

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO  
COMMUNITY IN CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, ILLINOIS

BY  
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## Chapter I

### Introduction

This survey may be defined as a brief social study of the Negro population in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, and does not discuss all of the problems pertinent to the Negro. The Negroes are a minority group with the larger number living in a fairly well defined area. The information herein presented was gathered primarily through interviews and secondarily by consultation of documents. The persons of whom the questionnaire information was secured were chosen largely at random so far as place of abode was concerned, save that a sampling of different localities was sought. Likewise, a cross section sample was secured of the vocational classes. The data obtained from the 100 schedules were supplemented by interviews with the officers of various organizations, and other leaders of the community.

The second source mentioned, namely, that of documents, comprised, first, general books on Negro communities and, second, primary data. The latter included both federal and local source materials. The first of these was concerned with the distribution and growth of Negroes as found in the United States Census Reports from 1850-1930. The second, the local source materials, consisted of personal information given in the City Directories of Champaign-Urbana of which the volumes for the years 1878, 1904 and 1932 were used. These directories enabled the writer to ascertain, for the specified dates, the number and distribution of the Negro population, and the Home-ownership and vocations of this portion of the residents.

The following pages contain no attempt to present any remedial plans for the betterment of the Negro people, however urgent this is, but to offer the data found by the above-mentioned means of inquiry; for whatever improvements are undertaken should rest on a basis of impartial facts. Little space is devoted to racial conflicts between the Negroes and the whites, as this subject in itself is too large to be included in a study devoted, as is this one, to the development and organization of the local community. The types of houses in which the Negro lives, his social and ecological distribution in the two towns, the types of occupations open to him, and the change of occupations in the past five years; as well as social and cultural participation and social organizations among themselves are the main themes to be discussed in this study.

As a means of understanding the growth of the Negro in Champaign-Urbana, it will be helpful to review a few facts concerning the sectional migration by the Negro population. This migration, obviously, became prominent soon after the Negro had acquired the legal status of a free person. Almost immediately after the Civil War the Negroes began to move about from one section of the country to another. In most cases there probably was no definite information as to the conditions that would be encountered; but there was always present some urgent economic necessity or personal emancipation to be realized. In a few instances, the individual was seeking his or her spouse who had been sold to another master during slavery. As a whole, the general mobility of the Negro population was a result of the breaking up of the traditional social

organization in the South.<sup>1</sup> From 1860 to 1870 the increase in the numbers of Negroes in Southern Cities was greater than the increase in the white population, though from 1879 to 1918 the Negroes and whites followed closely in the same general trend of migrating from Rural areas to Urban communities.<sup>2</sup> Frasier asserts that the movement of Negroes from the Rural South to both southern and northern cities was probably the most significant episode in Negro life since their emancipation.<sup>3</sup>

The causes that have influenced Negro migrations to the greatest extent were, chiefly, Social and Economic. The Social causes included both repulsion and attraction. To the first belong, for example, lynchings, peonage, poor educational opportunities, injustice in the courts, chain gangs, segregation laws, discriminative regulations in public conveyances, deprivation of library and public park facilities, the exploitation of the Negro tenants by the white landlords, the bad housing conditions, and the general feeling that it was the purpose of the whites "to keep the Negro down".<sup>4</sup> The attractive forces were the opposite of these conditions. Both types of the Social and Economic factors were phases of the complex elements of traditions and the expanding industrial organization. The Economic causes were the extraordinary demand for laborers in the industrial centers, along with a rapid rise in wages,<sup>5</sup> culminating

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1. Frasier, E. F., The Negro Family in Chicago, p. 32.

2. Dowd, Jerome, The Negro in American Life, p. 247.

3. Frasier, Op. Cit., p. 49.

4. Dowd, Op. Cit., p. 252.

5. Ibid., p. 252.

in the boom years of which the World War marked the zenith. Another Economic cause, but one acting as a repulsion, was due to the decrease in demand for labor in certain sections of the South, where the boll weevil had destroyed the profitableness of the cotton plantations.<sup>6</sup> Although various factors were operative, the economic influence gave the means, even if it cannot be said to have been the most important factor in the migration of the Negro to the city.<sup>7</sup>

The effect of these influences was seen in the statistics of the Negro population in cities. The urban population in the United States during the decade from 1900 to 1910 increased 34.1 per cent., while the rural communities during the same period, although showing a slight advance, grew only 4.6 per cent.<sup>8</sup> During that time, the southern cities received most of the migrants.

Not until 1910, and afterwards, did the southern Negro migrate north in large numbers. The decennial census of 1920 showed a net gain in northern states of Negro migrants to be 692,887, or an increase of 85 per cent., in comparison to the Negro population in 1910. This wave of migration during the decade 1910 to 1920 was a result of the demand for Negro workers in the large industrial centers of the North, incidental to the stoppage of European immigration, and the industrial boom produced by the demand for war supplies. Frasier characterizes the World War as a "second emancipa-

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6. Ibid., p. 255.

7. Frasier, Op. Cit., (compare) p. 48.

8. Ibid., p. 69.

tion" for the Negro.<sup>9</sup> European immigration was practically at a standstill, and Canadian wage seekers did not supply the demand. In some instances, white foreign workers had returned to the country of their birth to enlist. A number of the remaining immigrants had advanced to better positions and a higher economic status. This left vacancies in factories and mills. Because of these openings and the lack of foreign immigrants the Negro worker was actively recruited for northern industry.

An analysis of the source of these migrants indicates that response to new opportunities, as measured by migration, does not, at any one date, fall evenly on all concerned. The Negroes born in northern and western states of the United States migrated outside of their state of birth more than did the southern born Negroes in 1920.<sup>10</sup> Frasier states that in the decade before 1910, the Negroes migrated mostly to southern cities, and after 1910 to northern cities.<sup>11</sup> Dowd in contradiction of Frasier holds that the period from 1910 to 1920 showed considerably more migration from one southern state to another than to northern states. For the decade 1910 to 1920, 340,260 Negroes left southern states, while 1,063,332 Negroes migrated from one southern state to another. Dowd also observes that during 1910 to 1920, the southern whites migrated in larger numbers than did the Negroes, 1,796,089 of the former going to northern and northwestern states.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Ibid., p. 80.

10. Dowd, Op. Cit., p. 251.

11. Frasier, Op. Cit., pp. 69-70.

12. Dowd, Op. Cit., p. 251.

Table I

Inter-Regional Migrations of the  
Native White and Negro Populations;  
1910 to 1930<sup>a</sup>

<u>Regions</u>	<u>1910</u>		<u>1920</u>		<u>1930</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Born East & Living West	3,846,940	331,031	3,745,681	342,931	3,658,859	320,589
Born West & Living East	417,541	63,671	669,010	96,110	1,064,938	177,158
Net Gain of the West	3,429,399	267,360	3,076,671	246,821	2,593,921	143,431
Born North & Living South	1,156,122	39,077	1,363,190	44,536	1,475,545	52,338
Born South & Living North	944,572	415,533	1,230,611	737,423	1,718,517	1,355,789
Net Gain of the South	211,550		132,579			
Net Gain of the North		376,456		692,887	242,972	1,303,451

<sup>a</sup> 1910 13th Census - Table 19 - p. 699, Vol. I, Population.

1920 14th Census - Table 4 - p. 614, Vol. II, Population.

1930 15th Census - Reprint of Chapter 4, Vol. II, Population, Table 4, p. 10.

The industrial centers in the North continued their demand for Negro workers after the close of the World War. Because of the stringent immigration laws passed in 1921 and 1924, a large increase occurred in the number of Negroes born in the South and living in the North in 1930 as compared with the previous decennial dates, as is shown in Table I. The Negroes migrated northward to take the positions that would have been filled by European immigrants save for the restrictive legislation. Though the native whites migrated in larger numbers than the Negroes, the latter showed a larger net gain in the northern sections than did the former. The Negroes born south and living north showed an increase of 84 per cent. from 1920 to 1930, while the whites showed an increase of approximately 40 per cent. Of the persons born north and living south, there was an 18 per cent. increase from 1920 to 1930 for the Negroes, and an increase of 8 per cent. for the whites. Many of the Negroes in the latter classification were those who had gone south in professional capacities, such as lawyers, doctors, teachers and nurses. Although the South showed net gains in the white population for 1910 and 1920, and a gain for the North in 1930, the North showed net gains of increasing numbers of Negroes for all three decennial dates. The section west of the Mississippi showed a net gain in both the Negro and white populations over that of the eastern sections for all three decades, ending respectively in 1910, 1920 and 1930. The gain in the West was less for both races in 1930 than in 1910 and 1920.

Interdivisional migrations for 1910, 1920 and 1930, as indi-

Table II

Gain or Loss Through Interdivisional Migrations  
for Native White and Negro Populations for 1930<sup>a</sup>

	<u>Native Whites</u>		<u>Native Negroes</u>	
	<u>Living in Other Divisions</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Born in and Living in Specified Division</u>	<u>Born in Other Divisions</u>
	<u>Number</u>		<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
New England	782,805	12.0	5,752,888	7.3
Middle Atlantic	2,183,232	10.6	18,428,461	6.8
E. N. Central	3,355,167	15.6	18,167,867	13.4
W. N. Central	3,195,136	24.4	9,918,618	15.8
South Atlantic	1,363,813	12.0	9,955,907	9.7
E. S. Central	1,967,916	23.1	6,563,867	8.3
W. S. Central	921,953	11.5	7,117,591	20.1
Mountain	617,265	26.6	1,699,814	43.3
Pacific	219,367	7.1	2,888,567	53.8
New England	12,539	21.8	44,991	44.8
Middle Atlantic	39,112	9.9	354,910	63.3
E. N. Central	44,871	13.9	278,327	69.7
W. N. Central	58,172	25.3	171,547	47.8
South Atlantic	898,274	17.3	4,296,766	2.4
E. S. Central	679,951	21.3	2,513,498	5.2
W. S. Central	233,352	10.1	2,077,617	8.7
Mountain	6,205	50.3	6,122	79.4
Pacific	4,148	17.9	19,077	78.0

Gain or Loss in Numbers of the Divisions for 1910, 1920, 1930

	<u>Native Whites</u>			<u>Native Negroes</u>		
	<u>1930</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1910</u>
New England	-331,682	-192,833	-226,219	24,040	21,325	20,310
Middle Atlantic	-830,272	-1,102,960	-1,120,678	572,385	296,664	186,384
E. N. Central	-532,570	-1,194,908	-1,496,074	595,347	296,111	119,649
W. N. Central	-1,335,066	-279,218	472,566	98,926	68,222	40,497
South Atlantic	-294,199	-293,667	-507,454	-794,057	-455,410	-392,827
E. S. Central	-1,373,303	-1,159,135	-974,165	-541,146	-405,511	-200,876
W. S. Central	866,934	1,257,042	1,434,780	-36,294	127,350	194,658
Mountain	682,652	945,727	856,683	17,386	20,085	13,229
Pacific	317,508	2,019,952	1,560,561	63,413	31,164	18,976

<sup>a</sup> 15th Census, Reprint, Ch. 4, Vol. II, Population, Table 10, p. 12.



cated by Table II, showed some very significant trends which differed in a few important respects for the two races. In 1930, the New England, Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central gave up more whites than they received, but acquired more Negroes than migrated to other divisions. The West South Central division decreased in Negro population in 1930, though it had gained in Negro residents in the decades ending in 1910 and 1920. The South Atlantic and East South Central lost in Negro as well as white population for the three decennial dates of 1910, 1920 and 1930. With the exception of the divisions West South Central, Mountain and Pacific for all three decades, and West North Central in 1910, the remaining divisions lost more white population than they acquired through migrations. Though the New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central and West North Central gained in Negro population, the increase in the number of Negroes did not equal the loss of the white population, with the exception of the East North Central division for 1930, in which year the Negroes were 62,775 in excess of the loss of the white population.

The number of Negroes in Illinois has increased steadily with each decade since 1810, at which time the peak point in the per cent. of Negro to total population obtained, namely 6.4 per cent. Although the absolute numbers increased, the ratio decreased each following decade until the per cent. Negroes to total population declined to 0.4 per cent. in 1860. As Table III indicates, during the years from 1840 to 1860, the number of Negroes had increased 94 per cent. as compared to the increase of 161 per cent. for the total white

Table III

Growth of Native White, Negro and Foreign-Born White  
Population in the State of Illinois from 1840 to 1930<sup>a</sup>

Date	Total Population	Negro	% to Total Population			% Increase by Decades				
			Native White	Foreign-Born White	% Negro	% White	% F.B. White	Negro	White	F.B.White
1840	476,183	3,929	472,254	No Figures	0.8	99.2	-	65.	205.	-
1850	851,470	5,436	734,174	111,860	0.6	86.2	13.1	38.	55.	-
1860	1,711,951	7,628	1,379,718	324,573	0.4	81.1	18.9	40.	88.	190.
1870	2,539,891	28,762	1,996,114	514,982	1.1	78.6	20.3	146.	46.	59.
1880	3,077,871	46,368	2,448,172	582,979	1.5	79.5	18.9	61.	23.	11.
1890	3,826,352	57,028	2,927,497	840,975	1.5	76.5	22.0	23.	19.	44.
1900	4,821,550	85,078	3,770,238	964,635	1.8	78.2	20.0	49.	29.	15.
1910	5,638,591	109,049	4,324,402	1,202,560	1.9	76.7	21.3	28.	15.	25.
1920	6,485,280	182,274	5,092,382	1,206,951	2.8	78.5	18.6	67.	18.	0.36
1930	7,630,654	328,972	6,048,203	1,218,158	4.3	79.3	16.0	80.	19.	0.92

<sup>a</sup> 1930, 15th Census, Table 13, p. 614, Vol. III, Population, Part I.

U. S. Census, The Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1910, Table 13, p. 614

15th Census, Table 2, p. 591, Vol. III, Population, Part I.

13th Census, Table 1, p. 484, Vol. II, Population.

11th Census, Table 2, p. 28, Population, Part 2.

10th Census, Table 21, p. 576, Population.

9th Census, Table 6, p. 336, Population & Social Statistics.

8th Census, Table 4, p. 103, Population.

7th Census, Table 40, p. 61, Compendium of 7th Census.

population during the same years. The decade from 1860 to 1870 showed the highest ratio of growth of the Negro population during any period, namely 146 per cent., while the native white population increased only 46 per cent. The rapid rate of Negro population growth in that decade may be explained by the fact that from 1860 to 1870 the Negroes were given the freedom to move about in social space. Because of the sympathy extended the Negroes during the Civil War, many migrated to Illinois from the South. Although there was a great increase in the growth of the Negroes in Illinois in 1870, the ratio of the Negro population to total population was 1.1 per cent., or an increase of only 0.7 per cent. since 1860. The years between 1870 and 1900 showed an increase of 195 per cent. for the growth of the Negro population, though each decade was far below the percentage of growth for the period 1860 to 1870. The native white population increased 89 per cent. during these same thirty years in comparison to the increase of 87 per cent. for foreign-born white population. This period, however, did not show a high ratio of Negro to total population. These ratios would have been somewhat higher if it had not been for the great influx of European immigrants during the years 1882 to 1896.<sup>13</sup> The year 1910 showed only a 28 per cent. increase over 1900 for the Negro population, with an increase of 15 per cent. for the native white, and a 25 per cent. increase for the foreign-born white population. In the twenty years from 1900 to 1920, the Negro population increased 114 per cent. in comparison with the 65 per cent. increase in the native white

3. Schlesinger, A. M., Political and Social History of the U.S., pp. 339-340.

group, and an increase of 25 per cent. for the foreign-born white population. The three decades from 1900 to 1930 gave the Negro population an accelerated growth as compared to both the native and foreign-born whites. A glance at Table III discloses the fact that for the decennial period ending 1910, the ratio of growth of the Negro population was about double that of the native-born white population, whereas in 1920 and 1930 it was from three to four times as large. During these same decades the rate of increase of the foreign-born white population receded very rapidly. The sudden rise in the ratio of the Negro to the foreign-born white for 1910 to 1930 was the result of the restrictive immigration laws passed during the decade 1920 to 1930. From 1920 to 1930, the Negro population had acquired a rate of increase that was 87 times larger than that of the foreign-born white group.

These facts throw light not only on the changes in the socio-economic structure that permitted such a vast volume of expulsion or withdrawal in some areas and absorptions in other areas, but also they are a clue to the changes in the northern attitudes toward the Negroes, for the race question is no longer a sectional fact merely. It was not until the World War that the people in Illinois became conscious of the large number of Negroes who had entered the state during the decade 1910 to 1920. One of the causes for the awareness of the Negroes was their color which placed them apart from the whites and called undue attention to them. A second factor of this racial consciousness as it developed, especially in Chicago and other northern cities, was the abruptness of their entrance and the

keenness of the competition which developed for wage positions. This race consciousness is discussed in Chapter VI with reference to segregation.

In the preceding pages the movements and interdivisional migrations of the Negroes were discussed, also the growth of the Negro population in the State of Illinois, as compared to the growth of the native whites and foreign-born whites for the years 1840 to 1930. In the remaining pages of this chapter, facts concerning the Negro in Illinois are discussed. The state and division of birth of the Negro migrant, the distribution of the Negro population in Rural and Urban areas, the division of the state in which the Negro lived and to which he migrated, and the growth of the Negro population as compared to total population for forty-one selected towns, together with Chicago and the suburbs surrounding Chicago, are considered for purposes of comparison.

Frasier quotes Louise Venable Kennedy in a statement that prior to 1910, the Negro migrants to Chicago and Illinois were principally from the bordering states, while the decade between 1910 and 1920 showed an increase of thousands of plantation Negroes from the Lower South.<sup>14</sup> Miss Kennedy states, however, that earlier Negro emigration had been from the border states of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky to all sections of the North.<sup>15</sup> Table IV shows that for 1910, the greatest number of Negroes living in Illinois were from Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. In 1920, Tennessee continued to have the

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14. Frasier, E. F., The Negro Family in Chicago, p. 90. .

15. Kennedy, L. V., The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, p. 30.

Table IV

Negroes Born in the Designated States and Living in Illinois<sup>a</sup>

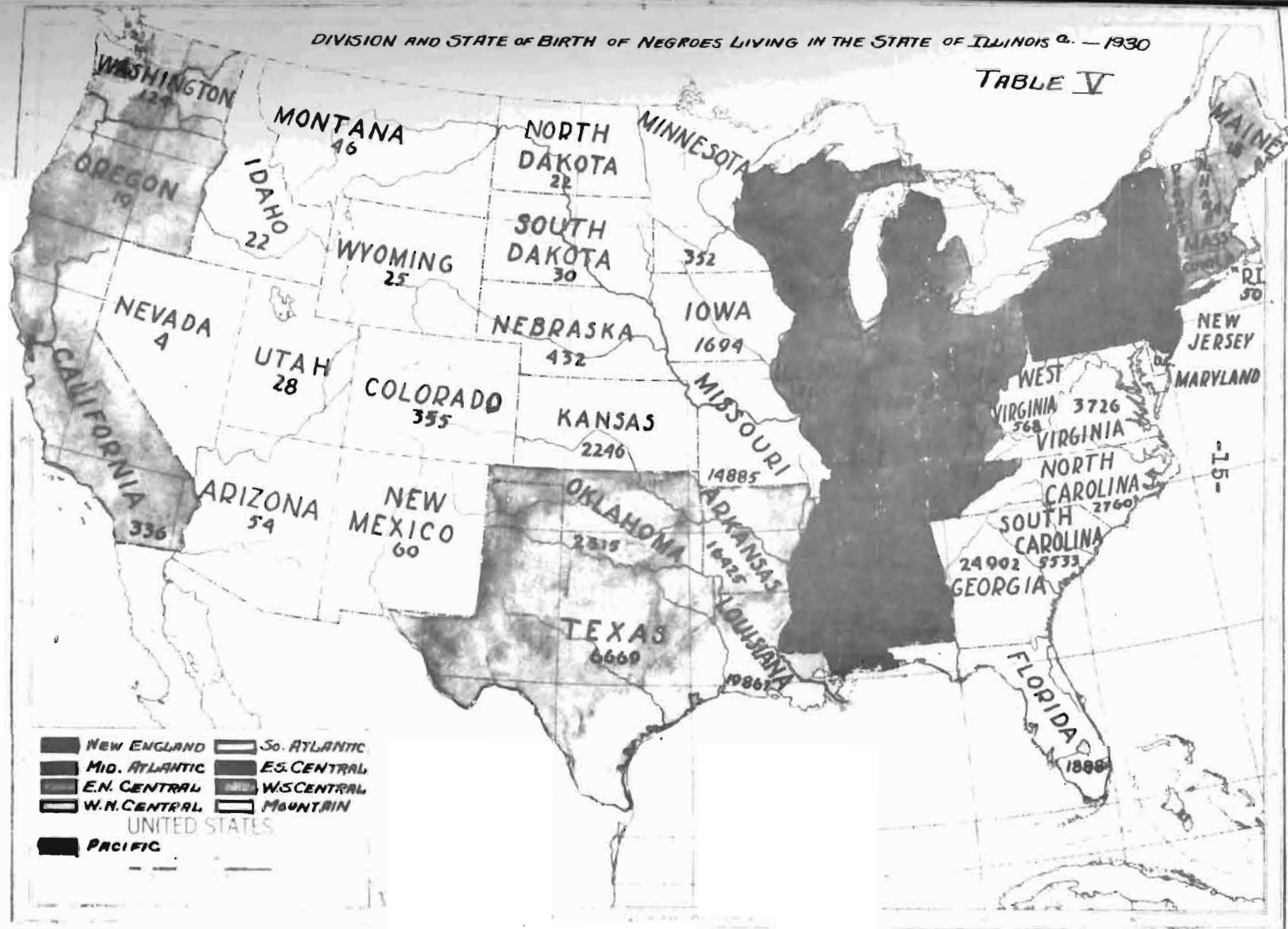
	1930	1920	1910
Kentucky	17,280	16,470	13,314
Tennessee	34,844	23,995	15,303
Mississippi	50,851	19,485	4,612
Alabama	24,958	13,668	3,208
Georgia	24,902	10,185	2,874
Louisiana	19,867	8,078	1,609
Missouri	14,885	11,704	9,732

<sup>a</sup> Kennedy, Louise Venable, Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, p. 29; and the 15th Census, Reprint Chapter IV, Volume II, Population, Table 27, pp. 33-37

largest number of migrants. For the decade 1910 to 1920, Mississippi showed the greatest increase followed in order by Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and Missouri. Mississippi and Tennessee had the greatest number of migrants living in Illinois in 1930. The decade from 1920 to 1930 showed a large increase in the Negro population from the lower southern states, while those from the border states increased only slightly in comparison. Table V gives the number of Negroes born in divisions and states and living in Illinois. Prior to 1910, the Negroes, in the main, migrated lesser distances.<sup>16</sup> This "short distance" migration probably accounts for the fact that the greatest number of Negroes in 1910 were from the bordering states. Thus the migrations of Negroes to Illinois are fairly in accord with Ravenstein's "Theories of Migrations". In general, the people migrated only short distances at a time, becoming adapted to the new environment gradually before proceeding in their migrations. In some cases, persons migrated long

16. Kennedy, Op. Cit., p. 29.

TABLE V



distances but these migrations were usually to one of the great centers of commerce and industry such as Chicago.<sup>17</sup> This long distance migration was in evidence after 1910, when the demand for Negro labor in the large industrial centers attracted many Negroes to Illinois from the far South.

As might be expected, the greatest number of Negro migrants to Illinois came from only several of the interdivisional sections of the United States. Table VI shows that the greatest number of

Table VI

Division of Birth of Negroes  
Living in the State of Illinois<sup>a</sup>

<u>Divisions</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1910</u>
New England	484	414	239
Middle Atlantic	2,904	1,989	1,371
East North Central	87,486	52,783	42,449
West North Central	19,661	14,689	11,499
South Atlantic	40,653	20,594	9,999
East South Central	127,933	73,618	36,437
West South Central	45,276	14,458	3,878
Mountain	594	356	154
Pacific	479	302	115

<sup>a</sup> 15th Census, Reprint, Ch. IV, Vol. II. Population, Table 23, pp. 34-37.

14th Census, Vol. II, Population, Table 19, pp. 636-640.

13th Census, Vol. I, Population, Table 37, pp. 740-744.

Negroes living in Illinois in 1910, 1920 and 1930 were born in the East South Central Divisions of the United States, excluding the East North Central division as Illinois is included in this division. The South Atlantic division for 1910 and 1920 had a greater number than the West South Central Division although the latter division surpassed the South Atlantic in 1930, in the number of

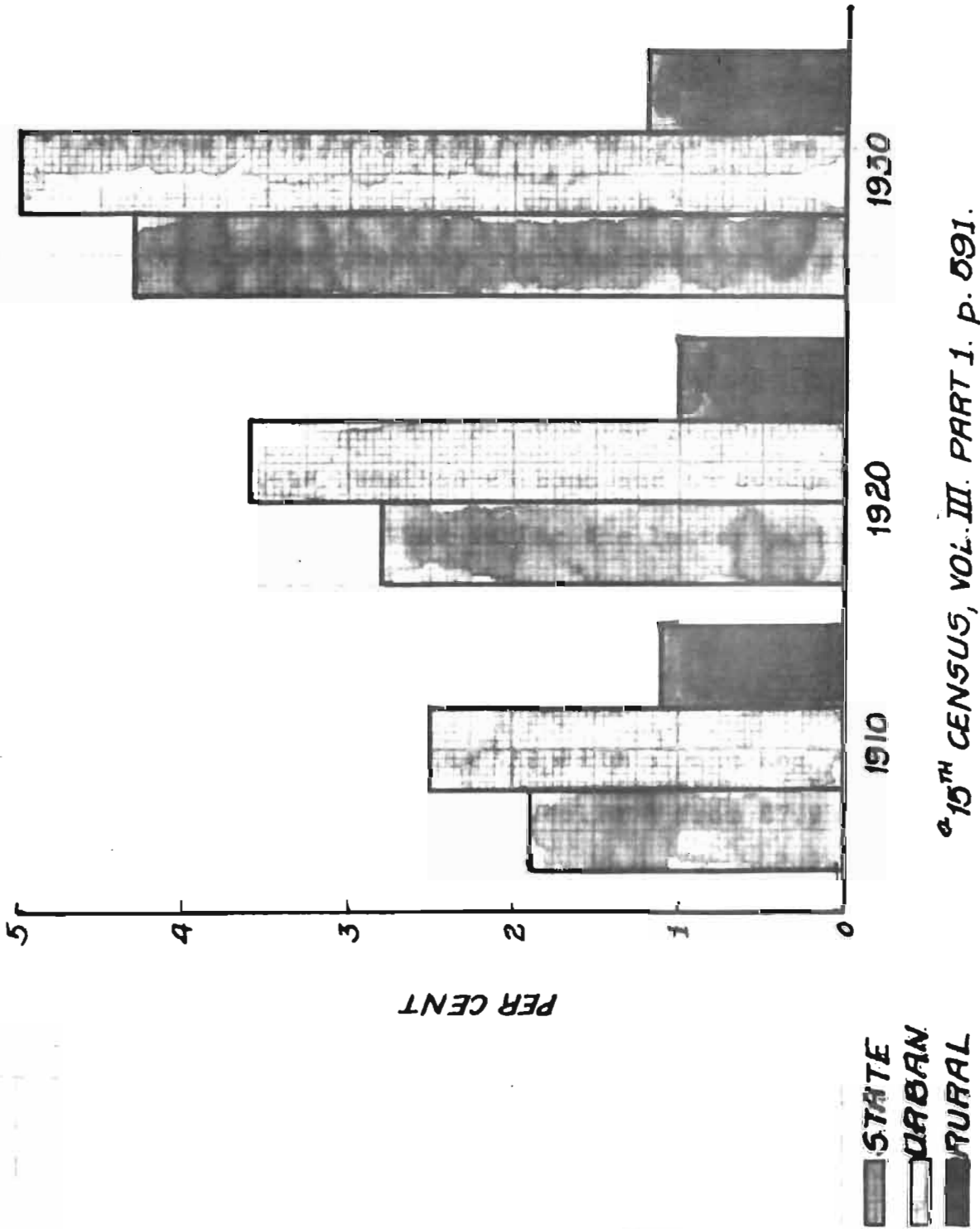
17. Sorokin & Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, pp. 584-585.



persons living in Illinois. The West North Central division in 1910 was second in the number of persons born in that specific division and living in Illinois, though by 1920 and 1930 it was fourth in order of frequency. The number of persons born in the West North Central division and living in the State of Illinois would be nearly in the minority for all three decennial dates, if it were not for the fact that Missouri is included in this division. The remaining divisions had only a small number of Negroes migrating to Illinois.

Although a number of the Negro migrants had come from rural areas in the South, they moved into urban environments almost immediately after their arrival in Illinois. Table VII shows a rather negligible per cent. of Negro population to total population living in rural areas for the dates 1910, 1920 and 1930. In comparing the per cent. Negroes in Rural areas for the three census periods, there is a variation of only 0.2 per cent. in each period over the previous decade, though a slight rise in 1930 as compared with the 1910 rate. The ratio of the per cent. of Negroes for the entire state to the per cent. of Negroes for the rural areas increased steadily, until 1930, when there was a difference of 3.2 per cent. The ratio of the per cent. Negro living in urban areas, as compared to the per cent. Negroes for the entire state remained practically the same for 1910, 1920, and 1930, though there was an increase of 2.5 per cent. from 1910 to 1930. The greatest increase for both the Negroes of the Urban areas, and the rate of the total state was found in the decade between 1920 and 1930. The per cent. Negroes

TABLE VII  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES<sup>a</sup>  
IN ILLINOIS



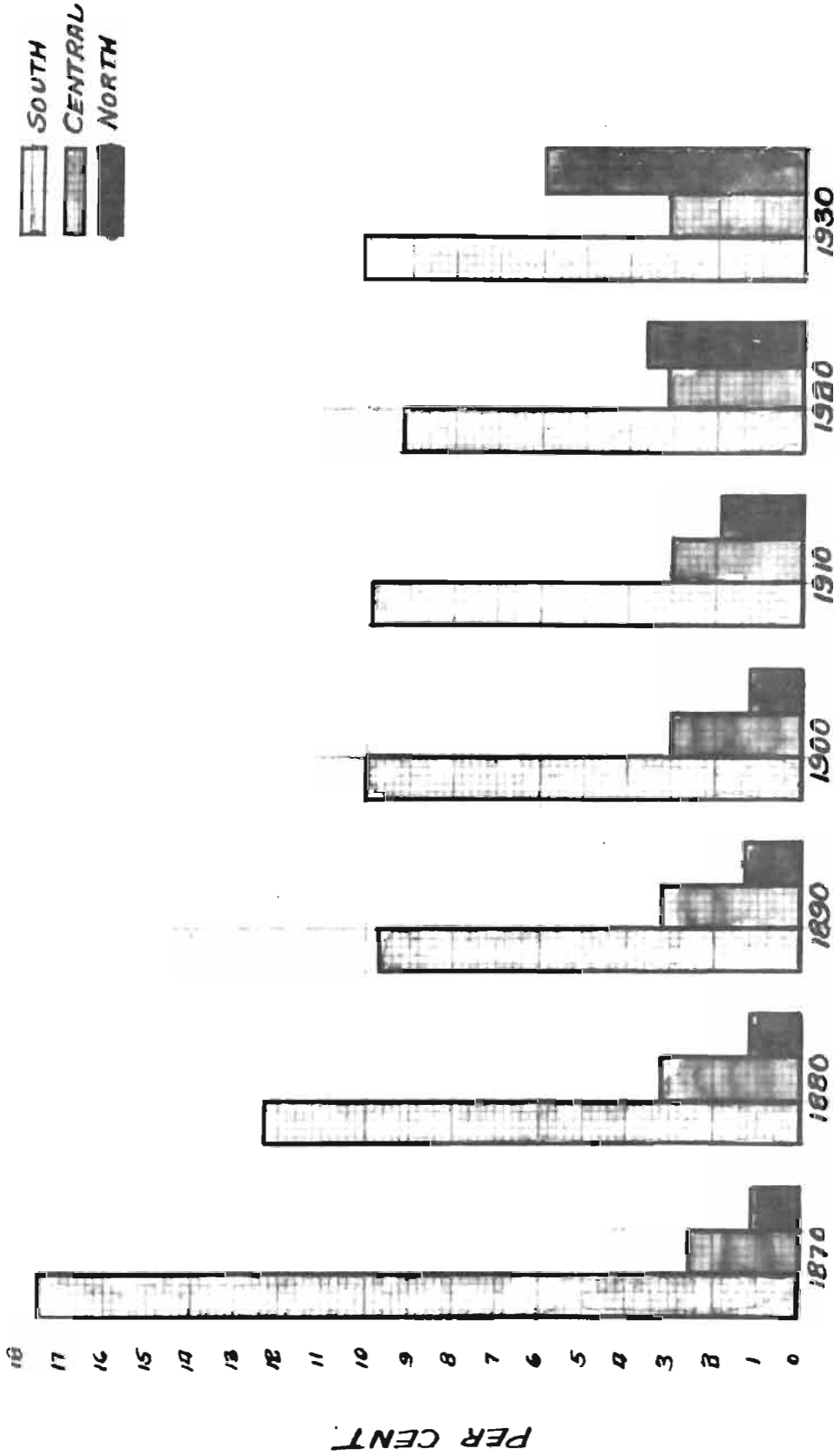
in urban areas in comparison to the per cent. Negroes in rural areas showed an increase of 1.3 per cent. in 1910 to 4.6 per cent. in 1930.

The decrease in rural areas from 1910 to 1920 though very slight may have been the result of the great wave of urban migrations during this decade, while the increase from 1920 to 1930 may have been due, in part, to the "Back to the Land Movement". However, the urban areas show no decrease for the period from 1920 to 1930, but an increase of 1.3 per cent. over the 1920 column. The increase in the rural areas probably resulted from three causes. The first cause may have been new migrants entering Illinois in this period and settling in rural areas. The second and more probable cause may be the fact that the persons who primarily left the rural areas for urban areas remained at home due to the poor economic conditions found in the cities during the latter part of the decade. The last factor in regard to the increase in rural areas may be caused by an increase in the birth rate. However, Frasier says, "A declining birth rate, and a high infant mortality in the Negro population has tended to reduce the size of the Negro family. From 1921 to 1923, the Negro birth-rate declined from 27.9 to 25 for the entire country. The decline in the Negro birth rate has taken place chiefly in the rural population, while in the urban population it has increased for several years during this period."<sup>18</sup> The above statement does not account for the increase in rural areas, but does show a cause for the increase in urban communities.

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18. Frasier, E. F., Op. Cit., p. 61.

**TABLE VIII.**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION BY PER CENT. OF TOTAL POPULATION FOR**  
**59 SELECTED TOWNS FOR YEARS 1870-1930**



15<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS - VOL. III. POPULATION TABLE 12. PP. 608-613.

14<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS - VOL. III. POPULATION TABLE 8. PP. 248-250.

13<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS - VOL. II. POPULATION TABLE 13. P. 480. TABLE 3. PP. 506-507. TABLE 4. PP. 508-511.

12<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS - VOL. I. POPULATION TABLE 23. PP. 613-615.

11<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS - VOL. I. POPULATION TABLE 19. PP. 454-456

10<sup>TH</sup> POPULATION TABLE. 6 - P. 477

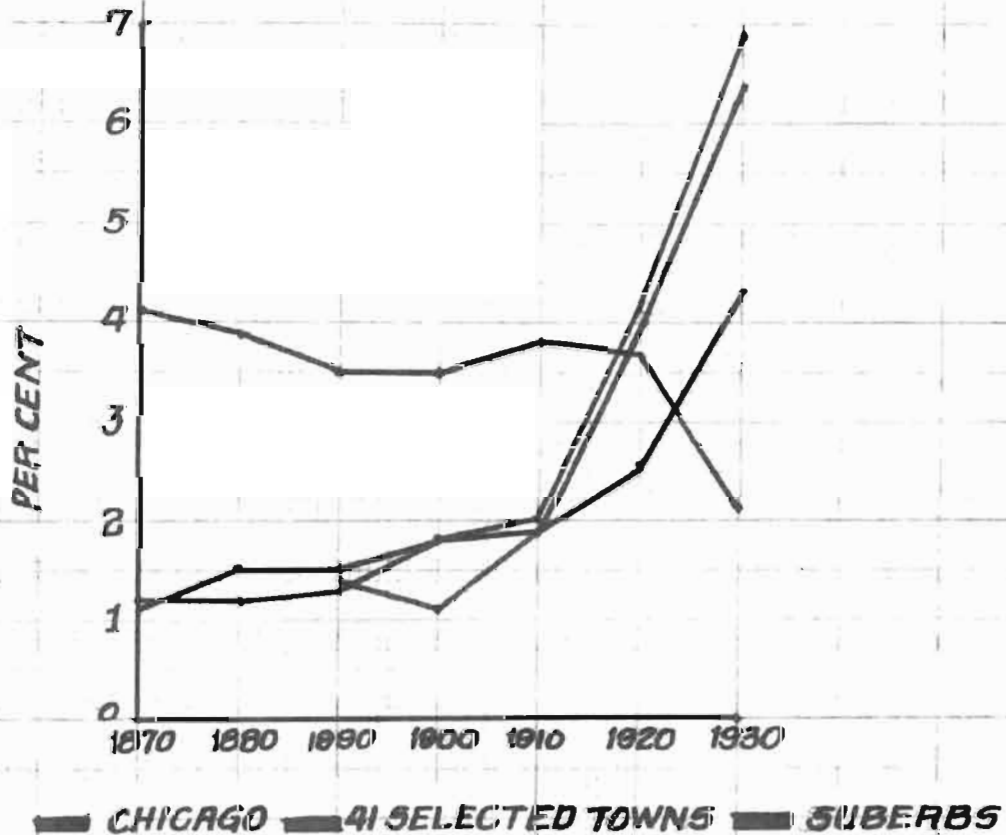
Ravenstein's theory of "Short distance Migrations" may be seen in Table VIII. The entire state was arbitrarily divided into three sections, North, Central and South. There were 59 cities selected and classified according to the sections of the state in which they were located. The total Negro population of these towns were figured in relation to the per cent. of the total population for all of the census dates from 1870 to 1930. The southern section has continued to have the greatest per cent. Negroes since 1870, though the greatest decrease in all three divisions was found in the southern section from 1870 to 1880 of about 5 per cent. From 1890 to 1930 there was little variation shown, with the average remaining slightly under 10 per cent. The Central portion remained practically stationary throughout the sixty years, with only a minor increase between 1870 and 1880. The Northern section remained nearly the same until 1920 when the percentage increase nearly doubled that of 1910, and again increased nearly twice as much in 1930. Prior to 1910, the percentages for all three sections changed only slightly with the exception of the South for 1870 to 1880. The relatively small change in the per cent. of the central and northern sections and the reduction in the per cent. of Negroes living in the southern zone may be attributed to several causes. First, that the migrations were not long distance but that the persons migrating remained in the same sections and gradually worked northward as they acquired more money. The second factor for consideration is that the Negroes were migrating longer distances, but due to the influx of European immigrants in the northern and central

zones, the comparison of the Negro to total population was affected. Between 1910 and 1920, the southern section showed a decrease while the northern zone increased. This decade has been judged by many to be the period of the heaviest migrations to northern Illinois and Chicago, and may be explained by the increased demand for Negro labor. The per cent. increase in 1930 as compared to the 1920 rate for the northern section was 2.4 per cent., or an increase of 4.2 per cent. since 1910 for the Negro fraction of the total population. This rather rapid increase in the Negro population in this zone was due, no doubt, to the sudden stoppage of foreign immigrants during this period. The decade from 1920 to 1930 showed a minor increase for the southern zone as well. This increase may be attributed to the fact that Illinois attracted many Negro migrants during the boom years, and that in some cases the migrants remained in southern towns.

In the preceding paragraph, it was shown that the per cent. increase of the Negro population to total population varied considerably in the three divisions of the state. Table IX compares the growth of the Negro population in forty-one selected towns, in addition to Chicago, its suburbs and the state for the decennial dates from 1870 to 1930. As in the case of Table VII, the total population was used as a base for the per cent. Negro population. In 1870, the 41 selected towns had the highest per cent. of Negroes with 4.05 per cent. At this date, Chicago and the state were quite low in percentage of Negroes, with 1.2 per cent. and 1.1 per cent. respectively. In 1880, the selected towns began to decline until 1890, where they remained at 3.5 per cent. until 1900. Between

TABLE IX.

PER CENT GROWTH OF NEGRO POPULATION BY PER CENT TO TOTAL POPULATION FOR THE YEARS 1870-1930.



15<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS VOL. III. POPULATION TABLE 12. p.p 608-613

14<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS VOL. III. POPULATION TABLE 8, p.p. 248-250

13<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS VOL. II. POPULATION TABLE 13. p. 480, TABLE 3. p.p. 506-507  
TABLE 4. p.p. 508-511.

12<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS VOL. I. PART I, POPULATION TABLE 23, p.p. 613-615.

11<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS VOL. I. POPULATION TABLE 19, p.p. 454-456.

10<sup>TH</sup> CENSUS POPULATION TABLE 6. p. 412

the decade of 1900 to 1910, the selected towns increased in per cent. slightly and in 1910 began to decline again. From 1920 to 1930, the decline was quite rapid. Chicago, in 1890, showed no increase in per cent. over the 1880 mark, while the state had increased only slightly over the per cent. of Chicago. In 1890, the suburbs were about equal with Chicago in the per cent. of Negroes to the total population, though both were below the percentage of the state and the selected towns. By 1900, the state and Chicago had again reached about the same percentage of growth, while the suburbs had decreased in per cent. from the previous decade. From 1900 to 1910, the state remained at about the same per cent., with Chicago increasing slightly to pass the state. The suburbs also increased and just passed the rate of growth for the state. From 1910 to 1930, the state, Chicago, and suburbs increased double or more in their per cent. of growth as compared to the increases from 1870 to 1910. The rate of increase for Chicago and suburbs during the period from 1910 to 1930 was about parallel. Though there was a greater increase in the per cent. of Negro population from 1910 to 1920 over that of 1900 to 1910, the greatest increase in both Chicago and suburbs was from 1920 to 1930. Although the state increased at a greater rate from 1920 to 1930 than at any other previous decade, the rate of increase was less than the increase for Chicago and the suburbs.

In conclusion, it is evident from the data used in this chapter that the highest per cent. of Negro population to total population, as well as a greater number of migrants to the state, has been in the past decade from 1920 to 1930.



## Chapter II

### Location and Extent of the Community.

The topics included in the discussion of the Champaign-Urbana community of Negroes deal with the location and a short description of Champaign-Urbana, a description of the so-called Negro section in regard to the physical appearances, the spatial distribution of the Negroes for the years 1878, 1904 and 1932, the growth of the Negro population since 1860, and the age distribution of the residents.

The term "community" has been defined by many persons and in various ways. Thus the term defined by Rural Sociologists differs from the term "community" used by Urban Sociologists. Steiner gave Professor Sneddan's classification of community types. In this instance, he recognized two types of communities, one, the associate or small community, where the relationships are primary or face to face. The other was called the federated community, or the large city, where most of the social contacts are of a secondary or impersonal nature.<sup>1</sup> In his book, "Community Organization", Steiner gave three essentials for a community. The first is "a locality occupied by (2) people who devise some sort of (3) communal organization to further their interests".<sup>2</sup> Professor Hiller has defined a community as any society which occupies a continuous territory and which through the exchange of services or goods may be regarded as cooperating to carry on a common life. But within a group,

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1. Steiner, J. F., Community Organization, p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

society or community certain diversities exist which may be considered as a unit. Of these diversities, spatial position or relatives is one phase. "The spatial relations result from competitive cooperative, whereby races, classes and sectarian or other groups are segregated in separate quarters or districts."<sup>3</sup> Thus we accept the Negro section as an associate community in which the spatial relations tends to make it a unit of a larger community.

The Negroes studied in this survey are residents of Champaign-Urbana, known as the Twin Cities. These cities are located in the Eastern-Central section of the state and are on the main line of the Illinois Central Railroad between Chicago and the southern states. The Peoria and Eastern divisions of the Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad passes through both cities. The Twin Cities in 1930 had a total population of 33,408, which included 1992 Negroes.<sup>4</sup> Of this number of Negroes, only 394 lived in Urbana. Urbana is the older of the two cities and is the county seat of Champaign County. Due to the fact that the Illinois Central Railroad was unable to buy a right of way through Urbana, it was forced to build about two miles west of the business area of Urbana. This section that sprang up about the Illinois Central station was first known as "West Urbana", though it was unorganized, but on April 27, 1857 a village organization was voted under the name of "West Urbana" and in February of 1860 the name was changed to Champaign.<sup>5</sup>

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3. Hiller, E. T., Principles of Sociology, pp. 20-26.

4. 15th Census, Vol. II, Population, Table 12, pp. 603-613.

5. Stewart, J. R., History of Champaign County, Vol. I, p. 370.

The Twin Cities have always been governed by separate political units, but will be considered as one community in this study. There is little industry in this community to attract newcomers with the exception of the Illinois Central Railroad shops, the Big Four Railroad shops, and the University of Illinois. With the growth of the University the social sorority and fraternity system also developed, thus supplying a demand for a considerable number of wage earners.


The University especially has attracted many people to the Twin Cities. In some cases they are families who have moved during the period that their children are attending the University. This group is rather mobile, though some find employment and remain in the Twin Cities. In other cases, individuals are attracted to the community because of domestic service in the sorority and fraternity groups, and among the faculty members. Others come to fill positions at the University. A considerable number of retired farmers from surrounding areas have settled in the Twin Cities.

Because Champaign-Urbana is predominantly a University town, with little industry, there are many residential districts. Surrounding the University in both cities, one finds nearly every home has lodging for one or more students. However, this district is not the typical rooming house area found in districts of deterioration in large cities. A small business area has developed near the University to meet the demands of the students. In the Southwest section of both Champaign and Urbana new residential areas have developed in the past ten or twelve years. In these new areas, many of the faculty members from the University have either built

or are renting homes. The older residential sections of the cities are to the north of Green Street, one of the main streets of travel which connects the two cities. Most of the houses are one family residences. Apartment houses are in the minority, though a number of old houses have been remodeled to facilitate "light housekeeping".

Both cities have business districts, though Champaign has a more dominant economic position, due no doubt to the proximity of the Illinois Central Railroad. The business area in Champaign covers a greater section than that of Urbana, and has a larger and wider range of business establishments. Many of these establishments cater to the trade of students and other individuals connected with the University.

Champaign has a greater recreational center. There are five moving picture theaters and several dance halls, while in Urbana there is one moving picture theater and one dance hall. Although the Negroes are allowed to attend the theaters, they are required to sit in a designated and segregated section of the house. The Negroes do not attend the public dance halls, though occasionally one of the halls in the University district is rented by the Negroes for special occasions. The Negro students hold dances at Boyd's Restaurant, a Negro restaurant near the Campus. The Twin Cities have five principal parks, with a number of subdivision parks that have been dedicated by the subdivider. Crystal Lake Park in Urbana is the largest and most fully equipped for recreational use in the Twin Cities, as well as in Champaign County. The Negro population uses Crystal Lake Park to some extent, but they are excluded from



the swimming pool because of racial prejudice against them. The Illinois Central has built a park north of the outskirts of Urbana and is the one generally used by the Negroes.

The majority of the Negroes live in the northern part of both of the cities. This section is bounded on the north by Bradley Street, on the east by Goodwin Street, on the south by Park Street, and on the west by the Illinois Central tracks. The above defined district covers an area of about one square mile. To many of the residents of the two towns, and especially among the policemen, this section is known as the "Jungle". Although as a rule there is a tendency among the Negroes and whites to live apart, except in so far as the economic conditions necessitates contact between the two groups,<sup>6</sup> there are a number of whites living in this area. So far as the existing literature discloses, there is no city, with the possible exception of Tulsa, Oklahoma, where a concentration of Negroes is found, that approaches absolute segregation in the defined Negro quarter.<sup>7</sup> In this so-called Negro district, there are 857 houses, of which 28 were vacant at the time of the study, and 403 of the used dwellings were occupied by Negroes in 1932. Thus the percentage of Negro dwellings to total used dwellings is 48.6 per cent. in this area. However, if we were to divide the defined area into two sections, one the area from Park Street as the southern boundary, northward to Washington street in Champaign and Beslin Street in Urbana, an area covering twenty-seven square blocks, we would find only 85 Negro residences in this part out of a total of

6. Dowd, Jerome, The Negro in American Life, p. 471.

7. Johnson, C. S., The Negro in American Civilization, p. 202.

320 houses, or only 27 per cent. Negro residences. The second division covers forty-seven square blocks, from Washington and Beslin Streets northward to Bradley. In this section there are a total of 577 houses, and 318 Negro residences or 59 per cent. Negro houses. Thus the greater number of Negro families are found north of Washington and Beslin Streets. This concentration of Negroes within the defined Negro section is in accord with the foregoing statement regarding other cities.

The first impressions that an observer has, as he enters a community or any segregated area within a community, pertain to the types of physical structures in the area. In the so-called Negro community here under consideration, these structures are chiefly the dwelling places of the inhabitants. These readily serve as an index of their occupants' position in the competitive economic scale. As a rule, these residences are frame dwellings and in most instances, they are placed on small lots and are thus crowded on the block, providing all of the lots are utilized. The observer, in walking or driving through this area, would at once notice the drab and unkempt appearances of the structures. Occasionally, he might notice a house that has just been painted and repaired, but this is quite rare. As a whole, the residences in this area are in need of paint and general repairs, such as the roof, porch and steps. In the section south of Washington Street, the appearances of the residential properties is much better than is true of the properties north of Washington and Beslin Streets. In this northern section, one sees a number of small weatherbeaten shack-like struc-

tures consisting of two or three small rooms. In this section, more than in the southern section of the quarter, one sees many houses with glass missing from doors and windows. As a substitute for glass, paper and old clothes are used, which gives the neighborhood a deteriorated appearance.

There is little beauty in the surrounding landscape in this area. Again the southern section gives the appearance of the residents having more pride in their neighborhood, or more resources for giving expression to their inclinations, for they have better kept yards and streets. In some instances the people in the northern section have small flower gardens, and their yards are kept in good condition. In many of the yards, trash of all kinds may be found. Because the children have little space in the yards in which to play, they are usually found playing in a vacant field or in the streets. In Urbana, most of the east and west streets are paved, but in Champaign the streets as a rule are unimproved. The dirt streets are in poor condition, and the ruts are often filled in with ashes, in which glass and nails have been thrown.

Many of these houses when they were built made no provision for inside sanitation. Outside latreens are in evidence throughout the whole defined area. These latreens are often placed quite close to the house. In a number of instances, the people obtain their water supply from a hydrant placed in the front or side yard. In some cases, these hydrants serve two residences. In that case the occupants of one of the houses must go into the neighbor's yard for his water supply.

There are seven churches in this area, of which three are brick

buildings and in fairly good condition. Of these seven churches, only one is located in Urbana. At one time there were two other churches there, but the congregations diminished in size, and the churches finally closed. One group merged with the same denomination in Champaign.

Though some Negro communities have business sections of their own, Champaign-Urbana has no defined Negro business area, with the possible exception of several grocery stores and barber shops located on Fifth Street, Poplar Street, and First Street. Most of the grocery stores are owned by white people, however. There are two Negro grocery stores in the Twin Cities. First Street and Poplar Street are considered the "Red Light" district in this defined Negro section. There are also a number of gambling houses (in which "policy" is played) located on Poplar Street. During prohibition times Poplar and First Streets were well known for the number of bootleggers and speakeasies to be found on these streets.

The majority of the Negroes have moved into this area because of two factors. One of these is low rents, and the other, the prejudice against them in other areas. Low rents may be attributed to several conditions. First, there are no building restrictions, and second, the proximity of the Negro settlement to the Gas Works, the Illinois Central Railroad shops, and the Wabash, the Big Four, and the Illinois Central tracks. Also the movements southward of the main buildings of the University apparently has effected a reduction of rents in the vicinity including the Negro area.

On the whole, the Negro sections in any town are usually the





districts which are located in areas the least esteemed for residential purposes. This statement is quite true of Champaign-Urbana. Johnson says that in most cases where the Negroes have settled in towns, they are to be found within a short distance of the business area.<sup>8</sup> Data were collected from the City Directories of Champaign-Urbana for the years of 1878, 1904 and 1932 to show the distribution of the Negro population in the Twin Cities. The names and addresses of all Negro people living in the two cities for the three dates mentioned is included in this material. Spot maps were made, Figures X, XI and XII, which show the place of habitation of each person as obtained from the addresses. The map for 1878 shows only a few persons living near the business district in Champaign and Urbana. In 1904, the number of persons living in and near the business district shows a higher degree of concentration for Champaign than for Urbana. The number of persons living within walking distance of the business area in Champaign had increased by 1904, and shows an even greater increase in 1932. There were a fairly large number of Negroes living in the area north of Washington Street and from Neil Street east to the Illinois Central tracks in 1904. This area remained practically the same in 1932. In Champaign by 1932, the Negroes had moved out of the business district as seen in Figure XII but were living in the areas of the north and the east, while Urbana had no Negroes living near their business area. These people were living from two or three blocks to over a mile's distance from the business area of Urbana.

8. Johnson, C. S., Op. Cit., p. 199.



Figure X shows the distribution of the Negro population of the Twin Cities in 1878. At this time the group of persons listed was small, and more widely scattered over the two towns than during the preceding periods. It was not until more recent decades that the degree of concentration increased in the Negro area. The section between Hill Street on the north, Wright Street on the east, Springfield Avenue on the south, and the Illinois Central tracks on the west, covers an area of about one square mile. In this section in 1878, there were located 37 families, according to the City Directory. The south-east part of this section is comprised in the University district of that date, though the University buildings were situated mostly on the south side of this section. The University at this time had been established only eleven years as the State University and was quite small in enrollment. In 1878 there were eleven Negro families living in close proximity to the campus, while today the Negro district has receded northward and only a few Negro families are living near the site of the old campus. As early as 1878, there was one Negro family living several blocks east of South Neil Street, on Williams Street in Champaign. This area has never developed a large Negro group, and has always been considered a section of town in which white people live.

In Urbana in 1878, there were about twenty Negro families living in an area which covered about two square miles. The business district was included in this area. At this time, in a section that was practically open country, three Negro families were living on Wade and Champaign Streets in Urbana. This section in the following periods became part of the recognized Negro area.

TABLE XI.  
 DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION  
 IN  
 1904.

ONE DOT REPRESENTS ONE INDIVIDUAL  
 LISTED IN THE CITY DIRECTORY

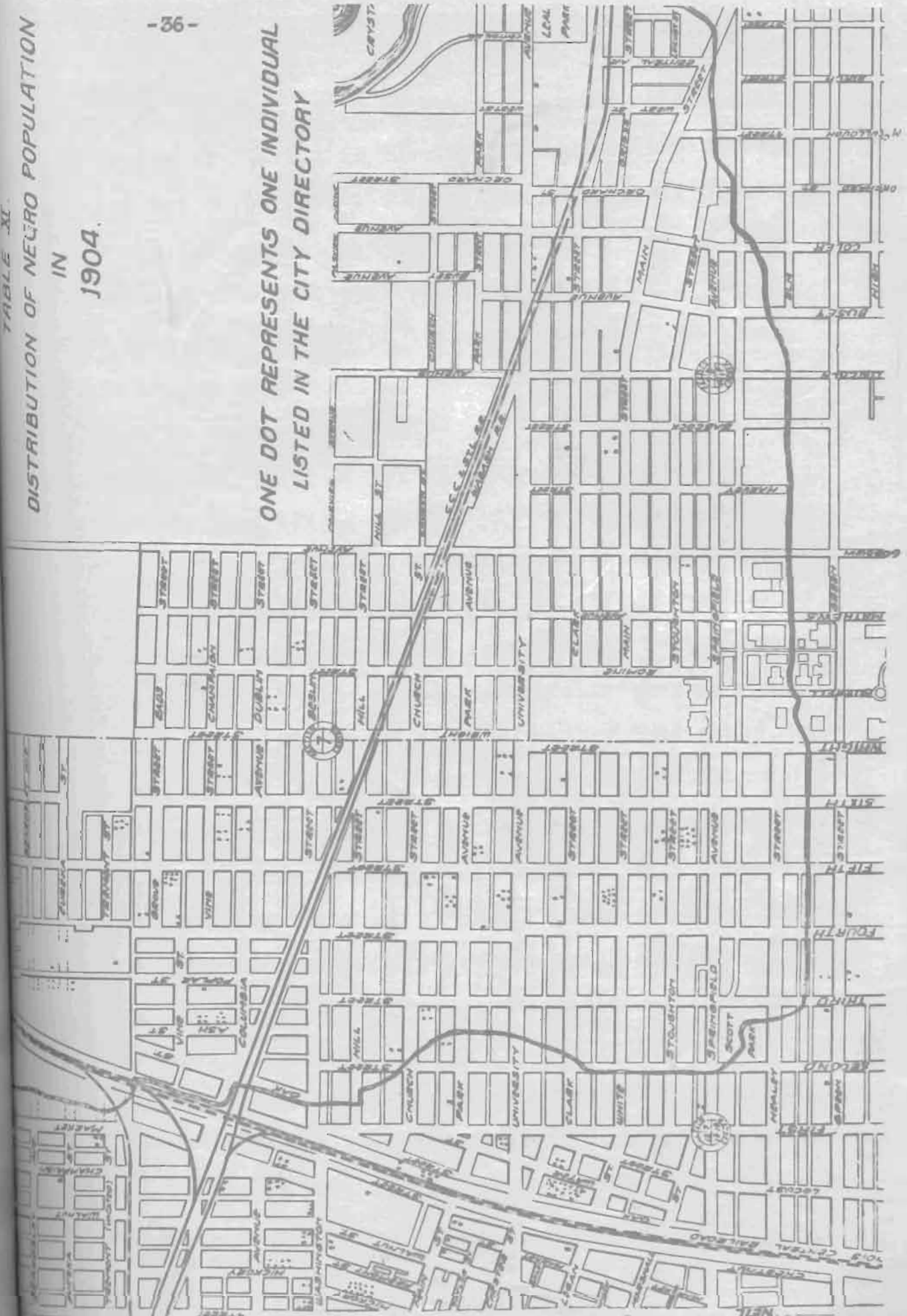
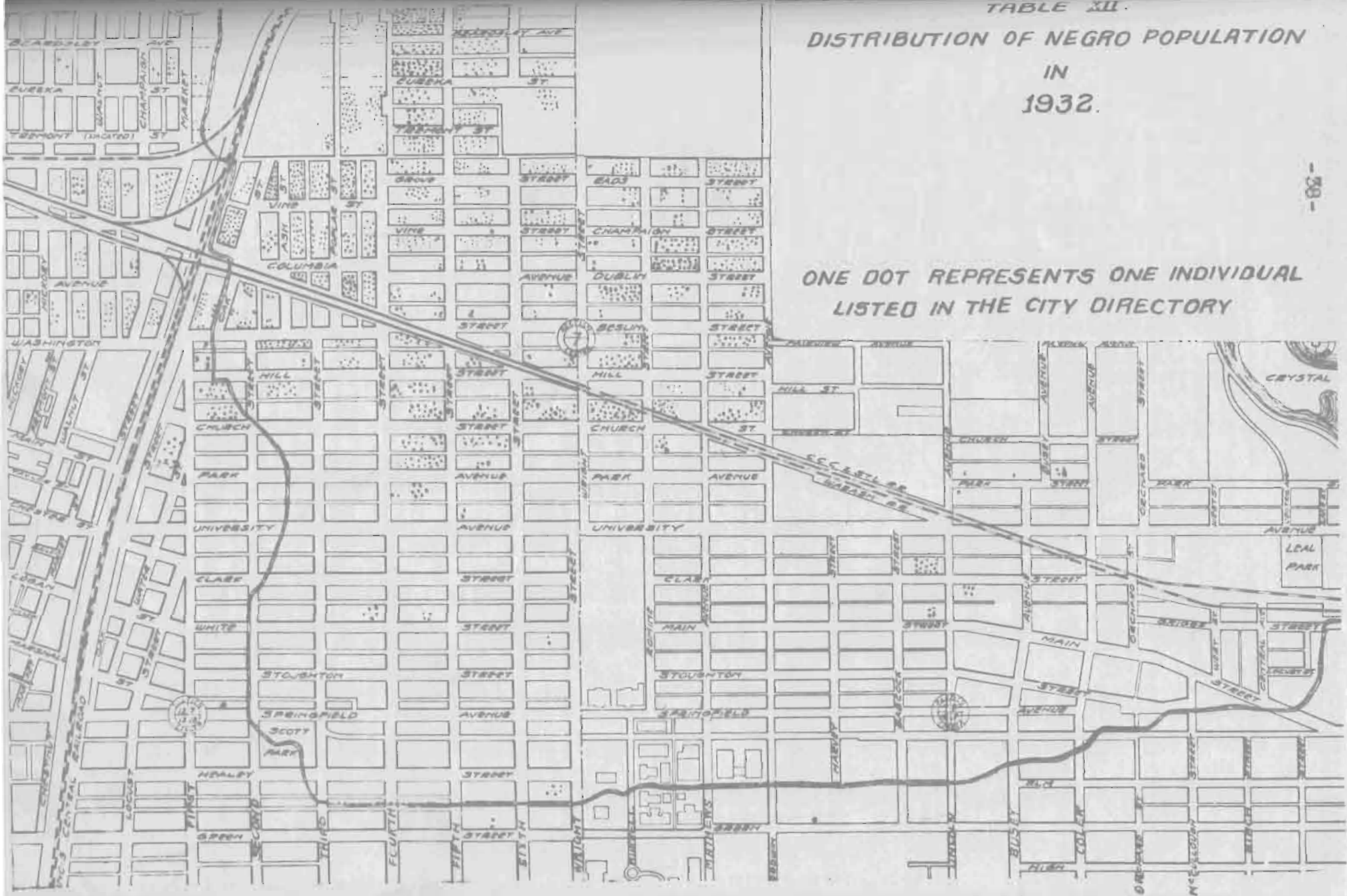


Figure XI, the map of distribution for 1904, shows that by 1904 the number of Negroes in the Twin Cities had increased, and many of them had moved into the so-called Negro district of today. In Urbana, the persons who had previously lived east of Broadway, moved. However, the number of persons living within the section bounded by University Avenue on the north, Broadway on the east, Springfield Avenue on the south, and Mathews Street on the west had increased in number since 1878. Part of this increase was due to the fact that a number of Negroes were employed by a hotel in this section and were living at their place of employment.

In Champaign, in 1904, three additional families had joined the one family living on Williams Street in 1878. A number of Negroes gave their addresses in the area between Neil and Prospect Streets on the east and west respectively, and Columbia and White Streets, respectively, on the north and south. This group, however, were all living in private white houses, where they were employed in the domestic service. A new Negro section had started in the northwest part of Champaign since 1878. This area was on Maple Street in the 200 and 400 blocks. There were a few Negroes living on Green Street, between First and Wright Streets. These Negroes were living in fraternities and sororities where they were employed as cooks and housemen. The area of greatest concentration in 1878, of which the University district was part, showed a great increase in the number of persons residing in this district in 1904. In 1878, the area from Hill Street north to Bradley Street, and from the Illinois Central tracks east to Goodwin Street, had a very

TABLE XII.  
 DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION  
 IN  
 1932.

ONE DOT REPRESENTS ONE INDIVIDUAL  
 LISTED IN THE CITY DIRECTORY



few Negroes living there. However, by 1904, this district increased to nearly 70 Negroes. This section shows the beginning of the concentration of the Negro people in the defined area.

The map of distribution for 1932, Figure XII, shows an increase in the number of Negroes living in the northwest section of Champaign on Maple Street, between State and Lynn Streets. The small group of Negroes who lived on Williams Street in 1904, had remained about the same in number in 1932. In this section, the same Negroes have owned their homes for years. Because the area in 1932 was predominantly a white neighborhood, and the number of Negroes who were living there, in the minority, one might expect this to be an exclusive Negro section in which the Negroes who lived there enjoyed a certain amount of social prestige. Among the Negro town people, this section was not considered to be of any higher social importance than any part of town in which the Negro groups reside. With one exception, there is no part of town which lends social prestige to its residents. In fact, among the persons interviewed, most agreed that Champaign-Urbana is very different from other cities in which Negroes live, because of the lack of defined sections of social prestige. One man said, "You never know whether a minister or a gambler is moving next door to you." The one exception to this, is Poplar Street, and to some extent, Ash and Fourth Streets. Poplar Street at one time was considered as desirable a residential street as any of those within the defined Negro area. Today, the better class Negro is moving away, as they say they do not want to rear their children in a section known for its

vices. The section west of South Neil Street, however, gives a higher social status to the Negro student who is attending the University. The number of people living on Water Street in 1932 decreased in size considerably since 1904. There were a few families living on this street in 1932, who had lived there since 1904 and previous to that date. The section south of University Avenue and between First Street and Wright Street showed only six families living in this area in 1932. The area of greatest concentration for the Negro population was that area which was north of Park Street and from the Illinois Central tracks east to Goodwin.

In Urbana in 1932 the number of Negroes living outside of the so-called Negro section was very small, with only a few Negro families living on Clark and Main Streets, west of Color Avenue. In Urbana, on Stoughton, Clark and University Streets there were several Negro fraternities and sororities. \*

It is apparent from a comparison of the Figures X, XI and XII that the Negroes are moving and settling in the northern sections of both Champaign-Urbana. The invasion of the Negro into this area has caused a recession of the whites in some cases. Along Washington and Beslin Streets from Fifth Street east, there was a small German settlement. Many of these people have left their old homes, and have become absorbed into the community. There are still a few Germans living on Washington Street between Sixth and Wright Street, who, though they resent the Negroes moving into their neighborhood, will not sell their property. Another area in which the whites once lived, but have left, due to the invasion of the Negro, is the district from Washington Street north to Vine Street and



Table XIII

Growth of the Negro and Total Population  
in Champaign-Urbana from 1860 to 1930<sup>a</sup>

Date	<u>Negro Population</u> <sup>b</sup>						<u>Total Population</u> <sup>b</sup>						Per Cent. Negro Total to Total Pop.
	<u>Numbers</u>		<u>Per Cent (+) or (-)</u>				<u>Numbers</u>		<u>Per Cent (+) or (-)</u>				
	<u>Champ.</u>	<u>Urbana</u>	<u>Total Negro</u>	<u>Champ.</u>	<u>Urbana</u>	<u>Total Negro</u>	<u>Champ.</u>	<u>Urbana</u>	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Champ.</u>	<u>Urbana</u>	<u>Total Pop.</u>	
1860	31	Not Listed	-	-	-	-	1,696	Not listed	-	-	-	-	2
1870	123	40	173	297	-	-	4,625	3,325	7,950	173	-	-	2
1880	273	61	334	122	53	93	5,103	2,942	8,045	10	-12	1	4
1890	252	66	318	-8	8	-5	5,839	3,511	9,350	14	19	4	4
1900	408	71	479	62	8	51	9,098	5,728	14,826	56	63	59	3
1910	759	117	876	86	65	83	12,421	8,245	20,666	37	44	39	4
1920	1,234	335	1,569	63	186	79	15,873	10,244	26,117	28	24	26	6
1930	1,598	394	1,992	30	18	27	20,348	13,060	33,408	28	28	28	6

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- <sup>a</sup> 15th Census, Population, Vol. III, Table 12, pp. 608-613.  
 14th Census, Population, Vol. III, Table 8, pp. 248-250.  
 13th Census, Population, Vol. II, Table 3, p. 506, Table 4, p. 508.  
 12th Census, Population, Vol. I, Table 24, pp. 651-653, Table 5, p. 115.  
 11th Census, Population, Vol. I, Table 23, pp. 527-529, Table 8, p. 381.  
 10th Census, Population, Vol. I, Table 5, p. 387.  
 9th Census, Population, Vol. I, Table 3, p. 131.  
 8th Census, Population, Vol. I, Table 3, p. 89.

<sup>b</sup> Plus signs are not shown in table.

from Fourth Street east to Wright Street. The section north of Vine Street has in the main been populated by Negroes since the time of the development of that section.

In the preceding section of this chapter, the spatial distribution of the Negro was discussed, which tended toward segregation. This spatial distribution was, in part, due to the growth of the Negroes in Champaign-Urbana, which has increased steadily since 1860 with one exception.

This was for Champaign in 1890, which showed a decrease of 8 per cent., and which in turn affected the rate of increase for the total Negro population of the Twin Cities. The material presented in Table XIII was collected from Federal Census reports, dating from 1860 to 1930. There were no statistics for the Negro population or the total Negro and white population for Urbana in 1860, which effected the rate of increase for the total Negro population and for the total population of Champaign-Urbana in 1870. As a result, these figures were omitted from Table XIII. The greatest per cent. increase in Champaign among the Negroes was found in 1870, while in Urbana, the highest frequency in the Negro population was found in 1920, with a 186 per cent. increase over the number of Negroes in 1910. First in order of frequency in the total population for Champaign was the period ending in the decennial date of 1870, with an advance of 173 per cent. The greatest increase in total population in Urbana was in 1900, at which time the total population increased 63 per cent. over the previous decade, though in 1880 the total Negro and white population decreased 12 per cent.