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THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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TO MARIE

EDITOR'S PREFACE

While this volume concerns itself with *The Negro Family in the United States*, its significance for the understanding of the family in general is apparent. It is, in fact, the most valuable contribution to the literature on the family since the publication, twenty years ago, of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. For it is a basic study of the family in its two chief aspects—as a natural human association and as a social institution subjected to the severest stresses and strains of social change.

The social scientist is greatly handicapped in his research by the extremely limited opportunity which he has to conduct experiments. He should, therefore, take full advantage of the "experiments" which Nature and Society present to him. In the field of the family no situations are more challenging in their range and variety than those presented for our observation in the transplantation of the Negro from Africa to America, in the transition from slavery to freedom, and in the mass migration from the plantation to the metropolis. Never before in the recorded history of mankind has the family life of a people, in so short a period, experienced so great and so sudden dislocations, necessitating adjustment to new and unforeseen situations.

These situations, and the adjustment of the Negro to them, Dr. Frazier has described and analyzed with objectivity and with insight. He provides the reader with a wealth of data and with illuminating interpretations which derive from, and are not imposed upon, his concrete ma-

terials. He shows convincingly that, depending upon the social situation, the forms of sexual and familial relationships may vary from casual contacts to permanent association, from promiscuity to monogamy, and from patriarchal and matriarchal to the modern equalitarian organization of domestic relations.

For the first time, therefore, there is available to the student what may be called a natural history of the family, to be sure of the Negro family, in the United States which epitomizes and telescopes in one hundred and fifty years the age-long evolution of the human family. In the chapters on the Negro family, "In the House of the Mother," Dr. Frazier describes a pattern of familial human relations more primordial and more "natural" in the sense of being less influenced by convention and tradition than those of any so-called "primitive" peoples studied by the anthropologist.[1] He then shows, "In the House of the Father," the process by which the earlier maternal organization underwent metamorphosis and the paternal organization of the family emerged and developed.

Finally, as the Negro moves into "The City of Destruction," Dr. Frazier portrays in sharper outlines than is possible for any other culture group, first, the instability and disorganization of the family under the stress and strain of urban conditions and, second, the forces at work in its reorganization in an equalitarian form in orientation to the urban way of life. These four forms of the family described by Frazier (matriarchal, patriarchal, unstable, and equalitarian) may perhaps be conceived of as ideal constructions,

[1] B. Malinowski reports that in tribes of a low level of cultural evolution, such as the Australian, the family is already in the mores (see *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* [London, 1913]). But the plantation Negro family in slavery had little or none of the sanctions of the mores.

symbolic of the extremes of variation which the historic patterns of the family in their great diversity, past and future, have taken and may take.

This presentation by Frazier of the natural history of the Negro family, documented by concrete materials, marks the transition from a philosophy of the family as set forth by Westermarck, Müller-Lyer, and Briffault to a study of types of families, in this case within one biosocial group. The philosophical studies of the family, by emphasizing stages in the evolution of the family and the attributes assumed to be common to the family in general, inhibited research upon significant differences. The work of Frazier, like that of Thomas and Znaniecki, utilizes the opportunity for inductive research by comparing the behavior and forms of the family as they change under the impact of different conditions—a procedure which stimulates and gives orientation to further research.

It is in periods when institutions and persons are most subject to the vicissitudes of social change and when disorganization and reorganization are taking place that the dynamic motivations of conduct become clear since they are less complicated by surface and secondary factors. Accordingly, this natural history of the Negro family not only differentiates types of families but also makes possible generalization about the family in general.

Implicit in his data and interpretations, although not always explicitly stated by the author, are the following conclusions validated by his study and of paramount significance for our understanding of the family.

1. The sexual impulse in itself is not sufficient to insure more than the casual union of the sexes. It cannot, there-

fore, be taken, as has generally been the case, as being the family-building factor par excellence.

2. The relationship between mother and child appears to be the primary and essential social bond around which the family develops.

3. An intimate and affectional attachment between man and woman is next in importance in creating and in maintaining the family as a form of human association.

4. The influence of religion is a significant factor in the regulation of sex and in the stabilization of the family.

5. Economic considerations, especially those concerned with private property, make for the increased participation of the man in family life and strengthen the family as a social institution.

6. The cultural gains made by individual persons are transmitted through the family to the rest of society.

7. Finally, this study convincingly indicates that the family is rooted in human nature—in human nature conceived not as a bundle of instincts but as a product of social life; that the family may take protean forms as it survives or is reborn in times of cataclysmic social change; and that we can predict with some assurance the persistence of the family but not the specific forms which it may take in the future.

Professor Frazier's convincing demonstration of the capacity of the family to persist under most unfavorable conditions is dramatically confirmed by the great social experiment of the Soviet Union. In this instance, after the October Revolution, the Bolshevists permitted rather than required official registration of marriage and, after having deprived the family of almost all its institutional rights and

obligations, allowed it to continue as a private arrangement between husband and wife. Either husband or wife was free to dissolve the union, and the only interest manifested by the state was to insure proper provision at the time of separation for the care of children born to the union. It is a striking fact, however, that in 1935 new legislation was enacted emphasizing the responsibility of the family as a social institution for the control of the conduct of the child. Editorials and articles stressed the sanctity of familial obligations. A ringing slogan began to be heard that "a poor family man cannot be a good Soviet citizen."[2] This finding, both in the Russian experiment and in the varied experiences of the Negro family in the United States, that the family has a cultural as well as an affectional function, is of paramount importance in considering the changes which the American family now faces.

In *Recent Social Trends*, William F. Ogburn shows by a mass of statistical evidence that the family in American society has lost or is losing its historical functions: health, economic, educational, recreational, religious, and protective. He points out, however, that it still retains three significant functions: affection, rearing of children, and the informal education of its members. At present, as further changes are taking place and others are impending, it is well to reconsider the significance of these remaining functions for the fate of the family in Western civilization.

A revolutionary change in the United States, the full significance of which for the family has not been realized or adequately considered, is the adoption of the program of

[2] Quoted from editorial in *Pravda* by Nathan Berman in his article, "Juvenile Delinquency, the Family, and the Court in the Soviet Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1936–37), 691.

social security. In the past the person looked to the family for economic security. The family in turn recognized provision for its members as a sacred obligation. The enthusiasm and unanimity with which the policy of social security was enacted registers a profound change in public attitude. Youth is ready to pass the burden of the support of aged parents to the state; the old look to the state rather than to their children and kinfolks for a greater measure of security.

But in what ways and to how great an extent will the impact of the social security program change the role and functioning of the family in the future? It appears that we should look upon social security as a symbol of all the forces that are shearing from the family its institutional significance and leaving it only its affectional and cultural functions.

More and more the American family is becoming a union of husband and wife based upon the sentiment of love and the attraction of temperamental compatibility. Less and less powerful every year are the factors of economic interdependence and community control. The question must eventually be raised: "Are affection and common cultural interests sufficiently binding to give substance and continuity to the family?"

Of late, evidence is multiplying to indicate the outstanding significance of family relations, especially in the early years of life, for the personality development of its members and particularly of the child. Studies in Chicago by F. N. Freeman and associates,[3] corroborated by research in Iowa

[3] F. N. Freeman, K. J. Holzinger, and B. C. Mitchell, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement and Conduct of Foster Children," *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Bloomington, Ill., 1928), Part I.

recently published by Marie Skodak, of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station,[4] show that the intelligence of adopted children is much closer to that of their foster-parents than to that of their natural parents. Intelligence appears to be more a function of the familial or social environment than of the inherited constitution.

Studies by psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists are in agreement in indicating the role in personality formation of the interpersonal relations of the child with his parents and his brothers and sisters. Trends in behavior and patterns of response early established persist and evolve in these predetermined paths.[5]

In the family also are transmitted the earliest cultural forms of behavior. If the child is "the little creature of his culture,"[6] it is the family culture in which he is molded. Much of the impress of the cultural backgrounds is acquired unconsciously in the family, as language, food preferences, basic attitudes to sex, etc.

It is paradoxical but nonetheless true that the recognition of the significance of the affectional and cultural functions of the family may and does lead to their curtailment. Parents more and more are turning to experts and to child-study associations for knowledge of the right way to rear their children. Preschool centers and day nurseries may in one sense be regarded as parental surrogates and in another as providing the only child with substitute brothers and

[4] Marie Skodak, "The Mental Development of Adopted Children Whose True Mothers Are Feeble-Minded," *Child Development*, IX (1938), 303–8, and *Children in Foster Homes* ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare," Vol. XVI, No. 1 [Iowa City, 1939]).

[5] See Edward Sapir, "Personality," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XII, 85–88.

[6] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 3.

sisters. Children born to parents unwilling or unable to care for them are placed in foster-homes. Home placement if properly organized and supervised is proving more satisfactory than institutions both for dependent children, for juvenile delinquents, and for adults suffering from mental disorders.

If the community in one way or another is intervening in family relations, it seems from the foregoing illustrations to be upon the two principles either of providing the knowledge desirable for the improved functioning of the family or of substituting a satisfactory for an unsatisfactory family environment. In either case the significance of the family for wholesome personality development is increasingly recognized.

In democratic societies we are not likely to return to the semipatriarchal form of family life which confines women to the realm of domestic obligations. On the contrary, there is evidence that the union of husband and wife based on affection, congeniality, and common interests will become more stable as a primary social group and will provide its members with more opportunity for personal development.

In our recognition of the contributions of *The Negro Family in the United States* to our knowledge of the family, its value for an understanding of the American Negro family should not be underestimated. All persons concerned with the Negro, whether engaged in research or involved in practical problems, will find this volume indispensable. It explodes completely, and it may be hoped once and for all, the popular misconception of the uniformity of behavior among Negroes. It shows dramatically the wide variations in conduct and in family life by social classes and the still wider differences between individuals in attitudes, interests, ideas,

and ideals. The first prerequisite in understanding the Negro, his family life, and his problems is the recognition of the basic fact that the Negro in America is a cultural and only secondarily a biological group and that his culture with all its variations is American and a product of his life in the United States.

As the Negro enters the city, the situations which he faces are essentially those formerly encountered by immigrant people from Europe and, what should not be overlooked, the same situations which have to be faced by white newcomers from villages and towns of this country. The chief difference is that for the Negro family and individual Negroes the problems of poverty, bad housing, high rents, communicable disease, illegitimacy, promiscuity, prostitution, gambling, juvenile delinquency, and adult crime are frequently, though not always, intensified. To perceive that these problems are essentially alike for the Negro and the white, despite qualitative differences, is a precondition to the development of a constructive and effective program of dealing with them.

An important contribution of this volume is that it provides a *Gestalt* in which the problems of the Negro family, both for research and for practical action, take on new perspective and meaning. For this reason, if for no other, this work is both a necessary background and a starting-point for further research upon the problems of the Negro family in America.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Thirty-one years ago a study of the American Negro family appeared in a pioneer series of monographs devoted to the application of objective methods to the study of the Negro's adjustment to modern civilization.[1] Since then the Negro family as a subject of serious sociological interest has been neglected. And, except for materials of an incidental nature appearing in local surveys, generally unpublished, and in numerous books and articles, little organized information has been available on Negro family life. It was because of the long neglect of this phase of Negro life, which probably offers the most fruitful approach to the problem of the assimilation of the Negro and his adjustment to modern civilization, that the author undertook in *The Negro Family in Chicago*[2] to apply the tools and concepts of modern sociological analysis to the study of this problem in the North.

The opportunity to extend over a wider area the methods developed in the study of the Negro family in Chicago was made possible by a substantial grant in 1929 and a supplementary grant-in-aid in 1934 from the Social Science Research Council. During the first two years of the study, and later as professor of sociology, the author enjoyed the advantages of Fisk University as a base from which to carry on most of the field work in the plantation region. To Howard University he is equally indebted for a lightened teaching schedule as well as for clerical and other forms of assist-

[1] *The Negro American Family*, ed. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois ("Atlanta University Publications," No. 13 [Atlanta, 1908]).

[2] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

ance. Moreover, the study was enriched by the materials collected by the author in the course of an economic and social survey of the Harlem community for the Mayor's Commission on Conditions in Harlem.

This is only a part of the heavy indebtedness which the author has incurred in the course of collecting materials and writing this book. His first obligation, which he acknowledges with deep appreciation, is to Professor Ernest W. Burgess, who not only manifested a keen interest in the study from the beginning but generously took valuable time from his own researches to read the manuscript twice and make valuable suggestions in regard both to style and to subject matter. Acknowledgment here of the encouragement, interest, and valuable insights which Dr. Robert E. Park has given to this study is but a small indication of the author's deep gratitude to his former teacher. Grateful acknowledgment is made also to Professor William F. Ogburn for his interest in the study as well as for his assistance in making possible the securing of census data. The author's indebtedness to the teachings of Professor Ellsworth Faris is too obvious throughout the book to be pointed to in a few words of appreciation. This brief sentence must suffice as an expression of the author's sincere appreciation of Professor Louis Wirth's pertinent suggestions after a careful reading of the entire manuscript.

It would be impossible to make acknowledgment to all the persons in social agencies and public institutions who have contributed of their time and interest to this study. But special acknowledgment should be made for the valuable assistance given by Mr. Frank Notestein, formerly of the Milbank Memorial Fund, and Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, of the Census Bureau; and to Miss Maurine Boie, for the

tabulation of most of the statistical data. To his colleague, Professor William O. Brown, the author is indebted for his painstaking reading of the entire manuscript and for his valuable suggestions. For the illustrations from linoleum cuts the author thanks Mrs. Hilda Wilkinson Brown, of Miner Teachers College, Washington, D.C. Thanks are also due to Misses Lillian Nesbit and Leora Hadley for their careful typing of the manuscript several times and their assistance in checking references. To the thousands of unnamed Negro families scattered over the country, from the plantations of the South to the sophisticated circles of the northern cities, who allowed a stranger to peer into the intimacies of their family life and who sometimes dug up family "skeletons" for him to view, the author owes a debt that is best acknowledged in the pages that follow.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
March 15, 1939

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PART I

IN THE HOUSE OF THE MASTER



CHAPTER I

FORGOTTEN MEMORIES

On the nineteenth of April, in the year 1797, Mungo Park started with a slave coffle from the interior of Africa for Gambia on the west coast. Many of these slaves, who had been captured in intertribal wars, had not only been in domestic slavery but during their captivity had been sold on native slave markets. "The coffle, on its departure from Kamalia," wrote Park,

> consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other Slatees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Marraboo, and three at Bala, making in all thirty-five slaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives and some domestic slaves, and the school master, who was now upon his return for Woradoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars, so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three.[1]

The coffle was followed for about half a mile "by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying and others shaking hands with their relations."[2] The entire caravan halted on an eminence in view of the town which they had just abandoned. The members of the coffle were ordered to sit with their faces toward the west, while apart from them sat the townspeople facing the town. Then the schoolmaster pronounced a long and solemn prayer, after which the principal *slatees* (free black traders) "walked three times round

[1] *The Travels of Mungo Park* ("Everyman's Library" [New York, n.d.]), p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.*

the coffle, making an impression on the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm."[3] At the end of this ceremony the coffle began its journey to the coast.

The westward journey led through dense forests, over wild and rocky country, and past ruins of towns laid waste by the warlike Foulahs. When periodic stops were made for refreshments, the schoolmaster offered prayers to Allah and the Prophet that they might be preserved from the marauding bands that the coffle avoided from time to time. Six *jalli keas* (singing men) relieved the hardships of the journey and gained a welcome to strange towns. Some slaves attempted to end their captivity by flight, while others in desperation sought in suicide an escape from servitude. One woman who refused to eat was finally stripped and left to be devoured by wild beasts when she became too great a burden. For a day's journey the coffle was joined by another on its way to a slave market in the interior. After almost two months the coffle reached the coast where the American slaveship "Charleston" was seeking a cargo of slaves for South Carolina.

The hardships of the slaves were not ended when they reached the coast. There was still the ordeal of the Middle Passage which always took its toll in sickness and death. A dozen or so died before the ship set sail, and eleven of those weakened by sickness during the voyage died at sea. When the ship had been at sea three weeks, it became so leaky that it was necessary to release some of the slaves to assist at the pumps. The ship was forced to change its course toward the West Indies and put into Antiqua, where the ship was condemned and the slaves were sold.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

There were among these slaves, so Mungo Park informs us, some who carried to the New World as part of the African heritage a knowledge of Arabic consisting chiefly of passages from the Koran. Bryan Edwards has left us a picture of an old Mandingo servant standing beside him chanting a fragment from the Koran which he had preserved from his childhood memories.[4] It was not unnatural that this slave, who had been brought to the West Indies in his youth, had retained but dim memories of Africa. In the case of older slaves, the past was not so easily blotted out. Recent students, who have a better knowledge of the cultural background of the slaves, have been able to trace many words in the language of Negroes in the West Indies, Suriname, and Brazil to their African sources.[5] There is also impressive

[4] "An old and faithful Mandingo servant, who stands at my elbow while I write this, relates, that being sent by his father to visit a distant relation in a country wherein the Portuguese had a settlement, a fray happened in the village in which he resided; that many people were killed, and others taken prisoners, and he himself was seized and carried off in the skirmish; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by some of the natives of the place; and being sent down a river in a canoe, was sold to the captain of the ship that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national customs and manners he remembers but little, being, at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practice circumcision, and that he himself has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of his assertion, he chaunts, in an audible and shrill tone, a sentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, La illa ill illa! which he says they sing aloud at the first appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was constantly made a day of strict fasting. It was almost a sin, he observes, on that day *to swallow his spittle*—such is his expression" (Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* [London, 1807], II, 71–72).

[5] Melville Herskovits, "On the Provenience of New World Negroes," *Social Forces*, XII, 252–59. The planters in the West Indies possessed some knowledge concerning the tribal backgrounds of the slaves. For example, the Koromantyn, or Gold Coast Negroes, who were distinguished for their

evidence of the fact that, in the West Indies and in parts of South America, African culture still survives in the religious practices, funeral festivals, folklore, and dances of the transplanted Negroes.[6] Likewise, in regard to social organi-

"firmness both of body and mind; a ferociousness of disposition; but withal, activity, courage, and a stubbornness, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation, of soul, which prompts them to enterprises of difficulty and danger; and enables them to meet death, in its most horrible shape, with fortitude or indifference" (Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 74), were, as a professional planter wrote on the management of slaves in the colonies, "dangerous inmates on a West India Plantation" (*Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*, by a Professional Planter [London, 1803], in Ulrich B. Phillips, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society: Plantation and Frontier* [Cleveland, 1910–11], II, 127–33). In this book by the Professional Planter we have a description of the racial and cultural traits of different African peoples sold on the slave markets together with information concerning their adaptability for the requirements of the plantation and means necessary for their management.

[6] Herskovits, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–59; Helen H. Roberts, "Possible Survivals of African Song in Jamaica," *Musical Quarterly*, XII, 340–58; see also, by the same author, "A Study of Folk-Song Variants Based on Field Work in Jamaica," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXXVIII, 149–216. Dr. Park's observations in regard to the practice of Obeah show to what extent the environment of the New World has transformed even the most deeply rooted traits of African culture. He wrote after a trip to the West Indies: "What is more interesting about obeah is that while as a practice and a belief it is universal among the uneducated classes of the black population in the islands, it is everywhere different, and everywhere in process of change. Practices that were originally imported from Africa tend to assimilate and fuse with related practices and traits of the European and Hindu cultures wherever the Africans have come into contact with them.

"This is evident, in the first place, from the fact that the obeah man is not always a Negro; he may be, and not infrequently is, a Hindu. In the second place, the ritual of obeah may include anything from patent medicine to Guinea pepper. Among the instruments of obeah in the possession of the police of Trinidad recently were a stone image, evidently of Hindu origin, and a book of magic ritual published in Chicago, which pretended to be, and no doubt had been, translated originally from the writings of Albertus Magnus, the great medieval writer on magic. A book called *Le Petit Albert* is said to

zation, Bryan Edwards noted that the practice of polygamy was "very generally adopted among Negroes in the West Indies; he who conceives a remedy may be found for this by introducing among them the laws of marriage as established in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their manners, propensities, and superstitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not less than ten thousand of such as are called Head Negroes (artificers and others) possess from two to four wives."[7] Even today it appears that the African pattern of family life is perpetuated in the patriarchal family organization of the West Indian Negroes.[8]

In contrast to the situation in the West Indies, African traditions and practices did not take root and survive in

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be extremely popular among obeah men in the French Islands" ("Magic, Mentality, and City Life" in *The City*, by Robert E. Park *et al.* [Chicago, 1925], p. 133).

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 175–76. The fact that West Indian slaves were able to reknit their native culture was probably responsible for the moral solidarity among them, which kept planters in constant fear of servile uprisings.

[8] Martha W. Beckwith, *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life* (Chapel Hill, 1929), p. 54. In the following observations of a visitor to the French West Indies about the year 1700 we have, doubtless, an example of this patriarchal authority which had its roots in Africa. Labat says: "I have often taken pleasure in watching a negro carpenter at Guadaloupe when he ate his meals. His wife and children gathered around him, and served him with as much respect as the best drilled domestics serve their masters; and if it was a fete day or Sunday, his sons-in-law and daughters did not fail to be present, and bring him some small gifts. They formed a circle about him, and conversed with him while he was eating. When he had finished, his pipe was brought to him, and then he bade them eat. They paid him their reverences, and passed into another room, where they all eat together with their mother" (Pere Labat, *Voyage aux Isles francoises*, II, 54, cited in Hubert H. S. Aimes, "African Institutions in America," *Journal of American Folklore*, XVIII, 24–25).

the United States.[9] The explanation, according to Professor Park,

is to be found in the manner in which the Negro slaves were collected in Africa and the manner in which they were disposed of after they arrived in this country. The great markets for slaves in Africa were on the West Coast, but the old slave trails ran back from the coast far into the interior of the continent, and all the peoples of Central Africa contributed to the stream of enforced emigration to the New World. . . . .

There was less opportunity in the United States also than in the West Indies for a slave to meet one of his own people, because the plantations were considerably smaller, more widely scattered and, especially, because as soon as they were landed in this country, slaves were immediately divided and shipped in small numbers, frequently no more than one or two at a time, to different plantations. This was the procedure with the very first Negroes brought to this country. It was found easier to deal with the slaves, if they were separated from their kinsmen.

On the plantation, they were thrown together with slaves who had already forgotten or only dimly remembered their life in Africa. English was the only language of the plantation. The attitude of the slave plantation to each fresh arrival seems to have been much like that of the older immigrant towards the greenhorn. Everything that marked him as an alien was regarded as ridiculous and barbaric.[10]

[9] Even Professor Herskovits, who thinks that research would reveal African survivals among the Negroes of the United States, makes the following admission: "Yet to point to a Senegambian name, an Ashanti deity, a Congo belief among Negroes of the United States, recognizable as such, is almost impossible" (*op. cit.*, p. 261; see also, by the same author, "The Negro in the New World: The Statement of a Problem," *American Anthropologist*, XXXII, 145–56).

[10] Robert E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *Journal of Negro History*, IV, 117. Professor Herskovits has produced a mass of documentary evidence to show that the slaves brought to the New World were secured from "the West African coastal forested belt," a relatively homogenous culture area ("On the Provenience of New World Negroes," *op. cit.*, p. 251).

From time to time, customs among the Negro population have been ascribed to the African background.[11] For example, at an early period in New England, Negroes had the custom of electing governors who exercised an almost despotic discipline over local groups of slaves. This custom has been characterized as a survival of the social organization of African tribes.[12] If we may trust the testimony of a slave that, on the plantation where he was held for a time, there was a man "who prayed five times every day, always turn-

[11] Negro superstitions and religious practices have been often uncritically attributed to African sources. Upon examination these superstitions appear to be folk beliefs, without any religious significance, of an isolated peasantry. In many cases these superstitions are traceable to European folklore. As Dr. Park ("The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *op. cit.*, pp. 115–16) has pointed out, the last authentic account of a religious practice of African origin was that which took place in Louisiana in 1884 and was described by George W. Cable, "Creole Slave Songs," *Century Magazine*, XXXI, 807–27. On the Sea Islands, where the isolated unmixed Negroes speak a distinct dialect, we probably have in the "praise house" a fusion of African traits of culture with the practices of Western civilization (see Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* [Chapel Hill, 1930], pp. 147–53). For an example of the uncritical and often absurd assertions concerning the influence of African culture see Carter G. Woodson, *The African Background Outlined or Handbook for the Study of the Negro* (Washington, D.C., 1936), pp. 168–75, where the author, among other equally untenable conjectures, states: "The industry of the Negro in the United States may be partly explained as an African survival. The Negro is born a worker. In the African social order work is well organized. Everybody is supposed to make some contribution to the production of food and clothing necessary for the whole community" (p. 171). Of the same nature is the claim of Herskovits that the practice of baptism among Negroes is related "to the great importance of the river-cults in West Africa, particularly in view of the fact, that as has been observed, river-cult priests were sold into slavery in great numbers" ("Social History of the Negro" in *A Handbook of Social Psychology* [Worcester, Mass., 1935], pp. 256–57). It needs simply to be stated that about a third of the rural Negroes in the United States are Methodists and only in exceptional cases practice baptism.

[12] Aimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17.

ing his face to the east, when in the performance of his devotions," we probably have a case of the survival of Mohammedan practices.[13] In the same account we have a description of a burial which might have been an African survival:

I assisted her and her husband to inter the infant—which was a little boy—and its father buried with it, a small bow and several arrows; a little bag of parched meal; a miniature canoe, about a foot long, and a little paddle (with which he said it would cross the ocean to his own country), a small stick, with an iron nail, sharpened, and fastened into one end of it; and a piece of white muslin, with several curious and strange figures painted on it in blue and red, by which, he said, his relations and countrymen would know the infant to be his son, and would receive it accordingly, on its arrival amongst them..... He cut a lock of hair from his head, threw it upon the dead infant, and closed the grave with his own hands. He then told us the God of his country was looking at him, and was pleased with what he had done.[14]

These isolated instances only tend to show how difficult it was for slaves, who had retained a memory of their African background, to find a congenial milieu in which to perpetuate the old way of life. Even before reaching the United States, slaves had often been subjected to influences that tended to destroy the significance and meaning of their African heritage.[15] Once in the New World, they were sepa-

[13] Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man* (Lewistown, Pa., 1836), p. 127.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–5.

[15] Elizabeth Donnan (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, 1930), I, Preface, vi. In many cases the slaves brought to the United States had already lost part of their African heritage while in the West Indies. The following list of slaves belonging to the members of the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia, in 1766, shows both the African origin of the slaves and, in two cases, the length of their residence in the West Indies:

"John Rebo, b. 1721, in Angola, Guinea, Africa. In 1733 taken to Ja-

rated from friends and acquaintances and "broken in" to the regimen of the plantation.[16] Finally, they had to face the disdain, if not the hostility, of the slaves who had become accommodated and accustomed to the new environment.[17]

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maica, W.I., and in 1737 to New York. Baptized Oct. 19, 1747, by Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff. . . . .

"Silpo Fortune (baptized 1761, Anna Elizabeth), b. Jan. 1, 1730.

"Tobias, b. 1721, in Ibo Nation, Africa, brought to America in 1763.

"Woodridge, b. 1748, in Guinea, Africa, taken to Barbadoes, W.I., 1756, and to Philadelphia in 1764.

"Dinah, b. 1740, in Guinea, Africa, brought to Philadelphia in 1756.

"Flora, b. 1725, in Ibo Nation, Guinea, Africa, brought to Pennsylvania in 1735.

"Rose, b. 1726, in Guinea, Africa, brought here in 1736. . . . ."

[16] A traveler in Louisiana described the process of breaking in new Negroes as follows: "Negroes bought from the importers and carried home by the purchasers are ordinarily treated differently from the old ones. They are only gradually accustomed to work. They are made to bathe often, to take walks from time to time, and especially to dance; they are distributed in small numbers among old slaves in order to dispose them to better acquire their habits" (C. C. Robin, *Voyages ... de la Louisiane* [Paris, 1807], III, 169–70, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 31). A Negro slave who was brought to Virginia about 1755 from Barbadoes and was shortly afterward taken to England wrote as follows concerning his isolation: "We were landed up a river a good way from the sea, about Virginia county, where we saw a few or none of our native Africans, and not one soul who could talk to me. I was a few weeks weeding grass, and gathering stones in a plantation; and at last all my companions were distributed different ways, and only myself was left. I was now exceedingly miserable, and thought myself worse off than any of the rest of my companions; for they could talk to each other, but I had no person to speak to that I could understand" (*The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* [London, 1789], I, 90–91).

[17] The following newspaper account of the reception of four native Africans on a Georgia plantation, except for the inferred detail concerning the delight of the newcomers, is probably indicative of the general attitude of the slaves toward their African background: "Our common darkies treat them with sovereign contempt walking around them with a decided aristocratic

As regards the Negro family, there is no reliable evidence that African culture has had any influence on its development.[18] In the autobiography of a slave a story is told of a slave who claimed that he had been a priest in Africa and, when through with his work in the field, assumed an attitude toward his wife similar to that of the husband in the West Indian Negro family.[19] This might have been an instance of the survival of African customs. Concerning this slave, Ball wrote:

[He] was a morose, sullen man, and said he formerly had ten wives in his own country, who all had to work for, and wait upon him; and he thought himself badly off here, in having but one woman to do anything for him. This man was very irritable, and often beat and other-

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air. But the Africans are docile and very industrious and are represented as being perfectly delighted with their new homes and improved conditions. The stories that they are brutes and savages is all stuff and nonsense. It was put in the papers by men who do not know what they are talking about. As to their corrupting our common negroes, we venture the assertion would come nearer the truth if stated the other way" (*Atlanta* [Ga.] *Daily Intelligencer*, March 9, 1859, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 54–55).

[18] Du Bois, who believed that careful research would reveal traces, but traces only, "of the African family in America" since "the effectiveness of the slave system meant the practically complete crushing out of the African clan and family life," nevertheless gives as an example of survival the case of a Negro country wedding in Lowndes County, Alabama, in 1892, in which the bride was chased "after the ceremony in a manner very similar to the Zulu ceremony" (*The Negro American Family* [Atlanta, 1908], p. 21). To establish any real cultural connection between African practices and such behavior as that described in the case cited would require not only a more detailed knowledge of the tribal origins of American Negroes than our sources of information afford us but a definite historical connection between specific practices and particular tribes. Without such knowledge, the claim of a social worker (Corinne Sherman, "Racial Factors in Desertion," *Family*, III, 224) that she was not able to understand "the conjugal habits of colored clients" until she had gained a knowledge of African customs shows to what fantastic conclusions speculations about African survivals in America may lead one.

[19] See n. 8 above.

wise maltreated his wife, on the slightest provocation, and the overseer refused to protect her, on the ground, that he never interfered in the family quarrels of the black people.[20]

The slaves, it seems, had only a vague knowledge of the African background of their parents. For example, a slave brought to Southampton County, Virginia, said concerning his father:

My father's name was Joe. He was owned by a planter named Benford, who lived at Northampton, in the same state. I believe my father and his family were bred on Benford's plantation. His father had been stolen from Africa. He was of the Eboe tribe. I remember seeing him once, when he came to visit my mother. He was very black. I never saw him but that one time, and though I was quite small, I have a distinct recollection of him. He and my mother were separated, in consequence of his master's going further off, and then my mother was forced to take another husband.[21]

Although Austin Steward, one of the early leaders in protesting the emigration of the free Negroes to Africa,[22] does not give the tribal origin of his ancestors, he gives real or legendary details of the circumstances under which his grandfather was captured in Africa:

[20] Ball, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–4. It is of interest to note that Professor Herskovits claims that "the importance of the mother's family, though not institutionalized, is so great when compared with the significance of the father and his people that it must be considered as one of these special types of tradition, as must the care taken of orphaned children by relatives, usually on the mother's side, and the reluctance of Negroes to allow orphans to be taken to institutions which shelter such children" (*Handbook of Social Psychology*, p. 254). Contrary to this far-fetched explanation, the prevalence of the maternal family organization among Negroes will be shown in the course of our study to be due to social and economic forces in American life.

[21] John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England*, ed. L. A. Chameroozow (London, 1855), pp. 1–2.

[22] C. G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, 1928), p. 272.

Some years ago, a woman engaged in washing clothes, near the sea coast, had a lad with her to take care of her two younger children—one a young babe—while she was at work. They wandered away a short distance, and while amusing themselves under some bushes, four men, to them strange looking creatures, with white faces, surrounded them; and when the lad attempted to run away, they threw the infant he held in his arms, on the ground, and seizing the other two children, bore them screaming with fear, to the ship. Frantic and inconsolable, they were borne to the American slave market, where they were sold to a Virginia Planter, for whom they labored sorrowfully and in tears, until old age deprived them of farther exertion, when they were turned out, like an old horse, to die; and did die destitute and uncared for, in their aged infirmity, after a long life of unrequited toil. That lad, stole from Africa's coast, was my grandfather.[23]

But in the case of Martin Delany,[24] who was associated with Frederick Douglass on the *North Star* and who, after serving as a surgeon in the Civil War, became the first Negro major in the United States Army, we have a full account of his African origin. "His pride in birth," writes his biographer, "is traceable to his maternal as well as to his paternal grandfather, native Africans—on the father's side, pure Golah; on the mother's, Mandingo."[25] Further details of his African racial heritage and the career of his ancestors are given in his biography:

His father's father was a chieftain, captured with his family in war, sold to the slavers, and brought to America. He fled at one time from

[23] Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman; Embracing a Correspondence of Several Years, While President of Wilberforce Colony, London, Canada West* (Rochester, N.Y., 1857), pp. 336–37.

[24] See "Martin Robinson Delany," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, V, 64–65.

[25] Frank A. Rollin, *Martin R. Delany: Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany, Sub-assistant Commissioner, Bureau of Relief of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands and Late Major 104th U.S. Colored Troops* (Boston, 1869), p. 15.

Virginia, where he was enslaved, taking with him his wife and two sons, born to him on this continent, and, after various wanderings reached Little York—as Toronto, Canada, was then called—unmolested. But even there he was pursued, and "by some fiction of law, international policy, old musty treaty, cozenly understood," says Major Delany, he was brought back to the United States. . . . .

On his mother's side the claim receives additional strength. The story runs that her father was an African prince, from the Niger Valley regions of Central Africa; was captured when young, during hostilities between the Mandingoes, Fellahtas, and Houssa, sold and brought to America at the same time with his betrothed Graci. His name was Shango, surnamed Peace, from that of a great African deity of protection which is represented in their worship as a ram's head with the attribute of fire. . . . .

Shango, at an early period of his servitude in America, regained his liberty, and returned to Africa.

Whether owing to the fact that the slave system was not so thoroughly estabished then—that is, had no legal existence,—or the early slaveholders had not then lost their claims to civilization, it was recognized among themselves that no African of noble birth should be continued enslaved, proofs of his claims being adduced. Thus, by virtue of his birth, Shango was enabled to return home. His wife, Graci, was afterwards restored to freedom by the same means. She remained in America, and died at the age of one hundred and seven, in the family of her only daughter, Pati, the mother of Major Delany.[26]

Major Delany was able to authenticate these incidents in his family history on an exploring trip to Africa in 1859 while investigating the Niger Valley as a suitable place to which emancipated Negroes might emigrate. He learned that his grandmother had been dead about forty-three years and that his "grandfather was heir to the kingdom which was then the most powerful in Central Africa, but lost his royal inheritance by the still prevailing custom of slavery and expatriation as a result of subjugation."[27] Thus Major

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Delany realized the ambition which, according to his biographer, was first kindled in him by the chants of his Mandingo mother.

The case of Major Delany is unusual, in respect to both his zeal in searching out the source of his African heritage and to the definiteness of his knowledge of his African ancestry. In most Negro families where there is knowledge concerning African origins it has become a more or less vague part of the family traditions. A founder of a school in the Black Belt modeled after Tuskegee tells us that his maternal grandmother came directly from Africa and spoke the African language. "It is said," he sums up his knowledge of her African background, "that when she became angry no one could understand what she said."[28] Moton, of unmixed ancestry, goes into greater detail concerning his African progenitors.[29] But the very details of Moton's story cast doubt

[28] W. J. Edwards, *Twenty-five Years in the Black Belt* (Boston, 1918), p. 1.

[29] Moton gives the following account of his African progenitor: "About the year of 1735, a fierce battle was waged between two strong tribes on the west coast of Africa. The chief of one of these tribes was counted among the most powerful of his time. This chief overpowered his rival and slaughtered and captured a great number of his band. Some of the captives escaped, others died, others still committed suicide, till but few were left. The victorious chief delivered to his son about a dozen of this forlorn remnant, and he, with an escort, took them away to be sold into slavery. The young African pushed his way through the jungle with his bodyguard until he reached the coast. Arrived there, he sold his captives to the captain of an American slave ship and received his pay in trinkets of various kinds, common to the custom of the trade. Then he was asked to row out in a boat and inspect the wonderful ship. He went, and with the captain and the crew saw every part of the vessel. When it was all over they offered him food and he ate it heartily. After that he remembered no more till he woke to find himself in the hold of the ship chained to one of the miserable creatures whom he himself had so recently sold as a slave, and the vessel itself was far beyond the sight of land. After many days the ship arrived at the shores of America; the human cargo was brought to Richmond and this African slave merchant was sold

upon its authenticity. Du Bois, of mixed blood, has woven the slender bond between himself and Africa from a romantic story of a Bantu ancestress. Two hundred years before his birth,

Tom Burghardt had come through the western pass from the Hudson with his Dutch captor, "Coenraet Burghardt," sullen in his slavery and achieving his freedom by volunteering for the Revolution at a time of sudden alarm. His wife was a little, black, Bantu woman, who never became reconciled to this strange land; she clasped her knees and rocked and crooned:

"Do banna coba—gene me, gene me!
Ben d'nuli, ben d'le———."[30]

Similarly, traditions in other Negro families go back to African ancestors, who are identified at times with various tribes or nations. The Wrights, who for two generations have achieved distinction as educators, claim descent from a Mandingo chief.[31] George Schuyler, who holds a unique place among Negro journalists and authors, traces his ancestry on his mother's side to Madagascar. With his characteristic skepticism, he remarks that the claim that she was a princess was "probably a lie."[32] A physician in Charleston, South Carolina, traces the African origin of his family to his father's grandmother, the daughter of a chief

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along with his captives at public auction in the slave markets of the city. He was bought by a tobacco planter and carried to Amelia County, Virginia, where he lived to be a very old man. This man was my grandmother's great grandfather" (Robert Russa Moton, *Finding a Way Out* [New York, 1920], pp. 3–4).

[30] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater* (New York, 1920), p. 5.

[31] From data on questionnaire. See *Who's Who in America, 1930–1931*, p. 2422.

[32] From data on questionnaire; see also George S. Schuyler, "Black Art," *American Mercury*, XXVII, 335.

in Madagascar, who was taken by missionaries to France to be educated but was stolen and sent to America, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to enslave her. Traditions in the family of a young lawyer of mixed blood in Chicago also point to Madagascar as the home of his African ancestor.[33] A physician in the same city tells of a great-grandfather of royal blood who was purchased and freed by Quakers after he refused to be enslaved. Sometimes the particular tribal or racial identity of the African progenitor has been lost, as in the family history of a lawyer in Harrisburg whose great grandfather was simply known as an African called Brutus, who was killed when he refused to submit to slavery. The vagueness of most of these traditions concerning the African ancestry is shown in the family history of a young woman who teaches in a Negro college. She writes:

> As far back as I can go on my mother's side I can remember my great-grandmother. We are of the opinion that she was not far removed from the African group. Her parents were born, I think, in Africa. This one thing she must have told my grandfather for he told me that his people on the African side were Ebos. We didn't know what he was talking about when he told us but I have found out since about the Ebo by reading Woodson's books where he talks about how hard it was to manage them and they stopped bringing them here as slaves. I remember that my great-grandmother was hard to manage and grandfather had to build a separate house for her. She lived to be ninety-six years old.[34]

Sometimes the tradition is almost forgotten; all that has been transmitted is that some remote ancestor was a "native of Guinea" or from some other part of Africa.

[33] See Donnan, *op. cit.*, I, 94, and III, 14 and 407, for references among others to slaves brought from Madagascar to America.

[34] Manuscript document.

Except in rare instances the few memories and traditions of African forebears that once stirred the imagination of the older generations have failed to take root in the minds of the present generation of Negro youth. Here and there one finds among the family traditions of college students a story of an African ancestor portrayed in more or less distinct outlines. In one story the African progenitor is bound up with the well-known legend among Negroes of the red flag that lured slaves from the African shore. A college student writes:

As was told me, Granny's grandmother was a "Golden Nigger." She had a gold star branded on her forehead. She told Granny that one day she and some other children were playing in Africa. They sighted a red flag flying at a distance from them. They became curious as to what the red rag was and ran to it. On approaching they were grabbed by some white men and put on a ship. This ship brought them to Virginia where they were sold. She always hated anything red because that was the color that attracted her from home and people whom she never again saw or heard from. She is referred to as often saying "Oh, that red rag, that red rag, that red rag brought me here."[35]

Another student writes with more assurance a story that has the appearance of sober history:

In the year 1771 somewhere in the heart of Africa, there was born to an African king a baby boy by the name of Lewis; this baby boy was destined to be one of my ancestors. This baby had a brother by the name of Hosea. Very little is known of Lewis' early days, and of his life in Africa, for at a very early age his father sent him to France with two bachelors who were Frenchmen. Here in France, Lewis was to receive his education and learn the ways of the French people. Lewis had no sir name, thus he took the name of the two bachelors, who were brothers and is now Lewis De Benyard. After staying in France for only a short while these Frenchmen turned their faces towards America, and it was thus that Lewis De Benyard found himself in

[35] Manuscript document.

America. At the age of about 15 Lewis landed in America on St. Simons' Islands. He was reared on Jeckle Island and having received a rather good education was made overseer of a set of slaves in that district.[36]

In the same tone still another student relates the details, which he received from his grandfather, of the capture in Africa and transportation to America:

Peter, as I have it from my old grandfather, was the name of his grandfather and could remember when he was captured and carried across the "big water." It was one day during the dry season when Peter was a young boy that some natives and white men came to talk to his, Peter's, father and the other warriors of the tribe. There was much shaking of heads and finally the white men left very angry. Some days later the runners came in telling of a large army coming to destroy the village and take all as slaves. When the fighting was over, Peter, his mother and smaller brother were chained to the long line of prisoners and marched for days through the forest into the setting sun. Then one day they came at last to the "big water." Here they were bathed, treated and examined and next day put on board a big boat out in the "big water." On the trip over Peter's brother died.

Then one night they were roused from their sleep and crowded on deck quietly, put into small boats and carried ashore. The next morning Peter's eyes saw a new land, different from his native village and its surroundings but he was too glad to be on ground again to worry about that. All day they stood, or sat in the hot sun but they didn't mind that for did they not have clothes again? On the voyage over they were stripped of all clothing, as I have learned, to insure a maximum of cleanliness. On the following day they were taken out in small groups and sold one at a time. Peter's mother had become ill and no one would buy her, but Peter was bought by a funny looking man with whiskers. What were they saying to him about his mother? Surely they were not angry because he wanted to stay with her. He cried and the funny man struck him with a whip. He quit crying for he didn't like that. He hadn't liked any of it, but he wouldn't stand for much beating. Not Peter! The man didn't strike any more and Peter

[36] Manuscript document.

found a friend in another of the slaves, a woman who knew his mother. They were put in a wagon and rode all day and part of the night before being unloaded and locked in a cabin. Many days passed and Peter was now one of the workers and he could understand some of the things said to him.[37]

Pride in purity of race has evidently kept alive the tradition of African heritage in the family of another student:

I remember my father often boasting of the fact that he had a pure strain of Negro blood in his veins. He told me that he could trace his ancestors back to the very heart of Africa. His grandfather, who was a wonderful influence in his life, often told him tales of his great-grandfather who was a slave in the early days of slavery. He would relate very interestingly facts concerning his transportation from Africa into this country to his great-grandchildren. In this manner the tales were handed down the line until they came to me, and I guess even I will relate them to my children.[38]

These scraps of memories, which form only an insignificant part of the growing body of traditions in Negro families, are what remains of the African heritage. Probably never before in history has a people been so nearly completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America. Other conquered races have continued to worship their household gods within the intimate circle of their kinsmen. But American slavery destroyed household gods and dissolved the bonds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood and household. Old men and women might have brooded over memories of their African homeland, but they could not change the world about them. Through force of circumstances, they had to acquire a new language, adopt new habits of labor, and take over, however imperfectly, the folkways of the American environment. Their children, who knew only the American

[37] Manuscript document.

[38] Manuscript document.

environment, soon forgot the few memories that had been passed on to them and developed motivations and modes of behavior in harmony with the New World. Their children's children have often recalled with skepticism the fragments of stories concerning Africa which have been preserved in their families. But, of the habits and customs as well as the hopes and fears that characterized the life of their forebearers in Africa, nothing remains. When educated Negroes of the present generation attempt to resurrect the forgotten memories of their ancestors, they are seeking in the alien culture of Africa a basis for race pride and racial identification. Hence, when a young sophisticated Negro poet asks,

What is Africa to me?

and answers with true poetic license that the African heritage surges up in him

In an old remembered way,[39]

we hear the voice of a new race consciousness in a world of conflict and frustration rather than the past speaking through traditions that have become refined and hallowed as they have been transmitted from generation to generation.

[39] Countee Cullen, "Heritage" in *Color* (New York, 1925), pp. 36–41.

CHAPTER II

HUMAN, ALL TOO HUMAN

In America there was no social organization to sustain whatever ideas and conceptions of life the Negro slave might have retained of his African heritage. If we can rely on the report of an old Negro woman that "a slave who married a girl from a group of native Africans just received on the plantation" was required "to obtain the consent of every member of the girl's group before he was allowed to marry her,"[1] we have what might be an instance of the continued control of the clan organization in America. But such cases, if they existed at all, were rare. In the new environment the Negro's sexual impulses and wishes in regard to mating, although doubtlessly influenced to some extent by the ideas which he had acquired in Africa, were liberated from group control and became subject only to the external control of the master and the wishes and attitudes of those with whom he formed unions.

In the early days of the slave trade the first restraint imposed upon the expression of the Negro's sexual impulses was the disproportionate number of males in the slave population. It was not until about 1840 that the number of Negro women equaled that of men.[2] To this cause were

[1] Newbell N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1926), p. 24.

[2] See W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro American Family* (Atlanta, 1908), pp. 18–19. A similar situation existed in the West Indies. Bryan Edwards (*The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies* [London, 1807], II, 175) writes: "It has been shown from unquestionable authority, that one third only are females. Thus, notwithstanding every

probably due the numerous cases of sex relations between Negro slaves and indentured white women.[3] An excess of males was created where slavery tended to be a purely industrial enterprise requiring masculine labor. Under such circumstances there was no opportunity for permanency in the association between the sexes. A traveler in Louisiana in 1802 has left us his observations on the results of the absence of women in the slave population. "Those who cannot obtain women (for there is a great disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes) traverse the woods in search of adventures, and often encounter those of an unpleasant nature. They frequently meet a patrol of the whites, who tie them up and flog them, and then send them home."[4] The casualness of the contacts, when the slaves succeeded in finding women, prevented the development of strong attachments, which result from prolonged association between the sexes.

On most of the plantations, where there was no lack of women,[5] mating ranged from purely physical contacts, often enforced by the masters, to permanent associations, in which genuine sentiment between the spouses and parental affection for children created a real family group. There were masters who, without any regard for the preferences of their slaves, mated their human chattel as they did

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allowance for the Creoles or natives, who may reasonably be supposed to have encreased according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an excess in its Negro population of 30,000 males."

[3] See Carter G. Woodson, "Beginnings of Miscegenation of Whites and Blacks," *Journal of Negro History*, II, 335–53.

[4] Berguin Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year 1802*, pp. 79–94, in *Journal of Negro History*, II, 172.

[5] From 1840 on, there has been an excess of females in the Negro population in the South.

their stock. According to a former slave, the master in giving orders concerning their work ordered them to "get married":

In July, Claypole told us, we must cultivate five hogsheads of Tobacco for our summer's work. Added to this, was the order for us to "get married," according to Slavery, or in other words, to enrich his plantation by a family of young slaves. The alternative of this was, to be sold to a slave trader who was then in the vicinity making up a gang for a more southern market.[6]

And, when such little consideration was shown for the personality of the slaves, the practice of setting up Negro males as stallions followed as a natural consequence when it was to the economic advantage of the master to increase his slaves.[7] A traveler in America in the eighteenth century who observed the practice was apparently more concerned with its effect upon the fertility of the slaves than its moral consequences:

But allowing some Justice in or at least, a great deal of Necessity for, making Slaves of this Sable part of the Species; surely, I think, Christianity, gratitude, or, at least, good Policy, is concerned in using them well, and in abridging them, instead of giving them Encouragement, of several brutal and scandalous customs, that are too much practic'd: Such as the giving them a number of Wives, or, in short setting them up for Stallions to a whole neighborhood; when it has been prov'd, I think, unexceptionally, that Polygamy rather destroys than multiplies the Species.[8]

In a world where patriarchal traditions were firmly established, probably even less consideration was shown for

[6] Andrew Jackson, *Narrative and Writings of Andrew Jackson, of Kentucky* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1847), p. 8.

[7] Cf. Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), pp. 203–5.

[8] [Edward Kimber], *Itinerant Observations in America.* Reprinted from *The London Magazine, 1745–46* (Savannah, Ga., 1878), pp. 37–38.

the preferences of slave women. When men of the servile class were ordered to mate, women, who on the whole played a more passive role, had little choice in the selection of mates.

When the sexual impulses of the males were no longer controlled by African customs and mores, they became subject only to the periodic urge of sexual hunger. Under such circumstances the males, as is generally true, seized upon the woman who happened to be at hand and with whom they had been thrown into closest contact.[9] Such lack of discrimination or sentiment in the selection of mates is manifested in the case of a slave who, after leaving a "wife" in Virginia, proceeded immediately to select one from the slave-trader's lot of which he was a member. To the prospective buyer's question, "Have you a wife?" he answered, "Yes, massa, I lef' young wife in Richmond, but I got a new wife here in de lot. I wish you buy her, massa, if you gwing to buy me."[10]

But, in many cases of sexual unions or temporary matings, individual preferences and discrimination must have asserted themselves from the beginning. We have the following story of a slave who persisted in associating with a woman on a neighboring plantation in spite of the punishment to which he was subjected:

As soon as he felt able to go so far, that is, in about three months, he made another attempt to see her, was missed, pursued and caught. Then Thomas Stevens swore a fearful oath that he would cure him of "wife hunting." If he must have a wife, there was a plenty of likely yallow gals on the plantation for such as he to choose from. He might have the pick of 'em. But he (Stevens) wasn't going to let his niggers

[9] Cf. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), I, 245.

[10] *Slavery in America, with Notices of the Present State of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World* (London, 1837), p. 128.

breed for another man's benefit, not he: so if John couldn't get a wife off the plantation he shouldn't have one at all. But he'd cure him of Nancy any how.[11]

Likewise, women who had formed attachments for particular men sometimes resisted attempts to force them into promiscuous unions. A young mulatto girl who had been a maid and dressmaker for her mistress ran away when her master decided to give her to one of his slaves:

She was engaged to a young man from another plantation, but he had joined one of Harriet's parties, and gone North. Tilly was to have gone also at that time, but had found it impossible to get away. Now she had learned that it was her Master's intention to give her to a Negro of his own for his wife; and in fear and desperation, she made a strike for freedom.[12]

But, on the whole, since slavery was, as Phillips has well characterized it, "a curious blend of force and concession, of arbitrary disposal by the master and self-direction by the slave, of tyranny and benevolence, of antipathy and affection,"[13] the masters either through necessity or because of their humanity showed some consideration for the wishes of the slaves in their mating. In the following letter from one master to another there is not only a recognition of the slave's preference in the choice of a mate but an indorsement of his personal qualifications for marriage:

As my boy Reuben has formed an attachment to one of your girls and wants her for a wife this is to let you know that I am perfectly

[11] John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England* (London, 1855), p. 40.

[12] Sarah Elizabeth (Hopkins) Bradford, *Harriet Tubman: Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman* (Auburn, N.Y., 1869), p. 57.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

willing that he should, with your consent marry her. His character is good, he is honest faithful and industrious.[14]

Whenever the slave showed discrimination and definite preference in the selection of a mate, the purely sexual impulses and feelings were transformed into something more than animal appetite. There developed in many such cases what might truly be called a period of courtship. There was rivalry between the males which often assumed the character of animal rivalry, but this was controlled by the masters in the interest of order on the plantation. But there was rivalry of another sort in which brute force was replaced by manifestations of tender feelings and attention to the wishes of the woman. If during this period of courtship there was much opportunity for the expression of tender feelings and the development of mutual sympathies, the sexual impulses of the male were further transformed. A development of this nature must have taken place in the case of a slave who wooed his future wife in an adjoining field and slyly helped her with her work. The following story which a college student has written concerning the courtship of her great-grandparents may not be true in all its details, but it undoubtedly shows under what circumstances tender feelings and sympathy became fused with the purely sexual impulses. The boy, Charles, who was his master's child, was sold with his mother when the master's wife discovered the relationship. On the plantation to which they were sold they were isolated because of their lack of sympathy with the uncouth field hands and the latter's hostility toward slaves of mixed blood.

[14] Letter of A. R. Wright, Louisville, Georgia, to Howell Cobb at Cherry Hill in the same county, in Phillips, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society: Plantation and Frontier* (Cleveland, 1910–11), II, 45.

C—— W—— had reached the approximate age of twelve when his mother died. As a boy C—— W—— showed a great deal of interest in the stables. His interest in horses was so great that often it was said of him, jokingly, that he never took part in a conversation unless the subject was horses. After he left the field labor, he became stable boy. Here he spent his entire time and enjoyed every minute of it. His mother had been his only confident, and now that interest was transferred to Mr. B's horses. No one on the plantation particularly liked C—— W——. The slaves whispered that his white skin portrayed "bad blood." When, in the stables, his meditations were noted, the beliefs of his fellows were confirmed. His thoughts and schemes were said to be of the devil. Everyone overlooked C—— W——'s utter loneliness except a little slave girl, who worked in Mr. B's kitchen. Often, she would conceal goodies in her apron for C—— W——. She encouraged him to talk and yet never attempted to pry into the problems of his past life, unasked. In this way she won his confidence and finally his love. At times they talked for hours. One day it occurred to C—— W—— that he had entirely ignored the name of this benevolent person. Upon asking he found it to be Julia—his mother's name. This proved to be an even better reason why he should like this little slave girl. Their interests grew more intimate and personal. Julia tried to uplift C—— W——'s conception of life by describing to him as best she knew how her God. He told her of his mother's life and how misfortune had befallen her at his birth. C—— W—— even enjoyed being depressed and despairing, for there was always Julia to comfort him. Gradually, Julia became the most precious thing in his life. The slaves talked and attempted to destroy Julia's friendship with C—— W——, but to no avail.[15]

In addition to the psychological factors that tended to modify the slave's impulses, there were social forces in the organization of slavery that molded his personality and subjected his impulses to moral restraints. The plantation economy, which was more or less self-sufficient, gave numerous opportunities for the expression of individual talent. As Coppin relates, "Those who had musical talent often be-

[15] Manuscript document.

came 'fiddlers' and some of them became quite expert with the bow."[16] In addition, there was a division of labor that became the basis of social distinctions among the slaves. Frederick Douglass has left us an instructive account of the division of labor on the plantation and the esteem in which the various occupations were held:

"Uncle" Tobey was the blacksmith, "Uncle" Harry the cartwright, and "Uncle" Abel was the shoemaker, and these had assistants in their several departments. These mechanics were called "Uncles" by all the younger slaves, not because they really sustained that relationship to any, but according to plantation etiquette as a mark of respect, due from the younger to the older slaves.

Among other slave notabilities, I found here one called by everybody, white and colored, "Uncle" Isaac Copper. Once in a while a negro had a surname fastened to him by common consent. This was the case with "Uncle" Isaac Copper. When the "Uncle" was dropped, he was called Doctor Copper. He was both our Doctor of Medicine and our Doctor of Divinity. Where he took his degree I am unable to say, but he was too well established in his profession to permit question as to his native skill, or attainments. One qualification he certainly had. He was a confirmed cripple, wholly unable to work, and was worth nothing for sale in the market. Though lame he was no sluggard. He made his crutches do him good service, and was always on the alert looking up the sick, and such as were supposed to need his aid and counsel. His remedial prescriptions embraced four articles. For diseases of the body, epsom salts, and castor oil; for those of the soul, the "Lord's prayer," and a few stout hickory switches.[17]

Undoubtedly, the most influential personalities among the slaves were their preachers. Douglass received his religious training under one of the characters whom he describes in the foregoing selection. He relates:

[16] Levi J. Coppin, *Unwritten History* (Philadelphia, 1920), p. 48.

[17] *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York and Auburn, 1855), pp. 30 and 31.

I was early sent to Doctor Isaac Copper, with twenty or thirty other children, to learn the Lord's prayer. The old man was seated on a huge three-legged oaken stool, armed with several large hickory switches, and from the point where he sat, lame as he was, he could reach every boy in the room. After standing a while to learn what was expected of us, he commanded us to kneel down. This was done, he told us to say everything he said. "Our Father"—this we repeated after him with promptness and uniformity—"who art in Heaven" was less promptly and uniformly repeated, and the old gentleman paused in the prayer to give us a short lecture, and to use his switches on our backs.[18]

These preachers became the interpreters of a religion which the slaves had developed on American soil. This religion was not a heritage, as many have assumed, from Africa.[19] In the main, Park seems to be right in his assumption that the reason the Negro so readily and eagerly took over from the white man his heaven and apocalyptic visions was because these materials met the demands of his peculiar racial temperament and furnished relief to the emotional strains that were provoked in him by the conditions of slavery.[20]

Although the house servants, because of their favored position in relation to the master class, were early admitted to the churches, it was only with the coming of the Methodists and Baptists that the masses of the slaves "found a form of Christianity that they could make their own."[21] Often independent congregations were set up in which there was full opportunity for the development of leadership and character in a social world that was essentially the Negro's own creation. Although, partly because of this isolation, these

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[19] G. R. Wilson, "The Religion of the American Negro Slave: His Attitude toward Life and Death," *Journal of Negro History*, VIII, 41–71.

[20] Robert E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures," *Journal of Negro History*, IV, 128.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.

churches did not develop moral conceptions and restraints identical to those of the masters, they undoubtedly exercised control over the sex behavior of the slaves. An observer reported:

> I perceive, also, improvement in their tempers and intercourse as husbands and wives. The last point in which improvement is to be looked for respects their morality. In this a change for the better is seen in the greater frequency of marriage, the greater permanency of the relation, and the rebuke which a growing sense of virtue administers to transgressors. If in the church, they are expelled—if out of it, they lose, in some degree, the standing which they held before among their fellow servants.[22]

Thus the personality of the slave gradually developed in accordance with his role on the plantation and in response to the attitudes of his fellows which found expression often in forms of etiquette suitable to his status. Consciousness of his status in the little world of the plantation tended to exercise control over his behavior, including his relations with the other sex. However, the most fundamental social distinctions among the slaves were based upon the difference in status between the field hands and the house servants.[23] For example, a former slave recounts the advantages that came with his elevation to the position of a house servant:

[22] "On the Religious Instruction of the Negroes, Together with the Report of the Committee, and the Address to the Public," *Proceedings of the Meeting, May 13–15, 1845* (Charleston, S.C.), p. 57.

[23] Lyell made the following observations concerning the house servants: "The colored domestic servants are treated with great indulgence at Tuscaloosa. One day some of them gave a supper to a large party of their friends in the house of a family which we visited, and they feasted their guests on roast turkeys, ice-cream, jellies and cakes" (Charles Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States* [New York, 1849], II, 72, in Phillips, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, II, 46).

I was now made a house slave. My duties were to wait on the table and help in the kitchen. I was extremely glad of this promotion, as it afforded me a better chance of obtaining good food. . . . . At this period I had a tolerably good time of it, being employed in the kitchen helping to cook, or waiting at the table, and listening to the conversation going on, I learned many things of which the field hands were entirely ignorant.[24]

In the social life of the slaves the superior status of the house servants was generally recognized. Steward, a former slave, wrote:

It was about ten o'clock when the aristocratic slaves began to assemble, dressed in the cast-off finery of their master and mistress, swelling out and putting on airs in imitation of those they were forced to obey from day to day

House servants were of course, "the stars" of the party; all eyes were turned to them to see how they conducted, for they, among slaves, are what a military man would call "fugle-men." The field hands, and such of them as have generally been excluded from the dwelling of their owners, look to the house servant as a pattern of politeness and gentility. And indeed, it is often the only method of obtaining any knowledge of the manners of what is called "genteel society"; hence, they are ever regarded as a privileged class; and are sometimes greatly envied, while others are bitterly hated.[25]

The prestige of the house servants was not due entirely to artificial distinctions and hollow pretentions. And, although it may occasion a smile to read that the house girl from the "Big House" in "the cast-off clothing of her mistress" was the "Lady at the Quarters," there was often a

[24] Francis Frederick, *Autobiography of Rev. Francis Frederick of Virginia* (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 9 and 15.

[25] Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman; Embracing a Correspondence of Several Years, While President of Wilberforce Colony, London, Canada West* (Rochester, N.Y., 1857), pp. 30–32.

fundamental difference between her deportment and that of the semibarbarous field hands.[26]

The extent to which the slaves assimilated the ideas, sentiments, and beliefs of the whites depended upon the range and character of the contacts between the two races. At the one extreme there were the impersonal relations of the slave-trader, feared and hated by every slave, who treated his human wares as utilities; while at the other extreme the personal and intimate relations between the house servants and their masters created truly human relationships. The relations of the overseer, who lacked both culture and worldly goods, to the field hands were similar to those of the trader, although the overseer was compelled to recognize individual differences among the slaves. But men and women of the master race, living in daily contact with their slaves, were bound to recognize the personality of those with whom they had often shared their joys and sorrows from early childhood.[27] The slave on his part was not less

[26] Coppin, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[27] A former slave recalls: "The old colonel was a very easy going man, kind and generous, and loved by all the plantation people. We colored folks did what he ask us to because we liked him. He was kind to us and very seldom resorted to punishment. Almost as soon as I was able to toddle about, I would follow him over the plantation whenever he would let me. It was because of his fondness for me as a little fellow that I was given his name" (Robert Anderson, *From Slavery to Affluence: Memoirs of Robert Anderson, Ex-slave* [Hemingsford, Neb., 1927], p. 19). At the same time intimate and personal relations between the two races permitted the development of personal antagonisms and hatred as well as feelings of affection and sympathy. Lewis Clarke, a mulatto slave, complained: "There were four house-slaves in this family, including myself, and though we had not, in all respects, so hard work as the field hands, yet in many things our condition was much worse. We were constantly exposed to the whims and passions of every member of the family; from the least to the greatest, their anger was wreaked upon us" (*Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a*

affected by this association, for he often developed sentiments of loyalty that withstood the severest ordeals. But, more than that, the slave tended to take over the attitudes and sentiments of his master toward religion, sex and marriage, and the other relations of life.

Where the white and black children were reared together, the process of assimilation was more thoroughgoing. Douglass attributed the purity of his speech to association with his master's son:

> I have been often asked during the earlier part of my free life at the north, how I happened to have so little of the slave accent in my speech. The mystery is in some measure explained by my association with Daniel Lloyd, the youngest son of Col. Edward Lloyd. The law of compensation holds here as well as elsewhere. While this lad could not associate with ignorance without sharing its shade, he could not give his black playmates his company without giving them his superior intelligence as well. Without knowing this, or caring about it at the time, I, for some cause or other, was attracted to him and was much his companion.[28]

The manner in which the slave assimilated the language of the whites indicates the process by which the slave took over the ideas and attitudes of the master race. Childhood

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Soldier of the Revolution, during a Captivity of More than Twenty Years among the Slaveholders of Kentucky, One of the So-called Christian States of North America [Boston, 1846], pp. 15–16). In the following incident we see how in some cases assimilation of the manners of the whites destroyed the social distance that was supposed to exist between master and slave and therefore created resentment on the part of the former: "Unconsciously he partook more or less of the forms of life, language, traits and habits of the 'white folks,' even to the extent that suddenly his mistress discovered that he was adopting their language entirely which she solemnly forbade. While giving ready promise to resume the plantation patois, he found it impossible" (D. Webster Davis, *The Life and Public Services of Rev. William Washington Browne* [Philadelphia, 1910], p. 13).

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

attachments, which developed during play and other activities carried on in common, created similarity of sentiment and feelings. In fact, it was often necessary for masters to interfere and define the proper relations and aspirations of the children of the two races.[29] Lunsford Lane, who purchased his freedom and established himself as a successful merchant in Raleigh, wrote concerning his childhood:

> My early boyhood [was spent] in playing with the other boys and girls, colored and white, in the yard, and occasionally doing such little matters of labor as one of so young years could. I knew no difference between myself and the white children; nor did they seem to know any in turn. Sometimes my master would come out and give a biscuit to me, and another to one of his own white boys; but I did not perceive the difference between us. . . . . When I began to work, I discovered the difference between myself and my master's white children. They began to order me about, and were told to do so by my master and mistress.[30]

But even after the children had grown up and assumed their respective roles as master and slave, those slaves who had lived in close association with the whites tended to identify

[29] The following incident is related in the biography of a former slave who became an officer in the United States Army: "Little Tommy, feeling himself the master and imitating his teacher, was found by Miss Bett giving his orders. He was told after this discovery that he was doing wrong, that he must not continue the practice; but boy-like he persisted in doing the very thing he was forbidden to do. Allen was told that he must not play school with Tommy, but he had gotten the habit, and the spirit had entered his soul and brain, and so he continued to play school and encourage Tommy in the sport. Miss Bett finding the nursery school still doing business at the same old stand, after repeated warnings, finally decided to break it up for good. Her method was that of elimination. She told Mr. Starbird and he forthwith found another home for Allen" (Charles Alexander, *Battles and Victories of Allen Allensworth* [Boston, 1914], p. 14).

[30] *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N.C.* (Boston, 1842), pp. 5–6, 7.

themselves with their masters. This is evident in a recent autobiography of a former slave:

There was a social distinction with the slaves. The house and personal servants were on a higher social plane than the field slaves, while the colored persons, who would associate with the "po' white trash" were practically outcasts, and held in very great contempt. The slaves belonging to the lower class of white folks, were not considered on the same level as those belonging to the "quality folks," and the slaves of these families were always proud of, and bragged of their connection with the better families.[31]

Where slavery developed as a patriarchal institution, a certain amount of formal religious instruction supplemented the unconscious assimilation of the white man's moral and religious ideas. In addition to being required to be present at family prayers, the slaves were given regular religious instruction. The master's regard for the moral development of the slave included in some cases a close supervision of their conduct in sex matters and marriage relations. The historian of a Negro family that developed considerable stability and organization under a patriarchal household writes as follows:

Among Miss Sallie's slaves were great grandmothers, grandmothers, mothers, children, grand children, and great grandchildren, for she seldom sold any of her people. Her women were taught and required to be as chaste, as were her nieces. All received great care, and much attention from "Miss Sallie" personally, requiring them to sleep in the great house until their marriage. . . . .

It was a rare thing, indeed, for slave girls to reach majority before being married or becoming mothers. Be it said to the credit of Sarah O. Hilleary that she taught those girls the value of a good name, and personally watched over them so carefully that it was known far and near. She allowed them to be married in her dining room instead of in the cabin, and, with ceremony. She always had to see and pass upon

[31] Robert Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

the man who was to marry one of her maids. She did all she could to impress them with the importance of being clean, honest, truthful, industrious, and religious.[32]

Where such care was exercised in the rearing of slave girls, it was to be expected that some concern would be shown for the marriage alliances which they formed. In the case referred to above, the suitors were only allowed to visit the slave girls after they had "passed Miss Sallie's inspection."[33] Thus the male slaves became conscious of distinctions in character and status among themselves as well as among the women. In fact, some slaves took pride in the fact that they were able to form marriage alliances with females in certain families. While the authority of the slave husband or father was always more or less limited and subject to the will of the masters, certain responsibilities were placed upon him when he assumed the marriage relationship. When a prospective husband applied for permission to marry a slave woman, her master questioned him as follows:

I next went to her master, Mr. Boylan, and asked him, according to the custom, if I might "marry this woman." His reply was, "Yes, if you will behave yourself." I told him I would. "And make her behave herself?" To this I also assented; and then proceeded to ask the approbation of my master, which was granted. So in May 1828, I was bound as fast in wedlock as a slave can be.[34]

[32] Nellie Arnold Plummer, *Out of the Depths or the Triumph of the Cross* (Hyattsville, Md., 1927), pp. 19–20.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 28. However, even Miss Sallie believed that some limitations should be placed upon the development of the slave's personality, for, according to the historian of the family, "when she found Adam [a suitor] had taught William Arnold how to read and write, she said that had she known that Adam was a 'lettered' man she would never have let him on her place" (*ibid.*).

[34] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

While the duration of marriage as well as its inception were subject to the will of the masters, there were other factors affecting its permanency. We have seen how easily slave marriages that were based upon the mere desire to satisfy sexual hunger were dissolved. Even where marriages were entered into because of mutual attraction, their permanency depended upon prolonged association between the sexes, during which common interests and strong attachments developed. For example, where husband and wife were permitted to cultivate patches as a means of supplying themselves with extra food or better clothing, co-operation for these common ends helped to strengthen the bonds between them. It seems, too, in some instances that a sort of public opinion in the slave community had some effect on the significance of the marriage bonds. It is reported that a slave woman was spoken to by her friends "about going with a man so soon after the death of her husband."[35] Children in the slave household often strengthened the bond between husband and wife; and, though the mother was generally the more dependable parent in the family, the father often developed strong attachments for his family and took pride in his position. Where marriage and family life among the slaves achieved this high development, the organization of slavery had become a settled way of life in which the slave's interest in marriage and family life became a part of the expression of his personality.

We can see to what extent such development of family life could be achieved under favorable circumstances in the case of the family of Pennington, who, after being released from slavery, became a distinguished minister and received

[35] John Anderson, *The Story of the Life of John Anderson, the Fugitive Slave* (London, 1863), p. 45.

the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Heidelberg.[36] Pennington's family was a well-organized social group in which paternal authority was firmly established. This was partly due to the fact that his father, a highly skilled mechanic, was able to provide for his family. The extent to which a family consciousness had developed is shown in the reaction of the family to punishment inflicted upon Pennington's father:

> This act created an open rupture with our family—each member felt the deep insult that had been inflicted upon our head; the spirit of the whole family was roused; we talked of it in our nightly gatherings, and showed it in our daily melancholy aspect. . . . . I had always aimed to be trustworthy; and feeling a high degree of mechanical pride; I had aimed to do my work with dispatch and skill; my blacksmith's pride and taste was one thing that had reconciled me so long to remain a slave. I sought to distinguish myself in the finer branches of the business by invention and finish; I frequently tried my hand at making guns and pistols, putting blades in pen knives, making fancy hammers, hatchets, sword-canes, &c., &c. Besides I used to assist my father at night in making strawhats and willow baskets, by which means we supplied our family with little articles of food, clothing and luxury, which slaves in the mildest form of the system never get from the master; but after this, I found that my mechanic's pleasure and pride were gone. I thought of nothing but the family disgrace under which we were smarting, and how to get out of it.[37]

Thus, the very families that had achieved considerable organization and had assimilated most completely the folkways and mores of the whites were, in spite of their internal character, always insecure. Despite Miss Sallie's solicitude for her slaves' welfare, at her death slave families that had

[36] See Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (5th ed.; Washington, D.C., 1928), pp. 276–77.

[37] J. W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington* (London, 1850), pp. 7–9.

been together for decades were scattered.[38] No matter how far the moralization of the slave went, his group life, including his most intimate relations in his family, could not resist the fundamental economic forces inherent in the slave system.

In this chapter we have traversed the road by which the Negro, stripped of his cultural heritage, acquired a new personality on American soil. At first his impulses knew no restraint except that imposed by the physical force of those that had enslaved him. But soon even the strongest of these impulses, sexual hunger, was modified and controlled by feelings of tenderness and sympathy toward those who shared his bondage and enabled him to escape from loneliness and isolation. Moreover, bondage could not crush out individual talent, and the division of labor on the plantation promoted mental differentiation and became the basis of differences in status. Then, too, the emergence of the slave as a human being was facilitated by his assimilation into the household of the master race. There he took over more or less the ideas and attitudes and morals and manners of his masters. His marriage and family relations reflected the different stages and aspects of this process. Where the assimilation of Western mores went farthest and the development of personality was highest, the organization of family life approached most closely the pattern of white civilization. But in the end fundamental economic forces and material interests might shatter the toughest bonds of familial sentiments and parental love. Only the bond between the mother and her child continually resisted the disruptive effect of economic interests that were often inimical to family life among the slaves. Consequently, under all conditions of slavery, the Negro mother remained the most dependable and important figure in the family.

[38] Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

CHAPTER III

MOTHERHOOD IN BONDAGE

Strange to say, the idealized picture of the Negro mother has not grown out of the stories of her sacrifices and devotion to her own children but has emerged from the tradition of the Negro mammy—a romantic figure in whom maternal love as a vicarious sentiment has become embodied. There is plenty of evidence to give a solid background to the familiar picture—stories of cold, and often inhuman, indifference toward her own offspring and undying devotion to the children of the master race. "The devotion of the nurses of these foster-children was greater than their love for their own" is the comment of one observer, who supports her generalizations with the following instance:

> One of them, with a baby at home very sick, left it to stay with the white child. This one she insisted on walking the night through, because he was roaring with the colic, though the mistress entirely disapproved and urged her to go home to her own child, whose illness was more serious, if less noisy, than the white nursling with its colic.[1]

This seems all the more strange when we recall the universal testimony of travelers and missionaries that the love of the African mother for her children is unsurpassed in any part of the world. "Maternal affection (neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solicitudes of civilized life) is everywhere conspicuous among them," wrote Mungo Park, "and creates a correspondent return of tenderness in the child."[2] He reports the following incident:

[1] Susan Smedes, *A Southern Planter* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 50.

[2] *The Travels of Mungo Park* (New York, n.d.), p. 202.

In the course of the day, several women, hearing that I was going to Sego, came and begged me to inquire of Mansong, the King, what was become of their children. One woman in particular, told me that her son's name was Mamadee; that he was no heathen, but prayed to God morning and evening, and had been taken from her about three years ago, by Mansong's army; since which she had never heard of him. She said she often dreamed about him; and begged me, if I should see him, either in Bambarra, or in my own country, to tell him that his mother and sister were still alive.[3]

Likewise, we learn that in East Africa mothers offered themselves to the slave-raiders in order to save their sons, and Hottentot women refused food during famines until their children were fed.[4]

How are we to explain this contrast between the native Negro mother and her descendants in America? Surely transportation to the New World could not have eradicated fundamental impulses and instinctive feelings.

The dehumanizing of the Negro began before he left the shores of Africa.[5] To pregnant women who formed a part of the slave caravans motherhood meant only a burden and an accentuation of their miseries. Maternal feeling was choked and dried up in mothers who had to bear children, in addi-

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43.

[4] See Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), I, 128.

[5] An official of the Dutch West India Company on the African coast wrote as follows concerning the Negro's reputed indifference to family ties where the slave trade was carried on: "Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here sell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other: but those who think so deceive themselves; for this never happens on any other account but that of necessity, or some great crime. But most of the slaves that are offered to us are prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty" ("A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts etc.," in Elizabeth Donnan [ed.], *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* [Washington, D.C., 1930], I, 441).

tion to loads of corn or rice, on their backs during marches of eight to fourteen hours.[6] Nor did life in the slave pens on the coast, where they were chained and branded and sometimes starved, mitigate the sufferings of motherhood.

In the selection of Negroes for the cargoes of the slave ships, their physical condition and their suitability for the specific requirements of the trade were the only factors of moment to the traders. When William Ellery, the father of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, instructed the captain of his slaver: "If you have a good Trade for Negroes may purchase forty or Fifty Negroes. get most of them mere Boys and Girl, some Men, let them be Young, No very small Children,"[7] it is unlikely that the faithful captain in obeying his orders cared much about the feelings of the Negro mothers who had to surrender their children. During the Middle Passage that followed the gathering of slaves on the coast, the last spark of maternal feeling was probably smothered in the breasts of many mothers who were packed spoon fashion between decks and often gave birth to children in the scalding perspiration from the human cargo. Then whatever was left of maternal sentiment had to undergo another ordeal in the slave markets of the New World.

Scarcely more regard was shown for the humanity of the slaves in the American markets than in those of Africa. To be sure, humanitarian sentiment was more likely to make itself felt in the American communities than among the adventurers and criminals who frequented the slave markets of Africa. Moreover, in the slave markets of Charleston and

[6] See Thomas P. Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* (London, 1840), pp. 102–6.

[7] Quoted in Donnan, *op. cit.*, III, 138.

Richmond it was to the economic advantage of those who bought and sold slaves to see that infants did not die because of the lack of maternal care. But since, as a South Carolina court held in 1809, "the young of slaves . . . . stand on the same footing as other animals," the relation of mothers to their children was recognized not because of its human or social significance but because of the property interests involved in the relationship.[8]

In some cases the affectional ties between mother and children survived the ordeals of the slave markets and the Middle Passage and were perhaps strengthened by common suffering. But the characteristic attitudes and sentiments which the slave mother developed in America grew out of her experiences with pregnancy and childbirth and her relations with her offspring in the new environment. Where slave women were maintained as breeders[9] and enjoyed cer-

[8] *M'Vaughters* v. *Elder*, 2 Brevard 307, April, 1809. The intestate "left at his death a female slave, named Bet, and a mare, named Pol Jones, which property, after his death, came into the possession of Margaret M'Grew, ... next of kin, ... the wench had two children, who were born while she was in the possession of Mrs. M'Grew. The mare died while in Mrs. M'Grew's possession, having had three colts during the time of her being in the possession of Mrs. M'Grew, ... [She] died . . . . without ever having administered . . . . the plaintiff obtained letters of administration" (Helen Tunnicliff Catterall [ed.], *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* [Washington, D.C., 1929], II, 293).

[9] Apologists for slavery have often denied that Negro women were used for breeding purposes. The evidence is too clear to leave any doubt as to the existence of the practice. The following advertisement, which appeared in the *Charleston* (S. C.) *City Gazette*, March 10, 1796, is typical of references to women sold for breeding purposes:

"These negroes are sold free from all incumbrances, with warranted titles, and are sold on account of their present Owner's declining the Planting Business, and not for any other reason; they are not Negroes selected out of a larger gang for the purpose of a sale, but are prime, their present Owner, with great trouble and expence, selected them out of many for several years

tain indulgences and privileges because of their position, the experience of pregnancy and childbirth was likely to cause them to look upon their children as the source of these favors.[10] On the other hand, where slave women were forced into cohabitation and pregnancy, and childbirth brought no release from labor, they might develop a distinct antipathy toward their offspring.[11] Even under the more normal con-

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past. They were purchased for stock and breeding Negroes, and to any Planter who particularly wanted them for that purpose, they are a very choice and desirable gang" (Ulrich B. Phillips, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society: Plantation and Frontier* [Cleveland, 1910–11], II, 57–58). See Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), pp. 67–87, and Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present* (Cleveland, 1917–18), II, 243–45.

[10] The following instructions were sent to an agent for the management of a plantation in Virginia in 1759: "The breeding wenches particularly, you must instruct the overseers to be kind and indulgent to, and not to force them when with child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them and that they have every necessary when in that condition that is needful for them, and the children to be well looked after and to give them every spring and fall the jerusalem oak seed for a week together and that none of them suffer in time of sickness for want of proper care" (Calhoun, *op. cit.*, I, 327).

[11] A former slave wrote the following concerning the treatment of women by the overseer: "On the estate I am speaking of, those women who had sucking children suffered much from their breasts becoming full of milk, the infants being left at home; they therefore could not keep up with the other hands: I have seen the overseer beat them with raw hide, so that the blood and milk flew mingled from their breasts. A woman who gives offence in the field, and is large in the family way, is compelled to lie down over a hole made to receive her corpulency, and is flogged with the whip, or beat with a paddle, which had holes in it; at every stroke comes a blister. One of my sisters was so severely punished in this way, that labor was brought on, and the child was born in the field. This very overseer, Mr. Brooks, killed in this manner a girl named Mary: her father and mother were in the field at the time" (Moses Grandy, *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy; Late a Slave in the United States of America* [Boston, 1844], p. 18).

ditions of slavery, childbirth could not have had the same significance for the slave mother as for the African mother. In Africa tribal customs and taboos tended to fix the mother's attitude toward her child before it was born. In America this traditional element in the shaping of maternal feeling was absent. Consequently, the development of maternal feeling was dependent largely upon the physiological and emotional responses of the mother to her child.[12]

Generally, during the period of pregnancy, the slave woman's labor was reduced, and on the birth of a child she received additional clothes and rations.[13] But the following letter of an overseer indicates that the needs of the mothers and their newborn children were not always promptly met:

> Charlotte & Venus & Mary & Little Sary have all had children and have not received their baby clothes also Hetty & Sary & Coteler will want baby clothes. I see a Blanket for the old fellow Sampson he is dead. I thought I wrote to you that he was dead. Little Peggy Sarys daughter has not ever drawn any Blanket at all, and when they come I think it would be right to give her the Blanket that was sent to Sampson.[14]

[12] Concerning the biologically inherited elements in the so-called "maternal instinct," Bernard writes: "It is difficult to separate early acquirements through the imitation process from biological inheritance without considerable intensive investigation. But it is doubtful if more than the response to touch, temperature and odor stimuli from the child by fondling, holding and licking or kissing, a more or less vague unorganized emotional response to its cries, which chiefly manifests itself in movement toward the child, vague answering cries and the discharge of milk upon certain definite stimuli of pressure upon the breast, can be said to be inherited by the human mother" (L. L. Bernard, *Instinct: A Study in Social Psychology* [New York, 1924], p. 326; see also Briffault, *op. cit.*, I, 110–16).

[13] Frances A. Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* (New York, 1863), p. 63.

[14] Letter of Elisha Cain, overseer, on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Georgia, to his employer, Miss Mary Telfair, Savannah, November 20, 1836, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 333–34.

As soon as possible after childbirth, the mother was required to return to the fields, often taking her unweaned child along.[15] In some cases the mothers were permitted to return to the cabin in order to nurse the infant who was left either alone or in the charge of a child.[16] The situation described by Kemble was typical of many plantations:

It is true that every able-bodied woman is made the most of in being driven afield as long as, under all and any circumstances, she is able to wield a hoe; but, on the other hand, stout, hale, hearty girls and boys, of from eight to twelve and older, are allowed to lounge about, filthy and idle, with no pretense of an occupation but what they call "tend baby," i.e., see to the life and limbs of the little slave infants, to whose mothers, working in distant fields, they carry them during the day to be suckled, and for the rest of the time leave them to crawl and kick in the filthy cabins or on the broiling sand which surrounds them.[17]

Consequently, where such limitations were placed upon the mother's spontaneous emotional responses to the needs of her children and where even her suckling and fondling of

[15] "The bell rings, at four o'clock in the morning, and they have half an hour to get ready. Men and women start together, and the women must work as steadily as the men, and perform the same tasks as the men. If the plantation is far from the house, the sucking children are taken out and kept in the field all day. If the cabins are near, the women are permitted to go in two or three times a day to their infant children. The mother is driven out when the child is three to four weeks old" (Lewis Clarke, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution* [Boston, 1846], p. 127).

[16] "At this period," writes a former slave concerning his childhood, "my principal occupation was to nurse my little brother whilst my mother worked in the field. Almost all the slave children have to do the nursing; the big taking care of the small, who often come poorly off in consequence. I know this was my little brother's case. I used to lay him in the shade, under a tree, sometimes, and go to play, or curl myself up under a hedge, and take a sleep" (John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia* [London, 1855], pp. 3–4).

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 121–22.

them were restricted, it was not unnatural that she often showed little attachment to her offspring.

A slaveholder, who loved "to recall the patriarchal responsibility and tenderness" which her father "felt for his poor, ignorant, dependent slaves," tells the following story to "show that the master's feelings are sometimes even deeper than the mother's":

> One of my slaves had an infant child two months old who was attacked with an affection of the windpipe. I never saw such extreme suffering; it was one continual spasm and struggle for breath. The physician visited it several times every day, but could give no relief. The poor little sufferer seemed as if it would neither live nor die. These extreme tortures lasted a whole week before it breathed its last; and my own mind was so excited by its sharp and constant convulsive shrieks, that I never left it night or day, and could not sleep, even a moment, sitting by its side; and yet its own mother slept soundly at the foot of the bed, not because she was fatigued, for she was required to do nothing but nurse the dying child.[18]

While the pathos expressed here is understandable, one would require a knowledge of the mother's experience during pregnancy and childbirth and her subsequent relations with her infant in order to decide whether her behavior was unnatural or extraordinary. However, one might ask: Why were these slave women, in the words of the same informant, "the most enthusiastically fond foster-mothers, when they [were] called upon to nurse the infant child of their owners"?[19]

Often the relations of the foster-mother or "mammy" to her "white children" offered greater scope for the expression of the emotions and impulses characteristic of maternal love than the contacts which she had with her own offspring.

[18] H. B. Schoolcraft, *By a Southern Lady: Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1852), pp. 13–14.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

The attachment and devotion which the "mammy" showed for the white children began before the children were born. The "mammy," who was always an important member of the household, attended her mistress during pregnancy and took under her care the infant as soon as it was born. Often she, instead of the mother, suckled the child and, if the child was a girl, was never separated from her until she was grown. Miss Bremer has left a picture of one of these foster-mothers sitting "like a horrid specter, black and silent by the altar," during the wedding of her foster-child from whom she "could not bear the thought of parting."[20] If these black foster-mothers showed more maternal affection and devotion for their charges than they or their black sisters showed for their own offspring, it was due to the emotional and biological dependence that developed between them as the result of this intimate association. Moreover, where this intimate association extended over several generations and the "mammy" became assimilated into the master's household, tradition tended to define her role and to inculcate in her sentiments proper to her status.[21]

It should not be inferred from what has been said concerning the Negro woman's devotion to the children of the master race that she never developed a deep and lasting sentiment for her own children. In the slave cabin, where she was generally mistress, she often gathered about her a

[20] Quoted in Calhoun, *op. cit.*, II, 284.

[21] Sometimes it appears that the mistress played the part of mother to the slaves. Mrs. Smedes writes: "Uncle Isaac's boast was that he was a child of the same year as the master, and that the master's mother had given to him in her own arms some of the baby Thomas's milk, as there was more of it than he wanted. He would draw himself up as he added, 'I called marster brother till I was a right big boy, an' I called his mother ma till I was old enough to know better an' to stop it myself. She never tole me to stop' " (*op. cit.*, p. 33).

numerous progeny, in spite of miscarriages and a high infant mortality.[22] After the day's labor in the field under an un-

[22] Miss Kemble enters in her *Journal*, pp. 190–91, the following information relative to the size of slave families, miscarriages, and infant mortality:

"*Fanny* has had six children; all dead but one. She came to beg to have her work in the field lightened.

"*Nanny* has had three children; two of them dead. She came to implore that the rule of sending them into the field three weeks after their confinement might be altered.

"*Leah*, Caesar's wife, has had six children; three are dead.

"*Sophy*, Lewis's wife, came to beg for some old linen. She is suffering fearfully; has had ten children; five of them are dead. The principal favor she asked was a piece of meat, which I gave her.

"*Sally*, Scipio's wife, has had two miscarriages and three children born, one of whom is dead. She came complaining of incessant pain and weakness in her back. This woman was a mulatto daughter of a slave called Sophy, by a white man of the name of Walker, who visited the plantation.

"*Charlotte*, Renty's wife, had had two miscarriages, and was with child again. She was almost crippled with rheumatism, and showed me a pair of poor swollen knees that made my heart ache. I have promised her a pair of flannel trowsers, which I must forthwith set about making.

"*Sarah*, Stephen's wife—this woman's case and history were alike deplorable. She had had four miscarriages, had brought seven children into the world, five of whom were dead, and was again with child. She complained of dreadful pains in the back, and an internal tumor which swells with the exertion of working in the fields; probably, I think, she is ruptured."

The following entries concerning births and deaths of children were made by an overseer on a plantation in Florida, 1851 (Ulrich B. Phillips and James D. Glunt [eds.], *Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones* [St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1927], pp. 437–38 [hereafter cited as *Florida Plantation Records*]):

BIRTHS ON THE PLANTATION IN 1851

Florer was confined this morning with a male Child, Jany. 27, 1851.
May 28th, Cate was delivered of a Female Child this morning.
June 4th, Martha was delivered of a male child at 12 oclock today.
June 13th, Long Mariah was delivered of a male Child today at twelve oclock.
August 17th, B. Mariah was delivered of a male child this morning.

DEATHS ON THE PLANTATION IN 1851

August 4th, Catherine, a child departed this life today at 2 oclock.
September 18th, one Child Departed this life today at ten oclock; by the name of Amy.
December 31. B. Mariers Child Billy died this morning.

sympathetic overseer, she could find warmth and sympathy and appreciation among her children and kinsmen. There the mother could give full rein to her tender feelings and kindly impulses. "One of my earliest recollections," writes Booker T. Washington, "is that of my mother cooking a chicken late at night, and awakening her children for the purpose of feeding them."[23] The devotion of the mothers to their own children was often demonstrated in their sacrifices to see them when they were separated from them. Douglass' childhood recollections of his mother, who lived twelve miles from him, were of "a few hasty visits made in the night on foot, after the daily tasks were over, and when she was under the necessity of returning in time to respond to the driver's call to the field in the early morning."[24]

It is not surprising, then, to find that slave mothers, instead of viewing with indifference the sale, or loss otherwise, of their children, often put up a stubborn resistance and suffered cruel punishments to prevent separation from them.[25] When Loguen's brothers and sisters were taken from his mother, she was "taken into the room which was used for weaving coarse cloth for the negroes and fastened securely to the loom, where she remained, raving and moaning

[23] *Up from Slavery* (New York, 1902), p. 4.

[24] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York and Auburn, 1855), p. 15.

[25] The fact that slave families were often divided when it was to the economic advantage of the owners is too well established to take seriously the denials of those who have idealized slavery. Washington Irving, who regarded the separation of children from their parents as a peculiar evil of slavery, rationalized thus: "But are not white people so, by schooling, marriage, business, etc." (*The Journals of Washington Irving*, ed. William P. Trent and George S. Hellman [Boston, 1919], III, 115). See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, chap. ix, for an unbiased statement concerning the dividing of families.

until morning."[26] Another slave recounts his mother's efforts to prevent her children from being sold:

The master, Billy Grandy, whose slave I was born, was a hard drinking man; he sold away many slaves. I remember four sisters and four brothers; my mother had more children, but they were dead or sold away before I can remember. I was the youngest. I remember well my mother often hid us all in the woods, to prevent master selling us. When we wanted water, she sought for it in any hole or puddle, formed by falling trees or other wise: it was often full of tadpoles and insects: she strained it, and gave it round to each of us in the hollow of her hand. For food, she gathered berries in the woods, got potatoes, raw corn, &c. After a time the master would send word to her to come in, promising he would not sell us. But, at length, persons came, who agreed to give the prices he set on us. His wife, with much to be done, prevailed on him not to sell me; but he sold my brother, who was a little boy. My mother, frantic with grief, resisted their taking her child away; she was beaten and held down: she fainted, and when she came to herself, her boy was gone. She made much outcry, for which the master tied her up to a peach tree in the yard, and flogged her.[27]

When Josiah Henson's master died, and it was necessary to sell the slaves in order to divide the estate among the heirs, he says:

We were all put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder, and scattered over various parts of the country. My brothers and sisters were bid off one by one, while my mother, holding my hand, looked on in an agony of grief, the cause of which I but ill understood at first, but which dawned on my mind with dreadful clearness, as the sale proceeded. My mother was then separated from me, and put up in her turn. She was bought by a man named Isaac R., residing in Montgomery county, and then I was offered to the assembled purchasers. My mother, half distracted with the parting forever from all her children, pushed through the crowd, while the bidding for me was going on, to the spot where R. was standing. She fell at his feet,

[26] J. W. Loguen, *The Rev. J. W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman* (Syracuse, 1859), pp. 119–20.

[27] Grandy, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

and clung to his knees, entreating him in tones that a mother only could command, to buy her BABY as well as herself, and spare to her one of her little ones at least. Will it, can it be believed that this man, thus appealed to, was capable not merely of turning a deaf ear to her supplication, but of disengaging himself from her with such violent blows and kicks, as to reduce to the necessity of creeping out of his reach.[28]

We need not rely solely on the slave's word concerning the strength of the mother's affection for her children; indirect evidence, as well as contemporary observations, gives the same testimony. Concerning the slave mother's attachment for her children, the remark of an overseer in reply to another who spoke of the danger of losing slaves when they were taken North, is significant:

Oh, stuff and nonsense, I take care when my wife goes North with the children, to send Lucy with her; *her children are down here, and I defy all the Abolitionists in creation to get her to stay North.*[29]

In the following account of a sale we learn that the mother's distress at the separation from her child was sufficient to cause it to be purchased with her:

Gambling v. *Read*, Meigs 281, December 1838. 1837, Gambling sold Read, Hannah, a female slave for $1200, ... Hannah had a young child, (a boy, three months old,) and her distress at the separation from it induced Read to propose to purchase it; .... agreed that he should have it for 150 dollars.[30]

The *Alexandria Gazette*'s comment on the slave trade in the national capital gives a vivid picture of the effect of selling children on the bereft mothers:

Here you may behold fathers and mothers leaving behind them the dearest objects of affection, and moving slowly along in the mute agony of despair; there, the young mother, sobbing over the infant

[28] *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself* (Boston, 1844), pp. 3–4.

[29] Kemble, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–98.

[30] Catterall, *op. cit.*, II, 507.

whose innocent smile seems but to increase her misery. From some you will hear the burst of bitter lamentation, while from others the loud hysteric laugh breaks forth, denoting still deeper agony. Such is but a faint picture of the American slave-trade.[31]

Let us return to the cabins at the quarters where the slave mothers lived with their children.[32] In spite of the numerous separations, the slave mother and her children, especially those under ten, were treated as a group.[33] Some-

[31] Quoted in William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown* (Boston, 1842), pp. 113–14.

[32] A slave described the quarters where he lived as follows: "About a quarter of a mile from the dwelling house, were the huts, or cabins, of the plantation slaves, or field hands, standing in rows; much like the Indian villages which I have seen in the country of the Cherokees. These cabins were thirty-eight in number; generally about fifteen or sixteen feet square; built of hewn logs; covered with shingles, and provided with floors of pine boards. These houses were all dry and comfortable and were provided with chimnies; so that the people when in them, were well sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather. In this practice of keeping their slaves, well sheltered at night, the southern planters are pretty uniform; for they know that upon this circumstance, more than any other in that climate, depends the health of the slave, and consequently his value. In these thirty-eight cabins, were lodged two hundred and fifty people, of all ages, sexes, and sizes. Ten or twelve were generally employed in the garden and about the house" (Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States* [Lewistown, Pa., 1836], p. 107).

[33] The following advertisement from the *Charleston* (S.C.) *City Gazette*, February 21, 1825, is typical of a sale of a group of slaves (Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 58):

VALUABLE NEGROES FOR SALE

A Wench, complete cook, washer and ironer, and her 4 children—a Boy 12, another 9, a Girl 5, that sews; and a Girl about 4 years old.

Another Family—a Wench, complete washer and ironer, and her Daughter, 14 years old, accustomed to the house.

A Wench, a houseservant, and two male Children; one three years old, and the other 4 months.

A complete Seamstress and House Servant, with her male Child 7 years old.

Three Young Wenches, 18, 19, 21, all accustomed to house work.

A Mulatto Girl, about 17, a complete Seamstress and Waiting Maid, with her Grandmother.

Two Men ,one a complete Coachman, and the other a Waiter. Apply at this Office, or at No. 19 Hasell-street, Feb. 19.

times more than one family occupied a cabin. "We all lived together with our mother," writes a former slave, "in a long cabin, containing two rooms, one of which we occupied; the other being inhabited by my mother's niece, Annike, and her children."[34] Since the slaves were rationed according to families and under some circumstances were permitted to cultivate gardens for their own use, a sort of family economy gave a material foundation to their sentimental relationships.[35] Although the families were recognized as more or less distinct units, the fact that life among the slaves was informal and familiar tended to bring them all into intimate relations. The orphans had little difficulty in finding mothers among the women at the quarters. Concerning a former slave, the biographer writes:

Aunt Phyllis showed him tender sympathy and remarked to aunt Betty that it was a pity "ter tek' dat po' child fum his sick mamma, and brung him on dis place whah he won't meet nobody but a pas'le o' low-down, good-for-nuthin' strangers." This remark attached the boy to aunt Phyllis and he loved her ever afterward. He loved her, too,

[34] John Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[35] Allowance list of meal and meat for 1856 (*Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 513–14):

	Meal (Pecks)	Meat (Lb.)
Chesley and family	3	6½
Simon, Phillis, B. Peggy and 4 children	5	7½
England and family	4	5
Nathan and Coatney	2	5
Isaac	1	2½
Jacob and family	4	7
Esaw and Binah	2	5
O. Betty, O. Billy and family	6	9
Caesar and family	4½	7½
Prophet, Joe and Cinder	3	7
Cupid	1	2½
B. Dick and family	4	5
Flora	1½	2½
Minda	1	2½
Kate and family	6½	9½
Nurse and Peggy	2	4½
Maria and Pollidor	4½	5
L. Renty, Leah and two children	4	7
L. Dick	1	2½
Brave Boy	1	2½
Wallace	1	2
Jim and family	2½	5
Sucky	1	2½
L. Sarah	1	2
O. Sucky	1	2½
Frank	1	
pecks	68	119½

equal to 17 Bushels. Pounds of Meat

Take off ¼ lb. when you give a Pint of Syrup.

because she had the same name as his mother. Aunt Phyllis was a big-hearted old soul, and she looked with commiseration on all who suffered affliction or distress.[36]

But, in spite of this seemingly indiscriminate feeling toward children, mothers were likely to show special regard for their own offspring. Douglass, who was among the children placed under care of a cook, says:

She had a strong hold upon old master, for she was a first-rate cook, and very industrious. She was therefore greatly favored by him—as one mark of his favor she was the only mother who was permitted to retain her children around her, and even to these, her own children, she was often fiendish in her brutality. Cruel, however, as she sometimes was to her own children, she was not destitute of maternal feeling, and in her instinct to satisfy their demands for food, she was often guilty of starving me and the other children.[37]

When the mother was sold away or died, the oldest sister often assumed the role of mother to her brothers and sisters. A former slave wrote recently:

When my mother was sold I had one brother, William, and three sisters, Silva, Agga, and Emma. My father and mother were both pure blooded African Negros and there is not a drop of white blood in my veins, nor in those of my brother and sisters. When mother was taken away from us, Emma was a baby three years old. Silva, the oldest of the children, was fourteen, and she was a mother to the rest of us children. She took my mother's place in the kitchen as cook for my boss.[38]

We have spoken of the mother as the mistress of the cabin and as the head of the family. There is good reason for this.

[36] Charles Alexander, *Battles and Victories of Allen Allensworth* (Boston, 1914), p. 27.

[37] *Op cit.*, p. 21.

[38] Robert Anderson, *From Slavery to Affluence; Memoirs of Robert Anderson, Ex-slave* (Hemingsford, Neb., 1927), p. 5.

Not only did she have a more fundamental interest in her children than the father but, as a worker and free agent, except where the master's will was concerned, she developed a spirit of independence and a keen sense of her personal rights. An entry in a plantation journal represents her in one case requesting a divorce because of the burden of having so many children:

> Lafayette Renty asked for Leaf to Marry Lear I also gave them Leaf. Rose, Rentys other wife, ses that she dont want to Libe with Renty on the account of his having so Many Children and they weare always quarling so I let them sepperate.[39]

Usually the prospective son-in-law had to get the consent of the girl's mother. A slave complained that the mother of the girl whom he sought to marry opposed him because

> she wanted her daughter to marry a slave who belonged to a very rich man living near by, and who was well known to be the son of his master. She thought no doubt that his master or father might chance to set him free before he died, which would enable him to do a better part to her daughter than I could.[40]

The dominating position of the mother is seen in the comment of a former slave on the character of her father and mother. Her father, she said, was "made after the timid kind" and "would never fuss back" at her mother who was constantly warning him: "Bob, I don't want no sorry nigger around me. I can't tolerate you if you ain't got no backbone."[41]

Sometimes it happened that the husband and father

[39] *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 63.

[40] Henry Bibb, *The Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself, with an Introduction by Lucius Matlock* (New York, 1849), pp. 39–40.

[41] Manuscript document.

played a more aggressive role in the slave family.[42] Henson tells the following story of his father's defense of his mother:

> The only incident I can remember, which occurred while my mother continued on N.'s farm, was the appearance of my father one day, with his head bloody and his back lacerated. He was in a state of great excitement, and though it was all a mystery to me at the age of three or four years, it was explained at a later period, and I understood that he had been suffering the cruel penalty of the Maryland law for beating a white man. His right ear had been cut off close to his head, and he had received a hundred lashes on his back. He had beaten the overseer for a brutal assault on my mother, and this was his punishment. Furious at such treatment, my father became a different man, and was so morose, disobedient, and intractable, that Mr. N. determined to sell him. He accordingly parted with him, not long after, to his son, who lived in Alabama; and neither mother nor I ever heard of him again.[43]

In some accounts of their families, former slaves included their father. For example, Steward wrote: "Our family consisted of my father and mother—whose names were Robert and Susan Steward—a sister, Mary, and myself."[44] But generally the husband made regular visits to his wife and

[42] In some lists of groups of slaves bought, the father appears (Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 136):

NEGROES BOUGHT FEBY, 1839

Brave Boy, Carpenter, 40 years old	Betty, her sister's child who died—child
Phillis, his wife, 35	Affey Nelly's child,—child, 11
Pompey, Phillis's son, 16	Louisa her sister's child who is dead—child, 10
Jack B. Boy & Phillis's son, 16	Sarah, Nelly's child, 8
Chloe child do do	Jack, Nelly's carpenter boy, 18
Primus B. Boy's son, 21	Ismel, Nelly's, 16
Cato Child, B. Boy's son	Lappo Phillis & Brave Boy's, 19
Jenny (Blind) B. Boy's mother	
Nelly's husband in town, 30	

I paid cash for these 16 Negroes, $640. each—$10,240.00

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1–2.

[44] Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman* (Rochester 1857), p. 13.

children. According to Bishop Heard, his father, who lived three miles away, "would come in on Wednesday nights after things had closed up at his home, and be back at his home by daylight, Thursday mornings; come again Saturday night, and return by daylight Monday morning."[45]

The strength of the bond that sometimes existed between the father and his family is shown in such advertisements as the following:

$50 REWARD

Ran away from the subscriber his Negro man Pauladore, commonly called Paul. I understand GEN. R. Y. HAYNE* *has purchased his wife and children* from H. L. PINCKNEY, Esq.,** and has them now on his plantation at Goose-creek, where, no doubt, the fellow is frequently lurking. T. DAVIS.[46]

When Ball escaped from slavery in Georgia, he made his way back to his wife and children in Maryland.[47] The apparently insignificant detail in the journal of an overseer: "To Eldesteno, old ben, to see his Grand son Samuel die,"[48] is an eloquent testimony to what some men felt in regard to their progeny. On the other hand, many slaves had the same relation with their fathers as Anderson, who says that, after his mother was sold away, "I frequently saw my father after that, but not sufficient to become familiar with him as a father and son should be. A few years later he married another woman from another plantation."[49]

Generally speaking, the mother remained throughout slavery the dominant and important figure in the slave family. Although tradition has represented her as a devoted

[45] William Heard, *From Slavery to Bishopric* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 22.

[46] William Goodell, *American Slave Code* (New York, 1853), p. 119.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 361.

[48] *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 415.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

foster-parent to her master's children and indifferent to her own, it appears that, where this existed, the relations between the slave woman and the white child were similar to the relations which normally exist between mother and child. On the other hand, pregnancy and childbirth often meant only suffering for the slave mother who, because of her limited contacts with her young, never developed that attachment which grows out of physiological and emotional responses to its needs. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that slave mothers developed a deep and permanent love for their children, which often caused them to defy their masters and to undergo suffering to prevent separation from their young. This is only a part of the story of the slave mother, for there was another mother who bore children for the men of the master race. To the story of this mother we shall turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

HAGAR AND HER CHILDREN

Nowhere did human impulses and human feelings and sentiments tend to dissolve the formal relations between master and slave as in their sexual association, from which sprang those anomalous family groups consisting mainly of slave mother and mulatto offspring. But it was often in these very cases of human solidarity created by ties of blood that the ideas and sentiments embodied in the institution of slavery prevailed over the promptings of human feeling and sympathy. Where sexual association between master and slave was supported by personal attachment and in many cases genuine sentiment, we find the black, and more often mulatto, woman, under the protection of her master's house, playing a double role—a wife without the confirmation of the law and a mistress without the glamour of romance. Where the slave woman was only the means of satisfying a fleeting impulse, we find her rearing her mulatto offspring on the fare of slaves or being sold at a premium on the auction block because of her half-white brood. But whether her children were doomed to servitude or nurtured under the guidance of a solicitous father, they were not unconscious of their relation to the master race.

The admonition contained in the sermon preached at Whitechapel in 1609 for the benefit of adventurers and planters bound for Virginia, that "Abrams posteritie [must] keepe to themselves," was ignored in regard to the Negro as well as to the Indian. But the added injunction that "they may not marry nor give in marriage to the heathen, that are

uncircumcised" became, except in rare instances, the inexorable policy of the whites in their relation with both of the subordinate races.[1] Intercourse between whites and Negroes began as soon as the latter were introduced into America. In the beginning the sexual association between the two races was not confined to white males and the women of the black race. Colonial records furnish us with numerous instances of bastard children by Negro men and indentured white women.[2] There is also good evidence that intercourse between Negro males and white servant women was sometimes encouraged by white masters who desired to increase the number of their bound servants.[3] Marriages of Negroes and whites, most of whom were indentured servants, seem to have been numerous enough to require the enactment of severe laws for their prevention.[4] But, when the principle of racial integrity and white domination be-

[1] Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917–18), I, 323.

[2] A case brought into the Virginia courts in 1769 by a mulatto in suing for his freedom begins thus: "A Christian white woman between the years of 1723 and 1765, had a daughter, Betty Bugg, by a negro man. This daughter was by deed indented, bound by the churchwardens to serve till thirty-one. Before the expiration of her servitude, she was delivered of the defendant Bugg, who never was bound by the churchwardens, and was sold by his master to the plaintiff. Being now twenty-six years of age, and having cause of complaint against the plaintiff, as being illy provided with clothes and diet, he brought an action in the court below to recover his liberty, founding his claim on three points" (Helen Tunnicliff Catterall [ed.], *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* [Washington, D.C., 1926], I, 89–90). Another case for the following year states that "the plaintiff's grandmother was a mulatto, begotten on a white woman by a negro man, after the year 1705, and bound by the churchwardens, under the law of that date, to serve to the age of thirty-one" (*ibid.*, p. 90).

[3] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, I, 325.

[4] Edward B. Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918), pp. 128–31.

came fixed in the minds of the whites, social censure and severe penalties were reserved, with rare exceptions, for the association of Negro men and white women.[5]

As slavery developed into an institution, neither the segregation of the great body of slaves from the masses of the whites nor the mutual antagonism between the "poor whites" and the blacks was an effectual check on the sexual association between the two races. In the cities, especially, where the slaves were released from the control under which they lived on the plantations, and there were many free Negroes, association between the women of the inferior race and white men assumed in the majority of cases a casual and debasing character.[6] In fact, a traffic in mulatto women especially for prostitution became a part of the regular slave trade in southern cities.[7] Prostitution of slave women became in many cases a private affair and, when in such cases it led to the formation of more or less permanent associations, it merged into that developed and almost socially

[5] Calhoun (*op. cit.*, I, 210), has given us the following items from the court records of Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1698: "For that hee .... contrary to the lawes of the government and contrary to his masters consent hath .... got with child a certain molato woman called swart Anna .....

"David Lewis Constable of Haverford returned a negro man of his and a white woman for haveing a baster childe .... the negro said she intised him and promised him to marry him; she being examined, confest the same .... the court ordered that she shall receive twenty-one lashes on her beare backe .... and the court ordered the negroe man never to meddle with any white woman more uppon paine of his life."

[6] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 292–93; Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[7] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, II, 298–99; see also Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), pp. 328–30. The following item appeared in the *Memphis Eagle and Enquirer*, June 26, 1857: "A slave woman is advertised to be sold in St. Louis who is so surpassingly beautiful that $5,000 has been already offered for her, at private sale, and refused" (quoted in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 329).

approved system of concubinage which was found in Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. The cities were not, however, the only places where widespread intermixture of the races occurred. Although it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the slaveholders entered into sexual associations with their slaves, there is abundance of evidence of both concubinage and polygamy on the part of the master class. Moreover, although the intercourse between the masters and slave women on the plantations assumed as a rule a more permanent form than similar relations in the cities, the character of these associations varied considerably. Therefore, we shall examine the character of the different types of associations and try to determine the nature of the family groups that grew out of them.

In view of the relations of superordination and subordination between the two races, how far did these associations originate in mere physical compulsion? How far did the women of the subordinate race surrender themselves because they were subject to the authority of the master race? Or was the prestige of the white race sufficient to insure compliance on the part of the black and mulatto women, both slave and free? How far was mutual attraction responsible for acquiescence on the part of the woman?

All these factors were effective in creating the perplexing relationships in which men of the master race and women of the subject race became entangled. That physical compulsion was necessary at times to secure submission on the part of black women, both slave and free, is supported by historical evidence[8] and has been preserved in the traditions of Negro families. A young man in a Negro college writes

[8] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, II, 291–92.

concerning the birth of his great-great-grandfather on his mother's side:

Approximately a century and a quarter ago, a group of slaves were picking cotton on a plantation near where Troy, Alabama, is now located. Among them was a Negro woman, who, despite her position as a slave, carried herself like a queen and was tall and stately. The over-seer (who was the plantation's owner's son) sent her to the house on some errand. It was necessary to pass through a wooded pasture to reach the house and the over-seer intercepted her in the woods and forced her to put her head between the rails in an old stake and rider fence, and there in that position my great-great-grandfather was conceived.[9]

In the family history of another college student the story of the circumstances under which the Negro woman had been forced to yield to the sexual assault by her white master had become a sort of family skeleton, well guarded because of the sensitive feelings and pride of the victim. Of her great-grandmother, our informant writes:

As young as I was when I knew her, I remember distinctly her fierce hatred of white people, especially of white men. She bore marks of brutal beatings she received for attempted escapes, or for talking back to her master or mistress. One mark in particular stands out in my memory, one she bore just above her right eye. As well as she liked to regale me with stories of her scars, this is one she never discussed with me. Whenever I would ask a question concerning it, she would simply shake her head and say, "White men are as low as dogs, child. Stay away from them." It was only after her death, and since I became a woman that I was told by my own mother that she received that scar at the hands of her master's youngest son, a boy of about eighteen years at the time she conceived their child, my grandmother, Ellen. She belonged to a family of tobacco planters I believe, for she often spoke of tobacco, and liked very much to smoke it in an old pipe, which seems to have been almost as old as she. During the time she was carrying Ellen, she was treated more brutally than before,

[9] Manuscript document.

and had to work even harder than ever. But strange to say, after the child was born, and was seen to be white, in appearance at least, the attitude of the whole C—— family seemed to soften toward her somewhat, and after this she became a house servant and was taught to sew, and became the family seamstress.[10]

It seems that at times resistance to the white man's passion resulted in sadistical revenge upon the women. The form of punishment administered in the following case bears this implication:

Thomas James, Jep's second son, had cast his eyes on a handsome young negro girl, to whom he made dishonest overtures. She would not submit to him, and finding he could not overcome her, he swore he would be revenged. One night he called her out of the gin-house, and then bade me and two or three more, strip her naked; which we did. He then made us throw her down on her face, in front of the door, and hold her whilst he flogged her—the brute—with the bull-whip, cutting great gashes of flesh out of her person, at every blow, from five to six inches long. The poor unfortunate girl screamed most awfully all the time, and writhed under our strong arms, rendering it necessary for us to use our united strength to hold her down. He flogged her for half an hour, until he nearly killed her, and then left her to crawl away to her cabin.[11]

However, in many instances men of the master race did not meet much resistance on the part of the slave women.

[10] Manuscript document.

[11] John Brown, *Slave Life in Georgia*, ed., L. A. Chameroozow (London, 1855), pp. 132–33. Miss Kemble tells the following story: "She told me a miserable story of her former experience on the plantation under Mr. K——'s overseership. It seems that Jem Valiant (an extremely difficult subject, a mulatto lad, whose valor is sufficiently accounted for now by the influence of the mutinous white blood) was her first-born, the son of Mr. K——, who forced her, flogged her severely for having resisted him, and then sent her off, as a farther punishment, to Five Pound—a horrible swamp in a remote corner of the estate, to which the slaves are sometimes banished for such offenses as are not sufficiently atoned for by the lash" (Frances A. Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation* [New York, 1863], p. 199).

The mere prestige of the white race was sufficient to secure compliance with their desires. As Miss Kemble observed, the slaves accepted the contempt of their masters to such an extent that "they profess, and really seem to feel it for themselves, and the faintest admixture of white blood in their veins appears at once, by common consent of their own race, to raise them in the scale of humanity."[12] Moreover, there were often certain concrete advantages to be gained by surrendering themselves to the men of the master race that overcame any moral scruples these women might have had. In some cases it meant freedom from the drudgery of field labor as well as better food and clothing. Then there was the prospect that her half-white children would enjoy certain privileges and perhaps in time be emancipated.

Mutual attraction also played a part in securing the compliance of the woman. In many cases the intimacies that developed began in the household where the two races lived in close association. The historian of Alabama, who at-

[12] Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 194. The following incident related by a former slave indicates compliance on the part of a woman who was married to a slave: "Soon after my arrival in the family, Mr. Thomas let me to one of his sons, named Henry, who was a doctor, to attend his horse. This son was unmarried, lived a bachelor, and kept a cook and waiter. The cook belonged neither to him nor his father, but was hired. She was a good looking mulatto, and was married to a right smart, intelligent man, who belonged to the doctor's uncle. One night, coming home in haste, and wishing to see his wife, he sent me up stairs to request her to come down. Upon going up I found she was in a room with the doctor, the door of which was fast. This I thoughtlessly told her husband, who, upon her coming down a moment after, upbraided her for it. She denied it, and afterwards told the doctor..... The doctor was a very intemperate man. As soon as his cook told him her story, he came to his father with the complaint that I had left him without his consent; upon which his father told him to flog me" (John Thompson, *The Life of John Thompson, a Fugitive Slave; Containing His History of Twenty-five Years in Bondage, and His Providential Escape, Written by Himself* [Worcester, 1856], pp. 30–31).

tempts to place the responsibility for these illicit unions upon the slave woman, refers to the seductiveness of the latter.[13] But it appears that, aside from the prestige of the white race and the material advantages to be gained, these slave women were as responsive to the attractiveness of the white males as the latter were to the charms of the slave women. Hence, slave women were not responsive to the approaches of all white men and often showed some discrimination and preference in the bestowal of their favors.[14]

The relations between the white men and the slave women naturally aroused the jealousy and antagonism of the women of the master race. Because of the patriarchal character of the family, it was probably true to some extent, as one traveler related, that "a Southern wife, if she is prodigally furnished with dollars to 'go shopping,' apparently con-

[13] Calhoun (*op. cit.*, II, 294) gives the following quotation from a historian: "Under the institution of slavery, the attack against the integrity of white civilization was made by the insidious influence of the lascivious hybrid woman at the point of weakest resistance."

[14] The following incident is from the life of Bishop Loguen's mother, who was the mistress of a white man near Nashville, Tennessee: "When she was about the age of twenty-four or five, a neighboring planter finding her alone at the distillery, and presuming upon the privileges of his position, made insulting advances, which she promptly repelled. He pursued her with gentle force, and was still repelled. He then resorted to a slaveholder's violence and threats. These stirred all the tiger's blood in her veins. She broke from his embrace, and stood before him in bold defiance. He attempted again to lay hold of her—and careless of caste and slave laws, she grasped the heavy stick used to stir the malt, and dealt him a blow which made him reel and retire. But he retired only to recover and return with the fatal knife, and threats of vengeance and death. Again she aimed the club with unmeasured force at him, and hit the hand which held the weapon, and dashed it to a distance from him. Again he rushed upon her with the fury of a madman, and she then plied a blow upon his temple, which laid him, as was supposed, dead at her feet" (J. W. Loguen, *The Rev. J. W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman* [Syracuse, N.Y., 1859], pp. 20–21).

siders it no drawback to her happiness if some brilliant mulatto or quadroon woman ensnares her husband."[15] But, frequently, the wife visited her resentment not only upon the slave woman but upon her husband's mulatto children. In some cases white women arranged marriages for their female slaves as a means of breaking off their husband's attachment. This expedient seemingly failed in the following incident related by a former slave concerning his sister:

Mistress told sister that she had best get married, and that if she would, she would give her a wedding. Soon after a very respectable young man, belonging to Mr. Bowman, a wealthy planter, and reputed to be a good master, began to court my sister. This very much pleased Mistress, who wished to hasten the marriage. She determined that her maid should be married, not as slaves usually are, but that with the usual matrimonial ceremonies should be tied the knot to be broken only by death. The Sabbath was appointed for the marriage, which was to take place at the Episcopal Church. I must here state that no slave can be married lawfully, without a fine from his or her owner. Mistress and all the family, except the old man, went to church, to witness the marriage ceremony, which was to be performed by their minister, Parson Reynolds. The master of Josiah, my sister's destined husband, was also at the wedding, for he thought a great deal of his man. Mistress returned delighted from the wedding, for she thought she had accomplished a great piece of work. But the whole affair only enraged her unfeeling husband, who, to be revenged upon the maid, proposed to sell her. To this his wife refused consent. Although Mrs. T. had never told him her suspicions or what my sister had said, yet he suspected the truth, and determined to be revenged. Accordingly, during another absence of Mistress, he again cruelly whipped my sister. A continued repetition of these things finally killed our Mistress, who the doctor said, died of a broken heart. After the death of this friend, sister ran away leaving her husband and one child and finally found her way to the North.[16]

[15] Quoted in Calhoun, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[16] Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34.

Sometimes white women used more direct means of ridding themselves of their colored rivals. There was always the possibility of selling them. If they were not able to accomplish this during the lifetime of their husbands, they were almost certain to get their revenge when the slave woman's protector died, as witness the following excerpt from the family history of a mulatto:

My father's grandmother, Julia Heriot, of four generations ago lived in Georgetown, South Carolina. Recollections of her parentage are, indeed, vague. Nevertheless, a distinct mixture of blood was portrayed in her physical appearance. And, because she knew so little of her parents, she was no doubt sold into Georgetown at a very early age as house servant to General Charles Washington Heriot. Julia Heriot married a slave on the plantation by whom she had two children. Very soon after her second child was born an epidemic of fever swept the plantation, and her husband became one of the victims. After her husband's death, she became maid to Mrs. Heriot, wife of General Heriot. From the time that Julia Heriot was sold to General Heriot, she had been a favorite servant in the household, because of the aptitude which she displayed in performing her tasks. General and Mrs. Heriot had been so impressed with her possibilities that in a very short time after she had been in her new home, she had been allowed to use the name of Heriot. . . . . in the midst of her good fortune, a third child was born to her, which bore no resemblance to her other children. Reports of the "white child" were rumored. General Heriot's wife became enraged and insisted that her husband sell this slave girl, but General Heriot refused.

During the winter of the following year General Heriot contracted pneumonia and died. Before his death, he signed freedom papers for Julia and her three children; but, Mrs. Heriot manoevered her affairs so that Julia Heriot and her three children were again sold into slavery. In the auction of properties Julia Heriot was separated from her first two children. She pleaded that her babies be allowed to remain with her, but found her former mistress utterly opposed to anything that concerned her well-being. Her baby was the only consolation which

she possessed. Even the name Heriot had been taken away by constant warnings.[17]

The resentment of the white woman was likely to be manifested toward the offspring of her husband's relations with the slave woman. A mulatto former slave, after remarking that white women were "always revengeful toward the children of slaves that [had] any of the blood of their husbands in them," tells of his mother's anxiety when he, because of his relation to his master, became the object of the mistress' resentment.[18] Resentment against the mulatto child was especially likely to be aroused if the white father showed it much affection. In South Carolina in 1801 a woman secured alimony from her husband on the grounds that he cohabited with his own slave, by whom he had a mulatto child, on whom he lavished his affection; whilst he daily insulted the com-

[17] Manuscript document. In spite of the moralizing tone of the excerpt cited below, the incidents related are probably authentic: "Among the slaves on Mr. McKiernan's plantation were a number of handsome women. Of these the master was extremely fond, and many of them he beguiled with vile flatteries, and cheated by false promises of future kindness, till they became victims to his unbridled passions. Upon these unfortunate women fell the heavy hatred of their mistress; and year after year, as new instances of her husband's perfidy came to her knowledge her jealousy ran higher, till at length reason seemed banished from her mind, and kindliness became a stranger to her heart. Then she sought a solace in the wine cup; and the demon of intoxication fanned the fires of hatred that burned within her, till they consumed all that was womanly in her nature, and rendered her an object of contempt and ridicule, even among her own dependents" (Mrs. Kate E. R. Pickard, *The Kidnapped and the Ransomed: Being the Personal Collections of Peter Still and His Wife "Vina," after Forty Years of Slavery* [New York, 1856], p. 167).

[18] Lewis Clarke, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke, Sons of a Soldier of the Revolution* (Boston, 1846), p. 12. Calhoun (*op. cit.*, II, 309) cites the case of a mistress who, "out of ungrounded jealousy, had slaves hold a negro girl down while she cut off the forepart of the victim's feet."

plainant, and encouraged his slave to do the same. . . . . That at dinner one day, he took away the plate from complainant when she was going to help herself to something to eat, and said, when he and the negro had dined she might.[19]

The slave woman's relations with the white males sometimes aroused the antagonism of the entire household. Her relations with the sons in the family were regarded in such cases as an offense against the integrity of the family. In the incident related by Pennington we see her not only as the victim of the sexual desires of the son in the household but also as the object of the affection of her colored father who sought to save her:

My master once owned a beautiful girl about twenty-four. She had been raised in a family where her mother was a great favourite. She was her mother's darling child. Her master was a lawyer of eminent abilities and great fame, but owing to habits of intemperance, he failed in business, and my master purchased this girl for a nurse. After he had owned her about a year, one of his sons became attached to her, for no honourable purposes; a fact which was not only well-known among all the slaves, but which became a source of unhappiness to his mother and sisters.

The result was that poor Rachel had to be sold to "Georgia." Never shall I forget the heart-rending scene, when one day one of the men was ordered to get "the one-horse cart ready to go into town"; Rachel, with her few articles of clothing, was placed in it, and taken into the very town where her parents lived, and there sold to the traders before their weeping eyes. That same son who had degraded her, and who was the cause of her being sold, acted as salesman, and bill of salesman. While his cruel business was being transacted, my master stood aside, and the girl's father, a pious member and exhorter in the Methodist Church, a venerable grey-headed man, with his hat off, besought that he might be allowed to get some one in the place to purchase his child. But no: my master was invincible. His reply was, "She has offended in my family, and I can only restore confidence

[19] Catterall, *op. cit.*, II, 281.

by sending her out of hearing." After lying in prison a short time, her new owner took her with others to the far South, where her parents heard no more of her.[20]

The white wife often saw in the colored woman not only a rival for her husband's affection but also a possible competitor for a share in his property. In Kentucky in 1848 the court held that a white man's will should be rejected because he had disinherited his children. The record of the court stated that

during the few last years of his life, ... he [the testator, who died in 1845] seems to have had no will of his own, but to have submitted implicitly to the dictation of a colored woman whom he had emancipated, and whose familiar intercourse with him, had brought him into complete and continued subjection to her influence. . . . . The gratification of the wishes of this colored woman, seems to be its leading object. The natural duty of providing for his own children . . . . was entirely . . . . disregarded.[21]

Probably not many men of the master race became so enamoured of their colored mistresses as to disinherit their wives and children. In fact, where they showed strong attachment for their colored mistresses, attempts were made to prove mental disability. This was the contention set up by the heirs-at-law in a case in South Carolina in 1856:

Elijah Willis, by his will, dated 1854, bequeathed Amy (his slave mistress), her seven children (some of whom were his own), and their descendants to his executors, directing them "to bring or cause said persons, and their increase, to be brought to . . . . Ohio, and to emancipate and set them free." He also bequeathed and devised to his executors all the rest of his property, from the sale of which to purchase lands in one of the free states for said slaves, to stock and furnish the same, and to place said persons in possession thereof. "Elijah Willis,

[20] J. W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington* (London, 1850), pp. vi–vii.

[21] Catterall, *op. cit.*, I, 389.

taking with him his negro slave, Amy, and her children, and her mother, in May, 1855, left his home (in South Carolina) . . . . for Cincinnati. . . . . He arrived in a steamboat, and leaving it at a landing, on the Ohio side . . . . he died between the landing and a hack, in which he was about proceeding, with his said negroes, to his lodgings." His heirs-at-law contended that the will was void under the act of 1841, and also "undertook to show insanity, fraud, and undue influence, by proving . . . . that the deceased was often under gloomy depression of spirits—avoiding society on account of his connection with Amy, by whom he had several children; that he permitted her to act as the mistress of his house; to use saucy and improper language; that she was drunken, and probably unfaithful to him; and that she exercised great influence over him in reference to his domestic affairs, and in taking slaves from his business, to make wheels for little wagons for his mulatto children, and in inducing him to take off for sale the negro man who was her husband. . . . .[22]

The attempt to define as insane the devotion of white men to their colored mistresses and mulatto children was to be expected since such behavior was so opposed to the formal and legal relations of the two races and the principles of color caste. But the human relations between the two races constantly tended to dissolve the formal and legal principles upon which slavery rested. Sexual relations broke down the last barriers to complete intimacy and paved the way for

[22] *Ibid.*, II, 451. When the same contention was made against a will in a Kentucky case in 1831, the court held: "The fact that the deceased evinced an inclination to marry the slave, Grace, whom he liberated, is not a stronger evidence of insanity than the practice of rearing children by slaves without marriage; a practice but too common, as we all know, from the numbers of our mullatto population. However degrading, such things are, and however repugnant to the institutions of society, and the moral law, they prove more against the taste than the intellect. *De gustibus non disputandum.* White men, who may wish to marry negro women, or who carry on illicit intercourse with them, may, notwithstanding, possess such soundness of mind as to be capable in law, of making a valid will and testament" (*ibid.*, I, 318).

assimilation. There was some basis for the belief expressed by some persons that parental affection would put an end to slavery when amalgamation had gone far enough.[23]

Not all masters, of course, developed a deep and permanent attachment for their mistresses and mulatto children. In some cases men of the master race even sold their own mulatto children.[24] The slave woman was often abandoned and fared no better than other slaves. Neither Booker T. Washington nor his mother received any attention or benefactions from his supposedly white father. Frederick Douglass and his mother apparently derived no advantages from his reputed relation to the master race. After Loguen's mother had borne three children for her master, his passion for her cooled, and he took a white woman for his wife or mistress.[25] But Loguen remembered that, when he was a very small child, "he was the pet of Dave, as his father was also nicknamed, that he slept in his bed sometimes, and was caressed by him."[26] In the adjudication of the South Carolina case cited above, a witness testified that the white father gave his mulatto children "the best victuals . . . . from the table" and that "one of the small ones got in his lap."[27] It was the prolonged association between the master and his colored mistress and their mulatto children that gave rise to enduring affections and lasting sentiment.

Although the association between the men of the master race and the slave women was regarded as an assault upon the white family, white children of the masters sometimes manifested an affection for their mulatto half-brothers and half-sisters similar to that of their fathers. The mulatto

[23] Cf. Calhoun, *op. cit.*, II, 301.

[24] *Ibid.*, 301.

[25] Loguen, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[27] Catterall, *op. cit.*, II, 469.

Clarke tells us that at least one of his mother's white half-sisters respected the tie of blood when the estate was sold:

When I was about six years of age, the estate of Samuel Campbell, my grandfather, was sold at auction. His sons and daughters were all present, at the sale, except Mrs. Banton. Among the articles and animals put upon the catalogue, and placed in the hands of the auctioneer, were a large number of slaves. When every thing else had been disposed of, the question arose among the heirs, "What shall be done with Letty (my mother) and her children?" John and William Campbell, came to mother, and told her they would divide her family among the heirs, but none of them should go out of the family. One of the daughters—to her everlasting honor be it spoken—remonstrated against any such proceeding. Judith, the wife of Joseph Logan, told her brothers and sisters, "Letty is our own half sister, and you know it; father never intended they should be sold." Her protest was disregarded, and the auctioneer was ordered to proceed. My mother, and her infant son Cyrus, about one year old, were put up together and sold for $500!! Sisters and brothers selling their own sister and her children.[28]

All classes of whites in the South were involved in these associations with the slave women. Some have attempted to place the burden upon the overseers and the landless poor whites, the class from which they were recruited. But there is no evidence that the poor whites were more involved than the men of the master class. In fact, there was always considerable antagonism between the slaves and the overseers and the class to which they belonged.[29] Concubinage was

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

[29] An overseer reported to his employer that he "maid the Driver give (Mariah) 10 cut. . . . . it all grew out of hur molater girl Mary. I spoke to Bety (his wife) about it and told hur that I wold take Mary in the house to mind the flies and play with Annah as they war ner of a size and that she could stay with it(s) Mother of a knight and if it wanted it cold go down to see hur of days and if it was smart that I had no dout that hur Mistis wold make a hous servent of Mary and Betty apperd to be very willin but that knight Mariah put it in Marys head that she was not to wait on us and I

the privilege of those classes in the South that were economically well off. In Charleston, South Carolina, and in New Orleans, where the system of concubinage reached its highest development, wealthy bachelors included beautiful mulatto women among their luxuries. Sometimes they developed a serious and permanent affection for these women that culminated in marriage.[30] More often, it seems, the women developed real affection for the men; for, when they were abandoned by the white men who entered legal marriage, these women seldom entered new relationships and in some cases committed suicide.

The colored families of the aristocrats were too well known for the fact to be concealed.[31] The white masters acknowl-

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had to give the chile a whipen the next morning and went to El Disteno and when she came in et diner she cut up a swell abot it. next morning I was goin to give hur, Mariah, a smal dresin (i.e., dressing, flogging) about it and she walked of(f)" (*Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 156–57).

[30] A mulatto gives the following account of his sister: "Sister was therefore carried down the river to New Orleans, kept three or four weeks, and then put up for sale. The day before the sale, she was taken to the barber's, her hair dressed, and she was furnished with a new silk gown, and gold watch, and every thing done to set off her personal attractions, previous to the time of the bidding. The first bid was $500; then $800. The auctioneer began to extol her virtues. Then $1000 was bid. The auctioneer says, 'If you only knew the reason why she is sold, you would give any sum for her. She is a pious, good girl, member of the Baptist church, warranted to be a virtuous girl.' The bidding grew brisk. 'Twelve!' 'thirteen,' 'fourteen,' 'fifteen,' 'sixteen hundred,' was at length bid, and she was knocked off to a Frenchman, named Coval. He wanted her to live with him as his housekeeper and mistress. This she utterly refused, unless she were emancipated and made his wife. In about one month, he took her to Mexico, emancipated, and married her. She visited France with her husband, spent a year or more there and in the West Indies. In four or five years after her marriage, her husband died, leaving her a fortune of twenty or thirty thousand dollars" (Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 75).

[31] A sister of President Madison was reported to have remarked to Rev. George Bourne, a Presbyterian minister in Virginia: "We Southern ladies

edged the relationships, gave protection to their colored families, and generally emancipated them. The often-cited case of Thomas Jefferson, who emancipated his colored children, is only a conspicuous example of the numerous aristocratic slaveholders who left mulatto descendants.[32] Only as tradition has cast a halo about the southern aristocracy has an attempt been made to remove this supposed stain from their name.

Numerous mulatto families are traceable to the associations between slaveholders and their slave women. The family background of a mulatto who played a part in Texas politics after the Civil War is similar to that of other mulatto families whose relationship to the master race is well authenticated. From the biography of Cuney, written by his daughter, we learn:

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are complimented with the names of wives; but we are only the mistresses of seraglios" (quoted in William Goodell, *American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* [New York, 1853], p. 111). While Andrew Johnson was governor of Tennessee, in a speech to the newly emancipated blacks, he chided the aristocracy on their objection to Negro equality by reminding them of their numerous mulatto children in the city of Nashville: "The representatives of this corrupt, (and if you will permit me almost to swear a little), this damnable aristocracy, taunt us with our desire to see justice done, and charge us with favoring negro equality. Of all living men they should be the last to mouth that phrase; and, even when uttered in their hearing, it should cause their cheeks to tinge and burn with shame. Negro equality, indeed! Why, pass, any day, along the sidewalks of High Street where these aristocrats more particularly dwell,—these aristocrats, whose sons are now in the bands of guerillas and cutthroats who prowl and rob and murder around our city,—pass by their dwellings, I say, and you will see as many mulatto as Negro children, the former bearing an unmistakable resemblance to the aristocratic owners" (*Speeches of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, with a Biographical Introduction by Frank Moore* [Boston, 1865], pp. xxxix–xl).

[32] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, pp. 299–300.

Norris Wright Cuney was of Negro, Indian and Swiss descent. The Negro and Indian blood came through his mother, Adeline Stuart, for whom free papers were executed by Col. Cuney, and who was born in the State of Virginia. . . . . The Caucasian blood of my father came principally from the Swiss family of Cuney's who were among the early settlers of Virginia, coming there with the Archinard family from Switzerland. About the time of the Louisiana purchase, they migrated to the new provinces and became planters in Rapides Parish. . . . . When Col. Philip Cuney came to Texas with his family, he settled in Waller County, near Hempstead, on the east side of the Brazos River. Here, in the heart of the cotton and melon belt, he maintained a large plantation and held slaves, among whom was my grandmother, mentioned above, Adeline Stuart, who bore him eight children and whom he eventually set free . . . . on May 12, 1846, my father was born at "Sunnyside," the plantation on the Brazos River owned by his father, Col. Philip Cuney. In 1853, when father was seven years of age, the family moved to Houston and the two older boys were sent to Pittsburgh to attend school.[33]

When men of the slaveholding aristocracy renounced the conventional society of their peers, withdrew to the seclusion of their feudal estates, and took as their companions mulatto women, it was natural that deep and permanent sentiment should develop between them and their colored mistresses and children. This was the case with those anomalous family groups in which the woman enjoyed the protection of her master and paramour and occupied a dignified and respected position in relation to her children and other slaves on the plantation. It is not surprising, then, to find in the court cases, contesting the wills of masters who emancipated their mistresses and mulatto children and left them their estates, that the fact of the woman's having "had the

[33] Maud Cuney Hare, *Norris Wright Cuney* (New York, 1913), pp. 1–4.

influence over him of a white woman and a wife" was cited to show undue influence on her part.[34]

That such associations undermined the moral order upon which slavery rested and made possible the gradual assimilation of the Negro as his blood became more and more diluted by white blood cannot be denied. Within the intimacy of these family groups color caste was dissolved, and the children, who were often scarcely distinguishable from white, took over the ideals, sentiments, and ambitions of their white fathers. Their mothers, who were generally mulattoes and already possessed some of the culture and feeling of the master race, were further assimilated into the white group by their close association with the cultured classes of the South.

We can view this process in a mulatto family that originated on a large plantation in Virginia. Captain Ralph Quarles, according to his mulatto son who was elected to Congress during the Reconstruction,

believed that slavery ought to be abolished. But he maintained that the mode of its abolition should be by the voluntary individual action of the owner. He held that slaves should be dealt with in such manner,

[34] South Carolina Case, 1839: "The testator was never married. He had lived for many years in a state of illicit intercourse with a (bright) mulatto woman, his own slave ('the child of .... a half brother of testator'), who assumed the position of a wife, controlled, at least, all the domestic arrangements of the family. The issue .... was a boy, named Henry, who was acknowledged by the testator as his son..... His respectable neighbors would not allow him to be sent to school with their children. He sent him to a distant school, from which he was ejected, so soon as his caste was discovered, although his complexion was such that it required very close inspection to decide that he was not white; .... Many years before his death, he had endeavored, by application to the Legislature, to effect the emancipation of this boy. These efforts proving unavailing, the testator, after, or about the time he arrived at manhood, sent Henry to Indiana, where he had

as to their superintendence and management, as to prevent cruelty, always, and to inspire in them, so far as practicable, feelings of confidence in their masters. Hence, he would employ no overseer, but, dividing the slaves into groups, convenient for ordinary direction and employment, make one of their own number the chief director of the force.[35]

Because of these views and practices in the management of his plantation, Captain Quarles was condemned and finally ostracized. "For twenty years before his death, no white man resided upon his plantation other than Captain Quarles himself." As he spent most of his life among his slaves, naturally, as his son remarks, he found "a woman, a companion for life, among his slaves to whom he gave his affections," and made "the mother of his children."[36]

The woman, for whom he discovered special attachment and who, finally, became really the mistress of the Great House of the plantation, reciprocating the affection of her owner, winning his respect and confidence, was the one whom he had taken and held, at first, in pledge for money borrowed of him by her former owner; but whom, at last, he made the mother of his four children, one daughter and three sons. Her name was Lucy Langston. Her surname was of Indian origin, and borne by her mother, as she came out of a tribe of Indians of close relationships in blood to the famous Pocahontas. Of Indian extraction, she was possessed of slight proportion of negro blood; and yet, she and her mother, a full-blooded Indian woman, who was brought upon the plantation and remained there up to her death, were loved and honored by their fellow-slaves of every class.[37]

She had been emancipated by Captain Quarles in 1806 after the birth of the first child, a girl. It was after her

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him settled, and provided him, from time to time with considerable sums of money. . . . . Fan had the influence over him of a white woman and a wife" (Catterall, *op. cit.*, II, 375).

[35] John M. Langston, *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capital* (Hartford, Conn., 1894), p. 12.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

emancipation that the three sons were born to them in 1809, 1817, and 1829.

The children were the objects of their father's affection and solicitude as well as their mother's love. The oldest boy was educated by his father, who required him to appear "for his recitations, in his father's special apartments, the year round, at five o'clock in the morning; and be ready after his duties in such respect had been met, at the usual hour, to go with the slave boys of his age to such service upon the plantation as might be required of them."[38] This boy became so much like his father in physical and mental qualities that Captain Quarles made the significant addition of Quarles to his name. In remarking upon his father's regard for his children, the youngest son wrote:

> Could his tender care of them, in their extreme youth, and his careful attention to their education, as discovered by him as soon as they were old enough for study, be made known, one could understand, even more sensibly, how he loved and cherished them; being only prevented from giving them his own name and settling upon them his entire estate, by the circumstances of his position, which would not permit either the one or the other. He did for his sons all he could; exercising paternal wisdom, in the partial distribution of his property in their behalf and the appointment of judicious executors, of his will, who understood his purposes and were faithful in efforts necessary to execute them. Thus, he not only provided well for the education of his sons, but, in large measure, made allowance for their settlement in active, profitable business-life.[39]

The mother probably played no small part in the training of their children and in helping to create in them a conception of their superior status.[40] She was described by her son as

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

[40] The following excerpt from the family history of a mulatto tells how the slave mother instilled in her mulatto child the idea of his superiority:

a woman of small stature, substantial build, fair looks, easy and natural bearing, even and quiet temper, intelligent and thoughtful, who accepted her lot with becoming resignation, while she always exhibited the deepest affection and earnest solicitude for her children. Indeed, the very last words of this true and loving mother, when she came to die, were uttered in the exclamation, "Oh, that I could see my children once more!"[41]

After a long life together Captain Quarles and his mulatto mistress died in 1834.

The former, as he neared his end, requested and ordered, that Lucy, when she died, should be buried by his side, and, accordingly, upon a small reservation in the plantation, they sleep together their long quiet sleep. While the humblest possible surroundings mark the spot of their burial, no one has ever disturbed or desecrated it.

During his last sickness, Captain Quarles was attended only by Lucy, her children, and his slaves. During the two days his body lay upon its bier, in the Great House, it was guarded, specially and tender-

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"My great-grandmother was never married and had only one child who was my grandfather and the son of her master. This is quite easily understood when one knows that she was sold to my great grandfather at the age of twelve. Here she worked as 'house girl' until she was old enough to become the cook. I can see my great-grandmother now, tall and robust, with the 'air' of one who has had contact for years with the aristocracy of the South, striving every day to give her child such contacts as would give him, also, this superior poise, yet combining with it a comprehension of his limitations. She told him that he was different, though the difference was very hard to detect and that this little difference, though small, was the cause of him eating in the kitchen with her while his master's children who in reality were his half-brothers and half-sisters ate in the large dining room of the 'big house.' Other things of this type she told him, all of the time instilling in him the desire to be able some day to eat in a big dining room with large laden tables and shining floors. My grandfather grew up around this aristocratic colonial home never getting a chance to attend school and the only way in which he learned to read and write was by his white half-sisters and half-brothers mockingly telling him what they learned from their 'pore Yankee school teacher' who taught them in their school room in the attic" (manuscript document).

[41] Langston, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

ly, by the noble negro slave, who, when his master was taken sick suddenly, and felt that he needed medical assistance, without delay, but a few nights before, hurried across the country to the home of the physician, and secured his aid for his stricken owner.[42]

In his will of October 18, 1833, Captain Quarles left a large part of his estate, including lands and bank stock, to his three sons. According to the provisions of the will, if they desired to move into free territory the real estate was to be sold. Soon after the death of their parents the sons departed for Ohio.

This case represents the highest development of family life growing out of the association of the men of the master race with the slave women. At the bottom of the scale was the Negro woman who was raped and became separated from her mulatto child without any violence to her maternal feelings; or the slave woman who submitted dumbly or out of animal feeling to sexual relations that spawned a nameless and unloved half-white breed over the South. Between these two extremes there were varying degrees of human solidarity created in the intimacies of sex relations and the birth of offspring. Sexual attraction gave birth at times to genuine affection; and prolonged association created between white master and colored mistress enduring sentiment. There were instances where white fathers sold their mulatto children; but more often they became ensnared by their affections for their colored offspring. Neither color caste nor the law of slavery could resist altogether the corrosive influence of human feeling and sentiment generated in these lawless family groups. The master in his mansion and his colored mistress in her special house near by repsented the final triumph of social ritual in the presence of the deepest feeling of human solidarity.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

PART II

IN THE HOUSE OF THE MOTHER



CHAPTER V

BROKEN BONDS

How did the Negro family fare when it left the house of the master and began its independent career in the stormy days of emancipation? What authority was there to take the place of the master's in regulating sex relations and maintaining the permanency of marital ties? Where could the Negro father look for a sanction of his authority in family relations which had scarcely existed in the past? Were the affectional bonds between mother and child and the solidarity of feeling and sentiment between man and wife strong enough to withstand the disorganizing effects of freedom? In the absence of family traditions and public opinion, what restraint was there upon individual impulse unleashed in those disordered times? To what extent during slavery had the members of the slave families developed common interests and common purposes capable of supporting the more or less loose ties of sympathy between those of the same blood or household?

Emancipation was a crisis in the life of the Negro that tended to destroy all his traditional ways of thinking and acting. To some slaves who saw the old order collapse and heard the announcement that they were free men emancipation appeared "like notin' but de judgment day."[1] Bishop Gaines, recalling the effect of the announcement upon him and his fellow slaves, wrote:

[1] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York, 1900), p. 235.

I shall never forget the moment when I heard the first tidings proclaiming liberty to the captive. Memory holds that hour as the most beautiful and enrapturing in all the history of a life which has alternated between the experience of a debasing servitude and that of a joyous and unfettered freedom.

I was ploughing in the fields of Southern Georgia. The whole universe seemed to be exulting in the unrestraint of the liberty wherewith God has made all things free, save my bound and fettered soul, which dared not claim its birthright and kinship with God's wide world of freedom. The azure of a Southern sky bent over me and the air was fragrant with the fresh balm-breathing odors of spring. The fields and the forests were vocal with the blithe songs of birds, and the noise of limpid streams made music as they leaped along to the sea.

Suddenly the news was announced that the war had ended and that slavery was dead. The last battle had been fought, and the tragedy that closed at Appomattox had left the tyrant who had reigned for centuries slain upon the gory field.

In a moment the pent-up tears flooded my cheek and the psalm of thanksgiving arose to my lips. "I am free," I cried, hardly knowing in the first moments of liberty what and how great was the boon I had received. Others, my companions, toiling by my side, caught up the glad refrain, and shouts and rejoicings rang through the fields and forests like the song of Miriam from the lips of the liberated children of Israel.[2]

When the news was received that they were free, other slaves were bewildered as the boy who said it sounded "like Greek" to him when his mother whispered with a quiver in her voice: "Son, we have been slaves all our lives, and now Mr. Abe Lincoln done set us free, and say we can go anywhere we please in this country, without getting a pass from Marse Cage like we used to have to do."[3] Sometimes

[2] W. J. Gaines, *The Negro and the White Man* (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 71–72.

[3] J. Vance Lewis, *Out of the Ditch: A True Story of an Ex-slave* (Houston, Tex., 1910), p. 9.

when the slaves received a formal notice of their freedom from the master, his broken authority proved an ineffectual restraint upon their rejoicing. A prominent young Negro minister recounts the story of the announcement of freedom on the plantation where his grandfather held a responsible position:

The slaves were in the fields chopping the cotton and chanting the rhythm of the day as a testimony to the drowsy overseer that they were doing his bidding. "Massah" Ridley was on the porch of the "big house" fast asleep. The Yankees had ridden up to the mansion, and the horses put their hoofs on the low and unrailed porch as if at home. Doctor Ridley awakened quickly, surprised, startled, bewildered, perplexed, a riot of color. Some words passed between the parties, and then one of the soldiers took something from his pocket and read it. By this time "Missus" Ridley had come from the house. She too heard the story and saw her husband's eyes suffused with tears, but said not a word. Doctor Ridley was trying hard to keep the tears back. He summoned Miles and spoke slowly with a tear in his voice: "Miles, call all the niggers together."

The slaves did not know the meaning of Miles' news to them, although they had heard rumors that they should sometime be free. Few could read, and none had access to newspapers. As they left the field they wondered who was to be whipped or who was to be sold or what orders were to be given. Half-startled, half-afraid, they wended their way through the fields in one silent mass of praying creatures. On seeing the Yankees they started back, but "Massah" Ridley beckoned.

The master was weeping bitterly. Finally he sobbed, "I called you together, Miles—" then he stopped. His words were stifled with sobs. The slaves were awe-stricken; they had never seen a white man cry. Only slaves had tears, they thought. All eyes were fastened on Doctor Ridley. He was saying something. "All you niggers—all you niggers are free as I am." The surprise was shocking, but in an instant in his usual harsh voice he added: "But there ain't going to be any rejoicing here. Stay here until the crop is made, and I'll give you provisions. Go back to work."

But the slaves did rejoice and loudly, too. Some cried; some jumped up and cracked their heels. Charlotte took her younger children in her arms and shouted all over the plantation: "Chillun, didn't I tell you God 'ould answer prayer?"[4]

The same writer informs us that many of the slaves left the plantation immediately. In fact, the right to move about was the crucial test of freedom.[5] Some, of course, in whom the attitude of subordination was still strong were less bold in asserting their newly acquired rights. This was the case with a Negro bishop who said:

One day in 1865 I was plowing with a mare called "Old Jane," and I looked and saw the "Yankees." I had heard before of their coming. I took out Old Jane and went to the house about three o'clock in the afternoon. I was asked why I had come home at that hour. I told them "I was afraid the Yankees would steal my horse, so I brought her home," but that was not the cause at all. Freedom had come, and I came to meet it.[6]

A similar attitude on the part of a slave is recalled by Bishop Coppin:

Father Jones was promptly on hand with Lincoln's proclamation, but here was no one present with authority to say to the slave, you are free; so all were in suspense.

Uncle Jim Jones drove his mistress to Cecilton, and some one, a white person, told him that he was free now, and it was discretionary with him whether or not he drove the carriage back. When Uncle Jim reached home he informed every one of what he had heard. When a

[4] Miles Mark Fisher, *The Master's Slave—Elijah John Fisher* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 6–8.

[5] "After the coming of freedom," wrote Booker Washington, "there were two points upon which practically all the people on our place were agreed, and I find that this was generally true throughout the South: that they must change their names, and that they must leave the plantation for at least a few days or weeks in order that they might really feel sure that they were free" (*Up from Slavery* [New York, 1902], p. 23).

[6] William H. Heard, *From Slavery to Bishopric* (Philadelphia, 1924), p. 28.

few evenings after that, his old master himself drove the carriage to town and was late returning, Uncle Jim, in order to make a test case, would not remain to unharness the horses, but said, in a way that his master would be sure to hear it: "There has got to be a new understanding," which "new understanding," came promptly the next morning when "Mars Frankie" approached him to know about the strange doctrine which he was preaching around the place. Poor Uncle Jim begged pardon, saved his back, and said no more about a "new understanding."

He was too old to be very independent. He continued to live in the little house on the place, and work for Marse Frankie, who paid him about what he thought his services were worth. He never was able to throw off the terrible fear he always had of his master, who, by the way, was never cruel to him; but, he finally mustered enough courage to go and come at will.[7]

The spirit of submission was not so deeply ingrained in all slaves as in this old house servant. Especially was this true with the younger slaves. A former slave in Alabama remarked not long ago to the writer that the older Negroes continued to ask for passes to go to church while the younger generation took delight in going off when they chose without the pass. In many places, especially those in the path of the invading armies, the plantation organization, the very basis of the slave system, was swept away. When Sherman's army swept through Georgia, it drew after it thousands of Negroes from the plantations. Reports that have come down to us of the effects of the destruction of the established order show that in some cases even the bond of maternal affection between mother and child was severed. The hardships of the journey with Sherman were so fearful that "children often gave out and were left by their mothers exhausted and dying by the roadside and in the fields."

[7] L. J. Coppin, *Unwritten History* (Philadelphia, 1920), pp. 91–92.

Some of the mothers, we are told, "put their children to death, they were such a drag upon them, till our soldiers, becoming furious at their barbarous cruelty hung two women on the spot."[8] But in other cases the shock of war and emancipation that uprooted the old social order only revealed how strong were the bonds of affection between parents and children and husband and wife. For the same informant tells us that a woman with twelve children "carried one and her husband another and for fear she would lose the others she tied them all together by the hands and brought them all off safely, a march of hundreds of miles."[9]

Other witnesses who were in a position to observe the effects of emancipation on family relations have provided similar testimony. For example, in an account which Higginson has left us, of the fleeing refugees, we find that "women brought children on their shoulders; small black boys carried on their backs little brothers equally inky, and, gravely depositing them, shook hands."[10] One who worked among the refugees noted the fact that "these people had a marvellous way of tracing out missing members of their families, and inflexible perseverence in hunting them up."[11] Numerous instances of the general disposition on the part of the emancipated Negro to rejoin his relatives who had been sold away could be cited. But we shall let a former slave, whose sister was sold away from the family, tell of her sister's return after emancipation.

[8] Elizabeth Pearson, *War Letters from Port Royal, Written at the Time of the Civil War* (Boston, 1906), pp. 293–94.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

[11] Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days among the Contrabands* (Boston, 1893), p. 154.

My sister tried to locate us and found us by inquiring from place to place. She came to the door one day and told me that she was my sister but I refused to let her in for I didn't know her and my mother had told me not to open the door to strangers, so I didn't let her in. She had to go some place and stay until my mother came home. She would come and visit us for awhile and she corresponded with us after that. I don't think I had the same feeling for her as I had with the sister with whom I had been associated all the time. There was nothing antagonistic of course but I just didn't know her, that was all. She was very fond of me though.[12]

The strong attachment which, as we have seen, mothers showed for their children during the crisis of emancipation could be matched with many instances of deep affection between husbands and wives and between children and their parents. Witness, for example, among the refugees an old man with "his sick wife on his back, and a half-grown boy (with) his blind daddy, toting him along 'to freedom.' "[13] But there was another side to the picture which we are able to piece together from the recollections that have been preserved. The mobility of the Negro population after emancipation was bound to create disorder and produce widespread demoralization. Thousands of Negroes flocked to the army camps where they created problems of discipline as well as of health. Some wandered about without any destination; others were attracted to the towns and cities.[14] When the yoke of slavery was lifted, the drifting masses were left without any restraint upon their vagrant impulses and wild

[12] Manuscript document.

[13] Botume, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Higginson (*op. cit.*, p. 65) cites the case of a man who refused to join the army, "saying bluntly that his wife was out of slavery with him, and he did not care to fight."

[14] Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migrations* (Washington, D.C., 1918), pp. 101–7. "It is said that in 1864, 30,000 to 40,000 Negroes had come from the plantations to the District of Columbia" (*ibid.*, p. 105).

desires. The old intimacy between master and slave, upon which the moral order under the slave regime had rested, was destroyed forever.[15]

[15] In describing the effects of the destruction of intimacy between the two races upon the conduct of the Negroes, Bruce writes: "Even if, in any instance, a father and mother were to desire to instil a spirit of self-restraint into their children, they would not be led to seek, when necessary, the assistance of their former master, who is now their employer, and who never assumes the right to intervene, unless the heedlessness or depravity of the children is displayed in injuring, destroying, or purloining his property. He has no longer authority enough to insist upon order and discipline in the family life, or to compel parents to prevent their offspring from running wild, like so many young animals. Even when he feels any interest in their moral education, irrespective of their connection with the government of his own estate, he finds it impossible to come near enough to them to win and hold their attention, for child and parent alike shrink from association with him. His advances are not cordially met. However keen his sense of moral responsibility, therefore, and however earnestly he may wish to prosecute a plan of moral education among the children of his laborers, he runs upon an almost insurmountable obstacle in his path at the very beginning, and he is generally discouraged from going any further. As far, therefore, as he is concerned, the children of the new generation receive no moral instruction at all. Under the old system, the ladies of his family often instituted Sunday-schools, to teach the young slaves the leading principles of the Christian faith, as well as general rules of good conduct; but this custom, which was the source of much benefit to the pupils, has fallen into disuse; and as there are now no points of contact between the home life of the cabin and that of the planter's residence, no social or moral influence of any kind emanates from his domestic circle to enlighten the minds of the children who live on his estate" (Phillip A. Bruce, *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman* [New York, 1889], p. 4). A former slave gives in more concrete terms an account of his feelings when the prospect of freedom seemed to destroy the intimate relations between himself and his master's son. "I shall never forget," he says, "the feeling of sickness which swept over me. I saw no reason for rejoicing as others were doing. It was my opinion that we were being driven from our homes and set adrift to wander, I knew not where. I did not relish the idea of parting with my young master who was as true a friend as I ever had. There was also a very difficult problem for us to solve—we had three coon dogs which we jointly owned, and I did not see how to divide the dogs without hurting his feelings, my feelings or the dogs'

Promiscuous sexual relations and constant changing of spouses became the rule with the demoralized elements in the freed Negro population. "Mammy Maria, who had left two husbands in Mississippi," writes Mrs. Smedes, "came out in the new country as 'Miss Dabney,' and attracted, as she informed her 'white children,' as much admiration as any of the young girls, and had offers of marriage too. But she meant to enjoy her liberty, she said, and should not think of marrying any of them."[16] Some of the confusion in marital relations was due, of course, to the separation of husbands and wives during slavery and the disorganization that followed emancipation. This was one of the problems that particularly vexed the northern missionaries who undertook to improve the morals of the newly liberated blacks. One tells the story of a case which was finally adjusted so that the couple settled down and lived a monogamous life:

One day Uncle Kit came to me greatly troubled. His wife Tina's first husband, who had been sold away from her "in the old secesh times," had come back and claimed her. "An' I set my eyes by her," said the poor fellow. Tina had been brought up on another plantation to which husband number one had now returned. But Kit had belonged to the Smith estate. So the wife went from one place to the other, spending a few weeks alternately with each husband. She had no children, so had nothing to bind her more to one than the other. Kit came to ask me to write a letter to Tina and beg her to come back and stay with him. "Fur him want to come to lib, but him shame," said poor Kit. He was ready to forgive all her waywardness, "fur nobody can tell, ma'am, what I gone through with fur that woman. I married her for love, an' I lub her now more an' better than I lub myself." We thought such devotion should be rewarded. I expostulated with Tina over her way of living, and finally threatened to ignore

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feelings, without relinquishing my claims, which I was loathe to do" (Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10).

[16] Susan Smedes, *A Southern Planter* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 179.

her altogether. She seemed surprised, but replied, "I had Sam first, but poor brother Kit is all alone." Finally she decided to drop Sam and cling to Kit, "fur he, poor fellow, ain't got nobody but me," she said. They lived happily together for many years. Then Tina died, and Kit refused to allow any person to live in the house with him, telling me he never liked confusion. And folks *would* talk, and "I don't want Tina to think I would bring shame upon she," he said.[17]

The confusion in marital relations was often brought to light when the freedmen decided or were persuaded to enter formal marriage. "A couple came forward," so runs one account, "to be married after church, as often happens, when Sarah from this place got up and remarked that was her husband! Whereupon Mr. Philbrick was called in from the yard and promised to investigate and report. Jack said he had nothing against Sarah, but he did not live on the plantation now, and wanted a wife at Hilton Head."[18] Marriage as a formal and legal relation was not a part of the mores of the freedmen. There was a great deal of superstition concerning it, which probably helped to establish it in the mores of the Negroes. This is shown in the attitude of a recently married husband:

We were passing the "negro quarters," and one of these men brought out a very young and plump baby for us to see, saying they had had "a heap of children," but it seemed as if none could live until

[17] Botume, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–61. An educated Negro minister from the North who worked among the freedmen remarks concerning their condition: "This whole section with its hundreds of thousands of men, women and children just broken forth from slavery, was so far as these were concerned, lying under an almost absolute physical and moral interdict. There was no one to baptize their children, to perform marriage, or to bury the dead. A ministry had to be created at once—and created out of the material at hand" (T. G. Steward, *Fifty Years in the Gospel Ministry* [Philadelphia, 1922], p. 33).

[18] Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

they got married, and got their certificate. "But dis gal is boun' to live," he said.[19]

Sometimes nothing short of force could get the former slaves to abandon their old promiscuous sexual relations:

We had a case of imprisonment here last week. I learned that old Nat's boy, Antony, who wanted to marry Phillis, had given her up and taken Mary Ann, July's daughter, without saying a word to me or any other white man. I called him up to me one afternoon when I was there and told him he must go to church and be married by the minister according to law. He flatly refused, with a good deal of impertinence, using some profane language learned in camp. I thereupon told him he must go home with me, showing him I had a pistol, which I put in my outside pocket. He came along, swearing all the way and muttering his determination not to comply. I gave him lodging in the dark hole under the stairs, with nothing to eat. Next morning Old Nat came and expostulated with him, joined by old Ben and Uncle Sam, all of whom pitched into him and told him he was very foolish and ought to be proud of such a chance. He finally gave up and promised to go. So I let him off with an apology. Next Sunday he appeared and was married before a whole church full of people. The wedding took place between the regular church service and the funeral, allowing an hour of interval, however.[20]

On the other hand, the marriage ceremony was in many cases the confirmation of a union that was based upon genuine sentiment established over a long period of years. This was evidently what it meant to the couple in the following account:

Amongst the first persons who came forward to be married were Smart and Mary Washington, who had lived together over forty years. They were very happy when they walked away together side by side, for the first time endowed with the honorable title of husband

[19] Botume, *op. cit.*, p. 158. See William G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), pp. 6–7, concerning relation of the aleatory interest to human behavior.

[20] Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

and wife. Smart chuckled well when we congratulated him, saying,—"Him's my wife for sartin, now. Ef the ole hen run away, I shall cotch him sure." We thought there was no danger of good Aunt Mary's running away after so many years of faithful service.[21]

When the bonds of sympathy and affection between the members of these families were strong enough to remain unbroken after emancipation, the subsequent struggle for existence during those trying times tended to strengthen family ties. The first problem which the freedman faced was that of finding food and shelter. Du Bois writes:

The first feasible plan to meet this situation was to employ the Negroes about the camps, first as servants and laborers, and finally as soldiers. Through the wages and bounty money thus received a fund of something between five and ten millions of dollars was distributed among the freedmen—a mere pittance per capita, but enough in some cases to enable recipients to buy a little land and start as small farmers. All this, however, was mere temporary makeshift; the great mass of the freedmen were yet to be provided for, and the first Freedmen's Bureau law of 1865 sought to do this by offering to freedmen on easy terms the abandoned farms and plantations in the conquered territory. This offer was eagerly seized upon, and there sprang up along the Mississippi, in Louisiana, and on the coasts of the Carolinas and Georgia series of leased plantations under Government direction. When the Freedmen's Bureau took charge it received nearly 800,000 acres of such land and 5,000 pieces of town property, from the leasing of which a revenue of nearly $400,000 was received from freed-

[21] Botume, *op. cit.*, p. 157. "The colored people," wrote Bishop Gaines, "generally held their marriage (if such unauthorized union may be called marriage) sacred, even while they were yet slaves. Many instances will be recalled by the older people of the South of the life-long fidelity and affection which existed between the slave and his concubine—the mother of his children. My own father and mother lived together for over sixty years. I am the fourteenth child of that union, and I can truthfully affirm that no marriage, however sacred by the sanction of law, was ever more congenial and beautiful. Thousands of like instances might be cited to the same effect" (*op. cit.*, p. 144).

men. The policy of President Johnson, however, soon put an end to this method of furnishing land to the landless. His proclamation of amnesty practically restored the bulk of this seized property to its former owners, and within a few years the black tenants were dispossessed or became laborers.

The act of 1866 was the next and last wholesale attempt to place land within the reach of the emancipated slaves. It opened to both white and black settlers the public lands of the Gulf States. But lack of capital and tools and the opposition of the whites made it impossible for many Negroes to take advantage of this opening, so that only about 4,000 families were thus provided for.

Thus the efforts to provide the freedman with land and tools ended, and by 1870 he was left to shift for himself amid new and dangerous social surroundings.[22]

The success which attended the Negro's first efforts to get established as a free man depended, of course, to a large extent upon his character, intelligence, and efficiency, which in turn reflected his schooling during slavery. We are able to see how the freedmen got started in the following description of a freedman who, although he still retained another wife on another plantation, settled down with his family and through his enterprise and intelligence succeeded in establishing himself as a free man:

He is a black Yankee. Without a drop of white blood in him, he has the energy and 'cuteness and big eye' for his own advantage of a born New Englander. He is not very moral or scrupulous, and the church-members will tell you 'not yet,' with a smile, if you ask whether he belongs to them. But he leads them all in enterprise, and his ambition and consequent prosperity make his example a very useful one on the plantation. Half the men on the island fenced in gardens last autumn, behind their houses, in which they now raise vegetables

[22] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro Landholder of Georgia* ("Bulletin of the Department of Labor," No. 35 [Washington, 1901]), pp. 647–48; cf. James S. Allen, "The Struggle for Land during the Reconstruction Period," *Science and Society*, I, 378–401.

for themselves, and the Hilton Head markets. Limus in his half-acre has quite a little farmyard besides. With poultry-houses, pig-pens, and corn-houses, the array is very imposing. He has even a stable, for he made out some title to a horse, which was allowed; and then he begged a pair of wheels and makes a cart for his work; and not to leave the luxuries behind, he next rigs up a kind of sulky and bows to the white men from his carriage. As he keeps his table in corresponding style,—for he buys more sugar . . . . than any other two families,—of course the establishment is rather expensive. So, to provide the means, he has three permanent irons in the fire—his cotton, his Hilton Head express, and his seine. Before the fishing season commenced, a pack of dogs for deer-hunting took the place of the net. While other families 'carry' from three to six or seven acres of cotton, Limus says he must have fourteen. To help his wife and daughters keep this in good order, he went over to the rendezvous for refugees and imported a family to the plantation, the men of which he hired at $8 a month. . . . . With a large boat which he owns, he usually makes weekly trips to Hilton Head, twenty miles distant, carrying passengers, produce and fish. These last he takes in an immense seine,—an abandoned chattel—for the use of which he pays Government by furnishing General Hunter and staff with the finer specimens, and then has ten to twenty bushels for sale. Apparently he is either dissatisfied with this arrangement or means to extend his operations, for he asks me to bring him another seine for which I am to pay $70. I presume his savings since 'the guns fired at Bay Point'—which is the native record of the capture of the island—amount to four or five hundred dollars. He is all ready to buy land, and I expect to see him in ten years a tolerably rich man. Limus has, it is true, but few equals on the islands, and yet there are many who follow not far behind him.[23]

In the foregoing instance the transition from slavery to freedom was made on the coast of South Carolina where the Union army was in control. In some places the slaves were turned out without any means of subsistence. Where families had developed a fair degree of organization during slav-

[23] Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 37 n.

ery, the male head assumed responsibility for their support. In fact, the severe hardships became a test of the strength of family ties.

Our owners called us together and told us we were free and had to take care of ourselves. There I was with a large, dependent family to support. I had no money, no education, no mother nor father to whom to look for help in any form. Our former owners prophesied that half of us would starve, but not so. It must be admitted, however, that we had a hard time, and it seemed at times that the prophesy would come true; but the harder the time, the harder we worked and the more we endured. For six months we lived on nothing but bread, milk and water. We had a time to keep alive; but by praying all the time, with faith in God, and believing that He would provide for His own, we saved enough to get the next year not only bread, milk and water, but meat also.[24]

The transition from servitude to freedom took place in many places with scarcely any disturbance to the routine of life established under slavery. The story as told by one who was a participant in the change is as follows:

There was much commotion in the quarters that Saturday afternoon. The overseer had spread the report that the master desired to meet every man, woman and child on the plantation, at the big gate on the following morning, which was Sunday. So songs were hushed, and about nine o'clock, with bated breath and inexpressible anxiety, all of the slaves waited for the coming of "Mars Dunc." We knew not what he would say.

We had not long to wait. The master had breakfasted, and being assured that we were all ready, undertook the task which so many men shifted to overseer and subordinates—that of informing the slaves of their freedom. I shall never forget how he looked on that day. His matchless figure seemed more superb, if possible, than usual, and the long, gray Prince Albert coat he wore added dignity to grace. He wore a black string tie and a white waistcoat, and altogether I had seldom seen "Mars Dunc" so handsomely dressed. He walked

[24] Isaac Lane, *Autobiography* (Nashville, Tenn., 1916), pp. 56–57.

with a sprightly step and his head was held erect and his countenance looked clear and contented.

He began his address in a calm, fatherly voice, as follows: "I have called you together to impart to you, officially, a piece of news that I myself do not regret that you receive. Three days ago Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, issued a proclamation whereby you are made free men and women. Some of you have been with me all your lives, and some of you I have bought from other owners, but you have all been well fed and clothed and have received good treatment. But now you are free to go anywhere you please. I shall not drive any one away. I shall need somebody to do my work still and every one of you who wants a job shall have employment. You may remain right here on the farm. You will be treated as hired servants. You will be paid for what you do and you will have to pay for what you get. The war has embarrassed me considerably and freeing you makes me a poorer man than I have ever been before, but it does not make me a pauper, and so I have decided to divide what I have with you. I shall not turn you a-loose in the world with nothing. I am going to give you a little start in life. I have made arrangements for every man and woman to receive ten dollars a piece and every child two dollars. I have also ordered that each family be issued enough food to last them a month. I hope you will be honest and industrious and not bring disgrace upon those who have brought you up. Behave yourselves, work hard and trust in God, and you will get along all right. I will not hire anybody today, but tomorrow all who want to go to work will be ready when the bell rings."

It was a pathetic scene and there was hardly a dry eye amongst us. We had watched the master so closely that I had not seen young Mars Dunc in the crowd and was surprised when he cried out, "Say, Joe, dog-gone it, I told you you would not have to go away. Come on, and let us get our dogs and make Mollie Cottontail cut a jig from the cane patch to the woods." And off to the woods we went in a jiffy.

All told, perhaps there were two hundred Negroes upon the plantation and when the big bell rang they all reported for duty. Mr. Cage, Sr., assigned Isham Stewart over the plow gang; Jeff Thomas over the hoe gang; Doc Lewis, my father, superintendent of the ditch gang—these being considered his most trustworthy men. Mansfield Williams was retained as family coachman, and the author of this book was

given to understand that all time not spent in the ditch was to be at the disposal of D. S. Cage, Jr., and of his two brothers, Hugh and Albert. I ran errands and attended them when they were at school to look after the horses.

The devotion of these slaves would make a chapter of itself, but it is sufficient to say that at the writing of this book, Isham Stewart and Jeff Thomas remain upon the plantation, and but for the sarcasm of a schoolmate the author might be there, too. But that is another story and will be related in another place.[25]

Often the emancipated Negro was unwilling to continue as a tenant or a laborer; so we find the more ambitious among them undertaking to buy land:

Miles and Charlotte worked for Doctor Ridley until the summer of 1864 when they began life anew on a farm of forty-eight acres, upon which they had made an initial payment to their former master. . . . .

By 1874, Miles paid the last dollar on his farm which had furnished a home for his wife, Charlotte, his seventeen children, and his sisters-in-law, Jane and Sissey. Just when he was able to rest from his labors, he was taken ill, and in the spring of 1875 he died.

There was one request that Miles made on his death-bed, after he had called his family around him, and that was for Elijah to take care of Charlotte and the farm. Although Elijah was only seventeen years old, he had shown ability in dealing with the business of the farm. Each child had an equal portion of the farm for his inheritance, and all were to contribute to the support of their mother and her sisters.

However, farm life appealed less and less to all except Elijah. He contracted to buy the inheritances of the other children and assumed the care of his mother. He was able the first year to raise four or five bales of cotton and several hundred bushels of corn and potatoes.[26]

Here we have a well-organized family under the authority of the father starting out after emancipation as tenants, then later undertaking to purchase land, and finally becom-

[25] Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–14.

[26] Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 11–12.

ing small independent farmers. The transition from slavery to freedom was made with little interruption to the habits acquired during slavery. The schooling which the father had received as a responsible person on the plantation enabled him to assume the responsibilities and duties of a free man. Upon the father's death, the responsibility for the maintenance of the family and direction of the property was passed on to the oldest son, who, in acquiring subsequently the interests of his brothers and sisters, assured the continuance of the family group.

Two general tendencies are manifest in the fortunes of the Negro family during the period of its adjustment to the state of freedom. First, following the collapse of the slave regime, the families that had achieved a fair degree of organization during slavery made the transition without much disturbance to the routine of living. In these families the authority of the father was firmly established, and the woman in the role of mother and wife fitted into the pattern of the patriarchal household. Moreover, in assuming the responsibilities of his new status, the father became the chief, if not the sole, breadwinner. Sometimes he acquired land of his own and thereby further consolidated the common interests of the family group. Second, the loose ties that had held men and women together in a nominal marriage relation during slavery broke easily during the crisis of emancipation. When this happened, the men cut themselves loose from all family ties and joined the great body of homeless men wandering about the country in search of work and new experience. Sometimes the women, chiefly those without children, followed the same course. But more often the woman with family ties, whether she had been without a husband during slavery or was deserted when

freedom came, became responsible for the maintenance of the family group. Since often her sexual contacts continued to be of a more or less casual nature, she found herself, as in slavery, surrounded by children depending upon her for support and parental affection. Thus motherhood outside of institutional control was accepted by a large group of Negro women with an attitude of resignation as if it were nature's decree. In the three succeeding chapters we shall follow the career of the Negro family where motherhood has been free on the whole from institutional and communal control and the woman has played the dominant role.

CHAPTER VI

UNFETTERED MOTHERHOOD

Those who were in a position to observe the Negroes after emancipation have left vivid accounts of their demoralized family and sex relations. A quarter of a century after the Civil War one observer thought that illegitimacy was increasing on the plantations of the South. He wrote at the time:

> The number of illegitimate children born to unmarried negresses is becoming greater every year, but this, instead of being a lasting stain on their reputations or a stumbling-block in the path of their material thrift, is an advantage when regarded from a practical point of view. If these children have come to an age when they are old enough to work, then they constitute a valuable dowry to whoever marry their mothers, such women occupying somewhat the position of widows with considerable property at their command, which they confer absolutely upon their husbands at the hour of marriage.[1]

Even as late as the opening of the present century an investigator reported that it was practically impossible to compute the percentage of illegitimacy among plantation Negroes. "Of forty couples on Cinclaire," he wrote, "who reported themselves as married, and who were known well by the head overseer, only 20 were legally married in the church or by the civil authorities. This would indicate that only 50 per cent of the married persons, so reported, were legally married."[2] The high rate of illegitimacy on this plan-

[1] Phillip A. Bruce, *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman* (New York, 1889), pp. 19–20.

[2] J. Bradford Laws, *The Negroes of Cinclaire Central Factory and Calumet Plantation, Louisiana* (U.S. Department of Labor Bull. 38 [January, 1902]), pp. 102–3.

tation was hardly typical of conditions among the rural Negroes but probably reflected the extreme social disorganization on the industrialized plantations. At the present time illegitimacy among the rural Negroes, though only approaching this figure in relatively few isolated cases, is still high when compared with the situation among the whites.

Although we have no precise measure of the extent of Negro illegitimacy in rural communities, our most reliable sources of information indicate that from 10 to 20 per cent of the Negro children are born out of wedlock.[3] In the rural areas of Kentucky, during the years 1920, 1924, and 1925, not more than 10 per cent of the Negro births were illegitimate, while in Maryland such births amounted to 16–18 per cent.[4] Not only do these wide variations appear among the various southern states for which we have reports, but similar variations can be noted within the same state. A survey of rural illegitimacy in Orange County, North Carolina, for the years 1923–27 showed that about 8 per cent of the Negro births were illegitimate.[5] This was much lower than the rate for the entire Negro population in the state where the rate had mounted from 12.8 in 1921 to 17.3 in 1930.[6] Although this increase was probably due to the move-

[3] E. Franklin Frazier, "Analysis of Statistics on Negro Illegitimacy in the United States," *Social Forces*, XI, 249–57.

[4] See Table 1, Appen. B.

[5] See Wiley Britton Sanders (director), *Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina: A Rosenwald Study* (Chapel Hill, 1933), p. 282.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 277. These figures, which comprise both the rural and the urban rates, are higher than the rural rates. Nevertheless, the figures for the rural Negro population of Orange County are lower than the figures for the rural Negro population of North Carolina in the reports for the birth-registration area for the years 1920, 1924, and 1925. The government figures for these years were 12.2, 13.4, and 13.1, respectively. The figures for the entire state as reported by the North Carolina State Board of Health are not the same

ment of Negroes into urban areas where illegitimacy rates are generally higher, there are rural areas in the South where illegitimacy is more frequent among Negroes than in urban areas. For example, in the relatively isolated and stable Negro population on St. Helena Island, 30 per cent of the births are illegitimate.[7] These differences in illegitimacy rates, even where they are approximately accurate, are not a measure of the social significance of the phenomenon in the various communities, for statistics on illegitimacy are only an enumeration of the violations of the formal requirements of the law. Only when we view illegitimacy in relation to the organization of Negro life in the South does its social significance become apparent.

In the region stretching from North Carolina to eastern Texas the majority of the rural Negro population are living under a modified form of the plantation. Although the slave quarters have disappeared and the school bell that in some cases formerly called slaves to labor now breaks the silence of the most solitary regions, Negro life follows the folkways that emancipation modified but did not destroy. Hundreds of thousands of landless peasants still look to their white landlords for meager advances in food and clothing until "the crop is made." And when the crop, which is usually cotton, is sold, the Negro "signs up" for another year. Whether he gets a new pair of overalls for himself or a new cotton dress for his wife or receives a larger or smaller "advance" at the store, all depend upon the price of cotton. Thus the ignorant Negro peasant's life moves in an orbit

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as those given in the reports for the birth-registration area because the latter do not include stillbirths.

[7] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry* (New York, 1930), p. 207.

formed by great economic forces beyond his control or understanding.

But, in submitting to an inescapable fate, the Negro still feels that through prayer and religion he can soften his hard lot in this world or at least find compensation for it in the next. Therefore, the church remains the most important institution, enlisting his deepest loyalties and commanding his greatest sacrifices. When an old woman who eked out a living on a small "patch" that was once a part of a large plantation in Alabama said, "I plants and pray Jesus it increase," she expressed a faith that inspires the efforts of many a Negro peasant. Another woman who expressed her resignation sardonically with the remark, "Colored folks has no chance; white folks can bring back slavery if they wants," was an exception. For she had been as far as Ohio once and had seen something of the world. But the majority of these simple peasant folk are concerned less with human arrangements than with divine dispensation. Hence, their preoccupation with thoughts of God, who has brought them "through many storms" and "held back the hand of death," as a Negro prayed at the funeral of one of the leaders in his community. Death, the ever present specter, releases one from the poor habitation of the flesh and, if all accounts are right with God, permits one to enter "a building of God not made with hands."

However destitute of worldly goods one may be, he bears his lot patiently as long as he is consoled by the prospect that his burial will be attended by the pageantry for which these rural Negro funerals are noted. The lament of one old woman, "If I die today or tomorrow I ain't got a penny to bury me," voiced the despair of one who had lost the last consolation that life has to offer. Consequently, organiza-

tions for mutual aid are chiefly for the purpose of securing its members a proper burial. Even the poorest member of the community scrapes together a few pennies each month in order to pay his dues in the "burial 'sociation" or the " 'nevolent." The chief appeal of the more formal and rational organizations like insurance companies is that they will enable one to be "put away right."

The advent of the insurance company is indicative of the process by which the isolation of these regions is being broken down. Concrete highways are beginning to penetrate the most remote parts of the South. Along these avenues of communication new ideas as well as new means of transportation are finding their way into these twilight zones of civilization. By means of these highways an old automobile brings a modern city as close as a town was before. A trip to the cinema in the city opens up an undreamed world of romance and adventure. Better schools are bringing in better-educated teachers to give new ideas to the younger generation. The men who can no longer depend upon cotton seek a living on the roads, at the mills, and at logging and turpentine camps, while the women go to town to work as maids or cooks. The migrations during the World War uprooted many from the old ways of life to which they can never return. The effect of these various changes has been to destroy the simple folkways and mores and to create confusion in thought and contradictions in behavior.

Illegitimacy in a community in this area is affected by all these social and economic forces. For example, the fact brought out in a survey of 612 families in a section of Macon County, Alabama, in 1931, that 122 women in 114 of these families had had 191 illegitimate children means little unless these cases are seen in relation to the social and economic

organization of Negro life. In some cases the illegitimacy had taken place during the disorganization following emancipation. For example, there was the case of an old woman, who was born "Christmas Eve before Freedom Year," working with her daughter on a "one-horse farm" which was sublet from a more prosperous Negro tenant. Her father had been sold away from his first wife during slavery. She was the only survivor among thirteen children whom her father had by a second wife. When she was fifteen, she was married to her first husband, of whom she said, "I tried nineteen years to make a husband out of him but he was the most no 'count man God ever made. Since I seen I could make no husband out of him I left him." It was during the next twelve years when, being "so glad to be free and going about," she "found her twenty-seven year old daughter." When she decided to remarry, according to her story, she went to the judge for a divorce, but he told her, "If that no 'count man has been away from you twelve years you are already divorced and can marry any time you want." She left her second husband after seventeen years. Concerning her break with him she said, "Me and him parted; I ain't seen nor heard from him since. They tell me he is dead." This old woman, unlike many others, was not converted until she was fifty-six. Although she does not attend church regularly, she is convinced that "God don't want nothing but pure in heart."

The career of the daughter has been similar to that of her mother. She had three children by a man to whom she was married. After the death of her husband she started "slipping up on the hill" to see a man who was the father of the baby that she was expecting in a few days. Although this woman was "moral" to the extent that she boasted

that she did "not bother any other woman's husband," she was seemingly unconscious of the moral significance of motherhood outside of marriage. The father of her unborn child wanted to marry her, but she was unwilling to marry him because she did not "want to be bothered with a husband" and was glad that her first husband died. Instead of being ashamed of her pregnancy, she was proud of the fact that she was to become a mother and had been congratulated by the women in the neighborhood on her fertility. Some months later this woman with her four children and their grandmother were living apparently contented in the two-room shack with a sheet-iron covering where they had been four years. But how much longer one cannot say, for the old grandmother remarked, "Hit ain't good to stay in one place; jes gets tired; I'll be gone from here t'reckly."

This woman was not alone in her attitude toward motherhood outside of marriage. The same attitude was apparent in the case of the daughter of the sixty-five-year-old woman whose husband "jes swole up with dropsy and died." The daughter was one of three living children out of ten. The mother said that her children "jes got sick and died with fever and pneumonia." The mother and daughter were working as day laborers for fifty cents a day. Although the mother boasted that she had been married only once and had lived with her husband forty years, she remarked with seeming indifference that her daughter with a five-year-old child was not married. She added, concerning her daughter, "She started to get married, but didn't; liable to marry after while."

The daughter, on her part, appeared completely unconscious of any violation of the mores in having children out-

side of marriage. All that she seemed to be aware of was that she loved her child and would not be separated from it for anything because, according to her, " 'tis all the company I got back here." She was still having sex relations infrequently with the father of her child whom she had gone with "a pretty good while." The prospect of having another child did not disturb her because, as she said, "Sometimes I wants another child to match this one." But that she should marry before having another child seemed to her quite unnecessary and irrelevant to the matter of motherhood.

The attitudes of these women indicate that they regard sex relations as normal behavior during courtship which may or may not lead to marriage. When it results in the birth of a child, certain obligations are thereby imposed upon the mother. These obligations are the obligations which every mother should feel toward her offspring. The unmarried mother is as sensitive as the legally married mother to what is expected of the woman who is a mother. A certain distinction attaches to being fruitful. To say that a woman "never did find anything," meaning that she has never had a child, may imply disparagement as well as commiseration. Motherhood signifies maturity and the fulfilment of one's function as a woman. But marriage holds no such place in the esteem of many of these women. If they marry the father of their illegitimate offspring, it is not due to the fact that the woman regards it as an obligation on the part of the man. He may suggest marriage because he wants someone to make a home for him and he in return is willing to provide subsistence for his family. The woman's response to the suggestion of marriage will depend upon a number of considerations.

Often the parents may think that their daughter is too young to assume the duties of a wife. Here we should note that in many of these rural communities where relationships are sympathetic and informal and marriage and the family do not have an institutional character, the father of the girl's child is not guilty in the eyes either of her family or of the community of any offense against the integrity of her family.[8] Thirty-three of the 122 unmarried women referred to above were daughters living at home with their children begotten out of wedlock. One of these women was one of three daughters whose parents were working a "one-horse" farm for a bale of lint cotton as rental and were receiving two dollars and a half a month as an "advance" for food. They had worked on one place twelve years, but, like many of these tenants, had "jes' got tired and 'cide to move." During the previous year their former landlord had taken their cow, and they received seed from the Red Cross. When the fifteen-year-old daughter became a mother, she was expelled from church. The mother's indifference toward the action of the church was expressed in her comment: "Dey told me dey put her out of church; dat's de' rules." But, so far as she was concerned, she did not want her daughter to marry. The illegitimate child, for whom the grandmother had got a name from a piece of newspaper, was taken into the family.

Again, the woman may not want to marry because of the obligations which marriage imposes. One woman did not marry the father of her child when he proposed it to her because "he was too mean." Even when for any reason

[8] When a conventional social worker remonstrated with an expectant mother for not wanting to marry the father of her child, on the grounds that she should do so in order to give the child a name, the woman naïvely responded: "Yes mam, I'se gwine to gi' it a name."

the couple do not marry, the man may continue to visit the woman and bring presents in the form of clothes for the child. Sometimes this association continues until the couple decide to marry and work on their own. Of the same 122 women, mentioned above, who had had illegitimate children, 24 were married, and 14 of these were married to the father of their illegitimate offspring. One young couple who had been married five years and was working thirty acres for "a little bale of cotton" rental had left their illegitimate child with her mother. Generally, however, the children before marriage are reared along with the other children. Whether the wife's children are his or not, the husband will take them into the family. A couple who were day laborers had a child in the family whom the woman had before marriage. He expressed his approval of the presence of the child with the explanation that, when his wife had the child, she did not belong to him. The husband may also bring his share of illegitimate children to the family group when he marries. In some cases both husband and wife may start their married life each with illegitimate children; and, as it sometimes happens, the husband may add his after marriage.

A description of one of these families in which illegitimate children have the same status as those born in wedlock will make clearer the character of these family groups, which are held together by ties of sympathy and through co-operation in making a living:

The husband, fifty-six, and wife, forty-five have been married for twenty years. They have had eight children all of whom are living except one. Their children are grown and distributed as follows: on a neighboring plantation there are two married sons, one with eight children and the other with three, and an unmarried daughter with a child. The other three daughters are married, one twice, with chil-

dren, and are living on as many different plantations. The seventh child is a son thirty-one years old who was born to the husband and wife when they first began their sexual contacts. The family group as it is now constituted consists of the husband, his wife and the husband's illegitimate twenty-three-year-old daughter with her illegitimate child ten months old. After the man and woman finally married, the wife had their oldest son, who was working in the mines in Birmingham, bring her husband's illegitimate daughter home. The family, including the four mentioned, is farming fourteen acres; while the husband supplements the family income by working as a carpenter's helper on a government building ten miles away. Neither the unmarried mother nor any other member of the family had any complaint to make against the father, especially since he gives the mother anything she requests for the child.

Some of the illegitimate offspring of these women are due to their relations with white men. Although there are indications that these relations are not as widespread as during slavery,[9] they are still responsible for some of the burden which the unmarried Negro mother must bear. The case of a great-grandmother who was just managing to survive on a "small patch" is one of those instances in which the mulatto daughters of these illicit unions follow the example of their mothers. This woman had her first child when she was "in knee dresses going to school," by a white man, who, according to her story, was a county judge. She was later married but did not have any children by her husband whom she left because he had relations with her sister-in-law. However, she had a number of illegitimate children, most of whom were dead, by several men. By one man, who was married, she had six children. Concerning her relation with this man's wife, she said: "Me and his wife got along like two children; had no fuss or nothing." Her half-white

[9] See chap. iv.

daughter had a child by a white man before she was twenty. During the war the daughter, with her mulatto child, migrated to Birmingham and later to the North. The promiscuous sex relations of this woman, who "still frolics and has a beau," had resulted in syphilitic infection which was doubtless responsible for two stillbirths and three miscarriages.

Our account, so far, of illegitimacy in the rural communities in the South would seem to indicate that neither the families of the women nor the community express any moral disapproval of this type of behavior. That this is not universally true is suggested by the remark of the wife in a family that included two of her children before marriage as well as two of her husband's since marriage. She explained, concerning her illegitimate children, that she had had them before becoming a member of the church. In fact, the community expresses its disapproval of moral delinquencies almost exclusively through the church. We have previously noted cases in which the women have been turned out of church because they gave birth to illegitimate children. In those cases the discipline of the church did not appear as a very effective means of social control. As a rule, church discipline amounts to little more than a mere formality, although it may be supported by a genuinely strong sentiment on the part of few individual members. The delinquent may return as soon as she is willing to make a confession of guilt and promise to avoid such behavior in the future. These performances are seldom expressive of any contriteness of heart. As one delinquent remarked smilingly, she returned after a month and "beg' pardon."

The effectiveness of the church as an institution of control over sex behavior is dependent upon the character of the

family life and other social relations in these communities. In the better-organized communities where the church and other forms of communal enterprises are supported by families with some property and traditions of regular family life, the church reflects the character of its constituents and in turn controls to some extent their behavior. But among the impoverished and illiterate peasants scattered over the plantations of the Black Belt, even the church is only a poorly organized expression of a weak community consciousness. The really important social bonds are the sympathetic ties existing between the members of the more or less isolated family groups. In some of these families the parents endeavor through strict discipline to prevent their daughters from becoming mothers before marriage. But even the strictest family discipline may prove ineffectual when it is not supported by the opinion of the community and is opposed to what is regarded as normal behavior. Since family feeling rests upon a firmer basis than moral principles, parents may ofttimes accommodate themselves to the disapproved conduct of their children, especially if the latter are grown. This was apparently the situation in the case of the family of an old couple who boasted that they had both been married only once and had been together between thirty-nine and forty years, although their daughter was living with a man near by without being married.

This family, including the husband, his wife, and their seventeen-year-old daughter, was working "a one-horse farm on halves." Unlike most of these tenants, they owned two cows and had a fair garden. Except for two years during the war when they went to Virginia to "public work" on the road, they had been farming forty years. The wife was fifteen when she married and had given birth to thirteen chil-

dren, seven of whom were dead. Of the four living sons, all of whom were married, two were working in Birmingham and the other two in Louisiana. Although the mother permitted her seventeen-year-old daughter to go to picnics occasionally, she "held her foot to the fire" where boys were concerned. But this discipline seemingly had no effect upon their twenty-nine-year-old daughter who was living just across the road on a twenty-acre farm. This daughter, whose husband had left her for another woman three years previously, was apparently the head of a family of four children. A girl, sixteen, with a two-month-old illegitimate child, and a boy, thirteen, were her own children; while the fourth child was the daughter of her brother who had died in Birmingham. During the past year the mother herself had given birth to a child, presumably illegitimate, that had died.

The explanations of this woman in regard to the illegitimacy of her daughter and the man in the house are typical of the attempts on the part of some of these women to reconcile their behavior with what they know to be the dominant mores. The father of her daughter's illegitimate child, explained the mother, said that he was going to marry her daughter. In regard to the presence of the man in the house, who was probably the father of her dead child, she as well as her parents across the road explained that he was a "boarder" in the house. Nevertheless, the "boarder" was assisting the woman in farming "twenty acres on halves."

The simple folkways of these peasant folk are conflicting more and more with the ideals and standards of the larger world as their isolation is being destroyed. Moreover, the mobility of the population and the wider contacts are destroying the sympathetic relationships that were the basis

of the old simple folkways. Some of these women have achieved some sophistication of outlook as compared with the older generation. The breaking-down of the isolation of these communities is probably reflected in the incidence of syphilis among the population. Wassermann examinations of one-fourth of the Negroes in this Alabama county showed positive reactions for 35 per cent of them.[10] In some families the infection undoubtedly originated through the contacts which the men had with women in logging camps and cities. In other cases it was due to the more promiscuous relations of the younger generation. For example, the old couple who boasted of forty years of unbroken married life were found to have negative reactions; while the reactions of their daughter and granddaughter across the road with the illegitimate child were positive.

As the women in these rural communities move about and come into contact with the outside world, illegitimacy loses its harmless character in becoming divorced from the folkways of these simple peasants. It becomes a part of the general disorganization of family life, in which the satisfaction of undisciplined impulses results in disease and in children who are unwanted and uncared for. The story of two women living in a two-room shack on a six-acre patch which they were working will show the degradation of some of these women.

Flora, who claimed to be eighteen but was probably older, and Ora, thirty-five, were third cousins who decided to farm the "six acre patch on halves" with an "advance" of five dollars a month between

[10] From a paper by Surgeon C. C. Wenger, U. S. Public Health Service, and Dr. H. C. Ricks, epidemiologist, Mississippi State Board of Health, "The Public Health Aspect of Syphilis in the Negro Race," read before the Public Health Section of the Southern Medical Association, Louisville, Kentucky, November 11–14, 1930.

them. Flora had left home four years previously when her father died. She was unable to get along with her family, consisting of her widowed mother, who had an illegitimate child, two brothers, and two sisters, one of whom also had an illegitimate child. When she was thirteen she began to have sexual intercourse with a boy with whom she continued to associate for three years. But after leaving home, she roamed about and had sexual relations with seven other men with whom she was associated for a few months or so. She was jailed for cutting one of her lovers. Her version of the story was: "Me and him just got into it in Tuskegee. He just boy friend of mine. Got into fight. I cut him deep in the arm. White man who raised him had me 'rested." While she was in jail the doctor found that she had "bad blood." Flora started going with her present boy friend, a chauffeur, when the father of her illegitimate child went off. Ora has had experiences similar to Flora's and was also found to be syphilitic. Her illegitimate eighteen-year-old child stays with her father. Ora lives in one of the rooms with her "boy friend" who visits her occasionally. Men's overalls were hanging in Flora's room, which was furnished with a broken-down bed and a table with a tin water basin. As Flora told her story, she was lying on the bed twitching and moaning with pain which, she said, was due to her ovaries because "it hurts different from female hurts on the side."

The extreme degradation revealed here contrasts sharply with those cases in which illegitimate children are taken into the girl's family or where the mother and her illegitimate offspring form a natural family group held together by maternal feeling. In cases like those just described, motherhood becomes an obstacle to women who have broken all social bonds and are seeking the satisfaction of individualistic impulses. Birth control is practically unknown to these women, although a few have a notion that there are methods for preventing conception. A twenty-four-year-old mother of two children, who was working a "one-horse farm on halves" with an old "auntie" by marriage, was a case of this sort. Her older child was by her husband who had been

killed at a mill; while the younger child was by "an old sweetheart" after her husband's death. She had not married this man because "he was too mean." Since, as this woman remarked, "every one pleasures hisself who gets a chance," she wished that she knew how to have sexual intercourse without having children. Significantly enough she often went with her "boy friend" to the cinema and the dances in town and had a slightly romantic notion of sex which was uncommon among these women.

In spite of the novel ideas and new conceptions of life that are slowly penetrating these regions, the great mass of women still bear motherhood patiently; and in many cases they carry on the struggle for existence without the assistance of a man. In the following chapter we shall follow the career of the Negro mother as she has carried on this struggle alone and has thereby assumed a dominant position in family relations.

CHAPTER VII

THE MATRIARCHATE

Only women accustomed to playing the dominant role in family and marriage relations (if we may regard the slaves as having been married) would have asserted themselves as the Negro women in Mississippi did during the election of 1868. We are told that,

> if a freedman, having obtained [a picture of Grant], lacked the courage to wear it at home on the plantation in the presence of "ole marsa and missus" or of "the overseer," his wife would often take it from him and bravely wear it upon her own breast. If in such cases the husband refused to surrender it, as was sometimes the case, and hid it from her or locked it up, she would walk all the way to town, as many as twenty or thirty miles sometimes, and buy, beg, or borrow one, and thus equipped return and wear it openly, in defiance of husband, master, mistress, or overseer.[1]

These women had doubtless been schooled in self-reliance and self-sufficiency during slavery. As a rule, the Negro woman as wife or mother was the mistress of her cabin, and, save for the interference of master or overseer, her wishes in regard to mating and family matters were paramount. Neither economic necessity nor tradition had instilled in her the spirit of subordination to masculine authority. Emancipation only tended to confirm in many cases the spirit of self-sufficiency which slavery had taught.

When emancipation came, many Negro mothers had to depend upon their own efforts for the support of themselves

[1] A. T. Morgan, *Yazoo; or, on the Picket Line of Freedom in the South* (Washington, D.C., 1884), p. 232.

and their children. Their ranks were swelled by other women who, in seeking sex gratification outside of marriage, found themselves in a similar situation. Without the assistance of a husband or the father of their children, these women were forced to return to the plow or the white man's kitchen in order to make a livelihood for their families. From that time to the present day, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, each generation of women, following in the footsteps of their mothers, has borne a large share of the support of the younger generation. Today in the rural sections of the South, especially on the remnants of the old plantations, one finds households where old grandmothers rule their daughters and grandchildren with matriarchal authority. Sometimes their authority dates from the days following emancipation when, in wandering about the country, they "found" their first child.

It is, of course, difficult to get a precise measure of the extent of these maternal households in the Negro population. The 1930 census showed a larger proportion of families with women heads among Negroes than among whites in both rural and urban areas.[2] Moreover, it also appeared that in the cities a larger proportion of Negro families were under the authority of the woman than in the rural areas. In the rural-nonfarm areas of southern states from 15 to 25 per cent of the Negro families were without male heads;

[2] The 1930 census (see Table 2, Appen. B) gave an enumeration of families with woman heads. The general situation in regard to Negro families may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) the proportion of families with woman heads is higher in the South than in the North or West; (2) in all three sections it is higher in urban areas than in either rural-farm or rural-nonfarm areas; (3) it is higher among tenants than among owners in the urban areas but shows the opposite tendency in rural areas; and (4) it is lowest in the rural-farm areas of the North and the West.

while in the rural-farm areas the proportion ranged from 3 to 15 per cent. In the rural-farm areas tenant families had a much smaller proportion with woman heads than owners, except in those states where a modified form of the plantation regime is the dominant type of farming. For example, in the rural-farm area of Alabama between 13 and 14 per cent of both tenant and owner families were without male heads. Although rural areas showed a smaller proportion of families without male heads than urban areas, still it is in the rural areas of the South that we find the maternal family functioning in its most primitive form as a natural organization. In spite of the fact that official statistics on the marital relations of these women are of doubtful accuracy, a closer view of census materials on the families in three southern counties in 1910 and 1920 throws additional light on the extent and character of these maternal households in this region.[3]

Table 1 indicates that from a fifth to a fourth of the families in the three counties—two in the Black Belt and the third in the coastal region—were without a male head.

[3] Statistical data on the families in these three counties represent approximately 100 families from each of the ten precincts in Macon County, Ala., and practically all the Negro families in Issaquena County, Miss., and Hertford County, N.C. These families were taken from the original census returns. They were not the "families" or households as defined by the census but included the following types of relationships: (1) a married couple and their children, adopted, and step-children, if any; (2) a married person whose spouse is not living at home and the children of that person if any; (3) a widowed or divorced person and the children, if any; (4) a single man and woman who, from the information in the "relation to the head of the house" column, or from other information on the schedule, appear to be living as man and wife; and (5) a single girl who has an illegitimate child where this was clear. These families have been classified according to the color of the wife. The families in which no woman was present have been classified in the totals according to the color of the male head of the family.

In each of the counties in 1910 the families in which the wife was a mulatto had a smaller proportion without a male head than the families with a black wife or mother.[4] The

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEADS IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES
1910 AND 1920

County	Color of Woman	1920			1910		
		Total Number Families	Families with Woman Head		Total Number Families	Families with Woman Head	
			Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Hertford County, N.C.	Black	1,270	243	18.9	1,093	266	24.3
	Mulatto	796	122	15.9	788	154	19.5
Macon County, Ala.	Black	939	274	29.1	840	240	28.5
	Mulatto	101	30	29.8	110	27	24.5
Issaquena County, Miss.	Black	1,940	372	19.1	2,595	636	24.5
	Mulatto	94	23	23.4	331	67	20.2

smaller proportion of families without a male head among the mulattoes was doubtless due to the relatively higher economic and cultural status of this class, which had less illiteracy but a higher rate of homeownership than the

[4] The writer is aware of the criticism which can be brought against the use of the census classification of blacks and mulattoes as an index to the extent of mixed-bloods among the Negroes. At the census of 1910 the term "black" included all persons who were "evidently full-blooded Negroes," while the term "mulatto" included "all other persons having some proportion or perceptible trace of Negro blood" (Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790–1915* [Washington, 1918], p. 207). The same definition of mulattoes and of full-blooded Negroes was used in 1920. Although the Cen-

blacks.[5] In 1920 the mulattoes in the North Carolina county still showed a smaller proportion of families without male heads; while in the Black Belt counties the standing of the mulattoes was reversed in one instance and was the same as the blacks in the other. The migrations during the war might have been responsible for the change in the relative position of the two classes in the Black Belt counties, since the population of both counties decreased between 1910 and 1920. This much, at least, is true: the increase in the proportion of families without a male head among the mulattoes in these latter counties was accompanied by a decrease in the number of homeowning families among this class.[6]

We can get a better conception of the relation of homeownership to stable and normal family relations by examining the marital status of these women who are heads of families. Although our figures are not absolutely accurate, they reveal to much greater extent the real nature of the conjugal relations of these women than the published statistics.[7] We have, in addition to the two usual classifications—

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sus Bureau admits the uncertainty of the classification, since the distinction "depends largely upon the judgment and care employed by the enumerators," the classification probably contains on the whole as much accuracy as one could obtain.

[5] See Tables 3 and 4, Appen. B.

[6] See Table 4, Appen. B.

[7] The Census Bureau made the following statement concerning the accuracy of data on marital condition of Negroes: "It is recognized that the error attaching to the return of marital condition may be considerable. In some cases males who are or have been married, but are living apart from their families, may return themselves as single; females who have never been married, especially mothers with young children dependent upon them, may return themselves as either married, widowed, or divorced; married females deserted by their husbands may return themselves as widowed, the deserting husbands returning themselves as single; widowed males may re-

widowed and divorced—two others: women who apparently had been married but were separated from their husbands

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN HEADS OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO TENURE OF HOMES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1910 AND 1920

Tenure of Homes	1920					1910				
	Total Families	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total Families	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular
	Hertford County, N.C.									
Owners	63	3	53	2	5	74	2	60	2	10
Renters	133	24	77	3	29	112	9	63	4	36
Unknown	165	30	119	3	13	126	33	127	4	62
	Macon County, Ala.									
Owners	15	0	15	0	0	15	1	13	0	1
Renters	161	20	121	2	18	142	22	86	20	14
Unknown	127	20	100	3	4	108	15	62	11	20
	Issaquena County, Miss.									
Owners	31	1	29	0	1	20	1	18	1	0
Renters	239	60	140	1	38	316	81	208	3	24
Unknown	118	28	82	1	7	340	77	211	10	42

and women who had had only irregular relations with men. For example, we find that in Issaquena County, Mississippi,

turn themselves as single; divorced males may return themselves as either single or widowed; and divorced females may return themselves as widowed. Where the return of marital condition is made by a third person, who does

in 1910, of the 671 women heads of families, 159, or 21 per cent, were separated from their husbands and 66, or about 10 per cent, had had only irregular relations with men. In Hertford County, North Carolina, for the same year, 14.1 per cent of the women heads of families were separated, and 34.6 per cent had had only irregular relations with men; while the separated and the irregular unions each comprised about 14 per cent of the women heads of families in Macon County, Alabama. After making allowance for the separated and those who have had only irregular associations with men, the majority of these women are classified as widows. This is true of the blacks as well as the mulattoes and of the tenants as well as of the homeowners. But an important difference appears between the women who own their homes and those who are renters or whose home tenure is unknown. Among the homeowners from 80 to 100 per cent of the women are included under widowhood, whereas for the renters and those of unknown tenure only from 50 to 70 per cent were in this class. This was true of both the blacks and the mulattoes and seems to indicate that widowhood among the homeowners was generally real widowhood.[8]

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not know the facts, it is probably commonly presumed, and in some cases erroneously, that persons living apart from their families, especially males, are single. The result of these errors in combination would be, as regards the classification of males, overstatement of the number single and understatement of the number married, widowed, or divorced, and as regards the classification of females, overstatement of the number married, and widowed, and understatement of the number single or divorced" (*Negro Population, 1790–1915*, p. 235).

[8] See Table 5, Appen. B. Concerning the accuracy of statistics on the widowed in the federal enumeration of 1900, the Census Bureau states that "among 1,000 negroes at least 15 years of age, 345 are single and 539 are married, while among 1,000 whites of the same age, 14 more are single and 20 more are married, the total difference of 34 being almost balanced by the

That these figures represent more truly the conjugal relations of these women than published statistics is apparent from the histories of their marital experiences. The divorced, and in some cases the widowed, in published statistics are often in fact merely separations, since divorce is regarded by many of these people as an individual affair not requiring legal sanction. As we shall see below, "divorce" in one case consisted in giving the man a "scrip." On the whole, these simple folk have vague notions concerning the legal requirements for divorce. One man said that he did not need a divorce from his wife because "she was in one county and me in another."[9] Another man considered himself divorced when his wife was sentenced to jail for cutting a woman. Many of the women who were heads of families have been married and in some cases often mar-

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fact that among the negroes 31 more in each 1,000 are widowed than among the whites. The relatively short life of the negro population would lead one to expect a rather large number in this class, but the difference between the two races seems to be too great to be accounted for in that way. One is disposed to believe that no small number of the 565,340 negro widows or widowers were persons whose conjugal relations had been ended by separation rather than by death and whose conjugal condition, therefore, has been inaccurately described" (Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States* [Bull. 8 (Washington, 1904)], p. 48).

[9] Nearly a half-century ago Bruce made the same observations concerning the breaking of family ties among the plantation Negroes: "The instance very frequently occurs of a negro who has deserted his wife in one county getting, by false statements, a license to marry in another county, and there establishing a new home with as much coolness as if he had been single when he obtained the second license; but so accustomed are the whites to the sexual freedom of their former slaves that when it comes to their ears that a certain negro who resides in their vicinity has two wives to whom he is legally bound, living, the rumor, however capable of substantial proof, is almost always winked at or not considered worthy of investigation" (Phillip A. Bruce, *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman* [New York, 1889] p. 22).

ried.[10] They have often broken marital ties and remarried without a legal divorce. On a plantation in Alabama a woman near sixty, who worked a "one-horse farm" with her son, recounted the story of her three marriages. Her father, who had been "raised up under the hard task of slavery," had sent her as far as the fourth grade. Then her marriage career began. Of the first two husbands she said:

> Me and him separated and he divorced me. Me and the second one got married and come down here. Then he fought me when this boy [her son] was six months old. We fought like cats and dogs. One night I had to call Uncle R—— P——. He asked me for his 'vorce and I gi' it to him. I just wrote him a "scrip." I got a man to write it for him.

Her third husband, who had been dead seven years, died, according to her testimony, of high blood pressure, leakage of the heart, and kidney trouble. Another old woman had a similar story to tell. When she announced "all my children done married off," she was speaking of two sets of children—one by her husband and another by the man with whom she lived after having "divorced" her husband. According to her story, her husband had told her that he wanted a divorce, and she had replied that he was welcome to it. But as to the reason back of the breaking of the marriage bond, she explained: "He didn't work to suit me, and I didn't work to suit him."

This last naïve statement concerning divorce reveals much in regard to the nature of marriage and its dissolution among these simple folk. Among these people we come face to face with marriage as it probably existed in the early stages of social development. Marriage as an institution rooted in the mores does not exist in many places. Where it

[10] See Table 6, Appen. B, for frequency of marriages in 1910.

has developed any degree of permanency and the couples are seemingly bound by conjugal affection, more fundamental interests than mere sentiment have been responsible in the beginning for the continuance of the association in marriage. When one woman was asked whether she was married, her reply was: "Me and my husband parted so long, done forget I was married." What marriage means to many of these women was expressed by a woman who spoke of herself as "Miss," although she had been married twice, and wanted another husband to help her work. Her first husband, whom she had married when she was fifteen, was killed by lightning after they had been together twelve years. A second husband had been dead two years, and at present she was making a living by "hoeing and fertilizing" on a place that, she said, "they tells me it was here in slavery times." Her only idea indicating preference in regard to a husband was that he must be dark, for "if he is most too light, he looks too much like white folks." But the main factor in regard to the partner in marriage was that he should co-operate with her in farming. As she remarked, "I am looking for someone to marry, so I can get on a farm and kinda rest." She had hoped that her son in Cleveland, who had served in France during the war, would relieve her from going into the field each day in the hot sun; but he had written that he was sick, and she had sent for him to come home.

Where marriage is regarded chiefly as a means of co-operation in the task of making a living and does not rest upon an institutional basis, it is not surprising to find some of these women speaking of "working with a man" as a sufficient explanation of their living together. This was the explanation offered by an illiterate buxom black woman of

forty or more who had been farming "right round twenty-five acres" for two years with a man who was separated from his wife a quarter of a mile away because they "just couldn't get along and separated." She had had several children without being married, the only living one being cared for by her mother. But some of these cases of irregular unions are not the result of the naïve behavior of simple folk. We have seen in the preceding chapter how in one case both the parents of the unmarried mother and the unmarried mother herself attempted to represent the man in the house as a "boarder."[11] Wherever we find this consciousness of the violation of the dominant mores or a certain sophistication, the couples will attempt to represent their union as some socially approved relationship or as conventional marriage. This was the case with a brickmason, forty-seven, who had been educated at Tuskegee Institute. He was living with a woman, twenty-two, on a "patch" of five acres for which they were paying sixty dollars rental a year. The woman was a mulatto who thought that she had some Indian blood. Her mother was farming with eight children,

[11] Bishop Coppin related the following concerning marital relations after the Civil War and attempts on the part of the church to break up such irregular unions: "Then there were other kinds of irregular living by Church members when there was no one to prefer 'charges and complaints,' and bring the transgressor to book. A man might be a member of the Church, and yet be 'stopping' with a woman to whom he was not married. Or, in the irregular union, the woman might be the Church member. These are cases where even Common law marriage was not claimed. Both parties going for single. The man just a 'star boarder.' But, in this general clean up at Friendship, under the new regime, such parties had to choose between getting married, or facing charges for immoral conduct. Dear old Friendship now became the Ecclesiastical Court House, as well as the Church. For any of the above named lapses, hitherto unnoticed, a member was liable at any 'Quarterly Meeting' to be called to face charges and complaints" (L. J. Coppin, *Unwritten History* [Philadelphia, 1920], pp. 126–27).

while her father had deserted the mother and gone to Detroit. This irregular union was especially convenient for the man, since it was outside the public opinion and censure of the group with whom he spent much of his time in town.

Some of these irregular unions are due to the association between white men and colored women. The prevalence of these associations is determined by several factors. They are found more frequently in the small towns of the South than in the isolated rural regions where large numbers of Negroes have been concentrated for nearly a century or longer. The proportion of mulattoes in the Negro population is a measure of the isolation of the Negro and of the amount of contacts between the races. In Issaquena County in the Yazoo-Mississippi Basin only 10 per cent of the families were mulattoes in 1910, while in Hertford County, North Carolina, 40 per cent of the families showed mixed blood.[12] In Hertford County, where in 1910, as we have seen, about 35 per cent of the women who were heads of families had had only irregular relations with men, the association between white men and colored women continued on a large scale for a long period after slavery. These irregular unions were generally formed by white men and mulatto women. According to our figures, 28 of the 108 women heads of families who had carried on irregular relations were mulattoes. In 1920 there were 19 mulattoes among the 47 women in this class.[13] The change in these figures is indicative of an actual decrease in these types of associations; for in this community there has been a conscious effort on the part of the colored population to repress such associations and enforce conventional standards of conduct.[14]

[12] See Table 7, Appen. B.

[13] See Table 5, Appen. B.

[14] Bishop Coppin (*op. cit.*, pp. 130–31) recites the following typical case in which a white man forced the Negro community to accept his colored

A minister, who established a school in this county and has worked there nearly a half-century, related the following concerning these associations when he began his work there:

When I first came here I often heard mulatto women say that they would rather be a white man's concubine than a nigger's wife. The mulatto women and white men claimed that since the law did not allow them to marry and they had only one wife that it was all right. Conflict over this almost broke up P—— P—— Baptist Church. There was a scattering of families, many going north and passing for white. The feeling was such between mulattoes and blacks that they wanted me to place the mulattoes on the second floor and the blacks on the third floor of the school dormitory. I mixed them up in the school purposely and got black evangelists for the church.[15]

Although frequently the white man was not married and lived with his mulatto concubine as his wife, this was not invariably the case. It is also true that in many instances the economic advantages which these mulatto families enjoyed were due to the provision which the white father had made for his concubine and his mulatto children.[16] In the following document, which was furnished by a woman who was born before emancipation, we have the case of a white man with a white family as well as a colored family. In this

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concubine: "The father being a man of means and influence, defied public sentiment, and held family number one in servile submission. But his influence did not stop there; he would have it understood that his mistress must not be Churched, but rather must be regarded as a leading spirit at the Church to which she belonged, and which he gave her means to liberally support. If he had power enough to enslave his own legitimate family, forcing even the wife into unwilling silence, and besides, to so maintain himself in society as to prevent a general protest, it is not to be wondered at, that the Colored Community, dependent, perilous, would also hold its peace."

[15] Manuscript document.

[16] See Doc. 1, Appen. A, for the history of a family growing out of one of these associations between white men and colored women.

case, the white father made no provision for his colored family:

I wanted to be somebody and some account. I was ashamed of my back family [family background]. I hated that my mother did not marry a colored man and let me live like other folks with a father, and if he did not make much he could spend that with us. I despised my white father and his folks. I might have loved him if he had noticed and treated us like other folks. His wife died after a while, but she never fussed as I know of about his colored family. He had large children, some grown. He did not stay at home. He would have the work done by Negro slaves. He had lots of slaves and families of slaves. He must have had, with the children, fifty or seventy-five slaves in all. He was right good to them. He would eat at my mother's house. She called him "the man," and we called him "the man." He would come in at bed-time; and even before his wife died, he would come and stay with my mother all night and get up and go to his house the next morning. His children despised us and I despised them and all their folks, and I despised him. We had to work hard, get no education, and but a little to live on. He had plenty of property but didn't give mother one thing. Her uncle gave her home and field and we had to work it.[17]

The disgust which this woman felt toward her home life caused her to leave it and establish one based upon conventional moral standards. Referring to her home, she said, "It was so ugly and common that I meant to get married and leave that hateful place. It is true I loved the man I married; but I had as much in mind in getting married to leave that place as I had in marrying for love."[18]

While the association between white men and colored women in this community has been on a larger scale than in most southern communities, it is similar to many other areas in the South where there has been a long history of such associations dating from slavery. Just as the phenome-

[17] Manuscript document.

[18] Manuscript document.

non in this community has declined because of the growing sentiment against it on the part of both blacks and whites, it has decreased in other areas of the South.

Let us turn our attention to these women in their role of mothers and as heads of their families. Some of the separated and widowed in Issaquena County in 1910 had given birth to as many as twenty children or more. Even among those who had had only irregular relations with men there were women with from ten to twelve children. But the actual number of children in these families was often small because of the numerous miscarriages and stillbirths and the high infant mortality which we find among them.[19] The following case of a woman who had two stillbirths and three miscarriages was not unusual, for some women had lost as many as nine or ten children.[20]

This woman had no conception of her age for she thought that she might be about 20, although later she said that her husband had been dead nearly 20 years. She was living in a one-room shack, covered with sheet iron, with a daughter's illegitimate 12 year old son, and her own illegitimate 14 year old daughter. These two children were helping her to hoe and plow a "one-horse farm on halves," instead of attending school. The family was receiving an "advance" of $4.00 a month. Another daughter, who "had taken sick with a misery in the head and breast," died suddenly during the past year. The mother

[19] See Table 8, Appen. B. A study of Negoes on a plantation in Louisiana in the early part of the present century showed the following: "Of these 80 women 58 have had children. These 58 have had 268 children, or an average of 4.62 per woman, of which 154, or 57.5 per cent, are still living. In 34 cases out of 58, or 59 per cent, the first child is living. All those who were questioned on this subject, and who have lived with the Negroes all their lives stated that the birth rate is diminishing rapidly and that stillbirths and miscarriages are becoming much more common" (J. Bradford Laws, *The Negroes of Cinclaire Central Factory and Calumet Plantation* [Louisiana Department of Labor Bull. 38 (January, 1902)], p. 103).

[20] Cf. cases in chap. viii below.

tried to get a doctor; but as she said concerning her landlord, "Dis white man don't gi' you doctor like talking." Although it was difficult to get a clear history of her pregnancies and children, it appeared that she had had three children while married and three illegitimate children after the death of her husband. Two of these latter children were stillborn and in addition she had three miscarriages. These stillbirths and miscarriages were evidently due to syphilitic infection since she showed a positive Wassermann reaction.

This woman and her children had been on the present location for three years; and, although she had moved away from her former landlord because she "got tired of working for nothing," she "hadn't seen a nickel for a year." With her "advance" of four dollars a month, she and the children were living on "dry meat and corn bread," with an occasional dinner of greens from her garden on Sundays. Her situation was not unlike that of many other women who were heads of families.

The struggle of these women to get a living for themselves and the children who are dependent upon them is bound up with the plantation system in the South. Most of the mothers, as we have seen (Table 2), are tenants; and many of the relatively large group of unknown home tenure are either living with their parents who are tenants or are themselves mere farm laborers. They work from year to year "on halves" or are supposed to pay a stipulated amount of cotton and receive in return an "advance" in food, and, occasionally, clothes at the store. Mothers living with their parents and mothers with grown sons to aid them are able to work larger farms than women depending solely on their own labor. Consequently, mothers with young children are generally only able to work a "patch," comprising four to six acres. The "advances" in food, which often consist of corn meal and fat bacon, are correspondingly small. They

supplement this with vegetables from their gardens when the dry weather does not destroy them. As the result of this restricted diet, we find both mothers and children suffering from pellagra. Statistics indicate that eight Negroes in Macon County died in 1930 of pellagra, but we know little concerning the numerous cases that did not result in death.[21]

One could scarcely find a more depressing picture of abject poverty and human misery than that presented by a young black woman, who had had two illegitimate children by different fathers, living in a one-room shack on a plantation in Alabama not many miles from Tuskegee Institute. The father of one child was somewhere over the creek, while the father of the other was "in Montgomery or somewhere." One child had evidently died of undernourishment and neglect. The young mother sat on a broken stool in the middle of the room furnished only with an iron cot covered with filthy rags. From her dried-up breast a baby, half-strangled by whooping cough, was trying to draw nourishment. Barefooted and clothed only in a cotton waist and dress pinned about her, she was rocking the child as her body swayed listlessly to an inarticulate singsong tune. On the cold embers in the fireplace lay a skillet containing the remnants of corn bread made only with water, because the landlord had refused fat meat as a part of her "advance." That same morning he had driven her with blows from her sick child to work in the field.

Not all mothers with children depending upon them for support sink to the level of poverty and misery of the woman

[21] See Elbridge Sibley, *Differential Mortality in Tennessee* (Nashville, Tenn., 1930), pp. 91–95, concerning high death-rates among Negroes from pellagra in the cotton areas of Tennessee.

portrayed above. Although as tenants they receive no accounting from their landlords, many of them manage to get adequate clothing and food of sufficient variety to keep them in health. In the plantation area the relatively few owners are better off so far as the necessities of life are concerned. But ownership of land is not always an infallible sign of independence and comfort. The system of credit and the relations of the races in the former stronghold of slavery cause even landowning mothers to lead a precarious existence. In regions like the North Carolina county outside of the area where agriculture is still dominated by the plantation system, homeownership signifies much more independence and comfortable living. No single crop dominates the agricultural activities; and, consequently, even during times of economic stress there may be an abundance of food for consumption. Moreover, in situations like that in the North Carolina county, where colored women have lived with white men, the struggle for existence has been relieved by the provision which the white fathers often made for their concubines and children.

The maternal family is not held together solely by the co-operative activities incident to farming; it is also a natural organization for response. Although some women, after a brief marriage career, return to their mothers' households in order to work with them at farming, many others return to the family group for satisfactions of an emotional nature. There was, for instance, a thirty-eight-year-old woman who had left her husband after five years of marriage, because, as she said, she "got tired of staying with him" and preferred to "be with mamma and them." She was working on a "two-horse farm" with her brother, who took care of her until the settlement was made at the

end of the year. That she usually received nothing at the end of the year was of no importance to her as long as she lived with her mother and brother and sister. The same valuation which she placed upon the intimate and sympathetic contacts afforded by the family group was expressed by a man, when he remarked: "I'm rich; when you have mother and father, you're rich." In fact, in the relatively isolated world of these black peasants, life is still largely organized on the basis of the personal and sympathetic relations existing between the members of the various family groups.

As a rule, the mothers show a strong attachment for their children. This is evident even in the young mothers whose offspring could be mistaken for younger brothers or sisters and are frequently regarded as such. In fact, in this world where intimate and personal relations count for so much, the relation between mother and child is the most vital and is generally recognized as the most fundamental. The rumor that even a starving mother was giving up her children was received by some women as an unpardonable crime against the natural dictates of the human heart. The intense emotional interdependence between mother and child that one so often finds is encouraged by a long nursing period. According to their own testimony, some women have nursed their children until they were three or four years old. Of course, these elemental expressions of love and solicitude for their offspring are often detrimental to the welfare of the children. Many a woman who "jes lives and wuks to feed her chillen" will give her child meat and bread when it is a few days old. This is done, they say, "to strengthen their stomachs." When one mother pointed to her overfed nineteen-year-old daughter as proof of the efficacy of such

treatment, she never thought of the possible relation of such treatment to the death of ten of her children during infancy.

The dependence of the child upon the mother, who is the supreme authority in the household, often creates a solidarity of feeling and sentiment that makes daughters reluctant to leave home with their husbands and brings sons back from their wanderings. During the World War Negro soliders who had been drafted in these rural areas and sent to camps often complained in the manner of children of being torn from their mothers. The mothers on their part show equally strong attachment for their grown sons and daughters. The reason which mothers frequently give for not permitting their daughters to marry the fathers of their illegitimate children is that they were unwilling to part with their daughters. No matter how long a wandering son or daughter has been away from home, mothers rejoice in their return; and, if they hear that their children are sick, they will make great sacrifices to bring them back in order that they may have the ministrations that only a mother can give, or that they may die in the arms of the one who bore them.

As a rule, where we find mothers who do not want their children or neglect them, the sympathetic basis of family relations has been destroyed through the mobility of the population, or life and labor have made children a burden and a hardship. The isolation of these simple communities is being broken down, and "overproduction" in agriculture is sending women and girls to seek a living in town. The old relationships and traditional values are being destroyed, and new wishes, generally indicating an individualization of life-pattern, are becoming dominant. Sometimes children are left at home to be cared for by grandmothers. In spite of

these changes, a large proportion of each generation of Negro mothers in these rural areas continue to bear patiently the burden of motherhood and assume responsibility for the support of their children. Their daughters still follow in their footsteps and bring their offspring to the maternal household. Then these mothers are elevated to the dignity of grandmothers, a position which gives them a peculiar authority in family relations and places upon them the responsibility for keeping kindred together.

CHAPTER VIII

GRANNY: THE GUARDIAN OF THE GENERATIONS

During the Civil War an old slave and his wife attempted to escape from a plantation near Savannah but were caught and returned to their master. While the old man was receiving five hundred lashes as punishment, his wife collected "her children and grandchildren, to the number of twenty-two, in a neighboring marsh, preparatory to another attempt that night. They found a flatboat which had been rejected as unseaworthy, got on board—still under the old woman's orders—and drifted forty miles down the river" to the lines of the Union army. An officer who was on board the gunboat that picked them up said that "when the 'flat' touched the side of the vessel, the grandmother rose to her full height with her youngest grandchild in her arms, and said only, 'My God! are we free?' "[1]

The energy, courage, and devotion of this woman, who was nearly seventy, are characteristic of the role which the grandmother has played in the Negro family. During slavery the Negro grandmother occupied in many instances an important place in the plantation economy and was highly esteemed by both the slaves and the masters. In the master's house she was very often the "mammy" whom history and tradition have idealized because of her loyalty and affection. Because of her intimate relations with the whites, "all family secrets," as Calhoun observes, "were in her keep-

[1] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York, 1900), pp. 332–33.

ing; she was the defender of the family honor. The tie of affection between her and her charges was never outgrown. Often she was the confidential adviser of the older members of the household. To young mothers she was an authority on first babies."[2] Age added dignity to her position, and "her regime," as Thomas Nelson Page says, "extended frequently through two generations, occasionally through three."[3] Writing of her grandmother, a former slave remarks: "She became an indispensable person in the household, officiating in all capacities, from cook and wet-nurse to seamstress."[4] From Frederick Douglass, who was reared by his grandmother and grandfather, we have the following testimony:

I infer that my grandmother, especially, was held in high esteem, far higher than was the lot of most colored persons in that region. She was a good nurse, and a capital hand at making nets used for catching shad and herring, and was, withal, somewhat famous as a fisherwoman. I have known her to be in the water waist deep, for hours, seine-hauling. She was a gardner as well as a fisherwoman, and remarkable for her success in keeping her seedling sweet potatoes through the months of winter, and easily got the reputation of being born to "good luck." In planting time Grandmother Betsy was sent for in all directions, simply to place the seedling potatoes in the hills or drills; for superstition had it that her touch was needed to make them grow. This reputation was full of advantage to her and her grandchildren, for a good crop, after her planting for the neighbors, brought her a share of the harvest.[5]

The grandmother's prestige and importance were as great among the slaves on the plantation as among the whites in

[2] Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917–18), II, 284.

[3] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 284.

[4] L. Maria Child, *The Freedmen's Book* (Boston, 1865), pp. 206–7.

[5] *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Chicago, 1882), p. 14.

the master's house. She was the repository of the accumulated lore and superstition of the slaves and was on hand at the birth of black children as well as of white. She took under her care the orphaned and abandoned children. A former slave recalled that the usual scanty fare of slaves caused her no trouble; for, she wrote, "on my various errands I passed my grandmother's house and she always had something to spare for me. I was frequently threatened with punishment if I stopped there; and my grandmother, to avoid detaining me, often stood at the gate with something for my breakfast or dinner. I was indebted to her for all my comforts, spiritual or temporal."[6] This same grandmother, because of her dignity and the esteem in which she was held by the community, was bought and emancipated by a kindly old woman. This was done when, at the death of her mistress, she forestalled an attempt to sell her privately to a trader by insisting upon mounting the public auction block with the other slaves. Later she gathered under her care two generations of her descendants.

When emancipation came, it was often the old grandmother who kept the generations together. One who worked with the newly emancipated slaves during and after the Civil War has left us a picture of one of these old women presiding over four generations of descendants. Miss Botume writes concerning Tamar, a robust, merry-looking, middle-aged woman:

> Her mother and grandmother lived in the room with her. She also had three children, one of whom was married and lived there with his wife and baby, which baby the oldest woman was "minding." It was something to see five generations together, all apparently in good condition. At my request, Ned, the young father, took the baby, and

[6] Child, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

all stood in a row. In the old vernacular they would have been called "a prime lot of niggers." I never saw a more fearless and self-contained set. They were all very black, and had been considered valuable, and they knew their own importance.[7]

The sentiments and feelings that lay beneath the quiet dignity and force of these old women are only dimly reflected in recorded observations of those who knew them in the past. But occasionally we run across a former slave on one of the plantations of the South who forms a link between the past and the present. A grandmother who was a former slave living on a small plot of land that was once a part of a large plantation in Alabama told the following story:

I was 77 years old this last gone February. I satisfied I'm oldern that, but that's what the white folks gied me when I was freed, but if I don't disremember, that's my sister's age. When war was declared and freedom come, I was nursing and working at the white folks house. They jest got us niggers all mixed up. I remembers well when the people was drilling ter free the slaves. That's why I knows I'm oldern that. I ain't got naire child but one son up in Ohio and he ain't a bit a use ter me. Hits hurtin' too ter raise chillen grown and they don't care 'bout you. I been married twice. I had one child by my first husband. That's my son in Ohio I was tellin' you 'bout. I had three chillen by my second husband and all dead 'cept one, that's him. My husband been dead now going on three years. I got one grandchild but hit ain't wid me. The two little orphan chillen I raised, they here wid me. I got four acres of land, me and the chillen. I let them work out fer people so they will come and plow fer us. This my own little house and four acres he left me on. My husband said he wanted his own house. I pays $3.10 fer taxes ever year. Last year, I didn't make naire bale of cotton. Hit wont a half bale. See I hafta 'vide my little land up wid cotton, corn and 'taters. I jest make 'nough ter barely pay my taxes. These little orphan chillen mother dead and

[7] Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days among the Contrabands* (Boston 1893), p. 56.

father dead too. I'm they great aunt. Me being the oldest one and me being they mother's auntie and the oldest head, that's how I come by them. So me and my husband raised them chillen from leetle bit a things. Sometimes I don't git food, go widout eating all day so's ter leave hit fer them ter eat 'cause they hafta work. I been had them in school, though I has a tough time I send them.[8]

In her explanation of why the responsibility for the care of "her chillen" falls upon her, this old woman expresses the characteristic attitude of the grandmother in her role as "oldest head" in the family. Where the maternal family organization assumes such importance as among a large section of the Negro population, the oldest woman is regarded as the head of the family. Some of these grandmothers will tell you of their courting, which sounds very much like that of their granddaughters' today. Often, instead of having been a prelude to marriage, it culminated in motherhood and the responsibilities which it imposed. Even when they married, sometimes marriage was of short duration, and the responsibility of rearing and supporting their children fell upon them. Thus it has been the grandmother who has held the generations together when fathers and even mothers abandoned their offspring.

Although one old grandmother, whose mother, a centenarian, had just died, announced, "all my chillen done married off," two grandchildren and two daughters who worked part of the time in Montgomery were looking to her for support. With the aid of her son who lived over the hill she was working a plot of land, "not quite a one-horse farm," that was once a part of a large plantation. This old woman boasted that she had been on the place forty years and on the spot thirty years. She was the mother of fifteen children,

[8] Manuscript document.

six of whom were living. In recounting her numerous miscarriages and dead children, she said: "Some come live but didn't live no time, yet three got to be big chillun walkin' 'bout befo' dey dies. One boy got to be eighteen years old. He had dat fever and from dat, spasms and spells, and from spells he fell in de fire and got burnt and never did git over hit. De other two just died with de fever." Of her six surviving children, two were by her husband from whom she separated when she found him unsuitable to work with and four by a man to whom she had never been married. One son, who was living in Montgomery when he was drafted for the war, had not been heard from for years. This son had given his illegitimate child to his mother when it was three years old. She was also taking care of her daughter's child. This daughter, who had been deserted by her husband, was working in domestic service in Montgomery with her sister. Both sisters returned to their mother and looked for support from the land when they could no longer make a living in the city. The old grandmother, who had been ill for years, had denied herself medicine and even the consolation that when she "lay down and die" there would be "something to bury" her, in order that her grandchildren might have clothes and tuition for school. As she labored on her little plot of land, she could always renew her courage and faith by glancing at a near-by dead tree that marked her praying-ground. It was, as she said, "by dat dead tree where de Lord convert my soul at nine o'clock on a Thursday. I was over dere praying; over by dat tree was my praying-ground. I know when de Lord poured his Holy Ghost around my soul. . . . . He told me to go in all parts of de world and tell what he have done for my soul."

On another "one-horse farm," for which she was paying

four hundred pounds of lint cotton, a great-grandmother, who was two years and six months old when "Freedom 'clared," was living with her daughter's two grandchildren, one two years old and the other three and a half. Her daughter, who had gone to town to work as a cook and a laundress for a white family, sent something occasionally for her grandchildren. The old great-grandmother remarked concerning her granddaughter, the mother of the two children, "she ain't had ne'er a husband; dese chillen was her 'dopted chillen." The latter part of this statement turned out to mean that they, like their mother, were illegitimate. The old woman had given birth to eleven children, nine of whom were dead. Of the nine children, one was born dead; the oldest died from a fall in Montgomery; her youngest died of worms; while the others died when they were "little bits of things." Her surviving son, she said, had always been thickheaded, and, although he reached the second grade in school, he had never learned anything. With "a piece of a plow" she was making a living for herself and her great-grandchildren, the youngest of whom had a piece of copper hung about his neck to help "his teething." She had to depend upon her own efforts as she had been "kinda separated" from her second husband for two or three years. Her only consolation was that nearly a half-century ago she was converted. "I never felt," she said, "such a feeling in my life. Wouldn't go back to a life of sin for anything. Give me Jesus, if I didn't have a rag, or crumb. God got my soul." As she talked, she began to cry and added despairingly, "I'se had a hard time. Sometimes I feel like I wish I'd never been born. Jest like I travel the path of this world, may the Lord spare me to have something to eat this fall."

The Negro grandmother's importance is due to the fact not only that she has been the "oldest head" in a maternal family organization but also to her position as "granny" or midwife among a simple peasant folk. As the repository of folk wisdom concerning the inscrutable ways of nature, the grandmother has been depended upon by mothers to ease the pains of childbirth and ward off the dangers of ill luck.[9] Children acknowledge their indebtedness to her for assuring them, during the crisis of birth, a safe entrance into the world. Even grown men and women refer to her as a second mother and sometimes show the same deference and respect for her that they accord their own mothers. In spite of the advent of the doctor, who represents the invasion of science and the rational order of civilization in the South, the "granny" is still the dependable figure who presides at the crisis of childbirth. In 1930 in rural Tennessee, 41.5 per cent of Negro live births were attended by midwives; whereas during the same year in North Carolina midwives attended a little over two-thirds of all Negro births.[10] In some places we can see the transition from the "granny" to the doctor. As one woman remarked: "I had a midwife but got a doctor to get the afterbirth." Although custom and tradition are largely responsible for the continued use of the midwife, the expense of securing a doctor

[9] See Newbell N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1926), pp. 332–35. Statistics from Alabama, Maryland, and Virginia showed for 1927–28 "a considerably lower maternal mortality rate among the Negro women attended by midwives than among those attended by physicians" (White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Obstetric Education* [New York, 1932], p. 198).

[10] See the 1930 reports of vital statistics for these states.

is prohibitive for the majority of these economically dependent folk.[11]

We have the following picture from the Sea Islands of one of these grandmothers who, after becoming too old to act as midwife, has resumed her traditional role as guardian of the younger generation:

She is seventy-four and no longer able to pursue her profession as midwife, or to engage in active work in the field. From time to time she shoulders her heavy hoe and ties up her hips with heavy cord to "gib stren'th" and does what she can. Through the migration of her daughter to Savannah, she had acquired four grandchildren to care for. The children are able to do some light work in the gathering of compost and cultivation of the crops, but there is no one to do the heavy plowing or hoeing. The land is unfenced so that the animals have to be staked out to forage and constantly watched. All of the children are visibly undernourished and it was quite an experiment at the headquarters of the study to try to fill them up with food and to see how much would be required. Incredible quantities were eaten. When she was asked in the early spring what she had on hand in way of food she said, "Few peas and some cracked corn."[12]

[11] The present situation regarding the Negro midwife was summarized as follows in the report to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection: "In the southern states, nurses, and occasionally doctors, have conducted courses for midwives in which theoretical instruction has been given; the oldest, most ignorant and unfit of the Negro midwives have been eliminated from practice, and the requirements for a permit or license raised. Work of inspection or supervision has been begun or extended. In some instances, younger and better educated women have been urged to attend the classes so that they might replace some of the older and less qualified ones. The courses of instruction have consisted of only a few lessons in some instances and in others have been more extensive.

"In Georgia and South Carolina practically every midwife has had the advantage of a short course of lessons. In some places, however, a midwife program has been conducted in only a few counties. In South Carolina during two successive summers, one-month courses of combined practical and theoretical training were conducted at a hospital connected with a Negro school" (*op. cit.*, pp. 193–94).

[12] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry* (New York, 1930), p. 91.

So far we have seen the grandmother in her role as the head of the maternal family among a primitive peasant people. She has often played a similar important role in families, maternal in organization, which have originated through the relations of white men and colored women. In the following excerpt from the family history of a young woman in a secretarial position in Chicago, we see how one grandmother is placed at the head of the family line while the other has played the usual role of looking after her daughter's mulatto child:

My maternal grandmother was a house-servant in a family in the northern part of Alabama at the time of the Civil War. This family owned a large plantation. My grandmother told me that she was a favorite in the house and had her way pretty much. During the third year of the Civil War my mother was born. Her father was the master of the house. My mother has always been very sensitive about her birth and has never wanted to talk about it before her children. When very small my mother was separated from her mother as the latter went to Tennessee because of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. My mother was reared by her grandmother during the absence of her mother. When my grandmother returned from Tennessee she married a minister and had three sons by this marriage. My mother spent her childhood with the family on a farm in Madison County, Alabama. She helped to care for her three half brothers.[13]

A mulatto dentist in a northern city, who remarked concerning his grandmother, "My grandmother always told me something that always impressed me—that no one in the family was ever convicted of a crime," was only able to trace his family back to the Revolutionary War period because of this grandmother's recollections of her own grandmother. Continuity in this family had been maintained through the female line, since the male progenitors had been

[13] Manuscript document.

white for the first two generations and died at an early age during the next two generations. The first grandmother, according to the traditions which have come down through four generations, was a free woman of color, with a considerable mixture of Scotch blood, and lived in Baltimore. She was "seven years old when the Revolutionary War started and fourteen years old when it ended," so runs the tradition. While a bonded servant for seven years, she was kidnapped, sold as a slave, and taken to Georgia. She became the mother of a child by one of the young men in her master's family just before he left home to study at Oxford. The mulatto child was reared in the house and, when grown, was placed in charge of the domestic affairs of the household. Following the example of her mother, she had a child, who was born in 1832, by a white man. This child, who was the grandmother of the dentist, remained a dominant figure in the family until her death at ninety-six years of age. Although she was married twice during slavery, the deaths of her husbands placed upon her the responsibility of rearing the children. Through her efforts her children were sent to the schools that were established for the freedmen shortly after the Civil War and were thus started on the way to culture and achievement. Similarly we find a prominent physician's mulatto wife, whose mother objected to her being reared as white by her white father, briefly tracing her family through a number of female ancestors who had children by white men. "My great-grandmother was the offspring of a white man and an Indian squaw. She had a child, who was my grandmother, by a Negro. My grandmother had two sets of children: one by a white man, and another by a Negro. My mother was one of the children by a white father." The old great-grandmother was the real head of

the family. She gathered up her descendants in Kentucky and took them to the West, where, after keeping a boarding-house for miners, she acquired money herself through investments in the mines. Later she bought homes for her children and grandchildren and sent several of them to college.

Some of the younger generation of mixed blood give the same testimony concerning their grandmothers' dominating influence in family relations. A mulatto college student, whose grandmother lived apart from her husband after attempting unsuccessfully to "subordinate him," thought that she typified the spirit of the C——— women "who have always demanded and asserted their rights, whatever may be the costs." The mother of this girl had left her husband in the South because he was apologetic when a white man struck her. This student wrote concerning her maternal grandmother:

> My favorite ancestor was my Grandma Ann. I can probably attribute this attachment to the fact that my sisters who knew her have remarked how like her I was in feature, and even tastes. I remember when as a child I would ask my mother some of the things her mother used to do when she was a little girl, and then try to do some of them myself, in an effort to be as much like her as possible. I have a very definite mental image of what I imagine she must have been like, but I can best describe her by quoting directly from my sister. "Grandma Ann—well now there was a character. Her mother must have been a clever woman to have named her so aptly. She, too, was trained as a special maid to her mistress. She sewed and did beautiful embroidery work. Grandma did not care about and could not do housework not cooking at all. In fact, she seemed to have inherited all the characteristics of a 'Southern lady'—even to petite hands and feet. She was a staunch Presbyterian—the entire family being permitted to attend the white church, which fact attests their high standing among the whites in the community, and consequently they were

'looked up to' by the Negroes. Grandma maintained her independence until the time of her death, near the age of eighty-three." I especially remember her as being extremely thrifty. I judge that she handled the finances mostly in her family, because my mother has often evoked many a good laugh from me by relating instances where her father would have to ask her for money and she would dole it out in little bits.[14]

The Negro grandmother has not ceased to watch over the destiny of the Negro families as they have moved in ever increasing numbers to the cities during the present century. For example, she was present in 61 of the families of 342 junior high school students in Nashville.[15] In 25 of these a grandfather was also present. But in 24 of the remaining 36 families, we find her in 8 families with only the mother of the children; in 7 with only the father; and in 9 she was the only adult member. However, figures cannot give us any conception of the grandmother, unawed and still with her ancient dignity, watching over her children in the strange world of the city. We shall, therefore, let one who has met her daily and portrayed her in all her dignity give a final testimonial:

Great-grandmother hobbles in on crutches, her garments pinned across her chest with a safety pin, and her cap tied on with a black ribbon. But it takes more than crutches and discarded ribbons to abash a colored grandmother. In fact, they are the only grandmothers whom I have ever known to come into their own. They are still persons. They never quail before a stylish granddaughter by so much as the fraction of an inch. If they look like scarecrows, it embarrasses neither the one nor the other. Let the girl be saucy, and one look from

[14] Manuscript document.

[15] Schedules collected for the Subcommittee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Section III-A, Subcommittee chairman, E. W. Burgess; research assistant, Ruth Shonle Cavan.

her grandmother's dark heavy-lidded eyes hits its mark. Accustomed as I am to the spectacle of white grandmothers idealized according to Whistler, but relegated in spite of themselves to shawls and chimney corners, these doughty old colored women, physically infirm but spiritually undaunted, who have somehow managed to keep a hold on their progeny, are impressive creatures. I even find it refreshingly rakish, that so many of our fights start over the debated reputation of an old creature muffled in a ragbag. Her girlish escapades still have the power to set her offspring fighting, and one feels that neither she nor they think less of each other for the scrimmage. No other race comes to court whose battles are waged so often in vindication of such ancient dames. And personally I never fail to derive a piquant savor from jousts of chivalry over the long dead flirtations of such bags of bones. Of all people these old women represent the eternal feminine. They have drunk of the fount of youth and have never lost its flavor. Nothing, one feels, but their rheumatism keeps them from joining in the dance of life with their great-grandchildren. Often a white woman loses her head in court and acts uncommonly silly. A colored woman never. She accepts what must be accepted, tosses or nods her head according to how the outcome suits her (they are not hard to please), and marches or hobbles out of the room as she came in, with her dignity unimpaired.[16]

Thus the Negro grandmother stands today, as of old, as the "oldest head" in the House of the Mother. How her authority has been overthrown at times and her regime supplanted by that of the Father of the House will be the subject of the following section.

[16] Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, *Life among the Lowbrows* (Boston and New York, 1931), pp. 169–70.

PART III

IN THE HOUSE OF THE FATHER



CHAPTER IX

THE DOWNFALL OF THE MATRIARCHATE

A worker among the freedmen during the Civil War observed that many men were exceedingly jealous of their newly acquired authority in family relations and insisted upon a recognition of their superiority over women. It was not unnatural that men, whose authority over their wives and their children had been subject at all times to their master's will and limited by the woman's more fundamental claim upon her children, should have exhibited considerable self-consciousness in their new role. But it required something more concrete than the mere formal recognition of the man's superior position to give substance to his authority in the family and to create in him a permanent interest in marriage.

A former slave, who began life as a freedman on a "one-horse farm" with his wife working as a laundress, but later rented land and hired two men, recalls the pride which he felt because of his new status: "In my humble palace on a hill in the woods beneath the shade of towering pines and sturdy oaks, I felt as a king whose supreme commands were 'law and gospel' to my subjects."[1] Whether or not these reflections after a lapse of thirty years were a true representation of the feelings of a Negro husband suddenly possessed of undisputed authority in his household, they, nevertheless, describe the condition under which male ascendancy very often became established in the family.

[1] L. H. Holsey, *Autobiography, Sermons, and Addresses* (Atlanta, 1898), pp. 10–11.

In this family, as in other families in which we have been able to trace the process by which the Negro man acquired a permanent interest in his family and assumed a position of authority, it appears that the subordination of the woman in the economic organization of the family has played an important part. Very often, of course, it is impossible to follow the course of this development from the beginning; for, when we first meet some of these families as they emerge from slavery, the man's interest in his family has already taken root, and masculine ascendancy is a part of the family pattern. Since our immediate concern is with the vast majority of the Negro families that secured their freedom as the result of the Civil War and emancipation, we shall not include in our present discussion families of Negroes and mulattoes who were free before the Civil War. A separate chapter will be devoted to these free Negroes, for it was among them that the Negro family first acquired an institutional character. Likewise, we shall leave for separate consideration the development of family life in the more or less isolated communities comprising persons of Negro, Indian, and white ancestry, located in various sections of the country.

The transition from slavery to freedom required a change in the physical organization of the plantation that had been adapted to gang labor under the direction of an overseer. Slave row was broken up, and tenant houses were scattered over the plantation in order that each family might carry on an independent existence. Where attempts were made to organize the Negroes in squads under an overseer, whom the emancipated Negroes often called "supertender," they proved unsatisfactory because each man felt, as one plantation owner wrote, "the very natural desire to be his own

'boss,' and to farm to himself."[2] A superintendent of a plantation in Florida wrote to the owner concerning this tendency:

> The tendency on the part of hands appears to be to break up in very small squads, as for instance a man with his wife and children; and even if he has no children, to attempt to make a crop with the help of his wife. This might be tried if the negro owned the mule. There is general dissatisfaction expressed by hands with the head men of squads. The latter, it is claimed, are too dictatorial, and do not perform their share of the labor—a great deal of truth in the latter complaint. . . .[3]

The new economic arrangement placed the Negro man in a position of authority in relation to his family.[4] A northern-born planter who went to Mississippi immediately after the Civil War found that only the "dissipated and unreliable" among the freedmen were willing to contract to work for him without their families for more than a brief period. As a rule, the men who signed contracts for a three-year period insisted that their families be included in the arrangements to work in the fields.[5] But, in contracting for the labor of the family, the father assumed responsibility for the behavior of his family and whatever went to the

[2] David C. Barrow, "A Georgia Plantation," *Scribner's Monthly*, XXI (April, 1881), 831.

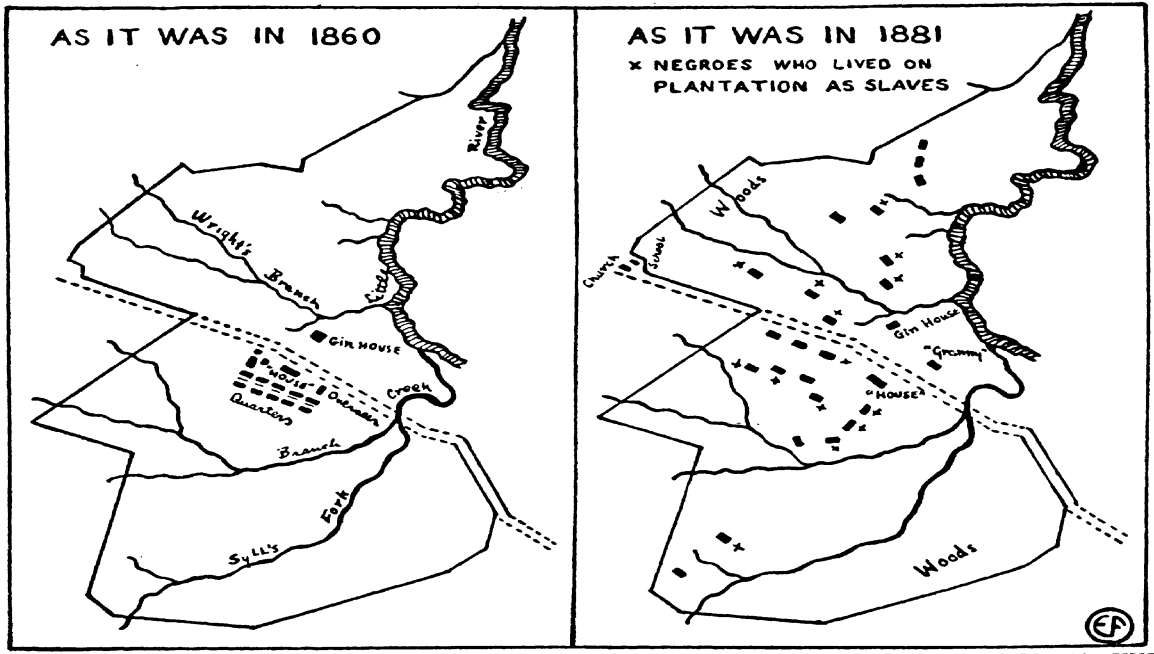
[3] *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 193.

[4] In some cases, of course, the woman refused to become subject to the authority of her husband. One former slave said that his mother took his brothers and sisters and went to live in Nashville in defiance of his father's decision to remain on his former master's place (manuscript document).

[5] A. T. Morgan, *Yasoo; or, on the Picket Line of Freedom in the South* (Washington, D.C., 1884), pp. 39–41. When a freedman was asked, "Why will you freedmen all insist that your wives shall work in the field?" he replied, "Bees you a Yankee? I know you is, do, kase I dun seed it. Laws! Kunnel; I spec yo' is a Kunnel. We col'ud folks is too po' " (*ibid.*, p. 41).

MAP I

A Georgia Plantation



Reproduced with the permission of the Century Company from David C. Barrow, "A Georgia Plantation," Scribner's Monthly, XXI (April, 1881), 833.

credit of the family was in his name.[6] The following entry in a Florida plantation record indicates the new position of the men in the family and their struggle to support their wives and children:

Ancil's a/c shows $30 odd to his credit. He is very anxious to farm next year. He sayd his family is large and he can't support it at 50 cts. a day. He wants you to sell him Sam Mule, the one Winter worked this year. He says he would like (as a matter of course he would) to get Sam on a credit for $100.—that he wishes to draw his wages at end of year. Edward Norris (John Henry's brother) would work with him. Ancil and Edward would plant corn in field near old burnt mill and would fence in 12 acres of tobacco house field if they got a showing. . . . . Charles wishes to pull off to himself. Barrach to work with his own family. Old Jimmy would go with Dick. Guy wants to go to himself. Isaac I think will leave Madison will make an effort to rent land.[7]

The pioneer efforts of the freedman after emancipation reflected, as we have seen in a previous chapter, his character and training under the institution of slavery.[8] The

[6] In some cases it appears that the wife was also a party to the contract. For example, a chattel mortgage reads as follows (*Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 582–83):

STATE OF FLORIDA,
JEFFERSON COUNTY,

WHEREAS George Noble Jones, has advanced to us, John Pride and Caroline his wife Forty dollars to enable us to pay for the purchase of said mule named John Bull, and whereas said George Noble Jones has advanced to the undersigned one hundred and seventy six dollars 22/100 on account of supplies, to enable us to feed and clothe ourselves and family we hereby convey to said George Noble Jones the aforesaid mule, this conveyance to be void whenever we shall pay to George Noble Jones or his representatives the aforesaid sum of one hundred and seventy six dollars 22/100 for said advances and the aforesaid sum of forty dollars on account of purchase of said mule. Witness our signature this eighteenth day of February, 1874.

JOHN × PRIDE
CAROLINE × PRIDE

Witness
G FENWICK JONES
WALLACE S. JONES

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–92.

[8] Chap. ii.

man who showed enough character to revolt against those in authority under slavery was often the very man who was most capable of self-direction as a freedman. Concerning a freedman of this type, his employer wrote:

> The one man on this plantation who, as a slave, gave most trouble, so much, in fact, that he was almost beyond control of the overseer, was Lem Bryant. Since he has been freed, he has grown honest, quiet, and industrious; he educated his children and pays his debts. Mr. Barrow asked him, one day, what had changed him so. "Ah, master!" he replied, "I'm free now; I have to do right."[9]

Among the favored classes in the slave population the assimilation of the sentiments and ideas of the whites had gone far by the time emancipation came. In the histories of the families which had their origin among these favored slaves we are able to see the influence of their favored position upon their development after emancipation. In a recently published autobiography of a bishop, we can trace this development, which is typical of the elements in the Negro population, that have built up a stable family life since emancipation. The first significant fact recorded concerning the moralization of the life of the founder of this family is that he became a member of the church. Concerning this step, his son writes:

> In early life, in 1828, when he was fourteen years old he was converted to God: joined the M.E. Church, South; and immediately began to use his influence to induce others to follow in his wake, a Christian service which he dearly loved to the day of his death.[10]

This act evidently had a permanent effect upon the development of his personality, for twenty-eight years later he was

[9] Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 836.

[10] Charles Henry Phillips, *From the Farm to the Bishopric: An Autobiography* (Nashville, Tenn., 1932), pp. 8–9.

licensed to preach and became a leader in the religious life of the slaves.[11] He was typical of the more ambitious slaves, for we learn that "he was a blacksmith and for about twenty years prior to Emancipation he hired his time from his owner and was permitted to travel from plantation to plantation."[12] Other factors were undoubtedly influential in forming his character and stabilizing his family relations:

> He was never sold himself nor was any of his children. His owner held him in such high esteem because of the kind of man that he was, that he never struck him himself nor allowed any one else to strike him. When talking about slavery it was always his proud boast to acclaim that no man ever struck him nor did he ever have an occasion to strike any man.[13]

The very fact that this slave father engaged in semifree economic activities for the maintenance of his wife and children indicates that he had already acquired a strong interest in his family before emancipation. The author of the family history cites an incident concerning the father's devotion to his wife and children which later became a part of the family traditions:

> Perhaps no man had a stronger love for his family and his home than my father. In the maintenance of his family he was often away from home during the week working at his trade but always planned to return on Friday nights or during the day on Saturday. On one occasion, when, working in the Eastern part of Baldwin County he came to the river at the week end to go home, he found the ferryman gone and all the boats on the opposite side. There was no bridge across the river. So he saw that the alternatives confronted him: To turn back, or swim the stream. Being a splendid swimmer and knowing that he was expected at home, he plunged boldly into the stream and was soon with those whom he loved.[14]

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

When families of this type emerged from slavery, they usually resisted the disintegrating effects of emancipation better than families which had not enjoyed such social and economic advantages.[15] As in the case of this family, they had developed a feeling of solidarity and some community of interest under the authority and discipline of the father. After emancipation they generally rented a small farm which they worked co-operatively in order to maintain themselves. The purchase of the farm was generally a significant step in the development of the family since it meant the consolidation of the interests of the family and that the father had a permanent interest in his family. To quote again from the history of the Phillips family, which followed this typical course:

> For several years after emancipation he rented farms paying money rentals sometimes, and at other times such portions of the farm products as were agreed upon by him and the land owner. Three such farms were rented. The first, situated some three miles from Milledgeville, was rather small for his family, for, his children both boys and girls who were large enough, worked on the farm. I recall that he made four bales of cotton and garnered a large quantity of corn, sweet potatoes, fodder, peas, watermelons and other products. . . . . The rental of these three farms with the economic and frugal management of affairs, together with the experience obtained, impressed my father that the time was ripe to begin efforts to purchase for his family and himself a home and farm of their own. So, in consonance with these convictions and praiseworthy ideas, he in 1869 purchased a farm of about 200 acres on the suburbs of the town.[16]

The purchase of a homestead stands out in the history of these families as a decisive event.[17] When another family, already referred to in another place, was finally reunited

[15] Cf. chap. v.

[16] Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

[17] See p. 105 above.

after slavery, the father began to buy a home not far from the slave homestead where he had lived with his family from 1841 to 1851.[18] The story of the purchase of the home, as related by the daughter and historian of the family, is as follows:

On July 14, 1868, father bound the bargain with B. F. Guy, July 1, 1868, for a hill adjoining Riverdale, containing ten acres, more or less, for the sum of one thousand dollars ($1,000), by paying him $344.75! This meant deprivation such as you, of this day and time, know not of—almost starvation. But the mother and sister some, if not all of us, would have been sacrificed for sheer need of the common necessities of life.

Father's journal tells me that after receiving a note from B. F. Guy saying come at once if you want the land, Adam F. Plummer went to see Guy that night, carrying with him $344.75 that he had saved and borrowed to bind the bargain. By September 26, 1868, Guy sent for another payment (as if money grew on bushes for the freed men). That evening he carried him $160.25, making $505 paid! Hard? worse than that, but the thought of being in our own home urged them on! Father, mother, sister, Henry, Julia, and Saunders worked out and gave all they could make. By January 17, 1870, father had paid the entire thousand dollars! Much to Guy's surprise. For he was a speculator.

He never dreamed that father would or could pay for it in the specified time—two years! So when it was completed in 18 months, it was indeed a wonder! Guy's neighbors had said to him: "You are ruining our country!" "How is that," said Guy. "Why selling 'Ne-

[18] See pp. 37 and 38 above. In 1866 the father and mother supplemented their savings with money borrowed from friends and sent their son to New Orleans to bring back their daughter who had been sold while living in Washington, D.C. The original paper, which was pasted in the father's diary, reads as follows: "In the year of our Lord, 1866, October 11, Adam F. Plummer gives his son, Henry V. Plummer, permission to go to New Orleans, La., on Napoleon Avenue, between Fchoupitoulas and Jesey, for his eldest sister, Sarah Miranda Plummer, Mrs. Sarah Miranda Howard" (Nellie A. Plummer, *Out of the Depths or the Triumph of the Cross* [Hyattsville, Md., 1927], pp. 96–97.

groes land.' " Guy would reply: "Don't worry, they can't raise the money. In time, I'll take the land back."

But he didn't know the man with whom he was dealing! Guy said to father: "Never mind my payments, put up a nice house." "O no! Mr. Guy, not until I get the land paid for," said father.

Strange to say, by September, 1870, father had finished building our four-room log house, and we moved from that happy place on Calvert's land, where sister, Miranda, had returned, and where the church was started, about two or three hundred feet westward toward the B.&O. R.R., into a happier place—Our Own Home! And by March 17, 1872, every dollar that had been borrowed had been returned.[19]

The reference to the founding of the church in their old home shows the close relationships between the beginnings of the family on an institutional basis and the building-up of the church or the institution which expresses more than any other the autonomous and collective life of the Negroes after emancipation. The historian of the Phillips family writes concerning his father:

One of the first things he thought of after emancipation was the importance of procuring a lot for a church. With this aim in view he approached the honorable Jesse Beal, a worthy white citizen, who gave a lot not far from the cemetery in that part of Milledgeville where the colored Baptist Church, the colored school, and the "home of the Yankee teachers" as they were called were located. It was in 1866 when this movement began and it continued without abatement till a Church edifice named Trinity was constructed.[20]

The church was under the domination of the men, and whatever control it attempted to exercise tended to confirm the man's interest and authority in the family. They found sanction for male ascendancy in the Bible, which, for the newly emancipated slaves, was the highest authority in such matters. But in the final analysis the Negro church had to

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[20] Phillips. *op. cit.*, p. 10.

accommodate itself to the folkways and mores of its constituents which had grown out of their fundamental interests.

We may turn, therefore, to another factor which, like the acquisition of property or a home, gave the man a fundamental interest in his family and placed his ascendancy on a firm basis. It was not uncommon for the more ambitious slaves, who were permitted to hire their time, to purchase their freedom and the freedom of their wives and children. Washington Irving records in his journals that on a trip down the Mississippi he saw

> a negro merchant thirty-six years old—going to New Orleans with forty dozen fowles—had canoe or boat with corn to feed them—goes down in steam-boat—gets passage for nothing from some—buys one dollar doz. sells three dollars—has followed the business twelve years—brings back nothing but money—pays his master fifty dollars a year—lays up money to buy himself free—buries it—cannot buy himself till next year—has wife and children but cannot buy them—means to go far where he can make most money, but means to see his wife and children occasionally and take care of them.[21]

The numerous court cases involving property rights in slaves who were bought or contracted for by relatives give us some idea of the difficulties which husbands and fathers experienced in securing the freedom of their wives and children. For example, in 1840 a free colored man in South Carolina was forced to pay $500 for his wife who was sickly and died after he gave notes for her. The record of the case reads:

> Doll, a female slave, "had been the wife of the defendant (Bass), a free man of colour, and had been separated from him by her master, Lyles, who carried her away into North Carolina. The defendant went

[21] *The Journals of Washington Irving*, ed. William P. Trent and George S. Hellman (Boston, 1919), III, 108–9.

to North Carolina to purchase her. Lyles told him she was very sick—that she was unsound, and he had better not buy her; but he said, it was his own look out, she was his wife. Lyles then told him that, if she died before she left there, he should not pay for her, ... bargain was completed by the defendant giving his notes for $250. At the time .... and long before, Doll was obviously very ill .... of no pecuniary value .... declined constantly till she died. When sound .... offered for sale for $300. Bass was a man slow of apprehension, and easily imposed upon."[22]

But, of course, many men were more fortunate in their attempts to purchase their wives and children. For instance, a free Negro in Mississippi who emigrated to Africa with his family paid $500 for his wife and $3,500 for his six children and three grandchildren.[23] The story of Noah Davis, who enjoyed considerable freedom of movement and opportunities for earning money, will show how long some fathers labored to purchase their wives and children.[24] In his youth he was bound out to learn the boot and shoe trade in Fredericksburg, Virginia. The incident that led to his religious conversion was the solemn account given at a prayer meeting by an old man of the sudden death of a young woman. It was at the church that he met his wife, who "embraced religion about the same time" as he did. His desire to purchase

[22] Helen T. Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, D.C., 1929), II, 377.

[23] Charles S. Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York, 1933), p. 220.

[24] Noah Davis, *The Narrative of the Life of Rev. Noah Davis* (Baltimore, 1859). The "Notice to the Public," which forms the Preface of this book, states (p. 3): "The object of the writer, in preparing this account of himself, is to RAISE SUFFICIENT MEANS TO FREE HIS LAST TWO CHILDREN FROM SLAVERY. Having already, within twelve years past, purchased himself, his wife, and five of his children, at a cost, altogether, of over FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS, he now earnestly desires a humane and christian public to AID HIM IN THE SALE OF THIS BOOK, for the purpose of finishing the task in which he has so long and anxiously labored."

his freedom was due to his yearning to learn to read the scriptures:

In my attempts to preach the gospel to my fellow sinners, I often felt embarrassed, not knowing how to read a chapter in the Bible correctly. My desires now increased for such a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, as would enable me to read a chapter publicly to my hearers. I thought that if I had all my time at my own command, I would devote it all to divine things. This desire I think, led me more than anything else, to ask permission of my master, Dr. F. Patten, to purchase my freedom.[25]

Concerning getting his master's consent, he writes:

I went to him, and stated my wishes, informing him why I wanted to be free—that I had been led to believe the Lord had converted my soul, and had called me to talk to sinners. He granted my request, without a single objection, fixing my price at five hundred dollars. . . . . But now I had to tell him that I had no money, and that I desired him to grant me another request; which was, to let me travel and find friends, who would give me the money. After learning my wishes fully, he consented, told me, when I got ready to start, he would give me a pass, to go where I pleased.[26]

After paying one hundred and fifty dollars on his debt, Davis spent four months in 1845 visiting churches in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, where he succeeded in raising only an additional one hundred and fifty dollars. His narrative tells us of his discouragement at this time:

I began to wonder to myself, whether God was in this matter, or not; and if so, why I had not succeeded. However, having returned home, I went to work at my trade, for the purpose of earning the remainder of the money. Having paid what I was able, toward my debt, and reserving enough to open a shop, upon my own account, my old boss, Mr. Wright, my true and constant friend, became my protector, so that I might carry on my business lawfully. In this, however, I was not very successful; but I had not been long engaged

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 28. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

at it, before I received a communication from my white Baptist friends in Baltimore, through my pastor, Rev. Sam'l Smith, informing me that if I would come to Baltimore, and accept an appointment as missionary to the colored people in that city, they would assist me in raising the balance of the money then due upon myself.[27]

Davis overcame his reluctance in leaving his family that had been placed under his entire control by the widow who owned his wife and children and began his career in Baltimore. After paying for his own freedom his next step was to contract for his wife and children:

I had now been in Baltimore more than a year. My wife and seven children were still in Virginia. I went to see them as often as my circumstances permitted—three or four times a year. About this time, my wife's mistress agreed to sell to me my wife and two youngest children. The price fixed, was eight hundred dollars cash, and she gave me twelve months to raise the money. The sun rose bright in my sky that day; but before the year was out, my prospects were again in darkness. Now I had two great burdens upon my mind: one to attend properly to my missionary duty, the other to raise eight hundred dollars. During this time we succeeded in getting a better place for the Sabbath school, and there was a larger attendance upon my preaching, which demanded reading and study, and also visiting, and increased my daily labors. On the other hand, the year was running away, in which I had to raise eight hundred dollars. So that I found myself at times in a great strait.[28]

Davis continued to meet disappointments in the struggle to free his family. At the end of the year the value of the children had increased a hundred dollars. It was only through the kindness of a loan of two hundred dollars from a friend that he raised the six hundred dollars in cash. His final success in obtaining the freedom of his wife and two children is recounted in the following:

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Having now in hand the six hundred dollars, and the promise of Mr. Wright's security for three hundred more, I was, by twelve o'clock the next day in Fredericksburg. At first sight, my wife was surprised that I had come back so soon; for it was only two weeks since I had left her; and when I informed her that I had come after her and the children, she could hardly believe me. In a few days, having duly arranged all things relative to the purchase and removal, we left for Baltimore, with feelings commingled with joy and sorrow—sorrow at parting with five of our older children, and our many friends; and rejoicing in the prospect of remaining together permanently in the missionary field, where God had called me to labor. I arrived in Baltimore, with my wife and two little ones, November 5th, 1851, and stopped with sister Hester Ann Hughes, a worthy member of the M.E. Church, with whom I had been boarding for four years.[29]

Of his continued efforts to buy the five children left in Virginia we learn:

I have been much hindered in my own labors, from pecuniary embarrassment, arising from the sale of my children, who were left in Virginia—two daughters and three sons. The first of these, who was about to be sold, and taken away South, was my oldest daughter; and it was with great difficulty and the help of friends that I raised eight hundred and fifty dollars, and got her on to Baltimore. But I was soon called upon to make a similar effort to save my eldest son from being sold far from me. Entirely unexpected, I received the pain-

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41. Davis tells how the borrowed money was repaid: "My salary was only three hundred dollars a year; but with hard exertion and close economy, together with my wife's taking in washing and going out at day's work, we were enabled by the first of the year, to pay the two hundred dollars our dear friend had loaned us, in raising the six hundred dollars before spoken of. But the bond for three hundred dollars was now due, and how must this be met? I studied out a plan; which was to get some gentleman who might want a little servant girl, to take my child, and advance me three hundred dollars for the purpose of paying my note, which was now due in Virginia. In this plan I succeeded; and had my own life insured for seven years for five hundred dollars, and made it over to this gentleman, as security; until I ultimately paid him the whole amount; though I was several years in paying it" (*ibid.*, p. 42).

ful news that my boy was in one of the trader's jails in Richmond, and for sale. The dealer knew me, and was disposed to let me have him, if I could get any one to purchase him. I was, of course, deeply anxious to help get my boy; but I began to think that I had already drawn so heavily on the liberality of all my friends, that to appeal to them again seemed out of the question. I immediately wrote to the owners of my son, and received an answer—that his price was fixed at seven hundred dollars.[30]

The seven hundred dollars for his son was finally raised through the generosity of the various colored congregations in Baltimore and a loan from a friend. The other daughter, whose price was run up by a slave-trader to over a thousand dollars, was finally purchased, through money collected in white and colored churches from friends who had bought the girl in order to prevent her from being sold South. Davis wrote the history of his life and struggles in order to raise money to buy his two remaining boys who had been sold in settling the estate of their mistress.

In order to make his wife and children legally free it was necessary, of course, for the father to emancipate them. A free Negro man gave his wife the following deed of manumission in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1837:

Know all men by these presents, that I, Samuel V. Brown, of the town of Petersburg, have manumitted, emancipated and set free, and I do by these presents manumit, emancipate, and set free, my wife, Alice Brown a woman purchased by me from Mary Ann Vizonneau by her bill of sale dated the 24th day of June, 1831 and of record in the Hustings court of Petersburg, the said woman being called in the said bill of sale "Else Scott" and I hereby invest my said wife Alice Brown with all the rights and privileges of a free person of color which it is in my power to vest her. She is a woman of yellow complexion, five feet four inches high, and about twenty eight years old. In testi-

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

mony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 1st day of November A.D. 1837.[31]

But, in many cases, instead of legally emancipating his wife and children, the father permitted them to continue in their status as slaves. Thus we find that many of the Negro owners of slaves were really relatives.[32] Woodson has pointed out the fact that some husbands who purchased their wives did not liberate them immediately because they "considered it advisable to put them on probation for a few years, and if they did not find them satisfactory, they would sell their wives as other slave holders disposed of Negroes."[33] He cites the case of a Charleston shoemaker who paid $700 for his wife but sold her for $750 when he found her hard to please. Another owner of his wife meted out the same punishment when she became enamoured of a slave and gave her husband's free papers to her lover. In these cases we can see how the man's ownership of his wife and children gave substance to his claim to authority in the family. In purchasing his wife and children the man not only secured authority over them, but he also acquired a fundamental interest in them since they represented the fruit of his industry and sacrifices.

In some present-day Negro families of the patriarchal type, it appears that the male ancestor's original interest and ascendancy in the family were due in part at least to the fact that he purchased his wife and children. Let us take, for example, a pioneer family in Chicago which has been prominent in the life of the Negro community for over

[31] "Documents," *Journal of Negro History*, XIII, 535.

[32] "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830," *Journal of Negro History*, IX, 41.

[33] *Ibid.*

a half-century. According to our informant, his father, who came to Chicago with a drove of cattle in 1854 and contracted to buy land, "was never treated as an ordinary slave."

> [His master] would trust him to drive his cattle into free territory and would give him a percentage of the sale. He went back to Kentucky and contracted to get his family. They had promised to let him have his family without charge but they made him buy them. He was afraid not to buy them as they would be sold South. He was compelled to pay $4,000 for his family and was thus deprived of the means of buying land.[34]

After the father brought his family to Chicago, he was not satisfied to live within the Negro settlement. He moved to his own place on the outskirts of the city. As related by the son, the father's strict discipline of his children was exemplified in his requiring his sons to work the entire summers with him on jobs for which he contracted. Moreover, this son brought his earnings home until he was twenty-seven years old. However, because of his father's discipline and pride, the son felt that he never knew his father intimately. "He was one of those old Romans; children should be seen and not heard," was the son's concise characterization of his father, who died in the midst of his plans to secure more land for his family.

In tracing the origin and development of the Negro father's authority in family relations, we have seen how, following emancipation, this was facilitated by the economic subordination of the woman. To some extent, of course, his authority as well as his interest in his family represented a carry-over from slavery. Even in such cases, it was chiefly

[34] Manuscript document.

through the acquisition of property that his interest was established on a permanent basis. Before emancipation the father often acquired at least a proprietary interest in his family when he bought his wife and children and thereby brought them under his authority. But such families actually form a part of the nearly half-million Negroes who were free before the Civil War. In fact, it was among these free Negroes that the family was first established upon an institutional basis.

CHAPTER X

THE SONS OF THE FREE

Among the "twenty Negars" who were brought in 1619 to Virginia in "a dutch man of warre" and sold to the colonists, there were some whose names indicated that they had been baptized by the Spaniards.[1] It is probable that at that time the distinction between Christian and heathen or baptized and unbaptized had as much significance as the distinction between white and black at a later date.[2] Contracts of indenture indicate that the Negroes who were brought to America during the early years of the colony were placed in the same category as the white servants. In 1625 a Negro named Brase was assigned to Lady Yardley at a monthly wage of "forty pownd waight of good merchantable tobacco for his labor and service so longe as he remayneth with her."[3] As early as 1651 we find a Negro, Anthony Johnson, who was probably enumerated among the indentured servants in the census of 1624, having assigned to him in fee simple a land patent for two hundred and fifty acres of land.[4] The slave status, for which the colonists had no model in England, "developed in customary

[1] Helen T. Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, D.C., 1926), pp. 55–56.

[2] " 'John Phillip A. negro' who was 'sworn and exam' in the general court of Virginia in 1624, was qualified as a free man and Christian to give testimony, because he had been 'Christened in England 12 years since' " (*ibid.*, p. 55 n.).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[4] John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 25.

law, and was legally sanctioned at first by court decisions."[5] There is a certain irony in the fact that in 1653 the same Anthony Johnson mentioned above was a defendant in a suit brought against him by another Negro for his freedom from servitude on the grounds that the latter had served "seaven or eight years of Indenture."[6] By 1667 Negro labor had evidently become so profitable that Virginia enacted a law that "the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedome." Masters, thus freed from the risk of losing their property, could "more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity." Thenceforth color became the badge of servitude, and a Negro was presumed to be a slave.[7]

Although it appears that Negroes who came to Virginia after 1682 as servants could not acquire their freedom after a limited period of service, the free Negro population continued to increase until the Civil War. Russell has indicated the five sources through which the free Negro population increased: (1) children born of free colored persons; (2) mulatto children born of free colored mothers; (3) mulatto children born of white servants or free women; (4) children of free Negro and Indian parentage; and (5) manumitted slaves.[8] It is, of course, impossible to estimate to what extent the free Negro population was increased through each of these sources. Nor can we say just how much was due to natural increase. The numerous cases of offspring of white fathers and free colored mothers indicate that the free Negro population was enlarged through this source.[9] Mulattoes

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[7] Catterall, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[8] *Op cit.*, pp. 40–41.

[9] Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, D.C., 1925), Introd., p. vi.

born of white servant women were also a significant element, for it was soon the cause for special legislative action. Virginia, in 1691, passed a law providing that "any white woman marrying a negro or mulatto, bond or free," should be banished.[10] In 1681 Maryland had passed a law that children born of white servant women and Negroes were free. Eleven years later in the same state any white woman who married or became the mother of a child by either a slave or a free Negro became a servant for seven years.[11]

During the early years of the Republic the growth of the free Negro population was rapid, amounting to about three times that of the slave population. But after 1810 there was a distinct decline in the rate of the increase of the free Negro population, and during the next two decades there was only a small difference in the rates of growth of these two elements in the Negro population. It seems that the increase in the free Negro population of 36.8 per cent in 1830 was due to the gradual emancipation which was taking place in northern states.[12] Beginning in 1840, the rate of increase in the slave population was greater than that of the free Negroes and, during the two succeeding decades, so far exceeded the rate for the free population that it is difficult to account for the difference.[13]

[10] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[11] Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 33.

[12] Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

[13] Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (Washington, 1918), p. 54. Concerning the decline in the rate of increase of the free Negro population the census report makes the following statement: "Census data do not very clearly account for this decline in the rate of increase of the free element in the Negro population, so far below the rate for the slave population, but it may be noted that, as compared with the slave population, the free colored were somewhat older, as on that account natu-

Although the free Negro population did not grow as rapidly after 1840 as during the preceding decades, there was a steady growth in particular areas. These developments were related in part to certain fundamental changes in the

TABLE 3*

GROWTH OF THE SLAVE AND FREE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790–1860

CENSUS YEAR	NEGRO POPULATION							
	Total	Free		Slave	Decennial Increase			
					Number		Per Cent	
		Number	Per Cent		Free	Slave	Free	Slave
1860....	4,441,830	488,070	11.0	3,953,760	53,575	749,447	12.3	23.4
1850....	3,638,808	434,495	11.9	3,204,313	48,202	716,958	12.5	28.8
1840....	2,873,648	386,293	13.4	2,487,355	66,604	478,312	20.9	23.8
1830....	2,328,642	319,599	13.7	2,009,043	85,965	471,021	36.8	30.6
1820....	1,771,656	233,634	13.2	1,538,022	47,188	346,660	25.3	29.1
1810....	1,377,808	186,446	13.5	1,191,362	78,011	297,760	71.9	33.3
1800....	1,002,037	108,435	10.8	893,602	48,908	195,921	82.2	28.1
1790....	757,181	59,557	7.9	697,624	.....	.....	.....	.....

* Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (Washington, 1918), p. 53.

ecological organization of slavery. Phillips has described the changes which had taken place in Virginia and Maryland by 1860:

Tidewater Virginia and the greater part of Maryland had long been exhausted for plantation purposes and were being reclaimed by farmers working with much the same methods as were followed in the northern states. The large land- and slave-owners mostly followed an

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rally subject to a higher mortality rate, and somewhat less normally distributed by sex and, therefore, probably characterized by a marital condition less favorable to rapid natural increase."

example which George Washington had set and divided up their estates into small units, in each of which a few Negroes worked in the raising of varied crops under the control of a white man, who was more a foreman leading the squad than an overseer driving it. Planters who adhered to the old methods were now of decayed estate, supported more by the sale of slaves than by the raising of tobacco. Incidentally, eastern Virginia and Maryland had come to have a very large number of free Negroes.[14]

The relation between these changes and the growth in the free Negro population was more than incidental. Free Negroes did not constitute a conspicuous element in the Negro population where the plantation system flourished. The Alabama black lands and the Mississippi and Red River bottoms were still calling for slaves.[15] In Mississippi the number of free Negroes was always insignificant. The supreme court of the state held that "the laws of this state presume a negro prima facie to be a slave."[16]

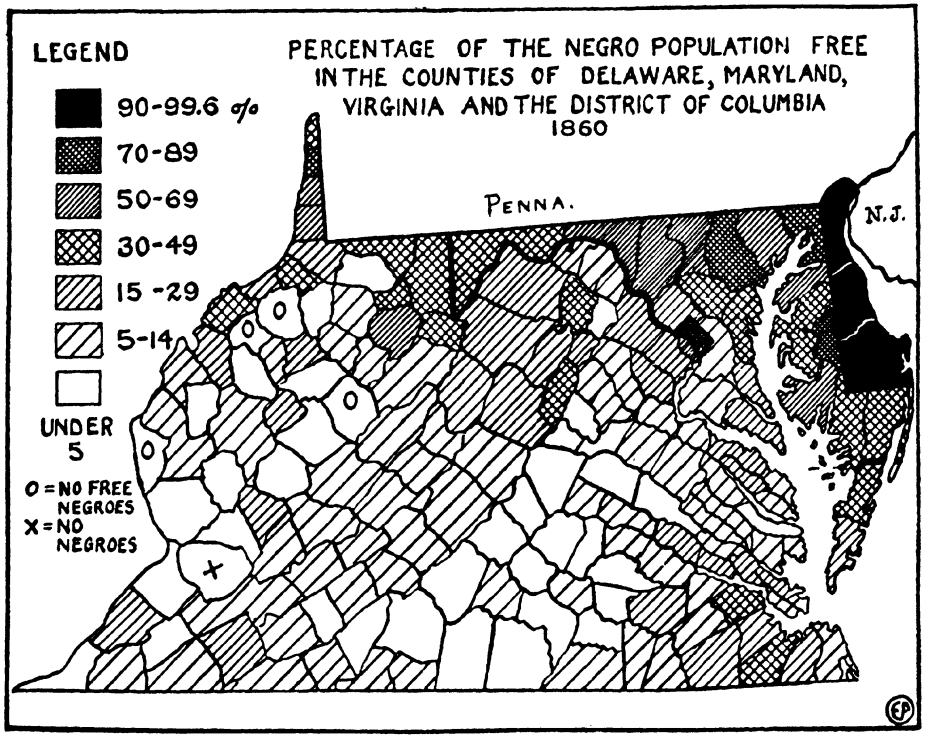
Thus we find the free Negro population concentrated in seven characteristic areas: the Tidewater region of Virginia and Maryland; the Piedmont region of North Carolina and Virginia; the seaboard cities of Charleston, South Carolina, Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans; the northern cities, including Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; settlements in the Northwest Territory, located in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio; isolated communities of Negroes mixed with Indians; and, finally, the Seminoles of Florida.[17] The Tidewater re-

[14] Ulrich B. Phillips, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society: Plantation and Frontier* (2 vols.; Cleveland, 1910–11), I, 88–89.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

[16] Charles S. Sydnor, "The Free Negro in Mississippi before the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (July, 1927), 773.

[17] Lectures on "The Negro in America" by Robert E. Park.


LEGEND
90-99.6 o/o
70-89
50-69
30-49
15 -29
5-14
UNDER 5
O = NO FREE NEGROES
X = NO NEGROES
PERCENTAGE OF THE NEGRO POPULATION FREE IN THE COUNTIES OF DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 1860
PENNA.
N.J.
O
O
O
O
X
EP

gion of Virginia "always had from one-half to two-thirds of the entire free negro class, although after 1830 that section contained less than one-fourth of the white people of the state."[18] Like other elements which do not fit into the traditional social order, the free Negroes tended to become concentrated in the cities. In 1860 between a fourth and a third of the free colored population lived in the towns and cities of Virginia.[19] The city of Baltimore had 25,680 of the 83,942 free Negroes in Maryland in 1860.[20] A similar situation existed in Louisiana, where 10,689 of the 18,647 free Negroes lived in New Orleans in 1860.[21] More than a third of the free Negro population of Pennsylvania in 1860 was in Philadelphia.[22] Concerning Mississippi, Sydnor found that "10 per cent of the slaves in Adams County lived in the city of Natchez, 57 per cent of the whites and 73 per cent of the free colored .... [while] Vicksburg contained 71 of the 104 free persons of color residing within the county."[23]

One of the most striking characteristics of the free Negro communities was the prominence of the mulatto element. About three-eighths of the free Negroes in the United States in 1850 were classed as mulattoes, whereas only about a twelfth of the slave population was regarded as of mixed blood.[24] Although no definite information exists concerning

[18] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[20] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[21] *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915*, pp. 195–96.

[22] Edward Raymond Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1911), p. 253.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 782.

[24] "At the censuses of 1850 and 1860 the terms 'black' and 'mulatto' appear not to have been defined. In 1850 enumerators were instructed simply in enumerating colored persons to write 'B' or 'M' in the space on the schedule to indicate black or mulatto, leaving the space blank in the case of whites" (*Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915*, p. 207).

the number of mulattoes during the Colonial period,[25] we find that in 1752 in Baltimore County, Maryland, 196 of the 312 mulattoes were free, while all of the 4,035 Negroes except 8 were slaves.[26] Early in the settlement of Virginia doubts concerning the status of mulatto children were the occasion for special legislation which determined that mulatto children should have the status of their mother.[27] In Maryland, by an act of 1681, children born of white servant women and Negroes were free. By another act in 1692 mulatto children through such unions lost their free status and became servants for a long term.[28] In Pennsylvania the mulattoes followed the status of their mothers and, when the offspring of a free mother, became a servant for a term of years.[29] The conspicuousness of the mulatto element in the free Negro population was not due, therefore, to any legal presumption in its favor.[30]

[25] Edward B. Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918), p. 112.

[26] Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–76.

[27] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[28] Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[29] Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

[30] The accessions to the free Negro class through unions of free white women and Negro men and free colored women and white men was kept at a minimum by the drastic laws against such unions. Nor can the enormous increase in the free mulattoes be accounted for by natural increase from their own numbers. The increase in the number of free mulattoes came chiefly from the offspring of slave women and white masters who manumitted their mulatto children. Russell (*op. cit.*, p. 127) says concerning the free mulattoes of Virginia: "The free mulatto class, which numbered 23,500 by 1860, was of course the result of illegal relations of white persons with negroes; but, excepting those born of mulatto parents, most persons of the free class were not born of free negro and white mothers, but of slave mothers, and were set free because of their kinship to their master and owner." Sydnor (*op. cit.*, p. 787), in showing how the sex relations existing between masters and slaves were responsible for the free class in Mississippi, cites the fact that, "of the 773 free persons of color in Mississippi in the year 1860, 601 were of mixed blood, and only 172 were black. Among the slaves this condi-

Free Negroes concentrated in urban areas were able to get some formal education. In 1850 there were large numbers attending schools in northern cities. Boston seems to have been the most favorable city for free Negroes in regard to school attendance. In the case of the Virginia cities the absence of any returns for school attendance was due to the stringency of the laws against the instruction of Negroes. The small number attending school in Charleston was doubtless attributable to the same cause. Nevertheless, it is a significant fact that the number of adults who could not read or write was almost negligible.[31] The restrictions upon the education of the free Negro population were, probably, as one author holds, never enforced.[32] In New Orleans the large number of Negroes in school was made up of the free mulatto class, who constituted a distinct caste in the city. Mobile, Alabama, showed up favorably in regard to the small number of illiterate adults. The absence of returns for school attendance in Savannah reflected the local sentiment against the education of Negroes. This is further attested by the large number of illiterate adults. However, in Charleston as early as 1790 the Brown Fellowship Society, organized among the free colored people, maintained schools for Negro children. Later, other societies were

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tion was entirely reversed. In this same year there were 400,013 slaves who were classed as blacks and only 36,618 who were mulattoes." The predominance of the mulattoes among free Negroes was most marked in Louisiana, where of the 18,647 free Negroes, 15,158 were mulattoes (*Population of the United States in 1860* [Washington, 1864], p. 194).

[31] See Table 11, Appen. B.

[32] C. W. Birnie, "The Education of the Negro in Charleston, S.C., before the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History*, XII, 17–18.

formed especially for the education of indigent and orphaned Negro children.[33]

In New Orleans, where the creoles and freedmen counted early in the nineteenth century as a substantial element in society, persons of color had secured to themselves better facilities of education. The people of this city did not then regard it as a crime for Negroes to acquire an education, their white instructors felt that they were not condescending in teaching them, and children of Caucasian blood raised no objection to attending special and parochial schools accessible to both races. The educational privileges which the colored people there enjoyed, however, were largely paid for by the progressive freedmen themselves. Some of them educated their children in France.[34]

The social life of the free colored groups centered for the most part about the churches and the fraternal organizations.[35] In Boston as early as 1784 a Masonic lodge was formed with fifteen members. The first Negro church, originally called the African Meeting-House, was organized in Boston in 1805.[36] New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 15; Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York and London, 1915), p. 129.

[34] Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 128–29. Although the colored people of northern cities like New York and Philadelphia did not support their education to the extent that they did in Baltimore and Washington, there was a class of ambitious and thrifty Negroes who paid for the education of their children. In New England education among the colored people began almost from the beginning of their enslavement but received an impetus after the Revolution. A separate school for the colored children was established in 1798 with a white teacher. According to Woodson, who has made a thorough study of Negro education before the Civil War, "an epoch in the history of Negro education in New England was marked in 1820, when the city of Boston opened its first primary school for the education of colored children" (*ibid.*, p. 96).

[35] Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (2d ed.; Washington, 1921), p. 266; see also Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921), pp. 66–74.

[36] John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace* (Boston, 1914), p. 21.

had large Negro congregations. The African Baptist church was organized in Philadelphia in 1809. Baltimore had ten congregations as early as 1835.[37] The activity of Richard Allen, who became the first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church, shows how the growing race consciousness of the Negroes in Philadelphia necessitated a separate church in which the Negro could give expression to his own religious life.[38] A similar movement for separate churches among Negroes took place in Washington as early as 1820.[39]

In the urban environment free Negroes were able to enter a variety of occupations that afforded them some degree of economic security and independence. In the North they found themselves in keen competition with white labor. A study[40] of the Negro population in Philadelphia in 1847 showed the occupations of 3,358 Negro males to be as follows: mechanics, 286; laborers, 1,581; seafaring men, 240; coachmen, carters, etc., 276; shopkeepers and traders, 166; waiters, cooks, etc., 557; hairdressers, 156; various, 96. There were also among the men musicians, preachers, physicians, and schoolteachers. Although the majority of the 4,249 Negro women were classed as washerwomen and domestic servants, 486 were needlewomen, and 213 were in trades. The lowest class of colored people who were out of employment found in "ragging and boning" a means of livelihood. A significant development in the economic life

[37] Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, p. 136.

[38] Richard Allen, *The Life, Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen* (Philadelphia, 1830), pp. 21–28.

[39] John W. Cromwell, "The First Negro Churches in Washington," *Journal of Negro History*, VII, 65.

[40] *A Statistical Inquiry into the Condition of the People of Colour, of the City and District of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1849), pp. 17–18.

of the Philadelphia Negro prior to the Civil War was the guild of the caterers which grew up about 1840 and continued until about 1870. Through them the Negro was able to overcome the disastrous competition of foreign labor and find a field where the more energetic among them could achieve economic independence.[41] The free Negroes of Baltimore became formidable competitors of the white laboring population.[42] In spite of the prejudice in New York City against Negro labor, Negroes were engaged in skilled as well as unskilled occupations. Although in the census for 1850 they were listed chiefly as servants and laborers, some had found a place in the skilled occupations as carpenters, musicians, and tailors.[43]

In Charleston and New Orleans the free Negro acquired a relatively secure foothold in the economic order. There were listed for 1860 among the taxpayers in Charleston 371 free persons of color, including 13 Indians, who were paying taxes on real estate valued at about a million dollars and 389 slaves.[44] After the abortive attempt at insurrection by Denmark Vesey in 1822, a memorial was presented to the Senate and House of Representatives concerning the free persons of color. It was argued that this class constituted a menace to white society because their monopoly of the mechanical arts caused German, Swiss, and Scotch immigrants to seek homes in the West.[45] In New Orleans, where color was not so great a bar as in many other cities, we

[41] W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 32–39.

[42] Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States, 1850–1925: A Study in American Economic History* (New York, 1927), p. 32.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[44] *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston for 1860*, pp. 315–34.

[45] Phillips *op. cit.*, II, 108.

find free Negroes in many skilled occupations. Of the occupations given for 1,463 mulattoes in 1850, 299 were carpenters, 143 cigar-makers, 213 masons, 76 shoemakers, and 79 tailors. There were listed also 61 clerks, 12 teachers, 1 architect, and 4 capitalists.[46] The property owned by the free colored people in New Orleans in 1860 amounted to about fifteen million dollars.[47] An enumeration in 1819 of the free Negroes in Richmond County, Georgia, where they numbered 194, showed the men to be employed in boating, carpentry, harness-making, wagoning, and common labor; and the women in sewing, washing, and domestic service.[48]

The foregoing facts give quite a different picture of the economic status of the free colored people from those accounts which represent them as a wholly dependent and debased pariah class.[49] Undoubtedly, those observers who have reported the miserable conditions among free Negroes have been faithful in their portrayal of a portion of the free population. But we are primarily interested in the class of free Negroes who were able to achieve some degree of economic independence and culture which became the basis of future progress.

Dodge's description of the free Negroes in the rural sections of North Carolina refers to those in the Piedmont region; for the free Negroes in the coastal region were undoubtedly better off. He writes:

> A very few free Negroes prospered, bought larger and better farms, and even owned slaves—one as many as thirty,—which they held up to general emancipation. But generally when they bought land at all, the purchase was ludicrously small, and, in the country phrase, "so

[46] Wesley, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[48] Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 143–47.

[49] See H. B. Schoolcraft, *By a Southern Lady: Letters on the Condition of the African Race in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1852).

po' it couldn't sprout er pea dout grunt'n." On these infinitesimal bits they built flimsy log huts, travesties in every respect of the rude dwellings of the earliest white settlers. The timber growth being often too scant to afford fence rails, their little patches of phantom corn mixed with pea-vines—or, rather, stubs, their little quota of hulls akimbo on top—were encircled by brush fences, which even by dint of annual renewals were scarcely to be regarded by a beast of average hunger and enterprise.[50]

Turning now to the free Negro communities in the Northwest Territory, we find the settlement in Cass County, Michigan, of considerable interest. In this county in 1850 there were 389 colored persons, 19 of whom were attending school, while in 1860 the total population had grown to 1,368, among whom there were 981 mulattoes. Concerning the history of this colony, one of its descendants gives the following incidents:

In 1847, a white Virginian named Saunders, becoming convinced that slavery was wrong, set his coloured people free, and brought them out to Michigan. In "Chain Lake Settlement" he bought a splendid tract of land nearly one mile square, gave all his people homes and spent his remaining years among them. Other masters in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee also freed all or a part of their slaves, sometimes the old and infirm ones; sometimes the incorrigibles. These, with free Negroes from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, continued to swell the population of the Settlement. Most of these people had helped to make the fortunes of their former masters. Now they were eager to accumulate something for themselves and their posterity.[51]

The colony of Negroes at Wilberforce, Ohio, originated largely from the mulatto children of white planters who used to visit the summer resort at Tawawa Springs. The

[50] David Dodge, "The Free Negroes of North Carolina," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVII, 24.

[51] James D. Corruthers, *In Spite of Handicap: An Autobiography* (New York, 1916), pp. 17–18.

school which was established for these children was first taught by Yankees. According to a woman who went to school there, the planters lavished money on their mulatto children for whom money was deposited in the banks of Cincinnati.[52] The Randolph slaves, numbering 385, were liberated by the will of John Randolph of Virginia and settled in Ohio. Their settlement, in Mercer County, was opposed by the whites, and they were compelled to move to a camp near the towns of Piqua and Troy. It seems that they never obtained possession of any of the land which was supposed to have been purchased for them.[53]

Having considered the origin and growth of the free Negro population and its distribution in certain characteristic areas, we turn now to the story of those families which took root in these communities and developed an institutional character.

In 1830 we find the free Negro families, which had largely become concentrated in certain areas, enjoying, in the South at least, their greatest prosperity. We are indebted to the

[52] Documents, "Concerning the Origin of Wilberforce," *Journal of Negro History*, VIII, 335–37.

[53] Letter to Dr. Robert E. Park from an investigator in Ohio seeking information concerning the Randolph slaves, *Journal of Negro History*, VII, 207–11. The following news item concerning the Randolph slaves is from the *New Orleans* (La.) *Commercial Times*, July 10, 1846 (Phillips, *op. cit.*, II, 143):

MANUMITTED SLAVES

Three hundred and eighty-five manumitted slaves, freed by the will of the late John Randolph, of Roanoke, passed through Cincinnati, on the 1st instance, on their way to Mercer County, Ohio, where a large tract of land is provided for their future homes. The Times, of that city, understands that the law of that State, known as the Black Law, requiring every colored person coming into the country to give security not to become a public charge, will be rigidly put in force, in this instance. Judging from the proceedings of a late public meeting in Mercer County, we imagine this to be true.

One of the descendants told the writer recently that they had been unsuccessful in their latest attempt to recover title to this land.

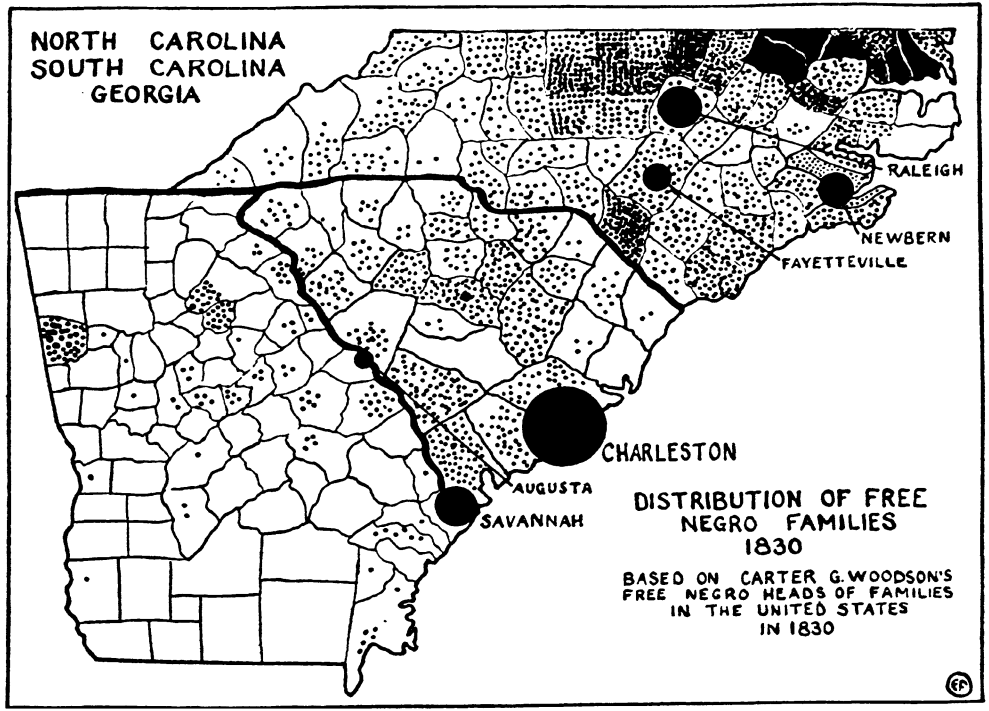
researches of Dr. Woodson for the names of the heads and the number of persons in these families.[54] This information provides a basis for the study of the families in the different communities in which we find free Negroes. A glance at Map III shows that the comparatively small number of free families in Georgia were concentrated in Savannah and Augusta. An enumeration in 1819 of free Negroes in Richmond County, in which Augusta is located, gave the names, ages, and occupations of the 194 free persons of color.[55] Although these persons were not recorded according to families, their names and ages, as well as the order in which they appeared, enable one to determine to some extent family groups. We have already seen how these persons were employed.[56] In most cases the wife, as well as the husband, was employed. Eleven years later the total number of free Negroes had been reduced to 172, and they were recorded in the census for 1830 as members of thirty-two family groups, an average of 5.3 persons to each family. A striking fact about these thirty-two families was that a woman was the head in twenty cases. The predominance of female heads as well as the decrease in numbers may have been due to the attempted insurrection in 1819. By a comparison of the names we have been able to identify ten in the list of heads of families in 1830 who were either heads of families in 1819 or children in these families. When the large number of families with female heads is considered in relation to the fact that in 1860 there were 325 mulattoes among the 490 free

[54] *Free Heads of Families in the United States in 1830.* In some cases slaves held by the free Negroes were counted as part of the family.

[55] Official register of free persons of color in Richmond County, 1819, printed in the *Augusta* (Ga.) *Chronicle*, March 13, 1819, in Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 143–47.

[56] See above, p. 194.

MAP III


NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
RALEIGH
NEWBERN
FAYETTEVILLE
CHARLESTON
AUGUSTA
SAVANNAH
DISTRIBUTION OF FREE NEGRO FAMILIES 1830
BASED ON CARTER G. WOODSON'S FREE NEGRO HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1830

Negroes enumerated for this county, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that in many cases white men were the fathers of the children. We know that in one case the association acquired a permanent character. Among the children of this association there is a distinguished educator whose sisters became teachers and social workers, and whose children are finding a conspicuous place in the Negro world. One of the most distinguished and forceful bishops in the African Methodist Episcopal church came of a free family residing in Abbeville County. Bishop Turner's biographer gives the following account of the former's ancestry:

Henry M. Turner was born February 1st, 1834, near Newberry, Abbeville, South Carolina, of free parentage. While he was not a slave, he was subject to slave environments. Ownership in himself, only, excepted.

He was the grandson on his mother's side of an African Prince, who was brought to this country in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century and held in Slavery, but was soon afterward set free, because South Carolina at that time was a part of a British Colony, and it was contrary to British law to enslave royal blood; hence the freedom of this young Prince was accorded.

David Greer, the illustrious sire of this still more illustrious descendant, not being able to procure passage back to his native country, married a free woman near Abbeville, and planned to make this his home. To this union, aside from many other children, Sarah, his youngest daughter, was born, whom Hardy Turner wooed and wedded. From this union came Henry McNeal Turner, their first born, February 1, 1834.[57]

The tradition of royal ancestry in this family probably has no greater claim to historical accuracy than the same

[57] Henry M. Turner, *Life and Times of Henry M. Turner* (Atlanta, 1917), p. 33. In Woodson's *List of Free Negro Heads of Families in 1830*, p. 155, there is a David Gryer listed in Abbeville County, South Carolina, as head of a family of six. He is probably a son of the David Greer in the foregoing account of Bishop Turner's grandfather.

tradition in many other families.[58] However, Turner's free ancestors seemingly enjoyed the same opportunities which other free Negroes had for advancement. Bishop Turner was taught to read and write by a white woman who took a special interest in him. The law against the instruction of Negroes in South Carolina stopped his education, and, although his mother moved to another town and employed a white teacher, a threat of imprisonment again arrested his intellectual development. According to his biographer it was this disappointment that embittered "his mind against the haters of his race and had much to do with the contempt which he showed in after years for those who opposed the progress of his people."[59]

From what we have already learned concerning the economic status and general culture of the free Negroes of Charleston, it is not surprising that family life among a large group of them reached a high level of development. Before the Civil War some of these families had already acquired an institutional character. The stability and prestige of these families rested mainly upon the property which they were able to accumulate. This property often included slaves. Status in the free colored community was determined by the standing of the families. These families were intensely conscious of their superior status and took pride in their mixed blood, which marked them off from the great mass of black slaves. This was especially true of the free colored people who were descendants of the refugees from San Domingo during the revolution in the eighteenth century. The family of a prominent minister in a northern city,

[58] Cf. chap. i. Catterall's work does not include any case in which a slave had been emancipated because of his royal blood.

[59] H. M. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

who has played a conspicuous part in Negro life, may be taken as representative of this class. The grandfather of this minister was the older of two brothers born in Charleston in 1798 and 1802. Their father was a refugee from San Domingo. The brothers, like other members of this class, were of Indian and French descent. In 1816 the older brother married the daughter of a wealthy planter, who gave his daughter a plantation and slaves as a dowry. Partly because of this dowry the son-in-law became a prosperous merchant in the city. The minister still has a deed of sale of a slave woman and her two children to his grandfather's brother in 1826. His grandfather was listed in the census of 1830 as the owner of five slaves; while in 1860 he was listed as an Indian among the colored taxpayers of Charleston.

In the history of another family among the free colored people of Charleston we can trace in greater detail the history of the family from the time of the initial white mixture. Our informant, a leader of the colored women in South Carolina, says concerning the origin of her family:

> My great grandmother's father was a German scientist who came to this country and settled in Charleston. I don't know the history of her mother. I think her mother came from the West Indies. My great grandmother received an unusual education from her father. My daughter, H——, is named for her great grandmother, H—— S——. My great grandmother had a school for free colored people before the Civil War and taught in the first free colored school established in Charleston after the War.[60]

This great-grandmother, who was married to a man of French-Huguenot descent, had a son whose estate was listed among the free colored taxpayers in Charleston in 1860.

[60] Manuscript document.

This son married, as was customary among the families of the free class, into one of the old free families that were listed as free as far back as 1830. Our informant's father, who was born in Charleston in 1845, of a Scotchman and a mulatto woman, remarked that he was only able to marry into this family because he had succeeded in accumulating property. The fact that our informant's aunt occupies a home on land which has been in the family since 1805 is an indication of stability of this family. Personal property in the form of a Swiss watch one hundred and fifty years old, which has been given to the oldest son in each generation, handmade silver spoons, and a hand-carved mahogany table have become symbols of the continuity of the traditions in this family.

Deserving mention are three other families in this group. There were the Westons, who were probably the wealthiest family among the free colored people.[61] Then, there was the family of Henry Fordham, one of the taxpayers in 1860, whose son, a lieutenant of police from 1874 to 1896, married into the Weston family.[62] The third family, the Holloways, who trace their family back to free people of color under George III, still have the home which has been occupied continuously by the members of the family since 1807.

In New Orleans and its environment there was, as previously indicated, a large community of free Negro families similar in some respects to those in Charleston. But, on the whole, the traditions of free families in Louisiana were different from the traditions of the Negroes and colored people in other parts of the country. The infusion of white blood,

[61] Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro* (New York, 1909), I, 206.

[62] Theodore D. Jervey, *The Slave Trade, Slavery and Color* (Columbia, S.C., 1925), p. 227.

which began at a very early date, was due to the association between the Spanish and French settlers and Negro and Indian women. Because the Latin was inclined to accord the mixed-bloods a higher status than the blacks from whom they were differentiated culturally, this group acquired the position of an intermediate caste. According to Bienville, the scarcity of white women in Louisiana caused the early Canadian settlers to run "in the woods after Indian girls."[63] Apparently for the same reason, association with Negro women began on a large scale at an early date. Sometime later Paul Alliot, who was seemingly annoyed because mulattoes and Negroes were protected by the government, observed that the wives and daughters of the mixed-bloods were "much sought after by white men, and white women at times esteem well built men of color."[64] Perrin du Lac, however, attempted to place the blame chiefly on Spaniards for the intimacy with the Negroes:

> About one-quarter of the whites are Spaniards, generally from the province of Catalonia. Poor, lazy, and dirty beyond expression, that people mingle indiscriminately with the blacks, free or slave, and are intimate with them in a manner dangerous to the colony. Those blacks, accustomed to be treated as equals or as friends, are most inclined to depart from the respect with which it is so important to inspire them for the whites.[65]

In 1785 the free colored people in Louisiana numbered 1,303.[66] The early sumptuary restrictions on this class were made untenable when its numbers were augmented by thousands of fairly well-to-do and cultured mulatto refugees

[63] Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917–18), I, 331.

[64] James A. Robertson (tr.), *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785–1807* (Cleveland, 1911), I, 71.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 150, n. 4.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

from Haiti who settled in New Orleans.[67] By the time of the Louisiana Purchase, this group had become an important enough element in the population to protest against not participating in a memorial to Congress concerning the status of the colonists under the new government.[68] During the defense of New Orleans against the British in 1814 the free people of color achieved considerable recognition because of their conduct on that occasion.[69]

In many of the free colored families in New Orleans before the Civil War, the family traditions went back to the soldiers who served in the War of 1812. The careers of representatives of these families have been described by Desdunes, who belonged to that class. Concerning Paul Trevigne, born in 1825 and whose father was a veteran of the war, he writes:

> During his youth Trevigne received a thorough and careful education. He became a teacher, a position in which he served for forty years in the Third District of New Orleans. Paul Trevigne spoke and wrote several languages and was the imtimate friend of men of superior education. . . . . Several of his students became officers in the Union Army where they distinguished themselves for their intelligence and bravery.[70]

Another, Eugene Warbourg, who was born in New Orleans about the same year and died in Rome in 1861, was a sculptor.[71] Among the men who succeeded in industry was George Alces, who employed more than two hundred colored Creoles in his tobacco establishment.[72] Probably one

[67] Grace King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York, 1928), p. 342.

[68] Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 279.

[69] George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* (New York, 1882), II, 23–27.

[70] R. L. Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal, 1911), p. 90.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

of the best known of these free men of color was Thomy Lafon, for whom a school in New Orleans was named, because of his philanthropies. He distributed his wealth among white and black, Protestant and Catholic. In recognition of his humanitarian interests the state legislature ordered his bust to be set up in one of the public institutions of the city.[73]

The development of family life on an institutional basis was closely tied up with the accumulation of property in these families. It reached its highest development among those classes which had acquired considerable wealth and achieved marked stability among the petite bourgeoisie and the skilled artisans. In both cases the name and the traditions of the family were associated with male ancestors. The following is an excellent account of this class in 1830:

By 1830, some of these *gens de couleur* had arrived at such a degree of wealth as to own cotton and sugar plantations with numerous slaves. They educated their children, as they had been educated, in France. Those who chose to remain there, attained, many of them, distinction in scientific and literary circles. In New Orleans they became musicians, merchants, and money and real estate brokers. The humbler classes were mechanics; they monopolized the trade of shoemakers, a trade for which, even to this day, they have a special vocation; they were barbers, tailors, carpenters, upholsterers. They were notably successful hunters and supplied the city with game. As tailors, they were almost exclusively patronized by the *elite*, so much so that the Legoasters', the Dumas', the Clovis', and Lacroix', acquired individually fortunes of several hundred thousands of dollars. This class was most respectable; they generally married women of their own status, and led lives quiet, dignified and worthy, in homes of ease and comfort. A few who had reached a competency sufficient for it, attempted to settle in France, where there was no prejudice against their origin; but in more than one case the experiment was

[73] King, *op. cit.*, p. 353; see also Desdunes, *op. cit.*, p. 123, and *Journal of Negro History*, VII, 220–21.

not satisfactory, and they returned to their former homes in Louisiana. . . . .

In fact, the quadroons of Louisiana have always shown a strong local attachment, although in the state they were subjected to grievances, which seemed to them unjust, if not cruel. It is true, they possessed many of the civil and legal rights enjoyed by the whites, as to the protection of person and property; but they were disqualified from political rights and social equality. But . . . . it is always to be remembered that in their contact with white men, they did not assume that creeping posture of debasement—nor did the whites expect it—which has more or less been forced upon them in fiction. In fact, their handsome, good-natured faces seem almost incapable of despair. It is true the whites were superior to them, but they, in their turn, were superior, and infinitely superior, to the blacks, and had as much objection to associating with the blacks on terms of equality as any white man could have to associating with them. At the Orleans theatre they attended their mothers, wives, and sisters in the second tier, reserved exclusively for them, and where no white person of either sex would have been permitted to intrude. But they were not admitted to the quadroon balls, and when white gentlemen visited their families it was the accepted etiquette for them never to be present.[74]

The latter part of this account refers to the recognized system of concubinage or *plaçage* which existed alongside of the moral and juridic family. A writer reflecting upon these extralegal family groups has observed that these quadroon women "were, in regard to family purity, domestic peace, and household dignity, the most insidious and the deadliest foes a community ever possessed."[75] On the other hand, a visitor to New Orleans in the fifties, looking at the system more dispassionately, regarded it as "a very peculiar and characteristic result of the prejudices, vices, and cus-

[74] From unpublished manuscript of Charles Gayarre in King, *op. cit.*, pp. 344–46.

[75] King, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

toms of the various elements of color, class, and nation, which have been there brought together."[76] In fact, the system of *plaçage* was an accommodation to the legal prescription against intermarriage between white men and these colored women, who were admitted by all observers to be superior generally in grace, beauty, and culture to the white women. At the quadroon balls, to which only white men were admitted, the quadroon women were under the chaperonage of their mothers. The manner in which the men and women became associated in the extramoral family groups was described by Olmsted as follows:

> When a man makes a declaration of love to a girl of this class, she will admit or deny, as the case may be, her happiness in receiving it; but, supposing she is favorably disposed, she will usually refer the applicant to her mother. The mother inquires, like a Countess of Kew, into the circumstances of the suitor; ascertains whether he is able to maintain a family, and, if satisfied with him, in these and other respects, requires from him security that he will support her daughter in a style suitable to the habits she has been bred to, and that, if he should ever leave her, he will give her a certain sum for her future support, and a certain additional sum for each of the children she shall then have.[77]

The daughters of these quadroon women followed in some cases the pattern set by their mothers. Others entered conventional marriages and went to France to live, where their status was not affected by their Negro blood. Since the stigma of Negro blood was always an incentive to become identified with the whites, some passed into the white race by migrating to other sections of the country or freed their children of the stigma of Negro blood by bribing officials to

[76] Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard States in the Year 1853–1854* (New York, 1904), II, 243.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

omit the designation from their baptismal certificates. As New Orleans grew, other mulattoes, becoming lost in the anonymity of the city, even passed over into the white race in the city of their birth. On the other hand, the offspring of these extramoral associations often established conventional families and thereby became a part of the free colored caste. Inherited wealth and superior education and culture made them eligible to membership in this class which was sharply differentiated from the mass of Negroes.

Most of the free Negro families in North Carolina (Map III) were located in the Piedmont and coastal regions. However, in this state as in other states the free families were found in considerable numbers in the towns and cities. In Fayetteville in 1830 there were eighty free Negro families. It was in this city that Henry Evans, a full-blooded free Negro, planted Methodism.[78] Another free Negro who became well known as a preacher long before the Civil War was John Chavis. Concerning his life, Bassett writes:

He was, probably, born in Granville County, near Oxford, about 1763. He was a full-blooded negro of dark brown color. He was born free. In early life he attracted the attention of the whites, and he was sent to Princeton College to see if a negro would take a collegiate education. He was a private pupil under the famous Dr. Witherspoon, and his ready acquisition of knowledge soon convinced his friends that the experiment would issue favorably. After leaving Princeton he went to Virginia, sent thither, no doubt, to preach to the negroes. In 1801 he was at the Hanover (Virginia) Presbytery, "riding as a missionary under the direction of the General Assembly." In 1805, at the suggestion of Rev. Henry Patillo, of North Carolina, he returned to his native State. For some cause, I know not what, it was not till 1809 that he was received as a licentiate by the Orange Presbytery. . . . . He continued to preach till in 1831 the Legislature for-

[78] John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery in the State of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 57–58.

bade negroes to preach. It was a trial to him and he appealed to the Presbytery. That body could do nothing more than recommend him "to acquiesce in the decision of the Legislature referred to, until God in his providence shall open to him a path of duty in regard to the exercise of his ministry." Acquiesce he did. He died in 1838 and the Presbytery continued to his widow the pension which it had formerly allowed him.

Mr. Chavis' most important work was educational. Shortly after his return to North Carolina he opened a classical school, teaching in Granville, Wake, and Chatham Counties. His school was for the patronage of the whites. Among his patrons were the best people of the neighborhood. Among his pupils were Willie P. Mangum, his brother, Archibald and John Henderson, sons of Chief Justice Henderson, Charles Manly, afterwards Governor of the State, Dr. James L. Wortham of Oxford, N.C., and many more excellent men who did not become so distinguished in the communities. Rev. James H. Horner, one of the best teachers of high schools the State has produced, said of John Chavis: "My father not only went to school to him but boarded in his family. . . . . The school was the best at that time to be found in the State."[79]

One of the most successful free Negroes in North Carolina before the Civil War was Lunsford Lane, who was born a slave in Raleigh in 1803.[80] His mother was a house servant in the family of an owner of a plantation, while his father was owned by another slaveholder. He says he became concious of his slave status when he began to work. As the result of opportunities to earn money the idea entered his mind that he might buy his freedom. He realized this ambition through money which he was able to accumulate from the manufacture and sale of pipes and tobacco of a peculiar flavor. After purchasing his own freedom for $1,000, he bought his wife and children for $2,500. As a result of a

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 73–75.

[80] Lunsford Lane, *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N. C.* (Boston, 1842).

visit to the North, he was charged with violating the law against the entrance of free Negroes from other states. When he sought permission to return and pay the remainder on his family, the governor informed Lane's white friends that, although he had no authority to grant such permission, it would be safe for Lane to come quietly and leave as soon as possible. In fact, one white friend implied in a letter that the time was propitious because the people were "alive .... on the subjects of temperance and religion."[81] This, however, did not prevent his arrest on the unfounded charge of having delivered abolition speeches in Massachusetts. He was ordered out of the city, but a mob made it necessary to place him in a jail for safekeeping. Upon his release, he was tarred and feathered by a mob of workingmen who were satisfied with inflicting some form of humiliation. After he had settled for his family and was prepared to leave, his mother's mistress, affected by the separation of Lane from his mother, permitted her to accompany the family.

During the autumn of 1897, Bassett by chance noticed at a Negro fair in North Carolina a placard which read: "Horses Owned and Exhibited by Lunsford Lane." Approaching a Negro farmer, he asked: "Who is Lunsford Lane?"

"I am, sir," was the reply.

"What kin are you to the original Lunsford Lane?"

"Don't exactly know, sir; reckon he was my uncle."

"What became of him?" questioned Bassett in order to draw him out.

"Think he must 'a' emigrated," the man answered.[82]

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

[82] Bassett, *Anti-slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 74. Speaking of the effect upon the development of the Negro of the laws which made it impossible for free Negroes of Lane's type to remain in the South,

Although Lane apparently failed to establish a family line, there were other free colored men who became the fountainhead of family traditions that have persisted to the present day. Two of these families originated among the free colored people of Fayetteville. Charles W. Chestnut, the distinguished Negro novelist, who died in 1932 in Cleveland, was a descendant of one of these families. Concerning another free family which has a descendant who is at present a dentist in Wilmington, North Carolina, Booker Washington wrote:

A coloured man by the name of Matthew Leary is still remembered in Fayetteville who, before the war, was the owner of considerable land, a number of slaves, a brick store in the business part of the town, and a handsome residence in a good neighborhood. His sons gained some prominence in North Carolina during the Reconstruction era. Matthew Leary, Jr., went into politics and afterward became a clerk in one of the Government offices in Washington. A younger brother, Hon. John S. Leary, was the first coloured man in North Carolina to be admitted to the bar, of which he remained a respected member until he died at Charlotte, N.C. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the North Carolina Legislature.[83]

Bassett says: "The little glimpse that we have of his real self shows what a promise of hope he was for the race he represented. We know enough to be certain that it was a most short-sighted policy in his State that drove him and a number of others out of the community, and made impossible the development of other negroes like unto him. Since the war we have sadly missed such strong characters in our negro population. Twenty-five years before the war there were more industrious, ambitious and capable negroes in the South than there were in 1865. Had the severe laws against emancipation and free negroes not been passed, the coming of freedom would have found the colored race with a number of superior individuals who in every locality would have been a core of conservatism for the benefit of both races. Under such conditions Lane would have been of great beneficent influence" (*ibid.*).

[83] *Op. cit.*, pp. 203–4. There was a Matthew Leary, returned as head of a family of seven, in the census for 1830 (Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families*, p. 114).

Likewise, another free colored man, James D. Sampson, who accumulated some wealth and published a paper in Cincinnati during the Civil War, became the head of a family line in which members of three generations have completed Oberlin College. The fourth free family which has maintained a continuous history to the present time is that of John R. Green, who was born in Newbern.[84] His son, the historian of the family, was still practicing law in Cleveland in 1933, while his grandchildren are members of the professional group in that city.

Space will permit only a brief account of one of the free families in Virginia which have had an uninterrupted history from the early nineteenth century. The earliest ancestor concerning whom we have any historical record was probably born during the American Revolution in Petersburg. However, according to Jackson, who has given us a history of the family,

> our first real knowledge of him comes in 1804, when, for the sum of forty-five pounds, he purchased from Hector McNeil, a white merchant of Petersburg, "one certain piece of parcel of land situate, lying and being in the town of Petersburg aforesaid, on the east side of the street known and distinguished in the plan of the said town by the name of Union Street." In 1820 this property, consisting of house and lot, was valued at $1,050. In the meantime he had also bought one lot on Oak Street, which was assessed at $131.25. This James Colson becomes the head of a remarkable line of descendants. When he died, in 1825, his property was taken over by his son, William Colson. The son in his early years was a barber in Petersburg, but a few years after his marriage to Sarah Elebeck, in 1826, he emigrated to Liberia in connection with the colonization movement of that time.

[84] A John R. Green, head of a family of ten, was returned as free for the 1830 census (Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families*, p. 113). See complete history of family in John P. Green, *Fact Stranger than Fiction* (Cleveland, 1920).

In Liberia he engaged in a mercantile enterprise with Joseph Jenkins, who, too, came from Petersburg.

William Colson was the father of three children, William, Mary, and James Major. The last of these particularly comes easily within the memory of Petersburg citizens living today. He was born in 1830 and died in 1892. James Major is to be remembered especially as a fine shoemaker, whose patrons included most of the prominent people of the town. It is said that his skill at shoe making extended to the point where he could make a shoe to fit the special needs of a sore foot.

James Major Colson was married in 1852 to a free woman of color, Fannie Meade Bolling. His wife naturally was primarily a homemaker, but at the same time her literary attainments were manifested in her production of poetry throughout her long life. This lady came along during the period of the hostile legislation against the education of free Negroes. She learned to read and write at odd moments while in the employ of a white family that took great care that she should put her lessons aside in the event that company or strangers came into the home. Thus her very employers, regardless of the law, helped make it possible for her to acquire the rudiments of learning. Immediately after the war she put her knowledge to good use by taking the initiative in starting a private school on Oak Street in Petersburg.[85]

Among the numerous children of James Major Colson and Fannie Meade Colson, there were nine—three boys and six girls—who reached adult age. Six members of this family became teachers, while two of the boys entered other occupations, and one of the girls became a registered nurse. One of the boys, James Major III, who was born in 1855, received the Phi Beta Kappa key when he completed Dartmouth College. He served as a school principal and for awhile was president of the Negro college in Petersburg. When he died in 1909, he left his family a considerable amount of real estate.

Excluded from our discussion here are the free families

[85] Luther P. Jackson, "Free Negroes of Petersburg, Virginia," *Journal of Negro History*, XII, 372–77.

in the cities of the North and the Northwest Territory, or the more or less isolated communities of free colored families, which were mixed to a considerable extent with Indians. Many of the free colored families in the northern cities and Northwest Territory had migrated from southern communities. Later we shall see how these families formed the nuclei of the higher social and economic classes in both northern and southern communities. But, instead of following the career of these families, we shall turn our attention to those communities of free families that were mixed with Indians.

CHAPTER XI

RACIAL ISLANDS

Although the free mulatto families have had a history different from the mass of the Negro population, they have, nevertheless, gradually become identified more or less with the Negro group and furnished many of its leaders. In this respect they may be distinguished from those families of white, Negro, and Indian ancestry, living in isolated communities in various parts of the country, that have remained outside the main currents of Negro life. Whereas the free mulatto families and their descendants have generally formed an upper class in the Negro group, the families that have formed these isolated communities of mixed-bloods have often regarded themselves as an altogether different race. In some instances their consciousness of being a different race from the Negro has expressed itself in the naïve reference to themselves as "a different kind of folk," while in other instances tradition has established their group identity under some such name as Creoles, Moors, or some corrupted Indian name of unknown origin. Moreover, so strong has been their determination to remain a distinct group that they have often permitted their children to grow up illiterate rather than send them to the public schools provided for Negroes.

The history of the Pamunky Tribe of Indians in Virginia is typical of those communities of mixed-bloods which, having originated in the association between Indians and Negroes, gradually lost their Indian character. As early as

1843 the white citizens of King William County petitioned the state legislature:

> The object of the colonial assembly was to protect a few harmless and tributary Indians, but the law which was passed to secure the Indians from intrusion on the part of the same white inhabitants has unwittingly imposed upon the posterity of the same white inhabitants a great grievance, in the presence of two unincorporated bodies of free mulattoes in the midst of a large slaveholding community. A greater grievance of such character cannot be well conceived, when it is known that a large number of free Negroes and mulattoes now enjoy under a law enacted for a praiseworthy purpose peculiar and exclusive privileges such as an entire exemption from taxation, holding land without liability for debt, and the land so held properly speaking public land belonging to the Commonwealth. . . . . The claim of the Indians no longer exists. . . . . His blood has so largely mingled with that of the Negro race as to have obliterated all striking features of Indian extraction.[1]

Although we have historical evidence concerning the origin of other mixed communities,[2] in most instances we must rely upon the traditions which have been handed down in the communities concerning the Indian and white progenitors. Let us take as an example the mixed community near Indian Mound, Tennessee, which has all but vanished.

In order to reach the dwelling-place of the seven living

[1] *Legislative Petitions, Archives of Virginia, King William County, 1843.* Quoted in J. H. Johnston, "Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, XIV, 29–30.

[2] An investigator reported in 1861 concerning the Punkapog Indian Tribe in Massachusetts: "The full-blood Indians of the tribe are all extinct. Their descendants, who, like those of all other tribes in States, are of various grades of mixtures, of Indian, white, and Negro blood" (*Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts during the Session of the Grand Court, 1861*, No. 96, p. 10. Quoted in C. G. Woodson, "The Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts," *Journal of Negro History*, V, 50). See also Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, Ohio, 1858), concerning the association between Negroes and Indians in Florida.

grandchildren of the founder of the community, the author and his secretary had to leave the broad highways. We traveled country roads and drove over a muddy lane and through a half-dried-up creek. As we emerged from a thickly wooded area, an old but substantial house covered with corrugated iron suddenly appeared in the clearing. From the covered porch of the house a white-haired man with a great beard came to the gate to greet us. His bronze skin and granite-like features offered scarcely a suggestion of Negro ancestry. In fact, later, when he gave a well-chronicled story of the origin and history of his family, he made no mention of Negro blood.

When we were ushered into the house, which had been standing over a century, we felt that we had suddenly been transported back to the pioneer days of the first half of the nineteenth century. About a wide fireplace in which huge logs were burning sat five old women ranging in age from seventy-three to ninety-one. They were dressed in wide and full-gathered skirts and high shoes with flat heels, while about their shoulders they wore pieces of flannel for shawls. Three of them had rags about their heads. One of the sisters was blind, and another found it difficult to recognize strangers. Beside these five sisters sat their eighty-eight-year-old brother bent with age. The features and color of all of them showed striking signs of Indian ancestry.

The remarkably agile seventy-six-year-old brother, who conducted us into the house and introduced us to his brother and sisters, recited the history of the family. As he told the story during this visit and a subsequent one, he was corroborated or corrected by his sisters, especially the youngest, who appealed to the oldest sister from time to time for confirmation of her statements.

The oldest ancestor of whom they had any knowledge was their great-grandfather who lived in North Carolina. His son, of Irish and Indian mixture, migrated from North Carolina about 1803. After first settling in Rutherford County, he moved to the present location and took up land. It was because of this fact, they presumed, "land" was added to the family name. He was married twice—the first wife being assuredly an Indian and the second presumably of the same race. "Our color just came from the Cherokee race. We have no Negro blood in us." By his first wife he had eight children and by his second four. He was a Primitive Baptist. When he died around 1865, he left his land—about three-hundred acres—to his children.

Our informants were able to give a fairly detailed account of four generations of the descendants of the founder of the community. Four of his eight children by his first wife were never married. The four remaining brothers and sisters had at least thirty-six children, nearly half-a-hundred grandchildren, and an unknown number of great-grandchildren. The daughter of the original settler by his second wife—the only one of the four children to marry—was the mother of nine children and numbered among her descendants more than a score of grandchildren. Our informants, who were the only surviving children of the founder's eighth child, had never married. Although two families representing the younger generation lived by and administered to their needs, these seven brothers and sisters were the real guardians of the ancestral homestead.

The picture so far presented of these ancient remnants of a once great clan gives one no idea of the traditions and ideals which have placed an indelible imprint upon the lives of its scattered representatives. The imprint of these traditions and ideals was visible in a family living on their own farm less than five miles from the original settlement. The father and mother had the same family name, their grand-

fathers having been sons of the original settler. The parents as well as their two children, a boy and a girl, looked more like Indians than Negroes or mulattoes. Their comfortable and well-furnished house was characteristic of the thrift, intelligence, and stability for which this group of mixed-bloods are noted. The father, who was the responsible head of the family, not only worked on his farm but supervised the work of white farm laborers. Although neither father nor mother had completed high school, they took a daily paper and one or two magazines and had plans for their children to get a college education.

This family, together with another family which was more definitely bound to the community, formed the last link between the almost vanished community and its scattered members in the world outside. Over the years, family after family had moved to Ohio, Illinois, and cities in Tennessee. Although the original settler's great-granddaughter remarked: "The X's don't do much corresponding, but we don't forget each other," the old solidarity which was celebrated in family reunions has been broken. The last family reunion, which was held in 1917 on the hundredth birthday anniversary of a daughter of the original settler, was attended only by the descendants living in Tennessee.

From what was learned of those who had gone beyond the borders of Tennessee, it appeared that they, like those who had remained within the state, were industrious and well disciplined. In both their religion and their morals they reflected the simple faith and the strict teachings of the older generation, whose seven living representatives still hold prayer meeting every Wednesday night and church on Sunday with one brother acting as the preacher. Although this close-knit clan, which was at the same time an isolated

religious community, has slowly disintegrated, pride in family still stirs the younger as well as the older generations. One source of family pride was the fact that no member had ever been arrested or had otherwise brought disgrace upon the family name. However, it should not be inferred that this modest achievement appeared to them as a great accomplishment, for they maintained that they could only boast of the simple human virtues. With a single exception the members of the family had followed humble occupations and were known for their thrift and honesty. They had no apologies to make for the fact that only one member of the family was ever known to have finished college. This exceptional member of the family who was known only vaguely to the other members of the family, had achieved some distinction as the head of the colored division of a national welfare agency. While the attainments of this single member did not elicit special pride, they could boast that they kept in touch with the outside world through the daily paper and that the community had maintained a school from the beginning. Even the children in the only family that remained in the original settlement were instructed by their mother in reading and writing.

Although our aged informants were reluctant to acknowledge that in the early history of the community there had been opposition to intermarriage with Negroes, this was apparently the reason for the failure of many of them to find suitable mates. The cleavage between the mixed-bloods and the whites had been widened in the early history of the community when a minister of the white church made a remark about dark people attending the church. After this incident the mixed-bloods established a church of their own and ceased to bury their dead in the white cemetery. When

the head of the family referred to above related this incident, he hastened to add that he and his wife, who were sending their children to the Negro school in the near-by town, did not share the feelings of the older generation but regarded themselves simply as colored people. In fact, the process by which this family is gradually merging with the Negro community shows how families from these isolated communities of mixed-bloods have gradually filtered into the Negro population. The change in attitude toward the Negro group has been effected in the case of this family and those families that migrated through contacts in the urban environment. Although visiting in the two cities of Tennessee to which the families have moved is still restricted largely to the homes of relatives, friendships have been formed with the better-situated mulatto families. These contacts have been facilitated through the Negro schools, in which the younger generation is gradually taking over the traditions and culture of the Negro group. As a result of these widened contacts, we find an increasing number of marriages with Negroes; but chiefly with those of mixed ancestry.

According to the traditions that have been preserved in this community, one member of the family migrated sixty or seventy years ago to Ohio and married into a family of the same racial mixture. This family evidently formed a part of the community of mixed-bloods in Darke County, Ohio, since the history of this latter community, as related by those living there today, includes a pioneer of Indian extraction who migrated from Tennessee. Like the community in Tennessee, the settlement in Ohio originated through the migration of free people of Indian, white, and supposedly Negro ancestry from North Carolina. The oldest

living inhabitant in the community gave the following account of his family and the community:

His grandfather was born free in Virginia. According to the story which was told by the grandfather, he was compelled to leave Virginia when the state threatened to re-enslave all free colored people who did not leave the state. A white man arranged to meet the grandfather, who was still a boy, in Greenville, Ohio. When the grandfather reached Greenville, he was taken in by the white man and later took up 160 acres of land at $1.25 per acre. After securing enough money through digging wells to purchase the land, the grandfather moved his family to the present location in 1808. This was the first family in the community.

Our next informant was the descendant of the second family that moved into the community. He began his story:

Uncle Tom B—— has told me at different times that two of the B——'s rode in here horseback from North Carolina and at that time they were offered a section of land for those two horses—640 acres—and they didn't take that for that team. They took up a homestead up here, each one of them. This country then was nothing but wilderness, no roads, just woods. I don't know how long they remained on it and they went back to North Carolina to tell about what they discovered and what they found up here. Then they began to move and wind their way in here. A white man asked me up here in Greenville if a Randolph ever come in here and I told him no, no slave holder ever come in here and bought up homesteads. My father said he had seen wolves, bears, panthers. That well out there I expect has been by here for 100 years and has never been known to go dry. As those began to spread out then others began to come in here. They were born in North Carolina..... My grandfather, Richard B——, was one of the original settlers of the community. Right up where that well is was a log house where he settled and when he came from North Carolina he taken up that 40 acres from the government. My father bought this 40 acres from a man named D—— G——, a white man, who purchased this land from the government. I can remember when this place was about six miles square. Rev. S——'s grandfather at one time owned 640 acres of land across where,—well, across here over

on the Indiana side. He came in here and couldn't read nor write. He came from North Carolina.[3]

Our first informant's racial origin was typical of other members of the community. When this eighty-two-year-old man with blue eyes, blond hair, and pinkish skin was asked concerning the race of his grandfather, he answered:

> Well, there is a lot of blood in our relation—Indian, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, and a little bit nigger. Grandmother could talk Dutch just as fast as she could talk. My grandfather was as white and whiter as I was. Their mixture, they got in the South before they come here.[4]

It is not strange that people with such a racial background should have considered themselves a different race from the mass of the Negro population. While it is true that, prior to the Civil War the community was one of the stations of the Underground Railroad, there was apparently scarcely any intermarriage with the blacks who escaped from bondage. Although the present members of the community are hesitant about acknowledging that the blacks were not regarded as eligible mates, our informant admitted that they "don't marry that way somehow or another." On the other hand, it was acknowledged by a representative of one of the two families showing distinctly Negro ancestry that the community was not "so particular about real black people," and cited the following incident in support of her statement: "Once I was sitting in the church and I said to one of the girls that a certain one of the girls was married, and the first thing they said was, 'Oh, yes, she married a black man.' "[5] Moreover, there was a story current in the community that a minister had not accepted a promotion because his wife refused to go with him to a church of "black Africans."

[3] Manuscript document.

[4] Manuscript document.

[5] Manuscript document.

Nor is it to be wondered at that many of the early families or their descendants married or passed over into the white race. In some cases members of the community take some pride in the fact that they can point to men of distinction in the white world whose families were among the mixed-bloods that first settled in the community. Many more families and individuals who have passed into the white world have left no trace of their whereabouts; and it is possible that their children do not know that they probably have Negro blood in their veins. Seemingly, individuals among the younger generation are continuing to filter into the white race, for it is possible to trace a number of them to occupations in the larger cities that are ordinarily closed to Negroes.

Although a number of the families have become merged with the white population, the traditions of the families in this settlement are bound up mainly with their achievements as a distinct racial group and in later years with the attainments of those who have found a place in the Negro world. These traditions stem from the activities of the sturdy pioneers who sought freedom in an unknown country and built up a community of independent landowners and successful farmers. Speaking of one of the early settlers, one informant said with pride:

> If Jack C—— had lived about two more months he would have been ninety years old and many a time he started from here with his wheat to Cincinnati. It took him a week to make the trip—no railroads and no roads. He was considered the best teamster to pull horses from here to Cincinnati.

These pioneers built substantial homes and erected a church and a schoolhouse. A Wesleyan church, where a few families still gather, was built nearly a century ago. Before the Civil War a subscription school was maintained

by the community, while the Quakers helped to establish a seminary for advanced education across the line in Indiana. At the present time, in two cemeteries bearing the names of the first two families to settle in the community, tombstones mark the resting-place of these pioneers and their descendants.

Although many families have migrated and whites have bought their farms and the younger generation especially is seeking its fortunes in the various cities of the North, there are still about sixty families in the community, including four families living in Indiana. Practically all these families are landowners, and, although the community is not so prosperous as formerly, their homes give evidence of economic well-being and a high level of rural culture. The rough log dwellings have long ago been replaced by large painted houses with shutters and glass windows. On the inside the walls are papered and hung with portraits of ancestors or pictures illustrating some biblical story. Their well-kept homes, with books, magazines, and a daily paper, bespeak the culture which has been built up in these families during several generations.

There has long been a tradition of education in the community. Before the consolidation of the local schools, there were five public schools, taught chiefly by members of local families who had received advanced training outside the community. Unlike the families in the Tennessee community, these families boast of the intellectual achievements of those who were born there. They were able to name college and high-school teachers and principals and professional men and women, who have sprung from families in the community. The two outstanding examples of the community's distinguished men were a Methodist bishop and a diplomatic rep-

resentative to Liberia. But, perhaps, the man who typified best the role of these families in the Negro world was a minister who served a church in Dayton for thirty-three years. As a leader in the colored community, he became disgusted with the conditions under which Negroes lived and organized a realty company which enabled Negroes to purchase homes in desirable neighborhoods.

There are other communities of mixed-bloods in the North which are similar to this one in Ohio. For example, there is a community in the Ramapo Hills about thirty miles north of New York City. Concerning the inhabitants of this community, we shall let one of its representatives speak. She is a woman about forty, who, after taking the Bachelor's degree at Howard University, married and returned to the community to live. Our informant writes:

On approaching the hills bordering the villages of Suffern and Hillburn one meets a type of native people quite different from those found elsewhere. Some of these resemble the Indian with their copper-colored skin and straight black hair. Others are very fair with flaxen hair and blue eyes while still others are of the Negroid type—although these latter are very much in the minority. Nor are these all. Also peculiar to this type of people are some having white hair and pink eyes, known as albinos. On becoming better acquainted with these albinos we find them possessed of rare skill and talent. Barnum and Bailey have exhibited some of this variety in their circus several years ago.

More than a century ago some Boers were supposed to have been brought to this section by the English—possibly for the purpose of mining iron ore. As the story goes—among these Boers were four Johns—i.e., John De Groot, John Von Doonk, John De Vries and John Mann. Quite positive proof of this fact are the predominating names among the people at the present time; i.e. De Groat, Van Dunk, De Freese and Mann. After a time these people were visited by remnants of wandering tribes of Indians; i.e., Tuscaroras and Delawares who were travelling up from the South to join others of their

tribe in central New York State. Still later were found, in this section, slaves maintained by a family of Sufferns. An amalgamation took place between these three classes of people. A slave named Jackson, was believed to have been the first of his kind to mingle with the others and as a result we find a type of people with certain peculiarities called "Jackson Whites."[6]

Among these people, as in the case of the other two communities, there was prejudice against mingling with Negroes. The father of the author of the document quoted above, a man seventy-five years old, said that when he was a young man there was strong opposition to marriage with Negroes and that often he had heard the girls remark that they wanted "only men with white skins and blue veins." In fact, it seems that the community was divided to some extent according to color. Our informant writes:

> There are in this section two distinct types of Jackson Whites—one set of the white variety, living on the other side of Suffern, exhibit a great lack of intelligence as compared with their fellows of the predominating Indian and colored types.[7]

The superior intelligence of the darker group is probably attributable to the fact that they have tended to move from the isolated hills down into the valley where they have enjoyed the advantages of wider contacts, in spite of the fact that separate schools are provided for them:

> Not all of the Jackson Whites remained up in the hills. Some of them moved down into the valley where the new Brook Chapel became the center. In the twentieth century we find them much more interested in what is going on in the outside world. They regularly attend the Jim-crow school provided for them by the leading white people of Hillburn, which is the only one of its kind in New York State. Most of the people work in the nearby iron and steel foundries

[6] Manuscript document. This document was secured after the author made a visit to the community.

[7] Manuscript document.

while some engage in other occupations which are open to their kind. Still others have gone into the cities of both New York and other states where they engage in higher occupations. Quite a number of the children have graduated from the nearby High School. Some have finished from normal schools and colleges. One went so far as to receive his Ph.D.[8]

In the early days when these people were confined to the hills, they maintained themselves by hunting and fishing, cutting lumber, and hiring themselves to near-by farmers. They were evidently a deeply religious group. The little information which is now available represents them as having a religion of "the Methodist type."

For many years it was customary for them to hold singing and praying services at each other's homes. These were known as "class meetings" and each one always had a "class leader."[9]

As the result of the missionary work of the Presbyterians, they later became a part of that religious organization. We have a description of one of the religious leaders from the pen of his granddaughter, our informant:

One of the most outstanding of these leaders was a remarkable character. He was once described as "being of almost gigantic stature, yet symmetrically moulded and with a head of more than Websterian grandeur and size." He would remind an observer of one of the priests of ancient Israel. The dark and solemn face, the snow-white hair hanging in abundant locks almost to his shoulders, the earnest deep tones of the voice, as he led the services, made a picture not soon to be forgotten. This worthy sage was known to all as "Uncle Sammy De Freese" and his name still is uttered very reverently in the neighborhood by all including the better class of whites who knew him or afterward learned of him. On entering the Brook Chapel, which he helped build, one will find a picture of this old saint.[10]

[8] Manuscript document.

[9] Manuscript document.

[10] Manuscript document.

This "old saint" belonged to an anomalous race of people whose descendants have become scattered through New Jersey and New York.[11] They have gradually taken over the traditions and ways of life of Negroes with whom they have become more or less identified. The change in the attitudes and traditions of this group was expressed by one of them as follows:

> Formerly the Jackson Whites never possessed the same pride which one always finds among those of the true Negro race. Nor did they enjoy the same things common to that race. However, in the past few years, since some Negroes from outside have come in and owing to the conditions thrust upon them by the great prejudice abounding in their village, they have attained some of the pride which is prevalent among those who are segregated and set aside from others. The better thinking class protest against these conditions which tend toward making them feel the supposed superiority of the whites of the community. They are also fast adopting the use of Negro literature and music.[12]

Another group of mixed-bloods, whose racial identity has long remained an enigma, had its origin in Delaware. There are two traditions concerning the origin of this group. According to one account, these people are the descendants of "Spanish Moors who, by chance had drifted from the southern coast of Spain prior to the Revolutionary War, and settled at various points on the Atlantic Coast of the British colonies."[13] The other tradition, which is probably closer to

[11] *The Negro in New Jersey: Report of a Survey by the Interracial Commission of the New Jersey Conference of Social Work in Cooperation with the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, 1932*, p. 22.

[12] Manuscript document.

[13] *The So-called Moors of Delaware: A Sketch Written by George P. Fisher Which Appeared as a Communication and Was Published in the Milford (Del.) Herald under Date of June 15, 1895.* Reprinted by the Public Archives Commission of Delaware, 1929.

the facts, says that they sprang from the mixture of whites, Indians, and Negro slaves, probably of Moorish origin.[14] On the whole, these people have devoted themselves to agriculture. They have built their own homes and churches and have been known by their neighbors as thrifty and law-

[14] *Ibid.* While the author of the communication cited above was attorney-general of the state of Delaware, he had occasion to investigate the racial origin of these people. In 1857 one of them was indicted for having sold ammunition to another member of the same race in violation of the law against the selling of firearms to Negroes and mulattoes. An eighty-seven-year-old woman of the same race who was called as a witness gave in substance the following testimony concerning their origin: "About fifteen or twenty years before the Revolutionary War, which she said broke out when she was a girl some five or six years old, there was a lady of Irish birth living on a farm in Indian River Hundred, a few miles distant from Lewes, which she owned and carried on herself. Nobody appeared to know anything of her history or antecedents. Her name she gave as Regua, and she was childless, but whether a maid or widow, or a wife astray, she never disclosed to anyone. She was much above the average woman of that day in stature, beauty and intelligence. The tradition described her as having a magnificent complexion, or, as Lydia termed it, a rose and lily complexion, large and dark blue eyes and luxuriant hair of the most beautiful shade, usually called light auburn. After she had been living in Angola Neck quite a number of years, a slaver was driven into Lewes Creek, then a tolerable fair harbor, and was there, weather-bound for several days. . . . . Miss or Mrs Regua, having heard of the presence of the slaver in the harbor, and having lost one of her men, went to Lewes, and to replace him, purchased another from the slave ship. She selected a very tall, shapely and muscular young fellow of dark gingerbread color, who claimed to be a prince or chief of one of the tribes of the Congo River which had been overpowered in a war with a neighboring tribe and nearly all slain or made prisoners and sold into perpetual slavery. This young man had been living with his mistress but a few months when they were duly married and, as Lydia told the court and jury, they reared quite a large family of children, who as they grew up were not permitted to associate and intermarry with their neighbors of pure Caucasian blood, nor were they disposed to seek associations or alliance with the Negro race; so that they were so necessarily compelled to associate and intermarry with the remnant of the Nanticoke tribe of Indians who still lingered in their old habitations for many years after the great body of the tribe had been removed further towards the setting sun."

abiding citizens. A small community of their descendants has been established across the Delaware River near Beacon's Neck in Cumberland County, New Jersey. Some of them have doubtless filtered into the white race, and at present others are gradually becoming merged with the Negro population.

By far the most important community of mixed-bloods in the North, for which fortunately, we have a well-authenticated record, is the Gouldtown settlement near Bridgeton, New Jersey. Traditions concerning the origin of this community go back to the end of the seventeenth century. The first mulattoes in this settlement are believed to have been the offspring of a Negro and the granddaughter of John Fenwick, who, having acquired from Lord Berkeley a tract of land in New Jersey, came to America in 1675.[15] Although there is no record of the life of Fenwick's granddaughter with her Negro husband, the Gouldtown graveyard register tells the location of their son and his wife.[16] The Gouldtown settlement included three other families of mulatto and Indian extraction:

[15] William and Theophilus G. Steward, *Gouldtown: A Very Remarkable Settlement of Ancient Date* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 50–51. "Among the numerous troubles and vexations which assailed Fenwick, none appear to have distressed him more than the base and abandoned conduct of his granddaughter, Elizabeth Adams, who had attached herself to a citizen of color. By his will he deprives her of any share in his estate, 'unless the Lord open her eyes to see her abominable transgression against him, me and her good father, by giving her true repentance and forsaking that Black which hath been the ruin of her and becoming penitent for her sins.' From this illicit connection have sprung the families of the Goulds at a settlement called Gouldtown, in Cumberland County. Later, this same historian in a memoir of John Fenwick wrote: 'Elizabeth Adams had formed a connection with a negro man whose name was Gould' " (R. G. Johnson, *Memoir of John Fenwick* [New Jersey Historical Society, pub. 1849]).

[16] Steward and Steward, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.

Tradition says that the Pierces originated from two mulattoes who were brought here in a vessel from the West Indies, with which the colony had early trade, vessels from the West Indies arriving at Greenwich and also coming up as far as to what is now Bridgeton. These two men were Richard and Anthony Pierce, brothers. . . . . Anthony and Richard Pierce paid the passage of two Dutch women, sisters, from Holland; their names were Marie and Hannah Van Aca. The last name speedily degenerated into Wanaca, and was made the Christian name of a son of one of them. From these descended all the Pierces of Gouldtown. They came to the colony of West New Jersey before the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Murrays originated in Cape May; they claim an Indian ancestry. The first Murray of whom there is trace in the vicinity of the earliest settlements of Gouldtown, was Othniel Murray. He claimed to be a Lenapee or Siconessee Indian, and came from Cape May County. The Lenapees resided in the locality of Cohansey (or Bridgeton) and had quite a settlement at what became known as the Indian Fields, at a run still known as the Indian Field Run. This Othniel Murray married Katherine (last name unknown), a Swede. They had five children, three sons and two daughters, Mark Murray, David Murray, and Mary Murray and Dorcas Murray. From these descended all the Murrays of Gouldtown.[17]

Another family which was of slave origin became united by marriage with the three original families:

The Cuff family was of slave origin, though in a time quite remote; Cuff, a slave, was owned by a man named Padgett. Padgett had three daughters, and he, by some means, got into the Continental Army, in the French and Indian War, and was killed. Cuff took care of the widow, and she finally married him. He was called "Cuffee Padgett"; they had three sons, and when these went to school they were taunted by the other boys as being the sons of "Old Cuffee Padgett"; so they would have their father drop the Padgett and take the name of Cuffee Cuff. The names of these sons were Mordecai, Reuben, and Seth.[18]

During the early days of its existence the settlement became divided into two communities, known as Gouldtown

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

and Piercetown, because of the traditions connecting them with the families bearing these names. This division has lasted to the present day, although the cause of the cleavage is forgotten.[19]

The outstanding tradition among the Goulds was their relationship to the founder of the colony.[20] Included in the traditions of this settlement is a record of services in all the wars of the nation, with the exception of the Mexican War, from the Revolution to the Spanish-American War.[21] Although the religious traditions[22] of this settlement were originally different from those of the masses of Negroes who were chiefly influenced by the Baptists and Methodists, descendants of families in this settlement played a conspicuous part in the history of the African Methodist Episcopal church which became the chief church in this community. In 1816 it is recorded that Rueben Cuff of the Cuff family,

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–66.

[20] One of the historians of this family writes that the "Gould's tradition a hundred years ago was 'We descended from Lord Fenwick.' . . . . The writer of this, now over three score and ten years of age, has heard the words from his grandparents, and other of the Goulds who were born and lived in the close of the eighteenth century" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 154–56. Descendants of these families also served in the World War.

[22] "Like most others of this section of New Jersey, the inhabitants of Gouldtown held to the Calvinistic doctrines, with a leaning towards Presbyterianism. Indeed, their early religious training was received from the Presbyterians. It is not unlikely that the first Benjamin Gould listened to the religious admonitions of Rev. Daniel Elmer, who came from Connecticut and was installed pastor of the church at New England town (now known as Old Stone Church) in 1729. The records of this old church were lost by a fire which destroyed the church. The earliest Goulds, as well as the Pierces and Murrays, attended this church under the administrations of Rev. Daniel Elmer; he died in 1755, the same year that Elisha, the youngest son of Benjamin Gould, the Founder, was born" (*ibid.*, p. 140).

whose origin is given above, married into the Gould family and was one of the organizers of the African Methodist church in Philadelphia.[23] Though it is impossible to catalogue the descendants of these free families, some idea of their influence in the development of Negro life is afforded by the fact that, when the annual reunion was celebrated in 1910, there were two hundred and twenty-three living descendants from one grandson of Benjamin Gould I, whose mother was the granddaughter of John Fenwick.[24] Their place in the history of the Negro was summarized by a distinguished descendant, himself an army chaplain and historian:

> Several of the earlier Goulds and Pierces as well as Murrays intermarried with whites, and members of their immediate offspring went away and lost their identity, they and their descendants becoming white; while from those who still maintained their identity as people of color, there have come many who have reached distinction, and in whom their native County shows merited pride, as for instance, a Methodist bishop, a chaplain in the United States regular army, a physician, a lawyer, a distinguished dentist, teachers, writers, journalists; and in the industrial arts, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, painters, carriage builders, woolen spinners, and weavers; brickmakers, machinists, engineers, electricians, printers, factory men, sailors, ministers of the Gospel, and farmers; in fact none of its sister villages has produced—taking equality of environment—more or better or more creditable individualities than has this settlement.[25]

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–12. "If the writers of this book should attempt to write to all their living relatives, they would write addresses to every state in the Union nearly, to most of the principal cities in the country and several of the larger ones in the Dominion of Canada. They would also direct to London, Liverpool, Paris, Berlin, and Antwerp" (*ibid.*, p. 221).

[25] In this community as in others of a similar character there has been much inbreeding. During recent years such unions have been looked upon with disfavor. At the Sunday-school picnic in 1933 one of the descendants who had come from a considerable distance told the author that he had dis-

Although the far-flung descendants of the families originating in this community have been a leavening element in the Negro population, the settlement itself has slowly dwindled and disintegrated during the last score or more years. There is nothing in the appearance of the modern well-kept homes, which are a part of the remnant of this vanishing settlement, on the highway from Bridgeton to Atlantic City, to make one aware of its singular history and the memories of those who gather there each year. The descendants of the original settlers no longer gather at the annual family reunions, once held in one of the original houses and presided over by the oldest living representative of the family. The family reunions have been transformed into an annual Sunday-school picnic, which gathers on the third Thursday in August. However, in spite of the fact that the main institutions in the settlement, the school and the church, have absorbed many outside families, these families have not lost their identity. The bonds of kinship are still strong, and there is a recognition of a common cultural heritage.

Now, we shall return to the South again to consider in a less detailed manner several other communities of mixed-bloods. The first of these communities is located in Columbus County, North Carolina. We do not find in the families that have remained in this community the well-authenticated and virile traditions which we found in the area described above. One of the two principal families traces its origin to a free man of color who was of white, Indian, and Negro mixture; while the other family which later inter-

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suaded his cousin from marrying within the community because he thought that such marriages were responsible for a number of "queer" people among them.

married with the first was of white and Negro ancestry and had become free before the Civil War. The Indian ancestry of these families is of special interest because of their proximity and relationship to the Indian community in Robeson County, which adjoins Columbus County. The Indians in Robeson County are the well-known Croatans, who claim that they are pure Indians and resent any imputation of Negro blood. The state maintains a separate normal school with white and Indian teachers for them. However, it seems from both tradition and reliable reports that are current in the colored community that at one time the ancestors of the Croatans and the free mulattoes associated freely and intermarried. These reports are borne out by the fact that families in the colored community have relatives who have married into the Indian community. These relatives, in the words of one of our colored informants, "want to slight their own people."[26]

Although one of the older members of the colored community referred to his group as "the nationality in here," on the whole, the people have identified themselves with the Negro race and have forgotten the distinctions which the older generation was inclined to set up.[27] After the Indians

[26] The Indians and those claiming to be Indians, according to reliable reports, definitely separated themselves from the mulattoes about forty years ago when white political leaders in their campaign to disfranchise the Negro gained the support of the Indian upon the promise that they would be treated as a separate race and enjoy certain educational and social privileges.

[27] The following incident, related by a woman resembling an Indian, is typical of their present attitude: "One time I stopped there [Pembroke, i.e., the station in the Indian community] waiting in the colored waiting-room. One of the Croatan women said: 'What are you doing there, you are not a nigger? You don't belong in there. Let me show you where to go.' And she went ahead of me in the white waiting-room and told the man I was an Indian and did not belong in there. When she left, I went back to the colored waiting-room."

and those who claimed to be Indians set themselves apart as a distinct race, the members of the colored community in Columbus County ceased to regard their group as a peculiar race and came to think of themselves as a part of the general Negro population. However, this was accomplished only gradually, for they still took pride in their free ancestry, calling themselves the "Old Free Issue," and held themselves aloof from the emancipated Negroes, or the "New Free Issue."[28] Then, there were some who, rather than accept the status of Negroes, entered the white race. But the vast majority have become influential elements in the Negro population as the idea of their racial exclusiveness has died out. As a substantial group of landowners, they have maintained strictly patriarchal ideals of family life and formed the backbone of Negro religious and educational institutions in their community. Moreover, they have furnished teachers and farm demonstrators in different parts of the state; while from the two principal families in the communities came two of the three men responsible for the well-known business enterprises in Durham.

The other communities of mixed-bloods to which we can give only passing attention are situated in Alabama. One of these communities is in Baldwin County, where we find a group of people who call themselves "Creoles" but are

[28] One old woman described their attitude toward the emancipated blacks as follows: "The tribe is all mixed up now more than they used to be. During the old times we had a separate feeling. We did not belong to the Negro or the whites. That's what started them to marrying first cousins. They were just freed about two miles from here. I guess you know how people just freed felt toward people of this settlement who had been free all of the time. We was what was considered the 'Old Free Issue,' and those just freed was the 'New Free Issue.' They did not have much [racial] mixture. They did not like us and we did not like them. They felt that they could not accept their inferiority."

known by their white neighbors as "Nigger Creoles."[29] Mr. Bond, who came across them while testing the Negro school children in Alabama, gives the following account of the legend concerning their origin:

> There is a legend in the countryside that the community goes back in its history to the days when the Spanish Main harbored numerous pirates and freebooters in the little inlets along the Gulf Coast. A portion of these Carib marauders, so the legend goes, maintained a rendezvous on the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, where these people now live. There is a little bay that bears the name of one of the largest families in the community, and that name belonged to a distinguished member of the piratical elect of the days of Jean Lafitte and his predecessors. To this little Eden, so the story goes, the robbers of the sea brought their spoils for division. Naturally, a considerable portion of these rewards of piracy were in the nature of feminine consignments. Their women were of all races: Negroes, Spanish, French and English. The hybridization begun in this way has produced the people here described.[30]

Another community of similar racial composition, which is located across the bay in Mobile County, has gradually disintegrated. Its inhabitants have intermarried with Negroes and have accepted teachers with Negro blood "if they were sufficiently light to 'pass' for Creoles, and if they were good Catholics." Social disorganization is also indicated by the cases of open concubinage between "Creole" women and white men. However, the "Creole" community in Baldwin County, which accepted Negro teachers forty or fifty years ago, has erected barriers against the Negro as a means of resisting

[29] Horace Mann Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 552–67.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 561. The white member of Mr. Bond's party gave the test because, when it was found out that Mr. Bond was of Negro descent, he was told by the white teacher: "Well, I'll tell you; of course I'm not prejudiced, but if some of these Creoles heard that a nigger was up here giving tests to their children, I don't know what would happen" (*ibid.*, p. 557).

the forces of disintegration. At the present time their homes, surrounded by whitewashed fences and well-kept yards and well-tilled fields, stand in marked contrast to the destitution and disorderliness of the plantation Negro. The high scores —above national standards—of the school children are probably a reflection of the generally high social and economic status of this well-knit rural community which prides itself upon its race and keeps alive its traditions of a noble past.

The other "racial island" in Mobile County is composed of a group of mixed-bloods who call themselves Cajuns.[31] This community of hybrids presents a depressing picture of poverty and social decay. Instead of churches supported by staunch believers, as in the case of the Catholic "Creoles," there are Baptist and Methodist missions housed in old weather-beaten, ramshackle buildings and supported by outside sources. These churches serve as schoolhouses for the children, whose backwardness surpasses even the Negro children on the plantations. Yet these same children are quick to inform any visitor that they are Cajuns, "Injuns an' white folks, all mixed up," and that there "aint had no nigger blood" in them.[32] In wretched rented cabins scattered about in the barren hill country, these people eke out a miserable existence through the cultivation of sparse upland cotton and sweet potatoes, the only crops that the soil is

[31] "Whether the Cajuns of Alabama bear kinship to those of Mississippi and Louisiana is a matter of question. The word itself is a corruption of 'Acadian' or 'Arcadian' and their derivation is claimed by the historians of Louisiana to be from those French-Canadians dispossessed by the British in the eighteenth century and immortalized by Longfellow. Not a single person could be found in the Mobile County community, however, who knew of this origin, or claimed it. They admit readily the racial heritage from the Indian, but deny as strongly as the Creoles of Baldwin County the presence of any 'Negro taint' " (*ibid.*, p. 562).

[32] Nevertheless, many of the Cajuns show signs of Negro blood.

capable of producing. Contrasting the decay of this community with that of the "Creoles," Bond writes:

"In these Cajun communities where the families are brought in open contact with the white world the demoralization seems to be even more thorough. The Creoles simply disappear, while echoes of the Cajuns linger on in tales of licentious conduct, concubinage with both white and black men, and altogether a lingering survival of the disorganization now patent in the community, but even more raw and unpleasant when exposed to the probing of forces from two sides.[33]

The social and economic conditions of the Cajuns are similar in many respects to the situation which two investigators found in an isolated community of mixed-bloods in Virginia.[34] According to the authors of this investigation, the Wins—the name by which they are designated in the study—started from "four fountain heads; one a white man named Brown, and the other three from Indians, named respectively Lane, Thomas and Jones," while the infusion of Negro blood came at a later date through matings with Negroes, both slave and free.

A white man named Brown married a Dolly Thomas, either a full-blood or a half-blood Indian. These two had many children, half-breeds, by the name of Brown, which children have in turn married and their descendants are now found in the Coon mountain regions of Ab County. Dolly Thomas' father, William Thomas, was known to have been an Indian and lived on the Ban River in that county. It is not known, however, from what tribe he, or the other Indians to be mentioned came, whether Cherokee from the Southern Appalachians or Powhatan from Eastern Virginia or Tuscarora from Southeastern Virginia. It is evident that they were wandering Indians as Ab County never belonged to any particular tribe of Indians. Legend has it that

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 566.

[34] Arthur H. Estabrook and Ivan E. McDougle, *Mongrel Virginians: The Win Tribe* (Baltimore, 1926).

these Indians were travelling from their lands in the Carolinas on to Washington to see the Great Father just after the Revolutionary War and that for some reason these few stopped in Ab County. Another daughter of William Thomas married an Ed Jones, an Indian, on December 6, 1790, the official record of the marriage being found in the Ab Courthouse. This license does not state the color of the people concerned here. That fact is deduced from the statements of the people of Ab County and from the information secured from some of the older Wins. The son of this Ed Jones named Ned, and born about 1791, a half-breed, married his first cousin on his mother's side, a girl named Iders, and had a set of children named Jones, also half-breeds. These Jones have increased in number and now form at least one-half of the Win families now in the region. The name Jones is also found in Virginia in 1746 and later in what is now Ac County, this region being north of the James River. This name is white and in certain parts of the county a good name. A third Indian strain comes in through a John Lane, a full blood Indian, born 1780, his daughter having married into the half-breed Brown family.[35]

The descendants of these families became segregated from both the white and the Negro population because of their isolated situation in the mountains and the attitudes of the whites and Negroes. For the most part, they have carried on a precarious existence by raising tobacco, while a few have hired themselves as laborers to neighboring white farmers. Most of these people live in log houses or rough shacks on rented land. The school and chapel maintained by a missionary organization are indicative of the poverty and social disorganization in the community.

The authors attributed the economic inefficiency, the loose sex morals, and the low mental level of the people who form this group to the bad effects of racial mixture. They regarded the situation in this community as typical of the effects of the infusion of Indian and Negro blood in normal

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19.

white family stocks, which consequently become the bearers of the inferior racial traits of the Negro and Indian. But we have seen from our study of families of the same racial mixture who have formed communities in both the North and the South that they have been as often as not a very thrifty class with sound morals and have furnished many of the leaders in the Negro population. Therefore, in concluding this chapter, we shall first consider some of the cultural factors which seem to offer a sufficient explanation of the economic and social status of these communities and then attempt to estimate the influence of these families of white, Indian, and Negro ancestry that have become a part of the general Negro population on the development of Negro family life.

All these communities have been influenced in their development by their geographic location. The Jackson Whites, the Wins, and the Cajuns have been restricted to the barren hill country where they have carried on a struggle to secure the barest means of existence, whereas the communities in Ohio, New Jersey, and North Carolina have had a fruitful soil to draw on and have consequently achieved a relatively high standard of living. Geographic location has also been responsible for the isolation of these groups. But, in estimating the effects of isolation, we must discriminate between the different degrees and kinds of isolation to which they have been subjected. The Jackson Whites in the Ramapo Hills of New York, the Wins on Coon Mountain in Virginia, the Indian Mound settlement in the hills of Tennessee, and the Cajuns of the Alabama hill country have been more effectively cut off from communication with the outside world than the mixed-bloods of Darke County, Ohio, or the Gouldtown folk in New Jersey. Moreover, there

are more subtle ways in which these communities have been subjected to varying degrees of isolation. Although the mixed-bloods in these communities have been separated from the whites, the segregation has been, on the whole, more marked in the South than in the North. In the case of both the Ohio community and the New Jersey community there have always been beneficial contacts, sometimes intermarriage, between the mixed-bloods and the whites. In fact, whites in both cases were influential in the establishment of their religious and educational institutions. That isolation has been responsible for the low stage of civilization in some of these communities is further borne out by the fact that many who have migrated from these areas have achieved some distinction in the white as well as in the Negro world. Naturally, we have not been able to point specifically to such persons in the white world, but we have already noted the conspicuous roles which descendants of these families have played in the institutional life of the Negro. The authors of *Mongrel Virginians* record the fact that one of the two Negroes who sat in the United States Senate came from a hybrid community in North Carolina.[36]

In the institutional life of these communities was an additional clue to an understanding of the influence of cultural factors upon their social and intellectual development. Whereas, in the Ohio and New Jersey communities, well-developed educational and religious institutions with a century or more of history behind them, the people, also, are on a relatively high intellectual level. But, where we find institutions poorly developed, as among the Cajuns or Wins, or to a less extent among the Jackson Whites, we also find the people less capable. The relation between the culture of

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

two of these communities and the intellectual level of their inhabitants has been presented in a striking manner in the study by Bond. He found that, on the one hand, the children of the efficient, intelligent, and thrifty Creoles, whose well-founded institutions and traditions were still intact, gave scores higher than the national norms, whereas the children of the poor, ignorant, disorganized Cajuns, of the same racial mixture, who were supported by missions and possessed scarcely any traditions, gave scores below those of the plantation Negro.

What, then, have been the contributions of those families of mixed blood that have fused with the Negro to the development of Negro family life? First among these contributions was their part in strengthening patriarchal traditions. In all these hybrid communities where it has been possible to trace family traditions, male progenitors were reported as the founders of the family lines. This was a natural consequence of the fact that these family lines were established in most instances by pioneer settlers. This was especially true of the communities in Ohio and Tennessee. The founders of these families migrated during the pioneer days of America across the mountains into the wilderness and there laid out communities. Consequently, these families have had a long history of industry and thrift and a sturdiness of character that differentiate them from the mass of the Negro population. When they have intermarried with the Negro population, they have generally married into families of mixed blood but with a different background. The families that have issued from such alliances have generally assumed a patriarchal pattern.

But these families of mixed blood have influenced the behavior of the Negro in other ways. The children in such

families generally exhibit the restraint and self-discipline which have distinguished their forebears. For example, this may be seen even in their religious services which have been free from the extreme emotionalism of the Negro masses. In fact, when a Negro minister with a religious background of the masses has occasionally been assigned to these communities, he has been forced to modify his mode of preaching to be acceptable to their pattern of religious worship. It is no wonder that the descendants of these mixed families have often been regarded as queer by the general run of Negroes because they exhibited a firmness of character and a self-sufficiency unknown to their more pliable and sociable Negro associates. Although the peculiar cultural traits of these mixed families have been modified as they have increasingly mingled with the general Negro population, nevertheless, they have tended to enrich the family traditions of the Negro and give stability to his family life.

CHAPTER XII

BLACK PURITANS

Those elements in the Negro population that have had a foundation of stable family life to build upon have constituted in communities throughout the country an upper social class, more or less isolated from the majority of the population. Up until the first decade of the present century, their numbers were slowly increased by other families that managed to rise, as the favored families in the past, above the condition of the Negro masses. Generally, these families have attempted to maintain standards of conduct and to perpetuate traditions of family life that were alien to the majority of the Negro population. Where they have been few in numbers, they have often shut themselves up within the narrow circle of their own families in order not to be overwhelmed by the flood of immorality and vice surrounding them. In some places they have been numerous enough to create a society of their own in which they could freely pursue their way of life and insure a congenial environment to their children. Often, intensely conscious of their peculiar position with reference to the great mass of the Negro population, they have placed an exaggerated valuation upon moral conduct and cultivated a puritanical restraint in opposition to the free and uncontrolled behavior of the larger Negro world.

In general, homeownership since emancipation offers the best index to the extent and growth of this class of families in the Negro population. By 1890, or a quarter of a century

after emancipation, 22 per cent of the families on farms had bought homes; while in the cities and small towns of the country a sixth of the families were living in their own homes. During the next decade homeownership increased slightly in both rural and urban areas; but after 1910 the proportion of farm families owning their homes declined and by 1930 had reached less than 20 per cent. This decline coincided with the rapid urbanization of the Negro and the increase in homeownership in cities. We find in 1930 the highest amount of homeownership among the rural-nonfarm families, with one family in three owning its home. Variations in the extent and trend of homeownership during this period can also be observed in the different states.[1] However, the statistics for the various states fail to give us any clue to an understanding of the character and role of this favored group in the development of Negro family life. We must see these families as a part of the communities in which they have been a leavening element for the masses.

We shall turn first to those rural areas in the South which we have already viewed from another standpoint.[2] As we have seen, in the two counties in the plantation regions of Alabama and Mississippi, there has been very little farm ownership. In 1910 only 7.5 per cent of the Negro farm families in Issaquena County, Mississippi, owned their homes; while in Macon County, Alabama, where the situation was slightly better, 11.3 per cent were homeowners.[3]

[1] See Table 14, Appen. B.

[2] See chap. vi above.

[3] The proportion of Negro families owning their homes in Issaquena County was about half as great as that for the entire Negro population in Mississippi; in Macon County it was slightly less than the average for Alabama (see Table 14, Appen. B).

However, even in the plantation region where farm ownership is at a minimum, the mulatto families have some advantage over the black families.[4] The family histories of two of the mulatto owners in Macon County will show how they are differentiated culturally in many cases from the majority of landless black tenants.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMES OF NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO CLASS OF HOME AND TENURE

CENSUS	ALL HOMES			FARM HOMES			OTHER HOMES		
	Owned	Rented	Unknown	Owned	Rented	Unknown	Owned	Rented	Unknown
1930....	23.9	73.1	3.0	19.3	77.4	3.3	26.4	70.8	2.8
1920....	22.3	74.0	3.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1910*...	23.3	76.7	.....	25.2	74.8	.....	22.0	78.0	.....
1900*...	21.7	78.3	.....	25.4	74.6	.....	19.0	81.0	.....
1890*...	18.7	81.3	.....	22.0	78.0	.....	16.7	83.3	.....

* Unknown tenure distributed between owned and rented.

The head of the first of these families was a mulatto, fifty-eight years old, who was born in an adjoining county. His father, who was born a slave, was the child of a white man. The father managed to accumulate five hundred acres of land which his fifteen children helped him to work. He exchanged this land for land in Macon County a little more than forty years ago in order that his children might be near Tuskegee Institute, though none of them ever attended that school. The father left his land to his fifteen children, nine girls and six boys. Three of the brothers, including our informant, are still on the land. Our informant, who has been in the present house forty years, is the father of eighteen

[4] See Table 4, Appen. B.

children. He has kept a careful record of his children's births in a book. Twelve of them were by his first wife, who died in 1919, and the remainder by his second wife, whom he married soon afterward. All the children by his first wife are living, except two who died in infancy. His present wife continues to cook for a white family in which she was employed when she married. Three of the older children are married and live in Montgomery, while the remaining thirteen continue to be a part of the patriarchal household. The family occupies a large well-built four-room house.

The head of this family was the superintendent of the Sunday school connected with the Baptist church in which he has been a deacon "for years." Because of his superior education and position as a landowner in the community, he serves as a clerk in the church and conducts the prayer meetings.

His farm consists of a hundred and sixty acres, fifty acres of which are in cotton. He owns farm tools, including two sweep stocks, two turn plows, three cotton-planters, and a mowing machine. He also has two mules and four cows which give three gallons of milk a day. His family enjoys a varied diet of beans, peas, peppers, squash, collards, and cabbages from the garden. Though a landowner, he is nevertheless dependent upon the vicissitudes of the agricultural and credit system of the plantation region. Although he "came out even" in 1930, as he remarked, "back debts et us up." The local bank foreclosed on its thousand-dollar mortgage, and he has been making an effort to redeem his land. His two brothers were in the same situation with regard to their holdings.

The history of another family of mixed blood, that owns one hundred and sixty acres and rents four hundred acres

of land which is sublet to tenants, will show how the stabilizing of family relations has been bound up with the growth of institutional life among this favored class. The head of this family was born in 1880. According to his story, he was the son of the mulatto daughter of a white man and "a pure Negro excusing him being mixed with Spaniard." Both of his parents were slaves. He was one of ten children and worked for his father until he was twenty-one. He married as soon as he was "emancipated" from the authority of his father. After working six years, he bought the farm in 1907. He attributed his success and desire to have a home to the example set by other colored people, particularly those at Tuskegee. He remarked:

> I guess it was the inspiration I got when I was quite a boy. You see I worked around white people and I always had the idea that I wanted something too; then I used to go to Tuskegee and see how other colored folks lived and that encouraged me to have the idea to own my own home. I felt like a man ought to own the very best home he could get. I just went to rural schools. My father farmed about a half a mile back east of here.[5]

But we are able to get a further insight into the process by which this family has become stabilized and built up a tradition from other facts in the family history. His grandfather was one of the first deacons in the church which he helped to start right after the Civil War. He explained with considerable pride: "My grandfather was the first one to go there [the church], my father the second, I am the third, my children the fourth and I have some grandchildren who go there which make the fifth generation which practically have been going to that church."[6]

There were seven children in the family, two of whom

[5] Manuscript document.

[6] Manuscript document.

were boys, twenty-four and eighteen years of age, helping their father on the farm. The oldest daughter was teaching school, while two of her younger sisters were married and living away from home with their husbands. The remaining five children were living at home with their father and a stepmother whom their father had recently married after being a widower for eight years. The house, with its screened windows and rambling rose bushes and vines and potted plants on the porch, stood out in sharp contrast to the hovels inhabited by the multitudes of tenants on the surrounding plantations. Of the six tenant families—three on the rented land and the others on the owned land—five were working "on halves" with an "advance" of ten dollars a month. Although, on the whole, this landowner had been successful, during the previous year he had lost money, while during the current year his tenants for the first time had "come out in the hole."

The well-organized family of a sixty-one-year-old black landowner, who called himself "a pure nigger," shows how, in some cases, those families with a small heritage of stable family traditions and culture create about them communal institutions to maintain and perpetuate their ideals and conceptions of life. When, upon reaching maturity, this man was "emancipated" by his father, he followed the instructions of his father, who had been a slave, and bought his first twenty acres of land. From time to time he added to it, and, with what he received from his father, he owned one hundred and twenty acres in all. He and his wife had been married forty-one years and had an only child, a son, who was born a year after they were married. This son, who was married to a woman with whom he "was raised up," had seven children. Since he was the only child, the mother

had wanted him to remain with his parents; but he had reasoned with her thus: "Mamma, papa went to work and bought him a home and when my children get grown, I want them to see something I have done." So the son acquired a place about a mile away. Nevertheless, he sends his children to the school which, like the community, has been given the name of the family, because his father gave the land for its construction. Although there have been no lodge meetings since the "Mosaics went down," and "community meetings are held mighty seldom," they still get together when they want to "transact any business about just one thing and another for the benefit of the school."

These families are representative of the relatively few families in the plantation area which have managed to forge ahead because of their superior family heritage and thrift. But, like the great mass of Negro tenants, they have been restricted in their development by the plantation system. Their numbers have remained practically stationary in spite of programs encouraging landownership and scientific farming. Individual thrift and a superior social heritage have, in the final analysis, been powerless in the face of the inescapable economic forces inherent in the plantation system. Migration has offered the only escape from the deadening effects of the poverty and the ignorance of the masses of tenants. The decrease, during the decade from 1910 to 1920, in the proportion of mulatto families in Issaquena County, Mississippi, is an indication of this selective migration. On the whole, it is only in those regions outside the plantation area that family life among the rural Negro population has reached a relatively high level of development with the support of an organized community. The development of the Negro family in Hertford County, North Carolina, is rep-

resentative of family life in those areas outside the domination of the plantation system.

Homeownership among Negro families in North Carolina has increased steadily from 19.4 per cent in 1890 to 28.2 per cent in 1930.[7] In Hertford County, where the proportion of Negro owners of farms has been slightly higher than the average for the state as a whole, it was practically the same as the state average in 1930. Although a relatively larger number of the mulatto families are homeowners, the black families in this county are much better situated in regard to homeownership than even the mulatto families in the plantation counties. A little more than a fifth of the black families and about a third of the mulatto families were homeowners in 1920.[8] In this county, where 40 per cent of the families are of mixed blood, we can see how the blacks, who received their freedom as the result of the Civil War, and the mulattoes, who have had a longer history of freedom, have each contributed a stabilizing element to the family life in this community.

In this county, as we have seen, the illicit unions between white men and mulatto women, which were responsible for the large mulatto class, continued on a large scale until the opening of the present century.[9] But there was a small group of families of mixed blood that had taken on an institutional character and conformed to conventional mores. In 1830 there were 168 free colored families in this county, 7 of whom were owners of slaves. Although it was not possible to trace the descendants of all these families, we were able to obtain fairly good histories of three families. A descendant of one of these families was able to give an account of six genera-

[7] See Table 14, Appen. B.

[8] See Table 4, Appen. B.

[9] See p. 136 above.

tions of the descendants of one of the free colored men listed in the 1830 census. From the son of another of these free heads of families, we were able to get an account of his father and his descendants. Our informant was born in the county, April 11, 1845. His mother was the daughter of a freeborn mulatto,[10] who owned his home and was married to a free mulatto. His father, whose mother was a white woman, was also regarded for some time as a free colored person. According to our informant, his paternal grandfather fought in the Revolutionary War and drew a pension and later received a farm from the government in Tennessee, which he exchanged with a white man for land in the county. He told the following incident regarding the uncertainty concerning his father's racial identity:

In those days the free born couldn't have a gun without license. My father had a gun and was indicted for toting a gun without license. J—— A——, a white man who owned a lot of land, told him to stand trial. He stood trial and when the case came up he denied the charge and said he was a white man. A—— rose and said he knew his white mother. A—— said, "she was a blue-eyed white woman." Did you know his father? was the next question. What did he look like? It was said that he looked like a white man. That cleared father.[11]

Although his father was legally married to his mother, he left her after five children were born and was freed from supporting his family by proving himself a full-blooded white man.[12] Our informant was pressed into service by the

[10] His name was listed in C. G. Woodson's *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, D.C., 1925).

[11] Manuscript document.

[12] The subsequent history of this man's white descendants is interesting because it shows how whites have become identified with the Negro race in some instances. He entered an illicit union with a white woman who had had two colored children. His two white daughters by this woman identified themselves with the colored race in order not to be separated from their

Confederate Army, but managed to escape at Edenton Bay to the Yankee fleet. He is receiving a pension at present for service rendered in the Union Army as a member of a heavy-artillery company. He was married twice, the first time in 1867, and the second time in 1902 to a girl just sixteen. By his first wife he had seven children and by his second, five. Two of the daughters by the second marriage are teachers in the county, while some of his children have gone North and entered the white race. Some of the children and grandchildren of his brothers and sisters are living in the county. He boasts of the fact that he has never been in any kind of trouble, having never had "a lawsuit or been arrested in the army or anywhere else."

The history of another of these free mulatto families will serve to show the role which these families have played as a stabilizing element in this community. This family has had family reunions for forty years or more. When the family reunion took place in 1930, there were grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and four great-great-grandchildren present in the ancestral homestead to pay respect to the memory of the founder of the family, who was born in 1814 and died in 1892, and his wife, who died in 1895 at the age of seventy-one. His only living son, eighty-four years old, who was the secretary-treasurer of the family organization, was unable to attend because of illness. The founder of the family had inherited the homestead from his father, who was listed among the free Negroes in 1830. A minister, who had founded a school in the community in 1885 and had known him intimately, described him as "an old Puritan in his

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colored half-sisters. One of the white daughters had an illegitimate son by a white planter. Although this son was white, he was identified with the colored group and has married into the mulatto community described below.

morals and manners and the only advocate of temperance in the county" when he came there to work. This minister had been the first colored minister elected to the church, which the founder of the family had helped to establish in 1852 for the mulattoes.

The meeting was opened with a hymn, chosen because of its theme, "Leaning on the Everlasting Arm." The widow of a son of the founder of the family spoke of the necessity of the children's "walking in the straight path" that the founder "had cut out." Her daughter, a recent Master of Arts from Columbia University and the vice-principal of a colored high school in a large eastern city, had returned to the family reunion. Another granddaughter read, as was customary, a paper embodying the history of the achievements of the family and a eulogy of their ancestors.[13] The program included a prayer service after which dinner was served. The ceremony was ended by a visit to the family burying-ground where there is a tombstone bearing the names of the founder and his wife and the date of their birth and death.

It was pointed out above that the mulattoes in this county have shown, until recent years, considerable prejudice toward the blacks with the result that they tended to form separate communities.[14] In two such communities in this county, one taking its name from a mulatto family of free origin and the other from a black family of slave origin, we can see how the rural Negro family has become stabilized under the two very different sets of traditions. Information concerning the origin and history of "Whitetown,"[15] the

[13] See Doc. II, Appen. A.

[14] See p. 137 above.

[15] The name of this community, as well as that of the black community, has been changed.

mulatto settlement, was given by the present head of the settlement. Our informant's father, who was born in 1801 and lived within a half-mile of the present settlement, was married twice and had eighteen children in all. The hundred acres of land which he owned were divided among the nine children, who were living at the time of his death. Our informant, who was born in 1853 and has the appearance of a white man, is still active. Although he sold his share for thirty-five dollars, he purchased more land from time to time until he acquired seven hundred acres, the size of the present settlement. The settlement became known by the name of the family around 1860. There was a school in the settlement at the time taught by a member of one of the other mulatto families. Our informant boasted of the fact that, when the "grandfather clause" was passed in order to disfranchise colored voters, he was the only colored man in the near-by town who could vote.

At present there are in the settlement ten children and thirty grandchildren of our informant. His brother, who also lives in the settlement, has six children and one grandchild. Working under the control and direction of the head of the settlement, the children and grandchildren raise cotton, corn, peanuts, peas, and tobacco. In this isolated community with its own school this family has lived for over a century. There has been considerable intermarriage between cousins. They have refused teachers appointed by the county unless they have been very light mulattoes. The family attends a church which was established by a mulatto minister for their benefit. These closely knit families have been kept under the rigorous discipline of the older members and still have scarcely any intercourse with the black people in the county. Seeing these families with their blond and

red hair and blue eyes working in the extensive tobacco fields, one would take them for pure Nordic stock.

The other community, composed of black families who boast of pure African ancestry, grew out of a family of five brothers, former slaves, and is known as "Blacktown," after the name of the family. Although the traditions of this community do not go back as far as those of Whitetown, the group has exhibited considerable pride in its heritage and has developed as an exclusive community under the discipline of the oldest male in the family. The founder of the community, the father of our informant, was reared in the house of his master. According to the family tradition the master, "Major Black," was "one of the best white men in the section." Just before he died he called around him all the Blacks, who had taken his name, and said, "I have treated you all right; if I have wronged you, I beg your pardon." The old mansion, which is still standing, is inhabited by the grandson of the major. The paternal relations of slave days are maintained by the grandson and other descendants of the major. When one of the brothers of the original head of the Negro community died, a son of the major came from Norfolk, Virginia, to be present at the funeral.

The boundaries of the present community are practically the same as those of the old plantation, a part of which is rented from the grandson of the major. But most of the land is owned by this Negro family. The oldest of the five brothers was, until his death fifteen years ago, the acknowledged head of the settlement. At present the next oldest brother is recognized as the head of the community. His two sons, one of whom was our informant, have never divided their 138 acres. He and his three brothers, with their

children numbering between forty and fifty and their numerous grandchildren, are living in the settlement. Twelve of their children have left the county, and three are living in a near-by town. Our informant left the community thirty-four years ago and worked at hotel work in Boston and as a longshoreman in Philadelphia, but returned after five years away because he was needed by the old folks and longed for the association of his people. One of the sons of the five brothers who founded the settlement is both the teacher of the school and the pastor of the church which serve the needs of the settlement.

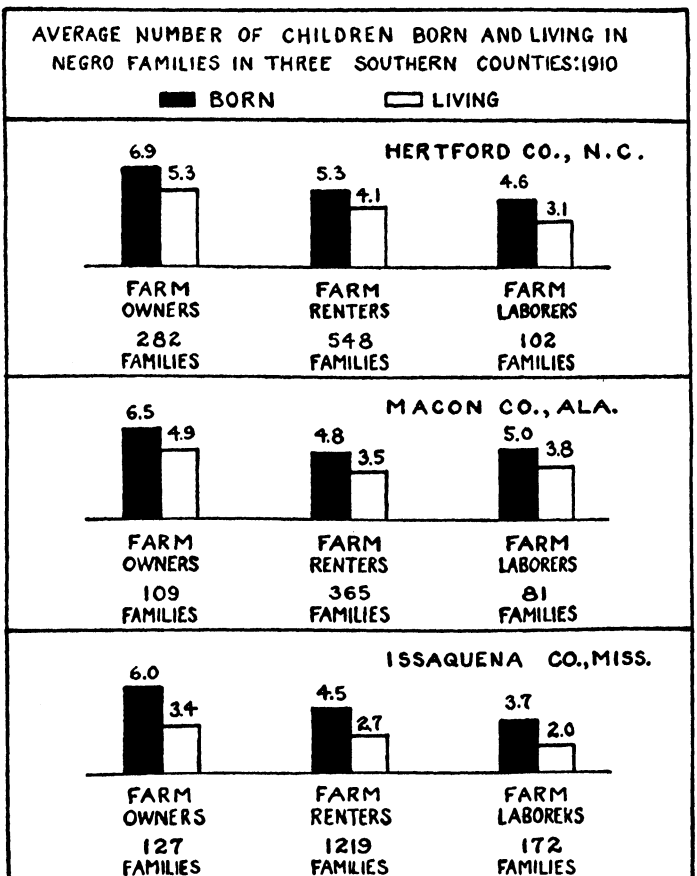
These settlements are distinguished from similar clans of blood relatives in the plantation regions of the South by their higher economic status and their deeply rooted patriarchal family traditions. They represent the highest development of a moral order and a sacred society among the rural Negro population. This development has been possible because economic conditions have permitted the germs of culture, which have been picked up by Negro families, to take root and grow. This has been the case with the blacks, as well as with the mulattoes, who, on the whole, have enjoyed superior advantages. Although the mulattoes have less illiteracy, more homeownership, and comparatively fewer broken families with a woman head,[16] the farm-owners among both classes in this county and the plantation counties as well have a larger number of offspring and more children surviving than the renters and farm laborers in either class (Diagram I).[17] There has been sufficient isolation to shield these families from the disorganizing effects

[16] See Table 1, p. 128, above.

[17] See Table 16, Appen. B; see also Table 15, Appen. B, for the survival of children in black and mulatto families in these counties.

of industrialism and urban life but not enough to produce stagnation. But, as we have observed before, roads and

DIAGRAM I



automobiles are gradually destroying the isolation of these regions in the South. Some of the younger generation are venturing into the outside. During 1931 a member of the

younger generation in both the black and the mulatto settlements was arrested and punished for transporting illegal liquor.

From these rural communities we turn now to the towns of the South, where amid the shacks and hovels inhabited by the mass of Negro population, a homestead here and there gives evidence of higher aspirations and some heritage of culture.[18] Negroes in the towns and small cities of the South have been constantly drawn from the plantations to work as laborers on road construction, in the mills and the factories, and as domestics in the white families. Usually in these towns and cities there has been a small group of families who have remained segregated from the mass of the Negro population because of their superior economic and cultural status.[19] In some of these communities there has been a single family that has stood out from the mass of the Negro population and endeavored to maintain the standards of family life that were foreign to the masses. A young woman, a teacher, who came from one of these communities tells of the life of her family in a town in Georgia. Her father was the son of a Negro woman and a white man. His white half-sisters became interested in him and helped him to enter one of the Negro colleges established shortly after the Civil War. On her mother's side there had also been some cultural advantages that raised her above the masses of the Negroes. Her maternal grandmother had been a house servant during slavery, and her children were later given instruction by the family that once owned her as a slave. One

[18] In 1910 a fourth of the urban Negro population was living in cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants.

[19] See W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in the Black Belt: Some Social Sketches* ("Bulletin of the Department of Labor" No. 22 [Washington, 1902]).

of these children, her mother, had been encouraged to attend the same school which her father attended. The courtship between her mother and father began while they were in college. Two northern white women, who became interested in her mother and sent her to the Latin High School in Boston, gave her two buildings to start a school in the town of her birth in Georgia. Her father came to teach in the same school and married her mother. The story of her mother's efforts to establish the school and her family's attempts to maintain their own moral standards in the face of the degradation of the masses was related by her as follows:

Our life around M—— was very seclusive. Nowhere to go and nobody to associate with. We were taken away for the summer for vacation to see a little of the world. When my mother first established the school there was a quite a bit of opposition. They thought it was at first a Congregational School and they sought to burn it down. She would have to sit up at night with a shawl around her shoulders to watch the buildings going up. Eventually a fire was started but some of the neighbors put it out. After it was erected they kept the children home—they were not going to have any "Congregations" in their families. The people in the community were mostly all Baptists. They said the Congregationalists were not Christians. Although the people there were thrifty and many of them owned their own homes, they had very low moral standards. Our mother and father kept us away from them. It caused hard feelings. We were not allowed to associate with the masses. There was a lot of factories there—canning factories and every child about fourteen years of age had to work. Every year about school time there would be so many illegitimate children born to these girls. My sister and I were the only two girls who didn't work there at the factory.[20]

In the larger cities of the South where these families were more numerous, they were able to create a more congenial

[20] Manuscript document.

environment for their way of life. This was especially true of those cities where there already existed a group of families with several generations of free ancestry and where college communities were located. The development of Negro family life in New Orleans and in Charleston, South Carolina, had its roots among the colored people who were free before the Civil War.

In New Orleans the Civil War and emancipation and consequent industrial and social changes caused the disruption of the free mulatto caste. Many of the free colored people who had themselves been slaveholders were sympathetic toward the confederacy and in some cases participated in the conflict on the side of the South. A review of confederate troops held in New Orleans in 1861 included a regiment of fourteen hundred free colored men.[21] Between the people of this class and the newly emancipated blacks there was little community of interest or sympathy. Some of the members of the free colored caste acquired positions of influence during the Reconstruction Period. One of them was state treasurer from 1868 to 1879.[22] But, when white domination was once more established, the color line was drawn so as to include the former free people of color and their descendants and the former slaves in the same category, and both were subjected on the whole to the same restrictions. Although this brought about some solidarity of interest and feeling between the two classes, many of the descendants of the free colored caste withdrew to themselves, refusing even to send their children to the schools attended by colored people and Negroes of slave ancestry. One of the members of this class wrote concerning the broken morale of his group:

[21] *Negro Year Book, 1931–1932*, p. 329.

[22] R. L. Desdunes, *Nos hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal, 1911), p. 103.

Certain Creoles of our day are reduced to that point of moral impotence that they despise and repulse their kind, even their own parents. Instead of thinking of means of deliverance, they surrender to their weakness, without being able to determine what principles to follow or what resolutions to take, as if they wished to habituate their natures to absolute submission or the obliteration of their individualities. They live in a stage of moral enfeeblement which resembles the last stage of helplessness. In this state of deterioration they not only care little about raising their abased dignity, but they multiply their errors as if to increase their mortification.[23]

The rehabilitation of these families was often effected when they became the leaders of the Negro group or when they intermarried with the ambitious and rising families in the Negro group and mingled their traditions with those of the latter. This was the case with the family of one of the political leaders of the Negroes in the South. Although he was a mulatto, his wife's family, who belonged to the free mulatto caste, objected to their daughter's marrying him because he was a descendant of slaves.[24] The conflict in traditions and outlook on life was further revealed when the

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[24] Based upon family-history document. We can get some idea of the outlook of the free mulatto caste from the following excerpt from the family history as related by the daughter: "Upon the death of my grandfather (who was a butcher and had been killed by his slave), my grandmother married an independent tobacco manufacturer. There were twelve children by this second marriage. He and grandma, of whom I have a picture, appear to be white. He looks like an old Confederate solider. Grandma, when a widow, had refused to marry a man who had fought in the Union Army. She regarded him as responsible for losing her slaves. She consistently refused to salute the American flag. Once when she had to get a passport to go to New Orleans and was ordered to salute the American flag, she spat upon it and put it under her feet. She was not punished for this, either because she was a woman or because she was a beautiful woman. Until her death she regarded Abraham Lincoln as her enemy. Grandma strenuously objected to my father's marrying her daughter because my father was a descendant of slaves. All of her children who are living are now in the white race."

politician wanted their daughter to attend a Negro college and his wife who wanted her to enter a convent. As it turned out, the daughter, who married into the colored group and identified herself with them, became a leader of colored women in politics. Her daughter, who was completely identified with Negroes, married a successful businessman who has made a conspicuous success in manufacturing.

In Charleston the cleavage between the mulattoes of free ancestry and the emancipated Negroes, especially those of mixed blood, has never been as wide as in New Orleans. Doubtless, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, there was prejudice against admitting black Negroes into the "charmed circle of aristocracy," as one of the mulattoes referred to her class. But what distinguished these families chiefly from the great mass of the Negro population was not simply their light skins. They took pride in their economic and educational achievements and more especially their culture and purity in family morals.

The emphasis which this class generally placed upon morality in family relations is exemplified in the remark of a member of one of these families that migrated from Charleston to Philadelphia because of an assault during the slavery agitation. In speaking of the attitude of the old Philadelphia families toward the mulatto families from the South, she remarked: "The people there regarded all mulatto women from the South as the illegitimate children of white men, but in the case of our family we could boast of being legitimate."[25]

[25] Manuscript document. This family is reputed to have conducted the largest tailoring establishment in Charleston thirty years before the Civil War.

A brief sketch of the history of one of these old Philadelphia families will throw some light on the origin of the puritanical outlook of this class. The family in question traces its descent from the brother of Absalom Jones, who with Richard Allen organized the Free African Society in 1787. After he broke with Allen, he founded St. Thomas' Protestant Episcopal Church.[26] This pioneer minister's nephew, who was the father of our informant, lived to be ninety-two years of age. As a boy he was bound out, as was customary, to a barber. Later he became the proprietor of three barber shops in the business section of the city and served a select white clientele. Our informant took pride in the fact that his father was one of the founders of the Central Presbyterian church in 1844 and later wrote its history. He married into one of the old families, one of whose members was appointed to a diplomatic post by the government. There were sixteen children, including our informant. Five of our informant's sisters became schoolteachers, one brother a barber, another a painter, and the remainder went into business. Our informant, who had completed over forty-three years in the Post Office as a clerk, was also the secretary of a building and loan association. He was married to a woman who belonged to one of the old families in New Orleans. They have two daughters who are schoolteachers and a son who is a manufacturing chemist. Our informant still has the eye glasses which Absalom Jones wore and a chair in his living-room which belonged to his distinguished granduncle.

In other communities of the North where these families have settled they have formed nuclei of family groups that have striven to maintain purity in family morals as well as

[26] Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, 1928), pp. 148–49.

external forms of respectability.[27] Their numbers have been increased constantly by families that possessed the traditions of the rural families which we have given some account of in this chapter. This small group has been the custodian of the gains which the Negro has made in acquiring culture and civilization. In taking over the manners and morals of the whites, there has been in some instances a disharmony between form and content. But, in most families, insistence upon moral conduct has been supported by genuine sentiment. Where their moral vision has been out of focus and their conscious strivings to attain culture have produced artificiality, this has been due to their seeing themselves as if in two mirrors. They have seen themselves both in the mirror of their own race, whose ways of life they shunned and disdained, and in the mirror of the white race, in whose image they vainly would have made themselves over. On the whole, these families belong to an age that is past, or before the Negro became a dweller in the modern city.

[27] See e.g., W. B. Hartgrove, "The Story of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards," *Journal of Negro History*, I, 23–33, concerning a family that settled in Detroit. For a romantic but authentic account of the origin of a family that has played a prominent role in Negro life see William and Ellen Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (London, 1860). This family owed its origin to the courage and resourcefulness of a mulatto slave woman in Georgia who disguised herself as a young southern gentleman and with her black husband as her (his) valet, escaped to Boston. She spent some time in England in order not to be returned to the South.

PART IV

IN THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION



CHAPTER XIII

ROVING MEN AND HOMELESS WOMEN

The mobility of the Negro population which began as a result of the Civil War and emancipation tore the Negro from his customary familial attachments. As the old order crumbled, thousands of Negro men and women began to wander aimlessly about the country or in search of adventure and work in the army camps and cities. In order to meet this situation and at the same time to insure a steady labor supply, the South enacted severe laws to curb the vagrancy of the landless Negro. Although the North through congressional Reconstruction put an end to these laws which practically re-enslaved the Negro, northern industrialists and capitalists were not willing to permit the former slaves to divide and take title to the land of their former owners.[1] Consequently, the vast majority of the Negroes gradually settled down to a mode of life under a modified plantation system. A large number who had acquired migratory habits during the disordered period following the Civil War continued to drift from place to place. On the other hand, since Reconstruction, the migratory habits of the Negro have been constantly affected by the changing economic and social conditions in the South. It was due primarily to economic conditions that a mass movement was set in motion from Louisiana and Mississippi to Kansas and the West in 1879.[2] But, from then until the mass migra-

[1] Cf. James S. Allen, "The Struggle for Land during the Reconstruction Period," *Science and Society*, I, 378–401.

[2] Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migrations* (Washington, D.C., 1918), pp. 126–46.

tions during the World War, the mobility of the Negro has consisted of an inconspicuous but steady stream of individuals and families migrating from the farms to lumber and turpentine camps and into the towns and cities of the North and South.

By 1910 nearly one and two-third million Negroes had migrated from the state of their birth to other states.[3] Most of these migrants, a little over a million, had moved about in the South; while four hundred thousand had left the South and were living in the North. Most of these migrants had gone to southern cities, for we find that, whereas in the South as a whole 12.2 per cent of the resident Negro population was born in other states, 26.1 per cent of the Negroes residing in southern cities were born outside the state.[4] These figures give us no information on migration from rural areas to cities within the same state; nor do they afford more than a partial measure of the general mobility of the southern Negro. However, in regard to the general migration to urban areas in the South, we know that a million Negroes have moved into towns and cities since 1900. Unlike migrations to northern cities, this movement "has been spread among 78 places of 25,000 and over, and 773 localities of from 2,500 to 25,000."[5]

Among the million Negroes who deserted the rural communities of the South, there were thousands of men and women who cut themselves loose from family and friends and sought work and adventure as solitary wanderers from

[3] Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population: 1790–1915* (Washington, D.C., 1918), pp. 72–73.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Frank Alexander Ross, "Urbanization and the Negro," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI, 121.

place to place. Some of the men had their first glimpse of the world beyond the plantation or farm when they worked in sawmills, turpentine camps, or on the roads. Some of the women had their first experience with city life when they went to a near-by town to work temporarily for a few dollars a month in domestic service. But a large number of them had become accustomed to going to town on Saturday afternoons to escape the boredom of the rural community. Then, too, these towns offered comparative freedom from the religious restraints imposed by the rural churches. In the dance halls these simple peasant folk could give rein to their repressed impulses without incurring the censure of the elders for their "sinful conduct." Even before the cinema and the radio revealed a larger outside world of romance and adventure, they could hear from the mouth of some "Black Ulysses" fabulous stories of the outside world. Once having caught a glimpse of the world beyond the dull routine of country life, these men and women were lured on to a world beyond these small towns where they might enjoy even greater freedom and more exciting adventures.

In the lumber and turpentine camps one may get a glimpse of the free sex behavior and spontaneous matings which these roving men and homeless women form during their wanderings. These camps offer greater anonymity and freedom from social control than the small towns. They bring men and women from the farms in contact with men and women who have already had some experience in the outside world. Often some black troubadour meets a simple girl in the town and lures her with his romantic tales and strange words of love to take up her abode with him in the camp. In the dozen or more hastily constructed one-room wooden structures which comprise these camps, one can

find many such couples. Since these couples are drawn together by spontaneous attraction, in which physical desire usually predominates, their association is characterized by impulsive behavior. Quarreling and fighting as the result of outbursts of jealousy or slight irritations occur periodically.

The character of their association depends also on their past experiences. Men who have become hardened by their wandering life and believe that men should rule women with an iron hand often treat their temporary mates with brutality and only occasionally show any sympathy or tender feeling toward them. On the other hand, the men who have retained some of the humanity of their simple folk background may find in these women the response which their mothers once furnished. Therefore, one may find these men and women living together as married couples. The woman does the cooking and looks after her mate's clothing, while he furnishes the food and buys her a dress or gewgaw in town. But even such peaceful and happy associations are of short duration. The man or even the woman may take a "fancy" to another companion, or, when the camp breaks up, the man begins anew his wanderings. Deserted, the woman may return to her mother to seek forgiveness for her sin—the sign of which may be an illegitimate child. In other cases, the woman may follow her lover on his Odyssey.

From the lumber camp or small town the road to freedom and adventure and higher wages leads in the lower South to Montgomery or Birmingham or Memphis—"the home of the blues." These secular folk songs of the black troubadours in our industrial society record the reactions of the uprooted folk to the world of the city.[6] They tell of their

[6] Cf. Sterling A. Brown, "The Blues as Folk Poetry," in *Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany, 1930*, ed. B. A. Botkin (Norman, Okla., 1930), pp. 324–39.

disappointments and disillusionments and nostalgic yearnings for the sympathetic understanding and intimacy and security of the world of the folk which they have left behind. Handy, whose creations have captured the spirit of the urbanized peasant's disillusionment and disappointments, has embodied in the famous "St. Louis Blues" the plaint of the Negro woman who has lost her lover to the gilded city woman:

> St. Louis woman—wid her diamon' rings
> Pulls dat man roun' by her apron strings
> 'Twant for powder an' for store bought hair
> De man I love would not gone nowhere.

On the other hand, the sociologist may discover in the blues and more especially in the secular folk songs the general outlook on life and attitudes toward sex and family life of these wanderers. In fact, there is scarcely any phase of their wanderings and contacts with the urban environment that one cannot find touched upon in their songs. For example, as suggested above, some of these men take their women with them on their wanderings. The plight of one of these men whose "Georgia gal set de police" on him is told in the song which begins:

> Ain't yer heard my po' story?
> Den listen to me:
> I brung a gal from Tennessee.[7]

But as a rule these girls are dropped along the way, either to return home or probably to find a place in domestic service in the city.[8] Other women are picked up in the city. These strange women often prove unfaithful or treacherous.

[7] Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1926), p. 136.

[8] In a study of Negro women in household employment in Chicago, it was found that 51.1 per cent as compared with 1.9 per cent of the white women so employed were widowed, divorced, or separated. It is likely that many

An unknown wandering bard, who has learned that in the anonymity of city life woman cannot be trusted, sings:

I ain't never seed her befo'
Don't wanta see her no mo', baby
She say, "Come on, go to my house,"
She ain't nuffin but a roust-about, baby
She s'arch my pockets through
Den say, "I ain't got no need for you, baby."[9]

In fact, one may discover in the spontaneous responses of these strange men and women to each other the beginnings of romantic sentiments among the masses in the Negro population. Although their responses are based chiefly upon physical attraction, as a rule the physical qualities have taken on a romantic value. The romantic element is not entirely lacking in even so crude a song as that of the woman who complains:

I loves dat bully, he sho' looks good to me,
I always do what he wants me to,
Den he don't seem satisfied.[10]

Whatever the physical qualities—"teasing brown" or "slick hair" or "big hips"—they indicate an awakening of the imagination which contrasts sharply with the unromantic attitudes of the peasant Negro toward sex and mating in the isolated rural communities of the South. In contrast to these crude songs, occasionally one comes across a simple song in which considerable tenderness is expressed. A good example of such songs is the following in which the woman sings of her man:

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of the women who gave their marital status under these three categories had lived irregular sex lives (see B. Eleanor Johnson, *Household Employment in Chicago* [Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 106 (Washington, 1933)], p. 35).

[9] Odum and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

I's dreamin' of you. . . .
Every night.
I's thinkin' of you. . . . .
All right.
I's wantin' you. . . .
Day an' night.[11]

In such songs one can detect the tenderness and sympathy which are responsible for those rare cases in which these roving men and homeless women in the city settle down to a quasi-family life and rear children. But usually the associations of these "tribeless" men and women, who live outside the public opinion of the Negro community, are of short duration and are characterized by bickerings over trifles, outbursts of jealousy, and violence. Often when the woman finds her lover unstable in his affection or the man discovers, in the language of this world, someone else in his "stall," the result is a stabbing or murder. In Odum's *Rainbow 'round My Shoulder* one may find a composite picture of the impulsive behavior of this group compressed in a single fictional character.[12]

The disillusionment and insecurity which these men experience in the city may bring back memories of the secure affection and sympathy of the wife or children whom they have left behind. This may bring a resolve, generally transitory and soon forgotten, to return to their kinfolk. One popular song embodies such a sentiment:

I gotta wife, Buddie,
With two little children, Buddie,
With two little children, Buddie,
Tell 'em I'm comin' home, Buddie, I'm comin' home.[13]

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[12] Howard Odum, *Rainbow 'round My Shoulder* (Indianapolis, 1928).

[13] Odum and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

So the Black Ulysses continues his wanderings from city to city. During the course of his wanderings in the South he may pick up lonesome women in domestic service who will satisfy his sexual cravings and furnish him with food and lodging for a night or two. Incidents in the career of one of these wanderers from Tennessee throw some light on the character of this mobile group. He began his sex experiences when fourteen as the result of the example and instructions of older boys. At the present time his sexual life is entirely of a casual nature. When he arrives in a city, he approaches women on the street or gets information on accessible women from men of his type. Usually, he goes up to lonely women in domestic service and wins their sympathy by telling them "hard-luck" stories of his life on the road. They take him to their lodgings, where he remains until his hunger as well as his sexual desires are satisfied, and then he takes to the road again. Occasionally, he sends a card to a woman to whom he takes a special liking, but usually he forgets them. In his own words, he tells the following story:

My mother is dead. My mother has been dead about sixteen years. I was a year old when she died. When my mother died I stayed with my step sister. My father he has been in ———, Tennessee and I have not seen him in a year and a half. My father has been married four times and all his wives died but one. My father was working in a saw mill and a log fell on his leg. My father did not go when my mother was buried, cause of his leg. My step sister took care of me till my father's leg got well and then he took me to my aunts. When my father's leg got well he took us to my aunt and then to ———, Tennessee. My auntie raised me up.

When I left home I went up through about Birmingham, Alabama. I live here with my brother, B., my half brother. I mean he lives in Chattanooga and I am on my way there now. I have two whole sisters

living and one whole brother. I have two half brothers living. My whole brother is in ——— with my father. He crippled and not got good mind. My cripple brother is 19. My sisters are one in Gordonville, Tennessee and one in Indianapolis. I went to school in Livingston. I went to school in all about eight months or nine months. You see, I'd go to school one day and the next day I would have to help my aunt wash or cut wood. I did not go to school every day.

Ever since I was nine years old, I been working for the white people, taking care of myself up til about nine or ten months ago. These people left and went to Chicago. I been to Chicago too. I went on a freight train. There were quite a good many people with me. That was the first time on the road. I came up here last night from Memphis. The train wrecked down in the yard, and I stayed there all night and came on in town this morning. I stayed in Memphis three days. The railroad bull run us out from Memphis. We had plans to make every state, but we got run out of there; and then I just come on through here on my way to Chattanooga. Nine months ago when I left home I went to Atlanta, Georgia. I left home on Friday afternoon and hoboed on a freight train and stayed there a week and one day. From Atlanta I went to Savannah, Georgia stayed there one day and from there to Shreveport, Louisiana for two days, then to Baton Rouge for four days. Then I went to New Orleans two days and then on to Chicago. I never stayed three days in Chicago. I stayed in the jungles. I went over by the New York Central Railroad and on out where the boats come in. That where I stay. Stayed there three days, then I went to Louisville, Kentucky. I wouldn't have stayed that long but I got lost. In Louisville, I just stayed here one day and came back down the L. & N. to Guthrie, Kentucky and from there back over to Milan, Tennessee and from there back to Jackson, Tennessee and from there over here. When I left home I went over to Atlanta, Georgia and see I came through here at different times I never stopped. There is a lot of places I have been but some I don't remember because I was sleep or did not know what the names of them was. I came out to California on a freight train. It took me three days to come over to El Paso, Texas and two days from El Paso to San Antonio, then a day and a night to Houston and a day to New Orleans and crossed the river and stayed in Baton Rouge and left

that night and went back to New Orleans. We sing songs as we ride along and when we stopped we sing them. [He sang the following:]

T.B. is all right to have,
But your friends treat you so low down;
You will ask them for a favor,
And they will even stop coming 'round.

I have been arrested one time. I was held up in Livingston, Tennessee. They kept me three days and turned me aloose. I was held up when somebody robbed a bank and they had been told the color and everything and was told to hold up everybody that come through there. This was over in Montgomery, Alabama. I have stole small things. I don't reckon I would care if I was turned over to officers, because I would have a place to stay. You see I don't have any particular place to go and stay, so I could stay there. I'd just have a place to stay.

[Concerning first sex experience:] I was fourteen years old then. That was how old I was when I first had that. When I go to these towns if I have money, I can find out from some of the boys. I never had no disease, nothing but measles, whooping cough, and something like that. I never had nothing else. I use a rubber sometimes. My father has syphilis. The doctor said he had it, that's how I know.

I am going to Chattanooga just to be going so I can stay the winter over there. I have a half brother up there and I stay with him until summer time. I try to get some work when summer comes. I don't know just what I'll do. I work a little in winter. The fairs are going on now and I can get a little work there. I didn't have any work to do and my father didn't have any. I went and got with other people and hit the road.[14]

As these men and women wander about, they slough off the traditional attitudes and beliefs that provided a philosophy of life in the world of the folk. A young man who came north during the migrations of war period furnishes the folowing naïve account of disillusionment and cynicism as the result of his experiences:

[14] Manuscript document.

I have come up pretty tough from twelve years old on up til I got to be a man. I come up hard, you know. Sometimes, I would not know where I could get a piece of bread. Sometimes, you know, I would only have a dime, and say I believe I will git me a sack of tobacco. Then you know, I would sometimes only have a nickel and would git me a sack of tobacco and leave that bread off. Well, you know, Mama always taught me that whenever I was out and down, she would say, "Well, the Christians, honey, you always go up to the Christians and ask them to give you something to eat, and they will." Well, the Christians would always give me good advice but that was all, so I just got so I wouldn't bother with them and whenever I wanted anything I used to make it to the gamblers.[15]

Although many solitary men and women made their way to northern cities before the war period, the number was considerably increased during and following this period. Naturally, it is difficult to get a measure of this mobile group of isolated men and women. It was not until the depression beginning in 1929, when the economic life of the rural South was disrupted and thousands of these unattached men and women sought relief in the towns and cities of the South and North, that we have even a partial enumeration of this group. For the country as a whole, unattached Negro transients constituted from 7 to 12 per cent of the total during the nine-month period, August, 1934, through April, 1935.[16] In the city of Chicago, to which many of these men and women have been attracted, during the first six months of 1934, there were 1,648 unattached Negro men and 64 unattached women, or 15.7 per cent of a total of 10,962 unattached men and women, who sought assistance at the Cook County Service Bureau for Transients in Chicago.[17]

[15] Manuscript document.

[16] *The Transient Unemployed* (Research Monograph III [Washington, 1935]), p. 33.

[17] From the records of the Cook County Service Bureau for Transients.

A glimpse into a few case records on these men and women will give one some idea of their background and character. In one case the water boy who has served as the theme of a well-known Negro work song comes to life:

A—— was born in Alabama in 1917. When he was about five years old, his father deserted his mother. A—— has six sisters scattered about the country, the oldest sister having been "raised by some people in Birmingham." When fourteen, he worked irregularly at a sawmill in Mississippi as a water boy. A—— was seventeen when he began his wanderings. He went first to New Orleans where he had his first sex experience into which he was initiated by older boys and men. After his first sex experiences, he began going each week to prostitutes whom he paid fifty cents. From New Orleans he took the road to Birmingham; then on to Nashville, Tennessee; thence to Memphis, and wound up in Chicago. When he came to the shelter he was ragged, wore shredded shoes, and was tired and footsore. A psychiatric examination—after people in the neighborhood about the shelter complained that he was constantly exhibiting himself—showed that he was a high grade moron.[18]

Another case is that of a normal boy twenty years old who constantly got into trouble at the shelter because he attacked southern white boys. Psychiatric examination revealed that he had developed a feeling that he was being imposed upon. This boy, who was born in South Carolina and had lost both parents at an early age, had been adopted by a childless couple. According to his story, his foster-father was very cruel, although his foster-mother treated him kindly. He ran away from home when he was ten to join a carnival and thenceforth wandered about the country. His migratory life had been interrupted during a term in a reformatory in New York.

Occasionally among these roving men one finds a Negro of West Indian origin:

[18] From case record (Chicago Service Bureau for Transients).

W—— was born in Bermuda, November 6, 1913. His father, who was said to be a heavy drinker, brought him to N——, New York, when he was four years old. W—— has never heard of his mother since. He claimed that he was deserted a year later by his father. According to the story of the father who was found employed on a farm outside of M——, New York, he had brought the boy to the United States when his wife deserted him to live with another man. He took the boy first to N—— and later to a city in New Jersey where "he adopted the boy out" to the people with whom they lived. After going as far as the fourth grade, the boy ran away to join a circus. From the time he was sixteen until he was twenty he crossed the continent "three or four times." He said that in every city he looked in the directory in the police station for his mother's name. Eleven years elapsed before the father heard from the boy. On that occasion, the boy tried unsuccessfully to get money from his father in order to escape a two month jail sentence for larceny in a city in Michigan.

A final case is that of an illiterate, homeless woman, forty-eight years old, who had been moving about the country for twenty-five years. She was born in Louisiana and had been neglected by her stepfather. She left Louisiana with a family for whom she worked and went to Colorado. In 1914 she came to Chicago because she had heard of the high wages. Shortly afterward, she returned to Louisiana and married a man who deserted her. Then she returned to Chicago for a brief period, only to return again to Louisiana. Her stay there was of short duration because she heard that work at good wages might be obtained in Kansas City. When this venture proved unsuccessful, she returned to Chicago and sought relief. For awhile, she maintained herself by working for her landlord after the death of his wife, and by selling bottles and junk. She makes her home in a dark, dirty empty room on the first floor of a dilapidated house in the slum area of the Negro community.

A recent study of twenty thousand homeless men, 10 per

cent of whom were colored, in the shelters of Chicago,[19] revealed that a large proportion of the cases represented family disorganization. A large proportion of these men, as shown in an analysis of 115 cases, had migrated

> from farms and villages in the heart of the Black Belt, leaving home at an average age of 16 when they had about a fourth grade education. Their movements generally constituted a criss-cross pattern, first within their own states, then becoming interstate, and finally resulting in a trip to a northern city and settlement there. This mobility was generally in connection with track labor and construction work. In addition, many Negroes secured jobs as Pullman porters, or waiters on diners. Thus enticed away from their parental home by types of labor which required mobility, these Negroes reached Chicago and here found few opportunities for employment and few relatives to assist them in their present economic crisis.[20]

Fifty-two per cent of these men claimed that they had been married; and, of these, three-fourths had simply deserted their wives.

A similar situation in regard to family disorganization was found among the 7,560 unattached Negro males registered with the Unattached and Transient Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City.[21] Slightly more than 42 per cent of these men were under thirty-five years of age. A study of a sample of 522 cases showed that, as in the case of the men in the Chicago shelters, 52 per cent had been married. However, about a third of them were separated from their wives and another 13 per cent claimed to be widowed, while only 5.7 per cent admitted that they had de-

[19] Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 38.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

[21] From the records of the Unattached and Transient Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau for the period December, 1931—January, 1936.

serted their wives or families. Only 1.5 per cent claimed that they had secured a regular divorce. But these figures provide only an inadequate picture of a small fraction of the large group of unattached men and women. Many more highly mobile solitary men and women without the aid of relief make their living by both lawful and unlawful means in the complex life of the city.

Generally by the time these wandering men and women reach the northern metropolis, they have lost much of their naïve outlook on life and have become sophisticated in the ways of the city. Their songs are no longer the spontaneous creations of the uprooted peasant who, disillusioned and lonely, yearns for the association of kin and neighbors. When they sing, they sing the blues which represent the conscious creations of song-writers who supply songs for more sophisticated sentiments and behavior. Often the men have learned ways of escaping the necessity of labor or have discovered ways of living by their wits. This involves gambling, dealing in stolen goods, engaging in "numbers," and other rackets. What is important in regard to these "tribeless" men and women is that they have become purely individuated and have developed a purely "rational" attitude not only toward the physical environment but also toward men and women. Consequently, we find some of these men maintaining themselves by exploiting women. In some of the bright-light areas of Negro communities in Chicago, Detroit, and New York, it is not unusual to hear these "pimps" boasting of the size of their "stables." Thus, sexual gratification has become entirely divorced from its human meaning and, like the women who supply it, has become a commodity. We can get some notion of the career of these men from the following excerpt from the history of one of them:

Z—— was born in a midwestern metropolis where he was put out of high school because of failures in his studies. Because of his athletic prowess and good looks he was taken up by a middle aged woman who owned a chain of beauty parlors. He even left home to live as a gigolo with this woman who had some means. With plenty of money in his pockets and a splendid automobile, he soon became known as a "big shot" in the underworld. When he fell in love with one of the young women employed by his paramour, the latter put him out. However, by this time he had established enough contacts in the underworld to maintain himself through a number of rackets. He continued to live with various women who supported him. This mode of living soon became a regular business. By adorning himself in synthetic jewelry and driving a high powered car, he attracted to himself women of the underworld. As he was unusually lucky in his gambling, he was able to amass a fairly large bankroll. Therefore, when news reached him that New York City was a fair field for rackets he staked his entire bankroll on the venture. He selected three pretty women and drove to the East. These women were displayed at the night clubs and the various rendezvous of the denizens of the underworld. He was accepted by the other "pimps" who maintained headquarters in one of the taverns. After a few years, he had established the proper connections and his fortune was made. He maintains a "stable" of four white and four Negro prostitutes; employs a physician to look after them; and assures them protection from the law.[22]

As to the attitudes of the women who have broken away from their families and wandered about the country, the following bit of self-analysis and history furnished by a woman in New York City is revealing:

My name is X—— and I've been operating in Harlem for three years from a private pilch. I don't go in for everything like most of these frowsies. I'm a straight broad. If they can't be natural I don't play no tricks. None of that freak stuff for me. I don't play the streets—I mean I don't lay every pair of pants that come along. I look 'em over first. I'm strictly a Packard broad. I only grab a drunk

[22] Manuscript document.

if he looks like his pockets are loaded with dough. If they get rough my man [pimp] kicks 'em out. When they're drunk they shoot the works. I've gotten over two hundred dollars, and so help me, the bastard didn't even touch me. He got happy just looking at me. Boy! this shape of mine gets 'em every time. I know how to wear clothes too. I've never been married. I could though. Plenty guys fell for me and wanted to take me to a preacher. They never had any real dough though, just guys. No flash, no car, no nothing, just guys. You know they lay you once and then off to a preacher. You want to know my early childhood. Well, it was hell. My mother never loved me and I never loved her. I never had a father and—I mean he never married my mother and her father never married her mother. I have a kid. Thank God, though, he's a boy. He will be able to give it and not have to take it like my mother and me. He's down South. I won't tell you where. I send him dough. He's only a kid—just five—ain't that funny? My kid, bless his soul, ain't never had a father either. I'm an only child and so is my mother and so is my kid. Having a kid, bless his soul, didn't make me go wrong. His old man was a swell guy. He sure loved me. He got drowned. He woulda married me. I loved him too. Oh, what the hell, what is love? All the guys know about love is a lay. My kid's old man and me were kids in Tennessee, well anyhow, right outside N——. We used to go to Sunday school together and to day school too. We started laying each other when he couldn't even dog water. You know how kids are. Well, we kept it up. My mother beat hell out of him and me too. Anyhow, it got good to me. He wasn't the only one who had me. We girls used to mess around a hell of a lot. I guess I was around about twelve when I really found out what it was all about. My mother said I had a white liver. I guess I have too. What the hell! She was a hell of a mother. Hell, when I was fourteen she tried to sick an old guy on me just because he had a good farm. Sure, I laid him a couple of times. He was so old though there wasn't a good one in him. He wanted to marry me. I got hell for turning him down. My kid's old man had my water on, though. Boy, he could go. I was fifteen when the kid was born, bless his soul. I worked for some damned good white people. They got hot as hell when they found I was knocked up. They sent me back home. My old lady raised some more hell. I stayed home till the kid

was born, then I got mother's job. I kept having guys. I'm honest, I like it. I sure can give it and I can take it, too. I've always been good looking—that's why I'm in New York today. A guy, he was a peach, took me to Chicago. My old lady didn't care—she was also peddling her can on the sly. When this guy got me to Chicago, I finds out he's married. It made no difference. We had one ball for a hell of a long time. Then, his old lady gets wise and tries to beat hell out of me. I gave her plenty. Anyhow, we moved to a new pilch. I got a job and I meets a swell guy. I mean he was a good looking guy. Well, he started me. I was so wild about him I'd a done anything. He got me located at the Y—— Hotel. I'm still crazy about this guy when he falls for another broad—a little sick yaller gal. I beat hell out of her and he kicked hell out of me. That gal made him quit me. She must have seen him kill a chinaman. Well, I had some dough stacked away, so I get a pilch and go for myself.

Most of the tricks I turned were with colored guys. Harlem is different. Here we only turn tricks with ofays [white men]. They're quicker and they don't squawk out loud if you roll 'em. They know they're in Harlem. I got to New York with a bunch who went to work Saratoga one summer. That's some town. I made more there in a day than I did in Chi in a week. We left Saratoga when the races ended and the joints closed up. I been locked up. I beat the rap though. The funny part about it is they picked me up in a numbers raid. We don't give all of our money to our pimps. I got a guy, though, who ain't a real pimp. Sure I help to keep him. You gotta have some one for protection when you ain't working.[23]

These cases represent, of course, the final stages of demoralization. Moreover, some of the men and women of the foregoing type are strangers to the background of the simple-minded peasant Negro from the South. But, it often happens that they are the children of migrants and, having been bred in the slum areas of northern cities, are more sophisticated than migrants from the South. The vast majority of

[23] Manuscript document.

the roving men from the South never get the "break" that would enable them to derive large incomes from preying on men and women. Many of them are reduced to the position of the itinerant bootblacks who may be seen soliciting shines at half-price on the curbs in Negro communities. Usually they manage to find a rooming-house in the Negro slum area and are able to save enough to pay a woman to stay with them for a night. Or they may find some impoverished and lonely woman with whom they live until one or the other drifts away or the association is ended in violence.

Some of the homeless women even in the large metropolis retain some of their naïveté. They may seek simply to form an association with some male in order to satisfy their desire for sexual satisfaction and companionship. On the other hand, the younger and more sophisticated ones may be adept in vice and crime. Some of the more sophisticated demand that their "daddies" keep them entertained by taking them to the cinema and the cabarets and use every art to enhance their personal attractions in order that their lovers are not lured away by some "hot mamma." Many of them take pride in the fact that they are "tough" and do not "fall" for "sentimental stuff." But, occasionally, these very same women, when memories of home are awakened, may reveal a hidden longing for the secure affection of their families or an abiding attachment to an illegitimate child that has been left along the way.

The solitary wandering men and women are in the majority of cases the debris, so to speak, thrown off by a bankrupt and semifeudal agriculture in the South. It is also true that in the process of adjustment to the urban environment in the North as well as in the South, thousands of mi-

grants become footloose and join the hosts of wandering men and women. These men and women have not only been uprooted from the soil but have no roots in a communal life and have broken all social ties. Their mobility has emancipated them in many cases from the most elementary forms of social control. Hence, their sex behavior and family life should be distinguished from the disorganized family life of the migrants, to which we shall now turn our attention.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FLIGHT FROM FEUDAL AMERICA

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF MIGRATIONS TO NORTHERN CITIES

The cityward movement of rural Negroes, which had sent a million migrants to hundreds of southern cities, became a great folk movement during and following the World War, when more than a half-million migrants descended upon four metropolitan areas of the North. Whereas hundreds of Negro families and thousands of solitary men and women had slowly filtered into cities all over the South, during and following the war, thousands of Negro families and even whole communities picked up their meager possessions and fled from southern plantations to northern industrial centers. In the South the migrants from the rural areas were swallowed up in the submerged Negro communities of southern cities; but, in the northern cities, the sudden irruption of trainloads of primitive peasant folk overwhelmed the comparatively small Negro settlements. The sudden descent of this vast human tide upon a few northern cities constituted a flight, replete with dramatic episodes, from medieval to modern America.

The sudden rush of these black hordes upon northern cities was due to the demand of northern industries for workers to fill the places left vacant in the lower ranks of labor by European immigrants who had moved up in the industrial world or had gone home to fight. Hence, the majority of the migrants were attracted to the four cities which needed the type of labor that their unskilled but brawny

arms and hands could supply.[1] In the East the glamour of Harlem in New York City lured them as well as the demand for dock and factory workers; while many were drawn to Philadelphia because of the unheard-of wages in her industrial satellite towns. In the West the story of the fabulous wages paid by Detroit's automobile industry and Chicago's stockyards had penetrated the remotest regions of the Black Belt. Thus this unprecedented demand for the labor of the black peasants of the South became "a new vision of opportunity, of social and economic freedom, of a spirit to seize, even at extortionate and heavy toll, a chance for the improvement of conditions."[2]

One of the migrants who aspired to "better" his "condition in life" sent the following letter to the *Chicago Defender:*

DYERSBURG, TENNESSEE, 5/20, 1917

The Defender, Negro News Journal,

MY DEAR SIR:

Please hand this letter to the Agency of the negro Employment Bureau—connected with your department—that I may receive a reply from the same—I am a practical fireman—or stoker as the yankee people call it—have a good knowledge of operating machinery— have been engaged in such work for some 20 yrs—will be ready to call—or come on demand—I am a married man—just one child, a boy about 15 yrs—of—age—a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church—and aspire to better my condition in life—Do me the kindness to hand this to the agent.[3]

But a letter from the Black Belt of Mississippi expresses more vividly the new vision of opportunity for social and economic freedom:

[1] See Appen. B, Table 19. See also Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples* (New York, 1932), pp. 47–48.

[2] Alain Locke (ed.), *The New Negro* (New York, 1925), p. 6.

[3] "Documents: Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916–1918," *Journal of Negro History*, IV, 303.

GRANVILLE, MISS., May 16, 1917

DEAR SIR:

This letter is a letter of information of which you will find stamp envelop for reply. I want to come north some time soon but I do not want to leve here looking for a job where I would be in dorse all winter. Now the work I am doing here is running a gauge edger in a saw mill. I know all about the grading of lumber. I have abeen working in lumber about 25 or 27 years. My wedges here is $3.00 a day 11 hours a day. I want to come north where I can educate my 3 little children also my wife. Now if you cannot fit me up at what I am doing down here I can learn anything any one els can. also there is great deal of good women cooks here would leave any time all they want is to know where to go and some way to go. please write me at once just how I can get my people where they can get something for their work. There are women here cookeing for $1.50 and $2.00 a week. I would like to live in Chicago or Ohio or Philadelphia. Tell Mr. Abbott that our pepel are tole that they can not get anything to do up there and they are being snatched off the trains here in Greenville and a rested but in spite of all this, they are leaving every day and every night 100 or more is expecting to leave this week. Let me here from you at once.[4]

Perhaps no city of the North held out a greater lure to the migrants than Chicago, the "home of the fearless, taunting 'race paper,'" the *Chicago Defender*.[5] It was through this paper that one migrant was assured of the "rumour about the great work going on in the north." From as far as Miami, Florida, he wrote in 1917:

DEAR SIR:

Some time ago down this side it was a rumour about the great work going on in the north. But at the present time everything is quite there, people saying that all we have been hearing was false until I caught hold of the *Chicago Defender* I see where its more positions are still open. Now I am very anxious to get up there. I follows

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 435.

[5] Charles S. Johnson, "The New Frontage on American Life," in Locke, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

up cooking. I also was a stevedor. I used to have from 150 to 200 men under my charge. They thought I was capable in doing the work and at the meantime I am willing to do anything. I have a wife and she is a very good cook. She has lots of references from the north and south. Now dear sir if you can send me a ticket so I can come up there and after I get straightened out I will send for my wife. You will oblige me by doing so at as early date as possible.[6]

A migrant from Houston, Texas, who wrote that he "would like Chicago or Philadelphia But I dont Care where so long as I Go where a man is a man," reiterated the recurring theme of many of these letters. However, the Negro migrant in seeking to escape the control exercised by the dominant race was unconscious of the personal crisis that he had to face in the unsympathetic and impersonal environment of northern cities "where a man is a man." He was to learn in the northern city that he had not only escaped from the traditional subordination to white overlords but had also cut himself loose from the moral support of relatives and neighbors. In some cases, the amazement which the northern metropolis first provoked left little room for lonely reflections. From Pittsburgh a man wrote to his "dear Pastor and wife":

I go to church some time plenty churches in this plase all kinds they have some real colored churches I have been on the Allegany Mts. twice seem like I was on Baal Tower. Lisen Hayes I am here & I am going to stay ontell fall if I dont get sick its largest city I ever saw 45 miles long & equal in breath & a smoky city so many mines of all kind some places look like torment or how they say it look & some places look like Paradise in this great city.[7]

This same migrant acknowledges in his letter, "I like the money O.K. but I like the South bettern for my Pleasure this

[6] "Documents: Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916–1918," *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 460.

city is too fast for me." It was the loneliness of the migrant which called forth his greatest protest against the formal and impersonal relations in the metropolis. Some were overcome at first by the pageantry of the large churches such as that described by the migrant in a letter to the sister whom she had left in the South:

I got here in time to attend one of the greatest revivals in the history of my life—over 500 people joined the church. We had a Holy Ghost shower. You know I like to have run wild. It was snowing some nights and if you didn't hurry you could not get standing room.[8]

However, after a short experience with the city church many of the migrants felt as the woman who described her loneliness and failure to find status in a large city church as follows:

When I was in the South I was always helping people, but I haven't been doing any of that work up here 'cause B—— Church is too large—it don't see the small people. I belonged to the Phyllis Wheatley Club at home and I was always helping people in my home. I seen lots of my people down here to the Armory. I was well known in my home. I saw quite a few people I knew down there. You see everybody mostly called me "Sister H——." They all knowed me. I was an Eastern Star when I was at home, but since I been here I ain't tried to keep it up. I would try and join a small church where the people would know me. 'Course I don't know so many people here. I been in B—— Church since 1920—went away and came back and joined again. The preacher wouldn't know me, might could call my name in the book, but he wouldn't know me otherwise. Why, at home whenever I didn't come to Sunday School they would always come and see what was the matter. I would even stay away just to see what they would say, and I would say, "Why, wasn't I there?" and then they would say, "No," that they had come to see what was the matter with Sister H——. 'Course I am a good woman and a good natured woman. People crushes me a lot of time but I don't

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 457.

say anything I just go off and cry—just see how some people step on your feet, and crush you.[9]

The experience of this woman is typical of many migrants who, failing to find status and appreciation in the large urban churches, seek the more intimate face-to-face association in the "store-front" churches that dot the poorer sections of Negro communities in northern cities. To what extent the Negro migrant valued his status in the church is indicated by a statement in a letter, sent by a migrant to his pastor in Alabama, that "his wife always talking about her seat in the church want to know who occupying it."

On the whole, the migrants, both in and out of the churches, are freed from the control exercised by the church and other forms of neighborhood organizations in the South. They need no longer fear the gossip of their neighbors or the disgrace of being "churched" if they violate the mores of the community.[10] Consequently, when these primary forms of group control are dissolved and life becomes more secular, the migrants become subject to all forms of suggestion to be found in the city. Moreover, since tradition and sentiment no longer furnish a guide to living, the migrant is forced to make his own valuations of conduct and thereby develops "rational" attitudes toward his environment. For example, he learns that a "front" brings recognition, while a life lived according to the traditional virtues brings none of the rewards that the community values. Such an outlook on life easily leads to crime and other forms of antisocial behavior. But, in any case, the casting-off of traditional ways of thinking effects a transformation of the Negro's

[9] See manuscript document in the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 74–75.

[10] See above, p. 119.

personality and conceptions of life. In the new environment new hopes and ambitions are kindled, and the Negro acquires a new sense of his personal worth and rights. In a letter to an old friend in Alabama, a migrant in East Chicago, Indiana, included in his description of the marvels of the northern cities the statement: "Oh, I have children in school every day with white children."

It was natural that these black migrants, who had long been accommodated to an inferior place in the white man's world in the South, should have been extremely sensitive to such evidences of a newly acquired equality. But, just as coming to the city had deprived the migrants of the moral support of friends and relatives, contacts and competition with whites in the North caused them to lose the provincial community and religious consciousness that had enveloped them in the South and quickened in them a racial consciousness that they had never known. Yet Negro newspapers have had a part in this process in that they have made the Negro conscious not only of his rights in the North but of the limitations under which he had lived in the South. This was quite evident in the case of a young woman migrant, perhaps not quite mentally balanced, who constantly spoke of her thirst for knowledge as a means of getting "out from under the feet of white people," and who never tired of reciting the horrors of southern oppression. Yet, it turned out that her sole source of knowledge concerning these horrors was the Negro newspaper. Likewise, numerous leaders and organizations, responding to this newly developed race consciousness and in turn accentuating it, sprang up for the purpose of fostering racial pride and racial solidarity. Even some of the old mulatto families who had enjoyed considerable freedom and equality, and at first resented the presence

of the migrants, gradually identified themselves on abstract issues with the black masses from the South.[11]

Consequently, today the urbanized Negro is giving up his fatalistic resignation to his traditional place in the world and is acquiring a certain degree of sophistication. Although competition and conflict with whites have tended to stimulate race consciousness, other forces are bringing Negroes into co-operative relations with whites. This is especially true where liberal and radical labor organizations are attempting to create a solidarity between white and black workers. Such phrases as "class struggle" and "working-class solidarity," once foreign to the ears of black workers, are the terms in which some Negroes are beginning to voice their discontent with their present status. The sophistication of the urbanized Negro reveals itself especially in his ingenuity in escaping caste restrictions. It is not uncommon that in the anonymity of the metropolitan community, he assumes according to his color the racial character of various peoples. When his skin is light enough, he becomes a white American; if it is too dark for that, then he becomes Spanish; or, if he is darker still, he may assume the garb of a Hindu or an Arabian.[12] However, in assuming these various protective masks in order to gain a livelihood and move about freely, the Negro's life is usually rooted in the Negro community.

The impact of hundreds of thousands of rural southern Negroes upon northern metropolitan communities presents a bewildering spectacle. Striking contrasts in levels of civilization and economic well-being among these newcomers to modern civilization seem to baffle any attempt to discover

[11] Cf. the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 82.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

order and direction in their mode of life. On the one hand, one sees poverty and primitiveness and, on the other, comfort and civilization. In some quarters crime and viciousness are the characteristic forms of behavior, while in others a simple piety and industry seem unaffected by the currents of urban life. On the streets of Negro communities, painted and powdered women, resembling all the races of mankind, with lustful songs upon their lips, rub shoulders with pious old black charwomen on their way to "store-front" churches. Strutting young men, attired in gaudy clothes and flashing soft hands and manicured fingernails, jostle devout old men clasping Bibles in their gnarled hands as they trudge to "prayer meeting." On the subways, buses, and streetcars one sees men and women with tired black faces staring vacantly into a future lighted only by the hope of a future life, while beside them may sit a girl with her head buried in a book on homosexual love or a boy absorbed in the latest revolutionary pamphlet. Saunterers along the boulevards are interrupted by corner crowds being harangued by speakers on the achievements of the black race or the necessity of social revolution. The periodic screeching of police sirens reminds one of the score or more Negroes who daily run afoul of the law. Children of all ages, playing and fighting and stealing in the streets day and night, are an ever present indication of the widespread breakdown of family control. Finally, unseen but known to doctor and nurse and social worker are the thousands who lie stricken by disease or are carried off by death.

One may ask: "Is death or extinction, as prophesied by a southern judge,[13] the only discernible goal toward which this bewildering spectacle is tending, or can one discover in

[13] "The Negro Migrations—a Debate," *Forum*, LXXII, 593–607.

these contrasts among Negroes in northern cities some order or direction?" In seeking an answer to these questions, one cannot study the Negro population in these cities as a mere aggregate of individual men and women, each pursuing his own way in the strange world about him, but as a part of the fabric of the Negro community, the social and economic organization of which is an integral part of the larger urban community.

II. NEGRO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CITIES

To the casual observer the location and growth of the large Negro communities that have sprung up in northern cities seem to be due to the prejudices of whites and the desires of Negroes or, viewed more broadly, to historical accident. But a close study of these communities reveals that, while race prejudice has not been altogether a negligible factor, the general character of these Negro communities has been determined by the same economic and cultural forces that have shaped the organization of the community as a whole. Recent studies have shown that the great cities or metropolitan communities are not "mere population aggregates" but that the distribution of their "population tends to assume definite and typical patterns."[14] These typical patterns come into existence because of competition for land as the population increases and the city expands. As a result of this expansion, "a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation."[15] The location of the

[14] Robert E. Park, "The Urban Community as a Spacial Pattern and a Moral Order," in *The Urban Community*, ed. Ernest Burgess (Chicago, 1926), p. 3.

[15] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in *The City* (Chicago, 1925), p. 54.

Negro community, like that of other racial and cultural groups, fits into the pattern of the larger community.[16]

This may be seen in the location and growth of the Negro community in Chicago with a population of over two hundred thousand.[17] Although Negroes appeared in the chronicles of the early history of the city, they did not attain numerical significance until after the Civil War, when Chicago became the goal of Negro migrants from the South.[18] From about the time of the great fire in 1871 onward, the Negro population practically doubled each decade until it reached 30,150 at the opening of the present century. Then there was a slowing-down of migration until the war period.[19] Because of their color and low economic status, Negroes first acquired a foothold in and near the center of the

[16] Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," *Annals*, CXL (November, 1928), 110: "The movement of Negro population into new residential areas is often considered as different in kind from that of other racial, immigrant, or economic groups. When studied, however, from the standpoint of human ecology, it appears to vary little, if at all, from those of other groups."

[17] According to tradition, the Negro community in Chicago goes back to Baptiste Point de Saible, a San Domingan Negro, who built a rude hut on the north bank of the Chicago River around 1779 (A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* [3 vols.; Chicago, 1884], I, 70–71). "'Baptiste Point de Saible, a handsome Negro, well educated and settled at Eschikagou; but much in the French interest.' This apparently unimportant fact, recorded July 4, 1779, by Colonel Arent Schuyler DePeyster, then British commander at Michilimakinac, is the initial point from which may be traced the growth of Chicago, from a single rude cabin on the sandpoint at the mouth of the river, to the magnificent city which stands today, the type of modern progressive civilization" (*ibid.*).

[18] The Negro population in Chicago increased from 958 in 1860 to 3,696 in 1870.

[19] See Appen. B, Table 19.

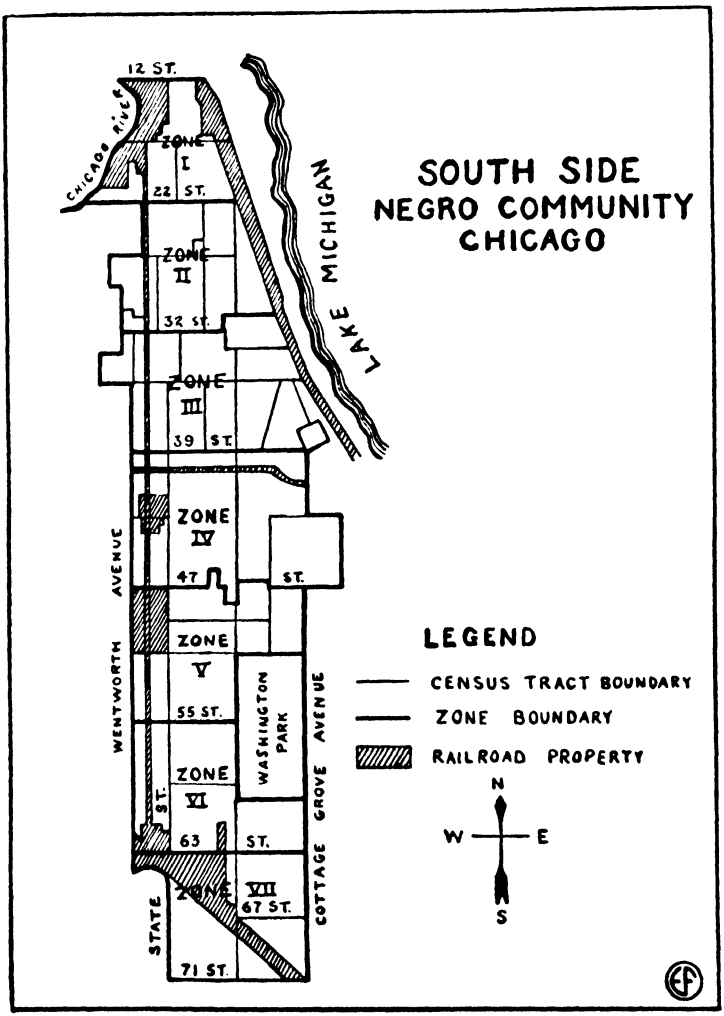
city where there was less resistance to alien elements.[20] From the slum area surrounding the central business section, the majority of the Negro population expanded southward along State Street.[21] As late as 1920, 90 per cent of the Negro population was concentrated in the South Side Black Belt or the area bounded by Twelfth and Thirty-ninth streets and Wentworth Avenue and Lake Michigan (see Map IV). But this area could not accommodate the fifty thousand migrants who poured into the Negro community during the World War. During normal times the Negro population had tended to move into those areas that were formerly white residential areas but were becoming rooming-house areas.[22] This process had gone on unnoticed and without friction, until the shortage of homes for whites, created by the suspension of building operations during the war, brought a halt to the movement of the whites from these changing areas. It was then that the conflict between the rapidly expanding Negro population and the resisting whites led to the organization of property-owners' associations and, in

[20] Park, *op. cit.*, p. 6: "The influence of land values at the business center radiates from that point to every part of the city. If the growth at the center is rapid it increases the diameter of the area held for speculative purposes just outside the center. Property held for speculation is usually allowed to deteriorate. It easily assumes the character of a slum; that is to say, an area of casual and transient population, an area of dirt and disorder, 'of missions and of lost souls.' These neglected and sometimes abandoned regions become the points of first settlement of immigrants."

[21] The expansion of the Negro population was not only into areas adjacent to the Black Belt. The extent to which Negroes are scattered over Chicago is indicated by the fact that in 314 of 499 census tracts, that were used as units for the federal enumeration of 1920, there were one or more Negro families, and in 138 of these 314 tracts Negroes owned homes.

[22] See Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), p. 117.

MAP IV


SOUTH SIDE
NEGRO COMMUNITY
CHICAGO
12 ST.
CHICAGO RIVER
ZONE I
22 ST.
ZONE II
32 ST.
ZONE III
39 ST.
LAKE MICHIGAN
ZONE IV
47 ST.
WENTWORTH AVENUE
ZONE V
55 ST.
WASHINGTON PARK
ZONE VI
63 ST.
COTTAGE GROVE AVENUE
STATE
ZONE VII
67 ST.
71 ST.
LEGEND
CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARY
ZONE BOUNDARY
RAILROAD PROPERTY
N
W
E
S

some cases, to bombing and other forms of violence.[23] However, neither violence nor the formation of property-owners' associations has been able to halt the expansion of the Negro community along lines in harmony with the growth of the city.

The social and economic forces which have caused a sifting and sorting of population, occupational classes, and institutions in the city at large, have effected a similar result within the South Side Negro community itself. It was possible to measure the sifting and sorting of different elements in the Negro population by dividing the community into seven zones, each about a mile in length (see Map IV).[24] The process of selection and segregation was shown first in the variations in the proportion of southern-born heads of families and mulattoes and in the percentage of illiteracy in the population of the successive zones indicating the expansion of the community. In the first zone, just outside the central business district, over three-fourths of the heads of families were born in the South. The proportion of southern-born heads of families declined in each successive zone until it reached less than two-thirds in the seventh. A similar trend was observable in regard to illiteracy in the different zones. For example, in Zone I, which was definitely in the slum area, 13.4 per cent of the Negro population was illiterate, whereas in Zone VII only 2.7 per cent was in this category. As regards the proportion of mulattoes in the population of the different zones, one would expect a trend opposite to that observable in the case of nativity and il-

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] For a detailed account of the economic and cultural organization of the South Side Negro community in Chicago and the methods developed in order to obtain quantitative indexes to its growth and organization see the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago*, chap. vi.

literacy.[25] This was found to be true with one interesting exception (see Table 5). In the first two zones where the most recent migrants from the South lived, only about one out of five Negro men and one out of four Negro women showed any admixture of white blood. But in the third

TABLE 5*

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN SEVEN ZONES OF THE SOUTH SIDE NEGRO COMMUNITY, CHICAGO ILLINOIS, 1920

ZONE	HEADS OF FAMILIES SOUTHERN-BORN	PERSONS TEN YEARS AND OVER ILLITERATE	MULATTOES FIFTEEN YEARS AND OVER	
			Male	Female
I	77.7	13.4	19.9	27.2
II	77.0	4.6	19.0	23.8
III	74.7	3.2	33.5	40.2
IV	73.8	2.3	19.2	24.0
V	72.6	3.3	22.8	24.7
VI	69.0	2.9	31.3	32.8
VII	65.2	2.7	49.7	48.5

* This table should be read in conjunction with Map IV.

zone the proportion mounted suddenly, one out of three Negro men and two out of five Negro women showing mixed ancestry. The concentration of mulattoes in this zone is understandable when we consider the place of this zone in the organization of the Negro community:

Through the heart of this zone ran Thirty-fifty Street, the bright-light area of the Negro community. Here were found the "black and tan" cabarets, pleasure gardens, gambling places, night clubs, hotels,

[25] Students of the Negro have frequently called attention to the fact that a large proportion of Negro leaders, professional men and women, and exceptional individuals, were of mixed blood. The most comprehensive study of the materials bearing on this aspect of Negro life has been analyzed by Edward B. Reuter in *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918).

and houses of prostitution. It was the headquarters of the famous "policy king"; the rendezvous of the "pretty" brown-skinned boys, many of whom were former bell-hops, who "worked" white and colored girls in hotels and on the streets; here the mulatto queen of the underworld ran the biggest poker game on the South Side; here the "gambler de luxe" ruled until he was killed by a brow-beaten waiter. In this world the mulatto girl from the South who, ever since she heard that she was "pretty enough to be an actress," had visions of the stage, realized her dream in one of the cheap theaters. To this same congenial environment the mulatto boy from Oklahoma, who danced in the role of the son of an Indian woman, had found his way. To this area were attracted the Bohemian, the disorganized, and the vicious elements in the Negro world.[26]

In the fourth zone the proportion of mulattoes dropped to about that of the second zone, but in the fifth, sixth, and seventh zones there was a progressive increase in the proportion of mixed-bloods. In the seventh zone, where the higher social and occupational classes resided, close to half of the population had some admixture of white blood.

The tendency on the part of the higher occupational classes to move toward the periphery of the Negro community fitted into the general pattern of the community (see Table 6). Whereas only 5.8 per cent of the employed men and 3 per cent of the employed women in the first zone were in professional and public service and the "white-collar" occupations, about a third of the employed men and women in the seventh zone were found in the same cate-

[26] *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 103. It has been pointed out that the mulatto, because of his emancipation from the traditional and customary status and outlook on life of the pure-blooded Negro, through greater participation in the white world, exhibits the characteristics of the "marginal man" or cultural hybrid—"spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and malaise" (Robert E. Park, "Migration and the Marginal Man," in *Personality and the Social Group*, ed. Ernest W. Burgess [Chicago, 1929]).

gories. The same tendency was true, although not to the same extent, in regard to Negroes engaged in skilled occupations. On the other hand, the lower occupational classes were segregated in the zones near the center of the city. The proportion of employed women was also higher in these

TABLE 6*

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES AND THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE SEVEN ZONES OF THE SOUTH SIDE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 1920

ZONE	PROFESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SERVICE, TRADE AND CLERICAL		SKILLED		SEMISKILLED, DOMESTIC SERVICE, AND LABORERS		PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYED
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
I	5.8	3.0	6.2	3.9	86.1	92.9	46.1
II	5.5	6.5	10.8	3.9	78.8	88.3	48.1
III	10.7	13.3	12.3	7.5	68.9	78.4	42.3
IV	11.2	13.3	13.6	7.7	67.9	78.1	45.2
V	12.5	14.8	11.1	7.8	68.6	76.1	39.7
VI	13.4	15.2	14.4	7.4	63.6	76.8	36.6
VII	34.2	33.3	13.0	16.6	41.6	46.9	34.5

* This table should be read in conjunction with Map IV.

zones than in the zones toward the periphery of the community where the higher occupational classes were concentrated. A considerable proportion of the employed women in these zones were in the higher occupational classes. Thus, viewed both from the standpoint of the character of its population and from the standpoint of its social and economic classes, the Negro community in Chicago has assumed a fairly definite spatial pattern.

If we turn from the Negro community in Chicago to the Harlem Negro community in New York City, we find that

its growth has not only been shaped by the growth of the city but that the community, during its expansion, has assumed a pattern of zones similar to that of a self-contained city.[27] Although there is disagreement concerning the historical events connected with the origin of the Negro community in Harlem, there seems to be no question that Harlem had already deteriorated as a residential community when Negroes began finding homes there at the opening of the present century.[28] The Negro real estate agent who is credited with having brought the Negro to Harlem in 1903 was merely an agent in a process which has characterized the growth of Negro communities. The movement of Negroes into Harlem provoked the usual opposition to such invasions. The *New York Herald* of July 10, 1906, reported indignation meetings "throughout the neighborhood of West 135th Street, where thirty-five white families" were to be ejected to make room for Negro tenants.[29] At the end of the article there was the following prophetic comment: "It is generally believed by the residents, however, that the establishment of the Negroes in 135th Street is only the nucleus of a Negro settlement that will extend over a very wide area of Harlem within the next few years."[30]

The subsequent growth of the Harlem Negro community has been a fulfilment of this prophetic statement. From the small Negro settlement in the block referred to above the Negro community has spread out in all directions. The radial expansion of the Negro population from the area about One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Seventh

[27] See E. Franklin Frazier, "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1937), 72–88.

[28] See Clyde Vernon Kiser, *Sea Island to City* (New York, 1932), pp. 19–20.

[29] Quoted in *ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

Avenue may be represented ideally by drawing concentric circles about the census tract in which the intersection of these two main thoroughfares is located (see Map V). The expansion of the community from the standpoint of population is shown graphically in the statistics on the increase of the Negro population in the five zones since 1910 (Diagram II).[31] In 1910 there were 15,028 Negroes, or 54 per cent of the Negroes in the Harlem area, concentrated in the first two zones (see Table 7). Negroes comprised less than a fifth of the entire population of these two zones; while in the three remaining zones marking their outward expansion they became less and less significant in the population. By 1920, Negroes constituted over three-fourths of the population of the first zone, over half of that of the second zone, and about a seventh of the population of the third. During this expansion native whites, whites of foreign extraction, and foreign-born whites were supplanted in these areas. However, the whites in the two outlying zones still resisted the expanding Negro population. By 1930 the Negro had not only taken over almost the entire first zone and increased to seven-eighths and two-fifths of the population of the second and third zones, respectively, but had become a significant element—22.7 per cent—in the population of the fourth zone. Even in the fifth zone, Negroes had increased from 2.5 to 6.2 per cent.

Although the five zones indicate the general tendency of the population to expand radially from the center of the

[31] Statistical data from the federal census and other sources on the five zones are based on data for the census tracts which are included more or less in five zones as represented ideally on the map. Data on Zone I are drawn from statistics on one census tract, No. 228; while data on the other four zones are based on statistics on the successive groups of census tracts encircling this central census tract.

MAP V

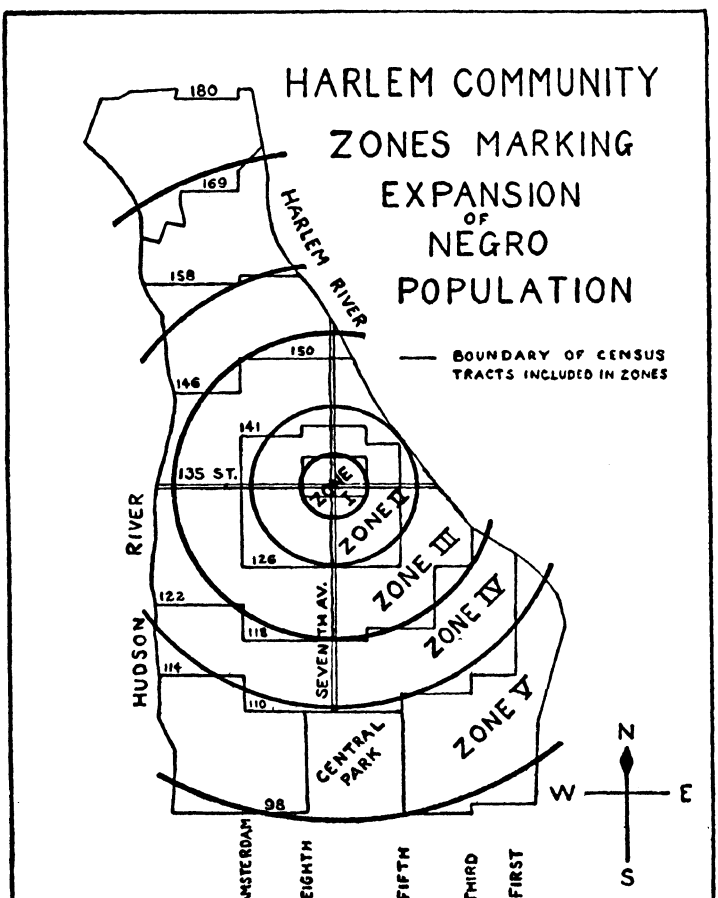
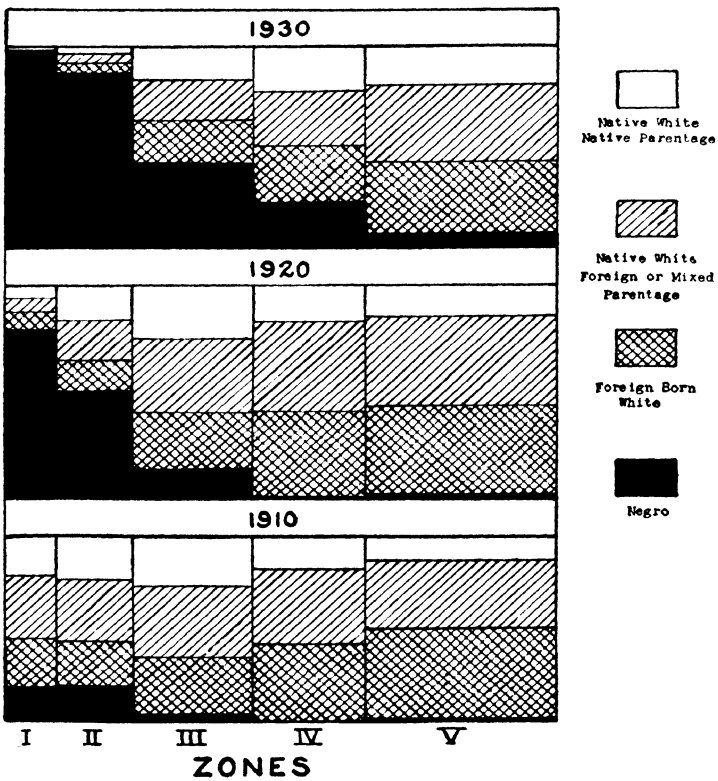

HARLEM COMMUNITY
ZONES MARKING
EXPANSION
OF
NEGRO
POPULATION
BOUNDARY OF CENSUS TRACTS INCLUDED IN ZONES
180
169
158
150
146
141
135 ST.
126
122
118
114
110
98
HARLEM RIVER
HUDSON RIVER
SEVENTH AV.
ZONE I
ZONE II
ZONE III
ZONE IV
ZONE V
CENTRAL PARK
AMSTERDAM
EIGHTH
FIFTH
THIRD
FIRST
N
W
E
S

DIAGRAM II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR NATIVITY GROUPS IN THE POPULATION OF EACH OF THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1930, 1920, AND 1910



community, the Negro population has not expanded to the same extent in all directions. It has been held in check until residential areas have deteriorated and therefore have become accessible not only to Negroes but to Italians and Puerto Ricans, who live in areas adjacent to those inhabited by Negroes. In some instances white residential areas, even when surrounded by the expanding Negro population, have

TABLE 7

NEGRO POPULATION IN THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1910, 1920, 1930, AND 1934

Zone	1910	1920	1930	1934*
I	1,856	9,053	12,585	7,661
II	13,172	43,734	72,214	59,783
III	6,145	21,661	64,368	67,304
IV	1,879	2,058	40,312	55,337
V	5,775	6,742	14,415	13,397
Total	27,827	83,248	203,894	203,482

* Census by the New York City Housing Authority.

put up a long and stubborn resistance. This was the case with the area about Mount Morris Park. However, when this area lost its purely residential character and brownstone fronts became rooming-houses, the eventual entrance of the Negro was foreshadowed. Then, too, the advance of the Negro has been heralded by the location of light industries, as in the western section of Harlem where, after the establishment of a brewery doomed the area as a residential neighborhood for whites of foreign extraction, signs inviting Negro tenants began to appear. But it seems that the westward expansion of the Negro population has been definitely

halted at Amsterdam Avenue and will not be able to invade the exclusive residential area on Riverside Drive.[32]

The expansion of the Negro population coincides largely with the predominant types of structures located in the five zones. For example, the Negro population predominates in

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION NEGRO AND TYPES OF STRUCTURES IN FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY NEW YORK CITY

	Zone				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Percentage of population Negro in 1930	99.0	87.8	41.4	22.7	6.2
Percentage of structures that were nonresidential in 1934	83.8	78.2	59.8	42.5	28.0
Percentage of nonresidential structures that were rooming- and lodging-houses in 1934*	34.2	32.0	31.5	23.0	18.5

* Rooming- and lodging-houses are classified as nonresidential structures.

those zones where the majority of the structures are nonresidential in character (Table 8). But even more significant is the fact that the Negro population is concentrated in the zones where rooming- and lodging-houses comprise a relatively large proportion of the nonresidential structures. Data on the type, age, and condition of the residential structures in the five zones show the relation between the expansion of the Negro community and the physical character of

[32] Since 1920, there has been a decrease in the number of Negroes west of Amsterdam Avenue.

the areas into which Negroes have moved.[33] The comparatively large proportion of one-family dwellings in the third zone was due to the fact that the western section of the third zone included a large part of the Riverside Drive area (Map V). However, the most important differences between the zones in respect to residential structures appeared in the proportion of hotels, boarding-houses, and institutions which were simply classified as "other." The proportion of this type of residential structure declined sharply from 51.7 per cent in the first zone to 14.9 in the fifth. The differences in the physical character of the zones were shown more clearly in the age of the residential structures in the five zones. In the first and second zones, where 99 and 87.8 per cent of the residents, respectively, were Negroes, 90 per cent of the residential structures were thirty-five years of age and over. For the remaining three zones the proportion of older structures declined significantly except in the fourth zone, which included a large number of deteriorated tenements in the eastern section where Negroes have settled. The relation between the condition of the residential structures in the various zones and the expansion of the Negro population was less obvious. However, the comparatively large proportion of first-class structures in the first zone indicated that this area was being rehabilitated.

The selection and segregation which have taken place as the Negro population has expanded is seen first in the variations in the proportion of grown people in the five zones. Practically four out of five persons in the first zone were adults in 1930 (see Table 9). In the second zone the proportion of adults in the population declined to three out of four, and, in the next three zones, from about seven to six

[33] See Table 50, Appen. B.

out of ten persons in the population. On the other hand, the relative number of children in the population of the five zones shows the opposite tendency. In the first or central zone only 3.8 per cent of the entire population in 1930 was under five years of age. The proportion of children in this age group increased in each of the successive zones until it reached 12.3 per cent in the fifth zone. There was also a slight increase in the proportion of females in the successive zones marking the outward expansion of the population. Although there was an excess of females in the total population of the community, the excess of females in the first zone was counterbalanced by the tendency on the part of males to concentrate there (see Diagram III).

The tendency on the part of family groups to move toward the periphery of the community was indicated by the increasing proportion of married men and women in the successive zones.[34] In the first zone only half of the men and women were married. From this zone outward, the percentage of both men and women increased until it amounted, in the fifth or outermost zone, to 64.2 per cent for the men and 60.1 per cent for the women. Correlated with the increase in the proportion of men and women married was the gradual decline not only in the proportion of men and women single in the successive zones but also in the proportion of widowed persons in these five zones. Interestingly enough, the proportion of men and women widowed, which undoubtedly included those deserted and separated, was highest in the center of the community where one would expect

[34] The tendency on the part of foreign-born Negroes to move toward the periphery of the community was probably due to the fact that the foreign Negro population was comprised largely of family groups with children. The percentage of foreign-born Negroes in each of the five successive zones was as follows: 11.9, 15.0, 20.0, 22.6, and 15.6.

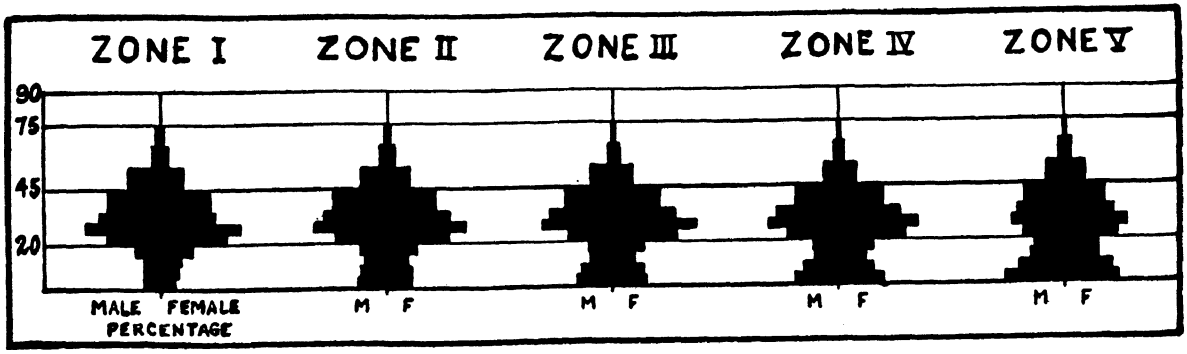
TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE NEGRO POPULATION OF EACH OF THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1930

AGE PERIOD	ZONE I		ZONE II		ZONE III		ZONE IV		ZONE V	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
75.....	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
65–74..	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.6
55–64..	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.4	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.5
45–54..	6.3	5.8	5.3	5.0	4.4	4.3	3.6	3.8	4.0	4.3
35–44..	11.4	11.2	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.0	8.8	8.5	8.5	8.7
30–34..	6.5	6.0	6.5	6.8	6.8	6.7	6.7	6.8	5.0	5.4
25–29..	8.0	8.6	7.5	8.4	7.4	9.0	7.6	8.5	5.5	6.9
20–24..	5.8	7.1	5.1	6.9	4.9	6.9	5.5	7.1	4.4	5.9
15–19..	2.7	3.6	2.6	3.4	2.6	3.5	2.9	3.8	3.2	3.7
10–14..	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.7	2.9	3.7	3.7
5–9....	1.9	2.0	2.8	2.9	3.3	3.6	3.8	3.9	4.8	5.4
Under 5	1.9	1.9	2.9	2.9	3.7	3.7	4.9	4.8	6.3	6.0
Total	48.6	50.9	47.7	51.9	47.0	52.2	47.6	52.0	47.1	52.3

DIAGRAM III

AGE AND SEX PYRAMIDS SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN THE NEGRO POPULATION OF EACH OF THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING AGE PERIODS: UNDER FIVE; EACH FIVE-YEAR PERIOD FROM FIVE TO THIRTY-FOUR; EACH TEN-YEAR PERIOD FROM THIRTY-FIVE TO SEVENTY-FOUR; AND SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AND OVER, 1930



to find considerable family disorganization. Hence, the increase in the proportion of divorced men in the successive zones as one left the center of the community was understandable.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO MALES AND FEMALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, AND DIVORCED IN THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM NEGRO COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1930

Marital Status	Sex	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone V
Single	M	42.6	38.5	35.3	34.0	31.1
	F	30.9	27.6	26.3	25.6	23.5
Married	M	49.8	56.0	60.3	62.3	64.2
	F	50.5	54.8	57.6	59.8	60.1
Widowed	M	7.3	4.7	3.6	2.9	3.8
	F	17.6	16.4	15.0	13.0	14.4
Divorced	M	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5
	F	0.6	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.6

III. SURVIVAL IN THE NORTHERN CITY

The low fertility of Negroes in northern cities has seemed to confirm the pessimistic prophecies concerning their fate in the North.[35] Thompson and Whelpton have shown that

[35] In an unpublished study of differential fertility in the East North Central States, Frank W. Notestein found that the mean number of children under age ten per wife for marriages of five to nine years' duration was smaller for Negroes in 1930 than for native or foreign white. The differential between Negro and white wives increased with the size of the community. However, the mean number of children under age ten per "mother" for marriages of five to nine years' duration was higher for Negroes in each type of community than for native or foreign white. Consequently, the percentage of homes with no children under age ten for this same marriage group was considerably higher for Negroes than for either of the two other racial groups. The percentage of Negro homes with no children under ten ranged from 28.5

there has been a marked tendency for the ratio of children to Negro women of childbearing age to vary inversely with size of city.[36] According to these authors, Negroes in large cities including Chicago and New York "were not maintaining their numbers on a permanent basis in either 1920 or 1928."[37] The extremely low fertility of Negroes in Chicago has been demonstrated in an unpublished study by Philip M. Hauser, of the University of Chicago. However, in the case of Chicago, we have found in a study of the Negro family that selective factors affected the relative fertility of different sections of the Negro population.[38] For example, the ratio of children under five years to women of childbearing age was highest in the seventh zone, which was farthest removed from the center of the city (see Map IV). In this zone there were 276 children under five years to 1,000 women of childbearing age, or nearly twice as many as in the third zone, a bright-light area of considerable mobility and vice.[39]

Lately, Kiser found in a study of Negro birth-rates in a health area of Harlem that the fertility of Negro women was lower than that of white women of similar or even higher occupational level in Syracuse and two other urban com-

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in rural-farm communities to 52.5 in communities of 250,000 and more population. In the larger communities, especially those over 250,000 population, the mean number of children under ten per wife declined with the increase in the value of home (from paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1937).

[36] Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), p. 280.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[38] See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, pp. 136–45.

[39] This zone has been described on pp. 305–6 above.

munities.[40] Kiser indicated in his study that the low fertility of Negroes was "due partly to selective processes with reference to residence in Harlem as indicated by higher birth rates among the colored population in other parts of the city."[41] As a matter of fact, within the Harlem community itself important differences are revealed if the fertility of these women is studied in relation to the selective processes. If we compare the five zones by which we have indicated the expansion of the community with reference to the ratio of children to women of childbearing age, we find that both in 1920 and in 1930 there was, with one exception, a regular increase in the ratio of children from the first to the fifth zone. In 1930 the ratio of children in the fifth zone was 462, or four times that in the first zone. The exception to the general trend noticeable in the fourth zone in 1920 was probably due to the fact that at that time only a small number of economically better situated families had moved into this zone. On the other hand, the changes between 1920 and 1930 in ratio of children in the three outer zones seem to indicate that the more fertile groups have tended to settle in peripheral zones.

The relation between the fertility of Negro women and residence in the various areas of the community is shown also in the ratio of children to women fifteen years of age and over who were married, widowed, and divorced and number of births to married women fifteen to forty-four. Here again we find the ratio of children increasing regularly in the successive zones marking the expansion of the Negro community. The same trend was observable in regard to

[40] Kiser, "Fertility of Harlem Negroes," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XIII (July, 1935) 273–85.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

birth-rates in 1930. In the first zone there were only 66.1 births per 1,000 Negro married women fifteen to forty-four years of age. But, as in the case of the ratio of children, the fertility of the women mounted rapidly, especially in the two outermost zones. The fertility of the women in the fifth zone was slightly over two and one-half times as great as it was in the first.

TABLE 11*

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER FIVE TO ONE THOUSAND NEGRO WOMEN TWENTY TO FORTY-FOUR YEARS OF AGE IN FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1920 AND 1930

ZONE	1930			1920		
	Women 20–44	Children under 5	Ratio of Children to Women	Women 20–44	Children under 5	Ratio of Children to Women
I.....	4,141	476	115	3,083	336	109
II.....	23,612	4,160	176	15,021	2,793	186
III.....	21,107	4,749	225	7,217	1,858	257
IV.....	12,498	3,940	315	805	173	214
V.....	3,872	1,790	462	2,262	621	274

* Should be read in conjunction with Map V.

The significance of these variations in fertility for the survival of the Negro population is further emphasized if the number of births is compared with the number of deaths in each of the five zones.[42] In the first zone deaths were in excess of births, and in the second they almost balanced the births. Only in the three outer zones was there an appreciable excess of births over deaths. However, the fourth zone was better off than the fifth in respect to the excess of births

[42] Because of the differences in the age and sex composition of the population of the five zones, the crude death-rates are of no value.

over deaths and the infant mortality rate. This was due to the fact that some sections of the fifth zone were slum areas. Nevertheless, these figures clearly demonstrate the influence of selective factors in the survival of the Negro in the urban environment.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO ONE THOUSAND NEGRO MARRIED WOMEN FIFTEEN TO FORTY-FOUR AND RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER FIVE TO NEGRO WOMEN FIFTEEN AND OVER, MARRIED, WIDOWED, AND DIVORCED IN FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1930

Zone	Married Women, 15–44 (Estimated)	Number of Births	Births per 1,000 Married Women, 15–44	Women 15 and Over, Married, Widowed, and Divorced	Children under 5	Ratio of Children
I.....	2,495	165	66.1	3,883	476	123
II.....	15,087	1,230	81.5	22,670	4,160	184
III.....	13,883	1,276	91.9	20,246	4,749	234
IV.....	8,552	1,211	141.6	12,120	3,940	325
V.....	2,833	477	168.4	4,104	1,790	436
Total..	42,850	4,359	101.7	63,023	15,115	240

From our study of the Negro population in Chicago and Harlem, it appears that Negro life in northern cities flows, in spite of its disorganization and apparent lack of direction, in the channels of a community life. This community life reflects in its organization the impress of social and economic forces within the community as well as those that shape the development of the larger urban area. In the Harlem community, which has assumed the character of a self-contained city, the community pattern is visibly manifested in the location of institutions. The concentration of institutions in

the first zone or center of the community has been vividly described in a story of Negro life in Harlem. "In a fraction of a mile of 135th Street," wrote Rudolph Fisher, "there occurs every institution necessary to civilization from a Carnegie Library opposite a public school at one point to a police station beside an undertaker's parlor at another."[43] A survey of this area revealed, first, that the economic life of the community, especially with respect to Negro business enterprises, was centered about One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Seventh Avenue. Located in this area in 1935 there were 321 business establishments, not including 53 offices of Negro professional men and women. Although about two-thirds of these businesses were conducted by Negroes, whites owned the bank and more than 80 per cent of the retail food stores. Negroes controlled practically all the businesses providing personal services and other types of enterprises not requiring large outlays of capital. In this zone were also the two principal Negro newspapers and the offices of four Negro insurance companies. This area was also the focus of the political and cultural life of Negro Harlem. In 1935 five political clubs and two fraternal organizations had headquarters in this area. Besides a public library, a public school, and a health center, the Negro branches of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and offices of the New York Urban League and the N.A.A.C.P. were all within two blocks of the busy intersection at One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Seventh Avenue. The two large church edifices—one Baptist and the other Methodist—located in this central zone indicated the character of the area before it had acquired its present specialized place in

[43] "Blades of Steel" in *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, ed. V. F. Calverton (New York, 1929), p. 53.

the community. On the other hand, the six "store-front" churches on the fringe of this zone actually belonged with thirty-six such churches in the slum sections of the second zone.

Although this zone was the center of recreation for the Negro population, a number of the recreational institutions catered primarily to whites seeking amusement in Harlem. However, this was only one of the many indications of the manner in which the larger community has influenced life in Harlem, economically and otherwise. The ownership and control of Harlem housing and real estate are centered in the financial institutions downtown. The main arteries of travel—Lenox, Seventh, and Eighth avenues—running the entire length of the community, and the "satellite loops" at One Hundred and Sixteenth, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth, and One Hundred and Forty-fifth streets, not only mar the symmetry of the community pattern but bear the stamp of outside interests and control.

The poverty and disorganization of Negro family life in the urban environment only becomes intelligible when they are studied in relation to the organization of Negro communities and the social and economic forces which determine their development. Therefore, in the following chapters an attempt is made to study the various problems of Negro family life in their social setting and in relation to the organization of the community.

CHAPTER XV

FATHERS ON LEAVE

Family desertion has been one of the inevitable consequences of the urbanization of the Negro population. In both northern and southern cities the ranks of Negro men who have deserted their families have constantly been recruited from several sources. Among the foot-loose men who drift from city to city in search of work and new experience, there are husbands and fathers who have deserted their wives and children. Many of the more stable men who left wives and families behind when they joined the migrating masses during and following the war later became deserters. Despite their often sincere intentions to rejoin their families and the initial loneliness which they experienced in the new world, the city with its varied interests proved fatal to family ties. Even when whole families have migrated, the community of interests and bonds of sympathy that created strong family ties in rural communities have often been unable to withstand the disintegrating forces of the city.

Although it is difficult to get a measure of the extent to which Negro men desert their wives and families, it appears from available sources of information that desertions are more frequent in Negro families than in the families of other racial groups. For example, while Negroes comprised 5.6 per cent of all the families in New York City in 1916–17 under the care of the Charity Organization Society, they furnished 11.2 per cent of the desertions.[1] A similar situa-

[1] Joanna C. Colcord, *Broken Homes: A Study of Family Desertions* (New York, 1919), pp. 44–45. Italians, who comprised 28 per cent of all cases, contributed 20.8 per cent of the desertions.

tion was found in Cook County, Illinois, where, during the six years (exclusive of 1914) from 1909 to 1915, Negroes comprised 21.1 per cent of all desertion cases aided by the county agent.[2] Moreover, the large proportion of urban Negro families with women heads seems to be due in some measure to desertions on the part of the men. It hardly seems likely that widowhood, divorce, and legal separation alone account for the large percentage of such families in the Negro group. In northern cities with a total population of 100,000 or more, from 10 to 30 per cent of the Negro families have female heads.[3] This is higher than the proportion among either the native whites or the foreign-born whites. Within the Negro group itself, the proportion of families with female heads is higher among tenants than owners, especially in the larger cities where the bulk of the Negro population in the North is concentrated.

In southern cities the disparity between whites and Negroes in respect to the proportion of families with women heads is much greater.[4] In the twenty-three southern cities with a population of 100,000 or more in 1930, from a fifth to a third of all Negro families had a female head. However, in most of these southern cities, the difference between owner and tenant Negro families in this regard was much greater than in northern cities. On the basis of data secured from the original census returns on such families in three cities—Nashville, Tennessee, Birmingham, Alabama, and Charleston, South Carolina—we can get some information

[2] Earle Edward Eubank, *A Study of Family Desertion* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 15–16. Italians, who furnished 7 per cent of the desertion cases and ranked fourth for the total cases of all causes, ranked twenty-first for the percentage of desertion cases.

[3] See Appen. B, Table 28.

[4] See Appen. B, Table 28.

on the general character of the families with women heads (Table 13).[5] First, in all three cities, both in 1910 and in 1920, the proportion of families with female heads was smaller among the mulattoes than among the blacks. How-

TABLE 13

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FAMILIES WITH WOMEN HEADS ACCORDING TO COLOR IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1920 AND 1910

City	Color of Wife or Woman Head	1920			1910		
		Total Families	Families with Women Heads		Total Families	Families with Women Heads	
			Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Nashville, Tenn....	Black	1,041	423	40.6	1,187	509	42.8
	Mulatto	568	213	37.5	439	162	37.3
Birmingham, Ala...	Black	3,937	1,077	27.3	3,648	1,032	28.3
	Mulatto	1,128	279	24.7	612	152	24.8
Charleston, S.C.....	Black	1,411	498	35.3	1,385	598	43.2
	Mulatto	268	85	31.7	342	139	40.6

ever, the proportion of families with women heads among both blacks as well as mulattoes was significantly smaller in Birmingham, where half of the men were in industrial occupations, than among both mulattoes and blacks in Nashville and Charleston, where Negro men were employed chiefly in domestic and personal service. In the latter two cities from a third to two-fifths of the families had female

[5] These families represent a sample of about a sixth of the families in Nashville and Charleston and a fourth of the families in Birmingham from each of the federal enumeration districts in these cities (see n. 3, p. 127, for description of these families).

heads, whereas in Birmingham approximately a fourth of both the black and the mulatto families were in this category.

In regard to the marital status of the women heads of Negro families in these cities, information from the original census returns gives a more accurate picture than one gets from the published data on the marital status of Negro women. The majority of these women—from two-thirds to four-fifths—were classified as widowed (see Table 14). From what is known concerning the marital status of Negro women who describe themselves as widowed, we can only assume, as in the case of the published census figures, that some of these widowed women had either been deserted or were unmarried mothers.[6] But, in addition to the usual categories of widowed and divorced, we have been able to classify these women as to whether they were separated from their husbands or were living irregularly with a man in the household.[7] According to the figures in Table 14, in some cases as many as 20 per cent of the women heads of families were separated. In all likelihood, the majority of these women had been deserted by their husbands. It is also probable that some of the women who were living irregularly with men, but reported themselves as married to other men, had been deserted. In fact, it is also very likely that some women who called themselves divorced had been deserted. When these various facts are considered, it seems reasonable to conclude that, so far as these figures are representative of Negro families in southern cities, about a fifth

[6] See n. 7, p. 129, and n. 8, p. 131.

[7] See n. 3, p. 127, for method of classifying these women heads of families.

of the families with women heads represent desertion on the part of men.

The original census returns throw some light on the general economic and social status of these women. From three-fourths to four-fifths of the black women heads of the fami-

TABLE 14

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN HEADS OF NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO COLOR IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1920 AND 1910

City	Color of Women	1920					1910				
		Total	Marital Status				Total	Marital Status			
			Sep.	Wid.	Div.	Irr.		Sep.	Wid.	Div.	Irr.
Nashville, Tenn.	Black	420	73	314	25	8	509	67	378	39	25
	Mulatto	212	39	154	15	4	162	38	106	8	10
Birmingham, Ala.	Black	1,071	192	785	79	15	1,032	216	715	76	25
	Mulatto	277	31	210	35	1	152	31	110	6	5
Charleston, S.C.	Black	483	105	359	9	10	598	100	473	10	15
	Mulatto	81	10	66	1	4	137	23	108	5	1

lies were employed in domestic service; whereas, among the mulattoes, not only was a smaller proportion employed in domestic service, but, apparently, a smaller proportion depended upon their own labor for a livelihood.[8] Moreover, an almost negligible percentage of the black women were homeowners while about 10 per cent of the mulatto women owned their homes. It is also significant that practically all the homeowners among the black women heads of families as well as the mulattoes were widowed.[9]

[8] See Appen. B, Table 23.

[9] See Appen. B, Table 22.

For Birmingham we have information on the extent of desertion among the cases handled by the Red Cross Family Service for the period 1925–29.[10] During this period the number of colored major care cases increased from 502, or 11.2 per cent of a total of 4,468 cases, to 2,698, or 25 per cent of the 10,853 cases handled in 1929. For the years 1926–28 about 20 per cent of the colored cases were deserted women. However, in 1929 after the effects of the economic crisis began to be felt, the proportion of married couples increased, while the proportion of deserted women declined to 15 per cent. The following excerpt from the case record of a deserted woman, twenty-eight years of age and the mother of five children, living in a two-room house in an alley for which she paid eight dollars a month, will throw some light on the character of some of these deserted women and their sexual relations:

Man's native home in Alabama. Woman did not know where he was reared. Father died a long time ago. Mother, living. No brothers or sisters. Family had very good health record. Fairly good home training, common school education. Religious and moral influences very good. Parents were farmers and he always worked on a farm.

Woman's home was LaFayette, Alabama. Father died when she was real young. Mother still living; has four brothers and three sisters. Her mother had ten children, of whom eight are living. One died with T.B. She was given a good home training; religious and moral influences not very good. Very quiet type, but was a mother before she was married. She was living away from home at the time. She was reared on a farm and had to work in the fields most of the time. Did not go to school very much. Husband was not the father of her illegitimate child, but another man.

Man and woman lived together very agreeable for a while. He provided very well for his family during their stay together. They were

[10] From the records of the Red Cross Family Service, Birmingham, Alabama.

the parents of three children, and he deserted when the last one was a few months old, leaving her with nothing to live on. He left town with another man's wife. Woman has always been interested in her children and tried to provide for them. She seems very childish about planning for them. After her husband left, all her people left; she became the mother of another child. This man promised to support her children but after a while he left too. The neighbors helped during her confinement.

Later, it was found out where the father of her last child was living. He was asked to support her. He sent a doctor to see one of the children who was sick. Her oldest daughter, unmarried, had a child.

Family desertion among Negroes in southern cities is in a large measure only one aspect of the disorganized family life and unregulated sex behavior of these newcomers to the city. Desertion is often found in conjunction with other types of loose sex behavior, as is apparent even in the sketchy details recorded in the case records of social agencies. Let us glance at the record of a twenty-four-year-old woman living on the outskirts of Birmingham:

Live in Eureka, an ordinary type of Negro settlement. Immediate section composed of a row of shot-gun houses, built closely together, and the surroundings uncleanly and undesirable, but the common situation of the Negro. Two rooms all furnished, but the house unkempt and dirty. Conditions unsanitary.

Woman apparently middle aged, pregnant and suffering from it. Visitor was amazed to learn she was young. Untidy, barefooted and unclean in person. Children dirty and ill. Willing to accept any assistance. Even though in pain she did not show any sign of impatience. She answered all questions readily and most frankly. She admitted her circumstances were due to her own misconduct. Was very grateful and cooperative. Reconciled to her fate but repentant and anxious to be self supporting.

Woman was born in Montgomery County, one of nine children. She lived on the farm with her parents until she was 21. Baptist. Apparently lived a clean, moral life as long as she was with her parents in the country. Came to Birmingham in 1921 to earn her living to

relieve her widow mother. Father died when she was a child. Took in washings for her living and managed very nicely. Met B——, a laborer in the city, and married him in 1922.

Man was born in Gunsville, Alabama. Common laborer. Lived with her for two years. Got along nicely but he became shiftless and left his wife and baby. Gave no excuses and no whereabouts. One child was born in 1923, one in 1925.

Woman allowed a man to live with her in open cohabitation. He knew she had no divorce. He promised to marry her all the time. One child was born to them in 1927. He was a carpenter. He has now deserted her and the children and she is nine months pregnant. Has a mother living in the country, a tenant farmer with seven children and six grandchildren to care for already, in a three room house. A sister lived near her but she has gone to visit the mother. All the other sisters are married and have large families of their own.

When we turn from these southern cities to New York City, we find that there also desertion cases constitute a large portion of the cases of dependency handled by social agencies. An analysis of the records of the Charity Organization Society over a period of ten years from 1924 to 1934 showed that both the number and the proportion of Negro "under care" families served by this agency have increased as the economic crisis deepened.[11] In the area[12] for which figures are given in Table 15 the number of Negro "under care" families increased during the four years from 1924 to 1928, although their numbers relative to all families receiving such assistance changed only slightly. However, beginning with the fiscal year 1928–29 there was not only an in-

[11] The Charity Organization Society defines an "under care" case as "a family or person for which the agency assumes responsibility for instituting some study and treatment. This category is intended to include all cases which, as the result of the preliminary diagnosis, are accepted for care with the intention of giving the case such study and treatment as seem indicated."

[12] The area for which figures are given in Table 15 includes a slightly larger area than the Harlem community described on pp. 307 ff., above.

crease in the number of Negro families but also a decided increase in the proportion in the total number of families receiving major services. From 1931 onward Negro families constituted close to 45 per cent of the total. The slight decline in the proportion of Negro families during 1933–34

TABLE 15*

NUMBER OF NEGRO "UNDER CARE" FAMILIES AND THE PERCENTAGE THEY CONSTITUTE OF ALL FAMILIES SERVED BY THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY ABOVE NINETY-EIGHTH STREET AND ON THE WEST SIDE DOWN TO FORTY-SIXTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1924–34

	1924–25	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28	1928–29	1929–30	1930–31	1931–32	1932–33	1933–34
Number....	392	384	537	592	694	990	1,863	1,768	1,014	874
Percentage of all families	22.2	20.3	23.3	24.7	29.6	32.7	43.0	45.2	44.8	39.1

* The fiscal year begins October 1.

was doubtless due to the fact that the majority of dependent Negro families were cared for by the Home Relief Bureau. In fact, the records of the Home Relief Bureau offer the only adequate index to the widespread dependency in the Harlem community.[13] In this community during the first week of September, 1935, there were 24,293 Negro families, not including unattached men and women, receiving relief from the Home Relief Bureau.[14]

During the fiscal year 1928–29 the Charity Organization

[13] See Map V, p. 310.

[14] According to a census by the New York City Housing Authority, there were 56,157 Negro families in the Harlem community as defined in our study.

Society gave assistance to 571 Negro "under care" families in the Harlem community. After the economic crisis became more acute, the number rose to 1,547 during the fiscal year 1930–31. Of the 571 families receiving assistance during the first period, 101, or 17.7 per cent, were desertion cases; while during the latter period, 1930–31, the proportion of deserted families declined to 14.8 per cent (Table 16).

TABLE 16

MARITAL STATUS OF NEGRO "UNDER CARE" CASES SERVED BY THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY IN NEW YORK CITY FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1928–29 AND 1930–31

YEAR	TOTAL	DESERTED WOMEN		MARRIED COUPLES	WIDOWS	LEGALLY SEP. WOMEN	WIDOWERS	UNMARRIED MOTHERS	SINGLE WOMEN	UNMARRIED COUPLES	SINGLE MEN	D.† WOMEN	DESERTED MEN
		No.	Per Cent										
1928–29	571	101	17.7	261	92	48	20	15	15	12	4	1	2
1930–31	1,547*	230	14.8	1,002	159	59	25	26	11	17	1	5	6

* Includes 3 orphans, 1 legally separated man, and 2 unknown.
† Divorced.

The majority—about three-fifths—of the cases handled by the Charity Organization Society represented migrants who had come to New York City during and subsequent to the World War. Although specific information is lacking concerning the birthplace of about a third of the cases, the records simply stating that they were born in the United States, the majority of the cases were doubtless persons of southern birth.[15] However, the records contained specific information to the effect that more than a fourth of the cases were of West Indian origin and that about 5 per cent were natives of New York City.

[15] In 1930 over 40 per cent of the Negroes in New York City were born in southern states.

An analysis of the desertion cases revealed that 44 per cent of the 101 cases handled in 1928–29 were new cases; whereas 155, or 67.4 per cent, of the 230 cases handled in 1930–31 were new. Among the desertion cases there was a larger proportion of families that had come to New York City since the war than among the dependency cases as a whole. As to origin, they showed the same proportion of southern birth and West Indian background. As far as one could learn the occupational status of the deserters, they were employed chiefly in unskilled occupations and domestic service.[16] In the case of the deserted women, we find that 65 per cent of the first group and 56 per cent of the second had been engaged in gainful occupations. In both groups nearly 90 per cent of the regularly employed women were in domestic service. Fifty per cent of the deserted women and their spouses were between thirty and forty years of age.

The case records contain information on the character of the households and the composition of the deserted families. About 9 per cent of the 101 families in the first group had one or two relatives in the household, whereas 19 per cent of the 230 families in the second group were living with one to five relatives. Moreover, there were lodgers in 6 of the families of the first group; and in 20 families of the second group. The increase in the number of families with relatives and lodgers in the household was probably due to the effects of the depression during the later period. However, there was practically no change in the average number of children in these families, the average being 2.3 in 1928–29

[16] The usual occupations of 70 per cent of the deserting men were recorded for the fiscal year 1928–29 and of 56 per cent for 1930–31. In the first group 48 of the 70 men and in the second group 79 of the 129 men were in unskilled labor and domestic service.

and 2.2 in 1930–31. In both groups about the same proportion of families had children away from home and in institutions.

In Chicago, where large numbers of migrants from the lower South have settled since the war, the trend of family desertion during recent years may be studied in relation to the economic and cultural organization of the Negro community. Here, as in other cities, family desertion generally comes to the attention of both private and public welfare agencies in connection with dependency. From 1921 to 1927 the number of Negro desertion or nonsupport cases that came before the Court of Domestic Relations increased almost 100 per cent. In 1927 there were 813 cases, or 19.5 per cent of the 4,168 cases handled by the court.[17] In the same city an examination of the records of the United Charities for the period 1921–28 showed that the proportion of Negro families receiving major services increased suddenly from about a tenth in the first two years to a little more than a fifth of all cases during the last five years.[18] According to the reports of the Chicago Urban League, the sudden increase in the proportion of Negro families seeking assistance from the United Charities coincided with a marked increase in unemployment among Negroes in 1924.[19] Of the Negro cases handled by this agency during the seven years indicated, less than half were reported as deserted families. A check of the records of the United Charities showed that this agency had handled 750 Negro cases of family desertion

[17] See E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), p. 148, n. 1.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 148–49.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 148, n. 2.

during the two and a half years from January 1, 1926, to June 30, 1928.[20]

Two-thirds of these cases were located in the South Side community.[21] However, they were very unevenly distributed; and, what is of importance to us here, when on the basis of these cases desertion rates were calculated for the seven zones marking the expansion of the community, the rates showed a distinct downward trend (see Table 17). Although there were only nine cases in the first zone, these cases amounted to 2.5 per cent of the families in that area. The first zone, which was just outside the Loop, was an area of extreme physical deterioration and social disorganization and was fast becoming depopulated. The one hundred deserted families in the next zone, which was similar in character to the first zone, constituted 2.6 per cent of the resident families. These relatively high rates coincided with the high dependency rates—eight families out of one hundred being supported by charity—in the first two zones. In the third zone there was a slight decline in the desertion rate, although there were other signs of family disorganization. The third zone was, in fact, the bright-light area of the Negro community, there being little family life and considerable vice in the area. The Negro in this area was likely to exhibit greater sophistication in city ways. Therefore, it is not surprising that the nonsupport rate, based upon cases

[20] Social agencies experience great difficulty in ascertaining the true marital condition of migrant Negro families. For example, of the 248 Negro cases—129 major service and 119 minor service—in the case records of the Central District of the United Charities during January, 1927, marriage was verified in 70 cases; an unsuccessful attempt was made to verify 55 cases; and marriage was unverified in 122 cases, one case being classified as unknown (see *ibid.*, p. 150, n. 1).

[21] See Map IV, p. 303, above.

brought before the Court of Domestic Relations, showed an increase over the rates in the first two zones where the less sophisticated migrants from the South lived.

A significant decline in the desertion rate did not appear until the fourth zone, which was distinguished from the first three zones in several respects. First, the rate of homeownership reached the average for the city, whereas in the first

TABLE 17*

NUMBER OF DESERTION CASES AND RATES PER ONE HUNDRED RESIDENT FAMILIES IN THE SEVEN ZONES OF THE SOUTH SIDE NEGRO COMMUNITY, CHICAGO

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone V	Zone VI	Zone VII
Family desertions: Jan. 1, 1926—June 30, 1928.....	9	100	154	132	88	11	5
Rate.....	2.5	2.6	2.1	1.5	1.1	0.4	0.2

* To be read in conjunction with Map IV, p. 303.

zone no families owned their homes, and in the second and third zones the rate of homeownership was below the average for the city. Then, too, both the dependency and the illiteracy rate declined sharply in the fourth zone. In this zone illiteracy was about one-sixth as high as in the first zone, and the dependency rate was almost half that in the third zone.

The decline in the desertions in the next three zones was even more significant. From eleven in each 1,000 resident families in the fifth zone, the rate declined to two in the seventh. The gradual disappearance of this form of family disorganization coincided with increasing stabilization of

family and community life. This was indicated, first, by the significant increase in homeownership in these three zones. The rate of homeownership mounted rapidly from 8.3 and 11.4 per cent in the fifth and sixth zones to 29.8 in the seventh. Then there was a decline in the proportion of migrant families in these three areas, in conjunction with an increasing proportion of mulattoes in the population. The higher economic status of the inhabitants of these zones was indicated by the fact that there was an increasing proportion of men and women in professional occupations and a smaller proportion of women employed. Along with desertions, both dependency and nonsupport tended to vanish.

When one examines the records of the social agencies concerning these deserted families, they read very much like the records which were quoted from Birmingham, as witness the record of the United Charities on a deserted woman living in the second zone:

Mrs. G. in office asking assistance because Mr. G. had deserted her in June. Mrs. G. was born in Port Gibson, Mississippi, and moved to Missouri in 1924. She went to school in Mississippi to the 8th grade. She met her husband in St. Louis and knew him 10 months before marriage. They came to Chicago directly after marriage. Her husband was a good provider, but abused her, beating her and quarrelling continually. He is big headed. This caused the separation. He does not drink, but is very hard to get on with, as he is continually fighting. She thinks he has gone off with O—— W——, a woman who lived next door. She does not know how long he has been friendly with her. He left her in June but stayed at 29—— Cottage Grove Avenue until the first of August, when she last saw him. She does not know where he is now. She went to C.D.R. in August, swearing out a warrant for him but the officers were unable to find him.[22]

[22] Quoted in Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

More intimate documents, such as life and family histories, secured from these deserted women and their former husbands, furnish a wealth of information on their inner lives, their attitudes, wishes, and conceptions of life, and how these have been affected by the urban environment.[23] In many cases these broken families were once well adjusted to the simple rural southern community, where the sympathetic relationships existing between the members of the family were supported by the church, the lodge, and the customs of the community. But in the city, with its many attractions and conflicting standards of behavior, divergent interests are developed and individualistic wishes become dominant. But, despite these various forces in the urban environment, the sympathetic ties sometimes draw the deserters back to their families. The behavior of Negro deserters, who are likely to return to their families even after several years of absence, often taxes the patience of social workers whose plans for their families are constantly disrupted.

In many cases, of course, the dissolution of the simple family organization has begun before the family reaches the northern city. But, if these families have managed to preserve their integrity until they reach the northern city, poverty, ignorance, and color force them to seek homes in deteriorated slum areas from which practically all institutional life has disappeared. Hence, at the same time that these simple rural families are losing their internal cohesion, they are being freed from the controlling force of public opinion and communal institutions. Family desertion among Negroes in cities appears, then, to be one of the in-

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–78.

evitable consequences of the impact of urban life on the simple family organization and folk culture which the Negro has evolved in the rural South. The distribution of desertions in relation to the general economic and cultural organization of Negro communities that have grown up in our American cities shows in a striking manner the influence of selective factors in the process of adjustment to the urban environment.

CHAPTER XVI

OUTLAWED MOTHERHOOD

Not many years after the Civil War a woman presented, as typical of the demoralized family and sex relations of the newly emancipated Negroes in southern cities, the following picture:

The shanty is black within and without through age and weather, but more through dirt and grime; and the decaying floor is filthier than the ground outside, though that is a sink. There is no chair or stool—nothing to sit upon but the wreck of a bedstead, which holds a nest of what was once straw, a feather pillow which trots of itself, and rags of wool and cotton which are equally smutty and frisky. The only bit of furniture beside a small table, and three children are rubbing off the slime of it with potato skins left yesterday—for they get a meal some days—and these parings furnish their only today. Under the table is a battered wash-dish in which they stir their hoe-cake, when they can get any, and a broken skillet in which to bake it; but wood is scarce to them, and only now and then can they steal a bit. A black woman sits on a log, with half-a-dozen small specimens of humanity about her, and of all shades of black, brown, and yellow. She has eight children, and was married once, but only two of the children belonged to her husband. "Where is your husband?" "Is he living?" you ask. "Dunno, missis, don't care; he may go to de debbil fur all I knows and cares." Two of the children are partially blind through measles, and a third is a cripple. The oldest daughter is married, and with her husband and child lives at home; and the second daughter, a very black and bright girl of fifteen, has a yellow baby, which knows no father; and all this numerous family live in one small room, and all sleep together. The three mothers are all members of the Methodist church.[1]

[1] E. B. Emery, *Letters from the South, on the Social, Intellectual and Moral Condition of the Colored People* (Boston, 1880), pp. 9–10.

In the foregoing picture of Negro illegitimacy in a southern city we have all the factors involved in the general problem: poverty, ignorance, the absence of family traditions and community controls, and finally the sexual exploitation of the subordinate race by the dominant race. Moreover, this description could be matched today by cases in southern cities where the sexual behavior of Negroes has been influenced by similar social forces. But, of course, such cases of illegitimacy, involving the degree of poverty, social disorganization, and personal demoralization represented in the description are not typical. Then, too, it is very probable that illegitimacy is not so widespread among Negroes today as during the years following the Civil War.

It is impossible to draw any conclusions from available statistics concerning either the volume or the trend of illegitimacy among Negroes.[2] Take, for example, the statistics on Negro illegitimacy in the District of Columbia, which have been used more frequently than any other source as a basis of generalization on the problem. In 1878, 9.8 per cent of the Negro births were illegitimate; but, during the next year, the percentage of illegitimate births mounted suddenly to 17 per 100 live births. By 1881 a fifth of the births were illegitimate, and the percentage fluctuated between a fifth and a fourth until 1910. Although after 1910 there was on the whole a downward trend, since 1929 the rate has mounted steadily until it has reached its former level of 20 per cent. The same is true of a few northern and southern cities for which there are statistics on Negro illegitimacy extending as far back as 1900. In Baltimore Negro

[2] See Table 1, Appen. B, for statistics for the birth-registration area. For statistics on illegitimacy among both whites and Negroes in various cities consult Tables 33–47 of Appen. B.

illegitimacy declined slightly from 26.2 per cent at the opening of the century to 21.5 in 1929. During the same period in Mobile, Alabama, the rate has fluctuated considerably. At the beginning of the present century it was close to 27 per cent but declined to 11.3 per cent in 1912. However, the rate suddenly mounted the next year and reached 27 during the war period; then it declined to 23 per cent. However, in Hartford, Connecticut, where there have been comparatively few Negro births, the illegitimacy rate has declined on the whole during the present century despite the influx of Negroes during and since the war. In Sommerville, Massachusetts, where the Negro population has remained small, there have been only six illegitimate births scattered over a period of thirty years. Since 1900 the proportion of Negro illegitimate births in Evansville, Indiana, according to the health records, has fluctuated considerably. At the opening of the century the proportion of illegitimate births was about 14 per cent; but, after declining until it reached 9 per cent in 1906, it increased again and, after fluctuating about 20 per cent, reached 30.8 per cent in 1929.

Records of Negro illegitimacy for shorter periods in several northern and southern cities may also be cited. In Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, the rate has remained close to 20 per cent since 1920. However, in Birmingham, Alabama, the rate has mounted from 12 to 16 per cent since 1918. The rate in Philadelphia since 1920 has closely paralleled that in Birmingham, Alabama; whereas in Trenton, New Jersey, since 1916 it has increased from 10 to 18 per cent. In Chicago it was found that from 10 to 15 per cent of the Negro maternity cases in the Cook County Hospital for

the six years 1923–28 were unmarried mothers.[3] In New York City in 1930 there were 379 Negro illegitimate births according to the records of the health department and 434 according to data of the social service agencies.[4] On the basis of these figures, the Negro rate was between 5 and 6 per cent.

Generally, when attempts have been made in the past to fathom the causes of the persistence of a high rate of illegitimacy among Negroes, especially in cities where the race has made perceptible progress economically and educationally, students have gloomily attributed it to some inherent moral degeneracy of the Negro. Hoffman, writing at the close of the last century, concluded that statistics of crime and illegitimacy furnished proof that "neither religion nor education has influenced to any appreciable degree the moral progress of *the race*" and that "*the race* as a whole has gone backward rather than forward."[5] This opinion was not so harsh as that of the northern-born mulatto who climaxed his denunciation of the loose sex habits of Negroes with the assertion that "illegitimate motherhood is rather a recommendation in the eyes of a prospective husband."[6] Even as late as 1930 a writer, who has often proposed coloni-

[3] See the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), p. 180. From 35 to 50 per cent of all Negro births in Chicago during this period took place in the Cook County Hospital.

[4] Ruth Reed, *The Illegitimate Family* (New York, 1934), pp. 119–20.

[5] Frederick L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* (New York, 1896), p. 236. See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, chap. ii, for a discussion of the various theories concerning the demoralization of Negro family life.

[6] William Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become* (New York, 1901), p. 179.

zation as the only means of saving America from the moral menace of the Negro, regarded the high Negro illegitimacy rate in the District of Columbia as "one of the manifest measures of the indifferent success achieved upon the part of the white, during this long contact in mediating the ideals, the morals, of Christianity" to the Negro.[7]

Although illegitimacy is from five to ten times as high among Negroes as among whites, these opinions concerning the moral degeneracy of the Negro obviously reflect the various attitudes of the writers rather than provide explanations of the Negro's behavior. Shannon's antipathy toward the mulatto was probably responsible for his absurd argument that the Negro's attitude toward illegitimacy is due to false ideals of equality which are encouraged in the District of Columbia. It is scarcely necessary to point out that in most of the northern cities, where the Negro enjoys far more equality than in the District of Columbia, the illegitimacy rates are much lower. But, as a matter of fact, there are relatively few white fathers of colored illegitimate offspring. In Chicago, for the two-and-a-half-year period beginning January, 1926, there were only six white and one Mexican father among the 235 cases in the records of the Cook County Hospital.[8] Dr. Reed in her study of the situation in New York City found that, among "the 962 cases in which the Health Department had data for the race or color of the father as well as of the mother, there were only 18 instances of race crossing reported. Fifteen of these were instances of Negro women who had white fathers of their children, while three were white women who had Negro

[7] A. H. Shannon, *The Negro in Washington: A Study in Race Amalgamation* (New York, 1930), p. 111.

[8] *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 182.

fathers of their babies."[9] Although statistical data of a conclusive nature are lacking, from what we know of racial mixture in the South, the social and economic subordination of the Negro has been more fruitful of illegitimacy than the enjoyment of equality.

The reaction of Thomas, a cultured mulatto from New England, simply expressed his revulsion of feeling toward the disorganized Negroes of the South with whom he was identified by custom and public opinion. Similarly, many white investigators have been shocked and disgusted when they discovered in some cities that three-quarters of a century after slavery a quarter of the Negro births were illegitimate. But what these investigators fail to realize is that the constant flow of simple peasant folk from rural districts to the poverty and disorganization of city slums constantly re-creates the problem of unmarried motherhood.

That most of the unmarried Negro mothers are newcomers to the city is revealed in various studies. In New York City in 1930 about a fifth of the Negro women who became unmarried mothers were nonresidents.[10] This was about 3 per cent less than among white women who seemingly seek the anonymity of the city more frequently to escape the censure of their home communities. However, a more significant fact relative to their migration to the city appears in regard to the birthplace of the unmarried mothers and the length of their residence in the city. Of 447 unmarried mothers for whom information was available coming before social agencies during the years 1922–23 in New York City, 70 per cent were born in southern states or in

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

the West Indies.[11] Three-fourths of the women born in the South had been in New York City less than five years. A similar situation was found in regard to unmarried Negro mothers in Chicago, where about 80 per cent of them were born in the South and over half of them had been in the city less than five years.[12] Moreover, life-histories and case records revealed that many of the unmarried mothers had wandered, with or without their families, about the country before settling in the cities where they gave birth to their illegitimate offspring.[13] A large proportion of the unmarried mothers are comparatively young. Of the group of 300 unmarried mothers studied in Chicago, 50 were under seventeen years of age, and 165, or 55 per cent, were under twenty.[14] In the group studied in New York City, 56 per cent were under twenty years of age.[15] Although their sex delinquency is due in part to the lack of parental supervision, it often represents the persistence in the urban environment of folkways that were relatively harmless in the rural community. In their behavior one can often see exemplified the truth of Sumner's observation that, "so long as customs are simple, naïve, and unconscious, they do not produce evil in character, no matter what they are. If reflection is awakened and the mores cannot satisfy it, then doubt arises; individual character will then be corrupted and the society will degenerate."[16]

Many of the unmarried Negro mothers in our cities have

[11] Ruth Reed, *Negro Illegitimacy in New York City* (New York, 1926), p. 49.

[12] *The Negro Family in Chicago*, pp. 180–81.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 194. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[15] Reed, *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, p. 118.

[16] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (New York, 1906), p. 420.

never known normal family life. Case records of 235 unmarried mothers in Chicago showed that less than an eighth had come from normal families. In a third of the 235 cases the father or mother was dead, the parents were divorced or separated, or one or the other parent had deserted the family. This is typical of cases in other cities. In Washington a thirty-year-old unmarried woman, born outside of Atlanta, Georgia, told the following story of her family background and how she happened to come to the city:

My mother died when I was a year and six months old. I would have been happy if I'd died then too. An old lady named Miss Mariah took care of me. She explained to me about my mother. My father died when I was seven years old. She took care of me till I become twelve, going into my thirteenth, when she died. Ever since I been taking care of myself, butting about. I didn't have no one to teach me, send me to school and give me an education. Some white people taught me a lot of things. It's funny how you can get such a few favors out of colored people. I had never seen a train till I was leben. It like to scared me to death. [A girl friend who] had been to New York and Washington and was home when Miss Mariah died took me to her house after the burial. She told me all about the city. I begged her to bring me with her.[17]

Since these unmarried mothers are a part of the great army of poorer migrants who go to the city, they are naturally found in the deteriorated and disorganized sections of the Negro community. In our study of illegitimacy in the city of Chicago, it was found that illegitimacy was closely tied up with the organization of the Negro community. For example, the highest rate of illegitimacy was found in the first zone, which was in the slum area just outside the central business district where the poorer migrants from the South first settled.[18] In this zone 2.3 per cent of the mothers of

[17] Manuscript document.

[18] See Map IV, p. 303, above.

childbearing age were unmarried mothers. The rate declined in the successive zones until it reached two-tenths of 1 per cent in the seventh or outermost zone.[19] One needs only to read the description of one of the neighborhoods in which illegitimacy flourishes to see to what extent the environment in which these women live influences their sex behavior. An unmarried mother, just fourteen years of age, gave the following description of the building where she met her "beaux":

That building where my cousin lives at now is terrible. I remember one time they shot crap from one o'clock at night on up till in the morning. You know what—that building ain't nothin' but for .... [female homosexuals]. I heard so much about .... [female homosexuals] so one day I asked my cousin what was a .... [female homosexual] and so she said she would show me some of them. She said it was two .... [female homosexuals] in that building and they got to fighting and one pulled the other's clothes off. I tried to get her to tell me what a .... [female homosexual] was but she never did tell me. Some of them women in that building was a hustling. You know, they sell themselves. A man go up there, you know, and then they charge them $2.00. Men used to go up there all the time. There was an old woman there who used to come up to my cousin's and she said to me one day, "Say, honey, when are you going up to my house and sleep with me?" She used to pat me down, and I turned around to her and one of the men in the house told her to let me alone I was a little girl. I remember one time all the girls and boys were out there in front of her house and she said for us all to go inside she couldn't make no money out there with all of us around. Police used to go up there and raid the place all the time. One night I was looking out the window and the patrol backed up to the door and I called L—— right away she ran and locked up the trunk. She said, "I got to get rid of this moonshine." They didn't come in my cousin's. They took men and women out of that building—some just had step-ins on and some of the men were bare foot. That place was so bad. I learned too much

[19] See *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 189.

down there. Well, I'm glad that I did learn what I did for I can keep out of trouble from now on.[20]

The account which this sexually precocious girl furnished concerning her surroundings shows clearly that it is needless to postulate a "compelling sexual appetite," as McCord has done, as an explanation of the conduct of girls who live in such an environment.[21] We often find in the life-histories of the unmarried mothers that their first interest in sexual knowledge has been aroused by the play groups in these disorganized areas. Consequently, their attitudes toward sex as well as their behavior reflect the attitudes of the groups in which sexual knowledge gives them status. We can see the influence of the play group in the following document written by a young unmarried mother:

One day a girl friend of mine told me that a boy name D—— W—— said that he seen me and another girl coming out of the bathroom with two boys. The next day I seen him I asked him he said that he did not say it. Every day I began to see him more. One day he asked me to go with him I said yes. Every day I would come home with him. All the girls was jealous of him they use to tell me that he go with another girl. He said that he did not I believe him. One hot summer night I was in Ellis Park on 37th I met D——. I asked him where did he live he said 36—— Cottage Grove, last fl. After a while along came a girl name L—— B—— and her boy friend. We all sat out in the Park a while He asked me if I would let him have it I said no The girl and boy kept on telling me to go head it won't hurt you I said I was afraid After a while I did. After he took me home the next night I did it again. One Sunday I was in the show I met him After the show him and his boy friend and a girl

[20] See *ibid.*, pp. 194–97, for a history of this girl.

[21] Charles H. McCord, *The American Negro as a Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent* (Nashville, Tenn., 1914), p. 106. The author states that "a compelling sexual appetite" nullifies the desire on the part of the Negro girl to maintain her honor.

I don't know who she was but the boy is name J—— G——. We went over to his house. J—— started the radio. We dance a while The boys turn out the light I and D—— went in the other room. After that he taken me home I began to love him very much I thought it was no body like him.[22]

The contacts which the unmarried mother has with the man who is the father of her child is often of a very casual nature. In many instances they know only the first name of the man. Because of the anonymity afforded by the city, married men are often responsible. Dr. Reed found that about a fourth of the fathers of illegitimate offspring, concerning whose marital status information was available, were married.[23] The city streets, as well as the moving-picture houses, theaters, and dance halls, provide occasions for contacts which often lead to illegitimacy. The following is an excerpt from the life-history of a naïve newcomer to the city:

We just got acquainted ourselves and how I got acquainted was I got lost. I was on 7th Street to a five and ten cent store. He was coming down the street. I stop him and asked him how to get back home. I was shamed to tell him I couldn't read the names on the car. I just guess he considered the matter and took me home. Then he asked me could he come to see me. I stopped him on the corner cause I didn't know what the lady would say. He asked me where I lived, if I had a friend, about my people, and he showed me different places. He asked to call to see me and take me to the movies. I was 14 and had never been to a show. First time he come to see me he took me to the show. I can remember it just as good. It was a love picture about a boy falling in love with a poor girl. After the show he took me to a cafe. We had sandwiches and tea. I don't drink nothing, I ain't never drunk nothing. Then he taken me back home.[24]

[22] Quoted in *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 199.

[23] *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, p. 165.

[24] Manuscript document.

The detail concerning the romantic element in the picture suggests the manner in which the city environment gives a new definition of sex. Although the majority of the unmarried mothers have never gone beyond the eighth grade, they are often influenced in their attitudes toward sex by the printed page.[25] As a rule the literature with which they are acquainted is restricted to such magazines as *True Stories* and *True Confessions*. Significantly enough, one girl recounted in her life-history a story from one of these magazines that centered about the romantic career of an unmarried mother.

Naturally, the vast majority of the unmarried mothers come from the lower economic strata in the Negro population. Their parents or, where they are dependent upon their own labor, they themselves are engaged in domestic service or, as in a city like Chicago, in unskilled labor.[26] Often where young unmarried mothers are living with their parents, very frequently with only a mother, they are without parental oversight because of the employment of the mother. However, many of these working mothers make sincere efforts to control their daughters' behavior; but, because of vicious surroundings and the freedom which the city affords, their diligence is often of no avail. As one widowed mother in Chicago sadly remarked concerning her wayward daughter, "I talk and talk and teach, and, when I have done all I know how to do, I can do no more. Children in these days are a heart break."

[25] See Reed, *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, pp. 132–33; and Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 272.

[26] In the New York City group studied by Dr. Reed, about three-fourths of the unmarried Negro mothers were in domestic service (*The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, p. 127), while in Chicago about a half of the 300 unmarried mothers were so employed.

The experience of unmarried motherhood for some of these girls is sometimes the beginning of a series of such experiences. Of the 379 unmarried Negro mothers studied by Dr. Reed, 47 had had two children; 10, three children; 8, four children; and 4 as many as seven or more.[27] In our study of 300 unmarried mothers in Chicago the case records revealed that about 13 per cent of them had had more than one child.[28] That more unmarried mothers do not have several illegitimate children is hardly due to their reformation but to the fact that they acquire knowledge about birth control and abortions. Nor should it be overlooked that venereal diseases play some part in preventing conception. On the whole, the unmarried mothers in the city exhibit less of the elemental maternal sympathy toward their children which one finds in rural communities in the South.[29] In the alleys of southern cities as well as in the tenements in northern cities, the unmarried mother sometimes kills her unwanted child by throwing it in the garbage can. Yet one finds cases of unmarried mothers who show a natural sympathy and affection for their offspring that is reminiscent of the isolated communities in the rural South. In this connection one's attention is called to Dr. Reed's study that showed that, whereas only a third of the illegitimate white children are taken care of in the home of their mother or a relative, three-fourths of the offspring of unmarried Negro mothers receive such care.[30] This difference reflects to some extent the persistence of the traditional folkways in the urban environment.

Of course, Negro illegitimacy is not merely the persistence

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 144–45.

[28] *The Negro Family in Chicago*, p. 273.

[29] Cf. chap. vi.

[30] *The Illegitimate Family in New York City*, p. 202.

of naïve peasant folkways in the urban environment. Undoubtedly, much of the illegitimacy issues from social disorganization and results in personal demoralization. Some of the unmarried mothers are themselves illegitimate; and it appears in some cases, at least, that they have simply imitated the loose behavior of their mothers. Nor can one overlook the fact that a few of the older women who have illegitimate offspring are already married. These women are conscious of having violated the established mores. The same may be said of the young girls who attempt in various ways to avoid exposure. As a rule, the older women attempt to deceive the social agencies by pretending that they are married.

It happens occasionally that an unmarried mother has lived over a period of years with the father of her illegitimate offspring. She may even represent herself to the community as well as to her children as a married woman. In such cases her efforts to conceal her real relation to the father of her children may spring from the desire to protect the status of her children in the community.

As typical of such women, we might cite the case in Washington of a forty-four-year-old unmarried mother, without any formal education, from a rural community in Maryland. She married when she was thirteen years old, but was deserted three years later when her husband went to Florida to work. After coming to Washington, she took up with a man by whom she had three children. When this man deserted her and married, she began living with another man by whom she also had two children. She went by the name of the second man and brought up her first set of children to believe that their father was dead and the second set that she was legally married to their father. When this woman

had to apply for relief, she reported herself as having been married to these men; but, after the social worker found no record of her marriages, she explained her attempted deception in the following letter:

I want to explain something to you that I didn't tell you this morning as the questions were too embarrassing to answer and I didn't want my children to know how things were with me as I really couldn't help how things were at the time, so now I am telling you the truth. I were not married to Johnson or North but having these children couldn't be helped for the sake of my health. Jones was my only real husband and that can be found out in X . . . . , Maryland. Like many others I didn't realize what a record it would make and what all of this would really mean, but as I am not doing any of these things now I hope you can straighten this out without any further embarrassment, but for the sake of my children and my church please let me keep the name NORTH as we were to be married on the 20th of the month when he suddenly died on the 17th of June, 1934. Every other thing I have told you was true except that part of things.[31]

Although a son and a daughter by the first man are married and are seemingly living conventional lives, the younger daughter has unconsciously followed in the footsteps of her mother.

Our analysis of Negro illegitimacy has revealed that it is a problem almost entirely of the naïve and ignorant peasant folk who are newcomers to the city. Occasionally, a girl with some education and a good family background will be found among the cases in the social agencies. But among Negroes, as among whites, when women and girls who have the advantage of education and economic security and the protection of family become pregnant as a result of extramarital sex relations, they are generally shielded both from

[31] Manuscript document. The names in the letter have been changed to prevent identification.

the censure of society and from the scrutiny of social agencies. It is, of course, different with the great mass of simple peasant folk who are without these economic and cultural resources. During the course of their migration to the city, family ties are broken, and the restraints which once held in check immoral sex conduct lose their force. However, in some cases where the rural folkways concerning unmarried motherhood are in conflict with the legal requirements of the city, the persistence of these folkways in the urban environment will create social problems. Illegitimacy, like other forms of family disorganization, tends to become segregated in the poorer sections of the Negro community located in the slum areas of our cities.

CHAPTER XVII

REBELLIOUS YOUTH

The disorganization of Negro family life in the urban environment, together with the absence of communal controls, results in a high delinquency rate among Negro boys and girls. However, among Negroes, as among whites, boys are much more frequently brought before the courts than girls. For example, in 1933 there were 9,864 Negro boys as compared with 1,803 Negro girls dealt with in delinquency cases disposed of by sixty-seven courts in the United States,[1] not including the 283 boys and 8 girls whose cases were disposed of by federal authorities.[2] Since the misconduct of Negro girls has been considered to some extent in connection with the problem of unmarried motherhood, our attention here will be directed mainly to the misconduct of Negro boys which may be dealt with under the law.[3]

Negro boys and girls are younger on the whole than the white boys and girls handled by the courts. In the sixty-seven courts for which we have records in 1933, 87 per cent of the Negro boys and 84 per cent of the Negro girls as compared with 79 per cent of the white boys and 69 per

[1] U. S. Department of Labor, *Juvenile Court Statistics and Federal Juvenile Offenders* (Children's Bureau Pub. 232 [Washington, 1936]), p. 29. Only 67 of the 255 courts reporting delinquency furnished information on color.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[3] As defined in the report of the Committee on Socially Handicapped–Delinquency, of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, "delinquency is any such juvenile misconduct as might be dealt with under the law" (*The Delinquent Child* [New York, 1932], p. 23).

cent of the white girls were under sixteen years of age.[4] Moreover, available studies indicate that the rates of delinquency for both Negro boys and Negro girls are distinctly higher than for white boys and girls. For example, in New York City the Negro rate is about three times the white rate, while in Baltimore it is more than four times the white rate.[5] Then, if we view the situation from the standpoint of the Negro alone, we find that in three southern cities—Richmond, Memphis, and Charleston—the proportion of Negro cases has been about one and a half times their relative numbers in the population of these cities, while in Indianapolis, Gary, and Dayton, the proportion has reached three or four times their relative numbers.[6]

It is difficult to detect any significant trend in juvenile delinquency among Negroes for the country as a whole. However, in certain localities one may find fairly definite indications that the rates have mounted or declined over a period of years.[7] In the District of Columbia the rate has declined from 922 per 10,000 boys of juvenile court age in 1927 to 737 in 1933. During the same period the rate in Hudson County, New Jersey, declined from 698 to 263; and in Fulton County, Georgia, from 644 to 496 for the four years 1930–33. On the other hand, in Baltimore from 1930 to 1933 the rate rose from 672 to 962, and in New York City it leaped from 170 in 1927 to 342 in 1928 and remained close to the latter rate until 1933. But even the trends observable in the various cities throw little or no light on the

[4] U.S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 10; see also Sophia M. Robison, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?* (New York, 1936), pp. 62–64.

[6] See T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities* (New York, 1928), p. 227.

[7] U.S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

problem of Negro delinquency. In order to get an understanding of the problem, it is necessary to study the delinquent boy or girl in relation to his or her family and community setting.

The facts brought out in a study of Negro juvenile delinquency in Nashville, Tennessee, during recent years will enable us to get some understanding of the social factors which are responsible for delinquency in southern cities.[8]

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF NEGRO BOYS AND GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, 1925–29

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Boys	210	169	186	200	176
Girls	98	96	95	84	68

During the period from 1925 to 1929, the number of Negro boys brought into the juvenile court in Nashville fluctuated considerably, whereas the number of Negro girls declined from 98 to 68 (see Table 18). The number of Negro delinquents brought to court during this period was only slightly in excess of their relative numbers in the population of the city.[9] In 1929 about 70 per cent of the boys and 63 per cent of the girls were from twelve to fifteen years of age. Nearly a half of the boys were charged with stealing; whereas the majority of the girls were charged with incorrigibility and

[8] The information on Nashville is taken from a Master's thesis written under the direction of the author (see Mary LaVerta Huff, "Juvenile Delinquency in Nashville" [Fisk University thesis (Nashville, Tenn., June, 1934)]).

[9] However, in 1932 the number of delinquent boys increased to 324 and the number of girls to 83. This increase might have been due to the apprehension of more delinquents when the Negro probation force was enlarged.

disorderly conduct. It should be added that these Negro delinquents were apprehended as ordinary criminals and brought to court by the police much more frequently than the white delinquents.

The complaint of a deputy sheriff against a ten-year-old offender gives some notion of the demoralization of childhood represented in these delinquency cases:

> This boy was brought in on a state warrant charging tippling and the boy admits that he sold a pint of whisky for the people for whom he was working, to some man he did not know, for $1.50 and gave the money to the people for whom he worked. H. make an investigation of the boy's home and found conditions deplorable. The boy's mother does not live there but at the place where she works. The boy lives with a married sister whose home is filthy and unsanitary and an unfit place to live. The boy does not have supervision. He will not tell the truth and is badly in need of supervision.[10]

In the charges brought by police officers against a fifteen-year-old boy, who was sentenced to the Children's Detention Home for a year, one can see to what extent these homeless children in the slum areas of southern cities are subjected to all types of vicious influences:

> The proof is that he, S. P., A. W., and two other men were all in one bed together on Sunday morning, March 3, and were engaged in lewdness. They admit they were guilty of lewdness. The boy is not going to school and has not been at home in weeks. He lives in this room where the officer caught all this lewdness at 7 A.M. The boy has heretofore been at the C.D.H. for larceny. He is delinquent and a truant.[11]

But more often these boys are picked up for acts of theft ranging from petty stealing to burglaries. The record of a boy only eleven years of age charged with larceny states:

[10] From court record.

[11] From court record.

The boy's father came in court and made complaint that the boy would not work or go to school but was stealing all around the neighborhood and was teaching the small boys with whom he associates to steal. His mother brought him to court this day and made the same complaint and both request that he be committed to the S.T.A. From the statements of both parents and after talking to the boy the court is satisfied that he is a truant and delinquent and is stealing.

Often these young lawbreakers are schooled in crime by older boys or men or even members of their families. This was evident in the case of the eight-year-old-boy charged with housebreaking and larceny:

Policeman B. found a raincoat and two pairs of shoes in the home of this boy and arrested him. The boy admits that he and his uncle C. B. went to the home of F. about 12 o'clock at night and the uncle took a watch and chain and the boy a raincoat and the shoes home with him. The boy says that they broke in the house. The boy's uncle got away and he does not know where he is.

Sometimes boys as young as eleven or twelve are apprehended as members of criminal gangs engaging regularly in housebreaking and thefts. The extreme youth of the boys caught in such delinquencies is indicative of the general lack of parental control among some elements of the Negro population. In the complaint of the aunt against her wayward twelve-year-old nephew we get a hint of the broken homes from which so many of these delinquents come:

This boy was brought into court by his aunt; she states that the boy's mother is dead, that his father does not provide for the boy, that she has reared him since he was one year old, that he will not work nor go to school and associates with bad company and she can no longer control him and wants the court to take the custody of him. She promises to clothe him.

In fact, only 67 of the 176 delinquent Negro boys brought into court in 1929 came from families in which both parents

were living together. In 37 other cases, although both parents were living, they were separated, chiefly because of the desertion of the father. Fifty-nine boys came from homes where either the mother or the father was dead; and 13 had both parents dead. The home situation was even worse in the case of the 68 delinquent girls; only 15 of them came from normal families.

The charge of incorrigibility against 50 of these girls involved five specific offenses: sex delinquency, truancy, ungovernability, running away, and continued association with vicious companions.[12] In 27 cases there was sex delinquency ranging from initial sex experiences to promiscuous relations and prostitution. Truancy, which was often associated with sex delinquency, was found in 23 cases. Although ungovernability was found as the sole offense in 7 cases, in 9 other cases it was associated with sex delinquency, truancy, and running away. Fourteen of the 15 girls who were charged with running away were most frequently guilty of sex offenses, while the 5 girls charged with association with vicious companions were generally guilty of the other four offenses. A view of the type of family background from which some of these girls come is given us in the following excerpt from the story given by a girl charged with incorrigibility:

I never want nor expect to return home again, never. I guess I haven't a home anyway. I asked my adopted father to never come out here to see me. He wouldn't get me any clothes then because I said I didn't want to see him. He said if I didn't want to see him I sure couldn't have any of his money or anything his money bought. When I left home to come here I told that woman he lived with that the last thing I intended to do was to poison both of them. I might change my mind though.

My own mother and father are dead. I liked my adopted father

[12] Huff, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

all right while my adopted mother was living. They were like real parents to me. When my adopted mother got sick and stayed for a while papa began running around with this woman that he is living with. One of my chums put me on to it. This woman lived next door to her and she used to see him going there. As soon as mama dies he took this woman in. It wasn't more than a week after mama died. I told him that he ought to be ashamed, and I said so much to him that he slapped me. He never had hit me before, and think, hit me about that hoar, I never would eat at the same table with them. After she came there to live I would leave for school at 6 o'clock in the morning, and I wouldn't come home until late at night. I hated to go home. I promised to poison both of them and they believed me. They tried to get Miss R. to put me in the C. D. Home a long time before she sent me. Miss R. said she didn't blame me for not wanting to stay around them. They would throw up to me about my real mother, that she had had four children and never been married. I never heard anything about this till this woman came.[13]

In some cases the delinquent behavior of these girls has not only been taken over from their parents or other adults but represents their response to what is held up to them as their expected role in life. A woman who called the probation officer for aid in managing her thirteen-year-old niece described the latter as follows:

But I know Mary. I ought to when I have had her every since she was five months old. I know I understand her. She is exactly like her mama. Her mama is my baby sister, but the truth is the truth. She had Mary when she was only 15 by an old nigger that didn't have a dime to his name. He run off and she never heard of him again after he got her in trouble. I kept her in my house until Mary was born, and treated her good and helped her with the baby. Then when Mary was five months old this gal ups and runs off with another nigger and I ain't laid eyes on her from that day to this. Mary has never seen her mama to remember. So this gal has just done like her mama. I understand alright.

[13] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 61.

This girl's aunt was reputed to have once been a p[illegible]tute and was known to be engaged at the time of the plaint in bootlegging. Her neighbors described her as "[illegible] another whore" and claimed that she had forced her ni[illegible] to "hustle" in order to get money for food and clothing.[14]

Occasionally, delinquency on the part of these girls is the result of the gradual breaking-down of standards that have been built up in the rural environment. This is shown in the following document, which was furnished by a seventeen-year-old girl.[15] Moreover, this document is of particular interest because it shows that, although the girl's immediate family was broken by desertion on the part of the father, in the rural community the children were integrated into the larger family group. However, when the girl came to live in the urban environment, the absence of a normal family life became the means by which she was led into sex delinquency.

From the time that I can remember anything my mother and we children were living with our grandfather who had a farm out at ——— Tennessee. I was happy and so were my brothers I remember and sisters until grandpa would begin fussing. I remember how he used to fuss long before I remember what he would be saying. I would know that something made him mad. Soon my mother married again to a man who had pretty good money for a country farmer. Then mama moved away to a town about seven miles from us. All of us cried and begged her to take us but she wouldn't. She said grandpa and grandma had helped raise us up to where we was then and that we was just the size where we could be of help to them, and said that now we could help pay grandma and grandpa for the expenses they had been at for us. She said our father had never done anything for us. That was the first time I had heard her say anything about our father to remember. I guess when grandpa would be fussing he would be saying something about him, but I didn't know it. Anyhow I

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–79.

red how he looked and asked grandma about him but she
in't say much. But before I was much larger I tooked and asked
ma about him and found out that papa quit my mama about
months before my youngest brother was born and came here with
another woman. This woman use to come to the house when mama and papa was living together and tried to be so nice to mama. Mama really didn't know that papa and this woman was going together.

Grandma said when one of mama friends told her about it she got mad at her. Not long after this papa pretended that his oldest brother was at the point of death in the city, and that he had to go at once. He didn't come back again until my baby brother had been born and was six years old. He didn't know papa and was scared of him like he would be of any other strange man. When my baby brother saw him he said "Oh there is Jimmy Holloman." He really didn't know papa. Then papa got mad about that. That night my brother had earache and was crying. Papa got mad about this and said that he needed a whipping for keeping up all that racket. Grandpa told him if he laid his hand on the child he would kill him dead. Papa left the next day and didn't come no more until grandpa had been dead a long time. Mama had married and we were all large children. He came to visit his sister and brother who lived at home. Folks use to say that I looked exactly like his sister, Aunt Molly. But Grandma didn't like that because she said that Aunt Molly was nothing but a slut. She was married but she had had ten children and wasn't but two of them her husband's. The other eight had stray daddies. We didn't know how to act toward him and none of us would call him papa. We would just begin talking and wouldn't call him anything. He stayed a month. He swore that he wasn't married but he got a lot of letters while he was there. He went to fishing one day and me and my sister went into his things and found some things that almost made both of us faint. We found first two letters from two children of his that he had in ——— a little town not far from here. They were thanking him for sending them some stockings and other clothes. The oldest one of these children was a boy and we found out after we come here that this boy was almost as old as my youngest brother. The other was a girl. We couldn't speak for a while after we read these letters. There was a letter from their mama too. She said in that letter something I will never forget the longest day I

live about people calling her a fool for still being crazy about him but that as long as she was satisfied they could go to hell. My grandma and grandpa had said so many times that papa was nothing but a nasty, stinking, low down nigger, who was too lazy to work and take care of a family. I don't know why we ought to have been surprised to find out more of his dirt but we were. I dreaded for him to come back from fishing and hoped that he would soon go home. There he was sending this woman and those bastards things when he hadn't send us hardly $20 worth the whole while that he had been away.

Later, the girl came to the city to live with her father and stepmother. Her story continues:

I hated so bad to live in the place in which they were living. It was an apartment flat with three families living up stairs and three downstairs. Brother said that he had heard that not a one of the couples was married. He didn't believe that papa was married to this woman either. They played cards all day Sunday. This made me sick because grandma had never allowed us to go to dances let alone play cards. I had to sleep in the same room with papa and his wife. Brother slept in a cot in the kitchen. There wasn't but two rooms. Papa and this woman would often wake us up in the night doing their business. I wouldn't let on that they woke me up. The springs would squeak and this woman wouldn't let that noise do but I could hear easy enough. This made me sick again I never had heard such at grandma's house and I looked down on that kind of stuff. My sister came and we just lived through it. Sister and I dreaded for night to come. We hated papa more and more.

The two sisters and their brother continued to go to church as they had done in the country. This caused their father to ridicule them about their "country" habits. Tension between the father and the children continued to become more acute until finally there was an open break in which the children engaged in a fist fight with their father. As the result, the girls were put out of the home and reported to the court as being incorrigible. Instead of sending them to the detention home as the father requested, the

court put them on probation to their brother. When their brother married, they were without a home. The girl who was charged with sex delinquency because of her conduct described below, and sent to the detention home, ends her story with the following comment:

> After I had seen so much out of my father, and my brother had changed so I just seemed to slip. When I began living on the place I would have one day off. I didn't have any place to go. My boy friend invited me to spend my off-time over at his place. Everybody sows their wild oats at some time or other in their lives. I don't believe that I am guilty of any sin because I am going to marry this feller.

Let us turn our attention from this southern city to New York City, where, as we have seen, Negro juvenile delinquency rates suddenly jumped in 1928 to 342 per 10,000 boys as compared with 170 in 1927.[16] In 1930 there were for all the boroughs 839 Negro children, or 11.8 per cent of the total of 7,090 children, brought before the Children's Court. When delinquents from all agencies were considered, there were 1,065 Negro children, or 10.3 per cent of the total of 10,374 children. However, the proportion of Negro delinquents among the delinquents in both groups varied in the different boroughs. The rate was highest in the Manhattan borough, where Negro delinquents before the Children's Court comprised 26 per cent of the total; whereas, in the borough of Brooklyn, Negro cases comprised only 5.4 per cent of all the delinquents before the court.[17]

For our purposes here, we shall consider Negro boys and girls arrested because of delinquency and neglect in the Harlem area during the years 1930–34.[18] On the whole, the

[16] See p. 359 above.

[17] Robison, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[18] This information was collected in 1935 from the records of the police precincts while the author was engaged in a study of Harlem for the Mayor's Commission on Conditions in Harlem (see Map V).

number of Negro boys and girls arrested for delinquency has declined since 1930, although the figures for 1934 indicated that the number of delinquents was mounting again. This was especially noticeable in the case of the delinquent girls

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF DELINQUENT AND NEGLECTED NEGRO BOYS AND GIRLS ARRESTED IN THE HARLEM AREA, 1930–34

SEX	AGE	YEAR				
		1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
		Delinquent				
Male	10–16	362	265	212	229	271
	Under 10	36	18	9	9	9
Female	10–16	27	15	20	28	36
	Under 10	0	1	0	1	1
		Neglected				
Male	10–16	11	10	5	5	6
	Under 10	16	9	5	7	9
Female	10–16	10	3	1	3	1
	Under 10	6	6	11	6	7

(see Table 19). The vast majority of the Negro delinquents were between ten and sixteen years of age; only about 3 per cent of the boys, except in 1930, being under ten years of age. However, if the children arrested because of neglect are considered separately, we find that the vast majority were under ten years of age.

When we analyze the offenses for which these boys and

girls were arrested, we find that, as in Nashville, the chief offense of the boys was larceny and burglary; whereas 50 per cent of the girls were charged with incorrigibility. Thus, in 1934 about 30 per cent of the delinquent boys were charged with larceny and 10 per cent with burglary. Among the more serious offenses charged against the boys, assaults and holdups ranked third and fourth, respectively; whereas sex offenses held second place among the girls. Two boys were charged with homicide in 1931 and one with the same offense in 1932. Although there was no change in the rank of these various offenses among either boys or girls during the five years, the proportion of boys arrested for larceny and burglary increased appreciably, while the proportion for assaults and holdups declined slightly.[19] The majority of the less serious crimes were indicative of the lack of recreational facilities and programs for the children of the Harlem community. For example, in 1934 eleven of the boys were charged with hitching on trolleys and twenty-seven with stealing rides on the subways. On the other hand, the comparatively few boys charged with selling on the streets or shining shoes most likely reflected the general poverty of the families in the area.

The relation of juvenile delinquency to the organization

[19] A study of delinquent and neglected Negro children in New York City twelve years ago showed a different distribution of offenses for the boys. According to that study, the most common charges against Negro boys were disorderly conduct and desertion of home; whereas approximately 85 per cent of the Negro girls were charged with desertion of home and ungovernable and wayward conduct. The most common charges against the whites were stealing and burglary. Thus, our figures indicate that the charges against Negro boys are at present similar to those against white boys (see Joint Committee on Negro Child Study, *A Study of Delinquent and Neglected Children before the New York City Children's Court in 1925* [New York, 1927], p. 6).

of the Harlem Negro community is not so apparent as in Chicago, where, as we shall see, it is definitely related to the economic and cultural organization of the Negro community.[20] In Chicago the percentage of Negro delinquent cases among the cases brought before the juvenile court has steadily increased since 1900. In that year 4.7 per cent of all cases of boys before the court were Negro boys. The percentage of Negro boys increased for each five-year period until it reached 21.7 in 1930.[21] In Table 20 we have the number of delinquent and dependent boys and girls brought into the juvenile court each year during the decade 1920–29. Naturally, these figures do not include all cases of delinquency; in fact, they do not include all the cases of arrests for delinquency. For example, in 1927 there were 1,503 boys arrested for juvenile delinquency, although only 342 cases were taken into the court.[22]

The marked increase in the proportion of Negro cases has coincided with the increase in the Negro population during and since the war period. However, what is more important is that this increase has followed the settlement of the Negro migrant in areas characterized by a high delinquency rate.[23]

[20] See the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago*, chap. ix, for a full discussion of the relation of delinquency rates to the economic and cultural organization of the Negro community.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 206. During this same period the percentage of Negro girls in the total cases increased from 11 to 20.9.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 205, n. 1.

[23] Shaw, who has shown in a number of well-known studies the relation between delinquency and community disorganization, makes the following statement: "It is interesting to note that the main high rate areas of the city—those near the Loop, around the Stock Yards and the South Chicago steel mills—have been characterized by high rates over a long period. Our data are based on records that go back thirty years, and the early and late juvenile court series show conclusively that many of the areas have been

The Negro, like other groups marked off from the general population because of color and low economic and cultural status, has found a dwelling-place in the deteriorated area just outside the Loop.[24] In the zone nearest the center of the city, the juvenile delinquency rate, based upon arrests, was over 40 per cent.[25] From a physical standpoint

TABLE 20*

NUMBER OF NEGRO BOYS AND GIRLS BROUGHT INTO THE JUVENILE COURT OF COOK COUNTY DURING EACH FISCAL YEAR DECEMBER 1, 1919—NOVEMBER 30, 1929

Year	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Delinquent:										
Boys.....	182	194	177	161	310	326	320	342	427	435
Girls.....	128	100	116	108	107	98	117	154	166	132
Dependent:										
Boys.....	45	30	26	26	52	79	86	79	109	81
Girls.....	40	26	37	46	61	50	73	76	101	102

* Taken from the records of the Institute for Juvenile Research.

this area showed extreme deterioration and gave evidence of the expansion of the central business district. On the one hand, there were dilapidated houses carrying signs of rooms for rent at fifteen and twenty cents a bed, junk shops, markets with stale meat, and crowded Negro quarters with filthy bedding half-visible through sooty and broken window

characterized by high rates throughout the entire period. It should be remembered that relatively high rates have persisted in certain areas notwithstanding the fact that the composition (racial) of population has changed markedly" (Clifford Shaw *et. al.*, *Delinquency Areas* [Chicago, 1929], p. 203).

[24] Cf. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home* (New York, 1912), p. 153.

[25] See Map IV, p. 303.

panes. On the other hand, new motorcar salesrooms furnished signs of the future role which the regenerated area would play in the organization of the city. In keeping with the general character of the area, all organized community life had disappeared, and the inhabitants were, on the whole, remnants of broken families and foot-loose men and women. In 1921 the men in the county jail who claimed residence in this area comprised over 9 per cent of the adult males living in the area.

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF NEGRO BOYS ARRESTED FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND RATE OF DELINQUENCY IN SEVEN ZONES OF THE SOUTH SIDE NEGRO COMMUNITY, CHICAGO, 1926

	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone V	Zone VI	Zone VII
Boys arrested..	33	208	373	364	223	59	5
Rate.....	42.8	31.4	30.0	28.8	15.7	9.6	1.4

Although the delinquency rates in the next three zones were lower than in the first zone, they were still comparatively high. About three out of ten boys from ten to seventeen years of age were arrested for juvenile delinquency in these zones. The significant drop in the delinquency rate appeared in the fifth zone, where only 15 per cent of the boys of juvenile-court age were arrested for delinquency. In the sixth zone the delinquency rate continued to decline sharply, and in the seventh zone only 1.4 per cent of the boys were charged with delinquent behavior (see Table 21).

The decline in delinquency coincided with the decline in dependency, family desertion, and illegitimacy in the seven zones indicating the expansion of the Negro population. The

rates were high in those areas that were characterized by physical decay and the lack of organized community life. In these areas the customary forms of social control, as represented by the family and the simple folk culture of the migrants from southern communities, tended to break down or to disappear altogether. Consequently, some of the fairly well-organized families lost control of their children who took over from boys or gangs patterns of delinquent behavior which were characteristic of these areas. The children from the numerous broken families, and whose mothers had to carry the entire burden of supporting their families, easily drifted into delinquency.[26] In the third zone, where prostitution and other types of criminal behavior flourished, not only were the children subjected to the criminal influences in the neighborhood, but they were also influenced by the criminal behavior of their parents. The decline in the delinquency rate in the areas toward the periphery of the community coincided with the increasing stabilization of family life and the disappearance of various forms of social disorganization.

What we have observed in regard to juvenile delinquency in the Negro community in Chicago is characteristic of other cities, in the South as well as the North. Though the process of selection which is apparent in the economic and cultural organization of Negro communities is less pronounced and not so well defined in some cities, the incidence of juvenile delinquency is closely tied up with the organization of the community. Juvenile delinquency flourishes in those areas where the Negro, because of his poverty and cultural backwardness, is forced to find a dwelling-place. In the slum areas of Negro communities, because of the numerous

[26] See Table 6, p. 307, above.

broken homes and the employment of the mother, the children lack parental control which is sometimes able to offset the influence of the vicious environment. Negro families with higher aspirations who are able to achieve some economic security are constantly escaping from the deteriorated slum areas. They move as far as they are able into the areas where the more stable families and substantial elements in the Negro population live and maintain orderly community life. This selective process is the outcome of the rigorous competition which Negro families must face in the modern urban environment, and their success or failure depends largely upon their cultural as well as economic resources.

CHAPTER XVIII

DIVORCE: SCRIP FROM THE LAW

For a long time there has been a great divergence of opinion concerning the frequency of divorce among Negroes.[1] Over half a century ago Commissioner of Labor Wright in his report on marriage and divorce stated, on the basis of the opinions of "clerks of courts and others in a position to judge with fair accuracy," that "it is probably true that in nearly all of the states . . . . where the colored population is very dense, nearly if not quite three-fourths of the divorces granted were to colored people."[2] Likewise, the census report twenty years later stated that "statements of court officials and of divorce lawyers in those sections of the South where the negro constitutes a considerable element of the population tend to show that the divorces granted to colored persons form from 50 to as high as 90 per cent of all divorces."[3] These opinions were apparently confirmed by the 1900 census data on the marital conditions of whites and Negroes in the southern states. "These figures," as

[1] The annual reports by the United States Bureau of the Census do not separate the divorce statistics for the Negroes. Although instructions were given originally to secure the color of the litigants, this information was so scanty that it made separate statistics for the Negroes impossible (*Marriage and Divorce, 1867–1906* [Washington, 1909], Part I, p. 20).

[2] *Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1867–1886* (Washington, 1897), p. 132. Cf. J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce: A Social Interpretation* (New York, 1931), p. 123. In this study Dr. Lichtenberger has traced the development of opinions relative to the frequency of divorce among Negroes. Our discussion follows practically the same line as that given in this study. See also the author's *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 57–59.

[3] *Marriage and Divorce, 1867–1906*, Part I, p. 20.

Lichtenberger points out, "show that while the ratio of marriages to population was greater among white people in both divisions and in all but three States—South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana—the States having the highest percentages of Negro population, in both divisions, and in all the States without exception, the ratio of divorces to population was greater, and in several instances much greater, for the colored than for the white."[4] However, the Bureau of the Census did not accept these facts as final proof of the current opinions. They called attention, first, to the fact that "the number of divorced persons as returned at the census of 1900 was probably grossly deficient, because many divorced persons, sensitive in regard to their marital condition, reported themselves as single or widowed." Therefore, they concluded, since this tendency was possibly "greater among the whites than among the colored, ... the figures for the two races would not be exactly comparable."[5]

Some years previously, Professor Willcox in his study of divorce had questioned the accuracy of Commissioner Wright's statement. He pointed out, first, that "an a priori argument against the opinion quoted may be derived from what is known of divorce in other parts of the world. It is not the poorest and most ignorant classes that frequent the divorce courts: their poverty and ignorance prevent."[6] Then, he proposed, first, that a comparison be made between the percentage of Negroes in the total population of the various southern states and the number of divorces granted in these states. This comparison failed to show any

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 124–25.

[5] *Marriage and Divorce, 1867–1906*, Part I, p. 20.

[6] Walter F. Willcox, *The Divorce Problem: A Study in Statistics* ("Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," Vol. I [New York, 1897]), p. 30.

relation between these two phenomena. Actually, the four states with the lowest percentages of Negroes—West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas—had the highest divorce rates.[7] Professor Willcox went farther and made a study of counties in the seven states with the highest percentages of Negro population and found that "in all of the states but Arkansas the divorce rate was less in the black counties than in the white."[8] Even this could not be regarded as decisive proof, inasmuch as it was possible that in the counties predominantly white, where there was a strict enforcement of laws regarding marital relations, the divorce-rate might have been swelled by the black litigants. Professor Willcox's carefully worded conclusion that, "on the whole, it seems probable that the average Negro divorce rate is rather below that of the southern whites, but is increasing much more rapidly, and in a few localities or states may have already reached or passed it," was probably true.[9]

However, Professor Willcox was describing the situation in the South where the Negro population was predominantly rural. Even present-day statistics on the situation in Mississippi, where almost seven-eighths of the Negroes live in rural communities, indicate that the divorce-rate is lower among Negroes than among whites. For the period 1928–34 the ratio of divorces to marriages among Negroes was not only lower than the ratio for whites but declined while the white rate remained practically stationary. For the years 1928–30 there were 8.4 divorces per 100 marriages among Negroes, whereas during this same period the rate for whites increased from 12.3 to 13.7. During the next four

[7] Lichtenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 123. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 32. [9] *Ibid.*

years the rate for Negroes declined from 6.0 to 4.4 while the white rate remained unchanged (Table 22).

It is not unlikely that in rural communities, such as those inhabited by the Negroes in Mississippi, the divorce-rates among Negroes are lower than among whites. As we have seen, in the rural community the Negro's social relations are based upon sympathy and sentiment and are regulated

TABLE 22*

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES AND DIVORCE-RATES ACCORDING TO RACE IN MISSISSIPPI, 1928–34

YEAR	TOTAL MARRIAGES		TOTAL DIVORCES		DIVORCES PER 100 MARRIAGES	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
1928.....	11,662	18,569	1,435	1,574	12.3	8.4
1929.....	12,864	18,631	1,598	1,574	12.4	8.4
1930.....	10,815	14,913	1,487	1,256	13.7	8.4
1931.....	9,952	11,637	1,308	707	13.1	6.0
1932.....	10,147	12,541	1,308	610	12.8	4.8
1933.....	12,201	15,366	1,396	559	11.4	3.6
1934.....	13,497	16,652	1,704	742	12.6	4.4

* Based upon *Twenty-ninth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health.*

by custom and folk beliefs. When it comes to severing his marital ties, he has only vague or erroneous ideas concerning the meaning of divorce. It is regarded not as an institutional affair but as a personal matter in which one or the other partner in the marriage relationship may give the other a "divorce" or a "scrip" and thereby free themselves from their marital obligations. Unlike divorce, marriage in even the most primitive rural community is supported by the mores or is regarded at least as a relationship which must be initiated by a minister who represents the authority of the church, if not the vaguer authority of the law.

But, when the Negro migrates to the city, he learns that the stern impersonal authority of the law demands that he go through some legal procedure if he is married and desires to enter a new marriage relation. His naïve reaction to the rational and impersonal organization of the urban environment with its written records and legal formalities is often the same as that voiced by the unmarried mother, whose letter was quoted in a previous chapter.[10] When the social worker confronted her with the fact that she had had children without being married, she wrote a letter stating that she did not realize that her immoral conduct would be recorded against her. The Negro migrant's uncertainty and lack of appreciation of the legal status of divorce is typified by a deserted woman in Nashville who had remarried. In explaining why she got a divorce, she said, "I got a divorce and married again. Some of the people [in her neighborhood] said that I didn't have to get a divorce, but I didn't want to have no trouble, so I got one before I married." The same attitude was expressed by a young woman who came to Chicago from Mississippi following the World War. She married a young man whom she had known for two months at the night school which they attended. After many conflicts arising out of jealousies and disagreements over whether she should work and whether he should have a hand in the cooking, they separated within six months. In speaking of her plans to remarry, she said, "Some day, I am planning to marry somebody. They [her neighbors and acquaintances] told me that after you are separated three years, you didn't have to get a divorce, you could go on and marry." However, she wanted to be certain in order not to run the risk of violating the law.

The unstable family and marital relations of the Negro in

[10] See p. 356, above.

the city, together with his fear of punishment in case of forming bigamous relations, provide a partial explanation of the discovery by Professor Ogburn that Negroes, on the basis of an analysis of the 1920 census for five states, sought divorces more frequently than whites.[11] The 1910 census indicated that, in a third to two-fifths of the Negro families in some southern cities, the husband or wife or both had been married more than once.[12] Although statistics are not available for recent years, it seems reasonable to assume that there is still considerable remarriage. Consequently, the Negro in the city probably resorts to the divorce court frequently in order to avoid being punished. The statistics on the percentage of divorced persons in the Negro population indicates that he is resorting to court more frequently than in the past. Between 1920 and 1930, in practically every city with 10,000 or more Negroes, there was an increase in the percentage of divorced persons in the Negro population.[13] A study of divorce in the county in which one of these cities—Omaha, Nebraska—is located, revealed that 89, or 8 per cent, of the 922 cases of divorce were colored, although Negroes comprised only 5.3 per cent of the population.[14]

An analysis of the reports from the Bureau of Vital Sta-

[11] Ernest R. Groves and William F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relations* (New York, 1928), p. 372. Dr. Ogburn got a measure of the tendency in the racial populations to seek divorce by getting the ratio of divorced persons to persons twenty-five years of age and over, single and widowed, for Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Maryland, and Texas. The ratio for the Negroes was 7.02, or 1.57 as large as that for the native whites of native parents, which was the second highest group.

[12] See Table 29, Appen. B.

[13] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932*, p. 183.

[14] T. Earl Sullenger, *A Study of Divorce and Its Causation in Douglas*

tistics of the state of Virginia will enable us to compare whites and Negroes in the cities of that state in regard to divorce rates for the nine-year period 1923–31 (Table 23).[15] First, it appears that the relative frequency of divorces

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF DIVORCES PER ONE HUNDRED MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO COLOR IN THREE VIRGINIA CITIES, 1923–31

City	Color	Year								
		1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923
Danville	White	2.1	1.8	3.2	5.3	5.7	7.3	7.2	8.8	8.6
	Negro	1.5	1.0	8.8	4.3	3.6	2.5	4.9	4.5	6.2
Norfolk	White	44.6	41.8	37.6	36.2	33.3	34.6	33.9	28.3	25.8
	Negro	16.0	13.3	15.3	17.2	13.5	16.1	13.4	12.2	8.4
Richmond	White	23.1	23.1	22.1	21.5	22.8	21.6	20.3	16.8	19.4
	Negro	13.6	15.5	14.9	13.5	17.0	13.9	17.0	15.2	14.1
Newport News	White	33.9	24.5	23.0	23.9	26.5	28.6	24.6	31.0	21.0
	Negro	22.1	19.4	25.5	21.7	23.4	21.9	24.7	39.8	18.6

among Negroes in the various cities coincides with the frequency among whites. For example, in Danville, where both the white and the Negro rates have been extremely low, the Negro rate has declined on the whole as the white rate

[15] Prior to 1923 the color of the litigants was omitted in too many cases for a comparison of the races. There were also omissions during the years 1923–31, especially for the city of Richmond. For each of the nine years beginning in 1923 the number of cases with color omitted in Richmond was as follows: 33, 84, 52, 36, 67, 35, 37, 66, and 67. However, if we had assumed—although the assumption was entirely unwarranted—that all litigants for whom no color was given were Negroes, the Negro rate except for two years would still have been lower or about the same as the white rate. There were relatively few cases with the color omitted in the other cities (see Table 51, Appen. B).

has declined. On the other hand, in Norfolk and Newport News, with their highly mobile population, both the Negro and the white rates have been higher than in Richmond, where the white and Negro population are more stable. However, in all four cities during the nine years the Negro rate has been significantly lower than the white rate. Naturally, one cannot draw any conclusions from these figures for Virginia cities concerning divorces in other cities, especially in the North.

Nevertheless, the causes for which divorces were granted to Negroes seem to throw some light on the family situation responsible for divorces among a large class of Negroes in the urban environment. The outstanding cause of divorce among Negroes in all these cities was desertion.[16] Whereas among the whites adultery was given as the cause in about a fourth to a half as many cases as desertion, among the Negroes adultery figured as the cause in only from a twelfth to a tenth as many cases as desertion. For example, in Newport News in 1930 there were twenty-nine divorces granted to Negroes. Of this number, twenty-four were granted for desertion—eleven to men and thirteen to women. It is also significant that divorces for desertion are granted to Negro men in almost the same proportion of cases as to Negro women.

Although desertion here refers to the legal cause and not the real cause of divorce, from what we know of Negro family life in the urban environment, it probably describes fairly accurately the real nature of the break in conjugal

[16] In Mississippi in 1933 and 1934 desertions constituted the chief cause for divorce among Negroes; whereas cruel and inhuman treatment was the chief cause for whites (see *Twenty-ninth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health*, p. 30).

relations that leads to divorce. As we have seen, many of the Negro migrants secure divorces in order "to have no trouble." In such cases they are simply endeavoring to avoid the penalty that is administered by an authority that finds no support in their own attitudes and sentiments. Since they generally live in a world of mobility and more or less anonymity and have no roots in a community life, divorce has no significance so far as their status and social relationships are concerned. Consequently, divorce is not a means of severing an institutional or legal relationship but signifies a legalized form of desertion. When the Negro woman gives desertion as the cause, she is probably describing the real situation in a large majority of cases. But the Negro man, who has often deserted his wife, will give desertion as the cause because it is accepted as a legal cause, and his wife may have no knowledge of what is occurring. In some cases the man, who is generally more sophisticated in the ways of the city than the woman, may get a divorce without his wife understanding what is happening. This was the case with a young woman from New Orleans who appeared before the Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago in order to find out if she had been legally married and, if so, whether her husband could divorce her without her consent. Her suspicions had been aroused by her neighbors whom she had informed that she had received a summons concerning a divorce which her husband had torn up with the remark that there was "nothing to it." As it turned out, the woman had been legally married, and her husband, taking advantage of her ignorance, was getting a divorce in order to marry another woman.

Here, of course, we are discussing the unstable and disorganized elements in the Negro population. Among this

group, the same factors which are responsible for desertions give rise to divorce. The simple family organization which was based upon habit and sympathy and supported by the customs of the rural community goes to pieces in the urban environment. In some cases where a man is a drunkard and abuses his wife or fails to support his family, the woman who has to support the family may get a divorce in order to free herself and children from his interference in the family. This was the case with a thirty-nine-year-old mother in Nashville who, with the aid of the small earnings of her eighteen-year-old son, was struggling to support herself and a daughter of fourteen. Concerning the reason she divorced her husband, she stated simply: "He was too darn mean to me. He was just a drunkard. When he had money he wouldn't help the children. It was up to me to care for them. I got tired of that foolishness, so we got a divorce. After the divorce, I just stayed here and worked for my children."

In other cases, the man or woman may attempt to solve his or her marital difficulties by leaving the home and taking up his or her abode with another man or woman without marrying. This is easy in the Negro slum areas where there is no community opinion to oppose such conduct. Often, when the man or woman is discovered living in such relationships, violent quarrels result. Then the man or woman who has deserted may realize that the only way to win in the tug of war is by getting a divorce. A woman in Chicago remarked that she finally surrendered and gave her husband a divorce after he had deserted her four times and had taken up his abode with another woman. From what one may learn of the married life of many such persons who apply for a divorce, a period of violent conflicts, chiefly over "outside" men and women, usually precedes the application for divorce.

On the other hand, the increase in the percentage of divorced persons in the Negro population of the various cities may indicate a growing recognition of the institutional or legal character of marriage. This is probably true of the growing numbers of laborers, semiskilled, skilled, and domestic workers who have acquired some stability in the urban environment. They have not only acquired some sophistication in the ways of the city but have also become accustomed to regulating their lives according to its laws. Of even greater importance is the fact that they have become incorporated into the institutional life of the Negro community, especially the churches and the lodges and have contacts with schools through their children. Since this class often takes considerable pride in being law-abiding citizens, when it becomes necessary to break their marital ties, they seek legal means. In fact, to some of the people in this group, to marry without a divorce would constitute not only a violation of the law but a sin. Consequently, divorce, because of its effect upon the status of the individual in the organization of the community and the relations of the family, acquires a new meaning.

It appears, however, that divorces occur frequently among the more intelligent and ambitious members of this group who, because of educational advantages, are constantly drawn into the growing new middle class in the Negro community. This produces considerable social mobility in the Negro population and consequently affects marital relations. Marriage unions among this group are usually formed on the basis of romantic attraction and are rooted neither in the traditions of the Negro nor in established class traditions. The permanence of such unions depends mainly upon the development of a community of

interests between the husband and wife. But it often happens that, after the glamour of romance has faded, the partners to these unions are drawn apart by diverse interests. The diversity of interests may result from the attraction of other men and women, or from different modes of living, or separation because of occupational advantages. When the couple has married young, the man especially may acquire new interests and a different outlook on life from that of his wife. Or in other cases, the wife may seize an opportunity to enter upon a career of her own and thus destroy the pattern of family life which the man has been accustomed to. One cannot say whether divorces occur more frequently among this class than among the less sophisticated and semiliterate Negro in the lower occupational classes. At any rate, divorces among this group generally have a different sociological significance. They are more or less a part of the process by which the Negro who has risen from the masses in the urban environment achieves increasing self-consciousness and attempts to make rational adjustments to a changing world.

Since the World War Negro newspapers have featured, in the style of sensational journalism, the divorces of the more prominent members of the new Negro middle class. Despite the multiplicity of causes which are given for the divorces among this class, they reflect on the whole the absence of established class traditions in regard to family life and give evidence of conflicting patterns of life on the part of the parties to the divorces. It appears that divorces occur more frequently among those members of the middle class who have risen from the lower strata in Negro life than among representatives of the older families. The representatives of the older families generally exhibit the traditional attitude

against divorce and prefer to suffer conjugal infelicity rather than to air their disagreements in the divorce courts or acknowledge their marital failures before the Negro world.

A document furnished by a young schoolteacher whose parents were divorced will give us some idea not only of the nature of the family difficulties that lead to divorce among this class but also of the attitude of the family toward divorce and the effects of divorce upon the family. Our informant's family had lived very happily in a small town where her father was a successful physician. In order to afford their daughter better educational opportunities, the family moved to a large city where Negro business was undergoing considerable growth. There her father found that he could supplement his income from his practice by joining the staff of a Negro insurance company. As his income increased, he provided his family with a comparatively luxurious home and afforded them the usual advantages of successful middle-class families. However, his business connections required him to spend much time away from home. Because of the change in their mode of living, his wife began to chafe and constantly demanded clothes and various forms of entertainment. The former harmony and understanding between the parents were undermined, and the mother began to nag her husband. This only made matters worse, and according to our informant:

> Soon gossip came to my mother's ears of another woman. My father would come in late and I could hear them fuss far into the night. My mother told me nothing of all this. What I knew I found out by "listening in" on these arguments at night and on long conversations between my mother and my cousin.

Then her father went on a trip and took her and his secretary along. Although his daughter saw nothing to

arouse her suspicions, when her mother became furious she says that it was then that she "found out who the other woman was." Relations between her father and mother became more strained, and after a year of bickerings her father moved from the home, and her mother applied for a divorce. Although a temporary divorce for six months was granted, there was no healing of the breach. Finally, because of the censorious attitude of the community, her father went back to the small town to practice medicine; and her mother who refused alimony maintained a smaller home for herself and her daughter. Her daughter describes her reaction to the divorce as follows:

> Up to that time I thought that love between man and woman was very sacred and that the few fusses Mother and Dad had around home were just thrown in with the pleasant things to keep marriage from growing monotonous. I thought that if two people ever loved each other my mother and father did. The last year they were together made me realize it was not "all roses"; but the final divorce thoroughly disillusioned me. I knew that the only thing my mother did was to quarrel with Dad; but my father had been untrue to mother. Naturally I sympathized with Mother more than with Dad. I began to believe all men were the same way. I felt that if after all the years my mother and father had been living together, he could do as he had done, no man would ever mean anything to me. Our friends say that the affair has made me sensitive. That is true.

As indicated in the foregoing case, divorces on this social and economic level in the Negro population are similar to divorces among the white middle class. They involve none of the lack of sophistication which one finds among the poorer Negro migrants. Moreover, divorces among this class affect the status of the family in the community. In fact, it appears that, as the Negro rises in the scale of civilization and the Negro population becomes more differentiated, di-

vorces may even increase. In the absence of established traditions along occupational lines, many mismatings will inevitably occur. For example, some of the divorces among prominent members of the new Negro middle class have resulted from the fact that the husband's pattern of life as a teacher or scholar has conflicted with his wife's ideas of consumption and social ambitions.

Divorce, unlike desertion and other forms of family disorganization, is not simply the result of the impact of urban life upon the simple family organization of the Negro which was molded in the rural folk community. Although among the less stable elements in the Negro community divorce becomes in many cases merely a legalized form of desertion, among other elements it is indicative of a growing recognition of the institutional and legal character of marriage and divorce. But, in addition, many divorces show the influence of the increasing social mobility which has resulted from the occupational differentiation of the Negro population. While these new classes are in the process of formation, fixed patterns of behavior and traditional control of conduct will be lacking. Consequently, divorces among urban Negroes not only reflect the influence of the traditional folk culture of the Negro but also show the effects of the new class formations.

PART V

IN THE CITY OF REBIRTH



CHAPTER XIX

OLD FAMILIES AND NEW CLASSES

When, during a discussion of changes in Chicago, a member of one old family remarked to a member of another that "the old families are never in the newspapers" and received the sympathetic rejoinder that "these people are struggling to get where we were born," they were expressing their partly genuine and partly affected contempt for the new classes that were coming into prominence in the large Negro community. Although these old families had shown a similar contempt for the migrants who came during earlier periods, they had never felt their position menaced as they did when the masses of ignorant, uncouth, and impoverished migrants flooded the city during the World War and changed the whole structure of the Negro community. The earlier migrations had caused little change in the status of the Negro in the city; but, when the Negro community was overwhelmed by the black hordes from the southern plantations, new barriers were raised against the Negro.[1] The older residents, especially those who had prided themselves upon their achievements and their culture, literally fled before the onrush of the migrants. Some of the mulatto families moved into white neighborhoods. But, as we have seen, the

[1] The percentage of mulattoes in the Negro population in Chicago declined from 41.6 in 1910 to 27.4 in 1920. A similar change could be noted in other cities to which the Negroes migrated in large numbers. In New York City the percentage of mulattoes decreased during this period from 24.9 to 14.1, and in St. Louis, from 34.0 to 14.5.

vast majority of the older residents who formed the upper class moved to the periphery of the Negro community.[2]

Within the Negro community itself changes were rapidly taking place which affected, even more fundamentally, the status of these older families. In the past the more ambitious and intelligent among the migrants had become incorporated into the small group of upper-class families, and the simple class division had remained largely as it was. But, with the sudden growth of the community during the war, the older class division was being blotted out by the differentiation of the community along occupational lines. Negro workers became a significant factor in the basic industries. Many of the leaders of the migrants had followed the migrating masses, and still other leaders in new occupations were coming to the fore to serve the needs of an awakened people. The emergence of occupational classes gave birth to new distinctions, while within these classes new ideals and patterns of family life were created. What was taking place in Chicago was an intensification on a large scale of a process that was going on in the urbanized Negro population all over the country.

Before the rapid urbanization of the Negro population, during and after the World War, Negro communities were divided on the whole into two main classes. The upper class was made up of a small group of families who, because of their higher standards of morality and superior culture, were differentiated from the great mass of the population.[3] The existing occupational differentiation of the population had not become the basis of social distinctions and standards of living. The small group of upper-class families represented

[2] See pp. 306–7, above.

[3] Cf. chap. xii.

the whole range of occupational classes.[4] The Negro professional man had not long since made his appearance in Negro communities. "When I was, perhaps, ten years old," writes James Weldon Johnson concerning Jacksonville in the eighties, "a strange being came to Jacksonville, the first colored doctor."[5] As a rule the upper class evolved out of the few better-situated families with similar standards and congenial ways of life. Johnson's reminiscences concerning his boyhood playmates show a stage in this evolution which was typical of the process in Negro communities:

> In the house on the lot adjoining us on the north lived the two little Ross girls, who looked white but were not. They went by the lovely pet names of "Sing" and "Babe." Sometimes my brother and I went over to their yard to play and sometimes they came over to ours. But the playmates that had our mother's unqualified approval lived at a considerable distance. We used to go across town to play with Alvin and Mamie Gibbs, whose father was steward on one of the steamboats that then plied the St. Johns River; with Sam and Charlie Grant, sons of the pastor of Ebenezer Church; and with Carrie, Fred, and "Trixie" (a boy) Onley, whose father was a contractor and builder. The houses of these playmates were very much like our own; that of the Onleys was, perhaps, a bit more pretentious.[6]

When he returned to Jacksonville in the nineties, he found that this group had developed into an exclusive social class. His description of this class continues:

[4] For example, in Athens, Georgia, at the close of the past century the upper class included five teachers, two physicians, three in United States mail service, three barbers, two tailors, one bookkeeper, two carpenters, two shoemakers, two waiters, one editor, one real estate agent, two ministers, three blacksmiths, one cook, one restaurant-keeper, one farmer, and one plumber (W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in the Black Belt: Some Social Sketches* ["Bulletin of the Department of Labor," No. 22 (Washington, 1902)]).

[5] *Along This Way* (New York, 1934), p. 41. [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

Now, I found that there was a social life which had a degree of exclusiveness. There were many more homes that were comfortable and commodious; and entertainment among those who went in for society had become largely a private matter. The women who were leaders in affairs social were sharply divided into two groups: a Chautauqua group that took up culture and serious thinking, and gave mild entertainments; and a group which put more stress on the mere frivolities, gave whist parties and house dances, and served a punch of more than one-half of one per cent strength. Certainly, in my boyhood the well-to-do colored people gave entertainments of one sort or another in their homes, to which they invited those with whom they associated, but I don't think there was such a thing as "society." "Society" was one of the new things I found. I also found that the men had gone in for it. There had been organized a social club called *The Oceolas*, which gave two or three dances each winter. . . . . In the Oceola Club a man's occupation had little or nothing to do with his eligibility. Among the members were lawyers, doctors, teachers, bricklayers, carpenters, barbers, waiters, Pullman porters. This democracy, however, was not exactly laxness; I knew of one or two cases in which, for one reason or another, the possession of money failed to force entrance. On one point, this black "society" was precisely like Southern white "society"—anyone belonging to an "old family," regardless of his pecuniary condition or, in fact, his reputation, was eligible.[7]

In previous chapters we have already learned something of the background of the old families referred to in the foregoing quotation.[8] Here we want to consider the general culture, ideals, and outlook on life of these old families who constituted the Negro upper class and to study the effects of the effacement of this class by the new occupational classes which have emerged since the opening of the present century.

These families, as we have noted, were more or less isolated from the great mass of the Negro population. As far as possible they sought residence in neighborhoods outside

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 133–34.

[8] See chaps. x, xi, and xii above.

the Negro areas. In both northern and southern cities we find them living close to or within the white neighborhoods. Sometimes a single block of a street normally occupied by whites would be occupied by a small group of these families. For example, in Baltimore during the first years of the present century in one of these blocks there were three families of caterers, a physician's family, a schoolteacher's family, the family of a successful grocer, and several families that, though not belonging to this class, were struggling to maintain high standards of family life. These last three families were struggling to give their children an education that would make them eligible for admittance into the upper class. Although cordial relations existed between the families that had "arrived" and the families that were "rising," there was consciousness on both sides of the differences in social status. Between the old families and the families on a smaller side street and in a near-by alley, there was no intercourse whatever. However, between the families that were rising and one or two families in the alley and on the side street that were also struggling to improve themselves, there were sympathetic relations in spite of a certain social distance that was generally maintained between them.[9]

[9] The process of differentiation has, of course, been going on since emancipation. In 1877 a colored citizen of Washington wrote a satire entitled "Washington's Colored Society" in which he described the three classes which had appeared as follows: "The first class consisted as it does now of Negroes, who were slaves in the District of Columbia befo' de wah and who obtained their liberty by paying the *master* class more than they were really worth. The second or middle class consisted as it does now to a large extent of Negroes, who took advantage of the emancipation proclamation of a gentleman named Abraham Lincoln, sometime President of the United States. The third or poor class consisted of all Negroes as it does now, who never had any master but who were only nominally free at best, and were in an immeasurably worse condition than either of the former when they were

In this community, as in Negro communities in other cities, the old established families were of mulatto origin

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in bondage. . . . . The upper class (i.e.) all Negroes who bought their freedom or were set free before the war of rebellion undertook at an early day in the history of the Negroes of the District of Columbia to mark out the boundary and the habitation not only of the 'Free niggers' but also of those who but for the kindness of Mr. Lincoln might possibly have been grovelling in darkness and superstition to a greater extent than they are today. The objection raised against this last named class seemed to have arisen from the fact that the prolific and inventive genius of the immortal Ben Butler had transformed them into 'Contraband of war' a technicality—which shows not only wisdom and humanity but marvellous sagacity and hind sight. A Negro therefore who worked and bought himself from those whose only right to his carcass was the thief and robbers right considered himself more valuable intrinsically, than the Negro whose liberty was given him at the demands of justice. . . . . The contrabands (i.e.) those Negroes who were set free by virtue of the Emancipation proclamation were as I have said in the preceding chapter an industrious hard working and to a large extent frugal and economical people. They were however not unlike other Negroes, they were by no means immaculate, were given to bad habits just as other Negroes were and occasionally one could be found with two wives on his hands and several sets of children. Considering the infamous system pursued by their Christian owners in the matter of increasing the earth's population, they could not be expected to possess the highest moral character any more than their late owners. Aside from the very few imperfections in the physical and spiritual anatomy of the contraband, he was a model working man, a faithful and good citizen, a devoted husband and father—and the owner of right smart horse sense. He did not care much for 'highfalutin' things which meant nothing, but was constantly and eagerly in search of the realities that make life possible and enjoyable. He took no pleasure in attending card receptions simply because the white folks had them nor in substituting French for English in saying good-bye to a friend, because he couldn't. The poor class or the free 'nigger' as they were called drew the line on all newcomers, giving as their reason for so doing that they were old citizens, and entitled to the precedence. This theory, however, has since been knocked into a cocked hat, as it has been shown that the old citizen with a few honorable and noteworthy exceptions were entirely unequal to the emergency. One of their chief characteristics being a love for everything that smacks of the customs and usages of day before yesterday. The old citizen is decidedly aristocratic in his air and manners and though he followed the humble occupation, ton-

and took considerable pride in their "blood." This pride was based upon their white ancestry.[10] For example, a de-

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sorial and physiognomical artist and white washer in chief to some of the 'fust' families in Washington, it does not lessen my respect for him provided his head isn't too large for his hat. He has seen Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Ben Wade and Joshua R. Giddings. He used to shave these great luminaries, which is the only consolation that the memories of departed days can now give him. He considers his existence and his experiences as being particularly beneficial to mankind, why or how nobody seems to know . . . ." (manuscript document by John E. Bruce in the Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library).

[10] The author of the satire on "Washington's Colored Society" makes the following strictures on those who boast of white ancestry: "There is another element in this strange heterogeneous conglomeration, which for want of a better name has been styled society and it is the species of African humanity which is forever and ever informing the uninitiated what a narrow escape they had from being born white. They have small hands, aristocratic insteps and wear blue veins, they have auburn hair and finely chiselled features. They are uneducated as a rule (i.e.) the largest number of them, though it would hardly be discovered unless they opened their *mouths* in the presence of their superiors in intellect, which they are very careful not to do. In personal appearance, they fill the bill precisely so far as *importance* and pomposity goes—but no farther. They are opposed to manual labor, their physical organization couldn't stand it, they prefer light work such as 'shuffling cards or dice' or 'removing the spirits of Frumenta from the gaze of rude men' if somebody else becomes responsible for the damage. Around the festive board, they are unequalled for their verbosity and especially for their aptness in tracing their ancestry. One will carry you away back to the times of William the Silent and bring you up to 18 so and so, to show how illustrious is his lineage and pedigree. His great, great grandfather's mother in law was the Marchioness So and So and his father was ex Chief Justice Chastity of S.C. or some other southern state with a polygamous record. Another will tell you all about his folks, their habits, temperament and disposition and their keen sense of honor. They never brooked an insult in their lives—oh no. They flourished in the days when it was not considered a healthy pastime to call a white man a *liar*—his half brother Col. Slaughter had a private cemetery set apart for him by the state of 'Guwgegia' for the reception of all those who so far forgot themselves as to offend him by questioning his veracity or by offering an insult to any of his lady friends. With

scendant of one of these families recounts the fact that her grandmother constantly exhorted both her children and her grandchildren to maintain decorum and the highest standards of morals with the reminder that they were descended from the X's, a well-known aristocratic white family of Virginia. The same pride in white ancestry was displayed by an old established mulatto family in a northern city who defended their claim to equality with whites and pre-eminence among Negroes on the ground that they bore in their veins the blood of an aristocratic senator and a Spanish nobleman. This pride in white ancestry has usually been based upon the belief in the superior hereditary qualities of their white ancestors and has been associated with a disdain of poor white people. Although this latter attitude has been chiefly characteristic of old established mulatto families in southern communities, we find Du Bois as a child in a faraway town in New England exhibiting the same attitude. He writes: "I cordially despised the poor Irish and South Germans, who slaved in the mills, and annexed the rich and well-to-do as my natural companions."[11] Although there is no way of

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the possible exception of the Immortal *Don Quixote,* Col. Slaughter was the most gallant knight that ever shot a pistol or drew a dagger in defense of that noble creature—woman. Gallantry unlike intelligence is transmitted from generation to generation, why this is thusly I am unable to conjecture. Hence the narrator of the wonderful exploits of Col. Slaughter—and by the way a blood relative—too, will take pains before the end of his story to inform you that he has the blood of the Slaughters of Murderville in his veins and the he's a b-a-d man when he's started. These misguided unfortunates are exceedingly sensitive or affect to be so anyhow, they are the most exacting class to be met with in the whole range of Washington Colored Society."

[11] Du Bois, who says he was born "with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch" but thanks God for no "Anglo-Saxon," says concerning his grandfather: "Always he held his head high, took no insults, made few friends. He was not a 'Negro'; he was a man!" (*Darkwater* [New

estimating the incalculable effects of biological heredity even in those families that can substantiate their claim to descent from aristocratic whites, nevertheless, traditions concerning aristocratic descent have left their mark upon the behavior and outlook on life of these families.

What, then, are some of the traditions which these old mulatto families have preserved respecting descent from aristocratic or prominent families?[12] Let us begin with the family history of a prominent professional man's wife who for years was a sort of arbiter in the "society life" of a Negro community in the North. She gives the following account of her white ancestry:

My father was a general in the Civil War and a lawyer. He played a prominent part in the building of the Union Pacific Railroad and became a multimillionaire. He educated me and brought me up in the family with his white grandchildren as he was quite old. His greatest desire was that I should not be identified with colored people. He travelled about a great deal in a private car and always took me with him. He wanted me to be adopted by his oldest daughter who was in Mexico. He had the greatest horror of my being married to a Negro.

York, 1920], pp. 8–9). In regard to his grandfather's ancestry, he writes: "Louis XIV drove two Hugenots, Jacques and Louis Du Bois, into wild Ulster County, New York. One of them in the third or fourth generation had a descendant, Dr. James Du Bois, a gay, rich bachelor, who made his money in the Bahamas, where he and the Gilberts had plantations. There he took a beautiful little mulatto slave as his mistress, and two sons were born: Alexander in 1803 and John, later. They were fine, straight, clear-eyed boys, white enough to 'pass.' He brought them to America and put Alexander in the celebrated Cheshire School, in Connecticut. Here he often visited him, but one last time, fell dead. He left no will, and his relations made short shrift of these sons. They gathered in the property, apprenticed grandfather to a shoemaker; then dropped him" (*ibid.*, pp. 7–8).

[12] This information was secured through questionnaires sent to persons listed in *Who's Who in Colored America, 1928–1929* and family-history documents collected in various colored communities in both the North and the South.

Many a time I have heard him say that he would blow my brains out rather than see me married to a Negro. I was about eight years old when they were talking about adopting me. My mother had no objection and I would have always preferred living at the "Big House" but she objected to the legal adoption. I was the child of his old age and looked like him—he was a sort of swarthy. Even after I married a colored man and he had disinherited me—he was inclined to become reconciled to me but he died during a stroke.[13]

Naturally, the white ancestors are more remote where a mulatto caste has grown up and the mulatto families have intermarried. In Charleston, as we have seen, some of the old mulatto families traced their descent from some of the French refugees from Haiti who sought an asylum in Charleston and other cities along the Atlantic coast.[14] The same is true of some of the old families in the North. For example, an old family in Chicago traced its family line on one side to a United States senator who was a member of a distinguished Kentucky family:

[13] Manuscript document. Shannon, a former chaplain of the Mississippi State Penitentiary, who has been greatly disturbed for years over the mulatto, remarks derisively that the "romancing fancy" of mulattoes has caused them to claim direct lineal descent from most of the prominent southern families. He adds: "It would be a revelation to their admirers could they know how widely traditions exist among Negroes involving higher Northern officers prominent in the Civil War, and later" (A. H. Shannon, *The Negro in Washington* [New York, 1930], p. 87). The document cited above is one of the few cases among thousands of family questionnaires, and hundreds of documents from families in various parts of the South and from students in the most prominent colleges attended by Negroes, in which any claim is made to descent from northern officers prominent in the Civil War. Moreover, it seems that it has not only been the "romancing fancy" of mulattoes that has been responsible for their claim to descent from the southern white aristocracy. If one may accept Andrew Johnson's statements (see pp. 78–79, n. 31, above) as true, the claims which mulattoes put forth are rather modest.

[14] See Doc. XII, Appen. A.

My father was the grandson of Senator C. However, he was reared by his colored grandfather and took his name. He had two brothers and one sister. One brother had blonde hair and blue eyes and disappeared some years ago presumably into the white race. My other uncle married into the D. family, an old Philadelphia family, one member of whom was in the diplomatic service. As they had no children, they adopted a girl who is a teacher in Philadelphia. She is very aristocratic and moves in a very restricted circle.[15]

There are families who claim even more distinguished white ancestry than senators and governors. For antiquity of family line, a prominent physican, who is engaged in health work among Negroes in the country, could claim first place. In letters which he has from the English branch of his family, the history of the family name is traced back to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. However, this physician only claimed actual knowledge of an English grandfather who had a child, his own father, by a mulatto woman in Missouri in 1861. Next in age of lineage was the tradition preserved in the family of a social worker and teacher in New York City that her grandmother, who was born in Holland, could trace her ancestry back to William of Orange. Then, there are families who claim descent from presidents of the United States. A schoolteacher, whose great-grandfather was a missionary in Trinidad and built a church in Baltimore, said that this pioneer in the religious life of the Negro was supposed to have been a cousin of his white benefactor who was a president of the United States. Another teacher, in an old town in Virginia, whose parents were also teachers, claimed that her great-great-grandmother on her mother's side was the daughter of a distin-

[15] Contrary to Shannon's strictures, this family, like many others claiming descent from prominent whites, took its family name from the supposititious Negro ancestor.

guished president and lived to be a hundred and four years old. An old clergyman and teacher with two sons and a daughter who have obtained higher degrees from northern universities modestly stated that his great-grandfather was said to be the son of a president of the United States who was also one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. From this same president the principal of a colored high school in a city in New Jersey claims descent. Three other widely separated families claimed descent from a less distinguished president. One was the family of the wife of a college professor in a southern city; another was an outstanding clergyman in a northern city; and a third was a supervisor of county schools in the South, whose brother is a distinguished Episcopal prelate.[16]

Of course, the vast majority of these old families who claim aristocratic ancestry do not assert that they are descended from presidents or other such distinguished people. They simply trace their families back to the landowning aristocracy. The following document is typical of the traditions which have been preserved by the majority of these

[16] Some years ago the following news item appeared on the front page of the *Afro-American* (January 28, 1933):

DESCENDANT OF 9TH PRESIDENT DIES AT NINETY

FAUNSDALE, ALA.—Mrs. Mary Davis (affectionately called "Aunt Mary"), who died recently at her homestead at the age of 90, widow of Philip M. Davis, who died 25 years ago, was known and loved by all races for her lofty ideals, thrift and industry. In her prime Mrs. Davis was a dressmaker, catering to the wealthy people of this section. She was the daughter of Margaret Willis and Oliver Harrison who was a descendant of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States and third son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. All her life Mrs. Davis lived within the family circle of the white Harrisons and Stickneys, Warrens and Collins. The family ties were lasting. A younger white descendant of the Harrisons cared for her and followed her to the grave. Mrs. Davis was the mother of 13 children.

Then follows a list of these children who are prominent in the educational, economic, political, and civic life of the Negro in various parts of the country.

families concerning white ancestry and the cultural advantages which such ancestry has afforded them. From the family history of a college student, we have the following:

> The oldest ancestor of my family that I know is my great grandfather, W. P., a Mississippi slave owner. He was quite rich owning a great deal of property near Lauderdale, Miss. My great grandmother, A. R., a very beautiful young woman, was one of his mulatto slaves. These were my great grand parents on my fathers side. A. R. had five children for W. P. The third child, a boy named W. H. P., was born in Tuscaloosa, Ala. He was the favorite child of his father, and lived in what was termed the "big house." All of his training from the standpoint of books was personally supervised by his father and his father's white wife. He was never considered a slave, his color, hair, and features were those of any white man. He had a half brother who was a leading physician in the South, and the relationship was not concealed. In later years, it was from this uncle that one of W. H. P.'s sons, (my father) received his first inspiration to become a physician.[17]

It was quite natural that families that placed so much value upon their white ancestry should have excluded from marriage and intimate association the unmixed Negroes. However, in estimating the role which a light skin and white blood have played as a bond of sympathy between these families or as a means of entering the upper class, there has been a tendency to oversimplify the problem. To outside observers it has often appeared that color was the only distinguishing mark of this class, and it alone made an individual or family eligible for entrance into it. But, as we shall see, color was only one factor, and it symbolized other factors. For example, although there was considerable prejudice on the part of the old mulatto families in Charleston against association with the blacks, nevertheless at least two black families were generally accepted as belonging to

[17] Manuscript document.

the upper class. This was due to the fact that these black families could boast of free ancestry and were as well situated economically as the mulatto families. On the other hand, although these black families were members of the exclusive church to which the mulattoes belonged, there was still some resistance to admitting them into the most intimate associations. A member of one of the old mulatto families frankly confessed that black families of free origin were always referred to within the circle of the mulatto families by a whispered epithet which designated them as a peculiar kind of free persons of color. Moreover, although these black aristocrats were received by the mulattoes on formal occasions, they knew instinctively, as it were, that they should not seek a marriage alliance with the mulatto and that they were not expected at the intimate social functions although they received invitations. Although the mulatto families in Charleston have modified their attitudes toward dark Negroes during recent years, even within the last two decades some of them still exhibited, in regard to dark Negroes, the attitude described in the following document:

There were three Negro families in our block and immediate vicinity, the R.'s, S.'s, and our family, the T.'s. The S.'s were an aged black widow, who sold vegetables and charcoal, and her crippled son and two young grandsons, with whom she lived. The rest of the people of the community were Irish-Catholics with the exception of the L.'s and M.'s, wealthy Jews. To these whites we were considered thrifty, intelligent, progressive Negroes, but under their breath, "niggers." But to the R.'s, a very fair, "blue blood" Charleston, family we were inferior and far below them in social status. Although more members of my family had been to high school and college, and our home was more pretentious than theirs, they were obsessed with the idea of being our superiors. They were of an old free, mulatto Charleston family, who had been there for years and years, while we were upstarts in Charleston, who had lived there for just about twenty years

or so. We were members of the Methodist church; whereas the R.'s were members of the high tone St. Marks Episcopal Church, where for many years nothing darker than an octoroon attended.

The R.'s had six children, whereas there were eight in my family. However, their children were of the same age as the six younger ones in my family. When we first moved into the community after my father's death, the children of the two families made attempts to become friendly, but the R.'s forbade their children to associate with us. So deeply did their parents instill in them the idea of their superiority that they would turn up their clothes to us, thumb their noses at us, call us "niggers," and act in a manner that would typify the behavior of the lowest Georgia "cracker" to a Negro. The relation existing between the children of these two families was not the desire of the children of either family. The children simply accepted the instructions of their parents. When Mrs. R. scolded Jimmy for playing marbles with me, my mother reprimanded me also. Naturally she would not accept the belief that her child was inferior, or perchance endanger her self-esteem by having it thought that she desired the association and consequent recognition of the R. family. When we played ball with some of the white kids of the community, Jimmy R. would always have to leave if one of us were in the game. If Oscar, the little black-skinned grandson of Mrs. S. were there, it was all right, since his family accepted their inferior status. Mrs. S. did their washing, and I should add, ours also. Then, too, we had the same family physician. Oscar would run their errands and receive some of Jimmy's old clothes. But the R.'s referred to us as "nappy-haired niggers," and well do I recall my mother telling us not to mind "those half white asses, they have no sense and little education." With pride Mother pointed to the educational achievements of her children. It appeared that the R.'s rigid family pattern, with its ultra exclusiveness, made for deterioration. Not any of the children have gone higher in school than the eighth grade, and it took them twelve years to do that.

The R. children never walked on our side of the street, that is, in front of our door. When they wanted to go to Mrs. S.'s little shanty, they would walk on their side and cross in the middle of the block to reach her home. Not even has death been able to bring about the slightest communication between the families. When Jimmy died at

the age of 17, we sent no condolences. Although when I finished high school, Mr. R. spoke to me for the first time, the separation still goes on. We live on one side of the street, and they live on the other. An insurmountable barrier separates us—social caste. But, interestingly, the children of the two families have met in other cities; for example, in New York. There the barriers were broken down and my brother took one of the R. girls to many dances. In Charleston that could never have happened.

The same type of caste sentiment, in which prejudice against the dark-skinned Negro finds expression, has existed among groups of mulatto families in other communities. However, it should be pointed out that this attitude has been bound up with a pride in family background and a consciousness of the superior culture of this group. Mulattoes, who were without family background or other attainments, were generally not accepted into this mulatto caste. Moreover, the prejudice of this group against the unmixed Negro did not necessarily involve repugnance toward the individual black Negro. It was more a question of social status and traditions.[18] When these closely knit mulatto communities have disintegrated and individuals and families have become scattered, they have tended to lose their prejudice against the black Negro. This has been true in recent years, especially in the large urban communities where the Negro along with other people wins a place, not because of

[18] A member of an old mulatto family reports that when her mother thought that she was falling in love with the black poet, Dunbar, her mother immediately told her that, no matter how great a poet Dunbar was, a person as black as he could not become a member of their family. Where the question of social status has been involved, mulattoes have even refused to present a black mother to their friends or have concealed pictures of black relatives. But the very fact that a mulatto's mother was black indicated that there was marriage outside the caste or that the mulattoes were the children of white fathers and the family had not been integrated into the mulatto caste.

family status but through competition. Of course, individual mulattoes may retain their prejudices against the black, but it will no longer have the support of a caste. In such cases his white skin will become the means whereby he gains economic advantages and satisfies individual wishes. He may not go downtown with a black Negro because he may be identified and lose his job or be subjected to insults and discrimination. Or the light skin of the mulatto woman especially may acquire a purely symbolic value for the black man who has won his way up in the world. But in such cases the light skin is no longer the distinguishing mark of a caste or even of a class which is open to those who achieve success.[19]

Next to "blood," which in the majority of instances meant white ancestry, these families have taken pride in their cultural attainments which have distinguished them from the masses and have been the basis of their ascendancy in the Negro world.[20] As a mark of their superior culture, they have endeavored first to speak the uncorrupted language of the cultured whites. By this external mark of culture they have often endeavored to emphasize their superiority to the ignorant plantation Negro or city slum-dweller. It was among this class that much opposition was expressed to the dialect poems of Dunbar.

The language spoken by this group showed the influence of intimate contacts with the whites as well as educational

[19] The relation of color distinctions among Negroes to the new class alignments will be discussed in the next chapter.

[20] When traditions have been preserved in these old families concerning Negro forebears, these ancestors have usually been African "kings" and "princesses" or in rare instances some slave who revolted against the whites. The same is true of Indian ancestors who, as a rule, were reputed to have been chiefs or princesses.

advantages. In the North these old families have for several generations had more or less close contacts with the whites not only as servants but in the schools and other institutions. In their childhood they have become acquainted with the best literature, and, since this was regarded as a mark of culture, they placed considerable emphasis upon this aspect of the white man's culture. Naturally, this behavior has not been mere imitation or affectation but has unconsciously become habitual and incorporated into their general behavior. It has simply been part of the process by which northern Negroes have been able to assimilate more of the white man's culture than their southern brothers. On the other hand, in the South where the old families have ceased to have intimate contacts with the whites, they have been compelled to draw on their own cultural resources which were acquired through contacts at an earlier period. Consequently, this aspect of their cultural heritage has been cultivated to a large extent in the Negro colleges. It was from this class that the majority of the students were recruited for the colleges and academies that were established by northern white missionaries after the Civil War. These schools gave the student much more than a formal education, inasmuch as the white missionaries from New England lived in close personal contacts with the students and encouraged their aspirations to attain social equality and cultural identity with the whites. This education was very much the same as the classical education of the day. The students were drilled in English literature and grammar and given fundamental instruction in the ancient classics because of its supposed disciplinary value. Through such influences the culture of this group was maintained and enriched.

In the South these old families took over patterns of behavior which were associated with the ideal of the southern lady and southern gentleman.[21] Consequently, the man was expected to be lavish with his money, courteous toward women of his class, to defend the honor of his home, and to philander as a gentleman would. The woman was expected to remain chaste and be under the chaperonage of her parents, preserve a certain delicacy and modesty, and to show none of the coarser qualities of the black women, who were often her servants. Naturally, when such ideals and valuations had a slender economic basis, they led to habits of consumption that made them appear improvident and thriftless. In fact, many of the sons of these mulatto families with a small competence wasted their resources because of their ideals of what was proper and thereby caused the dissolution of these families. Then, too, the fact that the heads of some of these families, possibly to a larger extent in the North than in the South, derived their income from such positions as steward and head waiter in clubs and hotels made their standards of consumption appear ludicrous.

But all this does not mean that the culture of this group was a hollow pretense or a mere caricature of white civilization. Of course, if one evaluates critically the depth and genuineness of their cultural heritage, the seamy side becomes apparent. But these people were not, as they have been represented, crude field Negroes who had acquired a smattering of Greek or Latin and Shakespeare. The classical tradition on which they were fed was the cultural tradition of the period. From this tradition many of them drew

[21] Some families took pride in the fact that a mulatto ancestor could not be distinguished by his physical appearance, dress, manners, and speech from his white half-brother.

real inspiration and mental nourishment. In the English and ancient classics they often discovered a philosophy of life and a guide to their behavior. But, because of their isolation, their cultural heritage became ingrown and highly formalized. Therefore, even the most superficial aspects of their culture were often supported by the deepest sentiment. In their social life, social ritual and social graces were often observed with a moral earnestness.[22] And, when one views their creative efforts, their performances appear naïve and pitiable. One needs only to read the poetry which this group produced to realize how far their sorry imitations encouched in stilted language and burdened with classical references fell below accepted literary standards. Or if one takes a peep into their "literary societies" in which the frail vines of their culture were watered, there is certainly cause for amusement. These societies have about them an atmosphere of artificiality and aloofness from the real world. But, despite the apparent hollowness of their traditions concerning aristocratic blood and their naïve pride in their cultural heritage, these traditions and beliefs shaped their morals as well as their manners.

For a long time these old established families were able to maintain their ascendancy in the Negro group and to preserve their traditions of family life behind the walls of caste sentiment. But when the isolation in which they lived was broken down by the social and economic changes in American life in general and by the increasing mobility of the Negro, they found their secure and privileged position menaced. Their ascendancy was challenged by the new economic classes that were coming into existence as the result

[22] Some of these old families still preserve invitations and greetings dating before the Civil War as testimonials of the cultural heritage.

of the increasing differentiation of the Negro population. To meet this menace not only to their privileged position but also to their standards of morals and family life, they have often retreated farther within their own circle and cried "O tempora, O mores." A young professional woman who is a member of one of these old southern families wrote the following bitter complaint against the degradation of morals which had taken place as the result of the impact of new economic classes on the traditional social structure in her community:

There was a time when A. could boast of many aristocratic and cultured families. Men who have made places for themselves in the world have come from these old families. X. and Y. are representative of the kind of character that A. of a generation ago afforded. That day has passed into oblivion; and the select people who remain are those of that generation. When my mother married, she sent out five hundred invitations in the city. I doubt that I could send fifty to such intimate friends as those to whom my mother's were sent. There just simply isn't any "society" in A.

The large group that stands in the front rank of A.'s society is composed of the "rat" type. "And how did the 'rats' push to the front ranks?" you ask. Social standards began to drop about twenty-seven years ago when several professional men—a doctor and a lawyer, in particular, who now live in Chicago—in the interest of their professions, opened their homes to the entertainment of persons regardless of their social standing. Several years ago, a bootlegger and speakeasy proprietor brought his wife to the city. She was very pretty, except for the dark and sunken rings about her eyes from dissipation. In six month's time, she led A.'s "exclusive social set." And sad to say, there were some young people who if they had stayed together could have made up a small élite social group. But being afraid that they would not enjoy all the real social life, they "let down the bars," became intimate with the bootlegger's wife and visited her home. I live at home through my vacation without contacts, for the best is too bad. I am not snobbish; I am stating facts. If I were to attend a dance, my escort and the men I dance with would be men with "repu-

tations." It seems that nobody will bar the undesirable. Perhaps nobody can. As for me, I do not entertain. There are some young people who themselves are nice and congenial, but whom I cannot afford to entertain in my home. Those whom I once could have entertained have permitted themselves to become victims of this social degradation, thereby rendering themselves undesirable and unfit now.

The attitude expressed in this document is typical of the attitude of this heretofore privileged group in other Negro communities. Their protest against the degradation of morals and manners has not been entirely without foundation. There was often cause for genuine contempt for the crudeness and exhibitionism of those who had suddenly acquired prominence because of their education and relatively high economic status in the Negro community. They appreciated the fundamental difference between a man or woman without a background of culture and normal family life who had secured a formal college education—and that often in an inferior Negro college—and the man or woman with a background of several generations of stable family life and civilized conduct. Consequently, they resented the pretensions of a doctor or businessman who often revealed in his ungrammatical speech, vulgar manners, and ostentatious home a lack of the fundamentals of true culture.

In some instances these old families have sought a refuge in their memories and nurtured their children on their past achievements. Within the narrow circle of a few select families, they have lived a life that was reminiscent of a world that had vanished. Even today where they continue to live in isolation, their quaint mode of dress and constrained manners often give their exclusive social gatherings the atmosphere of an animated museum.[23] Their children, over-

[23] The satirist of "Washington's Colored Society" wrote that the "fust" families in 1877 "had all the habits and customs of the day before yesterday

burdened and hedged about by outworn traditions, have proved poor competitors in the struggle with the ambitious representatives of undistinguished families in the new world of the modern city. But, on the whole, these old families, being unable to resist the march of events, have gradually intermarried or merged otherwise with those elements in the Negro community who have made their way to the top of the new class structure. Their cultural heritage, though modified, has contributed to the stability and character of the emerging Negro middle class.[24]

The extent to which the differentiation of the Negro population has progressed during the present century is indicated in a general way by the changes since 1900 in the

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hanging to them and about them as tenaciously and persistently as the barnacles on seashells. They live in old fashioned homes way uptown, downtown and across town. They dress in the same style that their illustrious predecessors did half a century ago. It was from this class that the mother of George Washington procured nurses for her distinguished and immortal son—now called the 'Father of his country.' All the leading white washers, coachmen, *valets* and servants in *ordinaire* were furnished the 'fust families' of the white race from this class, half a century ago. Those of them now living in Washington wouldn't be caught dead with an ordinary Negro. . . . . The most of their company consists of antiquated old white people, many of whom are near death's door. The 'fust families' of Washington Colored Society—keep a servant, two dogs, a tom cat and a rifle that saw service in 1776. They are pensioners provided they or their ancestors lived with the 'bloods' of their day and generation. . . . . There is more family pride to the square inch in the hide of the 'fust families' than there are fleas on a dog's back. To marry their children out of the circle in which they have been accustomed to mingle is decidedly out of the question and contrary to both their religious and social views. It has been said, whether truthfully or falsely I know not, that the species of misguided humanity with whose characteristics I am dealing, secretly hope to become absorbed by the white or Caucasian race."

[24] The role of the old families in the new middle class will be discussed in the next chapter.

proportion of Negroes in the broad occupational divisions (Table 24). The most important change has occurred in the field of agriculture. From 54.6 per cent in 1910, the percentage of Negroes employed in agriculture declined to 36.1 in 1930. Although from 1910 to 1920 the percentage employed in manufacturing increased from 12.6 to 18.2, there was practically no change during the next decade. However,

TABLE 24*

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATION GROUPS FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1930, 1920, AND 1910

Census Year	Occupational Group									
	Agriculture	Domestic Service	Manufacturing	Transportation	Trade	Professional Service	Extraction of Minerals	Public Service	Clerical	Forestry and Fishing
1930.....	36.1	28.6	18.6	7.2	3.3	2.5	1.9	0.9	0.7	0.6
1920.....	44.2	22.0	18.2	6.5	2.9	1.7	1.5	1.0	.8	.7
1910.....	54.6	21.6	12.6	4.9	2.3	1.3	1.2	0.4	0.4	0.7

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States: 1920–32*, p. 290.

the increase in the proportion employed in transportation, trade, and the extraction of minerals continued up to 1930. This was also true for professional occupations; but not true in regard to clerical and public services, where there were slight losses in 1930 as compared with the gains observable in 1920. These figures indicate that the shift from agricultural occupations between 1910 and 1920 resulted in increases in all the other occupations, except domestic service, whereas during the next decade the workers who shifted from agriculture were absorbed in domestic service.

The changes in the occupational status of the Negro have, of course, come about as the result of urbanization. Therefore, in order to get a better view of these changes, we shall consider some of the results of a study of the occupational status of the Negro in 1920 in fifteen cities—six northern, six southern, and three border cities.[25] Moreover, the results of this study enable us to get a more accurate picture of the social and economic differentiation of the Negro population than the broad occupational divisions in the census.[26] Beginning with the professional group, we find that the northern cities have relatively more men in professional services than the southern and border cities. The fact that the proportion of women in professional occupations in the northern cities did not exceed that in the southern and border cities was due to the large numbers of teachers in the separate school systems in these cities. It is also important in comparing these cities to note that the composition of the professional class in northern cities was quite different from the same class in southern cities. For example, in Atlanta and Birmingham, about 52 per cent of the professional class was composed of clergymen; whereas in Boston and New York, clergymen comprised only 11.2 per cent of the professional classes.

[25] See the author's "Occupational Classes among Negroes in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, 718–38. The northern cities included Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and Seattle; the border cities, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.; the southern cities, Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Memphis, New Orleans, and Richmond.

[26] In the article referred to, the Negro wage-earners as given in the United States census for 1920 were distributed according to eight socioeconomic classes, which were created by grouping significantly related occupations. The major occupational divisions used in the census were ignored on the whole (see *ibid.*, p. 720, n. 7, for a description of the eight occupational classes).

Similar differences between northern cities, on the one hand, and border and southern cities, on the other, appeared in respect to the other occupational classes. All northern cities showed a smaller percentage in public service than southern and border cities; with the exception of the District of Columbia, where the federal government affords considerable employment. This was doubtless due to the participation of the Negro in the political life of northern cities and the absence of a rigid color bar. The same situation was true in regard to clerical occupations. However, when we come to those engaged in trade, we find that, although only Chicago, where numerous Negro enterprises have sprung up to serve the demands of the large Negro community, showed as large a proportion in this class as the third highest southern city, all the northern cities, with the exception of Cleveland, exceeded the other southern cities. Before comparing these cities with reference to the various classes of industrial workers, it should be noted that with the exception of Richmond, where large numbers of Negro women are employed in the tobacco industry, the percentage of women employed in domestic service was significantly higher in southern cities than in northern cities, with the exception of Philadelphia. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro men in domestic service was conspicuously higher in northern cities than in both border and southern cities.

Taking first those employed as laborers, we find that southern and border cities had on the whole a larger proportion of both male and female workers in this class than northern cities. The same situation was found in the case of men in semiskilled occupations. The border and northern cities, with the exception of Seattle, had a larger proportion of Negro women in semiskilled occupations than the southern

cities. However, the northern cities had a larger proportion of women in skilled occupations. The proportion of men in skilled occupation in each of six northern cities was matched by one of the southern cities, the border cities making a poorer showing than either southern or northern cities.

Although the occupational differentiation of the Negro population has progressed considerably during the present century, the emergence of these new socioeconomic classes has been too recent to effect a crystallization of distinctive patterns of behavior for each of these classes. Each class reflects more or less the broad undifferentiated cultural background in which it is rooted. In the absence of class traditions, imitation and suggestion play an important role, and there is much confusion in respect to standards of behavior and consumption. Therefore, the following chapters upon the family of the middle class and the urban proletariat deal with family forms and types of family behavior which are in the process of becoming crystallized in the urban environment.

CHAPTER XX

THE BROWN MIDDLE CLASS

The Negro middle class signalized its achievement of self-consciousness in the organization of the National Negro Business League in 1900 under the leadership of Booker T. Washington. This organization was the culmination of a movement fostered by Negro leaders, which had its beginning in the eighties and nineties.[1] The belated evolution of this class as well as its mental isolation was revealed in the resolutions of the leaders gathered in Atlanta in 1898. These resolutions contained a naïve profession of faith in individual thrift and individual enterprise in a world that was rapidly entering a period of corporate wealth.[2] Hence, today when the economic foundations of the Negro middle class are explored, as was done in a fundamental study of banking, they are found insubstantial and insecure.[3] However, here we are primarily concerned not with the economic basis of this class but rather with the traditions, mores, and patterns of behavior that determine the character and organization of its family life.

Concerning the growth and character of Negro business during the present century, Doctor Harris writes:

> The actual growth in Negro business is shown by the fact that in 1898, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois' careful investigation showed only 1,900 enterprises, while in 1930 there were 70,000. This growth was paralleled by an increase in the number of Negroes in white-collar occupations, a large number of whom were employed in Negro enterprises

[1] Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 49–54.

[2] See *ibid.*, pp. 52–53.

[3] *Ibid.*, *passim*.

and in other specifically racial undertakings. In 1920 there were 34,434 Negro stenographers, bookkeepers, advertising and insurance agents, salesmen and clerks in stores, and floorwalkers and inspectors. In 1930 the number in these occupations had increased to 59,301. In 1920, Negro bankers, brokers, real estate agents, retail and wholesale dealers and undertakers numbered 26,822, but in 1933 the number had increased to 35,833.

The largest number of successful business ventures conducted by Negroes has been in the field of personal service—restaurants, beauty parlors, barber shops and funeral parlors. Here racial discrimination is general. For this reason, Negro businesses have been described as "defensive enterprises," the product of racial segregation. Few, if any significant or large commercial and industrial enterprises have been organized.[4]

The middle-class group, whose family life we are considering, includes, in addition to those in business enterprises and white-collar occupations, men and women engaged in professional pursuits and employed in responsible positions in public service.[5] In limiting the new Negro middle class which has emerged in recent years to these four occupational classes, we have omitted representatives of other occupational classes who maintain similar standards of behavior and are sometimes accepted socially by members of the middle class. But here we are dealing with an economic class composed of certain occupational groups that may be identified statistically.

In the last chapter we have considered the size of these four occupational classes in the gainfully employed population of fifteen cities in 1920. Since 1920 significant changes have taken place in the size of these four classes. In each of

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54.

[5] See Table 52, Appen. B. Those engaged in business enterprise and white-collar occupations have been placed according to our classification under trade and clerical occupations.

the fifteen cities there has been an increase in the relative size of the professional class.[6] On the whole, the increase in the relative size of the professional group has been greater in northern cities than in southern cities. The increase in the relative size of the professional group has been greatest in the District of Columbia, where the percentage increased from 2.7 in 1920 to 4.6 in 1930. Although in 1920 there was a significantly larger proportion of Negroes employed in public service in the northern cities than in the southern cities, during the succeeding decade the proportion increased slightly in southern cities; whereas in four of the six northern cities there was a slight decline. There was a similar decline in two of the border cities—Baltimore and Washington, although the proportion in public service in Washington has undoubtedly increased during recent years as a result of the growth of governmental activities.

If one can take the changes in the relative proportion of men in trade as an indication of the effect of the depression upon Negro business enterprise and the employment of Negroes in white-collar positions, it appears that the effects have been greatest in the southern cities. In four of the six southern cities there was a distinct decline in the proportion in trade, while in the other two cities the proportion remained practically stationary. On the other hand, with the exception of Boston and Philadelphia, there were increases in the relative proportion of men in trade in northern cities. The changes in the relative proportion engaged in clerical occupations followed on the whole the changes which we have observed in the professional group. There were increases in all cities, with the largest increases occurring in six northern cities.

[6] See Table 52, Appen B.

Although the Negro middle class has been extremely small, it showed signs of growth during the decade from 1920 to 1930 (see Diagrams IV and V).[7] In 1920 in the six southern cities the middle class constituted from 4.3 per cent in Birmingham to 7 per cent in Memphis of the employed male population. In Cincinnati and Baltimore it constituted 5.5 per cent, and in the District of Columbia 10.6 per cent, of the employed males. On the other hand, in the northern cities the middle class comprised from 7.9 per cent in Philadelphia to 11.4 per cent in Chicago of the male workers. During the next decade the size of the middle class increased from 6.7 per cent to 7.8 per cent in Atlanta; from 6 per cent to 8.8 per cent in Richmond; and from 10.6 to 11.9 per cent in the District of Columbia. In Chicago the relative size of the middle class increased from 10.4 per cent to 12.9 per cent; in New York City, from 11.4 per cent to 13.4 per cent; and in Cleveland, from 5.8 per cent to 8.5 per cent. However, in viewing the growth of the middle class, it should be pointed out that its growth has been greatest in the professions and in clerical services and least in trade or business enterprise, which has generally been the basis of its economic power.[8]

The family life of the middle class as well as its ideals and aspirations and even its physical characteristics reflect the different elements in the Negro population from which it springs. Physically, the middle class shows that it is comprised largely of men and women of mixed ancestry. Two decades ago Reuter found after a detailed study of leaders in practically every sphere of Negro life that the vast ma-

[7] See Table 52, Appen. B.

[8] Cf. Lewis Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class* (New York, 1935), pp. 142–44.

DIAGRAM V.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED NEGRO MALES IN THREE SELECTED CITIES, 1920 AND 1930

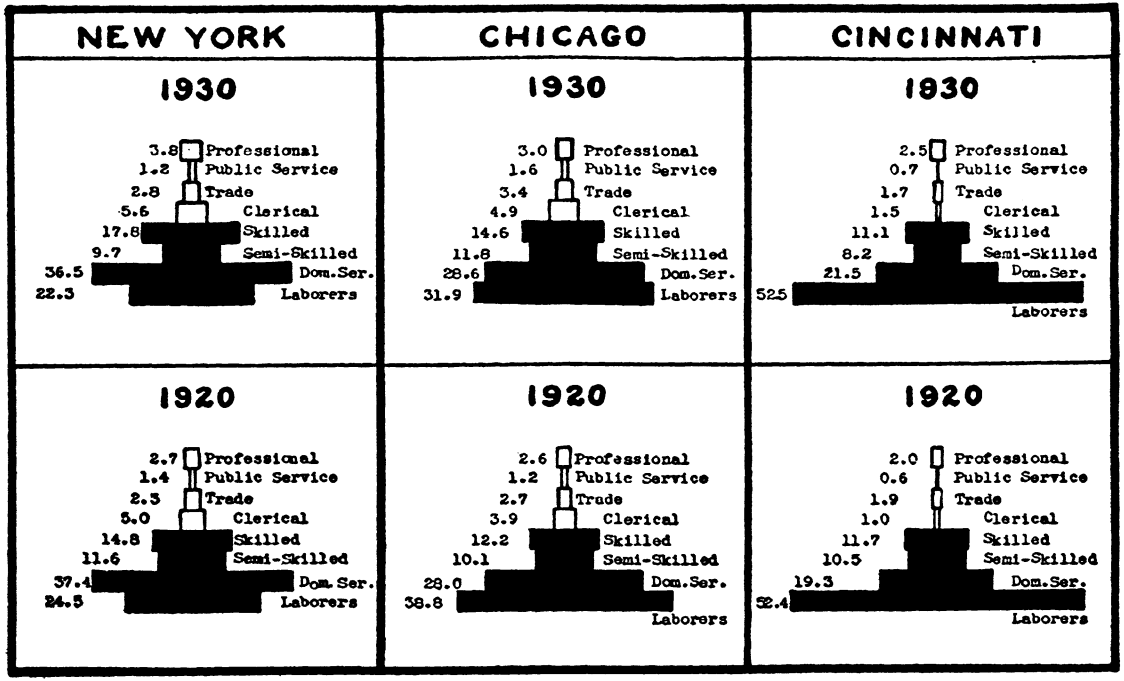
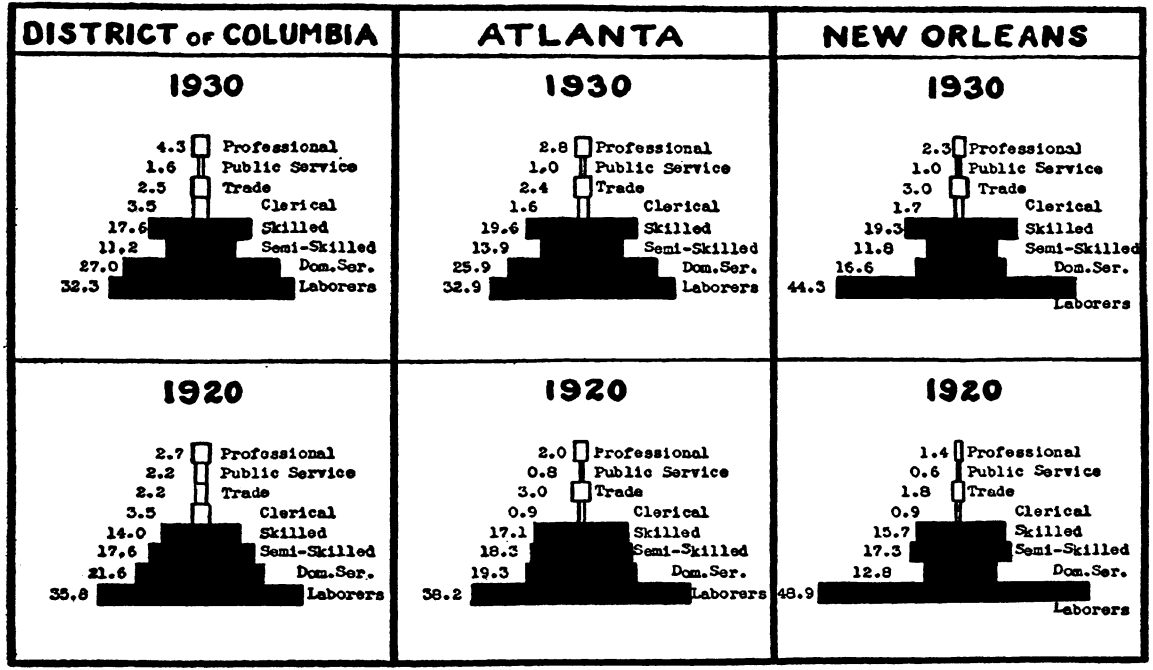


DIAGRAM V

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED NEGRO MALES IN THREE SELECTED CITIES, 1920 AND 1930



jority were of mixed blood. Of the 4,267 men and women included in his study, 3,239 men and 581 women were of mixed blood; whereas only 414 men and 33 women were full-blooded Negroes.[9] A study of the grandparents of 311 persons listed in *Who's Who in Colored America: 1928–1929*, throws light on the ancestry of some of the representatives of this class. The information given by those who returned questionnaires on their families is presented in Table 25. In view of what has been learned concerning the background of the Negro, the information given in these questionnaires appears to be representative of the upper-class Negro. First, it should be pointed out that the persons answering the questionnaires had more information concerning their maternal grandparents than concerning their paternal grandparents and that information was lacking in the smallest number of cases for their maternal grandmothers. In regard to the color and status of their grandparents, we find that a relatively larger proportion were free and of mixed blood. Then, too, in conformity with our knowledge of the relative proportion of mulattoes in the free and slave population, we find that, except in the case of their maternal grandmothers, a large proportion of the grandparents who were slaves were black. On the other hand, the vast majority of the grandparents who were free were of mixed blood. As one would expect, a fairly large number of the grandfathers were white; but it is of interest to note that twenty-six reported that their grandmothers were white.

The figures in Table 25 on the white, mulatto, and free ancestry of these persons indicate roughly the element in the middle class which springs from the old established

[9] Edward B. Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918), p. 309.

mulatto families. These old families, with their fairly well-developed family traditions, constitute a stabilizing and conservative influence in the middle class. Because of their past

TABLE 25

COLOR OF GRANDPARENTS OF 311 PERSONS LISTED IN *Who's Who in Colored America: 1928–1929* ACCORDING TO STATUS

COLOR OF GRANDPARENTS	STATUS OF GRANDPARENTS							
	Paternal				Maternal			
	Free	Slave	Unknown	Total	Free	Slave	Unknown	Total
Grandfathers:								
White	54	0	0	54	57	0	0	57
Mulatto	21	23	6	50	21	34	5	60
Black	9	67	5	81	5	52	8	65
Other*	13	25	6	44	13	24	4	41
Unknown	0	11	71	82	4	11	73	88
Total	97	126	88	311	100	121	90	311
Grandmothers:								
White	14	0	0	14	12	0	0	12
Mulatto	24	36	12	72	24	57	5	86
Black	5	70	9	84	4	55	11	70
Other*	14	41	5	60	20	45	5	70
Unknown	2	8	71	81	2	8	63	73
Total	59	155	97	311	62	165	84	311

* Includes 5 Indian grandfathers and 7 Indian grandmothers, 1 Mexican, and cases in which color was designated as "mixed" or "mixture."

history, they place great value upon culture and respectability. Moreover, to some extent they are responsible for the continued emphasis upon a light skin among members of the middle class who regard success in one's occupation together with a good income as of more importance than membership in an old family. A man who through success in

business or in his profession has a secure economic position may marry a fair daughter of one of these old mulatto families in order to consolidate his social status. As a black college professor who had risen from the black proletariat remarked concerning his blond wife who came from an old family: "You see my wife. I married her so that there would be no question about the status of my family. She has the right color and, more than that, comes from an old family." Thus, a fair skin in conjunction with and as a symbol of family status becomes a value in the new middle class. In a study of the members of the National Negro Business League, Reuter has shown the tendency of the men in this group to select wives of the same or lighter color.[10]

However, in considering the marriage of men to women of the same or lighter color, one should take into account the process by which the men, especially, of the lower and darker strata of the Negro population ascend into the middle class. In a study of 1,051 Negro physicians, only 2.9 per cent reported that their fathers were physicians. Practically a fifth reported that their fathers were farmers; 5.2 per cent that their fathers were laborers; and 5.8 per cent that their fathers were barbers and cooks.[11] Likewise, in a study of students attending Negro colleges, it was found that only a fourth of the students came from families where the father was in professional, business, and clerical occupations.[12] Although the majority of students in Negro colleges show an

[10] E. B. Reuter, "The Superiority of the Mulatto," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII, 103–4.

[11] Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro Professional Man and the Community* (Washington, 1934), pp. 81–82.

[12] Ambrose Caliver, *A Background Study of Negro College Students* (Washington, 1933), p. 68.

admixture of white blood,[13] the boys are on the whole darker than the girls.[14] Many of these boys have left their black families on the plantations to make their way up in the world through the attainment of an education. In choosing wives, they naturally make their selection from among their college associates or daughters of established families, both of whom are likely to be of fairer complexion. Nor should it be forgotten that the same applies to the woman of dark complexion who, because of personal achievement and family background, may be married to a man with fair skin. Thus color loses its caste basis as represented by the older mulatto families, and a brown middle class seems to be emerging.[15]

In view of the diverse cultural backgrounds from which the middle class springs, it is inevitable that there would be considerable confusion of ideals and patterns of behavior. The brown middle class that is coming into being has sloughed off in many cases the traditions of the mulatto families as well as the folk culture of the masses. Personal achievement in the way of often meager educational attainments and economic success is becoming the chief requirement for admission into this class. There has not been suffi-

[13] See Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States*, pp. 271–73.

[14] It should be noted that students in Negro colleges are darker today than twenty years ago, when Reuter made his study. This undoubtedly indicates vertical mobility in the Negro population.

[15] In *Brown America*, (New York, 1931) Edwin R. Embree has not only presented a popular account of the findings of Dr. Herskovits in regard to the emergence of a relatively stable type of brown race, distinguishable from both the white and the pure Negro, but he has also given a sympathetic description of the achievements and aspirations of the Negro middle class. Unfortunately, Mr. Embree identifies the interests and aspirations of this class with the entire Negro population; in fact, he writes as if they were the entire Negro population.

cient time for class traditions to be built up, and, in the absence of class traditions, suggestion and imitation play an important role in the determination of behavior. For example, one may find members of the middle class who, while boasting of aristocratic and conservative family background, claim to be emancipated intellectuals, defend questionable stock manipulation by holding companies, and join movements to release radicals. Within the same person, philistine, bohemian, and creative attitudes strive for expression and seek a congenial social environment.[16]

In the absence of traditions along occupational lines, the various occupational classes strive to maintain standards of consumption set up by the economically better situated members of the middle class. These standards in turn have often been copied from the wealthy upper white middle class. In pointing out the difference between the standards of consumption of Negro and white physicians, Professor Kelly Miller once stated that he could indicate the cars in front of Freedmen's Hospital owned by Negroes by simply placing a mark on the more expensive ones. Since standards of consumption are regarded as an index to success in business and the professions, they determine to some extent the status of individuals and families in the middle class.[17] Therefore, among this class there is much striving, involv-

[16] See William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in America* (New York, 1927), II, 1853–59, for a discussion of these personality types in relation to social organization.

[17] As the Negro becomes urbanized, an increasing number of Negroes are accumulating wealth through illegal methods. Although, as a rule, they are still more or less ostracized by members of the middle class, their children usually do not suffer the same social handicap but, because of their economic position and education, acquire a high social position in the Negro community.

ing debts on houses, clothes, and furniture, to maintain an appearance of wealth. A women writes the following story concerning herself:

I came from a family that people call rather "well-to-do"; I had been accustomed to have everything I wanted as a child, and all thru my school days I was accustomed to many elaborate social affairs and lovely clothes, as well as extensive travel.

Against my parents' wishes, I married a fellow who was earning a small salary and could not give me the home, the lovely furniture, a pretty car, pretty clothes, etc., that I had always had. We moved into a neat little home and he began buying; our furniture was very nice but not what I wanted; later we got a Ford but I wanted a Dodge. Gradually, I became more and more dissatisfied with the things which he could not give and as I look back over it now I see that I was constantly nagging about not being able to entertain, to travel, to dress, to "put on the show" that my friends did.

One day my husband said to me "I love you better than I do my own life and from now on I am going to see if I can't give you every thing you want." I did not know then the real import of these words. About a month afterward he told me that he wanted me to have my own car and that he would keep the Ford. I was delighted when he sent out a pretty Dodge coupe—all for me. I did not question how he got it but was satisfied that he knew what he was doing. When we had been married about two years he said he wanted to refurnish our little love nest. I was overjoyed when I saw the lovely furniture brought in and the old furniture carried out. Still I did not question. My next desire was a new home; he felt that he could not give me just what I wanted, so I continued to "nag." For a good while I was dissatisfied—wanting the home which he said he could not afford. Spats occurred frequently—conflicts continuously. Finally he said "I'll give you the home you want—just give me time." It was during this "time" that I heard that he was gambling and had been gambling for some time. The home was being built when I asked him if he ever gambled. Truthfully and frankly, he told me that my wants had been so many and so heavy that it was for that reason that he started it.

I eventually had the things I wanted but since then I've always regretted the ways the accommodation was brought about.[18]

Striving to maintain an appearance of high standards of consumption often leads, as in the foregoing case, to illegal practices. Consequently, one reads from time to time of Negro physicians being arrested or sent to prison for illegal practices or dealing in narcotics. Negro newspapers play up from time to time the criminal conduct of Negro businessmen who have been apprehended in their efforts to get rich.[19] These criminal activities are often, from what we know of the persons involved, the result of efforts to maintain standards of conspicuous consumption that are out of proportion to the economic resources of this class.

Naturally, much of the conspicuous consumption of the middle class is devoted to social life. This is due especially in the South to racial segregation which prevents participation in the life of community. But, even when this fact is taken into consideration, the Negro middle class spends a relatively large amount of their time and resources on social life. This often appears incongruous in view of the fact that this class depends almost solely upon salaries or upon fees derived from the meager earnings of Negro workers. Hence, the surprise of a white social worker when she learned that her colored associate was in "society" and entertained lavishly.[20] The same ideals are apparent in the leisure-time ac-

[18] Manuscript document.

[19] When the Negro lived in a less complex world, it was naïvely argued by his educational leaders that the high criminal rate of the Negro was due to his lack of education. These same leaders often boasted that none of the graduates of their respective schools or colleges had been arrested or sent to prison. Today it would be difficult to make such claims.

[20] It should be added that this colored social worker lost her job because of mishandling funds and experienced considerable difficulty in escaping a jail sentence.

tivities of a large proportion of the unemployed wives in the middle class. Since they possess on the whole only a superficial "culture," they spend very little time in reading or, where opportunities exist, in attending the theater, art galleries, or public lectures. Their lives revolve on the whole about the activities of the small social world of their class. Usually they belong to numerous clubs that engage in card-playing, eating, and gossip. In fact, the social life of the more conservative elements is little more than a dull routine of card parties. However, among the younger elements who still restrict their leisure to the Negro world, the dulness of their lives is relieved by dances and periodic alcoholic sprees.

Homeownership is one aspect of middle-class standards of consumption that makes for stability in family life. Although in many cases the middle-class families spend beyond their means on their homes, which are often "show places," this is partly due to the fact that, when they seek decent homes, they are forced to inherit the homes of the wealthier white middle class. Of 1,775 college students studied by Caliver, 78 per cent said that their parents owned or were buying their homes. However, a larger percentage of middle-class families represented by the students owned their homes than the families of the lower occupational classes. Ninety-three per cent of the families of students whose fathers were in business owned their homes; 85 per cent of those in professional occupations; 83 per cent of those in clerical occupations; and only 68 per cent of the unskilled.[21] As we have seen in the Negro community in Chicago, homeownership was highest—29.8 per cent—in the zone where a third of the men were engaged in middle-class occupations.

The property relations of the middle class embrace more

[21] Caliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–78.

than ownership of homes. This partly accounts for the fact that, on the whole, the economic outlook of the middle class is conservative. As Woodson has shown in his study, not only a large percentage of the lawyers but a large proportion of the physicians are engaged in business in addition to their professional duties. About 40 per cent of the physicians were connected with various kinds of business enterprises, in some cases their business activities being their major interest.[22] The conservative attitude of the physicians is shown by the fact that a discussion of socialized medicine is strictly outlawed in some local Negro medical societies. Although this attitude is partly due to the influence of the more prosperous members of the profession, this attitude is shared largely by the less prosperous members who hope by some means to increase their incomes. Only during the depression, when a goodly number of the younger Negro physicians were forced to seek relief, did there develop among a relatively few members of the profession a receptive attitude toward socialized medicine. But, on the whole, professional men and women and the small businessmen with whom they are allied array themselves with the conservative forces in the community.[23] In the South they have been allied with the skeleton of the Republican party organization, and in the North they have joined with whichever of the older political organizations has most to offer in terms of concrete rewards.[24] This is especially true of the Negro lawyer who engages in business more frequently than the

[22] Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5.

[23] See the author's "La Bourgeoisie noire," in *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, ed. V. F. Calverton (New York, 1929), pp. 379–88.

[24] See Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians* (Chicago, 1935), *passim*.

physician and utilizes his political connections as a means of increasing his income.

In the South, where the Negro middle class is less differentiated, it is even more conservative, on the whole, than in the North.[25] This is also due to the fact that in the South the middle class is more isolated, and its vested interests are in a rather restricted field. For example, in Durham, North Carolina, where there is a number of comparatively large and old business enterprises whose leaders have exercised considerable control in the Negro community, one finds an extremely conservative middle class.[26] These enterprises are controlled by members of the second generation of families that have been connected with these institutions since their foundation. And the third generation has already begun to find employment in them. The younger generation has taken over not only the technique but the psychology of the modern businessman. Their efforts are directed not only toward maintaining certain standards of living but toward expanding their businesses and invading new fields. They support the same theories of government and morality as the white middle class. Their pleasures are the pleasures of tired businessmen who do not know how to enjoy life. They are leading laymen in the churches and help to support schools and charities. Middle-class respectability

[25] A young Negro minister was warned by a businessman who was a large contributor to the church attended by the middle class in a southern city not to make any reference in his sermon to the fact that he had been in Russia and to avoid letting anyone know that he had been there. The businessman explained to the young minister that they were capitalists and therefore would not tolerate any references to a country that had overthrown capitalism.

[26] See the author's "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York, 1925), pp. 333–40.

is their ideal—an ideal that reflects in a large measure their assimilation of American standards of behavior.[27]

Although the middle class is probably on the whole the most race-conscious element in the Negro group, the more conservative elements are not eager to see the walls of segregation broken down unless it will improve their own status. Many of the conservative elements in the middle class are opposed to the indiscriminate admission of Negroes—the less respectable workers—into public places on equal terms with the whites. This sentiment was expressed by a colored newspaper editor who remarked to a white man that "the white people draw the line at the wrong point and put all of us in the same class." Moreover, behind the walls of racial segregation, where they enjoy a sheltered and relatively secure position in relation to the lower economic classes, they look with misgivings upon a world where they must compete with whites for a position in the economic order and struggle for status. Hence, much of their racial pride is bound up with their desire to monopolize the Negro market. They prefer the overvaluation of their achievements and position behind the walls of segregation to a democratic order that would result in economic and social devaluation for themselves.[28] This is especially true of the

[27] See "Concept of Imitation" in Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York, 1937), pp. 73–83, for an analysis of the various forms of behavior indiscriminately called "imitation."

[28] Professor W. Lloyd Warner in an article entitled "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, 237, says that, because of the fact that the Negro forms a subordinate caste in the South, many of the members of the upper (middle) class are unstable and are always "off balance." This, he feels, is probably due to the fact that they "are constantly attempting to achieve an equilibrium which their society, except under extraordinary circumstances, does not provide for them." It appears to the present writer that this is an untenable hypothesis and that a study of Negro communities

mulatto woman who, enjoying a position in the Negro group far beyond her social and personal worth, views with the fiercest antagonism the competition of white women.[29]

Middle-class Negro families reflect in their organization and behavior the diverse economic and social backgrounds in which they are rooted. This may be seen first in the various patterns of relationship between husbands and wives. In the economically better-situated families the woman generally depends upon her husband's support, especially if she comes from one of the old mulatto families in which it is traditional for the wife not to work. Moreover, this is especially true in the South, where leisure on the part of the woman is more or less a sign of superior social status among middle-class Negroes. An analysis of families in Charleston, Birmingham, and Nashville, taken from the federal census for 1920, showed that in each city a larger percentage of the mulatto wives than of the black wives were not gainfully employed. The difference between the two groups was small in Birmingham, where large numbers of Negro workers are engaged in industrial occupations.[30] We have seen that in the seventh zone of the Negro community

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reveals that the reverse is true. The members of the Negro upper (middle) class achieve on the whole "an equilibrium" within their own society. A relatively few intellectuals may constantly be in conflict with caste restrictions, but they are usually severely censured by the middle class. It is in the North where the status of the members of the middle class is not fixed and where they do not enjoy a privileged position behind the walls of racial segregation that one may find considerable instability in personality organization.

[29] This attitude becomes apparent wherever, as a result of greater participation in the larger urban community, the Negro professional and white-collar classes have social contacts with the same classes among the whites.

[30] See Table 25, Appen. B.

in Chicago, where the middle-class families were concentrated, only a third of the married women were employed and that a third of the employed women were engaged in the white-collar and professional occupations.[31] Dr. Herskovits found in his study of New York Negroes that the wives of the small businessmen, foremen, and minor officials in government services, did not work.[32] However, a check of sixty-five families who are members of the exclusive social clubs in Washington, D.C., revealed that forty-nine of the wives were employed. It appears that middle-class wives work more frequently in border and northern cities where there are opportunities for desirable employment and that they are motivated by the desire to supplement their husbands' income in order to maintain certain standards of consumption.

Although the woman's economic role in the family determines, on the whole, her status in the family or marriage group, there are other factors that help to influence her position. In the South, especially among the conservative middle-class families, the economically dependent wife is, on the whole, subordinate to her husband who generally desires that his wife show strict regard for conventional standards of conduct. He, himself, somewhat in the spirit of the southern gentleman, may enjoy considerable freedom and in some cases may even have outside affairs. These affairs are excused so long as they do not become a public scandal and thereby threaten the integrity of the family. He is usually so strict a censor of his wife's conduct that he will not permit her to smoke; and he would consider himself a liberal if he permitted her to indulge in smoking in the privacy

[31] See Table 6, p. 307, above.

[32] Melville J. Herskovits, *The American Negro* (New York, 1928), p. 56.

of their home. Such attitudes are responsible for the hypocrisy and the extreme emphasis upon respectability which one often finds in the middle class. On the other hand, despite her economic dependence, the wife may have a dominant position in the family because traditionally the Negro woman has played an important role in family relations. Moreover, sometimes in the very families where the mulatto wife of a successful business or professional man is merely an object of pleasure and display, the husband may be a slave to her whims and extravagances. Among this group often the highest compliment that is paid a husband is that he is "her veritable slave and worships his wife." Then, too, in the North, where a successful black man has signalized his achievements by marrying a mulatto woman, he may be regarded as not considerate of his wife if he goes places with her where she otherwise might be taken for white. On the other hand, we may find middle-class wives who are economically the mainstay of their families submitting to extreme domination by their husbands. Where such is the case, there is usually an excess of middle-class women who are willing to pay this price in order to have a husband who belongs to the professional or business class.

Because of the fact that a large proportion of the middle class are salaried persons and there are few or no children in the families, relations between husband and wife, especially where both are employed, tend to be equalitarian, and a spirit of comradeship exists. This tendency is growing as occupational differentiation increases and the various occupational groups develop their own patterns of behavior and thus free themselves from standards set by the few wealthier members of the middle class. On the other hand, there is a fringe on the middle class—generally childless

couples—whose behavior approaches a bohemian mode of life. Husband and wife, both of whom are employed, not only enjoy the same freedom in their outside associations and activities but, because of their so-called "sophistication," indulge in outside sexual relations. Although these people usually boast of their emancipation from traditional morality, it often appears that their actions are not based upon deep convictions. Their behavior is doubtless due to imitation and suggestion that play such an important role in the world of the city.[33]

Available figures on the size of middle-class families indicate that there are relatively few children in these families. However, when the 1910 census figures on children born and living in families in Charleston, Nashville, and Birmingham were analyzed according to occupational classes, there were no significant differences between the various occupations. It is probable that at that time the fundamental economic and cultural differences in the Negro population coincided more nearly with the color divisions in the Negro population, and variations in the number of children were more a matter of survival than of voluntary restriction of families on the part of the upper or mulatto class. For example, it was found that, although mulattoes had only a slightly smaller proportion of families with no children born than blacks and both groups had the same average number of children born, a larger percentage of the black families in Charleston and Birmingham had lost one or more children than mulatto families. Since the blacks had lost on the av-

[33] When companionate marriage began to be widely discussed, an announcement by a Negro physician that he had formed such a union was published together with a large picture of the physician on the front page of one of the leading Negro newspapers.

erage one more child than the mulatto families in Nashville, where the same proportion of families in both groups had lost children, there was in Nashville as well as in the two other cities a larger number of children on the average in mulatto families than in black families.[34] On the other hand, twenty years ago, when Professor Kelly Miller made a study of the families of fifty-five colored faculty members at Howard University, he found that, whereas they came from families averaging 6.3 children, they themselves had on the average only 1.6 children.[35] Practically the same average was found in 1933 for seventeen colored faculty members at Fisk University, where the average was 1.5 children per family.[36] A comparison of the number of children in the families from which 327 persons listed in *Who's Who in Colored America: 1928–1929* came, with the number of children of 174 of those who were forty-five years of age and over, showed that the entire group came from families averaging 5.5 children, whereas the 174 families had only 2.3 children per family.[37] In the spring of 1937 the writer made

[34] See Table 26, Appen. B. See also the author's "Children in Black and Mulatto Families," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, 12–29.

[35] "Eugenics and the Negro Race," *Scientific Monthly*, V, 57–59.

[36] See the author's "The Negro and Birth Control," *Birth Control Review*, XVII, 68–69.

[37] *Ibid.* These facts concerning the size of middle-class Negro families have received additional support in a recent study based upon National Health Survey data for married women of childbearing age. It was found that those "reporting college attendance were characterized by birth rates well below the level of those for women who did not report entrance into college." Moreover, an analysis of birth-rates at the various income levels showed that the birth-rates for colored wives with an income of $2,000 and over were considerably lower than those of wives in the three lower income classes (Clyde V. Kiser, "Birth Rates and Socio-economic Attributes in 1935," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVII [April, 1939], 128–51).

a study of the colored faculty members at Howard University similar to that made by Professor Miller. The 114 teachers replying to a questionnaire came from families averaging 5.1 children; whereas they themselves had on the average only 0.8 child. If we consider only those teachers who had been married ten years or more, the average was 1.1 children per family. It is important to point out that about 60 per cent of those replying indicated that they had voluntarily restricted the size of their families.

In Woodson's study of the Negro professional man, he found that 85 per cent of the physicians were married and that 87.9 per cent of those married had had children. Of those having had children, only 31.9 per cent had children living. About a fourth of those with children living had one child; 22.6 per cent, two children; 10 per cent, three; 6.7 per cent, four; and 1.8 per cent, five.[38] About five-sixths of the lawyers reported themselves as married, and 54.7 per cent of those married reported that they had children living. Of those with children, 17.2 per cent had one child; 19.2 per cent, two children; 11.4 per cent, three; 3.6 per cent, four; and 0.5 per cent, five children.[39] In the sixty-five families referred to above as members of the Washington colored élite, it was found that in thirty-six of the sixty-five families, there were no children and that there was a total of only forty-three children, or less than 0.7 of a child per family. Fourteen of the twenty-nine families with children had two children each and the remaining fifteen families one child each. Although some of these families were probably not

[38] Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49. One and one-tenth per cent of both the physicians and the lawyers had six children.

completed families, the couples had all been married eight years or more.

When one considers the treatment of children in middle-class families, the observation made by Park a quarter of a century ago that "where the children are few, they are usually spoiled" holds today.[40] This is especially true of the comparatively well-to-do families in which the indulgence of the children's whims and extravagances is tied up with their desire for conspicuous consumption. It is not uncommon to find college students from middle-class families boasting of their parents' fine homes and expensive cars and vying with one another in expending money on clothes and other forms of conspicuous consumption. In fact, many of the middle-class Negro families send their sons and especially their daughters to certain Negro colleges where they feel that their children will have contacts with the sons and daughters of middle-class families and enjoy the so-called "cultural" environment of these colleges. Although it is also true that some middle-class families who desire that their children have contacts with whites send their children to the more exclusive white schools, other families, realizing that their children must live largely in the Negro world, send them to the Negro colleges that have middle-class traditions.

In fact, since education is the chief means by which the Negro escapes from the masses into the middle class, it is not surprising that the colleges uphold middle-class traditions. Of course, this is not the only reason, since privately supported colleges draw their incomes from the philanthropy of wealthy whites. But the very atmosphere of Negro col-

[40] Robert E. Park, "Negro Home Life and Standards of Living," in *The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1913), p. 163.

leges breathes the spirit and aspirations of the Negro middle class. In the very college where the middle-class aspirations were formulated and published abroad in 1898, there has been established a chair with the specific aim of training business leaders for a segregated Negro economy. It is hoped by this means to foster the spirit of business enterprise and overcome the handicap which Negro college men and women experience in being excluded from apprenticeship in white business establishments. However, middle-class ideals are inculcated in more subtle ways. For example, Negro colleges give little attention to plays dealing with Negro folk life but place much emphasis upon plays which appeal to middle-class whites and provide fashion shows from time to time in which middle-class standards of consumption are held up for emulation. So deeply are middle-class attitudes ingrained in Negro college students that some of these future members of the brown middle class regretted that the Scottsboro boys were poor and black and expressed the opinion that the predicament in which the Scottsboro boys found themselves could not possibly be the fate of "cultured" Negroes.

The vast majority of Negro college students, those from the lower occupational classes as well as those from middle-class homes, aspire to enter middle-class occupations.[41] Studies of the vocational choices of Negro college students indicate that the majority of them plan to enter the teach-

[41] In a recent study of 7,083 Negro college graduates from private and state colleges, it was found that three-fourths of the college graduates had entered the professions. In the same study it was also found that, in a sample of 5,216 college graduates, 41 per cent had entered the teaching profession (see Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro College Graduate: How and Where He Is Employed," *Journal of Negro Education*, IV, 7–8).

ing profession.[42] In the vocational choices of Negro college students and the occupations which they enter, one can detect the cause of the "softness" of the Negro middle class. In the middle-class atmosphere of the Negro college, the students coming from working-class homes lose their stamina and often prefer any kind of charity that will enable them to ape the middle-class students to making their way through toil. The boys from middle-class families are often as spoiled as their sisters. When they reach college, they regard educational discipline chiefly as a means of preparing themselves for such salaried positions as teaching or social work where in either case their incomes may be derived from the community or philanthropy. Thus, because of their family background and education, they are unfitted for life in a world of competition. In fact, it generally turns out that they are more or less excluded from the competition of the world at large. Hence, their "softness" and sentimental outlook on life reflects the security which they find in occupations the incomes of which come from the state or philanthropy.

The future of the Negro middle class will depend, of course, upon the role of this class in American economic life. There are no grounds for the belief that this class will find

[42] A study of the vocational interests of the Freshmen at Lincoln University of Missouri indicated that 58.3 per cent of the men were planning to enter teaching and medicine and that 86.7 per cent of the women were planning to enter teaching and social work (James C. McMorries, "The Interests of Freshmen at Lincoln University," *Journal of Negro Education*, VI, 54). In the study of the vocational choices of Negro college students in North Carolina it was found that 21.4 per cent of the men and 54.1 per cent of the women wanted to be teachers. Seventeen and a half per cent of the men wanted to be physicians (Charles L. Cooper, "The Vocational Choices of Negro College Students in North Carolina," *Journal of Negro Education*, VI, 62–63).

a secure economic base in a segregated economy with its Negro captains of industry, managers, technical assistants, and white-collar workers.[43] However, it seems that this class will increase mainly through the entrance of Negroes in white-collar occupations, especially wherever the number of such occupations is increased by an extension of municipal or state functions, and the Negro is permitted to compete on equal terms with whites. In fact, the Negro middle class is increasing in the very northern cities where Negroes are permitted through political power to compete with other races for positions under state control. Hence, the Negro middle class is becoming almost entirely a class of professional and white-collar workers. As racial barriers break down, the Negro middle class will become assimilated with the salaried workers in the community. Consequently, they will cease to think of themselves as a privileged and "wealthy" upper Negro class and will regard themselves as other intellectual workers. Their standards of consumption and the character of their family life will reflect these changes in status and outlook on life. The democracy which is apparent in the relations of a growing number of married men and women who earn their living will become the rule in this group of workers.

[43] Cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, chap. iv on the plight of the Negro middle class.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BLACK PROLETARIAT

When the brown middle class was becoming articulate during the last decade of the past century, there were widespread misgivings concerning the future of the black worker in American economic life. In fact, the Negro leaders who proposed the development of a segregated Negro economy justified their program partly on the assumption that Negro enterprises would secure the employment of black workers.[1] In the South, where at the close of the Civil War a hundred thousand black mechanics outnumbered white mechanics five to one, by 1890 Negro artisans had as a result of white competition and trade-union exclusion lost their once secure position in southern industry.[2] In the North the black worker was confined to domestic and personal service, and his appearance in industry from time to time was generally in the role of a strike-breaker.[3] It was not until the World War that the black worker secured a footing in the industries of the North.

For the entire period from 1890 to 1920 the proportion of black workers in the crafts remained practically constant in the South. However, in the North, where the Negro population had increased during the war, the black worker had by 1920 made significant gains in industry. In securing a foot-

[1] See statement by the late President John Hope at Atlanta in 1898 cited in Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 51.

[2] Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York, 1931), pp. 32–33 and 159–60.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 129–32.

hold in northern industry, the Negro worker not only had to meet the prejudice of white workers and to overcome the employers' preconceptions concerning his efficiency but he also had to adapt himself to the discipline of modern industry. His success in overcoming the preconceptions of the employers was due to the fact that they found in the black industrial reserve a reliable labor supply. According to the general testimony of employers, the workers have gradually adjusted themselves to the discipline of modern industry.[4] Even in the South, where caste sentiment restricts the competition and the mixing of black and white workers, economic forces inevitably tend to throw workers of the two races into competition.

We have already seen to what extent occupational differentiation had progressed by 1920 in fifteen cities.[5] We shall consider briefly the changes which have taken place between 1920 and 1930 in the four occupational classes, which form the black proletariat of these cities (see Diagrams IV and V). Taking first the laborers, who constitute from a fifth in Boston to over a half in Baltimore and Cincinnati of the employed male Negro population, we find that their numbers declined relatively in all but three cities.[6] In the latter three cities—Cincinnati, Houston, and Memphis—there were only slight increases in the proportion of laborers in the working population, these increases ranging from one-tenth of 1 per cent to 1.7 per cent. On the other hand, there was a decline in the proportion of laborers amounting to 7

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 163–66.

[5] See pp. 415–19, above.

[6] See Table 52, Appen. B. In considering these figures, one should take into account the fact that the percentage of Negro males gainfully employed in these cities declined 3–9 per cent. This was doubtless due to the depression which had set in during 1929.

per cent in Atlanta, Chicago, and Seattle and 9 per cent in Birmingham. Apparently, the decline in the proportion of laborers was not related to the decline in total proportion of employed males. For example, we find that in Birmingham the proportion of gainfully employed males declined only 2.7 per cent.

Changes in the percentages of semiskilled workers in the employed male population showed the same tendency. In twelve of the fifteen cities there were decreases in the proportion of semiskilled workers, amounting in one city to as much as 10.7 per cent. On the whole, the decline in the proportion of semiskilled workers was greater in the six southern cities than in the six northern cities. Birmingham was the only southern city with an increase in semiskilled workers, this increase being only 1.2 per cent. On the other hand, the six southern cities appeared more favorable in respect to increases in the proportion in skilled occupations. In all the six southern cities there were increases in the proportion of skilled workers ranging from 1.7 per cent in Richmond to 5.1 per cent in Houston. However, the largest increase in the proportion of skilled workers occurred in New York City. Of the three border cities—Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Washington—the latter two cities showed increases of 2.7 and 3 per cent, respectively, in the proportion of skilled workers.

We come, finally, to domestic service which has long been the occupation upon which black workers have largely depended for a living. In all the fifteen cities except New York, where there was a slight decline, the proportion of domestic workers showed some increase. In Boston and Chicago this increase was less than 1 per cent, but in the southern cities it ranged from about 2 to nearly 6 per cent. From the figures

for the fifteen cities, it appears that the most significant changes in the occupational distribution of the black workers have been a decrease in the proportion of semiskilled workers and the laborers and a corresponding increase in the proportion in domestic service and, to a lesser extent, in skilled occupations. Thus, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that, whereas black workers have been forced to fall back to some extent into domestic service, they have been able to secure a slightly firmer hold in skilled occupations. Among the southern cities, Houston indicated definite gains in skilled occupations; in Birmingham the skilled and semiskilled absorbed the decline in laborers; while in New Orleans the increase in the proportion in skilled occupations and domestic service equaled the decline in semiskilled workers and laborers. In Chicago the decline in the proportion of laborers was partly compensated for by increases in skilled and semiskilled workers, while in New York City the increase in skilled workers more than compensated for the decrease in laborers. In both of these cities there was practically no change in the proportion of workers in domestic service.

From the standpoint of general culture, patterns of behavior, and outlook on life, Negro workers in domestic and personal service are by no means a homogeneous group. In the past, many of the old established families of free ancestry as well as the cruder elements from the plantation depended upon this type of employment. A large section of the present middle class has its roots in this same class of workers. Both during slavery and after emancipation it was through domestic and personal service that the Negro was brought into intimate contacts with the white race and was thereby able to take over elements of white civilization. Of course,

such contacts often resulted in crude and bizarre imitations of white culture; but, where Negroes were employed over long periods, sometimes several generations, in the white families of culture, they unconsciously assimilated white ideals and standards of behavior. Moreover, when within their own families and within their more or less exclusive community life these ideals and patterns of behavior became a part of their traditions, they were supported by sentiment and acquired significance in their lives. However, the elements in the Negro population with such a background have rapidly risen, especially through education, into the middle class. Other elements in the Negro population have taken their places. In fact, each successive wave of migrants from the farms and plantations of the South brings workers seeking employment in domestic and personal service into the urban environment.

Consequently, one finds in domestic and personal service today Negroes with a solid background of civilized behavior and a high degree of intelligence as well as the illiterate and crude field hand with a plantation background. Usually the cruder and less efficient workers have been employed at a dollar or two a week by the poorer whites in the South. On the other hand, the more competent and more civilized reflect the discipline and influence of their contacts with the cultured whites. In a study of domestic workers in Washington, D.C., it was found that 30 per cent of the female applicants for domestic service had seventh- or eighth-grade education.[7] There were also among the 9,976 applicants for the academic years 1920–22, 17 male and 159 female students who had attended high school; 75 female normal-school stu-

[7] Elizabeth R. Haynes, "Negroes in Domestic Service in the United States," *Journal of Negro History*, VIII, 400–401.

dents; 13 male and 126 female college students.[8] However, it appears that, as a rule, Negroes who have obtained a high-school education do not enter domestic service but use it as a means of completing their education.[9] The older workers in domestic and personal service who have some background of culture and stable family life are often identified with the institutions supported by the middle class. For example, in Nashville, among 32 male members of a small Congregational church attended mainly by persons of middle-class status, there were 3 members engaged in domestic service.[10] These families undertake to maintain middle-class standards and endeavor to fit their children for middle-class occupations. Caliver found in his study of 1,877 Negro college students that 191, or 10 per cent, came from families in which the fathers were engaged in domestic and personal service.[11] But the vast majority of the more stable domestic workers with the cultural background of the Negro folk attend institutions and live on a plane more suited to their small earnings.

On the other hand, the less stable elements lead an existence in which the faults of the gentleman and the peasant find expression. They are improvident, and their behavior is governed by imitation and suggestion. Since many of them see white people only during their leisure, their behavior often shows the influence of the "sporting complex." Thus, the less stable as well as the better-situated workers in domestic and personal service seldom have a real working-

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 403. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[10] In this church, twenty-one of the thirty-two male members were of the professional class; four in business; and three in public service.

[11] Ambrose Caliver, *A Background Study of Negro College Students* (Washington, 1933), p. 68.

class consciousness. It has only been in northern cities where their relations with their employers have been more impersonal that they have been disposed to identify themselves with industrial workers.

Although a large proportion of the black semiskilled workers and laborers come from the same rural background as the domestic workers, they are, on the whole, cruder than the domestic worker. But, on the other hand, the more stable and especially the organized unskilled workers are more likely to think of themselves as workers and are less disposed to imitate the behavior of middle-class whites. Especially is this true of the great body of black longshoremen who have had a long history of unionism and have exhibited considerable working-class solidarity.[12] Likewise, among miners and steel and stockyards workers, the development of working-class consciousness has been influenced by their experiences in industrial struggles, including, of course, cooperation with white workers. But certain influences in the Negro community itself tend to perpetuate, even among industrial workers, a middle-class outlook. For example, in the churches and schools, Negro leaders often hold up to black workers middle-class ideals and conceptions of life and thus influence to some extent their allegiance to the working class and their valuations.

The difference in outlook between many Negro workers in domestic and personal service and the black artisan or industrial worker whose conceptions of life and behavior have been fashioned by working-class traditions is shown in the following document:

[12] Spero and Harris, *op. cit.*, pp 182–205. We have classified longshoremen with the laborers although at one time some aspects of their work required considerable skill.

At that time, father had become the outstanding stone mason and bricklayer of the town, surpassing even Bill S—— [white] from whom he "stole" his trade. On excursions father would take us to the houses he was building and to the bridges that were in process of construction and my youngest sister and I would be awestruck with the wonder of it all. Dad would allow us to climb in and about the houses and he would show us how to mix mortar, handle the trowels, etc. I remember how he used to love his tools and when folks would come to the house to borrow them, we wouldn't let anyone have them.

So it was very early that we acquired a deep and abiding respect for the people of the working class because we were and are part and parcel of them. We were taught early by both our parents to respect personality as it showed itself through constructive labor. The men who worked for Dad, the mechanics as well as the laborers, we thought of as constructive forces in the community. It was probably because of these ideas that we regarded with pride all the male members of the family.

The standard set by the Negro leaders in the community was, we thought, false. The inclination was to set on a pinnacle the Negroes who were of the professional class. There weren't many, very few in fact, and probably because of this rarity was there much abject worship. You see, father and my uncles were all rated throughout as expert workmen and mother, who had learned the trade of hairdresser (that is the manufacture of hair ornaments), had enjoyed the reputation of the best worker in the finest shop in Pittsburgh, in her time. That was before her marriage. Everything my father and mother did helped to confirm our judgment that the people of the professional class were only a different kind of skilled worker and respect for them and their opinion came to being only in so far as they were masters of their trade.

Because our family on mother's side of the household was very well known and respected, our relationship with the elite of the white group was casual and usual. But, although we were often in the homes of the most wealthy, mother took care that our house while comfortably furnished, was in keeping with our economic status. It was simply but tastefully furnished. This was quite different from the standards prevailing among our Negro friends, who thought we were

queer because we didn't imitate the houses of the wealthy in point of view of appointments. They also thought we were queer because we dressed in ginghams and percales and wore flat but well made shoes and lisle stockings. I thought the G—— girls [wealthy white girls] very beautifully dressed, but there never was any envy in this admiration for mother had always taught us that the important thing was to "dress within our means" and to look "clean" and "tidy." Even our Sunday clothes were simple and very often I have had to say when I was twitted about my simple clothes, "Well, anyway my father is an expert mechanic and yours is nothing but a servant for white people," or "I am sure I look as well in my ginghams as you look in satin." These statements always ended the arguments.

We did have a piano—and a very good one because mother thought that there should be entertainment in the house and she believed in the cultural influences of music. While many colored people had big houses, expensively furnished, we were the only "colored" children who belonged to the private library. There was no public one and mother had to pay for cards. We always had three cards, one for each two of us. As to politics, I can remember only that father thought a man was a good candidate if he sympathized with the aims and aspirations of the working class group. I remember him voting against J—— for mayor because he owned the H—— Coal Mine and didn't allow the union to enter and forced the employees to buy at the company store. Discussions outside of the house between father and his friends, who were mainly white mechanics, we listened to and I believe my interest in the proletariat was generated in these early years.

We have often laughed at what mother called the "antics" of the J——'s. They had recently become wealthy and I suppose their emulation, inaccurate as it was, of the old wealthy group reminded us of the same sort of thing among the Negro working class. Their striving, we thought ridiculous and somehow we always knew when Mrs. J—— was "trying to get in" with the D——'s [the elite] or changing her house furnishings to look like theirs. We always knew, too, that Mrs. S——, the Negro barber's wife, was dressing well to look like A—— D——, and was buying curtains "exactly like the G——'s." Our home, although distinctive, was much like that of father's friends. We had books and magazines, and games like the

W——'s and the atmosphere of the home in no way bespoke emulation of the wealthy.[13]

Although this document is representative of only a comparatively small group of skilled black workers, it is indicative of the process by which this class is attaining working-class ideals and traditions.

Before considering the family life of the black worker, let us pause to see how he is housed. In southern cities one can easily recognize the areas inhabited by the black working class. For example, in Lynchburg, Virginia, it was found that 60 per cent of the Negro families lived on dirt streets and 78 per cent on streets with dirt sidewalks.[14] As to the living conditions in the unsubstantial and weather-beaten frame houses on these streets, we can get some idea from the fact that 63 per cent of the families lived in homes that were not more than half-heated.[15] Although the median number of rooms per colored family was three, the median number of bedrooms was two. Consequently, it is not surprising that, in a fourth of the families, bedrooms were also used for living-rooms, and in about 45 per cent of the families these rooms served the double function of bedroom and laundry. In only about a fifth of the families were the bedrooms used exclusively for sleeping.[16]

The housing of the black worker in the city is, of course, tied up with his general economic and cultural status. This becomes apparent when one studies the residence of black workers in relation to the organization of the Negro community. For example, in Chicago it was found that, in the

[13] Manuscript document. See Doc. XI, Appen. A.

[14] Benjamin Guy Childs, *The Negroes of Lynchburg, Virginia* ("Publications of the University of Virginia" [Charlottesville, Va., 1923]), pp. 39–40.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

deteriorated section of Negro community where the migrants from the South settled, 56 per cent of the employed males were common laborers; 12.4 per cent, semiskilled workers; and 17.7 per cent, in domestic service.[17] In the report on the Negro following the race riots of 1919, the description of the houses in this area was given as follows:

> With the exception of two or three the houses are frame, and paint with them is a dim reminiscence. There is one rather modern seven-room flat building of stone front, the flats renting at $22.50 a month and offering the best in the way of accommodations to be found there. There is another makeshift flat building situated above a saloon and pool hall, consisting of six six-room flats, renting at $12 per month, but in a very poor condition of repair. Toilets and baths were found to be in no condition for use and the plumbing in such a state as to constantly menace health. Practically all of the houses have been so reconstructed as to serve as flats, accommodating two and sometimes three families. As a rule there are four, five and sometimes six rooms in each flat, there being but five instances when there were more than six. It is often the case that of these rooms not all can be used because of dampness, leaking roofs, or defective toilets overhead.[18]

In the next zone, where the houses were slightly better, there was an increase in the proportion of skilled workers in the working population. In fact, the proportion of common laborers declined regularly in the successive zones which marked the expansion of the Negro population and on the

[17] E. Franklin Frazier, "Occupational Classes among Negroes in Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, 729.

[18] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), pp. 185–86. In a study of 2,326 apartments in Harlem it was found that 465, or 20 per cent, were "cold-water" flats with stove heat (Ira DeA. Reid, "Twenty-four Hundred Negro Families in Harlem" [New York: New York Urban League, 1927] [unpublished manuscript]). About 93 per cent of the males in this study were employed in personal and domestic service and as skilled and unskilled laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

whole increasing improvement in housing facilities. In the seventh zone, which was primarily a middle-class area, only a seventh of the workers were laborers. This was the same as the proportion of skilled workers in the population of this area.

But, despite the selection which fixes the abode of black workers in the Negro community on the basis of the economic and social status, their homes even in better areas are usually unsuited to their incomes and unfavorable to normal family life. When black workers seek better living-quarters, they are compelled to occupy houses or apartments that were built for middle-class white families, and, because of the competition for housing quarters within the Negro community, they are forced to pay higher rentals than the former white occupants.[19] That such is the case has been shown in a number of studies. For example, Reid found in a study of 2,326 Negro families in Harlem that in some cases the rentals charged Negro tenants when they moved into apartments vacated by whites amounted to almost a 100 per cent increase over what the whites had paid.[20] As a result, 48 per cent of the Negro tenants were paying more than 40 per cent of their monthly earnings in rentals. These findings were similar to the findings in a study of West Harlem, where Negro tenants paid nearly a third of their income as compared with approximately a fifth of the tenants' income for the whole city. The typical annual income for this section was $1,300, of which $480 went for rent.[21]

[19] There is considerable mobility among the working population. For example, Reid found that 40 per cent of the families which he studied had occupied their apartments less than one year; 27 per cent, only a year.

[20] *Op. cit.*

[21] Carey Batchelor, *What the Tenement Family Has and What It Pays for It: A Study of 1,014 Tenement Families, Showing Income, Rent and Housing Conditions* (New York: United Neighborhood Clubs, 1928).

In order to pay these exorbitant rents, the black worker is generally forced to take in roomers. Reid found 3,314 lodgers in the 2,326 apartments which he studied.[22] A study of 100 migrant families in Philadelphia, almost all of whom were workers, showed that 24 of the families supplemented their incomes by rentals from lodgers.[23] In a more comprehensive study, including every tenth 1920 federal census family in Chicago, Miss Graham found that, out of 3,339 families, 2,361 possibly had some additional source of income.[24] Of these 2,361 families, 824 were keeping roomers, 294 had relatives employed, and 1,611 were sharing their homes. As many as 350 of these families secured incomes from at least two of these sources.

In the organization and life of the black worker's family, one can see the influence of these various economic and social forces. Already we have seen to what extent workers' families in cities are dependent solely upon the mother for support.[25] Negro families that are broken through desertion are not only almost entirely working-class families but seemingly come more frequently from the unskilled and common laborers. For example, during the fiscal year 1930–31, out of 129 desertion cases handled by the Charity Organization Society in which the occupation of the husband was given, 45, including 11 chauffeurs, were in domestic service and another 45 were employed in unskilled labor. However, various studies indicate that in a large percentage of the

[22] *Op. cit.*

[23] Sadie Tanner Mossell, "The Standard of Living among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia," *Annals*, XCVIII, 182.

[24] Irene J. Graham, "Family Support and Dependency among Chicago Negroes: A Study of Unpublished Census Data," *Social Service Review*, III, 551.

[25] See pp. 326–28, above.

families in which the husband is present the women must also assist in the support of the family. Only 33 of the 100 migrant families in Philadelphia, referred to above, depended solely upon the father's earnings.[26] In 52 of these families the mother contributed to the family income. Reid found in his study of 2,326 families in Harlem that 53.5 per cent of the wives were employed and that less than 10 per cent of the employed women added more than twenty dollars per month to the family income.[27] Miss Graham found in her study of Negro families in Chicago that 1,500, or 51.6 per cent, of the 2,904 women heads of families with husbands were employed.[28] Some of the workers' wives who are forced to supplement the earnings of their husbands are engaged in their homes at such work as making lamp shades or artificial flowers. For example, let us take

> the wife of a steel worker .... his wife reported that he had been working irregularly since the preceding September, making about $50 a month. The family, consisting of husband, wife, and a schoolboy of sixteen, lived in a six-room apartment over a store for which they paid a monthly rent of $75. Sometimes they sublet one room; and when they could secure more roomers, they sublet a second room. The wife was earning $15 to $23 a week making parts of artificial flowers. She was working about sixty hours a week in the home on these flowers, and in addition making a commission on work she allowed one of the roomers to do. She had been doing this kind of work for three years and said it was "getting on her nerves," but she could not stop on account of the irregularity of her husband's employment.[29]

[26] See Mossell, *op. cit.*, p. 182. Since there were some professional families among the migrants, it is likely that they were included among the thirty-three families depending solely upon the husband's earnings.

[27] *Op. cit.* [28] *Op. cit.*, p. 546.

[29] Myra Hill Colson, "Negro Home Workers in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, II, 407.

It appears from a study of the employment of married Negro women in seventy-five northern and southern cities of 100,000 total population or more that the employment of the wives of black workers is dependent upon the extent to which Negro men find employment in industry. By comparing the percentage of Negro married women employed with the proportion of Negro males employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries, it was found that the proportion of married women employed tended to decline as the proportion of Negro males employed in industry increased.[30]

The status of the husband and wife in the black worker's family assumes roughly three patterns. Naturally, among the relatively large percentage of families with women heads, the woman occupies a dominant position.[31] But, because of the traditional role of the black wife as a contributor to the support of the family, she continues to occupy a position of authority and is not completely subordinate to masculine authority even in those families where the man is present. As indicated above, the entrance of the black worker in industry where he has earned comparatively good wages has enabled the black worker's wife to remain at home. Therefore, the authority of the father in the family has been strengthened, and the wife has lost some of her authority in family matters. In fact, among some classes of black workers whose wives are restricted to the home, masculine authority is harsh or even brutal. Wives as well as children are completely subject to the will of the male head. However, especially in southern cities, one may find that the

[30] The coefficient of correlation was −0.67 (see Table 31 and scatter diagram, Appen. B).

[31] See pp. 326–28, above.

black worker's authority in his family may be challenged by his mother-in-law. In the following document, written by a woman who worked her way through college, one can get an idea of the conflict which often arises when the husband opposes his authority to the traditional authority of the wife's mother in the family. This document also throws light on the conflict which even may be found in workers' families between the mulattoes and the Negroes of unmixed blood:

My mother and father were in high school when they became infatuated with each other and ran away. Before they had a chance to marry, my grandmother located my mother, and both my grandfather and grandmother persuaded her against marrying him. My grandfather argued that he had no profession other than wanting to be a preacher. He prophesied that he would never be a good preacher and never would have anything. My grandmother argued that he didn't have anything, never would have anything, that nothing was known of his family and beside that, he was a black man. Mama would not listen to any of this. She said that she would run away from any school to which they sent her if they would not permit her to get married.

My grandmother and father gave her a very expensive church wedding in the same church in S. where we are now members. My grandfather would not be present at the reception or the wedding. My mother married my father and went to southern Louisiana to his home. There she found that he was not from the ideal family as she had pictured him being at school. There she found out there were many things about his family of which he never spoke. Mama found that his family did not have the status in the community that hers had in S.; for her father was known as Professor W., her mother was active in community life, church work, clubs, etc. Besides her family was considered one of the old blue blood families of S. and Mama was considered then as one of the most beautiful girls in S. This grieved her very much but as she had gone against the will of her parents she made the best of it. Papa went about his career as an ("unprepared") minister. My mother could never get him to see that pastoring small

churches with small pay didn't mean anything. She could not get him to see that if he would complete his trade as a carpenter rather than trying to be a minister he would have more economic stability. Mama often quotes papa as saying, "I know my business; I'm my own boss; I know the Lord has called me to preach." He continued to be sent from one small Methodist church to another.

Of the four girls the other three have perfectly straight and curly hair. Mine is not. I was often referred to as being a duplicate of my father's hair and my mother's figure. My mother is fair, black hair with Jewish facial features. My father is black with typical Negro features. (After I went to live with my aunt), she constantly reminded me that I was the daughter of a trifling black man who cared nothing for his children. She gave me everything nice in the line of clothes, toys, and education, but I resented her speaking of my father as she did. I resolved firmly then that I would always love my father. I realized however, that I was dependent and accepted my lot. Finally, one day I told my aunt that the things she did for me were very nice, but I would like to go to work for myself. Deeply in my mind I resented her doing these things for me and at moments when she was angry she would remind me how dependent I was and would say the most cutting things about my father. She would also say that I was just his image including hair and color. She would not consent for me to go to work.

As my mother did not send me back to my aunt and my sister was well, the three of us decided that something had to be done. We decided that we would rent a house and live independently. The sister next to myself was old enough to go to school and the baby sister was placed in kindergarten. My older sister and I decided to work before and after school while my mother continued to work as ticket agent at a downtown theatre on the colored entrance. During this time my father was still carrying on his career as a preacher in the southern part of Louisiana. We had lost all hopes of his ever coming to us and being a real father. One day when I came home from high school where I was a freshman, I found my father sitting on the porch. I hardly knew him for I had not seen him since I was seven years of age and I was then fourteen years of age.

My grandmother was very discourteous to him, but he ignored it all. When mama came from work the same afternoon she too was

surprised to see him. The two younger sisters did not know him at all. My older sister did not express her feeling toward him, one way or the other. Mama immediately told him of her plan to move away from her mother and live alone. He then told his plan. He had saved enough money to start buying a home. He said that he had laid preaching aside and was going to live permanently in S. if she wanted to, or, if she did not want to live with him, he would take the children with him. Mama decided that it would be better that both mother and father have us. She stopped her mother from meddling in our family affairs.

My father has about completed paying for his home now in S. Mama does not work at all. Both the younger sisters are in school. One is now in the eighth grade and the older sister in the sixth. My oldest sister has been married but her husband is now dead. She has her own home which was given to her by her husband's people. She has two children five and seven years of age. She is a graduate of the high school in S. Her highest ambition is to educate her children and help me educate our two younger sisters as well as help me to look after mama and papa when they become unable to look after themselves.

As my father was so late in settling down in life, his responsibilities were too heavy for him to do anything toward giving me a college education, although it was his greatest desire that I have one. From the time that I lived with my aunt until the present time I have realized what it means to be dependent. As I have already been thrown on my own resources at an early date, I did not dread working my way through college. I have observed that my father did not take advice nor prepare for the future as he should have done, but, I am attempting to profit by his mistake. At the present time my home is on a fairly normal basis. Both mama and papa are active in their churches. Papa is now lumber foreman at a lumber mill in S. Our status in the community is that of ordinary church-going people. Among the older families and best circles my sister and I are spoken of as Mrs. X——'s [grandmother] granddaughters.[32]

The following excerpts from the history of a laborer's family, furnished by his son, shows the important role of the

[32] Manuscript document. See chap. viii above.

wife even in those worker's families where the father is the acknowledged head and has a fundamental interest in his family:

At the time of my parents' marriage, my father was only a laborer in the town and he never advanced beyond this stage. My mother was a cook and washwoman. My father had left his father's farm as soon as he reached manhood; my mother had left the farm at the age of 17. I do not know the circumstances under which my parents first met. A little more than a year after their marriage their first child, a son, was born. On December 20, 1901, the first daughter and second child made her appearance. In 1904, March 2, our brother joined, and in 1907 a second daughter was born. Five years later, the fifth and last child was born, but she lived only three days.

From 1899 to 1914, my parents lived in the same three room house about three blocks from the railway station in a town of about 1,500 people. In 1912 my mother who was the more thrifty, and the business manager of the family, bought four lots in a new section of the town in which the new school for Negroes was to be built. She employed a Negro contractor to draw a plan for a house of 5 rooms and a hall. When this was done, mother bought the lumber. At our request my brother and I were employed by the contractor to work for him in the construction of the building. During our employment the contractor taught us much about carpentry. After the construction of the house had been completed my brother and I, realizing that a well had to be dug, requested Mother to allow us to dig as much of it as we could. This she permitted. For our labor she gave us (together) 50¢ a foot. We dug until we struck water, and then the job was turned over to a professional well-digger, who finished it.

In 1914, we moved into the new house, where my parents lived until their deaths in 1927. For 22 years, 1899 to 1921, my father worked regularly as a laborer for two families, a physician's and a merchant's. His weekly wages from the two families ranged from $6.00 to $10.00. For about the same time my mother cooked out and took in washing, receiving for her labor from $3.00 to $10.00 per week. As soon as we children became old enough we (boys as well as girls) did as much of the washing and ironing as we could. The training I gained enabled me to spend 7½ years in boarding school and spend

only $3.65 for laundry during that time. At the age of ten I was hired out to a family to be the companion and guardian at play of their three little sons. For 4 years, before and after school hours, and in the summer I worked for this family, receiving $1.75 plus meals per week. From April, 1914, to October, 1915, I was cook at the local hotel. From that time until August, 1916, I worked on the farm of a white man, receiving per month $13.00 and the mid-day meals. The other children were never hired out, except to pick cotton.

As soon as each child reached 10 years of age he was allowed to keep a portion of what he earned during each week. As he grew older and his earnings increased, the percentage he received increased. Each child deposited his savings in his own name in the local bank. By August, 1916, I had saved $69.00, and had bought enough clothes to last me the school term of 1916–17, my first year in boarding school. Mother taught us how to plan our spending, how to make choices when our money was scarce, and the value of keeping on hand what she called an "emergency sum."

Although mother did most of the planning for the family, my father's task was to buy the food and fuel, look after the chickens, garden and potato patch, keep up the premises, and provide medical care. It was mother's duty to look after the children's clothes, pay the taxes and insurance, buy the furniture and other household articles, and look after the schooling of the children. Although there was this general division of responsibility, there was mutual interest in each other's tasks and cooperation in meeting obligations when necessary and expedient. In the home each child had specific duties, but all of us were taught to cook, sew, quilt, mend clothes, wash and iron, and buy a week's supply of groceries.

My father was a very quick-tempered man, so he left most of the disciplining of the children to mother. Frequently, mother would gather us about her and talk to us, advise us how to get along in the world, and urge us above everything else to be fair to our fellowmen, and respect their rights. A kindly woman, gentle and sympathetic, my mother hated a quarrel and never, to my knowledge, engaged in vulgar gossip in the presence of her children. She was an advocate of patience and tolerance, and often said, "It is better for you to suffer unjustly than to cause another to suffer; rather than wrong another, run the risk of being wronged."[33]

[33] Manuscript document.

Contrary to popular opinion, there are, on the whole, relatively few children in the families of black workers, though, as we have seen, the number varies according to residence.[34] In the 100 migrant families studied in Philadelphia, there were only 1.73 children on the average to the family and in over a fourth of the families there were no children.[35] This was practically the same as the average for the 1,576 families in Harlem, in which there was an average of 1.8 children per family.[36] In 268 of these Harlem families there were no children; and in 448, only one child. In the study of every tenth census family in Chicago there was on the average only one child per family.[37] However, 60 per cent of the 2,930 married male heads of families had no dependent children; 29.9 per cent had one or two children; 5.2 per cent, three children; and only 149, or 5.1 per cent, more than three children.[38] These findings are similar to the author's which showed that there were actually slightly more children under fifteen years of age to women of childbearing age in the seventh zone, where middle-class families were con-

[34] See pp. 318–22, above.

[35] Mossell, *op. cit.*, p. 184, and Table III on p. 190, on number of persons per family. Likewise a recent survey of 1,500 Negro families in Indianapolis, the vast majority of which were of working-class status, revealed that a fourth of the families consisted of only the husband and his wife (Cleo W. Blackburn, "A Study of Fifteen Hundred Negro Families in Indianapolis" [unpublished manuscript], 1938).

[36] Reid, *op. cit.*

[37] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 543–44. Kiser's recent analysis of the National Health Survey data on married women revealed that birth-rates among skilled and semi-skilled Negro urban workers were considerably lower than those of whites of the same occupational class and that birth-rates for the Negro laboring classes were only slightly higher than those for Negroes in the professional and business classes (Clyde V. Kiser, "Birth Rates and Socio-economic Attributes in 1935," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVII [April, 1939], 136–41).

centrated, than in the first and second zones, occupied chiefly by workers' families of southern origin.[39]

The treatment of children in workers' families is influenced by both economic and social factors. For example, the neglect of children among this class results in part from the fact that a large proportion of the mothers are employed. According to reports from 374 working mothers in Harlem, 129 left their children with relatives or friends; 56 left their children to take care of themselves; 41 left their children at home; and 80 instructed their children to remain around the school or in the streets or to go to the library.[40] In the Chicago sample, 23.2 per cent of the women in families with children under fourteen years of age were employed outside the home. But, since some of these families were parts of composite households, it is probable that a third of the children had the supervision of a woman during the absence of the mother.[41] Of course, the neglect of children is not due entirely to economic causes. Among the less stable and more primitive workers, the ill-treatment accorded children results from the disorganization of the Negro in the city. But, even among some of the poorest families, the mother's whole affectional life may be centered upon a son or daughter. In fact, her attitude often presents a striking contrast to that of the father.[42] But the children of the workers are

[39] See p. 319, above.

[40] Reid, *op. cit.*

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 558–60.

[42] In a study by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection it was found that practically the same percentage of urban Negro children—63.5 per cent as compared with 64.5 per cent—as rural Negro children stated that they liked their mother best. The percentage showing such preference was highest in the Negro group; the German children stood next with 42.2 per cent (see *The Adolescent in the Family* [New York, 1934], Table 32, Appen. I).

seldom as spoiled as the children in middle-class families. In fact, it is in those well-organized workers' families where the entire family is working in order to purchase a home or that their children may obtain an education that one finds a spirit of democracy in family relations and a spirit of self-reliance on the part of the children. In the following document, written by the daughter of a mechanic, one can get a good picture of the character of the stable family among the better-situated skilled workers:

My Mother and my Father began their married life in Savannah, Ga., in 1910. They lived with my Grandfather and Father's four sisters in the big house. Mother did not get along with the sisters as they attempted to look down on her in many ways. She caused Father to start buying a small house of their own, and they moved into it. Grandfather was good to Mother and during those early days of her married life, she learned to care for him. Later when Grandfather came to S—— [a northern city], Mother was able to return his kindness because he lived with us a year. Mother and her sister-in-laws made a bad start which was almost impossible to correct.

Mother found many things which tended to put their marriage on the rocks at the start. Her personality and traditions were so different from Father's. She was a quiet, home loving person with no desires for dances, parties, and good times. But Father was just the opposite in those days, he loved to dance, go to all night parties and run with the fast crowd. He was bored staying home after working hours. Mother used to tear his shirts off of him to keep him home, but he still went. Even after they were married a year he continued to find more pleasure outside the home. I was a baby then. Mother often told how she used to walk the floor many nights with me, while Father was out with his crowd. When she was about to give up and go home to her folks, a great crisis came in Father's life which changed everything for the good.

It was on an Easter morning when Father was converted and was baptized in the Baptist church. He swore then, never to go back to worldly things such as dances, cards, and fast life. He vowed to be a different man, and from that day he was changed. He became a mem-

ber of B. E. Church, and began to find new friends and associates. Grandfather said his attitude towards his work in the blacksmith shop was even different. Although Mother was Methodist she joined Father's church for she was determined to make their marriage a success.

Then the war came and Father did not want to be sent over to fight so he decided to move away. Then too the blacksmith business was slowly dying. There was a chance to make money up North, so Father planned to move. When he left, Grandfather gave up his shop and stayed home because he had enough to live off the rest of his life. Father moved to S—— [a northern city] and found work there. He sent for Mother and me. I was only four but I can remember that trip perfectly. We all lived with some friends of Father's for a while, but it was expensive living with them. We rented a small house in a down town section of the city where the Negroes lived. We lived there for five years. Father worked hard and saved his money. Mother made all of my clothes for school because I started school my second year in S——. It used to be very cold there then, and Mother being fresh from the South, thought I would freeze to death, so she used to pile me up with clothes. However, I was never sick a day during those days.

Our family lived down in the Negro section of S——, until Father had the house in Savannah paid for, then we moved up on "the hill," where the better class Negroes lived. Mother and Father joined the small Baptist Church on "the hill," and I went to Sunday School there. By moving up into this new district, I had a better chance in school because there were not half as many Italians and Jews in the new school. There were also fewer colored children and the teachers were far nicer. Father worked hard to keep the family up economically, and Mother did her share in the home to keep things balanced. My family did very little socializing. They went to church socials and parties where the church minister was always present. They never went to dances or card parties, and in fact, Father never bothered about those things after his conversion, and Mother had never cared for them. There was complete oneness between Mother and Father then, just as it is today. When I was a senior in Junior High my brother was born, A.B.C., 3rd. I will never forget how ashamed I was to have a baby brother at that age. A baby spoiled our home for

me because Mother could never go anywhere, and we used to be such pals.

A great crisis came to our family in 1926 when Father lost his job as a mechanic which he had with a packing company. He had been with that firm since he first moved to S——. He looked everywhere for work and found none so he decided to go to New York City, and look about. He found work there so he lived with one of his sisters, and sent us money to keep up our expenses in S——. We were still renting a house and Mother managed to pay the rent and live off what Father sent so that we did not have to touch our bank account. Then one night Father was taken desperately ill, so much so that my aunt had him sent to the hospital that very night. He was so ill that the doctors thought he could not tell what was the matter with him. They thought he had gotten drunk and was sick from it, but when my aunt said he never touched liquors they became more serious over his condition. The next morning the hospital doctors called for specialists from all the leading hospitals in the city of New York. They examined and made x-ray pictures of Father and concluded that he had gastric-ulcers, and would die before the day was out unless he was operated on. He was too sick to care, but he asked them to telegraph Mother and have her come at once, and then to operate on him. Father said he gave up everything, and asked God to guide the doctors. We came to New York as soon as possible. I will never forget how bad my father looked when I saw him in that high white bed propped up on stilts. Mother and I prayed with Father and then left the hospital. We went to the hospital day and night until he was pronounced out of danger. Then I returned to S——, and left Mother and little C. in New York.

One week after I arrived home I received word that the family would be home. I never can forget how happy I was to hear that Father was well again, and would be home. We lived one year off of our savings account until Father was good and well. Mother went out to work two days a week to help keep up the expenses of the home. During all that time we never missed the payment of the rent and there was always plenty of food. We did not buy many clothes and I made over things for Mother and myself. We could always buy things for my little brother at a small price. So we didn't suffer. Father got employment at the S.F.I. Company as a porter, after he

was pronounced by the family physician as in good health. Mother gave up her days work and stayed home. She kept very busy planning and learning to cook as the doctors said Father's food should be cooked. She had always cooked as southerners do and it was hard for her to learn to cook over again. I was taking cooking in high school then so it was easy for me to help her. I taught her all I knew, and then we studied how to neutralize acids, as Father could never have acid foods again. Those were busy, happy days when we were being restored to normal conditions again.

After Father had been on the new job a year we started buying our home. We bought a two family house with plenty of front lawn, and room for a garden in back. There was a good barn in back of the house which could be transformed into a garage. The house was just across the street from where we used to live. Father instantly began to remodel the house, and Mother and I did all we could to help him. He papered, put in new plumbing, and put in the electricity himself. Then he had experts in these fields come and examine his work. In that way it cost us only the price of the fixtures because Father did this in his spare time. Mother and I washed all the windows, woodwork, and floors. I was a senior in High School, but I was not too proud to help my mother. In fact we were so anxious to have our own home that we all worked to the end of our strength to have it. After the house was cleaned and ready for us, we moved all the light articles of furniture and clothing over in my brother's wagon. Then Father had a truck move the heavy things. We had to buy a few more pieces of furniture to make our new home in good living condition.

Then the big thing before us was the getting of the house paid for. The second floor brought in a large rent which Father paid on the house, he paid his rent on the house also. I got a job after school so as to buy my own clothes, and then to save money for college too. I worked on Saturday mornings and saved the money by weekly payments on a Christmas club savings account. For four summers I had a job as a cook and made quite a large sum of money during the vacation. Father changed the barn into a two car garage and rented both of them out, because then we could not afford a car. During all this hard struggle we never failed to attend church on Sunday, and Father even went to Prayer meeting as he was a deacon. I was a Sunday

School teacher and went to both Sunday School and morning church. The entire family went to church on the first Sunday night service so as to take our communion. We always had Sunday clothes even if our neighbors did wonder how we managed.

I graduated from High School the second year we had the house. Father didn't see how he could send me to college with the house to be paid for, but since I had saved five hundred dollars for college he would send me. The year I started in college my little brother started in first grade. Father paid my train fare to college and my savings account paid my first quarter's expenses. The next quarter I made my tuition by working, and my family paid my room and board in the dormitory. Father managed my bank account so that it paid my room and board for two years while I was in college. He paid my train expenses and bought my clothes and I worked for my tuition. At first I wrote my family twice a week and sent telegrams often. Then later, I wrote once a week

The only time Father and I clashed over ideas was when I started to dance, and wanted to attend dances. Mother and I tried to show him that there was no harm in dancing, but he insisted that Christians should not dance or attend them. I dance and play cards even if my father objects. It makes me happy to know that my family has paid for our home, and that they are now able to enjoy life after the hard struggle which they have put forth to have a few of the necessary things.[43]

In many of the workers' families, the parents, especially the mother, make tremendous sacrifices to give their children an education. A college student, whose father was a stationary fireman, wrote as follows of the sacrifices which were made for her education:

Both my parents did their part in their efforts to give me an education. However, most of the sacrifices were made by my mother when I needed things. Dad was more of an outside show than an executioner. He did a lot of talk about what he was doing but at the root of all his doing was mother's influence.[44]

[43] Manuscript document.

[44] Manuscript document.

One can get some idea of the extent of these sacrifices by considering some facts brought out in a study by the Committee on Scholarships and Student Aid at Howard University in 1931. This study revealed that, during the academic year 1929–30, students from families supported by domestic and personal service and skilled and unskilled occupations received on the average $290.36 and $379.93, respectively, and that Freshmen entering in 1930 from both of these occupational classes expected on the average over $500 from their parents. Yet the average income of the persons in domestic and personal service was only $1,000 and that of the parents in skilled and unskilled labor $1,200. Ordinarily, these children of the workers would have looked forward with certainty to entering middle-class occupations, which would have afforded a relatively comfortable and secure position in the Negro community. However, the depression has not only made impossible such sacrifices on the part of their parents but has made the sons and daughters in workers' families more conscious of the insecurity of the Negro middle class and their dependence upon the workers.

The condition of the black worker is determined by the same forces in our economic system which affect the life of the white worker. In the last section we have seen the extent to which the depression has made the black worker dependent upon relief in the city.[45] Some measure of the decline in the incomes of black workers is afforded by a study of 2,061 households in a section of Harlem in New York City.[46] It was found that the incomes of skilled workers suffered the greatest proportionate decrease, their median

[45] See pp. 332–34, above.

[46] Clyde V. Kiser, "Diminishing Family Income in Harlem," *Opportunity*, XIII, 173–74.

income declining from $1,955 in 1929 to $1,003, or 48.7 per cent. The decline in the income of semiskilled and unskilled workers whose median incomes in 1929 were $1,941 and $1,599, respectively, amounted to 43 per cent. The decline in the black worker's earning power and unemployment have done more than years of agitation to make him conscious of his position as a worker. In his struggle for adequate relief and a living wage, the black worker is co-operating more and more with the white worker and consequently regards his problems less as racial problems.

Thus one of the main results of the urbanization of the Negro population in recent years has been the emergence of a black industrial proletariat. Though many urban Negro workers must still seek a living in domestic and personal services, the number of skilled as well as semiskilled workers and laborers is growing. These industrial workers are acquiring a new outlook on life and are dominated less by the ideals and standards of the brown middle class or workers in domestic and personal services. It appears that, as the Negro worker becomes an industrial worker, he assumes responsibility for the support of his family and acquires a new authority in family relations. Moreover, as the isolation of the black worker is gradually broken down, his ideals and patterns of family life approximate those of the great body of industrial workers.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XXII

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Our account of the development of the Negro family in the United States traverses scarcely more than a century and a half of history. Yet, during that comparatively brief period, from the standpoint of human history, the Negro, stripped of the relatively simple preliterate culture in which he was nurtured, has created a folk culture and has gradually taken over the more sophisticated American culture. Although only three-quarters of a century has elapsed since the arrival of the last representative of preliterate African races, the type of culture from which he came was as unlike the culture of the civilized American Negro today as the culture of the Germans of Tacitus' day was unlike the culture of German-Americans.

Thus our first task has been to discover the process whereby his raw sexual impulses were brought under control not only through the discipline of the master race but also by association with his fellows. Next, we have undertaken to study the character of the restraints upon sex and family behavior which have evolved as a part of the Negro's folk culture. Our final task has been to analyze the process by which a favored few have escaped from the isolation of the black folk and gradually taken over the attitudes and sentiments as well as the external aspects of the culture of the dominant race.

When the Negro slave was introduced into American economic life, he was to all intents and purposes, to use the words of Aristotle, merely an "animate tool." But, as in

all cases where slavery exists, the fact that the slave was not only animate but human affected his relations with his masters. To the slave-trader, who had only an economic interest in the slave, the Negro was a mere utility. But, where master and slave had to live together and carry on some form of co-operation, the human nature of the slave had to be taken into account. Consequently, slavery developed into a social as well as an economic institution. The lives of the white master class became intertwined with the lives of the black slaves. Social control was not simply a matter of force and coercion but depended upon a system of etiquette based upon sentiments of superordination, on the one hand, and sentiments of submission and loyalty, on the other. Thus the humanization of the slave as well as his assimilation of the ideals, meanings, and social definitions of the master race depended upon the nature of his contacts with the master race. Where the slave was introduced into the household of the master, the process of assimilation was facilitated; but, where his contacts with whites were limited to the poor white overseer, his behavior was likely to remain impulsive and subject only to external control.

Yet, social interaction within the more or less isolated world of the slave did much to mold his personality. Although in some cases the slaves retained the conception of themselves which they had acquired in their own culture, their children were only slightly influenced by these fading memories. Consequently, their personalities reflected, on the whole, the role which they acquired in the plantation economy. Individual differences asserted themselves and influenced the responses of their fellow-slaves as well as their own behavior. The large and strong of body and those of

nimble minds outstripped the weak and slow-witted. Some recognition was shown these varying talents and aptitudes by the slaves as well as by the masters. Within the world of the slave, social distinctions appeared and were appreciated.

When the sexual taboos and restraints imposed by their original culture were lost, the behavior of the slaves in this regard was subject at first only to the control of the masters and the wishes of those selected for mates. Hence, on the large plantations, where the slaves were treated almost entirely as instruments of production and brute force was relied upon as the chief means of control, sexual relations were likely to be dissociated on the whole from human sentiments and feelings. Then, too, the constant buying and selling of slaves prevented the development of strong emotional ties between the mates. But, where slavery became a settled way of life, the slaves were likely to show preferences in sexual unions, and opportunity was afforded for the development of strong attachments. The permanence of these attachments was conditioned by the exigencies of the plantation system and the various types of social control within the world of the plantation.

Within this world the slave mother held a strategic position and played a dominant role in the family groupings. The tie between the mother and her younger children had to be respected not only because of the dependence of the child upon her for survival but often because of her fierce attachment to her brood. Some of the mothers undoubtedly were cold and indifferent to their offspring, but this appears to have been due to the attitude which the mother developed toward the unborn child during pregnancy as well as the burden of child care. On the whole, the slave family developed as a natural organization, based upon the

spontaneous feelings of affection and natural sympathies which resulted from the association of the family members in the same household. Although the emotional interdependence between the mother and her children generally caused her to have a more permanent interest in the family than the father, there were fathers who developed an attachment for their wives and children.

But the Negro slave mother, as she is known through tradition at least, is represented as the protectress of the children of the master race. Thus tradition has symbolized in the relation of the black foster-parent and the white child the fundamental paradox in the slave system—maximum intimacy existing in conjunction with the most rigid caste system. Cohabitation of the men of the master race with women of the slave race occurred on every level and became so extensive that it nullified to some extent the monogamous mores. The class of mixed-bloods who were thus created formed the most important channel by which the ideals, customs, and mores of the whites were mediated to the servile race. Whether these mixed-bloods were taken into the master's house as servants, or given separate establishments, or educated by their white forebears, they were so situated as to assimilate the culture of the whites. Although a large number of this class were poor and degraded, fairly well-off communities of mixed-bloods who had assimilated the attitudes and culture of the whites to a high degree developed in various parts of the country. It was among this class that family traditions became firmly established before the Civil War.

Emancipation destroyed the *modus vivendi* which had become established between the two races during slavery. Although the freedmen were able to move about and thereby

multiply the external contacts with the white man's world, many of the intimate and sympathetic ties between the two races were severed. As a result, Negroes began to build their own institutions and to acquire the civilization of the whites through the formal process of imitation and education. Then, too, despite their high hopes that their freedom would rest upon a secure foundation of landownership, the masses of illiterate and propertyless Negroes were forced to become croppers and tenants under a modified plantation system. In their relative isolation they developed a folk culture with its peculiar social organization and social evaluations. Within the world of the black folk, social relations have developed out of intimate and sympathetic contacts. Consequently, the maternal-family organization, a heritage from slavery, has continued on a fairly large scale. But the maternal-family organization has also been tied up with the widespread illegitimacy which one still finds in these rural communities. Illegitimacy among these folk is generally a harmless affair, since it does not disrupt the family organization and involves no violation of the mores. Although formal education has done something in the way of dispelling ignorance and superstition, it has effected little change in the mores and customs of these folk communities.

The stability and the character of the social organization of the rural communities has depended upon the fortunes of southern agriculture. Up until the opening of the present century, the more ambitious and energetic of the former slaves and their descendants have managed to get some education and buy homes. This has usually given the father or husband an interest in his family and has established his authority. Usually such families sprang from the more stable, intelligent, and reliable elements in the slave popula-

tion. The emergence of this class of families from the mass of the Negro population has created small nuclei of stable families with conventional standards of sexual morality all over the South. Although culturally these families may be distinguished from those of free ancestry, they have intermarried from time to time with the latter families. These families represented the highest development of Negro family life up to the opening of the present century.

However, the urbanization of the Negro population since 1900 has brought the most momentous change in the family life of the Negro since emancipation. This movement, which has carried a million Negroes to southern cities alone, has torn the Negro loose from his cultural moorings. Thousands of these migrants have been solitary men and women who have led a more or less lawless sex life during their wanderings. But many more illiterate or semi-illiterate and impoverished Negro families, broken or held together only by the fragile bonds of sympathy and habit, have sought a dwelling-place in the slums of southern cities. Because of the dissolution of the rural folkways and mores, the children in these families have helped to swell the ranks of juvenile delinquents. Likewise, the bonds of sympathy and community of interests that held their parents together in the rural environment have been unable to withstand the disintegrating forces in the city. Illegitimacy, which was a more or less harmless affair in the country, has become a serious economic and social problem. At times students of social problems have seen in these various aspects of family disorganization a portent of the Negro's destruction.

During and following the World War, the urbanization of the Negro population was accelerated and acquired even greater significance than earlier migrations to cities. The

Negro was carried beyond the small southern cities and plunged into the midst of modern industrial centers in the North. Except for the war period, when there was a great demand for his labor, the migration of the Negro to northern cities has forced him into a much more rigorous type of competition with whites than he has ever faced. Because of his rural background and ignorance, he has entered modern industry as a part of the great army of unskilled workers. Like the immigrant groups that have preceded him, he has been forced to live in the slum areas of northern cities. In vain social workers and others have constantly held conferences on the housing conditions of Negroes, but they have been forced finally to face the fundamental fact of the Negro's poverty. Likewise, social and welfare agencies have been unable to stem the tide of family disorganization that has followed as a natural consequence of the impact of modern civilization upon the folkways and mores of a simple peasant folk. Even Negro families with traditions of stable family life have not been unaffected by the social and economic forces in urban communities. Family traditions and social distinctions that had meaning and significance in the relatively simple and stable southern communities have lost their meaning in the new world of the modern city.

One of the most important consequences of the urbanization of the Negro has been the rapid occupational differentiation of the population. A Negro middle class has come into existence as the result of new opportunities and greater freedom as well as the new demands of the awakened Negro communities for all kinds of services. This change in the structure of Negro life has been rapid and has not had time to solidify. The old established families, generally of mulatto origin, have looked with contempt upon the new middle

class which has come into prominence as the result of successful competition in the new environment. With some truth on their side, they have complained that these newcomers lack the culture, stability in family life, and purity of morals which characterized their own class when it graced the social pyramid. In fact, there has not been sufficient time for these new strata to form definite patterns of family life. Consequently, there is much confusion and conflict in ideals and aims and patterns of behavior which have been taken over as the result of the various types of suggestion and imitation in the urban environment.

The most significant element in the new social structure of Negro life is the black industrial proletariat that has been emerging since the Negro was introduced into Western civilization. Its position in industry in the North was insecure and of small consequence until, with the cessation of foreign immigration during the World War, it became a permanent part of the industrial proletariat. This development has affected tremendously the whole outlook on life and the values of the masses of Negroes. Heretofore, the Negro was chiefly a worker in domestic and personal services, and his ideals of family and other aspects of life were a crude imitation of the middle-class standards which he saw. Very often in the hotel or club he saw the white man during his leisure and recreation and therefore acquired leisure-class ideals which have probably been responsible for the "sporting complex" and the thriftlessness which are widespread among Negroes. But thousands of Negroes are becoming accustomed to the discipline of modern industry and are developing habits of consumption consonant with their new role. As the Negro has become an industrial worker and received

adequate compensation, the father has become the chief breadwinner and assumed a responsible place in his family.

When one views in retrospect the waste of human life, the immorality, delinquency, desertions, and broken homes which have been involved in the development of Negro family life in the United States, they appear to have been the inevitable consequences of the attempt of a preliterate people, stripped of their cultural heritage, to adjust themselves to civilization. The very fact that the Negro has succeeded in adopting habits of living that have enabled him to survive in a civilization based upon laissez faire and competition, itself bespeaks a degree of success in taking on the folkways and mores of the master race. That the Negro has found within the patterns of the white man's culture a purpose in life and a significance for his strivings which have involved sacrifices for his children and the curbing of individual desires and impulses indicates that he has become assimilated to a new mode of life.

However, when one undertakes to envisage the probable course of development of the Negro family in the future, it appears that the travail of civilization is not yet ended. First it appears that the family which evolved within the isolated world of the Negro folk will become increasingly disorganized. Modern means of communication will break down the isolation of the world of black folk, and, as long as the bankrupt system of southern agriculture exists, Negro families will continue to seek a living in the towns and cities of the country. They will crowd the slum areas of southern cities or make their way to northern cities where their family life will become disrupted and their poverty will force them to depend upon charity. Those families that possess some heritage of family traditions and education will resist the

destructive forces of urban life more successfully than the illiterate Negro folk. In either case their family life will adapt itself to the secular and rational organization of urban life. Undoubtedly, there will be a limitation of offspring; and men and women who associate in marriage will use it as a means for individual development.

The process of assimilation and acculturation in a highly mobile and urbanized society will proceed on a different basis from that in the past. There are evidences at present that in the urban environment, where caste prescriptions lose their force, Negroes and whites in the same occupational classes are being drawn into closer association than in the past. Such associations, to be sure, are facilitating the assimilation of only the more formal aspects of white civilization; but there are signs that intermarriage in the future will bring about a fundamental type of assimilation. But, in the final analysis, the process of assimilation and acculturation will be limited by the extent to which the Negro becomes integrated into the economic organization and participates in the life of the community. The gains in civilization which result from participation in the white world will in the future as in the past be transmitted to future generations through the family.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SELECTED FAMILY-HISTORY DOCUMENTS

I. FAMILY OF WHITE MAN AND HIS MULATTO CONCUBINE

My mother was 76 years old at death and has been dead about 15 years. She lived on the farm and raised six boys and one girl. She was the mother of ten children; some children died at a young age, not over ten years nor under one year. My mother was not married till she was about 60 years old, when she married a very high standing citizen. A white man of good family and a good citizen was the father of mother's children. She owned a little piece of land that was given her by a colored man who was the father of the oldest child. My father provided a good large farm. One part was hers through his efforts and working the children. He had one farm and house joining our field and he with our help worked both farms. What was made on her farm went to her and what was made on his went to him. She raised her own hogs and cattle, and he did likewise. She handled the money she made and he made too. You see there was no banks and mother kept the money made by both. When Mr. K—— lent money, he made the mortgages to himself and got the money from her. When he died he had about $18,000 worth of mortgages which he gave to my oldest brother on Sunday morning. He was sick and died Tuesday evening. These mortgages were not indorsed but he gave them to him in the presence of witnesses. The administrator had a suit to try to get them but lost out. We got his mortgages and his land which was about two farms. He left no will, therefore the farm went to his people. Mother bought his farm which joined our farm. He would come to our house every morning and every night. He would eat there sometimes. He would tell us what to do each day. Ma called him Mr. K—— and we called him Mr. K——. He did most of the buying in the home. Ma went for a general shopping about once a year. He arranged for us to have gifts and things as any father would do. I stayed with him mostly till he died. I would stay at nights and sleep

with him. One of his widowed sisters lived with him. After his death I would stay with his sister as long as she stayed there. I thought she could cook the best food I ever ate. She was good to all of us and would give us some of anything she had to eat. He died in November. The crop was about housed except some cotton to pick, but his sister picked it. When he died his brother qualified as administrator. My father and a good white man named J—— N—— owned a cotton gin and a molasses factory together. This man would not let my father's brother qualify as administrator over these two things. He did that himself and he paid us for the work we had done up at these places that summer and fall. He said he knew my father's brother would not let us have it. My father's brother tried to get everything from us but he failed. My father had things so fixed that he couldn't get it. The funeral was in his house. We went right on as we had always been going. Mother did not go. We went to the grave but mother did not.

My father sent us to school as other parents did their children. The schools at that time were very poor. He died in 1882. He was 56 years old when he died. I learned to love him just like I loved my mother. He was good to me and I have no fault to find. He would let me go about with him and give me cakes and candy. He would tell me to tell people my name was J—— W——, Mr. K——. I loved to say that because people would laugh. This was generally to whites as they were his associates. He was never married. He took my mother to live as they did, I think when he was about 30 years old. Ma must have been just about 20, not over 22 years old. They lived peacefully and worked hard. Mother worked in the fields and at the house too. My father was Deputy Sheriff. He was Tax Collector for years and years. He would collect tax during the day and when he'd come home at night he'd let me count it. When I'd count it correct he'd give me some money for being smart. He was a church man. Mother went to church too. When we were small she didn't go much. The property he left us was mostly in notes or mortgages amounting to $18,000. Mother had money that she had made farming. I don't know how much she had. He would always bring his money and leave it with her except his pocket change. She had his too but I don't know how much that was.

Postscript.—Besides the seven children of the couple described here, there were in 1930 thirty-seven grandchildren and something over

sixty great-grandchildren. The grandchildren were found in the following occupations: two dentists, one in Baltimore and the other in New York City; two undertakers, one in Philadelphia and the other in New York City; four teachers; one painter; one tailor; and five farmers.

II. PAPER READ AT WEAVER FAMILY REUNION, WINTON, NORTH CAROLINA, AUGUST 8, 1930, BY GRANDDAUGHTER OF THE FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY

One of the most pleasant recollections of my childhood days is that of trips which I occasionally took on Saturday afternoons after the week's work was over to grandfather's house. Trudging behind one or more of my older sisters, the three miles' journey through the woods was always full of delight on account of the happy hours we knew we would spend with grandfather and mother and dear Aunt Margie. Frequently, on Sunday morning after Sunday School, held in the school house near our home, my father would hitch his horse to the cart. He and mother would sit on a seat board in the front of the cart, spread an old quilt in the back and pack as many of us back there as it would hold and go to grandfathers to spend the day. Going home through the twilight, we would lie down as best we could and sleep until we reached home.

My grandmother and grandfather were noted throughout the community for their piety. They lived about a mile from Pleasant Plains Baptist Church, which my grandfather helped to establish before the Civil War, and he served as a deacon as long as he lived. For many years, this church was pastored by white ministers, the first colored pastor being Dr. C. S. Brown, a graduate of Shaw, who took charge of it in the year 1885.

Grandfather's home was the stopping place of the ministers. They always came on Saturdays, preached and held Conference, preached again on Sunday and returned home Sunday afternoon. This monthly meeting was a spiritual feast for them, because they could hear the Bible read and hymns sung and prayers go up to the Father in heaven they so dearly loved.

At all times whenever anyone, young or old, visited them who could read or sing or pray, they were always asked to do so before retiring for the night.

It was also a custom of my grandparents to especially care for the aged and sick in the community. So many times I have seen my grandfather go to his meal barrel, and send meal to some widow in the community or to anyone he felt was in need of food. Every Thanksgiving Day his home was opened to the old people in the neighborhood. They were given a delicious dinner and prayer service was held for them morning and afternoon.

Now about grandfather's family. There were fourteen in all. Four girls and five boys lived to be grown. Four children passed on to heaven in their infancy. The oldest child, Nancy Ann, was married at an early age to Samuel Walden of Northampton County. Four children were born to them, Titus, Jukeniah, Eleanor, and Deborah. These children are still living and have many children and grandchildren. Walden enlisted in the Civil War and lost his life. After this, Nancy Ann married Peter Hunter. By this union several children were born and three are now living, with their many children and grandchildren. Aunt Nan passed away eight years ago at the age of eighty years. Millie, the next child and my own sainted mother married after the Civil War, James Walden, a brother of Samuel Walden. She was the mother of nine children. Seven girls lived to be grown. Only five are now living. She passed away at the early age of fifty-eight. The oldest and the only surviving son, Joseph, is a resident of Rich Square. He was also married twice. He was blessed with two children by each marriage, all of which are living. Uncle Joe taught school for years. He was an able teacher. He was one of the first graduates of Hampton Institute. He has always been a man who stands for right. He was, when a young man, wonderful for inventing things and an artist with his fingers making beautiful brackets and picture frames, some of which may now be seen in the old home. I love him because he was so kind. [*Gave incident.*] The next son, Willis, I never knew. He died before I was born. He was also educated at Hampton and while teaching in Northampton County contracted pneumonia. Those were not days of telephones, telegrams, or automobiles, so he was dead before my grandparents could reach him.

Then came William, the jewel of the family, the most consecrated and lovely Christian character in the family. Hampton was also his Alma Mater. For years he was Principal of the Gloucester High School in Gloucester County, Virginia. After giving up this work, he

founded the Weaver Orphan Home, the only one in the state of Virginia. This institution is now being conducted by his excellent wife, Mrs. Annie Weaver, he having passed away not quite two years ago.

David comes next, another Hampton student, a modest, unassuming young man, remarkable as the others for noble Christian character. [*Incident.*] He was married late in life to Miss Estelle Sprague, a granddaughter of the noted Frederick Douglas. His last days were spent in Newport News, Virginia. He left a large family who live, all of them, in the West, in Kansas, Texas, and Ohio.

My Aunt Sarah was the next child. She, too, received her training at Hampton. My first recollection of her was after coming home from school, she taught at the Starkie Pugh School house on the road that now leads from Cofield to Ahoskie. She boarded at my mother's. One night my mother was sick and she was preparing supper. We had no stoves in those days. She was cooking biscuits in an iron spider with a lid. [*Getting coals.*] She asked me to hold the lamp that she might see if they were browned. This I considered a gracious privilege, especially when she smiled at me, thanked me so kindly and called me "her boy." She married a Mr. Hamilton, who taught tailoring at Hampton Institute. She, too, died young and is buried at Hampton in the school cemetery.

James and Isekiah were the two youngest sons. James was a splendid brick-mason. He reared a large family. His wife was formerly a Miss Lizzie Holland. Isekiah was a carpenter, respected in the community in which he lived. He was happily married to Miss Genia Rooks of Gates County, who is one of our number today. Both of these sons have passed on to the great beyond.

And now what shall I say of dear Aunt Margie, the one who is still "Captain of the fort" and is holding the whole home together. She was always the stand-by for father and mother. She nursed them when sick and always remembered them when she was away. She married William Hamilton, and for a while lived in Franklin, Virginia. She moved from there to Providence, R.I. After her husband's death, she moved back to the old homestead. She was blessed with four children.

This old home has been in the possession of the Weaver family for over eighty years. To us this place is hallowed ground. Our grandparent's songs and prayers, their admonitions and entreaties to us to follow Jesus, still linger in our ears. Have we been faithful to his

teachings? Have we reared our children as he taught us? We feel that his blessings are following us day by day. Not one of his own children strayed from the straight and narrow path. They were living examples of honesty, truthfulness, and temperance. They were frugal, all owning their own homes. They were credits to the community in which they lived. We are proud to own them as our ancestors. It has been a custom for many years to meet once a year, in a family reunion. Only two are left of the old family.

We thank God for the privilege today of being able to be here.

III. A BLACK TENANT FAMILY WITH GRANDMOTHER AS HEAD

[There was one son and a grandson on the porch at the time the investigators came up. The son was married and lived a short distance from this place, while the grandson and another son lived with their grandmother. The grandchildren were aged ten and twelve, respectively, and in the first and third grades at school.]

When questioned about herself and family, Mrs. Griggs replied, "My mamma, she said I was born on ole man Chuma Crack's place on B——'s farm. After I married I left 'em, but I been here in the neighborhood nigh on about forty years. I been on this spot nigh about thirty years. My chillun done married off. I don' keep good health; I keep bad health. I want this ole house tore down. Mr. B—— own it in slavery time, an' he sold it to Miss J——H——. She sold it to Miss B—— C——, then Mr. H—— got it. We been here through all that. This not quite a one-horse farm. But you got to work. The white man don't do nothin' but give you the land, and there it is.

"My mamma never did send me to school, but I tried to learn my chilluns. My mamma died this year; she were about 103 years old when she died. My papa used to tell me how the white folks did [in slavery days]—beat him and put hounds on him and work him. He was only married one time. Papa died about seven years ago. He was eighty some when he died. I don't know anything about my grandparents. Mamma said her mamma died with the small pox and they burn her up [in slavery time].

"I was the mother of fifteen chillun in all. I got six livin'. Some

come live, but didn't live no time, yet three got to be big chillun walkin' about befo' dey dies. One boy got to be eighteen years old. He had that fever and from that spasms and chills, and from the spells he fell in the fire and got burnt and never did get over it. The other two just died with the fever. Charlie, he goin' on three years old when he died with the fever, too. With the others I go about five months or six months and I lose 'em. I jest keep a losin' 'em. That the last one I saved right there [*pointing to the son*]. I had to work to save him. I had to go to the doctor. I got so weak I couldn't hold 'em." Speaking of the boys, she said concerning one that he was "cross-eyed or cock-eyed or somethin'. He can't see right good. But ain't nair one crippled. Nair one have fits. Andrew Potts got his eye might nigh knocked out years ago."

When asked if Mr. Griggs was the father of all her children, Mrs. Griggs answered: "No'm, he wasn't the father of 'em all. He was the father of Julia and Dan [the oldest boy in Montgomery]. Robert Potts is the father of de other four—Mae, Reginald, James, and Andrew. I was married to Griggs by Dick Brown. I wasn't never married to Potts.

"Charlie [grandson] was born here. My daughter were in Birmingham, but she came on here. She went back for a while and stay with her husband, then she sent him [Charlie] back and give him to me. Robert [speaking of another grandson] was born in Montgomery. Dan [Mrs. Griggs' son and Robert's father] give him [Robert] to me when he was three. Sam Brooks, Charlie's father, I don' know where he is at. His home, though, is in Birmingham. Mae Brooks, my daughter, and Sam was married right down there. Professor Cook married 'em. Lillie Page was Robert's mother. She an' Dan weren't married."

In regard to the children away, she said: "Mae, she married and went off from here before the boy was born. Mae ought to be about thirty-two years old. She been out here once this year. She in Montgomery. Julia, she in Montgomery, too. She been out here twice. They stay in jinin' rooms. She been gone about eleven years. She stayed here a year after 'Miss' [Mae] married; washes some for the white peoples and cooks some, I reckon. James moved way year before last. He's married; ain't got no chillun. He's the oldest one. Reginald [Rooster], he live right over the hill. He been away [from the parent-home] five years; got three chillun. Dan, he in Montgom-

ery. He been gone I don't know how long. He won't staying with me when he went off in the army. He been gone a long time. He been married twice. Had three chillun by his first wife, Alice Robinson. His second wife's Susie Black, but him and her ain't never found no chillun. Andrew's on Mr. B——'s place. He got four chillun. He been gone about nine years. He married Ruth Williams.

"Mr. Griggs [her husband], he stays up yonder to Liverpool. He married again to Mamie Wright. He tole me he want a divorce; I tole him he was welcome to it. Me and him was separated near about ten years before he did marry. He didn't work to suit me, and I didn't work to suit him." When asked if she put him out, she replied, "I didn't put him out, he walked on out I reckon. I didn't want no lazy man.

"We rent from Mr. H——; he ain't give us no advance in seven years. The place suits us and we jes' do the best us can. We made a sort of little crop last year, and then he went up on the rent this year. I guess he thought that would get that [all the crop]. We paid one bale [450 pounds] for rent and sold 1½ bales. The money was divided between my boy and me and his wife, and he had three to look after and I had four, and there wasn't much left. We divided after paying $25.00 for the mule. We sold 1½ bales of cotton for $50.00; paid $25.00 for the mule, and had $25.00 left, and this was divided.

"We ain't raised nothin' much but a little corn and a little syrup; about twenty-five bushels of corn, and we divided that. Then there was two small banks of 'taters. Last year it was so dry the 'taters didn't have time to get their growth. We got about twelve gallons of millet syrup." Speaking of the crop, she remarked, "The last two or three years the crop has been bad. Last year it wasn't so bad, but year before that, and the year before that, we didn't make the rent."

When asked if she had any farm implements, she replied, "Yes, ma'm, I got a couple of plows; ain't much; just nailed 'em up and pieced 'em up. If I make anything, I am going to buy me some plows."

Concerning the food, she said, "Ain't had nothin' today but meat and bread, and hardly had that; the garden done burn up so bad. For Sunday, we had some fried inguns and flour bread and such as that. I milk every day. The cow can't give much, she might nigh dry, don' hav' nothin' much to give her. We have just one thing, and can't hardly get that. Times is hard and you have to scuffle yourself. White

folks ain't gwine to give you nothin', jes' have to do the best you can. We killed the hog last year because she ate the chickens. Den we bought dis one an' she eat chickens. One of the grand children works for one of the neighbors. Charlie gets $0.50 a day from Edwin Work. He black, but a big man and sees after 'em, and he has somethin' to hire we with for the money. The rest of 'em ain't got nothin' to hire nobody." When questioned about expenditures for food and clothing, she answered, "Ain't got nothin' to spend. I work out and get a little something. I work for anybody, and get a half gallon of syrup or like dat. Dey ain't got nothin' to pay you with.

"This house been built about thirteen years. It done wore out one set of shingles. We got a privy but tain't no 'count. Got to get lumber to fix it up. We cook on a stove, but it done wore out now." When Mrs. Griggs was asked if she slept with the windows open, she replied, "No'm. I'm scared to stay in here with 'em open." In reply to the question of whether she liked the place, she said, "I likes here bettern any wheres else I know. I would have to go and get used to it, but I been here so long." When asked if there was anything wrong with the house, she replied, "There's nothing wrong if the white man would fix it. Yes'm, it leaks."

Concerning school expenditures, she said, "It takes all I can do to eat. This year I cut it down to about $3.00 for the two chillun. Last year it was $4.00. I worried this year till they cut it down."

Concerning insurance, she said, "We ain't got no insurance; I was just in a society, but it got to the place where I could not keep it up, and I just got out. I wanted to try to stay in something so when I lay down and die, I have somethin' to bury me. If you don't pay the dues they just put you out. You can jine again, but you have to pay that back money. Societies done got to the place they don't help you none. All of them near 'bout done broke down. The treasurer, she said she had the money in the bank and the bank close down. I decided to let it alone. Don't care how much you have in there, you get behin', they goin' to turn you out. I was sick when the Red Cross was giving seeds. I went to the Health Department and some of them said if I tried to farm they wouldn't give you nothin'; jest help them what was caught.

"I don't know 'zackly how much I spent for clothes; it was such a little bit. I bought the chillun a little somethin'. I bought books and

pay the teacher. If you don't pay the teacher, they send 'em back. I spent about $11.00 in buying them underwear and everything.

"Ain't spent nothin' for medicine more than a little Black Draught. If I had money I would go to the doctor. I'm old enough to cross over and it worries me. I ain't been to no doctor. I did say I was going to Dr. Davidson to see if he had anything. Last year the doctor give me some pills and liquory medicine for the fever. I sometime think I got something; I keep sick all the time, but they ain't never tell me what it is. It been near twenty years since I been to a doctor. I need to go a heap of times, but I don't have nothin' to go with. I keep puny and need medicine all the time, but I ain't had no money. My last blood that was drawn, I ain't got no hearin' from.[1] The first time they say I had bad blood. I took seven shots, but the doctor said I was most too old, and he change up and give me medicine. Charlie took three or four shots, until they drawed his blood again, and did not get no hearin'. Robert took the shots."

When asked what she did for a good time, she answered, "I can't catch no fish. I jest stay here trying to clean up, patch up and do something or other."

Concerning how she got along with her neighbors, she said, "I don't worry nobody in the world but myself and Jesus and I have to beg him all the time to get some bread to eat. He sure will answer your prayers but look like it come so long, but he moves in his own time; got to keep on begging him to open a way for you; if he don't, someone gwine to perish. I belong to Damascus Church, but I go to all the churches, if I ain't too tired to walk." About paying dues, she said, "Yes, I paid 'em at first; womens pay $1.80. I didn't pay last year 'cause I didn't have it. Ain't paid nothin' this year. All I did is make out to live." When asked if the church helped her any, she replied, "My mamma was here; she was a hundred some odd years old and blind, and they didn't give her nothin'."

She said, concerning church membership, "I been belongst to church now near about thirty years. Where the Lord convert my soul? Right over yonder by dat dead tree, dat where the Lord convert

[1] This refers to Wassermann examinations and treatments for syphilis which were carried on among about a fourth of the Negro families in the county.

my soul at about nine o'clock on a Thursday. I was over there praying; over by that tree was my praying ground. I know when the Lord poured his Holy Ghost around my soul. I knowed there was something doin' then 'cause I had been praying so long. He told me to go in all parts of the world and tell what he have done for my soul. I was baptized by John Woods—old Pap Woods. I jined Damascus. That church been tore down three times. It started as a bush harbor, then a log cabin, then they built a little bit more."

IV. FAMILY BACKGROUND OF AN UNMARRIED MOTHER

The first trouble I had was after my father was killed. I been had trouble so much since then. My father been dead three years. I been put out so much 'till I don't know what I would do if it was not for Miss W—— who give me some work to do. I have a baby two years old. He is sick now. I had to take him back to the hospital yesterday, but they said he only had an ear-ache and so I brought him back home. My mother is working a little bit. She is married again, but she don't help me any. The people next door helps me more than my mother. I got a baby, you see. I used to stay with a school teacher in Brownsville, Tennessee. And she said her husband was my baby's dady. But she is just telling something that ain't true, 'cause my baby's daddy is named R—— W——. R—— is in Tennessee. You see, I named my baby after his dady. His name was R—— W——, but after the baby was born in the hospital [Cook County] they said I would have to name him R—— B——, 'cause B—— is my last name. I will be eighteen in August. My baby is two years old now. He was willing to marry me, but after I come up here and had my baby, I just didn't want him. This school teacher came up here and done seen the baby and she say her husband is the baby's father 'cause it looks just like him. She cursed me so much. When I was staying with her after my father got killed, her husband was teaching out. He never would come home. I was going to high school then when I was there. But, her husband was too old for me.

I came here before the baby was born. Well, I ain't seen the baby's father in such a long time; I don't care to marry him now; looks like I can get along better by myself. I seen how other girls get along and it's so bad I just don't care to be bothered. So this woman said if she

thought it was her husband's child, she wouldn't never speak to me no more. I don't care if she don't speak. Her husband is really old. He is a preacher and a teacher, too. He never asked me a question like that. He would always try to teach me better. Well, I tell you, when my baby's father and I were going together, he was so mean, I just didn't think we could get along. You know, I got a sister and her husband have been up here five years and have parted. And I done seen enough of that. I live with my mother. I ain't got no regular place now. If you don't catch me at 32——Vernon, you can get me at 32——Vernon. The lady who lives next door is named Miss C——. They bought that place but they are trying to sell it now. Sometime, I have a notion to go back to him [baby's father] and then again I don't.

My mother never cared nothing for me after I was like that, you know. Well I'll tell you what—I didn't even tell anybody, it was like this. We was coming from school. I had been going with him for some time. But that was the first time and the last time he ever had me. He was talking with me, you know, and was showing me different things that he would do. His folks got a plenty and he showed me a $10.00 bill—'course you know how a girl does for money. We was at his folks house but they was out and we was in his room by ourselves. His people stayed the next door from where this school teacher lived, and where I was staying. I was only fifteen then. Yes, ma'm, I been all alone. You see sometime when we was at home we didn't see papa but once a month; he worked in the country. It's five of us girls and two got happened like that—me and my oldest sister. She had a baby but didn't marry the baby's father. She married another man. Papa raised seven children. You see, my mother left him when we was all real young and she came up here. She even left my little sister who was only six months old. Well, a man cut my father with a four pound knife over some moonshine. They was at a party and my father told this man to hold the moonshine 'til he got back and when he came back this man done drank up all the moonshine, and my father was fussing with him, and he cut my father's heart right in two. He died right away.

The father of my baby is twenty-two years old now. When we was going together, he was twenty. We was both in high school. One time I say I am going back and then again I don't, for the people

down there talk so much. This school teacher told so many that this baby is her husband's. I told her that she was trying to get me in trouble. She is real bright and her husband is dark. He was married twice before he married her anyway. My own mother thought that this baby was this school teacher's husband's. I tell you the truth, before the baby was born, my own people and some others said that the baby was a white man's—that was before it was even born. But I didn't "fool" with no white man at all, 'cause those white folks don't care nothing 'bout no colored down there. Those people sho' talk a heap. This school teacher's sister-in-law come over to my house last week and she said she didn't believe it. And she said if it was, or if it wasn't, don' pay any attention to what this school teacher said. You know, this teacher is trying to bring this up in court. I told her if she want to be out of $25.00, she could take my baby and her husband down to the doctor and have a blood test and then she could see for herself. When I was living at her home in Tennessee, she said she knew that I was that way. She said an old lady told her that she had been midwife of lots of women, and she said to this school teacher that I was like that. She told her that it was her husband's.

And some days, I tell you the truth, I don't even put a piece of bread in my mouth or drink a glass of water. I go to eat and git so filled up thinking over things, I just can't eat. One time I came here to this office 'cause my mother put me out and Miss W—— give me a blanket to sleep on. Sometime I think about it, then I cry and then again I laugh and say the devil works his wheel all the time. When I was real small I used to be assistant teacher at the Baptist Sunday School in Tennessee. We all belonged there. But my mother been in so many different churches. Well, I tell you, peoples come up here and git turned around. My two youngest sisters stays over there with my mother, but she says sometimes she feels like throwing them in the lake. My step-father is nice sometimes, and sly sometimes. One sister is fourteen and the other is ten and a cripple. The fourteen year old child is in the first grade. She don't learn fast 'cause when I was fourteen years old I was in the sixth grade. My father used to bet on me 'cause I was so smart for my age. That's why I don't pay no attention to what people said. I just only got fooled once and that's all.

I don't go no place much. I tries to save all I can. I used to go right smart but I don't go now since the baby's been sick. I meet

people on the street and they say I am friendly but they don't know I got a baby 'cause I don't stop that long to talk with them. I been out of work for a week yesterday. I used to pay my mother $4.00 a week. The lady next door said I could stay there for nothing. When my mamma makes me mad I just go over next door.

You see, my father always thought so much of me, but the rest of the family didn't care about me at all. When my father got killed, some of us came up here and some stayed down there. I paid my own fare and came up here. My father never wanted me to bob my hair but when I came up here I bobbed it. That was after he was killed. My father got a sister; she is half white. She lives in Little Rock, Arkansas. She was awfully good to me. I stayed with her two years, but I done forgot where she lives in Little Rock, now. I think if my mother had stayed with us we wouldn't have got all mixed up. I just ain't had no body to raise me. You see, people thought I was so smart, but after this trouble, they have all turned me down. I don't ever hear from the baby's father and I ain't going to write. I got along this far without him and I guess I can go on. The baby is brown in color and has a little mole on one side of his face, and he is real smart.

V. "MY CROSS"—THE COMPLAINT OF AN ILLEGITIMATE BY A WHITE FATHER

The greatest disappointment, the deepest sorrow, the question of my most constant thought has been the one of my family. I am almost tempted to say that my being here has been my very bitterest cup. The question of family first began to worry me when I began my earliest association with other children, hear them talk and call their different relatives by name. And how I wondered about the word "mother." I never heard that word before. The word that was always attentive to my needs in childhood I called Auntie. In my childish way I began to question my Auntie. I wanted to know why I didn't have a mother, father, brothers and grandparents as other children had. I used to hear them say, "a new member has been added to the family." *Family*, hum! Another mysterious word. Well, I came to understand the terms as I advanced in school and just the importance of their functions. While the next perplexing thought arose to mar my happiness, where is my family, their race, religion,

achievements and personal characteristics? This very grave question has not been answered to my satisfaction as yet.

You can just imagine what an unhappy childhood I experienced. The children often called me names such as, "orphan," "bastard," "yallow," and others too numerous to mention. I would cry and couldn't understand. When I was about twelve years old and experiencing the entrance to puberty, the question of parents and family rested heavily upon me. It changed my disposition. It made me sick. I would sit for days without eating or drinking, just thinking and brooding over my plight. My Aunt, who was always kind but very reticent about the thing that was causing me so much concern, finally gave me over to the doctor's care. When he came I told him I was not sick, I just wanted to know, "who I am." He found that this was the trouble that was slowly ruining my health at this critical period in my young life. He told my Aunt to tell me, if she knew about my people, or it might be I would become mentally affected for life. My Aunt told me about my people and it has only served to make me more miserable at times, although I know I am not to be blamed.

My people were N——'s, having taken this name from their slave masters when freedom was declared. As far back as she traced, they were of mixed blood. My maternal grandmother was of Indian blood, my paternal grandmother, of Irish and Negro blood. Grandmother married a Negro—T——, by name and Mr. N—— gave his old Negroes' children ten acres of land to begin their family life. They built a house typical of that time. To this union were six children and of that number my mother was the baby girl. I have not seen her but how I have wished, longed, and am waiting. When she was sixteen she too married a Negro, C——, whose family got its name from a white family who traces its ancestry back to the C——'s of history. To this union were born three children—and me the fourth one, an "ugly duckling." What it was that made her give herself over to the other race at this late day, I cannot see, and to think my father was a descendant from my great-grandparents, the N——'s. The first three children were as they should have been, but Mr. C—— knew and mother knew I was not. She confessed when I was three weeks old; it was then *I lost my family*. Mr. C—— took me himself and canvassed a home for me a helpless innocent, blameless infant, three weeks old, without home and parents. One kind Aunt, whom I shall

always love, took me in her care. Mr. C—— took his children and left. Mother lost herself to her people also.

When I was about sixteen, a white family moved to McDonough to live by the name of "N——." This interested me because that was my surname. My Aunt became highly nervous and began to evade my questions again. This only made me more curious. She finally told me one day after I had overheard a little conversation between them in the store that he was my father. All the curses, anger, everything swelled in me. I just wanted to tell him in my highest crescendo what a dirty deal he had caused me, but you can understand why I didn't. It was not enough for him, being the cause of me being called those obnoxious names, but he must come to live in the very place where I live and have my unhappy being.

People discussed me and asked Auntie, but she did not tell others than the doctor and me. My father was very prominent and accumulated considerable wealth from his business as owner of several small town groceries and a large farm in Georgia that had been inherited. He was well thought of by his group and stood high in religious, social, and intellectual circles. He was regarded as a good man. No one knew that in one mile's distance of his home, he also had a Negro child. But, I have always believed he secretly looked after me, he watched me. But he never gave it away. I always acted perfectly ignorant of any attention. During 1926, he became very ill and one day a message came for Auntie. He had sent for her. I had just finished high school and was trying to be everything that goes to make a lovely girl, and forget I was conceived in iniquity. Auntie went and it happened he told his wife after all these years. Auntie was witness to the fact that I was. It was a dying request of his that she forgive him and she did. She also agreed to my having of his estate what he wanted me to have. In a very secretive way I obtained a home of my own and money to be used only for education. (If it were not to be truthful in this paper this would not be mentioned.) The longing for a respectful family, mother and father, has not left me. Although I try to consider that the blame lies not in me, but my parents. Being a girl of the twentieth century in a time when people were supposed to know better, having the scorn of those who had families were my roughest edges. Though they don't actually know the truth, they think it strongly and rightly.

As I grow older and begin to take my place in life I am putting *family*, that word that was almost so vague to me—a non-acquaintance with me—aside as far as mine is concerned. Because it is impossible for me to find out all about them for lack of contact, I just can't own them, that's all. The home of my Aunt has been a haven for me; a Christian home with family prayer. From her family has gone men and women taking their places in real Negro life—a family often referred to because of strict adherence and honesty in the community. As for me, I feel that I am the only package on the shelf, placed there without my consent for no reason than my cursed birth. The fact that I am what I am, does not affect me more as it used to. Ideas have changed and I am accepted on my own merits and not family for most Negroes do not have ones to be proud of.

VI. FAMILY HISTORY OF MULATTO COLLEGE STUDENT LIVING IN THE NORTH

The earliest recollection I have of any thought about my family history was an incident which occurred when I was a little girl playing about the house one day when a census-taker came to our house. He was asking my mother some questions about her maiden name. When she said that her name was M—— C——, he looked at her quizzically and repeated that he meant her name before she was married. She then explained that she was born a C—— and had married a C——. Because I didn't quite understand and asked if she had married one of her cousins, she went on to say that she and my father were not related at all, but by some happening they both had the same surname. After growing older, I learned that this incident was brought about as a result of slavery—presumably their families, as slaves, had been owned by slave-holders who were of some kin, and later had taken their masters' surnames for their own.

Unlike most families, I had no knowledge of my relations, other than my own immediate circle and one aunt and a few cousins, until my oldest sister wrote me about them. According to this information I can go back as far as my great-grandmother, paternally, and my grandparents, maternally.

My paternal great-grandmother was the illegitimate child of a mulatto slave mother, and her master. Being the master's daughter she was accorded special privileges, being excused from drudgery and

required to perform only a few light house tasks. Who her husband was, or whether she married at all, I don't know, but she had only one child—my grandmother. From what I can gather, her mother having been in intimate contact with the master's white family had been taught "white-folk's manners," as they were termed, and she in turn brought her daughter up quite genteely. Grandma is reputed to have been a "good Samaritan" kind of a person, ministering to the sick and needy for miles around. Her husband, my paternal grandfather, was born a slave somewhere in Virginia, about 1840. At an early age he was brought into Mississippi, somewhere near West Point. He was a carpenter by trade, and as was characteristic of the typical Negro of this age, he found quite an outlet for his emotions in religion, being a staunch and ardent Baptist. Their house was rather apart from the other people in the community, on the edge of town, but while living outside the center of activities Grandpa was always engaged in civic affairs and was considered a leading citizen. He is said to have been quite independent and set in his ways and not easily broken from habits. He lived in the same house for over fifty years, and reached the age of eighty refusing the advice and support which his children offered. They had five children, four boys, and one girl, of whom my father was the eldest. On account of some trouble (the nature of which I have never been able to discover) one boy, my Uncle R——, left home quite young and never returned. The other four children all married and had large families. They settled in the home-town, West Point, at first, but later scattered to other states. One son moved to Arkansas and his children are now living in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Detroit, another moved to St. Louis. One of my cousins in Washington got his L.L.D. degree studying nights, while two of my girl cousins recently finished Hampton, and another married a minister in Mississippi. The one girl in this family, my father's sister, had two children but they both died in infancy and she died before she was forty. It is significant to note that all the boys, like their father before them were highly industrious carpenters, and although lacking much education were all highly respected and leading citizens in their community.

My maternal grandfather was, like my paternal great-grandmother, the son of a slave-holder and a favorite slave in Mississippi. He was allowed to perform chores around the house. He was taught to read,

and quoting my source, "from all evidence, was from a very high stock." He was quite thrifty; farmed his own land and cut timber. For a long time he was a janitor for the white Presbyterian Church (his master's family were all members of this church). Through this medium he cultivated a taste for the best in music and literature. I do not remember my grandfather but my sister has pictured him as being "quite a philosopher." He was self-supporting until his death, at about the age of 75. Up until then his time was divided between his house in town and in the country; although he preferred the solitude of the latter. My mother has often remarked how much I resembled her father in this respect—the manifest desire for solitude, even though I was of a large family.

My favorite ancestor was my Grandma Ann. I can probably attribute this attachment to the fact that my sisters who knew her have remarked how like her I was in features, and even tastes. I remember when as a child I would ask Mother some of the things her mother used to do when she was a little girl, and then try to do some of them myself, in an effort to be as much like her as possible. I have a very definite mental image of what I imagine she must have been like, but I can best describe her by quoting directly from my document: "Grandma Ann—well now there was a character. Her mother must have been a clever woman to have named her so aptly. She, too, was trained as a special maid to her mistress. She sewed and did beautiful embroidery work. Grandma did not care about and could not do housework nor cooking at all. [Especially in this respect are my tastes analogous to those of Grandma's.] In fact, she seemed to have inherited all the characteristics of a 'Southern lady'—even to petite hands and feet. Just like our mother, Grandma loved to talk. She was a staunch Presbyterian—the entire family being permitted to attend the white church, which fact attests their high standing among the whites in the community, and consequently they were 'looked up to' by the Negroes. Grandma maintained her independence until the time of her death, near the age of eighty-three."

I especially remember her as being extremely thrifty. I judge that she handled the finances mostly in her family, because my mother has often evoked many a good laugh from me by relating instances where her father would have to ask her for money and in little bits she would dole it out.

Grandma and Grandpa lived apart for a number of years. My sister says that it was supposedly from some economical standpoint, but she is inclined to believe that it was a pure case of incompatibility —due chiefly to Grandma's desires to subordinate Grandpa. As she put it, "the C—— women have always demanded and asserted their rights, whatever may be the costs." However, as she expressed it, they, like all the progeny were quite prolific; they were intimate enough to have eight children, two of whom died quite young. Four girls and two boys remained.

The elder of the sons was involved in some kind of trouble, and to escape, left home at an early age. Although his innocence was proved he failed to return home. For a number of years he worked in the mines in Alabama. Eventually, he married and had two children, but I do not know of their present whereabouts. The younger son, a victim of asthma, always lived in the hometown, Columbus, Mississippi. He married but was quite dependent upon his mother even until his death at fifty-two. All of Mother's family had the education that was given in the public schools—equivalent about to the ninth or tenth grade. Three of the girls, including Mother, improved themselves in various ways and taught school.

The oldest girl, after teaching several years, left home for a period of time. Grandma forbid the rest to speak about her while she was absent; later she returned with a daughter "who in no wise—looks nor deeds—resembled any of the rest of the family." I might add here that none of Mother's side of the family possessed Negroid features—they were all extremely fair and a number possessing gray eyes and light hair. The second daughter, M——, my mother, I shall deal with, at length, later. The third daughter, my Aunt N——, remained single until 35, then married a man much older than herself and moved to Okmulgee, Oklahoma. They are still there and have two children, a girl sixteen and a boy eighteen.

The fourth daughter, my Aunt M—— is the only relative on my mother's side that I know. She married at the age of 17 and moved to Chicago. She, like the rest of the C—— women, is very talkative and energetic. Aunt M—— is very business-like—she ran her own business shop for quite a number of years. Her husband died and left her with three sons. Though still a young woman, she sent her eldest son to Northwestern and the School of Medicine from which he grad-

uated. He is a brilliant young physician in New England at present. The second boy, although quite steady and industrious has been unemployed for the past two years. The "black sheep" of her family is my cousin, R——, who has always been rather indolent and "getting into something."

Mother and Father married some forty years ago and moved to a small town in Mississippi—Indianola. He was a contractor and carpenter, also engaged in real estate. Mother, having a large house to look after, also taught school for a while. Of no little significance is the fact that Mother was a Presbyterian (as has been shown even her grandparents were professed of this denomination) and Father, formerly had been a Baptist, as were the rest of his family. When I relate that he went over to my mother's church, one can see in whom the control rested at the outset. I do not know my father, not having seen him since I was six years of age. I was indeed very much surprised therefore, when this past Christmas I received a letter and check from my father as a Christmas gift. He expressed a desire to see me, also. Of course, I continued to write occasional letters, merely because I considered such my filial duty. I believe that, as the years have gone by he has desired to effect a reconciliation with his somewhat estranged family and is endeavoring to make such moves now, for he has begun writing to my sister and has sent me money twice since Christmas. Although my affection for him is dead, I am quite anxious to see him and it is my plan to visit him, possibly this summer.

It was Mother who managed the family and settled financial obligations. I do not mean to imply that Father was a poor business man, for he was quite prosperous, but Mother was more of the "managing" type. At one time they owned and operated a large grocery store in Indianola. They had seven children, four girls, E——, J——, V——, and H——, and three boys, C——, T——, and N——. The three oldest E——, C——, and J—— were born about three years apart. Then, after five years, T—— came, to be followed in another five years by N—— who is six years older than myself. The baby, H—— (I was two at her birth), was born some twenty years after the oldest child.

The three oldest were given all the advantages to be had in a small town, especially being looked upon as children of the leading family in the community. They had private classes, music, sewing, and

riding lessons. C—— was sent to Fisk for his high school and college work; E—— to Spelman; and J—— to Mary Holmes Seminary.

With the prospect of educating four others, and in light of the poor educational facilities Mississippi had to offer for Negroes, Mother began to think in terms of moving northward for our advantage. I don't think this would have happened, however, had it not been for a series of altercations occurring between my mother and some whites. Mother will express herself fully, regardless to whom she may be speaking. A number of petty arguments ensued, culminating in an instance where a white man struck her over the eye, for her "impudence." (I might add that there is still a faint scar over her right eye.) As I have heard about it there had been some trouble over some express that was supposed to have been delivered. The lady-clerk whom Mother had to telephone about it was very rude and saucy. By the time the conversation was over Mother had told her just what she thought of "poor white trash." The clerk's brother came to our house in my father's absence and demanded that Mother apologize. The afore-mentioned trait of C—— women to "assert their rights" again came to the fore-ground, and Mother, being possessed of a talkative tongue told him that the apology was due her, instead, and then added her opinion of him; and he struck her. This incident caused quite a disturbance, for the Negroes wanted to "do something about it," but when, after Father's return, he was apologetic in his attitude, the die was cast—Mother insisted that thereafter Indianola could not be her home. After some deliberation, Omaha, Nebraska, was selected as a new location.

Due to business matters, it was impossible for Father to get away at the time they had set upon to leave; so it was decided that Mother should take the children and go ahead, and he would follow in six weeks—but the six weeks evidently never came, for he only made one short visit after we had been there two years, and has not since returned. For a long time he did support the family, but after a time ceased even writing—why I don't know.

Before this time, however, my oldest sister, E——, having refused an offer to teach in the South because she wanted to be with the family, married. C——, after finishing Fisk with a Magna Cum Laude had completed his law course at Yale, and was practicing in Cleveland. My sister J—— was employed in a book-store. T—— and N——

only went to their senior year in high school, the two being employed at a club. But this is not all—I cannot conclude without bringing them up to the present, telling something about my little sister, H——, and myself, and correlating past events with the present.

The most vivid recollections of my childhood were incidents that happened in the mixed grade school which I attended. Liking school a great deal, I was quite a smart pupil and the teachers often designated me to head various little committees whom I had to select. I was very popular among my classmates (they were all white at the time) and they treated me as though I were one of them—such little things as bringing me candy to school, Valentines, and being my seat-mates. The first consciousness that I remember of feeling that I was "different" came about when I was in the third grade. A group of my white girl friends were starting a social club to meet at the various members' homes after school and asked me to join. I had been in all the school clubs with them and could not see why Mother would not let me join this one. I began to feel "outside" of things thereafter; still continuing my school interests, but looking for my real comradeship outside.

H—— and I had great times together these early years—we had both started taking piano lessons, and had a number of mutual interests. Due to her proximity in age, no doubt, I always felt closer to her than to any of my other sisters and brothers. Our family has been, however, very closely knit—all extremely interested in one another. My sister expressed it thusly: "We have always been very fond, indeed, of one another, each capable of great sacrifice for a brother or sister, but there has never been a tendency for outward demonstration; we are not prone to kiss."

When I was in the fifth grade my sister, E——, unable to get along with her husband, divorced him and came home, bringing her two babies. She began working in a dress shop down-town, and Mother took care of the children.

It was about this time that I "saw the light." I was ten years old and had been attending the Presbyterian Church regularly. The minister had preached a very stirring sermon, and I later found myself up front, answering his plea to "join with the Lord." As I grew older I developed a great interest in the church, at one while being Sunday

School teacher and Secretary, and organist and Junior Choir director for the Church.

By the time I was ready to graduate from grade school a number of changes had taken place: Father had ceased sending any money; T—— and N—— had quit school and gone to work; C—— had married and set up offices in Muskogee, Oklahoma; J——, who had gone to Chicago and married, had separated from her husband and come home, bringing her baby; and my little sister, H——, was in the hospital—the result of an attack of rheumatism which weakened her heart.

This last fact had taken some of the joy out of my graduation. As soon as my exercises were over, I went to the hospital and spent the rest of the day there with her. Within a month she was back home, seemingly recovered, and I was anxiously anticipating the fall when I should enter Central High School.

I was determined and had my mind set upon finishing high school with honors, and began, from the start, looking forward to the time when I should go to college. To this end I set out in September, 1928. By the second quarter I was carrying the maximum student load of five subjects, and from then on my name was on the Honor Roll just about every quarter. H—— was yet in grade school, making quite a scholastic record. I was too young, during my stay in high school, to occupy my time with much else than school activities. The girls in my set, being mostly three and four years older than myself had started "going with fellows," I was again "outside." So, I developed a more fervid interest in my lessons, and started into a number of extra-curricular activities, such as the Glee Club, the Latin Club, and because there were no colored students on our school's weekly paper staff, I began taking Journalism in order to be eligible. I went to summer-school two summers in order to finish in three years.

By September, 1930, I had commenced my senior year. Whereas I had intended the coming year to be the happiest of my school days, it became the saddest, in one respect.

H—— was to be in high-school with me my last quarter, having graduated in January from grade school with honors. She went to high school only three days, being seized again with her heart. Her best friend, B——, who lived across the street from us, and I went to the hospital every afternoon to see her. Then one Friday, only

two weeks after H—— went to the hospital, B—— caught a cold and died the following Tuesday of Pneumonia, and my sister died the next week. This was the first time that I had lost anyone close to me by death. It left a deadening effect upon me for a long time, and I have never been able to get over their deaths.

Two months later, as I had anticipated, I graduated from high school with honors, and the distinction of being the youngest member in a class of 338.

Although the division of labor in my family was such that they all had to work together to keep things going, none of them has attempted to shirk responsibility. It has been the wonder of so many people how Mother managed such a large family with so little trouble. She has always valued a "good name" before anything, and I can always remember her teaching us not to do anything that would bring "shame to our name."

Although financial conditions really did not improve, there was no doubt that I should go to college; they all were determined that I should enter. C—— had planned to send me to Fisk, his alma mater, when I was a little girl. So upon September 21, 1932, I started forth upon a new phase of my life at Fisk University. I can truly say that college, so far, has been my awakening period. This first year did much in the line of discovering hitherto unknown opportunities. I had not definitely decided just what I wished to be, having thought once about music and again foreign language as a life's work. The second year, however, which I spent at home, due to financial reasons determined largely. Although I had continued my study of music, I developed a high interest in social work. While interested in girls' club work, and the studies of the Urban League, I found actual social work such as is done by the Welfare Board much more to my liking.

September, 1933, found me again at Fisk, continuing my study with a view to majoring in Sociology. I aspire for a career in this field, hoping to be able to attain a Ph.D.

VII. FAMILY HISTORY OF COLLEGE STUDENT WITH PAMUNKY INDIAN ANCESTRY

My family is a product of amalgamation of three race groups. They are: the Negro, Indian, and Caucasian. This is a case where the greatest influence of mixed blood came about before the war be-

tween the States. As far as records can be obtained, my foreparents were brought to this country prior to 1750. From 1750 on, however, it is easily traced down to the present generation. All of this history is credited to my mother. She heard it from her parents, while they in turn had it related to them by their parents.

The story goes that my great-great-great-grandfather was brought to America in 1750 by a Mr. Josiah W——, a very wealthy tobacco grower of Suffolk in the tidewater section of Virginia. On the same plantation was a very small half breed Indian woman, the offspring of a slave and an Indian from the Pamunky Indian Reservation. The two were attracted to each other. As he was large and she was small, I guess she must have thought that in him there was protection. This little woman was a midwife, and it is said that she was very good, because many women used her services during that hour of ordeal and misery. Her husband soon learned the blacksmith trade, and after a short time his master allowed him to make some money for himself, by mending the neighbor's wagons, etc. With the savings of his wife and of his own, they soon purchased their freedom. They moved away to Essex, Virginia, just across the James River from Jamestown and there he built a forge and began to ply his trade. He soon had more trade than he could handle by himself, so that he had several boys, who were desirous of being blacksmiths, apprenticed to him.

In the matter of religion they accepted the Protestant faith, giving their vows in the famous St. Johns Church. This sect has been kept in the family down to this generation. These great grandparents were the parents of only two children, both girls, and they were twins. She named them after the Biblical sisters, Mary and Martha. They bore resemblance to each other in all respects but height. Mary remained the size of her mother while Martha nearly reached the gigantic proportions of her father. Being free born children they were allowed some educational privileges. They cared naught for this, and soon dropped all ideas of studying. Mary, in the meantime, had fallen in love with a young half white Indian, the son of an overseer of an adjoining plantation. Against the wishes of their parents they decided to marry. Martha heard of their plans to elope that night and she vowed to stop it. So upon the arrival of the time for the elopement, Martha slipped quietly out of the house and disappeared

never to be heard from again. It is thought that she must have been drowned in the mire of the swamp that bounded the little town on one side.

Mary and her husband were handicapped from the start by an early arrival of a baby, which was destined to be the eldest of many brothers and sisters. Being half Indian and known for laziness, he was just that. He wanted to do nothing but hunt and fish, but out of necessity he had to do something, so he wove baskets out of their willow strips. These, he sold at a small sum to fishermen, trappers, and to the planters for crop-baskets. The second baby came, and seeing the need of more money he moved his then small family to Petersburg, Virginia. He obtained a job at one of the tanning factories there and slowly his family grew to eighteen children and two parents. The children were evenly divided. There were nine boys and nine girls. There being so many to clothe and feed the matter of educating them was next to impossible. Through some manner (and here is where the story of one person differs from that of another, my mother says that she heard that a bad debt caused it, while my grandfather says that their father sold them), three of the boys were taken as slaves. Four of the boys died and along with them, at short intervals, six of the girls died, leaving only five children out of the eighteen.

My grandmother, Susan, the oldest girl left, married a slave by the name of Tom W——. He was a slave of fair proportions and was owned by a cousin of Mr. Josiah W——, so that many people thought that a cousin was marrying a cousin. War between the States had slowly come to realization and two days after they were married, War was declared. As the first outbreak occurred near Petersburg, my great-grandfather moved with his wife to Richmond, a distance of twenty-two miles. Richmond was in a state of chaos, so that he sought refuge at the home of one of his friends, a white man by the name of C——, an old Scotch-Irish man who had amassed quite a fortune selling and trading horses. The confederacy called for a big shipment of horses, so that Mr. C—— gave my great grandfather employment. My great grandmother worked in the house as a maid to Mrs. C——. During the four years of fighting, three children were born to these great grandparents of mine—my mother's mother, who was named Charlotte, and two boys, Tom, Jr. and Joseph. After the war was only over a few months, my great-grandfather was pawed

to death by an old unbroken stallion. My great-grandmother soon followed him to the grave, grieving herself to death over the incident. The three children were left orphans. The C——'s took care of them and raised them.

Charlotte, my grandmother, and William R—— were married in 1880, or pretty close to that date. Four children were born unto them —my mother, Charlotte Elizabeth was the oldest and Mary and Martha, twins, following her, to be followed by Christopher. Experiencing hard times they were only allowed a little pleasure, away from school they had work to do. My mother entered Hartshorn Academy (now Hartshorn College, affiliated with Virginia Union) and after two years study, eloped with Dr. William S——. Two years after their marriage I was born. A serious accident to my mother caused me to be born prematurely. Automobiles being luxuries then, only the rich could have them, so out into the coldness of a November night went my father to a labor case, eight miles into the country in a buggy. He contracted double pneumonia and in eight days was dead. My father's people, although they were very much in distress, they not having heard of my birth were very afraid that the shock would kill my mother. So after my father was buried they remained a while and took us over the Cumberland Mountains to Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee where they lived. My mother remained with them for two years and then left, returning to Richmond.

Realizing that she must be a wage earner she began making cakes, and pies, etc. at home for parties, and acting as a cateress. Soon she was well-known, and presently had to hire extra help to obtain the best results of her thriving business. I started to school when I was six, two spells of sickness kept me out of school for three years. My mother proved as thrifty in her business as she proved herself a worthy cateress. The money that she saved from buying goods when they were low, and the money that she saved when they paid her for her services was placed in the Colored Mechanics Bank of Richmond. She even bought stock in the growing bank. After a few years she bought a house, and then the dam burst. The banker ran off with the money. Along with the money of others went ours. My mother's spirit was broken. She became very ill, and had to be placed under the doctor's care. Her hair turned gray as if over night. She lost all hope. After a year's treatment under Dr. William H—— she regained

her health and set about to help me realize the one hope and desire that we both held, that was and is the ambition to pick up where my father left off.

VIII. A PHYSICIAN'S FAMILY ORIGINATING IN MULATTO SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH

From 1821 or '22 up until 1835 the Seminoles and Cherokees that were down in North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, were mixed up with some of the Negroes of the neighborhood. In these states the white inhabitants began to encroach upon the reservation of the Indians. An order was issued that the states stop the white people. As a compromise measure the government set aside certain lands in Oklahoma for all the Indians and their descendants to go. Following this period, certain of the states and counties passed an ordinance that all the descendants of whites and Negroes that were free should leave within a certain period, or they would be enslaved. There were a number of these people from North Carolina, who came to Ohio and Indiana. My grandfather on my father's side and his brothers were among that number. When I was in high school (1903) my parents were notified by an official in Washington that the sum of money which had been set aside by the state had never been paid out and had accumulated there all these years. I was in high school in Indiana. A law firm looked it up pretty thoroughly and a number of people from home went to North Carolina and Washington getting proof, and we were furnished with direct proof. They found that there were so many claimants to it that finally, in the settlement of the claims, the government adopted a rule that only those who were full bloods would be included.

My grandfather, Elijah Roberts—born January 4, 1795 in Weldon, Halifax County, North Carolina—and his four brothers came to Indiana at the time that this rule was passed. My grandfather was one of the free born, mixed blood. I think they walked most of the way to Indiana. Our settlement was established there between 1823 and 1825 in Hamilton County, Indiana. He and his brothers, together with other people, bought, at $1.00 an acre, a settlement that covered between four and five square miles. This settlement has always been known as the Roberts' Settlement. There were some Wilburns and Waldons that came along, too. My grandfather's wife was named

Corbin. She was the daughter and slave of General Corbin, whose sister was Thomas Jefferson's sweetheart. My grandfather purchased her freedom and married her and brought her to Indiana. She was born in Halifax County. Betty Corbin was my grandmother's father's sister. My grandfather died when he was fifty-three years old, and was buried there in 1848 in our little cemetery. My grandmother, his wife, died in 1888. She was ninety years old when she died. The date of their marriage was 1816. She was born in 1798 and he in 1795. Some of this same group located in West County. My grandfather purchased eighty acres. That was purchased directly from the Government. The church at home was built about the time the settlement began. And that church was included with four white churches in the circuit.

The dates of the births of my grandfather and grandmother's children were: Sally R., 1818; Mary G., 1820; Elijah R., 1822; Peter, 1824; Martha, 1827; James, 1829; Rebecca, 1831; Eli, 1833; Richard, 1835; my father, 1837; Weslyn, 1840; and Emaline in 1843. All of them became farmers or farmers' wives, with the exception of Richard who was a soldier in the army. After returning from the war, he moved to Kokomo, Indiana. They are all deceased (at present). My father was a farmer. His brother, Peter, became very wealthy. All of them had large farms except my father. My father had the smallest farm of any. Between the whites and that settlement, however, there has never been any racial friction whatsoever. Reverend D. P. Roberts, Recorder of Deeds under President Harrison and once pastor of Quinn Chapel, came from that branch. One went on the other side, and was Judge in the Circuit Court of Iowa. Daniel Roberts went to Jacksonville, Florida and established a hospital there. Dr. E. P. Roberts is from another branch. Peter Roberts, a doctor in Raleigh, North Carolina, is part of the branch that remained down in North Carolina. Adelbert (Senator) is from another branch. Their ancestors were cousins of my uncles and aunts.

My mother's grandfather was Jack Simpson whose father was a chief of an Indian Tribe in Massachusetts. His wife was a red-headed Irish woman. Their son was born in 1801 in Concord, Massachusetts. He was sort of a wanderer. At the age of eighteen he was down in Halifax County, North Carolina. He was married on July 4th, 1832 to Mary Kennedy. I assume that Mary Kennedy was a mulatto

woman. Their son, my mother's father, was born in 1823. He had one brother, John Simpson, who was born in 1826. This great-grandfather of mine died in 1828 and his widow was remarried in 1832 to a Mr. James. Shortly after that marriage, this rule affected these mixed bloods so that they located in Henderson, Ohio, coming up with the Darke County branch. They had two children—William and Mary E. They were half brothers and sisters to my grandfather. My great grandmother died in 1899 at the age of ninety-nine years. I remember her. My grandfather, who was her son, was married in the spring of 1840, at Carthage, Indiana. In 1860 they moved to Van Buren County. They bought eighty acres. She died in 1887 at the age of seventy years. They had nine children, born as follows: Mary E., 1841; Nancy, my mother, born in 1844; Julia, 1846; Malinda, 1848; Martha, 1857; Luelle, 1855; Eliza, 1857; Veora, 1861; and Eli, 1860. Of those, Mary E. became the wife of William Mathews. Mathews also came from the Carolinas. Some have gone entirely white. Some fought in the war. Julia married and went to Denver; very influential woman among the Eastern Stars. Martha lives in Jacksonville, Illinois. Veora married a colored man by the name of Mahoney from Decatur, Michigan. Her son was the first colored man to run for Councilman. Eli went into the white race.

My mother was practically reared in Michigan. She married June 24, 1863. There were ten children: Leander, 1865; Amy, 1866; Harry, 1868; Virena, 1869; Alcedie, 1871; Blaster, 1872; Barclay, 1874; Harvey, 1876; myself, 1880; and Lloyd, 18——. Five are dead. My father died in 1917. He was seventy-nine, almost eighty years of age. He was a farmer, carpenter and one of the first colored school teachers they had in that part of Indiana. He was teaching a small school there before the Civil War. His nephew was the first colored man to be put on the ticket for Public Recorder and was defeated by only twenty-five votes. I have two sisters in Indiana and a brother who lives there. My mother died in 1925, aged eighty years.

Our settlement was first established around 1823. The earliest tombstone bears the date 1827. My grandfather was buried in that cemetery in 1848. The settlement included about four or five square miles. There was a school and church. One of the stations on the Underground Railway was located there. Soil was very fertile. Racial relations were very good. They have had family reunions there for

about thirty-seven years. At the present time only three or four of the original families are there. At one time we have had as many as eight or nine hundred people gathered there at family reunions. They will have a homecoming there this Fourth of July. I don't know of any colored settlement any older than that in the North.

My mother was always fond of nursing. We went to the nearest town to high school during the summer. I never cared for farm work. I used to read so much that they said I was the laziest boy they ever saw. While in school I was employed as office boy by one of the white physicians in that town. I liked the work very much. At the age of sixteen I told him I was going to be a physician. I went to high school there. I was also employed there in a white barber shop and slept there for two or three years while I was in school. After the shop was closed at night I would call the boys in after hours and cut their hair. After getting out of school I told the proprietor I could cut hair fairly decent and to my surprise he offered to employ me as full time barber in his shop. I went to Michigan and went to work, saved money up, then came on over to Chicago. I started in Chicago at the College of Surgery; had just about $100.00 in cash, but signed several notes in order to have enough for my tuition in school. I did everything I could to make a living while in school.

The way that we were reared in the settlement, I had no racial consciousness at all. I didn't realize what it was to be colored. We have had as many as thirty white guests at our home for one day. There was not any intermarriage. When I was about fourteen years old, I went to high school out of town; my cousin and I roomed with a white family there. It never occurred to me that I was colored, so at the class party I was invited and when they played post office I received my mail right along with the rest. There was a little white girl just about my age whose father was one of the wealthy citizens of the town. We got to writing notes to one another and her mother found some of the notes in the drawer and told her father and he went to see the principal of the school. The principal called me into the office and talked with me about it. Well, it got to my mother's ears and she called me in one rainy afternoon and explained to me what it meant to be a Negro. I went in with no consciousness and I came out a Negro. I have never forgotten that day. For one year I never went out on the school ground to mingle with any of the other stu-

dents. After that I changed schools the next year. These were just kid notes, but this girl's father was from the South and was particularly prejudiced. I was fourteen years old before I knew that there was a difference in race. I had never heard the word "nigger" applied by white to colored.

My affiliations here are: Member of Grace Presbyterian Church; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity; Appomattox Club. We used to have a club here—Hoosier Club—of about forty members. I was the president of that club. I am a Mason and Forester, Knight of Pythias, and used to be an Odd Fellow. We lived on the North side here. When I first came here, I lived up here about four or five blocks and began practicing in this neighborhood where I have practiced for eighteen years. Then we moved to 5600 North near Edgewater Beach Hotel. We lived there two or three years, and were known to be colored. Then we lived over on Cullum Avenue in Ravenswood. I bought a home over there. From there I moved to 43rd and South Parkway. The only reason that I moved away from there was that my children were getting up where they would be eight or nine years of age and we had an idea that we wanted them to meet with children of their own ages whom they would be associated with in the future. We moved from 43rd because the neighborhood deteriorated inside of two years—from 1921 the neighborhood had gone down nearly 100 per cent. Then we moved to 50th and Indiana. Inside of two years that neighborhood had gone down. That group has been the sole salvation of that block (Washington Park Court). That is the only block that has held its real estate value. It is composed of residents of Washington Park Court. We have been organized about three or four years. A man across the street put a sign up in his window "trucking and hauling." We tried to persuade him to take it down and he would not do it; so we had him arrested. Another woman opened up a delicatessen and we persuaded her not to operate, for about two or three weeks, but she ignored us; so we had her arrested. We have our meetings once or twice a month. We have had the Alderman out to inform him that we wanted his full cooperation. We forced two undesirable families to move out of the block. We closed up one disorderly house. We tried to get the children together and keep up their morale. We have an executive board, and have employed a custodian of the block. Before moving over here, I had no knowledge of danger

involved in the deterioration of a colored neighborhood. The curriculum of the colored schools on the South Side is not up to the standard of the white schools. I had to send my children over to the Cosminsky School in order for them to get long division.

Concerning my affiliations here, I think I have been the only colored full staff member of the Chicago General Hospital since 1911. Dr. Williams was associate member of staff of St. Luke's Hospital. At the present time, I go both to the Chicago General Hospital and St. Elizabeth's on the North Side. I was president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. I served as President of the Medical Society here and the National Medical Association.

The people in our settlement have all lived to be around seventy-five and over. There has never been any tuberculosis except in two families—the Rice family and the Mathews family. These two families were practically wiped out except for two brothers and a sister.

IX. A FAMILY OF RURAL SOUTHERN ORIGIN WITH PROPERTY AS A BOND

My maternal grandmother was a house-servant in a family in the Northern part of Alabama at the time of the Civil War. This family owned a large plantation. My grandmother told me that she was a favorite in the house and had her way pretty much. During the third year of the Civil War my mother was born. Her father was the master in the house. My mother has always been very sensitive about her birth and has never wanted to talk about it before her children. When very small my mother was separated from her mother as the latter went to Tennessee. My grandmother left Alabama because of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. My mother was reared by her grandmother during the absence of her mother. When my grandmother returned from Tennessee she married a minister and had three sons by this marriage. My mother spent her childhood with the family on a farm in Madison County, Alabama. She helped to care for her three half brothers.

My mother married, when nineteen, the son of a thrifty, proud farmer who had come from Tennessee. He bought a farm in Alabama of eighty acres and settled down. My father's mother died when he was quite small, leaving my father and a brother. His father married again a woman who had a son. My mother often told me how proud

her father-in-law was of his sons. My father and his brothers did not get much of an education. Their minds were turned toward acquiring property and getting ahead. Although my father said he spent only one week in school in his life, he had considerable natural intelligence. When my father married my mother he built a house and immediately began to buy farm land and improve it. He first bought a tract of eighty acres and later bought 100 acres. One of the things that has appeared very remarkable in my mind is the fact that he could transact his own business. In fact, many people came to him for all sorts of advice—business, medical, and otherwise. Everyone in the community had very much confidence in him. The white people in the community respected him as well as the colored people. Although he was economical, he was a good provider and wanted his children to go to school.

There were nine children in our family—five boys and four girls. My father gave us an opportunity to get a college education. My brother—the oldest child—was sent to Roger Williams in Nashville, Tennessee, where he received the A.B. in 1903. Although my father supported my brother mainly during his college days, he would come to Chicago during the summer and, while working, live with his uncle. After he finished college he went to Florida, as a principal of a school. After two years he came to Chicago and entered the Post Office as a clerk. He came to Chicago to look after my sister whose eyesight was impaired as a result of an attack of spinal meningitis. He is still in Chicago. He has devoted his time to the accumulation of property. He sold this and bought a number of large flat buildings to advantage. At the present time, he has a twenty-four flat building as well as a two flat and a three flat building. All of this he has acquired by saving his earnings from his post office salary. This tendency to acquire property has seemingly run in our family on my father's side. My grandfather acquired land as soon as possible and his son and grandson have done the same.

When my paternal grandfather died, the land was divided among the three sons. My grandfather's step-son was sort of shiftless and lazy and never increased his holdings. In fact my brother bought his share later when he had become helpless and went about begging. His large family, including two boys and three girls and wife, had all left him because he proved a poor provider. He died at about the

age of forty. My father kept his share until his third son became of age and gave it to him. My uncle sold his share to my father and came to Chicago to live. He married a woman from Cincinnati, Ohio. There were no children born. He went into hotel work and was advanced until he became the chief steward in the Linkbelt Hotel. He was a sport and believed in having a good time, enjoying the bottle too well. His health became poor and he died from heart trouble. He left two small cottages in Chicago to his nieces and nephews. His wife had died some time before.

My second brother—the second child in age as well—was given all the opportunities as the other. But he was born in March and was about as changeable as the March wind. He was sent to school but would not remain. He married a young girl who was constantly sick and a drawback to him. My father had built them a lovely cottage and established them on a farm. He worked hard but received no support from his wife who constantly nagged him. Finally he took her home to her mother and went to Montgomery where he began a trade as a carpenter. He married again. This venture was no better than the other for his wife was a spendthrift. He left Montgomery and came to Terre Haute, Indiana. They lived there several years and came to Chicago. His wife returned South and my brother never sent for her. Although she wrote my brother to come back and sent a policeman after him, he has never received her again. My brother entered into a third marriage with a woman much older than he from Michigan. The marriage was annulled because he had just received his divorce from his other wife. He went South and sold a part of his farm and bought a two flat building here. Later he sold this and bought a three flat building which he sold to an advantage and bought a two flat building which provided him with bachelor's apartment and a carpenter shop in which to carry on his trade. He married again a woman with a son. At first she seemed very fond of him but later decided to get what he had. She put him out and at the present time she is suing for divorce, alimony and home. She is suing him for more than he has, demanding forty acres in Alabama; and a part of his brother's property. He is now rooming.

My oldest sister's education was stopped because of her impaired eyesight. At the time she was living with our uncle and going to high school. She married a Pullman porter. They had three children—

one boy and two girls. The family lived with my oldest brother until the death of my sister a year ago. The father took the children to the place where he rooms. The boy who is nearly eighteen is taking a pre-medical course at Crane College. He is planning to study medicine. The two girls are at Englewood High School. They are planning to teach.

My third brother quit school after finishing the grammar school and was established on the land which my father had inherited. This land was given to him because he was named for my grandfather. He married and has two sons. They are living on the farm in Alabama at present.

After the next to my oldest sister finished the high school in Huntsville, Alabama, she married a young man who was not very thrifty. My father gave them a home in the city and all other assistance they needed. My sister was very ambitious. She sewed and worked to make things go. She had to take the lead. This proved too great a strain and she died last June at the birth of the last child which was the twelfth. There are six children dead and six living. The children of school age are in school. The oldest girl who is fourteen and the father take care of the children as well as his mother.

My third sister graduated from Knoxville College with honors in 1913. She became a social service worker under the Presbyterian Board in the city of Knoxville. She married one of her classmates who was a proprietor of a barber shop in Knoxville. They bought a home. They had four children—three girls and a boy. My sister died when her youngest child was seven months old. She had always been very religious. Her oldest child who was six when her mother died expressed consolation in the religious faith which her mother had instilled in her. This child is only ten at present and in the first year high school. In fact, the four children are very smart. The father remarried. The step-mother loves the children and cares for them as if they were her own.

My next brother finished grammar school and did not accept any further education. He returned to the farm and began farming on a part of the farm given him by his father. He married a girl in the community and they have four children—three girls and a boy. Two of them are in school. This family is affiliated with the Seventh Day Adventists.

My youngest brother completed high school in Huntsville and came to Chicago and took a course in automechanics. He is now a salesman with a Studebaker show room in charge of a colored man. He married a young lady who is the daughter of a prosperous farmer in the Alabama community. His wife has come to the city and secured a position in business.

I spent part of my childhood on the farm and attended a little one room rural school which was held in the Baptist Church. There was a split in this church at one time and my family went with the seceding group. Our family went to this church every Sunday. When I reached the fifth grade they put me to board in Huntsville with a friend of the family so that I could get the advantage of further education. I remained here until I finished the grammar school. I was then sent to Knoxville College where I spent six years. I was graduated from the normal teaching course. During the summers I would spend my time home with my mother. My mother taught me to sew. My mother and father would always work in harmony. He was the provider and she would manage the home. There would always be a council when he was to increase his holdings, etc.

At Knoxville I became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church with which I have been connected ever since. My first teaching experience was at the school I attended in my childhood days. At the close of the year I went to State Normal at Nashville to summer school and at the beginning of the following term I went there as teacher of English. I began studying business on the side. I remained there two years. Then I went to Alabama, as Secretary to the President of the Normal School there. After staying there a year I came to Chicago. During this time my father died.

After the death of my father my mother went to live with my youngest brother and I came to Chicago to live with my oldest brother and sister. Our farm was rented and has remained rented ever since. One part of the farm was rented at one time to white tenants but they proved to be poor tenants and we got rid of them without giving offense.

After two years I entered into a business firm in the city and have remained there until now. I attend the Presbyterian Church while my mother attends the Baptist Church. I belong to the Knoxville College Club. I have no definite plans for the future, although I hope some day to get married and have a family.

X. A MIGRANT FAMILY IN CHICAGO

My parents were born—my mother was born in White Plaines, Georgia. She was not a slave, but her parents were slaves. I remember my grandfather; he lived a long, long time and Grandma E——, I can't remember her so well. Mother told me how kind and good her mother was, and how her father did not stay at home with her like he should have, you know, and used to say she wish she could be as good as her mother was even if her husband had taken the steps that my grandfather taken. Grandpa A——, he lived with my mother when I was a kid about ten years old, but he was a darling grandfather to us, you see, he got right then. He was a Methodist, A.M.E. My mother, she was a Baptist. My grandmother was a Methodist. My father was a Baptist—belonged to Sparta Grove Church. His father's name was K——. I don't know but a very little of him. His wife could get about as well as I can now. Let's see when she died—I—well, I sorta forgotten—I have to get it out of the Bible. I have so many things on my mind. She was a good old woman. She was very strict, but not mean, you know. I remember she use to come to our house and bring us presents, like Santa Claus, you know. When she came to see us, she would always bring us presents.

When I first attended school it was near Culverton, Georgia—a little school house. Rev. T—— lived near there and he was my first superintendent. His sister would take me to Sunday School. I can't think of this teacher's name, but I certainly remember him 'cause he whipped me one time about chewing gum and I said I surely wished he was dead. My second teacher was Professor H——. He had a home in Greensboro, Georgia. I received the most of my rural district education under Professor H——. After that I went to high school in Murphysville, Georgia. Then I was in my 'teens long about that time. My father was a farmer. He owned, I think, fifty-five acres. Anyway he had enough to make plenty for his children. There were seven kids who lived and about three or four dead. Among the seven I had one brother who finished Atlanta University. The other boys stayed on the farm. They did not care for an education. My father was crazy about education. After I finished high school my father didn't want me to get married but you know how little old fresh girls are—I jumped up and married.

Well, my father-in-law had about thirty acres. He was a farmer

(my husband). We first put our shoulders together and bought a little home near Crawfordsville, Ga. I still own that home. I have eight children. We raised cotton, vegetables, horses, cows, oh, everything. And I have all those things down there now. But, yet I still have it tough here since I lost my husband. After we got married my children grew up and I would stand back and look at them and be so proud of them, you know. My second girl went to school in Atlanta and from there she went to Ashby School. I left her there when I went to Cincinnati. Then I sent for her to come to Cincinnati but she didn't care to go to school so much as she did in Atlanta—you know, after leaving her class mates. But she went about third year in Cincinnati. Then she got married. She has one little boy now. My baby boy, he is fourteen and in Englewood High School. My baby girl just went to Eighth Grade in Cincinnati. She is working, you see, I had so much on me, so she just had to help me. One of my boys died. He went to school at Gerald Academy. My mother died in 1914. This son died in 1921. After he died on Fourth of July, 1921, my father died the 31st of July, 1922, making a year between their deaths. Well, I just got so worked up and almost lost my mind. My husband and I came to Birmingham. He worked on an ice wagon with the boys. I had a happy life until death came into our home. It looked like I never had a home since. January 22, 1926, I lost my husband in Cincinnati.

My second boy came to Chicago. He was not here quite three months before they sent me a telegram. The specialist said the only hopes he had was to go to the hospital. Of course, I arrived here Tuesday morning and saw him that afternoon and he talked with me. He said, "Mother, I didn't want to come here but they would bring me. They only gave me, since I been here, two doses of medicine." Well, if I had been here I wouldn't have let him go to the County Hospital. But I have had it bitter ever since that boy died. I have been here nearly a year this time. I stay here awhile and then go back home. There are four I have to take care of and nobody scuffled this winter but myself. I had to pay my rent and take care of these kids. Then I think about it, it could have been worse, you know. Well, I have laundered, done maid's work, housework. Never did I have to work for a white person until I came to Chicago. But my mother said she was going to train us children because when she was dead and

gone we wouldn't know what is going to come. My sister has four children. They go to school.

When we was at home my father had an old buggy. There were five boys and I was the only girl. We had to go to Sunday School every Sunday. My husband was a deacon. I had an exceptional father; regardless of who was talking to my father, white or colored, when some one of us would call him, he would always stop talking to that person and answer our questions. I had a darling mother, but you know she didn't believe in association. You see, when I got married, she wouldn't even as much borrow soda or anything from me. But my father was wonderful, yes, he was. Even after I got married, anything I wanted, he would give to me. At home my father farmed. My father was a Christian man but if he slept late, he always had prayer with his children night and morning. Now, my husband's father only prayed when the preacher was in his house. We ate together three times a day. My husband was not mean about trying to boss around in the kitchen. That's the way I trained my children. We were all happy. Daddy would sit over here at one end of the table and I would sit on one side. We had a large table and we all sat around it. We were happy in our home. On Sunday morning everybody was rushing, getting ready to go to Sunday School. My brother taught my son how to drive and we would laugh every Sunday and would say, "Let Grandma and Grandpa get ready first," because, you know, Grandpa would powder as much as Grandma did. My father belonged to one or two insurances. I used to belong to the Good Samaritan. When my husband was a Mason I belonged to the Household. The last visit I made to the Good Samaritan was in Georgia. When he left home he was just dropped from the Masons. My baby brother is taking care of the home now. He has six children.

I am ashamed to tell you but I have never united with a church since I have been here. Then I go down on Langley. It is a little store front, but he is a preacher from home, you know. It is on 47th and Langley. I go to church and sit up and cry. I cry most all the time. I live at 58—— Prairie, second apartment. I don't know—I am just so disgusted at Chicago until I just don't know. I have to work so hard and nobody to help me. My son who helps me taken sick and he lost his job. That child brought home every one of his checks right to me. Now, you know that was unusual these times, and espe-

cially how young boys are these days. When a person been used to something and then have to fall, it is really hard. My oldest daughter got married and she was here and so when my son died, nothing would do but that I must come here and live with her. If that son of mine just gets a job—but it seems that he will never get anything to do. I pay $33.75 rent now. I been going fifty-fifty with my son-in-law. We have five large rooms where we are now. But then and still that money has got to come up. I didn't vote, I was sick and couldn't get out. My boy, who is fourteen, he is a little lazy now. He wasn't lazy until he came here. He runs with some little boys but they seem to be quiet. I don't allow him to run with everyone. But you know, boys will do things that mother won't know about. The biggest thing, he wants to go to the show all the time. I tell him to save his money so he can buy his lunch at school. And if he throws away a penny I make him walk to school. Those old Atlanta boys and girls, they hold it when they get it.

I am lonesome, don't mention it. One old friend of mine is here now preaching on the West side. I used to be President of the Second Baptist Auxilliary in Hancock County. You know I don't know what "t-h-e" spells half the time. It is terrible. I have just had so much on me, I just sit with my hand like this [with one hand in the other hand] all the time. My oldest son says if he could only get back to Atlanta. He says Atlanta is the Queen City of the South. I am forty-two years old. When my husband died in 1926, I had two or three little gray hairs. Now I am—my hair is almost all white now. You know they say that your hair will turn white over night, and it is just as true as the sunshine. Then, do you know that I had the privilege of teaching all of my brothers and sisters and all my children at home up until the Fifth grade. I taught at a little school for nine terms. I was married then. But, I am ashamed of my self now—to think that I was a teacher once, and now my grammar is so bad. But worry will bring you to anything. Yes, my people have a family burying lot in Crawfordsville. But my son is not buried there. He is buried at Lincoln Cemetery here. A brother of a school mate of mine cemented our burying lot around for us. I forgot how much I paid him now. I have had so much trouble that I talk here and skip and jump over there—you notice? And then too, you know, I feel so disgusted at myself. Sometime the children say, "Is that my mother?" And they

say I don't look like their mother used to look. But I tell them I am getting along in age now.

XI. AN OLD NORTHERN FAMILY WITH TRADITIONS OF THE ARTISAN CLASS

We had no photographs of either of maternal grandparents, but I remember that my mother often told us about both. My maternal grandfather was a full-blooded African who had been manumitted when bought by Pennsylvania Presbyterians. He was raised by this family named C——, who, when he was well enough prepared, sent him to Washington and Jefferson College which was then located at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. He was a fine upstanding, direct character, according to my mother and so handsome of figure that mother always, when regarding her other brothers, remarked that although they were fine looking men, none were as handsome of stature and as full of face as he.

He finished his work at Washington and Jefferson and later married a G—— who was a mulatto girl of free parents. By this marriage there were five boys and one girl, all of whom were born in Canonsburg, excepting my mother and Uncle George, the youngest. I don't remember hearing mother say why the family migrated to Canada, but they did and mother and Uncle George were born there.

Grandfather died in Canada and Grandmother and her children returned to Canonsburg to the old homestead and set to work to properly direct the upbringing of her children alone. The five boys were each apprenticed, so that in the family there was a painter, an engineer, a chef cook, a carpenter and the fifth I don't remember, but I am sure that he also, plied his trade until he died at Libby Prison, of hunger. All of my uncles, except the painter who eventually went to the theological school at Wilberforce and became a preacher, plied their trade until they died.

My relatives, second cousins and grand uncles and the like who also were born and reared in Charters County, near Canonsburg, all had trades. I remember as a child passing on my way to school the sign boards that one second cousin painted and always remarking to my school friends that "my uncle" (I called him uncle in deference to his age) did that and that he "was teaching my brother how to become a sign painter."

My father was the son of a white Southerner of high status and a slave woman, who, as far as can be learned, was of mixed white and Indian parentage. Father was the only illegitimate child born to her. She later married a pure Negro, whom my father regarded as a father. My father has always exhibited a restless temperament. Early he ran away from the Virginian village of his birth and sought a freer and more expansive life in the town where my mother lived. His first occupation was coal digging. Soon after he married my mother, who enjoyed considerable status partly due to her own making, and partly the result of her family's connections and high reputation. Father began to work with a building contractor in that part of the state. His capital for the most part was mother's share of the family estate. But father even as a coal digger was a good provider and thrifty. When I first remember my father (I was the second youngest of eight children) he had achieved a place in the economic as well as the political life of our town, and these contacts carried over into the social to the extent of exchange of visits with the town's "best people." There had, also, been as long as I can remember, exchange of visits with the older and cultured women of the town and mother. One of the oldest school teachers (then the school teachers were drawn from the town's elect citizens) often came to our modest home and she and mother discussed not only the questions of the day but exchanged confidences concerning their mutual friends.

Our Sunday diversions were limited to quiet play in the house, reading in bad weather, and in good weather, to walking with father. At that time, father had become the outstanding stone mason and bricklayer of the town, surpassing even Bill S—— (white) from whom he "stole" his trade. On excursions father would take us to the houses he was building and to the bridges that were in process of construction and my youngest sister and I would be awestruck with the wonder of it all. Dad would allow us to climb in and about the houses and he would show us how to mix mortar, handle the trowels, etc. I remember how he used to love his tools and when folks would come to the house to borrow them, we wouldn't let anyone have them.

So it was very early that we acquired a deep and abiding respect for the people of the working class because we were and are part and parcel of them. We were taught early by both our parents to respect

personality as it showed itself through constructive labor. The men who worked for Dad, the mechanics as well as the laborers, we thought of as constructive forces in the community. It was probably because of these ideas that we regarded with pride all the male members of the family.

The standard set by the Negro leaders in the community was, we thought, false. The inclination was to set on a pinnacle the Negroes who were of the professional class. There weren't many, very few in fact, and probably because of this rarity was there much abject worship. You see, father and my uncles were all rated throughout as expert workmen and mother, who had learned the trade of hairdresser (that is the manufacture of hair ornaments), had enjoyed the reputation of the best worker in the finest shop in Pittsburgh, in her time. That was before her marriage. Everything my father and mother did helped to confirm our judgment that the people of the professional class were only a different kind of skilled worker and respect for them and their opinion came to being only in so far as they were masters of their trades.

Quite contrary to the custom of the town, our formal entertainment consisted only of our friends. We never entertained "celebrities," preachers and visitors for the sake of adding to the family prestige. It just wasn't done in our family and I don't suppose ever thought of. Much of this concept of racial values came from mother, who, while quiet and gentle, was nevertheless effective.

Because our family on mother's side of the household was very well known and respected, our relationship with the elite of the white group was casual and usual. But, although we were often in the homes of the most wealthy, Mother took care that our house while comfortably furnished, was in keeping with our economic status. It was simply but tastefully furnished. This was quite different from the standards prevailing among our Negro friends, who thought we were queer because we didn't imitate the houses of the wealthy in point of view of appointments. They also thought we were queer because we dressed in ginghams and percales and wore flat but well made shoes and lisle stockings. I thought the G—— girls (wealthy white girls) very beautifully dressed, but there never was any envy in this admiration for Mother had always taught us that the important thing was to "dress within our means" and to look "clean" and "tidy." Even our Sunday clothes

were simple and very often I have had to say when I was twitted about my simple clothes, "well, anyway my father is an expert mechanic and yours is nothing but a servant for white people," or "I am sure I look as well in my ginghams as you look in satin." These statements always ended the arguments.

We did have a piano—and a very good one because mother thought that there should be entertainment in the house and she believed in the cultural influences of music. While many colored people had big houses, expensively furnished, we were the only "colored" children who belonged to the private library. There was no public one and Mother had to pay for cards. We always had three cards, one for each two of us. As to politics, I can remember only that father thought a man was a good candidate if he sympathized with the aims and aspirations of the working class group. I remember him voting against J—— for mayor because he owned the Hazel Coal Mine and didn't allow the union to enter and forced the employees to buy at the company store. Discussions outside of the house between father and his friends, who were mainly white mechanics, we listened to and I believe my interest in the proletariat was generated in these early years.

We have often laughed at what mother called the "antics" of the J——'s. They had recently become wealthy and I suppose their emulation, inaccurate as it was, of the old wealthy group reminded us of the same sort of thing among the Negro working class. Their striving, we thought ridiculous and somehow we always knew when Mrs. J—— was "trying to get in" with the D——'s (the elite) or changing her house furnishings to look like theirs. We always knew, too, that Mrs. S——, the Negro barber's wife, was dressing well to look like A—— D——, and was buying curtains "exactly like the G——'s." Our home, although distinctive, was much like that of father's friends. We had books and magazines, and games like the W——'s and the atmosphere of the home in no way bespoke emulation of the wealthy.

XII. A TEACHER'S FAMILY WITH TRADITIONS EXTENDING BACK TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN SAN DOMINGO

It is a source of pleasure to any individual to be able to point with pride to an ancestry which has as its basis culture, and especially is

this true of Negroes whose possibilities were limited. However, there are a few who can point with pride to an ancestry whose family has accomplished much along the lines of culture.

The beginning of the H—— family dates to the French Revolution on the maternal side. About 1763, thousands of families left France to free themselves from political persecution, imprisonment and the guillotine. Among the number who came over was John C—— who had been a vineyard keeper and Charles L—— a dealer in Artists' supplies.

C—— was a bachelor. L—— brought his wife. After a long voyage from France they landed in Haiti where they could again dwell among their own race and their religion (Roman Catholic). But their peace in Haiti did not last long for in 1791 an uprising of slaves killed nearly all of the population, and those who escaped in boats sailed for America.

They landed on the coast of South Carolina and settled in Charleston, South Carolina. After a few years in Charleston, L—— and C—— and some friends decided upon a new field so they located in Augusta, Georgia. John C—— immediately settled on a large plot of land, and began the business of raising flowers and fruits, and devoted his time to his large vineyard. L—— started an Artist Supply store and Cabinet Maker's shop. This art store has survived three generations and is still run in Augusta, Georgia and managed by one of the grandsons (R. B. H——).

Charles L——'s wife died during these hard years, leaving his two children, Charles L——, Jr. and Laura L——. Laura Francis L—— was born in Augusta, Ga., in the year 1826. Her mother was Caroline B——, who had four sisters who were brought to Augusta and became some of its earliest settlers. They were all of French descent and French speaking people, having come from San Domingo during the uprising of Toussaint L'Overture and the blacks in Haiti. Her mother, Caroline B——, met Raymond L—— on the Island of St. Domingo, and came over with him as his wife to Charleston, S.C., then to Augusta, Ga., where he received a land grant from the King of England. Wishing to educate his children in Paris, he took Laura with him, but was stricken with a fatal illness in New York City and died. This caused Laura to return to her mother in Augusta where she married Robert A. H——.

John C——, after settling in Augusta, took as a wife one Mary M——. (The L—— children were reared by their aunt and uncle.) Mrs. Mary M——, by profession, was a nurse (at that time a midwife). She had access into the best families (white) in the town. Her home was large and spacious, and she was very liberal in its use, letting the various organizations and churches use it at will. Many old inhabitants remember good times in "McKinley Grove." She contributed much to the social, intellectual, and religious life of the community—especially among the *free people* of color in the community—while frequently the French would assemble at the "Grove," gather around the table, eat French dishes, relate anecdotes and sing songs of their native land, France.

As the years went by the children grew to manhood and womanhood. Mary M——'s niece, Laura L——, was married to Robert A. H——, a young man whose home was Augusta. He was quiet, very studious, a musician of no mean ability—who in his early years had the earmarks of a genius.

Robert A. H——'s father was a dealer in musical instruments, and had a great interest in him and saw that he had the benefit of a musical education at an early age. He was sent at the age of twenty years to the Chickering Piano Factory in New York. There he learned the piano and organ trade. He came back to Augusta—worked in his father's store. Besides his trade he was instructor of a white band and every four years carried this band to Washington, D.C. to the Inauguration. His particular work, however, was the instruction of the daughters of (white) planters who lived in isolated plantations throughout the state. Being a man highly intelligent and educated, his time was spent in his music and in literature. He was a great reader and was the first Negro to open a book store in Augusta, and to keep in stock such leading publications as the *Harper's Bazaar*, which was the leading magazine of the time. This store, during his absence was managed by his son, Thomas B. H——, my grandfather.

Robert and Laura H—— were blessed with a large family of four boys and four girls, who contributed much in the community in which they lived, in literature, music and those things which make cultural families. Wishing to train the eldest son in his trade, at an early age he sent my grandfather, Thomas B. H—— to New York City to be educated at a boy's Military School managed by a noted educator

and ex-army officer, General Badeaux. Thomas stayed only a year for the next year the war between the States began and he was forced to return home. He afterwards engaged in teaching for a while, went into United States employ as gauger, then into Railway Mail Service in which he served thirty years or more. He was a very active church worker, being a deacon in the Baptist Church there. He married Miss Cecille C—— of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania who was a teacher in Augusta at that time. Miss C—— was one of the graduates of the "Friend's School" (Quaker) now Cheyney Institute. From this union were nine children, eight living and all making a mark in their various professions and trades in their community; most of them in public life, not hoarding the culture they have inherited, but giving it to others thus making a cultural background and history for their children.

Out of the above union came my father, Louis Julian, born April 1, 1874. He attended school in Augusta but at the early age of fifteen he entered the Railway Mail Service. He has now been in that service for forty years and he has a very splendid record on file there. He often receives letters of commendation on the faithful and splendid service he is rendering. He is a member of the Congregational Church and has a large class of little boys he teaches in Sunday School each Sunday. Everyone knows of his interest in his class and of his work in the Church. He is a deacon of the church and is very interested in all of the church activities. He is well thought of by the members of the various communities and has a disposition of such even temperament that it makes him loved by all the children.

He married one Miss Lucy E. W—— of Tuscaloosa, Alabama and has since then, always lived in Atlanta. Together, they have struggled to give their children the educational advantages of this time. They had born to them six children, three boys and three girls. Two of the girls are now dead. Despite the fact that they met with several unfortunate situations, they have had three boys to finish college, one having also his Master's Degree from New York University and is now teaching at Atlanta University; another, after finishing College, at Atlanta University, studied for one summer at the University of Chicago. He is at present teaching in the Booker T. Washington High School of Atlanta. The youngest son, after finishing College at Atlanta University, is now Junior in Medicine at Howard University making a

splendid record. The daughter, myself, Lucille C. H—— has finished the Normal Department of Atlanta University and is now candidate for graduation from the College Department in January, 1930.

It was unfortunate for the family to be visited by two fires during the time they were sending the four children to school. The first fire was in 1917 when the "Big Fire of Atlanta" took place. No family was paid insurance for the loss. Six months later, after refurnishing another home, and at the same time struggling to keep the children in school, the family was visited again by fire due to faulty wiring of the home. Again they lost everything without receiving a penny insurance. We can all imagine what a brave fight it must have been to still struggle to keep the children in school and at the same time keep them in a home which would rank notably among the best in the community. Because I know what they have gone through for us all they are, to me, the dearest, sweetest parents in all the world.

My father's father, or my grandfather died at the age of fifty-five, in 1904 from injuries received in a wreck of the train on which he was working. His mother, Mrs. Cecille C—— H——, is still living in Augusta and is seventy-six years old.

The knowledge of my family on my mother's side goes back to my great, great grandmother, Mrs. Nellie T——. She was born during slavery and was given to her young mistress as a personal maid. (In those days of slavery usually the most comely daughter was given over as a personal maid.) The young mistress loved Nellie so much until she asked that at her death Nellie should be given her freedom and some money. This wish was granted at the death of the young mistress. Nellie had a son, Spencer T——, who was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Little is known of his life only that he was a painter by trade and was a member of the Baptist Church. Spencer met a young lady by the name of Rosa A. W——, Tuscaloosa, whom he married. He owned about fifty acres of land there which he left to his nine children when he died in 1878.

Rosa A. T——, my great grandmother was born in South Carolina in slavery, around the year 1815. She was sold to a family—the W——'s—who brought her to Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Her children—nine in number—never had to work at the regular work of slaves, because Mrs. Nellie T—— was given the right to buy "the time" of her son's children from their owner (the W——'s). They had to

work around her—in the home—doing mostly the fancy laundry for the white colleges. It was always interesting to hear her tell about when the stars fell. Often she would say "Come, Daughter, let me tell you about when the stars fell." She would also often get me to read the Bible to her for hours. She belonged to the Baptist Church in which she was a very active member until extreme old age came upon her. The Baptist Church, however, was only within a block of her her home, and until the month of her death in 1925 she would attend some of the services. At her death she was 110 years, five months and five days old. This was verified by the daughter of the W—— family who used to own her. This daughter is married. Mrs. C—— is her name and she lives in Tuscaloosa. She produced papers that her father had given her before his death verifying the age of Mrs. R. A. T——. At her death only two of her nine children were living—Mrs. Lucy W—— and Mr. Rufus T——.

Mrs. Lucy Elizabeth W——, my grandmother, was born to Spencer and Rosa A. T—— in 1851 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Her whole life has been spent there. When she was in her childhood a young white woman from the East—Miss Newcomb came to Tuscaloosa and started a school. She attended this school until she reached (as the old folks tell time) the *Third Reader*. At this time she became very ill with typhoid fever. Her illness was of such long duration together with the fact that Miss Newcomb had to leave Tuscaloosa until she was unable to go further with her schooling. She finally met Mr. Laurence A. W—— whom she married.

Laurence A. W—— was born a slave in Virginia to a Mrs. Lucy W—— who was a part Indian. (Any further information concerning her and her husband is unknown at present to me.) He was sold, as a slave, to the P——'s who carried him to Tuscaloosa, Alabama. He was always a blacksmith and wheelwright by trade. Each slave holder had on their plantation a regular town in itself—having their slaves to perform the various types of work. Grandfather L. A. W—— was made blacksmith and wheelwright for the P——'s who owned him. After being set free at the end of the Civil War, he continued to live in Tuscaloosa and to follow the trade he had performed as a slave. Not many years later he met Miss Lucy Elizabeth T—— and finally married her.

Together they struggled to get started in life. When they first mar-

ried they had to rent a home to live. They were not satisfied with that so they constantly struggled with the view of owning a home. A few years later he purchased a lot and, after being burned out in the home they were renting, he built a home for his wife and family. It now stands at 9—— 26th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Soon he was able to purchase several farms. He let his wife's brother see about the business of the farms.

Laurence A. W—— was a trustee in the Methodist Church in Tuscaloosa and a highly respected citizen by both white and black. He was very active in the work of the church. Aside from the church work and his regular work he was made foreman of the fire department. In those days the fire departments were not as today. They had engines which were pumped by hand. Colored men of the city were selected to act on what was called the "volunteer department." Of this, grandfather was made foreman. The only pay they received was exemption from paying poll tax. From this grandfather was exempted for his life-time. He belonged to several lodges. He was grand master for the Masons, for a while, also a member of the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias. In each of these his qualities of intellectual ability and leadership were always recognized.

Of this union came nine children—three boys and six girls. One of the boys and two of the girls are now dead. As for the rest—Laurence and Lucy W——, the parents, put up a successful struggle to give them the educational advantages of the time. A brief sketch will give an idea to the advantages given them and how they rank today. *Elma W—— L——* went to Talladega but stopped before graduating to take up dressmaking. She now lives in Birmingham, Alabama. *George W——*, now a doctor in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, finished Talladega and afterwards studied medicine at Howard University. Since finishing, he has also taken a Post Course in New York. He is a highly respected citizen and his wife is a school teacher. They have two children, both of whom are very smart. George, Jr. is now at Talladega, senior, Basileus of his fraternity (Omega). *Nellie W—— G——*, attended Talladega but graduated from Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. She is now taking work toward her college degree at Howard Summer session. She is a teacher, in winter, of Domestic Arts in Muskogee, Oklahoma. She has one child, Henry G—— whom she educated, although his father died when he was but a month old.

He finished college and medicine at Howard University and is now a physician in Washington, D.C. *Frank H——*, attended several schools but was of a wandering nature and did not finish any. He was gifted in music of which he was very fond. He later went to England where he joined a theatrical circuit. He was very good at playing and singing. At present he is in Scotland playing the part of a comedian. He is, from some write-ups, one of the best comedians there.

Last, we come to a member of this family which will be the conclusion of my genealogical study—Mrs. Lucy W—— H——, my mother, formerly Miss Lucy W——. She was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1870. She attended the common schools of that town until 1887 after which she went to Fisk University, graduating there in 1891. She afterwards taught in the public schools of Birmingham, Alabama, for four years—until her marriage to Louis J. H——. She is a member of the Congregational Church. As for the rest of her life, it was explained in the life of Louis J. H——. Her father, Laurence A. W——, died April 15, 1904. Of these two families, after having delved into the past, I feel proud. I have seen and now realize just what those before me went through as a matter of preparing the way for the present generation to live the life we are living today.

XIII. HISTORY OF LOUISIANA MULATTO FAMILY

My father is the son of a Jew, by the name of Benjamin Samuels, and a woman, Annie Buckingham, who was the daughter of a slave woman and an Englishman, Albert Buckingham. Buckingham had a large plantation in Natchez, Miss., and a very large estate in and about New Orleans. Old man Buckingham and his youngest daughter, Nellie, reared my father, William Samuels, on one of the estates on the outskirts of New Orleans. After the death of Buckingham, this estate was sold to the Catholic diocese where the Good Sisters taught the children of the neighborhood. Of late years the Sisters, needing money and having no use for such a large estate, divided the northern and eastern parts of the estate into lots. Today my father owns three of these lots upon which he has built a home for his present wife. He was asked by the Sisters who knew his history to buy these lots. Old man Buckingham had one child by one of his slave women and two by a second slave woman upon the death of the first. Annie Buckingham was the issue of the first union. Of the second union there were

Nellie H. (Aunt "Nell") and Albert, Junior. Albert Junior was drowned from a boat which burned and sank on the Mississippi. Aunt "Nell" married Henry Whitemore, an Englishman. There was no law against intermarriage at that time. They had one child of beautiful blonde hair and blue eyes and English complexion. This girl, Lillie, married a son of a soap manufacturer, Billie Hawks, a German. She had one child, a boy. She died about ten years ago. Her son is living in New Orleans. He is working with the Western Union and is in charge of a department. Lillie was divorced from her husband because he would not support her.

When old man Buckingham died—Aunt "Nell" was then nineteen years old—each child got one-third of the estate which gave each about $160,000. Aunt "Nell" got Albert Junior's one-third portion. Aunt "Nell" also got an extra portion because Grandma Annie had constantly received money to finance Benjamin S. He and Annie had five children—four boys and one girl. John, the oldest boy, Ernest, Willie, Carrie, Benjamin, Junior. John was one of the first colored policemen in the city of New Orleans and was noted for his bravery. The whole city knew that his color kept him from being made chief of police. Whenever there was anything difficult, they sent for Uncle Johnny. On one occasion the Texas Rangers came into New Orleans and began shooting up a barroom. They got Uncle Johnny who was off of duty and he went to the barroom and challenged the Rangers. They refused to shoot saying that they were looking for a policeman with nerve. Because of the growing popularity of my uncle he was framed by the white policemen who got a Chinaman to charge him with taking a dollar and he was put off the force. He married an Ellen Fowler, a daughter of a white man and mulatto woman. There were two children, Mamie and Annie, as the result of this marriage. Uncle Johnny died of a broken heart over the injustice he had received at the hands of the whites. His wife is now dead. His two daughters are married, one to a boss carpenter and the other to a plasterer. Mamie has four children who are in school. Annie has two children who are also in school.

Grandma was a very beautiful mulattress. She lived very quietly and peacefully with her "mari." It was customary at that time and the custom still lingers among some that: "Un bon plaçage est mieux qu' un mauvais mariage." Grandma Annie was given two slave girls

by her father upon her *plaçage* with Benjamin Samuels (white merchant). One slave, Silvia, had blond hair and blue eyes. She was the personal maid of Grandma Annie. Silvia was the mother of one daughter by a white man. She was called "Toots." "Toots" married a German. When he learned that the law was to be passed by the state against intermarriage he came to our house and asked my mother to lend him money to buy the license in order that they could marry before the passage of the law. His parents were against the marriage. At the present time he and his children are living in New Orleans, but the children, four in number, do not know that they have Negro blood in their veins.

Grandma lived in a two-story house. She belonged to the Catholic church and spent her time looking after her children and her "mari." From her beautifully furnished home, we still have some of the antiques. Upon her death Benjamin Samuels distributed the money in the estate among the children. The girl, Carrie, was given one of the three homes, while the boys divided the income on the rents.

Uncle Ernest married a Miss Mary Green. There was one child who died in infancy. Miss Green was the oldest daughter in one of the prominent mulatto families. Her parents were the offspring of whites. Her father was a distinguished looking old gentleman. Uncle Ernest followed papa in politics. He was appointed to a position in the United States Mint, as a watchman. He was the promoter of very successful balls, especially during Mardi Gras. Later in life he was made the manager of the Thrifty Mutual Aid Association. He died while he held this position. His widow was left very well provided for.

Aunt Carrie married Eddie Thomas. He was from one of the most distinguished French families in the city of New Orleans. He was very brilliant but did not possess much initiative. Uncle "Yoyo," as we called him, was a cigar manufacturer as well as held a position in the post office as a mail carrier. There were five children of this marriage—three girls and two boys. The girls have married and live in Morgan Park. One died recently. Aunt Carrie came to Chicago with all her children fifteen years ago. On one occasion in New Orleans when she was a young girl she went into a trance but awoke when they were about to bury her. This experience left her partly paralyzed. Her speech as well as her limbs were affected. She lived with her oldest daughter until her death about four years ago. Her two

boys Lane and Andrew are in the city. Lane has never worked out any plan for life. He is married and has fifteen children who are taken care of by the Catholic Charities. He reminds me very much of his daddy whom my father had to push. Albert, the older boy, married a girl, Corine Phelps, from the Holy Family Asylum, New Orleans, whose father is a white man. He is a show card writer. He works as white. He has a boy and a girl. On one occasion his wife brought her two children home to her white father. She went to his place of business with them and demanded that he give her money or else she would go to his wife and expose his past. The white man settled with her. The two children are in school in Chicago.

Uncle Benjamin, the baby of the family, was always babied. He married long before he was of age. He was a shoemaker by trade. He married Ella DuBarry who was the daughter of a white man. There were three daughters from this marriage. The eldest never married. Her father lives with her now. Bettie, the second daughter, married twice. By her first marriage she had two children—a boy and girl. The boy works as white in New Orleans. The girl has just finished school. By her second marriage she has a little blond boy, Tommie. Edith, the third daughter of Uncle Benjamin, married a wealthy young man who was a mulatto. He was related to Thomy Lafon who left much money for both white and colored charities. A public school is named after Lafon. Edith has two children. Her husband, who lived off of the income of his property, is now dead. He left his family well provided for.

My father was reared by his grandfather (Buckingham) until the latter died. Old man Buckingham had tutors for him and Aunt "Nell." He was taught horseback riding and everything related to a life of culture. Upon the death of his grandfather, he was sent back to his father and mother, and was sent to public school. He was about eleven years old at this time. He remained in public school until the age of sixteen. His father who had a clothing store thought that he was old enough to come out of school and work in his store. Papa did not like the work in the store and organized a baseball club known as the Dickens Baseball Club. He was also president of the Dickens Club which he organized. This was a social, pleasure, and athletic club. Soon he introduced games and athletic bouts. It was in this club that George Dixon, the famous prize fighter, started training and

gave his first exhibition. It was in this club in the fourth ward that papa started his political career. He had long been an admirer of ex-governor Pinchback, C. C. Antoine, and Senator Henri Dumas. These men were the three leading colored political figures in the state. He used to travel with his baseball team which was considered the leading team in the South at that time. He travelled as far as Chicago for games. He played first base and was captain of the team. On one occasion the team was stranded in Texas. Papa changed the name of the team to Pinchback, and wired Pinchback for money to get back home.

At the age of twenty my father married Miss Wenona Smith. She was the daughter of Marion Du Haven and Julian Smith, a prosperous butcher of St. James Parish, who was killed mysteriously by a slave whom he had mistreated. He was butcher for the Convent of the Sacred Heart and Jefferson College, which has turned out most of the famous men of the State of Louisiana. He was a mulatto, a member of the free people of color who owned slaves and had no tradition of slavery. Marion did not know much of her origin. It seems that her brown skin had been responsible for her separation from the rest of the family who were blonde. One of her Aunts, upon being told that there was a slight trace of Negro blood in her veins, went crazy. Another Aunt, upon learning the same thing, took the veil. At the age of sixteen Marion was married to Julian Smith. Two children were born: Wenona and Cecelia. Cecelia died in infancy. Upon the death of Smith, my grandmother married again. This time she married a Maurice Robbins. At this time she came to live in New Orleans. Robbins was an independent cigar manufacturer. There were twelve children of this second marriage. He (Robbins) and Grandma, of whom I have a picture, appear to be white. He looks like an old Confederate soldier. Grandma Marion, when a widow, had refused to marry a man who had fought in the Union Army. She regarded him as responsible for losing her slaves. She consistently refused to salute the American Flag. Once when she had to get a passport to go to New Orleans and was ordered to salute the American flag she spat upon it and put it under her feet. She was not punished for this either because she was a woman or because she was a beautiful woman. Until her death she regarded Abraham Lincoln as her enemy. Grandma strenuously objected to my father marrying her daughter (We-

nona) because my father was a descendant of slaves. All of her children who are living are now in the white race.

My mother reared all of her half-brothers and sisters. As long as my mother lived I had contact with them. I used to see them in New Orleans but they never had anything to do with papa. Two of them with their father and mother lived at the house until I was twelve years old. When the girl married a white farmer, she took her mother and father to live with them. Then the boy left for the North. When the old lady took sick my mother insisted that she come back to our home. She came and died in our house. The girl came to stay with her mother until she died. Then she went back to the farm and offered to take her father but he would not go. He refused to stay with us and got a housekeeper. When my "Papaboote"—because he brought shoes to us—died, my Aunt Alma and I had a quarrel as to whether the housekeeper should come to the funeral. I insisted that if she were good enough to live with him, she was good enough to go to the funeral, and I took her in the carriage with me. After "Papaboote's" death my half-Aunt Alma left Louisiana and went to Colorado. She kept in touch with me through the mail for a while but would never let me know her address. I have never heard from her brother who used to send money to his mother and father until their death. He married a white woman in Buffalo.

When Marion (Grandma) moved to New Orleans she lived next to the S——'s and sent my mother to day school at the Convent. My pa and she were sweethearts until the time they married. I have often heard Nena (my mother) and papa joking each other as to which dug the hole in the fence to look at the other. She always countered with the assertion that the other fellow ate the candy he brought.

For some years my father was a bookmaker for the races in a poolroom. Later he got his first political appointment as a customs inspector. I can remember his bringing home a parrot to me which a captain on a foreign ship had given him. I was the only little girl at the time who had a parrot. I kept this parrot which did not die until my daughter was five years old. A change in the national administration—when Cleveland came in—threw my father out of his job and he went to bookmaking.

The first child in our family was a girl who died at the age of

seven months. I was the next child and my mother named me Cleo Mary, after the Virgin Mary, although the first child was named that. Three years later Wayne Leo, named after St. Leo, was born. He was nicknamed "plom-plom" after Napoleon's brother. Then another girl was born four years later who was named Marion Rita. This last name was after Saint Rita, her patron Saint. Four years later another boy was born. He was named Buckingham Benjamin Joseph Raphael S——. He took Buckingham after his paternal great grandfather, Benjamin from paternal grandfather, Joseph Raphael after his patron Saint.

My mother was always the moving spirit in our family. We used to speak of her as the "gray mare" of the team. At times my father did not make enough money to maintain us on the plane of living which my mother thought proper, and she would supplement the family income by sewing. She thought that William Samuels had to be the leader in New Orleans and her children and their home had to be just right. We used to be dressed as little princes and princesses. My brother had a silk hat and a cane when a little fellow scarcely seven years old. We always had a new dress or suit for every holiday occasion. There was a dress for Xmas, one for New Years, which was my birthday, one for Mardi Gras, one for Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter; and all Saints Day. These were the days when it was imperative to have a new dress. In between times I was getting new dresses. I recall how my sister Marion used to say: "Sisse, let's put on our prettiest dress and go out walking, so the people can say: 'Here comes the S——'s.' "

We always spoke French in our home. I did not speak a word of English until I was seven years old. Every Sunday my grandmother, my mother, and my sisters attended the high mass at the Cathedral. From high mass we would go to the French Opera where we had season tickets. This was the rendezvous of the "Creole Dandies." They would bring the ladies cornu-copias of candies. On one occasion I remember sitting at the Opera with my brother and I had a terrible headache and wanted to take off my gloves which were too tight. I wanted to take them off but my brother cautioned me that Nena (my mother) wouldn't like it. When my father asked my mother why she insisted upon my wearing gloves, she replied: "No lady would remove her gloves in public." I often retorted that I wasn't a lady.

My greatest punishment was to be kept from the Opera. Whenever I did anything that displeased my mother she would say I took it from my father's people.

I was born on LaRue Douane—now Iberville—Street. For neighbors we had on one side Germans and on the other side Irish. The Irish girls—one was our housegirl and the other my nurse. Janie, the daughter of the German family, became my teacher of piano and singing. From the time of my birth my aunt was being taught the piano by a French professor. As early as I can remember I used to sit at our piano and play pieces from the Opera by ear and sing. Later I had an Opera troupe of my own composed of my cousins and brothers. We would go through the entire scene of the opera, acting and singing to our best ability. We got our costumes from the old carnival parades. I recall especially the duel scene from Faust where my cousin Robert got so excited as Mephistoe helping Faust to rout Valentino, that with a bread knife for a sword he plunged the knife through the fleshy part of the forearm of Frank, a friend of ours, who was Valentino. That ended the Opera scenes for sometime. I used to wear my mother's wrappers with long trains and stand before the Pier mirrors and act and sing to my heart's content since I could not have my troupe any longer.

When I was seven years old my sister, Marion Rita, was born. I was just then recovering from diphtheria. I had always been a delicate child. When this other girl came, papa who was always a tease, came to my room and told me he had another little girl, so it wouldn't make any difference if I lived or not. When the presence of another girl was verified I had a relapse and for weeks my life was despaired of. My one cry in my delirium was: "Papa does not want me, he has another little girl." They got a black nurse for my little sister, but my little sister preferred me. But I had to be forced to look after her for I regarded her as an intruder. Many a time I have pushed her in the gutter and gone on. Nevertheless she has always looked up to me to the present. She regards me as perfect no matter what I do.

We moved from LaRue Douane to Conti Street where my sister was born. When we were living on LaRue Conti they lynched twelve Italians. I remember hearing the tramping of the men as they marched to the jail. At that time the parish prison was in the Creole Section of the city. The bodies of those Italians, according to my recollection

of the talk of the housewives going to market, were left hanging to the telephone poles and the trees in the park. We moved over to Bienville Avenue where my youngest brother was born. During all this time my maternal grandparents were living with us as well as relatives of my mother from Convent, Louisiana, who were in school. Some of them were white but all went together at the Jesuit College. One of my father's friends, who was reared with him, and his wife lived with us. He was always interested in our education. He would sit down at night with us with our books and see that we prepared our lessons.

When I was about eleven years old, I completed what was known as my spiritual education. I had gone to a private school where I was taught French, English and Catechism. I had received my first Holy Communion, been confirmed. This meant that I could either continue in a Convent or get a higher education. At this time my father stepped in and insisted that I attend a colored school because all of his interests were with colored. My mother objected most strenuously for she never considered herself a colored woman. But father finally won and gave me my choice of Southern University which was the state school and Straight University which was a Congregational School. I chose the former because I had a very good girl friend there; so I entered the seventh grade there where I remained for one session making quite a few friends. But owing to the distance papa thought Straight would be better as it was nearer. The next year I entered Straight, eighth grade, where I remained until I finished the Normal Department. This was the first step that a Creole Catholic had made to enter a Protestant colored school. I was at Straight four years. During this time I entered into all the affairs of the school. I spent four years there and finished the Normal Department as Salutatorian. Then I began the study of music. I had a German professor for the piano and a French woman who was an Opera star at the French Opera for my voice. I studied under these teachers as far as they could teach me. My father and mother wanted to send me to Germany but I refused to go because I did not want to leave home. Then my father wanted me to enter the Public School as a teacher but this did not appeal to me.

From the time I was old enough to attend parties my mother had to threaten an exclusion from the Opera to get me to parties. This was not because I was not popular for I have always received con-

siderable attention from men and women. There were three men of whom I thought considerably and could have loved. All three of them left New Orleans. The family of one of these men was very much elated over a contemplated match, because my father and his had understood for a long while that their children should marry. I met my husband in New Orleans. He came from Atlanta and was a railway mail clerk. It was a whirlwind courtship and marriage, looked upon with great satisfaction by my mother.

I was married on the 12th of August, 1905. The wedding was one of the most elaborate ever held in New Orleans. The wedding gifts came from all over the country because of my father. At this time my father was Registrar of Land. His white associates tried to outdo themselves in the gifts and also in being present with their wives. There were mostly Creoles present. My father invited some who were not Creoles because they were my father's political constituents. My wedding was delayed because it occurred during the Yellow Fever epidemic and New Orleans was quarantined. As no passenger trains came in, my fiance came in on a freight train. It was only through my father's influence that I was able to leave on a train immediately after the ceremony, for Atlanta. In Atlanta I was met with a shower of parties.

I remained in Atlanta six months when I returned to New Orleans because I was an expectant mother. My daughter was born in August 1906, in New Orleans. She was the first grandchild in the entire family. My father and brothers were in Chicago at the time with a ball team. They were wired: "Hello Uncle, Hello Granddaddy, it's a girl." They left Chicago immediately and returned home. My husband came to New Orleans to live but we did not get along. When my daughter was four months old, we decided to separate. I remained home with my mother and father until my child was one year old when I accepted a position as governess for four children in Luther, Louisiana. I was governess in one of the mulatto families who did not mix with the Negroes and could not go to white schools, and must therefore hire tutors and governesses. I was with this family two years. One of the children in this family afterwards attended a white Seminary in St. Louis and later the whole family moved to Florida where the family became white. One of the boys was killed in an auto race, while another, after marrying a white girl, was gassed in France.

In the meantime President Taft had made up his mind to change the location of the United States Land Office in Louisiana from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, though he knew my father would not leave New Orleans to go to Baton Rouge. My father and his friends had put their heads together to get up a business that would make him independent of politics. I left Luther to return to New Orleans to become manager of People's Benevolent Industrial Life Insurance Company with my father as President. It took me one year to learn how to adapt myself to the situation which required me to show deference and sympathy for Negroes for whose ways I had never had much sympathy and respect. In five years this Insurance Company became the largest in Louisiana. I became the major-domo of the business as well as Private Secretary to my father. I came into contact with all of the leaders in politics for my father held his political caucuses in the offices of the Insurance company. The Negro Business League for Louisiana was organized in the Insurance building. E. J. S. was sent down to organize it.

My daughter who was wholly under the supervision of my mother was sent to the convent. During this time I had a romance which terminated disastrously for me. The man was coerced into marriage just before our wedding was to take place. He had got my divorce for me. My grandmother and mother opposed the divorce and even got the archbishop to talk to me but I insisted upon the right of the individual to get a divorce for I said it was a man made law and not an ordinance of God. My grandmother who was a devout Catholic urged me to go before the altar and ask that God remove all obstacles from my marrying according to the church. But this meant to me asking for the death of my former husband and I preferred remaining single to praying for the death of someone. Although I was never able to marry this man the recollection of the ten years of romance I had with him was the happiest in my life.

In 1919 X. Y. came to New Orleans with his message of the N.A.A.C.P. I was his hostess and became active in the local organization. Through the local organization with which my intended husband was connected I was able to raise $800 for the N.A.A.C.P. and was sent as a delegate to the Cleveland Convention in 1919. This was my first time away from home. When I returned to New Orleans I was full of enthusiasm and with my father's permission began teaching

the women to register in my office. In less than three weeks, I had registered 900 Negro women. I did this in spite of the efforts the whites made to keep Negro women from registering. One day in the registration office a clerk attempted to make a white woman, who had registered as a Republican because Wilson had sent her son to war and he had been killed, change her registration to Democrat because only Negroes are Republicans in Louisiana. When I objected to this illegal transaction he cursed at me. But my father came in at the time and the clerk was fired. After that I had the respect of the entire office.

In 1920 my intended husband and my mother died. She had one of the largest funerals in the city. She had floral offerings from all over the country. I remained with my father. After the death of my sweetheart, I met my present husband. My father married ten months after the death of my mother. Because of this I left home and remained two years. My father came to Chicago to see me but I would not see him. Now I regret this. I was satisfied with the marriage at first for I had brought this woman from Luther, Louisiana, with me and she had always waited on me and when he asked me my choice of a wife for him I had designated this woman. My opposition was aroused by the gossiping of the disappointed ones. At the present time I am fully satisfied with my stepmother.

I am also making my home in X—— because my husband, who was born in Texas will not tolerate conditions there. He often says he would rather be a lamppost in X—— than Mayor of New Orleans.

Since I have been in X—— I have been very active in politics. Because of my father I was sought out immediately by the political powers that be. I was in charge of the W—— Building as Secretary to R. C. in the Presidential Convention for Coolidge. After the primaries I went to the National Convention in Cleveland which was my first Convention. After this I was connected with the Director R. C. of Publicity among Negroes, where I had six young ladies and two young men under me. It was at this time that I came to know the present secretary of the President. At this time it was one of the outstanding incidents in my life that I met Miss Hallie Q. Brown, then President of the National Association of Colored Women.

My daughter married in 1924 during the National Campaign. She married W. J., brother of the General Manager of the X——

Newspaper. This marriage went on the rocks in less than six months. I sent her home to stay with papa while I got her a divorce. They had married too young. When I was going to the National Association of Colored Women's Convention in California, I sent for her to keep house for me, because I was the publicity woman. Mr. J. came to call on me concerning publicity for his business of manufacturing. He met my daughter. When I returned they were ready to be married. I requested them to wait until they had known each other longer. They consented and married in December of the same year.

My two brothers who are in New Orleans with my father completed the high school. They have never done anything much but have depended upon my father chiefly. My sister who was a teacher in the public schools of New Orleans is married to a mail carrier and lives in the city.

XIV. BACKGROUND OF A FAMILY OF PHYSICIANS

My husband's parents were A—— and H—— C——. A—— C—— was a slave and belonged to W—— B——, Raleigh, North Carolina. A—— C—— was his valet and travelled with him. His wife, H—— C—— had seven, eight, or ten children born and she was a seamstress for a while. After these children had grown up they told father (A—— C——) that if he thought he could pay for a house, he could take the children to live with him. My husband was one of these children and they went to live with him. My husband was a mechanic. A—— C—— had his children and they lived to themselves for years. He learned his trade in Raleigh from an old man, an original free man by the name of S—— H——. My husband's father (A—— C——) was a mulatto. His grandfather was a mulatto named B—— C——. The children of A—— C—— were W——, J——, E——, A——, K——, L——, T——, S——. A—— C——'s wife, H—— C——, taught school for a long time after the surrender. She had a little school in her house and she taught it and when a northern missionary, T——, came to Raleigh and built a little school house down below Shaw, he and she taught school in that little house. She was the first school teacher in Raleigh after the Emancipation.

L——, the daughter of A—— and H—— C—— graduated from St. Augustine and she taught in Raleigh. She was well versed in so many of the arts, taught school, painted, was an elocutionist, and sang

in the choir. She made a big picture of zephyr for the fair. (Some of L——'s writing 65 years ago—very legible—was displayed. It was a poem entitled "Do as Near Right as You Can." A painting that was done while she was in school was also shown.) She was a member of the Literary Club in Raleigh called the "Hesperian." (A newspaper clipping of the first anniversary of the Hesperian Social Club was displayed which contained the following information: Oration, by Mr. C. H. M——, who is the brother-in-law of Mrs. E—— C——. "The first Anniversary of the Hesperian Social Club was duly celebrated on the evening of the 26th inst. . . . . We were driven to the American House where we were assisted out and escorted to the cloak room thence to the spacious hall which was made melodious with the sweet strain of the Italian string band and the voices of the merry crowd of young gentlemen which the ladies escorted. At 9:30 o'clock the assembly was called to order by Mr. W. H. S——, who after a few preliminary remarks introduced Miss L—— A. C—— who read 'Maids At Attitash' from Whittier's poems complete in such a moderate tone of voice, and she listened to loud and prolonged applause at its conclusion." A description is given of costumes worn by the ladies—"Miss C——, wine colored cashmere, satin trimmings, colored ornaments. . . . . The gentlemen were attired in black with frock coats and white neck ties as the rule . . . ."). L—— C—— never married. She died. Many of her qualities were inherited. J—— C—— was an orator and a lawyer; C—— B—— who is now studying art in Paris, was a son of A—— B——, whose mother was E—— C——. There is a grandniece showing remarkable talent in art. L—— C—— played the organ. M—— B—— M——, who has just been appointed on the Education Board, a niece of this L—— C——, is a fine musician. One of my daughter's nephews plays the violin. One of my sons, a fine musician, is the father of this violinist and has a girl who is studying at the art institute.

A sister of Miss L—— C—— was a Mrs. E—— B——, married W—— S—— B——, a barber, and had six children. One of them is Mrs. M——, who has recently been elected as a member of the Board of Education of Cleveland, the first colored woman to be elected to such a position. The other children, Dr. A—— M. B——, Dr. S—— B——, Lawyer E—— B——, Lawyer S—— B——; two dentists, W—— and J—— B——. Four or five of these children are very

musical and have gone through school. Dr. A. M. B—— has one child who is an artist in Paris, one studying medicine here in Illinois, another daughter teaching in Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. S—— B—— had a daughter who taught school. E—— B—— has a son who is teaching in the public schools in Birmingham and has just married one of the H—— daughters. The lawyer S—— B—— had no children. He graduated from Howard Law School. J—— B——, the dentist in Atlanta, is doing well. W—— B——, the dentist, has children who are living in Birmingham.

Mrs. H——, sister of L—— B——, had six children. R—— is a fine cornetist who lives in Atlantic City and has a son named D——. R—— H——'s twin, M—— H——, is a dentist. There are two sisters; R—— has written several songs, V—— played the cornet as her father does. D—— is a poet. R—— H—— has a brother, J—— H——, who is very musical and lives in Raleigh and has children. His brothers—George, Tom, Joseph—live in Raleigh. Joseph is married and has children. Joseph's twin, Alexander W. H—— lives in Chicago, married, no children.

Another one of Miss Laura C——'s brothers was Alexander Washington C——. He married Eleanor P——, myself. I met him at a party. He was going with another young lady and we were very dear friends and she introduced me to Mr. C—— and from that day we began going together. Later we married in the old church back there, St. Paul A.M.E. Church. We were christened in that church. We married in 1866. Yes, we belonged to the upper class. Barbers in that day stood as important as doctors now. Mechanics stood well, too. I used to look at the barbers in that day and I thought they were the finest men. Occupations of those at the party: Charles M——, school teacher, married my sister; W. H. S——, barber; Isaac P—— and G. L——, business men; Mr. M——, worked for the gas house; Mr. T——, I don't know what he did but he had a little wagon and a buggy, too, and he was good looking; C. W. H——, ———; W. G. Odie, Barber; J. H. Young, student; Thomas D——, meat market; Robert H——, ———; John L—— got in upper class by marrying Miss Bettie E——; J. M——, barber; O. K——, Livery Stable; Henry S——, Market house; Scott B——, barber; R. B. G——, band master; Mr. and Mrs. P——, ———; Ben Berry, messenger at capitol; H——, ———; L. W. Nash, Musician; D——, barber; O. H——, Civil Serv-

ice in Washington; B. J. E——, ———; Sidney M——, barber; Henry R——, ———; W. H. H——, ———; J. O. Kelley, Jr., Livery stable; A. J——, ———; R. O. K——, Livery Stable. The color of the skin did not matter in those days. Most of all those called were brown skinned except O. H——. I don't think there were any present who were very dark. Alexander C—— was a carpenter. He had nine children born, all in Raleigh and seven lived. There were twins that died. A—— M. C——, the oldest son, born in Raleigh, finished public schools and he received his medical education at Northwestern University. He was the first colored physician appointed as attending physician in Cook County Hospital, Chicago. For a number of years he was connected with Provident Hospital here; for a number of years, at Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, D. C., and is now Attending Surgeon and also professor at Howard Medical School. He is Consulting Surgeon at a hospital in Baltimore, and also in Richmond, Virginia. He is frequently called upon to conduct medical clinics in different parts of the country and for the State Medical Association. Recently, he attended the Florida State Medical, and the Pennsylvania Medical Association at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Here he had a surgical clinic in the Mercy Hospital, the first time a colored physician had operated in that hospital. The amphi-theater was crowded with the medical profession of both races. He occupied prominent places in the social world of Washington, D.C.; Vice President of the Credential Bank; member of the executive board of the Y.M.C.A.; member of the board of Standard Development and Investment Company (from *Chicago Defender*, October 24, 1925). He also attended school at Lincoln University.

Dr. A—— M. C—— had four children; one was A——, a physician who has a sanitarium with his father in Washington. He is married to H—— G. C——, and has no children. M—— B——, physician, practicing in Patterson, N.J., and married to Fanny H——; has a little girl who is very musical and gave a recital at eight years old. She is very bright, is now ten years old and in the seventh grade. M——, another son, a dentist, is studying medicine at the present time; is married to P—— B—— and they have no children. G—— graduated from Boston School of Physical Training and has married. She has a son who is very precocious. He is two years old and has the mind of a child six years old.

James L. C——, the next child of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C——, was minister to Liberia. He was graduated from the public schools of Raleigh, North Carolina and was an honor graduate of Lincoln University in the class of 1889. He entered Northwestern Law School in 1891, graduating three years later with highest honors, winning the Callaghan prize of $100.00. He was admitted to the bar at twenty-four. For twenty years he enjoyed an extensive practice in law covering a career in Columbus, Ohio, Minneapolis, Minn., and New Jersey. He was born in Raleigh, N.C., July 8th, 1870. He died in Liberia on October 24, 1917. There were no children.

Alexander Washington C——, Jr., is another child of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C——. He went to school at Lincoln University but did not finish. He married Edith B——. He has a little girl. He is an usher at the Dearborn Street Station. His little girl is a fine musician.

William Mitchell C——, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C——, Jr., went to school in Raleigh, finished High School, came to Chicago and worked at differences places, and now works at the Binga Arcade Bank where he has charge of the vault.

Harriet C. H——, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C——, wife of Dr. John B. H——, lives in Boston and has a son, J. B. H——, Jr., who is now about to finish his medical training at the University of Pennsylvania. He is a fine musician.

Eleanor C. D——, another daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C——, graduated from the Normal School in Washington, D.C., though attended Howard University before entering the Normal School. She found out that at that time you couldn't teach in the schools there unless you finished the Normal School, so that is why she went there—in order to teach in Washington. From a little girl, seven or eight years old, she had felt the urge to teach. She used to teach imaginary school at home. It seemed she just wanted to teach and to recite little poems. She is now married to Dr. U. G. D—— who is a prominent physician in Chicago and has a sanitarium. He graduated before he was 21, the youngest to graduate from Northwestern University in his class. He afterwards taught anatomy in that same school. He has no children, other than adopted twins.

Thurman Leo C——, another son of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C—— is a tailor by trade, married with three children living and one dead. He lives in Chicago. One of the children is in high school, a boy who

is a violinist and the youngest child, a little girl, is studying art at the Art Institute.

When S—— B—— was married to one of Alexander B——'s sisters, they went to the same church, St. Paul and were married there before the surrender. (Alexander C——, a brother of Austin C——, was married and his wife gave birth to a son, Alexander, who is the father of Tom, Webb, Paris, Alexander, Mary, Eliza. Tom is the father of Simonton C—— who has a sister teaching in St. Louis.)

The husbands of Eleanor C—— and her sister play the piano and both are from New Orleans. Eleanor's husband's grandfather was the governor of North Carolina.

Mr. Austin C—— also had a brother who was a member of the Legislature.

My (Eleanor P——) people belonged to Dr. R——. Back in those days they could not help some things. A man saw my mother and liked her and hired her as his maid and later I was born. She was nineteen. After I was born my uncle and aunt, with whom she had been staying, were going to kill her, but my grandmother took me away from her. Then she married and had children. She married a H——. They took my mother away from there. Then a man named P—— separated her from her husband and just lived with her. Another child was born. I was reared by my grandmother, Clariss C——, a Negro. She was fine to be a woman that couldn't read and write. She couldn't even read the Bible, but she was fine. She taught me how to be nice, and to talk soft, etc. After all this happened, Dr. R—— felt sorry for my grandmother and they had me to come there. They treated me as one of their children. When I would go to parties, they powdered me, and took me out to dances. They got my clothes ready for my wedding, made my wedding cake which I thought was just so pretty. Oh, it is pretty hard to talk about this because I—I always felt sorry for it. I always felt bad. Of course, in those days they couldn't help it. They would beat them to make them do things. I never went with a man that had an unlawful mother or father. I was kind of a pretty good looking girl and a man came there and Dr. R—— knew what he wanted. He wanted to buy me for himself and he told Dr. R—— that he would give him so much in money and so much "to boot" but Dr. R—— told him that he couldn't have me for any price. Then when this man left, Dr. R—— told me all about

it and said he knew what he wanted. I had holes put in my ears and they got after me about it at first, then Dr. R—— bought me some ear rings; and whenever he bought his children new shoes, he bought me new shoes, too. All of the people in those days were not bad, just some of them.

I didn't have a good education. Dr. R—— didn't object to his colored people learning. He said, "I like for them to read." After I married Mr. C——, he told me I could go to school and I said, "I think I will do that." I went to school for a while but after a while my children began to come and I didn't go back no more. My mother-in-law used to help me some after that but when I would get started, then a baby would cry and I would have to leave my study to go to it. My grandmother predicted woman suffrage. She got her inspiration from reading after Harriett Beecher Stowe. She used to read after John Brown and she read the Herald.

My husband was musical, taught music and wrote a very nice hand. Two of my first cousins, George B—— and Maurice C—— (cousins on my mother's side), were both members of the legislature.

When they first laid those bricks for the school at Raleigh (Shaw) T—— would come around to all the houses and hold prayer meetings. He came to mine and asked for my husband, said he wanted to hold prayer meeting in my house but my husband said, "Well, he won't see me," and so he never did hold prayer meeting in my house.

XV. A REMARKABLE NEGRO FAMILY[1]

In the heart of Georgia, far removed from any town or railroad, in a community known as Springfield, is the home of a most remarkable family known as the Huberts. Here reside Zack Hubert and Camilla Hilman Hubert, the mother and father of a family that has done much to add to the material and spiritual progress of Georgia and the nation.

Throughout the State of Georgia the Hubert family is well and favorably known. Wherever this name is mentioned one instinctively thinks of the farm of several hundred acres near the center of Hancock County, the birthplace and home of one of the most interesting families in America.

[1] Reprinted from the *Southern Workman*, October, 1925, through the courtesy of the Hampton Institute.

ZACK HUBERT

The story reads like a novel. It begins over sixty years ago when Zack Hubert, then a small boy owned by Mathew Hubert learned to do the various chores connected with farm life. At that time Mathew Hubert, the slave owner, resided in Warren County, Georgia, a few miles beyond the Ogeechee River and near the Atlanta and Augusta line of the Georgia Railroad. Paul, the father of Zack Hubert, himself a Negro, was overseer of one of the farms of his master. His good sense and high regard for justice and fairness in his dealings with his fellowmen made him stand out as a leader even in slavery time. He not only directed his fellow-slaves on the farm but he led them in their simple prayer services and was arbiter in any dispute that arose.

A remarkable spirit of friendliness existed between this slave master and his slaves. It can be appreciated when we are told that Paul sold a bale of cotton when freedom was declared for more than $300. This cotton had been kept through the whole war, during which time the Confederate Government permitted its farmers to produce only foodstuffs. So attached was this slaveowner's son to one of the "boys" that he took him along with him when he went to war and let him share his bunk. This slave boy took care of him when he was sick and sent his body back when he died in camp. "Young marster" and Zack have maintained through all the years a close family feeling and they are never happier than on the occasions of friendly visits.

Zack Hubert came out of slavery a young man. He remained with his parents assisting them on the farm that they had rented until he was twenty-one years of age. Leaving his father at this time, he rented a farm for himself which he worked for a few years. Talking with one of his white neighbors, Zack was advised to find land that could be purchased and get a farm of his own. He was shown how he had paid for the land he rented in the rents he had paid to the owner each year but still did not own it. After thinking the question over he decided to buy for himself. He began to search for land that could be purchased by Negroes. Not being able to find land for sale to Negroes in Warren County he crossed the river into Hancock County. Here about ten miles from the county line of Warren he at last found land for sale. This land was owned by an attorney named Burke of Sparta, Georgia.

Returning home Zack urged his brothers to go up with him and

settle on this land. Floyd and David ventured forth with him. Moses and Shade came later and settled three miles away at a place called Pride. Zack, David and Floyd came to Springfield in the prime of their youth. They found here a tract of 165 acres of land, mostly woodland, offered to them for $10 per acre. They agreed to pay for this land in three equal annual installments. They came in the fall of the year and started felling trees and clearing land for settlement. Sufficient land was cleared to produce a fine crop the first year and they were able to meet their notes when they fell due. By hard work and the strictest economy the land belonged to the three boys at the end of three years.

During the first year Zack married into the Hilman family, one of the most prominent Negro families of that county. After completing payments on the land the brothers decided to separate and an equal division was made of the land, each receiving 55 acres for his share. Floyd, the youngest brother, retained the house already built. It was a wonderful sight to see these three youngsters fighting their way up with rare courage, self-denial, and hard physical and mental toil, in the face of the sentiment everywhere that Negroes should not own land.

The Huberts have always been intensely religious. Paul Hubert was the religious leader among his slave brethren during the Civil War. It was he who, possessing a powerful personality, gave his sons an outlook on life that transcends in many ways the high vision of some of America's greatest leaders. The sons grew up with a strong religious bent. Hardly had they built their log cabin in the clearing they had made, when they began to call their neighbors together to plan for some kind of Sunday services. A brush arbor was built and there began what is now known as Springfield Baptist Church with more than three hundred members.

The school followed soon after the church. Built of logs and crude in many ways it nevertheless has sent out girls and boys who have made their mark in the world. And now a Rosenwald School with four teachers, one of whom is a vocational agriculture teacher stands as a credit to the community and as the realization of the ideal of a young man who had a thirst for knowledge that could only be realized in the educating and training of his children.

At the time the Hubert boys paid for their farm no other Negroes

owned land anywhere in central Georgia. The fact that these three boys had bought and paid for 165 acres of land was heralded to all parts of Hancock and the adjoining counties. As the boys began to add gradually to their holdings, neighbors caught the land-buying spirit and today Springfield community is one of the largest Negro land-owning communities in the South. One can easily walk in a straight line for more than fifteen miles without once leaving land owned and operated by Negroes. It is estimated that they own over 15,000 acres of land in this and neighboring communities.

Zack Hubert never attended school in his life. But he had always a thirst for knowledge. He wanted to know! He learned to read and write. He has come in contact with men in various walks of life and has been able to get, through this contact, a liberal education. Especially does he enjoy reading and explaining the most difficult passages of the Bible that often confuse those well versed in Biblical dogmas. Realizing his great handicap in life because of his lack of education, he determined that his children should not have the same handicap. He determined that they should enjoy some of the many opportunities that had never come to him. Largely through his efforts the best teachers were obtained for the little rural school and as rapidly as his children became old enough and sufficiently advanced in the home school, he sent them away to college in order that they might have a better and fuller appreciation of the things that make life worth while.

It was a terrible strain and sacrifice to send one son and daughter after another away to college and carry on the farm work at home at the same time. But this is what he and that wonderfully fine wife and mother did for each child until all twelve had found their way to Morehouse and Spelman Colleges and then to northern universities in order that they might "carry on"—might fulfill what to him had been an unfilled desire, a longing for an opportunity, a chance that never came to him, to serve in the largest possible way.

THE HUBERT CHILDREN

Zack Hubert and his wife were blessed with a family of twelve strong, robust boys and girls all of whom are living and rendering service in their respective fields of labor. The fact that there has been no death in the family although the history covers such a long period of time is the best possible proof of Zack and Camilla Hubert's ability

in health education. Not only do they know how to keep their own children well and physically strong, but their services were generously offered to the entire community whenever there was sickness or the need for sound advice on how to keep well. Reared on a farm, they soon learned to plow, harness and ride horses, milk cows, shoe horses, build the houses necessary on the place, and do various other odds and ends that every good farmer should know how to do. They made baskets for picking the cotton and picked the cotton themselves. They hunted and fished together and got much joy and happiness in telling of their feats on their return when they sat down to their evening meal. The father and mother always entered into the discussions with much zest and their opinion was always final in case of a dispute. The older children who went away to school usually brought back friends to spend some time with the family during the summer. All of these seemed to enter into the spirit of the home, enjoying everything from watermelons and story telling to visits to country churches and associations.

John Wesley Hubert, the first-born son, a graduate of Morehouse College and Chicago University, and for several years professor of natural sciences at Morehouse College and Tuskegee Institute, is at present principal of the Cuyler Street High School at Savannah, Georgia, a school with an enrollment of about 2000 students and 40 teachers. John is not only a leader in the school life of the community but he is active in almost every movement of interest among Negroes in Savannah and southern Georgia. People follow his leadership because they believe in his honesty and sincerity and know of his love for his fellow-men. He has a lovely wife and four children. His oldest daughter, Ophelia, a graduate of the high-school department of Spelman College is now enrolled in the college course in vocational Home Economics at Hampton. John owns several hundred acres of farm land at the home place in Georgia.

Beatrice Hubert Douthard, the oldest daughter, a graduate of the normal school of Spelman College and a teacher for many years in the public schools of Atlanta, the wife of Dr. R. S. Douthard, resides in Atlanta. She has a family of three girls and one boy. Her husband is one of the leading physicians of the Gate City. Both are prominent as church and community workers.

Zack Hubert, Jr., a graduate of Morehouse College and of the

Massachusetts Agricultural College, formerly a teacher at the State A. & M. College of Florida and superintendent of buildings and grounds at Spelman College, has been for the last twelve years president of Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi. He was the first Negro to become president of Jackson College. Under his leadership it has become one of the foremost Negro colleges of the South. His wife and his three boys and one girl make up the family. Zack Hubert is known throughout Mississippi for his well-balanced leadership and has the respect of the thinking men and women of both races. Men and women constantly turn to him for advice and encouragement whenever an emergency arises. He is the proud possessor of a good farm in Georgia.

Jency Hubert Reeves, a graduate of Spelman College and the wife of Professor A. R. Reeves, resides in Chicago where she successfully operates a millinery shop. For a long time she was a teacher in the public schools of the South. She has one son who was graduated from Morehouse College in 1924 and is now preparing for a future in the field of business.

Moses Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College and for two years a student of dentistry at Meharry Medical College, for the past two years has been a practical farmer and county agricultural agent. He is at present in the United States mail service.

Gadus Johnson Hubert, a graduate of the School of Religion, Morehouse College, is now a farmer-carpenter-preacher, pastor of Springfield Baptist Church—the home church—and of the New Hope Baptist Church, about five miles from Springfield. He is at present in direct charge of the farms at the home place. His wife is a teacher in the public schools. Their three boys and one girl are in the public schools preparing for lives of service.

Benjamin F. Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College, the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and the University of Minnesota, for several years director of agriculture and agricultural extension and supervisor of the vocational teacher-training work in South Carolina, is now director of agriculture at Tuskegee Institute and supervisor of its vocational teacher-training work. During the World War he was for a time special agent for the United States Food Administration and later a member of the American Army Educational Corps with headquarters at Beaune Cote D'Or, France, and in charge of all agricultural instruction among colored troops in France. He received from

superior officers high recommendation for the efficient service rendered. He is considered one of the leading authorities on matters pertaining to practical and theoretical agriculture and other problems in country life. He has written many feature articles and bulletins on the various phases of agriculture and is now preparing a thesis for his doctor's degree in agriculture. He owns a farm of his own and supervises in a general way the farming activities at the home place in Georgia.

James H. Hubert, a graduate of Morehouse College and of the New York School of Philanthropy, is the executive secretary of the New York Urban League. He founded the Brooklyn Urban League and the success of the League in New York City is largely a story of his untiring efforts to build up an organization that would serve as a center of influence for the amelioration of the unwholesome housing and working conditions of our people in the great urban centers. Through his efforts the league has lately purchased for itself a beautiful home-office building which will give it larger opportunities for efficient service in its field of endeavor. His wife and four children make up his very happy family.

Lucy Hubert Bolling, a graduate of Spelman College and for a number of years teacher in the rural schools of Georgia, is now the wife of a Chicago business man and the mother of three fine children.

Esther Hubert, a graduate of Spelman College and for some time a teacher in the public schools of Georgia, is now the very efficient secretary of the Urban League in Tampa, Florida.

Mabel Hubert Warner, a graduate of Jackson College, a student of Brown's Business School of New York and for some time secretary of the late Mrs. Booker T. Washington, is now the wife of Mr. C. E. Warner, Hampton '12, instructor at Morehouse College. She is the mother of one boy and one girl.

Theodore Hubert, the youngest of the children, is now in the senior class of Morehouse College. He is looking forward to a future in the field of business. He believes that the time has come for young men to lead in providing for our people avenues of employment and opportunities for building up for themselves with their meager means, great industrial and agricultural businesses.

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE 1*

RATIO OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS (EXCLUSIVE OF STILLBIRTHS) TO 1,000 TOTAL BIRTHS FOR NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE REGISTRATION AREA AND THE REGISTRATION STATES, 1917–30

STATE AND AREA	1917	1918	1919	1920			1921†	1922†	1923†	1924†		
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Total	Total	Total	Urban	Rural
Registration Area‡	116.8	111.0	120.8	125.6	124.0	126.3	127.1	127.2	123.4	120.6	108.2	127.5
Alabama												
Arkansas												
California‡			3.6§									
Connecticut	56.0	108.9	56.4	75.8	77.1	65.6§				71.1	78.7	12.8
Dist. of Columbia				156.1			155.8	167.2	160.0	160.5	160.5	
Delaware										165.1	169.7	162.8
Florida										117.2	114.0	118.4
Georgia												
Illinois										57.5	55.7	73.1
Indiana	81.4	79.6	81.9	78.5	73.9	115.9				69.6	64.1	124.4
Iowa										90.0	96.0	65.6
Kansas	69.8	66.1	64.7	63.8	65.3	61.0				80.9	92.6	56.9
Kentucky	75.2	85.5	104.0	113.9	160.4	100.4	107.0	118.8	105.2	96.1	114.8	88.8
Louisiana												
Maine¶		90.9§	90.9	166.7§						47.6		111.1
Maryland	171.0	171.3	180.4	178.7	197.2	163.8	194.1	184.2	195.1	195.3	206.7	184.2
Massachusetts‡	40.5	34.0	76.0									
Michigan	69.3	52.5	53.0	54.4	53.9	57.7				53.9	52.9	59.7
Minnesota	61.4	60.3	17.1§	46.5	48.4					66.7	56.9	72.9
Mississippi							133.3	135.4	133.1	123.3	139.0	122.1
Montana										54.3		57.5
Nebraska				37.8	34.9	76.0§				88.0	87.6	88.6
New Hampshire¶		100.0§		166.7§		200.0§				76.9		200.0
New Jersey										87.0	88.0	84.4
New York	79.4	49.5	58.6	78.3	76.5	107.0				60.2	57.2	94.8
North Carolina	125.0	114.5	116.4	127.8	173.6	122.1	131.2	139.0	134.1	140.6	182.3	134.2
North Dakota										44.0	100.0	40.7
Ohio	66.1	66.1	74.2	67.1	72.8	47.8				71.8	74.2	59.8
Oregon				35.7§	43.5§					74.2	40.5	98.0
Pennsylvania	116.1	102.7	109.9	107.0	114.4	78.4				103.4	110.6	72.1
Rhode Island	72.2	26.0								94.9	103.1	30.3
South Carolina			135.7	140.5	125.1	141.8	142.7	153.0	153.0	152.0	166.5	150.8
Tennessee												
Utah				34.5§	55.6					9.8	23.5	4.5
Vermont¶	285.7											
Virginia	128.3	125.6	129.8	129.2	167.3	118.3	135.2	137.0	138.6	133.1	166.4	123.1
Washington	87.0		66.7§	56.2	58.8§	47.6§				16.8	6.4	30.6
West Virginia												
Wisconsin	90.0	55.6	89.3	34.5§	39.0					87.2	53.7	110.1
Wyoming										36.4		39.2

* Based upon annual reports of births, stillbirths, and infant mortality for the Birth Registration Area, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

† Statistics for these years include all colored.

‡ Exclusive of California and Massachusetts. § Less than five illegitimate births.

¶ In 1920, 1921, and 1922 the birth certificates of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont did not require this information, but sometimes it was given. In 1923 the birth certificates of Maine did not require this information, but sometimes it was given.

TABLE 1—*Continued*

State and Area	1925†			1926	1927	1928	1929			1930			
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Total	Total	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Cities	Incorporated Places	Rural
Registration Area‡	116.9	107.9	123.1	117.7	128.4	136.6	140.5	137.5	142.0	138.2	136.1	134.2	140.0
Alabama					173.8	169.8	171.8	178.3	170.4	181.1	187.0	172.8	180.2
Arkansas					108.4	113.7	109.1	171.5	104.2	112.6	154.5	146.0	105.0
California‡													
Connecticut	73.3	70.7	94.6				90.8	93.4	63.5	82.9	77.3	142.9	142.9
Dist. of Columbia	152.0			153.2	155.7	157.6	168.2			184.0			
Delaware	219.2	219.8	218.9				249.3	235.5	256.2	211.5	169.4	258.1	228.8
Florida	106.6	99.3	109.5	107.6	119.5	135.0	143.5	155.5	139.4	143.6	158.5	141.4	135.1
Georgia						148.1	154.2	180.1	147.5	151.8	176.7	147.5	144.5
Illinois	62.1	60.1	78.2				88.2	87.8	92.7	84.0	82.6	95.8	106.5
Indiana	67.1	65.4	84.7				95.3	89.5	151.4	96.2	85.5	181.8	230.8
Iowa	116.6	121.2	96.2				102.0	93.0	150.0	90.3	98.3		96.8
Kansas	86.2	96.5	59.7				70.1	65.1	80.7	72.1	87.8	66.2	36.6
Kentucky	103.4	130.1	92.7	105.7	88.6	98.9	111.0	134.6	99.5	99.4	135.3	84.5	76.5
Louisiana					145.5	14.7	150.6	169.7	143.9	151.6	158.2	186.0	142.7
Maine¶	136.4	71.4	250.0				95.2	166.7	66.7	78.9			150.0
Maryland	187.2	208.8	164.7	194.8	185.3	207.0	210.1	217.6	201.6	211.6	217.9	348.7	191.2
Massachusetts‡													
Michigan	58.2	55.7	82.0				72.2	72.5	69.8	65.8	66.5	49.2	64.5
Minnesota	63.1	42.6	73.2				142.0	107.4	153.2	116.7	63.0	250.0	128.1
Mississippi	134.0	171.4	132.4	132.3	135.1	133.1	140.3	187.5	136.5	123.9	166.6	114.7	120.4
Montana	38.0		40.9				53.1	125.0	49.4	50.4	111.1	71.4	47.6
Nebraska	89.2	90.9	87.2				114.2	93.5	144.8	77.6	87.1	43.5	74.9
New Hampshire¶							125.0	142.9		100.0	142.9		
New Jersey	93.0	93.9	90.6				96.3	96.3	96.1	90.2	90.2	97.8	84.3
New York	54.6	51.8	93.4				62.7	60.6	86.5	62.0	60.0	61.1	96.3
North Carolina	140.2	190.7	131.7	149.2	151.4	155.4	162.0	235.3	149.1	175.3	247.8	204.0	157.6
North Dakota	73.5	166.7	71.1				32.7		33.5	64.1	400.0		60.0
Ohio	65.6	67.6	55.1				83.1	85.8	67.6	81.8	83.9	70.4	67.5
Oregon	36.3	25.6	45.9				29.7	16.1	39.1	42.1	35.1	66.7	42.7
Pennsylvania	100.9	105.1	82.3				117.3	125.8	76.3	123.7	129.3	64.1	100.5
Rhode Island	110.3	117.6					109.8	118.4	37.0	73.8	70.8		120.5
South Carolina						172.4	177.4	233.1	171.4	178.3	222.0	209.6	171.2
Tennessee					131.5	137.6	133.6	162.3	115.1	134.0	167.2	148.8	102.4
Utah							14.8	40.8		20.7	37.0	69.0	
Vermont¶							222.2	250.0	200.0	90.9			200.0
Virginia	146.2	187.6	133.2	143.3	152.4	154.7	158.2	201.5	144.9	164.6	202.4	178.4	151.4
Washington	25.4	7.2	47.6				25.2	19.6	30.7	29.3	39.3	26.3	19.4
West Virginia	87.3	129.7	78.1				88.1	141.1	77.3	97.1	133.0	155.7	84.2
Wisconsin	75.6	66.7	81.9				116.0	72.2	151.9	89.8	60.6		109.0
Wyoming	40.9	125.0	36.8				24.4	200.0	8.8	27.5	25.6		32.7

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FAMILIES WITH WOMAN HEAD, 1930

DIVISION AND STATE	URBAN		RURAL FARM		RURAL NONFARM	
	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant
United States	21.8	26.1	12.8	9.8	24.1	19.4
North	*17.3*	*20.1*	*8.8*	*3.4*	*17.3*	*9.0*
Maine	*	*	*	*	*	*
New Hampshire	*	*	*	*	*	*
Vermont	*	*	*	*	*	*
Massachusetts	18.2	25.9	*	*	13.2	8.9
Rhode Island	19.9	27.7	*	*	*	*
Connecticut	19.1	20.3	*	*	17.0	13.9
New York	17.8	23.6	7.0	3.0	17.5	12.4
New Jersey	18.2	20.7	6.3	3.4	15.0	12.8
Pennsylvania	16.2	17.5	6.8	2.6	14.2	6.4
Ohio	16.1	17.2	10.9	1.9	15.6	8.9
Indiana	15.8	20.4	11.8	1.1	17.6	12.9
Illinois	17.1	19.6	8.8	4.5	18.4	14.0
Michigan	12.0	14.9	9.3	4.6	12.4	10.9
Wisconsin	12.7	17.7	*	*	*	*
Minnesota	15.3	21.0	*	*	*	*
Iowa	17.4	20.3	*	*	19.6	6.2
Missouri	21.0	22.8	7.8	3.6	22.5	15.7
North Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
South Dakota	*	*	*	*	*	*
Nebraska	15.9	22.6	*	*	*	*
Kansas	21.3	20.0	9.5	4.7	23.0	8.4
South	*23.7*	*30.3*	*13.0*	*9.9*	*25.1*	*20.4*
Delaware	22.9	24.5	7.8	2.1	19.6	15.7
Maryland	19.1	23.9	9.5	3.8	17.1	13.8
Dist. of Columbia	22.1	28.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	22.7	31.1	12.0	7.5	23.4	18.0
West Virginia	18.2	22.7	9.4	5.3	17.1	6.0
North Carolina	25.6	30.7	12.7	8.0	25.6	20.4
South Carolina	31.2	37.8	16.9	12.9	30.7	28.1
Georgia	29.0	34.9	14.4	11.5	30.6	23.4
Florida	27.1	29.6	14.6	11.3	23.7	12.6
Kentucky	25.1	28.9	11.1	2.9	23.3	28.3
Tennessee	22.3	30.1	11.6	6.1	24.0	18.8
Alabama	24.2	30.8	13.3	13.6	24.7	19.3

* Less than 100 families.

TABLE 2—*Continued*

Division and State	Urban		Rural Farm		Rural Nonfarm	
	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant
South—Cont.						
Mississippi	26.6	35.8	12.0	10.2	29.4	25.1
Arkansas	24.4	30.7	12.4	8.0	26.6	20.7
Louisiana	25.3	28.7	11.9	9.3	23.9	18.2
Oklahoma	23.9	22.6	12.1	4.7	25.3	16.6
Texas	22.9	28.3	13.7	6.2	26.2	20.4
West	*20.9*	*27.0*	*6.5*	*3.6*	*18.2*	*9.2*
Montana	23.3	29.3	*	*	*	*
Idaho	*	21.5	*	*	*	*
Wyoming	*	27.8	*	*	*	*
Colorado	24.3	27.5	*	*	*	*
New Mexico	19.8	20.6	*	*	*	8.9
Arizona	21.8	27.9	*	5.0	19.7	9.6
Utah	16.5	20.2	*	*	*	*
Nevada	*	*	*	*	*	*
Washington	19.0	23.5	*	*	19.2	*
Oregon	15.6	23.6	*	*	*	*
California	20.8	27.4	6.0	3.0	15.0	10.1

TABLE 3

LITERACY OF THE HEADS OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	Husband and Wife Literate	Husband Literate, Wife Illiterate	Husband Literate, Wife Unknown	Husband Illiterate, Wife Literate	Husband Illiterate, Wife Illiterate	Husband Illiterate, Wife Unknown	Husband Unknown, Wife Literate	Husband Unknown, Wife Illiterate	Husband Unknown, Wife Unknown	Total
	Hertford County, N.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	500	85	1	188	431	4	2	0	9	1,220
H. Black—W. Mulatto	88	14	0	38	34	0	0	0	0	174
H. Mulatto—W. Black	19	6	0	14	11	0	0	0	0	50
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	361	26	1	73	152	0	0	0	9	622
	Macon County, Ala.									
H. Black—W. Black	388	61	2	86	353	3	1	0	6	900
H. Black—W. Mulatto	24	3	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	37
H. Mulatto—W. Black	23	4	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	39
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	44	2	0	1	15	0	0	1	1	64
	Issaquena County, Miss.									
H. Black—W. Black	646	239	3	236	750	0	3	2	14	1,893
H. Black—W. Mulatto	27	4	0	9	7	0	0	1	0	48
H. Mulatto—W. Black	20	8	0	6	12	0	0	0	1	47
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	27	4	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	46

TABLE 4

TENURE OF HOMES OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE HUSBAND AND THE WIFE, 1920 AND 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	1920							1910						
	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
Hertford County, N.C.														
H. Black—W. Black	166	106	2	771	153	22	1,220	136	103	8	584	165	53	1,049
H. Black—W. Mulatto	19	23	0	126	5	1	174	23	12	0	86	6	4	131
H. Mulatto—W. Black	3	3	0	36	7	1	50	8	4	1	28	1	2	44
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	140	56	6	309	94	17	622	178	62	7	308	80	22	657
Macon County, Ala.														
H. Black—W. Black	34	29	22	641	117	57	900	50	68	0	619	119	34	890
H. Black—W. Mulatto	5	0	1	29	1	1	37	7	6	0	31	3	0	47
H. Mulatto—W. Black	7	1	0	28	0	3	39	6	1	0	30	1	2	40
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	5	3	1	38	16	1	64	10	6	2	36	9	0	63
Issaquena County, Miss.														
H. Black—W. Black	120	44	5	1,548	125	51	1,893	102	21	12	1,866	300	203	2,504
H. Black—W. Mulatto	4	2	0	38	2	2	48	17	5	1	98	0	14	135
H. Mulatto—W. Black	4	1	0	41	0	1	47	5	3	1	76	0	6	91
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	4	2	0	27	10	3	46	13	2	1	130	25	25	196

TABLE 5

TENURE OF HOMES OF WOMEN HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1920 AND 1910

COLOR OF WIFE	MARITAL STATUS	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Hertford County, N.C.													
Black	Separated	2	0	0	18	19	2	41	1	0	0	4	18	2	25
	Widowed	25	7	0	61	69	4	166	21	7	0	42	66	13	149
	Divorced	2	0	0	3	0	0	5	1	0	0	1	3	0	5
	Irregular	0	0	0	20	7	1	28	4	1	0	27	42	6	80
Mulatto	Separated	1	0	0	6	9	0	16	1	0	0	5	12	1	19
	Widowed	15	6	0	16	44	2	83	28	3	1	21	39	9	101
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	3	1	0	5
	Irregular	3	0	2	9	5	0	19	3	0	2	9	13	1	28

TABLE 5—*Continued*

Color of Wife	Marital Status	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Macon County, Ala.													
Black	Separated	0	0	0	19	16	1	36	1	0	0	20	11	2	34
	Widowed	4	5	3	110	73	17	212	8	4	0	76	47	9	144
	Divorced	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	0	0	20	7	3	30
	Irregular	0	0	0	17	1	3	21	0	0	0	10	18	2	30
Mulatto	Separated	0	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	0	0	2	2	0	4
	Widowed	2	0	1	11	9	1	24	1	0	0	10	6	0	17
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Irregular	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	0	5

TABLE 5—*Continued*

Color of Wife	Marital Status	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Issaquena County, Miss.													
Black....	Separated	1	0	0	55	24	2	82	0	0	0	73	41	32	146
	Widowed	24	3	1	139	67	6	240	11	4	1	188	137	49	390
	Divorced	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	8	2	14
	Irregular	1	0	0	34	6	1	42	0	0	0	19	35	5	59
Mulatto .	Separated	0	0	0	5	2	0	7	0	1	0	8	3	1	13
	Widowed	1	0	0	1	8	1	11	2	0	0	20	16	9	47
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Irregular	0	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	2	0	7

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE OF HEADS OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO COLOR AND WHETHER HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE PRESENT IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1910

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married; Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Hertford County, N.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	77	488	15	92	34	.....	2	.....	1	709
	H. away	2	3	.....	.....	2	25	149	5	80	266
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	55	1	.....	67
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	1	97	8	15	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	131
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	2	31	1	7	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	44
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	17	349	22	50	12	.....	1	.....	.....	451
	H. away	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	19	101	5	28	154
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	36	2	.....	45

TABLE 6—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married; Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Macon County, Ala.									
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	5	400	16	88	58	.....	1	.....	.....	568
	H. away	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	34	144	30	30	240
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	52	10	.....	80
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	2	33	2	8	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	47
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	1	26	2	7	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	40
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	.....	27	.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	32
	H. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	17	1	5	27
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	4

TABLE 6—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married; Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Issaquena County, Miss.									
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	86	858	118	202	240	1	1	.....	5	1,514
	H. away	3	13	2	6	4	145	390	14	59	636
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	120	213	5	.....	338
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	4	77	12	16	24	.....	.....	.....	2	135
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	1	48	8	15	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	91
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	1	74	10	15	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	110
	H. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	47	.....	7	67
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	12	.....	.....	19

TABLE 7*

NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE, 1910 AND 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	1920	1910
	Hertford County, N.C.	
H. Black—W. Black	1,220	1,049
H. Black—W. Mulatto	174	131
H. Mulatto—W. Black	50	44
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	622	657
Total	2,066	1,781
	Macon County, Ala.	
H. Black—W. Black	900	890
H. Black—W. Mulatto	37	47
H. Mulatto—W. Black	39	40
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	64	63
Total	1,040	1,040
	Issaquena County, Miss.	
H. Black—W. Black	1,893	2,504
H. Black—W. Mulatto	48	135
H. Mulatto—W. Black	47	91
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	46	196
Total	2,034	2,926

* Families with husband or wife absent have been classified according to the color of the head present.

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND LIVING TO WOMEN HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1910

COLOR OF WOMEN	HERTFORD COUNTY, N.C.		MACON COUNTY, ALA.		ISSAQUENA COUNTY, MISS.	
	Born	Living	Born	Living	Born	Living
Black	5.0	3.5	5.1	3.3	4.3	2.3
Mulatto	5.2	3.6	4.5	3.6	4.7	2.5

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FAMILIES WITHOUT CHILDREN AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN NEGRO FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE PARENTS, IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1910 AND 1920

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	1920				1910			
	Total Number of Families	Percentage of Families without Children	Average Number of Children		Total Number of Families	Percentage of Families without Children	Average Number of Children	
			All Families	Families with Children			All Families	Families with Children
	Hertford County, N.C.							
H. Black—W. Black	1,220	19.0	2.7	3.3	1,049	18.2	2.8	3.4
H. Black—W. Mulatto	174	14.3	3.1	3.6	131	16.0	2.8	3.8
H. Mulatto—W. Black	50	10.0	2.9	3.2	44	22.7	3.2	3.6
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	622	15.9	2.9	3.6	657	20.1	2.9	3.6
	Macon County, Ala.							
H. Black—W. Black	900	31.7	2.1	3.1	890	29.1	2.2	3.7
H. Black—W. Mulatto	37	13.5	2.3	2.5	47	14.9	3.1	3.6
H. Mulatto—W. Black	39	25.6	2.3	3.1	40	22.5	3.1	3.9
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	64	34.3	2.0	3.0	63	17.5	2.9	3.6
	Issaquena County, Miss.							
H. Black—W. Black	1,893	48.8	1.3	2.6	2,504	45.1	1.4	2.6
H. Black—W. Mulatto	48	50.0	1.4	2.9	135	37.0	1.7	2.7
H. Mulatto—W. Black	47	38.3	1.6	2.6	91	38.4	1.6	2.7
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	46	34.8	1.9	2.9	196	42.3	1.6	2.8

TABLE 10*

NUMBER OF SLAVES AND FREE NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF FOUR LEADING CITIES IN 1790

CITY	TOTAL	NEGRO			WHITE
		Total	Free	Slave	
New York.....	32,305	3,262	1,078	2,184	29,043
Boston.....	18,038	761	761	.....	17,277
Philadelphia...	28,522	1,630	1,420	210	26,892
Baltimore.....	13,503	1,578	323	1,255	11,925

* Source: Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790–1915* (Washington, D.C., 1918), p. 55.

TABLE 11*

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ADULT ILLITERACY AMONG THE FREE NEGRO POPULATION IN SIXTEEN CITIES, 1850

City	Free Colored Population Total	Number of Free Colored Attending School for County in Which City Is Located	Number of Illiterate Adult Free Colored in County
Boston, Mass.†‡	2,038	1,439	205
Providence, R.I.	1,499	292	55
New Haven, Conn.	989	360	167
Brooklyn, N.Y.	2,424	507	788
New York, N.Y.	13,815	1,418	1,667
Philadelphia, Pa.	10,736	2,176	3,498
Cincinnati, Ohio	3,237	291	620
Louisville, Ky.	1,538	141	567
Baltimore, Md.†	25,442	1,453	9,318
Washington, D.C.§	8,158	420	2,674
Richmond, Va.	2,369	0	1,594
Petersburg, Va.	2,616	0	1,155
Charleston, S.C.†	3,441	68	45
Savannah, Ga.	686	0	185
Mobile, Ala.	715	53	12
New Orleans, La.	9,905	1,008	2,279

* Based on Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853).

† Indicates that city and county are coterminous.

‡ Includes Chelsea and North Chelsea.

§ Statistics are for the city of Washington only.

TABLE 12*

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FREE NEGRO POPULATION ACCORDING TO STATES IN 1830 AND 1860

State	1830	1860	State	1830	1860
Maine	1,190	1,327	Georgia	2,486	3,500
New Hampshire	604	494	Alabama	1,572	2,690
Massachusetts	7,048	9,602	Mississippi	519	773
Rhode Island	3,561	3,952	Louisiana	16,710	18,647
Connecticut	8,047	8,627	Tennessee	4,555	7,300
Vermont	881	709	Kentucky	4,917	10,684
New York	44,870	49,005	Ohio	9,568	36,673
New Jersey	18,303	25,318	Indiana	3,628	11,428
Pennsylvania	37,930	56,949	Illinois	1,637	7,628
Delaware	15,855	19,829	Missouri	569	3,572
Maryland	52,938	83,942	Michigan	261	6,799
Virginia	47,348	58,042	Arkansas	141	144
North Carolina	19,543	30,463	Florida	844	932
South Carolina	7,921	9,914	Dist. of Columbia	6,152	11,131
Minnesota	.....	259	Oregon	.....	128
Iowa	.....	1,069	California	.....	4,086
Kansas	.....	189	Texas	.....	355

* Source: Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. xx; and population of the United States in 1860.

TABLE 13

GROWTH OF HOMEOWNERSHIP AMONG NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890–1930

DIVISION	CENSUS YEAR				
	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
United States	23.9	22.3	23.3	20.3	18.7
North	21.0	20.0	23.0	23.2	27.6
South	24.4	22.6	23.3	20.0	17.6
West	37.0	32.7	33.7	26.8	29.1

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FAMILIES OWNING HOMES, 1890–1930

STATE	1930		1920	1900		1890	
	Farm	Non-farm	All Homes	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm
	The North						
Maine	85.7*	46.6	58.2	94.1*	34.4	80.5*	32.1
New Hampshire	66.6*	31.5	29.1	61.5*	22.5	75.0*	16.9
Vermont	70.8*	27.9	35.3	90.9*	27.2	72.2*	18.3
Massachusetts	62.6	27.0	17.6	79.1*	15.0	69.4	16.4
Rhode Island	61.1*	23.3	15.6	67.8*	14.3	50.0*	13.8
Connecticut	54.7*	14.8	15.1	70.6	16.2	52.2	18.7
New York	28.9	8.2	7.2	64.2	9.6	61.7	13.2
New Jersey	38.1	23.0	19.9	63.3	16.9	59.6	21.5
Pennsylvania	34.6	18.7	15.5	60.9	11.8	61.0	16.4
Ohio	53.8	22.9	24.0	63.4	27.4	57.7	29.9
Indiana	49.5	29.5	25.5	66.2	24.0	48.7	25.3
Illinois	39.7	19.1	18.2	53.1	20.6	45.5	27.6
Michigan	68.4	23.4	23.9	76.2	35.1	75.2	34.5
Wisconsin	71.6*	13.6	21.1	75.0*	21.9	87.1*	34.2
Minnesota	62.0*	32.6	26.4	64.7*	11.2	71.4*	17.9
Iowa	58.6	41.4	33.2	58.8	28.8	61.1	32.8
Missouri	17.2	23.4	21.5	54.9	22.5	50.1	25.5
North Dakota	46.1*	20.5	28.5	85.7*	26.4*	86.9*	34.6*
South Dakota	53.0*	43.5	43.6	70.0*	36.7*	81.8*	47.0*
Nebraska	39.0*	33.8	25.6	59.7*	17.2	58.7	19.1
Kansas	52.6	55.1	51.1	65.2	42.4	63.3	47.3
	The South						
Delaware	32.2	25.0	23.1	40.6	18.5	35.0	22.3
Maryland	42.4	23.8	24.4	54.8	17.7	43.3	18.9
Dist. of Columbia	33.3*	24.3	13.7	50.0*	11.3	30.7*	14.8
Virginia	55.1	37.6	41.2	58.9	22.9	42.9	20.1
West Virginia	58.3	17.5	17.1	69.5	18.9	57.8	20.4
North Carolina	23.8	32.3	29.1	30.6	18.0	26.1	15.1

* Less than 100 families.

TABLE 14—*Continued*

State	1930		1920	1900		1890	
	Farm	Non-farm	All Homes	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm
	The South—*Cont.*						
South Carolina	18.3	24.7	19.7	21.9	10.7	20.5	11.1
Georgia	10.0	21.8	14.5	14.0	10.8	12.9	11.6
Florida	36.6	25.6	26.5	47.5	22.6	38.4	27.8
Kentucky	41.1	34.0	30.9	49.4	24.8	40.5	22.4
Tennessee	22.5	30.4	25.2	27.8	18.3	22.9	16.5
Alabama	15.8	23.7	16.9	15.0	11.2	12.6	11.0
Mississippi	12.6	28.4	16.2	15.7	13.4	13.1	10.5
Arkansas	14.6	36.7	23.7	24.6	17.5	23.9	16.7
Louisiana	13.2	26.4	17.4	16.6	13.2	17.5	11.4
Oklahoma	20.9	38.8	33.9	59.4	42.4	95.5	61.4
Texas	23.2	35.1	28.7	31.3	23.9	26.1	22.1
	The West						
Montana	56.0*	35.7	35.9	66.6*	15.9	90.9*	20.3
Idaho	26.0*	35.9	31.6	100.0*	37.5*	83.3*	31.4*
Wyoming	70.5*	27.4	21.1	88.8*	15.8	50.0*	10.6
Colorado	51.9	42.2	34.5	80.3*	20.9	84.0*	22.0
New Mexico	48.5	35.5	28.7	56.2*	16.4	67.4*	39.8
Arizona	15.8	29.4	23.2	90.0*	25.4	80.0*	17.4
Utah	83.3*	33.5	16.0	70.0*	11.0	66.6*	20.8*
Nevada	60.0*	35.4	32.5	75.0*	31.2*	33.3*	40.7*
Washington	75.0*	44.0	39.1	91.8*	20.7	78.5*	20.5
Oregon	71.4*	39.2	36.5	73.3*	21.5	80.6*	34.9
California	24.4	37.1	33.4	62.9	30.6	77.0	25.2

TABLE 15

BIRTH- AND SURVIVAL-RATES OF CHILDREN IN NEGRO FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE PARENTS IN THREE SOUTHERN RURAL COUNTIES, 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH NO CHILDREN BORN	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN		PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN BORN LOSING ONE OR MORE CHILDREN	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN DEAD PER FAMILY WITH CHILDREN DEAD	PERCENTAGE OF ALL CHILDREN LIVING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING		
			All Families	Families with Children Born				All Families	Families with Children Born	Families with Children Living
	Hertford County, N.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	829	6.0	5.3	5.6	54.8	2.7	73.9	3.9	4.1	4.3
H. Black—W. Mulatto	123	8.1	5.1	5.5	59.3	2.7	72.8	3.6	3.9	4.0
H. Mulatto—W. Black	41	12.2	5.1	5.8	61.1	2.6	73.0	3.7	4.3	4.6
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	577	7.8	5.1	5.5	55.8	2.4	75.4	3.9	4.2	4.3
	Macon County, Ga.									
H. Black—W. Black	693	6.9	4.9	5.2	56.1	2.7	70.7	3.4	3.6	3.9
H. Black—W. Mulatto	40	7.5	5.4	5.8	62.1	2.5	73.6	4.0	4.3	4.5
H. Mulatto—W. Black	32	9.3	5.5	6.0	62.0	2.5	73.8	4.0	4.5	4.6
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	51	5.9	5.4	5.7	54.1	2.2	80.0	4.3	4.6	4.7
	Issaquena County, Miss.									
H. Black—W. Black	1,882	15.2	3.7	4.6	66.2	3.4	57.6	2.6	3.0	3.4
H. Black—W. Mulatto	121	19.8	3.7	4.6	74.9	1.8	63.9	2.3	2.9	3.4
H. Mulatto—W. Black	83	21.7	4.4	5.6	80.7	2.5	53.5	2.3	3.0	3.4
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	166	13.8	4.5	5.2	66.4	3.4	56.4	2.5	3.0	3.2

TABLE 16

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND LIVING IN NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE HUSBAND AND WIFE AND THE TENURE OF THE FARM, 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	FARM OWNERS			FARM RENTERS			FARM LABORERS		
	Number Families	Average Number Children		Number Families	Average Number Children		Number Families	Average Number Children	
		Born	Living		Born	Living		Born	Living
	Hertford County, N.C.								
H. Black—W. Black*	129	6.9	5.2	308	5.6	4.2	61	5.0	3.4
H. Black—W. Mulatto	25	7.3	5.2	55	5.3	3.9	13	3.1	2.5
H. Mulatto—W. Black	10	9.0	6.9	20	3.0	2.3	5	5.2	3.2
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto*	118	6.5	5.2	165	4.9	3.9	23	4.0	2.6
Total	282	6.9	5.3	548	5.3	4.1	102	4.6	3.1
	Macon County, Ala.								
H. Black—W. Black*	84	6.4	4.8	310	4.7	3.5	70	4.6	3.5
H. Black—W. Mulatto	8	6.5	4.6	22	5.2	3.7	7	6.8	5.6
H. Mulatto—W. Black	6	3.8	3.1	21	5.6	4.2	2	11.5	8.0
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto*	11	7.8	6.5	12	3.9	3.2	2	6.0	5.0
Total	109	6.3	4.9	365	4.8	3.5	81	5.0	3.8
	Issaquena County, Miss.								
H. Black—W. Black*	90	6.7	3.8	1,021	4.5	2.7	133	3.7	2.0
H. Black—W. Mulatto	20	4.7	2.6	79	3.6	2.5	12	5.0	3.0
H. Mulatto—W. Black	7	3.0	1.7	59	4.3	2.7	10	3.8	2.7
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto*	10	4.6	3.1	60	4.6	2.5	17	3.4	2.7
Total	127	6.0	3.4	1,219	4.5	2.7	172	3.7	2.0

* Where husband or wife was absent, the family was classified according to the color of the head of the family present.

TABLE 17

MARITAL STATUS OF HEADS OF NEGRO FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COLOR AND WHETHER HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE PRESENT IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
	Hertford County, N.C.						
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	879	.....	.....	.....	.....	879
	H. away	3	41	166	5	28	243
	W. away	.....	11	85	2	.....	98
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	173	.....	.....	.....	1	174
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	459	.....	.....	.....	.....	459
	H. away	1	16	83	3	19	122
	W. away	1	8	31	1	.....	41
	Macon County, Ala.						
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	551	1	.....	.....	.....	552
	H. away	1	36	212	4	21	274
	W. away	.....	15	57	2	.....	74
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	37
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	39
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	28
	H. away	.....	4	24	1	1	30
	W. away	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	6

TABLE 17—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Issaquena County, Miss.					
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	1,315	1	4	.....	1	1,321
	H. away	6	82	240	2	42	372
	W. away	2	67	130	.....	.....	199
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	48
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	47
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	15
	H. away	1	7	11	.....	4	23
	W. away	.....	3	5	.....	.....	8

TABLE 18

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WIVES IN NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN COUNTIES, 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	Wife Absent	Not Gainful or Unknown	Domestic Service	Industrial Service	Professional, Clerks, etc.	Other Pursuits	Agriculture	Total
	Hertford County, N.C.							
H. Black—W. Black	98	969	63	2	8	0	80	1,220
H. Black—W. Mulatto	0	156	5	0	1	0	12	174
H. Mulatto—W. Black	0	40	2	0	1	0	7	50
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	41	500	27	0	10	0	43	622
	Macon County, Ala.							
H. Black—W. Black	74	352	26	0	1	0	446	900
H. Black—W. Mulatto	0	23	0	0	0	0	14	37
H. Mulatto—W. Black	0	23	0	0	1	0	15	39
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	6	22	6	0	0	0	30	64
	Issaquena County, Miss.							
H. Black—W. Black	199	543	49	0	10	1	1,090	1,893
H. Black—W. Mulatto	0	16	1	0	0	0	31	48
H. Mulatto—W. Black	0	15	1	0	1	0	30	47
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	8	13	2	0	2	0	21	46

TABLE 19

NEGRO POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE, 1910, 1920, 1930 IN CITIES HAVING 25,000 OR MORE NEGROES IN 1930

CITY	POPULATION			PERCENTAGE INCREASE	
	1930	1920	1910	1920–30	1910–20
	The North				
Detroit, Mich.	120,066	40,838	5,741	194.0	611.3
Cleveland, Ohio	71,899	34,451	8,448	108.7	307.8
Chicago, Ill.	233,903	109,458	44,103	113.7	148.2
New York, N.Y.	327,706	152,467	91,709	114.9	66.3
Manhattan	224,670	109,133	60,534	105.9	80.3
Brooklyn	68,921	31,912	22,708	116.0	40.5
Indianapolis, Ind.	43,967	34,678	21,816	26.8	59.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	219,599	134,229	84,459	63.6	58.9
St. Louis, Mo.	93,580	69,854	43,960	34.0	58.9
Cincinnati, Ohio	47,818	30,079	19,639	59.0	53.2
Pittsburgh, Pa.	54,983	37,725	25,623	45.7	47.2
Kansas City, Mo.	38,574	30,719	23,566	25.6	30.4
Columbus, Ohio	32,774	22,181	12,739	47.8	74.1
Newark, N.J.	38,880	16,977	9,475	129.0	79.2
	The South				
Norfolk, Va.	43,942	43,392	25,039	1.3	73.3
Houston, Tex.	63,337	33,960	23,929	86.5	41.9
Jacksonville, Fla.	48,196	41,520	29,293	16.1	41.7
Birmingham, Ala.	99,077	70,230	52,305	41.1	34.3
Baltimore, Md.	142,106	108,322	84,749	31.2	27.8
Atlanta, Ga.	90,075	62,796	51,902	43.4	21.0
Chattanooga, Tenn.	33,289	18,889	17,942	76.2	5.2
Savannah, Ga.	38,896	39,179	33,246	— 0.7	17.8
Memphis, Tenn.	96,550	61,181	52,441	57.8	16.7
Washington, D.C.	132,068	109,966	94,446	20.1	16.4
Richmond, Va.	52,988	54,041	46,733	— 1.9	15.6
New Orleans, La.	129,632	100,930	89,262	28.4	13.1
Louisville, Ky.	47,354	40,087	40,522	18.1	— 1.1
Nashville, Tenn.	42,836	35,633	36,523	20.2	— 2.4
Dallas, Tex.	38,742	24,023	18,024	61.3	33.3
Miami, Fla.	25,116	9,270	2,258	170.9	310.5
	The West				
Los Angeles, Calif.	38,884	15,579	7,599	149.7	105.0

TABLE 20

LITERACY OF THE HEADS OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	Husband and Wife Literate	Husband Literate, Wife Illiterate	Husband Literate, Wife Unknown	Husband Illiterate, Wife Literate	Husband Illiterate, Wife Illiterate	Husband Illiterate, Wife Unknown	Husband Unknown, Wife Literate	Husband Unknown, Wife Illiterate	Husband Unknown, Wife Unknown	Total
	Nashville, Tenn.									
H. Black—W. Black	659	37	0	56	277	0	0	0	2	1,031
H. Black—W. Mulatto	47	8	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	65
H. Mulatto—W. Black	9	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	375	16	0	28	83	1	0	0	0	502
	Birmingham, Ala.									
H. Black—W. Black	2,642	175	4	309	715	0	1	0	17	3,863
H. Black—W. Mulatto	190	22	0	36	10	0	0	0	1	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black	54	7	0	7	5	0	0	0	0	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mullato	618	45	1	62	142	0	0	0	1	869
	Charleston, S.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	847	112	3	63	355	1	3	0	14	1,398
H. Black—W. Mulatto	16	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
H. Mulatto—W. Black	7	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	13
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	219	3	1	2	19	0	2	0	4	250

TABLE 21

TENURE OF HOMES OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE HUSBAND AND THE WIFE, 1920 AND 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	1920							1910						
	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
Nashville, Tenn.														
H. Black—W. Black	64	12	2	790	145	18	1,031	58	30	0	772	199	91	1,150
H. Black—W. Mulatto	12	0	0	48	4	1	65	15	11	0	58	7	3	94
H. Mulatto—W. Black	1	0	0	9	0	0	10	5	4	0	25	2	1	37
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	93	4	0	299	101	6	503	37	32	1	175	78	22	345
Birmingham, Ala.														
H. Black—W. Black	328	176	4	2,620	666	70	3,864	451	228	2	2,308	515	71	3,575
H. Black—W. Mulatto	33	22	1	185	11	7	259	24	35	2	175	14	9	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black	5	9	0	56	2	1	73	9	6	0	54	4	0	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	101	34	2	567	153	12	869	36	39	0	204	70	4	353
Charleston, S.C.														
H. Black—W. Black	53	19	9	1,074	147	96	1,398	21	2	7	1,074	166	98	1,368
H. Black—W. Mulatto	3	0	0	12	2	1	18	0	0	1	33	2	3	39
H. Mulatto—W. Black	2	1	0	8	1	1	13	0	0	1	16	0	0	17
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	46	7	8	128	47	14	250	14	2	7	227	45	8	303

TABLE 22

TENURE OF HOMES OF WOMEN HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1920 AND 1910

COLOR OF WIFE	MARITAL STATUS	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Nashville, Tenn.													
Black	Separated	2	0	0	55	15	1	73	1	0	0	30	28	8	67
	Widowed	12	0	0	220	73	9	314	14	1	0	239	89	35	378
	Divorced	0	0	0	20	5	0	25	0	0	0	22	16	1	39
	Irregular	0	0	0	4	4	0	8	0	0	0	19	6	0	25
Mulatto	Separated	1	1	0	17	20	0	39	2	1	0	19	13	3	38
	Widowed	24	1	0	92	37	0	154	12	4	0	46	36	8	106
	Divorced	1	0	0	8	6	0	15	0	0	0	7	1	0	8
	Irregular	0	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	3	1	10

TABLE 22—*Continued*

Color of Wife	Marital Status	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Birmingham, Ala.													
Black	Separated	6	1	0	112	71	2	192	3	1	0	135	75	2	216
	Widowed	48	14	0	418	292	13	785	54	19	1	396	232	13	715
	Divorced	2	1	0	40	34	2	79	5	2	0	29	36	4	76
	Irregular	0	0	0	7	8	0	15	0	0	0	9	16	0	25
Mulatto	Separated	2	0	0	18	11	0	31	1	0	0	15	14	1	31
	Widowed	19	5	0	107	73	6	210	11	5	0	57	37	0	110
	Divorced	2	0	0	16	16	1	35	0	0	0	4	2	0	6
	Irregular	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	5

TABLE 22—*Continued*

Color of Wife	Marital Status	1920							1910						
		Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
		Charleston, S.C.													
Black	Separated	1	0	0	73	27	4	105	0	0	0	62	31	7	100
	Widowed	13	4	2	241	57	42	359	5	2	2	350	78	36	473
	Divorced	0	0	0	4	4	1	9	0	0	0	8	1	1	10
	Irregular	0	0	0	9	1	0	10	0	0	0	10	3	2	15
Mulatto	Separated	0	0	0	4	5	1	10	0	0	0	16	5	2	23
	Widowed	8	2	2	26	23	5	66	6	1	1	73	24	3	108
	Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
	Irregular	0	1	0	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

TABLE 23

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF WOMAN HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1910

Color of Wife	Wife Absent	Not Gainful or Unknown	Domestic Service	Industrial Service	Professional, Clerks, etc.	Other Pursuits	Agriculture	Total
	Nashville, Tenn.							
Black	9	67	414	12	7	0	0	509
Mulatto	4	31	115	2	10	0	0	162
	Birmingham, Ala.							
Black	0	225	764	25	18	0	0	1,032
Mulatto	1	48	82	11	10	0	0	152
	Charleston, S.C.							
Black	10	80	493	7	7	0	1	598
Mulatto	1	28	102	3	3	0	0	137

TABLE 24

TENURE OF HOMES OF NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES ACCORDING TO COLOR AND WHETHER THE HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE PRESENT, 1920 AND 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	1920							
	Status	Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
	Nashville, Tenn.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	45	12	1	354	23	6	441
	H. away	14	0	0	302	97	10	423
	W. away	5	0	1	134	25	2	167
H. Black—W. Mulatto .	Both present	12	0	0	48	4	1	65
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	1	0	0	9	0	0	10
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	64	2	0	156	21	5	248
	H. away	2	0	0	22	17	1	42
	W. away	27	2	0	121	63	0	213
	Birmingham, Ala.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	250	150	4	1,759	133	45	2,341
	H. away	56	16	0	581	407	17	1,077
	W. away	22	10	0	281	126	8	447
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	Both present	33	22	1	185	11	7	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	5	9	0	56	2	1	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	73	28	2	360	24	4	491
	H. away	23	5	0	142	27	7	279
	W. away	5	1	0	65	102	1	99
	Charleston, S.C.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	35	12	6	670	26	40	789
	H. away	15	4	2	335	94	48	498
	W. away	3	3	1	68	22	8	105
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	Both present	3	0	0	12	2	1	18
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	2	1	0	8	1	1	13
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	35	4	5	83	13	3	143
	H. away	10	3	3	33	28	8	85
	W. away	1	0	0	12	5	2	20

TABLE 24—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	1910 Owned Free	Owned Mortgaged	Owned Mortgaged, Status Unknown	Rented	Tenure Unknown, Owned or Rented by Relatives	Tenure Unknown, Other	Total
	Charleston, S.C.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	15	0	4	573	28	47	667
	H. away	5	2	2	432	110	46	597
	W. away	1	0	1	62	24	5	93
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	Both present	0	0	1	33	2	3	39
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	0	0	1	16	0	0	17
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	7	1	5	120	9	2	144
	H. away	5	1	2	95	30	6	139
	W. away	2	0	0	12	6	0	20
	Birmingham, Ala.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	360	201	0	1,435	67	45	2,108
	H. away	62	22	1	569	359	19	1,032
	W. away	29	5	1	304	89	7	435
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	Both present	24	35	2	175	14	9	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	9	6	0	54	4	0	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	23	33	0	106	8	3	173
	H. away	12	5	0	80	53	1	151
	W. away	1	1	0	18	8	0	28
	Nashville, Tenn.							
H. Black—W. Black....	Both present	36	27	0	380	28	10	481
	H. away	15	2	0	320	138	41	516
	W. away	6	1	0	71	29	37	144
H. Black—W. Mulatto.	Both present	15	11	0	58	7	3	94
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	Both present	5	4	0	25	2	1	37
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	21	24	1	88	13	2	149
	H. away	14	5	0	78	52	13	162
	W. away	1	3	0	7	12	7	30

TABLE 25

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WIVES IN NEGRO FAMILIES IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1920

Color of Husband and Wife	Wife Absent	Not Gainful or Unknown	Domestic Service	Industrial Service	Professional, Clerks, etc.	Other Pursuits	Agriculture	Total
	Nashville, Tenn.							
H. Black—W. Black....	167	334	437	67	26	0	0	1,031
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	0	42	21	2	0	0	0	65
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	10
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	42	219	207	18	17	0	0	503
	Birmingham, Ala.							
H. Black—W. Black....	447	2,156	1,053	126	79	2	1	3,864
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	0	193	49	9	7	1	0	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	2	50	16	2	3	0	0	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	99	501	209	23	34	3	0	869
	Charleston, S.C.							
H. Black—W. Black....	113	526	685	68	6	0	0	1,398
H. Black—W. Mulatto..	0	14	4	0	0	0	0	18
H. Mulatto—W. Black..	1	8	4	0	0	0	0	13
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	22	136	81	5	6	0	0	250

TABLE 26

BIRTH- AND SURVIVAL-RATES OF CHILDREN IN NEGRO FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE COLOR OF THE PARENTS IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH NO CHILDREN BORN	AVERAGE NUMBER CHILDREN BORN		PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN BORN LOSING ONE OR MORE CHILDREN	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN DEAD PER FAMILY WITH CHILDREN DEAD	PERCENTAGE OF ALL CHILDREN LIVING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING		
			All Families	Families with Children Born				All Families	Families with Children Born	Families with Children Living
	Nashville, Tenn.									
H. Black—W. Black	951	20.8	3.3	4.1	57.1	3.9	52.9	1.7	2.2	2.5
H. Black—W. Mulatto	90	27.7	2.6	3.5	55.3	2.3	63.7	1.6	2.3	2.4
H. Mulatto—W. Black	37	25.9	3.3	4.5	66.6	2.4	64.5	2.1	2.9	3.2
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	296	20.2	3.3	4.2	58.0	2.9	59.7	2.0	2.5	2.8
	Birmingham, Ala.									
H. Black—W. Black	2,965	23.5	2.9	3.9	57.4	2.7	59.3	1.7	2.3	2.6
H. Black—W. Mulatto	249	34.1	2.4	3.6	61.6	2.2	63.0	1.5	2.3	2.7
H. Mulatto—W. Black	71	32.3	2.0	3.0	52.1	2.2	62.0	1.2	1.8	2.1
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	309	22.6	3.2	4.2	51.0	2.7	66.7	2.1	2.8	3.0
	Charleston, S.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	1,028	18.3	3.4	4.3	63.9	3.3	51.1	1.8	2.1	2.4
H. Black—W. Mulatto	33	6.0	3.6	3.9	61.3	2.9	53.7	1.9	2.1	2.2
H. Mulatto—W. Black	16	18.8	3.9	4.8	61.6	2.4	66.6	2.6	3.2	3.2
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	238	18.8	3.4	4.2	55.4	3.3	57.0	1.9	2.4	2.7

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING HOMES, MEDIAN VALUE OF HOMES OWNED, AND MEDIAN RENTAL OF HOMES FOR CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION OR MORE, 1930

CITY	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING HOMES			MEDIAN VALUE OF HOMES OWNED			MEDIAN RENTAL OF HOMES		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North								
Akron, Ohio	48.0	66.6	18.7	$ 6,154	$ 5,259	$ 4,076	$38.80	$32.77	$25.49
Albany, N.Y.	34.2	48.2	9.9	9,618	8,175	.....	40.06	32.45	22.83
Boston, Mass.	22.4	29.6	13.6	7,759	7,329	6,164	39.87	33.69	29.36
Bridgeport, Conn.	24.6	34.8	12.3	7,406	6,383	4,242	30.89	23.46	18.48
Buffalo, N.Y.	39.7	50.0	6.6	7,851	6,629	6,143	37.12	29.21	27.46
Cambridge, Mass.	20.6	26.9	25.1	9,925	7,050	5,572	46.17	30.90	28.91
Camden, N.J.	44.5	67.3	19.8	4,926	4,537	3,585	32.68	30.77	22.60
Canton, Ohio	51.5	62.8	10.8	6,345	4,915	.....	36.27	29.96	22.36
Chicago, Ill.	24.9	41.8	10.5	8,902	7,720	6,377	55.94	42.31	38.72
Cincinnati, Ohio	38.4	51.0	8.9	8,003	7,464	4,496	27.79	26.91	20.19
Cleveland, Ohio	29.2	49.4	8.3	7,403	6,752	6,406	40.70	31.94	27.43
Columbus, Ohio	43.3	61.6	24.3	6,337	5,195	4,060	36.32	33.82	23.78
Dayton, Ohio	46.9	66.5	29.5	6,160	5,157	3,869	35.72	32.02	24.53
Des Moines, Iowa	49.0	68.6	38.1	4,569	3,917	1,736	30.78	29.55	15.45
Detroit, Mich.	38.1	50.7	15.0	8,751	7,325	6,360	52.35	46.00	36.95
Duluth, Minn.	45.6	66.7	39.5	6,034	5,042	.....	28.81	24.94	.....
Elizabeth, N.J.	35.5	44.5	9.0	10,853	7,751	.....	43.36	29.82	22.80
Erie, Pa.	43.6	61.6	19.9	6,926	5,884	.....	32.94	25.36	23.64
Evansville, Ind.	48.2	72.6	23.1	4,007	4,031	2,119	24.57	28.19	16.48
Fall River, Mass.	24.0	28.9	9.2	6,712	5,515	.....	22.88	18.22	.....
Flint, Mich.	58.7	68.7	35.0	5,337	5,289	4,295	39.20	39.67	27.58
Fort Wayne, Ind.	57.1	73.4	28.8	6,262	5,802	3,277	34.76	33.50	22.13
Gary, Ind.	36.3	57.8	20.3	7,074	6,440	4,003	43.29	37.00	25.02
Grand Rapids, Mich.	53.8	75.2	35.0	5,982	4,914	3,711	32.52	27.26	23.84
Hartford, Conn.	18.8	27.0	5.4	13,352	12,728	.....	42.12	33.42	23.85
Indianapolis, Ind.	42.6	63.1	24.3	5,396	4,782	2,887	30.93	31.52	18.00
Jersey City, N.J.	18.6	31.9	15.5	8,399	7,916	7,050	43.18	34.63	30.72
Kansas City, Kan.	52.3	78.1	51.5	3,304	2,639	1,663	22.89	19.10	13.93
Kansas City, Mo.	40.0	57.6	16.0	5,886	5,258	3,390	36.48	33.14	20.47
Lowell, Mass.	36.3	37.1	20.0*	4,875	4,248	.....	23.49	18.72	.....
Lynn, Mass.	33.5	38.6	22.6	6,590	6,435	.....	38.30	34.81	24.40
Milwaukee, Wis.	35.6	57.2	5.5	6,925	5,857	.....	40.88	34.08	27.69
Minneapolis, Minn.	40.8	59.8	25.7	6,059	5,135	4,526	37.21	30.62	21.33
Newark, N.J.	22.5	32.4	5.1	10,664	9,338	6,603	44.72	37.87	28.02
New Bedford, Mass.	33.0	35.0	25.1	6,216	5,738	3,526	25.88	22.30	17.07
New Haven, Conn.	26.7	36.9	11.2	11,304	8,138	6,250	37.26	27.05	23.70
New York, N.Y.	21.4	20.7	5.6	9,686	10,898	8,519	51.86	43.55	42.65
Bronx	9.9	11.1	5.6	11,352	12,752	9,542	54.05	50.86	35.67
Brooklyn	22.8	28.3	8.9	10,773	11,461	9,252	47.19	43.22	30.70
Manhattan	3.6	1.9	1.8	†	†	14,216	62.75	34.09	46.91
Queens	43.3	47.8	36.6	8,878	9,434	7,083	49.37	47.24	40.72
Richmond	49.9	59.1	18.4	8,077	7,209	.....	41.73	37.88	25.75
Omaha, Neb.	46.0	70.9	32.1	4,901	3,790	2,601	34.39	25.77	17.81

* Less than 100 families.

† More than $20,000.

TABLE 27—*Continued*

City	Percentage of Families Owning Homes			Median Value of Homes Owned			Median Rental of Homes		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North—*Cont.*								
Paterson, N.J.	29.3	42.3	9.1	$ 7,699	$ 6,756	.....	$34.16	$31.23	$23.94
Peoria, Ill.	47.6	70.6	23.0	5,736	4,740	$ 3,182	33.25	29.98	17.88
Philadelphia, Pa.	50.8	62.7	15.4	6,041	5,297	4,662	39.54	34.96	30.43
Pittsburgh, Pa.	37.7	51.6	16.5	7,852	6,405	5,046	40.12	31.67	29.72
Providence, R.I.	27.0	39.1	12.7	8,373	6,654	4,043	29.21	24.32	17.15
Reading, Pa.	57.9	73.1	17.2	6,266	4,963	.....	34.34	31.05	24.44
Rochester, N.Y.	48.6	57.9	21.4	8,109	6,581	5,778	42.40	34.20	28.18
St. Louis, Mo.	30.5	48.9	9.3	6,631	6,164	5,098	35.53	31.12	22.50
St. Paul, Minn.	44.5	66.3	37.2	5,582	4,524	4,165	33.50	27.90	22.17
Scranton, Pa.	39.1	53.4	6.4	6,504	5,118	.....	31.75	25.85	27.00
Somerville, Mass.	27.2	39.2	0.0*	7,675	7,282	.....	39.48	36.04	.....
South Bend, Ind.	54.0	76.3	29.0	6,224	5,144	3,618	38.23	30.53	24.40
Springfield, Mass.	31.9	41.1	19.2	8,133	7,007	5,625	38.44	30.55	24.06
Syracuse, N.Y.	42.5	53.0	6.1	9,485	7,940	.....	40.92	32.12	25.25
Toledo, Ohio	47.1	68.6	21.5	6,619	5,084	4,180	39.96	34.78	28.28
Trenton, N.J.	48.3	65.9	15.3	6,552	4,433	3,602	34.46	27.72	23.64
Utica, N.Y.	40.2	49.2	4.5	7,945	6,220	.....	32.90	22.11	18.78
Wichita, Kan.	46.8	63.0	46.2	4,344	4,551	1,941	31.12	33.77	15.78
Worcester, Mass.	31.4	38.7	18.2	8,287	7,368	.....	33.39	26.53	23.66
Yonkers, N.Y.	30.7	33.6	14.7	13,920	11,688	6,827	55.51	38.87	31.35
Youngstown, Ohio	48.6	64.7	19.8	6,530	4,975	3,412	39.78	29.93	22.39
	The South								
Atlanta, Ga.	35.6	47.6	15.6	$ 6,129	$ 5,923	$ 2,553	$30.67	$40.64	$12.69
Baltimore, Md.	55.7	68.6	11.5	4,932	4,391	4,366	31.21	28.51	25.25
Birmingham, Ala.	43.5	59.0	17.8	5,915	5,508	2,184	28.40	34.16	11.75
Chattanooga, Tenn.	40.1	53.8	15.9	5,094	6,730	2,497	23.93	39.07	13.71
Dallas, Tex.	39.1	60.9	24.9	5,321	5,470	2,319	31.65	37.15	16.25
El Paso, Tex.	39.5	50.0	30.5	5,331	5,489	2,750	37.43	36.23	12.71
Fort Worth, Tex.	46.9	67.0	29.7	4,071	4,369	1,586	26.77	31.91	13.39
Houston, Tex.	40.9	59.9	31.4	5,112	5,111	2,533	35.41	36.54	18.39
Jacksonville, Fla.	37.7	49.3	22.1	5,991	5,962	1,840	30.01	33.21	15.23
Knoxville, Tenn.	42.2	62.2	30.9	4,004	5,786	2,079	22.43	38.33	14.83
Louisville, Ky.	44.1	66.1	20.1	4,843	4,861	2,674	26.36	32.07	14.59
Memphis, Tenn.	44.0	58.7	25.6	6,005	6,018	1,775	32.31	37.33	11.27
Miami, Fla.	35.2	43.9	17.7	4,537	4,359	2,318	28.16	29.04	13.13
Nashville, Tenn.	41.0	59.6	28.5	4,601	5,362	1,776	26.18	41.96	10.95
New Orleans, La.	31.8	47.4	13.2	6,381	6,179	2,796	26.62	28.25	16.51
Norfolk, Va.	39.1	45.1	21.4	5,441	5,357	2,512	34.46	35.65	13.77
Oklahoma City, Okla.	37.8	60.8	27.3	4,939	5,737	2,509	36.28	40.90	17.22
Richmond, Va.	38.4	44.6	20.3	7,183	6,773	2,376	31.80	45.35	13.47
San Antonio, Tex.	45.8	62.2	41.4	4,833	4,574	1,987	31.58	29.77	14.05
Tampa, Fla.	39.1	45.6	15.5	4,034	2,882	2,061	23.07	22.81	14.65
Tulsa, Okla.	38.0	46.8	32.0	5,822	6,691	1,751	39.75	47.64	17.87
Washington, D.C.	40.4	52.2	24.4	9,722	9,567	6,433	49.55	49.76	29.14
Wilmington, Del.	44.3	66.5	13.2	6,637	4,745	3,862	35.37	30.00	24.75

TABLE 27—*Continued*

City	Percentage of Families Owning Homes			Median Value of Homes Owned			Median Rental of Homes		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The West								
Denver, Colo.	42.0	61.3	38.4	$ 4,924	$ 3,903	$ 3,256	$31.58	$27.75	$21.14
Long Beach, Calif.	31.7	37.0	30.2	7,258	7,210	.....	37.56	37.36	.....
Los Angeles, Calif.	36.3	45.7	33.6	6,929	6,322	5,151	39.98	38.44	27.73
Oakland, Calif.	45.7	60.3	35.4	6,003	4,924	4,258	35.93	29.99	24.60
Portland, Ore.	51.6	63.6	42.6	4,611	4,205	3,745	28.34	25.41	21.74
Salt Lake City, Utah	47.0	58.7	39.0	4,534	3,615	.....	28.57	22.59	18.95
San Diego, Calif.	47.0	57.5	45.1	5,606	5,125	3,212	32.04	29.68	22.50
San Francisco, Calif.	28.5	41.6	13.6	7,321	6,124	5,559	42.76	36.64	30.12
Seattle, Wash.	47.9	58.1	38.8	4,808	4,192	3,566	35.35	29.62	24.17
Spokane, Wash.	55.0	66.5	63.2	3,333	2,970	2,545	25.53	23.31	.....
Tacoma, Wash.	57.1	70.6	48.9	3,463	2,940	2,431	24.62	20.58	17.67

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH WOMEN HEADS FOR CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION OR MORE, 1930

CITY	OWNER FAMILIES			TENANT FAMILIES		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North					
Akron, Ohio	10.5	9.0	8.8	10.6	7.9	12.6
Albany, N.Y.	20.0	14.9	24.1	20.8	16.5	20.8
Boston, Mass.	20.9	14.9	18.4	21.1	19.1	29.1
Bridgeport, Conn.	19.8	11.6	18.0	14.4	13.0	19.5
Buffalo, N.Y.	15.5	14.0	15.3	13.9	14.0	15.6
Cambridge, Mass.	26.6	16.4	19.5	24.7	20.7	24.1
Camden, N.J.	14.0	11.7	18.0	15.5	11.8	20.7
Canton, Ohio	12.9	10.3	11.5	12.4	8.0	12.9
Chicago, Ill.	12.1	11.9	16.8	14.0	13.3	19.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	15.3	15.7	17.6	18.7	20.9	19.0
Cleveland, Ohio	14.5	11.5	15.3	14.0	11.8	17.7
Columbus, Ohio	15.3	14.6	15.1	16.2	13.0	18.5
Dayton, Ohio	13.1	13.6	14.3	13.4	11.2	18.0
Des Moines, Iowa	13.3	13.0	16.7	14.6	15.1	22.2
Detroit, Mich.	9.2	9.4	10.6	11.1	9.7	15.3
Duluth, Minn.	9.6	11.6	11.7	11.5	15.4	40.7*
Elizabeth, N.J.	15.6	11.0	14.8	10.2	10.0	11.9
Erie, Pa.	16.2	13.0	31.0*	12.0	10.4	10.6
Evansville, Ind.	13.8	23.5	22.1	13.2	19.3	26.8
Fall River, Mass.	19.5	14.2	20.0*	15.4	20.3	34.6
Flint, Mich.	7.4	7.0	11.5	7.3	7.4	13.0
Fort Wayne, Ind.	11.6	15.1	14.2	11.1	9.1	19.5
Gary, Ind.	5.8	6.4	7.3	6.9	5.3	13.5
Grand Rapids, Mich.	12.5	12.9	7.7	13.4	14.0	14.5
Hartford, Conn.	19.3	10.0	20.8	19.0	13.7	22.4
Indianapolis, Ind.	12.8	15.1	15.9	16.0	13.6	23.9
Jersey City, N.J.	19.6	12.8	16.3	15.3	14.1	17.4
Kansas City, Kan.	12.3	12.8	18.1	9.3	13.3	19.2
Kansas City, Mo.	12.6	13.1	17.9	15.4	13.1	24.8
Lowell, Mass.	20.6	15.5	16.6	17.9	23.2	12.5
Lynn, Mass.	17.3	11.7	27.0	17.8	17.2	25.4

* Less than 100 families.

TABLE 28—*Continued*

City	Owner Families			Tenant Families		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North—*Cont.*					
Milwaukee, Wis.	12.2	13.4	12.0	12.8	13.5	17.3
Minneapolis, Minn.	11.4	12.9	14.2	16.9	17.8	19.8
Newark, N.J.	18.1	11.0	19.2	16.1	12.4	19.6
New Bedford, Mass.	19.8	14.3	20.4	16.3	18.6	22.9
New Haven, Conn.	19.9	11.3	16.5	17.2	13.0	21.2
New York, N.Y.	14.2	9.7	16.6	17.6	13.1	24.3
Bronx	15.2	8.7	14.1	13.0	10.8	11.5
Brooklyn	18.3	9.4	18.0	15.5	10.8	20.0
Manhattan	27.9	15.3	20.2	26.2	17.7	26.5
Queens	9.9	10.0	13.3	11.7	11.6	19.1
Richmond	13.2	10.0	18.6	11.2	10.4	18.2
Omaha, Neb.	11.9	14.5	15.4	14.6	14.8	23.6
Paterson, N.J.	19.0	12.2	18.8	15.2	13.2	21.9
Peoria, Ill.	14.4	16.8	17.3	12.1	12.0	22.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	16.3	12.6	16.3	18.0	14.2	18.3
Pittsburgh, Pa.	17.1	14.5	15.2	14.9	14.7	16.2
Providence, R.I.	21.5	13.3	23.1	18.9	17.1	26.7
Reading, Pa.	17.1	11.0	14.4	18.1	9.8	13.0
Rochester, N.Y.	15.8	11.2	18.2	20.1	13.7	22.0
St. Louis, Mo.	15.6	14.0	18.4	15.7	15.3	21.2
St. Paul, Minn.	11.9	14.5	15.0	15.4	17.2	20.9
Scranton, Pa.	19.0	17.4	23.0*	12.7	15.0	27.0
Somerville, Mass.	21.4	14.4	24.3*	15.7	15.1	6.4
South Bend, Ind.	10.8	12.1	9.4	9.7	10.3	10.5
Springfield, Mass.	14.5	10.9	16.5	17.8	15.1	21.7
Syracuse, N.Y.	15.0	12.1	30.0	16.6	12.7	20.0
Toledo, Ohio	12.6	14.4	12.5	12.6	11.4	15.6
Trenton, N.J.	15.9	11.2	18.5	17.5	14.0	17.4
Utica, N.Y.	18.3	11.5	0.0	18.5	12.3	22.5
Wichita, Kan.	14.0	19.4	18.3	13.7	15.3	17.9
Worcester, Mass.	14.5	11.0	21.0	15.2	14.5	22.2
Yonkers, N.Y.	12.9	10.2	15.5	14.3	13.1	19.5
Youngstown, Ohio	11.7	9.5	11.1	11.0	8.8	14.6

TABLE 28—*Continued*

City	Owner Families			Tenant Families		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The South					
Atlanta, Ga.	15.9	11.5	23.3	16.8	10.2	34.6
Baltimore, Md.	14.6	13.7	18.3	18.7	15.4	23.1
Birmingham, Ala.	12.1	11.9	17.9	11.8	9.8	25.8
Chattanooga, Tenn.	14.1	15.8	21.4	14.1	11.6	27.1
Dallas, Tex.	15.1	14.5	20.6	13.5	11.6	28.9
El Paso, Tex.	14.1	11.7	11.5	13.5	12.4	20.7
Fort Worth, Tex.	13.4	15.2	17.8	12.0	9.4	25.3
Houston, Tex.	11.8	11.6	17.6	12.5	11.7	28.6
Jacksonville, Fla.	15.8	11.6	25.3	14.8	13.5	30.7
Knoxville, Tenn.	13.3	20.9	20.7	14.1	11.6	27.0
Louisville, Ky.	16.2	20.0	19.9	15.6	17.0	28.3
Memphis, Tenn.	14.4	11.9	19.6	14.4	12.4	29.6
Miami, Fla.	14.7	12.4	23.2	14.9	13.3	29.0
Nashville, Tenn.	16.3	16.1	22.4	15.1	14.0	31.1
New Orleans, La.	19.5	14.2	20.9	16.8	14.8	27.2
Norfolk, Va.	13.5	9.6	19.0	15.6	10.7	32.0
Oklahoma City, Okla.	12.0	12.7	19.3	11.0	12.9	20.5
Richmond, Va.	16.6	12.8	21.3	16.6	13.8	29.8
San Antonio, Tex.	17.1	20.0	22.3	15.9	16.0	32.4
Tampa, Fla.	16.0	11.3	28.0	16.9	13.2	31.7
Tulsa, Okla.	9.3	10.5	24.4	13.3	9.4	20.0
Washington, D.C.	16.7	12.2	22.1	26.7	15.8	28.1
Wilmington, Del.	16.7	11.7	21.3	15.3	12.4	24.2
	The West					
Denver, Colo.	16.1	18.3	24.9	18.8	20.7	28.0
Long Beach, Calif.	17.6	16.5	21.8*	23.3	23.5	21.9
Los Angeles, Calif.	18.6	15.4	21.6	23.4	19.6	28.5
Oakland, Calif.	15.7	14.3	18.6	18.7	16.2	29.3
Portland, Ore.	14.4	13.4	13.5	20.7	17.1	23.3
Salt Lake City, Utah	12.1	20.6	19.2	15.0	24.0	21.3
San Diego, Calif.	19.6	17.8	20.5	21.4	21.3	27.5
San Francisco, Calif.	17.0	14.9	22.3	24.7	18.5	26.3
Seattle, Wash.	12.7	12.2	16.9	19.2	18.1	23.6
Spokane, Wash.	12.8	13.4	20.9	18.4	19.0	22.0
Tacoma, Wash.	12.4	12.3	21.2	18.5	17.2	20.3

TABLE 29

FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE OF HEADS OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO COLOR AND WHETHER HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE PRESENT IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1910

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Nashville, Tenn.									
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	3	295	43	78	62	.....	.....	.....	.....	481
	H. away	.....	10	2	1	3	64	372	39	25	516
	W. away	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	96	17	.....	144
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	1	60	7	14	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	94
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	2	83	9	18	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	131
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	.....	105	14	15	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	149
	H. away	1	3	.....	.....	.....	36	105	7	10	162
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	11	5	.....	30

TABLE 29—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Birmingham, Ala.									
H. Black—W. Black.....	Both present	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	216	715	76	25	1,032
	H. away	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	154	234	44	.....	435
	W. away	.....	1,362	251	197	285	1	4	.....	.....	2,100
H. Black—W. Mulatto....	Both present	.....	174	24	19	40	.....	2	.....	.....	259
H. Mulatto—W. Black....	Both present	.....	57	7	6	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	73
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto.	Both present	.....	136	8	17	10	.....	2	.....	.....	173
	H. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	110	6	5	151
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	17	1	.....	28

TABLE 29—*Continued*

Color of Husband and Wife	Status	Married Times Unknown	Both Married Once	H. Once, W. More	H. More, W. Once	Both More Than Once	Married but Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Irregular	Total
		Charleston, S.C.									
H. Black—W. Black	Both present	151	442	23	25	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	667
	H. away	3	2	.....	1	4	99	464	10	15	597
	W. away	1	1	.....	.....	.....	34	55	2	.....	93
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Both present	17	16	1	3	1	.....	.....	1	.....	39
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Both present	5	9	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	17
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Both present	26	107	2	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	144
	H. away	2	1	.....	.....	.....	23	107	5	1	139
	W. away	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	10	1	.....	19

TABLE 30

MEDIAN SIZE OF FAMILIES FOR CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION OR MORE, 1930

CITY	OWNERS			TENANTS		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North					
Akron, Ohio	3.44	4.22	3.79	3.13	3.56	2.92
Albany, N.Y.	3.06	4.12	.....	2.77	3.27	2.29
Boston, Mass.	3.45	4.42	2.79	2.95	3.75	2.43
Bridgeport, Conn.	3.14	4.34	2.42	3.09	3.83	2.56
Buffalo, N.Y.	3.47	4.34	2.49	3.08	3.65	2.75
Cambridge, Mass.	3.29	4.36	3.36	2.77	3.66	3.11
Camden, N.J.	3.33	4.57	2.90	3.39	4.16	2.97
Canton, Ohio	3.32	4.38	.....	3.15	3.71	2.71
Chicago, Ill.	3.65	4.16	2.99	2.85	3.43	2.61
Cincinnati, Ohio	3.39	3.69	3.00	2.79	2.78	2.56
Cleveland, Ohio	3.44	4.29	3.16	2.88	3.64	2.73
Columbus, Ohio	3.11	3.75	2.95	2.95	3.35	2.66
Dayton, Ohio	3.21	3.82	3.12	3.02	3.15	2.69
Des Moines, Iowa	3.16	3.57	2.74	2.98	3.14	2.60
Detroit, Mich.	3.64	4.25	3.37	2.94	3.39	2.85
Duluth, Minn.	3.65	3.79	.....	3.27	3.30	.....
Elizabeth, N.J.	3.60	4.63	3.29	3.17	3.92	3.19
Erie, Pa.	3.36	4.59	.....	3.14	3.87	2.80
Evansville, Ind.	3.32	3.08	2.58	3.34	2.74	2.44
Fall River, Mass.	3.41	4.36	.....	3.41	3.79	.....
Flint, Mich.	3.49	3.94	3.17	3.17	3.30	2.51
Fort Wayne, Ind.	3.34	3.44	2.80	3.11	3.14	2.67
Gary, Ind.	3.56	4.60	3.12	3.11	3.51	2.79
Grand Rapids, Mich.	3.31	3.80	3.05	2.94	3.20	2.80
Hartford, Conn.	3.24	4.35	.....	2.80	3.81	3.07
Indianapolis, Ind.	3.14	3.57	3.79	2.95	3.06	2.55
Jersey City, N.J.	3.63	4.56	3.08	3.20	3.92	2.99
Kansas City, Kan.	3.31	4.05	2.79	3.32	3.33	2.70
Kansas City, Mo.	3.16	3.76	2.43	2.71	3.13	2.22
Lowell, Mass.	3.34	4.06	.....	3.34	3.62	.....
Lynn, Mass.	3.19	4.12	.....	2.92	3.56	3.07
Milwaukee, Wis.	3.62	3.95	2.96	3.05	3.35	2.53

TABLE 30—*Continued*

City	Owners			Tenants		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The North—*Cont.*					
Minneapolis, Minn.	3.45	3.63	2.60	2.92	3.19	2.24
Newark, N.J.	3.40	4.61	3.03	3.03	3.88	2.85
New Bedford, Mass.	3.08	3.86	3.55	3.21	3.60	3.81
New Haven, Conn.	3.21	4.62	2.70	2.95	3.95	2.45
New York, N.Y.	3.56	4.37	3.10	2.87	3.61	2.59
Bronx	3.69	4.50	2.97	3.04	3.78	3.15
Brooklyn	3.54	4.58	3.27	3.00	3.86	2.83
Manhattan	2.68	3.85	2.78	2.43	3.20	2.48
Queens	3.61	4.02	3.12	3.03	3.30	2.83
Richmond	3.56	4.23	3.14	3.37	3.77	2.93
Omaha, Neb.	3.33	3.81	2.65	2.94	3.31	2.36
Paterson, N.J.	3.30	4.04	.....	3.07	3.50	2.85
Peoria, Ill.	3.17	3.40	2.67	3.01	3.17	2.51
Philadelphia, Pa.	3.35	4.33	2.92	3.04	3.78	2.79
Pittsburgh, Pa.	3.68	4.54	3.19	3.18	3.90	2.86
Providence, R.I.	3.15	4.42	2.84	3.01	3.79	2.40
Reading, Pa.	3.24	4.96	.....	2.99	3.78	2.49
Rochester, N.Y.	3.34	4.26	2.50	2.70	3.48	2.46
St. Louis, Mo.	3.36	3.74	2.97	2.96	3.28	2.49
St. Paul, Minn.	3.63	3.69	2.58	3.04	3.21	2.29
Scranton, Pa.	3.71	4.66	.....	3.43	4.08	3.31
Somerville, Mass.	3.18	4.33	.....	3.10	3.65	.....
South Bend, Ind.	3.30	4.32	3.03	3.18	3.55	2.90
Springfield, Mass.	3.24	4.26	3.13	2.92	3.68	2.59
Syracuse, N.Y.	3.21	4.36	.....	2.84	3.63	2.45
Toledo, Ohio	3.26	4.01	2.99	2.95	3.23	2.50
Trenton, N.J.	3.35	4.73	3.16	3.21	4.12	3.51
Utica, N.Y.	3.16	4.49	.....	2.85	3.92	2.14
Wichita, Kan.	3.14	2.91	2.98	2.95	3.03	2.63
Worcester, Mass.	3.39	4.18	.....	3.19	3.83	3.23
Yonkers, N.Y.	3.69	4.45	2.74	3.13	3.85	2.77
Youngstown, Ohio	3.54	4.85	3.21	3.18	3.85	2.88

TABLE 30—*Continued*

City	Owners			Tenants		
	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-born White	Negro
	The South					
Atlanta, Ga.	3.56	4.06	3.07	3.19	3.39	2.75
Baltimore, Md.	3.63	4.35	3.24	3.06	3.41	2.75
Birmingham, Ala.	3.81	4.41	3.30	3.35	3.66	2.70
Chattanooga, Tenn.	3.66	3.83	3.02	3.54	3.36	2.68
Dallas, Tex.	3.34	3.68	2.83	3.11	3.19	2.41
El Paso, Tex.	3.25	3.68	2.38	2.81	3.10	2.22
Fort Worth, Tex.	3.35	3.52	2.77	3.13	3.05	2.46
Houston, Tex.	3.42	3.89	2.99	3.00	3.18	2.48
Jacksonville, Fla.	3.40	3.59	2.90	3.19	3.21	2.72
Knoxville, Tenn.	3.66	3.78	3.06	3.69	3.23	2.81
Louisville, Ky.	3.48	3.64	2.71	3.15	3.10	2.29
Memphis, Tenn.	3.56	3.90	2.83	3.32	3.22	2.47
Miami, Fla.	2.99	2.96	3.38	2.77	2.70	2.57
Nashville, Tenn.	3.56	3.90	2.83	3.32	3.22	2.47
New Orleans, La.	3.79	4.22	3.42	3.45	3.51	2.73
Norfolk, Va.	3.63	4.31	3.22	3.18	3.44	2.48
Oklahoma City, Okla.	3.33	3.41	3.16	2.99	2.91	2.51
Richmond, Va.	3.71	4.15	3.06	3.24	3.47	2.66
San Antonio, Tex.	3.25	3.33	2.82	2.94	2.99	2.54
Tampa, Fla.	3.24	4.32	2.74	3.06	4.04	2.51
Tulsa, Okla.	3.36	3.52	2.83	2.98	3.08	2.37
Washington, D.C.	3.30	4.04	3.11	2.43	3.02	2.76
Wilmington, Del.	3.30	4.79	2.81	3.18	4.00	2.42
	The West					
Denver, Colo.	3.07	3.29	2.34	2.68	2.78	2.25
Long Beach, Calif.	2.71	2.69	.....	2.42	2.31	.....
Los Angeles, Calif.	2.76	3.11	2.67	2.32	2.58	2.28
Oakland, Calif.	3.03	3.26	2.67	2.52	2.73	2.23
Portland, Ore.	2.99	3.24	2.27	2.47	2.66	2.06
Salt Lake City, Utah	3.99	3.57	.....	3.17	2.98	2.03
San Diego, Calif.	2.66	2.49	2.34	2.38	2.31	2.16
San Francisco, Calif.	3.04	3.38	2.48	2.23	2.49	1.92
Seattle, Wash.	3.12	3.21	2.31	2.49	2.63	2.02
Spokane, Wash.	3.14	3.15	2.42	2.64	2.54	.....
Tacoma, Wash.	3.13	3.26	2.42	2.66	2.60	2.00

SCATTER DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO MEN EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRY AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO MARRIED WOMEN EMPLOYED IN 75 CITIES IN 1930 AND LINE OF AVERAGE RELATIONSHIP

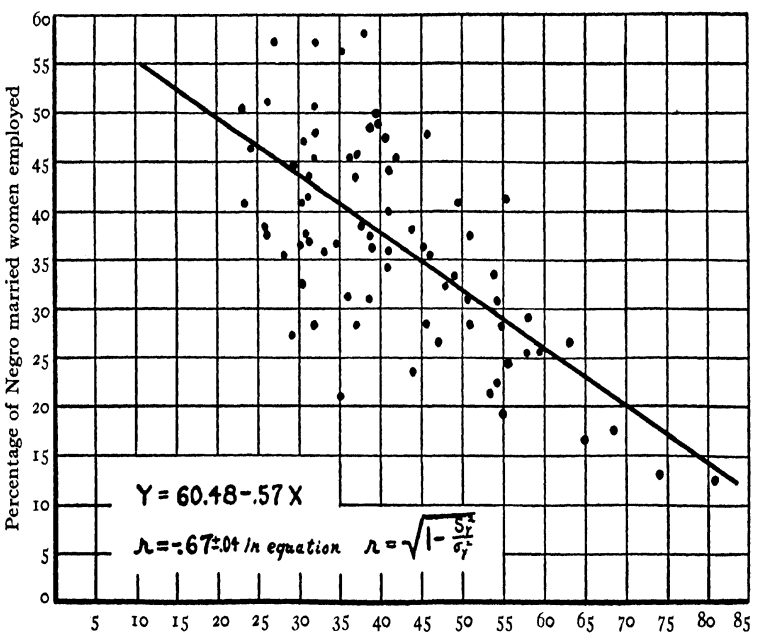


TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO EMPLOYED MALES IN MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO MARRIED WOMEN EMPLOYED FOR CITIES OF 100,000 POPULATION OR MORE, 1930

City	Percentage of Negro Males in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries *X*	Percentage of Negro Married Women Employed *Y*
	The North	
Akron, Ohio	53.4	21.8
Albany, N.Y.	34.9	36.6
Boston, Mass.	26.0	37.8
Bridgeport, Conn.	54.1	30.2
Buffalo, N.Y.	55.7	24.1
Cambridge, Mass.	31.8	28.3
Camden, N.J.	49.3	33.1
Canton, Ohio	68.6	17.6
Chicago, Ill.	38.0	38.9
Cincinnati, Ohio	45.3	36.7
Cleveland, Ohio	48.1	32.3
Columbus, Ohio	37.8	37.2
Dayton, Ohio	45.9	35.5
Des Moines, Iowa	29.4	27.3
Detroit, Mich.	63.4	26.9
Duluth, Minn.	18.9	.....
Elizabeth, N.J.	57.0	29.6
Erie, Pa.	55.5	19.8
Evansville, Ind.	37.9	28.3
Fall River, Mass.	45.8	.....
Flint, Mich.	65.0	16.5
Fort Wayne, Ind.	39.5	49.9
Gary, Ind.	80.8	12.6
Grand Rapids, Mich.	30.2	32.4
Hartford, Conn.	36.7	45.2
Indianapolis, Ind.	46.4	35.1
Jersey City, N.J.	36.9	31.8
Kansas City, Kan.	45.5	28.4

TABLE 31—*Continued*

City	Percentage of Negro Males in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries *X*	Percentage of Negro Married Women Employed *Y*
	The North—*Cont.*	
Kansas City, Mo.	30.8	40.9
Lowell, Mass.	56.2	. . . . .
Lynn, Mass.	51.3	31.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	59.7	25.3
Minneapolis, Minn.	14.0	27.1
Newark, N.J.	49.8	41.2
New Bedford, Mass.	54.1	22.6
New Haven, Conn.	31.3	36.7
New York, N.Y.	24.2	46.9
Bronx	22.6	33.9
Brooklyn	30.4	37.2
Manhattan	22.1	51.0
Queens	29.6	43.4
Richmond	51.6	24.8
Omaha, Neb.	40.6	34.6
Paterson, N.J.	42.4	45.4
Peoria, Ill.	28.4	35.7
Philadelphia, Pa.	41.6	40.0
Pittsburgh, Pa.	44.7	23.7
Providence, R.I.	30.3	36.2
Reading, Pa.	55.3	28.7
Rochester, N.Y.	31.2	40.3
St. Louis, Mo.	37.8	36.2
St. Paul, Minn.	21.4	22.4
Scranton, Pa.	35.4	21.7
Somerville, Mass.	16.8	. . . . .
South Bend, Ind.	51.4	28.2
Springfield, Mass.	33.6	35.2
Syracuse, N.Y.	38.6	30.7
Toledo, Ohio	47.4	26.7
Trenton, N.J.	57.6	25.7
Utica, N.Y.	29.4	44.1
Wichita, Kan.	30.3	37.4
Worcester, Mass.	26.0	38.0
Yonkers, N.Y.	39.5	48.7
Youngstown, Ohio	74.1	13.0

TABLE 31—*Continued*

City	Percentage of Negro Males in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries *X*	Percentage of Negro Married Women Employed *Y*
	The South	
Atlanta, Ga.	35.3	56.5
Baltimore, Md.	45.8	48.0
Birmingham, Ala.	53.8	33.3
Chattanooga, Tenn.	51.0	37.8
Dallas, Tex.	32.3	57.1
El Paso, Tex.	23.5	40.6
Fort Worth, Tex.	39.5	49.9
Houston, Tex.	40.8	47.4
Jacksonville, Fla.	30.9	47.7
Knoxville, Tenn.	32.8	45.3
Louisville, Ky.	37.3	45.9
Memphis, Tenn.	43.8	38.2
Miami, Fla.	30.0	78.9
Nashville, Tenn.	37.2	43.5
New Orleans, La.	31.4	43.2
Norfolk, Va.	32.8	48.0
Oklahoma City, Okla.	32.6	50.5
Richmond, Va.	41.7	44.3
San Antonio, Tex.	23.2	50.1
Tampa, Fla.	38.9	58.1
Tulsa, Okla.	27.3	57.1
Washington, D.C.	26.2	51.6
Wilmington, Del.	55.2	41.8
	The West	
Denver, Colo.	17.4	38.9
Long Beach, Calif.	5.6	.....
Los Angeles, Calif.	21.8	41.6
Oakland, Calif.	22.1	30.4
Portland, Ore.	11.8	35.7
Salt Lake City, Utah	16.6	24.6
San Diego, Calif.	18.7	45.9
San Francisco, Calif.	16.4	41.9
Seattle, Wash.	19.5	28.5
Spokane, Wash.	17.7	27.1
Tacoma, Wash.	17.5	21.1

TABLE 32

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND LIVING IN NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO TENURE OF HOME AND COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THREE SOUTHERN CITIES, 1910

COLOR OF HUSBAND AND WIFE	TENURE OF HOME	NASHVILLE TENN.			BIRMINGHAM, ALA.			CHARLESTON, S.C.		
		No. of Families	Born	Living	No. of Families	Born	Living	No. of Families	Born	Living
H. Black—W. Black	Owned	74	3.7	1.9	630	3.2	2.1	22	5.2	2.2
	Rented	671	3.3	1.8	1,899	2.8	1.6	821	3.4	1.8
	Unknown	206	3.0	1.5	438	3.3	1.6	185	3.3	1.6
H. Black—W. Mulatto	Owned	24	2.4	1.4	60	2.8	2.0	0	.....	.....
	Rented	56	2.2	1.7	168	2.4	1.5	30	3.3	2.0
	Unknown	10	1.7	0.8	21	1.6	1.0	3	7.0	2.0
H. Mulatto—W. Black	Owned	9	3.1	2.3	15	2.7	2.0	1	2.0	1.0
	Rented	25	3.2	2.3	52	1.5	1.0	15	4.1	2.7
	Unknown	3	1.3	0.7	4	3.7	2.2	0	.....	.....
H. Mulatto—W. Mulatto	Owned	63	3.7	2.3	70	4.4	3.4	16	4.5	2.9
	Rented	160	3.6	2.1	176	2.8	1.8	183	3.4	1.9
	Unknown	73	2.5	1.5	63	3.4	2.0	39	3.1	1.4
All families	Owned	170	3.5	2.0	775	3.3	2.2	39	4.8	2.5
	Rented	912	3.3	1.5	2,295	2.7	1.6	1,049	3.4	1.8
	Unknown	292	2.8	1.5	526	3.3	1.6	227	3.3	2.4

TABLE 33*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK, 1922–27

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1922.....	12,045	119	255	2.1	4	3.3
1923.....	12,221	137	237	1.9	15	10.9
1924.....	12,648	245	334	2.6	17	6.9
1925.....	12,214	259	329	2.6	20	7.7
1926.....	12,072	305	319	2.6	30	9.8
1927.....	11,758	353	294	2.5	29	8.2

* Source: Report by Department of Health.

TABLE 34*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, 1927–29

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1927.....	6,374	65	105	1.6	4	6.1
1928.....	6,059	57	117	1.9	6	10.5
1929.....	5,801	67	106	1.8	10	14.9

* Source: Report of Department of Public Safety, Bureau of Health.

TABLE 35*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, 1916–29

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1916.....	3,661	56	23	0.6	6	10.7
1917.....	3,733	59	29	0.7	8	13.5
1918.....	3,461	89	40	1.1	13	14.6
1919.....	3,102	99	36	1.1	18	18.1
1920.....	3,303	125	28	0.8	17	13.6
1921.....	3,268	145	28	0.8	14	9.6
1922.....	2,966	138	49	1.6	17	12.3
1923.....	2,995	177	46	1.5	21	11.8
1924.....	2,965	252	41	1.3	26	10.3
1925.....	2,848	252	43	1.5	28	11.1
1926.....	2,766	230	48	1.7	26	11.3
1927.....	2,863	249	60	2.0	32	12.8
1928.....	2,615	234	56	2.1	34	14.5
1929.....	2,584	211	65	2.5	38	18.0

* Source: Report by Bureau of Health.

TABLE 36*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY, 1924–29

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1924.....	2,993	290	26	0.8	31	10.7
1925.....	2,795	311	27	0.9	48	15.4
1926.....	2,708	337	31	1.1	48	14.0
1927.....	2,914	357	27	0.9	54	15.1
1928.....	2,693	336	31	1.1	47	13.9
1929.....	2,634	334	35	1.3	52	15.5

* Source: Report by Department of Public Health.

TABLE 37*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, 1900–1929

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1900.....	7,242	1,411	210	2.8	370	26.2
1901.....	7,125	1,670	206	2.8	490	29.3
1902.....	7,193	1,757	326	4.5	453	25.7
1903.....	7,001	1,619	305	4.3	395	24.4
1904.....	6,863	1,736	267	3.8	448	25.8
1905.....	7,077	1,874	302	4.2	495	26.4
1906.....	7,300	1,802	315	4.3	436	24.2
1907.....	7,128	1,633	227	3.1	392	24.0
1908.....	7,564	1,614	263	3.4	433	26.8
1909.....	7,313	1,483	233	3.1	345	23.3
1910.....	7,941	1,917	309	3.7	508	26.5
1911.....	7,592	1,691	346	4.5	410	24.2
1912.....	9,387	2,011	405	4.3	467	23.2
1913.....	10,309	2,233	376	3.6	471	21.1
1914.....	10,665	1,972	300	2.8	432	21.9
1915.....	11,460	2,174	359	3.1	533	24.5
1916.....	12,662	2,423	325	2.5	550	22.7
1917.....	12,582	2,368	270	2.1	512	21.6
1918.....	12,975	2,317	243	1.8	504	21.7
1919.....	14,908	2,723	256	1.7	569	20.9
1920.....	15,934	2,853	210	1.3	621	21.8
1921.....	15,882	2,926	228	1.4	652	22.3
1922.....	14,920	2,925	262	1.8	583	20.8
1923.....	14,773	3,107	232	1.5	666	21.4
1924.....	14,445	3,216	235	1.6	665	20.6
1925.....	14,576	3,380	236	1.6	693	20.5
1926.....	13,507	3,403	223	1.6	711	20.9
1927.....	13,547	3,432	192	1.4	697	20.3
1928.....	12,972	3,366	215	1.6	716	21.2
1929.....	12,156	3,305	182	1.4	713	21.5

* Source: Report by Health Department.

TABLE 38*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, 1920–29

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Black	
	White	Black	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1920.....	40,287	3,259	631	1.5	446	13.6
1921.....	39,942	3,482	592	1.4	479	13.7
1922.....	37,244	3,429	671	1.8	368	10.7
1923.....	36,806	4,067	541	1.4	462	11.3
1924.....	36,695	4,648	551	1.5	623	13.4
1925.....	34,459	4,613	519	1.5	576	12.4
1926.....	33,703	4,943	531	1.5	614	12.4
1927.....	33,378	5,147	553	1.6	670	13.0
1928.....	31,701	5,202	494	1.5	731	14.0
1929.....	30,259	4,965	532	1.7	761	15.3

* Source: Report by Department of Public Health, Vital Statistics Section.

TABLE 39*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, 1900–1929

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Negro	
	White	Negro	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1900.....	1,823	48	27	1.4	8	16.6
1901.....	1,770	47	24	1.3	8	17.0
1902.....	1,861	61	26	1.4	10	16.4
1903.....	1,891	57	31	1.6	6	10.5
1904.....	2,018	57	24	1.1	6	10.5
1905.....	2,006	58	31	1.5	12	20.6
1906.....	2,181	58	40	1.8	9	15.5
1907.....	2,245	48	38	1.6	11	22.9
1908.....	2,397	52	27	1.1	8	15.3
1909.....	2,248	44	44	1.9	5	11.3
1910.....	2,473	41	36	1.4	5	12.2
1911.....	2,731	51	61	2.2	4	7.8
1912.....	3,047	53	49	1.6	10	18.8
1913.....	3,223	51	60	1.8	6	11.7
1914.....	3,464	56	73	2.1	3	5.3
1915.....	3,681	36	61	1.6	4	11.1
1916.....	4,019	55	72	1.1	3	5.4
1917.....	4,337	96	70	1.6	9	9.3
1918.....	4,353	140	71	1.6	19	13.5
1919.....	3,978	133	61	1.5	7	5.2
1920.....	4,192	160	75	1.7	16	10.0
1921.....	3,921	159	60	1.5	10	6.2
1922.....	3,754	159	61	1.6	16	10.0
1923.....	3,863	164	53	1.3	16	9.7
1924.....	3,972	216	63	1.5	19	8.7
1925.....	3,927	193	63	1.6	17	8.8
1926.....	4,108	194	58	1.4	26	13.4
1927.....	4,096	200	69	1.6	10	5.0
1928.....	4,104	189	72	1.7	15	7.9
1929.....	4,259	200	57	1.3	21	10.5

* Source: Report by Board of Health Commissioners and Bureau of Vital Statistics.

TABLE 40*

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN SOMERVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS, 1900–1930

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1900	1,531	2	18	.....
1901	1,568	6	13	1
1902	1,549	2	10	.....
1903	1,649	5	7	.....
1904	1,599	6	16	.....
1905	1,598	2	12	.....
1906	1,721	5	20	1
1907	1,780	6	15	.....
1908	1,758	9	19	1
1909	1,744	3	21	.....
1910	1,688	6	17	.....
1911	1,782	7	20	.....
1912	1,824	4	25	.....
1913	1,888	2	28	.....
1914	2,010	4	24	1
1915	1,920	7	43	1
1916	1,977	4	39	.....
1917	2,057	13	35	.....
1918	1,999	9	22	1
1919	1,910	9	20	.....
1920	1,960	7	22	.....
1921	1,905	6	23	.....
1922	1,952	4	23	.....
1923	1,977	14	25	.....
1924	2,018	6	54	.....
1925	1,879	5	44	.....
1926	1,805	8	47	.....
1927	1,865	3	46	.....
1928	1,837	5	73	.....
1929	1,653	3	40	.....
1930	1,684	1	55	.....

* Source: Report by Health Department.

TABLE 41*

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN FLINT, MICHIGAN, 1906–30

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1906	280	1	2	0
1907	289	5	1	0
1908	371	2	2	0
1909	510	5	1	0
1910	790	5	10	0
1911	841	7	6	0
1912	942	10	7	0
1913	1,040	6	4	0
1914	1,143	4	4	0
1915	1,318	5	6	0
1916	1,857	5	21	0
1917	2,194	7	17	0
1918	2,161	13	25	1
1919	2,111	24	26	0
1920	2,999	45	30	1
1921	2,825	50	24	0
1922	2,637	54	26	1
1923	2,967	55	33	3
1924	3,178	90	33	1
1925	2,965	72	41	1
1926	3,171	102	31	4
1927	3,792	115	59	4
1928	4,384	125	83	6
1929	4,371	111	75	10
1930	4,113	117	83	7

* Source: Report by Division of Public Health, Department of Public Welfare.

TABLE 42*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN EVANSVILLE, INDIANA, 1900–1930

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Negro	
	White	Negro	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1900.....	901	105	26	2.8	15	14.3
1901.....	921	71	22	2.5	9	12.6
1902.....	871	82	10	1.1	9	11.0
1903.....	863	93	9	1.0	7	7.5
1904.....	998	57	5	0.5	5	8.7
1905.....	972	94	9	0.9	9	9.5
1906.....	1,106	97	25	2.2	9	9.3
1907.....	1,095	96	25	2.3	15	15.6
1908.....	1,134	96	24	2.1	16	16.6
1909.....	1,055	91	24	2.2	17	18.6
1910.....	1,023	93	24	2.3	21	22.5
1911.....	1,126	108	37	3.2	23	21.2
1912.....	1,183	87	26	2.1	18	20.6
1913.....	1,199	80	37	3.0	10	12.5
1914.....	1,270	88	28	2.2	15	17.0
1915.....	1,264	110	30	2.3	25	22.7
1916.....	1,329	103	25	1.8	15	14.5
1917.....	1,421	84	29	2.0	18	21.4
1918.....	1,365	75	26	1.9	8	10.6
1919.....	1,262	66	12	0.9	11	16.6
1920.....	1,361	104	27	1.9	16	15.3
1921.....	1,655	103	32	1.9	20	19.4
1922.....	1,477	93	10	0.6	22	23.6
1923.....	1,669	75	17	1.0	16	21.3
1924.....	1,703	85	23	1.3	17	20.0
1925.....	1,552	91	14	0.9	24	26.3
1926.....	1,631	65	27	1.6	15	23.0
1927.....	1,666	87	32	1.9	15	17.2
1928.....	1,602	91	41	2.5	18	19.7
1929.....	1,623	68	25	1.5	21	30.8
1930.....	1,680	81	34	2.0	13	16.0

* Source: Report by Department of Health and Charities.

TABLE 43*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1920–28

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1920.....	2,809	1,399	146	5.1	281	20.0
1921.....	2,925	1,439	115	3.9	285	19.8
1922.....	2,722	1,426	105	3.8	285	19.9
1923.....	2,839	1,470	120	4.2	281	19.1
1924.....	2,913	1,459	110	3.7	257	17.6
1925.....	2,738	1,500	91	3.3	285	19.0
1926.....	2,586	1,424	68	2.6	283	19.8
1927.....	2,472	1,345	76	3.0	267	19.8
1928.....	2,412	1,280	66	2.7	276	21.5

* Source: Report of Department of Health.

TABLE 44*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, 1920–28

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1920.....	1,837	1,032	27	1.4	181	17.5
1921.....	1,793	1,003	34	1.8	168	16.7
1922.....	1,699	959	33	1.9	166	17.3
1923.....	1,827	1,097	27	1.4	193	17.5
1924.....	1,775	1,064	30	1.6	190	17.8
1925.....	1,609	976	32	1.9	165	16.9
1926.....	1,540	978	20	1.2	173	17.6
1927.....	1,565	949	29	1.8	192	20.2
1928.....	1,522	872	39	2.5	173	19.8

* Source: Report by Department of Health.

TABLE 45*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, 1918–29

YEAR	TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1918.....	2,287	1,308	59	2.5	162	12.3
1919.....	2,409	1,419	85	3.5	192	13.5
1920.....	2,497	1,451	89	3.5	214	14.7
1921.....	2,811	1,707	97	3.4	254	14.8
1922.....	2,796	1,695	94	3.3	263	15.5
1923.....	2,858	1,868	88	3.0	284	15.2
1924.....	3,243	2,094	102	3.1	378	18.0
1925.....	3,407	2,287	117	3.4	326	14.2
1926.....	3,532	2,418	128	3.6	383	15.8
1927.....	3,788	2,303	148	3.9	376	16.3
1928.....	3,530	2,328	122	3.4	363	15.5
1929.....	3,313	2,132	121	3.6	353	16.5

* Source: Report by Jefferson County Board of Health.

TABLE 46*

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS IN MOBILE, ALABAMA, 1900–1930

YEAR	TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1900.....	477	476	7	1.4	132	27.7
1901.....	477	435	12	2.5	121	27.8
1902.....	506	422	9	1.7	113	26.7
1903.....	490	452	13	2.1	121	26.7
1904.....	526	444	11	2.0	109	24.5
1905.....	541	507	8	1.4	94	18.5
1906.....	602	418	12	1.9	110	26.3
1907.....	564	471	19	3.3	79	16.7
1908.....	715	491	14	1.9	87	17.7
1909.....	647	569	7	1.0	122	21.4
1910.....	600	458	7	1.1	82	17.9
1911.....	628	469	12	1.9	81	17.2
1912.....	673	502	19	2.8	57	11.3
1913.....	618	455	18	2.9	121	26.5
1914.....	660	528	26	3.9	117	22.1
1915.....	658	433	27	4.1	120	27.7
1916.....	621	466	17	2.7	126	27.0
1917.....	666	462	25	3.7	113	24.4
1918.....	776	412	28	3.6	105	25.4
1919.....	903	483	18	1.9	109	22.5
1920.....	938	606	27	2.8	118	19.4
1921.....	934	589	39	4.1	106	17.9
1922.....	849	516	38	4.4	104	20.1
1923.....	865	492	36	4.1	105	21.3
1924.....	857	544	40	4.6	118	21.6
1925.....	824	509	41	4.9	128	25.1
1926.....	854	514	31	3.6	113	21.9
1927.....	929	555	49	5.2	123	22.1
1928.....	920	534	46	5.0	126	23.5
1929.....	890	550	33	3.7	108	19.6
1930.....	949	530	50	5.2	124	23.4

* Source: Report by Department of Health.

TABLE 47

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AMONG TOTAL BIRTHS IN THREE TEXAS CITIES

YEAR	TOTAL BIRTHS		ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS			
			White		Colored	
	White	Colored	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
	Fort Worth*					
1929.....	1,399†	349	102	7.3	42	12.0
	Dallas‡					
1928.....	3,826	622	127	3.3	92	14.8
1929.....	4,037	664	126	3.3	74	11.1
	Houston§					
1927.....	4,121	994	70	7.0	59	5.9
1928.....	4,162	999	80	8.0	98	9.8
1929.....	4,554	1,127	80	7.1	112	10.0

* Report by Bureau of Vital Statistics.
† Exclusive of stillbirths.
‡ Report by Department of Vital Statistics.
§ Report from Registrar of Vital Statistics.

TABLE 48

MEDIAN SIZE OF URBAN AND RURAL NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO TENURE

STATE AND RACIAL GROUP*	MEDIAN SIZE OF FAMILIES								AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES
	All Families		Urban		Rural Farm		Rural Non-farm		
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	
	The North								
Maine:									
N. W.	3.05	3.25	3.05	3.16	3.32	3.82	2.87	3.30	3.57
F-b. W.	3.83	3.85	3.99	3.88	3.89	4.25	3.57	3.75	4.27
Negro	3.48	2.48	2.76						3.34
New Hampshire:									
N. W.	2.81	3.09	2.98	3.06	2.95	3.51	2.53	3.10	3.35
F-b. W.	2.87	3.55	4.11	3.58	3.62	3.35	3.28	3.43	4.13
Negro	2.42								3.10
Vermont:									
N. W.	3.06	3.25	3.09	3.07	3.39	3.96	2.68	3.28	3.54
F-b. W.	3.88	3.59	3.93	3.46	4.35	4.46	3.27	3.64	4.22
Negro	2.35								3.19
Massachusetts:									
N. W.	3.21	3.13	3.28	3.12	3.13	3.34	2.80	3.19	3.49
F-b. W.	4.21	3.74	4.24	3.74	4.56	3.76	3.67	3.62	4.27
Negro	3.23	2.65	3.11	2.66	2.79		3.75	2.64	3.44
Rhode Island:									
N. W.	3.16	3.20	3.23	3.20	2.84	3.60	2.68	3.24	3.53
F-b. W.	4.28	3.76	4.30	3.76	4.34	4.84	3.75	3.75	4.37
Negro	2.99	2.46	3.01	2.43			3.12		3.36
Connecticut:									
N. W.	3.13	3.08	3.23	3.03	3.12	3.43	2.99	3.24	3.39
F-b. W.	3.42	3.87	4.48	3.88	4.54	3.74	4.20	3.83	4.44
Negro	3.00	2.78	2.92	2.78			3.19	2.77	3.40
New York:									
N. W.	3.20	2.95	3.33	2.90	3.24	3.78	2.86	3.16	3.35
F-b. W.	4.24	3.61	4.32	3.61	4.03	4.10	3.59	3.43	4.06
Negro	2.98	2.60	3.00	2.59	2.89	3.54	2.86	2.89	3.18
New Jersey:									
N. W.	3.35	3.16	3.43	3.13	3.29	3.96	3.10	3.31	3.53
F-b. W.	4.29	3.75	4.35	3.75	4.28	4.22	3.86	3.64	4.33
Negro	3.03	2.91	3.01	2.89	3.47	4.00	3.05	3.07	3.53
Pennsylvania:									
N. W.	3.44	3.41	3.41	3.26	3.81	4.33	3.33	3.75	3.79
F-b. W.	4.69	4.18	4.64	4.02	5.20	5.17	4.89	4.85	4.80
Negro	3.08	2.86	3.05	2.84	3.61	3.37	3.19	3.03	3.50
Ohio:									
N. W.	3.21	3.22	3.24	3.04	3.39	4.21	2.94	3.49	3.56
F-b.	4.12	3.54	4.16	3.50	4.15	4.38	3.68	3.82	4.20
Negro	3.03	2.75	3.04	2.72	3.26	3.89	2.91	3.00	3.42
Indiana:									
N. W.	3.11	3.38	3.13	3.16	3.31	4.11	2.83	3.42	3.59
F-b. W.	3.83	3.43	4.01	3.41	3.42	4.17	2.89	3.21	4.04
Negro	2.82	2.65	2.84	2.64	2.85	3.78	2.55	2.55	3.30
Illinois:									
N.W.	3.28	3.15	3.39	2.87	3.44	4.04	2.83	3.38	3.52
F-b. W.	3.93	3.43	4.02	3.42	3.63	4.33	3.16	3.24	3.97
Negro	2.90	2.62	2.92	2.61	3.16	3.52	2.66	2.71	3.31

* N. W. = native white; F-b. W = foreign-born white.

TABLE 48—*Continued*

State and Racial Group	Median Size of Families								Average Size of Families
	All Families		Urban		Rural Farm		Rural Non-farm		
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	
	The North—*Cont.*								
Michigan:									
N. W.	3.35	3.19	3.43	3.06	3.48	4.04	3.04	3.48	3.63
F-b. W.	3.88	3.44	4.02	3.41	3.85	4.32	3.00	3.63	4.06
Negro	3.17	2.83	3.24	2.84	2.64	3.11	2.67	2.45	3.48
Wisconsin:									
N. W.	3.60	3.32	3.46	3.14	4.18	4.05	3.05	3.43	3.81
F-b. W.	3.60	3.38	3.66	3.33	4.10	4.36	2.54	3.14	3.95
Negro	2.88	2.50	2.91	2.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.16
Minnesota:									
N. W.	3.69	3.40	3.51	3.11	4.21	4.14	3.25	3.48	3.88
F-b. W.	3.51	3.47	3.58	3.26	4.06	4.70	2.47	3.14	3.91
Negro	2.60	2.24	2.61	2.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.87
Iowa:									
N. W.	3.14	3.49	3.07	3.16	3.70	3.97	2.59	3.35	3.65
F-b. W.	2.95	3.73	3.00	3.17	3.90	4.57	2.28	3.13	3.61
Negro	2.65	2.49	2.73	2.49	.....	.....	2.20	2.40	3.17
Missouri:									
N. W.	3.23	3.26	3.23	2.97	3.44	4.01	2.89	3.40	3.61
F-b. W.	3.50	3.24	3.66	3.25	3.25	3.61	2.86	2.82	3.72
Negro	2.63	2.48	2.59	2.40	2.94	3.35	2.63	2.68	3.14
North Dakota:									
N. W.	3.99	3.70	3.73	3.27	4.31	4.12	3.64	3.50	4.17
F-b. W.	4.18	4.33	3.58	3.48	5.03	5.05	2.95	3.53	4.65
Negro	1.56		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.04
South Dakota:									
N. W.	3.64	3.64	3.30	3.22	4.12	4.00	3.16	3.40	3.97
F-b. W.	3.48	4.04	3.15	3.26	4.38	4.66	2.50	3.19	4.12
Negro	2.57		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.21
Nebraska:									
N. W.	3.39	3.46	3.22	3.11	4.00	3.85	2.90	3.40	3.75
F-b. W.	3.22	3.73	3.39	3.30	4.10	4.45	2.28	2.96	3.80
Negro	2.61	2.35	2.63	2.35	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.00
Kansas:									
N. W.	3.17	3.42	3.07	3.14	3.61	3.91	2.83	3.31	3.64
F-b. W.	3.10	3.45	3.10	3.08	3.79	4.37	2.38	2.75	3.69
Negro	2.69	2.66	2.72	2.61	2.85	3.35	2.47	2.67	3.26
	The South								
Delaware:									
N. W.	3.14	3.34	3.23	3.18	3.38	4.07	2.89	3.30	3.57
F-b. W.	4.56	3.94	4.78	3.98	3.68	4.09	3.57	3.71	4.64
Negro	2.92	2.81	2.78	2.44	3.73	4.29	2.68	2.97	3.52
Maryland:									
N. W.	3.58	3.38	3.59	3.16	3.85	4.45	3.42	3.61	3.85
F-b. W.	4.23	3.42	4.33	3.42	3.84	3.66	3.67	3.40	4.28
Negro	3.42	3.03	3.19	2.74	3.99	4.95	3.39	3.57	3.83
Dist. of Columbia:									
N. W.	3.30	2.43	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.13
F-b. W.	4.40	3.02	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.86
Negro	3.11	2.76	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.44

TABLE 48—*Continued*

State and Racial Group	Median Size of Families								Average Size of Families
	All Families		Urban		Rural Farm		Rural Non-farm		
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	
	The South—*Cont.*								
Virginia:									
N. W.	3.94	3.89	3.72	3.42	4.28	4.72	3.67	3.97	4.31
F-b. W.	3.91	3.42	4.12	3.41	3.72	3.80	3.46	3.40	4.02
Negro	3.78	3.41	3.16	2.67	4.46	5.32	3.54	3.62	4.24
West Virginia:									
N. W.	3.99	4.03	3.59	3.39	4.48	4.95	3.84	4.27	4.40
F-b. W.	4.78	4.09	4.57	3.76	4.95	5.24	5.02	4.26	4.67
Negro	3.41	3.03	3.31	2.73	4.43	4.86	3.39	3.10	3.70
North Carolina:									
N. W.	4.29	4.26	3.85	3.85	4.74	4.83	3.90	4.15	4.64
F-b. W.	3.83	3.52	3.94	3.56	4.01	.....	3.38	3.30	3.98
Negro	4.19	4.22	3.40	3.08	5.20	5.37	3.86	3.73	4.74
South Carolina:									
N. W.	4.12	4.29	3.71	3.81	4.58	4.86	3.73	4.19	4.58
F-b. W.	4.16	3.50	4.27	3.40	.....	.....	3.82	3.75	4.10
Negro	3.96	3.98	3.23	2.75	4.73	4.91	3.46	3.24	4.52
Georgia:									
N. W.	3.88	4.04	3.60	3.50	4.35	4.69	3.51	3.85	4.35
F-b. W.	3.89	3.38	4.07	3.45	3.06	.....	3.25	3.09	3.90
Negro	3.29	3.38	2.99	2.66	4.36	4.27	3.01	2.96	4.02
Florida:									
N. W.	3.28	3.31	3.06	3.06	4.03	4.43	3.18	3.53	3.67
F-b. W.	3.02	3.06	3.30	3.17	2.70	2.58	2.46	2.41	3.49
Negro	3.18	2.65	2.97	2.61	4.06	3.66	3.11	2.45	3.42
Kentucky:									
N. W.	3.74	3.85	3.40	3.27	4.10	4.38	3.41	4.02	4.21
F-b. W.	3.53	3.28	3.56	3.10	3.48	.....	3.35	4.10	3.82
Negro	2.79	2.65	2.59	2.35	3.32	4.00	2.78	3.01	3.35
Tennessee:									
N. W.	3.86	3.94	3.57	3.44	4.14	4.42	3.61	3.94	4.26
F-b. W.	3.90	3.28	3.97	3.28	3.92	3.76	3.23	3.04	3.93
Negro	3.08	2.98	2.85	2.45	3.83	4.12	3.02	2.96	3.61
Alabama:									
N. W.	4.07	4.09	3.75	3.58	4.53	4.59	3.65	3.97	4.44
F-b. W.	3.78	3.51	4.18	3.47	3.31	3.69	2.89	3.67	4.06
Negro	3.46	3.32	3.16	2.70	4.26	4.06	3.12	2.91	3.99
Mississippi:									
N. W.	4.05	3.91	3.67	3.41	4.41	4.27	3.57	3.61	4.33
F-b. W.	4.02	3.65	4.11	3.45	4.28	5.12	3.67	3.22	4.27
Negro	3.47	3.16	2.93	2.36	4.27	3.44	2.80	2.40	3.85
Arkansas:									
N. W.	3.78	3.93	3.38	3.33	4.21	4.36	3.33	3.66	4.20
F-b. W.	3.39	3.11	3.46	2.96	3.66	4.19	2.78	2.83	3.80
Negro	3.15	3.04	2.81	2.41	3.88	3.32	2.71	2.46	3.67
Louisiana:									
N. W.	3.99	3.82	3.73	3.46	4.45	4.45	3.85	3.85	4.26
F-b. W.	4.34	3.65	4.25	3.55	5.28	5.29	4.02	3.64	4.44
Negro	3.45	3.11	3.23	2.64	4.34	3.68	3.18	2.71	3.81
Oklahoma:									
N. W.	3.51	3.75	3.83	3.16	4.00	4.48	3.36	3.66	4.02
F-b. W.	3.40	3.29	3.28	3.01	3.91	4.32	2.80	2.97	3.78
Negro	3.12	3.21	2.90	2.49	3.92	4.10	2.84	2.80	3.81

TABLE 48—*Continued*

State and Racial Group	Median Size of Families								Average Size of Families
	All Families		Urban		Rural Farm		Rural Non-farm		
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	
	The South—*Cont.*								
Texas:									
N. W.	3.52	3.58	3.36	3.17	3.96	4.26	3.31	3.47	3.91
F-b. W.	3.58	3.44	3.57	3.12	4.04	4.83	2.65	2.81	3.95
Negro	3.19	3.09	2.92	2.49	3.99	3.87	2.84	2.64	3.73
	The West								
Montana:									
N. W.	3.30	3.07	3.32	2.95	3.33	3.56	3.22	2.93	3.50
F-b. W.	3.36	2.97	3.36	2.87	3.48	3.79	3.19	2.63	3.66
Negro	2.03	1.50	2.13	1.63	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.21
Idaho:									
N. W.	3.62	3.48	3.38	3.21	3.97	4.05	3.35	3.34	3.89
F-b. W.	3.13	3.13	3.06	3.12	3.49	4.09	2.60	2.73	3.58
Negro	1.66		1.72		.....	.....	.....	.....	2.28
Wyoming:									
N. W.	3.34	3.10	3.28	2.92	3.46	3.63	3.26	3.10	3.51
F-b. W.	3.28	3.25	3.45	2.98	3.17	4.66	3.10	3.18	3.64
Negro	2.10	1.76	1.81		.....	.....	1.47		2.30
Colorado:									
N. W.	3.16	3.10	3.05	2.84	3.52	3.87	3.04	3.22	3.47
F-b. W.	3.33	3.25	3.31	2.84	3.78	4.95	2.92	3.06	3.77
Negro	3.23	2.22	2.36	2.23	2.21		2.04		2.74
New Mexico:									
N. W.	3.81	3.37	3.45	3.17	4.13	3.93	3.74	3.30	4.00
F-b. W.	3.24	3.07	3.33	2.87	3.41	3.36	2.81	3.23	3.65
Negro	2.47	2.18	2.56	2.12	3.61		1.99		3.06
Arizona:									
N. W.	3.26	2.93	3.16	2.76	3.63	3.96	3.18	2.88	3.42
F-b. W.	3.11	2.53	3.22	2.66	3.22	3.16	2.92	2.34	3.28
Negro	2.41	2.17	2.38	2.04	3.08		2.45	2.24	2.87
Utah:									
N. W.	4.39	3.44	4.10	3.30	5.02	4.06	4.46	3.66	4.31
F-b. W.	3.45	3.07	3.49	2.99	3.92	3.67	2.98	3.28	3.75
Negro	2.38	1.99	2.32	2.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.68
Nevada:									
N. W.	2.84	2.40	3.00	2.39	3.44	2.88	2.40	2.38	2.97
F-b. W.	2.93	1.92	3.22	2.25	3.83	2.29	2.15	1.58	2.98
Negro	1.35		1.61		.....	.....	.....	.....	1.87
Washington:									
N. W.	3.15	2.87	3.14	2.67	3.33	3.71	3.04	3.08	3.31
F-b. W.	3.11	2.74	3.19	2.66	3.22	3.80	2.72	2.69	3.33
Negro	2.33	1.97	2.34	1.98	.....	.....	2.27		.....
Oregon:									
N. W.	3.02	2.84	2.98	2.62	3.25	3.63	2.88	2.97	3.24
F-b. W.	3.04	2.66	3.16	2.68	3.11	3.38	2.54	2.40	3.28
Negro	2.19	1.98	2.22	2.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.45
California:									
N. W.	2.89	2.50	2.88	2.44	3.00	3.32	2.84	2.83	2.98
F-b. W.	3.14	2.63	3.15	2.58	3.41	3.57	2.80	2.50	3.24
Negro	2.60	2.24	2.62	2.23	2.45	3.13	2.45	2.02	2.91

TABLE 49*

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FOUR NATIVITY GROUPS IN EACH OF THE FIVE ZONES OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY, 1930, 1920, 1910

CENSUS YEAR	NATIVITY GROUP	ZONE				
		I	II	III	IV	V
1930	Native white, native parentage	0.3	2.8	16.5	22.8	18.8
	Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	0.3	4.3	19.3	25.6	39.5
	Foreign-born white	0.3	4.9	22.2	28.3	35.2
	Negro	99.0	87.8	41.4	22.7	6.2
1920	Native white, native parentage	5.7	14.6	25.3	17.0	14.4
	Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	9.4	19.4	34.7	41.6	42.1
	Foreign-born white	7.5	13.8	26.7	40.2	40.8
	Negro	77.2	52.1	13.1	1.0	2.5
1910	Native white, native parentage	20.3	23.0	26.9	17.3	13.3
	Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	34.7	33.2	38.0	40.0	36.9
	Foreign-born white	26.5	24.7	30.6	41.5	47.2
	Negro	18.3	18.9	4.4	1.0	2.3

* This table should be read in conjunction with Diagram II, p. 311.

TABLE 50

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IN HARLEM ACCORDING TO TYPE, AGE, AND CONDITION

Zone	Type			
	One Family	Two Family	Multi-family	Other
I	6.5	0.8	40.9	51.7
II	9.0	0.2	50.7	40.0
III	14.2	0.5	51.9	33.4
IV	6.9	1.1	69.9	22.0
V	6.0	1.0	78.1	14.9
	Age			
	Less than 10 Years	10–19	20–34	35 Years and Over
I	0.8	0.2	8.8	90.0
II	1.0	1.7	7.1	90.2
III	2.4	1.8	21.6	74.1
IV	1.4	2.6	15.0	81.0
V	2.2	4.2	17.0	76.6
	Condition			
	1st Class	2d Class	3d Class	4th Class
I	19.2	53.9	26.2	0.6
II	13.5	65.2	19.5	1.7
III	22.8	62.3	13.0	1.8
IV	17.4	62.7	16.7	3.1
V	24.7	55.8	17.6	1.9

TABLE 51

NUMBER OF DIVORCES IN TWENTY VIRGINIA CITIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COLOR, 1931 AND 1930

CITY	1931			1930		
	Total Divorces			Total Divorces		
	White	Colored	Color Not Stated	White	Colored	Color Not Stated
Alexandria	189	30	3	170	16	2
Bristol	21	2	0	19	5	1
Buena Vista	9	1	0	8	0	0
Charlottesville	32	9	3	20	3	6
Clifton Forge	10	1	0	4	1	0
Danville	35	8	0	26	5	0
Fredericksburg	9	1	1	7	1	0
Hopewell	35	1	0	32	1	0
Lynchburg	58	20	0	53	21	0
Newport News	57	31	2	40	29	0
Norfolk	315	68	15	301	57	26
Petersburg	29	12	0	34	17	0
Portsmouth	63	28	12	61	26	36
Radford	8	0	0	9	2	0
Richmond	272	81	74	295	93	66
Roanoke	135	21	0	136	27	0
Staunton	15	5	0	13	7	0
Suffolk	5	5	0	2	3	0
Williamsburg	3	0	0	0	1	0
Winchester	17	1	0	25	2	0

TABLE 52

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO MALES EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS IN FIFTEEN SELECTED CITIES
1930 AND 1920

CITY	CENSUS YEAR	PERCENTAGE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	OCCUPATIONS							
			Professional	Public Service	Trade	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Domestic Service	Laborers
Atlanta	1930	81.5	2.8	1.0	2.4	1.6	19.6	13.9	25.9	32.9
	1920	87.5	2.0	0.8	3.0	0.9	17.1	18.3	19.3	38.2
Birmingham	1930	82.1	2.1	0.6	1.8	1.0	19.4	24.8	14.1	36.1
	1920	84.8	1.7	0.2	1.8	0.6	16.2	23.6	9.7	45.3
Houston	1930	84.9	2.8	0.9	2.3	1.5	16.5	11.2	19.0	45.6
	1920	88.7	2.5	0.2	2.1	0.8	11.4	21.1	17.2	44.5
Memphis	1930	84.4	2.5	0.9	2.9	1.2	18.0	11.8	17.3	44.9
	1920	88.2	2.2	0.4	3.7	0.7	15.1	20.6	13.9	43.2
New Orleans	1930	82.7	2.3	1.0	3.0	1.7	19.3	11.8	16.6	44.3
	1920	84.5	1.4	0.6	1.8	0.9	15.7	17.3	12.8	48.9
Richmond	1930	78.6	2.9	1.2	2.9	1.8	14.4	14.1	20.0	42.5
	1920	83.9	1.6	0.7	2.7	1.0	12.7	17.2	15.4	47.7
Baltimore	1930	84.8	2.6	0.4	1.9	1.5	12.7	11.9	18.1	50.5
	1920	88.7	1.8	0.6	2.2	0.8	10.0	14.3	17.3	52.4
Cincinnati	1930	83.2	2.5	0.7	1.7	1.5	11.1	8.2	21.5	52.5
	1920	88.3	2.0	0.6	1.9	1.0	11.7	10.5	19.3	52.4
Dist. of Columbia	1930	80.6	4.3	1.6	2.5	3.5	17.6	11.2	27.0	32.3
	1920	83.4	2.7	2.2	2.2	3.5	14.0	17.6	21.6	35.8
Boston	1930	81.5	4.3	1.1	2.3	4.2	15.5	12.1	42.5	17.8
	1920	88.3	3.5	1.2	2.4	3.2	15.2	10.9	42.0	21.2
Chicago	1930	86.4	3.0	1.6	3.4	4.9	14.6	11.8	28.6	31.9
	1920	90.6	2.6	1.2	2.7	3.9	12.2	10.1	28.0	38.8
Cleveland	1930	84.4	2.5	1.0	2.3	2.7	18.9	10.7	18.8	42.8
	1920	90.8	1.4	1.0	1.7	1.7	18.8	12.3	15.0	47.6
New York	1930	87.0	3.8	1.2	2.8	5.6	17.8	9.7	36.5	22.3
	1920	90.3	2.7	1.4	2.3	5.0	14.8	11.6	37.4	24.5
Philadelphia	1930	85.0	2.3	1.6	2.4	2.8	16.5	9.9	20.0	44.3
	1920	87.9	1.7	1.8	2.5	1.9	15.1	13.2	18.4	45.2
Seattle	1930	85.4	5.0	1.8	3.1	2.0	10.0	7.8	51.0	19.2
	1920	92.5	3.6	2.6	2.6	1.6	11.2	8.2	42.6	26.9

APPENDIX C[1]

A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. THEORIES AND GENERAL STUDIES OF THE FAMILY

1. HISTORY, ORGANIZATION, AND CONTROL OF THE FAMILY

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[1] In this Bibliography the purpose has been to give a classified list of the sources which have been consulted in making this study. Obviously, the numerous documents and questionnaires to which reference has been made in the footnotes could not be included among the titles. Because of the lack of systematic studies of the Negro family in the United States, the author was compelled to collect the comparatively meager materials on the subject which are to be found in books, articles, documents, surveys, autobiographies, and biographies. The last two sources have been listed in separate sections of the Bibliography. Naturally, there will be some question concerning the historical value of those records pertaining to the slaves. It cannot be denied that in many cases both the autobiographies and the biographies of slaves were written for propaganda purposes. On the other hand, it is equally true that some of these documents show considerable detachment and an attempt, at least, on the part of the authors to give a truthful account of the events in the lives of their subjects. Therefore, a critical use of these records has thrown much light on the family relations of the Negro. Of more importance for our study were the documents which were composed subsequent to slavery, for they reveal in a naïve manner on the whole, in spite of their conventional dress and tone, the values and conceptions of life which have meaning for the subjects of these sketches. In this respect the historical interest and the sociological interest in these records are not identi-

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cal. From some of these records one gets a vivid and intimate picture of the culture of the Negro which has determined, in the final analysis, the traditions and character of Negro family life. Although no attempt has been made to give a critical estimate of the individual works, an asterisk has been placed beside those autobiographies and biographies which have thrown light on our problem.

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