Apartments, and six State projects, three for families and three for the

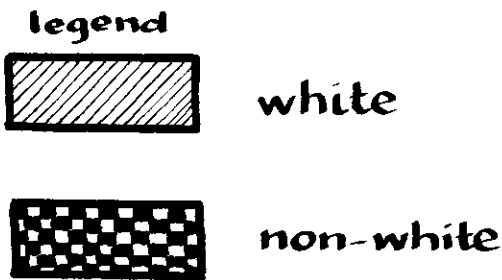
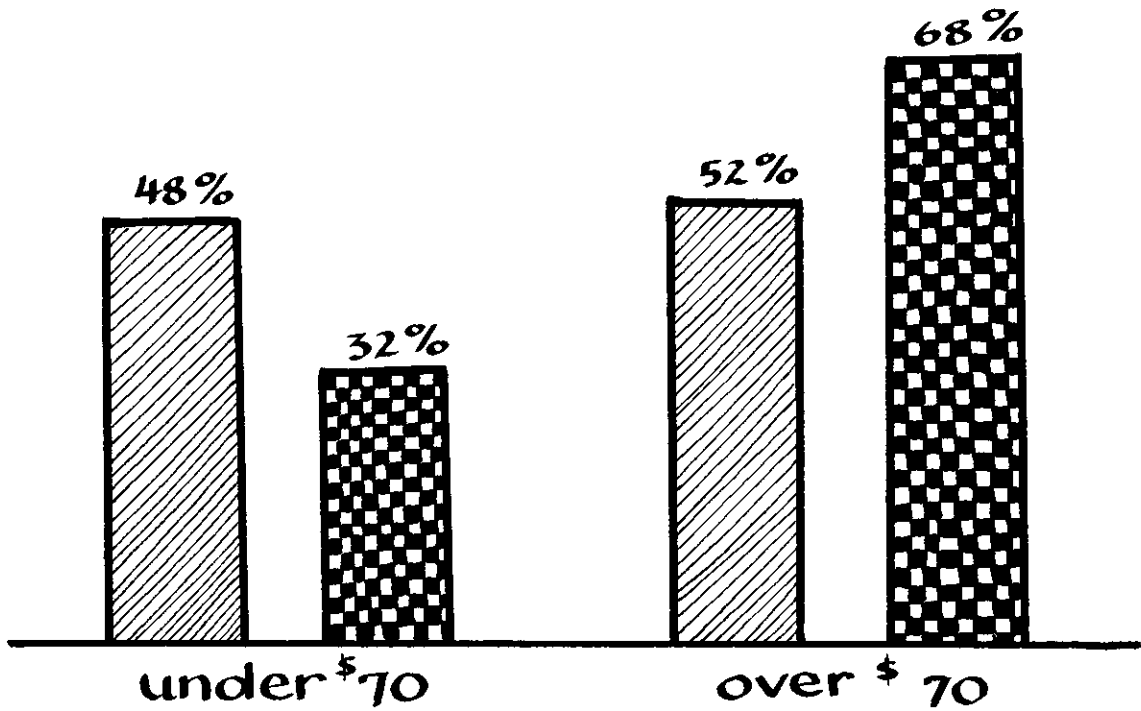
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<sup>27/</sup> PSG Housing Inventory, p. 65; see Chart-Median Gross Monthly Rent; also Appendix D. The median gross monthly rent for whites in Springfield was \$73 in 1960; for nonwhites \$75.

<sup>28/</sup> PSG Housing Inventory, p. 60; see Gross Rents, by Color of Household, Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, SMSA, 1960 from ibid., p. A-17.

<sup>29/</sup> The towns without public housing projects are Longmeadow, Monson, Palmer, Warren, Wilbraham.

**MEDIAN GROSS MONTHLY  
RENT  
WHITE \$ 70 , NON-WHITE \$ 75**



**MONTHLY GROSS RENTS  
families by color of household  
in Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke  
1960**

source: U.S. Census of Housing:  
Part 4  
Table 39 - pp. 23-110  
Table 17 - pp. 23-67

elderly. There are 374 units in the Federal project of which 40 are for the elderly. The State project consists of 532 units for families and 223 for the elderly. A pattern of segregation appears upon inspection of the racial occupancy of the 1,129 units. <sup>30/</sup> The Federal project's occupants are 93 percent Negro and Puerto Rican with 310 such families out of a total of 334. One State project, Reed Village, is occupied by 100 white and 100 nonwhite families, but two other State projects have only a token number of nonwhites. It should be noted also that not a single elderly unit is occupied by a nonwhite. <sup>31/</sup> (see Table 10.)

Twenty-five percent of the families living in public housing are Negro. <sup>32/</sup> Of the low-income units in particular, 58 percent are occupied by whites and 42 percent by nonwhites. The minimum gross monthly rent for elderly families is \$33; for other than elderly, \$43. The ratio of monthly gross rent to annual income has been calculated at 20 percent. In April 1960, a scale for families with one, two, or three minor dependents was established. Families with such minors were allowed admission at \$4,500 to \$4,900 (\$200 increase in each category) and rentals fixed in a range from \$30 down to \$23.50 (or 18 to 14 percent of income) were established. <sup>33/</sup>

## City of Holyoke

Like the nonwhite in the metropolitan area generally, the Holyoke nonwhite is young, mobile, poorly educated, poorly paid for menial work, and living in

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<sup>30/</sup> "Integrated" public housing has been defined as a "mixture of racial groups without spatial segregation either through agency action in placing residents according to quotas or through free choice by tenants and prospective tenants as to the projects in which they will live". See Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield, "Politics, Planning and the Public Interest; the Case of Public Housing in Chicago". Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press (1955) pp. 135-136.

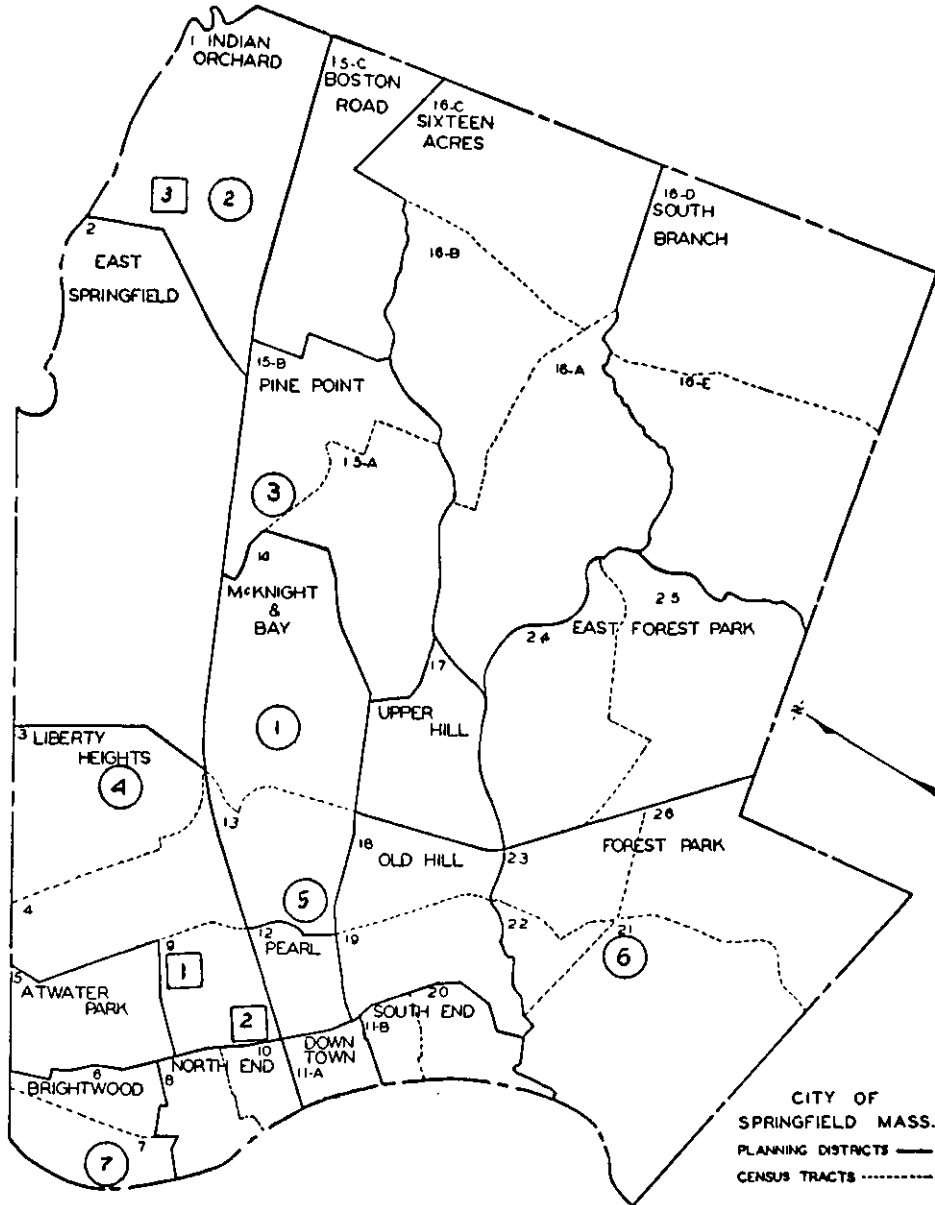
<sup>31/</sup> For history see Appendix E City of Springfield Public Housing Occupancy by Color 1961-1964.

<sup>32/</sup> MSAC. Record, p. 34.

<sup>33/</sup> Ibid.

# PUBLIC HOUSING LOCATIONS

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD



## LEGEND

- | OCCUPIED |                 | PROPOSED |                        |
|----------|-----------------|----------|------------------------|
| ①        | REED VILLAGE    | ①        | BRICK YARD SITE        |
| ②        | DUGGAN PARK     | ②        | URBAN RENEWAL          |
| ③        | ROBINSON GARDEN | ③        | INDIAN ORCHARD ELDERLY |
| ④        | CARPE DIEM      |          |                        |
| ⑤        | HOGAN           |          |                        |
| ⑥        | FOREST PARK     |          |                        |
| ⑦        | RIVERVUE        |          |                        |

crowded segregated housing. 34/

In 1960 there were 542 Negroes among the 148 nonwhite families in the city. The Negro population has doubled in each decade since 1930, and during the last decade--between 1950 and 1960--the white population decreased by some 2,000. 35/ The result is, of course, an increasing number of Negroes to whites. Until 1958, Negroes lived below the canals, but the "color line" was broken that year when a Negro family moved into Beaudoin Village, the public housing project above the canals. 36/ Still the Bond Street area (Bond and Newton Streets) east of High Street has become the unofficial dividing line for Negroes. While there is no "Negro section", as such, the Bond Street area contains the greatest number of Negroes and is nearest to a ghetto area. 37/

In a study published in 1962, it was found that more than 50 percent of the Negroes had lived in Holyoke no longer than 10 years and that more than 20 percent had been there for two years or less. This fact leads to the conclusion that the city has been "operating as a staging area, losing its older Negro residents, and more than replacing them with others from less advantaged areas". 38/

Once the Negro gets to Holyoke he moves frequently. For example, the 1962 study revealed that more than two-thirds had been in the same dwelling no more than five years and almost one-third had lived at their address for less than a year. 39/

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34/ 1960 U.S. Census Tracts. In 1960 the median age for whites was under 38 years; for nonwhites, under 20. The median income for all families in the city was \$5,755 in 1959. The median number of school years completed by nonwhites in Holyoke in 1960 was 9.7; by whites, 9.8. The three Census Tracts, 46, 47, 48 population had 8.8, 8.2, 8.5 medians respectively.

35/ See Appendix B. The actual number of Puerto Ricans was 99.

36/ MSAC. Record, p. 39.

37/ MSAC. Record, p. 17. Also see map of Holyoke showing concentrations in census tracts Ho 46-48. Appendix B1 Housing Cities of Chicopee and Holyoke 1960.

38/ Bulkeley Smith, Jr., "Holyoke's Negro Families: Report to the Greater Holyoke Council of Churches", Holyoke, February 1962, pp. 1, 3.

39/ Ibid., pp. 3-7.

Holyoke's nonwhite population has a larger proportion of renters than Springfield or the central urban area in the SMSA. In 1960, 78 percent (89) were renters and 22 percent (25) homeowners, as compared with 69 percent (11,947) white renters and 31 percent (5,371) white homeowners. <sup>40/</sup> Fifty-four percent of the units occupied by nonwhites were classified as substandard housing in 1960 and 47.3 percent as deteriorating and dilapidated. <sup>41/</sup> The median rent for all Holyoke families in 1960 was \$62 a month. In 1962, the special study reported that rents paid by Negroes ranged from a low of \$22 a month to a high of \$68, with an average of \$40.73 without heat. <sup>42/</sup>

Incomes were low in 1960. While the median income for all families in the city was \$5,755 in 1959, 15.7 percent of the nonwhite families had incomes of less than \$1,000 in 1959 and 23.6 percent less than \$4,000. <sup>43/</sup> The 1962 special study reported the take-home pay for the Negro family averaged \$4,488 when everyone was working--an infrequent situation. <sup>44/</sup>

## Public Housing in Holyoke

In 1963, almost 25 percent of the Negro families in Holyoke lived in public housing. The city created its Housing Authority in 1938. The first project--Lyman Terrace, a federally aided, 167 unit, low-rent development--was completed and available for occupancy in 1940. Table 11 enumerates the projects--State and

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<sup>40/</sup> 1960 U.S. Census Tracts.

<sup>41/</sup> Ibid. The 1962 study interviewers found that only one home owned by a Negro was dilapidated. Sixty-six of the 73 dwellings were classified by interviewers as dilapidated. This study also found that 10 percent of the Negro families were home owners.

<sup>42/</sup> Smith. "Holyoke's Negro Families: Report".

<sup>43/</sup> 1960 U.S. Census Tracts, Springfield-Chicopee.

<sup>44/</sup> Smith. "Holyoke's Negro Families: Report".



Federal--completed since that time, with a total of 931 units, 31 of which are occupied by Negroes and 13 by Puerto Ricans. Two-thirds of the nonwhites live in one project, the Henry J. Toepfert Project. Evidence points to a continued policy of concentration of nonwhites in one project. (see Table 11.)

## **City of Chicopee and Servicemen in the Metropolitan Area**

In Chicopee, the third of the core cities, the only area with a substantial number of nonwhites in 1960 was Census Tract 35 which contained the base houses of Westover Air Force Base. There were 739 nonwhites, including 654 Negroes, recorded in the tract. The nonwhites in the tract were better educated than those in Springfield or Holyoke; they had completed 12.5 median years in school. Chicopee nonwhites generally had a higher education with a median of 12.3 years as compared with the whites whose median years completed in school was 9.9 in 1960. While some nonwhites were in the higher income brackets--38.6 percent of the families were in the category of \$6,000 to \$10,000 or more in 1959 in Tract 35--11 percent of the families had incomes of less than \$3,000 a year and 37.3 percent, less than \$4,000. They were young (the median age was less than 24) but interestingly they were about a year older than the whites in the same area. 45/

The nonwhites' situation in Chicopee differed in two respects from that of the nonwhites in other core cities of the area. The largest number, 92 percent, anywhere in

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45/ The median income for nonwhites in Chicopee was \$2,067. Forty-one percent of the city's nonwhites were in the \$6,000 to \$10,000 or more income category; 10 percent made less than \$3,000 a year and 36 percent less than \$4,000 in 1959. The median income for all families, white and nonwhite, in Chicopee was the highest in all the core cities, \$6,170. Median age for whites in Chicopee was under 30 years and for nonwhites under 25. See U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass., pp. 15-17, 38-39, 40-42, 49. The number of Puerto Ricans totaled 107. For comparative purposes it may be noted that only 27 percent of the nonwhites in Springfield exceeded \$6,000 a year in income in 1959. (See Appendix B1 Housing, Cities of Chicopee and Holyoke, 1960.)

the metropolitan area were renters. They lived in housing categorized as sound in 1960, except for two units which fell within the category of deteriorating with all plumbing. 46/

The nonwhites at Westover differed from the nonwhites in the metropolitan area in that they had more schooling, better incomes, were slightly older than the whites in the tract, and lived in sound housing.

But is the nonwhite discriminated against when he lives off the base? The base commander did not allow military personnel to participate in the open meeting. However, the Executive Director of the Holyoke Housing Authority told the Committee: "We have found the Negro serviceman and his family were being gouged.... They even had to get extra jobs to keep the rent paid up." 47/ If they lived off the base in Holyoke their salaries were insufficient for adequate housing other than public housing. There had been an instance of a family being forced to live in a motel at \$200 a month and of some of its members having had to sleep on the floor. 48/

In the late winter of 1965, the Staff Judge Advocate's office cooperated with the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee in sending a questionnaire to all Air Force personnel to determine if those living off the base had been able to rent or purchase housing and the levels of rent they were paying. There were 3,333 responses to the 7,895 questionnaires. Of these, 21 were Negro officers and 330 were Negro enlisted personnel; 620 were white officers and 2,333 white enlisted personnel. Of the Negro personnel, nine officers and 184 of the enlisted men lived off the base. Of the white personnel, 357 officers and 1,159 enlisted men lived off the base.

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46/ Ibid., Table H-3, p. 49. White owners numbered 9,301; white renters 7,496 and percent of white renters 44.6; nonwhite owners numbered 7; nonwhite renters 82 and percent of nonwhite renters, 92. PSG, Housing Inventory, p. A-17.

47/ MSAC. Record, p. 44.

48/ Ibid., p. 44.

These were the groups studied. 49/

Of those returning the questionnaires, 20.3 percent were homeowners, almost 61 percent of whom had purchased property in Springfield. The next largest category of purchasers was in Chicopee, with a scattering in Holyoke and Wilbraham. Of the owners in Springfield who listed the areas in which they live, 38.5 were in the four tracts around Winchester Square--the Negro area--Old Hill, Upper Hill, the North End, and McKnight Bay. The others reported purchases in Pine Point and East Springfield, the census tracts adjoining McKnight Bay.

According to the completed questionnaires, 79.7 percent of the Negro personnel were renters. Of these, 69 percent lived in multiple family dwellings and 9 percent in public housing in Springfield or Holyoke. Forty-seven percent of the renters lived in Springfield where 69 percent were concentrated in the 5 Negro census tracts: Old and Upper Hill, McKnight Bay, the North End, and Brightwood.

The largest number (101) of white renters reporting lived in Chicopee and Fairview (138), a section of Chicopee, and the next largest in Holyoke (61). Whereas the Negroes listed only three cities in which they rented, the white personnel named some 14 cities and towns in and beyond the metropolitan area.

The average rents reported by the Negro personnel were sometimes higher and sometimes lower than rents paid by the white personnel. In Springfield, for example, the Negro averaged \$76 to \$100 a month, while the white paid about \$25 more (\$101-\$125). But in Chicopee the Negro paid on the average \$25 more than the white, from \$101-\$125, or in the Fairview section, \$126-\$150, while the white paid \$76-\$100 in Chicopee and Chicopee Falls and \$101-\$125 in the Fairview section.

The study reveals that the Negro lived in fewer rooms than the white in proportion to the size of his family. In Springfield the Negro, with an average of 3.37 dependents, lived in 4.82 rooms and in Holyoke, with an average of 3.30 dependents, he lived in 4.72 rooms. But the Springfield white, with 3.07 dependents, lived in an average of 5.05 rooms and the Holyoke white, with an average of 2.75 dependents, lived in 4.70 rooms.

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49/ See Appendix G. Tabulation of results. Appendix G, Analysis of Westover Air Force Base Questionnaire on Housing, December 1965. Three-fourths of the Negro officers living off the base and 47 percent of the enlisted men responded to the questionnaire.

In summary, the Negro serviceman and his family not living on the base lived in one of the core cities, often in the "Negro area", in a smaller space for which he frequently paid more rent than the white officer or enlisted man. 50/

## Characteristics of the Ghetto

On "the Hill" the crumbling reminders of an elegant past are interspersed with the stark realities of the present. The same is true of the North End and of Brightwood by the river. This area--flooded until the Knightsville Dam was built in 1936--is now the site of the high-rise Federal public housing development where Negroes and Puerto Ricans are jointly settled in segregation. Indeed whether it is Winchester Square or Memorial Square, the areas are isolated from the main stream of city life.

The absence of zoning in former years has led to an undesirable mixture of land uses. Within a mile or two radius of Winchester Square, for example, one finds everything from vacant buildings to a skating rink, gas station, laundromat, a Muslim mosque, a trucking office, a dilapidated greenhouse, shoe repair shop, pizza parlor, a one-time motorcycle plant now converted into a self-service department store, a fire house, and schools. There are rows and rows of frame houses, three deckers, some good apartments, old Victorian houses converted into multiple dwelling units. The railroad tracks traverse the Hill area and virtually separate the Brightwood North End section from the rest of the city. Here warehouses, trucking firms, a roofer's supply business, scrap iron works, a church, and a foundry are in the vicinity of the public housing development. 51/

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50/ The Staff Judge Advocate reported that in the last two and a half years no complaint had been lodged with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination by Air Force personnel. The Base refuses to list at Family Services any landlord or seller who does not commit himself to nondiscrimination. Letter, James S. Haught, Major, USAF, Staff Judge Advocate, to Victoria Schuck, February 14, 1966.

51/ See Springfield City Planning Board, City of Springfield, Master Plan, 1955 and City Planning Board, A Master Plan for Springfield, Massachusetts, edition of 1957. Also MSAC. Record, pp. 5-7.

The ghetto is marked by low family, social, and economic status. <sup>52/</sup> It is inhabited by an increasing number of nonwhite families with young children and by a declining number of whites most of whom are elderly with atypical family status and incomes below \$3,000.

There is always unemployment in the ghetto. Not only is the Negro or the Puerto Rican in the lower economic group and the unskilled labor category, but he has often been unemployed for as long as two or three years. Some have been unemployed for so long that they have become unemployable. <sup>53/</sup>

In comparison with other sections of the city, the ghetto in Springfield has higher rates of disease, mental retardation, undetected glaucoma, infant mortality, accidents, and juvenile delinquency. In 1960, the case rate of tuberculosis among the Puerto Ricans was 8.63 per 1,000 or more than 60 times the rates of whites (.14 per 1,000 case rate). Negroes had a case rate of 1.27 per 1,000 and, although this was lower than that among Puerto Ricans, the number was more than nine times the number among the whites. Stated another way, the North End and Winchester Square in 1960 contained only 10 percent of the city's population, but accounted for 52.1 percent of the city's tuberculosis cases. <sup>54/</sup> Infant mortality rates among nonwhites were more than double those among the whites in 1963 (whites, 17.48 per 1,000 births; nonwhites, 40.63 per 1,000 births). <sup>55/</sup> As to accidents, the number of accidents in the Negro tracts often exceeds the median for the city as a whole. <sup>56/</sup>

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<sup>52/</sup> Planning Services Group. Community Renewal Program, Springfield, Mass. Introduction to Neighborhood Analyses, 1965, pp. 7-8 for definition of family status index, etc.

<sup>53/</sup> MSAC. Record, p. 10.

<sup>54/</sup> Gary W. Sherlaw study with aid of Health Department and Community Renewal Program. See Springfield Daily News, February 17, 1964.

<sup>55/</sup> Springfield Health Department. Annual Report, "Comments on Infant Mortality", 1963.

<sup>56/</sup> Hospital Accident Reporting Study, Springfield Accidents (8 percent sampling) 1963. MSAC. Record, p. 12.

Inside the ghetto, the 3,400 nonwhite children have been attending the de facto segregated school. Until recently the city has been spending its money on construction of schools in white areas. Not only are schools in the ghetto among the city's oldest, but they often are without libraries and adequate playground space. In fact, the size of a school site in the ghetto may be only 10 or 15 percent of that required by modern standards. Some of the schools are overcrowded, with pupil-teacher ratios that exceed State standards. It is no surprise, then, that the number of dropouts and the percentage of illiteracy are higher in the ghetto than in the city generally and that, as a result, educational attainment in the ghetto tends to be lower.

The details bear out the generalizations. In 1965, there were seven grammar schools with nonwhite enrollments in excess of 50 percent: four ranged from 59 to 75 percent; three from 82 to 91 percent. Seven of the schools were built in the 1890's, the remainder before 1926 except for one grammar school built in 1951 and another completed in 1960. 57/

In 1965, Massachusetts enacted a measure outlawing racially imbalanced schools, which were defined as schools in which the number of nonwhites enrolled exceeds 50 percent. The law provides for the withholding of State funds from systems where such imbalance exists. In 1966 the School Committee of Springfield issued a revised plan for the promotion of racial balance in the public schools. Also, in 1966, the Hooker Grammar School was demolished and the Eastern Avenue School 58/ was abandoned. But as yet such suburban towns as Longmeadow, Chicopee, West Springfield, and others refuse to participate in a metropolitan plan of integration of the schools. And, though modification of district lines and open enrollment give promise of helping

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57/ Appendix H Schools Located in nonwhite and white Areas. Massachusetts Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, Part One, 1965, pp. 63-64. "Not only are there too few parks, but in public housing the recreational area is sparse." MSAC. Record, p. 35.

58/ Judge George C. Sweeney in the Federal District Court ruled that de facto segregation existed in the nine elementary and two junior high schools, January 11, 1966, but he was overruled by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. See session laws for 1965 Massachusetts General Court. The report of the School Committee is entitled "Revised Springfield Plan for the Promotion of Racial Balance and the Correction of Existing Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools", April 1, 1966 (mimeographed).

overcome racial imbalance, many children were enrolled in imbalanced schools in the fall of 1966. 59/

As to housing, an aggressive Springfield Health Department with a large number of sanitarians has made solid attempts to enforce health regulations and the housing codes. But the man in the ghetto tends to resent the enforcement of the health codes because he knows that rents will be increased as a consequence. 60/

In the Holyoke Negro area, about a third of the residents have to hold two jobs. The Negro may have to live in abominable housing. As the Executive Director of the Holyoke Housing Authority said at the open meeting of June 18, 1964:

The quality of the housing in which they (the Negroes) were living was frankly abominable. It was something that wasn't fit for pigs to live in, let alone human beings.... Outside toilets, no electrical work in the place, one extension cord from the hallway going in and from there drawing off to three or four lights throughout the apartment. 61/

He said further that landlords fail to make repairs and that Negroes live in buildings which should be condemned. 62/

In the face of such evidence, one can easily understand the unrest in the Negro neighborhoods. Small wonder that the Negro is at the same time resentful, resigned, belligerent, ambivalent in accepting his lot. 63/

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59/ Springfield School Committee, "Revised Springfield Plan." pp. 11, 13.

60/ MSAC. Record, pp. 18 and 89.

61/ Ibid., p. 41.

62/ Ibid., pp. 62, 72-73.

63/ Springfield Union August 18-20; September 7-11, 1965. The New York Times August 16, 1965.

## 2. How Discrimination Works: Patterns in Springfield and Holyoke

Whether one listens to the caseworker, reads the files of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, talks to the Relocation Director for the Springfield Redevelopment Authority, or the coordinator of the Association for the Improvement of Minorities, or the members of the Human Rights Commission, the list of racially discriminatory practices is repeated continually. The Negro is often dissuaded, embarrassed, or degraded, when he attempts to move into neighborhoods previously closed to him. If he is successful in moving, he often must pay higher rents than the white for similar accommodations.

Discrimination and "reverse discrimination" are apt to occur simultaneously. The apartment owner, the real estate dealer, the developer, the mortgage banker, the home owner, the neighbor, and the entire small town community indulge in the practices that isolate the nonwhite and prevent him from making a choice of where he wishes to live. His attempts to become a part of the community have often gone unheeded.

As one individual stated:

...each attempt of a Negro to break into a wholly white apartment house or block is a pioneering experience, filled with fear of being rejected, or not being wanted, and taking a certain kind of courage to dare to attempt. 2/

### Outright Rejection

In many instances, Negroes seeking housing in predominantly white areas have been told by landlords: "I do not rent to Negroes," or "I wouldn't think of renting

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1/ There were no persons from Chicopee, since time permitted concentration on Springfield and Holyoke only.

2/ MSAC. Record, p. 17.



to a Negro." 3/ This information from Holyoke can be matched with other practices of excluding the Negro home seeker in Springfield. To some landlords the address of a prospective tenant such as "upper or lower Franklin" has provided a clue to the racial identity, since Negroes have lived in some blocks on Franklin and whites in others. 4/ Other landlords have said to a potential Negro tenant on the telephone, "I don't rent to colored on Brent Avenue." 5/

Just as the Negro is rejected by landlords with "white rentals", so the white who seeks an apartment in an "all-Negro location" may be rejected by landlords who specialize in "Negro rentals". A case in point of this reverse discrimination was cited by a Springfield resident at the open meeting. She and her husband, a minister, wished to live in "a low income interracial area of the city". After recounting her attempts to find an apartment through newspaper ads, by driving around the city to observe "for rent" signs on buildings, and by making telephone calls, she reported:

...there was a man who would not rent to us because the house was all Negro, and he didn't want white tenants. He felt it was more peaceful this way...and he did not want to consider us. Another person who specifically asked whether we were white or colored, and did it in a sort of, shall we say, snide manner...and so he did not want us as tenants....So that these two people were discriminatory in their own way....

There were three other apartments then that were available to us. All three were in the Brightwood section of the city and all three were situations in which the landlord made clear to us that he would not rent the other apartments in the building to Negroes so that we needn't worry. This is something that came up repeatedly, these kinds of assurances. One of the three landlords was quite definite in making clear that he knew about the law but that we needn't worry nonetheless. 6/

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3/ Ibid., p. 59. This information pertains specifically to Holyoke.

4/ MSAC. Record, p. 85.

5/ Ibid., p. 82.

6/ Ibid., pp. 84-85, 86.

## Subtle Rejection

With the spread of knowledge of the antidiscrimination laws, landlords resort to more subtle ways of refusing rentals to Negroes. Often if a nonwhite "gets by" the first telephone call and is invited to inspect the apartment, he may be told that he has "too many children". Or he may be classified as a poor financial risk and asked to undergo "a rigid screening test" or "to pay several months' rent in advance". 7/

Landlords use numerous tactics to avoid Negro tenants. There is the owner who avoids the prospective tenant by refusing to answer the bell, or he may keep the Negro waiting outside the premises while he drives past to discover if the applicant is nonwhite. If the applicant is a Negro, the owner will conveniently "forget" about the appointment. 8/ A variation of this behavior occurred in Holyoke. An apartment became available in the Jackson-High Street area and the Negro applicant was given an appointment to inspect it. But when he kept the appointment, the landlord did not identify himself as the owner when he discovered that the prospective tenant was Negro. Afterwards when the applicant telephoned the landlord's office, his secretary reported that he was out. Catching him once during lunch hour, the Negro received no apology from this "respectable citizen" and landlord. 9/

In both Springfield and Holyoke, janitors have been instructed to rent to whites only, but when nonwhite prospects appear they deny any authority to rent apartments and refer the applicants to the landlords. Often they say that the landlords live in Florida. The use of janitors makes it possible for landlords to escape legal action by claiming, when the Negro calls back, that the apartment has been rented, or that someone has moved into the apartment, so that no claim can be filed against him for refusing to rent to the Negro. 10/

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7/ MSAC. Record, pp. 53, 54, 73. There was information also that landlords screened for religious and nationality backgrounds. Ibid., p. 54. These statements were applied to Springfield by residents of that city.

8/ Ibid., p. 53.

9/ Ibid., pp. 63-64.

10/ MSAC. Record, p. 54 (Springfield); p. 74 (Holyoke).

Some landlords, once they learn that a prospective tenant is Negro, suddenly discover that the once available apartment has "been rented in the last few minutes" or that "some mistake was made" when the apartment seeker appears to inspect premises that were available earlier during a telephone conversation. Negroes driving about the city looking for apartments have seen "for rent" signs in apartment house windows only to find upon inquiry that the apartment has been rented and that the landlord forgot to remove the sign. Yet the sign remained in the window for weeks or even months after the inquiry.

Then there are the "rent raisers". An owner on seeing a nonwhite applicant for an apartment has been known to fake records to show that the apartment rents for twice its advertised rate. Or--as happened with a young Negro couple in Holyoke who looked at an apartment on Main Street which rented for \$74 a month --the landlord on being confronted with them, found that the apartment had been rented but that a vacancy on a dilapidated floor above could be had at \$85 a month. 11/

That property owners would not respond seriously to efforts made by a biracial committee to improve Negro housing is illustrated by the following example reported at the open meeting. In February 1963, the Holyoke Human Relations Council undertook to assist five Negro families to locate better housing. The Council distributed copies to all realtors listed in the yellow pages of the telephone book. Inasmuch as the Holyoke Property Owners Association had publicly declared that there were empty apartments available in the city, an effort was made to mail the letter also to the members of the association. The president of the association at the outset had stated that this would be a good idea, but at the same time he had failed to send the council the requested mailing list. Later attempts to have the letter distributed to members of the association brought no results. The council's resort to the local newspaper on July 9, 1963, with an open letter to the Holyoke Property Owners resulted in no offer by any member of the association to show an apartment. The Advisory Committee was told that the association's attitude appeared to be: "How can we avoid carrying out the law so that we won't in turn be discriminated against by angry homeowners?" 12/

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11/ Ibid., p. 60.

12/ MSAC. Record, pp. 67-69.

## Landlord Explanations

Apartment owners justify their intent "to build, and to protect an investment of money", their worry over taxes, and the competition of redevelopment and public housing projects, by claiming they would suffer economic loss if they rented to Negroes or attempted to "integrate" their apartment houses. Threats by occupants of apartments to vacate premises if they are integrated bolster the actions of landlords. <sup>13/</sup> They contend that they cannot do business exclusively with renters who are willing to say, "Let's see how it would work." <sup>14/</sup> An apartment owner argues that he becomes involved in the lives of his tenants and must accede to their demands. <sup>15/</sup>

If word gets around that I may possibly rent to a person of a different race or color in a particular building, I am deluged with telephone calls, some identifying themselves, some not identifying themselves. Because these calls are persistent, I have trouble judging them on their merits, but believe me, I do have to listen to the complaints and I do try to weigh them in the best light possible. I must weigh the complaints and comments I get when people do call and express their opinions on our attempting to integrate a building. In the best light possible, I must revert my thinking back to the economic position that this building has in my overall business picture....

I do not believe that it is just and fair to deny a person his rights under our flag. To deny a person his right? Now are

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<sup>13/</sup> Record of statement by Richard Flagg, past president of the Springfield Apartment Owners Association, in MSAC. Record, pp. 93-99.

<sup>14/</sup> Ibid., p. 99. A spokesman for the Apartment House Owners Association urged that a subsidy be provided when the law requires owners to rent to Negroes and others then move out. Ibid., pp. 106-126.

<sup>15/</sup> Ibid., pp. 104.

we talking about just the colored person, or are we talking about everyone? I'm thinking in terms of everyone, and I believe that we all have rights....16/

As apartment owners, we are subject to the whims of our customers who are our tenants.... None of us are in a position to have our properties used as grant experiments and not be caused to suffer the economic consequences. 17/

Apartment owners also stated that while the law makes it possible for the Negro to live "anywhere", "under our social terms it is now not yet possible...." 18/ A representative of the Springfield Apartment Owners Association told the Committee: "Let's not be foolish enough to ignore the wishes of those who do not want to accept it and force it upon them, and then expect them to be delighted with what we've done to them." 19/

It was further contended by Springfield apartment owners that renting to a Negro has meant more vacancies and greater tenant turnover. They also argue that minority groups (Spanish, German, Italian, or Jewish) wish to live by themselves. 20/ The apartment owners claim that integration would be possible where the level of rent exceeds \$100 a month. 21/ In fringe areas between Negro and white neighborhoods, there has been some integration, the proportions being 70 percent white to 30 percent Negro. 22/

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16/ Record of statement by Richard Flagg, past president of the Springfield Apartment Owners Association, in MSAC. Record, p. 104.

17/ Ibid., p. 106.

18/ Ibid., p. 107.

19/ Ibid., p. 108.

20/ MSAC. Record, p. 102.

21/ MSAC. Record, p. 100.

22/ Ibid., p. 101.

In Holyoke, the realtor's fear of economic reprisals precludes his being a pioneer, and so he continues discriminatory practices. 23/ To get citizens to show their support for open housing, the Holyoke Human Relations Council and the Association for the Improvement of Minorities conducted a Good Neighbor Pledge Campaign in February 1964. About 10,000 pledges were distributed through churches, synagogues, and luncheon clubs. The local newspaper printed the pledge. Only 600 pledges were signed and returned. This feeble response was interpreted by the two sponsoring groups as an indication of the citizens' desire to maintain the status quo. 24/

Where Negroes are involved there have been instances of "panic" sales. One landlord explained at the open meeting that Negroes picketed an all-white apartment house after a Negro family had failed to obtain an apartment. In turn the owner sold the building and the new owner after renovating it opened it to anyone who could afford the rent. As a consequence what had been all-white became all-Negro. 25/

Information provided the Committee revealed neighborhood hostility in white areas where Negroes have bought homes. Panic among white families caused a temporary decline in real estate prices. 26/ The designation of a white area as "busted" when a Negro family moves into it has occurred also in the metropolitan area. Real estate brokers may blacklist such an area by refusing to sell to white families. 27/

The Springfield Board of Realtors, a professional organization with 95 members and approximately 75 associate members (part-time salesmen and full-time salesmen), maintains a multiple-listing service which sells approximately 700 to 800 homes a year. 28/ Although there are five active licensed real estate brokers who are Negro, not one of

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23/ Ibid., p. 69.

24/ MSAC. Record, p. 69.

25/ Ibid., p. 100.

26/ Ibid., p. 125.

27/ Ibid., p. 135.

28/ Ibid., p. 121.

them is a member of the Board of Realtors. 29/

The Multiple Listing Service permits a home owner to list his property for sale with all member brokers of the service. Any member of the service may offer the house to a client. The member broker selling the house divides his commission with the original salesman. 30/

## Mortgage Loans

Information presented at the open meeting indicated that Negro home purchasers were confronted with price increases of as much as \$2,000. 31/ The data concerning discrimination against Negroes in obtaining mortgage credit is mixed. Here again, however, the facts pointed toward discriminatory practices in Springfield and Holyoke.

It was explained at the open meeting that a prospective purchaser in Springfield had to go to three different banks before he obtained a mortgage. The third bank which made the mortgage loan forced the owner to reduce the sale price as a condition of the loan. 32/ It was also reported that in Holyoke, banks have approved a Negro buyer's credit only after they knew the area where he expected to buy the house. Mortgage officers "advised" Negro applicants "that they would be happier in some other neighborhood", the Committee was told. 33/ On the other hand, it was evident that some mortgage officers in Holyoke have been eager to assist Negro purchasers. 34/

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29/ Ibid., p. 134.

30/ See MSAC. "Report on Massachusetts: Housing in Boston," 1963, pp. 25-26.

31/ MSAC. Record, p. 74. Also see Springfield Union, September 8, 1965.

32/ Ibid., p. 87.

33/ Ibid., p. 75.

34/ Ibid.

The president of the Springfield Board of Realtors commented that financing was the major problem for the Negro home purchaser. He suggested that a Negro arrange for financing with a banker and then ask a realtor to show him properties within a particular price range. 35/

The metropolitan area has no Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program (VHMCP). This program, enacted by Congress in 1954, is designed primarily to facilitate granting of credit to minority groups. 36/ The chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination has stated that several bank officials have indicated that he could examine any Negro mortgage application rejected by their banks, and if, in his opinion, the loan was feasible they would approve it. If necessary, they would pool the risk on any mortgage loan which in his opinion should be granted, the Committee was told. 37/

## **Public Housing in Springfield and Holyoke**

There was no disagreement over the segregated character of public housing projects in Springfield and Holyoke. The explanations for the racial imbalance in occupancy ranged from the contention that it was due to the existing imbalance in the population from which the tenants were drawn to the claim that tenant selection policies were deliberately based on race.

Patrick Harrigan, Executive Director of the Springfield Housing Authority, explained that people displaced by urban renewal had preference in the assignment of apartments in public housing. According to Mr. Harrigan, the Authority's policy stipulates that race will not enter into the selection of tenants. He attributed the

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35/ Ibid., p. 122.

36/ In Boston, a Negro who has been refused a mortgage loan may apply to the regional office of VHMCP which in turn sends the application along to one of the private lending institutions on a rotating basis. If one bank refuses the application it is passed along to another. See MSAC. "Report on Massachusetts: Housing in Boston," 1963, pp. 25-28.

37/ Letter, Malcolm C. Webber to Victoria Schuck, December 7, 1965.



overwhelming Negro and Puerto Rican occupancy to the fact that they had been displaced by the urban renewal project. Few elderly Negroes lived in public housing because few applied, he said. 38/

Although the Holyoke Housing Authority broke the color line in 1958, recent evidence points to a continued policy of concentrating nonwhites in one project. Individuals reported at the open meeting that in past years, clerical employees of the authority subjected them to delays and discourtesies when they inquired about accommodations. More recently, the Authority "suggested" to an applicant that she accept housing in a project where there was a concentration of Negroes rather than take the apartment she desired in a project where no or only a few Negroes and Puerto Ricans lived. 39/

But whatever its past policies may have been, the Holyoke Housing Authority in recent years has adopted a new approach to the problem of segregation. At the open meeting, Louis Falcetti, Executive Director of the Authority, said that in 1964 the Agency informed Negro tenants of the choices available to them in other housing projects after the Holyoke Human Relations Council reported that Negroes desired to live in developments other than Toepfert Apartments where most Negro tenants were assigned. Moreover, the Authority had again been in touch with all Negro applicants to determine whether they wished to live in projects above the canals or above High Street. 40/

Mr. Falcetti also stated that the Authority voluntarily amended its annual contributions contract to outlaw all racial discrimination in any development under the Authority's jurisdiction. It reduced the residence requirement from five years to one year with the possibility of waiving the year's waiting period at the discretion of the Executive Director, so that migrants moving into Holyoke could become eligible for public housing. 41/

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38/ MSAC. Record, pp. 31-33.

39/ Ibid., pp. 61, 63, 66. She finally yielded to this pressure.

40/ MSAC. Record, pp. 42-43.

41/ Ibid., pp. 37-38, 42.

### 3. Counteraction: Private and Public Groups and Organizations Supporting Open Housing

Springfield organizations with programs to achieve equality of opportunity for minorities and the elimination of racial discrimination include local units of the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Congress Of Racial Equality. 1/ The Springfield League of Women Voters has made an effort to assist minorities gain access to better housing. There is a Human Relations Commission, created by city ordinance. Local church groups have attempted to exert community leadership in the area of human relations.

An estimated 1,000 persons discussed the city's racial problems at a 1963 workshop sponsored by the Conference on Race and Religion at the Technical High School in 1963. 2/ This workshop resulted in the organization of a steering committee of clergymen which meets whenever necessary. There also is a group of church laymen who meet on interracial problems. The Catholic Interracial Council's committee on housing has gone out of existence.

In 1963, the Springfield Mayor appointed a Minority Group Housing Committee to meet the urban renewal program requirement that families displaced by the program be relocated. The city Redevelopment Authority had discovered that displaced nonwhite families experience humiliations and other difficulties when seeking housing accommodations. The Minority Group Housing Committee responded to the situation by sponsoring a "Good Neighbor Pledge" public education program which was a newspaper advertisement declaring that "the sale or rental of any of our present or future property will be without regard to race, religion, or national origin". 3/

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1/ In August and September 1965, when the Octagon Lounge incident aroused the city, a short-lived local organization, the Springfield Council of Organizations for Civil Rights, was formed to coordinate policy in relation to the incident. The participating organizations were the NAACP, CORE, and a group seeking a local chapter of the Southern Leadership Conference.

2/ In the past the city had a reputation for "good" race relations because of the "Springfield Plan" established to provide human relations in the school system. But events later showed that the good relations were on the surface and that the problems had not been exposed.

3/ See ad, Springfield Sunday Republican, March 3, 1963.

The Minority Group Housing Committee was absorbed in 1963 by the Human Relations Commission which had been established in 1961. Originally consisting of 15 members including such ex officio individuals as the superintendent of schools and the director of urban renewal, the Commission was modified by ordinance in 1964 and expanded to 21 members, all of whom are appointed by the Mayor. In addition to an executive director, the Commission is staffed by an Intergroup Relations Worker, and two volunteers, a Puerto Rican and a Negro, under the Commonwealth Services Corps, who will provide the Commission with neighborhood assistance.

Among the Commission's powers are those of gathering and distributing information which will improve understanding among private and public organizations and reduce tensions and of investigating claims and practices. One of its five subcommissions is a housing group of 12 members which meets twice a month to discuss housing conditions and to make recommendations for change.

Another attempt to change the racial attitude among whites in Springfield was that of the League of Women Voters which, in October 1964, published a pamphlet, "What About Housing?" and in November 1964 inaugurated an "Open Occupancy Coffee Hour Program". <sup>4/</sup> This program followed a two-year study of housing by the Springfield League in which it found that "equality of opportunity in housing does not exist in many areas of the City". Declaring itself in favor of open occupancy, the League not only published the booklet to implement the Massachusetts Fair Housing Law, but sponsored neighborhood discussion groups in a community-wide attempt to improve "public acceptance of open occupancy".

Another approach to the problem, known as "Housing Unlimited," has been sponsored by the Springfield Urban League to provide listings of apartments available on an open occupancy basis, to aid in making applications for public housing, to give advice on rights under State laws, to help with suspected breach of contract in enforcement by referring questions to the MCAD, and to secure enforcement of city health codes through the Health Department. This program is designed to help families who are discriminated against when they attempt to rent or buy decent housing. In September 1965, it was reported that 75 families had received assistance from this program.

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<sup>4/</sup> League of Women Voters, Springfield, Massachusetts, "What About Housing?" October 1964.

Although, as a result of the Conference on Race and Religion held in Springfield in 1963, attempts were made to establish human relations committees in such towns as Agawam, Longmeadow, and East Longmeadow, no such groups at present exist in the metropolitan area except in Holyoke. There the Greater Holyoke Council of Churches organized a Department of Christian Life and Work which published a study of the city's Negro families in February 1962. 5/ A biracial committee, the Holyoke Human Relations Council (HHRC) composed of 30 representative citizens of the Greater Holyoke Area, was formed to implement the recommendations of the report. The council cooperates with the Association for the Improvement of Minorities (AIM), a predominantly Negro organization in Holyoke. 6/

The HHRC and the AIM have concentrated on opening up housing opportunities for the nonwhites in Holyoke. 7/ AIM has informed new Negro residents of their rights under antidiscrimination laws and assisted them in the organization process. HHRC and AIM have cooperated in assigning "testers" to visit apartments when Negroes suspect that landlords were engaged in discriminatory practices. In some instances, the groups have been successful in convincing landlords of the nonwhite's rights. They have helped persons file complaints with the MCAD, and they have assisted nonwhites in presenting their problems to the Holyoke Housing Authority in an effort to obtain a modification of attitudes on rentals. 8/

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5/ Bulkeley Smith. "Holyoke's Negro Families: Report", February 1962.

6/ MSAC. Record, pp. 67-81.

7/ Ibid., p. 69. See account above of efforts to help five Negro families.

8/ A "tester" is a white person sent to "apply" for the apartment when a landlord is suspected of refusing to rent to a Negro on account of race. See MSAC. Record, pp. 21-23, 38, 40, 41, 70, 75-77, 80.

## 4. Counteraction: The Law

No State has more laws against discrimination than Massachusetts, but these laws often are ineffectively administered and enforced.

The problem of discrimination had been met originally by the Employment Practice Commission which existed from 1946 to 1950. The Massachusetts Fair Housing Practices Act, prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin in rentals and sales of housing, was passed in 1950. The Act outlaws discriminatory conditions and privileges, including mortgage loans, as well as discrimination in refusing to rent or sell. The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, comprised of four commissioners, an executive secretary, field representatives, and a clerical staff, administers the Act. <sup>1/</sup>

The coverage of the Act has been expanded. Since 1963, prohibitions of unfair practices have been extended to all housing accommodations, public and publicly assisted; private multiple and private two-family dwellings with the exception of a rental in an owner-occupied two-family house or flat. As long ago as 1959, the State Attorney General classified real estate agencies in the category of public accommodations subject to nondiscrimination. And in 1965, the General Court placed commercial real estate under fair housing restrictions.

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<sup>1/</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Act see MSAC. "Report on Massachusetts: Housing in Boston" 1963, pp. 35-43. Also see Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Annual Report, January 1, 1961 to December 31, 1961, Public Document No. 163; Annual Report, January 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962, Public Document No. 163; Annual Report, January 1, 1963 to December 31, 1963, Public Document No. 163; Annual Report, January 1, 1964 to December 31, 1964, Public Document No. 163.

It should be noted, too, that the MCAD has had jurisdiction over unfair employment practices and unfair educational procedures. 2/

The law allows anyone charging discrimination to file a written notarized complaint with the MCAD, within six months after the alleged act of discrimination. One commissioner is designated by the chairman to conduct an investigation to determine whether probable cause exists. If he finds that it does, a formal hearing may be scheduled before the other three commissioners. The investigating commissioner appears as a witness and testimony is taken under oath. Any person guilty of violating a final order of the Commission is subject to a fine of \$500 or a year's imprisonment or both. The Commission may seek a Superior Court order to enforce its decision.

Injunctive relief is possible also. If a commissioner takes a petition to the Court, the owner of the property is entitled to three days' notice of the hearing. The court may issue an order restraining him from renting, leasing, or selling the housing accommodations to anyone but the complainant while the case is pending. 3/ In 1965, an Act was passed by the General Court authorizing compensatory damages up to \$1,000 to be awarded by the Commission to persons unlawfully discriminated against in housing. 4/

The MCAD originally had one office in Boston. The branch office in Springfield was opened on February 4, 1964, partially in response to the need to expedite cases. Its jurisdiction extends over the western part of the State, from Worcester to the State line. One commissioner, a field representative who is an investigator, and a stenographer constitute the staff of the office. From February 2 to December 1964,

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2/ See Massachusetts Laws, 1950, public housing; 1957, publicly assisted housing--housing tax exempt partly or entirely, housing constructed under renewal; housing insured by Federal Housing Administration; 1959 private housing--multiple dwellings of three or more, or 10 or more houses contiguously located; 1963 private two-family houses except owner-occupied.

3/ Holyoke witnesses at the open meeting testified that the long delays in obtaining an injunction meant losses to the Negroes bringing cases to the MCAD. MSAC. Record, 22, 78-80, 83, 90, 92. Mass. Laws, 1961 outlines procedure for injunctive relief.

4/ Mass. Laws, 1965 for compensatory damages.

the Springfield office processed 84 complaints and 68 commission-initiated complaints. Eleven of the complaints alleged housing discrimination between February and June 1964--seven in Springfield, one in Holyoke, two in Pittsfield, and one in Lenox.

Of the 11 complaints, probable cause was found in four instances and the complainant occupied the housing sought; probable cause was found in three and the complainant refused the housing; one was dismissed for lack of jurisdiction; one was withdrawn; and "no probable cause" was found in two of the complaints. 5/

Among the criticisms voiced against the Fair Housing Act at the open meeting were lenient penalty for violation of the Act and the lengthy time lapse before an injunction could be obtained. The requirement of a three-day notice before a court hearing gives the landlord-respondent an opportunity to make some disposition of the premises before he can be enjoined, it was pointed out. 6/ A bill has been introduced in the Massachusetts General Court to reduce the time of notice to one day. 7/

Individuals participating in the open meeting urged more effective enforcement of housing codes and health standards in the metropolitan area cities. 8/

Despite the legal attempts to secure open-occupancy in housing and effective code enforcement, there continues to be a great need for an increase in the supply of low-income housing for rental assistance. 9/

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5/ Letter from Malcolm Webber to Victoria Schuck, December 7, 1965. See MCAD. Annual Report, January 1 to December 31, 1964, p. 4ff. Cases of Donald Boyd and Mary J. Reid were reported.

6/ MSAC. Record, pp. 78-80. See recommendations contained in MSAC. Report on Massachusetts: "Housing in Boston," 1963, pp. 42-45.

7/ H2130 (1966) Massachusetts General Court.

8/ MSAC. Record, pp. 77-78.

9/ See H. 3326 (1966) Massachusetts General Court.

# 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

## Conclusions:

1. In the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee Metropolitan Area, the nonwhite population is increasing at a faster rate than that of the white. It has doubled and re-doubled in the last two decades, growing from 1 percent of the total population to 3.2 percent.

2. The nonwhite population has settled increasingly in the three core cities of Springfield, Holyoke, and Chicopee, while the whites have been moving to the suburbs. More than 95 percent of the nonwhites live in the core cities as compared with 75 percent in Boston.

3. Within the cities, the Negro population lives in racially segregated neighborhoods. The Negro neighborhoods are in the oldest sections of the city. Continuing immigration and the displacement of nonwhites by urban renewal projects have resulted in greater concentration of Negroes in the same neighborhoods in Springfield.

4. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are youthful, mobile, poorly educated, often unemployed or employed in menial jobs for which they receive less pay than whites. In 1960 unemployment rates were nearly twice as high among nonwhites as whites. In Springfield and Holyoke the proportion of nonwhites at the poverty level was far greater than that of the whites.

5. In 1960 the nonwhites occupied a disproportionate share of substandard and dilapidated housing, had less space, and paid higher rents and a greater proportion of their income for rent than did the whites. The increase of the nonwhite population will result in increasing occupancy of substandard units by nonwhites, if open occupancy housing does not become a reality.

6. The Negro at the Westover Air Force Base is older, better educated, receives higher pay than other Negroes in the metropolitan area. Yet when living off the base he tends to live in the core cities in the usual Negro neighborhoods or in public housing. Frequently he is charged a rent higher than that charged white military personnel for similar quarters.



7. The Negro ghettos of Springfield and Holyoke are isolated from the main-stream of city life. They contain an undesirable mixture of commercial, industrial, and residential land uses, with obsolete buildings and congested sites. Low family, social, and economic status are characteristic as are unemployment, higher rates of disease, higher infant mortality, higher accident rates, more juvenile delinquency. Ghetto children attend de facto segregated schools, which will be only partially eliminated in 1966. Five schools remain imbalanced with more than 50 percent nonwhites.

8. Public housing in Springfield and Holyoke has been segregated since the developments were constructed.

9. The practices of apartment owners, real estate dealers, developers, mortgage bankers, and home owners indicate patterns of racial discrimination and segregation in the sale and rental of housing. Such practices range from frank rejections to various subterfuges which result in delays to humiliate and frustrate the Negro.

10. The failure to allow Negro real estate brokers to use the multiple listing service of the Springfield Board of Realtors tends to limit the access of Negro home owners to nonsegregated areas.

11. Private groups such as the Springfield Urban League, the Conference on Race and Religion, the Springfield League of Women Voters, the Springfield Human Relations Commission, the Holyoke Human Relations Council, and the Association for the Improvement of Minorities have spent considerable time attempting to obtain decent housing for Negroes and to eliminate discriminatory practices in the sale and rental of housing. They have not succeeded in bringing about any substantial changes in housing conditions for Negroes.

12. The Springfield office of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination is intended to expedite the processing of complaints alleging unfair practices in housing in the western part of the State. The few complaints filed with it on housing are no indication of the amount of discrimination existing in the area. The MCAD is also handicapped by the three-day notice requirement before an injunction can be issued against non-complying landlords.

13. Although the nonwhite inevitably suffers from economic disadvantages and shortages of adequate low-income housing in the metropolitan area, he also suffers from the additional burden of racial discrimination which limits his access to the available housing in the Springfield Metropolitan Area.

## Recommendations:

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights recommends that:

1. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights report to the President and the Congress the continuing discriminatory housing practices in Massachusetts evident in the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee Metropolitan Area.

2. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights continue its study of the administration of State and city antidiscrimination statutes and housing codes to discover the most effective means of enforcement.

3. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, in consultation with the appropriate organizations such as the National Conference on Uniform State Laws, draw up a model civil rights act to aid the States in enacting effective civil rights legislation.

4. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights continue to support the enactment of a Federal fair housing law with the administrative machinery for effective enforcement.

5. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights support the allocation of Federal funds for public housing, and encourage attention to providing more low income housing for large families and some form of rental assistance. Housing legislation should include standards to avert the repetition of the construction of high-rise isolated public housing exemplified by the Riverview Project of Springfield.

6. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights continue a study of discriminatory practices against the serviceman in communities surrounding Federal military installations.

7. The citizens of Massachusetts and the Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee metropolitan community recognize the worth and rights of every individual and take an active part in the programs of the volunteer and official organizations in the area which are working to make decent housing a reality for all.

# Tables

TABLE 1.

Percent of Nonwhites in Springfield-Holyoke-Chicopee SMSA compared with the Boston Metropolitan Area, City of Boston and the United States.

Area	% Nonwhite		Number of Nonwhites 1960	% increase 1950-1960
	1950	1960		
SMSA S-H-C	1.8	3.2	15,500	107.2
SMSA Boston	2.4	3.4	87,100	56.3
Massachusetts	1.7	2.4	125,434	58.8
Cities:				
Springfield	3.9	7.7	13,400	112.5
Holyoke	0.6	1.2	600	110.0
Chicopee	0.8	1.3	800	51.4
Boston	5.3	9.8	68,500	60.2
U. S.	10.5	11.4	20,491,400	26.7

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Source: The Planning Services Group. Population, March 1965. Taken from U. S. Census, 1960 and 1950. Hereafter cited as PSG Population. Also see Appendix A, Population Characteristics by Color for the State. SMSA, Springfield and Census Tracts in Springfield with 400 or More Nonwhite Persons in 1960.

TABLE 2.

Nonwhites—Percentages in the Core Cities Within Selected Metropolitan Areas.

Core Cities:	%
Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee	95.6
Boston	75.
Worcester	83.

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Source: See PSG. Population, p. 50; Appendix A. Population Changes by Color

TABLE 3.

Population changes by Race in Nine Cities and Towns Surrounding  
the Core Cities of Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee, 1950-1960.

	Total	White	Nonwhite	Negro	Other	% Nonwhite of Total Pop. All	% Nonwhite of Total Pop. Negro
Agawam 1950	10,166	10,151	15	12	3	.14	.11
1960	15,718	15,693	25	23	2	.15	.14
No. change	5,552	5,542	10	11	1		
% of change	54.61%	54.6%	66.7%	91.7%	33.3%		
E. Longmeadow '50	4,881	4,859	22	20	2	.45	.40
'60	10,294	10,239	55	37	13	.53	.35
No. change	5,413	5,380	33	17	16		
% of change	110.9%	110.7%	150%	85.0%	800%		
Longmeadow '50	6,508	6,494	14	13	1	.21	.19
'60	10,565	10,522	43	43	0	.40	.40
No. change	4,057	4,028	29	29	0		
% of change	62.3%	62.0%	207.2%	0%	0%		
Ludlow '50	8,660	8,650	10	9	1	.11	.10
'60	13,805	13,756	49	37	12	.35	.26
No. change	5,145	5,106	39	28	11		
% of change	59.4%	59.0%	390.0%	311.1%	1100%		
Westfield '50	20,962	20,924	38	35	3	.18	.16
'60	26,302	26,242	60	30	30	.22	.11
No. change	5,340	5,318	22	5	27		
% of change	25.5%	25.4%	57.9%	14.3%	900%		
W. Springfield '50	20,438	20,351	87	82	5	.42	.40
'60	24,924	24,841	83	78	5	.33	.31
No. change	4,486	4,490	-4	-4	0		
% of change	21.9%	22.1%	-4.6%	-4.9%	0%		
Wilbrahan '50	4,003	4,003	0	0	0	0	0
'60	7,387	7,376	11	11	0	.14	.14
No. change	3,384	3,373	11	11	0		
% of change	84.5%	84.3%	--	--	--		
Northampton '50	29,063	28,930	133	96	37	.45	.33
'60	30,058	29,917	141	104	37	.46	.34
No. change	995	987	8	8	0		
% of change	4.7%	3.4%	6.0%	8.3%	0%		
South Hadley '50	10,145						
'60	14,956	14,928	28	3	25		
No. change	4,811						
% of change	47.42%						

Source: U. S. Census 1960

TABLE 4.

Size of the Negro Population for the SMSA,  
Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee 1960.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>% of population in each unit</u>
Negro		
SMSA	14,830	3%
Springfield	12,997	74
Holyoke	542	1
Chicopee	706	1

Source: U. S. Census. 1960

TABLE 5.

Size of Puerto Rican Population for the SMSA,  
Springfield, and Census Tract 8 (North End Area)

	<u>Born in Puerto Rico No. in 1960</u>	<u>Puerto Rican Parentage No. in 1960</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of pop.</u>
Puerto Rican				
SMSA	875	339	1,214	.25
Springfield	490	204	694	.40
North End (census tract 8)	401	117	518	9.82

Source: U. S. Census 1960

TABLE 6.

Nonwhite Housing Units Occupied in 1960. SMSA

	<u>Number of Units</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Springfield	3,491	93
Chicopee	89	2
Holyoke	144	3
Total Core Cities	3,694	98
Remainder of SMSA	74	2
Total SMSA	3,768	100

Source: U. S. Census of Housing, 1960, States and Small Areas. Mass. M.C. (I)  
Table 12. pp. 22-23.

TABLE 7.

Tenure of Occupied Housing  
White and Nonwhite Households, 1960

	<u>White</u>			<u>Nonwhite</u>		
	Owner	Renter	Renter % of Total	Owner	Renter	Renter % of Total
Massachusetts	848,570	651,071	43.6	8,866	26,478	75.1
SMSA	80,410	58,683	42.2	1,139	2,629	69.8
Core Cities	41,246	44,398	51.4	1,107	2,587	70.1
Springfield	26,574	24,955	48.5	1,075	2,416	69.0

Source: U. S. Census, 1960 and PSG Housing Inventory, Appendix A-17.

TABLE 8.

White and Nonwhite Households—Persons per Room  
Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke SMSA, 1960<sup>26</sup>

	<u>Percent of Households</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>
0.75 or fewer per room	68.1	54.6
0.76-1.00	25.0	27.6
1.01-1.50	6.0	12.5
1.51 or more	.9	5.3

Source: PSG. Housing Inventory, p. 64.

TABLE 9.

Gross Rents, by Color of Household, Springfield-Chicopee-  
Holyoke, SMSA, 1960

	<u>Percent of Renter—Occupied Households:</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>
Less than \$20	0.1	-
\$20-29	1.5	1.0
\$30-39	4.4	2.0
\$40-49	9.0	5.8
\$50-59	14.6	11.2
\$60-69	18.9	19.7
\$70-79	18.2	18.6
\$80-99	21.0	25.5
\$100-119	6.3	9.5
\$120-149	2.4	4.3
\$150-199	0.5	0.8
\$200 or more	0.1	-
No cash rent	3.0	1.6
Total Renter-occupied	58,620	2,629

Source: PSG Housing Inventory Appendix A. U. S. Census of Housing, 1960, States and Small Areas, Massachusetts, HC (1), Table 17 pp. 23-67; Table 39 pp. 23-110.

TABLE 10.

Public Housing Occupancy by Color.  
City of Springfield. Dec. 1965

Name of Project	Units occupied by whites	Units occupied by Puerto Ricans	Units occupied by nonwhites	Total units	Census tract no.	Minimum rent
<u>Federal Program</u>						
Riverview Apts. (7)						
Family	24	67	243	334	7	\$38
Elderly	40			40		
<u>State Program</u>						
Reed Village (1) (Family)	100		100	200	14	\$37
Robinson Gardens (3) (Family)	122		14	136	15b	\$41
J. Duggan Park (2) (Family)	176		20	196	1	\$41
Carpe Diem (4) (Elderly)	75			75	3	\$46
Hogan Apts. (5) (Elderly)	32			32	13	
Forest Park (6) (Elderly)	116			116	21	
<u>Total</u>	685	67	377	1129 units		
	61%	6%	33%	100%		
<u>Low Income</u>	422	67	243	732 units		
	58%	9%	33%	100%		
<u>Elderly</u>	263	—	—	263 units		
	100%			100%		

Source: Springfield City Planning Department. For location see map—Public Housing Locations (1) through (7).



TABLE 11.

Public Housing Occupancy by Color  
City of Holyoke, 1964 <sup>45</sup>

Name of Project	Units Occupied by Whites	Units Occupied by Puerto Ricans	Units Occupied by Negroes	Total Units	Minimum Rent
<u>Federal Program</u>					
Jackson Parkway	216	3	0	219	\$39
Lyman Terrace	158	5	4	167	40
Henry Toepfort Apts.	68	5	25	98	40
Total	<u>442</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>484</u>	
<u>State Program</u>					
Beaudoin Village, Vets proj.	218	-	1	219	39
Minnie R. Dwight Village	42	-	-	42	44.50
Edwin A. Seibel Apts.	40	-	-	40	44.50
Total	<u>300</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>301</u>	
<u>Housing for Elderly</u>					
John J. Zielinski Apts.					
P. A. Coughlin Apts.					
Beaudry Boucher Apts.					
Total	149	-	1	150	44.50; if single unit \$42.50 (21 such units)
Total for all	<u>881</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>935</u>	

Source: SMAC. Record, pp. 35-37.

# Appendices

## APPENDIX A

### POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS BY COLOR FOR THE STATE, SMSA, SPRINGFIELD AND CENSUS TRACTS IN SPRINGFIELD WITH 400 OR MORE NONWHITE PERSONS IN 1960

	POPULATION					% of Total Population (1960)	Population Per Household (1960)	Median Age 1960	
	No. 1940	No. 1950	% Change 1940-50	No. 1960	% Change 1950-60			Male	Female
<b>TOTAL POP.</b>									
MASS.	4,316,721	4,690,514	+ 8.7	5,148,578	+ 9.8		3.23	30.6	33.6
SMSA	371,972	413,494	+ 11.2	478,592	+ 15.7		3.21	31.0	32.9
SPFLD.	149,554	162,399	+ 8.8	174,463	+ 7.4		3.11	31.1	33.8
TRACT 8	6,676	6,374	- 4.5	5,272	- 17.3		2.97	28.7	29.4
13	6,557	6,925	+ 5.6	6,129	- 11.5		3.11	32.2	38.5
14	6,829	7,358	+ 7.7	7,659	+ 4.1		3.47	27.7	30.8
17	6,451	7,794	+ 20.8	7,537	- 3.3		3.15	26.4	34.8
18	9,642	9,723	+ 0.8	7,879	- 19.0		3.23	26.8	30.4
19	10,222	9,913	- 3.0	8,692	- 12.3		2.42	32.9	43.8
<b>WHITE</b>									
MASS.	4,257,596	4,611,503	+ 8.3	5,023,144	+ 8.9	97.6	3.23	30.7	33.8
SMSA		466,035		463,137	+ 14.0	96.8	3.19	31.4	33.3
SPFLD.		156,128		161,102	+ 3.1	92.3	3.06	32.0	35.0
TRACT 8		6,060		4,647	- 23.3	88.1	2.85	30.2	31.5
13		6,801		4,246	- 37.6	69.2	2.76	40.0	48.0
14		7,246		5,507	- 24.0	71.9	3.30	30.7	36.9
15		7,700		6,955	- 9.7	92.2	3.10	26.8	36.5
17		6,866		3,617	- 47.3	45.9	2.83	34.1	41.2
18		9,578		7,755	- 19.0	89.2	2.31	35.0	47.1
19									
<b>NONWHITE</b>									
MASS.	59,125	79,011	+ 33.6	125,434	+ 58.8	2.4	3.32	25.8	26.0
SMSA		7,459		15,455	+ 107.2	3.2	3.87	22.8	23.1
SPFLD.		6,271		13,361	+ 113.1	7.7	3.76	22.2	22.9
TRACT 8		314		625	+ 99.0	11.9	4.22	20.1	18.6
13		123		1,883	+1430.9	30.8	4.27	21.7	23.6
14		112		2,152	+1821.4	28.1	3.97	21.7	21.0
17		71		582	+ 719.7	7.8	3.85	23.7	23.4
18		2,839		4,262	+ 50.1	54.1	3.65	22.1	24.2
19		335		937	+ 179.7	10.8	4.03	17.7	22.9

## APPENDIX E

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS BY COLOR  
CITIES OF CHICOPEE AND HOLYOKE  
1950 AND 1960

Chicopee, Mass. By Census Tract		Total Population		Total White		Total Nonwhite		Total Nonwhite			
1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	Negro		Other	
								1950	1960	1950	1960
1 Ch - 0027		3,357	7,363	3,353	7,348	4	15	3	13	1	2
2 Ch - 0028		4,052	5,994	4,041	5,975	11	19	0	9	11	10
3 Ch - 0029		8,632	9,930	8,618	9,916	14	14	14	4	0	10
4 Ch - 0030		3,874	5,535	3,871	5,519	3	16	3	11	0	5
5 Ch - 0031		10,696	8,578	10,675	8,574	21	4	17	3	4	1
6 Ch - 0032		5,479	5,388	5,476	5,378	3	10	3	7	0	3
7 Ch - 0033		6,241	6,906	6,240	6,891	1	15	1	3	0	12
8 Ch - 0034		3,209	3,755	3,208	3,743	1	12	0	2	1	10
9 Ch - 0035		3,671	8,104	3,318	7,365	353	739	339	654	14	85
Holyoke, Mass.											
1 Ho - 0044		8,395	10,563	8,368	10,517	27	46	27	25	0	21
2 Ho - 0045		7,198	7,986	7,190	7,965	8	21	5	8	3	13
3 Ho - 0046		9,835	8,477	9,816	8,324	19	153	18	133	1	20
4 Ho - 0047		7,186	5,625	7,060	5,414	126	211	126	200	0	11
5 Ho - 0048		6,818	5,791	6,722	5,661	96	130	95	129	1	1
6 Ho - 0049		6,854	5,024	6,788	4,980	66	44	61	34	5	10
7 Ho - 0050		5,508	5,385	5,506	5,377	2	8	1	1	1	7
8 Ho - 0051		2,867	3,838	2,866	3,826	1	12	1	12	0	--

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Pop. by Census Tracts 1950. Vol. 3 P.W.  
Census of Population and Housing. 1960. Final Report PHC (1) - 150. S-C-H. Mass. - P-1.

## APPENDIX B1

HOUSING  
CITIES OF CHICOPEE AND HOLYOKE  
1960

	Condition of Housing			Total No. of Housing Units	Total % of Population Nonwhite—All	Total % of Population Negro	% of Sound of Total	% of Deteri- orating of Total	% of Dilap- idated of Total
	Sound	Deteriorating	Dilapidated						
<u>Chicopee</u>	1,960	76	26	2,062	.20%	.17%	95.1%	3.7%	1.3%
	1,665	54	15	1,734	.31	.15	96.0	3.1	.9
	2,823	126	21	2,970	.14	.04	95.1	4.2	.7
	1,488	47	7	1,542	.28	.19	96.5	3.0	.5
	2,420	322	157	2,899	.04	.03	83.5	11.1	5.4
	1,721	164	6	1,891	.18	.12	91.0	8.7	.3
	1,864	226	58	2,148	.21	.04	86.8	10.5	2.7
	900	129	44	1,073	.31	.05	83.9	12.0	4.1
	1,426	2	--	1,428	9.1	8.1	99.9	.1	--
<u>Holyoke</u>	2,694	361	9	3,064	.43%	.23%	87.9%	11.8%	.3%
	2,498	86	16	2,600	.26	.10	96.1	3.3	.6
	3,025	419	2	3,446	1.8	1.6	87.8	12.1	.1
	2,048	67	15	2,130	3.8	3.6	96.2	3.1	.7
	1,558	467	28	2,053	2.2	2.2	75.9	22.7	1.4
	1,896	357	17	2,270	.87	.67	83.5	15.7	.7
	1,849	67	2	1,918	.14	.01	96.4	3.5	.1
	1,147	11	1	1,159	.31	.31	99.0	.9	.1

Source: 1960—U. S. Census of Population &amp; Housing 1960. (Final Report PHC (1)-150-S-C-H.. Mass. — P-1.)

APPENDIX C

INCOME, EDUCATIONAL, AND LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS BY COLOR  
FOR THE STATE, SMSA, SPRINGFIELD AND CENSUS TRACTS IN SPRINGFIELD  
WITH 400 OR MORE NONWHITE PERSONS IN 1960

	Median Income of Families		Median Income Families and Unrelated Indiv.		Percent Families With Less Than \$3,000 Income		Median School Years Completed		(In Thousands) Civilian Labor Force				Characteristics of Employed		
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1960	1960	1950	1960	1950 %		1960 %		% White Collar	% Skilled Semiskilled	% Unskilled
									Total	Unemployed	Total	Unemployed			
<b>TOTAL POP.</b>															
MASS.	\$3,399	\$6,272	\$2,907	\$5,322	12.4	10.9	11.6	1,938,611	5.8	2,087,874	4.2	44.4	45.9	3.9	
SMSA*	3,448	6,235	3,036	5,330	14,790	12.3	10.5	172,875	4.6	188,690	5.2	41.2	48.9	5.8	
SPFLD.	3,458	5,994	3,055	5,112	6,555	14.6	11.0	71,000	5.0	71,117	5.8	44.7	44.1	4.1	
TRACT 8		3,913	2,398	2,944	453	36.2	8.9	2,869	9.1	2,037	12.6				
13		5,263	2,683	4,065	266	18.6	12.2	2,978	4.5	2,371	7.8				
14		5,389	3,022	4,748	373	20.2	11.8	2,809	3.8	2,759	5.7				
17		6,169	2,704	3,607	301	16.5	12.1	3,065	2.6	3,010	5.4				
18		4,492	2,641	3,624	589	29.7	9.6	4,050	6.9	2,991	8.7				
19		5,250	2,938	4,059	545	23.9	11.8	5,012	5.2	3,839	5.1				
<b>WHITE</b>															
MASS.		6,311		5,374		12.0		11.6	1,905,844	5.7	2,039,151	4.1			
SMSA		--		--	13,857	11.8			169,916	4.4	183,412	5.1			
SPFLD.		--		--	5,677	13.6			68,347	4.9	66,258	5.6			
TRACT 8		--	--	--	414	36.7	--	--	--	--	1,803	12.3			
13		--	--	--	179	17.4	--	--	--	--	1,694	7.6			
14		--	--	--	266	25.9	--	--	--	--	1,919	5.0			
17		--	--	--	262	15.4	--	--	--	--	2,780	4.9			
18		--	--	--	264	26.3	--	--	--	--	1,515	8.4			
19		--	--	--	468	22.6	--	--	--	--	3,495	4.7			
<b>NONWHITE</b>															
MASS.		4,383	--	3,196		30.5	9.1	10.3	32,767	9.8	48,723	7.8	20.2	59.0	6.9
SMSA		4,343	--	3,249		933	29.1	--	10.1	2,959	7.9	5,278	13.5	60.8	11.4
SPFLD.		4,316	--	3,477		878	29.9	--	10.0	2,653	8.0	4,859	13.3	61.6	11.2
TRACT 8		--	--	--		39	31.9	--	8.9	--	--	234	14.5		
13		4,750	--	3,708		87	21.8	--	11.0	--	--	677	8.3		
14		4,824	--	4,109		107	21.7	--	10.6	--	--	840	7.4		
17		--	--	2,813		39	28.9	--	11.3	--	--	230	11.3		
18		3,948	--	3,489		325	33.2	--	9.7	--	--	1,476	8.9		
19		4,260	--	3,611		77	36.8	--	10.6	--	--	344	9.0		

Source: Bureau of Census—1950 United States Census of Population—Springfield, Mass. and adj. areas—Table 1, pp. 7-10; Table 2, pp. 11-15. (Vol. 3 P.W).

\*SMA in 1950 Source: U. S. Census 1950.

## APPENDIX D

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS BY COLOR OF OCCUPANTS  
FOR THE STATE, SMSA, SPRINGFIELD AND CENSUS TRACTS IN SPRINGFIELD  
WITH 400 OR MORE NONWHITE PERSONS IN 1960

	Total Occupied Housing Units (1960)	Substandard Units* (1960)	Substandard Units as % of Total	Owner Occupied	Owner Occupied % of Total	Median Housing Value	Median Rent
<b>TOTAL POP.</b>							
MASS.	1,534,985	185,578	12.1	857,436	55.8	\$13,800	\$75
SMSA	142,861	12,641	8.8	81,529	57.0	12,800	70
SPFLD.	55,020	5,630	10.1	27,636	49.6	12,100	73
TRACT 8	1,774	635	35.8	246	13.8	--	66
13	1,884	211	11.1	845	44.7	9,100	74
14	2,058	49	2.3	1,068	51.8	10,600	78
17	2,129	97	4.5	1,108	51.9	11,700	87
18	2,420	470	19.4	837	34.6	7,500	72
19	3,517	642	18.2	709	20.1	9,400	74
<b>WHITE</b>							
MASS.	1,499,641	177,463	11.8	848,570	56.5		
SMSA	139,039	11,712	8.4	80,376	57.8		
SPFLD.	51,539	4,756	9.4	26,549	52.3		
TRACT 8	1,626	583	35.8	221	13.6		
13	1,457	150	10.3	630	43.2		
14	1,526	36	2.4	834	54.6		
17	1,989	73	3.7	1,056	53.0		
18	1,264	190	15.0	465	36.7		
19	3,286	538	16.4	658	20.0		
<b>NONWHITE</b>							
MASS.	35,344	8,115	22.7	8,866	24.8	9,300	71
SMSA	3,822	929	24.2	1,153	30.1	9,400	75
SPFLD.	3,481	874	25.1	1,087	31.2	9,300	75
TRACT 8	148	52	35.1	25	16.9	--	--
13	427	61	14.3	215	50.4	--	83
14	532	13	2.4	234	44.0	--	92
17	140	24	17.1	52	37.1	--	--
18	1,156	280	24.2	372	32.2	7,300	75
19	231	104	45.0	51	22.1	--	--

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts Springfield - Chicopee - Holyoke, Mass. Final Report PHC (1) - 150. Table H-1, pp. 43-45, Table H-2, pp. 47-48. Table H-3, p. 50.

\*SUBSTANDARD - Sound units lacking some or all plumbing facilities. Deteriorating units lacking some or all plumbing facilities. Dilapidated units.

APPENDIX E

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD  
PUBLIC HOUSING OCCUPANCY  
BY COLOR 1961-1964

State Program	No. of Units	No. of Nonwhite Families			
		1961	1962	1963	1964
Reed Village	200	18	32	35	61
Robinson Gardens	136	12	12	11	17
Duggan Park	196	16	20	21	21
Carpe Diem (Elderly)	75	1	1	1	0
Harry P. Hogan Apts.	32	3	3	1	0
Forest Park Manor	<u>116</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	755	50	68	69	102

Federal Program	No. of Units	No. of Nonwhite Families			
		1961	1962	1963	1964
Riverview	348	-	-	34	252
Riverview (Elderly)	<u>40</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	388	-	-	34	256

APPENDIX F

CITY OF HOLYOKE  
PUBLIC HOUSING OCCUPANCY  
BY COLOR 1961-1964

	No. of Units	No. of Nonwhite Families			
		1961	1962	1963	1964
<b>Federal Program</b>					
Jackson Parkway	219	0	0	2	2
Lyman Terrace	167	4	4	16	6
Henry Toepfert Apts.	<u>98</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>32</u>
Total	484	9	20	42	40
<b>State Program</b>					
Beaudoin Village	219	1	1	4	2
Minnie R. Dwight Village	42	0	0	0	0
Edwin A. Seibel Apts.	<u>40</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	301	1	1	4	2
<b>Housing for Elderly</b>					
John J. Ziellinsky Apts.	64	-	0	0	0
P. A. Coughlin Apts.	55	-	0	0	0
Beaudry Boucher Apts.	<u>31</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	150	-	1	1	1



Westover Air Force Base  
sample  
HOUSING SURVEY  
(For Massachusetts Advisory Committee)  
Your Cooperation Will Be Appreciated

ALL PERSONNEL:

administered winter 1965

Please circle the items which apply to you:

1. RACE: White      Negro      Other
2. RANK: Officer    Warrent Officer    Enlisted
3. MARITAL STATUS: Single    Married
4. PRESENTLY LIVING: On Base    Off Base

\*\*\*\*\*(THOSE LIVING ON BASE STOP HERE)\*\*\*\*\*

PERSONNEL LIVING OFF BASE. COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING: Please circle or fill in every item that applies to you.

5. I:
  - a. Have (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) ( ) dependents living with me.
  - b. Own my home.
  - c. Rent and pay (\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per month). including (electricity)(water)(heat)  
(Fill in how much)
    - i. It is a one family house.
    - ii. It is an apartment house or has more than one family living in it.
    - iii. It is government housing.
    - iv. It (is)(is not) the same place I lived in in 1964.
    - v. There are (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) ( ) rooms in my quarters.

6. I live in:

- a. Springfield (circle area if you know it).

Indian Orchard	Sixteen Acres	South Branch	East Springfield
Pine Point	McKnight and Bay	Atwater Park	Upper Hill
East Forest Park	Old Hill	Forest Park	Brightwood
North End	South End		

- |                 |              |                          |                   |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| b. Chicopee     | e. Ludlow    | h. Belchertown           | k. Chicopee Falls |
| c. Holyoke      | f. Granby    | i. Fairview              | l. Westfield      |
| d. Willimansett | g. Wilbraham | j. Other (Specify below) |                   |

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Where)

7. Would you object to being contacted by the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to discuss your housing situation further? If you would not, please sign your name and list your home address.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Name)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Home Address)

APPENDIX G

ANALYSIS OF WESTOVER AIR FORCE BASE  
QUESTIONNAIRE ON HOUSING  
DECEMBER, 1965

TOTAL NUMBER ASSIGNED.....7,895  
TOTAL NUMBER ON LEAVE OR TDY.. 546  
TOTAL RESPONSE.....3,333

White Officer .....	620	White Enlisted .....	2,333
Negro Officer .....	21	Negro Enlisted .....	330
Other Officer .....	2	Other Enlisted .....	27

1. Negro Personnel

a. Number of enlisted men	330
b. Number of officers	21
c. Number of enlisted men living	
(1) On base	146
(2) Off base	184
d. Number of officers living	
(1) On base	12
(2) Off base	9
e. Distribution in towns surrounding Westover	
(1) Owners - 28	
(a) Springfield	17
(b) Chicopee Falls	5
(c) Chicopee	2
(d) Holyoke	1
(e) Wilbraham	1
(f) Fairview	1
(2) Renters - 110	
(a) Single Family Dwellings	16
(b) Multiple Family Dwellings	76
(c) Government Housing	9
(d) Not Given	9
f. Locations in Springfield	
(1) Owners - 17	
(a) Pine Point	7
(b) Upper Hill	2
(c) North End	1
(d) McKnight-Bay	1
(e) Old Hill	1
(f) East Springfield	1
(g) Area not given	4
(2) Renters	
(a) Area not given	23
1. Single Family Dwelling	2
2. Apt. House	17
3. Gov't. Housing	2
4. Not given	2
(b) Indian Orchard	3
1. Single Family	1
2. Gov't. Housing	1
3. Not given	1

(c) Pine Point	
1. Apt. House	1
2. Gov't Housing	1
(d) East Forest Park	1
1. Single Family Dwelling	1
(e) North End	3
1. Apt. House	1
2. Gov't Housing	2
(f) Sixteen Acres	1
1. Single Family	1
(g) McKnight-Bay	10
1. Single Family	3
2. Apt. House	7
(h) Old Hill	1
1. Apt. House	1
(i) East Springfield	9
1. Single Family	2
2. Apt. House	5
3. Not given	2
(j) Upper Hill	17
1. Single Family	2
2. Apt. House	13
3. Not given	2
(k) Brightwood	5
1. Apt. House	4
2. Not given	1

g. Type of residence for renters

(1) Chicopee	
(a) Government Housing	0
(b) Private Housing	2
(2) Holyoke	
(a) Government	4
(b) Private Housing	14
(c) Not given	2

## 2. White Personnel

		(1) Average number of de- pendents	3.37
a. Number of enlisted men	2,333	(2) Average number of rooms	4.82
b. Number of officers	620	(2) Holyoke	
c. Number of enlisted men living		(a) Average number of de- pendents	3.30
(1) On base	1,174	(b) Average number of rooms	4.72
(2) Off base	1,159	(3) No other localities have more than three residents.	
d. Number of officers living			
(1) On base	263		
(2) Off base	357		

## 3. Table of Rents

a. Average for Negro (distribution)		(a) Average number of de- pendents	3.07
(1) Under \$50	8	(b) Average number of rooms	5.05
(2) \$51 - 75	36	(2) Holyoke	
(3) \$76 - 100	25	(a) Average number of de- pendents	2.75
(4) \$101 - 125	24	(b) Average number of rooms	4.70
(5) \$126 - 150	7	(3) Other localities cannot be cross- checked against the Negro figures.	
(6) \$151 - 175	3	(a) Indian Orchard	
(7) \$176 - 200	0	i. Apartment House	2
(8) \$201 and above	2	(b) North End	
(9) Not given	5	i. Apartment House	1
b. Average for White (distribution)		(c) Sixteen Acres	
(1) Under \$50	22	i. Single Family	1
(2) \$51 - 75	63	(d) McKnight-Bay	
(3) \$76 - 100	176	i. Single Family	1
(4) \$101 - 125	20	ii. Apartment House	3
(5) \$126 - 150	66	(e) Old Hill	
(6) \$151 - 175	25	i. Apartment House	3
(7) \$176 - 200	20	(f) South End	
(8) \$200 and above	6	i. Apartment House	4
(9) Not given	24	(g) East Springfield	
c. Average per town for Negro		i. Apartment House	2
(1) Springfield \$76-100	(75)	ii. Not given	2
(2) Chicopee \$101-125	(5)	(h) Upper Hill	
(3) Holyoke \$51-75	(21)	i. Apartment House	6
(4) Fairview \$126-150	(3)	(4) Chicopee - None	
d. Average per town for White		(5) Holyoke - 12 \$51-75	
(1) Springfield \$101-125	(80)	(a) Gov't Housing	5
(2) Chicopee \$76-100	(41)	(b) Private Housing	6
(3) Holyoke \$76-100	(61)	(c) Not given	1
(4) Willimansett \$76-100	(30)	(6) Fairview - 1 \$126-150	
(5) Ludlow \$101-125	(19)	(7) East Longmeadow - 1 \$76-100	
(6) Granby \$101-125	(8)	(8) Not given - 3 \$76-100	
(7) Belchertown \$101-125	(10)		
(8) Fairview \$101-125	(37)		
(9) Chicopee Falls \$76-100	(60)		
(10) Westfield \$101-125	(7)		
(11) So. Hadley Falls \$76-100	(16)		
(12) Aldenville \$76-100	(12)		
(13) So. Hadley \$101-125	(9)		
(14) West Spfld. \$101-125	(6)		

## 4. Additional Data - Average number of dependents and rooms

## a. Negroes

(1) Springfield

## c. White Officers

(1) Springfield	\$126-150	(9)
(2) Chicopee	\$126-150	(4)
(3) Holyoke	\$126-150	(4)
(4) Ludlow	\$151-175	(5)
(5) Granby	\$101-125	(8)
(6) Belchertown	\$101-125	(1)
(7) Fairview	\$126-150	(8)
(8) Chicopee Falls	\$126-150	(17)
(9) West Spfld.	\$126-150	(7)
(10) South Hadley	\$101-125	(12)
(11) Other	\$151-175	(5)

## d. White Enlisted

(1) Springfield	\$101-125	(61)
(2) Chicopee	\$76-100	(37)
(3) Holyoke	\$76-100	(51)
(4) Willimansett	\$76-100	(28)
(5) Ludlow	\$101-125	(22)
(6) Granby	\$76-100	(19)
(7) Fairview	\$101-125	(35)
(8) Chicopee Falls	\$76-100	(60)
(9) So. Hadley Falls	\$101-125	(18)
(10) West Spfld.	\$126-150	(5)
(11) South Hadley	\$76-100	(8)
(12) Aldenville	\$76-100	(11)

## e. Average number of dependents and rooms

## (1) Negroes

(a) Springfield		
i. Average number of dependents		3.06
ii. Average number of rooms		4.31
(b) Holyoke		
i. Average number of dependents		3.42
ii. Average number of rooms		4.83
(c) No other towns have more than one resident.		

## (2) Whites

(a) Springfield		
i. Average number of dependents		2.67
ii. Average number of rooms		4.84
(b) Holyoke		
i. Average number of dependents		2.49
ii. Average number of rooms		4.26

APPENDIX H

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD SCHOOLS  
LOCATED IN  
WHITE AND NONWHITE AREAS 1965

Schools Located in Nonwhite Areas			% Nonwhite Enrollment	Site Size Standard	% of Size	Census Tract
Name	Type	Year Built				
Brightwood	Elementary	1899	28%	20.4%		7 North End
Brookings	"	1926	59			19 Old Hill
Carew	"	1894	59	10.3		8 North End (Scheduled 1966 for demolition)
De Berry	"	1951	91	54.5		18 Old Hill
Eastern Ave.	"	1898	86	10.5		18 " "
Ells	"	1960	60	97.4		14 McKnight - Bay
Homer	"	1898	48	15.2		17 Upper Hill
Hooker	"	1916	82	12.6		10 North End (Scheduled 1966 for demolition)
Tapley	"	1887	75	9.9		13 McKnight - Bay
Buckingham	Jr. High	1890	63	10.3		18 Old Hill
Chestnut St.	" "	1903	22	17.8		5 North End on Lower Liberty Heights
Classical	" "	1898	18			19 Old Hill

Schools Located in White Areas			Year Built	Site Size Standard	% of Size	Census Tract
Name	Type					
Acushnet Ave.	Elementary	1896		13.1		
Armory	"	1901		27.8		
Balliet	"	1926				
Bowles	"	1926		48.1		
Brunton	"	1959		16.2		
Dorman	"	1932		40.7		
Glenwood	"	1930		42.3		
Glickman	"	1955		142.3		
Greenaway	"	1961		132.1		
Harris	"	1927		44.0		
Howard	"	1906		21.6		
Indian Orchard	"	1924				
Jefferson	"	1899				(Scheduled for Demolition)
Kensington	"	1908		27.5		
Liberty	"	1918		33.3		
Lincoln	"	1910		23.2		(Scheduled for Relocation)
Memorial	"	1953		123.5		
Morris	"	1926				
Myrtle	"	1869				
North Branch	"	1961		284.0		
Pottenger	"	1952		29.7		
School St.	"	1892		15.9		
Sixteen Acres	"	1941		139.0		
Sumner Ave.	"	1912		27.2		
Talmadge	"	1955		111.5		
Tiffany	"	1962		144.8		
Warner	"	1930		46.3		
Washington	"	1918		17.8		
White	"	1905				

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD SCHOOLS LOCATED IN WHITE AND NONWHITE AREAS 1965 (Cont.)

Schools Located in White Areas			% Nonwhite	Site Size	% of	Census	Total
Name	Type	Year Built	Enrollment	Standard Size	Tract	Tract	Enrollment
Duggan	Jr. High	1957		130.2			
Forest Park	" "	1899		22.7			
Kiley	" "	1963		228.3			
Myrtle	" "	1869					
Van Sickle	" "	1931		39.9			
Classical	High	1898	6%			19	1,132
Commerce	"	1915	12			19	1,615
Technical	"	1906	8			12	2,087
Trade	"	1940	7			14	1,155

Source: Springfield Planning Department and The Planning Services. Neighborhood Analyses 1965.



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