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THE
NORTHWARD MOVEMENT
OF THE
COLORED POPULATION

A STATISTICAL STUDY

BY
FREDERICK J. BROWN

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THE NORTHWARD MOVEMENT OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

In which direction does the colored population of this country show a tendency to move—northwards or southwards? This is an important question, and the answer to it which has been given by some statisticians will be found, after careful study of the tenth and eleventh censuses, not to be the correct one.

There is an interesting pamphlet by Mr. Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, on "Statistics of the Negroes in the United States"—it appeared in 1894 under the auspices of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, and is for sale by The Friedenwald Company, Baltimore—which contains much valuable information as to the growth, diffusion, health, etc., of the colored population, and is illustrated by carefully prepared maps and diagrams. There is, however, one conclusion, or set of conclusions, reached by the author, which a careful study of the figures will, I submit, show to be erroneous.

On page 13 he says, "The movement of these people from the south into the north has been inconsiderable," and, on page 20, "All this indicates in the most unmistakable terms a general southward migration of this race," and, on page 28, "They are moving southward from the border states into those of the south Atlantic and the Gulf."

In this view Mr. Gannett has to support him the authority of Mr. Robert P. Porter, late Superintendent of Census,

who, in Census Bulletin No. 48, issued April 7, 1891, says that "during the last decade there becomes perceptible a southward movement of the colored element from the border states into those bordering on the Gulf, particularly into Mississippi and Arkansas, where they have increased proportionately to the white. * * There is, therefore, a perceptible tendency southward of the colored people, which, while by no means powerful, has resulted in drawing a notable proportion of that element from the border states," etc.

In the eleventh census, 1890, there is a very interesting opening essay, "Progress of the Nation," by Robert P. Porter, Henry Gannett, and William C. Hunt, which speaks of the southward movement of the race, but says that its extent and importance have been exaggerated.*

Mr. James Bryce, in the third edition of his "American Commonwealth," Vol. II, page 492, says: "It is clear that the negro centre of population is more and more shifting southward, and that the African is leaving the colder, higher and drier lands for regions more resembling his ancient seat in the Old World," and on page 518 he predicts that "he will more and more draw southwards

* There are two volumes issued from the Census Office so nearly alike in their titles and lettering on the back, and they can be so easily confused, that I here mention both of them particularly. The first one, which was printed in 1892 and published in 1894, is backed "House Miscellaneous Documents, 1st Sess., 52d Cong., 1891-92, Vol. 50, Part 3 . . . Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890. Part I—Population." The second, issued in 1895, is exactly the same as to the first portion of its backing down to "Part 3," where it reads "Part 8," and the latter portion proceeds: ". . . Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890. Population—Part I." The first mentioned volume contains an Introduction (pp. ix-xxxiii) by Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of Census, and also an essay, "Progress of the Nation" (pp. xxxv-cxl), also (apparently) by him. The second contains a longer opening essay (pp. ix-ccxiii), "Progress of the Nation, 1790-1890," by Robert P. Porter, Henry Gannett, and William C. Hunt. References herein below to "Eleventh Census" will mean the *second* of these volumes.

into the lower and hotter regions along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico.”

Gen. Francis A. Walker, in an instructive article in the “Forum” of July, 1891, “The Colored Race in the United States,” writes as follows (page 507): “I entertain a strong conviction * * that this element will be more and more drained off from the higher and colder lands into the low, hot regions bordering the Gulf of Mexico.” He adds, very forcibly: “That in these regions the negro finds his most favorable habitat and environment does not require physiological proof. He is here, in the highest sense, at home. The malarial diseases, so destructive to Europeans in this climate and on this soil, have little power over him. At the same time the industrial *raison d'être* of the negro is here found at its maximum,” etc. And at page 508 the writer expresses an expectation that “the relative decline of the colored population throughout the United States except in the cotton belt, will be due partly to the more rapid growth of the white element; partly to migration southward from Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and North Carolina, under urgent calls for labor in the cotton fields * * partly to the high rate of mortality prevailing among negroes in northern latitudes and even in southern cities.” It is perhaps fair to add that General Walker’s article was written when the census bulletins (1890) showing the colored population in the *North*, had not yet appeared.

There are some evidences of a southward—or, more properly speaking, southwestward—movement from North Carolina, and it is very plain that there has been an extensive *westward* migration from that State and from others. But the view that the colored element is moving from the *border States* (meaning—as I assume two of the writers above quoted mean—Delaware, Maryland, the Virginias, Kentucky and Missouri), southwards into the Gulf States, or southwards at all, is, I submit, demonstrably erroneous.

The figures will be found to prove, on the contrary, that the colored population of those States moves northwards. Moreover, if we add North Carolina and Tennessee to the States just mentioned, we shall find that from the entire group so constituted the movement of that population is much more northwards than southwards.

The eleventh census shows that of the 7,470,040 of colored population (that is to say population of African descent) in 1890, for the whole country, 6,889,152 were found in the South, that is to say in the old slave States, including the District of Columbia, and 580,888 in the North, meaning thereby all the other States and the Territories. Geographically, this division into two groups is nearly enough correct, and it separates the States also according to another most important criterion—besides the recent existence of slavery—that is to say, it groups together all those States where the colored population is found in large numbers—or at least in not very small numbers—relatively to the white population. In the South they formed 30.7 per cent. of the whole population, ranging from 60 per cent. in South Carolina to 4.3 per cent. in West Virginia; in the North only 1.45 per cent. Since 1880 their increase has been 889,247 for the whole country, or at the rate of 13.5 per cent., and of this increase 99,348 was in the North, or at the rate of 20.6 per cent., and 789,899 in the South, or at the rate of 13 per cent.

There can be no doubt that these apparent rates of increase for the two sections are not the true rates of natural increase. There can be no doubt that at the North, taken altogether, the colored population grows very little through natural increase, but almost entirely through immigration from the South, and by the same token we must make a considerable allowance for that stream of emigration to get at the true rate of natural increase among the southern negroes.

That the apparent increase of the northern negroes is really due to immigration is shown almost conclusively by an examination of the colored population of the South and of the growth of that population *in sections, or belts*, dividing the Southern States into three groups, taking Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, the two Virginias, Kentucky and Missouri as one group, which we may call—using a nomenclature which was familiar thirty-six years ago—the Border States, taking North Carolina and Tennessee together as a class by themselves, and grouping the rest of the States together as the Far South.*

The colored population in these three sections in 1880 and in 1890 was as follows:

	Border States.	N. C. & Tenn.	Far South.
1890	1,405,998	991,696	4,491,458
1880	1,370,571	934,428	3,794,254
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Increase . . .	35,427	57,268	697,204

And, without giving the figures for the white population in these three groups of States for either census year, it will be enough to say that the colored population in 1880

* The reader may feel inclined to question here whether a more satisfactory classification might not be made by taking Arkansas out of the "Far South" group and adding it to North Carolina and Tennessee, so making of those three States a "Middle Belt" group. Such an arrangement might be more gratifying to one's geographical sense—it would look well on the map—and, in fact, I adopted that classification in a discussion of this subject which appeared as an editorial in the New York Times on September 19th, 1892. But most of the colored population of Arkansas is in the southern half of the State, south of the southern boundary of Tennessee, so that the classification with the larger group is geographically correct enough, and besides, in the density of the distribution of that population in some parts, and its large preponderance over the white population in the river counties, this State presents phases so like those in Louisiana, Mississippi and other States of the far South that it seems, on the whole, reasonable to include it in the same group with them.

was in the Far South about 44.5 per cent.; in North Carolina and Tennessee, 31 per cent., and in the Border States, 19 per cent., respectively of the whole population of those regions. We have, then, in the region furthest south, where the colored population was greatest in actual numbers and greatest relatively, the largest rate of increase, 18.4 per cent.; in the next most southerly region, where they were next most numerous relatively, the next largest rate of increase, 6.1 per cent.; and in the Border States, where they were least numerous relatively, the very small rate of increase, 2.6 per cent.* The white population meantime increased in the Border States nearly 20 per cent., in North Carolina and Tennessee, 19 per cent., in the Far South 30 per cent. Now it is evident that in the Far South the climate and the conditions, taken together, are, of all those which the country affords, the best suited for the negro's development. In North Carolina and Tennessee the climate is colder in winter and therefore not quite so well suited to his development, and the conditions there are slightly less favorable in the fact that through a good part of those two States the colored population is rather thinly disposed and is small relatively to the white. We should expect a somewhat smaller rate of increase, although we should not have expected to see the very sudden drop from 18.4 to 6.1 per cent., as above shown. The explanation of this will be given later. In the Border States the climate is considerably cooler, and is less good, though still fairly good, for the development of that race, but the conditions are appreciably less favorable, first, because the colored population is generally much smaller relatively to the

* This last group of States shows a loss during the decade if we exclude the colored population of all cities which in 1890 had more than 8000 inhabitants. That population in such cities increased from 278,400 to 351,400, say 73,000. Deducting this urban population, these States together decreased at the rate of 3.6 per cent., all losing in rural (or other than urban) population except West Virginia.

white, is in most places less dense absolutely—in many extensive districts is very sparse—and, secondly and principally, because it is to a much larger extent an urban population (as in Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Louisville, and St. Louis). We should naturally, then, expect to see an appreciable falling off in the rate of increase as compared with North Carolina and Tennessee. But we certainly should not have expected to see a sudden and remarkable rise from 2.6 to 20.6 per cent. when we cross over into the North from the southern Border States. In the North the negroes are but one in seventy of the total population, the only place where they are found in large numbers relatively is the extreme southern end of Illinois (where in three counties they form about 22 per cent. of the population); the only other places where they are found close together in large numbers absolutely, are towns and cities where, to a great extent, their occupations—domestic service and the like—and their modes of life, are by no means those which conduce to a large increase. Further, the colored people in the North are appreciably a more prosperous, a better educated, a more ambitious class than the average southern negroes, and for those reasons, if for no others, would show a slower rate of increase. In short, both in climate and in all important conditions, the negroes at the North are very differently situated from those in the South, and at the same time the situation of the border-state negroes is in every way less unlike theirs than is the situation of the negroes further south. If the rate of increase of the northern colored population, 20.6 per cent., the highest of all, is a natural rate of increase, then we should look to find the next highest rate in the Border States, the next in North Carolina and Tennessee, and the lowest in the Far South. But we find precisely the opposite of this. From a general view of the rates of increase in the different parts of the South, diminishing in the more northerly regions, it would

seem almost certain that the very sudden drop in the rate of increase of the colored population in the Border States, as compared with the States further south, is to be accounted for by emigration to the North. It would seem almost certain that the colored loss in Kentucky and the considerable gain in Indiana, the colored loss in the northern tier of counties in Maryland, and the large gain in Pennsylvania, is to be explained by a northward drift of the colored population, and that such must also be the explanation of their rapid growth in almost all the northern cities of any considerable size, especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Kansas. It would seem to be possible that the colored population at the North may, without the reinforcement from the South, be actually decreasing in numbers, but the supposition that it remains stationary or nearly so would comport very well with the figures supplied by the natural rate, or rates, of colored increase *reasonably to be looked for* in North Carolina and Tennessee, and in the southern Border States, expecting, as we should expect, that from the very high rate in the Far South there would be considerable but not such very sudden diminutions as we go northwards.

We can now see that a readjustment will probably have to be made of the figures showing the percentage of increase of the southern negroes as a whole. The total gain of the whole country in the ten years, 889,247, appeared to show a rate of increase for the whole country of 13.5 per cent., but inasmuch as the colored population of the *North* (481,540 in 1880) was probably increasing very little except through immigration, this really meant an increase, not of 13.5 per cent. upon a total of 6,580,793, but of somewhere about 14.6 per cent. upon the total of 6,099,253, which was the colored population of the *South* in 1880. The colored increase in the eight States of the Far South was, as we have seen, 697,204, or at the rate of 18.4 per cent., which we may take, for the present and pro-

visionally, to represent somewhere about the present natural rate of increase for that race in that region. The percentage of increase was not affected *greatly* by emigration or immigration; how much and from and to what directions we shall enquire later. There is a remainder of increase of 192,000 to be supplied, and this could be supplied by supposing for North Carolina and Tennessee and for the Border States the rates of natural increase of 12 and 6 per cent. respectively, or 13 and 5 per cent. respectively, rates which seem reasonable in themselves, and which would fit in with the supposed fact of a stationary or nearly stationary population at the North—a supposition which begins to seem more and more reasonable.

But I must assume that some readers may not be satisfied with the conclusiveness of arguments based upon *probable* rates of increase, or upon the reasonableness or probability of diminishing rates in more northerly latitudes. They may ask if there is any direct *proof* of a movement from the southern States into the northern during the last decade. There is such proof, and it is quite conclusive, and there is also conclusive proof of a northward movement, a westward movement, and, to some slight extent, a southward movement within the southern States—from one southern State to another.

This proof is found—I should explain for the benefit of those who have not made a study of the subject—in examination and comparison of two tables in the last two censuses,—Table No. 28, on pages 576-579 of the Eleventh Census, which gives “Colored Population Distributed According to State or Territory of Birth, by States and Territories,” and the corresponding Table No. XXIX, pages 476-481, in the Compendium of the Tenth Census.

Important results can be obtained by careful comparison of these tables, but the use of them is attended with some difficulty. Nearly all of the colored persons who went

from one southern State to another before 1861—or 1865—did not move as free agents, but were taken to their new abode as slaves, and a great many of these are still living, and appear in the censuses in numbers which make them an obscuring factor of a serious kind, and *in some instances* the *large* forced migrations of years ago from one State to some other State disguise effectually all evidences of later and much *smaller* voluntary migration between *those* two States. But in most instances we can make a reasonable allowance with some degree of confidence for this obscuring factor or unknown quantity—which sometimes is evidently but a very *small* quantity—and of course we are not troubled by it at all when we compare these tables to get the movement of colored population to and from the *northern* States. When we have compared these tables for the two census years we find that it is not a matter of probability, but of *absolute certainty*, that there has been during the decade an extensive movement into the northern from the southern States.

In presenting the following estimates of figures, I have assumed that the facts which the reader will be most concerned with are, first, *percentages of natural increase* in large sections grouped (in the main) according to latitudes; second, evidences of *northward or southward migrations* to or from any section, and that east-and-west movements are of much less general interest; third, some explanation as to why the colored population of North Carolina (and in a measure Tennessee) shows so very much less growth than might have been expected,—in other words, some estimate of the movement away from those two States; also, inasmuch as Arkansas, Florida and Texas have increased a good deal faster than the average, some estimate of the movement into those States. In stating the figures which I give for the migrations, and taking up sections and States in turn, each total will generally be set down

twice in two different connections, but this repetition seems almost unavoidable.

In many cases, but not always, there was a *perceptible* movement in two opposite directions, for instance *from* Tennessee *into* Arkansas, and *into* Tennessee *from* Arkansas, and the *balance*—the *gain* or *loss* as the case may be—is what I have tried to set down. Very small balances of migration from one *southern* State to another are ignored, and statement by even thousands or five-hundreds is preferred, at some slight sacrifice of accuracy.

As to particular sections, the movements of colored population and balances of gain or loss, would seem to be somewhat as follows:

THE BORDER STATES.

They send no balance to the Far South and receive none, except that Missouri gains 500 and Virginia 500 from those States, while Kentucky loses 500 to Arkansas. They lose to the North about 63,300. They gain from North Carolina 7,300, Virginia gaining 6,000, the other Border States 1,300. From Tennessee Kentucky gains 1,700 and Missouri gains 1,500. In detail, they lose (North) as follows: Virginia, 33,500; Kentucky, 13,800; Maryland, 7,500; the rest, 8,500. Net loss of Border States, all directions, 52,300. Colored population in 1880 was 1,370,571, and actual gain by census of 1890 was 35,427, which, added to total net loss, would indicate a *natural rate of increase of 6.4 per cent.* Virginia loses to other Border States as follows: To Delaware, 500; Maryland, 5,000; District of Columbia, 8,000; West Virginia, 5,000. Virginia's net loss in all directions, 45,500. Colored population of this State in 1880 was 631,616, and actual gain by census of 1890 was 3,822. This, added to total net loss, would indicate a *natural rate of increase of 7.8 per cent.*, while the rest of this group, excluding Virginia, would show a *rate of 5.2 per cent.*

NORTH CAROLINA.

Loses to the North 4,900. Loses to Border States as above mentioned, 7,300. Gains 2,000 from South Carolina. Loses to Georgia 9,000; to Arkansas, 7,000; to Mississippi, 5,500; to Louisiana, 5,500; to Texas, 2,000; to Florida, 600. Net losses in all directions, 39,800. Colored population in 1880 was 531,277, and actual gain by census was 29,741. This, added to total net loss, would indicate a *rate of natural increase of 13.1 per cent.*

TENNESSEE.

Loses to the North 7,100; loses to Kentucky, 1,700, and to Missouri, 1,500, as above mentioned. Loses to Arkansas, 8,500; to Texas, 1,000. Gains from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, 9,500. Net loss in all directions, 10,300. Colored population in 1880 was 403,151, and actual gain by census was 27,527. This, added to total net loss, would indicate a *natural rate of increase of 9.4 per cent.*

THE FAR SOUTH.

These States lose to the Border States as mentioned, 500. They lose to the North, 6,300; lose to North Carolina (from South Carolina), 2,000; to Tennessee (from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi), 9,500. Gain (Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas) from North Carolina, 29,600; gain (Arkansas and Texas) from Tennessee, 9,500. Recapitulating;—net gain from Tennessee and North Carolina *together*, 27,600; net losses to Border States and North *together*, 6,800; net gain from all directions, 20,800. The colored population in 1880 was 3,794,254, and actual gain by census was 697,204, which, allowing for gain by immigration, shows a *natural rate of increase of 17.8 per cent.* It would seem altogether reasonable and according to one's expectations if this rate of

increase is highest in the most southern parts of this section, but if that be the fact it is less apparent than is this other fact which we shall find brought out very strikingly by the figures, that the *rate is much the highest where the negro has moved into a new country.*

Arkansas.—Gains from Mississippi, 13,000; from Tennessee, 8,500; South Carolina, 8,000; North Carolina, 7,000; Alabama, 3,500; Georgia, 3,000; Louisiana, 3,000; Texas, 800; other States, 1,000, including 300 from the North; in all, 47,800. Census of 1880 gives 210,666, and actual gain by 1890 was 98,336, which would indicate a *natural rate of increase of 24 per cent.*

Texas.—Gains from North Carolina, 2,000; Alabama, 1,300; Tennessee, 1,000; Louisiana, only 800; other States, 1,100. Loses to Arkansas, 800; to the North, 400. Net gain, 5,000, which is less than one would expect. Census of 1880 gives 393,384, and actual gain by 1890, 94,787, which would indicate a *natural rate of increase of 22.6 per cent.* The colored population is distributed pretty liberally throughout the eastern part of the State north of latitude 28° 30'. South of that latitude it is not large.

Florida.—Gains from Georgia, 3,000; Alabama, 2,500; South Carolina, 1,400; other States, 1,000; in all, 7,900. Census of 1880 gives 126,690, and actual gain by 1890, 39,490, which would indicate a *natural rate of increase of nearly 25 per cent.*

THE NORTH.

Gains, as above mentioned, from the Border States, 63,300; from Tennessee and North Carolina, 12,000; from the Far South, 6,300; in all, 81,600. Census of 1880 gives 481,540, and actual gain by 1890, 99,348, which would indicate an increase (over and above immigration) of 17,748, and a *natural rate of increase of 3.7 per cent.*

The reader may now ask on what theory the above calculations are made, and, *first*, what death-rate have I supposed to prevail among the southern-born colored population living in 1880 in the northern States. The average death-rate among the whole colored population at the North was in 1890 about 22 yearly in 1,000, and I have adopted 20 per cent. in ten years as the supposed death-rate among the southern-born negroes living there at the taking of the census of 1880. In other words I have deducted one-fifth from their number in the North then, and have subtracted the remainder from their number there in 1890, and the difference shows the number who came in during the decade. Considerations—based on supposed *ages*, etc.—might no doubt be advanced to show that the southern-born negroes living at the North in 1880 were perhaps *better lives* than that, from an insurer's point of view, and on the contrary, it might be argued that perhaps their lives were *less* good. To meet the first view I may say that if we suppose the death-rate among them was as low as $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. in ten years, so that *one-sixth* would be the proper proportion to deduct before subtracting, then the difference in the final result would be this: the North would have received from the whole South during the decade a balance of about 76,000, instead of 81,600. This difference of 5,600 would result in showing that the rate of natural increase in the North during the decade was not 3.7 but 4.8 per cent. It would also result, of course, in lowering such rate of increase as already ascertained for the Border States. It would be found that such rate for those States (excluding Virginia) which by the figures hitherto adopted was 5.2 per cent., would now be lowered to 4.8 per cent., *the same as the rate for the whole North*. This result would seem in itself, in my opinion, unreasonable. It is, I think, from every point of view extremely improbable and inconsistent with ascertained facts, that the rate of natural increase for the colored population at the

North—so largely urban, and in an unfavorable climate—can be as high as for that population in the Border States (other than Virginia) where it is more rural and where the climate is milder. In my judgment 20 per cent. is the smallest amount that we can reasonably deduct from the southern-born negroes in the North in 1880 to get the number of survivors of that class in 1890. In other words, I submit that it is not unlikely that the natural increase for the North during the decade was in reality somewhat *less*, but perhaps not much less, than the 17,748 indicated as a result on page 15.

As to the very small northern-born colored population living in the South in 1880, I have supposed the same death-rate, 20 per cent. in ten years, to prevail, and if it be remembered that this is largely an urban population, this may seem near enough right. If a smaller rate, say $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. in ten years, were supposed, it would make very little difference in results as figured, and such difference would only *increase* (very slightly) the balance supposed to have moved northwards.

That this balance was a large one the census figures show beyond all dispute. While I do not pretend to have been able to state the amount of it with entire accuracy, I believe that my estimates may not be far wrong.

That the reader may have the opportunity of verifying these results, and of figuring out, if he chooses, some other than the number which I have estimated as a probable one for the balance of immigration from the South, I give here a summary of the totals obtained from an examination of the two tables above mentioned. The figures in the first two columns are the numbers of the colored population born in each State or group of States mentioned, living in the North in the two census years respectively, and in the third and fourth columns are found the numbers of that population living in those States or groups in those years, born in the North.

	1880.	1890.	1880.*	1890.*
Virginia	44,824	69,664	453	699
Other Border States.	85,538	103,544	6,725	‡10,660
N. C. and Tenn.	25,863	33,007	1,017	1,155
Far South	24,361	27,728	†5,844	6,616
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	180,586	233,943	14,039	19,130

It is to be noted that in addition to the large number of southern-born colored persons shown "on the face of the returns" to be living at the North, it is probable that there were others who were born in the South but whom the census-takers put down at a venture as born in the State where they were enumerated.

As to the colored population living in the South in 1880 born in some other southern State than that of their then residence, it would be a mistake to select some *uniform* death-rate and apply it unvaryingly in each case. Whenever it is certain that there was formerly an extensive movement of slaves from one State to another, out of all proportion to the later voluntary movement from the first State to the second, then it must follow, from the rather advanced average age of the colored natives of the first State living in the second in 1880, that the death-rate among them during the ensuing decade must have been a high one. It will be seen that the question of probable

* From these two columns I have omitted the figures given in both censuses for "born in Wisconsin," which are (especially in the earlier census) so utterly erroneous that they must be rejected. The enumerators or compilers evidently got the abbreviations for Wisconsin and *Mississippi* confused. The true number of colored persons born in the former State living in the South would of course be extremely small.

† From this total is omitted an error of 100 for "born in Michigan" in one Southern State. Probably also a mistake for Mississippi.

‡ From this total is omitted an error of 135 living in District of Columbia, returned as born in *Washington State*, which doubtless should be *Washington, D. C.*

death-rates during the decade, of southern negroes born in some other southern State was a complicated one and had to be dealt with somewhat arbitrarily. It would require much space, and would prove very wearisome to the reader if I were to set forth in each case—and give my reasons for choosing—the *fraction* (based on the probable death-rate) which was decided on as a fairly reasonable one to be deducted from each 1880 population born in one State living in another, and I shall not do so.*

That there was an extensive movement in one direction or another the figures often show beyond all question, but exactly *how* extensive is of course always open to some doubt. If we take, for instance, the two census tables (mentioned *ante* p. 11), and examine the figures, we can have no doubt whatever that there was a large balance of migration from North Carolina into Virginia, and a smaller one into Maryland, the District of Columbia and West Virginia; that Tennessee lost heavily to Arkansas, and less, but certainly, to Kentucky. But whether those balances were about what I have estimated is, of course, open to question. And so as to other estimates. I give them as approximations which I believe to be not far wrong.

I may be allowed to say, however, that I have not forced the results of calculations for the to-and-fro movements so as to meet my preconceived opinion that there was in fact an extensive northward drift. Sometimes—especially in the extent and directions of the emigration from North Carolina—the results came out otherwise than according to my expectations.

* As to the *normal* death-rate among the Southern negroes, it is, according to the census returns, about 17 per 1,000 in some States and in others a good deal less. We should bear in mind, however, that the registration of their deaths was doubtless imperfect, and that the real death-rates are higher than the figures show.

We have seen that in thus ascertaining approximately the amount of the migrations in different directions, we have also brought out important facts as to the natural rates of increase, approximately, in the different regions; that such rate is highest in Florida—25 per cent.—very nearly as high in Arkansas, and not much lower in Texas; that it averages about 17.8 per cent. for the Far South, and diminishes, at what seems a reasonable rate of diminution, in North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and the other Border States, until we find it to be in the North about 3.7 per cent., or perhaps less.

We can see also why the colored population in the two intermediate States, North Carolina and Tennessee, shows such a small rate of actual increase; it is between two attracting forces, one of which would draw it north and the other west, or south and west, while in Virginia and the other Border States the attraction towards the north is so much stronger than that towards the west that the latter has little or no effect. As to the westward movement in the more southerly States, it need not surprise us that the negroes should share to a considerable extent with the whites the tendency to move into new and unsettled land, especially if it happens to be a good region for cotton growing, but it is not apparent why the movement should have been so very much greater into Arkansas than into Texas.

Mr. Gannett, at page 10 of his pamphlet, above cited, discusses the "centre of gravity" of the negro population, and after saying that "the movements of the centre of population are the net resultant of all the movements of population," tells us that as a whole the negro element moved in a southwesterly direction a distance of about twenty-five miles in the last decade. He gives, in Plate VI, an interesting map of the former slave States, showing increase and decrease of negro population, and on that map he has marked the centres of colored population in 1880 and 1890—in the latter year a few miles northwest

of Rome, Ga. This would seem to be an ocular demonstration of a southward movement, but, in the first place, the author's map, and (apparently) his calculations, leave out of consideration altogether the half million of colored population in the North, and its increase during the decade, and, in the second place, the shifting of the centre of population towards the southwest does not necessarily prove a southward *movement*. It might equally well result from the combined effect of these two causes, (*a*) *greater growth* of the southernmost negroes in natural increase (17.8 per cent. in the Far South against the lower rates shown for the more northerly regions), and (*b*) the *westward movement*, which is abundantly proved and is admitted on all hands. In short, while many negroes undoubtedly were tempted to seek the new cotton fields in the rich lands of Arkansas, we find that they did not make the long journey from Maryland or Virginia to get there. The farm hand in the border southern States, who was discontented and wanted higher wages went to look for more profitable employment in Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc.

In his treatment of the question of "Geographical Distribution," I think that Mr. Gannett gives, perhaps, greater weight than it deserves to the tendency of the negroes to seek low, moist regions and avoid mountainous country, although it may be admitted that the existence of such a tendency is sufficiently proved. The negroes were in the days of slavery numerous in certain regions, for instance, in the low-lying lands along some of the navigable rivers, and generally (though by no means always) where the richer lands were, not through their own choice, but because they or their fathers had been taken there by their masters. Many parts of the South, not only mountain regions, but much of the poorer part of the lowlands, were very thinly peopled until after the war, the population being not only sparse, but made up mostly of poor farmers who could not afford to own slaves; and where the

negroes were for any reason a very small element in the population, both absolutely and relatively, they have as a general thing so remained through the working of other than climatic causes. Most of the hilly region of northern Georgia and western North Carolina is, I think, neither so high nor so cool as to be seriously unfavorable to the development of the negro race. Much of that region—take it all the year round—is as warm, or nearly so, as parts of eastern Virginia. That accident—or at least causes which have ceased to work, and not climate—may often be the explanation of greater or less distribution of the colored race is strongly shown by comparing eastern Virginia with eastern North Carolina. The tidewater region of North Carolina is the hotter of the two, and the ground is more low and swampy, and yet in the greater part of this country for eighty miles back from the coast the whites now preponderate, while in the corresponding region of Virginia the blacks preponderate. It is also worth noting, perhaps, as showing that mere southerliness of latitude does not settle the question of distribution, that in each one of the ten southernmost counties of Alabama the whites preponderate, as they do also in thirteen out of the seventeen southernmost counties of Mississippi, although in both these States the negro element is a very large one, 45 and 58 per cent., respectively. Also that of all the counties bordering on the Gulf there are only six—one in Florida, two in Louisiana, and three in Texas—where the negroes outnumber the whites, and that in four of these the disproportion was diminishing during the last decade. It seems that almost every general statement as to the distribution and movement of the colored population must be made subject to exceptions. It may be noted, also, that the two southernmost counties of Missouri, which are between Tennessee and Arkansas in the low-lying region between the St. Francis and the Mississippi, have, together, less than 3 per cent. of colored population.

In the opening essay, "Progress of the Nation," in the Eleventh Census (above mentioned, p. 4), there are incorporated a number of instructive and, doubtless, very carefully prepared maps and tables. One on page lxiii, "Distribution of the Negro Population in Accordance with Latitude," bears directly upon the subject of our enquiry. It gives that population in latitude-belts one degree in width, and shows that the two most populous—in colored population—are the 32° - 33° belt and the 33° - 34° belt, but while that population in the more southerly of those two belts increased from 1880 to 1890 only 9.8 per cent., in the more northerly belt it increased during the decade 25.8 per cent. So that whether we take state lines or parallels of latitude as the boundaries, it seems that we cannot prove that there is any uniform and unvarying southward movement of the colored population.

There are, however, some rather restricted regions, which are low and moist, and parts of which are not favorable to the development of the white race, especially the coast of South Carolina and the region lying along both sides of the Mississippi from above Memphis to a little below Baton Rouge, where the negroes not only greatly outnumber the whites at present, but where the growth, or movement—or growth and movement—of the populations seem to give some reason for predicting that the disproportion will go on increasing. Climatic as well as economic considerations in support of such a view may doubtless be advanced, but, on the whole, I submit that it has not yet been proved that the white race is unable to hold its own in at least a great part of both these regions through natural increase, or, even if it is not, that it will not be assisted to do so by constant reinforcement from the more healthy adjoining regions. This is, of course, a problem of very great importance, towards the solution of which those possessed of the special knowledge may contribute.*

* Whether it may or not be reasonable to look forward to a time when the present very great disproportion between the

It would seem to follow pretty obviously from the statistical results stated above (the greater percentage of increase of the white race, see page 8) that, other things being equal, those parts of a State where the white population preponderates will—as a rule—grow more rapidly than those parts where the negroes preponderate. Take, for instance, Virginia, where in 1880 there were 59 counties in which the white population was in a majority and 41 counties—in the southeastern part of the State—where the opposite condition held. In 1890 those 59 counties had increased in total population from 881,357 to 980,927, or more than 11 per cent., while the 41 counties had increased from 631,208 to 675,053, only 7 per cent.

But it will be instructive to take out of these totals the populations of the cities. Of the nine cities in Virginia which in 1890 had more than 8,000 inhabitants, four (Richmond, Manchester, Roanoke and Alexandria), with a total population in 1880 of 83,657 (35,454 colored), and

numbers of the two races in the regions above mentioned will disappear from any cause or combination of causes, it is certain that that disproportion as it exists now, both in South Carolina and along and near the Mississippi, is a fact which presents very serious aspects. On and near the Mississippi the censuses show in 46 counties (Shelby county, Tenn.—excluding the city of Memphis—12 counties in Arkansas, 19 in Mississippi, and 14 in Louisiana) a white population of 181,300 in 1880 increasing to 199,100 in 1890 (9.8 per cent.), and a colored population of 500,800 increasing to 634,300 (26.6 per cent.). In 16 of these counties—Chicot, Desha and Lincoln in Arkansas; East Carroll, Madison, Morehouse, Pointe Coupée, Tensas and West Feliciana in Louisiana; and Claiborne, Coahoma, De Soto, Issaquena, Jefferson, Sharkey and Tunica in Mississippi, the white population decreased during the decade from 44,600 to 40,400 (9.4 per cent.), while the colored population increased from 167,900 to 195,200 (16.3 per cent.)—the white population falling from 21 per cent. of the whole in 1880 to 17 per cent. of the whole in 1890. The other counties (besides those above named) which make up the group of 46, are: in Arkansas—Ashley, Crittenden, Drew, Jefferson, Lee, Mississippi, Monroe, Phillips and St. Francis; in Louisiana—Caldwell, Concordia, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Franklin, Richland, West Baton Rouge and West Carroll; in Mississippi—Adams,

in 1890, of 121,132 (45,556 colored), are in the group of 59 counties, and five (Norfolk, Portsmouth, Petersburg, Lynchburg and Danville), with a total population in 1880 of 78,497 (38,469 colored), and in 1890 of 100,833 (47,856 colored), are in the group of 41 counties. Deducting the figures for the total populations of these cities, we find that in rural population (including smaller towns) the 59 counties increased during the decade from 797,700 to 859,795, or at the rate of 7.7 per cent., while the 41 counties increased from 552,711 to 574,220, or at the rate of 3.9 per cent.

The white population in the 59 counties increased in all 16.8 per cent. (rural 13.4), and in the 41 counties it increased in all 13.5 per cent. (rural 10.4). The colored population in the 59 counties *decreased* in all 1.5 per cent. (rural 6.1), and in the 41 counties it increased in all from about 368,400 to about 376,100, or at the rate

Bolivar, Holmes, Le Flore, Madison, Quitman, Sunflower, Tallahatchie, Warren, Washington, Wilkinson and Yazoo. The total area of these 46 counties is about 28,000 square miles.

Issaquena County, Mississippi, shows a greater relative disproportion than any other county in the South, 736 whites to 11,582 negroes. The other counties with the next greatest disproportion are East Carroll, Madison and Tensas in Louisiana, and Beaufort in South Carolina, in all of which the whites are less than one-twelfth of the total population. The greatest actual preponderance of negroes in any county is shown in Berkeley County, South Carolina, where there are 7,661 whites to 47,666 blacks.

There are in all twenty-nine counties in the entire South in each of which the whites formed, in 1890, less than one-fifth of the whole population; in South Carolina 3, in Georgia 3, in Florida 1, in Alabama 4, in Mississippi 9, in Louisiana 5, in Texas 2, in Arkansas 2. In five of these counties the disproportion had diminished somewhat during the ten years, and in the remaining twenty-four it had increased, often pretty largely. While there is, as I shall try to show later, in general a tendency towards a *diffusion* of the colored population from those regions where they are numerous—even in a majority—towards other regions where they are less numerous, apparently this tendency does not generally show itself in those regions where the negroes are in a *very large* majority, say, perhaps, four to one.

of 2.1 per cent., remaining almost stationary outside of the cities. It has been perhaps worth while to go into this detail as to the movement of colored population in these 41 counties of southeastern Virginia. The conditions there are more favorable than in any other part of the border southern States for a large natural increase, and doubtless it was considerable—probably it would have been more than 28,000 if the colored population had neither emigrated nor received accessions from without—and yet the actual growth is only as above stated.

The tendency,—or rather, result, above mentioned, and illustrated by the case of Virginia—towards a greater growth of those regions where the whites predominate, which would show itself even if the white population were not reinforced from without, is doubtless accentuated by the fact there is some white immigration from the North into that State—and other southern States—which seeks by preference those sections where the whites are in a majority. It hardly needs to be pointed out that when any considerable growth of the white population takes place in an average southern county, there is an appreciable tendency of the colored population to move into that county from an adjoining less-rapidly-growing or stationary region for the sake of more certain employment, or employment at higher wages. Considerable growth in white population thus brings about, as a rule, a growth—generally less considerable—in colored population. There are, however, many counties in the southern States—constituting, in all, a very extensive region—where this rule will not hold, as will be shown later.

Next, let us take Kentucky in illustration of the tendency to a greater increase in those counties of a State where the colored population is relatively the smallest. In 1880 there were in that State 54 counties (including Knott County since formed out of Letcher) where that population was less than 10 per cent., averaging 4.1 per

cent. of the whole, and 65 counties (including Carlisle County since formed out of Ballard) where that population was more than 10 per cent., averaging about 20.8 per cent. During the decade the group of 54 counties increased from 568,493 to 669,696, or at the rate of 17.8 per cent., while the group of 65 counties increased from 1,080,197 to 1,188,939, or at the rate of 10 per cent. But if we deduct the figures for five cities—with more than 10,000 inhabitants each (in 1890)—we obtain still more striking contrasts between these two groups of counties. In the 65 counties are Louisville, Lexington and Paducah with total populations of 148,450 in 1880, and 195,493 in 1890, and in the 54 counties are Covington and Newport with 50,153 in 1880, and 62,289 in 1890. Subtracting the populations of these cities we find that the growth of the 54 counties in rural population (including small towns) was at the rate of 17.2 per cent., while that of the 65 counties was 6.6 per cent. Taking the whole State together, the colored population decreased slightly during the decade. It increased in the five cities named from 33,187 to 43,828, and decreased in the counties outside those cities from 238,264 to 224,243, or at the rate of 5.9 per cent. Both the above groups of counties show a decrease. The 54 counties, whose area is about 18,750 square miles—the whole State containing 40,000 square miles—lie, for the most part, in the eastern and southeastern part of the State, but some of them are in the north, centre, and west.

Missouri shows very strikingly the tendency of regions where the colored population is very small to increase more rapidly than regions in the same State where it is comparatively—although not actually—large. In that State there were in 1880 57 counties (classing the city of St. Louis as a county) in each of which the colored population was more than 3 per cent. of the whole, averaging 10 per cent., and 58 counties in each of which it was less than 3 per cent., averaging 1 per cent. The 57 counties (area

32,310 square miles) had a total population of 1,465,900, and the 58 counties (area 36,420 square miles) had a total population of 702,480. The increase in the decade, from 1880 to 1890, of the 57 counties was 300,984, or at the rate of 20.5 per cent., while the increase of the 58 counties was 209,820, or at the rate of 30 per cent. But to get the full force of the contrast we should first eliminate the population of the six largest cities, St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Springfield, Sedalia, and Hannibal. These cities, with a total population of about 465,900 in 1880 (colored population 37,898), and of 685,350 in 1890 (colored population 50,489), are all in the group of 57 counties. Deducting all of this urban population, we find that the 57 counties—now 56, by counting out the city of St. Louis—increased during the decade from (almost exactly) 1,000,000 to 1,081,534, a gain for the rural population (that is to say population excluding large cities) of that group, of only 8.15 per cent. This very marked difference in the rate of growth of the two groups of counties is partly, no doubt, to be explained by the fact that the 58 counties were a more thinly settled region whose cheaper lands were an inducement to immigrants, or settlers—and the same may be said of the greater growth of one group of counties in Kentucky, over the other group, as above detailed—but these greater rates of growth are, I submit, undoubtedly in part due to a choice deliberately made by the immigrant of regions where the colored population is very small—and because it is very small—over regions where it is considerably larger. As to that population itself, while it increased in Missouri, as we have seen, in the six cities, some 12,600, it diminished in the rest of the State, the decrease in the 56 counties (excluding cities) being from 99,663 to 91,635. In the 58 counties a very insignificant gain is shown (from 7,789 to 8,017), but more than all of this is accounted for by rapid growth in two counties, Jasper and Butler, where the growth of con-

siderable towns, or the opening of mines, or the starting of new industries explains it. Omitting these two counties, the rest of this group also shows a loss. This group includes all the northern tier of counties, the northwest corner and most of the southern half of the State, while the counties with the larger colored percentage are for the most part central or north-central, and along the Mississippi.

We have already been brought, indirectly, to the consideration of a most important fact in the matter of the present and future distribution of the population by races, and that is, that while in the South, as a whole, there is a large colored population, there are very extensive regions in the South—sometimes contiguous, sometimes scattered, scores of thousands of square miles in all—where the percentage of colored population is extremely small.

A striking illustration of the extreme inequality of the distribution of the negro population in the South—a fact which is perhaps not generally understood—may be instanced in the case of seven adjacent counties in the northern part of Georgia. While the percentage of colored population in the whole State is 47 per cent., in those seven counties, taken together, it is only a little more than 2 per cent. In five of those counties it decreased during the last decade, in two it increased, showing, for the seven counties, collectively, a very small gain—from 1171 to 1230, or about 5 per cent., while the white population increased 15 per cent. In those counties, taken together, the colored population was only one in two square miles. It is possible that in those mountain counties, and in other counties *in consimili casu* in the South, the negro may be made to feel that he is not wanted, and that his inclination to stay away is thus accentuated.*

* As this pamphlet was going through the press, a despatch was published in some of the newspapers giving an account of a disturbance—an attack on colored laborers—which took place in

A case nearly as striking is that of nine adjacent counties in western North Carolina—Clay County and all, except Ashe, of those which border upon Tennessee—where, taking them all together, the percentage of colored population is but 3.6 per cent., while in the whole State, together, they formed 35 per cent. of the whole. The total population of these nine counties increased very fast during the decade, 33.5 per cent., while the small colored population only increased from 2,746 to 3,169. Of this small gain probably more than one-half was due to the growth of Hot Springs, a much frequented winter-and-summer resort in Madison County, so that the normal growth of the rural colored population was probably not more than 7 or 8 per cent. Its distribution throughout

Marshall County, Ky., on November 16, 1896, and the occurrence is a striking instance of the hostile attitude which the whites *may* assume towards the negroes in a region where the latter are very few. That county, in the western part of the State, on the Tennessee River, has a small and decreasing colored population—in 1880, 440 in a total of 9647, and in 1890, 342 in a total of 11,287—and it is surrounded by counties in all of which that population is much larger both absolutely and relatively. Its largest town contains only some 350 inhabitants. The following account of the assault is made up from three sources, which agree in substance: 1st, a telegram which appeared in the Baltimore *Herald* of November 18th; 2nd, a report in the Paducah Weekly *Sun* of November 20th; 3rd, a letter from the editor of another newspaper published in that town, which is only some fifteen or twenty miles from the scene of the disturbance. In reporting the facts I do not venture to express an opinion as to whether this case should or should not be regarded as in any way typical. Probably it would be safe to say that in the overt act of violence it is exceptional.

There seems to have been an “unwritten law” that no negro should reside or work in the northern part of the county. In November, just past, “a contractor for the Standard Oil Company employed fourteen colored men [brought in from other localities] and put them to work cutting staves at their works” in that part of the county. This sight, so unusual in that neighborhood and contrary to its “unwritten law,” was so offensive to the feelings of the white residents that three days afterwards “a crowd of about forty men, armed,” assembled after dark and promptly opened fire upon the colored men. None were killed; four (whose

the region mentioned is rather less than one to the square mile.

In those regions of the South where the colored population is now very small, there is *no tendency towards an increase of that population*. There are obvious social disadvantages attendant upon their very small numbers there which discourage and check colored immigration into those regions.

Throughout most of the other parts of the South, there is a tendency towards a diffusion of the negro population; the members of that race tend somewhat to move from the counties where they are most numerous to those where they are rather numerous, they even tend somewhat to spread into counties where they are rather few, but *they avoid those counties where they are already very few both absolutely and relatively*.

names are given) were wounded, but not, it seems, "hurt seriously," though a reader, judging merely from an enumeration of the wounds, might have inferred otherwise. One of the printed accounts speaks of "buckshot," but my correspondent is careful to specify "bird-shot," and it seems probable that he was right. All were driven away, and thus ended, for them, this stave-cutting incident. The Paducah *Sun* accompanied its account with an editorial vigorously condemning the outrage, and expressing a wish that the penitentiary might "receive a substantial addition to its population." Its report, headed "Mob Law--Marshall County Broke Loose Again," etc., and written in a spirit which shows no sympathy with the assailants, has a local coloring about it—in its exhibition of the mental attitude of the residents of that part of the adjoining county—which sorely tempts a chronicler to make more extended quotations.

I offer no comment except to call the reader's attention to the following point; namely, that any such hostile demonstrations, whether they might or might not be likely to take place in a southern county where the colored population is very small, would be less likely to occur in a county where such population is large. If in that very county that population constituted not 3, but 30 per cent. of the total, the white residents would not want to drive them away. Very obvious motives of self-interest—if none other, the knowledge that driving out so large a proportion of the population would depreciate the value of all the lands in the county—would as a general thing operate against and fully overcome any such desire.

Their tendency towards a general diffusion is such an important fact that perhaps a brief digression—and illustration—on the subject may be excused, although it is not strictly within the line of this discussion, which, in considering the *northward* movement, will be found to be more concerned with those regions—just mentioned in italics—which form an exception to the rule, than with those which conform to it.

Alabama furnishes perhaps the best illustration. In that State, there is, as statisticians know, a very marked and well-defined “black belt.” In 1880, in 24 (out of 66) counties—all, except two, contiguous, and extending east and west across the State—there was a very large preponderance of colored population, while in the rest of the State the whites were in a majority. The colored population of those 24 counties (about 436,700 in 1880) showed in 1890 the very small gain of 4.2 per cent., the white population meantime increasing 6.5 per cent., while the much smaller colored population of the remaining counties (about 163,400 in 1880) showed the very large gain of 37.3 per cent., the white population also increasing very rapidly, 34.1 per cent. It is to be supposed that the average rate of *natural* increase among the negroes was as high in the “black belt” as in the rest of the State, and their *actual* greater increase in the rest of the State, their diffusion northwards and southwards—whether into the cities of Birmingham and Anniston, or into counties which were growing fast in white population, and therefore in wealth, and therefore in opportunities for profitable employment and higher wages—is exactly what one might expect. The growth of the colored population in Alabama as shown by the last census, about 13 per cent., is not so large as might have been expected. The explanation is that there was some westward emigration from this State.

This tendency towards a spreading and diffusion of the colored population away from those places where it is much

beyond the average for a whole region into neighboring places where it is below such average, is not generally exhibited so distinctly as in the case of Alabama, and there are many localities where it is not shown at all, but that there is, as a general thing, such a tendency at work, is, I believe, true, and an important statistical fact. It is sometimes masked by other influences, noticeably in the case of the 41 counties in southeastern Virginia, above mentioned (page 24). Here the attraction of Richmond, Washington, Baltimore and the North has acted as a disturbing influence and has prevented the neighboring counties in Virginia from receiving their normal share of an outflow of colored population from those 41 counties.

The diffusive movement of the negroes is shown very distinctly in Georgia, also, although not so conspicuously as in Alabama. In Georgia there were, in 1880, 63 (out of 137) counties where they exceeded the whites in numbers, their total number in those counties in that year being 542,200, and during the decade their growth in those counties was at the rate of 12.9 per cent., the white population of those counties meantime showing almost exactly the same rate of increase, namely, 13.4 per cent. But in the remaining counties the much smaller colored population (182,933 in 1880) increased 35.1 per cent., the large white population (487,806 in 1880) increasing 24 per cent. In other words there was a considerable movement of both whites and negroes from those counties where the colored population was relatively most numerous towards the other parts of the State, and this movement was rather more marked among the blacks than among the whites. In the whole State the whites increased during the decade 19.8 per cent., and the colored population increased 18.4 per cent.

In Texas there are fifteen counties where the blacks outnumber the whites—twelve of them adjacent in the southeastern part of the State, average latitude 30°—and

in these the diffusive movement is not shown. In the group just mentioned—the area of which is 10,000 square miles—the colored population increased during the decade at the rate of 18 per cent., which was much faster than the rate for the white population.

We have already seen (*ante* page 23) that there are regions in which the negroes are in a very large majority—very far beyond their average distribution in the particular State—where either their tendency to move out or the tendency of the whites to move in is not sufficient to bring about any approach towards an average distribution. Using again a descriptive term which has acquired some popular currency, it may be said that while the ordinary “black belt” tends usually, but not always, to diffuse itself, and thus gives the promise of ultimately disappearing, there are some belts of exceeding blackness where this tendency and promise are not discoverable, but where, on the contrary, the disproportion has been increasing. It may be that this state of things is principally owing to climate and to a greater power of the negroes to withstand malarial influences which are injurious to the whites. If it be conceded that the whites are able to increase and multiply in the more unhealthy regions of the South, it may at the same time be true that they live there at some disadvantage, at the cost of some loss in health and in *ability to work*, in short, that they compete on unfavorable terms with the negroes who may positively flourish under climatic conditions which the whites only manage to endure.*

* There can be no doubt that in the *most unhealthy parts* of certain regions of the South, the summer climate is such that the whites cannot safely expose themselves to it, except by exercising every precaution, and at the same time it is important to observe that not many miles away from these most unhealthy places there may be other places where they are able to live with little risk. So it is in the case of the rice plantations on and near the South Carolina coast. These their

And again, the existing condition may be, in a measure, due to such considerations as this;—that where a population is already made up almost exclusively of these three classes: 1st a few wealthy planters, 2d some small farmers, negroes, 3d a great number of hired negro laborers, the white farmer on a small scale has little desire to move into—or to stay in—such a community where he feels that he will be out of place and cut off from congenial associations.

That climate is not the sole cause of the growing preponderance of the negro population in certain regions would seem to be shown by the case of counties immediately adjoining those regions, forming geographically part of them, and with apparently the same climate and soil, where the white population seems nevertheless more than able to hold its own. Take, for instance, these three low-lying counties, Arkansas, Ark., and Catahoula and Avoyelles, La., which border upon the group of 46 counties mentioned above in a foot-note on page 24; in all three the whites outnumber the negroes and were increasing faster during the last decade. And again, take all the riverain counties in Louisiana below East and West Baton Rouge, and all the counties lying between them and the Gulf—as low a region as can be found, and a hot one as

owners have for generations felt compelled to desert during some six months in the year, but this might be not an absolute, only a partial desertion, for there are often in the neighborhood healthier spots, with a dry and sandy soil, where the planters could live, and whence they could ride or drive over daily, if necessary, to their plantations to direct operations, taking care to return to their temporary homes to sleep. It is evident that farming under such conditions is a difficult and expensive pursuit, and that *taking the whole of such a region together*, the negroes are at an advantage as compared with the whites, for the most malarious and unhealthy places are generally those where the soil is the richest. If these are to be more and more surrendered to the negroes, the whites can hardly regard their own occupancy of the poorer soil of the neighboring pine-woods regions as sufficient compensation.

well. Throughout this region the white population—which in some places outnumbers the negroes and in others is outnumbered by them—was increasing somewhat faster than the black.

Without conjecturing further as to the reasons for the existence of the exceptional districts where there is a very large and increasing preponderance of the negro population, it is enough for present purposes to have pointed out the fact of their existence. It is necessary to bear them in mind as a qualifying fact when we notice the *general* tendency of a black belt towards a diffusion and consequent fading out. Even in so marked a case as that of the diffusion of the Alabama black belt, as just shown (page 32), it is to be remembered that there is an excepted region within that belt—three counties of the largest relative colored population—where the disproportion between the races increased during the decade.

On a resurvey of the whole field we find, then, 1st, certain parts of the South where the negroes very greatly outnumber the whites and are increasing rapidly, and where the disparity in numbers is increasing; 2d, a South—the *average* South—where the negroes are numerous and increasing rapidly—though not so fast as the whites—and over the greater part of which region they tend to diffuse themselves; 3d, a considerable part of the Border States where, whether they be numerous or rather few, their number increases little, being kept down by emigration to the North; 4th, *an extensive region*—mostly in the Border States but also partly further south—*where they are very few and apparently are likely, for a time at least, to become still fewer*;*† 5th, a North, where they are very

*It is true that on a superficial study of the two last censuses it might seem as if the growth of the colored population in West Virginia during the last decade is inconsistent with the suggestion as to their becoming still fewer in the regions indicated. In that State the colored population is smaller relatively than in

few relatively, but where their numbers are reinforced through a not very large but probably steady stream—perhaps an increasing stream—of immigration from the South.

Before considering further the case of the fourthly and last mentioned region of the South, let us return to the subject of the colored migration to the North, which I have tried to demonstrate, and let us enquire *why* the colored population moves by preference northwards rather than southwards.

There are some reasons which are obvious enough. While on the one hand the social instinct, the desire to have many, rather than few, to associate with—and the friendly association of the negro may be said to be only with those of his own race—would tend to keep him in a southern State, the desire for his own advancement leads many an individual to cross over into a northern State.

any other southern State, only 4.3 per cent. of the whole, and yet during the decade it increased a little faster relatively than did the white population. But this is accounted for by the development of coal mines in a few counties in the southernmost part of the State, which attracted large numbers of negro laborers from Virginia. In most of the State the negroes increased much less than the whites. Of course a negro population can be drawn to any locality by the establishment there of an extensive industry, or by the building up of a city or large town, but such cases have nothing to do with the movement of rural population in the average southern agricultural county.

† It is of course hard to say where the line of distinction should be drawn between the counties where the negroes are *rather* few and those where they are *very* few. If only those counties where the colored population is less than 3 per cent. of the whole are to be included in the latter category, then this “extensive region” fourthly mentioned would be found to comprise counties whose total area is nearly 86,000 square miles, of which about 63,000 would be in the Border States. The total area of those States is about 185,000 square miles. If all counties should be included where the colored population is less than 5 per cent. of the whole, this region fourthly mentioned would be much larger.

This advancement may be merely a material one—the higher wages which he can get on a northern farm, or still more in a northern city, than on a southern farm or in a southern city—and this motive alone would account for a great part of the northward movement. But the motive may be, and no doubt often is, a desire for social advancement, and the more ambitious among them, chafing under the many kinds of discriminations against them in the South, move into a northern State partly for the sake of the somewhat greater degree of social consideration and recognition which is accorded, or which they hope will be accorded them there.

It is no answer to this to say, as most southern people would say, that they like the negro, that they understand him and get on very well with him, that they are more friendly to him than is the average northern employer. That may be all true enough in a way, but such expressions, however sincerely uttered, must be taken always with the mental reservation, “so long as he keeps in his place,” and that place almost every southerner believes to be, if not a menial, yet, necessarily, a lowly and humble one, at all events one of marked social inferiority. In the North there is a considerable proportion of the people whose attitude towards the negro is somewhat different. Human nature being what it is, it is inevitable that many of the more aggressive, self-reliant and ambitious of the race should, under these circumstances, prefer to take their chances in a northern State where the struggle for existence may be more arduous but where the possible reward for successful exertion will seem to them to be greater.

For very obvious reasons this northward movement—whether in search of higher wages or of greater social consideration—shows itself much more in the border southern States than in those further south. Nearness of the goal and the small expense in reaching it would alone be reason enough. But, besides, there is this consideration,

that the ambitious and self-reliant ones who move north are probably, for the most part, those who have some strain of white blood in their veins. These are the ones who chafe the most under discriminations against them, and, at the same time, have most confidence in their ability to make their way under changed conditions, and they are to be found in much larger proportion in the border southern States than further south.

On the whole it is perhaps surprising that the movement into the northern States was not larger during the last decade. In fact it was much less than in the ten years from 1870 to 1880.

Is there any reason to expect the next census to show that during this present decade the northward movement is greater than formerly? There is, I think, one reason of very considerable weight, and that is the recent change made in a number of the northern States from a separate-school to a mixed-school system. The separate-school system has now nearly disappeared in the North, and it is, I believe, inevitable that the mixed schools must act now and will henceforth act as a powerful magnet upon the border-state colored population. *This would be so quite independently of any desire on the negro's part to attend the white people's schools as such.* Were there no such desire, the movement would take place through a preference of adequate to inadequate school facilities.

In most of the northernmost parts of the border southern States the colored children's schools must necessarily be either inadequate or inaccessible, or both, and this no matter how genuine might be the wish of the community to give ample school facilities, for the thinness of the distribution of the colored population stands fatally in the way. By way of a particular instance it will perhaps be interesting to the reader to know what provision for the education of colored children is made in Marshall County, Ky., where, as we have seen (foot-note, page 29), the colored

population is small and where the attitude of the whites would not appear to be conspicuously friendly. Enquiry brings the information that there are two colored schools in that county, which, as to the mere numbers of the children to be taught, would seem to be quite sufficient; while on the other hand, when one remembers that the county has an area of 330 square miles, one must feel certain that the schools must be quite out of the reach of a considerable proportion of those children. As an illustration—on a larger scale—of this point, let us take a region composed of the following counties which either border upon or are very near to Pennsylvania; the northern tier of Maryland—eight counties—Frederick, the northernmost in Virginia, and in West Virginia the seven counties which border upon Pennsylvania, and the following seven besides, Marion, Taylor, Mineral, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson. This makes in all a contiguous region of about 8,820 square miles, say nearly as large as New Hampshire, with a colored population in 1880 of 47,062,* which in 1890 had fallen to 44,930. But of this colored population 8,667 was found in eleven cities and towns in this region, and the remaining, or rural, colored population would be only 36,263, or little more than 4 to the square mile. It is too plain for argument that many a colored parent in a large part of this region must be in a state of chronic discontent with inadequate school facilities, as contrasted with the good facilities just across the border, and it seems reasonable to believe that some of them are tempted to make the very short journey into Pennsylvania—or Ohio, which adjoins part of this region—where schools, in their distribution and appointments, are on such a scale as a population of 60, 80, or 100 to the square mile can afford.†

*1,325 is allowed for the estimated colored population of the part of Baltimore County which, between 1880 and 1890, was annexed to Baltimore City—the total population of that annexed district being probably about 25,000.

† It might be suggested that West Virginia by itself, with its colored population of only $1\frac{1}{3}$ to the square mile, would furnish

As the colored population of the northernmost parts of the southern States drifts northwardly across the border, its place will be in part, but probably not fully, supplied by negroes drawn—by the inducement of higher wages—from a little further south, for instance, from eastern Virginia where they are still found in such large numbers absolutely and relatively. The feeling and condition of unrest, which will always be most acute along the northern border, will thus tend to diffuse itself and spread, though in a less degree, to the regions next nearest on the south, but throughout most of those regions where the negroes now form a very large element of the population the northward movement thus caused will be little felt for many years to come.

And now, returning to the state of things in the South which we have already examined, statistically—the existence there of very large areas where the colored population is almost non-existent—is that condition likely to continue indefinitely?

I think there is good reason—based upon utilitarian considerations—for predicting that in some of the southern States there will be a change of conditions.

In West Virginia we find, in 33 counties (there are 54 counties in the State), that the negroes are only 5,693 in all in a total population, for those counties, of 426,400, that is to say, they constitute but about $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the population, and their average distribution in those counties is thus only 173 to the county, which, in fact, would be about 1 in $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Leaving out the city of Wheeling, the distribution is 1 in 3 square miles. Obviously it is quite impossible that adequate school facilities can be supplied for this extremely sparse colored population. But next, will it not almost necessarily follow

a more obvious and a stronger case in point than the region which has just been instanced, but the close *proximity* of this *border* region to Pennsylvania—and (as to part of it) to Ohio—makes it peculiarly suitable in illustration of the tendency above discussed.

that the white taxpayers will before long get tired of raising the funds for even inadequate schools and teaching for such a mere handful of the population? Will it not seem to them a most unprofitable expenditure of their money? And when they have come to take this view, will they not, in many of these counties, soon adopt one or the other of these two courses, either refuse schooling altogether to the colored children, or else admit them to the white children's schools? And can there be much doubt that the second and not the first of these two courses will be the one which will in fact be adopted? Does it not seem altogether probable that in the end utilitarian—economic—considerations will in this matter prevail even against the enormous influence of sentiment and pride of race?

If the prediction above hazarded be a reasonable one, is it not also reasonable to predict that if this step is taken in some thirty or more counties in West Virginia, it will—not so many years afterwards—be followed throughout that State, unless, perhaps, in the cities?

And again, simultaneously with this movement in West Virginia, is it not probable that a similar movement will take place in Missouri? In that State, in a majority of the counties taken together (61 out of 115, area 37,850 square miles, or 55 per cent. of the area of the State), the colored population is extremely small both relatively and absolutely, is but 8,624 in a total of 952,300, or less than 1 per cent. of the whole, a much smaller percentage than in many of the northern States. (In New Jersey the colored population is $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. and in Kansas $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole.) Their distribution, in those 61 counties, is, on an average, but 141 to the county, or less than 1 in 4 square miles.*

*It is of course quite possible, indeed probable, that the willingness of the people in any county in a southern State to admit colored children to the schools, will be in some measure deter-

And next, is it not reasonable to suppose that before many years a changed condition, such as has been indicated above, may begin in parts of Kentucky, the State where the colored population is next smallest relatively to the whole, and where there are a good many counties in which that population is very small both relatively and absolutely? And will not such a step be taken also in detached counties in still other States?

But limiting our view for the present to the change which it seems reasonable to expect in West Virginia and Missouri, it seems almost certain that if it takes place in those two States—either generally, or in large parts of them—there will be an appreciable acceleration and spread of the northward movement of the colored population, which movement may then have as its goal not only the northern States but also the northernmost parts of the southern States. Hitherto the larger part of West Virginia and the larger part of Missouri have been among the regions which offered the least attractions to the negro of the South, inasmuch as there he could neither have the society of the members of his own race, nor enjoy the educational—or perhaps other social—advantages which the

mined by a consideration of the nearness or remoteness of any large black population which such a course might tend to attract into such county. To take an extreme instance, the residents of the northernmost counties in the “Panhandle” of West Virginia would feel certain that the establishment of mixed schools there could have such a tendency only in quite an inappreciable degree, inasmuch as the nearest large colored population is about 200 miles distant. Similarly as to any county in the northwest corner of Missouri. On the other hand, the people of Cullman and Winston Counties, Alabama—where now the colored population is almost nothing at all—would regard as a very serious matter the possibility of a large influx of negroes who might be drawn to those counties after the adoption of such a course.

It seems probable that the hostility so recently manifested in Marshall County, Ky., (foot-note, page 29) against incoming negroes may be in part explained by the fear that any such accessions to the population, if permanent, would entail upon the taxpayers the expense of additional colored schools.

northern States offered, or seemed to him to offer. Under changed conditions an appreciable proportion of the colored population of Virginia, which now moves by preference northwardly into Maryland, or into Pennsylvania, or some other northern State, would probably move into West Virginia, and probably an appreciable proportion of the colored population of Arkansas—possibly of Mississippi—would be drawn northwardly into Missouri. If there were any very *large* increase of such population in the northernmost parts of the southern States it might afterwards make itself felt, to some extent, by a further northward drift into the northern States.

In the southern States (excluding Texas) there are, in all, 159 counties with less than 3 per cent. of colored population, as follows: in Maryland 1 county, in Virginia 3, West Virginia 33, North Carolina 2,* Georgia 5, Florida 1, Alabama 2, Arkansas 18, Tennessee 7, Kentucky 26, Missouri 61, the total area of these counties being about 86,000 square miles, as already mentioned. Their aggregate population is 2,043,700, the colored population being but 22,284, or a very little more than 1 per cent. of the whole. It is to be noted that as a rule these are rapidly growing counties. It is altogether probable that by the year 1900 there will be a good many more than this number of counties showing less than 3 per cent. each—and averaging one per cent. or less—of colored population. In Texas there are 109 such counties whose area is somewhere about 117,000 square miles. In many of those counties in Texas the total population is extremely small, and in some it is likely to remain so.

Attention has already been called to the point that a colored population can be drawn to any locality by the establishment there of an extensive industry, coal-mining, for example, or by the building up of a city or large town.

* Three other counties in North Carolina come barely above the given percentage.

One or other of those things has taken place in some few of the counties included in the summary just given, and has caused an increase of colored population where otherwise, had the county remained a purely agricultural one, such population would probably have remained stationary, or perhaps decreased. For instance, in the very rapidly growing county of Jasper, Missouri, included in the 61 counties mentioned above, where extensive mines have been developed and two considerable towns have grown up, there has been a material increase in the colored population—although less in proportion than the white increase—during the last decade.*

It may, perhaps, be suggested that instead of giving the number, the area, and the population of those counties in the South where the negroes are *relatively* fewest, I ought to have selected those counties where they are *absolutely* fewest,—that I might with advantage and consist-

* A striking case may be instanced—of rapid growth, through industrial causes, of colored population in a southern county where before it was very small both absolutely and relatively—in Butler County, Mo. (bordering on Arkansas), where a colored population in 1880 of 140 in a total of 6,011 increased to 596 in 1890 in a total of 10,164, and has greatly increased since then. The growth shown by the census was so exceptional in a county containing no large town and surrounded, as this was, by counties with a population almost entirely white, that it seemed to need explanation. Enquiry brought the information that extensive industries had been started in the county—a very large saw-mill in one town, a stave and heading factory, and a cooperage establishment in another—employing in all many hundreds of negro laborers. “It is now estimated,” writes my informant, “that we have a colored population of about 1,800 at least. We have one colored colony in this county, farmers who own their own lands.” I mention this case in particular because it is so exceptional, and yet in itself it does not seem a surprising fact that extensive industries should be so started in a place so situated—that is to say, not very far from a region (in this case the river counties of Arkansas) where there is a large negro population to be drawn upon as laborers—with the intention, and effect, of attracting that class of labor. It is rather surprising that this thing has thus far happened so seldom.

ently with the line of reasoning pursued, have selected all those counties, for instance, where the colored population is less than 1 to the square mile. But a little reflection will, I submit, show that *relative* paucity of that population is a more important criterion—in the matter of movement and growth—than *absolute* paucity. For—to say nothing of the many newly organized and very thinly settled counties of Texas where absolute paucity of any class of population proves nothing at all—the indeterminateness of absolute paucity as a criterion may be seen by examining the case of such counties as Charlton, or Colquitt, in southern Georgia, Pearl River, in southern Mississippi, or Poinsett, in eastern Arkansas. In all four of these thinly settled counties the colored population, which is relatively quite considerable, is less than 1 to the square mile, but all of them are growing rapidly, all border upon other counties where the negro element is large, and it is quite safe to predict that each one of them will show, when the next census is taken, a marked increase of colored population, indeed very probably the percentage of such increase will be larger than the percentage of increase of white population. In other words, relative paucity—in most parts of the South and under existing conditions—is a more *permanent* thing than absolute paucity.

In the “Opening Essay,” which I have mentioned above (page 4), the authors say: “It appears probable that this southward movement will continue in the future *as industries increase in the border States, and the foreign element of our population, following in the wake of these industries, gradually crowds the negro element out of these States.*” The italics are mine.

. With great respect, surely this is an erroneous view. The foreign element has seldom, if ever, crowded out the negro although it often—nay, generally—happens that the negro element keeps out the foreigner. The foreign

element is comparatively small in most of the border southern States. Take Virginia, where it forms but little more than 1 per cent. of the population. It is most numerous in Richmond, Norfolk, and Newport News, and in all three places the negroes have increased rapidly. So have they in Louisville, where is nearly half of the foreign-born population of Kentucky, although they decrease in the rest of the State. The establishment of industries to which either native or foreign whites—it matters not which—are drawn as operatives, does not repel but attracts negro labor, as is conspicuously shown in the case of Birmingham, Ala. There is scarcely a trace of any foreign element in those counties of eastern Virginia where the colored population grows so slowly, and whence it moves to the North where the foreigner abounds. But whether he goes north or south, *the negro moves whither he is drawn, not driven.*

It must seem, I think, pretty plain, from an investigation of the rates of increase of the colored population, steadily diminishing from 25 per cent. in Florida to somewhere about 3 per cent., perhaps less, in the North, that the low rate in the northern States is not due merely to that population being there, so much of it, urban, and being, when rural, so scattered. The cause must be also in large part climatic, and, if so, it seems safe to anticipate that even with an increasing stream of immigration from the South the race will never become relatively numerous in the northern States. There is, however, one part of that region which has been in these pages classed as “the North,” that is to say, the Pacific States, and especially a good part of California, also parts of the territories of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona, where the climatic conditions would seem to be quite favorable. The westward migration has not yet—except for small beginnings—extended so far west as the Pacific slope, but it seems reasonable to expect that it will do so, especially in view of

increased demands for labor which the Chinese Exclusion Acts (1884 and later) have tended to bring about. During the last decade the colored population of the three Pacific States and the two last named Territories increased from 8,000 to 17,400, but those figures are, of course, not large enough to serve as a basis for any confident predictions on the subject.

For the convenience of the reader there follows a table giving the total population (and the constituent elements of that population) in the last two census years, of the United States, the North, the South, and the separate southern States, including with them the District of Columbia. Also the rates of increase of both white and colored population during the decade, and the percentages of colored to total population by the last census.

	Total Population.		White.		Colored.*		Chinese, Japanese and Indians.†		Rate of Increase during the decade.		Per cent. of Colored,* of Total.
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890	White.	Col'd.*	
United States	50,155,783	62,622,250	43,402,970	54,983,890	6,580,793	7,470,040	172,020	168,320	26.7	13.	11.9
The North.....	31,470,835	40,174,087	30,824,717	39,434,533	481,540	580,888	164,578	158,666	27.9	20.6	1.4
The South.....	18,684,948	22,448,163	12,578,253	15,549,357	6,099,253	6,889,152	7,442	9,654	23.6	13.	30.7
Alabama.....	1,262,505	1,513,017	662,185	833,718	600,103	678,489	217	810	25.9	13.1	44.8
Arkansas	802,525	1,128,179	591,531	818,752	210,666	309,117	328	310	38.4	46.7	27.4
Delaware.....	146,608	168,493	120,160	140,066	26,442	28,386	6	41	16.6	7.3	16.8
Dist. of Columbia ..	177,624	230,392	118,006	154,695	59,596	75,572	22	125	31.1	26.8	32.9
Florida	269,493	391,422	142,605	224,949	126,690	166,180	198	293	57.7	31.2	42.5
Georgia.....	1,542,180	1,837,353	816,966	978,357	725,133	858,815	141	181	19.8	18.4	46.7
Kentucky	1,648,690	1,858,635	1,377,179	1,590,462	271,451	268,671	60	102	15.5	1.2†	14.4
Louisiana.....	939,946	1,118,587	454,954	558,395	483,655	559,193	1,337	999	22.7	15.6	50.
Maryland.....	934,943	1,042,390	724,693	826,493	210,230	215,657	20	240	14.	2.6	20.7
Mississippi	1,131,597	1,289,610	479,398	544,851	650,291	742,559	1,908	2,190	13.6	14.2	57.6
Missouri	2,168,380	2,679,184	2,022,826	2,528,458	145,350	150,184	204	542	25.	3.3	5.6
North Carolina.....	1,399,750	1,617,947	867,242	1,055,382	531,277	561,018	1,231	1,547	21.7	5.6	34.7
South Carolina.....	995,577	1,151,149	391,105	462,008	604,332	688,934	140	207	18.1	14.	59.9
Tennessee	1,542,359	1,767,518	1,138,831	1,336,637	403,151	430,678	377	203	17.4	6.8	24.4
Texas	1,591,749	2,235,523	1,197,237	1,745,935	393,384	488,171	1,128	1,417	45.8	24.1	21.8
Virginia	1,512,565	1,655,980	880,858	1,020,122	631,616	635,438	91	420	15.8	.6	38.4
West Virginia....	618,457	762,794	592,537	730,077	25,886	32,690	34	27	23.2	26.3	4.3

* Negroes, or of African descent. † See note, next page. ‡ Decrease.

Note.—(See preceding page). The Indians here included are "Civilized Indians" (58,806 as enumerated in the last general census), and do not include those living in the Indian Territory (51,729) or elsewhere on Reservations (138,168). All of those on Reservations except about 400 are in the northern States or in the Territories. There are also living in the Indian Territory or on the Reservations, 117,368 whites and 18,636 negroes, but these and the Indians among whom they live, are not part of the "constitutional" population, and are not enumerated in the *general* census. A *special* census of all such persons, and also of the inhabitants of Alaska (32,052, principally Indians), was taken in 1890, but all of those so specially enumerated are, as a rule, ignored in statements of the total population of the United States, which is generally given, officially, as 62,622,250, as in the above table.

In some of the tables of the censuses all except the whites are included under the head "colored." The total number of Chinese, Japanese and Indians in the South is so insignificant that one might adopt such classification without disadvantage, were it not for the fact that in the North their number is very much larger, both absolutely and relatively. In view of this fact it has seemed better to give their combined number in a separate column.

Note.—In Volume IV of the "Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association" (Boston, 1895) there is an article by Mr. Henry Gannett: "Was the Count of Population in 1890 Reasonably Correct?" The author gives reasons for thinking that there was an under-enumeration of children under 10 years of age. He says: "This evidence appears to indicate a shortage among the negro children amounting to perhaps a quarter of a million. The shortage among the native white children is by no means as great proportionately, but may amount numerically to about the same."

No attempt is made by the author to show, even conjecturally, in what parts of the country this supposed under-enumeration of both or either of the races occurred, and the statistician, therefore, would probably not be justified in making any allowances for it, but ought rather to take the official figures as he finds them. It may be said, however, that any failure by a census-taker to enumerate colored persons would be more likely to occur in places where they were many than in places where they were few. In the latter case the fact that one or more colored families were living in a neighborhood would be a rather notorious fact, which would very likely be brought to the census-taker's attention. So far, then, as the above discussion has dealt with those regions where the colored race is very thinly distributed, it would seem that we need hardly concern ourselves with the possibility that there was some slight under-enumeration.

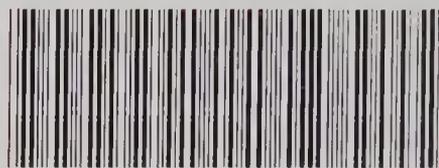
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