

THE NEGROES OF LITWALTON, VIRGINIA: A SOCIAL STUDY OF THE "OYSTER NEGRO."

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The present study, made under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Labor in the early months of 1901, is a continuation of "a series of investigations of small, well-defined groups of Negroes in various parts of the country," of which there have already been published *The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia*, Bulletin of the Department of Labor, No. 14, January, 1898, and *The Negroes of Sandy Spring, Maryland*, Bulletin No. 32, January, 1901. (*a*)

The Litwalton and Whealton neighborhood lies in Lancaster County, Virginia, on the eastern bank of the Rappahannock River, some 25 miles above its mouth. Whealton is at the mouth of Morattico Creek, which is here the dividing line between Lancaster and Richmond counties. The general line of this creek was followed for several miles easterly, forming the northern boundary of the neighborhood; a turn of some 2 miles to the south gave the eastern boundary, and the southern boundary extended from this point westerly to the Rappahannock again at Deep Creek. This gave an irregular quadrilateral of country about 2 miles wide, fronting on the Rappahannock River and extending back some 5 or 6 miles toward the rising land of the county watershed between the Rappahannock and the Potomac rivers. The hamlet of Litwalton is assumed to be the center of the neighborhood, at the northwestern corner of which is the steamboat landing and oyster shipping village of Whealton.

The inhabitants of the neighborhood are chiefly engaged in the oyster industry, and the purpose of this investigation was to study the Negroes of Litwalton neighborhood and Whealton village as excellent types of the "oyster Negroes" of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, since the same general conditions of life obtain here as prevail in varying conditions on both shores of the Chesapeake and as far south as Norfolk. That is to say, aside from fish and oyster interests, the prevailing type of life is agricultural, and the chief agricultural

a Other articles relating to the Negro have been published by the Department of Labor, as follows: *Condition of the Negro in various cities*, Bulletin No. 10, May, 1897; *The Negro in the black belt: Some social sketches*, Bulletin No. 22, May, 1899, and *The Negro landholder of Georgia*, Bulletin No. 35, July, 1901.

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products are wheat, indian corn, oats, and hay, as they have been for many years since tobacco cultivation was given up. In some of the Chesapeake sections, both of Virginia and of Maryland, the cultivation of peas and of small fruits for the city markets has, in part, displaced the usual crops mentioned above. This is also true of the peach-growing districts of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and is, of course, true of the trucking country back from the water around Norfolk. What is said in the following pages would have to be greatly modified to apply to the latter sections with especial force. But it is believed, as the result of inquiries addressed to those in a position to know the various local conditions, that the Litwalton-Wheaton neighborhood may be taken as a fair, if somewhat pronounced, type of the condition of the Negroes in this great oyster and fish producing region, in which they are apparently making themselves more permanently at home; but whether in increasing numbers proportionately to the whites is a matter of doubt.

When the peanut country of southern Virginia and the cotton region of North Carolina are reached, the agricultural conditions are so changed as to make it doubtful if the conclusions here set forth are applicable.

The counties of Virginia and Maryland bordering on the Chesapeake and its oyster-bearing affluents, which this report aims to represent, contained, according to the census of 1890, about 600,000 inhabitants, of whom about 250,000 were Negroes. The total land area is about 11,000 square miles. As appears elsewhere only a certain portion of the territory and of the Negro population are included in this discussion.

LANCASTER COUNTY.

Lancaster, organized into a county in 1652, is the southernmost county of the famous "northern neck" of Virginia, as for about 250 years that tract of the Old Dominion has been called which begins at Chesapeake Bay and broadens out between the Potomac on the east and the Rappahannock on the west and is bounded by the Blue Ridge Mountains, in the northwestern part of the State. The name is usually understood nowadays to apply to the lower part of this territory, washed by the tides in these two majestic streams. The northern neck seems to have been named by way of distinction from the peninsula, beginning farther down the bay between the York and the James, and from the "south side" of the James. The term "neck" is doubtless due to the fact that at one point the waters of the Potomac are divided from those of the Rappahannock by a narrow neck of land only a few miles wide.

Lancaster County is bounded on the east by Chesapeake Bay, on the northeast by Northumberland County, on the north by Richmond County, and on the west and south by the Rappahannock River, which

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is from 3 to 5 miles wide the entire length of the county and covers some of the finest oyster beds in the country.

The banks of the Rappahannock are for the most part several feet above the surface of the water, rising in many places to low bluffs. The fertile lowlands extend some distance back from the river, and then the country rises somewhat to the low central plateau, where there are considerable hills in the watershed, formed apparently by the erosions of small streams. This central plateau is still spoken of as the "forest" by the country people, a name that carries its own suggestion of the limits of former settlement and cultivation under the old tobacco régime, when the wealthy planters lived gayly along the water front; a name, also, that in more recent years, until the rise of the oyster industry, marked probably the chief source of wealth to the county. For it is only within the very recent past that the valuable forest has been stripped from the face of the country. There is still a little lumbering going on, but the industry has been ruined for years to come.

According to the record in the county clerk's office in 1900, Lancaster County contains 80,434 acres. In 1890 the census showed the following division of the land into farms:

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FARMS IN LANCASTER COUNTY, BY SIZE, 1890.

Size of farms.	Number.	Per cent.
Under 10 acres	195	22.0
10 or under 20 acres	230	24.8
20 or under 50 acres	182	20.5
50 or under 100 acres	107	12.0
100 or under 500 acres	170	19.1
500 or under 1,000 acres	13	1.5
1,000 acres or over	1	.1
Total	888	100.0

Sixty-seven per cent of the farms were under 50 acres, and the average size of the farms was 68 acres. This indicates that the process of breaking up the large tracts into small farms had gone far. It is still going on, as will be seen.

The following table shows the tenure of farms in Lancaster County in 1890:

TENURE OF FARMS IN LANCASTER COUNTY, 1890.

Size of farms.	Cultivated by owners.	Rented for money.	Rented on shares.
Under 10 acres	174	19	2
10 or under 20 acres	190	22	8
20 or under 50 acres	151	25	6
50 or under 100 acres	88	16	3
100 or under 500 acres	122	37	11
500 or under 1,000 acres	8	4	1
1,000 acres or over	1
Total	734	123	31
Per cent	82.66	13.85	3.49

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Lancaster belonged in 1890 in the third of the counties of Virginia which had 80 per cent or more of owner cultivators. It was almost the equal in this particular, 82.66 per cent against 83.77 per cent, of the admirably situated Montgomery County, Md., and much above the per cent, 70.71, for Prince Edward County, Va. (*a*)

These 888 farms were worth in 1890, \$892,870; they had on them farm implements worth \$28,380. With an outlay of \$8,153 for fertilizers, they produced crops and farm products of various kinds to the value of \$150,210, an average of about \$169 per farm as compared with an average of about \$782 per farm for Montgomery County.

The farm products were as follows, a few very small items being omitted:

Wheat	bushels..	10,739
Corn	do....	103,977
Oats	do.....	6,736
Rye.....	do.....	112
Irish potatoes.....	do.....	2,995
Sweet potatoes.....	do.....	4,002
Apples	do....	11,502
Peaches	do.....	955
Hay	tons..	1,386
Butter	pounds..	52,645
Honey	do....	1,759
Wax	do....	23
Wool.....	do....	3,038
Eggs	dozen..	64,212
Milk.....	gallons..	221,384
Vegetables, small fruits, worth.....		\$130.00

The live stock on these farms in 1890 was as follows:

Horses	1,045
Mules	67
Oxen	842
Sheep	972
Cows	1,139
Other cattle.....	958
Swine	4,252
Chickens	54,576
Turkeys	3,384
Geese	2,148
Ducks	2,821

These were valued at \$125,930.

The combined true valuation of the real estate and live stock in 1890 was \$1,018,800. The assessed valuation of real estate and improvements at the census of 1890 was \$625,914. In 1900 the assessed valuation was \$713,399, representing a gain of 13.98 per cent for the period of 10 years.

a See reports for Sandy Spring and Farmville, Bulletins Nos. 32 and 14.

The basis for the tax levy for 1899-1900, according to the statistics in the office of the county clerk, was: Realty, \$713,398.91; personalty, \$331,765; total, \$1,045,163.91; and 2,129 polls. This basis yielded, at the rate of \$0.90 per \$100 of property and of \$1 per poli, the sum of \$11,535.48.

In 1899-1900 the county, according to the report of the county superintendent of schools, had 31 public schools and 32 schoolhouses, a colored school in one district being held in one schoolhouse for one half session and in another schoolhouse for the other half session. There were no graded schools. The average length for the yearly school session was 6.33 months. Of these schools, 19 were white, with 23 teachers, of whom 5 were males and 18 females; and 12 were colored schools, with 12 teachers, 3 males and 9 females. The average yearly salary of the teachers was \$164.66, distributed as follows: White teachers, males, \$183.66; females, \$174.16. Colored teachers, males, \$158.33; females, \$142.50.

For these schools the county received for the session of 1899-1900 from the State school funds, \$5,086.16; from the county school funds, \$1,346.02; from the district funds, \$1,646.94; from balances on hand and from other sources, ^(a) \$1,271.36, a total of \$9,350.48. Of this amount \$6,904.95 was expended for the current expenses of public instruction, including \$5,670, which went for teachers' salaries.

One incorporated academy for whites is reported, which was kept open during a nine-months' session, and had 5 teachers, 1 male and 4 females, and 73 pupils of both sexes.

The total realty of the county, as of record in the county clerk's office for the year ending June 30, 1900, was 80,434.39 acres, assessed at \$713,398.91, of which 70,811.41 acres were owned by the whites, at an assessed valuation of \$620,225.07, and 9,622.98 acres were owned by the Negroes, at an assessed valuation of \$93,173.84. The total personal property of the county was assessed at \$331,765, of which the whites owned \$276,302, and the Negroes \$55,463. It will be seen that the Negroes own nearly 12 per cent of the land of the county and

^a One of these sources deserves to be mentioned particularly. It will be recalled that the struggle for religious freedom in Virginia, which went on during and immediately after the Revolutionary struggle for civil liberty, ended in 1802 in the passage of an act ordering the sale by the overseers of the poor of the glebes or farms belonging to what had been the Established Church. The money thus obtained in each parish was to be "appropriated to the poor of the parish, or to any other object which a majority of freeholders and housekeepers in the parish might by writing direct, provided that nothing should authorize an appropriation of it to any religious purpose whatever." The glebe fund thus derived in Lancaster County was put into the hands of trustees for the benefit of public education, and in 1899-1900, almost a century after its origin, yielded \$563.87 for the use of the public schools. See "The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia: The Baptists," by Wm. Taylor Thom, Series XVIII, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1900.

about 13 per cent of its assessed value; and also that they own nearly 17 per cent of the assessed personalty. The realty owned by Negroes should probably be increased by at least 500 acres, in order to include lands bought and not yet recorded as transferred and lands in process of purchase. The proportion, especially of lands in process of purchase, may easily be much larger. For example, 6 of the families of the Litwalton neighborhood are reported as now buying 55 acres of land. In many cases the sellers withhold title until purchase money and interest have been all paid, and this process often extends over many years. Sometimes, of course, trust deeds are taken and title is conveyed at once.

Twenty-four out of 49 property-holding families in the Litwalton neighborhood report their property as owned for 10 years or more, or as inherited; and of the remaining 25 families it is almost certain that the greater number were many years in paying before they got titles to their property. In other words, it is most probable that much the larger part of this real estate was bought by the Negroes before 1890, possibly even earlier. One intelligent Negro man was of the opinion that his people were acquiring land as rapidly now as at any time during the last 30 years; but that was not the opinion at the county clerk's office, nor of some well-informed white men, by whom it was held that the change in the conditions of the oyster industry had thrown less money into the hands of the Litwalton Negroes than was the case 15 or 20 years ago, and that, in consequence, they were acquiring land less rapidly.

That they hold at this time 12 per cent of the surface of the county and about 17 per cent of its assessed personalty, is, however, a noteworthy fact. They are assessed for something like one-sixth of the local taxes. They outnumber the whites in the proportion of 1,161 adult males to 1,068 adult males.

The record of the population during the century is of interest. The following table is taken from the census records:

POPULATION OF LANCASTER COUNTY, 1790 TO 1890.

Year.	Whites.	Negroes.		Total.
		Slaves.	Free.	
1790	2,259	3,236	143	5,638
1800	2,090	3,126	159	5,375
1810	2,276	3,112	204	5,592
1820	2,388	2,944	185	5,517
1830	1,976	2,632	193	4,801
1840	1,903	2,478	247	4,628
1850	1,802	2,640	266	4,708
1860	1,981	2,869	301	5,151
1870	2,198	.....	3,157	5,355
1880	2,626	.....	3,534	6,160
1890	3,171	.....	4,020	7,191

The population did not reach the mark of 1790 again until 1880. It was lowest during the decades from 1820 to 1850, when the great

development of the West and South was attracting emigration.- The Negroes have always outnumbered the whites from 500 to 1,000, though the increase of the population from 1870 to 1890 has been slightly in favor of the whites.

Tobacco, with its usual bad effects on the soil, was long the important crop in Lancaster County. Then wheat and corn, especially corn, were chiefly cultivated. During both of these periods the lands along the river front of the Rappahannock and on the big tide-water creeks were held by the wealthier families; and back in the interior—the forest—lived people not so well to do, all farmers, with slaves in varying proportion to their means. After the war of 1861-1865 began the exploitation of woods and waters. Lumbermen, employing many of the freedmen as laborers, stripped the land of timber and sold cord wood by the shipload. Then, also, the oyster dredgers began the destruction of the Rappahannock oyster beds or the native oyster "rock."

In this latter work of destruction they nearly succeeded, as they have done in Maryland oyster waters also. For many years, however, the oysters were so abundant and so fine that the oyster tongers could make high wages, better than the wages of the majority of skilled workmen, by getting up the finest oysters and selling them to the waiting vessels from Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, as the case might be. These men often averaged \$5 a day for days at a time, and those who owned boats and could employ other men often averaged still more. The money came quickly and they spent it lavishly, many of them buying or beginning to buy, among other things, homes for themselves and their families. These homes were almost invariably located in the strip of land bordering on the Rappahannock and the native oyster rock. Along all the oyster rivers of Virginia and Maryland the whites have continued, with rare exceptions, to retain their hold on the river front and on the rich river bottoms. This strip of land varies, roughly speaking, from half a mile or a mile to a good deal more than that in width, and can not, as a rule, be bought by Negroes. Just back of this river belt the lands are not so valuable, but they are near enough to the water to enable the fishermen and the oyster tongers to go to and from their work conveniently and seasonably. In this section, accordingly, the Negroes have bought their lots and built their homes. Back of this section, again, are to be found the white farmers of the interior, some of them with large holdings of land and employing or trying to employ and to keep permanent families or squads of laborers. This habitat of the oyster Negro in Lancaster County, following the meanderings of the river and sandwiched between two sections of whites, may be likened to the layer of chocolate in a slice of chocolate cake. This comparison is said to hold true, by those in a position to know, for the oyster-bearing affluents of Chesapeake Bay in Maryland as well as in Virginia. There

are other Negro settlements in the interior of the county, of course, and they crowd into the little towns and hamlets of Lancaster and other counties; and from these settlements many go for the season to the river, where they live in cabins or barracks owned by the whites. But the characteristic home, as owner or as renter, of the oyster Negro is in the belt of country just described.

About the year 1890 the destructive effects of dredging (*a*) became so apparent and the oyster beds had been so stripped of oysters that some remedy became a necessity. The legislature of Virginia finally passed the present oyster law. The bed of the Rappahannock was carefully surveyed. Within certain limits the river bed was claimed as State property, and was offered for lease for 20-year periods at \$1 per acre per year. At the same time the inspection of oyster tonging beyond these limits was made much more rigid and systematic in order to prevent the taking of oysters under legal size—3 inches in length. This law went into operation in 1894, and the results have been excellent for the oyster industry. The beds leased by the State have been largely taken up by responsible men who are replacing the original beds by planting year by year oyster “seed,” as the little oysters are called, obtained chiefly from the lower James River. These seed grow rapidly after being laid down on fresh beds, and usually yield a sure and large return when they are taken up for consumption.

The planting of these seed oysters, which vary from the size of a finger nail to that of a silver dollar, is done by preference in the cool months, to prevent injury to the oysters from the heat. In summer these oysters are sometimes transplanted to beds near at hand in order to thin them out, or for other reasons. They cost 25 cents a bushel delivered at the planting ground. The number of bushels planted per acre varies according to the time they are to remain on the bed. From 1,000 to 1,500 bushels per acre are frequently planted in February or March, and the larger ones are taken up and sold the following December or January at from 40 to 50 cents per bushel. The smaller ones are left over to the next season, and are then worth from 50 to 75 cents a bushel. If the oysters are carried over to the third season they are supposed to be worth from 90 cents to \$1 a bushel, depending on their growth and condition, which in turn depend upon the shore on which they are planted. Some seasons, for reasons unknown, the oysters fail to fatten, and then they must be sold at a loss or held over till another season. Many planters prefer to cover their beds with oyster shells, and then wait for the “spat,” or spawn of the oyster, to strike on these shells. They claim that this produces an oyster bed

a Dredging is done by letting down a kind of grating upon the bottom of the river, setting sails, and thus making the dredge scrape along the bottom, bringing up with it big oysters and little and leaving the bottom practically-bare. The oyster bed is thus soon destroyed for years to come, sometimes for good and all.

practically of the same kind as the original "oyster rock" and of equal fertility and endurance. It is a slower process, usually, than planting the seed oysters.

The beds leased and protected by the State have already become very valuable. A few years ago they could have been bought at a slight advance over the annual rent paid by their lessees. Last fall they were worth \$50 an acre; this spring they are held at \$100 an acre, and the price is advancing rapidly.

This part of the oyster industry, it will be seen, has become a system of planting and reaping, and it has been followed by the next step in the handling of a large crop, its local preparation for the consumer's market. Just as the cotton spinners are flocking to the South in order to reach the raw material of the cotton crop, so are the oyster packers rapidly establishing their houses along the lower Rappahannock. Formerly all oysters were exported in the shell just as they came out of the water, after due selection and culling as to grades and sizes. This method of export is still the leading one, but the shucking interest is gaining rapidly. More capital is required for the shucking business, but judging from its development the returns must be very satisfactory.

A serious defect in the oyster law is said to be its lack of protection against the stealing of oysters from the beds when planted. The statute, it is stated, considers only as petty larceny such stealing of planted oysters, and punishment is inflicted only when conviction is obtained for the theft of 50 bushels at one time. This, the planters claim, is utterly inadequate to protect their rights. They have to employ watchmen and to build watchhouses out in the river in the effort to protect themselves and to supplement the work of the State oyster police system.

Until within the last 12 months there had never been a bank in Lancaster County, nor, until very recent years, in a section of tide-water Virginia almost three-fourths as large as Massachusetts.^(a) Now there are two banks in Lancaster County, one a State and one a national bank, and this local supply of capital is a result of the oyster law.

LITWALTON NEIGHBORHOOD AND WHEALTON.

Litwalton, taken as the center of this neighborhood study, is a hamlet of some 10 houses, including 4 stores, a post-office, and the office and residence of the physician of the neighborhood. A short distance off is a blacksmith shop. Another post-office is located about

^a These tide-water counties of Virginia contained 309,076 inhabitants according to the census of 1890, and have a land area of 5,869 square miles, as against a land area for Massachusetts of 8,040 square miles. The population was, therefore, 52.7 persons to the square mile, as against 278.5 persons to the square mile for Massachusetts.

2 miles away, and at about the same distance is a boat-building and undertaker's shop belonging to the most prosperous man among the Negroes. There are 2 more stores, 3 public schools (2 white and 1 colored), and a small hall belonging to the Negroes in the neighborhood, and just beyond its limits is the large unfinished Negro Baptist church. Between Litwalton and Whealton there are a Baptist church and a Methodist church. There is a gristmill at the edge of the neighborhood, and just beyond its border a steam sawmill. A telephone line passes through the neighborhood connecting it with the county seat, with some points on the river, and indirectly with Fredericksburg on the north, where telegraph is reached. The connection of the neighborhood with the outside world by transportation is at Whealton through the Weems line of steamers, which ply between Baltimore and the Rappahannock River landings as far as Fredericksburg, and furnish a boat almost every day except Sunday. These boats are much used. There is no other means of transportation and travel except by private conveyance in vehicles or in boats.

The oyster industry excepted, the interests of the neighborhood are entirely agricultural. Yet the neighborhood, as the county, imports food for man and beast. Corn is always high. The community as an agricultural community is not flourishing and has not been for years. There is almost no community spirit. The traditional isolation of the old-time plantation life still exists among the whites, and the Negro social life is of an unorganized kind.

The permanent population of the neighborhood consists of about 400 Negroes and about 250 whites. Judging by the school population, we may roughly estimate the increase since 1885 of the white population of this school district at about 80 per cent, and of the Negro population at about 17 per cent, and this ratio is approximately true for the Litwalton community. This difference has been caused in considerable degree by the Whealton part of the community. The remarkable development of the oyster business at Whealton has caused a number of white families to take up their permanent residence there.

At Whealton, 6 years ago, there was the long wharf, with several houses at the end of it for picking over and barreling the shell oysters, and a few houses on the river bank, besides the post-office and store. Now, in the oyster season, during the fall, winter, and 2 spring months, a population of about 500 persons is busily at work, and the money disbursed amounts to a large sum annually. This population is migratory. Only a few dozen people are left to occupy the shell, so to speak, left empty by the oyster openers when they go back to their Maryland homes about the end of April; for it is an interesting circumstance that a large majority of the oyster shippers along the lower Rappahannock are men from Maryland, Delaware, or New Jersey. Many of them have been engaged in the business of shipping the

shell oysters for years past and have built up a large trade. A still larger proportion, almost all in fact, of the oyster shucking and packing firms, have at their heads men who have felt the effects of bad oyster laws elsewhere, and have brought their energy and capital into these fields, attracted by the advantages of the Virginia oyster law.

Five years ago a firm from the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland started with a small force of hands into the shucking and shipping business at Whealton. Now there are 3 firms in this business at that place, and they employ a force of something like 350 employees and disburse during the 7 months of the active oyster season between \$50,000 and \$75,000 for salaries and labor, and probably \$100,000 for oysters. This does not include the disbursements of 4 other firms at Whealton engaged in shipping oysters in the shell, nor such outlay as may be incurred by the 3 packing firms when they buy for shipment in the shell, nor money expended in oyster cultivation. This development at Whealton is somewhat exceptional, but it is thoroughly characteristic, and is being rapidly imitated and duplicated at other places on the lower river. It is in consequence of the oyster law.

There were enumerated 441 of these Negro oyster shuckers, including their families and a number of laborers in addition, and there were doubtless a considerable number of omissions in the case of the younger members of these families. These people nearly all come from the same locality in Maryland—Somerset County. They are brought across the bay in vessels in the fall, at the beginning of the oyster season, and at its close in April are taken back in the same way. Some of them send their children back to Maryland about March, to go to school for the rest of the school term. Some of the children receive some instruction at Whealton. There was in operation at Whealton in February, 1901, a school of 15 pupils from among these children, taught by a woman at the rate of 15 cents a week per pupil. This weekly wage was probably about two-thirds of what the teacher could have earned as an oyster shucker, but it was doubtless more easily earned. A large proportion of the children, some of them quite young, shuck oysters with their parents.

The families live in the houses put up by the operators, where they are considerably crowded, if the families happen to be large.

The shuckers make good wages. Their daily average is often not so high as that of the oyster tongers; but usually they have steady work during the season, and thus the aggregate of earnings is large.

It seems strange at the first glance that no Litwalton Negroes are reported among these shuckers, though perhaps 4 should be included. The fact that all or most of the shuckers are outsiders is a condition that obtains likewise at other places on the river where the shucking interest has established itself. The explanation is not far to seek. The oyster tonger is his own master. He comes and goes when he

pleases. If he has good luck he may, especially if he owns his boat, make enough money in the open weather, in the fall months practically, to carry him through the season, possibly through the year. Then he can stay at home in the hard weather, or stand around the stove in the store with his fellows, or otherwise disport himself. He can nearly always find an odd job to keep enough meal in the box for a corn pone, if the oystering proves very unprofitable. And thus at the end of the season, if he has less money in his pocket, he has had or thinks he has had more liberty and more fun than the shucker; and so he declines to enter upon a more confining business even with its surer and larger returns. For the oyster shucker is confined to work. If he proves inefficient as a shucker or unreliable as a worker, he is apt to find that his stall in the shucking house and his place in the lodging house are wanted for someone else. If he is a poor shucker, he does not get the oysters out, and he can not earn the wages wherewith to pay his rent for his employer's room and to buy his supplies from his employer's store. Again, the oyster tonger works out in the open air in his boat, in sight and sound of his fellow tongers. He may have a very successful day, or even week; the weather may remain propitious for a longer time. He has the gambler's hope for luck always before him. Yet he knows also by experience that he may be kept off the water by ice or by bad weather for weeks at a time. The fact remains that the Litwalton tongers have not become the Whealton shuckers.

The method of taking oysters with tongs needs perhaps a word of explanation. The oyster tongs look like an exaggerated pair of garden rakes with very long metal teeth. They have slender handles from 15 to 30 feet long. These handles, flat on one side, are fastened together about 3 feet above the teeth. When the tongs are let down on the bottom and the handles, sticking above the water, are opened by the tonger, a good space of the oyster bed may be inclosed within the jaws of the tongs. The teeth are then gradually worked together by the tonger, who draws up his catch, whatever it may be. The small oysters under lawful size should be culled out as the tonging proceeds, and thrown back into the water. Otherwise the tonger becomes liable to a fine at the hands of the oyster inspector. It will be readily seen that, though skill may do much to lessen the strain, oyster tonging is not easy work, and the exposure must at times be great.

Nor is the work of the oyster shucker easy. The shucker stands in a kind of narrow stall, which is about as high as the waist, and which has the bottom raised high enough to keep it out of the dampness of the muddy floor. The oysters are thrown, by the men who bring them in in wheelbarrows, on the long table before the shucker. He holds the oyster firmly on the table with one hand and gives it a smart blow

with the back of his knife, breaking the lip of the shell, or, without breaking, simply inserts the blade of his knife between the shells, prizes them open by a quick turn of the wrist, pulls off one shell, cuts the heart of the oyster loose from the other shell, and drops it into the can by his side, while he sweeps the empty shells into a pile on the other side. Skill and experience count for much in this work, and so does the size of the oysters. With large oysters a skillful shucker can open 20 gallons of oysters a day, which at 20 cents a gallon would give him a wage of \$4 a day. The earnings vary from this high-water mark to about 40 cents a day for women and children. The operators do not as a rule want their stalls occupied by inefficient members of the families of even good shuckers; but it is recognized as good policy to train good shuckers; hence many children are employed. The shuckers sometimes complain of the work as hard upon the chest, probably because of the constant forward position of the arms. The shucking houses are mere one-story sheds, but they are provided with stoves and can be closed, so that the shucker, though handling wet, cold oysters, is not exposed as the oyster tonger is, neither has he as much liberty; but his good time comes when the shucking season is over and he goes home with the earnings he has saved. Then he disports himself, unless he be economically inclined, until his money is gone. The employers report that many of the heads of families go away in the spring with considerable sums of money, running into the hundreds of dollars, tied in bags around their necks, and that some of the improvident among these, and still more among the less saving, apply for financial help before the summer is over and the next oyster season begins. Some of the large families consume their earnings in their employers' stores as fast as they get their wages. One family, for example, of 12 was called to the writer's attention by the remark of the employer that the head of the family—there were 4 shuckers in it—earned \$18 a week on an average, and would spend \$20 a week if allowed credit in the store, and that he usually had nothing left at the end of the season to show for his work. On the other hand, some interesting cases of profiting by their opportunities will be reported when we come to examine the occupations and wages of these people.

They are distinctly migratory and are distinctly characteristic of the oyster country. Some of them go from oyster shucking in the winter to berry picking in the late spring and early summer. After leaving a large part of their earnings, expended in the stores for supplies, they still take with them, in the aggregate, a considerable sum of money into other communities. This money should certainly, in large part, be kept in the place where it is earned and where it is needed, but neither the Negroes nor the whites of the community show the proper aptitude and disposition to do this. The whites of Litwalton neighborhood do not avail themselves of this chance for steady

and good wages, apparently because they are not used to it, and because of the conditions of the labor. Among all the employees of the 3 shucking establishments, only 3 white shuckers were found—a man and two boys. One of these boys, a slight little fellow of 13 or 14, said that he made his 40 cents a day, sometimes more. There was probably no other way whatever to be found in that whole section of country by which this boy could make \$75 for himself during the winter season. There are many white boys in the section greatly in need of such help; there are probably still more white men in such need, and men who are compelled to work with their hands for their support and that of their families; and yet both men and boys are letting this profitable source of revenue remain in the hands of migratory operatives from another State.

The oysters after being taken from the shells are spread on a perforated tank to drain, and water from artesian wells bored for the purpose is poured over them to take off the oyster liquor the more rapidly. They are then packed in an almost solid mass around ice in small, stout barrels, and are ready for shipment. The 3 firms engaged in this business use about 35 tons of ice a week, which is imported from Crisfield, Md. Before being packed in barrels, the oysters are sorted as to size, so as to meet the demands of the buyers in the different markets, for these oysters go as far as into the northwestern States beyond Chicago. The grades which the operators buy range in price from about 40 cents to about \$1 a bushel. They sell the shucked oysters at from 60 cents to \$1.20 a gallon. It requires, on the average, something like a bushel and a peck of oysters in the shell to make a gallon of shucked oysters. There are various designations for practically the same grades of oysters. Thus one dealer may ship his oysters, beginning with the small size, as culls, primes, extras, and counts, while another may call his oysters standards, mediums, selects, and extra selects; the counts and extra selects, respectively, mean the very large oysters that command fancy prices in certain markets when retailed by counting instead of by measuring. Through the courtesy of the steamboat agent and of the 3 firms, a rough estimate of the shipments of oysters from the Whealton wharf during the season of 1899-1900 was obtained.

During January and February of 1900, including a freeze of 8 days, 4,983 barrels of oysters were shipped. This would make about 20,000 barrels for the season of 8 months from September to the last of April—rather a low than a high estimate. At $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels to the barrel this would give 50,000 bushels of shell oysters. During the same season the 3 firms shipped about 200,000 gallons of shucked oysters. At the rate of a bushel and a peck of shell oysters for each gallon of shucked oysters this would give 250,000 bushels of shell oysters, or a total of 300,000 bushels of shell oysters distributed from the Wheal-

ton wharf in the season of 1899-1900. At the price of 50 cents a bushel this would seem to indicate a disbursement of \$150,000 for the purchase of oysters at this single point. From this great sum should be deducted, as not having been disbursed among the oystermen of the vicinity, an amount which the writer is not in a position to give, namely, the value of the oysters taken from the beds owned and cultivated by the shippers themselves. On the other hand, thousands of bushels of oysters were bought at Whealton in 1899-1900 and exported in sailing vessels, of which no record was left in the hands of the steamboat agent, nor included under the shipments of the 3 firms as given above.

In addition to the oyster lands of the shippers, a large number of acres of the river bottom near Whealton are under cultivation by men who have leased them from the State and the cultivation of which has made this great supply of oysters possible in the short time that has elapsed since the injury to the beds from the dredging of some years ago. A great part of the money disbursed for the purchase of oysters goes to them, and not directly to the oystermen of Litwalton. But many of the Litwalton oystermen are employed by these cultivators at high wages which yield, in the long run, perhaps, as much as the men would make working for themselves under favorable conditions. Of course, also, many oysters from other parts of the river are bought at Whealton. When all these deductions are made, there is still left of the total disbursements for the purchase of oysters at Whealton, a large sum which goes into the hands of the Negro oystermen of the Litwalton neighborhood—a much larger sum, it is thought as the result of other inquiries, than would appear from the answers of these oystermen to the queries of the schedule. This discrepancy, if discrepancy it be, would result easily and naturally in most cases from the fact that the oystermen had to make an estimate of their earnings in answer to the thirty-third question as to wages, and this estimate was in many cases probably too low, with all the contingencies of wind and weather taken into consideration. This element of uncertainty, leaving a broad margin of doubt around the report of wages, was unavoidable. The discrepancy is not believed to be so serious as to vitiate the substantial value of the report of wages.

From what has been said, it is seen that the relations of the two parts of the chief laboring element to the central industry of this community are quite different. One part, the Litwalton Negroes, the extractive labor element, is permanent and has a characteristic community life of its own; the other part, the Whealton Negroes, the manufacturing labor element, is migratory and has no such characteristic community life as need call for extended remark in this paper, except with respect to its economic aspects. The real community life of the shuckers is in Maryland. This division of the labor element is

said to be characteristic of the Chesapeake oyster growing and oyster shucking region.

The Litwalton neighborhood, in common with other parts of the county, feels the effects of the influx of summer visitors, particularly at the camp-meeting time in August.

The present study follows the lines of the Farmville, Virginia, and the Sandy Spring, Maryland, studies, and comparisons are instituted where found practicable and profitable.

In the Sandy Spring report it was said: "In the case of Farmville we have a small urban community of Negroes with immediate agricultural interests and surroundings. In the case of Sandy Spring we have an approximately equal group of agricultural Negroes with semiurban surroundings and interests."^(a) In the case of the Litwalton-Wheaton neighborhood, there is a group of Negroes somewhat smaller in the aggregate, who, with agricultural surroundings and interests, subsist chiefly by one industry. This industry is, for half of this aggregate group, extractive, and controls their economic and social life for the greater part of the year; for the other half, the industry may be said to be manufacturing and controls their economic life for half the year, after which they return to their own social and domestic life. This division of the whole group is, as has already been said, characteristic of the section and of the population.

It will appear as the study proceeds that, as in the case of the Sandy Spring study, the schedule did not always yield results of sufficient value to be elaborated by tables and full discussion. With some differences of arrangement, the same schedule of questions as for Sandy Spring was used, as follows:

FAMILY INQUIRIES.

1. Number of family in order of visitation?
2. Number of persons in this family?
3. Deaths during year in this family?
4. Deaths during past five years?
5. Kind and size of house—number of rooms?
6. Does this family own this house?
7. Does this family own any house or land—how much?
8. Value of such house or land?
9. How long has family owned this property?
10. Rent paid here per month?
11. Church membership or attendance?

INDIVIDUAL INQUIRIES.

12. Name?
13. Relationship to head of family?
14. Sex?
15. Age at nearest birthday?
16. Conjugal condition?
17. If married, how often?

18. Mother of how many children (born living)?
19. Number of them living?
20. Where are such children now?
21. Births during year?
22. Place of birth?
23. Length of residence in this community?
24. Free or slave in 1865—how long?
25. Length of residence in this house?
26. Months in school during the year?
27. Able to read English?
28. Able to write English?
29. Sick during year—cause?
30. Number of days sick?
31. Wanting or defective in mind, sight, hearing, speech; maimed or deformed—in what respect?
32. Usual profession, trade, or occupation?
33. Usual wages at above?
34. Weeks unemployed during year?
35. Working for self?
36. Worked at how many places during year?
37. Worked at how many places during last five years?
38. Worked at same place for five years or longer—how long?

One other remark must be made before taking up the discussion of the tables. In the Sandy Spring study considerable stress was laid on domestic service and its relation to the whole community. Necessarily, in the comparison of the two communities, attention was called to the absence of the domestic service element in the Farmville study, and reasons were assigned why domestic service should receive careful attention in a study of this nature. In the present study domestic service is so nearly absent from the life of the community that it would be labor lost to attempt to follow it up closely. What little there is has for both races all the irritating features that are found elsewhere.

Seventeen white families in the Litwalton neighborhood usually try to have servants. Of these, 8 had, at the time of this investigation, no servants, and 2 had white servants. Of the remaining 7 families, 2 had as servants children of 12 and 13 years of age, and 1 family was what may be called a case of survival—that is, a family of old people in which an old servant, a cook, was living and had been living for 30 years. The remaining 4 families were not investigated. The domestic service, equally fleeting and sought after, was roundly denounced by the housekeepers as incompetent, dishonest, and unreliable. On the other hand, domestic service for the whites is ridiculed and spoken of with contempt by the Negroes of the community. Hence its practical absence from the neighborhood. It is said that during the camp-meeting time, probably regarded as an extra occasion, a number of Negroes, inaccessible at other times, go into temporary service, which they abandon on the approach of the oyster season in September.

Among the Negroes themselves there are 19 individuals, young persons of both sexes, who occupy the position of "help" toward the families with whom they respectively live. Some of the young men are on regular wages as laborers, and have, in some instances, been so employed for years. It is not so clear what the relations of the others are to the respective families, but it looks as if a system of service of Negroes to Negroes was being developed, as was said to be the case in Farmville. (a) Such a system of "helps" might easily grow out of the habit of the more prosperous Negroes of hiring men to aid them in tonging for oysters in their boats. If employer and employee worked pleasantly and profitably together in taking oysters, their relationship would naturally continue in the agricultural work of the community in those cases in which the employer was the owner or the cultivator of sufficient land to make the hiring of labor desirable or necessary. Three of these young men are reported to have been hired all the year round, for larger wages in the oyster season, for smaller wages in the summer months, and to have been so hired for from 4 to 8 years. There are 11 of these families which report help of some kind.

The Farmville investigator says: "At the same time one curious modification of the domestic-service system is slowly taking place, which may mean much in the future, and that is the fact that Negroes themselves are beginning to hire servants. Ten families among Farmville Negroes regularly hire one servant each, and several others have a woman to help occasionally. This system is, however, very different from the hiring of Negroes by whites. The employers in this case in no respect despise common labor or menial duties, because they themselves have performed such work all their lives. Their servant, too, is a neighbor's daughter, whom they know and like, and treat practically as a member of the family. Thus there grows up a system very much like that in New England or in parts of Germany to-day, where housework is honored. At the same time, the Negro employers learn to sympathize with the complaints of the whites as to inefficient servants. In this way, possibly, the one circumstance which, more than all others, serves to ruin domestic service in the South may be modified, namely, the making of the term 'Negro' and 'servant' synonymous." (a)

If the development of a "help" system among the Negroes themselves would tend to improve the domestic service in the South, it should certainly receive all possible encouragement from every direction. But will the servants of the domestic service of the whites be better or more contented for knowing that the servants of the domestic service of the well-to-do blacks are called "helps," and receive a treatment different from that received in the houses of the whites? It is

^a See Bulletin No. 14, page 21.

doubtful. Indeed, is it not likely that such a distinction, with its correspondent difference, would make the domestic service for the whites still more obnoxious to the young Negroes? To be treated "practically as a member of the family" is what any fairly efficient young colored house girl may expect as a "help" in a Southern Negro family, and what no colored house girl, efficient or inefficient, may as a servant expect in any Southern white family. Whether this be right or wrong, it is the plain fact, and it does no good to mistake or to misstate this fact, or to think it may be explained away by the suggestion of some other condition, actual or possible. The truth is that people do not like domestic service, either for themselves or for others, whether they honor housework or not; and hence they get somebody else to do the housework for them, if they can. Housework is honored in Sandy Spring, (a) where the Quaker mothers teach it to their daughters, who then straightway try to find servants who shall do the work for them. And so it goes the world over. The first Negro millionaire in the United States will have servants in his house, and not "helps;" the well-to-do Negro hotel keepers now in business have servants, and not "helps." One of the greatest needs of the Negro is to learn the facts, and not the fancies, of his own economic life and of his environment as they actually exist at the present time in the Southern States.

In Litwalton the ridicule of domestic service for the whites by the Negroes makes it practically impossible that there should be good domestic service by Negroes in that neighborhood. This seems to be a direct result of the comparative rapidity and ease with which the oyster Negro can, if he chooses, make himself and his family independent of his white neighbor. Economic independence, then, whether in Farmville or Litwalton, leads to segregation of the races, and also to the imitation by the well-to-do blacks, of the conditions of life found among the well-to-do whites. That seems to be the whole story told by the facts reported in this connection.

AGE, SEX, AND BIRTHPLACE OF NEGRO POPULATION.

The total number of Negroes reported in the Litwalton-Wheaton district as to age, sex, and birthplace was 847. Probably 50 omissions should be added. As has been explained in the preceding remarks, the Litwalton and Wheaton divisions of this district are so distinct that they will not be tabulated together.

Of the 406 negroes of Litwalton there were 391 who reported as to sex, as shown in the table following. Of these there were 216 males and 175 females, a proportion of 810.2 females to every 1,000 males. This is a remarkable proportion. Sandy Spring and Farmville, points of concentration, show, respectively, 1,053 and 1,048 females to every

a See Bulletin 32, pages 76 and 82.

1,000 males, about 100 females in each case above the average for the United States—952.8 females to every 1,000 males. (a) But Litwalton shows 142.6 females per 1,000 males, or nearly 15 per cent, less than the general population for the whole country, and more than 200 females per 1,000 males less than Farmville and Sandy Spring. This seems to indicate a large emigration of females.

The place of birth of the population will make this clearer. Of the 406 persons enumerated, 333 were born in Litwalton and 15 in Lancaster County outside of Litwalton, a total of 348, or 85.71 per cent; 30, or 7.39 per cent, were born in the adjoining counties of Richmond and Northumberland; 18, or 4.43 per cent, were from elsewhere in Virginia; that is, 97.53 per cent are from the neighborhood and the State. Three are from Maryland, 1 from Louisiana, 1 from South Carolina, and 5 are not reported. This recapitulation shows a very small movement of population into the community, the 45 persons from Lancaster County outside of Litwalton and from Northumberland and Richmond Counties being brought in by what may be called the neighborhood movement resulting chiefly from marriage. The excess of males over females does not come from any large excess of males in the immigration; for of the 73 persons, including 5 of unknown place of birth, reported as having come into the neighborhood, 37 are males and 36 are females. Among the women immigrants, 20 appear to have been brought in as wives of residents and to have been living in the community for some time. Among the men about half a dozen young unmarried immigrants are reported, and about half a dozen more, judging by their names, should have been reported as immigrants and not as natives. This would show a small immigration of young men. The explanation of the anomaly seems to be the emigration, temporary or permanent, of the young women.

The following table shows, by age periods and sex, the number of Negroes of each sex from whom reports were obtained:

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN LITWALTON FROM WHOM REPORTS WERE OBTAINED, BY AGE PERIODS AND SEX, 1901.

Age periods.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Age periods.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Under 1 year	2	4	6	50 to 59 years	12	9	21
1 to 4 years	18	18	a 36	60 to 69 years	10	3	13
5 to 9 years	25	27	b 52	70 to 79 years	3	4	7
10 to 15 years	33	27	a 60	80 to 89 years	2	.....	2
16 to 19 years	19	15	34	Age not reported..	9	8	c 17
20 to 29 years	42	23	65	Total	216	175	d 391
30 to 39 years	20	21	41				
40 to 49 years	21	16	37				

a Not including 2, sex not reported.

b Not including 5, sex not reported.

c Not including 6, sex not reported.

d Not including 15, sex not reported.

There are 104 males of voting age, and 177 children (b) of the legal school age (5 to 20, inclusive), and 134 (b) of the usual school age (5 to

a Cf. Bulletin No. 32, page 57.

b Including 15 children age not reported and 7 sex not reported.

15). Eighty out of 82 families reported as to length of residence in Litwalton. Five had been living there from 5 to 10 years, 10 from 15 to 21 years, 31 from 21 to 36 years, 34 for 36 years or longer. Four-fifths of the families have been living in the neighborhood for more than 21 years; or, to conform to the reports for Farmville and Sandy Spring, only about one-fifth of the population has come in from the outside since 1880, as compared with a little more than one-fourth in the case of Sandy Spring and with one-half in the case of Farmville. (a)

The following comparative table for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville shows the movement of the younger population:

NEGROES IN LITWALTON, SANDY SPRING, AND FARMVILLE FROM WHOM REPORTS WERE OBTAINED, BY AGE PERIODS AND SEX.

[This table does not include 65 persons at Sandy Spring and 75 at Farmville, mostly women in domestic service.]

Age periods.	Litwalton, Va., 1901.			Sandy Spring, Md., 1899.			Farmville, Va., 1897.		
	Males.	Fe- males.	Total.	Males.	Fe- males.	Total.	Males.	Fe- males.	Total.
Under 1 year	2	4	6	8	17	25	12	12	24
1 to 9 years	43	45	88	125	124	249	127	150	277
10 to 19 years	52	42	94	107	112	219	182	147	329
20 to 29 years	42	23	65	47	61	108	87	101	188
30 to 39 years	20	21	41	41	45	86	53	67	120
40 to 49 years	21	16	37	40	34	74	47	55	102
50 to 59 years	12	9	21	27	22	49	44	52	96
60 to 69 years	10	3	13	21	17	38	23	24	47
70 to 79 years	3	4	7	8	8	16	14	15	29
80 to 89 years	2	.....	2	3	8	11	3	3	6
90 to 100 years .....	.....	.....	.....	1	• 1	2	1	.....	1
100 years or over .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Age not reported	9	8	17	8	10	18	4	1	5
Total	216	175	391	436	459	895	598	627	1,225

For the period from 10 to 19 years as compared with Litwalton, Sandy Spring, with more than twice the population, shows a little over twice the number of young males and almost three times the number of young females; and Farmville, with a little over three times the population, shows more than three times the number of young males and three and a half the number of young females. For the period from 20 to 29 years Litwalton has a large excess of males over females, while in Sandy Spring and Farmville the males number less than the females. Comparing the three localities for this period we find that Sandy Spring has only 5 more males than Litwalton and Farmville a little over twice as many, while Sandy Spring has over two and a half times as many females, and Farmville more than four times as many. The decade from 40 to 50 shows an excess of males over females in both Litwalton and Sandy Spring. This would seem to show a small immigration of males, though it may be accounted for by the emigration of the females. The domestic-service elements for Sandy Spring and Farmville have been excluded from this table. Were

a Cf. Bulletin No. 32, page 58, and Bulletin No. 14, page 9.

they included, the small proportion of young women at Litwalton would be still more clearly shown; but, as it is, the large emigration of the Litwalton young women seems evident. They return in many cases to be married, or are married soon after returning. Some of the young men emigrate permanently, but the freedom of the oyster tonger's life and its profits when followed regularly seem to prove more attractive to the majority of the young men than more regular wages elsewhere. One young man, just married and just settling himself in a little home for which he was paying, stated that he had been earning \$7 a week for two and a half months the previous summer in a Baltimore iron foundry and had given up that rate of wages to go back to Litwalton and the oysterman's life. He claimed, it should be said, that he was averaging \$20 a month for 6 months at oystering.

The next table gives the percentage in different age periods of the Negroes of Litwalton in comparison with Negroes and with other populations elsewhere:

PER CENT IN DIFFERENT AGE PERIODS OF NEGROES IN LITWALTON, SANDY SPRING, AND FARMVILLE, AND OF TOTAL POPULATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

[The per cents for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville are computed from schedules; the others are taken from the United States Census of 1890 and Mayo-Smith's Statistics and Sociology.]

Age periods.	Negroes of Litwalton. (a)	Negroes of Sandy Spring.	Negroes of Farmville.	Colored population of the United States. (b)	Total population of the United States.	Population of—		
						Germany.	Ireland.	France.
Under 10 years.....	26.37	31.24	24.57	28.22	24.28	24.2	20.8	17.5
10 to 19 years.....	25.07	24.97	26.86	25.18	21.70	20.7	23.4	17.4
20 to 29 years.....	16.97	12.31	15.35	17.40	18.25	16.2	16.2	16.3
30 to 39 years.....	10.71	9.81	9.79	11.26	13.48	12.7	10.8	13.8
40 to 49 years.....	9.66	8.44	8.32	7.89	9.45	10.4	9.8	12.3
50 to 59 years.....	5.48	5.59	7.84	4.92	6.38	7.8	8.5	10.1
60 to 69 years.....	3.39	4.33	3.84	2.88	3.94	5.2	6.0	7.6
70 years or over.....	2.35	3.31	3.43	2.25	2.52	2.8	4.5	5.0
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0

a Nine persons for whom age but not sex was reported are included in the figures on which these per cents are based.

b Persons of Negro descent, Chinese, Japanese, and civilized Indians.

The percentages for the two decades, from 20 to 30 and from 30 to 40, approach nearer the percentages for the Negro population of the United States than in the case of either Sandy Spring or Farmville in spite of the small proportion of young women shown by the comparative table for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville just preceding.

For the Whealton part of the district it was found impracticable to go in among the shuckers and interrupt the business of their employers to the extent that would have been necessary to make an individual canvass of the heads of families. Nor was it necessary. One shucking house was substantially a facsimile of the others, and, as the economic account of the employees was the important matter, a reli-

able statement of their general conditions of life was obtained from their employers, as well as the statement of their ages. The pay rolls would give the wages merely; but the interest of the employer did not stop with the payment of the wages, for he found it very desirable to know whom he could carry on the books of his store, when an employee was not prepared to pay cash, and whom he could not safely credit till a future pay day. The result was that the employers or their clerks knew personally every head of family, the number in his family, and whether they were available as shuckers or desirable as store customers.

Of the 441 of these Negro employees and their dependents 340 reported as to sex. Of these, 226 were males and 114 were females. The age and sex details for 110 of them, a little less than one-fourth of the total population, are as given in the following table:

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN WHEALTON FROM WHOM REPORTS WERE OBTAINED, BY AGE PERIODS AND SEX, 1901.

Age periods.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Age periods.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1 to 4 years	2	.....	2	50 to 59 years.....	2	3	5
5 to 9 years	1	1	<i>a</i> 2	Total.....	66	44	<i>c</i> 110
10 to 15 years	9	13	<i>b</i> 22	Age not reported..	<i>d</i> 160	<i>e</i> 70	<i>f</i> 230
16 to 19 years	10	4	14	Grand total .	<i>d</i> 226	<i>e</i> 114	<i>g</i> 340
20 to 29 years	21	8	29				
30 to 39 years	17	11	28				
40 to 49 years	4	4	8				

a Not including 2, sex not reported.

b Not including 3, sex not reported.

c Not including 5, sex not reported.

d Including 14, age not reported, but too young to work, probably under 12 years of age.

e Including 26, age not reported, but too young to work, probably under 12 years of age.

f Including 40, age not reported, but too young to work, probably under 12 years of age; but not including 96 children, age and sex not reported. Of the latter number 45 were engaged in shucking oysters, while 51 were too young to work, probably under 12 years of age.

g Including 40, age not reported, but too young to work, probably under 12 years of age; but not including 5 children from 5 to 15 years of age, sex not reported, and 96, age and sex not reported. Of the latter number 45 were engaged in shucking oysters, while 51 were too young to work, probably under 12 years of age.

As might be expected in a transient laboring population, the proportion of males to females was high, about 504 females to every 1,000 males.

CONJUGAL CONDITION, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS.

The following table for Litwalton shows that of the 132 males over 15 years of age who returned answers, 59, or 44.7 per cent, were single; 64, or 48.5 per cent, were married; 7, or 5.3 per cent, were widowed, and 2, or 1.5 per cent, were living separated from their wives. Of the 99 women reporting, 24, or 24.2 per cent, were single; 65, or 65.7 per cent, were married; 8, or 8.1 per cent, were widowed; and 2, or 2 per cent, were separated.

CONJUGAL CONDITION BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, OF NEGROES OF LITWALTON.

Age periods.	Males.				Females.				Total.
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Separated.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Separated.	
15 to 19 years	22				18	1			41
20 to 29 years	33	8	1		2	26	1		65
30 to 39 years	1	16	3		2	19			41
40 to 49 years	2	17	1	1		12	2	2	37
50 to 59 years	1	9	1			9			21
60 to 69 years		10				1	2		13
70 to 79 years		3				1	3		7
80 to 89 years		1	1						2
Age not reported					2	2			4
Total	59	64	7	2	24	65	8	2	231

This table may be profitably compared with the corresponding table for Sandy Spring. (a) In Sandy Spring 33 per cent of the males were single; in Litwalton, 44.7 per cent; in Sandy Spring 60 per cent were married; in Litwalton, 48.5 per cent. In Sandy Spring 49 out of 82 single men, 60 per cent, were under 20 years of age—that is, practically not marriageable; in Litwalton, 22 out of 59, or 37 per cent, are under 20 years of age. The disproportion is noteworthy. In Sandy Spring 31 per cent of the females, or about the same as for the males, were single; in Litwalton, 24.2 per cent, or 20.5 per cent less than for the males; in Sandy Spring, 54 per cent of the females, or 6 per cent less than for the males, were married; in Litwalton, 65.7 per cent, or 17.2 per cent more than for the males. In Sandy Spring 47 per cent of the single females were under 20; in Litwalton, 75 per cent.

The decade from 20 to 30 presents the strongest contrasts. In Sandy Spring, out of 52 men between 20 and 30 years of age, 27, almost 52 per cent, were or had been married, and 48 per cent were single; in Litwalton, out of 42 men, 9, or 21 per cent, were or had been married, and 79 per cent were single. The matter is reversed in the case of the women. In Sandy Spring, out of 83 women between 20 and 30, but 48 or 58 per cent, were or had been married; in Litwalton, out of 23 women, 21 were or had been married.

The decades from 30 on do not seem to call for special mention, unless it be to note that with two exceptions not a Negro woman in Litwalton seems to have escaped matrimony after reaching the discreet age of 30.

It seems that the emigration of the young females from Litwalton has left the supply unequal to the demand, and has put women at a premium among the Negroes of that community.

It is of some interest to compare the Litwalton with the Farmville table of conjugal condition. The decade from 20 to 30 shows for Farmville, as well as for Litwalton, a large excess of unmarried young men, 55 single as against 31 married men. But the cause is not, as in Litwalton, a dearth of marriageable women (b), for the table shows 44

a Cf. Bulletin No. 32, page 61.

b Cf. Bulletin No. 14, page 10; Bulletin No. 32, page 62.

single women and 3 widows as against 54 married women of the same age. But this is not all. If of the "75 servants, mostly young women," in domestic service in Farmville, we suppose that 40 should be properly assigned to this decade, we should then have 87 single women and widows as against 54 married women. Some such proportion would seem to represent the possible conjugal condition at Farmville more accurately than the figures of the table, and it brings out more emphatically the contrast of the Litwalton condition. The excess of the young unmarried men and women in Farmville may be due to town life as compared with country life, but the excess of young unmarried men in Litwalton is evidently due to a lack of women for them to marry.

In the following table the conjugal condition of the Negroes of Litwalton is compared with that of the Negroes of Sandy Spring and of Farmville and of the population of various foreign countries. The table includes persons of 15 years of age or over.

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE NEGROES OF LITWALTON, SANDY SPRING, AND FARMVILLE, AND OF THE POPULATION OF VARIOUS FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BY SEX.

[The per cents for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville are computed from schedules; those for foreign countries are taken from Mayo-Smith's Statistics and Sociology. The figures for divorced are not shown for the foreign countries. This table does not include 65 persons at Sandy Spring and 75 at Farmville, mostly women in domestic service.]

Civil division.	Per cent of males 15 years of age or over.			Per cent of females 15 years of age or over.		
	Single.	Married.	Wid-owed.	Single.	Married.	Wid-owed.
Litwalton.....	44.7	48.5	a 5.3	24.2	65.7	b 8.1
Sandy Spring.....	32.5	61.2	c 3.4	25.1	60.9	d 11.9
Farmville.....	41.9	50.7	e 4.0	32.1	45.4	f 19.4
France.....	36.0	56.5	7.5	30.0	55.3	14.7
Germany.....	40.9	53.7	5.3	36.5	50.8	12.4
Great Britain.....	39.5	54.9	5.6	37.3	50.9	11.8
Hungary.....	31.5	63.7	4.7	22.0	62.8	15.0
Ireland.....	49.3	44.8	5.9	43.5	42.1	14.4
Italy.....	40.9	53.1	6.0	33.2	53.2	13.6

a Also 1.5 per cent separated.
 b Also 2 per cent separated.
 c Also 2.9 per cent separated.

d Also 2.1 per cent separated.
 e Also 3.4 per cent separated.
 f Also 3.1 per cent separated.

In the following table the conjugal condition of the Negro population of Litwalton is compared with that of the Negroes of Sandy Spring and of Farmville, and with that of the entire population of the United States. Only persons 20 years of age or over are considered.

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE NEGROES OF LITWALTON, SANDY SPRING, FARMVILLE,
AND OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX.

[The per cents for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville are computed from schedules; those for the United States are taken from the United States census of 1890. This table does not include 65 persons at Sandy Spring and 75 at Farmville, mostly women in domestic service.]

Civil division.	Per cent of males 20 years of age or over.				Per cent of females 20 years of age or over.			
	Single.	Married.	Wid- owed.	Divorced.	Single.	Married.	Wid- owed.	Divorced
Litwalton.....	33.64	58.18	6.36	a 1.82	7.50	80.00	10.00	a 2.50
Sandy Spring.....	15.35	76.72	4.23	a 3.70	14.36	69.31	13.86	a 2.47
Farmville.....	25.00	65.44	5.15	a 4.41	17.30	55.03	23.90	a 3.77
United States:								
Native whites, native parents.	28.54	66.08	4.74	b.64	18.75	67.88	12.79	b.58
Native whites, foreign par- ents	48.82	48.65	2.25	b.28	34.83	58.76	6.02	b.39
Foreign whites..	28.06	65.93	5.51	b.50	15.39	68.05	16.21	b.35
Negroes.....	25.01	69.02	5.40	b.57	15.71	65.02	18.41	b.86
Total United States.....	30.95	63.83	4.65	b.57	19.92	66.35	13.19	b.54

a Separated.

b Including unknown.

The first of these two tables shows for Litwalton a higher percentage of unmarried males than for any locality or country compared except Ireland; it also shows a lower percentage of unmarried females, Hungary excepted, and a higher percentage of married females.

The second table shows for Litwalton the next to the highest percentage of unmarried males, the lowest percentage of unmarried females, and the highest percentage of married females in the list.

The writer is not in a position to know whether or not these excessive percentages of the conjugal condition found in Litwalton are pervadingly characteristic of the oyster region of the Chesapeake—that is, of the Negro population in that region engaged in taking oysters as a business. The conditions of life already pointed out, particularly the two conditions developed in Litwalton, would seem to affirm the proposition that there is a small immigration of young men and a large emigration of young women. An examination of 38 families, or rather of 38 married couples, for they are not all separate families, tends in the same direction. The women of these 38 couples are all under 40 years of age, 14 of them being between 40 and 31, and 24 between 30 and 18. Eleven of these women are immigrants, imported, so to speak. Of the 38 husbands, 15 are between 52 and 40, 16 between 39 and 30, and 7 between 29 and 20. Several of the husbands are immigrants. It is noteworthy that only 7 women of the decade from 20 to 30 have husbands of the same age. The men marry late because there are not women enough, and the women marry early, as soon as they come back to the neighborhood, or before they can get away.

The writer does not feel that he can speak with much confidence of the results, socially, of this condition of the sexes. Two of the single women under 19 are mothers. Three other women in the neigh-

borhood, of whom one is now married, have a rather large and assorted variety of children, one under 10 years old being the son of a white man. The number of bastards reported, 10 years old or under; was 15, or 13 per cent of the children of that age. This is not believed to be in the least accurate. One of the reasons assigned by more than one father for the absence of the young women of the neighborhood was the desire to protect them, by absence and employment, against licentious importunity. Two of the 18 girls from 16 to 20 years of age were reported as having just returned from the city, where they had been at work; several were working either at home or as helps, and several were reported as simply at home, doing nothing. One deaf mute and 1 epileptic were reported among the children. An epidemic of measles had passed through the neighborhood just before this investigation was made. In addition a number of persons seemed to consider themselves in poor health. Eight births were reported for the current year, 14 deaths during the same period, and 44 deaths within the past 5 years. These figures are given for what they are worth. If the number of deaths for the year is accurate and represents the average, there would be 70 deaths for 5 years instead of 44.

The medical opinion of the neighborhood is that both tuberculosis and syphilis are alarmingly on the increase among the Negroes; that they spread diseases of the exanthematous, or eruptive type, with great rapidity; that they are more liable to diseases of all kinds than the whites, and that the mortality among them is greater than among the whites.

The proportion of mixed blood in the Negro population of the community seemed to be very large, not less than 75 per cent, perhaps nearer 85 per cent. (*a*)

The following incomplete report for Whealton is given. It shows that out of 97 males above 15, 40 are single men, or 41.2 per cent; 56, or 57.7 per cent, are married, and 1 is a widower. Out of 75 females, 9, or 12 per cent, are unmarried; 59, or 78.7 per cent, are married, and 7 are widows. Of the unmarried men, 19 or 47.5 per cent, are between 20 and 29 years of age. The 5 whose ages are not reported would probably raise this percentage to between 55 and 60 per cent. No unmarried females are reported as belonging to this decade. This proportion for each sex might be expected under the conditions. The proportion of widows reported, 9.3 per cent of the females, is interesting if not surprising. They are, however, widows with one or

a A noteworthy remark in this connection was made by a married woman in reply to the question whether she had been born free or slave. She replied: "I was born free. My mother before me was free. My mother was half white; my father was a white man; and I have just enough Negro blood in me to ruin me." She was the mother of several children.

more children old enough to shuck oysters; and it must be remembered that children of 14 and 15 can soon learn to make more than enough to support themselves at that work. One hundred and five day laborers—marriageable men—were not reported.

CONJUGAL CONDITION, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, OF NEGROES OF WHEALTON.

Age periods.	Males.				Females.				Total.
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Separated.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Separated.	
15 to 19 years	12				8				20
20 to 29 years	19	2				7			28
30 to 39 years	4	13				11			28
40 to 49 years		4				4			8
50 to 59 years		2				2	1		5
Age not reported	5	35	1		1	35	6		83
Total	40	56	1		9	59	7		172

SCHOOLS AND ILLITERACY.

The Litwalton Negro children have easy access to one school in their neighborhood taught by a woman who is considered a fairly good teacher and a good disciplinarian. The teacher's salary is \$22.50 a month, and the school session is for 7 months. The total enrollment of this school for 1899-1900 was 87, and the average daily attendance was 59. Of the total enrollment 56 children are to be credited to Litwalton, as reported in the schedules.

According to the schedules of the 134 (a) children in Litwalton, between 5 and 15 years of age, inclusive, 54, or 40 per cent, attended school at some time during the year; and of the 177 (a) children between 5 and 20, inclusive, 56, or 32 per cent.

The following table shows the school attendance, by age and sex:

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, BY AGE AND SEX, LITWALTON.

Age.	Males.		Females.	
	Popula- tion.	In school.	Popula- tion.	In school.
5 years	4		4	
6 years	5		4	
7 years	5	1	7	1
8 years	7	2	3	1
9 years	4	2	9	4
10 years	6	2	5	3
11 years	6	5	4	3
12 years	7	6	3	1
13 years	1	1	8	7
14 years	10	6	3	3
15 years	3	2	4	4
Age not reported	9		6	
Total	67	27	60	27
16 years	4		3	1
17 years	5		5	
18 years	6		7	1
19 years	4			
20 years	6		3	
Total	25		18	2
Grand total	92	27	78	29

a Including 15 children age not reported, and 7 sex not reported.

This table shows a much smaller comparative attendance for Litwalton than for either Sandy Spring or Farmville—40 per cent, as against 65 and 55.9 per cent, respectively, for children from 5 to 15, and 32 per cent, as against 59 and 46 per cent, respectively, for children from 5 to 20.

A few more girls than boys proportionally, the same number actually, attend school up to 15, inclusive. After that age, out of 25 males and 18 females of school age only 2 females are reported as having been to school during the session. (a)

Here, again, the contrast is sharp between Litwalton on the one hand and Sandy Spring and Farmville on the other. The girls stay at home without special employment in many cases, or go off to the cities. The boys can make money by oystering. Both drop out of school, having gotten what they want, the ability to read and to write. The spur of environment is lacking. The race, living more to itself than in either Sandy Spring or Farmville, seems indisposed to assimilate what is beyond its immediate needs. The girls who go to the city acquire the education of contact, and doubtless bring it back to Litwalton if they return. Why should a man disquiet himself in vain seems a very fundamental part of the life philosophy of the Litwalton Negro.

The table for length of school attendance is practically the same as for Farmville, and shows a higher percentage apparently than the one for Sandy Spring, but the longer term for Sandy Spring, 9 months, must be borne in mind.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN OF LITWALTON FROM 5 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX.

School attendance.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per cent.
Under 3 months.....	1	5	6	11.11
3 or under 7 months.....	13	6	19	35.19
7 months.....	13	16	29	53.70
Total.....	27	27	54	100.00

There is no table for school attendance above 15. It is practically nonexistent.

The census of the school population at different dates throws some light upon the Negro population of Litwalton, and therefore the following statistics are given. They are taken from the reports of the county superintendent of schools:

In 1885 the total school population of the county was 2,505, 928 white and 1,577 colored; in 1890 it was 3,151, of whom 1,201 were white and 1,950 colored; in 1895 it was 3,523, of whom 1,342 were white and 2,181 colored; in 1900 it was 3,683, of whom 1,483 were white and 2,200 colored. This increase of about 60 per cent in the white school population

a The school report gives only one pupil, sex not stated.

as against an increase of about 40 per cent in the colored school population since 1885 seems to indicate an immigration of whites either without any corresponding immigration of Negroes or with a corresponding emigration of Negroes. The oyster industry would cause a certain concentration of white operators in the county without producing a corresponding concentration of Negro operatives, since they are transient.

Of the total 3,683 school children there were 1,687 enrolled, of whom 790 were white and 897 colored. The average monthly enrollment was 1,399, consisting of 661 white and 738 colored. The average daily attendance was 929.50, consisting of 473.85 white and 455.65 colored. The per cent of white school population enrolled was 53.27; of colored school population, 40.77. The per cent of white school population in average attendance was 31.95; of colored 20.71. The per cent of attendance of monthly enrollment was 71.69 for the whites and 61.74 for the colored. These figures show an unsatisfactory condition of public instruction for the Negroes, so far as their endeavor to take advantage of their opportunities goes. They show also some discrepancy as compared with the schedules.

The cost to the county of tuition per month per pupil enrolled was 53 cents, or \$3.35 for the session; the whole cost of public instruction per month per pupil enrolled was 64 cents, or \$4.05 for the session. The average cost to the 3 school districts of tuition per month per pupil enrolled was 80 cents for whites, or \$5.07 for the session, and 31 cents for colored pupils, or \$1.96 for the session. The average cost to the 3 districts of tuition per month per pupil in daily average attendance was \$1.36 for whites, or \$8.61 for the session, and 63 cents for colored pupils, or \$3.99 for the session.

Litwalton is in the White Chapel district. The school population of the White Chapel district in 1885 was 868, of whom 242 were white and 626 colored; in 1890 it was 1,044, of whom 298 were white and 746 colored; in 1895 it was 1,125, of whom 354 were white and 771 colored; in 1900 it was 1,181, of whom 447 were white and 734 colored. While the white school population of this district increased from 242 in 1885 to 447 in 1900, about 85 per cent, the Negro school population increased only from 626 in 1885 to 734 in 1900, a little over 17 per cent. This seems to indicate emigration of the Negro population of the school age.

There were in this district, in 1900, 6 white schools and 4 colored schools, and the session was for 7 months. There were 11 teachers, of whom 2 males and 5 females were white and 4 females colored. The average monthly salaries were \$30 for white males, \$28.50 for white females, and \$22.50 for colored females.

In the Litwalton neighborhood of this district there were 3 schools, 2 white and 1 colored. The cost of instruction in these 3 schools was

presumably the same as the average cost for the 10 schools of the district, which was 90 cents tuition per month per pupil enrolled for white pupils, or \$6.30 per session, and 28 cents for colored pupils, or \$1.96 per session. The tuition per month per pupil in daily average attendance was \$1.47 for white pupils, or \$10.29 per session, and 55 cents for colored pupils, or \$3.85 per session.

The colored school for Litwalton (*a*) had a total enrollment for 1899-1900 of 87, of whom 40 were boys and 47 girls; an average monthly enrollment of 76, of whom 32 were boys and 44 girls, and an average daily attendance of 59, of whom 26 were boys and 33 girls. Here, again, a discrepancy is to be noted between the school report and the schedules. Bearing this margin of doubt in mind, there are, according to the schedules, 56 of these 87 enrolled pupils to be credited to the Litwalton neighborhood—a little over 64 per cent. The 59 pupils constituting the average daily attendance cost the county and State, at \$3.85 each, \$227.15 for the session of 1899-1900. Of these 59 pupils about 38 belonged to the neighborhood investigated, and, at \$3.85 each, cost \$146.30 for their instruction.

The State school tax (used for pay of teachers only), the county school tax (used for pay of teachers only), and the district school tax (used for school expenses), are each 10 cents on the \$100—a combined school rate of 30 cents on the \$100 of property. The reported assessed property of the Negroes of Litwalton, real and personal, according to the schedules, amounts to \$9,311, on which the tax rate of 30 cents on the \$100 would yield \$27.93. This amount, \$27.93, is \$5.43 more than the salary of their teacher for one month (\$22.50 per month, or \$157.50 per session), and is 19 per cent of the cost (\$146.30) of the instruction of their children in this school. The county and district tax for the White Chapel district amounted for this school year to \$583.32. Of this amount the Negroes of Litwalton contributed \$18.62.

The yield of the county and district tax for the 3 districts in 1900 was \$2,017.15. The levy for 1901 is for \$2,100.

The foregoing statistics in regard to the schools of the county and of the district in which Litwalton is situated, have been cited for a two-fold purpose—to throw light upon the attitude of the whites toward Negro education, and to emphasize the attitude of the Negroes themselves toward the schools. The statistics cited, taken from a typical, remote country district, illustrate, in part, the causes of the attitude of the two races toward the problem of Negro education.

With regard to the Negroes themselves, the statistics for Litwalton and for Lancaster County show, or seem to show, that they are indifferent to the instruction given them in the public schools after they

a Report of teacher of colored public school No. 1, White Chapel district, for term ending April 20, 1900.

have acquired the limited ability to read and write, for they then go at something else, while still in age schoolboys and schoolgirls. It is not merely the need to work that keeps them away, for they are reported as being unoccupied at home. Their parents keep them at home on any trifling pretext, or send them away where they can learn or begin their life work.

But it must be borne in mind that there is always danger in broad generalization from narrow premises, and the indications from Litwalton may not be so characteristic as they seem. (*a*)

As to schools and schooling, neither Sandy Spring nor Farmville are typical of the most usual conditions of Negro life in the South. Litwalton is much more so. The length of school term and the expense per capita are much lower than at Sandy Spring. The quality of teaching is doubtless much below that at Farmville.

The following table shows the degree of illiteracy by sex and age periods:

LITERATES AND ILLITERATES, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, LITWALTON.

Sex and age period.	Able to read and write.	Able to read.	Illiterate.	Not reported.	Total.
MALES.					
10 to 20 years	28	5	11	14	58
21 to 30 years	24	4	11	1	40
31 to 40 years	13	1	12	.....	26
41 years or over	12	2	24	.....	38
Age not reported	1	.....	.....	3	4
Total males.....	78	12	58	18	166
FEMALES.					
10 to 20 years	32	1	5	7	45
21 to 30 years	13	2	9	.....	24
31 to 40 years	9	1	10	1	21
41 years or over	1	.....	27	.....	28
Age not reported .....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Total females.....	55	4	53	8	120
BOTH SEXES.					
10 to 20 years	60	6	16	21	103
21 to 30 years	37	6	20	1	64
31 to 40 years	22	2	22	1	47
41 years or over	13	2	51	.....	66
Age not reported	1	.....	2	3	6
Total, both sexes	133	16	111	26	286

Of the 260 persons reporting in this table, 51.2 per cent could read and write, 6.1 per cent could read but not write, and 42.7 per cent were illiterate. Of the Farmville Negroes reporting 42.5 per cent could read and write, 17.5 per cent could read but not write, and 40 per cent were illiterate. In Sandy Spring 69.9 per cent could read

a See the article, "The Broken Necklace," by Mr. R. T. Hill, on the West Indies and their Negro population, Century Magazine for May, 1901, p. 55. He found everywhere evidences of retrogression among the West India Negroes and nowhere among them real illiteracy.

and write. The issue of the war did not inject into Litwalton, as into Sandy Spring, a mass of immigrants much more ignorant than the natives, and consequently the remark of the Farmville investigator may be applied to Litwalton: "If we divide the population into four classes * * * we can trace the steps of advance by the decreasing amount of illiteracy." The percentage of illiteracy for those over 41 is 77; for those between 31 and 40 it is 48; for those between 21 and 30 it is 32; for those between 10 and 20 it is 20, those not reported being omitted in calculating these per cents. After omitting those not reported, we find the percentage of illiteracy for those from 10 to 30 years of age to be, for males, 26.5; for females, about 23, and the percentage of illiteracy from 10 to 20 years of age for males, 25; for females, 13.

Of 101 Negroes reporting at Whealton 42.6 per cent could read and write, 1 per cent could read but not write, and 56.4 per cent were illiterate. It will be noticed that the percentage of illiteracy was much higher than at Litwalton. Of 59 males, 27 were literate and 32 were illiterate; of 42 females, 17 were literate and 25 were illiterate. Of males between 10 and 30 reporting on this subject, 44 per cent were illiterate; of females, 48 per cent. Of males between 10 and 20, 69 per cent were illiterate; of females, 31 per cent. The numbers in this group are too small to do more than give indications. They seem to show the bad effects educationally of the nomad life of the oyster shucker. The investigator does not think the figures for Whealton sufficiently reliable to be worthy of any special consideration.

LITERATES AND ILLITERATES, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, WHEALTON.

Sex and age periods.	Able to read and write.	Able to read.	Illiterate.	Not reported.	Total.
MALES.					
10 to 20 years	5		11	5	21
21 to 30 years	18		7		25
31 to 40 years	2		10	1	13
41 years or over	1		3		4
Age not reported	1		1		2
Total males	27		32	6	65
FEMALES.					
10 to 20 years	9		4	3	16
21 to 30 years	4		8	1	13
31 to 40 years	1	1	7		9
41 years or over	1		3		4
Age not reported	1		3		4
Total females	16	1	25	4	46
BOTH SEXES.					
10 to 20 years	14		15	8	37
21 to 30 years	22		15	1	38
31 to 40 years	3	1	17	1	22
41 years or over	2		6		8
Age not reported	2		4		6
Total, both sexes	43	1	57	10	111

OCCUPATIONS AND WAGES.

The occupations of Litwalton are those incident to oyster tonging and to farming on a small scale. Neither the neighborhood nor Lancaster County grows enough grain for its own consumption. There seems to be little or no export of fowls or eggs, small fruits, butter, or any other by-product of the farm. Whatever is made is consumed on the spot. Indian corn is rarely ever below \$3 a barrel.

The total Negro population above 10 years of age can be divided, by something of a stretch of the terms, into professional, 1; domestic (including housewives and helps), 80; agricultural, 26; industrial, 4; trade, meaning the oyster industry, 104; not engaged in gainful occupations, 40; not reported, 30.

Following the other classification used in the Farmville report, we have those working on their own account, 68; laboring class, 67; house service (including housewives and helps of both sexes employed by Negroes), 67; day service (including also some housewives), 13; at home, unoccupied, and dependent, 40; not reported, 30.

The following table shows the occupations by sex and age periods:

OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, OF NEGROES OF LITWALTON.

Occupations.	10 to 15 years.	16 to 20 years.	21 to 30 years.	31 to 40 years.	41 years or over.	Age not reported.	Total.
MALES.							
Boat builders and carpenters.....				a 1			a 1
Boy help						3	3
Captain of buying boat.....					1		1
Carpenters.....				1	2		3
Farmers.....				1	7		8
Farm hands.....		1		2	2		5
Laborers.....		2	1	1	5		9
Oyster cullers.....	5	1					6
Oyster hands.....	4	12	12				28
Oyster measurers (shucked oysters).....				1			1
Oyster men.....		4	23	b 16	17		b 65
Oyster shuckers and farmers.....				1			1
Plasterers and well diggers.....					1		1
Teamsters and farmers.....				2	2		4
Undertakers.....				a 1			a 1
Not reported.....	6	4		1			11
At home.....	1				1		2
At school.....	17						17
Total males.....	33	24	41	26	38	3	165
FEMALES.							
Day workers.....		1		1			2
Day workers and housewives.....			2	5	4		11
Helps.....	2	2					4
Housewives.....		4	16	9	17	2	48
Nurses (monthly).....					1		1
Shuckers and housewives.....							2
Washerwomen and housewives.....			2	5	5		12
Not reported.....	6	10	2	1	1		19
At home.....	1	1			1		3
At school.....	18						18
Total females.....	27	18	24	21	28	2	120
Total males and females.....	60	42	65	47	66	5	285

a Counted also among oyster men.

b Including 1 who is also a boat builder, carpenter, and undertaker.

In the following tables the Negroes of Litwalton are compared with the Negroes of Sandy Spring and of Farmville, and with the population of the United States, as regards the percentage engaged in certain classes of gainful occupations:

PER CENT OF NEGROES OF LITWALTON, OF SANDY SPRING, OF FARMVILLE, AND OF TOTAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT WORK, ENGAGED IN EACH CLASS OF GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.

[The figures for Litwalton, for Sandy Spring, and for Farmville are from schedules; those for the United States are from the census of 1890. This table does not include 65 persons at Sandy Spring and 75 at Farmville, mostly women in domestic service.]

Classes of occupations.	Negroes of Litwalton.				Per cent in Sandy Spring.	Per cent in Farmville.	Per cent in United States.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per cent.			
Agriculture.....	26		26	12.09	45.48	2.30	39.65
Professional service.....		1	1	.47	2.76	3.38	4.15
Domestic and personal service.....	3	77	80	37.21	43.97	47.31	19.18
Trade and transportation.....	a102	a2	a104	48.57	1.51	7.22	14.63
Manufactures and mechanical industries.....	4		4	1.86	6.28	39.79	22.39
Total.....	135	80	215	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

a All engaged in oyster industry.

A glance at the Litwalton table of occupations reveals a strong contrast as compared with the Farmville and Sandy Spring tables.(a)

THE PROFESSIONS.—As against 22 professionals in Farmville and 12 in Sandy Spring, including 5 monthly nurses, the only professional for Litwalton is the very doubtful case of an old monthly nurse. There are said to be others in the community, but they were not so reported. One preacher and one female teacher officiate in Litwalton, but do not live within its borders.

THE ENTREPRENEURS.—Nothing was learned of the existence of any barber, blacksmith, huckster, restaurant keeper, shoemaker, store-keeper, painter, wheelwright, seamstress, mail contractor, or mail carrier among the Negroes of Litwalton. Either the occupations did not exist, or, for some reason, those reporting did not choose to admit that they were so employed. We should certainly expect to find seamstresses and shoemakers or menders of shoes in such a community; but cheap clothing, rubber boots, and cheap shoes go far to do away with these avocations. With money quickly made and quickly spent by the oystermen, one would expect also that there would be Negro merchants, particularly grocers. There were none. The explanation given by a white man of long observation and experience of the local Negro habits and nature was that, in the way of trade, “the Negro would not go where the white man did not go.” This explanation seemed generally true so far as Litwalton was concerned, although it was hinted that several “speak easies” or “blind tigers” kept by Negroes were not without a good share of Negro patronage.

a Cf. Bulletin No. 14, page 15, and Bulletin No. 32, page 71.

FARMERS.—The real entrepreneurs are found among oystermen and farmers. The number of farmers and others engaged in farm work might be increased from 26 to 71, if the oystermen also engaged in farming were included; but farming is subordinate in interest and in value to the oystering, in which these men are also engaged.

One of the farmers has 2 yoke of oxen and a "carry-log," with which he has done a great deal of hauling for the sawmills. He owns 144 acres of land and is prospering. The farmers are, however, chiefly old men who work on their own small places, some having pensions from the Government, some having sons or sons-in-law who are oystermen making fairly good wages.

FARM AND COMMON LABORERS.—The teamsters who drive for the lumbermen get from \$12 to \$18 per month. The few farm hands make from \$6 to \$10 a month. The common laborers live from hand to mouth, and are chiefly elderly or old men who take odd jobs of various kinds.

OYSTERMEN.—Two of the oystermen who are prospering farm an adjoining piece of land on the river front, upon which they raise good crops. One of them stated that within the last few seasons his share of one corn crop was 100 barrels, and corn sells usually for \$3 and upward a barrel. One of these men owns 12 acres of land valued at \$300, with his house and small outbuildings; a boat worth about \$50, and a horse, cow, buggy, road cart, pigs, and chickens. He has a family of 8. He probably makes \$250 a year oystering. The other man owns 23 acres of land, quite a roomy house, a good-sized barn, other outbuildings, a horse, a buggy, 2 cows, pigs, chickens, and 2 boats worth \$100. He has a family of 10, including his widowed mother and a youth of 18, to whom he pays \$6 a month during the oyster season of 8 months. With a good season he might easily make \$500 a year from oystering. Another oysterman owns his house and lot of 10 acres, valued by him at \$600, and has a horse, road cart, cow, and 2 boats worth \$150. He has a family of 4, including his widowed mother and 2 young men of 18 and 22, to whom he pays \$8 and \$12 respectively during 8 oyster months, and \$3 apiece during the other 4 months. He probably clears several hundred dollars a year.

The most successful Negro in the community lives in a six-room house, which he owns, together with 61 acres of land, a barn and stable, and a small occupied tenant house. His real property is assessed at nearly \$500. He has 2 cows, a horse, buggy, pigs, and fowls. He owns two boats and has 6.8 acres of oyster planting ground leased from the State and partly stocked. In addition to his farming and oystering operations he is a carpenter and a builder of boats, for which he gets about \$100 each. He also keeps a small undertaker's establishment, the only one in the neighborhood, and he can easily get coffins from Baltimore by the steamers. He has a family of 15 persons, 9 in his immediate family, including an adopted son of 14, and

6 hands, ranging from 15 to 29 years, to whom, in addition to board and lodging, he pays wages averaging from \$4 to \$8 a month. His income is probably not under \$1,000 a year. He is one of the few cases in which the trade of the father has been handed on to the son, and he is an excellent illustration of the value to the competent Negro of industrial training. His father was a slave, and he himself was born a slave during the war. He is 39 years old.

Half a dozen names would include all those who are doing more than making a bare living for themselves and their families; although the men cited show that it is easy for an industrious man to do more.

The majority of the oystermen reported \$8 a month during the oyster season of 8 months as their average earnings. The average rose, for some of them, to \$10, \$12, \$15, \$20, for the season. Four dollars a month for the other 4 months was the report in the majority of instances. These estimates would be altogether too low but for the habit of the men. Their custom is to work until they get a supply of money for present needs and then to idle on a small pretext, or on no pretext at all, until the need for funds becomes urgent again. What they could readily do is shown in the case of 10 young men who are employed by an oyster planter and shipper of the neighborhood. Three of these young men are under 20 years of age. They average \$12.10 for 8 months and \$6.30 for 4 months. One, who has a boat and also a horse and buggy, makes \$25 a month for 8 months and \$10 a month for 4 months. Any other good oysterman of the community, owning his boat, could make as good or better wages than the last-mentioned young man if he chose to work steadily at his business. (*a*)

Five of those classed under oystermen are connected with the oyster industry at Whealton. One is a laborer employed the year round about the oyster house at \$5 a week, and his wife is an oyster shucker who makes about \$2.50 a week for 7 months. Together they get between \$325 and \$350 a year. They are 30 and 28 years old, and have one child. A second, 35 years old, and his wife, 30 years old, shuck oysters for 7 months in the year at \$12 a week, and for 5 months farm his 3-acre farm, valued, with house, at \$150. They probably take in from \$375 to \$400 a year. A third is the receiver and measurer of the oysters shucked in his employer's establishment by about 100 people. His wages are \$6 a week for 12 months, or \$312 a year. He has a wife and three children, and owns a horse and buggy. A fourth has a wife and two children. He is an oyster buyer for his employer and is the captain of a boat worth \$500, with a crew of from 2 to 4 men. He is trusted with a good deal of money. His wages are about \$350 a year. The fifth is a carpenter and oyster shucker, has a wife

a An illustration will show how these men really value their time in a good oyster season. Some years ago a butler was needed for a wedding breakfast in the neighborhood. There were plenty of men, but none to be had to serve for this part of a day, until finally one was induced to officiate for \$4—about \$1 an hour.

and two children, and keeps a servant girl. His house is well furnished. His wages are about \$400 a year. He is 35 years old, came with his present employer from Maryland 5 years ago, and has been with him ever since.

TRADES AND INDUSTRIES.—The 3 carpenters enumerated, in addition to the 2 under the head of oystermen, are all old men and profess to make very meager wages, the highest earning not more than \$150 a year, the lowest about \$30. The plasterer and well digger is also an old man and makes small wages. They all own their homes and lots. No apprentices were reported.

CLERICAL WORK.—The only instance of clerical work that came under observation was that of a young man who had, the previous day, given himself in as an oysterman and farmer with earnings of less than \$100 a year, although he was the joint owner with his two brothers of 60 acres recently bought and assessed, with the old house on it, at nearly \$400. He appeared as the soliciting agent of the Benevolent and Relief Association, chartered under the laws of Virginia in 1898, with headquarters in Richmond, Va., and 17 branch offices in Virginia, Florida, Georgia, the District of Columbia, and Mississippi. It has a capital stock of \$50,000, and has two departments, an insurance and relief department and an endowment or savings department. Its officers and managers are all Negroes. The young man reported some progress in securing members in the community, but the date of his appointment was too recent for him to be able to make a report of any value. One of the branch offices is in Lancaster County. The matter is of interest.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.—As has already been said, domestic service for the whites of the neighborhood is conspicuous by its absence and the help system of the Negroes is not sufficiently developed to make it matter of more than mention. Thirteen women report themselves as day workers, and 12 more as washerwomen. About 50 cents a day seems to be the prevailing rate reported. The rates of wages for domestic work seem to be low. Perhaps better wages might bring more and better service; but this is not at all certain, for most of the Negro women of the neighborhood are married and live in their own homes. Those not so living would be likely to be but indifferent servants at any wages. The absentee habit of the young women destroys the probability and almost the possibility of good domestic service in the community. Of the 77 women enumerated under the class of domestic and personal service, 61 are wives, 7 are widows, 2 are separated, and 7 are single. They work chiefly at home.

Of the criminal aspects of the Litwalton Negroes it may be said, as in the case of Sandy Spring, "it is difficult to speak with any exactness except to say that there is not much overt crime." There have been no convictions for grave offenses against the law within very

recent years. There is believed to be a constant stealing of oysters from the planting grounds, and a constant attempt to evade the law against taking oysters under size from the natural beds. A great deal of drinking is done. The opportunity for sexual immorality is diminished by absence from the neighborhood of the young unmarried women, many of whom, as has been noted, are sent or are allowed to go into domestic service in the cities in the hope, on the part of their parents, of freeing them from temptations to which they would be subject at home. This is the other horn of the dilemma as compared with the anxiety of the Sandy Spring mother who wished to keep her girls at home for fear of their lack of restraint and protection away from home.(a)

The men of Litwalton can all find employment during the oyster season. In the summer many of the younger ones go into the upper counties of Virginia and into Maryland, or into the manufactories of the cities, or as waiters in the seashore hotels, where they make money enough to take their ease during the rest of the year. It is doubtful if the unemployed as a distinct class can be said to exist among them. No definite information was obtained with regard to gambling among the Litwalton Negroes.

The following table shows the occupations for Whealton. The tabular form is used here for the purpose of emphasizing the pre-dominance of the oyster industry:

OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, OF NEGROES OF WHEALTON.

[In addition to the oyster shuckers reported in this table, there were 45 whose sex and age were not reported.]

Occupations.	10 to 15 years.	16 to 20 years.	21 to 30 years.	31 to 40 years.	41 years or over.	Age not reported.	Total.
MALES.							
Day laborers		1		2	1	105	109
Oyster shuckers	8	11	24	12	3	41	99
Preachers				1			1
Not reported	1						1
Total males	9	12	24	14	4	146	209
FEMALES.							
Domestic service			1	1		2	4
Housewives	1					2	3
Oyster shuckers	8	4	11	8	4	40	75
Washerwomen and housewives			1				1
Not reported	3						3
Total females	12	4	13	9	4	44	86
Total males and females	21	16	37	23	8	190	295

a Counted among oyster shuckers.

Of the Whealton workers reporting their occupations and sex 8, or 2.75 per cent, are classed as doing domestic work; 109, or 37.46 per cent, as day laborers and oyster cultivators; and 174, or 59.79 per cent,

a See Bulletin No. 32, page 79, note.

as oyster shuckers. Including the day laborers, 97.25 per cent are engaged in the oyster industry. One local preacher is enumerated among the oyster shuckers.

Under day laborers are included many who usually have work of an industrial or other kind. They are the carpenters, who look after the casks used for shipping oysters, and work on boats, buildings, and so on; boatmen or sailors; tongsmen for taking or transplanting oysters, and others; but at any time they may do mere manual labor or be turned into shuckers. They will average about \$6 a week in wages.

It will be observed that, according to the imperfect report obtained, this population gets along with a minimum of housekeeping and washing. They live on supplies obtained from the stores of their employers, and under the modern system of canned meats and vegetables but little housekeeping is needed for people living under the conditions of Whealton. The washing is probably done by the wives and mothers of the families in the intervals of their work as shuckers.

The oyster shuckers are the entrepreneurs of this community, and some of them make excellent wages. Some specimen families are given below. They have their homes in Somerset County, Maryland. The first family consists of 10 persons, the man and his wife each 35 years of age, and 8 children, ranging from 16 down to 5 or 6 years of age. The first 4 children, all sons, shuck with their father and mother. The family of 6 shuckers averages \$25 a week for the season. For the 4 weeks preceding February 1, 1901, the family made \$30.90, \$44.95, \$34.90, and \$18.20, an average of \$32.24 for those weeks. The man owns a horse and buggy, and has owned for 2 years a house and land worth \$500. He has been working with his present employer for 5 years at Whealton. At an average of \$25 a week for 7 months, his income for the winter's work would be about \$750.

Another family of 7, with 5 shuckers and 2 small children, averages \$25 a week, and owns a horse, a mule, a buggy, and a house and land valued at \$300. The amounts earned for 6 weeks were \$19.40, \$26.57, \$21.93, \$43.50, \$25.48, and \$38, an average of \$29.15.

A family of 4, consisting of a widow and 2 sons and a daughter, from 19 to 15 years old, all shuckers, average \$15 a week, or \$450 for 7 months. They own a house and lot worth \$300. Their average for 10 weeks was \$18.87.

Another family of 8, containing 5 shuckers, has a remarkable record. The husband and father, old and inefficient, is left at home. The mother is 55, and the children range from 21 down to 11. The 3 little girls take care of the house and cook. The mother and 4 children, 2 sons and 2 daughters, average \$18 a week shucking oysters (the average for 9 weeks was \$22.31), in addition to which the family

receives \$10 a week from boarders, a total of \$840 for 7 months' work. The family owns a horse and buggy, and has owned for 10 years a house and lot valued at \$600. During the summer months the woman keeps a store in Maryland. The woman worked with her present employer in Maryland, and has been with him for 5 years in Whealton.

A family of 12—father, mother, and 10 children, from 15 down—contains 4 shuckers (man, wife, and 2 daughters of 15 and 14), who average \$18 a week, a total of \$540 for the 7 months. They own no property, have no money to speak of left over at the end of the season, and try to get advances during the summer. Such a family should easily have something left over out of \$75 a month.

A family of 5, consisting of a widow with 4 children, the oldest a girl of 12 years and a shucker, averages \$4 a week, or \$120 for the season. A family of 2, a woman and her child of 5, makes \$3 a week, or \$90 for the season. Eighteen young single men average from \$180 to \$210 for the season, and could make more. None of them are reported as property holders.

The cases cited are all from the same establishment, which is typical of all three. These families pay \$2 a month rent for their houses. Only one family among the shuckers at Whealton, a single woman, is reported as making as little as \$2 a week. The average earnings per family per week for the 3 establishments (a season of 7 months for two establishments and of 6 months for the third) are about \$9, or \$270 a season for two establishments and \$225 for the third. Of the 77 economic families of shuckers, 24 are reported as owning \$7,100 worth of property. As no report on this subject was made for one of the establishments—that is, for about one-third of the families—the real proportion would seem to be 36 out of 77 families and about \$10,600 of real property.

MOVEMENT OF LABOR.

It was not practicable, as in the case of Sandy Spring, to carry out satisfactorily for Litwalton an investigation of the movement of labor. The absence of the domestic service, the small number of farm hands, and especially the fact that so large a number of the adult males were engaged in the irregular life of the oysterman, all militated against obtaining any results especially worth recording and tabulating. A great difference in the results of the work of the thrifty and of the shiftless oysterman has already been noted. The shiftless Sandy Spring worker changes his place; the shiftless Litwalton oysterman simply stops work. The errant idleness of the Sandy Spring farm hand may be tabulated; that of the Litwalton oysterman may not.

Of 102 oystermen, 68 were working on their own account, and 34 were employees. Of the 68, 33 between 10 and 40 years of age had

been at work under the same conditions during the year—presumably since they had taken up the work—and 16 were not reported; 15, who were 41 years old or over, had been at work, and 4 were not reported. Of 34 oyster hands, including tongsmen and cullers, all under 41 years of age, 19 had worked at the same place, 4 had been at two places, 1 had worked at several places, and 10 were not reported.

No separate report is necessary for the women, the majority of whom are at work in their own homes.

The following table shows for Litwalton the length of present residence by families:

LENGTH OF PRESENT RESIDENCE OF LITWALTON FAMILIES.

Length of residence.	Owners.	Renters.	Tenure not reported.	Total.
1 to 2 months	1	2		3
2 to 4 months		1		1
4 to 6 months	1			1
6 to 12 months		1		1
1 to 2 years	2	7	1	10
2 years	3	5		8
3 years	2	2	1	5
4 years	5	2		7
5 to 10 years	12	6		18
10 to 20 years	13	4	1	18
20 years or over	3	1	1	5
Not reported	1	3	1	5
Total	43	34	5	82

This table relating to the length of tenure of the particular dwelling occupied as owner or renter does not of course agree with the statement of the length of residence in the community given heretofore. (a) Sixty-five families reported that they had been in the neighborhood for more than 21 years. The discrepancy is probably due in a large measure to the understanding on the part of the Negroes that they became owners of their property only when they had finished paying for it. If this be so, it would seem to indicate that more Negroes in Litwalton were buying homes 10 years ago than now. Of the 34 renters reported, 6 are buying property and 2 are simply care-takers. This would increase the number of owners to 49, and diminish the actual renters to 26. The heads of families included in this list would be classed as follows: Fifty-two oystermen, of whom 27 are owners, 5 are now buying and are included among renters, 18 are renters, and 2 are not reported; 11 farmers, of whom 6 are owners, 1 is buying, 3 are renters, and 1 is not reported; 10 laborers, of whom 4 are owners, 5 are renters, and 1 is not reported; 3 carpenters, of whom 2 are owners and 1 is a renter; 1 plasterer and owner; and 5 women, of whom 3 are owners, 1 is a renter, and 1 is not reported. Of the 30 families whose heads are not oystermen, 13 include oystermen among their members, so pervasive and important is the oyster interest to these people.

The oldest shucking establishment has been in operation at Wheaton for 5 years. The following table, though imperfect, shows the

^a See page 1135.

tendency of the shuckers to return to their good wages year after year. The table gives the length of local service of the oyster shuckers as far as reported:

LENGTH OF LOCAL SERVICE OF WHEALTON OYSTER SHUCKERS, BY SEX.

Sex.	Worked at the same place for—							Total.
	5 years.	4 years.	3 years.	2 years.	1 year.	Less than 1 year.	Not reported.	
Males	34	5	2	.....	7	5	14	67
Females	14	5	.....	.....	8	4	8	39
Total	48	10	2	.....	15	9	22	106

Those not reported consist in large measure of the children of the heads of families reported and chiefly of those heads of families reported under the 5-year period. Some of these children, however, have been themselves shucking for several years.

Of the 106 persons herein reported, 48, or more than 45 per cent, have been working at the same place for 5 years, and 60, or more than 56 per cent, have been so working for 3 years or over. If the children learning to work with their parents were included in this enumeration, the percentage for the 3-year period would undoubtedly be larger. It must be remembered also that the oldest shucking firm started to work 5 years ago with a much smaller number of hands than are now employed, so that the 48 hands reporting under the 5-year period represent more than the apparent 45 per cent of the whole number reported for this period. This reasoning is borne out by the experience of the other firms who also keep their hands one season after another, if they are satisfied with the work of the hands.

Of the 68 Litwalton oystermen working on their own account and having every incentive to regular work, 20, almost a third, did not report as to length of employment at the same place. The 48 Whealton shuckers reporting for the 5 years seem, from what has been said, to represent a much higher percentage of continued work than the 68 Litwalton tongers. The Litwalton oyster tonger can, in the opinion of his neighbors, make more money if he chooses than the oyster shucker. The average Litwalton oysterman reports his earnings at about \$8 a month during the season; the average Whealton shucker, male or female, is reported as earning about \$9 a week during the season. The contrast is striking. It seems to show of how much greater value to the "oyster Negro" is controlled and directed employment as compared with his own irresponsible and self-directed labor. (a)

^a See Farmville Report, Bulletin No. 14, page 22.

ECONOMICS OF THE FAMILY.

As in the Sandy Spring report, the attempt is made to carry out for Litwalton the schedule suggested and partly carried out for the Farmville Negro families according to three conceptions of the word "family," viz:

1. The possible family, i. e., the parents and all children ever born to them living.

2. The real family, i. e., the parents and all children living at present.

3. The economic family, i. e., all persons, related and unrelated, living in one house under conditions of family life.

The following table gives the number of Litwalton Negro families, by size:

NUMBER OF LITWALTON NEGRO FAMILIES, BY SIZE.

Size of family.	The possible family.		The real family.		The economic family.	
	Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.
1 member	8	8	8	8	5	5
2 members	11	22	13	26	8	16
3 members	11	33	13	39	15	45
4 members	7	28	8	32	17	68
5 members	5	25	14	70	7	35
6 members	5	30	7	42	7	42
7 members	4	28	10	70	8	56
8 members	8	64	11	88	7	56
9 members	7	63	2	18	3	27
10 members	11	110	1	10	3	30
11 members	1	11	3	33	1	11
12 members	2	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
13 members	2	26	2	26	.....	.....
14 members	2	28	.....	.....	.....	.....
15 members	5	75	.....	.....	1	15
19 members	1	19	.....	.....	.....	.....
22 members	1	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
24 members	1	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	92	640	92	462	82	406
Average .....	.....	6.96	.....	5.02	.....	4.95

The Litwalton families report 40 children of various ages absent from the neighborhood. Nearly half of these are in Baltimore, the natural metropolis of this region; some 6 or 8 are in Philadelphia; a few are in Washington, and a like number in Atlantic City. Only 1 is reported as in Richmond.

Out of 82 economic families there are 47, or 57 per cent, of from 2 to 5 members, as compared with 48 per cent for Sandy Spring and 63 per cent for Farmville. With regard to the larger economic families, Litwalton is between Sandy Spring and Farmville, having 15 families of 8 persons or over, or 18 per cent, as against 37 such families, or 22 per cent, for Sandy Spring, and 39, or 15 per cent, for Farmville. So, for the larger real families, Litwalton, with 19 families of 8 persons or over out of 92 families, is again between Sandy Spring, with 62 out of 181 families, and Farmville, with 46 out of 249 families. The average number of members for economic families is lower in Litwalton (4.95) than in Sandy Spring (5.42) and higher than in Farmville (4.61);

and the average number of members for real families is lower in Litwalton (5.02) than in either Sandy Spring (6.13) or in Farmville (5.03).

In like manner the average for possible families in Litwalton (6.96) is lower than for Sandy Spring (7.78) and for Farmville (10.79). In referring to the larger numbers for the economic and real families of Sandy Spring as compared with Farmville it was stated that this larger membership of families is "probably the effect of rural as opposed to urban conditions of life." (a) It was fully expected that much larger families would be found in Litwalton than in Sandy Spring or Farmville, because of the easy conditions of life and because of the general impression that the Negroes of the country districts of the South are very prolific and have large families. The result of the investigation is, therefore, a surprise, and the census figures of 1890 for the State of Virginia seem to confirm the figures for Litwalton. In the 100 counties of Virginia there were, in 1890, 304,673 families and a total population of 1,655,980, or an average of 5.44 persons to a family. Deducting the towns and cities having a population of 2,500 or over, we find 249,426 families and a population of 1,373,259, or an average of 5.51 persons to a family, in the rural districts of the State. Of the 100 counties, 36 showed an excess of Negro population and 64 an excess of white population in the rural districts. Using the same method as above, we find in the 36 Negro counties an average rural family of 5.37 persons, and in the 64 white counties an average rural family of 5.58 persons, the average for the Negro counties being considerably smaller and the average for the white counties somewhat larger than the average for the State. This would seem to show that the Negroes in the rural districts of the State, instead of increasing the average of persons to a family, have actually lowered that average in the counties where they predominate in numbers; that is to say, the average rural Negro family is smaller than the average rural white family.

The following table gives the percentages of Negro families, by size, for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville, and of families for the country at large:

PER CENT OF NEGRO FAMILIES OF LITWALTON, SANDY SPRING, AND FARMVILLE, AND OF TOTAL FAMILIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC STATES IN EACH GROUP, BY SIZE OF FAMILY.

[The figures for Litwalton, Sandy Spring, and Farmville are from schedules; those for the United States are from the census of 1890.]

Size of family.	Negroes of Litwalton.	Negroes of Sandy Spring.	Negroes of Farmville.	United States.	North Atlantic States.
1 member	6.10	5.46	4.96	3.63	3.23
2 to 6 members	65.85	63.64	72.90	73.33	78.05
7 to 10 members	25.61	26.06	19.47	20.97	17.00
11 members or over	2.44	4.85	2.67	2.07	1.72

a Cf. Bulletin No. 32, page 88.

The following table for Whealton shows the number of real and economic families, by size:

NUMBER OF WHEALTON NEGRO FAMILIES, BY SIZE.

Size of family.	The real family.		The economic family.	
	Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.
1 member.....	24	24	6	6
2 members.....	11	22	12	24
3 members.....	11	33	10	30
4 members.....	15	60	15	60
5 members.....	16	80	16	80
6 members.....	6	36	9	54
7 members.....	1	7	1	7
8 members.....	2	16	3	24
9 members.....	2	18	1	9
10 members.....	3	30	3	30
12 members.....	1	12	1	12
Total.....	92	338	77	336

The proportion of families of from 2 to 5, 53 out of 77 enumerated, is higher than in Farmville, almost 69 as against 63 per cent. This high percentage of small families and the corresponding small proportion of families of 8 persons or over—10 per cent as against 15 per cent for Farmville, 18 per cent for Litwalton, and 22 per cent for Sandy Spring—are due to the selective conditions of the Whealton industry, which calls for people in active life, excluding the very old and also the very young as far as practicable. In the tabulation of the families, 105 day laborers were left out of consideration. They are the foam, so to speak, on the advancing and receding wave of shuckers, and are liable to be blown hither and thither by unexpected gusts of whim or need. No attempt was made to ascertain the possible families for Whealton.

The percentages for the 77 Whealton families by size of family were: For families of 1 member, 7.79; of 2 to 6 members, 80.52; of 7 to 10 members, 10.39; of 11 members or over, 1.30. These percentages reiterate the story of the preceding table, that the Whealton shuckers are a selected population.

The houses occupied by the Negroes of Litwalton contain from 1 to 6 rooms, the greater number containing 2 rooms.

The following table shows the distribution of the families in these houses:

FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND NUMBER OF ROOMS TO A DWELLING, LITWALTON.

Size of family.	Families occupying dwellings of—							Total families.
	1 room.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.	Not reported.	
1 member.....	4	1						5
2 members.....		6	1		1			8
3 members.....	2	7	2	2			1	15
4 members.....	3	10	2	1			1	17
5 members.....		3		2	1		1	7
6 members.....	3	2				1	1	7
7 members.....		4	2		1		1	8
8 members.....		4	1	1			1	7
9 members.....		3						3
10 members.....			1	1			1	3
11 members.....		1						1
15 members.....						1		1
Total families.....	13	41	9	7	3	2	7	82
Total rooms.....	13	82	27	28	15	12		177

A large majority of the houses, 59, are reported as frame buildings, and 16 are of logs. Seven are not reported. Quite a number of houses are new; some are mere hovels or are so old as to seem hardly weatherproof. In the better ones the rooms are of fair size, are fairly well furnished, and are heated by stoves. Wood is the fuel used. Almost all the houses have gardens attached; many have also outbuildings of various kinds connected with them. A number of the houses are overcrowded. Three houses of one room have families of 6 members living in them. Of 41 families living in houses of 2 rooms, 3 families have 5 members; 2 have 6; 4 have 7; 4 have 8; 3 have 9, and 1 has 11. Of the 82 families living in these houses, 13, or 15.9 per cent, occupy one-room houses; 41, or 50 per cent, occupy two-room houses; 9, or 10.9 per cent, occupy three-room houses; 7, or 8.5 per cent, occupy four-room houses; 3, or 3.7 per cent, occupy five-room houses; 2, or 2.5 per cent, occupy six-room houses; and 7, or 8.5 per cent, are not reported. Not including the rooms of 7 families not reported, we have 177 rooms for 75 dwellings, or 2.36 rooms to a family and 2.05 persons to a room.

Of these 82 families, 43, or 52 per cent, own their own homes; 34, or 42 per cent, rent the houses they occupy, and the tenure of 5 families, or 6 per cent, is not reported. If we add to the owners the 6 families already mentioned as now buying land, we have 60 per cent owning their own homes, 34 per cent renting, and 6 per cent not reported.

The following table shows the number of families owning or renting their homes:

FAMILIES OWNING AND RENTING HOMES, BY NUMBER OF ROOMS TO A DWELLING, LITWALTON.

Tenure.	Families occupying dwellings of—							Total families.
	1 room.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.	Not reported.	
Owners	5	19	6	6	3	2	2	43
Renters	8	20	3	1	.....	.....	2	34
Tenure not reported.	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	5
Total families.	13	41	9	7	3	2	7	82

The Whealton families do not own their homes.

The following table gives the rents paid by the Litwalton families:

RENTS PAID BY FAMILIES, BY NUMBER OF ROOMS TO A DWELLING, LITWALTON.

Monthly rent.	Families occupying dwellings of—							Total families.	Annual rent paid.
	1 room.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.	Rooms not reported.		
\$1.00	4	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	\$132.00
\$1.50 .....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	72.00
\$1.65 ³ / ₄ .....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	20.00
\$2.00 .....	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	2	6	144.00
\$2.50 .....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	30.00
\$3.00	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	72.00
Rent not reported	3	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	166.00
Total	8	20	3	1	.....	.....	2	34	636.00
Average annual rent .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18.71

^a Estimated.

The workers at Whealton live in the houses of their employers, and the families pay an average rent of \$2 per month. An estimate of the rents, taking into consideration the different terms during which the buildings are occupied, shows an annual rental of about \$1,350.

The following table, showing the number of Litwalton families, by size of family and annual income, is an attempt to get at the facts, and is reasonably successful. It is quite certain that some of the Litwalton oystermen reported incomes below their actual customary receipts, in the opinion, at least, of some of their neighbors who were in a position to judge quite accurately. It is likely, therefore, that the report is below the correct statement of money taken in.

On the other hand, the inveterate habit of idling after earning a little money may make the estimate nearer the truth than would be supposed. The Whealton table is inserted also for the sake of comparison.

The tables following give the number of families, by size of family and annual income, for Litwalton and Whealton:

NUMBER OF FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND ANNUAL INCOME, LITWALTON.

Annual income.	Families of—										Total families.
	1 member.	2 members.	3 members.	4 members.	5 members.	6 members.	7 members.	8 members.	9 members.	10 members or over.	
\$50 to \$75	1		3					1			5
\$75 to \$100	2	1	1			1	1		1		7
\$100 to \$150		4	3	6	2	1	2	1	1		20
\$150 to \$200	2	1	3	4	1	2	2	1		3	19
\$200 to \$250		1	2	1			1	3	1		9
\$250 to \$350			2		1	3		1		1	10
\$350 to \$450		1		3							5
\$450 to \$600					1						1
\$600 to \$750											
\$750 or over										1	1
Not reported			1	1	1		2				5
Total families ..	5	8	15	17	7	7	8	7	3	5	82

NUMBER OF FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND ANNUAL INCOME, WHEALTON.

Annual income.	Families of—										Total families.
	1 member.	2 members.	3 members.	4 members.	5 members.	6 members.	7 members.	8 members.	9 members.	10 members or over.	
\$50 to \$75	1										1
\$75 to \$100	3	2									5
\$100 to \$150		1			2						3
\$150 to \$200	1	3	1		1						6
\$200 to \$250	1	2	6	4	5	1					19
\$250 to \$350		4	3	5	5	2		1			20
\$350 to \$450				4	2	2			1	1	10
\$450 to \$600				2	1			1		2	6
\$600 to \$750											
\$750 to \$800						1	1			1	3
\$800 to \$900								1			1
\$1,000 to \$1,260						3					3
Not reported											
Total families ..	6	12	10	15	16	9	1	3	1	4	77

The 3 Whealton families earning over \$1,000 are economic families, each consisting of 6 young unmarried men. The Whealton table is made up for the shuckers, whose total annual earnings are estimated at about \$26,000. If the 105 day laborers be included, and each considered an economic family of 1 person, they would give us 15 more families earning about \$50 each, an increase of \$750 to be added to the total; 35 more families earning about \$135, or an increase of \$4,725; 5 families earning about \$160 each, or an increase of \$800; and 50 more families earning about \$260, or an increase of \$13,000; a total increase of \$19,275, bringing the total earnings up to about \$45,275 for the Whealton Negroes.

Four-fifths of the Litwalton earnings, it must be remembered, are gained during the 8 months of the oyster season, and the entire Whealton earnings are gained in the average time of about 7 months.

In Farmville, out of 262 families, 226 made from \$100 to \$750 in 12 months; in Sandy Spring, of 165 families, 155 earned from \$100 to \$750 in 12 months; in Litwalton, of 82 families, 65 earned from \$100 to \$760 in a little over 8 months; in Whealton, of 77 families, 71 earned from \$100 to \$1,260 in 7 months. A comparison of the percentages for classes of earnings is of equal interest: In Farmville, 10.7 per cent of the families earned less than \$100; in Sandy Spring, 5.5 per cent; in Litwalton, 15.6 per cent; in Whealton, 7.8 per cent. In Farmville, 34.8 per cent earned between \$100 and \$250; in Sandy Spring, 61 per cent; in Litwalton, 62.3 per cent; in Whealton, 36.4 per cent. In Farmville, 52.2 per cent made over \$250; in Sandy Spring, 33.5 per cent; in Litwalton, 22.1 per cent; in Whealton, 55.8 per cent. If the 105 day laborers are included, the percentages for Whealton are not changed very materially, as follows: Earning less than \$100, 11.5 per cent; earning between \$100 and \$250, 37.4 per cent; earning over \$250, 51.1 per cent.

In Farmville and Whealton more than half the families earned more than \$250; in Sandy Spring two-thirds and in Litwalton nearly four-fifths of the families earned less than \$250. In Farmville and Whealton the labor of the Negroes is controlled and directed by employers. In Sandy Spring the largest body of male laborers and heads of families, the farm hands, is directed and largely controlled; but in Litwalton the most important body of laborers and heads of families, the oyster tongers, are subject to no control. In Sandy Spring about one-third of the families made over \$250 a year; in Litwalton, a little over one-fifth. And yet the opinion prevails among the oyster people that the oyster tonger can make more money than the oyster shucker; that is, that the Litwalton oystermen ought to show a larger average income per family than the Whealton shucker.

As in the case of Sandy Spring, we must remember that the lands, gardens, fowls, cows, and so on, of the Litwalton oysterman play an

important part in providing his family with food. Doubtless, also, oysters and fish provided by himself constitute an important item.

The table of prices of commodities for Sandy Spring and Farmville is reported as in the main correct for Litwalton at the time the investigation was made.

Sugar and lard are both higher now than reported in the table, as they are throughout the country. Butter costs in Litwalton as much as 25 cents the year round. Corn meal is much higher in Litwalton—from 15 to 20 cents per peck. Wood is much cheaper—from \$1 to \$1.50 per cord. Coal is not used in Litwalton.

PRICES OF COMMODITIES IN LITWALTON, IN SANDY SPRING, AND IN FARMVILLE.

Article.	Unit.	Price.	Article.	Unit.	Price.
Food, etc.:			Food, etc.—Concluded.		
Fresh pork	Pound..	\$0.06	Molasses.....	Gallon..	\$0.25 to \$0.40
Pork steak	Pound..	\$0.08 to .10	Butter	Pound..	.12½ to .25
Beefsteak	Pound..	.08 to .10	Salt.....	Pound..	.01
Ham and bacon	Pound..	.08 to .10	Herrings	Each ...	.01
Chickens	Each ...	.12½ to .15	Eggs	Dozen ...	.10 to .12
Hens	Each ...	.20 to .25	Apples.....	Peck ...	.05 to .25
Turkeys	Pound..	.07 to .10	Apples, dried	Pound..	.06
Wheat flour	12-pound bag.	.35	Watermelons	Each ...	.01 to .20
Wheat flour	Barrel..	4.00 to 4.50	Pepper	Pound..	.15
Corn meal	Peck ...	.11 to .12	Milk	Quart..	.06
Rice	Pound..	.05 to .06	Buttermilk	Gallon..	.10
Cabbage	Head ...	.01 to .06	Soap	Pound..	.05
Potatoes	Bushel ..	.50 to .60	Starch	Pound..	.05
Green corn	Ear ...	.01	Fuel and lighting:		
Tomatoes.....	Gallon..	.06	Wood, uncut	Cord....	2.00
Peas	Quart..	.05	Wood, cut	Cord....	2.50
Beans	Quart..	.05	Coal, bituminous	Ton	4.50
Canned goods	Can ...	.08 to .10	Coal, anthracite	Ton	7.50
Tea	Pound..	.40	Kerosene oil.....	Gallon..	.15
Coffee	Pound..	.15 to .18	Clothing:		
Sugar	Pound..	.05 to .06	Men's suits	Each ...	7.00 to 12.00
Lard.....	Pound..	.07 to .08	Boys' suits.....	Each ...	2.00 to 5.00
			Women's dresses	Each ...	3.00 to 8.00

The attempt to tabulate family budgets for Litwalton, as was done for Farmville and Sandy Spring, seems too inconclusive to be undertaken. Two elements enter to such an extent as to make any real approximation very difficult. The amount of food obtained from the gardens, little farms, and poultry of the large percentage (about 60) of property owners is one element; and the amount of food taken from the water in the shape of oysters, fish, and crabs, is the other. It is not practicable to estimate either satisfactorily. It may be said in general that, as of the Litwalton families 77.9 per cent earn not more than \$250 (15.6 earning less than \$100, and 62.3 between \$100 and \$250), the budgets for Sandy Spring, showing expenditures of from about \$100 to \$200 per annum, are also a reasonable exhibit for Litwalton.

The following list of property holders does not agree with the table of owners on page 1161. That table gave the owners and renters of homes. Some of these owned or were buying other property. Some owned property in common, here reported separately. The list includes, also, several pieces of property not owned by the present

occupants. A number of the properties are not reported by the assessors.

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY OWNED BY NEGROES OF LITWALTON, 1900.

Property-owner number.	Acres.	Assessed value.			Own-er's valuation of real estate.	Property-owner number.	Acres.	Assessed value.			Own-er's valuation of real estate.
		Real-ty.	Per-son-alty.	Total.				Real-ty.	Per-son-alty.	Total.	
1.....	36	\$292	\$153	\$445	\$500	35.....		\$27	\$27	(b)	
2.....	61	488	345	833	300	36.....		135	135	(b)	
3.....	70	420	79	499	400	37.....		23	23	(b)	
4.....	6½	75		75	25	38.....	10	(a)	16	16	\$100
5.....	5	(a)	32	32	35	39.....	1	(a)	(a)	(a)	50
6.....	5	(a)	(a)	(a)	(b)	40.....		10	10	(b)	
7.....	12	113	37	150	50	41.....		68	68	(b)	
8.....	19	76	40	116	190	42.....		131	131	(b)	
9.....	30	200	109	309	500	43.....		23	23	(b)	
10.....	(b)	150		150	100	44.....	23	\$369	145	514	(b)
11.....	10	(a)	16	16	(b)	45.....	12	225	110	335	300
12.....	20	(a)	53	53	100	46.....	8½	102	99	201	100
13.....	19	(a)	10	10	100	47.....	14½	157	47	204	325
14.....	20	166	40	206	125	48.....	8	(a)	(a)	(a)	100
15.....	20	80	24	104	100	49.....		5	5	(b)	
16.....	10	330	98	428	250	50.....	144	600	148	748	700
17.....	10	40	25	65	60	51.....		95	95	(b)	
18.....	15	322	84	406	150	52.....	8	(a)	(a)	(a)	100
19.....	20	(a)	37	37	60	53.....	7	(a)	(a)	(a)	100
20.....	20	200	40	240	250	54.....	8	(a)	(a)	(a)	100
21.....	15	(a)	75	75	150	55.....	1	(a)	(a)	(a)	50
22.....	10	251	189	440	600	56.....	3	(a)	(a)	(a)	150
23.....	8	31	36	67	150	57.....	2	(a)	(a)	(a)	150
24.....	33	307	190	497	330	58.....	5	7	(a)	(a)	200
25.....	10	(a)	(a)	(a)	150	59.....	7	(a)	(a)	(a)	250
26.....	60	333	131	514	500	60.....	10	(a)	(a)	(a)	(b)
27.....	5	75	60	135	50	61.....	30	(a)	(a)	(a)	380
28.....	11½	153	14	167	500	62.....	5½	(a)	(a)	(a)	300
29.....	10	(a)	(a)	(a)	100	63.....			12	12	(b)
30.....	5	(a)	31	31	50	64.....			19	10	(b)
31.....	13	130	20	200	54	65.....	3	120	40	160	150
32.....	7½	(a)	36	36	38						
33.....	15	150	98	248	500						
34.....	1	(a)	10	10	100						
						Total..	c 897½	d 6,055	e 3,256	f 9,311	g 10,092

a Not assessed.
 b Not reported.
 c Not including 1 property owner, acres not reported.
 d Not including 26 property owners, realty not assessed.

e Not including 16 property owners, personalty not assessed.
 f Not including 16 property owners, total property not assessed.
 g Not including 15 property owners not reporting.

This table shows for Litwalton an assessed valuation of \$3,256 of personal property and of \$6,055 of real estate, a total of \$9,311. The number of acres reported is 897.5, almost exactly double the number reported for twice the number of Sandy Spring families. This real estate is valued by its owners at \$10,092, two-thirds more than the assessed value, and only one-fourth the valuation given by the Sandy Spring Negroes to their lands. It would seem that the tendency on the part of many of the Litwalton Negroes was to undervalue their property, just as the Sandy Spring Negroes seemed inclined to overvalue their realty. Included as personal property are 40 horses, 25 cows, 12 oxen, 14 buggies, 17 road carts, 8 ox carts, 1 carry log, 40 pigs, and many chickens. In addition to the personal property, and most important of all, there are 47 boats, valued by their owners at \$1,328. If this valuation be what the assessor would make it, the personal property would be increased to \$4,584.

Twenty-four Whealton families report real property valued by them at \$7,100. The property is in Maryland and is as follows:

ESTIMATED VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED BY NEGROES OF WHEALTON, 1901.

Property-owner number.	Valued by owner.	Property-owner number.	Valued by owner.	Property-owner number.	Valued by owner.
1.....	\$150	10.....	\$350	19.....	\$375
2.....	150	11.....	275	20.....	200
3.....	500	12.....	200	21.....	250
4.....	300	13.....	375	22.....	425
5.....	300	14.....	250	23.....	750
6.....	600	15.....	550	24.....	200
7.....	100	16.....	150		
8.....	150	17.....	200	Total	7,100
9.....	350	18.....	150		

A careful analysis of the Sandy Spring property holders was made "with a view to discovering, if practicable, whether the fact of two or more generations of freedom has seemed to influence the Negroes of Sandy Spring in the matter of property getting and property keeping—the economic basis of civilization," and the conclusion reached was that "not proven" seemed the soundest verdict. With regard to Litwalton, it seems unnecessary to make such an analysis, as the number of freedmen in the community prior to 1865 was small.

Of those born in Litwalton and over 36 years of age, 19 former slaves and 4 freemen own property, and of those under 36, 14 are property holders; of those not property holders, 9 are former slaves and 2 are freemen over 36, while 5 are under 36. Of the property holders born out of Litwalton, 7 are former slaves, 2 are freemen, and 3 are under 36; of those not property holders, 9 are former slaves, 1 is a freeman, and 2 are under 36; 5 are not reported. Thirty-seven of the 49 property holders are native born and 12 are outsiders; 16 of the 28 not owning property are natives and 12 are immigrants. Of 44 born slaves, 26 are property holders and 18 are not; of 9 born free (and over 36 years old), 6 are property holders and 3 are not. Seven report inherited property, 3 over 36 (2 of them freedmen's sons) and 4 under 36. There seems nothing in these figures indicative of the acquisition of land by those who have always been free, in comparison with former slaves. A number of those classed as slaves were slave-born during the war, but they were freed while mere children and never really knew any other than the life of the freedman.

There are said to be many trust deeds against the properties of the Negroes for purchase money still unpaid.

GROUP LIFE.

The group life of the Litwalton Negroes appeared to the investigator to be particularly lacking in organization. In spite of so many of them owning their homes and of their being able to earn the greater part of their living within two-thirds of the year, their economic condition is not good. The opportunity for economic success is too great,

the means of obtaining it too easy, hence the lack of success. Except in the case of a very few individuals, there seems not to be sufficient force of character to rise above the mere provision for present needs. With land at \$10 an acre, homes that could have been and should have been paid for by the work of two or three seasons, remain unpaid for at the end of many years. These people hold and practice the faith that "Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long."

There is an Odd Fellows lodge among them, which owns a small hall, formerly much used, it is said, as a place of church meeting and for other social purposes. Some meetings are still held there. So far as could be learned, there is a complete absence in Litwalton of those societies and beneficial orders which form so important an element of the social life of Farmville and of Sandy Spring, and which serve a valuable economic as well as a good social purpose. There seems to be a decided habit of the men to herd together. This habit would probably result naturally from the exigencies and intervals of the oysterman's life, combined with the sociable nature of the Negro.

There is a special cause for the disorganization of a part of the social life of the Litwalton Negroes. This cause has been in operation for the last 4 years, and came partly through their church. The strong denomination among these Negroes is the Baptist. A very few reported themselves as not belonging to any church; none as belonging to any other church than the Baptist. In the same way, the Whealton Negroes, Marylanders, are all Methodists. The Baptist church of Litwalton was the great center of the Negro social life, as the Baptist church is in Farmville, and as the Methodist church is in Sandy Spring. The congregation included practically the whole of the community in addition to about as many more from the outside. About 5 years ago a site was selected just beyond the bounds of the neighborhood for a large new church, and the building was begun. Just about this time a determined and active movement against the sale of liquor was begun in the county and in the neighborhood.

In a very short time the fight became bitter and resulted after a sharp campaign in the adoption of local option for the county. The occasion of the fight for local option, so far as the Litwalton Negroes were concerned, was that the oystermen and others were in the habit of congregating in and around the barrooms and stores where liquor was sold, and of drinking and idling, to the great loss of their money and character and to the disgust of the community, for frequent quarrels and fights scandalized and annoyed the neighbors and passers-by. The pastor of the Litwalton Negro Baptist church took this matter into his church, where he met with ardent opposition, sides being taken and maintained with much heat. The virulence of the campaign left many antagonisms and heartburnings among friends and kinsfolk, white and black, and this bitterness had not been soothed by

time when the investigation was made, about 4 years after the election. So bitter was the feeling that it is said to have even invaded the jury room, and partisanship was shown by jurors for or against a "wet" man or a "dry" man, as the case might be, to the perversion of justice and equity. Upon the Litwalton Negro church the effect was disastrous. The building itself was still unfinished, just where it had been left 4 years before, except that it had taken on the weather-beaten air of premature decay seen on new but neglected houses. The congregation was divided into two almost hostile camps, one of which had practically ceased going to church, though they were talking in a vague way of organizing another congregation. With the cessation of their church-going they had given up the social life connected with their periodic gatherings and had found nothing to put in its place.

In the meantime, according to the testimony of both whites and blacks, local option, unsupported by public sentiment, had proved a complete failure so far as the quantity of liquor sold was concerned, as the following recital will show, and a movement was on foot to have the question resubmitted to the popular vote at the spring elections of 1901. There were said to be about 25 or 30 barrooms in the county at the beginning of the prohibition campaign, 5 of them within the limits of Litwalton. Two of these Litwalton barrooms, it was said, never stopped the sale of liquor at all, and the others soon resumed it as "speak easies." About 2 years after the vote 5 other "speak easies" were in operation, just doubling the number of previous barrooms in the neighborhood. The same thing was true of the county, where about 75 "speak easies" were flourishing in the place of the 25 or 30 barrooms previously existing. The majority of these "speak easies" had United States liquor licenses in order to avoid trouble with the Government authorities. The State authorities were ignored. During the 4 years of the existence of the law one man had been made to pay a fine of \$20 for violation of the law; one trial for a "club license" had resulted in acquittal; a number of indictments had been tried before juries, which failed on one ground or another to convict; the sale of liquor was said to be increasing all the while, and the State was losing at least \$2,500 a year in licenses on the former basis, besides the money expended in fruitless trials. These were some of the arguments used by those circulating the petitions for resubmission, which petitions were being numerously signed by the Litwalton Negroes.

An attempt was made to ascertain the effect of this condition of affairs upon the Negroes of the Litwalton community. The whites who were questioned were unanimous in the opinion that the existing law was not saving the Litwalton Negro's money nor improving his morals. Probably an opportunity for wider inquiry would have brought out contradictory opinions from other whites. The Negroes

were divided in opinion as to some points of the controversy. They all agreed that at least as much liquor was sold to Negroes now as had been sold under the old system. In spite of this practical failure some thought that the general result of the present law was better than the former one because there was less noisy disorder and disturbance of public peace around the barrooms than formerly, since the barkeepers for their own sakes kept the drunken Negroes within doors and treated them carefully to avoid the annoyance and expense of possible trial and conviction; because the drunken Negroes were not literally kicked out of doors and "treated like dogs" by the barkeepers, as had formerly been done under the old law; and because there was not as much actual open drunkenness as formerly. Other Negroes thought that the general effect of the present law was bad, because it failed in its chief aim; because, under it, the Negroes were being taught a wholesale disregard of all law by the impunity of the violation of this law; and because they were taught the practice of public lying by the flimsy evasions of the requirements of the law practiced by the liquor sellers and by their own participation in these frauds. These things, they thought, were as bad or worse than any additional amount of drunkenness that might have existed under the former law.

They all agreed, when pressed for an answer, that this controversy had broken up that part of their former community social life which centered in their church.

Those who are not familiar with what his church and its social associations mean to the Negro are referred to the description of it given in the Farmville report. (*a*)

There is another aspect of the matter. The habit of congregating at the barrooms was a form of social life in itself. It was a kind of rude club life in which the Negro men wasted the money that should have gone to home and family. This rude club life was not stopped by local option, but it was put under the ban of the law. How far this was resented by the Litwalton Negroes, if resented at all, the investigator is unable to say.

In any case, with or without such local causes as the local-option struggle, the group life of Litwalton seemed to be of a very unorganized kind. This aspect of Litwalton is probably typical of the semi-predatory life of the oyster tonger, though sufficient data are not at hand to form the basis of an authoritative opinion on the subject.

With regard to "the peculiar hopefulness on the part of the people themselves," found by the Farmville investigator to pervade "the whole group life of Farmville Negroes," the present investigator must report that, as at Sandy Spring, he did not find such hopefulness pervading Litwalton. Some of the younger and thrifty men of Litwalton

^aSee Bulletin No. 14, January, 1898, page 35.

were hopeful and were of opinion that the Negroes of their community were bettering their condition; a number were noncommittal on the subject, either because they had no opinions or did not choose to express any; and the older Negroes were emphatic in their opinion that the younger set might be able to read and write better, and might be worth more money than their fathers, but that in respect for the rights of others, in manners, and in character they were distinctly degenerates. In this opinion the whites of the community seemed to coincide.

No attempt was made to investigate particularly the group life of the Whealton Negroes, whose true homes are in Maryland. They are kept closely under the eye of their employers, whose houses they occupy, and their manner of life is not free to go its own way.