

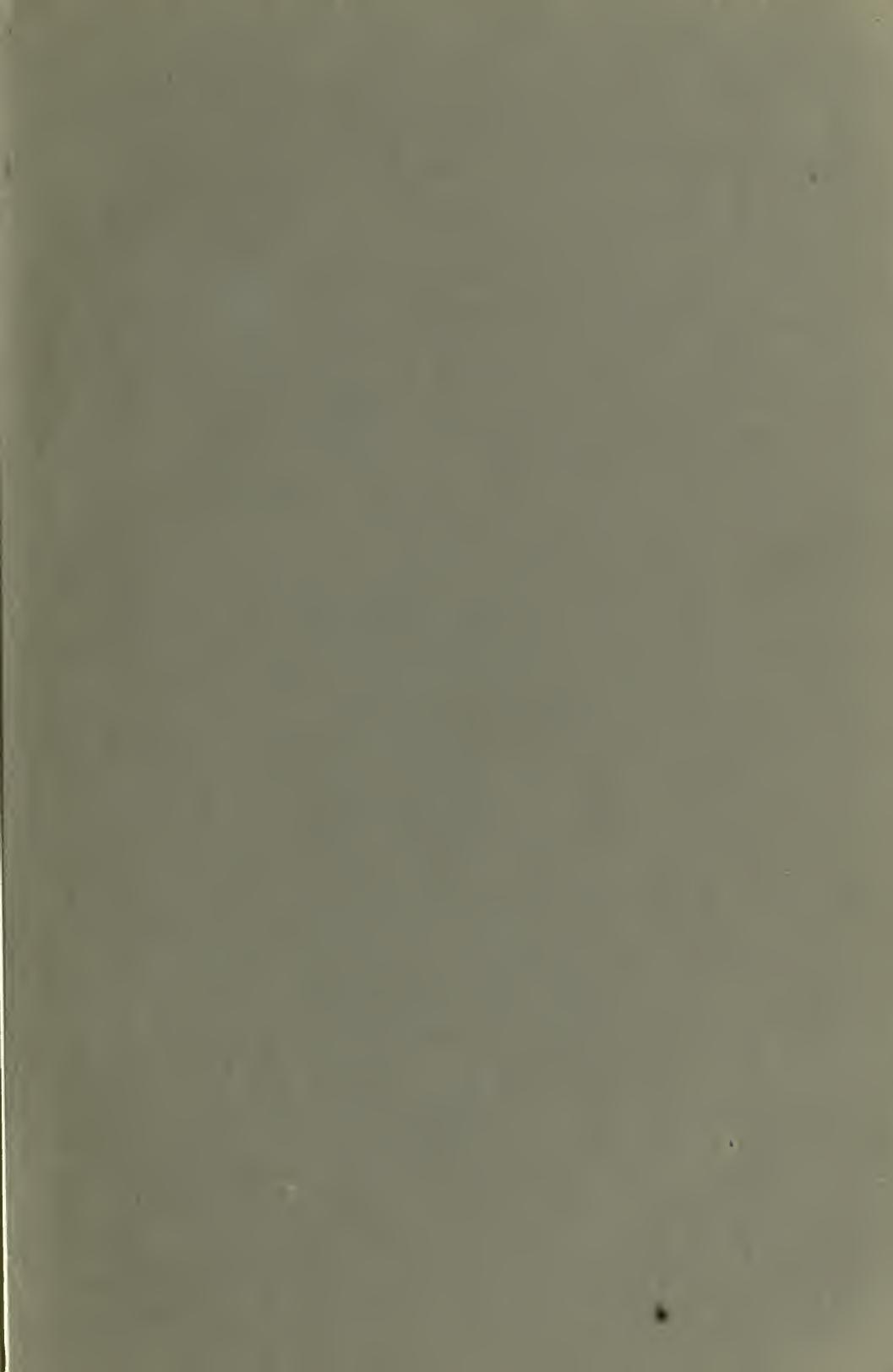
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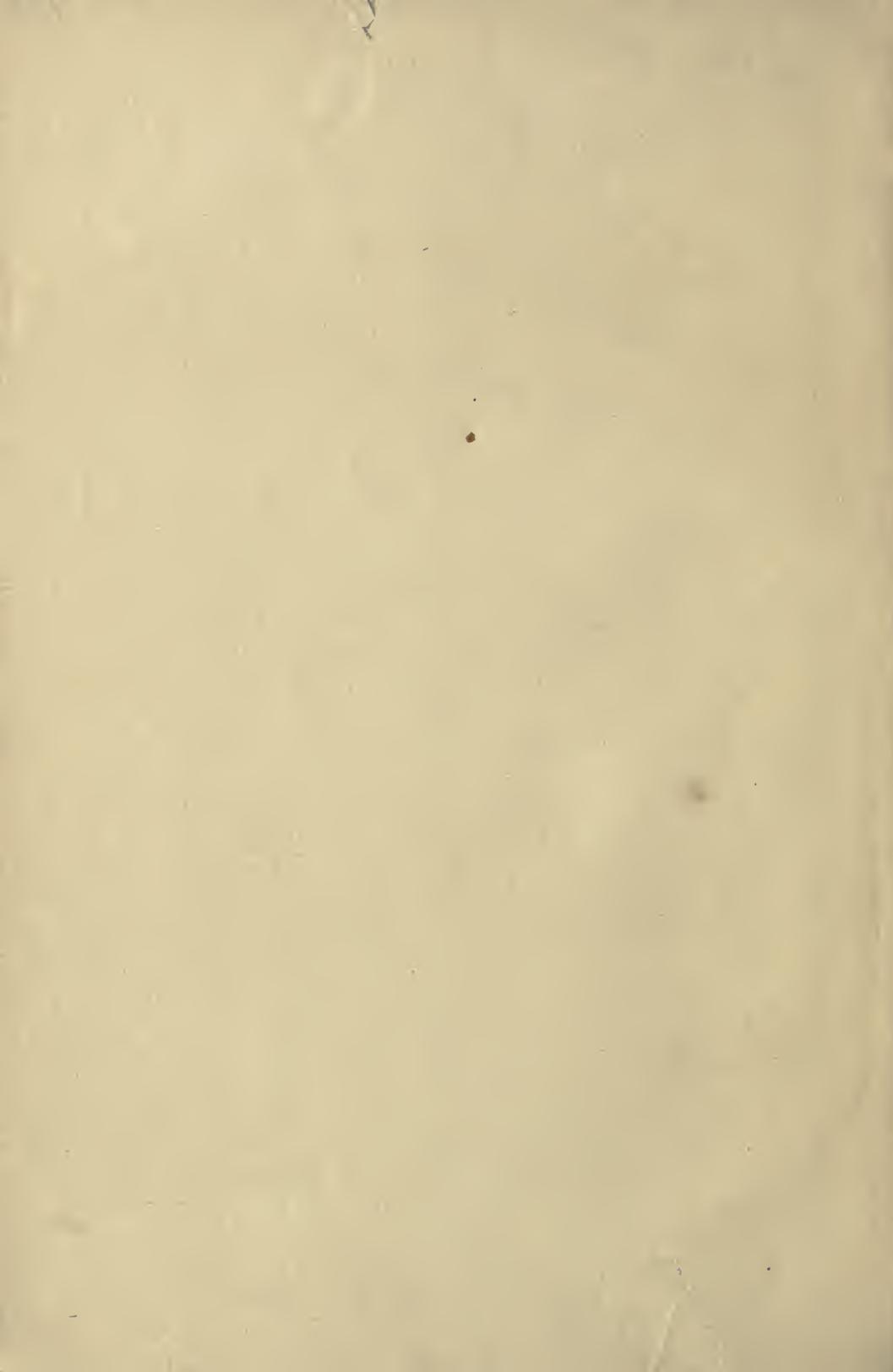
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# NEGRO MIGRATION

Changes in Rural Organization  
and Population of the  
Cotton Belt

BY

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To My Father  
An Inspiring Teacher and True Companion

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## PREFACE

Investigation of the conditions from which Negro migrations rise throws new light on the vexing questions of land tenure and rural organization in the South. Descriptions of the movements reveal interesting and important social processes. A full treatment of the effect of the migration necessitates a review of all of the important problems of Negro life, for migration places them against a new and changing background.

The greater part of this work is devoted to the first two topics, namely: (1) The description of land tenure and the organization of farm life in the Cotton Belt. (2) How this organization results in the movements of population. One chapter is devoted to city movements and one to the effects of migration. While the writer is aware that the space of one chapter is entirely inadequate for a full treatment of the latter topic, it is not considered that the data are yet available for an exhaustive treatment. The principal effects are merely outlined so that students of special Negro problems may be warned that they will do well, after gathering their facts, to make allowance for population movement before drawing conclusions.

Negro migration, like the movement of any people, may be associated with definite social and economic forces. It is desirable that the student retain, in proper perspective, this general significance of a population movement even while examining its interesting details. With this in view, the effort throughout the study has been to describe, in terms of current usage in social science, the movements of colored people in the United States, the conditions from which they arise, and the consequences which attend them.

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## INTRODUCTION

The recent spectacular movement of Negroes northward awoke the people of the United States for the first time to the realization that the colored population is steadily shifting. In 1910 there were more than a million Negroes living in the North and West, but it was not until the exodus of 1916 and 1917 assumed such startling proportions that Negro migration became a nation-wide topic of interest.

Southern planters now realize that they are confronted with a serious labor shortage, and that the future of their section is inextricably involved in the condition of the Negro population. The concentration of large numbers of Negroes in northern industries, the cessation of European immigration, and the increased apprehension concerning the reliability of many of the foreign groups now in industry, have made the Negro a very important factor in the national labor situation. Men in industry are looking to the black population as a reservoir of good and thoroughly "American" labor to be drawn upon in the future.

The social consequences of this shift in population are of no less significance than the economic. While Southern planters feel the pinch of the loss of labor, thoughtful people of the South are wondering just what changes they should make in race relations in order to make their section a better place for Negroes to live. While men in big business in the North welcome this increase in their labor force, social workers realize that this flow of large numbers of raw, village and small-town laborers into our most highly organized industrial communities, increases their problems at a rate all out of proportion to the increase in population.

What has not been realized is that for the past fifty years the forces underlying this movement have been oper-

ating steadily, but in a less spectacular way.] There has been a northward movement, and there have been other movements of more fundamental importance from one section of the South to another ever since the emancipation of slaves.

[A study of these movements of Negroes from southern plantations is important because it throws light on some of the causes of the loss of population suffered by many other rural districts of the United States. Diminishing returns in agriculture, the effect of the opening of new lands in the neighborhood, and discontent with rural institutions are underlying causes of movements of farmers not only in the United States but also the world over. Except for race prejudice, which enters into most of the Negro problems, the economic and social forces which drive the Negro from one rural district to another and from country to town are the same as those operating in the white population. There are very few counties in the South where the colored and white people do not move in the same direction in response to the same situation.

When the migration became rapid in 1916 and 1917, there was extended public discussion as to its causes. Numerous explanations were published, and there is some evidence that the very discussion stimulated many to go North who otherwise would not have reached the decision to move. There is also ample evidence that the movement itself, once begun, created a pressure towards further movement. This pressure arose because Negroes not only wrote back, but in many cases sent money back for their friends and relatives to make the trip. Recently, therefore, the situation has been complicated not only by abnormal war conditions but also by the very magnitude of the movement.

Fortunately this study was inaugurated before the intensification of the migration made these abnormal factors prominent. In its first stages the study was an effort to determine the significance of certain peculiarities of population

increase and decrease *within the South*, which seemed to indicate well defined drifts in the colored population. A considerable amount of work had been done on the problem before the movement of 1916-17 was influenced by abnormal war conditions, the boll weevil, and the Northern labor agent, and before it extended discussion and complicated the normal currents.

This first study of a fairly simple set of causes revealed the underlying factors of rural organization from which the Negroes were moving. The only element changing the fundamental conditions from which they were shifting in Georgia during the years 1916-17 was the boll weevil, and this pest was not new in the more western portions of the Cotton Belt. The principal difference in the volume of the war migration and that of the earlier steady shift was an alteration in the proportions going North in response to the better wage conditions which were widely advertised by labor agents, discussion and correspondence.

The causes of migration were worked out first. It was determined that the shift of predominating importance from 1865 to 1916 was from one rural district to another, that the chief cause of this shift was discontent with land tenure, and that after 1916 this discontent was only aggravated by the war conditions and the boll weevil. From this it was evident that a thorough understanding of the movement is dependent upon a clear idea of the importance of the complex social and economic conditions which are associated with the different systems of farming or land tenure.

A real understanding of this institution necessitates a broader viewpoint than can be obtained from the study of the economic principles of farming alone. The system is basic in rural life. Upon the quality of the land, the number and quality of the people, and land tenure—the institutional tie between the land and the people—depends the whole organization of men who produce from the soil.

The presentation of this material therefore embraces first

a systematic treatment of land tenure and its importance in Negro life; second, a treatment of the relationship between the changes in land tenure and farm population, with a brief statement concerning the migration from country to city and from South to North, and third, a summary of the effects of migration on colored population, institutions, and race relations, with recommendations for attacking those problems which are emphasized by the movement.

GEORGIA: A TYPICAL COTTON STATE.

In general it may be said that the conditions of agriculture, industry and population movement are distinctly different in the Northern States, the Border States and the Cotton States. In the North the Negro rural population is almost negligible. The colored man is attracted almost wholly by city opportunities, and with one or two exceptions, the great excess of females in Northern Cities in 1910 indicated a predominance of domestic service opportunity. The movement during the European war was, however, industrial. The Border States—Maryland, Virginia,

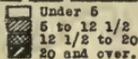
MAP I.

INCREASE OF NEGROES BY STATES, 1900-1914

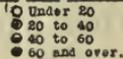
Shading indicates increase in rural districts.  
Symbols indicate increase in cities.



Per cent increase rural districts.



Per cent increase cities.



Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri show a decreasing Negro farm population, and the increase in cities is small. The rural population of West Virginia was increasing through mining rather than agricultural opportunities, and Texas and Oklahoma, though Southern States, do not belong to the old Cotton Belt. In the Cotton States, on the other hand, the rural districts seem to be holding their own, and the increase in towns is rapid.<sup>1</sup>

typical of the group of States which lie along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts from North Carolina to Louisiana. This map is shaded to show the rate of increase in Negro rural population of each of the States having a considerable number of Negroes between 1900 and 1910, and a symbol is inserted in each State to show the rate of Negro increase in cities during the same period.<sup>2</sup>

In every Cotton State except Alabama, Louisiana and Texas the rural districts show increases ranging from 5 to 9 per cent. In Florida the rural increase is 21 per cent. In the urban districts, or places whose population is over 2,500, the per cent of increase in the colored population ranged from 20.6 in South Carolina to 80.3 in Florida. Georgia, therefore, with an increase of 9.0 per cent in rural Negroes and 39.6 per cent in urban Negroes may be con-  
It appears from Map 1 (previous page) that Georgia is

<sup>1</sup> Jones, Thomas Jesse, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1913. "The study of the county population of the more southern South from South Carolina to Louisiana, presents a very different situation as regards the movement of the white and Negro population from that of the Border States. \*\*\* Each of the Cotton States with their large Negro population shows a stability of population and a prevalence of gains that contrasts quite strikingly with the losses and differences of the Border States. The population movements (of white and colored people) of these States seem to be governed by the same forces. At any rate the two classes of the population apparently move and increase together"

<sup>2</sup> Map 1 is based upon census figures quoted in Table 1.

sidered as a fair sample of the Cotton States. The increase in total Negro population in Georgia, was 13.7 per cent, a rate only exceeded by Florida, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and some of the Northern States with relatively small Negro populations. The rate of increase in Georgia was slightly higher than the rate of increase of Negroes in the country as a whole.

As far as the rural population is concerned, one powerful cause of increase is evident in the substantial growth in the number of farms operated by Negroes. The census classification of farm operators includes all persons cultivating the soil except laborers, consequently an increase in farms operated by Negroes indicates a passage from the status of laborer, occupied all Negro agricultural workers under the system of slavery, to the status of a farmer cultivating the land in a more or less independent manner. The increase in Negro farms and its relation to the increase in rural population is shown in the following table:

TABLE 1.

Increases in Negro Rural Population and Negro Farms,  
Cotton States, 1900-1910<sup>3</sup>

State	Numerical Increase		Percentage Increase	
	Rural Population	Farms	Rural Population	Farms
Florida .....	38,489	1,177	21.1	8.7
Arkansas .....	54,059	16,600	16.3	35.3
<b>Georgia</b> .....	<b>78,409</b>	<b>39,732</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>48.0</b>
Mississippi .....	63,325	36,137	7.4	28.2
N. Carolina.....	33,568	10,460	6.1	19.4
S. Carolina.....	36,178	11,391	5.2	13.3
Louisiana .....	19,179	—3,277	3.6	—5.6
Alabama .....	22,526	16,318	3.1	17.3
Texas .....	9,792	4,344	2.0	6.6

<sup>3</sup> Computed from U. S. Census of 1910, "Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915," pp. 92 and 588. The words "computed from" as used here and in succeeding footnotes indicate that the figures given are not directly copied from the census, but are arrived at by subtractions or combinations of figures from the tables cited.

The increase in farms operated by Negroes is greater in Georgia than in any other State. The rural districts of Florida and Arkansas show a faster rate of population increase, notwithstanding a slower rate of farm increase than Georgia, because large numbers of rural Negroes in Florida and Arkansas are farm laborers and laborers in turpentine and sawmilling.

Oklahoma, on the edge of the Cotton Belt, increased 114.2 per cent in Negro rural population and 107.9 in Negro farms. This was due to the opening of new government lands, and is the most striking instance of the effect of agricultural opportunity on Negro movements.

The distribution of Negroes in Georgia also makes it an interesting State to study. In general the distribution of Negro population varies with definite geographical belts, and all of the geographical belts of importance in the South, except the delta lands are found in the State. The Blue Ridge and Appalachian Mountains extend into the northern section of the State, the Upper Piedmont Plateau lies just south of the mountains, the Black Belt includes the Lower Piedmont Plateau, extending somewhat past the fall line of the rivers, and south and east of the Black Belt is the Coastal Plain commonly known as the "Flatwoods" or "Wiregrass" region.<sup>4</sup> Within the State counties with all proportions of Negroes to white people are found. The percentage Negro in the total population ranges from less than 5 in some of the mountain counties in the North to over 85 in Lee County. Map II (page 98) shows these sections separated by heavy boundary lines. The white counties, with less than 10 per cent of their total population Negro, lie in the unproductive mountainous section of the North. The next belt of counties, ranging from 10 to 25 per cent in Negro population, represents the Upper Pied-

<sup>4</sup> See Atlas of American Agriculture, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1919, Part V, Page 8.

mont section, a rugged region, with excellent climate and land adapted to the raising of a great variety of farm crops, fruits, and cattle. Contrary to the usual impression that the whole South was divided into large plantations before 1860, this section is, and always has been, the home of small farmers. Its soil did not make the large scale production of cotton as profitable as did the lands of the Black Belt. Consequently, slavery was not highly developed in the Upper Piedmont. The slaves owned were in small groups, ranging from 1 to 10 per owner, and in many cases the owner and slave worked side by side in tilling the land, whereas in the Black Belt the owner of the baronial estate was separated from slaves by managers and overseers.

The next area extending along the coast and arching across the State in the shape of a broad horse-shoe, constitutes what is commonly known as the Black Belt, in which the population is over 50 per cent Negro. This includes the Lower Piedmont region and extends south of the fall line of rivers into the Upper Coast Plain, stretching down the Savannah River to the East and the Chattahoochee to the South. In this section Negroes are found in overwhelming numbers in the open country. The county towns contain the white county officers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and many of the landlords. Even in many of the towns of the Black Belt, however, the Negroes outnumber the white people. The coastal Black Belt is slightly different from the central Black Belt in that, originally this area was the rice and sea-island cotton area, and was divided into even larger plantations than the upland cotton area. Inclosed in the curve of the Black Belt is the region known as "Wiregrass." The counties of this region contain a Negro population which ranges from 25 to 50 per cent of the total. This is the level Coastal Plain with but slight elevation above the sea. The open country is occupied by both white and Negro farmers. The "Wiregrass," sparsely populated at the close

of the Civil War, has since become a good farming and lumbering section, and the use of commercial fertilizers has attracted buyers of land which was formerly considered almost worthless.

These differing proportions of white and colored people, and the differing farm opportunities in the geographical belts are marked in Georgia, and their details provide excellent insight into the relation of the Negro agricultural worker to the land.

The breakdown of plantations, described in Part I, with the attendant rise of a white and colored tenantry, applies to all the area of the old Cotton Belt or Black Belt. For the sake of definiteness and because the State has previously received the attention of R. P. Brooks and E. M. Banks,<sup>5</sup> the facts presented are confined to Georgia. They are almost exactly paralleled in Alabama and South Carolina. In North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas the plantation system had a less firm hold than in Georgia, and suffered a faster decline. In Louisiana and Mississippi it was more firmly entrenched and has declined more slowly. Shifts in population from the old plantation areas and movement to towns, described in Part II, have likewise been in progress all over the Cotton Belt.<sup>6</sup> In describing these, however, attention is again centered largely on Georgia for the sake of definiteness. The effects of population movement described in Part II, Chapter IV, are, of course, more or less uniform throughout the South, varying only with the extent to which a locality is affected by migration.

<sup>5</sup> Brooks, R. P., "The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912." University of Wisconsin, 1914, History Series, Vol. 3, No. 3.

Banks, E. M., "Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia." Columbia University, Studies in History Economics and Public Law, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> See U. S. Census, Negro Population in U. S., 1790-1915, Chap. VIII.

## PART I. THE NEW RURAL ORGANIZATION.

### CHAPTER I

#### AGRICULTURE AND PREJUDICE

Since the agricultural interests of the South are so predominant, by far the most pressing problems of the section relate to rural life. Recent efforts for the improvement of colored people have been centered on rural problems with a two-fold purpose. Merely from the standpoint of self-interest, improvement of rural conditions affecting Negroes means improvement in the general welfare of the South and the Nation. From an altruistic standpoint it seems that the greatest benefit to the Negro himself is to be derived from such efforts.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE TO THE NEGRO

The 3,000,000 Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits constituted (in 1909) 30 per cent of the rural population of the South and 40 per cent of all southern agricultural workers. Their skill and industry govern, to a large degree, the prosperity of the southern farmer. The influence of Negro farmers on the general prosperity of the nation is indicated by the fact that they cultivate 41,500,000 acres of land, an area over twice the size of all the land in farms in the New England States.<sup>1</sup> From the standpoint of the Negro himself the importance of agriculture is emphasized by the fact that 70 per cent of the Negro population lives in rural districts, and the largest numbers of Negroes who are making money and acquiring property are to be found among the farmers. The stable element of the congregations of rural

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Bureau of Education, "Negro Education in the United States," Bulletin 38, 1917, Page 103.

churches and the patronage of rural schools is composed of those Negroes who have been able to attach themselves to the land.

The masses of Negroes did not attain their strategic position in agriculture through deliberate planning. They are farmers merely because they happen to have been born in the country and because the white land-owners can utilize their labor most profitably on the farm. In the past, agriculture has been the method of obtaining a livelihood with which colored men were most familiar. Slavery was their school, rather a hard school at times, nevertheless a school where they learned the white man's lessons of thrift, religion and agriculture. The hoe, the plow and the cotton basket became friends and served them well after emancipation. The lesson that America, unlike Africa, demands continued labor if a man is to survive, was also a part of the program of slavery. These lessons were more or less imperfectly learned, yet, without some knowledge of them it is inconceivable that an African population could have survived in America under a system of free competition.

But the passing of the plantation system has caused almost revolutionary changes in the South since the Civil war. The change in land tenure is to be noted chiefly in the development of radically new relations of the Negro to the land. From a condition of an absolutely dependent laborer, the Negro has advanced to the strategic position in agriculture outlined above. Still more radical has been the shift of a considerable number to northern industries. These changes have been accompanied by a remarkable set of social phenomena. The presence of varying degrees of agricultural opportunity in different sections has produced a startling amount of migration, a redistribution of the population and changes in its density. Furthermore, the different degrees of opportunity have acted as a selective force on the Negro population. They are responsible for important

reorganizations in family life, religious, educational and other rural institutions. Consequently, in describing the changes in the agricultural system of the South, we are not only outlining the principal conditions from which population movements arise, but also presenting a systematic treatment of the much debated and fundamentally important principles of land tenure.

Such a presentation is particularly important at present since farm organizations and especially the National Board of Farm Organizations are characterizing tenancy as a great evil and an increasing menace. They have induced practically all the candidates in the race for the presidency of the United States for the 1920 term to endorse this statement. Such a broad generalization of the evils of tenancy is undoubtedly a perpetuated form of Henry George's error referred to in Chapter IV of this study, which arises from the *a priori* assumption that tenant conditions are the same in this country as they are in Europe. The evidence presented in Part I, aside from its particular bearing on population movement, would seem to indicate that increase in actual number of tenants in the United States is, in itself, neither an evil nor a menace, but an indication that larger and larger numbers of laborers are mounting to a very necessary rung in the ladder whereby the farmer boy climbs from the landless laboring class into the farm proprietor class. It also indicates that inasmuch as the number of owners is constantly increasing, the increase in tenants is not recruited from ruined landowners, but rather from farm laborers. In other words, while tenancy, as it exists on many of the farms of the South and Middle West, has little to be said in its favor, still, as compared to the status of the farm laborer, it represents an advance. These observations as to the general significance of the rise of land-tenure are fully developed in the last chapter of Part I.

It appears that Booker T. Washington was right in urging

the soil of the South as the basis of racial improvement. That While the Negro should exert every effort to abate unjust discrimination, he should expend the greater portion of his energy in becoming a more efficient farmer. In a comparative study of the Negro in America with the Native of South Africa, Mr. Maurice S. Evans has said:<sup>2</sup>

“In travelling over the South land the impression the visitor gets is one of ample space for development. Even in the older States not one-third of the total area could be called improved and more than one-half is uncleared and uncultivated. A much greater proportion of the land than in South Africa can be put under the plough and the rainfall is abundant and well distributed. It is true that much of the land has been distressingly abused and gone out of cultivation, but by modern methods of manuring, rotation of crops, and green-soiling it can be gradually built up again, possibly even beyond its original fertility. The climate and soil are suitable for a great variety of crops, both those of the temperate and those of the sub-tropical zones. Timber for fuel and ordinary building is everywhere plentiful, and the country is well watered by many streams. When I compared it with the sun-stricken karoo of the Cape Colony, without fuel, water, or shelter, and the arid wastes of large extent in the interior of Australia, lacking in any of these, it seemed to me a land to which nature has given, as compared with many others, all that man requires to build up prosperous and happy homes. Judging by the standards of the producing British Colonies land is cheap; judged by its possibilities it is very cheap. This means that if he (the Negro) liked to take to agriculture he could at once purchase and stock a small improved farm or a larger unimproved one, and raise enough in a very few years to return the purchase price. Such a man need never be in debt. He could buy his requirements and sell his produce on the very best terms, as well as any white man, and yearly improve his holding and add to his possessions.”

It is this agricultural opportunity which is emphasized

<sup>2</sup> Evans, M. S., “Black and White in the Southern States.” London: Longmans Green and Company, 1915, p. 248-249.

throughout the remainder of this study. No matter what other forms of race discrimination exist in the South, there is no bar to the Negro in the direction of buying land, as is the case with the Japanese in California, and in so far as he makes effort to improve himself as a tenant, his interests and those of the white landlord are practically the same.

#### THE EXTENT OF PREJUDICE

To the mind unaccustomed to the intricacies of the race questions, the foregoing picture of Negro agricultural opportunity may seem too bright. Accounts of discrimination and race prejudice probably play a larger part in the formation of the popular belief concerning the colored people than do statistics of improvement. To a large number of people the Negro appears a very much down-trodden individual, the opportunity in the South wholly a white man's opportunity, and the life in the South an inter-racial struggle. Though this pessimistic view overemphasizes discrimination, it is to be remembered that along side of the stream of opportunity for the Negroes there is the parallel stream of phenomena which are loosely grouped under the terms race discrimination and race prejudice. These two, flowing side by side, sometimes act on one another, and create queer cross currents and eddies of policy which are extremely difficult to understand. To describe one without describing the other is to give but one set of the complex factors of race problems.

Therefore, as this study is to mainly be concerned with the agricultural opportunities of Negroes it may be well to emphasize in the beginning some of the other factors which are most widely known. For the past twenty years thinking Negroes and friends of the Negro have been divided into two schools, which agree fundamentally on the question of what is needed for the betterment of the race, and yet clash in their contentions as to the best methods to

pursue in obtaining these things. The school of militant protestors constantly holds before the public the sins committed against the Negro. They direct caustic criticism against lynching, injustice in the courts, the "Jim Crow" car, and other forms of discrimination," and their chief activity is litigation. On the other hand, the cooperative school headed by the late Booker T. Washington, and his successor R. R. Moton, emphasizes opportunity, training for citizenship, winning recognition through efficiency in agriculture and industry, and co-operation with the white race.

Georgia is often cited as the foremost example of discrimination by the former school. Their chief organ, "*The Crisis*," refers frequently to injustice in the courts. It has conducted investigations of the "Jim Crow" cars in the State. Not only *The Crisis*, but also the press of the country as a whole, has awarded Georgia first place in number of lynchings during the past few years. Of the 228 lynchings during the years 1913, 1914 and 1915, immediately before migration started, *The Crisis* reports 42, or more than one-sixth, in Georgia. Of the 164 as reported to the Director of the Department of Records at Tuskegee, 30 were in Georgia. Of the 3,389 lynchings in the United States between 1885 and 1919, 398 were in Georgia.<sup>3</sup>

It must be admitted that in the instances cited above race prejudice gives the appearance of an inter-racial struggle. The interests of the masses of Negroes, however, are the

<sup>3</sup> No official record of lynchings is kept. The three sources of unofficial information are, the *Crisis*; the Department of Records, Tuskegee Institute, Monroe N. Work, Director, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The difference in number noted above is due to the fact that the *Crisis* classes as lynching some cases of inter-racial violence resulting in death, though committed by individuals rather than by mobs. The most complete presentation of the facts appears annually in "*The Negro Yearbook*," Monroe N. Work, Editor.

same as those of the white people. They work together amicably, a bad crop affects both races, and mutual aid is carried on to a remarkable extent in view of the fundamental difference in their culture. It is interesting and perhaps confusing to note that between 1900 and 1910, despite discrimination, the Negro population of Georgia increased 13.7 per cent, while the Negroes in the country as a whole increased by only 11.2 per cent; Negro illiteracy decreased in Georgia from 52.4 per cent to 36.5 per cent; the number of city homes owned increased 51.3 per cent, and the number of farms operated by Negro owners increased 48 per cent, a rate not exceeded by any State in the South.<sup>4</sup>

These steps toward improvement are hopeful but cannot in any sense be taken as an extenuation of the gruesome facts as to lynching. The contrast does, however, bring out the fact that there are two parallel and often conflicting sets of forces in the problem, and that there is a brighter side to the picture than that which appears in the public press,—the side in which constructive workers with Negro problems are primarily interested.

<sup>4</sup>United States Census of 1910. Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915; pp. 37, 419, 465, 609.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RUIN OF THE OLD REGIME

The immediate effect of the Civil War was a revolution in Southern agriculture. This revolution brought with it varied opportunities for the white and colored populations. For the ex-planters three options were open: The first was to abandon planting—few, however, could afford to do this. Their second option was to remain on the plantation and continue agricultural operations by following as nearly as possible the ante-bellum system of gang labor, merely substituting freedmen for slaves. Their third choice was to move into town and adopt a share tenant system, relaxing somewhat their personal supervision of operations, or even renting their land outright. For the ex-slaves three options were also open (First to remain and cultivate the land as laborers. Second to quit the plantations which clung to the gang labor system and seek more advantageous terms of cultivating the soil, as tenants or owners. Third to quit agriculture and move into town.) Like the planters few freedmen had the desire or initiative to move at first. Agricultural opportunity was opened to still a third group which had, up to the Civil War, been confined mostly to the Upper Piedmont. The small white farmer and the white tenant had the opportunity, for the first time, to gain a place. The slave system which enabled great plantations to absorb all the small holdings was no longer legal, and consequently the situation was most advantageous to the small farmer and the white tenant.

### CAUSES OF THE BREAKDOWN

Prior to the Civil War the plantations were localized in what has been described as the Black Belt (see Introduction). This section was divided into large tracts of land

and almost all of the available area was or had been used for agriculture. The land in the Wiregrass region was also held in large tracts, but only a small portion of it was cultivated. In 1860, 83.6 per cent of the cotton of the State was grown in the Black Belt; 13.7 per cent in the Upper Piedmont; 3 per cent in the Wiregrass, and a bare 0.7 per cent in the mountains.<sup>1</sup> The initial causes of the change from the regime of gang labor are therefore to be observed best in the situation of the Black Belt planters after the war. Large landed estates and large scale production of cotton had become almost their religion. Naturally a strong effort was made to continue the cultivation of cotton by using the freedmen under the gang system, and in some parts of the State this system is still found. The supervision implied was, however, such a constant reminder of the physical restraint of slavery and offered such limited opportunity for making profits that the Negro was discontented with it.

For several reasons many were in a position to make their own terms with the landlords and escape from this irksome supervision. The competition for labor was for a time intense. Many of the farms were ruined and idle, and, notwithstanding the high price of cotton, it was easy to acquire land. The system of allowing the merchant to hold a lien upon the growing crop in security for supplies advanced, gave laborers without capital further opportunity to acquire land on credit, or for a rental, and to stock it by securing advances from supply merchants, giving as security a mortgage upon the crop which he promised to plant. Thus the tenant could make the initial payment on a piece of cheap land, secure easy credit for tools, stock, and supplies, and depend upon future crops to pay him out of debt. A detailed picture of the influence of these factors upon the plantation system can be presented in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> Brooks, R. P., opp. cite p. 124.

following topics: (1) The irksome supervision, (2) Competition and Wages, (3) Hard times and Cheap Lands, (4) The crop lien system. These were the general causes of the breakdown of large plantations.)

*Irksome Supervision.* When slavery, as a means of controlling labor was abolished, radical changes began to work in the Negro mind. The immediate result was the complete demoralization of the agricultural system. In describing what took place in 1865-66, Brooks gives the following picture: <sup>2</sup>

“On many plantations operations went ahead with scarcely any interruption. Planters called informal meetings of the freedmen, explained in simple terms their new condition and offered employment at the current rate of wages to all who desired to remain. After wandering off a short distance simply to assert their freedom many Negroes returned to the plantations and took up their former labor. Those planters who had been most considerate of their slaves experienced the least trouble in employing them as freedmen. \* \* \*

“On the other hand, there was a large element of the freedmen who did not follow the course just outlined. The widespread belief that the plantations of their former owners would be divided among the ex-slaves at Christmas, 1865, acted as a deterrent to steady industry. The Commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau found it necessary to send out special instruction to all officers and agents, directing them to do what they could to dispel this delusion.”

In many sections of the State, the gang system of cultivation was doomed. The close oversight reminded the Negroes too strongly of slavery days, and the sharp competition for labor gave them the power to demand better terms or to move off.

While the cultivation of cotton is not strenuous labor, it demands imperatively, at certain seasons, that a constant labor supply be available. Consequently, the landlords were

<sup>2</sup> Brooks, R. P., *Agrarian Revolution*, opp. cite p. 12-13.

in dire straits when confronted by such uncertainties in labor supply. Some arrangement had to be made whereby the landlord could be assured that his crop would have constant attention. The metayer, or share tenant system, resulted. Under this system the landlords could move into the towns and have their places farmed by tenants on shares. The tenant, usually without capital, was advanced a year's supplies, given the use of a house, implements and a work animal. In return he was to plant and work the crop in accordance with the instructions of the landlord. The landlord received as rent a share of the crop. This share-tenancy in its turn was irksome to some of the Negroes who did not like the supervision which it implied. They desired a still more permanent and independent form of land tenure. It was then that cash tenancy arose. In the case of a cash tenant or renter, if the Negro were without capital his advances for tools and supplies were made as a direct loan from the landlord or from a merchant, and a mortgage on his growing crop was taken to secure payment. In this way the tenant was responsible for part of the capital. Instead of having to pay the landlord half of the crop, he had to pay a stipulated "standing" rent, and all that remained after paying his rent and returning the money advanced, belonged to him. The cash tenant was on his own initiative. The more or less successful farmers managed to accumulate a little money and buy land. The unsuccessful were involved in debt, lost their land and stock, and returned to the status of laborer or share tenant. That the successes have been, in the long run, slightly more numerous than the failures is illustrated by the slow increase in the number of Negroes found in these higher forms of tenancy.

It is natural that the owners should be averse to a passage from laborer to share tenant and share tenant to cash tenant, because each step means a decreasing amount of supervision over the crop and care of the land. Many of these landlords who were experienced farmers and who

could have enhanced the welfare of their tenants by lending their supervision to the operations were compelled to abandon the supervision of tenants and adopt the rent system. In the case of shiftless tenants the resultants were, the use of less fertilizers and poorer methods, less care of the work animal and tools, and a consequent deterioration in the value of the land and implements. An interesting account of how the change came about step by step on a single large plantation in Georgia, is given by Chancellor D. C. Barrow in *Scribner's Magazine*.<sup>3</sup>

“For several years following emancipation, the force of laborers was divided into two squads, the arrangement and method of cultivation was very much as in the ante-bellum period. Each squad was under an overseer, or foreman. The hands were given a share of the crop. As the time went on, the control of the foreman became irksome to the Negroes. As a consequence the squads were split up into smaller and smaller groups, still working for a part of the crop, and still using the owner's teams. The process of disintegration continued until each laborer worked separately, without any oversight. The change involved great loss and trouble. Mules were ill-treated, the crop was badly worked, and often the tenant stole the landlord's share. It became necessary to abandon the sharing feature. The owner sold his mules to the tenants, thereby putting on them the burden of the loss incidental to the careless handling of stock. It became impracticable to keep the cabins grouped when each man worked on a separate farm, since some of the farms were at a distance from the “quarters.” New cottages were therefore built scatteringly in convenient places near springs. The Negroes now planted what they pleased and worked when they liked, the landlord interfering only to require that enough cotton be planted to pay the rent.” The author concluded, “The slight supervision which is exercised may surprise those ignorant of how completely the relations between the races at the South have changed.”

Thus the plantation system in parts of the Black Belt was doomed. It will be noted from Barrow's description, how-

<sup>3</sup> Barrow, D. C., *Scribner's Magazine*, April, 1881.

ever, that the change did not take place in a day. In many instances the owners of land, in the endeavor to save its fertility and to increase their crops are still endeavoring to maintain the old gang system. In fact, most large farm units which remain today are "mixed,"—the owner hires as many laborers as he can and farms the remaining land with tenants. The result is that only the lower types can be hired for wages. The higher types who are successful farmers, move up into share tenancy or renting. They do not like the labor system which makes them rise at the tap of the farm bell in the early dawn and work under close oversight until the evening. Only the marginal laborers, those least able to bargain for a farm, are left to work as laborers on the large plantations.

*Wages and Competition.* One of the chief reasons why the Negro was able to assert his desire to escape from the supervision of the landlord is revealed by wage conditions and the sharp competition between landlords for competent laborers. During the period from 1865 to 1880 the action of supply and demand enforced more freedom for the Negro than any of the post-bellum amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The main factors in supply and demand which enabled Negroes to pass from the status of laborer to tenant may be summed up as follows: First, the supply of laborers in the plantation area was reduced: (a) by the withdrawal of numbers of women from field work, and (b) by the movement of other laborers to cities and rural districts in which higher wages could be offered. Second, the demand was increased by (a) the high price which cotton brought immediately after the war, and (b) by the necessity of using the land, the only form of wealth that remained in the South. This decrease in supply and increase in demand led to competition for labor to which the Negro responded in various ways. For some the response was to seek the higher types of tenancy rather than to remain as laborers. For a large majority, however, the

first response was merely an assertion of freedom from responsibility which led them to work when they pleased and shift from plantation to plantation with such disregard for contracts that they earned the distrust of their former masters and disrupted many of the old plantations.

Of the first factor in the decrease in supply of labor it is hardly necessary to speak at length. Under the slave system many of the women worked in the field and a very natural result of their release was to retire from agriculture, either in order to become home-keepers, subsisting upon "hand laundry" work, with occasional excursions to the fields, at cotton picking or chopping times; or to become domestics in the towns and larger cities. Inasmuch as this movement was one towards greater care of the children and the home, it was, of course, greatly to the advantage of the race.

The movement of Negroes from the Black Belt in response to the higher wages offered in Western States and Southern Georgia, was of more grave consequence. The following table quoted by Brooks from the Year Book of the Department of Agriculture, 1876, gives the comparative money wages in Southern States.<sup>4</sup>

*Comparative Wages Per Year for Farm Hands  
in Southern States*

State	1867	1868
North Carolina.....	\$104	\$89
South Carolina.....	100	93
Georgia .....	125	83
Florida .....	139	97
Alabama .....	117	87
Mississippi .....	149	90
Louisiana .....	150	104
Texas .....	139	130
Arkansas .....	158	115
Tennessee .....	136	109

<sup>4</sup> These averages quoted from the Department of Agriculture are based upon the reports of special agents, and while not exact are the best available indices of the conditions. In addition to these money wages food was furnished.

It is evident from these figures that all the Cotton States except North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama were offering higher wages in both 1867 and 1868 than Georgia. In 1868 all the Cotton States were offering higher wages. Several reasons may be assigned for this difference in wage scale. In the first place, while land was plentiful in Georgia, it was still more plentiful in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. The supply of free public land had not been exhausted in these States. Again, the States lying west of Sherman's line of march did not suffer anything like the loss of wealth which those in his line of march suffered. A still further factor is to be found in the fact that land, in the Western States, having been more recently put under cultivation, had not suffered as much deterioration from the wasteful cultivation of slave labor. It was more productive. In the long run, almost every other State could afford to pay more for Negro labor immediately after emancipation than Georgia.

In addition South Georgia was competing against the old plantation area for labor. Brooks states that the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in Southwest Georgia wrote to General Tillson in January, 1866, that there was a demand for labor in Baker County, and asked that four or five hundred hands be sent. Three to five hundred, he said, were needed in Dougherty County.

Not only were the planters confronted by this shrinkage in the labor supply, but they were also confronted by the imperative demand for labor. Without money or credit they returned to their homes in 1865 in dire need of the means of making their living from the soil. It has been said that few members of the army which surrendered at Appamatox did not toil with the plow during the next few years. The land was the only form of capital, and the Negro was the only supply of labor. These were the tools at hand for the rebuilding of the South.

The high price of cotton was a spur to their efforts. The

following prices were quoted for the years 1865-1870, by M. B. Hammond, in *Cotton Industry*:<sup>5</sup> 1865, 83.38c; 1866, 43.20c; 1867, 31.59c; 1868, 24.85c; 1869, 12.01c; 1870, 23.98c. All during the five-year period the price of the crop was considerably higher than any level which it reached before the European War. For such reward, strong competition was set up among the planters. Thousands of Negroes were moved from the Black Belt in response to the demand, and every expedient was resorted to in order to obtain an adequate supply of labor. The following letter from General Howell Cobb indicates the difficulties of the situation:<sup>6</sup>

December . . . . ., 1866.

"I find a worse state of things with the Negroes than I expected, and am unable even to say what we shall be able to do. From Nathan Barwick's place every Negro has left. There is no one to feed the stock, and on the other places none have contracted as yet. I shall stay here until I see what can be done. By Tuesday we shall probably know what they will do. At all events I shall be on the lookout for other Negroes. I intend to send Nathan Barwick to Baldwin on Wednesday to see what hands can be got there, with the assistance of Wilkerson. I am offering them even better terms than I gave them last year, to-wit: one-third of the cotton and corn crop, and they feed and clothe themselves, but nothing satisfies them. Grant them one thing and they demand something more, and there is no telling where they would stop. The truth is, I am thoroughly disgusted with the free Negro labor, and determined that the next year shall close my planting operations with them. There is no feeling of gratitude in their nature. Let any man offer them some little thing of no real value, but which looks a little more like freedom, and they catch at it with avidity, and would sacrifice their best friends without hesitation and without regret. That miserable creature Wilkes Flag sent old Ellick down to get the Negroes from Nathan Barwick's

<sup>5</sup> American Economic Association Publications, new Series, 1897. The prices quoted represent the annual averages.

<sup>6</sup> Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, opp. cite p. 21.

place. Old Ellick stayed out in the woods and sent for the Negroes and they were bargaining with him in the night and telling Barwick in the day that they were going to stay with him. The moment they got their money, they started for the railroad. This is but one instance, but it is the history of all of them. Among the number was Anderson, son of Sye and Sentry, whom I am supporting at the Hurricane."

This letter was from one of the highest types of planters in the State, who was operating several plantations. It indicates the great delimita in which planters found themselves immediately after the war. It also illustrates the immediate effect of emancipation upon the Negroes. Such keen competition for labor is not likely to increase the reliability of any body of laboring men, and there is small wonder that the Negro, having just emerged from slavery, without previous experience in free contracting, was completely demoralized for the time.

*Hard Times and Cheap Land.* The circumstances were not only highly favorable to Negroes who desired to leave the status of laborer and become tenants, but they were also favorable to those desiring to acquire land and become independent farmers. Although there were no free public lands in Georgia, private sales of land were numerous at the close of the war. Ruined farmers and large landholders desiring to reduce the size of their holdings in order that they might be cultivated more efficiently under the new system, were everywhere. Much of the old field land which had been abandoned during the plantation era was available for purchase, and the new "Wiregrass" section which had been considered unproductive during the plantation era was entered by farmers in their desire to obtain more land for cotton. Added to these causes was the crop failure of 1865, 1866. Brooks writes that the "results of the operations in 1865 and 1866 were a bitter disappointment." In spite of the abnormal price of the staple heavy losses were sus-

tained. Landlords became heavily involved in debt, and foreclosures were numerous. "One of the newspapers of the Black Belt in the years 1865 to 1872 was full of advertisements of land for sale. One issue in 1866 contained sixty-eight separate advertisements of land for sale aggregating 23,000 acres." Brooks cites two sales at public outcry, one of 400 acres in Appling County, which sold at 10 cents per acre, and two entire tracts, one of 400 acres in Montgomery and one of 200 acres in Decatur County, which together, sold for the lump sum of \$2.50.<sup>7</sup>

Of course the Negro emerged from slavery with no capital, but with land selling for these low prices, only a little saving and foresight were necessary for making the initial payment on a small farm, and beginning the work of home building. Only a small number of Negroes, however, availed themselves of this early opportunity to buy land. This group will be more fully discussed in the latter part of the next chapter which deals more specifically with Negro landowners. The majority of Negroes were too ignorant, and too easily tempted to waste their wages, to make even these small payments. No previous training in thrift had prepared them for the exigency of the situation. But a small number of landholders did appear very soon after emancipation. This beginning was made possible by the cheapness of the land and the crop lien system.

*The Crop Lien System.* Of importance both to the small owner and to the tenant was the system of credit which arose out of the conditions of agriculture. Since land values were so low and fluctuating, the few people with money in the South were unwilling to advance capital to the farmer with land as the security. The homestead exemption amendment to the Constitution added to the unwillingness to accept land as a security. This amendment was passed in order to prevent absolute ruin of farmers by the numer-

<sup>7</sup> Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, p. 38.

ous foreclosures of mortgages. It was introduced in the State legislature of Georgia in 1866 and provided that in the case of mortgage foreclosure, "an exemption of realty to the value of \$4,000 in specie, and of personal property to the value of \$1,000 in specie, be set apart for each head of a family, or guardian or trustee of a family of minor children."

Since the agriculturalists of the State were unable to build a substantial system of credits on land at the time, an expedient had to be worked out. This expedient introduced a new factor into the agricultural situation, namely the supply merchant. Under the slavery regime, the planter was, to an extent, also a retail merchant, buying his supplies wholesale from the wholesale merchants in Savannah, Macon or Augusta. Under the post-bellum system the small land owner, and even the tenant, preferred to deal directly with the merchant. During the early years of the crop lien system (1866-1875) there was a struggle between the landlord and the merchant for the right to hold the lien upon the crop of the tenant. The landlords preferred to hold the lien because they could regulate the expenditure of tenants and would be justified in exercising supervision over the cultivation in order to protect themselves from loss. The merchants wanted to hold the lien because they were advancing the capital for tools, stock-feed and groceries. The final outcome was expressed in the Act of 1875, and was in the nature of a compromise. The landlord was given the right to a first lien upon the crop of a tenant for his rent, and the merchant was given a second lien for supplies advanced. The lien of the merchant was legalized by a transfer of the supply lien from the planter, in cases where the planter desired to shift the responsibility from his shoulders to those of the merchant.

The advantages and disadvantages of this makeshift system of credit have received detailed study in several treatments of rural economics.<sup>8</sup>

The uncertainty of the risk has, at times, led to exorbitant interest charges, and the ignorance of the tenants has given undue advantage to the merchant in the supply accounts. The significant feature of the crop lien system is, however, that it enabled the South to bridge over the difficulty of agricultural credits, and as far as the Negro was concerned, it provided the opportunity for those without capital to secure credit for the stock, tools and year's provisions for farming operations. It was one more method by which the landless laborer could get a farm, mortgaging his future crop in security for advances of food and implements. W. E. B. DuBois sums its significance up in "The Negro Landholder in Georgia," as follows:<sup>9</sup>

"A thrifty Negro in the hands of well disposed landlords and honest merchants early became an independent landowner. A shiftless, ignorant Negro, in the hands of unscrupulous landlords or shylocks, became something worse than a slave. The masses of Negroes between the two extremes fared as chance and the weather let them."

The crop lien system was of greatest aid to Negroes in passing from share to cash tenancy. As has been stated, the need of some cash to make a payment on land, deterred the vast majority from entering ownership. To those desiring to become independent renters, however, rather than share tenants, the crop lien system was a great help. For many Negroes the capital needed to make this step was, of course, not available. If, however, they could find a landlord who would rent them land and a house, they could apply to the merchant for the capital, become an independent renter and mortgage their future crops to repay the debt. Under fa-

<sup>9</sup> Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, opp. cite; Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution*, opp. cite; DuBois, W. E. B., "The Negro Landholder in Georgia," U. S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 35, 1901.

<sup>9</sup> DuBois, *The Negro Landholder*, opp. cite p. 668.

avorable circumstances, and with thrift and foresight a tenant could free himself of debt in a year or two.

It is apparent from the foregoing outline of unsettled agricultural conditions that many of the institutions which arose were makeshifts. Both the planters and the ex-slaves were confronted with an unprecedented situation, and the predominant interest of both was in working out some system of cultivation of the land. It early became evident that the old plantation system of labor was not practicable under free competition and contract. Smaller landowners began to increase in number, and the tenant system gained headway. The rapidity with which this change took place is indicated in the following section.

#### RAPIDITY OF THE BREAKDOWN

The foregoing account of the struggle between planters in the endeavor to preserve their holdings, indicates that it was the landlord class which instituted the system of tenancy as a means of furthering their interests. There is little indication that, at first, the mass of Negroes felt the desire to become independent renters, except in as far as the irksomeness of supervision led them to wish to escape from share tenancy. As the tenant system became established, however, and the advantages of a more permanent tenure could be seen, more and more of the Negroes began to seek to become renters.

The breakdown of the plantation system caused by the economic pressure of competition among landowners, and the desire of the laborers to gain a new status resulted in three radical changes indicated by (1) The reduction in number of large farms operated by laborers and consequent growth in number of small farms. (2) The resultant reduction in number of owners of large tracts of land and the growth in number of owners of small tracts. (3) The in-

crease in number of farms operated by tenants. The analyses of each of these three changes indicate that the plantation system is passing, but that it is still in vogue to some extent.

*The Passing of Large Farms.* The first indication of the disappearance of the plantation system is in the reduction in the size of farms cultivated as a unit. A reduction in average size may indicate that the large farms are disappearing or that numerous new small farms are appearing, or that both of these things are happening. The census enumerates as one farm, any tract of land *cultivated* by one farmer, regardless of who owns it. In this way, a single plantation of 2,000 acres, if cultivated as a unit by the owner with laborers is enumerated as one farm, but if 1,000 acres are cultivated with laborers under the direction of the owner, or overseer, and the remaining 1,000 divided into twenty 50-acre tenant farms, it would be enumerated as 21 farms, 1 operated by an owner, and 20 operated by tenants.

The passing of large farms as enumerated by the census, and increase of small farms is, therefore, the general index of the decay of the gang labor plantation system and the rise of a system of tenants or small land owners. The fol-

TABLE 2.

## Georgia Farms Classified by Size in Acres, 1860-1910.

Size in Acres	1860	1880	1890	1900	1910
Under 10.....	906	3,211	4,438	6,055	8,700
10 to 20.....	2,803	8,694	10,868	13,301	20,929
20 to 50.....	13,644	36,524	55,287	73,408	117,432
50 to 100.....	14,129	26,054	32,316	52,251	68,510
100 to 500.....	19,843	53,635	59,343	73,100	69,985
500 to 1,000.....	7,076	7,017	6,061	4,718	3,950
1,000 and over....	3,608	3,491	2,758	1,858	1,521
Total Farms.....	62,009	138,626	171,071	224,691	291,027
Total Acres in thousands.....	26,650	26,043	25,200	26,392	26,953
Average size.....	430	188	147	118	97
Median size.....	98	92	73	69	51

lowing distribution of farms by size groups from 1860 to 1910 gives a clear picture of the extent to which the predominating type of farm has shifted from the large plantation to the smaller owner or tenant farm.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately the census does not subdivide the farms over 1,000 acres in size. The rapid decline of the average size of farms indicates the effect of these very large plantations in the grouping. This rapid decline in the average has been taken to mean the disappearance of large farms between 1860 and 1880. But the number of farms of over 500 acres decreased by only 176 during the 20-year period. It is therefore evident that the average is not an exact index of the subdivision. A better idea is gained from the difference of this arithmetic average, which is affected by very large farms, and the median, which is the size of the farm above which half of the number of farms are found and below which half are found. Every large farm is evidently balanced against one small farm in determining the median. It will be noted that while the average declined from 430 to 188 acres during the period from 1860 to 1880, the median declined only from 98 to 92 acres.

During the period, 1860 to 1880, plantations of over 1,000 acres held their own in number but were being reduced nearer the 1,000 acre type by subdivision into tenant farms,

<sup>10</sup> United States Census of 1910, Agriculture, Vol. VI, p. 320, 1890; Agriculture, p. 116. The figures for 1860 are estimates based on the census. As the census of 1860 enumerated only **Improved Acreage** in farms, the size published is too small to be comparable with the later years which included all acreage. This reduced the number of large farms tremendously. The estimate of Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure*, p. 20-21, was therefore accepted and applied to the 1860 figures. The estimate is close enough for purposes of comparison. The figures for 1870 are omitted because they were enumerated on the same basis of improved acreage only, and because the notorious inaccuracies of this census made an estimate based upon them of little value.

and as a consequence there was a rapid increase in farms of under 500 acres. The number of plantations of 500-1,000 acres was about constant. Since 1880 the tracts over 500 acres in size have decreased in number. While the 100 to 500 acre farms have increased in number, their rate of increase has not equalled the rate of increase in the smaller groups. By 1880, 20 to 50 acre tenant farms had become widespread and since that date they have been steadily increasing in number and relative importance. This is to such an extent true that in 1910 this type was distinctly predominant in the State. There has also been a rapid increase in 10 to 20 acre farms. It has truly been a wonderful opportunity for the man who desired to obtain a tenure of land. These figures as to size of farm represent the total opportunity to acquire land both as a tenant and as an owner, due to the disintegration of large operations. The opportunity in each has been ample. The remainder of this chapter is therefore devoted to a separate discussion of opportunities as owners and opportunities as tenants.

*Size of Land Holdings.* The bad crop conditions immediately after the Civil War, and the difficulty of obtaining credit have been mentioned as having a tremendous effect on the price of land. There were many tracts available for purchasers. Much of this land was already "in farms" according to the use of that term made by the census. Much of it, however, consisted of woodland on the plantations and was useless to owners who could not even get a force of laborers adequate to cultivate their cleared land. Other tracts of this "land in farms" consisted of old fields which had been more or less worn out by the exhaustive cultivation of slave labor. The planters were anxious to dispose of this surplus. In addition, the "wild" lands of the State provided another source of supply. The census of 1860 indicates 26,650,000 acres of land in farms, and a total land area of about 37,500,000 acres. The difference of approxi-

mately 11,000,000 acres of land in the State was "wild" land which had never been brought within the scope of agricultural operations. It is true that most of the 11,000,000 acres is in the mountainous sections of North Georgia or the pine barrens of the South, but it had value. It was not free land. In many cases it was held speculatively: As Banks states: <sup>11</sup>

"There is really very little or no land outside of the margin of utilization in Georgia, although there is much land lying under such disadvantages, either of fertility or of situation, that it is not actually cultivated, nor will it be cultivated for many years to come."

Table 2 indicates that by 1910, the census classified 26,950,000 acres as land in farms. This is an increase of 300,000 acres over the 1860 figure. It is therefore evident that during the fifty year period, large tracts of this wild land were taken up for agricultural purposes.

In the effort to trace the effect of the breakdown of plantations on the size of tracts held by individual proprietors. Banks examined the original tax returns of 31 rural coun-

TABLE 3.

**Total Land Proprietorships in Georgia According to Size in Acres in 31 Typical Counties.**  
(Compiled from Original Tax Returns.)

Size of Proprietorship in acres	1873	1880	1890	1902
Under 10.....	193	521	1,490	2,232
10 to 20.....	116	341	748	1,288
20 to 50.....	905	1,765	2,540	3,712
50 to 100.....	2,113	3,535	4,816	6,134
100 to 500.....	10,796	12,782	14,526	15,671
500 to 1,000.....	2,309	2,344	2,270	2,094
1,000 and over.....	1,337	1,302	1,178	1,047
Total Proprietorships..	17,769	22,590	27,568	32,178
Total Acreage.....	6,792,954	7,211,476	7,315,975	7,474,802
Average Acreage.....	382	319	265	232
Median Acreage.....	308	261	218	170

<sup>11</sup> Banks, Economics of Land Tenure, pp. 31-32.

ties in Georgia. These counties were selected from all sections of the State and may therefore be considered fairly representative of the State as a whole. The above table (3) is a rearrangement of the results of Banks' study and indicates the distribution of land proprietorships according to size in acres<sup>12</sup>

This table indicates that the predominant type of holding, all during the period was 100 to 500 acres in size. In fact, this group contained more than fifty per cent of the holdings in 1873 and but slightly less than fifty per cent of the holdings in 1902, and all during the period both the average and median size of holding fell within the 100 to 500 acre group. The holdings of more than 500 acres have decreased slightly in number, while the holdings of less than 500 acres have increased rapidly. This policy of retaining their large tracts as long as possible was adhered to largely because, among the Black Belt planters, large landed estates have been and, to an extent, still are the basis of aristocracy. The proprietorship was held intact as long as possible. Sometimes it was cultivated by laborers and sometimes rented out in small tracts to tenant farmers. Furthermore, 700,000 acres of "new" land was included in proprietorships in these counties. (This is evident in the table from the increase in total acreage from 6,790,000 in 1873 to 7,470,000 in 1902.) Much of this new land was taken up in large tracts in the southern part of the State and held speculatively. The greater part of it was not used for agriculture immediately, and much of it has not up to the present been included (under the census definition) in farms. This is indicated by the fact that the census shows an increase of only 300,000 acres in "land in farms" in the whole State from 1860 to 1910. It thus appears that while some of the large proprietorships have been divided into a number of small farms, their disappearance has been almost balanced

<sup>12</sup> Banks, *opp. cite*, Appendix Table D. Distribution corrected.

by the appearance of new large proprietorships with a resultant steady growth in the total number of farms. This is statistically indicated in the table by the fact that the average and median size in acres declined so nearly proportionately. The arithmetic average was 382 in 1873 and 232 in 1902. The median, or that middle sized farm which is larger than half the farms and smaller than half, was 308 in 1873 and 170 in 1902.

*The Growth of Tenancy.* Although the foregoing section indicates that the increase of small proprietorships has not been very rapid, the increase in small tenant farms has been exceptional. While only a small part of the farm land of the State has been sold off from the original tracts, a large part of these original tracts, though still owned as units, are no longer cultivated as units, but are subdivided into small tenant tracts, and enumerated by the census as separate farms. Recognizing the fact that these plantations, comprising many tenant farms, are different from the proprietorships in other parts of the country, the Census of 1910 conducted a special inquiry as to the extent of the plantation system of the South. In this investigation the term plantation was not used, as in ante-bellum days, to mean a tract owned and cultivated altogether by laborers, but merely a tract owned by one man, and cultivated by tenants or laborers. The inquiry covered 70 counties of Georgia, located in typical sections. It excluded tracts with less than five tenants as being too small to really be classed as plantations.<sup>18</sup>

The results of this inquiry indicate that in the 70 counties there are 6,627 plantations with five or more tenant farms. They include 6,627 landlord farms and 57,003 tenant farms. In other words each plantation is cultivated in part by the owner and in part by tenants. In the general statistics of

<sup>18</sup> United States Census of 1910, Agriculture, Vol. V. "Plantations in the South," pp. 877, 885 and 887.

agriculture of the census they are, therefore, not enumerated as 6,627 farms, but as 63,030 farms.

This picture shows that the plantations in 1910 were by no means like the ante-bellum plantations which consisted solely of large tracts cultivated by gangs of laborers who rose at the tap of the farm bell and worked under the direction of the overseer. The extent of acreage still remaining in owner farms indicates that a considerable amount of land is still cultivated in this manner. In the plantations of Georgia the average size of owner farm, the part of the plantation still cultivated by hired laborers, is 316.9 acres. On the large plantations, those containing over fifty tenants, this average rises to 1,265.3 acres. On the other hand, the appearance of 57,007 tenant farms within the bounds of the plantation indicate a wholesale subdivision of the original farm into units varying in size from 35 to 65 acres. The inquiry indicates that of the 5,200,000 acres in all Georgia plantations, 3,100,000, or almost two-thirds of the acreage, is in tenant farms.

TABLE 4.

## Classification of Georgia Farms by Tenure.

Year	Number operated by				Per cent op. by			
	All Farmers	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	All Farmers	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants
1880 .....	138,626	76,451	18,557	43,618	100.0	55.2	13.4	31.5
1890 .....	170,071	79,477	29,413	62,181	100.0	46.5	17.2	36.3
1900 .....	224,691	90,131	58,750	75,810	100.0	40.1	26.1	33.7
1910 .....	291,027	100,047	82,387	108,593	100.0	34.4	28.3	37.3
Increase 1880-1910	152,401	23,596	63,830	64,975				
Per cent increase	110.0	31.1	342.9	148.9				

The growth of tenancy is indicated by the following figures from the successive censuses of Agriculture:<sup>14</sup>

It thus appears that, during the first fifteen years after emancipation, i. e. 1865-1880, the tenant system had gotten well under way. By 1880 there had been a change from an ante-bellum system, in which practically all farms were operated on a large scale by owners, to a system under which only 55.2 per cent of the farms were operated by owners. Cash tenancy had, however, made no great progress by 1880, or even as late as 1890. According to the above table, only 29,413, or 17.2 per cent of the total farms were operated by cash tenants in 1890. Since 1880, however, both cash and share tenancy have been increasing at a greater rate than the ownership. From 1880 to 1910 there was an increase of 152,401 farms in the State. Of this increase only 23,596 was in new owner operated farms while 63,830 was in cash tenant farms and 64,975 in share tenant farms. The rate of increase has been 31.0 among owners, 148.9 among share tenants and 342.9 among renters or cash tenants. This greater rate of increase in the tenant groups and especially in the group of renters has changed the distribution of farms so that only one-third of all farms were operated by owners in 1910, whereas over one-half were operated by owners in 1880. On account of the tremendous rate of increase of farms operated by cash tenants, 28.3 per cent of all farms were operated by this group in 1910 as against 13.4 per cent in 1880. In other words, all classes of farms have increased rapidly in the past 30 years. The rate of increase has been fastest in the cash tenant group, next in the share tenant group, and while the owners have increased slightly in numbers, their rate of increase has been far exceeded by the tenant classes. This differing rate of increase in the classes holds good throughout the period.

<sup>14</sup> United States Census of Agriculture, Vol. V., p. 126. Census figures do not separate farms by tenure before 1880.

The single exception is found in share tenancy between 1890 and 1900. During this period, cash tenancy increased at such a tremendous rate that share tenancy lost a little ground relatively.

In addition to providing greater opportunity as an owner and tenant, the breakdown of the plantation system has influenced Negro life in another fundamental aspect. It has brought competition with white men. White farm labor is on the increase in Georgia, but in the counties in which Negroes constitute the majority, Negro farm laborers are almost exclusively employed. Under the ante-bellum system this was true of the whole State. As long, therefore, as the Negro remained in the Black Belt, and the gang labor prevailed, he was the laborer and the white man the "boss" in all cases. The rise of white and Negro tenancy has, however, thrown the Negro into competition with the white men for farms.

The figures as to increase in tenancy cited above include both the white and the colored tenants.

Since the whole labor force immediately after the Civil War was composed of Negroes, it is but natural that they should have participated to the greatest extent in this rise of tenancy. Of late, however, the increase in white tenants has been more rapid. Today it is not unusual even in the heart of the Black Belt to find a settlement of small white owners or tenants. Many mountaineers have moved down and availed themselves of this opportunity to cultivate the more fertile lands. The extent to which the colored man has held his place on the farm and entered the owner and tenant classes is indicated by the following chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NEGRO'S AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITY.

All during the period of the change from the plantation system to a system of small owners and tenants the Negro has had exceptional agricultural opportunity. The previous chapter made it plain that many landlords were forced by circumstances to give up the labor system. The extent to which the Negro has been able to benefit himself by the situation has been dependent upon several factors. The chief considerations have been: The willingness or unwillingness of the landlords to rent their land to Negroes rather than cultivate it with laborers; the extent to which they as tenants have been able to withstand white competition, and the limited capital and foresight which they had when emancipated.

### THE WHITE MAN'S AID AND COMPETITION

Though ignorance and lack of previous training in thrift and foresight have often made individual colored men easy victims of economic exploitation, the fundamental interests of the two races of the South have been one. Even during the period of reconstruction when race friction was greatly increased by efforts to secure political domination for the Negro, it cannot be said that there was an inter-racial struggle for other than political existence in the South. The common interests were those arising from the necessity of rebuilding the agricultural system and establishing a system of rural credits, farm management, marketing, and social institutions which would enable the two races to work side by side for the welfare of Southern society with a minimum of friction. It has involved competition between the members of the two races for tenure of land, but this is competition in its

broadest sense, and has not been keen. The land has been too plentiful and the opportunity for all too ample for it to be a struggle.

It is not unusual to find that whereas a Negro is competing with one white man for a farm, another white man, the son or relative of the family who owned the Negro's family in slavery, is helping the colored man in his operations with advice, loans, or legal aid. Though these family or personal relations are lessening as the patriarchal contacts of slavery recede further into the past, many such bonds still exist. There is no doubt that much of the success attained by Negroes is due to this friendly aid by white people. The statement which Booker T. Washington made concerning his observation of this relation during a tour of South Carolina indicates the extent of the personal or family aid. "Everywhere I went," he said, "I found at least one white man who believed implicitly in one Negro, and one Negro who believed implicitly in one white man; and so it goes all through the South." This relation between members of the two races is little understood elsewhere, mainly because the popular belief as to race relations is largely moulded by sensational accounts of indications of race friction, which make such readable "news stories." It has, however, been aptly summed up in the statement that the North believes in the Negro as a race and condemns him as an individual, while the South believes in him as an individual and condemns him as a race.

As long as this personal relation holds, the race relations can in no wise be construed as involving an inter-racial struggle for existence. It is rather a bi-racial effort to meet the economic and social forces squarely. This effort often goes deeper than the personal relations of the parties to an action.

It is a matter of future speculation as to just what will happen when the opportunity becomes less ample, the competition becomes sharper, and the family relations which

now exist pass away with the generations which are close to slavery. There can hardly be a doubt that the inter-racial struggle will be intensified in some respects, especially in the cities where industrial competition springs up. In fact, in some city occupations the Negro is already beginning to feel the pressure of competition. To quote again from Booker Washington's speeches: "In some schools the Negro has been so busy studying Latin and Greek that the Greeks and Italians have come over to America and taken their jobs as waiters and bootblacks."

The changes which took place in the past twelve years in the pressing establishments of Athens, Ga., illustrate the manner in which white competition operates. Less than twelve years ago all of the pressing shops of the town were operated by Negroes, who sometimes hired assistants. White capital, however, introduced better irons, more responsibility, and delivery wagons, and now there is only one pressing establishment owned by a Negro, and it receives most of its revenue through tailoring done by its owner. There are five or six large pressing establishments owned and supervised by white men, the actual labor being done by Negroes. Thus they have been driven downward in the same line of work from owners to hired helpers. A similar change has taken place in the barber shops. One can readily see by looking at the shops that it was not prejudice against the Negro in these lines which drove him from the field. It was inability to compete successfully.

The chief question which confronts people who plan future programs for the Negro is: Will competition in the future drive the Negro downward in all lines, as it has in these business enterprises and in some trades in the city? This question will be one of nation wide importance whenever the reaction from war conditions causes a contraction in industry in some of the centers which have received many Negro migrants. As far as the rural Negro is con-

cerned, two facts indicate that if competition affects him materially it will be at a distantly future date. One is that great masses of Negro agricultural laborers, concentrated in Black Belt counties, have tended to make white labor seek other fields of employment. Only recently have white men begun to compete with the Negroes in this area. The second is that, while the Negroes in the cities have been driven downward from owners of small businesses into the ranks of employed help, the Negroes in the country districts, starting at the lowest rung in the ladder, that of laborer, have tended to climb into the ranks of tenant and owner. In fact it seems more likely that the disadvantages of his lot in the Black Belt will drive the Negro away from his farm opportunity before white competition exerts much pressure. If, in the face of increasing competition, there is to be a platform upon which the races can work together in the future as in the past, it will arise from the mutual interests of white and colored people. Since the South is so predominantly rural, it is probable that the majority of these interests will be found in the institutions of rural life and land tenure.

In the meantime there is a growing group of colored people which will help work out these mutual interests. It consists of the land-holders, home-owners and tenants who become more or less attached to the land. The foregoing chapter indicates fully that the Negroes in Georgia can no longer be divided from white people by a sharp line of economic cleavage. In contrast with the conditions before the Civil War, when all Negroes were laborers and all white people were land-owners or overseers, the condition now is that while the majority of the colored people are laborers, some colored people and some white people are tenants, and some of both races are land-owners. The imperative economic and social need of the counties in which large numbers of Negroes have taken advantage of their opportunities to become owners and tenants is that they be

efficient, productive and capable of contributing to the improvement of the living conditions of the neighborhood. The extent to which race friction is allayed in the future will depend upon the success of the leaders of the two races in working out a system of institutions adapted to this end; upon the length of time which elapses before the land is filled up and before competition becomes sharper; and upon the degree to which Negroes avail themselves of their present opportunity to become attached to the land.

During the past fifty years the Negro in Georgia, and all over the South for that matter, has certainly showed a marked tendency to become a more independent farmer. The extent to which he has availed himself of his opportunity in agriculture has furnished grounds for optimism from some people and for pessimism from others. Noting that he started as a landless slave, the optimists point to the acquisition of land and the entrance into the higher classes of tenure as indicating that no race on earth has made such progress, under such conditions, in fifty years. W. E. B. DuBois remarks in the *Negro Landholder in Georgia* (p. 648) that,

"No such curious and reckless experiment in emancipation has been made in modern times. Certainly it would not have been unnatural to suspect that under the circumstances the Negroes would become a mass of poverty stricken vagabonds and criminals for many generations to come, and yet this has been far from the case."

On the other hand pessimists note the almost unparalleled opportunity which the Negro has had to acquire a land tenure, and the aid which he has received in individual cases from white friends. From this they conclude that there have been fundamental racial traits which account for the fact that such a small proportion of the Negro population has availed itself of the opportunities. The truth probably lies half way between the two. The Negro has

made remarkable progress, that is to say a portion of the race has. This progress was aided by the favorable circumstances which have been outlined. Nevertheless, lack of foresight and thrift, and absence of previous training has kept the masses of Negroes from participating in this advance. The significant fact is, however, that an increasing though small number of Negroes is passing from the status of laborer to that of tenant and owner. The degree to which this is taking place in Georgia is indicated in the following treatment of the growth of ownership and tenancy among the Negroes.

#### NEGRO LAND-OWNERS.

1. *Number of Holdings.*—According to the census of 1910, 15,815 farms were operated by Negro owners in Georgia. These owners represent only 3.6 per cent of the Negro rural population over 25 years of age, but it is significant that this number of land-holders has appeared in 50 years from among a people who were, at the beginning of the period, almost entirely unlettered and characterized as lacking in any degree of foresight. The number of Negroes operating owned farms, as enumerated by the census, is somewhat less than the number owning land as reported on the books of the comptroller general of the State. This is due to the fact that the "improved land" reported to the comptroller general for taxation includes some tracts of rural land which are not operated as farms. In 1903, Banks worked out the number of Negro landholdings from the original tax digests of the State and concluded that there were 18,700 Negro landholdings as against 11,583 Negroes reported as operating owned farms by the census of 1900. It is therefore probable that the actual number of tracts of land owned by Negroes was from two-fifths to two-thirds higher than the number of tracts reported by the census as utilized for agriculture by Negro owners

operating farms,<sup>1</sup> and that in 1910 there were more than 20,000 owners of rural land in Georgia.

The growth of these land-holdings is indicated by the following figures from Banks' study of land-ownership in Georgia:<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 5.

**Georgia Land Owners Distributed According to Size of Tracts Owned in 31 Typical Counties.**

Acreage—	Number of Tracts			
	1873	1880	1890	1902
<b>Negro Land-owners—</b>				
Under 10.....	57	231	950	1,450
10 to 20.....	19	154	372	713
20 to 50.....	88	434	678	1,068
50 to 100.....	107	451	664	883
100 to 500.....	237	576	802	1,048
500 to 1,000.....	6	17	39	50
1,000 and over.....	0	2	5	9
<b>Total Land-owners...</b>	<b>514</b>	<b>1,865</b>	<b>3,510</b>	<b>5,221</b>
<b>Total Acreage.....</b>	<b>58,556</b>	<b>174,940</b>	<b>249,469</b>	<b>336,216</b>
<b>Average Acreage.....</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Median Acreage.....</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>White Land-owners—</b>				
Under 10.....	136	290	540	782
10 to 20.....	97	187	376	575
20 to 50.....	817	1,331	1,862	2,644
50 to 100.....	2,006	3,084	4,152	5,251
100 to 500.....	10,559	12,206	13,724	14,623
500 to 1,000.....	2,303	2,327	2,231	2,044
1,000 and over.....	1,337	1,300	1,173	1,038
<b>Total Land-owners...</b>	<b>17,255</b>	<b>20,725</b>	<b>24,058</b>	<b>26,957</b>
<b>Total Acreage.....</b>	<b>6,734,398</b>	<b>7,036,536</b>	<b>7,066,506</b>	<b>7,138,586</b>
<b>Average Acreage.....</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>Median Acreage.....</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>279</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>216</b>

It is to be remembered (see ante p. 47) that these figures cover somewhat less than one-third of the land-holdings of the State. They were gathered by examination of the tax digests of 31 typical counties, and are representative of general tendencies to acquire land and typical size of holdings. The total number of land-holders in the State

<sup>1</sup> Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure*, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Banks, *opp. cite*, Appendix. Table B and C.

is from three to four times the number in these 31 counties. This indicates that only about one proprietorship in six was, in 1902, a Negro proprietorship. At the same time, the increase from 514 Negro proprietorships in 1873 to 5,221 in 1902 indicates that while the number of Negro proprietorships is small, the rate of increase is extremely fast. The white proprietorships are also increasing, but not at so great a rate. In 1902 they numbered 26,957, as against 17,255 in 1873, an increase of over 50 per cent. The old plantation area is therefore to some extent being re-distributed in smaller holdings. The Negro is acquiring a few of these parcels.

2. *Size of Holdings.*—The chief point of difference in the Negro holdings and the white holdings is found in the difference in size. All over the State the colored landlords own much smaller tracts than those of the white landlords. The distributions of landholdings in Table 5 indicates that the median size of Negro holding in 1902 was 33 acres, while the median size of white holding was 216 acres. All during the period from 1873 to 1902, both the average and median size of white holding occurred in the 100 to 500 acre group, the average size of Negro holding moved from the 100 to 500 acre to the 50 to 100 acre group in 1880, since that date it has decreased from 94 to 64 acres. The fact that the median size of Negro holding has decreased by one-half, i. e., from 63 to 33, while the average size has decreased by only one-third, indicates the great effect which the few exceptional Negro land-holders owning over 500 acres have on the arithmetic average. One of these 1,000 acre holdings has more effect than 50 of the 20 acre holdings, in the determination of the average. The median, on the other hand, is not affected by these exceptional cases, and the rapid growth of the large number of small farms especially in the groups under 50 acres, lower the median rapidly.

Another point of difference in the increase of white and colored ownership is found in the fact that the total acreage owned by Negroes increased from 58,000 in 1873 to 336,000 in 1902, while the total acreage owned by whites increased from 6,700,000 to 7,100,000. This is an increase of 280,000 acres owned by colored people and 400,000 owned by white people, but a percentage increase of about 600 in colored acreage as against 6 in white acreage. This is readily understood when it is realized that the colored people in 1873 owned a very small amount of land, and they could increase their holdings in two ways, first by buying farm land from white farmers, and second by taking up new "unimproved lands." The white people, on the other hand, owned practically all of the land in cultivation in 1873, and the only way for them to increase their holdings was to take up new land. It is extremely doubtful if Negro holdings will at any early date approximate white holdings either in number, or in total amount of land owned. Such a state of affairs may come about in a few counties where the Negroes are massed and outnumber the whites. In a few of the Atlantic Coast counties the Negro owners have for years outnumbered the white owners. Even where they are in the large majority, the holdings of colored farmers are so much smaller than the holdings of white farmers that the total amount of their land is much less than that owned by whites.

3. *Localities of Negro Land-owners.*—These Negro landholdings were localized at first in two centers. The one began in the Coast Counties and extended eastward slightly into the Wiregrass. The second occupied the area about four counties square in the southwestern corner of the State. In the Coast Counties the breakdown of the plantations was rapid. This section was, before emancipation, the seat of the largest slave holders, and the Negroes were overwhelmingly in the majority. The rice plantations were located in this region. These and the sea island cotton plantations required ditching and banking, for which great gangs

of slaves were necessary. In 1860 the average slave-holding of the Coast section was 20, while the average for the rest of the State was 11. Emancipation, of course, brought the greatest disorganization to this region.<sup>3</sup>

After emancipation, the planters without capital were unable to hold the ex-slaves in such large gangs. Some Negroes departed and took up holdings in the counties just westward where wild land was plentiful and the value of the rice land was so reduced that many of those remaining were able to buy parts of their original plantation in small tracts. Conditions in McIntosh and Liberty, two typical counties in this region, are shown below:<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 6.  
Landholdings in 1903.

	McIntosh County	Liberty County	Decatur County	Mitchell County
Negro Holdings—				
Number .....	692	1,134	647	144
Acres Owned...	13,854	48,675	50,930	22,249
Average Acreage	20	43	77	155
White Holdings—				
Number .....	237	861	1,824	955
Acres Owned...	55,728	307,351	590,772	300,215
Average Acreage	235	357	324	314

It is evident that in this region a few white owners retain the greater portion of the land, but a large number of small tracts have been taken up by Negroes.

Somewhat the same situation is found in the southwestern corner of the Black Belt, as is illustrated by Decatur and Mitchell counties in the above table.

It appears that in these counties the Negro has acquired a large number of small holdings. Neither in number, nor

<sup>3</sup> Brooks, R. P., *Agrarian Revolution*, opp. cite, p. 110-111; Banks, E. M., *Economics of Land Tenure*, opp. cite, p. 65; Leigh, F. B., *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War*. London, Richard Bentley & Son, 1883, pp. 263,264.

<sup>4</sup> Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure*, Appendix, Table A.

in extent, however, do the holdings approximate those of the whites. These Negro holdings were made possible by the fact that the counties were, in 1860, just beginning to become plantation counties. The planters were pushing southward in search of new lands to replace the worn out lands of the Black Belt. Large tracts were available for their purposes in Southwest Georgia, and they moved in with their slaves, extending the old Black Belt area into this section. Upon emancipation, the Negroes found it possible to acquire tracts of uncleared land in the neighborhood of their old plantations. In recent years this movement of land-owners has extended westward from the coast and eastward and southward from the Black Belt into the Wiregrass section. In this latter section, in 1900, there were 7,322 farms operated by Negroes, of which 2,390 or 32.6 per cent were operated by owners. By 1910 the number of farms operated by Negroes increased to 16,643, of which 3,578 or 21.5 per cent were operated by owners. This is an increase of about one-half in the number of Negro farm owners for the decade of 1900-1910.<sup>5</sup>

There are a number of Negro owned farms in the Black Belt, outside of the coastal region, but in proportion to the Negro population in this area the number is small. Here the larger part of the farms are operated by Negroes, but only 5,404 of the 58,776 Negro farms in this area in 1900 were operated by owners and the remainder were operated by tenants. That is to say only 9.2 per cent of Negroes in the Black Belt (including the southwest corner) who were operating farms owned them. This number increased from 5,404 in 1900 to 7,648 in 1910. Since the tenant classes were increasing more rapidly, the percentage of farms in the Black Belt operated by owners fell from 9.2 to 9.13. The numerical increase of from 5,404 to 7,648 indicates that Negroes are also beginning, to some extent, to acquire land in the Black Belt.

<sup>5</sup> Compiled from census of 1910.

The same is true of ownership in the Upper Piedmont. In 1900 only 10 per cent of the Negro farms were operated by owners. The number of Negro farms was 12,781, and the number of owners was only 1,371. By 1910 the number of farms operated by Negroes increased to 18,295, of which 2,053 were operated by owners. It is evident that while the number of owners in the Upper Piedmont was small up to 1900, since 1900 there has been a marked increase.

A summary of the foregoing facts indicates that land-ownership among Negroes has made some headway in the Coast and southwest counties of the Black Belt, but very little in other parts of the Black Belt. It has recently extended into the Wiregrass and Upper Piedmont. In all parts of the State, however, the Negro holdings are small, and the tendency is toward still smaller holdings, which approximate in size the 20 to 50 acre, or one man farm.

#### NEGRO TENANTS.

As tenant farmers the Negroes of Georgia operate over 5,700,000 acres of land, or considerably more than one-fifth of all land in farms. More than 4,100,000 acres of this land is classed by the census as improved. The aggregate value of the land, buildings and farm implements and machinery of Negro tenant farms is more than \$115,000,000. In addition there were on their farms 79,000 dairy cows, 20,000 work horses and 94,000 work mules. In 1909 their farms produced 827,000 bales of cotton and 5,880,000 bushels of corn. Thus almost one-fourth of the agricultural capital of the State is used by Negro tenants, and a large share of the agricultural production is due to their labor. The interests of the State are vitally bound up with what these tenants do and how well they use the capital entrusted to them. The steps by which Negro tenants have attained

this pre-eminant importance have been determined by the breakdown of the plantation system and the growth of tenancy which were outlined in the previous chapter.

The growth in numbers of Negro tenants has naturally been much greater than the growth in number of owners. It requires no capital to become a share tenant, and very little capital to become a cash tenant. It is also less of a step toward independence for a laborer to cultivate the crop on shares, with the supervision of the landlord, than to cultivate it without supervision as a cash tenant or the owner. Nevertheless, the foregoing chapter indicates that between 1880 and 1900 the cash tenant class showed a very great rate of increase. This is due to the fact that the breakdown of plantations was very rapid, and that in their efforts to keep their plantations going, the landlords abandoned the share system. Then both white and colored men had ample opportunity to rent lands. Since 1900 the movement has slowed down somewhat, and the cash tenant class in the Black Belt has filled up. The tendency of share tenants to increase at a greater rate than cash tenants has therefore asserted itself again. Between 1900 and 1910 cash tenancy increased 40.2 per cent and share tenancy 43.2. As the land becomes less plentiful, and the standards of agriculture require better implements, and work animals, and hence more capital to stock a farm, the passage from laborer or share tenant to cash tenant becomes increasingly difficult. Therefore, while the system of tenure continues in a state of flux, and while laborers have the double opportunity to become share tenants or cash tenants it is to be expected that the majority will choose the easier step and enter share tenancy. In the case of the white man, the situation is slightly different. The Negro passes from laborer to tenant, but there are comparatively few white farm laborers. The white tenants, in numbers of cases become tenants with little previous experience as

laborers except that gained on the parental farm. They are probably more keenly alive to the advantages of the permanent forms of tenure, more of them have available capital, and when they once become an independent renter they are less likely to fail and be forced back into the share or labor status. For these reasons the increase in white cash tenants is almost equal to the increase in share tenants.

The United States Census did not before 1900 enumerate the number of tenants according to color. For the past two census periods, however, the distribution has been as follows:<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 7.

Georgia: Farms Classified by Tenure and Color of Farmer.

Number of Farms Operated by	White			Negro		
	Owners and Managers	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Owners and Managers	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants
1910 .....	84,226	31,908	52,334	15,821	50,479	56,259
1900 .....	78,548	24,022	39,295	11,583	34,728	36,515
Increase .....	5,678	7,886	13,039	4,238	15,751	19,744
Per cent increase..	6.6	32.8	33.6	38.0	46.0	55.0
Per cent of all Farms operated 1910.....	50.0	18.9	31.1	13.0	41.1	45.9
1900 .....	55.4	16.9	27.7	14.0	42.0	44.0

It is therefore evident that all classes of farmers among both Negroes and white people are on the increase. The differential rate of increase is also to be noted. The colored share tenants show an increase of 55 per cent, the cash tenants of 46 per cent and the owners of 38 per cent. On the other hand the increase in all white farmers was not so

<sup>6</sup> Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, opp. cite p. 122, corrected with revised figures. *Census 1910, Agriculture*. Vol. V, p. 212.

rapid. The white share tenants increased only 34 per cent, the cash tenants 33 per cent and the owners 6 per cent. The white cash tenants increased almost as rapidly as share tenants because of the tendencies mentioned above for the white tenants to be more desirous of the stable form of tenure, and to have the capital to set themselves up as renters. Landlords are also more willing to permit their land to be cultivated by white cash tenants, without supervision, than they are to permit this form of cultivation by Negro tenants. Nothing short of a revolutionary increase in the efficiency of the Negro as a farmer will change this unwillingness of the majority of resident landlords to abandon share farming although there are disadvantages both to the landlord and to the tenant in this unstable form of tenure. In share tenancy, many landlords prefer Negro tenants since they are more tractable and amenable to supervision, and since, in cases where the landlord combines merchandising with cropping, greater profit is made from Negroes because they spend their earnings more freely than do the white tenants.<sup>7</sup>

The following percentages worked out by Brooks (p.

TABLE 8.

Percentage of all Farms Operated by Owners, Cash and Share Tenants.

Year	Black Belt(a)				Piedmont				Wiregrass			
	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	All Farmers	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	All Farmers	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	All Farmers
1880	46.1	21.6	32.3	100	57.7	5.6	36.7	100	80.7	5.8	13.5	100
1890	36.7	26.3	37.0	100	47.3	7.5	45.2	100	73.3	11.3	15.4	100
1900	32.1	39.5	28.4	100	38.0	13.7	48.3	100	61.4	17.1	21.5	100
1910	27.2	40.7	32.1	100	34.1	17.2	48.7	100	45.9	20.9	33.2	100

(a) Includes Coast Counties, tabulated separately by Brooks.

<sup>7</sup> Brooks, R. P., *Agrarian Revolution*. Opp. cite., p. 98.

122) indicate the character of tenancy in the Black Belt, Upper Piedmont and Wiregrass. The mountain counties are omitted because of their unimportant Negro population.

The Black Belt naturally suffered a quicker decline in ownership and growth of tenancy because it was in this area that the old plantation system was prevalent. The percentage of tenants in the Black Belt is uniformly higher than in the other two sections from 1880 to 1910. It is also noticeable that between 1890 and 1900 there was tremendous increase in the proportion of cash tenants all over the State, but specially in the Black Belt. During this prolonged period of agricultural depression numbers of planters gave up the struggle to maintain supervision over their tenants and laborers and there was a great opportunity for laborers and share tenants to become independent renters.

TABLE 9.

Farms Operated by Owners, Cash and Share Tenants.  
(Computed from U. S. Census, 1900 and 1910. Agricultural Tables Showing Tenure of Farmers by Color and Counties.)

Year	White				Negro			
	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Total Farmers	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Total Farmers
Black Belt—								
1900....	27,476	15,029	8,663	51,168	7,516	29,910	24,204	61,630
1910....	28,697	16,513	10,087	55,297	9,809	41,044	35,524	86,377
Upper Piedmont—								
1900....	20,593	5,466	19,001	45,060	1,371	2,475	8,935	12,781
1910....	23,021	8,005	24,219	55,245	2,053	4,607	11,635	18,295
Wiregrass—								
1900....	17,335	3,204	4,296	24,835	2,390	2,323	2,609	7,322
1910....	20,802	6,379	9,314	36,495	3,578	4,757	8,308	16,643

Between 1900 and 1910 white cash tenants increased about 15 per cent and white share tenants about 16 per cent. Up to 1900, it will be observed from table 9 that there

were very few white tenants in this area. The filling up of farms with cash tenants, and the increase in white competition, therefore, has recently limited the opportunity for the Negro to enter cash tenancy in the Black Belt. When the population movement in this section is examined it will appear that this condition is very significant.

On the other hand, the Upper Piedmont and Wiregrass regions show remarkably active increases in Negro tenantry. Between 1890 and 1910 these areas show a marked increase in farms. New small farms were being taken up in the Upper Piedmont, and some of the large tracts in the Wiregrass, which had been cleared of timber, were opened for farming and subdivided into tenant farms.

In these two areas all classes of farms have been rapidly increasing. New white and colored farmers are entering these regions, and the colored man moving in finds opportunity as share tenant, cash tenant, or, if he has capital, as owner.

A summary of the farm opportunity for the Negro indicates that he has had the personal friendship of many white people, but the influence of this relation is lessening as slavery recedes into the past; that, in Georgia, some 15,000 Negroes have taken advantage of the opportunity to become land-owning farmers, and some 107,000 of the opportunity to become tenants. That is to say, that one in each twenty-five Negro males in the country was a landholder and one in each four was a tenant. Furthermore, that since the plantations of the Black Belt have broken down in large numbers, the opportunity in that section is no longer as ample in proportion to the number of Negroes living there as it is in the newer Wiregrass section, or in the Upper Piedmont.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LIFE OF THE TENANT CLASSES.

The foregoing description of the extent and rapidity of the breakdown of the gang labor plantation gives an insight into the rise of share tenancy, renting, and ownership among the Negroes. It does not, however, indicate the full extent of the revolution in southern rural life which this movement implies. This can be realized best by contrasting the condition of the freedmen in 1860 with that of the Negro to-day. In Georgia, the half million Negroes who emerged from slavery were a homogeneous group. There were comparatively few who held personal property and none who owned land. To-day, on the other hand, the 800,000 rural Negroes are stratified. Laborers differ from tenants and tenants from owners. Tenant classes also differ from one another in such respects as method of renting the land, utilizing the land, value of land cultivated, work-stock and implements used, yield obtained, housing and income. In addition to these economic differences the social relationships such as home life, standard of living, general standing in the community, and contacts with the white people vary greatly. These fundamental differences cause the rural organization of communities to vary with the relative numbers of the different kinds of tenants which compose it. These detailed effects of land tenure on rural organization may be realized best from a full description of the differences between the tenant classes.

Hitherto, only the general characteristics of the different tenant classes have been mentioned. In order to give these terms definiteness and precision the following definitions are quoted:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"A Study of The Tenant Systems in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta," Goldenweiser and Boeger, Bulletin 337, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

*Half and Half System (Share Croppers).*—Under this system which is true share tenancy or metayage, the tenant supplies the labor and one-half the fertilizers, when any are used, while the landlord furnishes the land, a cabin, a garden plot, all the tools, the work animals and their feed, the seed, one-half of the fertilizers used, and the tenant's fuel wood, which the tenant cuts from the nearest available woodland, using the landlord's mules for hauling. Each party, under this system receives half the crop, and each pays for half the ginning, bagging, and ties. If, as happens occasionally, another crop besides corn and cotton is grown, it is also divided equally between landlord and tenant. Cow-peas are frequently planted in the corn at the last cultivation with the seed usually furnished by the landlord. The tenant is often allowed to pasture it if he has a cow or other stock. The landlords exercise careful supervision over the share croppers, who are locally not considered as tenants at all, but as laborers hired to do the work in return for half the crop and the use of a cabin.

Sometimes, under this system, the tenant pays cash for the use of the land not planted in cotton and for the use of the planter's equipment in working it. In such cases the tenant receives all the crops raised in this manner.<sup>2</sup>

*Share Renting System (Third and fourth share tenants).*—Under this system the tenant furnishes his own work stock and feeds it, and also supplies tools, seeds, and all labor, while the owner provides the land, the buildings and the fuel. If fertilizers are used under this system, they are paid for in the ratio of each party's share of the crop. The tenant pays as rent a share of the crop, one-fourth in some sections and one-third in others. The use of the land

<sup>2</sup> This latter arrangement is extremely rare in Georgia, as is evidenced by the fact that the census of 1910 reported only 1,795 Negroes in the "Share-Cash" tenant class, i. e., just a trifle over one per cent of all Negro farmers.

in corn is sometimes paid for in cash and the tenant then retains all the crop. Each party to this agreement pays for ginning and bagging his part of the cotton. The landlord is interested in the crop and oversees the tenant's operations, but is not so much concerned about the economical use of mules and machinery, since they belong to the tenant.

*Cash Renting System.*—This system is similar to the share renting system, except that in lieu of a share of the crop the tenant pays a fixed rent per acre in cash or lint cotton. Since the cotton is sold through the planter, he is sure of his rent, provided a crop is raised, but since he cannot collect the rent if there is no crop, and since also the tenant is usually indebted to him for supplies advanced, the landlord exercises supervision over the cash renters, except in the case of renters whom he knows to be dependable.<sup>3</sup>

\* This statement of supervision applies only to cash renters on plantations of resident landlords. In the case of absentee landlords, so prevalent, there is no supervision over the renters.

The following table summarizes in convenient form the principal terms of the three systems of tenure:

A  
h

TABLE 10.

## Method of Renting

Share Cropping	Share Renting	Cash Renting
	<b>Landlord Furnishes</b>	
Land	Land	Land
House	House	House
Fuel	Fuel	Fuel
Tools	One-fourth or one-third of fertilizers	
Work stock		
Feed for stock		
Seed		
One-half of fertilizers		
	<b>Tenant Furnishes</b>	
Labor	Labor	Labor
One-half of fertilizers	Work stock	Work stock
	Feed for stock	Feed for stock
	Tools	Tools
	Seeds	Seeds
	Three-fourths or two-thirds of fertilizers	Fertilizers
	<b>Landlord Receives</b>	
One-half of crop	One-fourth or one-third of crop	Fixed amount in cash or cotton
	<b>Tenant Receives</b>	
One-half of crop	Three-fourths or two-thirds of crop	Entire crop less fixed amount

Planters and tenants express a wide divergence of opinion as to which of these systems is "best for" them and the community. The writers on the economics of land tenure also differ as to which is most desirable from an economic standpoint. Henry George<sup>4</sup> tells us that "tenant farming is the intermediary stage through which the independent tillers of the soil have in other countries passed and in this country are beginning to pass to the condition of agricultural laborers and chronic paupers." E. R. A. Seligman<sup>5</sup> holds on the other hand, that "the increase in tenants has come not from previous farm owners, but from previous farm

<sup>4</sup> North American Review, Vol. 142, p. 393.

<sup>5</sup> Seligman, E. R. A., Principles of Economics (1914, Ed.), p. 388.

hands or hired men. The growth of farm tenancy is, therefore, a step forward, not a step backward in the condition of American agriculture." Taylor, Carver and other writers on rural economics hold substantially with the latter view. Certainly in the case of Negro tenancy, it is apparent that in 1860 there were no Negro owners to pass through tenancy to labor. On the other hand there were many ex-slaves, who in the past fifty years have passed through the status of tenant to that of owner, and many Negroes, now in the cash and third and fourth tenant classes represent laborers who have accumulated some capital, and who with slightly more effort can become owners.

There are still other writers and a considerable body of public opinion in the South with the view that, while tenancy is normally to be considered as a rung in the agricultural ladder whereby young, inexperienced men climb from labor to ownership, still, in the case of the Negro, race characteristics nullify this principle. Brooks<sup>6</sup> states "Cash tenancy usually represents an economic advance over share tenancy. \* \* \* The above considerations do not apply in case of the Negro elements of tenants in Georgia." Banks<sup>7</sup> on the basis of the examination of only two farmer's budgets, concludes that share tenants would probably be better off as laborers, and that the plantation wages system offers such inducements as will "counteract the tendency of Negroes to leave the farms."

In the midst of this tangle of general statements the first question we naturally ask is: "How much does each class earn?"

#### INCOMES, 1913.

The United States Bureau of Farm Management is conducting a series of detailed local studies of farming, all of which embrace this topic. The most illuminating, which

<sup>6</sup> Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Banks, *Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, pp. 112-115.

has been published to date, is the Study of Farming in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, previously referred to. In this study it appeared:

(a) That the income of the half share tenant is lower but steadier and less liable to ruinous fluctuations than that of any of the other classes of farming population except that of laborers. In this respect they are much like laborers. The number of failures among share tenants is very low. The average income is \$333 (1913). Only 2.9 per cent earned less than \$100 and only 5.1 per cent earned over \$600.

(b) That the income of the third and fourth renters averaged \$398, but 8 per cent of this class failed to make as much as \$100, and 19.2 per cent made over \$600.

(c) That the income of cash renters is still higher and still more liable to fluctuations. This class averaged \$478 in income, but 9.8 per cent failed to make \$100, while 28.2 per cent made more than \$600.

As the authors point out, "This difference is probably influenced but not entirely accounted for by the size of holdings."

From the point of view of the landlord the factor of income is reversed. His income from share tenant farms yielded, on an average, 13.6 per cent on his investment. Where the share tenant's income is less than \$100, however, the landlord's return was only about 3 per cent on his investment, but from share tenants with an income of over \$1,000, the landlord's yield was over 25 per cent.

In the case of third and fourth men the landlord's average return was 11.8 per cent, but in no case did it fall below 7.1 per cent or rise above 18.8 per cent.

In the case of cash renters, the landlord's return is practically fixed at 6 or 7 per cent. The average is 6.6 per cent, the low range 5.7 per cent, and the upper range 8 per cent.

Balanced against these differences in income are the facts that in the case of third and fourth tenants and renters the landlord not only furnishes less capital, but assumes a smaller risk than in the case of the share tenant.

Nevertheless, it is comparatively easy to understand, from this point of view, why, in practically all cases where landlords can give personal supervision to their planting operations, they desire to continue the share cropping system as long as possible. On the other hand it is equally as easy to understand the natural desire of the ambitious tenants who have saved a little money, to "get up in the world" by chancing the greater gains of third and fourth cropping and renting, even at the risk of a greater loss. ]

It is evident that several factors other than the proportion in which the shares are divided, determine this fluctuation of income. Figures indicating the relative efficiency in production and extent of the usage of land, animals and implements by the various Negro tenant classes were published for the first time from the census of 1910<sup>8</sup> by counties.

Unfortunately the half share and the third and fourth share tenants are all classed as "Share" tenants by the census, and as the following discussion of the factors of production is based on the census, the term "share tenant," as used, in the remainder of the chapter includes both these classes. Brooks found, from examination of the plantation schedules of the Census of 1911, that this third and fourth share system is largely confined to the Upper Piedmont section. A considerable number of these tenants were scattered throughout the State, however, in 1910. Hill<sup>9</sup> found ~~throughout the State, however, in 1910. Hill<sup>9</sup> found~~ that 37.8 per cent of the Negroes of Clarke County, which

<sup>8</sup> Negro Population, 1790-1915, U. S. Census, 1918, Table 73.

<sup>9</sup> Hill, W. B., The Negroes of Clarke County, Georgia, Bulletin University of Georgia, 1914. Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 19.

is on the border of the Black Belt, were share tenants farming on "other than half share" basis.<sup>10</sup>

#### EFFICIENCY IN YIELD OBTAINED.

As an index of efficiency the yield per acre is very reliable. The share tenant obtains a slightly higher yield, both in cotton and in corn, than does the owner. The cash tenant is inferior to both. The following table (11) indicates that in 1909, for the State as a whole, the yield of cotton in bales per acre was, for share tenants, .39, for owners, .38, and for cash tenants, .36. The yield of corn in bushels per acre was, for share tenants, 10.8, for owners, 10.5, and for cash tenants, 9.4.

The difference between share tenants and owners in yield obtained is certainly not sufficient to warrant any sweeping statement as to difference in their efficiency. When the individual counties are examined it will be noted that in many sections the yield obtained by Negro owners was larger than that obtained by share tenants. In fact, the yield of cotton per acre for share tenants exceeded that for owners only in the older farming counties where the plantation system is still strongest. For example, there is a notable difference in the group of counties embracing the old Black Belt areas of Sumpter, Baldwin and Crawford and the edges of the Black Belt, Paulding and Dodge, on the one hand, and the group formed by the Piedmont, Wiregrass and newer Black Belt counties on the other hand. The yield obtained by cash tenants is, however, uniformly lower than that obtained by the other classes.

<sup>10</sup> The inclusion of third and fourth as well as half share tenants in the same class would tend to minimize such differences as tend to exist between cash and share tenants so grouped. Notwithstanding this fact, the tables which follow indicate some differences which are sufficiently marked to serve as a basis of definite contrast between these classes.

## SIZE OF FARMS.

There is little indication that the size of farm has much influence, except in special cases, in securing the larger income of the owners and renters. The large majority of Negro owners and renters, as well as of share tenants still cultivate the farm of "one man," one or two horse size. This is indicated by the average acreage tilled by each class. For the State as a whole share tenant's farms average 34.6 improved acres, cash tenants, 43.4 acres, and owners, 41.3 acres. Owing to the plantation organization, the share tenant is assigned land which is practically all in crops, the pasture and woodland being in common. Improved acreage of cash tenants and owners includes therefore much more land not actually in crops. Nevertheless, some of the larger income of cash tenants and owners is due to the fact that they can cultivate more ground. The share tenant is virtually bound to the one man farm. But the owner or renter who has a large family and can save enough for additional animal power and implements, can extend his operations by merely renting or buying a slightly larger piece of ground. In some cases Negro owners and renters cultivate so extensively as to require several laborers working for them.

Inasmuch as neither the efficiency in production per acre, nor difference in size of farm cultivated indicates very significant differences between the tenant classes we may turn to the other side of the picture, namely the items of cost. The questions of profit and efficiency involve not only the yield obtained, but the costs incurred in obtaining it.

## VALUE OF LAND.

It is surprising to note that the most valuable land in the Cotton Belt is in the hands of share tenants. The plantation inquiry of the Census of 1910<sup>11</sup> finds that the cheapest land

<sup>11</sup> Plantation Farming in the United States, U. S. Bureau of the Census Bulletin, 1916.



is in the hands of Negro owners and that again the cash tenants occupy an intermediate position.

Table 11 (opposite page) indicates that for the State as a whole the per acre values of land occupied by Negro farmers are: share tenant farms, \$17.77; cash tenant farms, \$14.04; owner farms, \$11.29. One may see by the uniformity with which this relationship holds in the individual counties that this difference is not due to any concentration on particularly valuable lands in any one section of the State.

The interesting exception to note is Liberty County. This county was mentioned in the previous chapter as the county containing the largest number of Negro land owners. It was pointed out that just after the Civil War, in the rice plantation counties immediately east of Liberty, there was complete disorganization. In Liberty and its adjoining counties there were immense tracts of wild land. As a result the large slave population had the opportunity to buy very cheaply, and in some instances secured what is now the most valuable land. This is just the reverse of what has been true in the rest of the State, especially in the old Black Belt. In the counties where Negroes bought land already in farms rather than wild land, they could buy the cheaper land only. The same principle held good to a lesser degree with renting. The more productive lands have been held by landlords for cultivation with labor or share tenants.

The cultivation of these more valuable lands is, in itself a great advantage to the share tenant in getting results, and, to some extent accounts for the fact that he obtains a larger yield per acre.

#### IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY.

The foregoing Table (11) indicates that the reverse is true of the value of implements and machinery used per farm. The census figures show a larger per farm value of implements for owners than for cash tenants and for cash

tenants than for share tenants. The average values for the State as a whole are, owner farms, \$66. Cash tenant farms, \$44. Share tenant farms, \$23. These figures are, to some extent, deceptive, in that the implements enumerated as "on the share tenant's farm" do not include all the implements which he may use during the year. In other words, the plantation, on which the share tenant farm is located, is a unit. These units differ in degree of organization, but the most efficient plantations are highly organized. On these plantations the expensive implements such as two horse cultivators and disc harrows are not furnished for each tenant, but are held by the landlord and apportioned out to the tenants as needed. Cash tenants on large plantations sometimes have the same advantage of borrowing or renting the landlord's specialized equipment for short periods, but cash tenants on absentee landlord's places, or colored owners on their own farms must, of necessity, purchase practically all the implements and machinery they use. This renders a group of share tenant farms on an organized plantation distinctly more efficient in the use of implements and machinery.

#### WORK ANIMALS.

Figures showing the number of work animals per farm indicate that the same factors determine the possession and use of work animals that determine the possession and use of implements. The average for work horses and mules per Negro farm for the State as a whole was: for share tenant farms, .8, for cash tenant farms, 1.3, and for owner farms, 1.4.<sup>12</sup>

Owners and cash tenants have more animals per farm because their independent position renders the possession of at least one animal almost necessary. On plantations, however, the landlord can control the use of animals from a central barn, apportioning them out to the labor and share tenant crops as they are needed.

<sup>12</sup> Negro Population in the U. S. Opp. cite., Table 73.

The share tenant, however, in using the white man's mule or horse, secures the labor of a more valuable animal. The Yazoo-Mississippi study indicated that the average value of mules used was: on share tenant farms, \$187; on share renters (third and fourth) farms, \$147; on cash renters farms, \$150. Owners were not studied in this area. In Georgia, the census<sup>18</sup> figures show that the average value of the horse or mule used by owners was \$128, by cash tenants, \$137, and by share tenants was \$157.

Because he uses fewer animals per farm and more valuable animals the share tenant cultivates more per mule. Reduced to a ratio the census figures indicate that on the farms of Negro farmers in the State as a whole the acreage in cotton and corn per work animal was: for owners, 19.5, for cash tenants, 27.7, and for share tenants, 32.3.

Co-operation among independent owners and cash tenants along the lines of the agricultural communities of Europe would give them the same advantages in conserving implements and animal power that the share tenant has. The "latifondia," or collective leases of Sicily and some "co-operatives" of France are nothing more than groups of independent farmers which substitute a co-operative association for a landlord. The association performs the functions performed by the landlord of a plantation. It supervises the purchase and co-operative use of fertilizers, seeds, animals and machinery.

Both white and colored independent farmers in the South have a long distance to go before such co-operation can be brought about. There is no more intense individualist than the small farmer, and much of this individualism is reflected in the independent Negro owners and renters. Individual opinions as to time of planting, quality of seed, extent of fertilization and use of work animals are still too divergent to allow an association to run smoothly. The fact

<sup>18</sup> Negro Population in the U. S. opp. cite, Tables 69 and 73.

that it can succeed is, however, indicated by the success of plantations. These, in many respects are co-operative units. This is especially evident in the co-operative use of the farm animals and implements on the plantation.

One consideration which will militate greatly against the co-operative purchase and use of animals is that the farmer, being isolated, wishes to use the work animal at odd times for riding or driving. In fact this control of the work animals from a central barn and the denial of their use for riding or driving to laborers or share tenants is one of the most irksome features of the plantation system to the Negro.

On the basis of income, yield obtained, and expense of land implements and animals used the case may be stated as follows: The share tenant, using the more valuable land and animals, and with the facility of making more efficient use of land animals and implements by reason of organization and supervision by the landlord, gets slightly better results per acre than the other classes, but his results per acre are not greatly different from those obtained by the owner class. The interest of the owner in the land he has paid for, and in the crop of which he reaps the full benefit, practically offsets the superiority of the land and supervision of the share tenant. The cash tenant, occupying an intermediate position between the owner and share tenant with respect to value of land, implements and animals used, nevertheless falls below both the other classes in yield per acre. The incomes of share tenants are, therefore, less than those of owners and renters not so much through individual inefficiency in production, as through the differences in division of the product.

#### DEPRECIATION AND WASTE.

Purely from the standpoint of the landlord, wear and tear on the land is the most frequent objection to Negroes escaping from the supervision of the share tenant system. One of the most effective safeguards against this depreciation of

land is the diversification of crops. Table 11, however, indicates that the farms of share tenants are the least diversified. There are almost 2 acres in cotton for each acre in corn on the farms of share tenants, slightly less on the farms of cash tenants, and only 1.3 acres in cotton for each acre in corn on the farms of owners.

This is due to the fact that where the cropping and labor systems exist on the same plantation, the landlord prefers to raise the feed crops with wage labor, confining the share men to cotton as far as possible. This facilitates the partition of the two shares, and enables the landlord, who has to furnish feed, to raise it himself, rather than necessitating its purchase from the share tenant. The owner cannot be accused of allowing his land to depreciate faster than the share tenant through lack of diversification. Nor is the renter class open to this accusation to the extent believed by the general public in the South. The exhaustive one crop system of cotton culture has a much firmer hold on the share tenants.

With regard to the items of maintenance for which less reliable figures are obtainable, such as fertilizers used, intensive cultivation, maintenance of terraces and drains, it is probable that the share tenant class, with the more intelligent supervision of the landlord is slightly more efficient. That is, he is always directed in these matters by a supervising resident landlord. He is therefore compelled to adopt measures for maintaining the fertility of the land to a greater extent than either of the other two classes. In the case of resident landlords, however, cash tenants can also be required by written contract and by supervision to do as much in this respect as share tenants. In fact Brooks noted that in the Upper Piedmont, where absentee landlords are at a minimum, renting is not regarded as a great evil, on account of the fact that written contracts covering the maintenance of the fertility of the soil are entered into and enforced by nearby landlords. Also because Negroes, who are

more scattered among a majority white population, have more chance to observe progressive farming methods than they do in solid Negro Black Belt communities. As to owners, their individual interest in the land in which they have invested, plus such supervision as they can be given by county farm demonstration agents must be relied on to prompt them to take the necessary precautions against depreciation.

As a class, however, owners must be almost equally as efficient in this respect as are share tenants, otherwise, starting with inferior land, the owners could hardly continue to so nearly equal the production per acre attained by share tenants. That cash tenants as a class are inferior in this respect is indicated by the fact that their yield per acre is not only less than that of share tenants who occupy more valuable land, but also less than that of owners who occupy less valuable land.

This very general survey of the factors of production and yield obtained, indicates the futility, purely from an economic standpoint of attempting a sweeping general statement as to which system is "better for the tenant" or "better for the landlord." Too much depends upon the individual tenant or landlord. The foregoing facts do, however, make it possible from the standpoint of the yield obtained and the factors of production used to give the following categorical statements:

(1) If the tenant is young and without either capital, or sufficient experience to invest borrowed money wisely in animals and implements which will be efficiently used, there is but one place for him on the farm, outside the status of laborer, and that is share tenancy.

(2) If the tenant has slightly more experience and has sufficient capital to buy animals, implements and machinery, he is better off as a cash tenant. From the landlord's point of view the existence of this class is not so desirable. Unscrupulous landlords who enforce the share system rigor-

ously, giving their tenants in return the minimum of concessions are enabled, as we noted at the beginning to make as high as 25 per cent on their investment. This, of course, can be called nothing short of exploitation through a system. The landlord cannot attain such a high return on his investment from the cash tenant. He is also in danger, if his contract is not written or if the tenant is lazy or dishonest, of seeing his land deteriorate.

(3) If the Negro has a family of any size, has farming experience and capital, the logical status for him is land ownership. As an owner nothing stands between him and the realization of rent for his land, interest for his capital invested, wages for his labor and that of his family, and, if he proves to be a successful farmer, profits on his enterprise. There is no indication that the growth of a considerable owner class is a detriment to the economic life of the community either from the point of view of annual production or from the point of view of depreciation of land and capital used. On the other hand there is much evidence of the superior prosperity, self-interest and community interest of the owners.

#### ABUSES.

Up to this point the different classes of tenants and owners have been contrasted with one fundamental assumption, namely, that the relationship is not abused by either the landlord or the tenant. But the economic and social generalizations are often upset by the unscrupulous of one class or the ignorant and shiftless of the other.

Unscrupulous landlords, with the aid of laws making it a criminal offense to leave a contract while in debt, have created conditions on some plantations which amount to peonage or practical re-enslavement of share tenants. Unsatisfactory crop settlements at the end of the year have been at the root of much discontent with the share tenant status.

The landlord has a legalized lien on the crop and, if

he is also a merchant who encourages the reckless extension of charge accounts during the year, upon which he charges a high rate of interest, and for which he submits a bill or verbal statement to a man who cannot read or add, then he keeps the Negro perpetually in debt.

Investigations following the Arkansas riots of 1920 have shown that this condition, on some plantations, was a fundamental factor in the discontent.

On the other hand, landlords very justly complain that they have to be very particular in renting their land outright because, as the rent is to be paid out of the crop over which they do not have much control, and, as advances for food, fertilizer, and feed, with legitimate interest charges are often to be added to this rent, they risk loosing considerable sums on shiftless, unsuccessful, and dishonest tenants, and they also risk greater depreciation on their land.

Such individual abuses of the tenant relationships whether by landlord or by tenant, are but additional reasons why landlords prefer to stick to share tenant cultivation and why Negroes prefer to escape from it.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

*Family Life.*—The chances of utilizing a large family as an economic asset are distinctly in favor of the owner and cash tenant, not only because they can extend their operations merely by renting additional acres, but also for the reason that the share tenant is a dependent whose task is usually to raise the cotton crop. His food and clothing are obtained on the basis of credit advances, and the landlord therefore prefers to keep down his accounts by choosing single men, unless the tenant has several children of sufficient size to work in the fields.

*Food.*—The census of 1910 indicated that in Georgia there were 1.6 cows per owner, .9 per cash tenant and only .6 per share tenant. This successively larger number per cash tenant and owner holds good through the different sections

of the State. Owners and cash tenants also return more pigs and poultry than the share tenants. More than 22,000 share tenant farms in the State, or 40 per cent of the total, had no poultry.<sup>14</sup> Share tenants are not only usually without the capital to purchase these animals, but they are, in their very relationship to the farm not in a position advantageous for raising animals. Saddled as they are with the cotton crop, they are not in a position to raise the feed crops, as was previously shown by the diversification index.

Negro share tenants are as backward about cultivating garden products as they are about domestic animals. There is space around almost every house for a small kitchen garden, but in the absence of knowledge or much encouragement to cultivate it, it goes unused, or supports only a few rows of "collards." Observers have often noted with surprise the purchases of food which Negro tenants make which could easily be grown at home in spare hours.

During the summer of 1917, when the Negro Migration was at its height, the writer visited many plantations. The landlords who seemed to have been particularly successful in retaining their labor were all questioned as to how they had succeeded. A surprisingly large proportion emphasized the fact that they had encouraged the gardens and domestic animal breeding of their tenants. These items of home grown food add materially to the comfort and satisfaction of the farm dwellers. In this respect owners and cash tenants are better off than share tenants.

In regard to food purchased there is also a distinct limitation on a number of share tenants. If they are without capital, as most of them are, they depend on the local merchant or the landlord to credit them for their food until the crop is harvested. In many cases there is an absolute limit beyond which the "one horse" farmer cannot go in book credit. During the plantation investigation of 1911, Brooks noted that in many cases this limit was \$100.

<sup>14</sup> Negro Population in the United States. 1790-1915, Table 69.

*Clothing.*—No statistics are available for clothing bought, but the same limitations of credit are imposed on share tenants in this respect as in the purchase of food.

*Housing.*—The figures in Table 11 above indicate that owners uniformly occupy the most valuable houses, cash tenants next and share tenants the poorest. The average values of buildings per farm in the State as a whole were: for owner farms, \$295, cash tenant farms, \$189, and share tenant farms, \$156. These values speak for themselves. Even the owner's house at \$295 is poor enough, but the houses of the share tenants are often unspeakable. Constructed of green lumber and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred unpainted, they warp, spring cracks and leaks, and present a bare and uninviting appearance from without and within. They are predominantly of the one room construction, sometimes with an 8' x 10' lean-to addition. They seldom have more than one or two small windows with rough board shutters, and almost never more than one chimney, with ungrated fireplace. It is in these cabins that families, sometimes large ones, with the added company of several dogs, live.

The general significance of this low standard of living is more fully treated in the last chapter. It cannot, however, be too frequently emphasized that all students of the race question agree that the most pressing problem of the Negro is his standard of living. Educating him to produce more hinges on the ability of educating him to want more. As a passage from share tenant to cash tenant or cash tenant to owner, means an improvement in the standard of living, it is a movement to be heartily encouraged.

#### PERMANENCY OF RESIDENCE.

The share tenant, the renter, and the owner are likewise successively more attached to the land and less likely to

move often. It is the latter landless, well nigh purposeless element which makes the tasks of economic improvement, social betterment and leadership among the Negroes so difficult.

The following table indicates the shifting tendency of the tenants and especially the share tenants:

TABLE 12.

Georgia: Percentage Distribution of Farmers by Term of Occupancy and Tenure.

Years on Farm	All Farmers			Negro Farmers		
	Owners	Cash Ten'ts	Share Ten'ts	Owners	Cash Ten'ts	Share Ten'ts
Under 1 year..	7.6	25.9	44.6	6.0	20.1	39.8
1 year.....	6.5	15.7	17.5	5.5	14.2	17.8
2 to 4 years....	21.9	33.0	26.3	22.7	35.0	29.1
5 to 9 years....	20.5	15.1	7.7	22.8	17.8	8.8
10 years & over	43.5	10.3	3.9	43.0	12.9	4.5
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Ratios computed from U. S. Census, 1910, Bulletin "Stability of Farm Operators.")

Considerably more than half of the share tenants had been occupying their farm for less than two years, and only 13.3 per cent had been occupying their farm for more than 5 years. About one-third of the cash tenants had been occupying their farm less than two years, another third from two to five years, and another third more than five years. Of the owners only 11.5 per cent had been on their farm less than a year and considerably more than two-thirds had been there for over five years. This shifting is due more to the tenant system than to racial characteristics. This is indicated first by the fact that Negro owners change their residence so much less frequently than share tenants, and by the fact that the shifting in all farmers, both white and colored, shown in the table, is slightly greater than the shifting of colored farmers. In other words there are proportionately more white than colored cash and share tenants who have been on their farm less than two years.

Such restlessness is of necessity a tremendous stumbling

block to programs inaugurated in order to foster greater interest in the farm and rural life. Inter-racial good will, or even the individual acquaintanceship which must precede inter-racial good will are well-nigh impossible. From the point of view of the development of a class of influential leaders, the shifting of the tenant classes is equally disadvantageous.

#### GENERAL STANDING IN THE COMMUNITY.

There is no doubt that the backbone of the rural Negro population is the group of successful Negro owners and renters who have demonstrated their productivity and usefulness to the community. The Negro race looks to this class for its leaders and supporters of rural institutions. The low incomes of wage-hands and tenants preclude their participation to any marked degree in the financing of institutions and their initiative, undeveloped because of the dependency of their position, is not sufficient to make them successful leaders.

In race relations, also, the existence of this class of farmers, permanently attached to the land, is very beneficial. The fact that they are taxpayers heightens the respect which members of the white race have for them. The fact that their occupancy is more permanent allows acquaintanceship to grow and stimulates confidence in their activities.

#### SUMMARY.

These complex differences among the tenant classes bring the realization that much more is involved in land tenure in the South than the mere technical details of farming. Tenure systems penetrate even deeper than the economic life of the rural districts. They are determinants also of the social structure. Figures on changes in land tenure are therefore convenient methods of measuring a whole series of very complex economic and social changes in rural life.

On account of the mistaken apprehensions concerning the increase in tenancy in the United States, the fact that ownership as well as tenancy is increasing cannot be too greatly emphasized. This indicates that the increase of tenants is recruited from the inferior labor class rather than from the superior owner class. Thinking in terms of the individual Negro, it is evident that he would prefer, if possible, to leave the status of laborer and enter any of the tenant classes, to leave the status of share tenant and become renter or owner, and to leave the status of renter and become owner. The pressure of individual motive is in this direction. The obstacles are, unwillingness of landlords to rent or sell land, and inability of the individual, through misfortune or shiftlessness, to accumulate the necessary capital for the transition.

Such a powerful motive at play in the Negro population suggests itself immediately as possibly a principal factor in migration. In a region of static agricultural conditions, where plantations continue to follow, as closely as possible the old way, it is evident that young Negroes, as they grow up, must move off the farm. There is no opportunity for them except as their parents die. In many sections, however, the movement has gone so far as to cause an actual decrease in the acreage cultivated. The planters have insisted on conditions so unfavorable to the farm population that their labor supply has gradually dwindled, or they have worn out their lands with exhaustive cotton culture and prefer to let them lie idle. The Negroes from these regions have moved into the sections where the agricultural opportunities are better, and many of them have become detached from the soil and have gone to the city. The following chapters are devoted to the relationship between these changes in rural organization and the movement of population.

## PART II. THE POPULATION MOVEMENTS

### CHAPTER I

#### THE DIVERSITY OF MIGRATIONS.

One of the most evident ways in which the colored and white populations of Georgia have responded to these differing opportunities in different sections of the State has been by migration. The land, or opportunity is localized, immovable, and more or less fixed in quantity. The labor, on the other hand is mobile, and may shift from place to place, increasing or decreasing in quantity with the changes in demand. It is the inter-action of the demands of the land with the supply of agricultural labor which has furnished the chief causes of migration. Urban opportunity has exerted some influence, but the Negroes in 1910 were still 80.9 per cent rural.

Both Negro laborers and white laborers have shifted from certain sections into certain sections, and the movements of the two races have been in the same direction, differing only in the relative numbers of migrants furnished by each race. This, in itself is an indication that the same economic and social forces are at work among the two races, but of course, in differing degrees. The movements have their economic and social effects as well as causes. Social institutions are made unstable in the sections losing heavily by migration, and in sections gaining, race problems are more aggravated where white and colored people who are unaccustomed to one another are brought into competition. These effects of migration will be discussed more at length in the last chapter of this study. The present chapter will be devoted to a closer study of the areas which are losing

and those which are gaining in Negro population. The succeeding chapter shows concretely how important a part the tenant system plays in determining the population increase of rural areas.

## CITY AND COUNTRY.

The urbanization of the Negro population has attracted much attention, especially since large groups have recently moved into northern cities. As the census makes no closer classification of the birthplace of persons than the State of birth, movement into cities cannot be obtained from this source. Increases and decreases of population, however, if marked, constitute a good measure of the movement. The following figures indicate the distinct drift cityward of both the white and the colored people of Georgia:

TABLE 13.  
Georgia: Rural and Urban Population.<sup>(1)</sup>

	Number			Per cent		
	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910
Negro pop.—						
Urban ..	123,862	161,061	224,826	14.4	15.5	19.1
Rural ..	734,953	873,752	952,161	85.6	84.4	80.9
White pop.—						
Urban ..	133,515	185,123	313,606	13.6	15.7	21.9
Rural ..	844,842	996,171	1,118,196	86.0	84.3	78.1
Total pop.—						
Urban ..	257,472	346,382	538,650	14.0	15.6	20.6
Rural ..	844,842	996,171	1,118,196	86.4	84.3	78.1

These figures indicate the increasing importance of city life among Negroes. While still proportionately a small problem, the urban problem is a growing one. The Negro urban population increased from 14.4 per cent in 1890 to 19.1 per cent in 1910. The greater part of this increase—from 15.5 to 19.1—was in the single decade 1900 to 1910. The rural Negroes, however, still constitute over four-fifths of the total population. While almost as large a proportion of the white population is living in rural districts, the white people too show a marked drift cityward. This tendency is

<sup>1</sup> United States Census of 1910, Population, Vol. II, p. 37.

slightly greater than among the Negroes since the white urban population increased from 13.6 per cent in 1890 to 21.9 per cent in 1910.

These percentages may be misinterpreted if the actual numbers upon which they are based are not kept in mind. The percentage of increase indicates that an increasingly greater portion of the people are living in cities, but it does not indicate that the number of people in the country is decreasing. The rural population is growing, but the city population is growing faster. The first three columns of Table 13 show that city and country both are increasing in Georgia, and that the cities merely receive a part of the natural increment of the country districts, a part remaining to swell the numbers of rural inhabitants. An examination of the numerical increases in the table bring this out more clearly. While the percentage of Negroes living in rural communities decreased from 85.6 in 1890 to 80.9 in 1910, the number increased from 734,953 to 952,161, a numerical increase of 78,409 and a rate of increase of 9 per cent. On the other hand the cities increased at a faster rate, because of the fact that their population was in the beginning much smaller than that of the country districts. The cities increased from 123,862 in 1890 to 224,826 in 1910, a percentage increase of 39.6 and a numerical increase of 63,765.

When it is considered that some of the increase in city population is due to the extension of boundaries and some to the growth of new towns to such a size that they are included in the urban area, it is seen that the urban increase is by no means so significant as that in rural districts. In fact, about 15,000 of the urban increase was due to the growth of towns which were less than 2,500 in population in 1900 and greater than 2,500 in 1910. That is to say 14 incorporated places which were villages of less than 2,500 in 1900 were for that reason enumerated as "rural,"

but on account of 10 years' growth they were enumerated as urban by the census of 1910. Such a change, of course, does not indicate as large a migration as might be assumed from the statistics of increase in urban population. It therefore appears that while there is a distinct trend toward urbanization, the movements of paramount importance in Georgia are those arising from the shifting of farm population.

#### THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

1. *Villages.*—The census calls any town of less than 2,500 inhabitants a rural community. In some sections of the country this renders their classification deceptive. Some unincorporated rural communities are very thickly populated, while some towns, with wide limits of incorporation are thinly populated and concerned chiefly with agricultural interests rather than with manufacture and trade. They depend upon the surrounding agricultural areas for food and raw materials. It is obvious that in these cases the census classification would be inaccurate. In manufacturing sections it would include too much. Suburbs of cities, outside of corporate limits, and manufacturing villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants whose occupations are not in any sense rural, and whose homes are clustered city fashion, around a large manufacturing plant, are obviously not as rural as towns slightly over 2,500 which depend for the support of their activities on surrounding farming populations. Such inaccuracies do not apply to any great extent to Georgia, or for that matter, to any part of the Cotton Belt.

The following table indicates the proportion of the total population in 1910 which was living in villages of between 250 and 2,500 inhabitants and which was classed as rural by the census. The "rural" counties are grouped according as they are losing by migration, gaining slowly or gaining rapidly.<sup>2</sup> (See shading of Map II.)

<sup>2</sup> Computed from U. S. Census of 1910, Population, Vol. II. Analysis for "Georgia," Table 1, giving population of "Minor Civil Divisions."

TABLE 14.

Georgia: Percentage of Total Population Living in Villages of 250 to 2,500. (103 "Rural" Counties.)

County Group	Total Population	Village Population	Per cent in Villages	Per cent in open Country
Decreasing in population	460,449	55,698	12.5	87.5
Increasing slowly.....	410,271	71,900	17.1	82.9
Increasing rapidly.....	565,991	109,157	19.1	80.9

Thus 83.6 per cent of all the population of these counties live in the open country. Even the 16.4 per cent in villages is largely concerned with rural affairs. In the cotton belt these places consist merely of the merchandizing, ginning and marketing concerns with a sprinkling of professional men whose clients are nearly all farmers.

In point of numbers these villages of less than 2,500 are not very important. There were 516 in Georgia in 1910. Their aggregate population was 283,803, or only 11 per cent of the total population of the State.<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore evident that a study of population classed as "rural" by the Census, represents in Georgia a comparatively accurate picture of conditions among the farming population even though the small population of villages is included as rural.

2. *The Open Country.*—Travelers in the South frequently remark on the wide stretches of country and the separation of houses. It is not at all unusual to go several miles without seeing a house. The passing of the plantation system has done away with the "quarters" grouped around the and lumbering, and in Northern Georgia, in the mountains, some lumbering is also done. The distribution of the Negroes of Georgia who are engaged in gainful occupations indicates that, outside of city and transportation trades, the

<sup>3</sup> United States Census of 1910, Population, See Note 2.

great mass is engaged in agriculture.<sup>4</sup> Any movement of population in the rural districts is, therefore, closely related to the conditions of farm life.

Table 15.

Negroes of Georgia 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Gainful Occupations.

Occupations	Total	Male	Female
Agriculture .....	410,266	257,974	152,292
Manufacturing and Trades....	43,933	39,309	4,624
Domestic Service.....	100,809	14,615	86,194
Transportation .....	22,869	22,865	4
All other .....	37,659	31,849	5,810
Total .....	615,536	366,612	248,924

3. *Local Migration.*—One further fact is to be noted before the study of migration is made by counties, namely, that local movements, which are very hard to measure, and yet which are of importance, take place within counties. These cannot be measured by studying the increases and decreases of the county as a whole. The change from the labor system to the tenant system of cultivating a single large plantation often involves a local increase of considerable significance. Usually the proportion who are young, single men is higher among laborers than among tenants. A change from laborers to tenants therefore means an increase in the plantation population proportionate to the size of the tenant families. On the other hand, the use of a large number of tenant farms for orchards, or for pasture land would reduce the population of a local district. These local movements are bewildering in their number and effects.

Some idea of local increases can be gained by the figures for the population of minor civil divisions of selected counties.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Compiled from Census of 1910, Occupations, p. 449-450.

<sup>5</sup> U. S. Census of 1900 and 1910. The census does not publish

The irregularity of increases and decreases in local areas is marked. As a whole, the Negro population of Crawford County, decreased during the decade, by 15.4 per cent. The area represented by districts number 573 and 577, however, gained 50 Negroes, while the other districts showed losses in colored population ranging from —50 to —340. Greene County as a whole increased by 3.7 per cent. Six of its minor civil divisions, however, actually decreased, while the increases among Negroes in the others ranged from 9 to 570. Jackson County as a whole increased 13.2 per cent. Five of its minor civil divisions, however, showed small decreases, while the increases in the others ranged from 25 to 508.

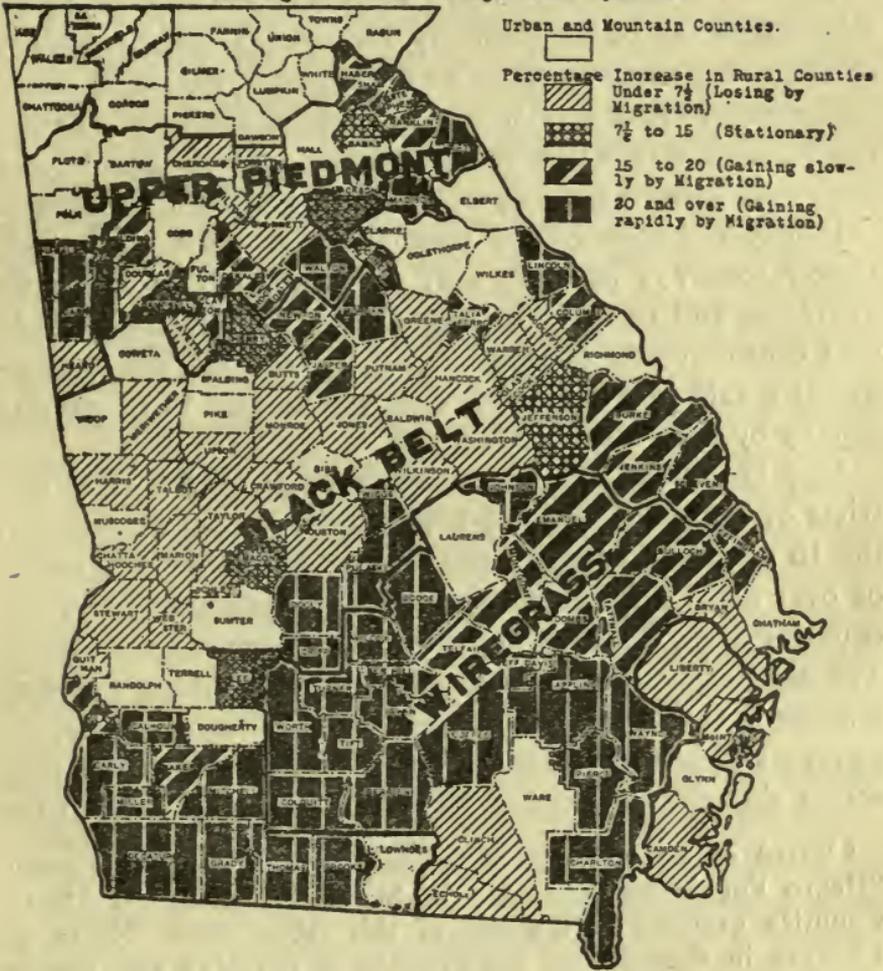
These irregular increases are too divergent to be explained by differences in birth and death rates. There can be no essential difference in health conditions because the areas are small and contiguous. It therefore appears that there is a constant and widespread shifting of the Negro population which is too great to be measured accurately for many of these local areas. Local studies of migration in limited areas would indicate minutely the exact causes for gain and loss in Negro population. This study is, however, confined to the presentation of increases and decreases in whole counties on which accurate data is available in the Census. As such it is representative of general conditions in the county, but it is to be remembered that these conditions may be concentrated in local areas and not spread evenly over all of the rural districts.

#### DIRECTION OF RURAL MIGRATION

In order to determine the direction and extent of the movements of Negro population the best method is to study the increases in the towns and counties of Georgia, and compute the population of minor civil divisions by race, but these figures were obtained from an unpublished tabulation made in the Census Office under the direction of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and loaned for this study.

MAP II.  
GEORGIA

Percentage of Increase in Negro Rural Population.



pare these local increases with the increase in the total Negro population of the United States during the decade 1900-1910. The rate of increase for the whole country, 11.2 per cent, may be taken as a rather accurate measure of the excess of Negro births over deaths for the 10 years, since the country as a whole was neither gaining nor losing perceptibly by international Negro migration. In order that this determination might not be too arbitrary, however, a range from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 15 per cent may be taken as indicative of excess of births over deaths. Any area whose increase in Negro population for the decade falls between these limits may be considered a stationary area as far as perceptible migration is concerned.

Districts whose Negro population increased at a rate slower than  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent may be considered as losing by migration and those increasing at a rate faster than 15 per cent considered as gaining by migration. Districts increasing at a rate of over 20 per cent can be said to be gaining rapidly by migration.

Map II indicates these rates of increase for the rural districts of Georgia.<sup>6</sup> Of the 144 counties shown on the map the 16 mountain counties and 24 counties containing towns of over 2,500 are left unshaded. The remaining 104 rural counties are shaded to indicate their increase in Negroes. The shading shows that the 7 stationary counties are well scattered. Of the 97 other counties, 37 were losing, 24 gaining slowly and 36 gaining rapidly. A glance at the map shows that the decreasing area corresponds closely to the

<sup>6</sup> Based on percentages of increase shown in U. S. Census "Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915." Table II. Counties grouped at the end of this table under "Notes on Changes in Boundaries" are grouped in the Map and the increase figured for the whole area because changes in county lines make census figures deceptive as to increase or decrease of individual counties in the area. In case a city was located in such an area its population was deducted. Inasmuch as there was an adjustment between the Urban county of Clarke and the rural county of Oglethorpe, the latter was left unshaded.

ante-bellum Black Belt. This area contains 27 of the decreasing counties, while the upper Piedmont contains only 7 and the Wiregrass 3. The areas increasing slowly embrace 25 counties, which lie mostly on the borders of the Black Belt. Two of these counties are on the border of the southwest Black Belt, only 7 on the edges of the central Black Belt, 8 in the Upper Piedmont and 7 in Wiregrass. Of the 36 rapidly increasing counties, 24 are in the Wiregrass and the adjacent southwest Black Belt section; 5 are in the Upper Piedmont 6 are on the borders of the Black Belt.

It may therefore be said that the ante-bellum central and coast Black Belts are losing, the borders of the Black Belt, including most of the Upper Piedmont, gaining slowly, the Wiregrass and southwest Black Belt gaining rapidly.

Numerically this migration may be calculated by grouping the counties according to their shading on Map II into the following table:

TABLE 16.

## Migration of Negroes in Georgia,(?) 1900-1910.

Districts	Negro Popu- lation, 1900	Excess of Births over Deaths at 15 Per cent	Actual Increase 1900- 1910	Migration Indicated by Dif- ference
Rural—				
Mountain . . . . .	10,017	1,503	— 1,171	— 2,674
Areas losing... . . . .	249,659	37,449	— 1,301	—38,750
Stationary areas . . . . .	54,854	8,228	6,011	— 2,217
Areas gaining slowly . . . . .	142,268	21,340	24,961	3,621
Areas gaining rapidly . . . . .	231,326	34,699	61,446	26,747
Rural area of counties con- taining a city	185,628	27,844	—11,537	—39,381
Cities . . . . .	161,061	24,159	63,765	39,606
TOTAL . . . . .	1,034,813	155,222	142,174	—13,048

† Computed from U. S. Census, 1910, Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915, Table II. A check on this method

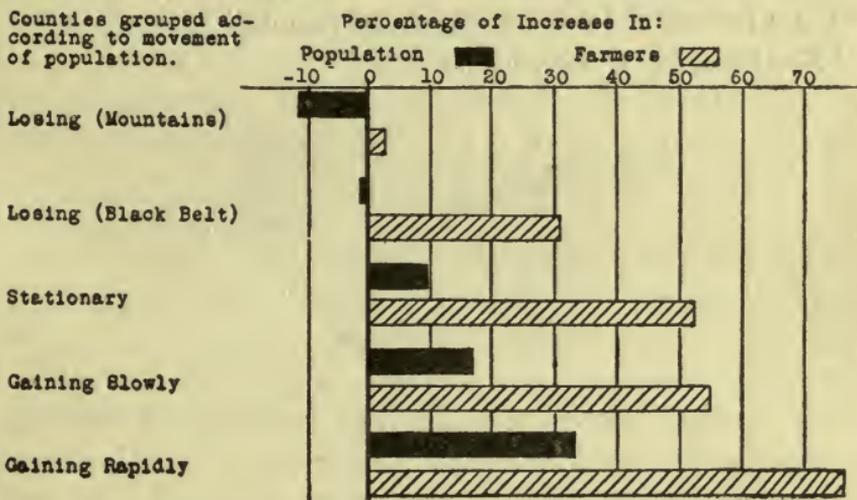
The first column indicates the 1900 population of the various groups of counties. The second indicates the natural increase which might have been expected in the population if there had been no movement and if the excess of births over deaths had caused an increase of 15 per cent during the decade. Although the Negroes of the country as a whole increased only 11.2 per cent, and the Negroes of Georgia 13.2 per cent, it is estimated that the excess of births over deaths in Georgia would have caused that State to increase by 15 per cent, had Georgia not suffered loss by migration. The third column is the actual increase in colored population between 1900 and 1910, as shown by the census. By subtracting the third from the second column, *i. e.*, subtracting the actual increase from the expected increase of 15 per cent, we obtain a fairly good approximation of the extent to which the actual increase by excess of births over deaths is offset by population movement. This is shown in column 4. The Negro population of the State was 1,034,813 in 1900. If it had increased by 15 per cent (155,222) it would have been 1,190,035; such, however, was not the case. The 1910 census showed only 1,176,987 Negroes, an increase of only 142,174. This leaves the difference between 115,222 and 142,174, or 13,048, to be accounted for by migration from the State. As a matter of fact the figures as to birthplace confirm this assumption closely. (See footnote 7.)

It will be noted from Table 16 that the mountain counties, decreasing rural counties, and stationary counties lost of estimating migration is provided by comparing totals with Table 19, Negro Population in the United States. Whereas, this estimate indicates that the State as a whole lost 13,048 by migration, Table 19 indicates an increase of 19,004 Georgia-born Negroes outside the State, from this the increase of 1,257 born elsewhere but living in the State should be deducted, leaving an excess of 17,747 in the increase of emigrants over the increase of immigrants. The estimate in Column 4, Table 16, is, therefore, conservative because it falls 4,700 below the actual figures in Table 19.

about 43,641 Negroes by migration. The slowly increasing counties of the Piedmont and borders of the Black Belt gained about 3,621 and the rapidly increasing Wiregrass about 26,747. As a whole the urban counties gained only about 200. Within these urban counties there was a loss of the rural districts to the cities both by extension of city boundaries to include rural areas, and by migration, for while the total population of these counties was practically stationary, the population of the towns increased by 39,606, and the population of adjacent rural districts decreased 39,387.

DIAGRAM I.

RELATION OF INCREASE IN NEGRO POPULATION  
TO INCREASE IN NEGRO FARMERS, 1900-10.  
(Counties grouped according to shading of Map II.)



The fact that the mountain counties included less than one per cent of the Negroes of the State in 1900 and that these small numbers are dwindling, warrants their exclusion from any further study of Negro migration. The Negroes in these counties are the descendants of the few slaves who were owned in this section. For the present, therefore, the migration from the Black Belt rural counties to the Piedmont and Wiregrass rural counties will be analyzed more closely.

As to the causes of this movement: We may dismiss almost

immediately any assumption that it is due to inherent race traits rather than to the environment, for the white population is moving in the same direction. It was previously noted that the increases in both white and colored population for the various counties are very similar.<sup>8</sup>

Using the increase in total number of farms as the best index of opportunity, we note that increase in farms corresponds closely with increase in population (see also Table 17). This is shown graphically on Diagram I, which charts the percentage increase 1900-1910 in farms operated by Negroes and in the Negro population. The diagram is based on the total increase in the groups of counties as combined in Table 16. The fact that they vary so nearly together shows that the presence or absence of opportunity for farmers is a powerful factor in the rural population movement.

<sup>8</sup> See Footnote 1, Introduction.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MOVEMENTS OF COUNTRYMEN

It is evident from the material already presented that migrations of Negroes are by no means new phenomena. The descriptions of the actions of freedmen during the period of disorganization known as reconstruction, indicate that the movement started with emancipation. This very unstable condition soon settled down to a steady flow of Negroes from the old Black Belts. Examination of past censuses by the same methods used in the previous chapter indicates that most of the counties in the ante-bellum Black Belt of Georgia have been stationary or decreasing almost continuously since 1880. Examination of birthplace statistics of the Census indicates that there has also been a shift from the Border States northward and from the old Cotton States westward for the past forty years.

At this stage it should also be emphasized that the movement is by no means a simple phenomenon. It arises from complex social and economic conditions and is attended by complex social and economic changes. One of the most enlightening indications of the desire of the Negro to take advantage of his agricultural opportunity and the extent to which he is able to do so is found in a study of rural migration. As previously indicated, the principal shift before 1915 was from one rural district to another within the South,—a movement from certain agricultural communities to other agricultural communities. The number moving from country to city was relatively small. Since 1910, however, the entrance of the boll weevil into Georgia and the exceptional industrial opportunities of the North have changed the current of migration. The boll weevil lessened opportunity in the southern portion of the State, slackened the immigration

into the section, and, in some cases, caused planters <sup>and</sup> to cut independent farmers <sup>to</sup> become discouraged and moved away.<sup>1</sup>  
~~independent farmers became discouraged and moved away.~~

This emigration from the boll weevil section, with the normal amount of emigration from the Black Belt, gave a much greater impetus to the previously slow current moving to the North. The first part of this chapter is devoted to a closer analysis of the movement from 1900 to 1910, and the second part to a description of the movement since 1915 in so far as it affects rural districts.

#### CAUSES OF MIGRATION BEFORE 1910

The more critical student will doubtless object that the method used in the previous chapter lacks sufficient definiteness in relating migration to farm conditions. Map II indicated the general movements in the geographical belts, but in these belts exceptional counties were noted whose population movement differs from that in the surrounding counties. It cannot be said, therefore, that population movement corresponds perfectly with any geographic section or with any grouping of counties based on the percentage which Negroes form of the total population. The next logical step is to search for a third condition whose variations correspond to the changes in population more closely than do

<sup>1</sup> In description of this movement it is felt that clearness and brevity demand that the detailed facts be largely based upon a study of Georgia. The States north of Georgia were not affected by the boll weevil and hence did not suffer nearly the same loss in Negro population. The States west of Georgia had been previously affected in a similar manner. The slight increase in Texas and the actual decrease in Louisiana, noted in Table 1, are, in a measure, due to the fact that these two States were affected by the weevil before 1910. Floods in Alabama, and tariff troubles with sugar in Louisiana, aggravated the conditions in these States. A good general idea of how the other States compare with Georgia in respect to the loss of Negroes can be gained from the report of the U. S. Department of Labor, "Negro Migration in 1916-17," Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919.

variations in geographic location or percent Negro in the total population.

In view of the importance of land tenure as outlined in Part I, this factor suggests itself immediately. For the benefit of those who may have a more scientific interest in the Negro population movements and social measurements, a more accurate statistical determination of the relation between changes in land tenure and rural population movement between 1900 and 1910 is given in the statistical appendix.

The previous chapter (Map II and Diagram I) indicated that increase in population and increase in farms are closely connected. The mere presentation of the fact that farms and population show similar rates of increase in the counties as grouped in Diagram I leaves two questions unsolved: first, the fact that the two fluctuate together does not show which is the cause and which the effect; second, it does not show the extent to which one is the cause of the other.

The first difficulty is one which arises because so many social and economic phenomena may be now a cause and again an effect of other phenomena. This is the case with land tenure and population movement. In decreasing counties it is easy to see how both could be true. Worn out land, or landlords who would rather let their land lie idle than grant Negroes' demands to rent, would cause an exodus from the county. On the other hand, an exodus caused by some external factor such as higher wages could easily cause a decrease in farms cultivated. Unless, however, agricultural conditions remain less favorable in the deserted section than in surrounding areas, laborers and share tenants will be brought back. Over a considerable period of time, therefore, even in decreasing counties the cause-effect relationship seems to have been from farming conditions to population movement more than from population movement to farming conditions. In counties

increasing rapidly by migration the relationship is clearer still. There is no way for population movement alone to increase the number of independent farmers unless opportunity previously exists for them. In fact, when planters desire to hold to the labor or share tenant system, an influx of Negroes aids them because it increases the available labor supply.

If, therefore, it can be established that increase in independent Negro farmers is more closely associated with increase in population than is increase in Negro farm labor, then we will have shown that the lack of agricultural opportunity leads to movement from a district while favorable opportunity for farmers leads to movement into a district or to such a condition that young men find places on farms as they grow up and the county does not lose them.

To establish this point a quantitative statement of the relationship is desirable. This can be arrived at only by employing a logical and exact method of measuring the relationship between such factors which vary in a number of cases.<sup>2</sup>

The following table is constructed so as to make these variations in Negro population and farm increase stand out for the counties in Georgia.

In order that the comparisons might be accurate, all counties were eliminated from consideration in which very small Negro rural population, or suburban populations rendered

<sup>2</sup> The method of correlation is presented in as popular a form as possible. Sufficient use has been made of it in measuring relationships in economics and biology to warrant the omission of the detailed mathematical proof of the assumptions underlying it. These are given fully by G. U. Yule in "An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics," and by H. L. Moore, in "Forecasting the Yield and Price of Cotton." The principal steps in the reasoning and abridged proof of the derivation of the Pearsonian co-efficient of correlation are given in the statistical appendix.

Table 17

## Negro Population and Farm Increases, Georgia, 1900-1910

(—) Minus sign denotes decrease.

COUNTIES	Increase Negro Population (y)	Increase Negro Farms (x)	Deviation from Guessed Popul. Average (700) (Y)	Deviation from Guessed Farm Average (300) (X)	Product of Deviations (Thousands) (XY)	Square of Dev. from Guessed Popul. Average (Thousands) (Y <sup>2</sup> )	Square of Dev. from Guessed Farm Average (Thousands) (X <sup>2</sup> )
Stewart.....	-1,456	69	-2,156	-231	498	4,648	53
Crawford.....	-896	31	-1,596	-269	429	2,547	72
Wilkinson.....	-876	-80	-1,576	-380	599	2,484	144
Marion.....	-485	188	-1,185	-112	133	1,404	13
Talbot.....	-309	364	-1,009	64	-65	1,018	4
Schley.....	-292	30	-992	-270	268	984	73
Gordon.....	-275	30	-975	-270	263	951	73
Liberty.....	-259	131	-959	-169	162	920	29
Heard.....	-258	141	-958	-159	152	918	25
Oconee.....	-209	348	-909	48	-44	826	2
Clinch.....	-212	46	-912	-254	232	832	65
Jones.....	-162	421	-862	121	-104	743	15
McDuffie.....	-158	210	-858	-90	77	736	8
Baldwin.....	-148	84	-848	-216	183	719	47
Camden.....	-133	-30	-833	-330	275	694	109
McIntosh.....	-103	-144	-803	-444	357	645	197
Chattahoochee.....	-74	156	-774	-144	111	599	21
Upson.....	-64	273	-764	-27	21	584	1
Ware.....	-25	30	-725	-270	196	527	73
Glascocock.....	-8	85	-708	-215	152	501	46
Echols.....	1	15	-699	-285	199	489	81
Forsyth.....	15	63	-685	-237	162	469	56
Douglas.....	16	101	-684	-199	136	468	40
Bartow.....	38	197	-662	-103	68	438	11
Webster.....	68	51	-632	-249	157	399	62
Putnam.....	121	515	-579	215	-124	335	46
Quitman.....	141	144	-559	-156	87	312	24
Bryan.....	184	37	-516	-263	136	266	69
Hall.....	215	108	-485	-192	93	235	37
Banks.....	224	114	-476	-186	89	227	35
Paulding.....	243	58	-457	-242	111	209	59
Fayette.....	254	190	-446	-110	49	199	12
Glynn.....	287	-19	-413	-319	132	171	102
Gwinnett.....	288	140	-412	-160	66	168	26
Taylor.....	353	281	-347	-19	7	120	1
Haralson.....	383	90	-317	-210	67	97	44
Butts.....	393	267	-307	-33	10	94	1
Greene.....	419	526	-281	226	-64	79	51
Charlton.....	446	-9	-254	-309	78	65	95
Campbell.....	448	180	-252	-120	30	64	14

Table 17—Continued

COUNTIES	Incr. (y)	Incr. (x)	Dev. (Y)	Dev. (X)	Prod. (XY)	Sq. (Y <sup>2</sup> )	Sq. (X <sup>2</sup> )
Rockdale.....	496	90	-204	-210	43	42	44
Warren.....	511	402	-189	102	-19	36	10
Miller.....	549	147	-151	-153	23	23	23
Polk.....	556	205	-144	-95	14	21	9
Pierce.....	558	127	-142	-173	25	20	21
Effingham.....	574	102	-126	-198	25	16	39
Clayton.....	606	249	-94	-51	5	9	3
Telfair.....	635	239	-65	-61	4	4	4
Hancock.....	640	588	-60	288	-17	4	83
Harris.....	679	371	-21	71	-1	.....	5
Spalding.....	749	354	49	54	3	2	3
Macon.....	790	493	90	193	17	8	37
Henry.....	795	512	95	212	20	9	45
Pike.....	839	536	139	236	33	19	56
Clay.....	866	188	166	-112	-19	28	13
Taliaferro.....	902	421	202	121	24	41	15
Lincoln.....	906	359	206	59	12	42	3
Meriwether.....	913	670	213	370	79	45	137
Baker.....	948	261	248	-39	-10	62	2
Jackson.....	1,007	421	307	121	37	94	15
Madison.....	1,009	311	309	11	3	95	.....
Johnson.....	1,025	208	325	-92	-30	106	8
Hart.....	1,055	308	355	8	3	126	.....
Wayne.....	1,082	39	382	-261	-100	146	69
Lee.....	1,155	449	455	349	159	207	122
Dougherty.....	1,178	266	478	-34	-16	228	1
Monroe.....	1,311	348	611	48	29	373	2
Randolph.....	1,347	227	647	-73	-47	419	5
Walton.....	1,360	426	660	126	83	436	16
Jefferson.....	1,401	560	701	260	18	491	68
Columbia.....	1,445	465	745	165	123	555	27
Calhoun.....	1,486	226	786	-74	-58	618	5
Twiggs.....	1,591	408	891	108	96	794	12
Pulaski.....	1,775	668	1,075	368	396	1,156	136
Jasper.....	1,839	675	1,139	375	427	1,297	141
Morgan.....	2,173	738	1,473	438	645	2,170	192
Lowndes.....	2,291	362	1,591	62	99	2,531	4
Early.....	2,308	640	1,608	340	36	2,586	116
Wilkes.....	2,345	1,073	1,645	773	1,271	2,706	598
Terrell.....	2,744	724	2,044	424	867	4,178	178
Dodge.....	2,755	574	2,055	274	565	4,223	102
Mitchell.....	3,660	712	2,960	412	122	8,762	170

Table 17—Continued

COUNTIES	Incr. (y)	Incr. (x)	Dev. (Y)	Dev. (X)	Prod. (XY)	Sq. (Y <sup>2</sup> )	Sq. (X <sup>2</sup> )
Laurens.....	4,588	1,251	3,888	951	3,697	15,117	904
Group I							
2 Counties.....	911	217	—489	—383	94	120	74
Group II							
5 Counties.....	21,088	3,910	17,588	2,410	8,477	56,856	116
Group III							
6 Counties.....	10,878	3,747	6,678	1,947	2,167	7,433	634
Group IV.							
2 Counties.....	2,066	354	666	—246	—82	222	30
Group V							
2 Counties.....	6,666	898	3,266	298	694	13,865	44
Totals.....	97,186	32,951	27,186	2,951	25,423	156,428	6,277
Totals divided by 100	971.86	329.51	271.86	29.51	254,230	1,564,280	62,770
Difference between guessed and true averages, their prod- ucts and squares. (a)	.....	.....	271.86	29.51	8,020	73,929	860
CORRECT TOTAL	.....	.....	.....	.....	246,210	1,496,351	61,910

(a) Products and squares of difference are used to correct the product and square columns after dividing the totals by the number of cases (100.) Inasmuch as 000 is omitted from the product and square columns, after dividing by 100, only 0 is omitted. The proper correction is indicated in the last line by dividing the sums of the products and squares by 100, i. e. by adding 0 to the totals which omit 000, and subtracting the products and squares of the differences between guessed and true averages.

and placing them under the figure to be corrected.

For fuller explanation of Guessed Average method, see appendix.

Figures computed from U. S. Census, Negro Population in the U. S. Table II and 73, Census of 1900, Vol. V Agriculture, Table 10.

The counties grouped at the end of the table make up areas in which new counties were created between 1900 and 1910, see foot note page 112. The number of counties indicated in each group is the number which composed the area in 1900. Their increases have been added to the population of the new counties created in the area. In the mathematical operations this group increase was divided by the number of counties in order that each county might be treated as a single case on the same basis with other counties in the table. For instance, in Group I, the group population increase was 911, of which 455.5 was assigned arbitrarily to each of the two counties which were in this area in 1900. Subtract the guessed average from 455.5, i. e. 455.5—700 and the result is —244.5, which is the deviation of the population increase of each of the two counties. Multiply this by two and the result, —489, is the deviation of the group from the population average. Multiply the square of —244.5 by two and the result, 120,254 is the Y square for the group. Multiply —244.5 by —192.5, which is the deviation of each county from the average increase in farms, and the result, 47,066, when multiplied by two gives 94,132, which is the product of the two deviations for the group. This process has been followed with the five counties in Group II, the six in Group III, the two in Group IV and the two in Group V, thus giving to each group a weight corresponding to the number of counties which composed it in 1900.

the Census figures on rural population increases in the county inexact.<sup>8</sup>

The 100 counties remaining after eliminations were made are arranged in the order of their increase in Negro population. This increase is shown in Column I. Column II shows the increase in farms operated by Negroes in each county. The average increase in Negro population and the average increase in independent Negro farmers was then obtained. By subtracting the average increase in population or farms from the increases of each individual county the extent to which the counties deviate from this average is obtained. Column III shows these deviations of the increases in population in every county from the average increase in population. Column IV shows the deviations of the increases in farms.

In this table, especially the columns showing the deviations from the averages, the eye can easily follow the relationship between the two movements. If, in a given county, both the farm increase and the population increase are below the average, then both deviations bear the minus sign. If both are above the average, they bear the plus sign. In either of these cases a positive relation is implied. If, however, the population increase, in a county, is less than the average for

<sup>8</sup> The counties omitted were: Mountain counties, with very small Negro populations (see Legend Map II); Clarke and Oglethorpe counties, on account of mutual adjustment of boundaries and suburban areas; Bibb, Fulton, Richmond, Chatham, Sumpter, Muscogee, Elbert, Cobb, DeKalb, Troup, Colquitt, Carroll, Newton, Houston and Brooks, on account of Urban and Suburban areas included as rural in one census or the other. Groups in which new counties were created between 1900 and 1910 were treated as follows: Population for all counties in the area was figured in 1900 and 1910. The increase of the whole area was treated as uniform. That is to say it was divided equally among the counties which composed the area in 1900 and is carried that way in the table. These groups are listed as such at the foot of the table.

the 100 rural counties, while the farm increase, in the same county, is more than the average, then the one deviation is plus and the other minus and a negative relationship is indicated. This degree of relationship between the pairs of observations is clearer still in the fifth column, which is obtained by multiplying the two deviations together. In the event that both population and farm increase are either above or below the average, the product of the deviations is a plus quantity. In the event, however, that the deviations are in opposite directions from their averages, as in Talbot (the fifth county in the table), their product is minus. In the event both deviations are large, the product is of course a large quantity, in the event one is large and the other small, the product is a smaller quantity, and in the event both deviations are small, the product is so small as to be relatively insignificant. Examination of Column V, which lists these products, reveals that there are only sixteen of the 100 counties for which the deviations did not agree in sign, and for which the product is a minus quantity. Many of these are very small products, and the sum of all the minus products deducted from the sum of all the plus products leaves a very large positive number.

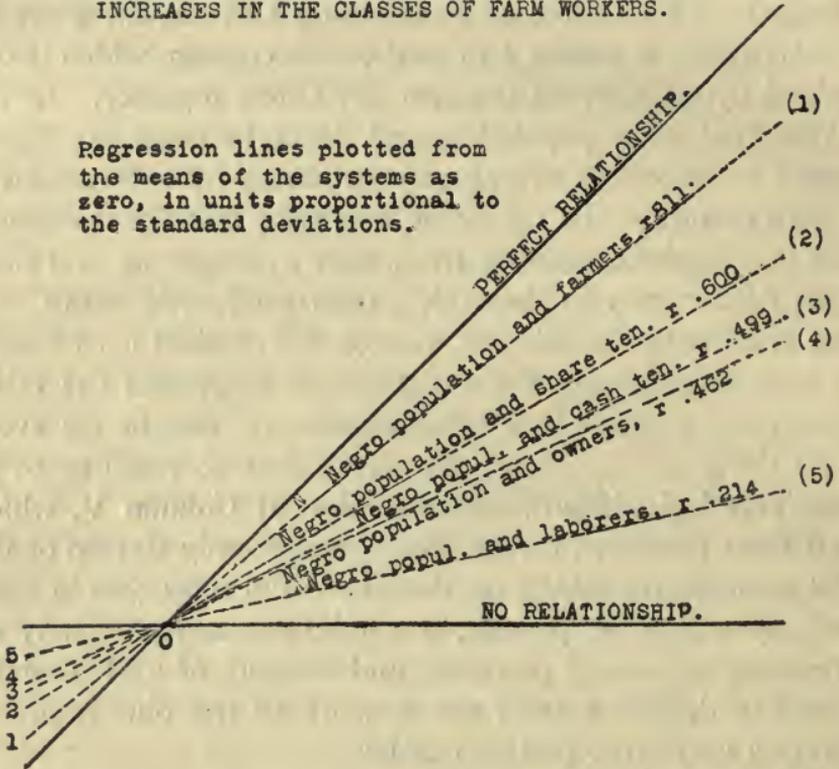
This, in such a large number of cases, is indicative of a strong positive relationship between the two observations. But it may be given a more definite quantitative value by the method of correlation. By this method the relationship expressed in Table 17 is reduced to a coefficient which cannot be numerically greater than plus or minus 1. The closer the coefficient is to plus one, the greater the degree of positive relationship between the phenomena observed. The closer it is to minus one the greater the degree of negative relationship, and the closer it is to zero, the more doubtful the relationship.

In this case the coefficient arrived at as indicative of the relationship between increase in Negro population and increase in independent Negro farmers was .811. The rela-

DIAGRAM II.

CORRELATIONS OF NEGRO POPULATION INCREASE, 1900-1910 WITH INCREASES IN THE CLASSES OF FARM WORKERS.

Regression lines plotted from the means of the systems as zero, in units proportional to the standard deviations.



tionship is therefore very close.

By comparing the coefficient showing the relation between increase in population and increase in farms; and that between increase in population and increase in farm laborers<sup>4</sup> we see that while the relationship between increase in farmers and population is very high, the relationship between increases in laborers and population is almost

<sup>4</sup>This second correlation was worked out on the basis of census figures as to increase in improved acreage by counties. From this increase in improved acreage was subtracted the amount of increase attributable to new independent farmers on the basis of 25 acres each. The remainder was considered a fairly accurate index of the increases or decreases in the acreage operated by hired labor.

negligible. These coefficients are compared graphically in Diagram II.

The other factors which might be correlated with population increase in order to exhaust possible causes would be: Increase in rural laborers other than farmers. 2. Social causes such as lynching, injustice in the courts, jim crow cars, etc. As to other rural laborers, the largest groups in the State in 1900 were comprised of the 8,000 turpentine laborers, and the approximately 5,000 laborers in sawmills and lumber gangs. These numbers are insignificant in influencing the population, which contains 122,000 independent farmers and 110,000 farm laborers (not working on home farm). As to the social causes, such as lynching, injustices in the courts, jim crow cars. It must be said that there is no way of tracing a direct relationship of these causes to the movement from one rural district to another within the South. They operate to a larger extent in the movement from country to city. Inasmuch as lynching is sporadic and affects directly only a small proportion of the population over a short period of time, its effects are difficult to determine unless by first hand investigation immediately after the disturbance. This is more fully discussed in the latter part of this chapter devoted to the migration of 1916-17. Inasmuch as the attitude towards the Negro in the courts, and in public carriers and institutions, is uniform throughout Georgia, it cannot be counted among the causes of movement from one part of the State to another. Increase in number of Negro farmers, of all classes, therefore, stands out as the predominating cause for movement from one rural district to another.

But as noted in Part I, this number of Negro farmers is composed of three classes, share tenants, cash tenants, and owners. The third, fourth, and fifth correlation coefficients shown above were worked out to measure the relation between the increase in these three classes with the increase in population.

In interpreting these coefficients, which are population with share tenancy, .600, with cash tenancy .499, with ownership .462, it is to be remembered that these tenant classes may increase in four ways in a given area.

1. Through the entrance into the class of a man who has previously been living in the area but who was in some other class of farm population, i. e., a change in tenure status without a movement.

2. Through the entrance into one of the classes of a man from some other county who had either been an agricultural laborer or who had not been engaged in agriculture.

3. Through the movement of men from one county to another without a change in their tenure status.

4. Through the movement of men from one county to another in order to effect the change from one tenure class to another.

The correlation coefficients showing the relation of tenure classes to population are disturbed by the first group, but with allowance made for this disturbance they measure factors 2, 3 and 4.

From this it is expected that share tenant increases will exert the largest influence on population increases. 1. Because in 1900 there were more Negroes in share tenancy than in any other class, and these tenants moved most frequently. Therefore share tenants moving from one county to another formed a considerable migrant population. Also share tenants increase more rapidly because change from laborer to share tenant is only nominal and requires no capital.

On the other hand, cash tenants were less numerous to begin with, they move less, and there are fewer who have ability to enter this class. The owners are still less numerous, move still less, and there are still fewer who have the ability to enter this class. These conditions are reflected in the regular descending order of the correlation coefficients.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to attempt to interpret

the coefficients as indices solely of the relative desire of the Negro to enter the different tenant classes, or solely of the ability to enter them. They represent a measure of the extent to which this desire and ability combined, work themselves out in population movement across county lines.

To sum up the relationships between increases in farmers and the increases in population between 1900 and 1910, our coefficients indicate:

1. Increases in total number of farms operated by Negroes are closely associated with increase in Negro population. So close is this relationship that it stands out as the principal cause of migration within the rural districts of the State. The superior farm opportunities of the Upper Piedmont and Wiregrass have been drawing the population away from the old Black Belt.

2. Increases and decreases in number of farm laborers are almost unrelated to population movement.

3. Owing to the large proportion of farms which are operated by share tenants who move from place to place frequently, and to the number of laborers who move to enter share tenancy, the relationship between increases in share tenants and increases in population is high.

4. Owing to the smaller proportion of the rural Negroes who were renters in 1910, the relative stability of this class, and the difficulty of entering it, increases in the renter class have been less closely related to population movement.

5. Owing to the fact that the owner class is the smallest numerically, the most stable, and the most difficult to enter, increases and decreases in ownership have had less effect on population movement than the other two classes of farmers.

#### MIGRATION DURING THE WAR

During this tremendous shifting around of rural population from 1870 to 1910 a few of the migrants became permanently detached from the land and moved to the cities

of Georgia or to States West or North. The entrance of the United States into the war and the simultaneous entrance of the boll weevil into Georgia set at work factors which had previously been of little relative importance and the city-ward movement was increased.

The same currents in rural migration were, however, noticeable. The new currents were superposed on them and in some cases they offset the old currents. The results of the first hand investigation of migration during the summer of 1917, made for the U. S. Department of Labor, give a detailed picture of this movement. It is interesting to note, in connection with the boll weevil as a cause of migration, that this pest entered the very section of the State which had been gaining most heavily by migration, and that the labor agents from the North, who were probably aware of the disorganization caused by this pest, operated more extensively in the rural districts of southwest Georgia than anywhere else. The following quotation from the report based upon personal interviews with Georgia planters in 1917 indicates the new characteristics of the movement.

"The reports of plantation owners and farm demonstrators indicate that only about 300 farmers and farm laborers have migrated from the Piedmont section, 1,200 from the central Black Belt, 3,200 to 3,500 from the 20 counties in the southwest Black Belt and Wiregrass suffering heavy and moderate damage from the boll weevil, and 1,200 from the Wiregrass and Coast counties. This indicates a total of about 5,900 Negro farmers and farm laborers who left the State during the years 1916 and 1917."

"Their replies indicated that the line of heavy movement corresponded closely to the line of heavy damage by the weevil. The boll weevil cannot, however, be taken as the only cause of the movement in this section. In this section three of the worst lynchings ever seen in Georgia occurred during 1915 and 1916. The planters in the imme-

diate vicinity of these lynchings attributed the movement from their places to the fact that the lynching parties had terrorized their Negroes. Some of the counties remote from the lynchings, however, showed as heavy a movement as the counties where the lynching took place. On the whole, the weevil, together with the simultaneous offers of high wages, seemed to be the main determining factor in the movement from southwest Georgia. Z. R. Pettet, the State crop estimator, says in his annual report for 1916: "The Negro exodus has been greatest in the territory that has been infested [with the weevil] long enough to make it difficult to grow a paying crop of cotton. The reported acute labor-shortage line coincides closely with the line of third-year infestation, except along the southern State line." It appears from this study that the planters interviewed in the heavily damaged counties sustained a loss of 13 per cent of their plow hands, and those in the counties with moderate damage sustained a loss of 9 per cent. These percentages are slightly higher than the percentage of loss in the areas as a whole, for the reason that points of heavy movement were selected for study. The loss for all 10 heavily damaged weevil counties would probably be close to 10 per cent and for the 10 moderately damaged counties about 6 per cent. The rural districts of the Wiregrass showed slightly less disturbance in their farming population and the Central Black Belt and Upper Piedmont were practically undisturbed.

The foregoing percentages are based upon figures obtained from plantation owners. These owners, living in the county towns, usually supervise their plantations closely or provide a competent overseer. The majority of Negroes on their places are, therefore, wage hands or share croppers; a few rent land from the planter. These are supervised almost as closely as the wage hands and share croppers. Of the 4,831 plows operated by planters interviewed in the boll-weevil section,

1,722 were operated by wage hands, 2,334 by share croppers, and 775 by renters. That is to say, 36 per cent of the Negro plow hands on these places were working for wages, 48 for a share of the crop, and only 16 paid a fixed rental. This indicates that the area infested by the weevil happened to coincide with the areas where the old plantation system is most firmly established. As a consequence the great majority of the Negroes leaving were wage hands and share croppers. Of the 534 leaving the boll-weevil section only 20 or 30 were renters. Two classes of Negro farmers were not reached by this inquiry among plantation owners. They were (1) independent renters on the land of absentee landlords, and (2) negro landowners. Only a scattering number of these were reported by farm demonstrators and local merchants as having left; but while these higher types of the Negro farmer constitute only a small part of the total movement, the few who have left are noteworthy for the reason that they point to causes other than economic for their movement. The new tendencies to move from South Georgia, therefore, at least for two or three years have more than offset the old tendency to move into this land of previous agricultural opportunity. It is interesting to note, however, that in the movement from South Georgia again the share tenant and the labor classes contributed the overwhelming majority of the migrants. The renters and owners held on and constituted the stable class.

Thus the movement of 1916-17 bears all the earmarks of the earlier movement of freedmen. Discontent with the old plantation system which still prevails on some of the Southern farms was intensified by low wages in 1914 and 1915, and the appearance of the boll weevil in the southwestern corner of the State. Higher wages were offered in the northern cities and artificial stimulation was provided by the labor agent representing northern industry. The beginnings of the movement may, therefore, be characterized as an intensification of the shift of Negro population which

has been taking place for the past 50 years, but which was accelerated by the boll weevil and abnormal conditions of northern industry.

Since the movement started, however, it has induced a great amount of discussion among the Negroes themselves. This discussion has emphasized the social grievances of Negroes in the South, and since a distinct public opinion has been created, even among the masses of Negroes, the social causes have been playing a part in the migration.

They are, briefly: Injustice in the courts, lynching, denial of suffrage, discrimination in public conveyances, and inequalities in educational advantages. These are causes which may be expected to become more and more influential in the future.

## CHAPTER III.

### CITY AND INTER-STATE MIGRATION

The thousands of Negroes who have moved from Black Belt districts into other rural areas have constituted the great tide of migration. In the shift, however, a certain number have become detached from the land and have moved to nearby towns. Some have wandered still further into Northern cities. The very rapid rate of increase in urban areas indicates that the Negro population of towns and large cities is constantly receiving additions from the rural areas. It was noted in Chapter I, of this part, that the increase, between 1900 and 1910, of 63,765 Negroes in the towns of over 2,500 in Georgia was numerically less than the increase of 78,409 Negroes in rural districts, but on a percentage basis this means a rate of increase of 39.6 per cent in cities as against 9 per cent in rural districts.

Part of this rapid rate of increase in urban population was due to the extension of city boundaries between 1900 and 1910 to include new areas, part to the 14 places which were smaller than 2,500 in 1900 but larger than 2,500 in 1910, and part to the natural increase by births over deaths. But fully 25,000 of the increase is attributable to migration from country town. Excluding the towns added to the urban area between 1900 and 1910 because of their growth, and noting the increase only in towns which were considered urban in 1900, the growth shown is 46,000.<sup>1</sup>

Making due allowance for extension of corporate limits in these towns the following is a very close approximation of their true increase by migration:

	Negro Population
Towns of 2,500 in 1900.....	161,061
Estimate same area 1910.....	203,061
Increase 1900-1910.....	42,000
Per Cent Increase 1900-1910.....	26.0

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census. Negro Population, 1790-1915, p. 96.

If these towns were increasing by excess of births over deaths at the rate of 15 per cent, this leaves them a gain by migration of some 18,000 colored people. Inasmuch as Georgia as a whole lost 18,500<sup>2</sup> Negroes to other States, of whom fully 7,000 were migrants from Georgia towns the total number of Georgia country Negroes who moved into Georgia towns during the decade must have been about 25,000, of whom 7,000 took the places of the emigrants and 18,000 accounted for the increase over above that which would have been expected on the basis of a 15 per cent excess of births over deaths.

#### INCREASES IN SMALL TOWNS

*Villages.*—The first move of a Negro from the open country is usually to a village or small town. Extended observation of the movement indicates that very few move directly from the open country to a large city. The process is thus a series of steps whereby the efficient members of the rural population are taken by the small town, and the efficient members of the small town population are in turn taken by the city. This greatly emphasizes the strategic importance of the small town.

The rural organization of the ante-bellum Black Belt did not embrace a unit comparable to the New England or Middle Western village which is merely an accumulation, in a convenient place, of the local administrative, mercantile, and professional servants of the surrounding rural area. In the ante-bellum South, even in the Upper Piedmont section, where a sprinkling of small farmers were located, plantations checked the growth of numerous small centers of non-farming rural population. The baronial estate absorbed the functions of the village to such an extent that frequently only one such settlement was developed in each county. This was the county seat, with its local administrative and judicial officers, a few merchants and profes-

<sup>2</sup>U. S. Census, 1910, Negro Population, 1790-1915, p. 71.

sional men. The large planters absorbed much of the retail mercantile function and did their wholesale buying in the scattered towns. Social life centered around the "big house" and the "quarters" of the plantation rather than around the county seats.

An almost immediate effect of the disintegration of the plantations was the development of villages. A number of these have grown into small towns and all of the widely scattered towns of 1865 have now grown to be cities. By 1880 there were 170<sup>3</sup> of these villages, and in the next 30 years they showed a remarkable increase. They not only trebled in number but also increased in size.

Number of Villages in Georgia, 1880 and 1910  
According to Size of Village

Total Population of Village	Number of Villages, 1880	Number of Villages, 1910
Less than 500.....	104	344
500 to 1,000 .....	33	98
1,000 to 1,500.....	11	38
1,500 to 2,000.....	7	20
2,000 to 2,500.....	5	16
Size not enumerated.....	10	..
Total .....	170	516

The table above indicates a rapid increase in the number of villages of all sizes. This very significant growth came about as a by-product of the increase of the population of the surrounding country and the areas of increase have been largely dependent on the movement of the rural population. This is indicated by Table 14, which showed that in counties decreasing by migration only 12.5 per cent of the population lives in villages; in the counties increasing

<sup>3</sup> These figures as to increase in number of villages are taken from an actual count of villages shown in the table of population of Georgia by minor civil divisions, Census of 1890, Vol. I, Population, Census of 1910, Vol. II, Population. White and colored populations of these villages are not separately shown. They are the smallest subdivisions of a minor civil division tabulated by the census.

slowly 17.1 per cent live in villages; and in the rapidly increasing section 19.1 per cent live in villages.

This is to be expected from the nature of the factors underlying the rural population movement. With static agricultural conditions and continued concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few, the growth of the small centers of population is naturally stunted. On the other hand, in actively progressive agricultural areas, with an increasing number of prosperous independent farmers and families attached to the land, the growth of the village and small town as the center of community life is naturally stimulated.

*Towns Under 25,000.*—The Census enumerates as Urban all towns of 2,500 and over in population. Many of the towns which were mere clusters of houses around a cross-road in 1860 are now in this class. A striking example is Statesboro, Georgia, which was incorporated with less than 50 inhabitants between 1880 and 1890. It had grown, by 1910, to be a town of 2,529 inhabitants. Fourteen such new towns were included in the Urban area of 1910. These are indicated by an X on Map III.

The growth of these small towns is largely dependent upon the agricultural conditions of the surrounding rural areas. This is graphically illustrated by comparing Map III with Map II. It will be seen that the increase in towns under 10,000 corresponds rather closely to the increase in the surrounding rural areas. The towns with the slow rates of increase are mostly in the Black Belt. The rapidly increasing towns are, for the most part, in the Upper Piedmont and Wiregrass.

The farming area immediately surrounding the small town, however, loses Negro population by the growth of the town. The Urban counties (those on Map III containing a circle) actually lost 11,537 in Negro population between 1900 and 1910, whereas on the basis of excess of births over deaths in their population one would have expected an in-



crease of at least 27,844.<sup>4</sup> Some 3,800 of this loss was due to encroachment of town limits on rural area, but this leaves a discrepancy of about 34,500 to be accounted for by the movement from the urban counties.

The extent to which one of these small towns draws on its surrounding rural areas for Negro population is further illustrated by the following table compiled from a first hand investigation made by the writer in 1913 covering about 75 per cent of the population of a town.<sup>5</sup>

Birthplace of Heads of Negro Families.

Athens & Clarke County....	635	Jackson .....	31
Oconee .....	77	Morgan .....	20
Oglethorpe .....	55	Franklin .....	16
Wilkes .....	51	Madison .....	14
Greene .....	46	Distant Counties.....	200
Elbert .....	34		
Total .....			1,179

Thus 54 per cent of the heads of families in Athens were born in the town or in Clarke County. Twenty-nine per cent were born in the counties which cluster around Clarke and 17 per cent in more distant counties.

This condition further reflects itself in the fact that in towns whose activities are predominantly for the surrounding rural area the proportion of Negroes in the total population tends to vary with the proportion in the surrounding rural areas. White people form a higher proportion of the population in all towns than they form in the surrounding rural areas, but the variations in this proportion depend on the variations in the surrounding rural areas. For instance, of the towns under 10,000 in population in Georgia, those located in very black counties—Albany, Americus, Bainbridge, Cordele, Cuthbert, Dawson, Fort Valley, Milledgeville, Sandersville, Thomasville, Valdosta, Washington and Waynesboro, have marked Negro majorities. The towns of Barnesville, Covington, Griffin, LaGrange

<sup>4</sup> See Table 16.

<sup>5</sup> The Negroes of Athens, Ga., p. 7.

and Newnan, though located in counties slightly over 50 per cent Negro, have a Negro population of from 35 to 50 per cent of their total population. In these towns manufacturing and educational enterprises have tended to change the proportion of white people in the population. The towns of the Piedmont and Wiregrass sections,—Carrollton, Cartersville, Cedertown, Dublin, Douglas, East Point, Elberton, Fitzgerald, Gainesville, Marietta, Monroe, Quitman, Statesboro, Summerville, and Toccoa, all have marked white majorities. With the exception of Savannah and Brunswick the larger towns, with relatively more opportunity for white men, have white majorities.

In other words, just at the point where manufacturing and mercantile enterprise comes in and gives the town other activities than those of serving the surrounding rural areas, the white element in the population begins to increase much more rapidly than the colored element and the relative number of Negroes to whites does not reflect so nearly the proportions in the surrounding rural areas. The reasons for this condition can be best illustrated by the following table of the occupations of the Negroes of Athens, from the study cited above (page 39):

**Distribution of Negroes Gainfully Employed**

Occupation Groups	Number	Per Cent of Total
Professions and Business.....	108	5.
Clerical Work .....	18	1.
Skilled Trades .....	181	8.
Domestic Service (including Laundress).....	1,102	51.
Unskilled Labor .....	764	35.
	2,173	100.

Athens had a white population of 8,597 and a colored population of 6,316, because the State University and a number of wholesale firms and factories attract a white population. Albany, on the other hand, had a white population of 3,378 and a Negro population of 4,812 because the proportionate need for domestic servants and common laborers

is relatively the same in towns of all sizes, while, in towns such as Albany, which are surrounded by large Negro populations there are relatively more colored men in the building trades and on odd jobs such as drivers and porters. There is also additional opportunity in these towns surrounded by large Negro majorities for Negro merchants and professional men. In Upper Piedmont towns, such as Gainesville, surrounded by a majority white population, the odd jobs and skilled trades are occupied to a greater extent by white people and there are relatively fewer opportunities for Negro merchants and professional men.

As the small town or village is the first stopping place for many rural Negroes who eventually find their way into the larger towns and cities, the soundness of the small town institutions is of strategic influence in their training for city life. As the Negroes in the small towns are the intermediaries through which ideas and institutions from the city reach the large rural population, they are in a position to exert an influence on the surrounding rural groups all out of proportion to their number. This intermediary function is theirs :

1. Because the activities and institutions of Negroes in small towns are based on the surrounding rural areas and, a wisely governed town adds to its own prosperity by stimulating the general prosperity of the surrounding rural areas.

2. Because colored people in small towns are in closer contact with the local white leaders and are, therefore, in a strategic position in race relations.

3. Because the ideas, ideals, and institutional models, which for the most part, radiate from large centers, are transmitted to the rural Negro through the medium of the small town or village.

4. Because, as a more compact and highly organized population group, towns are able to accomplish co-operative and institutional enterprises which are out of the reach of the scattered, unorganized rural communities.

This ability of the village to serve the surrounding rural areas better than they could possibly serve themselves is clearly indicated by the development of two types of schools.

(a) *Negro Baptist Association Schools*.—Throughout the South the Negro Baptists are organized into associations which embrace several counties. Many of the associations operate schools. Most of these are small elementary schools with a few high school pupils and rooms for boarders from outlying sections of the association. Though they draw many of their pupils from the country and send many graduates to teach and preach in surrounding rural schools and churches, they are almost invariably located on the edge of the largest town or village in the association. The few that are in the open country, as a rule do not prosper without outside aid, because they are not located in a place central enough to hold the maximum interest of all the members of the association; because they lose the interest of the most influential members, who live in town; because country boys would much prefer going to town to school; and because, being out of the current of ideas which flows from city to small town, they are more likely to be unprogressive.

(b) *County Teacher Training Schools*.—Another striking illustration of the superior ability of the small town to develop institutions is in the County Teacher Training School movement. The Negro rural schools are hampered by poorly-paid, under-trained teachers. The low salary makes it imperative to fill the schools with local talent. This means that year after year, many rural schools are taught by young girls who have had no training beyond that given in the school in which they teach. In many cases this is not even a full grammar school education. To meet this need the Slater Fund desired to stimulate the growth of local institutions which could take local pupils and give them greater advantages than were offered by the one room rural

schools. The central idea was to develop some one of the rural schools to a point where it could offer high school courses, limited teacher training, industrial and agricultural work which would cultivate an appreciation of rural values. A small boarding department was planned in order to give the schools a wider clientele.

Except where these schools were begun in connection with some private institution, previously established, they have, almost without exception, gravitated to villages, thereby gaining the advantage, both of rural surroundings and of the use of some public school which already had a better building and teaching staff than the one room schools of the open country. The village patrons together with the patrons in surrounding rural districts raise more money for additional equipment and teachers than any one rural district could raise.

Constructive workers in the race and other social problems are too likely to neglect these extreme small towns of strategic importance for the more evident problems of the large city or the open country. It is apparent, however, especially in view of the rate at which rural Negroes sift through these places, that constructive programs would do well to take into account the possibilities of work in villages and small towns. By so doing they react on the city problems through the migrants from the small towns and on the rural problems through the influence of the small town leaders and institutions on the rural population. The development of the automobile is giving even greater influence to the small towns.

#### LARGE CITIES

Before 1910 there was very little migration of Negroes from the Cotton States to Northern cities. There has been, however, considerable urban development within the South.

In Georgia, the four cities with a total population of over 25,000 are: Atlanta, with 154,839; Savannah, with 65,064;

Augusta, with 41,040, and Macon, with 40,665. All of these places except Augusta are increasing in Negro population at a fairly rapid rate. But they show a larger and larger proportion of white residents in each successive census. All have grown to their present size from small towns since the Civil War.

While the continued growth in size and complexity of activity of these places offers a wider and wider range of opportunity to white mill workers, clerical workers and business men the only added attraction for Negroes in the large city, other than the proportionate increase in domestic service and common labor opportunities, is in the concentration, of purely Negro activities such as banks, large schools, church and lodge headquarters, and newspapers.

The influence of domestic service opportunity is indicated by the great predominance of young females in the city Negro populations. In the South Atlantic States there were in 1910 only 862 males per 1,000 females in cities of 25,000 to 100,000. In cities of 100,000 and over there were only 835 males per 1,000 females. In Atlanta there were only 810 males per 1,000 females, an excess of 5,464 females in the Negro population. Of this excess, 3,562 was in the 15 to 30 year age group.<sup>6</sup>

#### INTER-STATE MIGRATION.

One group of inter-state migrants may be classed as city migrants. These are the Negroes who move North. They are attracted almost entirely by Urban opportunity. This group was of relatively little importance before 1910. The other group of inter-state migrants is made up of those who move a short distance from one rural area to another across State lines, or from one town to another within the South. This group, before 1910, included the large majority of the inter-state migrants in the Cotton Belt. Inas-

<sup>6</sup> Negro Population, 1790-1915, opp. cite, pp. 154-201.

much as the former move is Northward and the latter mainly Westward into the Gulf Coast-Wiregrass strip of territory, the general trend of the movement of Negro population may be said to be Northward and Westward.

In the United States, in 1910, the Negroes reported their State of Birth as follows: <sup>7</sup>

TABLE 18.  
Residence of Negroes Born in the South

Residing in	Number Born in the South	Per Cent of Negroes Born in the South
The United States—		
1910 .....	9,109,153	100.0
1900 .....	8,216,458	100.0
Increase .....	892,695	....
The South—		
1910 .....	8,668,619	95.2
1900 .....	7,866,807	95.7
Increase .....	801,812	....
The North and West—		
1910 .....	440,534	4.9
1900 .....	349,651	4.4
Increase .....	90,883	....

That is to say that, in 1900, 349,651 Southern born Negroes were living in the North and West, but this number represented only 4.4 per cent of all Southern born Negroes. The number of Southern born Negroes in the country increased almost 900,000 between 1900 and 1910, but the number of Southern born Negroes living in the North increased only about 91,000. This means that for each southern-born increase the migrant group. But this number was hardly sufficient to materially alter the proportion of southern-born Negroes living in the North, because in 1900 only 4.5 per cent of all southern-born Negroes lived in the North, and by 1910 this proportion had increased very slightly to 4.9 per cent.

Among Georgia-born Negroes the inter-state migration before 1910 is indicated as follows: <sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Negro Population, 1790-1915, pp. 66-67.

<sup>8</sup> Negro Population in the U. S., 1790-1915, p. 81. Census of 1900, Population, p. 702.

TABLE 19.

## Residence of Negroes Born in Georgia.

	Number in 1910	Number in 1900	Increase 1900-1910	Per cent Increase
Total born in Georgia.	1,248,352	1,090,336	158,016	14.5
Living in Georgia...	1,097,257	958,245	139,012	14.5
" in other States	151,095	132,091	19,004	14.4
" " Florida ....	45,699	27,744	17,955	64.7
" " Alabama ...	31,202	31,106	96	.3
" " Tennessee..	13,075	11,250	1,825	16.3
" " Arkansas ..	10,013	11,495	-1,482	-13.1
" " other South- ern States	28,313	38,022	-9,709	-25.3
Total So. States.....	128,302	119,617	8,685	7.4
Living in N. Y.....	3,792	1,925	1,867	97.0
" " Illinois ...	2,874	1,674	1,200	71.7
" " N. J.....	1,578	490	1,088	222.4
All other.....	14,549	8,385	6,164	71.0
Total Non-Southern States .....	22,793	12,474	10,319	82.7

This indicates that in 1900 there were 132,091 Georgia born Negroes who had migrated to other States. Of these, however, only 12,474 lived in Northern and Western States and 119,617 in Southern States, i. e., only 1.1 per cent of the total Georgia-born Negroes had moved outside the South, and 10.9 per cent had moved to other States in the South. By 1910 the number of Georgia-born migrants outside of the South had increased to 22,793, an increase of 10,300. Assuming that the death rate of Georgia-born in the North was about 25 per thousand, per year, this means that some 13,000 Georgia-born Negroes moved North during the decade. This is less than 1.3 per cent of the Georgia Negroes in 1900.

Although the Northward movement has been gaining headway, it appears that the important shift before 1910 was to other Southern States. The earlier migrations from Georgia were Southward into Florida and the Wiregrass lands of Alabama, and Westward into Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas. The Census of 1890 showed 12,993 Georgia-born Negroes in Mississippi, 11,736 in Texas,

and 5,445 in Louisiana. By 1900 most of these had died and no more had moved in to take their place and in the table above these States are included in the 38,022 Georgia-born Negroes in other Southern States. It will be seen that there was a rapid increase in the movement to Florida between 1900 and 1910, just enough movement to Alabama to barely maintain the Georgia-born population, a slight movement to Tennessee and very slight movement to other Southern States, the Georgia-born Negroes in these States decreasing 11,091 either through deaths or further movement.

Between 1916 and 1917 the Western areas and parts of Northern Florida were disturbed by the boll weevil and floods. The boll weevil also entered Georgia and accelerated the movement from the State. The westward stream of migration was blocked by adverse conditions and this movement had, perforce, to turn northward. Thus at first it was not so much a change in the essential character of the forces as a change in their area of incidence and their intensity which caused the movement to change in direction. Since the northern opportunity was predominantly urban this was an urban movement.

#### CLASSES MIGRATING

In the first hand study of the migration of 1916-17 made for the Department of Labor, the writer<sup>9</sup> estimated that whereas about 6,000 Negro farmers and farm laborers had moved North during the two years, there were from 5,000 to 8,000 laborers who moved from cities and towns in Georgia. The following extracts from the report made on the situation at the time indicate the character of this movement:

"The towns located in the regions where the farmers were disturbed have, of course, suffered a greater loss than the towns of the Piedmont and the Black Belt. Skilled laborers especially have been drawn from all towns because

<sup>9</sup> See Footnote 1, Chapter II. The facts are as of the summer of 1917.

wages of skilled labor run proportionately higher in the North than in the South. The mass of Negro day laborers has been disturbed only in Savannah, Macon, Waycross, Albany, Thomasville and smaller towns in Southern Georgia. Augusta and the smaller towns in Middle Georgia have lost Negroes, but recent attempts to secure laborers for cantonment construction in three Middle Georgia cities were successful. \* \* \* The towns of the Upper Piedmont have also suffered a relatively slight loss.

It seems that the large majority of the migrants from towns have been drawn from the best and poorest elements. The unemployed and shiftless were taken up by agents and (afterward, some of) the property-owning and money-saving class paid their own way up.

*Bricklayers.*—The bricklayers of Georgia are about equally divided between the two races. In Augusta the head of the Negro bricklayers' union reported that 12 out of 134 had moved North and 4 had returned (June, 1917). Reports from other towns indicated that from 5 to 10 per cent of the Negro bricklayers had moved. Enough have remained, however, to carry on construction work without inconvenience. The head of the bricklayers' union of Augusta attributed the movement of these tradesmen entirely to the fact that increases in wages, ranging from 10 to 15 cents per hour, were offered in Northern cities. About the same conditions hold for the plastering trade.

*Carpenters.*—Although a sprinkling of Negro carpenters moved North from the towns, no great shortage has been felt. From 2,000 to 4,000 carpenters have been employed in Atlanta, 1,500 to 2,000 in Macon, and 1,000 or more in Augusta for the construction of Army cantonments. About half of these were Negroes. \* \* \* Hitherto carpenters have been getting 30 and 35 cents per hour; cantonment work pays 40 cents.<sup>1</sup> Ship carpenters are badly needed in Savannah, but this is a new trade for the South.

*Day Labor.*—Practically all of the day labor in Georgia, outside of the Upper Piedmont and mountain towns, is done by Negroes. All through the Cotton Belt fertilizer works, oil mills, gins, and compresses employ Negroes, and in the larger towns employment is also furnished to Negroes as railway shop helpers, street laborers, porters, drivers, hod

<sup>1</sup> Carpenters in the North in 1920 were making about five times this amount and wages have also advanced in the South.

carriers, etc. This class of labor is scarcer in Georgia than it probably ever has been before, and a number of employers complain of green and inexperienced hands. The fertilizer plants—one or more in every town of over 2,000 people—employ from 30 to 300 men. They take on about 25 per cent of their labor in the fall and reach their maximum in January and February. The managers of these plants, especially in the southern portion of the State, report that many of their hands have moved north since they were laid off in the spring. They are apprehensive that they will not be able to renew their force without considerable trouble. After the cotton picking season is over, any shortage in these plants must eventually be made up from the surrounding rural districts, because the farmer can not compete with the town employer in the matter of wages. In 1916, when farm hands were getting 50 and 75 cents a day, the oil mills and fertilizer works paid 80 cents and \$1 and \$1.25 a day. During the latter part of the 1916 season many of these industries were paying \$1.50 and \$1.75 a day.

Complaint of incompetent labor is especially prevalent among railway shop foremen and bosses of section gangs. Negroes who work for the railroads, however, are continually shifting their employment, even in normal times. The Central of Georgia shops at Macon, the Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic shops at Fitzgerald, and the Atlantic Coast Line shops at Waycross reported great disturbance last summer and a continued shifting of their labor up to date. The Central of Georgia shops in Macon employ about 600 Negroes, mostly unskilled, and they report that during the three months March-May, 1917, when a labor agent was active in Macon, they lost approximately 200 Negroes per month, or one-third of their normal force. In normal times their turnover was about 100 per month. The section gangs of the Georgia Southern & Florida; Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic; and parts of the Central of Georgia and Coast Line are also reported short. In general, the movement of common laborers has been stopped by a rise in the scale of wages from 75 and 80 cents per day in 1916 to \$1.25, \$1.50, and \$2 a day in the summer of 1917."

It thus appears that, corresponding to the farm owners and renters in the country there is also a stable "upper

tenth" among the Negro population of the towns, composed of the merchants, doctors, teachers and preachers. Just as the unattached agricultural laborers constitute the shifting class in the country districts, so the domestic and the common laborer is the migrant in the city. Home ownership is still proportionately small in the Negro population. Only 22 per cent of Negroes in the United States who occupy "other than farm" homes are owners. A fourth of these homes are mortgaged. The owners of other than farm homes, however, increased between 1890 and 1910 from 143,500 to 285,000, or about 100 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

This growth of a stable, home-owning class in the town is fully as encouraging as the growth of landownership in the country. It is to the personal interest of these settled property-owning Negro leaders to keep their fellow townsmen from migrating. It is therefore very significant that these leaders did not oppose but rather encouraged the migration of 1916-17. Although their personal interest is in seeing their race stay in the South, the conditions from which they were moving were so patently undesirable that the leaders either did not discourage or actively encouraged the movement.

#### CAUSES OF CITY MIGRATION

The abnormal wage conditions of 1916-17 are so widely known that little need be said in connection with them as a principal cause of the movement. It has also been noted that the movement itself created a sort of a suction which drew others along. Dr. W. T. B. Williams, the colored investigator, on the Department of Labor survey, summed this up in the following keen observation:

"The unusual amounts of money coming in, the glowing accounts from the North, and the excitement and stir of great crowds leaving, work upon the feelings of many Negroes. They pull up and follow almost without a reason. They are stampeded into action. This accounts in large part

<sup>10</sup> Negro Population, 1790-1915, p. 460.

for the apparently unreasonable doings of many who give up good positions or sacrifice valuable property or good businesses to go North."

In speaking of the more definite causes of the movement he continues:

"The treatment acorded the Negro always stood second, when not first, among the reasons given by Negroes for leaving the South. I talked with all clases of colored people from Virginia to Louisiana, farm hands, tenants, farmers, hack drivers, porters, mechanics, barbers, merchants, insurance men, teachers, heads of schools, ministers, druggists, physicians, lawyers, and in every instance the matter of treatment came to the front voluntarily. This is the all-absorbing, burning question among the Negroes."

It is this "treatment," which operates more and more as a cause for race movement as the Negro develops a fuller group consciousness. It demands the attention of the really constructive statesmen of the country. Although this is a topic which has as many angles as there are race contacts in the South, the most discussed phases are housing, protection and justice in the courts and various institutional provisions for colored people. These tend more to cause the movement to cities than to influence the movements from one country district to another.

*Housing.*—Negro rental property is notoriously a high yielding investment in Southern towns, and sanitary conditions in many of the Negro districts of these towns have been properly termed atrocious.

A first hand study of a Piedmont town and educational center in Georgia revealed the following conditions:<sup>11</sup>

**Rooms Occupied by Negro Families:**

Number of Families Occupying		Number of Families Occupying	
1 room .....	148	5 rooms .....	43
2 rooms .....	517	6 rooms .....	27
3 rooms .....	313	7 rooms .....	9
4 rooms .....	156	Over 7 rooms .....	11
Less than 5 rooms.....	1,134	5 or more rooms.....	90

<sup>11</sup> See *The Negroes of Athens, Ga.*, opp. cite, Chapter III.

Thus it appears that the two-and three-room houses are the most usual and that 1,134 or 93 per cent of the 1,224 families live in houses of fewer than five rooms. A more detailed examination of the premises surrounding these houses showed that the inmates of 1,008 of them use outside privies in some form. Most of them have a small earth closet close to the house. A few have no privy at all on the premises, and use that of a neighbor. In such cases the landlords build no fence between the houses and provide one joint privy for four or five houses. In one instance the inmates of five houses were using one small box-like house, six by four feet, and in another four large double houses were using one privy of the same dimensions.

The soil is further polluted by the continued dumping of waste water and scraps in the back yards. No Negro rented house has a sink. The water is emptied on the ground. Among these privies and waste-water dumps are the 519 wells from which the Negroes of the city get most of their water. Under such conditions the water must be unhealthy and typhoid breeding. The city bacteriologist has tested 47 wells in the years 1913-1914 and reported that most of them should be condemned.

Such conditions are common throughout the Negro settlements in many towns. Municipalities neglect these districts in paying, sewerage and water connections. Notwithstanding the undesirability of the houses and premises, the rents are comparatively high. From the same study of Athens ( p. 13-16) we note the following condition:

The average rent (1913) in the two best settlements of the town was \$1.77 per month or \$6.00 per house averaging 3.4 rooms, from 15 to 20 per cent return on the amount invested in the property. There is some evidence also that the rest of these houses is regulated to the price that the market will bear. A Negro will rent a house and pay \$6.50 per month for it while his neighbor is paying \$6.00 per month for a house which is as like it as one pea to another.

While the rental was \$1.77 per room per month in the best settlements, it was \$2.04 per room per month for houses of similar construction and value in the worst settlements—the localities where the houses are crowded in rough and rocky streets, intersected by railroad spur tracks. This simply means that the Negro, occupying an inferior bargaining position, is exploited by the owners of this class of rental property.

Such a condition adds to the discontent of the colored people and undoubtedly contributes to the willingness to move. The tenements of Northern cities, though often more congested and in some ways more unsanitary, are nevertheless, to be preferred to these frame hovels without light, water, sewerage or paving, yet costing a relatively high rent.

*Protection and Justice in the Courts*—Whipping as a form of maintaining discipline on many plantations continued long after the colored men were freed. The superior protection offered by the city from this and other forms of rough handling for which the country Negro has little redress has been a powerful influence for discontent with rural protection. In the Southern city the Negro is practically as well protected from these flagrant forms of violence and from mobs as in the Northern city. These influences may, therefore, be said to operate more as causes for movement from country to city than from South to North.

There is evidence, however, that in friction which brings the Negro into court in the South, he is in many instances likely to receive a summary trial. This question of justice in the courts is one uppermost in the Negro mind and its constant discussion probably has as much effect in adding to the apprehension and discontent of the law-abiding Negro as to the increase of the criminal class. The subject is one which should be investigated much further than the scope of this study permits.

Though about three times as many Negroes per 100,000 are committed in the North as in the South, the crimes for which they are committed are about of the same nature. That is, 2,236.7 per 100,000, or 78.9 per cent of the total number of commitments in the North and 732.5, or 83.2 per cent of the total number of commitments in the South are for minor offenses,—larceny, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, vagrancy, juvenile offenses and other minor offenses.

Notwithstanding this virtual equality in the proportions committed for minor offenses, there is a striking inequality in the length of sentences which were served. The proportion of long sentences in the South seems unduly high.<sup>12</sup>

**Per Cent Committed For:**

	Over 1 year	1 month to 1 year	1 month or less
<b>White Commitments:</b>			
North .....	6.9	53.9	39.2
South .....	33.8	37.8	28.4
<b>Negro Commitments:</b>			
North .....	16.0	53.5	30.5
South .....	42.3	40.4	17.4

Thus 42.3 per cent of the Negroes in the South are committed for a year or more, while only 16 per cent are given such a long term in the North; and only 17.4 per cent of the Southern Negroes are committed for 1 month or less, while 30.5 per cent of the Northern commitments are for this short period. The fact that the commitments are also longer for white people in the South indicates that some of this discrepancy in length of sentence is due to a sectional rather than a racial difference in administration of justice. The purely sectional tendency to impose longer sentences in the South on both races is not, however, sufficient to account for the tremendous proportion of Southern Negroes committed for over a year and the very small proportion committed for less than a month.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Negro population in the U. S., opp. cite, p. 440.

<sup>13</sup> Relative ability to pay fines does not offset this conclusion since in the South 66.8 per cent of Negro commitments and 65.0

per cent of white commitments were for non-payment of fines. This seems rather to indicate that relatively more Negroes are to be found serving the short sentences through inability to pay fines, and yet it was noted that the percentage serving the short sentence is much smaller than the percentage of whites. In the North only 52.5 per cent of Negroes are serving through inability to pay fines imposed. This again indicates that a much larger proportion of Negroes committed in the South are serving through inability to pay fines than is the case in the North.

These figures seem to indicate a definite tendency on the part of Southern courts to impose heavier sentences on the Negro than upon whites, and heavier sentences than those imposed by the Northern courts upon the Negro. The strikingly small number of commitments for less than a month is also indicative of a tendency on the part of Southern judges to condone or merely reprimand certain peccadillos of the Negro which are punished with short imprisonment in the North.

In some districts the system of employing convicts on the roads of the county in which they are convicted, influences judges in imposing heavy sentences, but in most instances there is an honest belief on the part of the judge that the best way to apply correction to the Negro is to follow somewhat the method applied to children, i. e., either merely to reprimand and warn, or to impose a heavy punishment.

This question of summary disposal of minor offenders is, however, but a part of the story. If adequate figures as to ratio of arrests to convictions could be secured, it would be noted that many officers are overzealous in arresting Negroes. The following quotation from an editorial of a leading Georgia daily during the migration indicates that at least some of the Southern communities are awakening to this consideration:

“Everybody seems to be asleep about what is going on right under our noses—that is, everybody but those farmers who waked up on mornings recently to find every Negro

over 21 on their places gone. \* \* \* And we go about our affairs as usual—our police raid pool rooms for “loafing Negroes,” bring in 12, keep them in the barracks all night, and next morning find that 10 of them have steady jobs and were there merely to spend an hour in the only indoor recreation they have; our county officers hear of a disturbance at a Negro resort and bring in fifty-odd men, women, boys and girls to spend the night in jail, to make a bond at 10 per cent, to hire lawyers, to mortgage half of two months’ pay to get back to their jobs Monday morning, although but half a dozen of them could have been guilty of disorderly conduct.”

Another Mississippi daily adds the following:

“We allow petty officers of the law to harass and oppress our Negro labor, mulcting them of their wages, assessing stiff fines on trivial charges, and often they are convicted on charges, which if preferred against a white man would result in prompt acquittal.”<sup>14</sup>

Whether this tendency is due to a mistaken sense of duty or to the operation of the system which provides a payment of a fixed sum per arrest to officers is immaterial. Regardless of its cause, it has a very disquieting effect even among the law-abiding Negroes.

Aside from matters involving arrest, the Negro feels that in civil cases he does not always have an absolutely impartial verdict when he is involved in a dispute with a white man. No data are available on this point. But the main point of interest in the study of migration is that regardless of the extent to which Negroes are right or wrong in their complaint against the administration of criminal and civil justice, it is a real factor in their discontent, and as it is discussed more and more, it becomes a more important factor. As such it demands a much more thorough investigation at the hands of those who love justice and who desire to weaken the forces which contribute to migration.

<sup>14</sup> These two quotations are requoted from *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, opp. cite, p. 106.

*Churches.*—The superior advantages to the colored people afforded by the institutions of the city and the institutions of the North are undoubtedly a great factor both in the movement from country to town and from South to North.

As far as their churches are concerned, the Negroes are practically left to work out their own salvation. The bonds between the Negro and white Methodist and Baptists are very loose. Denominationalism is so strong in the colored population that there is too rapid an increase of small, poorly-pastored, poorly-housed churches in the country. The ability of the city and town congregation to provide better church facilities is a factor in the urban migration.

*Schools.*—A thorough analysis of the school situation directed by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and published as Bulletins 38 and 39, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1917, pictures the great inferiority of the colored school, and from this picture one can readily realize why lack of educational facilities should be urged by Negro leaders as a reason for population movement.

The report of the Bureau of Education (Vol. I, Chapter II) pointed out that per capita expenditures for teachers' salaries in Southern States for all children are much lower than expenditures in Northern States. In contrast with California, whose annual public expenditures for teachers' salaries is \$36.30 per child, and New York, whose expenditure is \$25.40, the range in Southern States is from \$12.36 in Maryland to \$4.16 in North Carolina. The public expenditure for colored children is much lower than this per capita for all children. In Southern States the per capita for Negro children ranged from \$8.53 in Kentucky to \$1.44 in South Carolina. In the Black Belt counties, the per capita for colored children is much lower than in counties having a smaller Negro population. The report gives the following table of counties grouped according to percentage of Negroes in their total population:

*Per Capita Expenditure for Teachers' Salaries in Southern Counties Grouped According to Percentage of Negroes in the Population.*

	White Per Capita	Negro Per Capita
Counties under 10 per cent.....	\$7.96	\$7.23
Counties 10 to 25 per cent.....	9.55	5.55
Counties 25 to 50 per cent.....	11.11	3.19
Counties 50 to 75 per cent.....	12.53	1.77
Counties 75 per cent and over.....	22.22	1.78

This low per capita for both races is attributed to the fact that the South, with less wealth than other sections, has difficulty in securing adequate revenue for the school system, and that this revenue has to be divided between the two systems of schools. In the counties over 50 per cent Negro, the colored children are crowded into one-room country schools, while the more scattered white children are provided with a proportionately larger number of schools.

The first great problem to be solved is that of adequate space for pupils. In some of the Southern States the percentage of colored children 6 to 14 years of age who attend school is as low as 35. In almost all the districts in the open country there are less than one-third of the children in attendance. The report points out that "Many communities do not own school buildings for the colored children. In Alabama over 61 per cent of colored schools are taught in buildings not owned by the county and in Georgia such school houses form 63 per cent of the total. \* \* \*

A careful survey of three typical counties in Alabama, made by State supervisors of schools, disclosed the fact that whereas the seating capacity of the 80 colored schools was but 3,794 their enrollment was 6,391 and attendance 5,832. In other words, these schools were called upon to accommodate, at the time of the survey, 2,038 more pupils than their normal capacity."

The average annual salary for 1911-12 and 1912-13, for Negro teachers in public schools, ranged from \$310.05 in Kentucky to \$110.54 in South Carolina. The report continues: "It is little wonder that 70 per cent of the teachers in the Black Belt States have less than six grades of elementary education."

Poor housing and poor teaching, coupled with a short school term of only five or six months, renders the elementary instruction of those pupils who do attend schools very inadequate. The public high school facilities in the rural districts are very limited. Only 64 public high schools and 200 schools offering some secondary subjects for Negroes were listed by the report of the Bureau of Education. Practically all of these were located in cities or small towns. In the State of Georgia, the only full public high school was in Athens. The cities of Atlanta and Macon had no high school for Negroes in their public school system.

Not only are the special institutions provided for Negroes progressively better in country districts with white majorities than in the Black Belt, better in towns than in the country and better in Northern than in Southern cities, but the public works used by both races, such as roads and streets, are also progressively better.<sup>15</sup>

Thus social causes which seem to play but a small part in influencing the movement from one rural district to another are increasingly important in city migrations. The influence of these social causes is also increasing as the Negro develops an increasingly definite group consciousness.

<sup>15</sup> This list includes all the principle grievances of the Negro except denial of the ballot and poor facilities in public conveyances. While these grievances cause movement from South to North, they are not included in this list of causes of movement from country to city because within any state conditions of travel and of suffrage are the same for countrymen as for city dwellers.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RESULTS OF MIGRATION

Such a volume of movement as has been described in preceding chapters can but have profound effects upon the Negro population and upon the communities gaining or losing by migration. Some description of these effects is necessary before the study is complete.

Almost all of the so-called Negro problems are complicated by the fact that there are many migrants in the colored population. To trace fully the detailed results of migration would require a rather ambitious treatment of many different phases of the Negro question. The best that can be done in the remainder of this study is to outline some of the most patent effects. Even these are not presented in detail. The brief treatment given, however, indicates that some abnormalities which are often said to be due to traits inherent in the Negro race may be largely explained by the abnormal number of migrants in the population. Many students of the race problems have tended to attribute abnormalities in sex distribution, fecundity, vitality, criminality, insanity, and even in Negro institutions almost entirely to inherent traits of racial heredity.

It is not within the province of this volume to determine the extent to which the Negro has a different racial heredity from the white man. In trying to do this we would be compelled to traverse too much debatable ground. Anthropologists, physiologists and psychologists have too many points to settle before this question can be answered with any degree of scientific accuracy. If, however, it appears that many of the peculiarities in population and institutions can, in a large measure, be accounted for by

conditions in the social environment such as migration, and that the same peculiarities also exist to some degree among other racial groups in the same circumstances, then the importance of determining whether or not the Negro has hereditary tendencies in these directions is greatly lessened. Much more practical value attaches to the study of how far these abnormalities are modified by the environment, and how the environment may be changed to minimize them.

## POPULATION

*Sex and Age.*—The outstanding peculiarity of the Negro migration before 1910 was that young women and young men furnished the predominant majority of the migrants from the Black Belt. Since the young men were moving mainly from one agricultural section to another,<sup>1</sup> and since the young women were moving both from one agricultural section to another and to the towns in response to domestic service opportunity, the women were leaving the rural districts faster. But even in increasing rural counties the increase in females is greater than the increase in males, mainly because of villages included in these counties.

The following table gives the movement by sexes in the rural counties of Georgia grouped according to whether they are losing, gaining slowly or gaining rapidly in population. (See shading of Map II).

**Increase of Negroes by Sex**  
**Rural Districts of Georgia, 1900-1910**

County Group	Increase Males	Increase Females
Counties Losing .....	115	—550
Counties Gaining Slowly .....	12,660	14,045
Counties Gaining Rapidly .....	29,338	32,088

It has previously been noted that this different movement of the two sexes has created a great excess of females in the cities. Where there are only from 800 to 900 males per 1,000 females the resultant disturbance in family life

<sup>1</sup>This statement applies to the pre-war migration. During the war males were moving to industrial cities of the North.

and morality is necessarily great. The writer's study of Athens, Georgia, revealed the following condition of the women with children under 18 years of age:

Athens, Georgia.

**Conjugal Condition of 742 Negro Women with Children**

Number single .....	30 or 4 per cent of total
Number widowed .....	113 or 16 per cent of total
Number separated .....	53 or 7 per cent of total
Number living with husband.....	546 or 73 per cent of total

The number of women with illegitimate children indicates unmorality and the number of widows and separated couples indicates a disorganization of the family. The census does not tabulate separately the conjugal condition of Negro women rearing children, but in the total female population the following proportions prevailed in 1910:

**Conjugal Condition: Per Cent Female Population 15 Years of Age and Over—1910 (p. 237)<sup>2</sup>**

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Negro .....	26.6	57.2	14.8	1.1
White .....	30.1	59.0	10.1	.6

This indicates that there are proportionately fewer colored than white women single. This is probably due to earlier marriages. But a larger proportion of Negroes are widowed or divorced. The proportions in urban communities, where migration has upset the ratio between the sexes, are quite different from the proportions in the population

**Conjugal Condition: Per Cent of Negro Female Population in Urban Communities—1910 (p. 270)**

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Middle Atlantic States.	30.8	52.6	15.8	.5
South Atlantic States..	30.2	49.4	19.2	.9

<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as this chapter is almost entirely based on data contained in "Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915," U. S. Bureau of the Census, numerous footnotes are avoided by merely including page references to this volume in parentheses in the text.

as a whole. This table indicates that the proportion of single and widowed females is considerably higher in the cities of both the North and the South than in the total Negro population. Much of the low morality and looseness of family ties indicated by these figures is due to the disturbance in the ratio of the two sexes through migration.

*Number of Children Born.*—The census figures tabulated under the heading of "Fertility" need further interpretation for several reasons. In the first place, they are a ratio of the number of children to the number of women 15 to 44 years of age. This ratio depends on the proportion of women who are married, the number of children born and the proportion who survive. With this in mind the following figures from the Census of 1910 are suggestive (p. 288) : In the South there were 617 white children under 5 years of age per 1,000 white women of 15 to 44 years of age, while there were only 554 colored children per 1,000 colored women of 15 to 44 years of age. In other words, even in the South, where the Negro population increases most rapidly, the disturbances in sex ratio, marriage rate and infant mortality have reduced the proportion of colored children below that of the native white children. In the North there were only 282 colored children per 1,000 colored women 15 to 44 years of age, whereas there were 442 white children per 1,000 white women of the same age. This is in part due to the disturbance in the sex ratio and the consequent lowering of the marriage rate, and it is in part due to the rise in the standard of living in Northern communities. The increased struggle for existence in the cities and increased living expenses causes a decrease in the birth rate. This is indicated by the fact when the ratio is based on married women instead of all females between the ages of 15 and 44 it is as follows: Children under 5 years per 1,000 married females in the South, 749 white and 757 colored, in the North 539 white and 396 colored.

Studies of the sex ratio of our immigrant population indicate that there is almost as much disturbance, in their birth rate, but that males predominate among the European immigrants while females predominate among the Negro migrants. Similar small proportions of children to the total foreign born population, and married males to the foreign born population may be noted.

The migration since 1916 was at first so largely made up of male laborers that the inequality of sexes in the Eastern cities has tended to be reduced. In some of the industrial cities which had no appreciable Negro population before 1916, there is now a great excess of males.

*Excess of Deaths Over Births and Vitality.*—It is fairly well known that the Negro populations in Northern cities are not self-sustaining by excess of births over deaths. This is to be expected from the foregoing statement that there were in 1910 only 282 colored children to each 1,000 colored women 15 to 44 years of age in the North and only 396 for each 1,000 married women of that group. In a study of the Negroes of Boston, Massachusetts, John Daniels noted<sup>3</sup> that between 1900 and 1910 in Greater Boston, the birth rate and death rate among the Negroes were exactly equal, being 25.4 per 1,000 in each case. Among the whites the birth rate was 26.9 and the death rate 18.7. The birth rate has not even equalled the death rate except recently. Daniels points out that from 1870 to 1875 the Negro death rate was as high as 41.3 per thousand while the birth rate was only 30.9. "The excessive mortality and paucity of births have thus worked for the extinction of Boston's native Negro population."

An examination of the annual reports of the Commissioner of Public Health of New York City,<sup>4</sup> indicates that

<sup>3</sup> "In Freedom's Birthplace," John Daniels, pp. 471, 134, and 136.

<sup>4</sup> "Annual Reports," Commissioner Public Health, New York City, 1906, 1916. Tables showing Total Births and Deaths for Colored in New York City.

in the 10-year period 1906-1916 there was an average excess of deaths over births among the Negroes of New York amounting to about 400 per year, the total excess for the 10-year period being 3,964. In 1910 the death rate among the Negroes of New York was 25.1 and the birth rate 22.2. This actual loss of about 3 per cent in ten years is in startling contrast with the gain of over 15 per cent in Georgia between 1900 and 1910. In this respect migration from the Cotton Belt bids fair to reduce the rate of increase in the Negro population tremendously.

This means that the increasing populations of these Northern cities are maintained by constant additions of migrants from the South. Unfortunately, no comparable statistics are available for the Southern States. Only a few large cities and two border States are included in the Census vital statistics registration area. Such figures as are available, however, seem to indicate that the differences in rates of increases of native-born Negroes in the North and in the South are due rather to a difference in birth rate than in the death rate. In fact, the Negro death rate for 24 Southern cities was 29.6 per thousand, and in 33 Northern cities was 25.1. The large rural population of the South must then have a death rate of somewhere around 20 to 25 per thousand (p. 315), and a very high birth rate, for it is from these areas that the increases in the cities of the South as well as the North are drawn.

A much more detailed study of the refined death rate (per 1,000 Negroes of different ages in the population), and of the rates from different diseases is necessary before exact conclusions are warranted as to what these figures indicate in regard to the vitality of the Negro. In the number of migrants in the population, however, we have an explanation for much of this irregularity in birth and death rates of different sections. It can be seen that in the country districts where the number of migrants form only a small proportion of the population, the ratio of sexes

is comparatively undisturbed, the number of married women higher, the standard of living lower, and hence that there is a larger proportion of married women and more children per married woman. On the other hand, although deaths from malaria and typhoid are probably more frequent in the country, the Negro's chief foes, tuberculosis and pneumonia, are more deadly in the city, and especially in the colder climate of the North. But the superior intelligence of migrants and the fact that they are in the more robust age group bring their general death rate in the North down slightly below the rate in Southern cities.

Abnormal Social Classes.—The high proportion of criminals, delinquents, and insane among Negroes has also been attributed by many writers to racial traits. Here again, however, are a group of phenomena which may, to some extent, be expected from the disturbance of any population by migration. The available data also indicate the influence of migration on abnormal classes in the Negro population.

The following figures are suggestive of the principal factors underlying the situation. (439)

**Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents: Commitment Rates  
per 100,000 of Each Race, 1910.**

	White	Negro
The North .....	503.2	2,836.0
The West .....	815.7	3,667.4
The South .....	258.1	880.3

The low commitment rate for white and colored in the South in due both to the predominance of the rural element and to the small proportion of migrants in the Southern population.

In the West North Central section, which approaches the South in its proportion of rural inhabitants, the commitment rate for native white people was only 296 per 100,000, or only 38 more than the rate in the South. Its commitment rate for foreign born whites was, however, 550.1. That is, among the migrants the commitment rate

was almost double that of the native white people. This influence of city life and migration on the crime rate is further evident from the rates in New England with 630.2 commitments per 100,000 per native whites and 1,143.2 for the same number of foreign born. Due to the concentration in cities the commitment rate for both native and foreign born in New England is more than double that in the West North Central States, while in both sections the rate for foreign born migrants is double that of the native whites.

This discussion indicates the effects of urbanization and the disturbance of the family life on crime. This is especially evident in the figures on Negro commitments since the rate in the North is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times the rates in the South.

The strain of urban life and migration is also evident in the insanity rate among the Negroes (pp. 448-457). In 1910 the number of insane admitted to asylums per 100,000 of each racial class was: 59.7 among the whites of the South Atlantic States and 44.6 among the Negroes. In the Middle Atlantic States, on the other hand, the number was 105.9 for whites and 153.8 for Negroes. Although these differences in rates reflect in part the differences in practice of admitting insane and in the facilities for caring for them, still they also reflect the greater strain of the urban life of the North on the migrant. This is further emphasized by the difference in urban and rural insanity rates in the North and South. The Negro insane admitted to hospitals in 1910 were as follows: Middle Atlantic States, 45.8 per 100,000 rural Negroes and 115.6 for the same number of urban Negroes, South Atlantic States, 31.8 per 100,000 rural Negroes, and 86.2 per 100,000 urban Negroes.

*Social and Economic Classes.*—Migration also plays its part in forming and redistributing the social and economic classes. The Negro population was in 1860 subdivided only into farm laborers, artisans, domestics and free Negroes.

But in the past sixty years the differing response to economic opportunity has created a wide range of Negro classes. In the rural districts the farm laborer, tenant and owner are on very different planes, and in the city the common laborer, the domestic, the skilled tradesman, the business man, and Negro leader are quite distinct types.

As the more energetic and successful respond more quickly to opportunity and move toward it, many of the leaders of the race are now located in the city group. In fact, with the centralization of Negro churches, lodges, business, and newspapers in the city, the leadership of the colored people seems to be definitely centered in the urban districts.

#### ORGANIZATION

*Agricultural Organization.*—The constant shifting of the colored population also has deep rooted effects on the organizations in which the Negro participates. Throughout Part I the plantation and other forms of rural organization were considered as causes of migration, but the loss of population in turn has its reaction upon this rural organization. It was noted that in 1865-70, in the area from which the ex-slaves began to move, many planters began to abandon the gang labor system, offering share tenancy as a basis for keeping the Negro contented with farm life. Similarly in 1916-17, the loss of labor and the boll weevil reacted upon the farmers of Georgia, and in order to meet the situation, less cotton was planted per hand. With more diversified food crops the farmers found that they could cultivate more land with much less labor. In fact the Negro migration in this respect is enforcing the diversification of agriculture and the introduction of machinery, two of the most needed reforms in the Cotton Belt system of cultivation. Though the shortage of labor works a hardship during the transition period, in the long run its results will be beneficial, if it leads to the termination of the tyrannical rule

of King Cotton over the Black Belt, and the establishment of a large number of relatively prosperous small farmers in the place of the extensive gang labor system of exploiting the soil.

But the change in farm life and in relations between tenant and landlord are even more significant. Labor troubles discourage many planters and they sell out or rent their lands. Those who wish to retain laborers and halvers must make concessions. The Report of the Department of Labor noted that the planters who were most successful in holding labor were those who accorded the best treatment. The movement seems to emphasize this treatment in the minds of planters and renders them more willing to democratize the plantation.

*Industry.*—The most radical change caused by the movement since 1916 has been the entry of some 140,000 colored men in industry. These are, to a great extent concentrated in eleven large industrial cities. The cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, include about 40 per cent of all Negroes living outside the South. In 1920, 230 plants employed some 115,000 of the 140,000 in manufacturing industries. According to industry, colored laborers in the North were distributed about as follows: iron and steel, 40,000; automobile, 25,000; meat packing, 15,000; Pullman shops and yards, 15,000; miscellaneous, 40,000.

Management has been only too glad to welcome this addition to the labor supply, and the majority of employment managers interviewed in the spring of 1920 expressed themselves as well pleased with the results obtained with Negro labor.

Progress in industry has, however, been made almost entirely outside the union, in open shops.

Unskilled laborers predominate. Some plants have the definite policy of not admitting colored men except in the

capacity of unskilled laborers, while others employ as many in skilled trades as apply qualified for the job, but state that the large majority are not qualified for skilled positions. Still others hold that there is no job in their shop which Negroes cannot fill after a reasonable apprenticeship.

Since management is so pleased to have the Negro added to the labor supply, when Negroes are barred from jobs for which they are fitted it is almost always through the prejudice of unions, foremen, or groups of employees who have been with the company for a long time. In the present active labor market, however, it seems that most colored men are eventually able to find a place in some open shop where they can employ all the skill that they possess. About 10 per cent are now in semi-skilled jobs, such as furnace repair masons and tenders of almost automatic machinery. A bare five per cent are found in the skilled positions, such as truck drivers, stationary and hoisting engineers, foundry moulders, rolling mill ruffers and rollers, butchers, skilled auto body builders and heat finishers, and foremen. There is one Negro who has risen to the position of chief chemist of a large manufacturing plant and several who are heads of large trucking departments.

There are numbers of skilled building tradesmen, carpenters, painters, plasterers, and plumbers, who come up from the South but are unable to ply their trade because of the stronger hold of the unions in these fields. Such men usually accept work as semi-skilled or unskilled laborers in industrial plants.

Because progress in skilled occupations has been made almost entirely outside the unions, in open shops, labor leaders often accuse the Negro of favoring scab labor. In fact several plants used large numbers of Negroes during the recent steel strike. This, however, is not always due to a simple tendency to act as strike-breakers.

In the first place, the colored laborer is more or less justi-

fied in feeling that a dispute between the American Federation of Labor and management is none of his affair because there are very few local unions which admit Negroes. Exceptions to this are to be found in scattered trades such as the hod carriers, paving men's and teamster's locals. In these occupations there are so many Negroes that the union's hold on the trade is materially weakened if they are not in the organization. The longshoremen and packing-house employees present the only cases of perfect unionization of colored labor, and their organization in these trades has been accomplished almost wholly under the War Labor Board rather than under peace time labor leadership. In other cases a few colored men are admitted to the union for the sake of appearances and these are the last to be sent out on jobs by master tradesmen. These complaints are widespread among colored men in close touch with the industrial situation and among the laborers themselves.

Just before many strikes there have been eleventh hour efforts to get colored tradesmen into the organization. In one or two instances it leaked out that the naive plan was to get the colored men in, call the strike, then make one of their demands that no more colored men be employed. This strategy has succeeded in several instances, notably in the strike of Chicago waiters in 1912. As a result, when white union men strike it means that by doing so they give the colored laborer the first opportunity which he has had to fill a job for which he is trained, but from which he has been previously barred by the very union which accuses him of being a scab. In other words, in case of a strike, the Negro is presented with the alternative of being loyal to an organization which has discriminated against him or of exercising his first and perhaps only opportunity to employ his full degree of skill. This puts a different aspect on strikebreaking.

But in cases where Negroes are in the union they play the

game. Numerous instances of individual plant strikes have occurred and the large colored membership of the coastwise longshoremen's unions in New York struck with the others in 1920. This case is, however, complicated by the fact that Negroes are among the strikers and among the strikebreakers. The latter are of the strikebreaker element which exists among both white people and Negroes. The question which arises is: How are Negro leaders to reach this element and teach them that though they are justified in taking places from which they have been barred by discrimination, they have not so much ground for stepping into the places vacated by unions which they could have joined had they so desired? The fact that white labor organizations have been so unsuccessful in reaching this element of their race after such long continued effort does not hold out much encouragement to Negro leaders in seeking to answer this riddle. In the meantime the Negro strikebreaker, whether justified or unjustified in his moves, will continue to cause the maximum amount of friction in the North.

The best course would, therefore, seem to be for the colored man to stick to the open shop in industrial plants and to form the habit of depending upon his own leaders for aid in adjusting grievances; and when this fails in industry to push for plant organizations of the type of the employees of the National Cash Register, and the Goodyear Rubber Company employees; to enter locals in the building trades and similar occupations, when this course is possible, or to form his own locals and convince the white labor leaders that they can play the game as long as its decent rules are observed. Regardless of fair promises from the national labor leaders, as long as prejudice is so widespread among local unions, it would seem that the best plan is for the Negro to steer clear of them except in cases where he is convinced of the sincerity of their overtures or is in position, by sheer weight of numbers, to get a square deal. Even

in the latter case it would seem best for him to organize in separate locals, affiliated with the white organization.

A measureable degree of success has already been attained by following their own leaders. An example of this is furnished by the Dining Car Cooks and Waiters' Association, in whose organization the National Negro Urban League was influential. This association was, at first, purely a Negro organization, but later it was affiliated with the white railway workers. Their policy has been to cooperate wherever possible with both labor organizations and the management. Their success in the former is indicated by their final affiliation with the white workers, in the latter by the fact that several of the railroads broke all precedents in 1920 by allowing the members time off to attend the annual convention.

Realizing the weakness of their past appeals to Negro labor, the 1920 meeting of the American Federation has fought for the abrogation of clauses restricting the membership to certain of their branches to white labor only. But removing this prescription in charters against Negro members and overcoming the prejudice of the membership to such an extent that colored men are actually admitted to the locals are, however, two entirely different matters. The Federation now proposes to take the first step towards meeting this situation squarely by employing Negro organizers. It has passed resolutions to the effect that the number now used should be increased. If this is actually done and the men are wisely chosen they cannot only give local leaders valuable advice as to the proper policies for organizations to adopt, but can also cultivate that knowledge and sympathy against which prejudice cannot stand.

Above all, in determining policies of leadership the colored laborer and the white union need to remember that the keynote must be cooperation—a philosophy of which the Principal of Tuskegee, R. R. Moton, is the strongest advo-

cate. The leadership must be one which will determine policies with due regard to the just claims of colored men, the worthy ends of the union and the peace and prosperity of the community at large.

In a nut shell the problems of the Negro in industry, besides those of wages and hours are:

- (1) To extend the number of plants where he can work.
- (2) To overcome prejudice and extend the number of jobs within the plant which he can fill.
- (3) To increase his efficiency through study, and application.
- (4) To develop his own organization and leadership, which will cooperate with the constructive elements in the unions.

*Religious Institutions.*—Colored churches are often completely disorganized by the movement of population. On the other hand, during the rush northward in 1916-17, some of the city churches were severely taxed to care for the rapid addition to their congregations. In a survey of a typical county of Georgia, W. B. Hill outlines the following conditions of the churches:<sup>5</sup>

“Two colored churches are practically dormant as one has no regular pastor and only occasional services, while the other has become a mission church with only a dozen members.”

“Practically all the Negroes claimed membership in some church, but when asked where their church was located, the investigator would often be told that it was ‘way down in Ogelthorpe (County).’ The Negroes are very loath to change their membership from one church to another, so when they migrate to Clarke from other counties they keep their membership in the old church and attend services in the church near their new home.”

<sup>5</sup> Hill, W. B., *The Negroes of Clarke County, Georgia*, Opp. Cit., pp 49-51.

"Of the 17 colored churches, five have pastors on half time, six have pastors serving 2 others or one-third time, 6 have pastors with 3 others or one-fourth time. It will be noticed that while there is a large number of colored churches considering the size and the population of the county, four of them have less than 100 members. Some of these could be combined so as to have services three Sundays every month, if not four."

The consideration of the Negro rural church therefore demands an appreciation of the shifts of the population of its surrounding area,—whether its congregation is drifting away or whether it is increasing through migration, whether its books are burdened with a number of members who have moved off and are attending church elsewhere, whether it has a large number of regular attendants who are members of distant churches, and whether, if it is shrinking up, it cannot be combined with some neighboring church which is also diminishing in importance.

*Educational Institutions.*—One of the most noticeable effects of migration on Negro schools is in the disturbance of attendance. During the cotton chopping and picking months in the spring and fall, so many Negro children work in the fields that the attendance on rural schools dwindles to a minimum. Sometimes there is a temporary exodus from city to country during these periods.

While a large proportion of migrants are young single Negroes, a large number also move in families. This means that in some areas there is a wide fluctuation of school population and attendance from one year to the next.<sup>6</sup> In five years, some counties lose as much as 30 per

<sup>6</sup> A study of the school censuses indicates that from 1908 to 1913 the increase in population 6 to 18 years of age in the various counties corresponds rather closely to the rate of increase of the total population between 1900 and 1910. The increases between 1913 and 1918, however, show plainly the effects

cent of their school population through migration, while some increasing counties, gain as much as 60 per cent in school population. Inasmuch as the State school report for 1918 showed that 2,480, or 85 per cent of the colored schools in Georgia, were in one room buildings, the tremendous burden which these rapid fluctuations of population puts on the school facilities will be readily understood.

There is evidence that the increase in colored school population and increase in appropriations for colored schools are in many counties almost unrelated. Examining the 105 rural counties for which accurate records of expenditures are available as far back as 1908,<sup>7</sup> the following distribution of counties is obtained for the period 1908-13:

Negro School Population	Number of Counties		Total
	Increasing Expenditure for Salaries	Decreasing Expenditure for Salaries	
Counties Increasing ....	55	12	67
Counties Decreasing ...	29	9	38
	—	—	—
Total .....	84	21	105

It appears that there was a tendency all over the State towards increase both in school population and expenditure in colored schools, for 67 of the counties were increasing in population and 84 increasing in expenditures. It also appears that the expenditures for Negro teachers' salaries was realized to be so low in 1908, that there was a tendency to increase them in many counties regardless of whether the Negro school population was increasing or decreasing.

of the migration of 1916-17. Heavy losses in school population are evident in the sections of the State disturbed by the boll weevil and the labor agents.

<sup>7</sup> Annual School Reports, Georgia State Dep't. of Education, 1908, 1913, and 1918. Tables showing colored school population and expenditure for colored teachers' salaries.

Twenty-nine of the counties, though decreasing in population, showed increases in teachers' salaries. To this extent the above figures are a distinct encouragement. But in the twelve counties which showed an increase in population with a decrease in expenditure for teachers' salaries the situation is reversed. That so many counties, with such a low original expenditure for Negro teachers' salaries, should decrease this amount, though the Negro children were increasing, seems unpardonable.

If the later five-year period, from 1913 to 1918, is examined the following distribution is obtained:

Number of Counties	Number of Counties		Total
	Increasing Expenditure for Salaries	Decreasing Expenditure for Salaries	
Counties Increasing ....	36	16	52
Counties Decreasing....	38	15	53
Total .....	74	31	105

During this period the disturbance of the population in the movement of 1916-17 caused a few more counties to decrease in colored children. Of the 53 counties decreasing in population, 38 continued to increase their provision for teachers' salaries in colored schools. But of the 52 counties increasing in colored school population 16 decreased the amount provided for colored teachers. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the 12 counties which, during the period 1908-13, decreased their expenditures for colored schools despite an increase in colored population were still pursuing this policy during the period 1913-18. All of these 12 counties began to make substantial increases in their colored teachers' salaries, even though 9 of them began to decrease in colored population during the second period. The 16 counties which, during the second period, were decreasing their expenditure for colored teachers' salaries though increasing in population, are a separate group from the 12 of

the first period. All but 3 of these 28 counties, which during one of the two periods, pursued this policy, have substantial Negro majorities in their population. The process therefore seems to be one of subjecting the already overcrowded Negro rural schools of the Black Belt to further crowding in order to provide much needed facilities for the more scattered white population of these counties.

The substantial number of counties which, during both periods, increased their expenditure for Negro schools regardless of decreases in the Negro population, may be said to indicate an increasing tendency in the majority of communities to do justice to the Negro schools. The substantial increases in expenditure for Negro teachers' salaries after some counties had lost heavily by the migration of 1916-17, and after the Negro's complaint against his school facilities had been forcefully brought to the attention of County school boards, doubtless indicates the effort on the part of these boards to do their share towards checking the movement by rendering belated justice to the schools.

#### RACE RELATIONS

*Areas Losing by Migration.*—In districts from which the Negro is moving the general effect seems to be a lessening of race prejudice. People who do not go below the surface accuse the Negro of restlessness and unreliability, but the general effect on white people of the discussion which accompanies the movement seems to be to center their attention on the factors which make for the discontent of the colored population, and to emphasize the justice of some of the complaints of the Negro. Again race prejudice seems to diminish as the proportion of the Negroes in the total population becomes smaller. The migration of Negroes from the Black Belt areas and the resultant increasing percentage of white people in the total population relieves the fear of Negro domination. Perhaps the passing of the old-fashioned demagogue, who could so easily make

political capital by playing upon this fear in the minds of the ignorant voters in very black districts, is, in part, due to the dispersion of Negro population and the increasing proportion of white people in almost every Southern community.

Areas Gaining by Migration.—In areas gaining by migration, prejudice seems, at least temporarily, to assume its most aggravated forms. The movement of population since the Civil War has done much to break down that personal relationship between families of ex-slave owners and ex-slaves which has been such a potent influence maintaining white sympathy for the Negro's problems and stimulating mutual aid. Many of these Southern white people with the best ante-bellum traditions were the most understanding and sympathetic friends of the colored people. In areas gaining by migration, white people and colored people who are strangers to one another come together without the ante-bellum traditions. More or less competition and race friction results. In the most extreme cases this takes the form of riots such as those of Atlanta in 1908, or the recent riots in Northern cities. It also appears in the increased tendency towards segregation in Northern cities. This is especially evident in the schools and social agencies of Philadelphia, Chicago, St Louis and a number of Ohio cities.

On the other hand, in moving out of the Black Belt into these "whiter" areas, the Negroes are more interspersed with a white population. They have more chance to observe progressive farming and industrial methods and attain a higher standard of living, and they are in a position to benefit by the better roads and public works of the areas which have a larger population of white people in the population, and a higher per capita wealth.

This brief sketch of the effects of migration on Negro problems indicates its wide influence. The Negro population has changed so rapidly during the past 50 years, and bids fair to continue to change so rapidly, that the student of any

problem of Negro population, institutions, or race relations would do well to bear in mind constantly the tendency to change and make allowance for this tendency in reaching his conclusions, otherwise the result of a study made at a stated time may lead to conclusions which are true enough for the time, but which are completely altered a few months afterward. This is to be considered in all surveys, for migration is not only constantly changing the distribution of Negro population, but as this chapter indicates, it is also constantly changing the sex composition, fecundity, vitality, crime and insanity rates, economic organization, religious and educational institutions, and relations with the white group.

The effects of migration also vitiate comparisons between sections of the country unequally affected unless these effects are known and unless allowance is made for them.

## CONCLUSION

### SUMMARY

On the whole, there is no cause for pessimism regarding the shift of Negro population, nor can the recent rapid migration be said to indicate the influence of any essentially new forces. The movements arose in the Black Belt in 1865, precipitated the breakdown of the old gang labor plantations, and have continued in more or less steady streams of migrants from the original Cotton Belt counties. The breakdown of labor plantations has progressed with varying rapidity in the different parts of the South. Though many of the old plantations are still owned by one man, most of them are subdivided into tenant farms and cultivated only in part by labor. The remainder are cultivated entirely by tenants. Many Negroes have also become independent owners of farms.

The only group of rising Negro farmers which is distinctly dangerous to the economic life of the community is the independent Negro renter on the land of absentee landlords. In farming efficiency there seems to be little difference between the community of gang labor, or share tenant plantations, and the community of Negro owners or supervised renters. The social structure of the community is, on the other hand, greatly strengthened by the element of independent Negro farmers with their higher standard of living, greater attachment to the land, and greater ability to act as leaders.

The movement of rural population before 1910 was predominantly a shift from the plantation area to other rural districts of greater agricultural opportunity. Incident to this movement, however, there has been a growth of Negro town and city populations. The growth in villages and

towns has been especially marked. These small centers are becoming more and more important in the colored population because of the rate at which Negroes move through them into the town or city and because of the influence of their leaders and institutions upon the Negroes in the open country. Very recently a number of cities in the Cotton Belt have grown rapidly. When a city begins to grow through manufacturing and distributing enterprises rather than by enterprises solely dependent upon the surrounding country districts, its white population increases much faster than its colored population. Still, the Negro is attracted to these places by the proportionate increase of domestic service and common labor opportunities on the one hand, and the professional, mercantile and race leadership opportunities on the other. These cities, therefore, have substantial and increasingly important Negro populations.

Northern cities were increasing at a fairly rapid rate through migration of Negroes before 1910, but the migrants came mostly from the Border States. The Cotton States were exchanging population among themselves. With the exception of the Southward movement into Florida, this movement among the Cotton States was Westward. After 1910, however, and especially after the outbreak of the European War, opportunity in the industrial sections of the North was not only greatly increased, but agricultural opportunity in the Gulf Coast States was nullified by poor crops, floods, and the cotton boll weevil. The movement since 1915, therefore, has been Northward.

Desire for superior earning power, standard of living and standing in the community, enjoyed by the higher tenant classes has been the chief cause of movement from one rural district to another. but the superior advantages of the city have attracted large numbers to urban districts. These social advantages in the housing, protection, schools and churches of the city play an increasingly important part in the movement from country to city and from South to

North. The recent rapid movement has caused extended discussion among the Negroes of their social grievances, and, with the development of a distinct group feeling, these causes may be expected to play an even greater part in future movements.

This disturbance of population aggravates many of the Negro problems and general community welfare problems. Domestic service opportunities attracting the females in one direction, and agricultural and industrial opportunities attracting the males in another, upset the normal ratio between the sexes in communities affected by migration. There results a low marriage rate with its attendant low birth rate and increase in immorality. The rise in the standard of living which follows the change from the simple life of the country to the complex life of the city also reacts toward lessening the size of family, especially in North cities. While the Negro escapes from some diseases to which he is subject in the South, he exposes himself to the rigors of the Northern climate, and probably suffers a slightly higher death rate in the North. This low birth rate and high death rate mean that northern Negro populations, under the present conditions, are not self-sustaining and in order to continue they must receive constant replacements from the South. The upset of families and the strain of city life also increase the crime, insanity, and dependency rates.

Though migration creates conditions unfavorable to vitality and morality, the general trend of the movement is towards better institutions. Not only does the Negro obtain better schools and churches by leaving the Black Belt areas, but by moving he also calls the attention of the South to his complaints against the existing institutions and creates an additional interest in improving them.

Race relations, on the other hand, are very often badly strained in communities receiving a rapid increase by migration. It is here that race prejudice has been manifested most cruelly. But even in these communities the Negro finds

better institutions and a fuller participation in the community life. In the communities from which Negroes move the relief from the fear of race riots and the emphasis which the movement gives to the justice of many of the Negro's claims for better treatment lessens race prejudice. The dispersion of the Negro population brings larger opportunities for learning the white man's methods and standard of living through observation.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES

The complications arising from the movement of Negroes while serious are, therefore, not grounds for undue pessimism. In communities gaining by migration many of the difficulties can be alleviated by energetic measures to adjust the migrant in industry, to correct his abnormal health conditions and family life, and to develop a community acquaintanceship to take the place of the lost personal relationship, which existed in the ante-bellum South. In the communities losing by migration the first need is to so organize agriculture and industry that, where Negro labor is needed, high wage offers elsewhere may be met with proportionate increases. The second need is for a fuller realization of the necessity of a more just policy towards the Negro in community relations and a more energetic program of fostering this justice. Unless effort is made to alleviate the social grievances of the Negro, no amount of effort to alleviate economic injustices is going to stop the movement.

This statement of the needs of communities is rather general. A number of very concrete constructive measures which have been tested and which seem to be meeting the actual needs in a very hopeful way may be cited.

The movement of population has emphasized the fact that there are three factors to be considered in race relations—the Negro himself, the South and the North. The great need for sympathy, understanding and constructive leadership

among these three parties to race adjustment was urged by the report of Negro Education in the United States, even before the great migration Northward. Now, since so many Negroes live in the North, their problems are more than ever national rather than sectional.

*Federal Government.*—It is but natural and logical, with the passing of strong sectional feeling on the Negro question, that the Federal Government, through its various bureaus should inaugurate programs of research and Federal aid.

(1) The exhaustive first hand study of Negro Education, made cooperatively by the Bureau of Education and the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was a good beginning in the organization of nation-wide programs for increasing the efficiency of Negro education. This should be followed up by an appropriation from Congress to the Bureau of Education for permanent work in Negro education with a staff of specialists capable of research and helpful advice.

(2) As a result of the interest of the Secretary of Labor in the Negro migration of 1916-17, and of the survey of the movement made directly under the office of the Assistant Secretary, a Bureau of Negro Economics was established in the Department of Labor. A staff of colored investigators has been maintained, both in Washington and in the field. These men did excellent work in keeping in touch with the wages, hours, living conditions and special problems of the Negro wage earners and were able to cooperate effectively with the various State Departments of Labor. This work, begun as a war measure, should without a doubt be continued. A special significance attaches to this work because it was begun by a Democratic administration on a non-partisan basis.

(3) As a counterpart to this work among the Negroes in industry, the Federal Department of Agriculture should have similar research and advisory specialists concerned with the Negro in agriculture. Although all of the farm demonstration work in the South, and all Southern problems

worked on by the Office of Farm Management are vitally concerned with the Negro, there is nowhere, in the vast organization of the Department of Agriculture, in Washington, a colored specialist who can concentrate on the problems of the 3,000,000 Negro farmers.

In their chief need—that of so organizing agriculture that better wages can be paid and a profit still realized—communities are directly aided by the campaign of the States Relation Service of the Department of Agriculture, and its corps of farm demonstration agents in the field. Any programs for rural improvement can be greatly aided by this force of earnest, technically trained, local agricultural leaders and the work they are doing to promote farming efficiency is of sterling character. The number of Negro farm demonstrators should be increased. There is, however, another phase of rural life to which as yet comparatively little attention has been paid. This is the field of contacts, other than the mere wage or rental relationship, between landlord and tenant. The need in this field is for democratizing the plantation as some industries have been democratized. Almost all close observers of the movement from rural districts testify to the ability of certain planters to hold their labor supply even in the midst of a much disturbed area. In a majority of instances these planters owe their success not only to satisfactory wages, but also to attention to items of tenant welfare. Housing, stimulation of fruit raising, gardening and animal husbandry, interest and advice in local leadership and family affairs, and aid for local churches and schools are among the methods used by landlords to make their laborers and tenants feel that the relationship is one more vital than a matter of dollars and cents. Above all these planters emphasize an attitude of even-handed justice in contracts and accounts rather than the paternalistic attitude of the past. They have realized they are paying earned wages not giving gratuities.

The plantation and the community of small independent

farmers have marvelous possibilities as social units—units of rural organization, which, with the aid and interest of the thoughtful local white leaders and landowners could, like the European cooperatives, develop their own credit system and by the exercise of thrift rid themselves of the crop mortgage and high credit prices in a year or two. They could increase individual efficiency wonderfully by mutual aid in the purchase of the more expensive agricultural implements, and by cooperative culture and marketing. They would form the basis of a more healthy social life and could develop the local institutions to such a point that they would be really vital parts of the community life. In research along these lines, observation of the methods of the most successful communities and dissemination of knowledge of these methods among all communities, the Department of Agriculture has the opportunity to round out its program of farm demonstration, so efficiently begun, and to develop a rural organization which will allay much of the present discontent.

(4) *Industry*.—Among the employers there is a need in industry for the same spirit of even-handed justice which is needed in agriculture. In addition, in the North there should be fairness in hiring and firing, especially during a period of unemployment.

In the interests of industrial, as well as inter-racial peace, Negro leaders should do all in their power to reduce the numbers of the strikebreaker element in their race.

If the American Federation of Labor is to live up to its claims of non-discrimination and do its part towards the problem of the Negro in industry, the policy of local unions of refusing to admit Negroes or to allow colored locals to be organized must be changed. Until this time it would seem that the best course for the Negro is to develop his own organization so as to approach the unions with a solid front. Some good work along this line has been done by the National Urban League. Movements of this type are to be highly commended.

(5) *Churches.*—There is a great need for an approach to race relations in the Christian spirit of common humanity. This spirit should pervade all phases of the activities of denominations. In organization, there is a need for a unified policy towards the colored people, for closer relationship between the white and colored denominations in their governing councils and in the local federations of churches. Among the clergy there is need for a freer and more courageous expression of an enlightened viewpoint towards race relations,—a change from the policy of silence which, at present, renders it more than probable that people may be members of congregations in the South for years without ever hearing a word from the pulpit on this important phase of community life. Among the laymen there is need for a keener and more active interest in the home mission activities for colored people. There is a general need throughout all churches for a return to the spirit of the old South, which manifested a real and active interest in the religious welfare of the colored people.

*Private Philanthropy.*—(6) Private philanthropy will always have an important function to perform in race relations. Democracies are always slow and have to be shown. Private initiative must demonstrate the value of new measures, before the majority adopts them. Just as the General Education Board experimented with and demonstrated the value of county farm demonstration agents before their work was taken over to the Department of Agriculture, and likewise with expert supervisors of colored schools before these officers were included in Southern State Departments of Education, just as the Phelps-Stokes Fund could devote its energy and resources to a much needed nationwide survey of Negro education, and just as the Jeanes and Slater Funds have so thoroughly demonstrated the need for industrial and teacher training work in public schools. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for legal aid, and the National Urban League for

colored industrial relations worker and social workers, so, always, will there be experiments to make and trials to blaze, which will call for private initiative. The unselfish devotion of time as well as money to making programs "go" is especially needed in the local communities.

*State Governments.*—The most pressing problems confronting Southern State Governments are those of sanitation, schools and protection from violence and injustice in the courts.

(7) As a preliminary to intelligent improvement of health the registration of births and deaths should be enforced as strictly as possible, and State Departments of Health with administrative, as well as research, functions should be developed. Among the Southern States only Virginia and North Carolina are approximating this ideal. Communities owe it not only to the Negro, but also to themselves to know more of the conditions which make for a high mortality rate and of the measures for eliminating these conditions.

(8) Communities should cease allowing a few profiteering landlords to endanger the lives of both white and black citizens. A full realization of the menace which the bad housing and congestion in Negro districts is to the health of the whole community should bring with it much stricter state and city laws regarding rental property, enforced by a Department of Health with powers of condemnation.

(9) Almost all the Southern State Departments of Education, through the aid of the General Education Board, now have an efficient white school-man as supervisor of colored schools. So many of the ills of Negro schools are curable by efficient supervision that the work of these men has been of tremendous value to the South. Their influence should be extended by the provision of assistants and local supervisors, to work under their direction. The detailed needs of colored schools set forth in the Report of the the Bureau of Education and the Phelps Stokes Fund on Negro Education should be attended to as rapidly as possible. The recommendations as to state aid for high schools,

and for industrial and teacher training work are especially urgent.

(10) Lynching has been scathingly condemned by organizations representing the woman's clubs, the universities, Inter-racial Committees, governor's conventions and the press of the Southern States. Certainly, if the opinion of the better classes is so outspoken in its disapproval of these outrages, the State governments should be empowered to quell the outbreaks of the more unruly elements of the population. Several states have passed laws in regard to lynching recently. Their success will depend upon the courage of State officials. This subject was not mentioned in connection with the federal government because it would seem necessary to change the constitutional powers of federal courts rather radically before they could deal with this menace.

(11) Many of the complaints of the Negro against unjust arrests and convictions would be met by the abolition of the system of payment of fees to local officials on the basis of the number of arrests they make and the consequent cooling of their ardor for filling the local jails. A second evil which is said to contribute to lengthening sentences is the convict lease system, or the system of allowing counties to use their own convicts on their roads. Local judicial officers should be able to sentence men only to institutions controlled by the State and operated in accordance with the modern methods of penology, and the practice of sentencing to county chain-gangs should be abolished.

(12) Much of the high crime rate among Negroes is undoubtedly due to neglected or improperly handled juvenile delinquency. University of Georgia graduates in Atlanta and Savannah with colored assistants have inaugurated excellent work with Negro juvenile offenders. As yet, however, there is no State reformatory. Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina are the only States with State Colored Reform Schools worthy of the name. State reformatories

and city probation officers for colored juvenile offenders are greatly needed throughout the South.

*Local Communities.*—Though the need is pressing for the adoption of these policies by the Federal Government, private philanthropic agencies, the State Governments, and industries, the crucial needs must be met by the patient and sympathetic effort of the white and colored leaders in local communities. Although successful programs of community welfare are more efficient with central organization and expert supervisors, no amount of this overhead work can relieve the people of the local communities of the responsibility for the public opinion and local machinery through which these programs must be worked out. No amount of state supervision can give to a community sound institutions unless the community itself is alive to the need for them.

(13) For this reason it is extremely unfortunate that so large a proportion of newspaper articles dealing with the Negro treat only criminal or humorous news. It is impossible for the Southern communities to know the real happenings among their colored population from reading the local papers and equally as impossible for them to know of progress of the larger movements for improvement of race relations. Nor is it possible under such conditions to develop an enlightened public opinion on the subject. Since the recent migration some of the northern papers have adopted this short-sighted policy. Even such a former staunch friend of the Negro as the *Chicago Tribune* is widely known as a trouble maker because of its sensational treatment of inter-racial matters. The Negroes are thrown back on papers published by members of their own race, and the larger and larger group of Negroes who read are almost entirely dependent upon more or less destructive newspapers for news.

This anomaly of two groups living side by side in the same town, with different organs of group opinion and differences, which make for friction, or at least misunder-

standing, could be in a measure corrected by local editors if they would give thought and effort to a Negro department in their paper. By treating seriously the local news among the colored population, the paper would form a real bond between the Negroes and the community. In noting the items of progress in race relations, keeping the constructive movements before the leaders of both races, and creating a sound public opinion on the various puzzling topics of race relations, they would do a genuine community service.

(14) Every local community should learn of its own responsibility for sanitation in its Negro settlements, justice in its courts, law and order among its inhabitants, and a good school, good churches and recreation facilities for all its people, whether white or black.

The first step towards accomplishing this is the foundation of a community committee such as has been formed in the counties of the South by the Southern Inter-Racial Committee. These committees are composed of white and colored leaders who can trust one another and who meet and work together on the problems involving race relations. These men not only are able to avoid inter-racial discord, but are in a position to forward constructive programs by modifying them so as to more nearly fit the needs of the colored population, and by arousing the interest of the colored population in their execution. In large cities, this inter-racial idea can be carried further to include placing colored workers on the staffs of the city associated charities, visiting nurses associations, probation offices, etc. These workers are being trained in larger and larger numbers, and are peculiarly capable of handling the special problems of case work among the members of their race.

In meeting this responsibility, communities will not only create a saner community life, but will also share in the task of working out a program under which two races may live side by side without conflict—a task in which the democracy of the United States is being tested, while the civilized nations of the world who are “bearing the white man’s burden” in Africa look on, hoping to be aided by our experience.

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## APPENDIX

### General Statistical Method

The first objective of social science in accurately analyzing its problems is to state them in terms of definite forces which operate in well defined groups and are associated with resultants which can be measured and counted. The next is to group these elements logically and determine the real importance of each. When this is accomplished it can give descriptions of the elements of the problem which are as clear and significant as the diagram of a mechanical engineer.

This often means an analysis of human motives, which, in many of their aspects are too intangible to be easily measured. A mixture of motives is always at play in the complex medium of society, and it is accordingly difficult to separate one from another or to measure their influence on individual behavior apart from the influence of the forces of the physical environment. Motives are intangible and hard to measure because they are, to such a large extent, mental phenomena. From this point of view all motives are desires. But for any desire to become a motive there must be movement, effort aimed at satisfaction. Such reactions constitute human behavior. The number of times they manifest themselves, under certain conditions, can be measured and counted; and if, when a certain condition occurs in a number of areas, or, if when it recurs a number of times, the same behavior manifests itself in the large majority of individuals, the trait of behavior may be said to be associated with that condition. But, for the inference to be of scientific value, the condition must be as definite as the behavior. This definiteness can be secured by describing conditions in terms of measurable elements, such as "increase in number of farms operated by independent owners of the land." The presence or absence of such an element can be verified by observation. In these terms, the problem of scientific social research is, to describe the true relationship between definite traits of group behavior and definite elements in the situations in which groups are found.

A population movement, looked at as an effort to satisfy desires, renders this task somewhat easier than it is in most social problems. The movement itself is a very tangible, measurable trait, and, furthermore, two situations are involved, the one from which population shifts and the one into which it shifts. Certainly, if groups of men are so profoundly affected that they leave their residences and acquaintances and chance their future among strangers there must be some powerful motive or complex of motives back of the move—some condition which is odious, some desire which cannot be satisfied in their old home. Given a sufficient number of more or less homogeneous areas which are losing population, an observer can determine certain elements common to the situations in each, from which the movement seems to rise. Whether these conditions are fundamental and permanent causes of the movement or not, can be verified by observing the migrant in his new surroundings, and finding out if he escapes the conditions which were odious in his old surroundings—if he satisfies the desire which he could not satisfy before moving. This gives a double check on the causes of the movement which is based on concrete, observable facts.

But, in the midst of such complexity as organized social groups present, how is definite assurance to be obtained that observations are accurately made, or relationships correctly tested. The scientific method for obtaining this assurance was outlined by Durkheim in 1895 in his "Les Regles de la Methode Sociologique," as follows:

The old logicians' methods are of very little value in social reasoning because they assume a science already advanced to such a stage as to offer incontestable laws from which logical reasoning may proceed by comparison of cases which agree or differ in one point only. Social groups are too complex to ever agree or differ in only one respect. The real social method is, therefore, a statistical method. The groups studied may be compared with respect to the phenomenon under investigation and a phenomenon which is thought to be its cause. When the extent to which the two are present or absent in the same group fluctuates uniformly in the same direction, this simple parallelism of values constitutes, in itself, a proof of a relationship which may often be stated quantitatively, provided a sufficient number of cases are studied.

This process of accurately measuring the quantitative relationship between a social force and a change in society is a great

time-saver for the student. As Durkheim points out, it obviates the necessity of discussing minutely each of the possible causes. After their relative importance has been measured, attention can be centered on the forces which have the closest relationship to the change.

The task of the Chapter on "Migrations of Countrymen" is of the kind which Durkheim had in mind when he outlined this method. At that time, however, the statistical method was relatively undeveloped. What he described was little more than a modification, by a more liberal use of mass data, of the logicians methods of reasoning. Since that date material contributions have been made to the use of mathematical methods for attaining exactitude, and scientists have demonstrated the value of the methods in Biology, Psychology, and Economics. Modern sociologists are insistent that knowledge of the statistical method of induction is the most useful tool of the student of social science, but as yet, the application of statistics to social problems is in its infancy.

Since the chapter on Movements of Countrymen demonstrates the practical use of correlation in measuring social relationships, it was thought advisable to include the fundamental steps in the logic of this method and a condensed mathematical derivation of the Pearsonian coefficient in this appendix.

### Correlation

**General Measures**—A method of measuring the relation between two variables, or, to keep the terminology of the previous section,—of measuring the extent to which the presence or absence of a certain element of a situation is coincident with certain changes in the population, is herewith outlined. (For more technical treatments of the mathematics of correlation, see bibliography,—statistics.)

1. The most widely known measure of a variable series is the arithmetic average, which is the sum of the individual members of the series divided by the number of cases. In Table 17, the method of guessing the average was used. This is valid because the sum of a series of deviations from any quantity which we may guess, when divided by the number of cases in the series and added to the quantity guessed is equal to the true average. This makes it possible to guess a round number which greatly facilitates the calculation of deviations, and later

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correct the guess by a simple process. (Moore,—Forecasting the Yield and Price of Cotton p. 19. Theorem II.)

2. The averages of two series, however, tell us very little. We need still another measure, in terms of which, we can tell, in each single case the proportion in which the variation of one observation from the average of its series stands to the variation of another observation from the average of its series. The best description of the need and derivation of such a measure is found in Moore's "Forecasting the Yield and Price of Cotton," pages 20-22.

"The arithmetical mean of the frequency distribution gives us one of the most important summary descriptions of the distribution: it gives the centre of density of the distribution. But in economic, as well as in most other measurements, it is extremely important to know how the several observations are grouped about the arithmetical mean of the measurements, and a coefficient showing the manner of grouping is a measure of dispersion. Just as we found that the arithmetical mean of the measurements gives us an idea of the centre of the density of the measurements, so, as a measure of dispersion, we might take the arithmetical mean of the deviations of the magnitudes from the mean of the observations. But if we followed this plan, we should meet with an embarrassing difficulty: The deviations of the measurements from the arithmetical mean are some of them positive and some of them negative, and if we take account of the signs of the deviations, then, the sum of the deviations is zero. We therefore choose, as our measure of dispersion the square-root of the mean square of the deviations about the arithmetical mean of the observations and we call this measure the "standard deviation." The measure of the dispersion of a series of observations about its average is then derived by squaring the deviation of each observation, summing the squares and dividing by the number of observations and extracting the square root. With  $\Sigma$  as our symbol for "the sum of," and  $n$  for the number of cases, in a series whose individual deviations are designed by  $Y$ , the standard deviation is:  $\frac{\Sigma X^2}{N}$

For the example the total of column 6, table 17 gives the sum of the squares of the population deviations 156,428,000. When this sum is divided by  $n$  (100) and corrected for the difference between the guessed and true averages the result is 11,49,035.

The square root of this quantity is 1220. With  $\sigma_Y$  as the symbol for the standard deviation of the Y series, the expression is  $\sigma_Y$  equals 1220. Similarly from column 7,  $\sigma_X$  equals 249.

3. It was noted in the text that another useful measure in determining whether or not high population increases were associated with high farm increases in individual cases is the product of the two deviations. These XY products are shown in column 5, table 17 and their corrected total after dividing by the number of counties is 246,210, i.e.  $\sum XY=246,210$ .

4. A coefficient expressing the sums of these deviation products in terms of the two standard deviations constitutes a measure of the real relationship between the two series which is duly weighted for each case. Provided a straight line is the best description of the distribution of the two series, the coefficient which should be developed is one which will describe the best fitting straight line in terms of the deviation products and the standard deviations.

**Derivation** (Based on the "Mathematics of correlation, Moore, Forecasting the Yield and Price of Cotton).—Two series of observations are taken on the same cases. Example, let the counties studied in Chapter II, Part II, be the cases and the first series of observations be on the increases in farms operated by Negroes, the second on increases in Negro population. Call one set of variables (the observations made on the increases in farms)  $x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots, x_n$ . Call the other set of variables, (the observations made on the increases in population)  $y_1, y_2, y_3, \dots, y_n$ . Compute the averages of the two series and by subtracting the average from each individual observation, obtain the deviation of each observation from its average. (See table 17, columns II and III.) For the first series call these deviations  $X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots, X_n$ . For the second series call these deviations  $Y_1, Y_2, Y_3, \dots, Y_n$ . i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} x_1 - \text{Av. } x \text{ series} &= X_1 \\ x_2 - \text{Av. } x \text{ series} &= X_2 \\ y_1 - \text{Av. } y \text{ series} &= Y_1 \\ y_2 - \text{Av. } y \text{ series} &= Y_2 \text{ etc., etc.} \end{aligned}$$

2. Plot the cases on a system of coordinates with the averages of the two series as the zero point: (See Diagram III opposite page.) That is, locate the intersection of the x and y

axes at the mean of the systems,—the point whose co-ordinates from absolute zero are average  $x$ , average  $y$ . Plot the cases from this zero point in terms of their deviations from their averages. Each case is then represented by a point, whose distance from the vertical axis parallel to the horizontal axis is the deviation of the case from its  $x$  average and whose distance from the horizontal axis parallel to the vertical axis is the deviation of the case from the  $y$  average. In other words the coordinates of the points representing the  $n$  cases would be  $X_1Y_1, X_2Y_2, X_3Y_3 \dots X_nY_n$ . In Diagram III a typical point is marked  $P$  and the  $X$  and  $Y$  for this point shown graphically.

3. The problem is then to "fit" a straight line to this scatter diagram of points which will describe the relationship between the  $X$  and  $Y$  series in the  $n$  cases studied. The best fitting straight line will be the one from which the average of the squares of the deviations of the  $n$  points will be a minimum. But the single point from which the average of the squares of the deviations of all the points is a minimum is the point whose coordinates are average  $x$ , average  $y$ , or the zero point in the diagram as we have constructed it. This may therefore be assumed as a point on the best fitting line. (For the student who wishes a mathematical proof that this point lies on the best fitting line the proofs of Moore and Yule, are cited. Since this is proven in other derivations of the correlation coefficient, it was deemed expedient to assume it here in the interests of brevity and clearness.)

4. Since the line passes through the zero point and has no intercept on either axis its equation will have the general form  $y$  equals  $mx$ ,  $m$  being some constant which will express its slope.

5. For the series of observations plotted along the horizontal axis as  $X_1, X_2, X_3 \dots X_n$ , there will be a similar series of points on the line. In the terms of the equation of the line the abscissae of these points will be  $y'_1, y'_2, y'_3 \dots y'_n$ . These points will have the coordinates  $X_1y'_1, X_2y'_2, X_3y'_3 \dots X_ny'_n$ . (See Key of Diagram III.) The equation may therefore be written  $y'$  equals  $mX$ .

6. The vertical deviation of each point from the line will then be  $Y_1 - y'_1, Y_2 - y'_2$ , etc. (On Diagram III  $Y_p - y'_p$  = the line  $PP'$ .) The problem is then to determine  $m$  so that, for

all of the  $n$  observations of  $x$ , the sum of the corresponding  $\frac{(Y-y')^2}{N}$ 's will be a minimum, i.e.

That  $\frac{\sum(Y-y')^2}{N}$  be a minimum.

But substituting the value  $mX$  for  $y'$ , the condition becomes:

(1) That  $\frac{\sum(Y-mX)^2}{N}$  be a minimum.

(2) Expanding (1) we have  $\frac{\sum(Y^2-2mXY+m^2X^2)}{N}$  which is:

$$(3) \quad \frac{\sum Y^2}{N} - 2m \frac{\sum XY}{N} + m^2 \frac{\sum X^2}{N}$$

But, by definition  $\frac{\sum Y^2}{N}$  is  $\sigma_y^2$

Similarly  $\frac{\sum X^2}{N} = \sigma_x^2$  and (3)

becomes (4)  $\sigma_y^2 - 2m \frac{\sum NY}{N} + m^2 \sigma_x^2$

Call this equation  $\frac{V}{N}$ . Now if  $m$  should increase by an infinitesimally small quantity,  $e$ , a new equation would result:

$$(5) \quad \frac{V'}{N} = \sigma_y^2 - 2(m+e) \frac{\sum XY}{N} + (m+e)^2 \sigma_x^2$$

But for the original equation (4)  $\frac{V}{N}$  to be a minimum it must be less than (5)  $\frac{V'}{N}$  and if  $e$  is such a small quantity that its square can be disregarded (5) becomes

$$(6) \quad \frac{V'}{N} = \sigma_y^2 - 2m \frac{\sum XY}{N} - 2e \frac{\sum XY}{N} + m^2 \sigma_x^2 + 2me \sigma_x^2$$

If  $e$  is an infinitesimally small quantity then for all practical purposes  $\frac{V}{N} = \frac{V'}{N}$  and  $\frac{V'-V}{N} = 0$ . Subtract (4) from (6) and the result is (7)  $\frac{V'-V}{N} = -2e \frac{\sum XY}{N} + 2e(m \sigma_x^2)$ , therefore:

$$(8) \quad 2e \left( m \sigma_x^2 - \frac{\sum XY}{N} \right) = 0$$

For (8) to be true a sufficient condition is that the coefficient of the constant  $2e$  be zero, i. e.:

$$m \sigma_x^2 - \frac{\sum XY}{N} = 0 \text{ or } m \sigma_x^2 = \frac{\sum XY}{N} \text{ or (9) } m = \frac{\sum XY}{N \sigma_x^2}$$

The expression (9) gives us the slope of the line. But, since the coefficient desired was one expressed in terms of the two standard deviations, we may multiply both sides by

$$\frac{\sigma_x}{\sigma_y} (10) m \frac{\sigma_x}{\sigma_y} = \frac{\sum XY \sigma_x}{n \sigma_x^2 \sigma_y} \quad \text{or} \quad m \frac{\sigma_x}{\sigma_y} = \frac{\sum XY}{n \sigma_x \sigma_y}$$

which is called  $r$ , or the Pearsonian Coefficient of Correlation, and it determines the tangent of the angle which the best fitting straight lines makes with the  $x$  axis, expressed in terms of the standard deviations of the two series.

EXAMPLE: In table 17,  $\frac{\sum XY}{N}$  is 246,210,  $\sigma_y$  is 1,220, and  $\sigma_x$  is

$$249. \quad \sigma_x \sigma_y \text{ is, therefore } 303,500 \text{ and } r = \frac{246,210}{303,500} = .811.$$

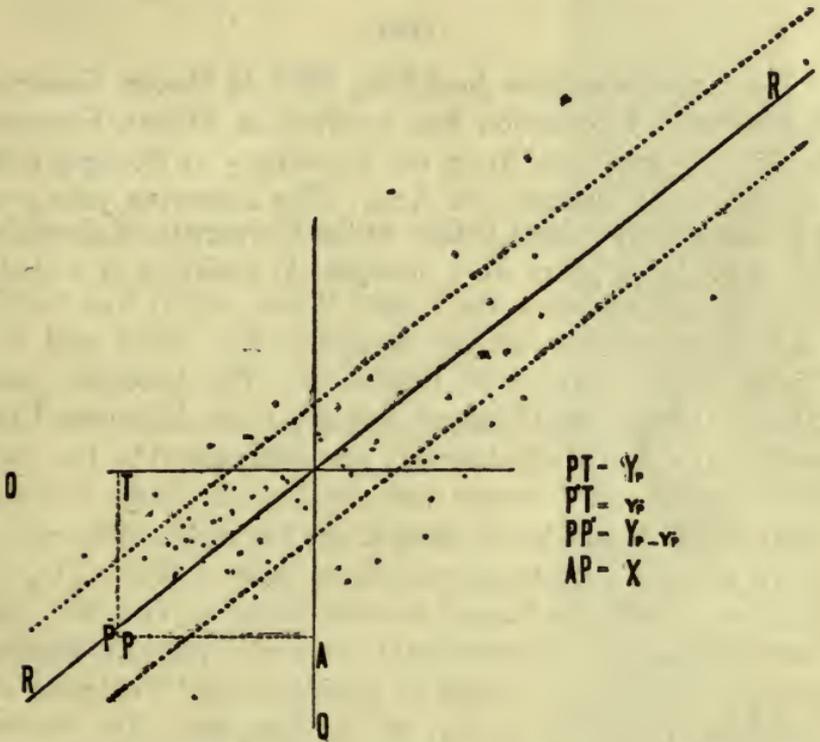
~~PROBABLE ERROR: With the formula P. E. =  $\frac{\sqrt{1-r}}{n}$  the probable error of the coefficient .811 is P. E. =  $\sqrt{\frac{1-.811}{100}} = \sqrt{.0199} = \pm .141$ . This means that with different sized units of the same data the coefficient might be as high as .952 or as low as .670.~~

**Graphic Presentation.**—The advantage of having the scale of Diagram III laid out in units proportional to the two standard deviations, i.e. of having the unit along the horizontal axis represent an increase of 100 in farms, and the unit along the vertical axis represent an increase of  $\frac{100 \times 1220}{249}$

in population is now apparent. For as  $r$  is the tangent of the angle which the best fitting line makes the  $x$  axis, expressed in terms of the standard deviations, then, when the scale is expressed in terms of the standard deviation,  $r$  has a direct relationship to the tangent of the angle. Then the straight line which is the linear representation of the coefficient of relationship .811 is plotted by passing a line through the zero point (located at the means of the systems) and the point whose coordinates are 1, .811. (For this method of graphic expression of correlation coefficients I am indebted to Mr. Frank A. Ross, of the faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.) This also explains why several correlation coefficients may be presented on the same system of coordinates as in diagram II. In this diagram one unit on the  $x$  axis represents, in turn, increases of 100 in farms, share tenants, cash tenants, owners, and acres cultivated by laborer, while in each case the unit on the  $y$  axis is  $\frac{100 \sigma_y}{\sigma_x}$ . In other words the units used are proportions instead of actual numbers and since they are proportions they may be legitimately compared on the same scale, the real comparison being between the slopes of the 5 regression lines.

## DIAGRAM III.

Correlation Between Increase in Negro Population and Increase in Negro Farmers—Rural Counties of Georgia.



Each dot represents a county increase in population and farmers.

## VITA

The author was born June 18th, 1893, in Macon, Georgia. His secondary education was received in Athens, Georgia. In 1912 he graduated from the University of Georgia with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The following year was spent as Phelps-Stokes Fellow at the University of Georgia. The next three years were occupied in assisting in a study of Negro Education in the United States, which was undertaken cooperatively by the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the United States Bureau of Education. The academic year 1916-17, which was begun as Fellow of the American University at Columbia University, was interrupted by the war. After preparing a report for the United States Department of Labor, on Negro Migration, the author entered the army, where he remained until the middle of 1919. For the last four months in France he was placed on detached service with the Army Educational Corps and attended lectures under Professor C. Bougle in Sociology and Professor A. Souchon in Rural Economy at the Sarbonne. His studies in the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University were resumed in 1919-1920. He was lecturer in economics in Teachers' College for one term of that year. While in residence he took courses under Professors Franklin H. Giddings, R. E. Chaddock, Henry L. Moore, R. S. Woodworth and A. A. Tenney. He has assisted in the preparation of "Negro Education in the United States" and has published "The Negroes of Athens, Georgia," and "Negro Migration, 1916-1917—from Georgia and South Carolina."



