THE RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF BLACKS IN NATCHEZ AND HATTIESBURG AND OTHER MISSISSIPPI CITIES

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ABSTRACT

THE RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF BLACKS IN
NATCHEZ AND HATTIESBURG AND
OTHER MISSISSIPPI CITIES

By

Jesse Oscar McKee

The residential structure of blacks and whites in Southern cities in many respects is fundamentally different from those in the North and West. One of the reasons often cited for these differences is that Southern cities have experienced a unique historical past with regard to the rest of the country. And that these unique historical experiences in conjunction with certain social, economic, political, and behaviorial processes have left lingering residues of the past which have affected the spatial structure of the black and white residences. Those cities originating before the Civil War tend to have a different type of historical background than those originating after the Civil War, and these different historical experiences tend to affect black residential patterns. These differences in historical experiences are also affected by whether the city is located in the "Lower South" (plantation, slave, cotton system), or "Upper South" (dominated by the often slaveless yeoman farmer, infrequency of cotton), cultural

region.

Seven cities in Mississippi were examined according to their origin date and their raison d'être. They were then classified into two groups: one being Pre-Civil War, cotton/river cities; the other as Post-Civil War, pine belt/railroad cities. The problem was to determine if the black residential areas which were located in cities having a Pre-Civil War history and a former "backyard pattern" of settlement, are less segregated and more spatially scattered, than in those cities which have been primarily founded since the Civil War. Natchez was chosen for intensive study as a city representative of the Pre-Civil War, and Hattiesburg was chosen to represent the Post-Civil War cities. It was hypothesized that the black residences in the study chosen Pre-Civil War cities of Natchez, Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville would be less segregated and more spatially scattered than in the Post-Civil War cities of Hattiesburg, Laurel, and Meridian primarily because of certain sccial, economic, and political processes associated with a particular historical era. The problem was solved and the hypothesis was substantiated.

The approach utilized in this dissertation is a historical-cultural one; it studies the residential structure of blacks in a broad behavioral environmental framework. The various residential patterns were mapped, measured, classified, tabulated, and analyzed. By the use of empirical

evidence and inductive reasoning, several models at different levels of investigation were utilized to theorize about the spatial structure of black residences and residential areas. At the micro level a typical black residential area was idealized to show the residential barriers and zones of contact with the white community. At the meso level the different types of black residential areas were identified with regard to their internal growth and expansive capabilities. And finally a generalized scheme of Negro residential areas was devised to show the relationship of the various types of black residential areas with regard to the city as a whole.

Besides establishing intra-South differences in black urban residential patterns, it was also concluded that 1) "displacement" of black residences rather than "invasion" by black residences on a block basis was the general tendency in small Mississippi cities; 2) creeks and railroad tracks were more divisive as residential barriers to areal expansion of black residences in Post-Civil War than in Pre-Civil War cities; 3) the black residential areas generally started from, and presently contain, multiple core centers rather than just one ghetto core; 4) the historical time period with its associated cultural processes together with the original geographical site and situation of the city were two of the most critical explanatory factors.

THE RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF BLACKS IN NATCHEZ AND HATTIESBURG AND OTHER MISSISSIPPI CITIES

by

Jesse Oscar McKee

A THESIS

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Dedicated to

My friends in Clarion

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the past decade the conscience of the American people has been awakened with respect to its feeling and responsibility for the poor, the underprivileged, and the minority groups in this country. Recently, emphasis has been placed upon the dilemma of the black American and the problems of our urban centers.

Most people are aware of the out-migration of Negroes[1] from the South to northern cities and the emergence of ghettos and their associated problems. Currently much research is being done on the urbanization pattern of blacks in cities in the North and West. However, the urban development of the blacks in the South has been under emphasized, particularly in some of the Deep South states. Detailed case studies of black settlement patterns in southern cities are therefore needed in order to assist in present and future city planning and development. This dissertation concentrates on the spatial distribution of residential patterns of Negroes in seven major cities in Mississippi -- Natchez, Hattiesburg,

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[1] The most currently used term for Negro is black, however, since this dissertation is a historical study both terms will be used interchangeably. The term colored will be used sparingly.

Vicksburg, Columbus, Greenville, Laurel, and Meridian.

Study Area

Most geographers regionalize Mississippi with regard to landforms into approximately eight regions: 1) Delta (Yazoo Basin), 2) Bluff Hills, 3) Pontotoc Ridge and Flatwoods, 4) Black Belt, 5) Red Hills, 6) Jackson Prairie, 7) Pine Hills, and the 8) Coastal Plain or Meadow (Fig. 1). Accordingly, soil, vegetation, and agricultural regions correlate rather closely with the landform regions in Mississippi.

If a historical-cultural map is devised which utilizes physical and cultural elements, and incorporates such variables as the development of Pre-Civil War Mississippi versus Post-Civil War, and the Lower South (dominated by the plantation, slave, cotton system) versus the Upper South (dominated by the slaveless yeoman farmer and infrequency of cotton, or non-agricultural activities--i.e., forestry), the following historical-cultural regions emerge[2] (Fig. 2).

The culture region around Natchez was the early cultural hearth of the Mississippi Territory and early Statehood. It

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[2]Terry Jordon, in his article, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth-Century Texas," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 57, (December, 1967), pp. 667-690 characterizes Mississippi as being in the Lower South, dominated by the slave-cotton system. Whereas the Upper South was dominated by the yeoman farmer who grew grains, other subtropical cash crops, and was generally slaveless. Although, he himself admits this dichotomy is oversimplified (p. 668), this author attempted to be more specific about Mississippi and attempted to separate the yeoman farmer cultural region from the plantation slave owner cultural region in Fig. 2.

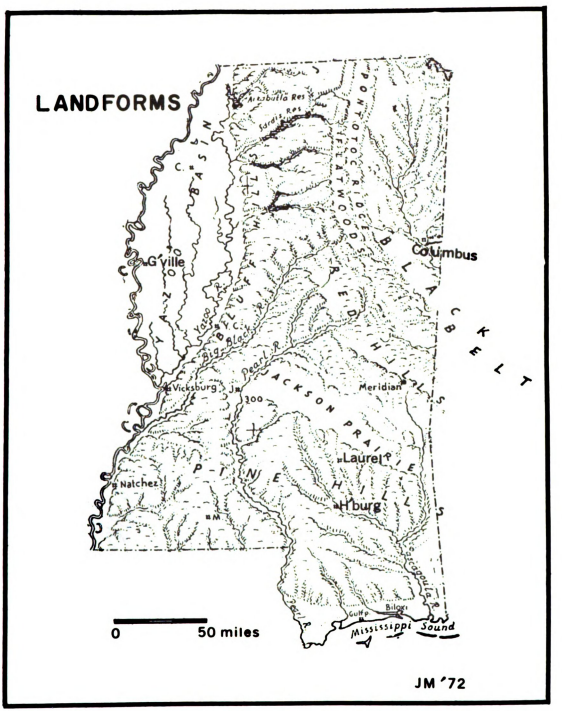

Figure 1

Source: Photographed from Erwin Raisz,
"Landforms of the United States,"
with some adjustments by the author.

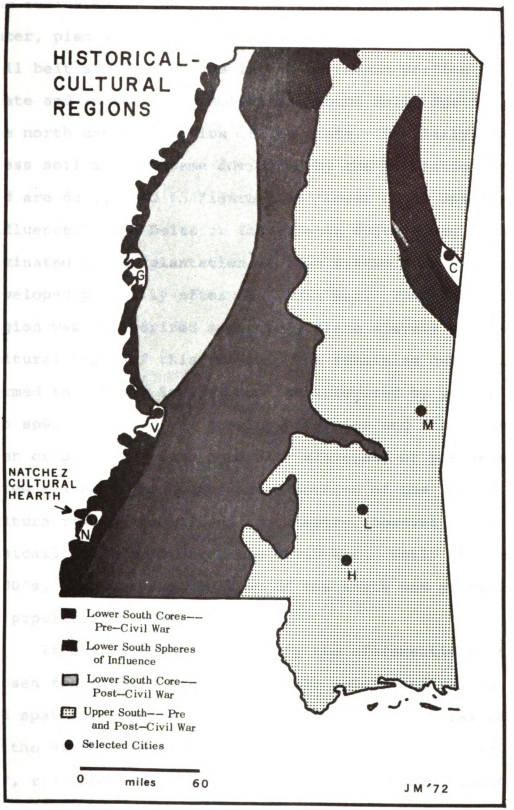
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Figure 2

was dominated by the plantation, slave, cotton system. Later, plantation core areas developed in the black prairie soil belt around Columbus in the northeast portion of the state and in the loess soil area around Holly Springs in the north central section of the state. Similarly other loess soil areas became dominated by the plantation system and are designated in Figure 2 as "Lower South Spheres of Influence." The Delta or Yazoo Basin culture region was dominated by the plantation, cotton system, however, it developed primarily after the Civil War. Therefore, this region was categorized separately since slavery was not a cultural trait of this region. The remaining cultural region, termed the "Upper South", was characterized by yeomen farmers, who specialized in the growing of grains and other subtropical cash crops. They were generally slaveless or possessed only a few slaves. The southeastern portion of the "Upper South" culture region specialized in forestry, however, this area basically developed after the Civil War. Until the late 1800's, the southeast portion of the state was generally low in population density.

If one attempts to classify the aforementioned cities chosen for study according to their origin and raison d'être, and spatial location within the historical-cultural regions of the state, two categories can be devised: 1) Pre-Civil War, river/cotton cities -- Natchez, Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville[3]; 2) Post-Civil War, pine belt, railroad

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[3] Greenville is a Pre-Civil War city, but it was relocated after the Civil War due to changes in the channel of the Mississippi River.

cities -- Hattiesburg, Laurel, and Meridian. Table 1 gives the population of these cities from the earliest census to the present. All but two of the seven cities selected for study are between 25,000 and 50,000 persons. And except for the state capital of Jackson, no other city in Mississippi has over 50,000 persons. Therefore, these cities chosen for study represent some of the largest cities in Mississippi. Not only were these cities chosen because of their population size, but, spatially, they are representative of the "Lower" and "Upper South" cultural regions of the state, and they represent the Pre- and Post-Civil War periods.

Review of the Literature

The geographical literature on the blacks in America has been increasing during the past few years (Table 2). If the nineteen year period (1949-1968) which produced a total of 36 articles, theses, and dissertations is compared to the three year period (1969-1971) total of 32, it is obvious that there has been a sharp increase in the number of scholarly writings on the black American.

Besides the journals mentioned in Table 2, The Professional Geographer published six articles on the Negro from 1969 to 1972. In addition, the Southeastern Geographer, The Commission on College Geography, various university geography departments such as Chicago and Northwestern, and other regional and foreign geographical journals have published materials. Too, geographers have also published works on the Negro in non-geographical journals, plus papers have been

TABLE 1

POPULATIONS OF SELECTED MISSISSIPPI CITIES
FROM EARLIEST CENSUS TO 1970

Census Year	Natchez	Vicksburg	Columbus	Greenville
1970	19,704	25,478	25,795	39,648
1960	23,791	29,143	24,771	41,502
1950	22,740	27,948	17,172	29,936
1940	15,296	24,460	13,645	20,892
1930	13,422	22,943	10,743	14,807
1920	12,608	18,072	10,501	11,560
1910	11,791	20,814	8,988	9,610
1900	12,210	14,834	6,484	7,642
1890	10,101	13,373	4,559	6,658
1880	7,058	11,814	3,955	2,191
1870	9,057	12,443	4,812	890
1860	6,612	4,591	3,308	...
1850	4,434	3,678	2,611	...
1840	3,612	...	...	...
1830	2,789	...	...	...
1820	2,184	...	...	...
1810	1,511	...	...	...

Census Year	Hattiesburg	Laurel	Meridian
1970	38,277	24,145	45,083
1960	34,989	27,889	49,374
1950	29,474	25,038	41,893
1940	21,026	20,598	35,481
1930	18,601	18,017	31,954
1920	13,270	13,037	23,399
1910	11,733	8,465	23,285
1900	4,175	3,193	14,050
1890	1,172	...	10,624
1880	...	...	4,008
1870	...	...	2,709

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants, pt. A, Mississippi, Table 5. U.S. Bureau of Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants, pt. A, Mississippi, Table 7.

presented at regional and national meetings. Much literature has also been written by non-geographers in the form of books, articles, and papers on the Negro.

If one relates himself to the articles being published by the geographers on the Negro, one is valid in asking the following questions. Why has geography suddenly increased its writing on the black American? What have geographers been concentrating on prior to this increased writing? What has been the direction or directions of geographical research

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF ARTICLES CONCENTRATING ON THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES IN KEY GEOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS

Publications	Number for 1949-1968[a]	Number for 1969-1971[b]
Journals:		
Annals of the Association of American Geographers	5	5
Geographical Review		
Economic Geography	16	7
Journal of Geography		
Theses (geography)	11	12
Dissertations (geography)	4	8

[a] Taken from: Donald Deskins, Jr., "Geographical Literature on the American Negro, 1949-1968: A Bibliography," The Professional Geographer, XXI, (May, 1969), p. 146.

[b] Compiled by author.

on this topic in the past and at the present? If one looks at the aforementioned questions and attempts to approach them from a historical perspective some of the answers can be sought.

Certainly Negroes have been in this country a long time. However, geography is a rather new discipline in the United States if one marks the starting date with the opening of the first department at the University of Chicago in the early 1900's. It is generally recognized that American geography grew out of geology, which is a natural science, and it was later joined by the idea that man should be studied in relation to the physical environment. Thus environmental determinism was accepted. Later, during the 1920's and 1930's, geography began repudiating environmental determinism and man's role in changing the face of the earth was the new approach. Two schools of thought emerged: Hartshorne's areal differentiation and Sauer's man and nature theme. During this time many students who were becoming geographers came from rural or non-urban backgrounds. They could easily identify with land problems in agriculture, or physical processes upon the land. The study of urbanization and its problems was slighted; it was primarily examined by sociologists, planners, and others.

Since World War II, the United States and other countries of the world have become more urbanized, thus geographical research in agriculture and to some extent even physical geography received less emphasis, and geographers

turned their attention more toward human geography, spatial analysis, and the problems of the city.

Donaldson, in a recent article, reviewed the geographical literature pertaining to the blacks and felt geographers have practiced the "4-D approach" to the black American -- destortion, deletion, denial, and dehumanization.[4] And only recently, have certain geographers' writings on the black American escaped these accusations. Thus, one might conclude that American geographers have been very "ethnocentric" and have generally tended to view the black American on the landscape as the "invisible man."

Since geographers have slighted and even excluded research on the Black American, the question then occurs, what has the black American been doing since 1900 and who has been studying him?

In 1900, approximately ninety percent of the blacks were in the South, and most were working on rural farms. The first large wave of migration northward by blacks occurred during World War I, and subsequent migrations have been taking place ever since to the North and Western areas. Thus blacks have become more urbanized and more spatially scattered in geographic location.

What disciplines have been concerned with the blacks?

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[4] O. Fred Donaldson, "Geography and the Black American: The White Papers and the Invisible Man," The Journal of Geography, LXX, (March, 1971), p. 145.

History, sociology, political science, economics, and anthropology, to name a few, have been engaged in Negro research. Many articles and books were published on the Negro by these disciplines during the 1920's and 1930's. It is in this era that sociologists and anthropologists together with historians were dispelling racial superiority feelings and were claiming that the blacks were not an inferior race. Then with the heavy migrations of the 1950's, interest was renewed in research on the blacks. And when the migrations continued into the 1960's, and the problems started to crystallize as a result of this spatial movement (black in-migration to the inner city and white out-migration to the suburbs) research on these problems intensified, particularly by sociologists, economists, and political scientists. Anthropologists have lagged in doing current research on the blacks in urban areas.

How does this aforementioned background on the Negro pertain to geographic research on this topic? The answer is that the growth in geographical literature has developed in accordance with the historical changes of the Negro in America. For example, for the sake of categorical convenience, the development of the Negro in this country can be classified into five basic themes: 1) slave trade-slavery-plantation, 2) post slavery-rural farm, 3) subsequent migrations 4) urban settlement, 5) development of ghettos and associated urban and civil rights problems. Geographical research on the Negro can be classified quite similarly.

For example: 1) slave trade-slavery-plantation, 2) rural black, 3) spatial distribution studies (primarily population composition), 4) migration studies, 5) urban case studies, and a growing literature on the development of the 6) ghetto, and 7) social problems.

By examining some key geographical articles in the bibliographies gathered by Deskins and Donaldson,[5] together with some additional entries by the author, the following pattern emerges. With regard to the seven categories, a total of forty-seven key articles have been written. If this total is broken down in the same order of the categories listed,[6] then three,[7] two,[8] eight,[9] three, ten,[10]

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[5] Donald R. Deskins, Jr., "Geographical Literature on the American Negro, 1949-1968: A Bibliography," The Professional Geographer, XXI, (May, 1969), p. 146. Donaldson, "Black American," pp. 138-149.

[6] Merle Prunty, Jr., "The Renaissance of the Southern Plantation," Geographical Review, 45, (October, 1955), pp. 459-491. James F. Woodruff, "Some Characteristics of the Alabama Slave Population in 1850," Geographical Review, 52, (July, 1962), pp. 379-388. E. V. Emerson, "Geographic Influences in American Slavery," American Geographical Society Bulletin, 43, (January-March, 1911), pp. 13-26, 170-181.

[7] John Fraser Hart, "A Rural Retreat for Northern Negroes," Geographical Review, 50, (April, 1960), pp. 147-168. James O. Wheeler, and Stanley D. Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," Geographical Review, 59, (July, 1969), pp. 317-329.

[8] Donald J. Bogue, "The Geography of Recent Population Trends in the United States," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 44, (March, 1954), pp. 124-134. John Fraser Hart, "The Changing Distribution of the American Negro," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 50, (September, 1960), pp. 242-266. Wesley C. Calef and Howard J. Nelson, "Distribution of Negro Population in the

seven,[11] and fourteen[12] articles have been written in each of the categorized sections.

This increase in the literature on the black American is indicative of the fact that geography is becoming more

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United States," Geographical Review, 46, (January, 1956), pp. 82-97. Mark Lowry, II, "Population and Race in Mississippi, 1940-1960," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 61, (September, 1971), pp. 576-588. Harold M. Rose, "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas," The Journal of Geography, LXVIII, (September, 1969), pp. 326-332. Peter O. Wacker, "The Changing Geography of the Black Population of New Jersey, 1810-1860: A Preliminary View," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, 3, (1971), pp. 174-177. Herbert Vent, "Some Population Trends in Mississippi," The Journal of Geography, LIII, (April, 1954), pp. 141-143. J. Allen Tower and Walter Wolf, "Ethnic Groups in Cullman County, Alabama," Geographical Review, 33, (April, 1943), pp. 276-285.

[9] James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "Negro Migration into Rural Southwestern Michigan," Geographical Review, 58, (April, 1968), pp. 214-230. J. Allen Tower, "The Negro Exodus from the South," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 45, (September, 1955), pp. 301-302. Curtis Roseman, "Channelization of Migration Flows from the Rural South," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, 3, (1971), pp. 140-146.

[10] Pierce F. Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration on the Electoral Geography of Flint, Michigan, 1932-1962; A Cartographic Analysis," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55, (March, 1965), pp. 1-25. Allen Pred, "Business Thoroughfares as Expressions of Urban Negro Culture," Economic Geography, 39, (July, 1963), pp. 217-233. Harold M. Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population," Economic Geography, 40, (July, 1964), pp. 221-238. Harold M. Rose, "The Spatial Development of Black Residential Subsystems," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 43-65. Robert M. Crisler, "The Regional Status of Little Dixie in Missouri and Little Egypt in Illinois," The Journal of Geography, XXXIX, (November, 1950), pp. 337-343. Keith D. Harries, "Ethnic Variation in Los Angeles Business Patterns," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 61, (December, 1971), pp. 736-743. James O. Wheeler, "The Spatial Interaction of Blacks in Metropolitan Areas," Southeastern Geographer, XI, (November, 1971), pp. 101-112. Frederic A.

man centered and is more involved in social issues, human conflict, and problem solving. Obviously much of the current research centers around problems concerning our urban centers. Much of this geographical research has been descriptive, but

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Ritter, "Toward a Geography of the Negro in the City," The Journal of Geography, LXX, (March, 1971), pp. 150-156. Donald R. Deskins, "Race, Residence, and Workplace in Detroit, 1880 to 1965," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 79-94. William Craig, "Recreational Activity Patterns in a Small Negro Urban Community: The Role of the Cultural Base," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 107-115.

11 Richard L. Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," Geographical Review, 55, (July, 1965), pp. 339-361. Richard L. Morrill, "The Persistence of the Black Ghetto as Spatial Separation," Southeastern Geographer, XI, (November, 1971), pp. 149-156. Harold M. Rose, "The Development of an Urban Subsystem; The Case of the Negro Ghetto," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, (March, 1970), pp. 1-17. Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective, McGraw-Hill Problems Series in Geography, (Englewood Cliffs: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971). Louis Seig, "Concepts of "Ghetto;" A Geography of Minority Groups," The Professional Geographer, XXIII, (January, 1971), pp. 1-4. Howard Salisbury, "The State Within a State: Some Comparisons Between Urban Ghetto and the Insurgent State," The Professional Geographer, XXIII, (April, 1971), pp. 105-112. Ralph A. Sanders and John S. Adams, "Age Structure in Expanding Ghetto-Space, Cleveland, Ohio," Southeastern Geographer, XI, (November, 1971), pp. 121-132.

12 Mark Lowry, II, "Race and Socioeconomic Well-being: A Geographical Analysis of the Mississippi Case," Geographical Review, 60, (October, 1970), pp. 511-528. Mark Lowry II, "Racial Segregation: A Geographical Adaptation and Analysis," The Journal of Geography, LXXI, (January, 1972), pp. 28-40. Paul S. Salter and Robert C. Mings, "A Geographic Aspect of the 1968 Miami Racial Disturbance: A Preliminary Investigation," The Professional Geographer, XXI, (March, 1969), pp. 79-86. Harold M. Rose, "Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice," Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 6, 1969. James O. Wheeler, "Transportation Problems in Negro Ghettos," Sociology and Social Research, 53, (January, 1969), pp. 171-179. James O. Wheeler, "Work-Trip Length and the Ghetto," Land Economics, 44, (February, 1968), pp. 107-112. James O. Wheeler, "Some Effects of Occupational Status on Work-Trips," Journal of Regional Science, 9,

methods of data interpretation and analysis have been improving steadily. Existing research utilizing theory, quantitative methods, and model building is still rather limited, but it is increasing rapidly. Rose and others are stressing the use of systems theory and system analysis together with the behavioral environmental approach. Today, environmental determinism and even possibilism have been repudiated. Now most geographers would agree that "Man's behavior thus is determined neither by his physical environment nor any all encompassing rationality."[13] But rather it is the behavioral environment which "... can be defined as all stimuli to which a particular individual or group responds whether

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(April, 1969), pp. 69-77. Stanley D. Brunn and Wayne L. Hoffman, "The Spatial Response of Negroes and Whites Toward Open Housing: The Flint Referendum," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, (March, 1970), pp. 18-36. Donald R. Deskins Jr., and Linda J. Speil, "The Status of Blacks in American Geography: 1970," The Professional Geographer, XXIII, (October, 1971), pp. 283-389. Ronald J. Horvath, Donald R. Deskins, Jr., and Ann E. Larimore, "Activity Concerning Black America in University Departments Granting MA and Ph.D Degrees in Geography," The Professional Geographer, XXI, (May, 1969), pp. 137-139. Ann E. Larimore, Earl P. Scott, and Donald R. Deskins Jr., "Geographic Activity at Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities: A Survey," The Professional Geographer, XXI, (May, 1969), pp. 140-144. Theodore R. Speigner, "Critical Shortage of Black Teachers," The Journal of Geography, LXVIII, (October, 1969), pp. 388-389. John W. Florin, "The Diffusion of the Decision to Integrate: Southern School Desegregation, 1954-1964," Southeastern Geographer, XI, (November, 1971), pp. 139-144. Michael A. Jenkins and John W. Shepherd, "Decentralizing High School Administration in Detroit: An Evaluation of Alternative Strategies of Political Control," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 95-106.

[13] "A Systems Analytic Approach to Economic Geography," Commission on College Geography Publication No. 8, (1968), p. 15.

those stimuli be internal or external."[14] In other words, man "...responds to the environment which he perceives," and his behavior and decisions result according to this perceptual environment.[15] Future research utilizing the behavioral environmental approach appears promising, particularly in studies dealing with racial problems.

The research that follows in this dissertation can be categorized under the "urban case study" criteria. Attempts will be made to establish a methodological base in the historical-cultural tradition, and emphasis will be placed not only upon description, but analysis and interpretation will be stressed in a broad behavioral environmental framework. The construction of theoretical models will also be attempted. This author feels that there is a gap in the geographical literature on residential change with particular reference to case studies on the spatial structure of black residential areas in small urban centers in the South. To date, most geographical research that has been done on Negro residential change has been done outside the South.[16]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] William H. Brown, Jr., "Class Aspects of Residential Development and Choice in the Oakland Black Community," (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970). David Ralph Meyer, "Spatial Variation of Black Households in Cities Within a Residential Choice Framework," Research Paper No. 129. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). Lawrence E. Johnson, "The Negro Community in Oroville, California," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Chico State College, 1970).

Problem

It is evident that many southern cities are characteristically composed of a black and an Anglo-Saxon white community. Few other minority ethnic areas exist within the city in comparison to cities in the North and West.[17] Of course, the French Quarter in New Orleans and Mexican-American enclaves in Texas are exceptions rather than the rule in southern cities. Consequently, very little attention has to be given to the impact of other minority groups in analyzing residential patterns of blacks in southern cities.

Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson have done research on the locational patterns of black settlement in large cities in the South. Frazier says that:

> The location of Negro communities in the large cities of the South is different, on the whole, from that in the smaller cities and towns. In the large cities the location of Negro communities reveals two general patterns. In the older cities, like Charleston, with a large Negro population, the Negroes are widely scattered. The location of the widely scattered Negro population in the older cities is due largely to historical factors. Small Negro settlements, comprised mostly of servants, have grown up close to the houses of the whites in which Negroes served. These settlements thus took root before the spatial pattern of the cities was affected by the economic forces which have shaped the pattern of our modern industrial and commercial cities. The second general pattern appears in the newer cities of the South, or in cities where industry and commerce have

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[17] Nicholas Demerath and Harlan W. Gilmore, "The Ecology of Southern Cities," in The Urban South, ed. by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 147.

> determined their spatial pattern. In these latter cities, there are several large concentrations of Negroes and the remainder of the Negro population is scattered lightly over a large area. The light scattering of Negroes over a large area is attributable, as was noted above, to historical factors, while the large concentrations of the Negro population reflect the increasing influence of economic and social forces inherent in the growth of the modern city.[18]

The first pattern which Frazier refers to is often called the "backyard pattern" and is generally associated with the older cities of the South, and the second pattern has been termed the "urban cluster" type.[19] Relying upon the two above mentioned patterns, the author would like to investigate these assumptions further and apply them to smaller cities, particularly in Mississippi, in an attempt to see if these two patterns do exist, and to see if these patterns result because of historical factors. Thus the problem is to determine if the black residential areas which are located in cities having a Pre-Civil War history and a former "backyard pattern" of settlement, are less segregated and more spatially scattered, than in those cities which have been primarily founded since the Civil War. And so it is hypothesized that the black residences in the Pre-Civil War, river and/or cotton cities will be less segregated and more spatially scattered than in the Post-Civil War, pine belt/

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[18] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 237.

[19] Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1943), pp. 9-10.

railroad cities. When the study is concluded, the author will accept or reject this hypothesis, and will accept or reject the assumptions set forth by Frazier.

Methodology, Procedure, and Techniques

A glance at footnote 11 indicates that the geographical literature on residential change pertaining to the blacks in the ghetto has largely been studied by Morrill and Rose. Morrill[20] suggests that residential change can be studied by spatial diffusion theory. However, Rose questions diffusion models as a good means to describe the spread of the ghetto.[21] Rose says that "It appears that the spread of the ghetto is a phenomenon of a different type."[22] And "More specifically, it appears that the spread of the Negro ghetto is a function of white adjustment to a perceived threat."[23] He feels that the ghetto can best be described by behavioral models. In one of his recent articles, he devised a behavioral model composed of three basic components: 1) a demographic component, 2) a producer component, and 3) a consumer component.[24] Both the diffusion and behavioral

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[20] Richard L. Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," Geographical Review, 55, (July, 1965), pp. 339-361.

[21] Harold M. Rose, "The Development of an Urban Subsystem: The Case of the Negro Ghetto," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, (March, 1970), pp. 1-17.

[22] Ibid., p. 2.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

models have their merits, but of the two, the author would like to examine residential change from a behavioral environment with emphasis upon a cultural-historical approach. It is imperative that one understands the behavioral patterns of the white and black southerner from a historical perspective if one is going to analyze and interprete urban residential settlement patterns. For 'The present is the fruit of the past and contains the seeds of the future.'[25]

Cultural geography has been defined in many ways. Mikesell says that ". . .cultural geography is the application of the idea of culture to a geographic problem."[26] Culture is learned behavior, and this culture is transmitted by one's ability to symbolize through cultural institutions and individual cultural behavior which have their origins in time and space, and are ever changing by the invention or diffusion of cultural ideas.[27] Culture history attempts to reconstruct the sucessions or sequences of cultures, cultural traits, culture areas, cultural landscape, and cultural behavior in time and space. In a rigid sense, cultural geography

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[25] Charles F. Gritzner, Jr., "The Scope of Cultural Geography," The Journal of Geography, LXV, (January, 1966), p. 9, quoting Erhard Rostlund, Outline of Cultural Geography, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955), p. 4.

[26] Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 1.

[27] Gritzner, Jr.,"Cultural Geography," p. 8.

has been more concerned with ". . . those elements of material culture which give an area culture."[28] Or it has concentrated on the theme of man as an agency on the landscape. Thus ". . . immigrant neighborhoods are probably less significant from the standpoint of cultural geography than many other kinds of subcultural units. . . ."[29] However, the author feels that neighborhood studies like ghettos and immigrant residential areas can be looked upon as significant subcultural units. Only Craig, cited in footnote 13, comes the closest to examining a Negro community from a cultural base and a behavioral approach. With regard to ghettos, Rose says that "Cultural geography, rigidly defined, has yet to make a contribution in this challenging, but often threatening area."[30] Consequently there is a need for studies to be done on residential areas using a cultural-historical approach. Much can be gained from studying residential neighborhoods by interweaving the cultural geographer's themes of cultural area, cultural behavior and perception, cultural change, and cultural ecology.

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[28] Carl O. Sauer, "Cultural Geography," in Readings in Cultural Geography, ed. by Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 30.

[29] Wagner and Mikesell, Readings, p. 17.

[30] Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective, McGraw-Hill Problems Series in Geography, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 3.

A fair amount of work has been done on environmental perception with regard to adjustments to natural hazards, but more research is needed in ". . . environmental perception and its effects on the behavior of urban inhabitants. . . ."[31]

Cultural geographers are obviously interested in processes involved in the spatial location of cultural groups. Thus in studying residential patterns, it is doubtful if the residences will be distributed randomly, but a clustering of some type (either by race, economic, or educational attainment) will exhibit that some specific cultural processes are involved. One of the objectives of the cultural geographer is to identify them.

In addition to geographers, sociologists have done considerable research on how to measure, classify, and interprete residential segregation and neighborhood change.[32]

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[31] Clyde F. Kohn, "The 1960's: A Decade of Progress in Geographical Research and Development," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, (June, 1970), p. 216.

[32] Karl E. Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," Scientific American, 213, (August, 1965), pp. 12-19. Karl E. Taeuber, "Negro Residential Segregation: Trends and Measurements," Social Problems, XII, (1964), pp. 42-50. Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation in Chicago," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX, (January, 1964), pp. 374-382. Eleanor P. Wolf, "The Invasion-Succession Sequence as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Journal of Social Issues, XIII, (1957), pp. 7-20. Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963). Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, XX, (April, 1955), pp. 210-217. Ernest W. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science, CXL, (November, 1928), pp. 105-115. E. Franklin Grazier, "Negro Harlem:

Taeuber and Taeuber, and Duncan and Duncan have made important contributions in this area.[33] Certain geographers doing research on similar topics have utilized their methods.[34]

Taeuber and Taeuber state that there are three broad approaches to the study of Negro settlement and the interpretation of residential segregation.[35]

1. One approach emphasizes the historical genesis of contemporary patterns and the lingering residues of the past which tend, if unrecognized, to obscure the present.

2. A second approach considers the social behavior that may be regarded as the immediate cause of residential segregation, and focuses on the attitudes, motivations, and actions of persons involved in building, trading, and living in housing.

3. A third approach views the social behavior of individuals within the context of the

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An Ecological Study," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII, (July, 1937), pp. 72-88. Reynolds Farley, "The Changing Distribution of Negroes Within Metropolitan Areas: The Emergence of Black Suburbs," American Journal of Sociology, LXXV, (January, 1970), pp. 512-529. Leo F. Schnore and Philip C. Evenson, "Segregation in Southern Cities," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII, (July, 1966), pp. 58-67. Reynolds Farley and Karl E. Taeuber, "Population Trends and Residential Segregation Since 1960," Science, 156, (March, 1968), pp. 953-956.

33 Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965). Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

34 Douglas K. Meyers, "The Changing Negro Residential Patterns in Lansing, Michigan, 1850-1960," (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970).

35 Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, p. 15.

> general sociological setting, emphasizing the position of the segregated groups in the social structure, as well as broader aspects of social organization, such as demographic trends and urban landuse patterns.

Of the approaches listed above, this study will approach residential segregation and the settlement patterns of black residences through historical genesis. In addition, attempts will be made to incorporate aspects of the second and third approaches (social behavior), but will place it in a geographical setting rather than a sociological one.

With regard to the historical approach and the methods of historical geography, a major body of knowledge has developed out of the "Berkeley School of Thought" under the leadership of Carl O. Sauer. "They [Berkeley School] have attacked their problems historically because they have believed that approach fundamental to their explanatory purpose."[36] Their emphasis has been ". . . upon cultural processes and what is here termed geographical change through time. . . ."[37] The author believes that the above statements are applicable to the intent of this research. Historical geographers, like cultural geographers have not traditionally examined urban residential patterns, but research in this

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[36] Andrew H. Clark, "Historical Geography," in American Geography: Inventory and Prospects, ed. by Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954), p. 85.

[37] Ibid.

area is beginning to expand.[38]

Since the major thrust will be to study the changing spatial residential patterns through time, two historical approaches will be used. One approach is to reconstruct black residential patterns for specific cities over specific time periods. In other words, this study will view residential segregation as an existing pattern observable at any given point in time. A second approach, advocated by Andrew Clark, is the concept of the geographical structure of change.[39] This approach focuses on ". . . the locational aspects of change itself, and of rate of change, in the distribution of individuals significant phenomena, of multiple functions of phenomena, or of important interactive processes."[40] In order to execute these two approaches, it is first necessary to establish a history of change. The second step is to describe and understand the functions and cultural processes which are associated with change of space relations of black residences as they differ from the past.

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38 A recent example is David Ward, Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). See also Donald Keith Fellows, A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972). For a recent historical study of the blacks in America see Richard L. Morrill and O. Fred Donaldson, "Geographical Perspectives on the History of Black America," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), pp. 1-23.

39 Andrew H. Clark, "Geographical Change: A Theme for Economic History," Journal of Economic History, 20, (December, 1960), p. 612.

40 Ibid.

In order to establish a history of change, the author mapped the spatial distribution of black residences for Natchez in 1912 and 1950, and for Hattiesburg in 1921 and 1950.[41] Natchez is used as a pilot study and an example of the Pre-Civil War, river and/or cotton cities; and Hattiesburg is used as a pilot study and example of the Post-Civil War, pine belt/railroad cities. Field research was also conducted in an attempt to understand the present day patterns for these two cities as well as to seek an understanding of the historical genesis of the two black communities as they developed before 1912 and 1921 respectively.

After the data was collected and mapped, and the patterns of Negro residential settlement established, the author attempted to analyze and explain the spatial distribution of black residences within Natchez and Hattiesburg with regard to various historical, social, economic, demographic, political, and technological processes involved in causing the existing patterns.

Next the residences of both cities for 1912-1950 and 1921-1950 respectively, were classified by city blocks

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[41] The data were collected from the Polk City Directories. The above dates were chosen because of the availability of the directories and the classification of data within them. For a similar approach on how to map the distribution of residences through time by use of the Polk City Directories see Jakle and Wheeler's study on the Dutch population in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in the September issue of the 1969 Annals of the Association of American Geographers.

according to the type of 'racial change' in order to better understand residential shifts in the distribution of black and white residences. The classification scheme, adapted from ecological theory, basically followed that of Taeuber and Taeuber in which they classify change in Negro residential areas as being "established," "consolidated," "stable," or "displaced."[42]

After the processes were identified, and the classification instituted, an attempt was made to measure the degree of residential segregation between the two cities. Knowing the total number of blocks in each city, the number of all blocks white, the number of blocks all black, and the number of mixed blocks, the degree of residential segregation can best be determined by the formula:

$$S = \frac{B + W}{T}$$

where:

S -- is the Segregation Index which indicates the per cent of city blocks either all white or all black.

B -- is the total number of blocks all black.

W -- is the total number of blocks all white.

T -- is the total number of blocks in the city.

After the black residential patterns for Natchez and Hattiesburg were derived and compared the author then mapped

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[42] Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, p. 106.

the black residential patterns for the remaining cities of Vicksburg, Columbus,[43] Greenville, Laurel and Meridian,[44] for 1950, by use of the Polk City Directory. Since Natchez was used as the pilot study and example for the Pre-Civil War, river/cotton cities, Vicksburg, Columbus and Greenville were classified with Natchez for historical comparative purposes. Similarly, Laurel and Meridian were classified under the Hattiesburg pattern as being examples of cities which originated after the Civil War. The assumption was that if the historical factor is the primary cause for differences in black residential settlement, then the patterns of Laurel and Meridian should basically resemble that of Hattiesburg, and Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville should reveal a pattern similar to that of Natchez. These cities were not examined as thoroughly as the pilot study cities, they were chosen only as a sampling technique to see if they fell into the overall classification pattern that was devised in the statement of the problem.

The total number of black residences, the total number of black blocks, the number of black residences per block, the average number of blacks per block, and the percent of the black residential blocks which contained white residences and vice versa, were the major means of measurement for these

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[43] The year 1935 was chosen for this city because it was the last available Polk City Directory that listed black and white residences separately.

[44] Ibid., 1948.

sample cities. These figures were then mapped or presented in table form, an analysis of the patterns were made, and then these cities were either accepted or rejected as belonging to a Pre-Civil or Post-Civil War pattern on the basis of being more or less segregated or more or less spatially scattered.

After all the data had been analyzed and classified, the author attempted to devise some theoretical models to depict the patterns which were evident from the research. The first two models attempt to show a micro scale black residential area. They portray such factors as residential block composition, types of barriers to black residential expansion, and how the black settlement in the Post-Civil War cities vary from the Pre-Civil War cities.

A second type of model concentrates on the types of black residential areas. This model shows how black areas can be classified with regard to growth in number of residences and spatial expansion. The growth and spatial expansion of black areas were divided into three categories: 1) area of Inactive/Passive, 2) area of Active/Passive, and 3) area of Decline/Passive.

The third type of model depicts the generalized scheme of black residential areas with regard to the city as a whole. Here one can visualize the black neighborhoods in relation to the land use that surrounds them. One can also see if the black areas are expanding or declining, or check the chances for future expansion ('invasion' into vacant land,

or 'invasion' into white blocks), or future decline ('displacement' by white residences, or 'displacement' by other types of land use by city planners).

After the models are examined they are then compared to some other models by Harold M. Rose. And the final chapter summarizes the findings and makes concluding remarks.

The following chapter (II) is devoted to the history of the black development in the United States with particular emphasis upon the movement of blacks into Mississippi. It basically provides background information which aids and gives perspective to the study of black urban residential areas in the South.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK AMERICAN

Early Development

The history of the Negro in the United States is a particularly interesting phenomenon. In examining the origin of the Negro in the New World, it is significant to note that some researchers feel that "The first non-Indian permanent settlers in America may have been blacks, slaves who fled from a Spanish colony near the Pedee (now Peedee) River, South Carolina, in 1526."[1] Nevertheless, it is evident that the first blacks in the New World were not from Africa but from Europe. Franklin indicates that many Africans were taken to Europe by the Spanish and the Portuguese in order to provide a source of labor. As the New World explorations expanded, these former Africans accompanied many of the Europeans as servants or in other capacities.

Bartolomé de Las Casas is credited with being the first to encourage the establishment of slavery in the New World in 1517. As slavery developed, much of the early slave trade

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[1] Richard L. Morrill and O. Fred Donaldson, "Geographical Perspectives on the History of Black America," Economic Geography, 48, (January, 1972), p.1.

was carried on by the Dutch, Portuguese, English, or French traders. By 1619, ". . . twenty Negroes were put ashore at Jamestown. . . by the captain of a Dutch frigate. . . ."[2] But these Negroes were considered to be indentured servants and not slaves. However, as their numbers grew, a Virginia slave code came into existence. And as the need for laborers increased; Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, the Middle Colonies, and Colonial New England became involved in Negro slavery and slave trade.

By 1650 the estimated population of Negroes in the colonies was 1,600 compared to 48,768 whites.[3] More than one hundred years later in 1756, the Negro population in the colonies had increased to 120,156 and the white population to 173,316.[4] By 1790 Negro slaves numbered 697,624; approximately ninety per cent were concentrated in the South Atlantic states particularly in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas[5] (Table 3 and Fig. 3). Moreover, there were some 59,000 free Negroes for a total Negro population of 757,208 in 1790.[6]

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[2] John H. Franklin, "A Brief History of the Negro in the United States," in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. by John P. Davis, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 8.

[3] Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States," in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. by John P. Davis, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 100.

[4] Franklin, "Negro in the United States," p. 9.

[5] Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 39.

[6] Ibid., p. 171.

TABLE 3

GROWTH OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1790-1860

Census Year	Number	Decennial Increase
1790	697,624	
1800	893,602	28.1
1810	1,191,362	33.3
1820	1,538,022	29.1
1830	2,009,043	30.6
1840	2,487,355	23.8
1850	3,204,313	28.8
1860	3,953,760	23.4

Source: Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p. 39.

Geographic Distribution of Slave Population, 1790, 1800, 1830 and 1860

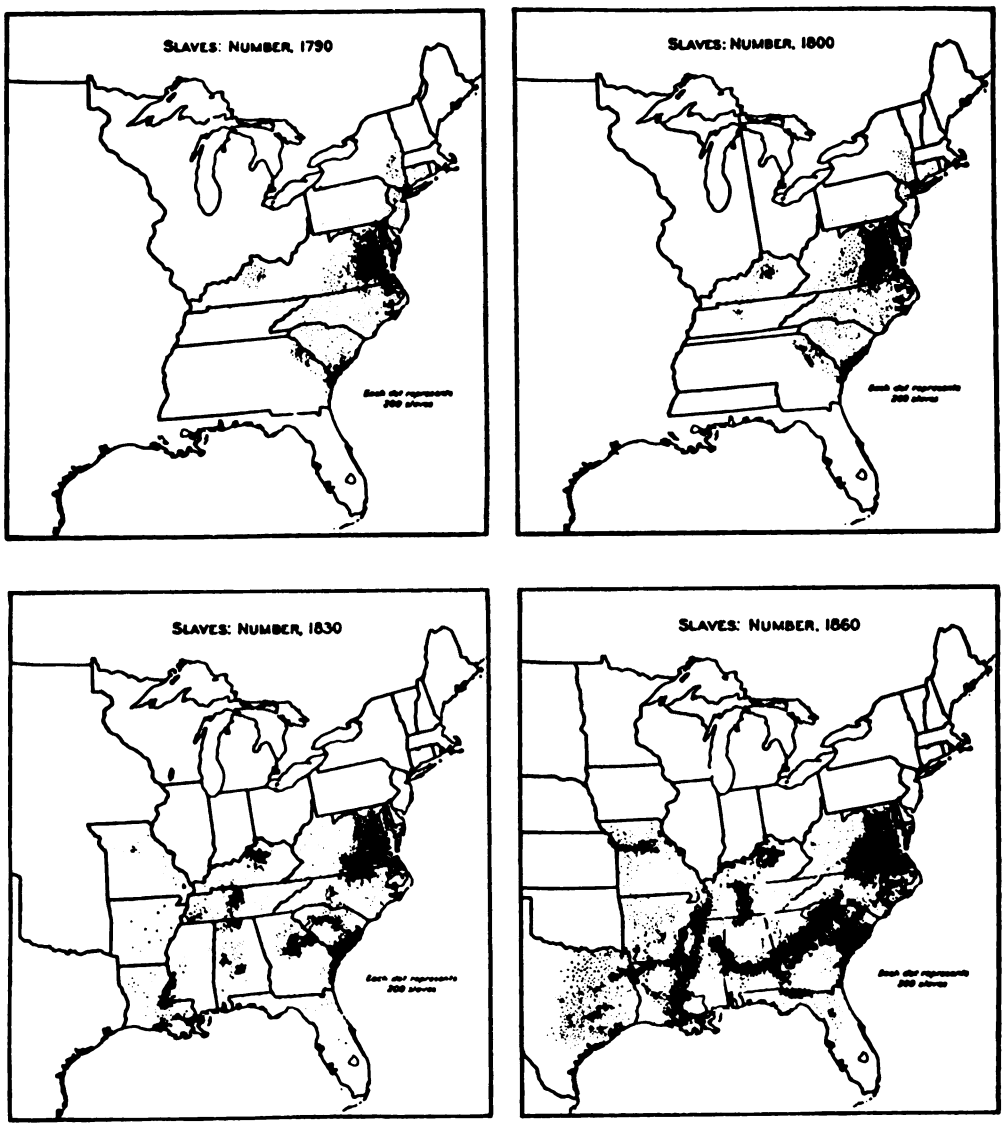

Figure 3

Source: Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Negro Population in the United States, in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. by John P. Davis, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 99, "citing" E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), Maps II, III, IV, and V.

In 1803 the United States Government purchased the Louisiana Territory, and with the termination of the War of 1812, many persons moved westward to the lower Mississippi Valley from the Atlantic seaboard taking many Negro slaves with them. These migrants also contributed to the westward movement of the cotton belt. Subsequently, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama became states in 1812, 1817, and 1819 respectively.

Prior to 1812, most of the cotton was produced in South Carolina and Georgia. In 1811 for example, South Carolina and Georgia provided about three-fourths of the country's cotton production which amounted to 80,000,000 pounds.[7] Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennesee also contributed to this total. At this time, however, cotton production in the lower Mississippi River region had not really gained national prominence.

After 1812 cotton production increased rapidly due to an expanding foreign market. The cotton belt began to disperse from its coastal origins and reached eastern Texas prior to the Civil War. As the need for cotton increased during this time, the need for laborers also increased. The Negro slave population in the Lower South and Gulf Region therefore expanded proportionately.

Because the African slave trade officially ceased in

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[7] Ibid., p. 37.

1808, the domestic slave trade became the principal means of securing slaves in the Cotton Kingdom. It is estimated that 100,000 slaves were brought into the United States between 1790 and 1808, and 250,000 to 300,000 slaves were smuggled into the States after 1808.[8] As the domestic slave trade expanded, "Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Norfolk and Charleston were principal trading centers in the older states; while Montgomery, Memphis and New Orleans were the outstanding markets in the newer areas."[9] With the ending of the War of 1812, and the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Lower South grew rapidly. The total Negro slave population increased from 893,602 in 1800 to 2,009,043 in 1830 and to 3,953,760 in 1860.[10]

According to the first Mississippi census (1820), the state had a total population of 75,448, 33,272 Negroes, 42,176 whites.[11] Prior to statehood, cotton was already becoming an important commercial crop and many planters accompanied by Negro slaves moved into the Natchez district and other nearby areas in southern Mississippi. The population was restricted to the southern half of the state because much of the north was occuppied by Indians.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[9] Franklin, "Negro in the United States," pp. 26-27.

[10] Frazier, Negro in the United States, p. 39.

[11] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Negro Population: 1790-1915, (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 45.

After the Indian Removal Act, the state's population increased enormously through the arrival of additonal white immigrants and the importation of Negro slaves from Virginia, brought into the state by professional traders. Bancroft indicates that slaves were transported from the trading centers on the Atlantic coast to the slave markets in the South by ships; coastwise, and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; by overland marches; or by railroad.[12] With regard to Mississippi, Sydnor states that "Most of the slaves were brought to Mississippi on foot, covering possibly twenty-five miles a day and consuming seven or eight weeks on the road from Virginia."[13] The trip from Virginia usually terminated in Natchez, although many slaves were later taken to New Orleans. The influx of Negro slaves was so great that by 1840, they outnumbered the whites 196,577 to 179,074.[14] After 1840 the movement of Negroes and whites into the state of Mississippi continued to accelerate and the best agricultural land areas were quickly settled and developed. However, by 1860, Mississippi's rapid expansion period was over and most of the state was settled except for the non-agricultural southeast and some poorly drained areas in the Delta region.

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[12] Frederic Bancroft, Slave Trading in the Old South, (Republished, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1959), p. 275.

[13] Charles S. Sydnor, Slavery in Mississippi, Louisiana Paperbacks, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), p. 149.

[14] Negro Population: 1790-1915, p. 45.

Thus by 1860, Mississippi had increased its Negro population from 33,272 in 1820 to 437,404.[15] The total Negro population in the nation at this time was about 4.4 million of which sixteen per cent were urban, ninety per cent were slaves, and ninety per cent lived in the South.[16] Of the some 488,000 free Negroes in 1860, only fourty-four per cent were located in the South.[17]

Post-Civil War

After the Civil War, many Negroes migrated northward. But despite this migration, ninety per cent of the Negro population in 1900 was still in the South. In 1900, 27.7 per cent of the Negro population was urban and such cities as Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Memphis and New Orleans each had more than 50,000 Negroes.[18] In the South, such cities as Charleston, Jacksonville, Savannah, Montgomery, Baton Rouge, Shreveport and Vicksburg all had more Negroes than whites.[19]

The years from 1915 to 1925 mark the first period of a large migration of Negroes from the South to the

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15 Ibid.

16 Franklin, "Negro in the United States," p. 57. And Taeuber and Taeuber, "Negro Population," p. 98.

17 Franklin, "Negro in the United States," p. 33.

18 Ibid., p. 57.

19 Ibid.

North. Migration dropped off during the Depression and then resumed after World War II and reached record proportions in the 1950's and 1960's. During the first migration (1915-1925) there were many "push" and "pull" factors involved. Not only were segregation, discrimination, and injustice push factors; but the boll weevil and a series of bad crop years in the South were additional contributors. In addition, with the beginning of the war in Europe, European immigration to the Northern industrial areas and elsewhere declined. Thus, with increased committment to the war on behalf of the United States, and as demands upon manufacturing enlarged, the migration of Negroes to the North provided many industries with a source of labor. After restrictive legislation regarding European immigration was passed in the early 1920's, this helped the Negro to retain his labor position in the North.

While many Negroes migrated northward few participated in the early settlement of the West. But since 1940, Negro movement westward has been at an accelerating pace. The explanation of this phenomena appears to be that the early Western rural whites did not want Negroes in their areas.[20]

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[20] Arnold Rose, The Negro in America, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948), p. 63.

> Southern prejudice against the Negro seems to be the most potent factor in keeping the Negro out of the new opportunities in Texas and Oklahoma. In some towns Negroes are not permitted to remain over 24 hours; everywhere the Negro is "kept in his place." Another factor has been the competition from the Mexicans, who went into the lowest occupations and filled the traditional "Negro jobs."[21]

With regard to the Far West, it is difficult to understand why cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, or Seattle, did not attract a larger Negro population. But Myrdal states that possibly the expensive and long journey to the Western cities was a deterrent, and that competition from Orientals and Mexicans also contributed.[22] Therefore, few Western cities had Negro neighborhoods in which to encourage and set migration in motion. Thus the only real alternative for the Southern Negro was to migrate to the big cities in the North. By 1940, approximately one per cent of the total Negro population of the country was in the West.[23]

Both the depression and World War II deterred migration to the North. During the war years, many potential Negroes who might have migrated North now served their country instead. However, since World War II, migration

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[21] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1962), p. 187.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Alphonso Pinkney, Black Americans, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 47.

has increased steadily and the West and North Central states show substantial gains in addition to the Northeast.

The migration out of the South since World War II has been great. For example, in 1940, 77 per cent of the Negroes were in the South; this figure dropped to approximately 60 per cent by 1960.[24] A total breakdown of the statistics indicate that in 1960 the South had a total of 59.9 per cent of the Negro population with 31 per cent; 14.3 per cent; and 14.6 per cent in the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central states respectively. The North contained 34.3 per cent, with 16.0 per cent in the Northeast and 18.3 per cent in the North Central. The West contained 5.8 per cent. Similarly, as of 1965, only 53.6 per cent of the nation's Negroes remained in the South, 20.2 per cent were in the North Central states, 17.9 in the Northeast and 8.2 in the West[25] (Table 4). Actually, 3.3 million blacks left the South between the years of 1940 and 1963.[26] Despite this migration, the Negro represents about one-fifth of the total population

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[24] Taeuber and Taeuber, "Negro Population," p. 102.

[25] Data for 1965 are estimates based on a sample conducted by the Bureau of Census. Therefore the figures do not add up to the total and may differ from those that would have been obtained if a complete census had been taken. Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 48.

[26] Pinkney, Black Americans, P. 47.

NUMBER (IN THOUSANDS) AND PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, BY REGION, 1860–1965

Region	1965 *		1960		1950		1940		1900		1860	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	20,944	100	18,860	100	15,042	100	12,866	100	8,834	100	4,442	100
Northeast	3,749	17.9	3,028	16.1	2,018	13.4	1,370	10.6	385	4.4	156	3.5
North-Central	4,231	20.2	3,446	18.3	2,228	14.8	1,420	11.0	496	5.6	184	4.1
South	11,226	53.6	11,312	60.0	10,225	68.0	9,905	77.0	7,923	89.7	4,097	92.2
West	1,717	8.2	1,074	5.7	571	3.8	171	1.3	30	0.3	4	0.1

* Data for 1965 are estimates based on a sample conducted by the Bureau of the Census. Therefore the figures do not add up to the total and may differ slightly from those that would have been obtained if a complete census had been taken.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population, 1960, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary*, PC (1)–1B, pp. 1–164, 1964; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 155, "Negro Population: March, 1965," 1966.

TABLE 4

Source: Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 48.

in the South. In the North, 6.7 per cent of the total population was black in 1960, and Negroes constituted 3.9 per cent of the total population in the West.[27]

Negro Culture Regions

The foregoing discussion has concentrated on the distribution and movement of the Negro since his time of entry into the United States. But a question of importance to the cultural geographer is, can we identify specific Negro culture regions (areas) within the United States? After all, many other minority cultural regions exist such as the Amish, Quakers, Cajuns, American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican-American.[28] Meinig, writing in 1965, attempted to delimit the Mormon Culture Area.[29] His cultural region contained a core, a domain, and a sphere. Lewis, utilizing Meinig's scheme, attempted to define and delimit his own Negro culture regions within the United States by writing about areas of 1) Domain, 2) Intensifying Sphere, 3) Diminishing Sphere, 4) Periphery, and 5) Exclaves.[30] The Domain is comprised of those counties whose Negro population consists of 50 per cent or more of the

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Donald Keith Fellows, in his recent book, A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities, attempted to define core areas of various ethnic minorities.

[29] D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55, (June, 1965), p. 213.

[30] G. M. Lewis, "The Distribution of the Negro in Conterminous United States," Geography, LIV, (November, 1969), p. 413.

total population. The Domain largely coincides to the former cotton and tobacco plantation areas within the old South, such as the Mississippi Delta and the Alabama Black Belt (Fig. 4). It is basically composed of rural areas which have been experiencing a decline in the Negro population. Surrounding the Domain are areas classified as the Diminishing Negro Sphere, composed of counties which experienced decline in Negro population between 1930 and 1960, but still are 20 per cent or more Negro. This culture region is also quite rural. These two regions have been the source areas for Negroes migrating northward; they contain about 18.6 per cent of the nation's Negroes.[31]

The Intensifying Negro Sphere, like the Diminishing Sphere, also includes areas of 20 to 50 per cent Negro, but its counties are undergoing absolute increases in Negro population rather than decline. This region is also largely in the South, (i.e., lower parts of the Gulf States--Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and the southern part of the Atlantic coast) with an extension into the Northeast along the Atlantic seaboard. The Intensifying Sphere is more urban and has a higher density of population than the Domain or the Diminishing Sphere.

The Negro Periphery has the characteristics of the Intensifying Sphere, but is spatially separated from the

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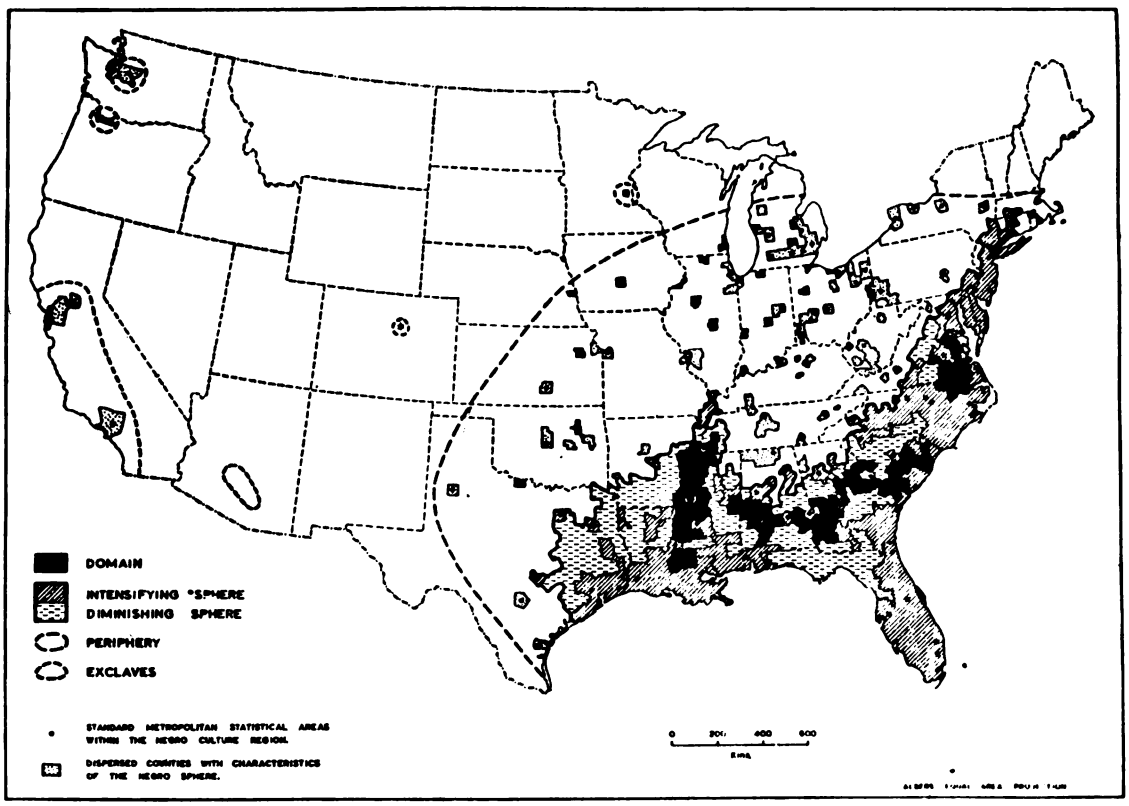
[31] Ibid., p. 415.



Negro culture regions of the conterminous U.S.A. in 1960.

NEGRO CULTURE REGIONS OF THE CONTERMINOUS U.S.A. IN 1960

Negro culture regions	Per cent of U.S. population	Per cent of U.S. area	Negro population (thousands)	Per cent Negro	Percentage change in Negroes 1930–60	Per cent of U.S. Negroes	Per cent of region's Negroes in S.M.S.A.s*	Per cent of U.S. S.M.S.A.* Negroes
Domain	1·4	2·5	1,536	59·8	−16·5	8·1	8·1	0·0
Intensifying Sphere (South)	14·9	6·3	6,428	24·2	+66·0	34·1	69·3	36·7
Intensifying Sphere (North)	12·7	0·6	2,508	11·1	+178·1	13·3	96·6	19·9
Diminishing sphere	3·3	5·8	1,964	33·3	−15·1	10·4	4·4	0·7
Periphery	45·2	27·4	5,282	6·6	+88·2	28·0	78·5	34·2
Exclaves	10·7	2·6	1,011	5·3	+867·6	5·4	97·2	8·1
Extra	11·8	54·8	131	0·6	+191·4	0·7	34·6	0·4
Conterminous U.S.A.	100·0	100·0	18,860	10·6	+58·7	100·0	64·4	100·0

* Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Figure 4

Source: G.M. Lewis, "The Distribution of the Negro in Conterminous United States," Geography, LIV, (November, 1969), pp. 412-413.

main Negro sphere in the Southeast. This culture region is different from the others in that the concentration of Negro urban centers is scattered over a large portion of the Midwest and Eastern parts of the United States. However, they are encompassed by areas with few, or no, Negroes.

The Negro Exclave Culture Areas include those areas outside or to the west of the major Negro Sphere in the East and South. The largest exclave region would be California, followed by such places as St. Paul-Minneapolis, Denver, Phoenix and Tucson, and Seattle and Portland.

However, the greatest weakness in this classification is that it is not based on culture regions or areas in the traditional use of the term if we think of culture areas as ". . . geographical territories in which characteristic culture patterns are recognizable through repeated association of specific traits. . . ."[32] Culture area also carries with it the connotations of invention, culture borrowing, culture change, and acculturation. Whereas the culture region classifies ". . . human beings into well defined groups which share common goals, ideals, techniques, material and non-material traits, and means of economic subsistence."[33] Here, not so much emphasis is placed upon

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[32] Robert W. Ehrich and Gerald M. Henderson, "Culture Area," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, III, ed. by David L. Sills, (New York: the Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), p. 563.

[33] Charles F. Gritzner Jr., "The Scope of Cultural Geography," The Journal of Geography, LXV, (January, 1966), p. 10.

the invention, diffusion and cultural integration of a cultural trait to delimit its region as is the case with culture area. However, Lewis' regions are based strictly upon population percentages with little or no regard to cultural traits or regional homogeneity.[34] Despite this small methodological flaw, the article still serves its major purpose in that it more clearly identifies Negro core areas and black population movements.

Urbanization

By 1960, 73.2 per cent of the Negroes in the nation lived in urban centers, compared to only 22.7 per cent in 1900.[35] Of course this urbanization varied with the regions; whereas in the Northeast 96 per cent of the Negroes lived in cities compared to 73 per cent for the whites, 58 per cent of the Negro population in the South was urban compared to 59 per cent for the whites in 1960.[36] In the West in 1960, 93 per cent of the Negroes were urban in contrast to only 78 per cent for the whites.[37] Although many Negroes migrated North to the big cities, ". . . there has been an

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[34] In a conversation with G. M. Lewis at the Association of American Geographers meeting in Boston, in 1971, we discussed this topic in some detail. Lewis admitted that the use of the term culture region was a weakness, although this was not his original intent and quite possibly the map had been mis-titled, or a more liberal use of the term was implied.

[35] Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 49.

[36] Taeuber and Taeuber, "Negro Population," p. 118.

[37] Ibid.

accompanying movement within the South from rural areas to cities."[38] And as the aforementioned statistics indicate, the Southern Negro is as urbanized as the Southern white and they have jointly participated in the growth and development of Southern cities.

Concurrent with the increase in Negro urbanization, certain cities have attracted more Negroes than others. As a result, particular cities have a large number of Negro residents in their communities. In 1960, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. contained the largest number of Negro inhabitants, 1,087,931 -- 812,637 -- 529,240 -- 482,223 -- and 411,737 respectively.[39] In 1970 six cities had Negro populations of over 500,000: New York (1,666,636), Chicago (1,102,620), Detroit (660,428), Philadelphia (653,791), Washington, D.C. (537,712), and Los Angeles (503,606).[40] Of the first 25 cities with the largest number of Negro inhabitants, 13 were located in the Northern states, 10 were in the South, and the Western states contained the remaining 2 cities in 1970.[41]

With regard to cities with the largest percentage of

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[38] Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 14.

[39] Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 50.

[40] "Official Figures on Negro Trek to Cities," U. S. News and World Report, LXXI, (July 19, 1971), p. 42.

[41] Ibid.

Negroes to the total city population; Washington D.C. (53.9%), Richmond (41.8%), Jacksonville (41.1%), Birmingham (39.6%), and Atlanta (38.3%), had the largest percentages in 1960.[42] As of 1970, key changes have occurred in American cities with regard to per cent Negro. Washington, D.C. is now 71.1 per cent black and Newark is 54.2 per cent black. Other cities between 30 and 49 per cent black include Baltimore (46.4%), Detroit (43.7%), St. Louis (40.0%), Cleveland (38.3%), Philadelphia (33.6%), and Chicago (32.7%).[43]

As the Negroes migrated to the city, the general trend was to settle in the central areas of the city--probably due to white pressure, while the whites fled to the suburbs. This caused the creation of black ghettos or territories occuppied by black people. Today this trend still prevails. However, Negro migration to the suburban areas is beginning to increase and will probably continue to do so in the decade of the 1970's.

Harold Rose, who has done considerable research on the Black American and the development of the ghetto has divided the evolution of northern and western ghettos into three generations.[44] The first generation ghettos were

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[42] Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 50.

[43] "Negro Trek," p. 42.

[44] Harold M. Rose, Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice, Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 6, (Washington: Association of American Geographers, 1969), pp. 3-4.

generally created prior to 1920 and included such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago. The second generation involves the time span from 1920 to 1950 and constitutes cities like Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Finally, the third generation ghettos from 1950 to the present comprises such cities as San Diego, Milwaukee, and Buffalo. Rose definitely feels that ghettos have occurred because the black had no residential "freedom of choice."

It is generally known that the residential structure of the Negro and the Negro-white spatial relationships do vary depending on whether it is a Northern or Western city, or a Southern one. Often ". . . urban residential expansion in Southern cities was institutionally defined and directed . . . .", and many black areas had specific zones of location.[45] However, certain Southern cities had low levels of spatial separation--particularly those older cities which formerly functioned around the historical institution of slavery. Taeuber and Taeuber[46] sum these aforementioned differences in the following manner:

> In most Southern cities, Negroes have continuously been housed in areas set aside for them, whereas in the North, most areas now inhabited by Negroes were formerly occupied by whites.
>
> This regional difference in settlement

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[45] Ibid., p. 4.

[46] Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, pp. 5-6.

> pattern is reflected in the residential locations of persons of differing social status. In Northern cities, Negroes and whites respond in similar fashion to the social and economic forces producing a general differentiation of residential neighborhoods: whites and Negroes living in racially mixed areas tend to be of rather similar socio-economic status, and areas undergoing substantial changes in racial composition have nonetheless retained their general socioeconomic character. High-status neighborhoods tend to remain high-status, and low-status neighborhoods remain low-status.
>
> In Southern cities, on the other hand, there is little relationship between the characteristics of whites and Negroes living in the same neighborhoods--high-status Negroes are as likely to live near low-status whites as near high-status whites. Furthermore, there is a tendency for high-status Negroes to live in predominantly Negro areas, whereas in the North high-status Negroes are more likely to live outside of the core of the ghetto, in recently invaded neighborhoods or other neighborhoods of low proportion Negro. The Northern Negro community was superimposed upon a pre-existing pattern of urban residential differentiation, whereas in Southern cities the initial pattern of residential differentiation already included an adaptation to the presence of a large Negro population. Race is therefore an important factor in residential structure of Southern cities, but in Northern cities residential structure is in large measure independent of the racial composition of the community's inhabitants.

Most scholars recognize the above fundamental contrasts between the North and the South, and within the South itself, but there is more research to be done. In Mississippi, there appears to be fundamental differences between cities originating before the Civil War and those after the Civil War. Those cities commencing before the war display a more scattered and dispersed Negro residential pattern. There is also a higher percentage of white resi-

dences with Negroes living in the rear of white households. Taeuber and Taeuber indicate that "Differences among Southern cities in the relative importance of 'the light scattering of Negroes' and 'the large concentration' appear to be determined by whether the city grew up before or after the Civil War."[47]

Schnore and Evenson investigated Southern cities to see if the older ones were less residential segregated than the newer ones. They concluded that "The historical pattern of 'backyard' residence, which emerged in the ante bellum South under slavery, has apparently survived into the present despite the passage of a hundred years."[48] These authors admit, however, that Southern cities have been increasing in the degree of residential segregation over the past couple of decades.[49] The study that follows by this writer also shows that both older (Pre-Civil War) and newer (Post-Civil War) cities are increasing in segregation. In some cases residentially scattered blacks may be gradually moving into all black neighborhoods by choice, as well as from rather "invisible" forms of pressure by white residents and city officials. Whether these residential patterns in the South will start to resemble those in the North and West only time will tell.

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[47] Ibid., p. 190.

[48] Leo F. Schnore and Philip C. Evenson, "Segregation in Southern Cities," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII, (July, 1966), p. 58.

[49] Ibid., p. 66.

CHAPTER III

NEGRO RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURE IN NATCHEZ AND HATTIESBURG

In Chapter I some basic methodological statements were made with regard to how the problem of this dissertation was to be approached and solved, the techniques to be used, and an approximate outline of the dissertation format to be utilized. Specific statements were made with regard to a cultural-historical approach, the identification of processes involved in the spatial patterns of the black residential areas, classification of residential change, the measurement of the degree of residential segregation, and how the cities selected for study were to be divided into Pre-Civil and Post-Civil War categories.

Before discussing and comparing the black residential structure of the pilot study cities of Natchez and Hattiesburg, a short outline of the topics to be considered and the methodology to be utilized in this chapter will be examined. First, the method for classifying residential change will be surveyed. Second, a historical description of the origin, site and situation, and other pertinent data will be examined for Natchez and Hattiesburg. Third, an empirical description of the black residential areas

for each city for selected dates will follow. Fourth, a classification of residential change and the degree of residential segregation for each city will be determined. Fifth, an explanatory analysis of the processes involved in causing the different patterns of black residential areas will be evaluated. Sixth, a comparative analysis of the resulting data for each city will be made. And finally, some predictions will be projected.

Classifying Negro Residential Change

One of the ways to examine residential change is to establish a classifactory scheme. The following classification of the city blocks was adopted, and will be utilized later in this chapter to measure residential change in Natchez for 1912 and 1950, and for Hattiesburg in 1921 and 1950.[1] The Natchez dates will be employed in the classification.

1. All city blocks in which Negroes made up over 80 per cent of the total residences in 1912 and 1950 were termed ESTABLISHED NEGRO AREAS. Those blocks that were vacant in 1912, but were 80 per cent or more Negro in 1950 were termed ESTABLISHED NEGRO AREAS (NEW).

2. Blocks in which the Negro percentage increased were termed CONSOLIDATION. Consolidation was further

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[1] This classification closely follows that of Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 106.

divided into: a) SUCCESSION--Negro residences numbered 5 or more and increased between 1912 and 1950, while the white population decreased. b) INVASION--the white residences decreased, while Negro residences increased from less than 5 to more than 5 residences between 1912 and 1950. c) GROWING--Negro residences increased more rapidly than the white, but the number of white residences was stable or growing. d) DECLINING--Negro residences remained stable or declined, but they decreased less rapidly than did the white residences.

3. Blocks in which the ratio between both the Negro and white residences remained stable and changed by less than 10 per cent were termed STABLE INTERRACIAL AREAS.

4. Blocks in which the Negro percentage decreased between 1912 and 1950 were termed DISPLACEMENT. These blocks were further subdivided into a) PURE--white residences increase, while the Negro residences decline, and both b) GROWING, and c) DECLINING were categorized like those under consolidation.

For a summary of the classification, see Table 5.

Origin of Natchez

Natchez was incorporated in 1803, but its origin dates back to 1716, at which time the French Governor Bienville erected Fort Rosalie. Its purpose was to keep the warlike Natchez Indians in check and to establish an

TABLE 5

CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFYING CITY BLOCKS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF RACIAL CHANGE

Type of Racial Change	Definition
Established	
Negro Areas.....	Over 80 per cent non-white in the same block in 1912 and 1950.
Negro Areas (New)..	Over 80 per cent non-white in 1950; block was vacant in 1912.
Consolidation:	
Succession.....	Increase in percentage non-white; non-white population increase accompanied by white population decrease; 5 or more non-whites in 1912 and 1950.
Invasion.....	Increase in percentage non-white: non-white population increase accompanied by white population decrease; less than 5 non-whites in 1912 and over 5 in 1950.
Growing.....	Increase in percentage non-white: non-white population increases and white population increases or remains stable; non-white population increases at faster rate than white population.
Stable	
Interracial Areas..	The ratio between white and non-white population changed by less than 10 per cent between 1912 and 1950.
Displacement:	
Pure.....	Decrease in percentage non-white: white population increase accompanied by non-white population decrease.
Growing.....	Decrease in percentage non-white: white population increases and non-white population increases or remains stable; white population increases at faster rate than non-white population.
Declining.....	Decrease in percentage non-white: white population decreases or remains stable and non-white population decreases; white population decreases at slower rate than non-white population.

outpost along the Mississippi River.[2] Early Natchez was controlled by the French, English and Spanish, but by 1798 it was officially under the control of the United States government. The early history of Mississippi from 1720 to 1820 is closely tied to the town and district of Natchez. Thus Natchez and a ten mile area around it was the cultural hearth of the pre-statehood days of Mississippi.

The results of the first census of 1810 indicate that Natchez had a population of 1,511. By 1860 Natchez had a population of 2,789 and was the largest city in Mississippi. This period between 1810 and 1860 was a time when cotton was king, the Natchez Trace was in full swing, and the movement, buying and selling of slaves was at its zenith. However, by 1870 Vicksburg succeeded Natchez as the largest city in the state.

Much of the Pre-Civil War history of Natchez was tied to agricultural development and the use of black labor. Most Southern historians view the Post-Civil War years as the dark years for Natchez. Economic problems and the production of food were the most pressing problems. Of course Natchez was able to come through its hardships until the appearance of the boll weevil in 1908. But since the boll weevil, and particularly since 1928, Natchez has

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[2] Dunbar Rowland, Encyclopedia of Mississippi, II, (Madison: Stewart A. Brant, 1907), p. 290. Most of the historical discussion is from this source and from city planning documents.

recovered; and manufacturing, timber and oil resources, rather than agriculture are the mainstays of its economy. Today Natchez is a bustling city of 19,704.

The downtown area of Natchez was platted prior to 1789. This included the area between Madison Street in the north, Orleans in the south, and Canal and Pine streets in the west and east respectively. Between 1800 and 1859 Natchez incorporated the area to the east along St. Catherine Street, and expanded slightly to the north and south. It is significant to note that after the Civil War between 1865 and 1889, Natchez incorporated considerable area to the north including the East Woodlawn, Minor Street, and Reynolds sections which are predominantly black. The area along Homochitto Street was also incorporated. The expansion of the city to the north, and especially since it developed as a black area, infers that there might have been a movement of blacks there from the areas closer to the downtown area after the Civil War. With regard to later black settlement the sections along East Oak Street, Holden, Concord, Rickman, and some of the Briars were taken into the city between 1890 and 1919. Between 1920 and 1929, the area along North Pine Street was incorporated. However, by the 1920's the expansion of the Negro areas was basically completed. Some of the Briars area in the southwestern part of the city was incorporated between 1940 and 1950, but it was not a very large black area. Besides expansion of the Negro residential areas, several

white residential areas have developed over the years in the eastern part of the city. Thus the black areas of the city have been rather stable since the 1920's. The general spatial pattern of black residences was established in the 19th century.

Negro Residential Patterns: The 1912 Cross-Section

In examining the Negro settlement pattern for 1912,[3] it is evident that two major areas existed, together with three minor areas. The major areas included: 1) St. Catherine Street and 2) North Pine; the minor areas were 3) South Wall-South Canal, 4) North Canal-North Wall, and 5) Homochitto. The core area and central focus of the Negro community was the St. Catherine Street area located in the east-central section of the city adjacent to the city's central business district.[4] The nodal core block of this core area was bounded by St. Catherine Street to the north, and Franklin Street to the south, and Sixth and Monmouth Streets in the west and east respectively. (Fig. 5). The general boundary of the whole neighborhood area can be delimited as follows: the east was bounded by Liberty Road, and the north boundary was the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad, Rankin Street in the west

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[3] The year 1912 was chosen for Natchez because no Polk City Directory was available for 1921.

[4] A nodal core is the block with the most Negro residences.

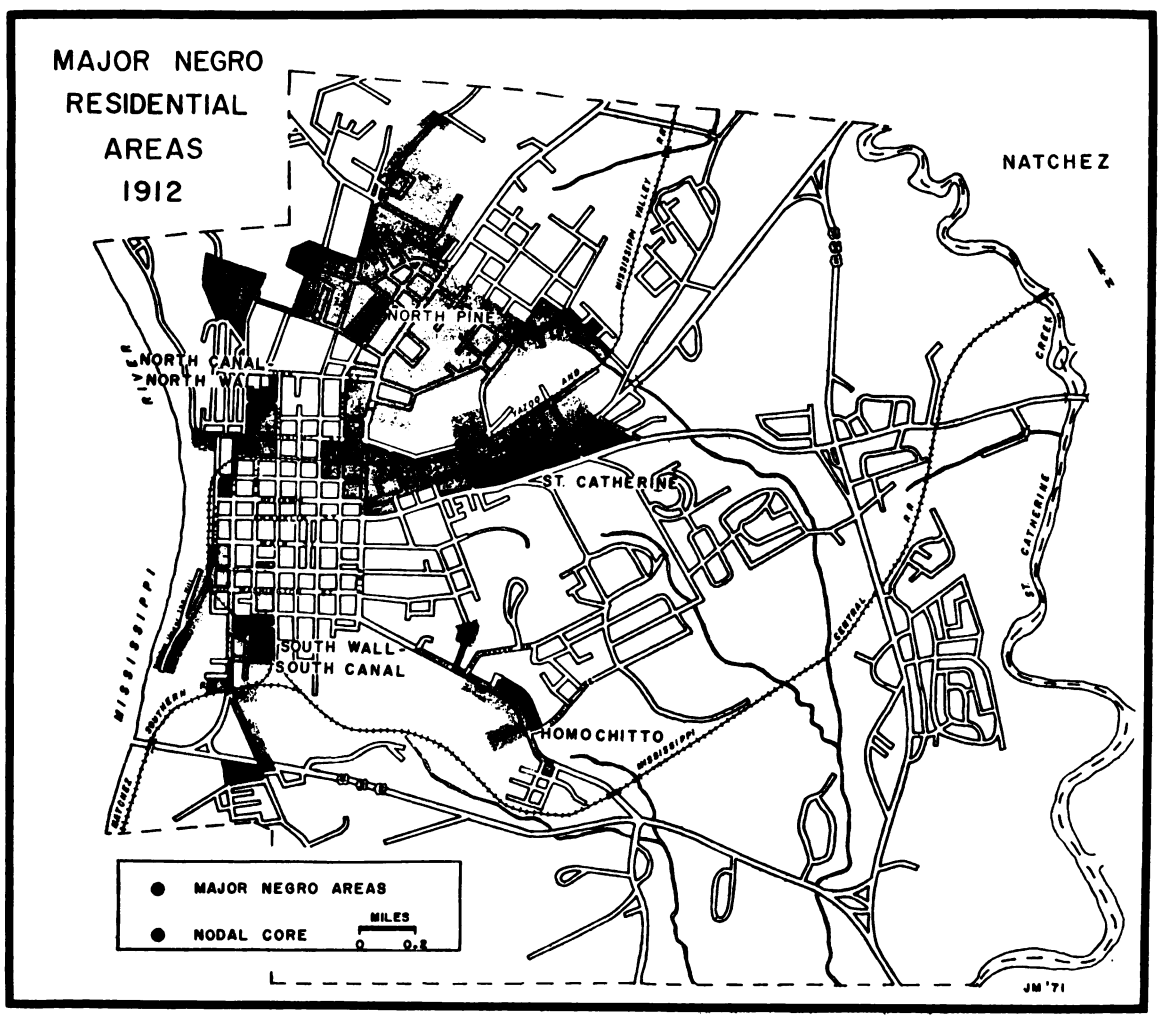
MAJOR NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
AREAS
1912
NATCHEZ
NORTH PINE
NORTH CANAL
ST. CATHERINE
SOUTH WALL-
SOUTH CANAL
HOMOCHITTO
MISSISSIPPI
MAJOR NEGRO AREAS
NODAL CORE
MILES
0
0.5
JM '71

Figure 5

and Franklin Street to the south.[5]

The second major Negro neighborhood was the area contiguous to North Pine Street. This section covered a larger area and had more residences than St. Catherine, but it is not as old since most of it was platted after the Civil War, whereas the St. Catherine Street area was platted prior to 1860. The nodal core block of North Pine Street was bounded by Woodlawn, Garden, Bishop and Beaumont Streets to the north, west, south and east respectively. In general, the neighborhood can be defined as that area north of Oak Street, and east and north of North Pine Street and the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad (Fig. 5). Within this large neighborhood area there were several smaller sub-areas with such popular names as "Tin Can Alley", "Corral", "Stiers Lane", "Minor Street", and "East Oak".

Of the three minor areas, the area containing the most residences was the area in the southwestern part of the city referred to here as South Wall-South Canal Street. Here the Negro nodal block straddled the Mississippi Central Railroad. The area is defined as being south of Main Street and west of South Pine with the highest concentration of residences around South Canal.

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[5] In order to show the general boundary of this neighborhood and others, only those blocks which had 50 per cent or more Negro residences were included. This also applies to Figures 9, 14, and 18.

It also includes the famous "Natchez Under the Hill". Most of the South Wall-South Canal area was platted prior to the Civil War, and some was even platted before 1789.

The fourth Negro residential area and second minor neighborhood area was the North Canal-North Wall Street area. The nodal core block of this section was the block just south of Oak Street bounded by North Canal on the west and North Pearl to the east. This whole area was north of Jefferson Street, west of North Pearl Street and south of Oak Street.

The fifth Negro area (Homochitto) was located along Homochitto Street to the southeast of Natchez's central business district. Negro residences in this area were basically adjacent to Homochitto Street. The nodal core was located on the north side of Homochitto Street between Duncan Avenue and south of Winchester Road.

Residential Measurement

Because of their unevenness in size, blocks are sometimes poor units of measurement. But they can still give numerous insights concerning the population distribution, density, and ethnic composition of a community. Blocks can show patterns with regard to next-door-neighbors, backyard interaction, and the maneuverability of residents to occupy, and in some instances control, the prime land space within the block. On the other hand, blocks may fail to sufficiently analyze the "across-

the-street" neighborhood relationships.[6] For example, in a block which may be composed of Negroes on one side and whites on the other side of the same block, a more meaningful relationship might be seen if the ethnic composition of the across-the-street is also known. In other words, blocks tend to show "form" well, whereas across-the-street patterns can help to show "process" and possibly "function" of the interaction between residences in a particular neighborhood. This research will use the block as the primary unit of analysis, but will utilize the across-the-street technique whenever it aids in the interpretation of a pattern.

St. Catherine Street -- The St. Catherine Street area was composed of 44 blocks,[7] 477 Negro residences and 212 white residences. Of the 44 blocks only 7 were all black while 24 had a black majority. Twelve blocks had a white majority, and one was half Negro and half white. The nodal core block had a total of 54 Negro and 8 white residences (Figs. 6, 7, 8).

These figures suggest that St. Catherine is representative of a racially mixed area. This area

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[6] Paul Hatt, "Spatial Patterns in a Polyethnic Area," American Sociological Review, 10, (June, 1945), p. 354.

[7] Differences with respect to the boundaries and size of a block for all cities studied was the decision of the researcher based upon maps, field work, and familiarity with the area.

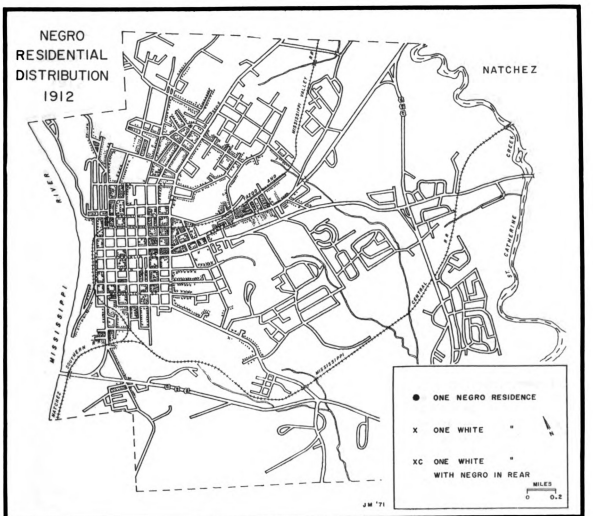
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
DISTRIBUTION
1912
NATCHEZ
ONE NEGRO RESIDENCE
X ONE WHITE "
XC ONE WHITE "
WITH NEGRO IN REAR
MILES
0 0.2
JM '71

Figure 6

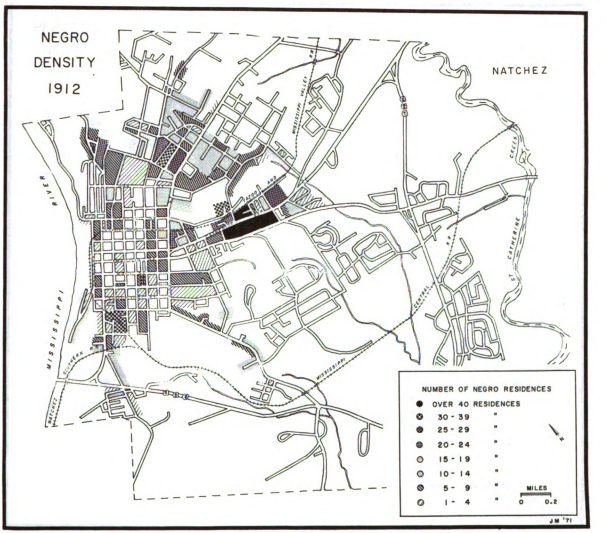
NEGRO
DENSITY
1912
NATCHEZ
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39 "
25 - 29 "
20 - 24 "
15 - 19 "
10 - 14 "
5 - 9 "
1 - 4 "
MILES
0 0.2
JM '71

Figure 7

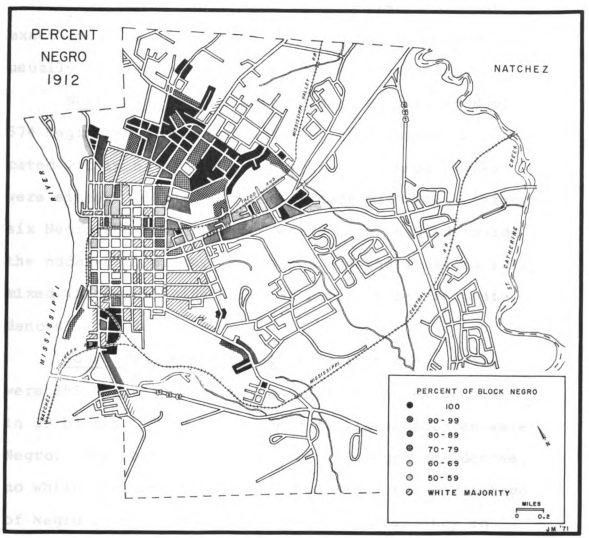
PERCENT
NEGRO
1912
NATCHEZ
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
PERCENT OF BLOCK NEGRO
100
90 - 99
80 - 89
70 - 79
60 - 69
50 - 59
WHITE MAJORITY
MILES
0 0.2
JM '71

Figure 8

certainly has more white residences within it than any other area and only 69 per cent of the residences are black. However, it does not approach a spatially integrated area.[8] Whites and blacks may occupy the same block and the ratio between the number of blacks and whites may appear to be even in some cases, but the exact location of the residences within the block usually displays a tendency towards segregation.[9]

North Pine -- The North Pine area consisted of 574 Negro residences and only 70 white residences located within 53 blocks. Forty-nine of these blocks were either all black or had a black majority. Thirty-six Negro and no white residences were located inside the nodal core block. This area was the least racially mixed within the city since 89 per cent of its residences were black.

South Wall-South Canal -- In this area, there were 195 Negro residences, and 139 white residences in 29 blocks. Thus 58 per cent of its residences were Negro. The nodal block contained 35 Negro residences, no white residences. Here again, since the percentage of Negro residences is low, there is a tendency to

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[8] Refers to the idea that whites and blacks are intermixed along the same side of the block. It also denotes the intermixing of certain behavioral and cultural traits.

[9] This is a good sample area of what the white Southerner has always looked upon as living "close" to the Negro but certainly not living "with" or "mixing" with them.

think that this area is integrated, but this is not the case.

North Canal-North Wall -- This area contained 86 Negro residences and 66 white residences in 13 blocks. The nodal block contained 16 Negro and 6 white residences. Since only 57 per cent of its residences are black, it too may be classified as a racially mixed area, but not integrated.

Homochitto -- Finally, the Homochitto area was comprised of 52 Negro residences and 21 white in 7 blocks. Thirteen Negro and three white residences formed the nodal core. Thus 71 per cent of its residences were black.

Summary of the 1912 Pattern

It is evident that the majority of the Negroes in Natchez lived in two major nieghborhoods, and three minor ones. The most segregated and densely settled residential area was the North Pine Street section. Most blocks were predominantly occupied by Negroes. St. Catherine Street, and the other three areas were more racially mixed. After examining the maps and the collected data, one can conclude that Negroes are widely scattered throughout Natchez and racial mixture within blocks is evident. However, it is also apparent that blacks tend to cluster with blacks and whites also tend to cluster together in the same block. There were also

a large number of blocks which were predominantly white, but had a few black residences within them.

In summation, there were a total of 1,384 Negro residences located in 148 blocks in Natchez in 1912. All the data for 1912 is presented in Table 6 in this chapter.

Negro Residential Pattern: The 1950 Cross-Section and General Changes

In 1950 the two major and three minor Negro neighborhoods were still intact (Fig. 9). No spatial expansion took place in the St. Catherine Street area. Instead, the density of Negroes in certain blocks generally increased. Although many Negroes were displaced in some blocks on the fringes of this neighborhood, particularly near the central business district of Natchez, the nodal core block more than tripled in the number of Negroes. Thus it is evident that the spatial pattern of the black residences tended to tighten up.

In the North Pine area, there was some spatial expansion in the northeastern part of the neighborhood. But in general, the number and density of Negroes per block increased tremendously while only a limited number of new blocks were opened. Thus limited "expansion" seemed to be the general trend.

The South Wall-South Canal area tended to remain rather stable. Very little spatial expansion took place, and in general Negroes were displaced from blocks near

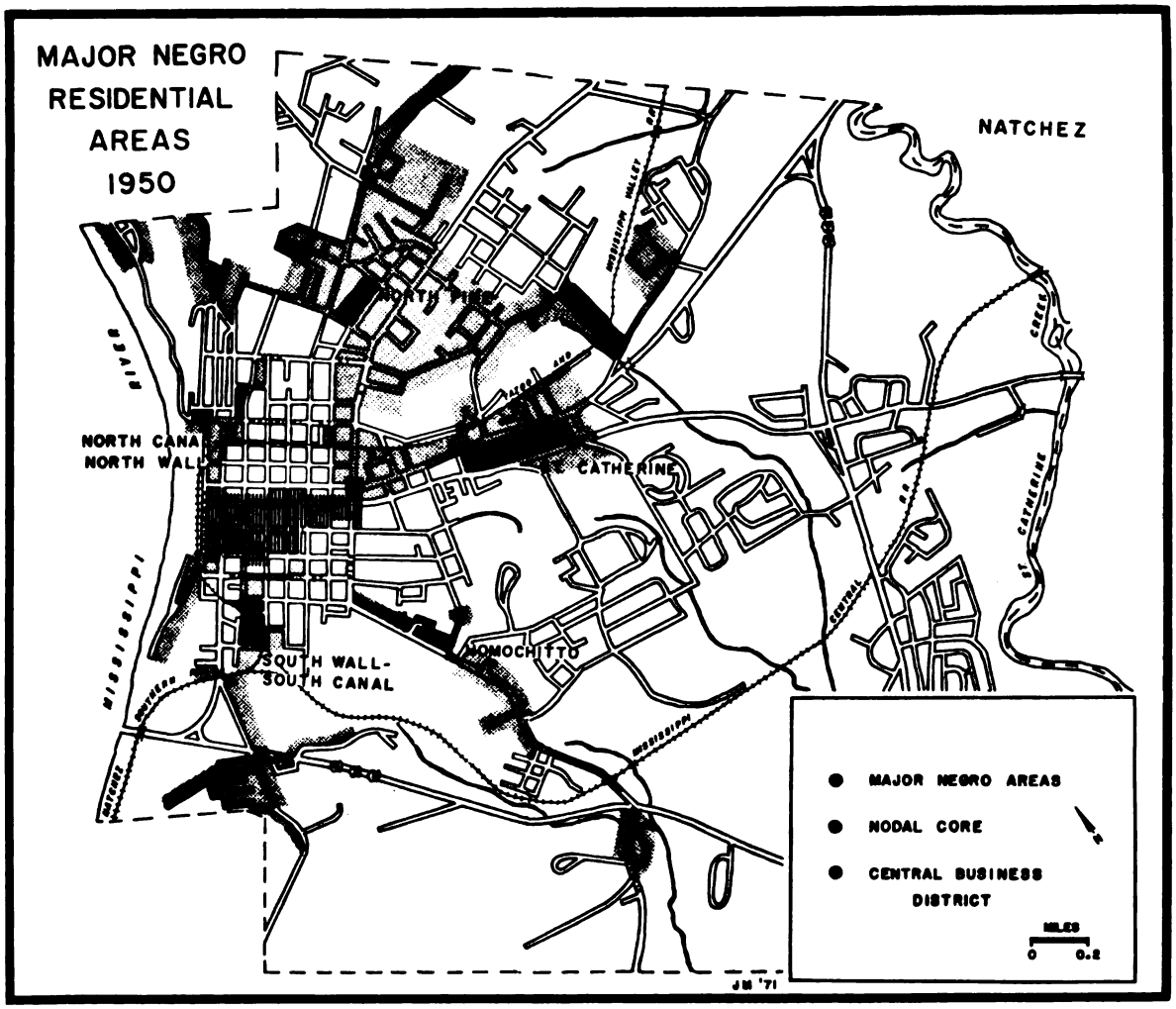
MAJOR NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
AREAS
1950
NATCHEZ
NORTH CANAL
NORTH WALL
ST. CATHERINE
SOUTH WALL-
SOUTH CANAL
HOMOCHITTO
MAJOR NEGRO AREAS
NODAL CORE
CENTRAL BUSINESS
DISTRICT
MILES
0
0.2
JM '71

Figure 9

the central business district. The number and density of Negroes tended to remain rather steady.

The North Canal-North Wall and Homochitto areas also remained relatively stable. However, some areas in the southern part of the city were incorporated between 1912 and 1950, and Homochitto gives the appearance of expansion. But in actuality, blacks have resided there a long time, only they were outside the city in 1912. Still no large spatial expansion took place in these two areas, and the number of Negro residences remained rather fixed. In sum, it is evident that the St. Catherine Street area, and particularly the North Pine Street area, increased in Negro residences while the other three areas appeared to crystallize. By 1950, the North Pine area was fast becoming "the" Negro residential neighborhood (Fig. 10).

By 1950 it should also be noted that some Negro residences started to appear in other parts of the city which were non-existent in the 1912 pattern. But the settlement of these blacks is of minor significance.[10] The general conclusion to be drawn about Natchez in 1950 was that its Negro residential pattern was much smaller

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[10] There were only 17 blacks and this figure is recorded on Figure 10 only. Most were located in the eastern portion of the city along the street where Routes 98, 84, and 61 pass through Natchez.

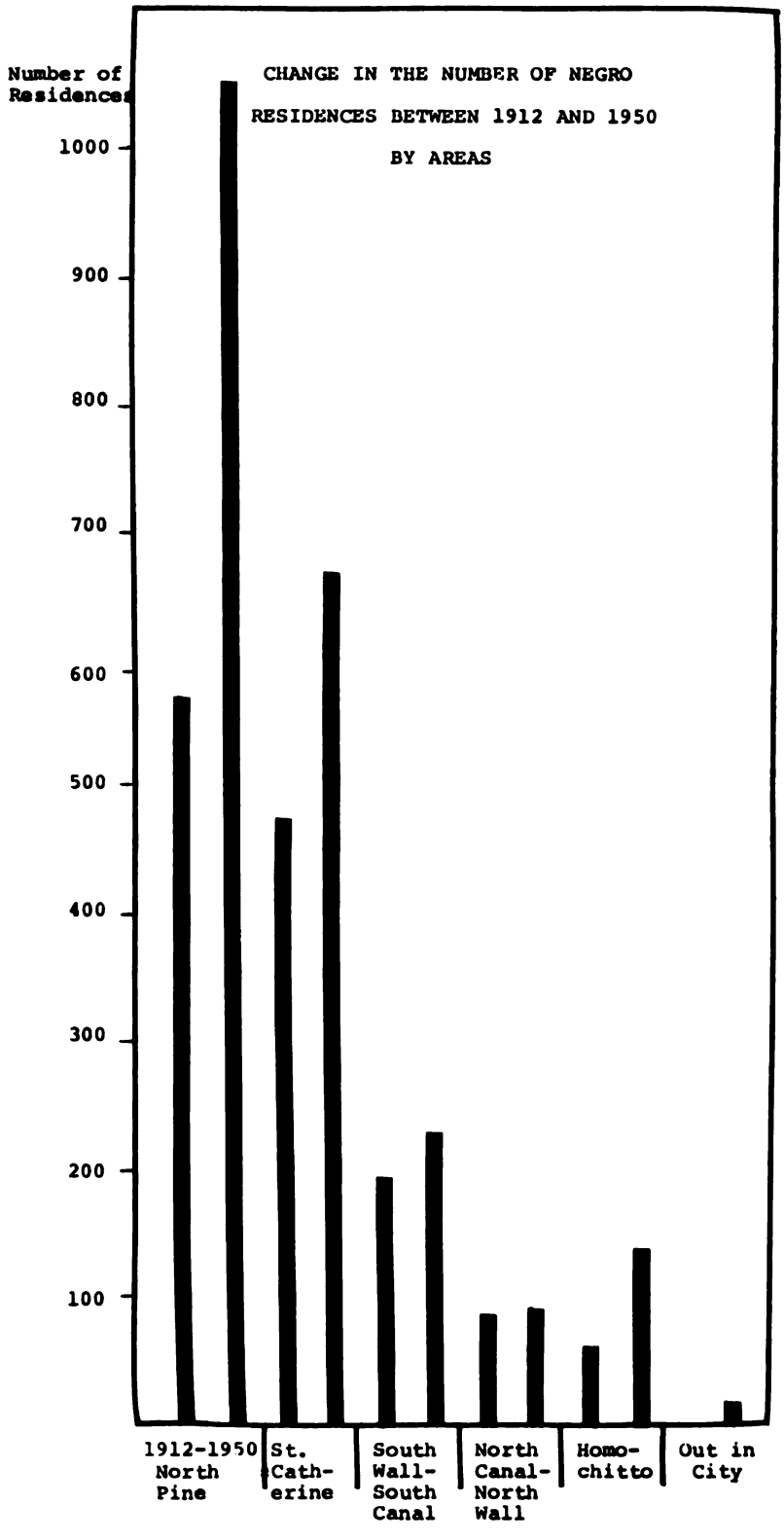
CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO
RESIDENCES BETWEEN 1912 AND 1950
BY AREAS
Number of Residences
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1912-1950 North Pine
St. Cath-erine
South Wall-South Canal
North Canal-North Wall
Homo-chitto
Out in City

Figure 10

spatially in all areas except North Pine than it had been in 1912. To be sure Natchez was becoming a more racially segregated city rather than a racially mixed or integrated one. However, its pattern of Negro residences was still rather spatially scattered.

Residential Measurement

St. Catherine -- In 1950, the nodal core of the St. Catherine Street area was the same as it was in 1912, only the Negro population density increased from 54 Negroes to 180, while whites increased from 8 to 11. The number of blocks containing Negroes was reduced from 44 to 33, and of the 33, 22 blocks were either all black or had a black majority. These block figures suggest a tightening up or condensing of the spatial pattern of blacks, despite the fact that black residences increased from 477 to 672. The key factor in analyzing residential change in this area is that in 1912, only 69 per cent of its residences were black. By 1950, the figure had increased to 80 per cent. Thus this one variable is a significant indicator that the neighborhood area actually became more segregated (Fig. 11, 12, 13).

North Pine -- The North Pine area was comprised of 1,045 black residences in 69 blocks, compared to only 574 Negro residences in 53 blocks in 1912. Thus the number of Negro residences nearly doubled. The nodal core block of the area was the same as it was in 1912, only it in-

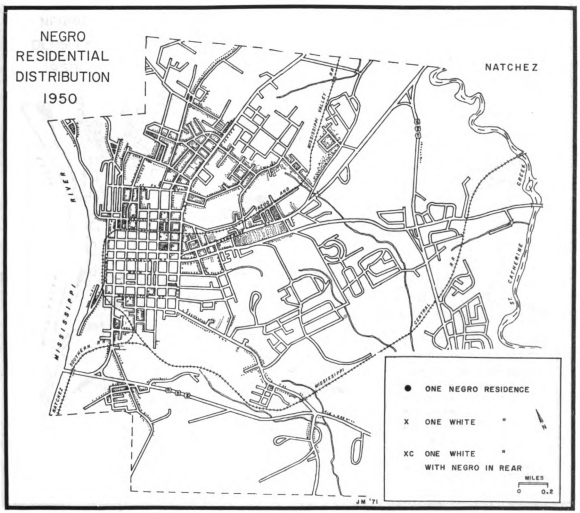
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
DISTRIBUTION
1950
NATCHEZ
MISSISSIPPI
RIVER
ONE NEGRO RESIDENCE
X ONE WHITE "
XC ONE WHITE "
WITH NEGRO IN REAR
MILES
0 0.2
JM '71

Figure 11

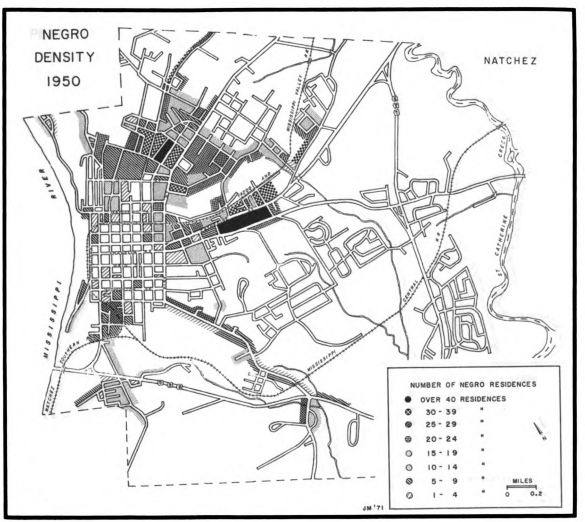
NEGRO
DENSITY
1950
NATCHEZ
RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
1 - 4
MILES
0
0.2

Figure 12

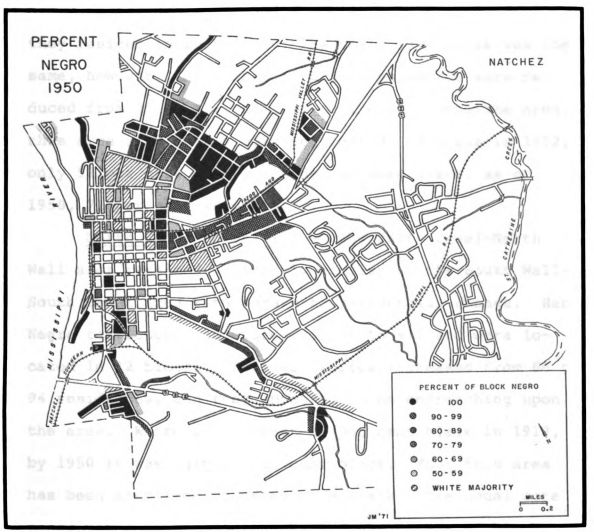
PERCENT
NEGRO
1950
NATCHEZ
PERCENT OF BLOCK NEGRO
100
90 - 99
80 - 89
70 - 79
60 - 69
50 - 59
WHITE MAJORITY
MILES
0
0.2
JM '71

Figure 13

creased in black residences from 36 to 47. Eighty-three per cent of the North Pine residences were black. This area undoubtedly had become the largest Negro residential area.

South Wall-South Canal -- Stabilization is the best word to describe change in South Wall-South Canal. The black residences increased from 195 to only 226, and they resided in 28 blocks. The nodal core block was the same, however, the number of black residences were reduced from 35 to 27. Similar to the St. Catherine area, this area also became more segregated. Whereas in 1912, only 58 per cent of its residences were black, as of 1950, 71 per cent were black.

North Canal-North Wall -- The North Canal-North Wall area remained strikingly similar to the South Wall-South Canal area with regard to residential change. Here Negro residences increased from 86 to 91, and were located in 12 blocks. However, whites increased from 66 to 94 residences, and they appeared to be encroaching upon the area. Where it had been 57 per cent black in 1912, by 1950 it was only 49 per cent black. Thus this area has been kept from becoming more black. The nodal core block moved to the southwest, and the number of black residences was 18 and white residences totaled 9.

Homochitto -- The Homochitto area, which had 52 Negro residences in 1912 had 137 by 1950 located in 13 blocks. However, some of this increase is the result of

adding in the lower Woodville Road section, which was not included within the city limits in 1912. The nodal core shifted a little to the north of the 1912 core. The core contained 28 blacks and 10 whites. Moreover, the percentage of black residences for the whole area had been reduced from 71 to 68 per cent.

Summary of 1950 Pattern

By 1950, evidence seemed to indicate that the North Pine area had been the area for Negro expansion, both spatially and in number of residences. The St. Catherine Street area had increased in number, but was reduced in areal extent. The South Wall-South Canal area was stable but the blocks were becoming more black. The North Canal-North Wall was stable, but the blocks were becoming less black. The Homochitto area was relatively stable. Thus Natchez appeared to be more segregated by 1950 and, except for St. Catherine and North Pine, the general conclusion one draws is that the other areas were being closed to further Negro expansion. Of course due to the topography and historical growth of Natchez, these latter mentioned areas had little room to expand. But still one feels that more and more the leading citizens and planners of Natchez recognize that there will be a couple of major black residential areas, and that these areas will be rather confined. The earlier racially mixed pattern, so prevalent in many Pre-Civil War cities, was starting to change in 1950. In short, there were a total of 2,171

Negro residences, not counting 17 out in the city, located in 155 blocks in Natchez in 1950. All of the data for 1950 is presented in Table 6 in this chapter.

1970 - Field Work Analysis

The 1970 Cross-Section -- In pursuing the field work, it was significant to note that Natchez has a very fine planning commission as well as outside planning consultants.[11] In 1950, a Master Plan for Natchez was drawn up and since then progress has proceeded toward implementing the Master Plan. Thus the data collected by the commission has proved invaluable as an aid in examining and interpreting the 1950 plan as well as analyzing the Natchez of 1970.

Field work revealed that the major and minor Negro residential areas were still intact, but changes were occurring. In 1950, when the major study was completed by the planning commission, they noted that Natchez had several blighted areas. Of course most of the areas were in the black neighborhoods.[12] These blighted areas were thoroughly identified and outlined, and rehabilitation and redevelopment plans were suggested. One of the largest blighted areas was the St. Catherine Street nodal core

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[11] Arch Winter and Robert K. Williams, Planning Consultants.

[12] Natchez City Planning Commission, The Plan for the Future Development of Natchez, (Natchez: Tom L. Ketchings Company, 1951), pp. 34-35.

block and its adjacent blocks. In this neighborhood area, the Plan called for relocation of the occupants elsewhere and for redevelopment into a new business district, a park, and parking areas.

Upon examination in 1970, it is evident that the Plan is being carried out and the area is in a stage of transition. Negro shanties and remnants of the old St. Catherine Street are still distinct upon the cultural landscape, but the area is undergoing drastic changes. In the near future this area will no longer be in the form that it is today. Many of the Negro residences will probably not be located here ten years from now.

The North Pine area also had some severely blighted areas, but in this instance redevelopment plans called for a clearing of parts of the area, provisions for water and sewerage service, and a rebuilding of adequate housing, properly spaced. The indication here was that a major relocation of occupants was not to occur. Today this area is still heavily black, and it appears that it will remain so for a long time.

Much of the South Wall-South Canal area was also a blighted area. Field examination revealed that the character of the area was relatively similar to what it had been in 1950. Here, very little of the Master Plan has really been put into effect. However, plans call for relocating the occupants west of the railroad in order to provide a future area for light industry. Those areas

east of the railroard are to be cleared, and adequate housing is to be built. If the plan is carried out fully, this Negro area will shrink considerably in size, and may even become extinct through time.

The North Canal-North Wall area is also blighted. Plans called for a clearing of the area and a rebuilding of adequate housing, properly spaced. This area appeared to be relatively stable, and Negroes will remain here. Since it is close to the North Pine area, it will probably remain a small black residential area despite the fact that much "displacement" took place here between 1912 and 1950.

The Homochitto section contained a couple of blighted areas, particularly the Taylor Alley area and the area to the south on Lower Woodville Road. Here plans called for a clearing and rebuilding of adequate housing. Negroes would remain in this area.

Origin of Hattiesburg

Hattiesburg was founded in 1884. Its origin and evolution is tied to its location with respect to the Leaf and Bouie rivers, the erection of railroad lines, a subsequent expansion of its yellow pine forest resources, and the establishment of industries based upon lumbering. The person largely responsible for initiating the early development of the community was Captain W. H. Hardy.[13]

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[13] Dunbar Rowland, Encyclopedia of Mississippi, I, (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), pp. 849-853. Most of the historical discussion, unless footnoted otherwise, is from this source.

Captain Hardy in 1879, together with Mr. Fred Wolfe, set out to re-organize and revive the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad which connected New Orleans to Meridian, Mississippi. At that time Hardy was vice-president of the railroad company, and he often supervised the locating of the line. When the railroad line was completed where Hattiesburg is now located, Hardy and his Negro boy companion of about fifteen years of age, visited the engineering crews. While he was there, he envisioned building another railroad that would eventually export lumber from the area to Ship Island (located off the coast of Mississippi) and on to foreign markets. Being familiar with the topographical features of the region, he penciled in on a map where the future rail line would go. He intersected the new railroad line (soon to become the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad) with the New Orleans and North Eastern where Hattiesburg now stands. He decided to locate a station where the lines intersected and lay out a city to be named after his wife - Hattie. The village, originally called Twin Forks, and later Gordonville, was incorporated in 1884 as Hattiesburg. At that time, Hattiesburg had a total population of approximately three or four hundred persons.

The Gulf and Ship Island Railroad was completed in 1897. Prior to its completion, Hattiesburg experienced a vigorous growth. "The largest saw and planing mill in

the South had been established there by capitalists from New York and Pennsylvania known as the J. J. Newman Lumber Company."[14] Besides the usual growth of a city hall, water works, electric lights, telephone system, schools and churches, Hattiesburg became the county seat of Forrest County which formerly had been a part of Perry County. Thus because of its accelerated growth and reputation, Hattiesburg became known as "Queen of the Pine Belt."[15]

In the first Federal census taken in Hattiesburg (1890), the community had a total population of 1,172. This increased to 4,175 by 1900, and almost tripled by 1910 to a total of 11,733. The population then leveled off to 13,270 by 1920. Between 1930 and 1970 respectively, the population increased considerably: 18,601--(1930); 21,026--(1940); 29,474--(1950); 34,989--(1960); and 37,461 in 1970.[16]

Early Negro Development

The Negro was present in Hattiesburg when the community was incorporated in 1884. Besides the fact that Hardy was accompanied by a Negro boy, there is even evidence that blacks were at the location prior to the

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[14] Ibid., p. 851.

[15] Ibid., p. 852.

[16] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Number of Inhabitants, pt. 26, Mississippi.

town's incorporation. Justice T. J. Pittman arrived in Hattiesburg on January 5, 1884. He quoted himself as saying, "On getting off the train, I asked a Negro (old Bill Pickens) where the hotel was."[17]

Otis Robertson, who was the first person to write a book about the history of Hattiesburg, in writing about Negro churches, stated that the Shumpert Chapel M. E. Church was organized in 1885 with approximately 8 to 10 members.[18] Later the African Methodist Church was founded in 1891 with ten members.[19] Besides normal church services, he indicated that they held a class meeting each week ". . . to ascertain the spiritual condition of the different members."[20] With regard to Negro schools, he indicated that ". . .school is taught in the Baptist Church and is fairly well attended."[21] One can infer then that blacks were in Hattiesburg prior to, and at the time of, incorporation.

Negro Residential Patterns: The 1921 Cross-Section

In examining the Negro settlement pattern for

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17 Hattiesburg American, October 26, 1932, p. 33.

18 Otis Robertson, Facts About Hattiesburg, (Hattiesburg: Progress Book and Job Print, 1898), p. 75. (Reprinted in 1967).

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., p. 53.

1921,[22] it is evident that three major core areas or neighborhoods existed: 1) Mobile Street, referred to as the Bottom; 2) Tipton-Currie; and 3) Dabbs-Royal (Fig. 14). The central focus of the Negro community and most densely settled area was the Mobile Street core located in the north-northeast portion of the city. It was bounded primarily by the Leaf River to the east, the Bouie River to the north, the Illinois Central Railroad[23] to the west, and the Mississippi Central and New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad to the south. Two of the four boundaries can be classified as morphological. The other two are man made barriers. The central business district, or Negro Main Street, was located on Mobile Street.

The second Negro core area, which developed south of the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad and east of the Illinois Central Railroad, will be referred to as the Tipton-Currie area. This area was bounded by Gordon Creek to the north, the Leaf River to the east, the Illinois Central Railroad to the west, and the city limits to the south. This area differed from Mobile Street in that it lacked a major black economic retail

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[22] The earliest city directory available for the city is 1910, but black and white residences are not differentiated. Thus the 1921 directory was used.

[23] Known in 1921 as the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad.

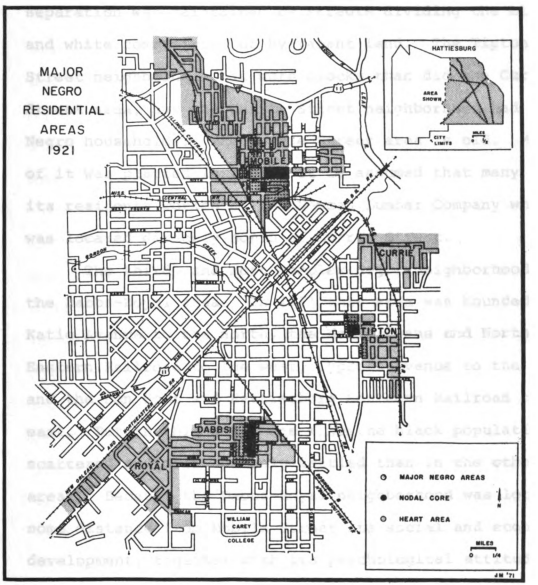
MAJOR
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
AREAS
1921
HATTIESBURG
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
MILES
0 1/2
MOBILE
CURRIE
TIPTON
DABBS
ROYAL
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
MAJOR NEGRO AREAS
NODAL CORE
HEART AREA
N
MILES
0 1/4
AM '71

Figure 14

area or Negro Main Street. Also, a fairly large proportion of white residences were located between the two Negro neighborhoods. However, there was practically little or no evidence of integrated blocks. Residential separation was maintained by streets dividing the black and white communities or by vacant land. The Tipton Street neighborhood had more blocks than did the Currie Street area, but the Currie Street neighborhood had more Negro households. The Currie Street area is old. Much of it was platted in 1896. It is assumed that many of its residents worked at the Newman Lumber Company which was located directly north of Currie Street.

The third, and most complex Negro neighborhood was the Dabbs-Royal area. In 1921 this area was bounded by Katie Avenue to the north, the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad to the west, Cypress Avenue to the south, and the Bon Homi and Hattiesburg Southern Railroad to the east. But in this area, one finds the black population scattered and more sparsely settled than in the other areas. Because the Dabbs-Royal neighborhood was located some distance from Mobile Street its social and economic development, together with its psychological attitudes and mental perceptions, developed separately from the Mobile and Tipton-Currie areas. These attitudes developed because some of the better Negro homes were located in this area as well as many white homes. Some also tend to recognize this area and its fringes as a racially

mixed area by Southern standards.

In addition to these three core areas, there were a few Negroes scattered throughout the western part of the city. They totaled over 100 residences.

It is evident that three distinct Negro communities existed in 1921, and that they occuppied specific areas and did not actually extend beyond certain morphological (i.e., creeks, terrain), arbitrary (i.e., streets, railroads), and behavioral (i.e., racial attitudes, economic income) boundaries.

Evidence from the city maps indicates that Mobile is the oldest area, followed by the Tipton-Currie area; and finally the Dabbs-Royal area. By checking Plat additions to the city with reference to the Negro neighborhoods, it was found that most of the major residential areas were platted between 1895 and 1905 and that these three areas developed somewhat simultaneously. There is no doubt that these three areas were definitely in place by 1910,[24] and were firmly entrenched by 1921 as the map indicates. Thus one can support the hypothesis that these Negro neighborhoods developed from separate core areas, rather than from the expansion and diffusion from one core center, which is often characteristic of many Northern cities.

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[24] This is evident in the 1910 Polk City Directory.

Residential Measurement

Mobile Street -- By 1921, the three Negro neighborhoods in Hattiesburg were firmly established, representing approximately thirty-five years of Negro development and occupancy. It is evident that the "Bottom" (Mobile Street Area) was the core of the Negro settlement. The Mobile Street core area was composed of 67 blocks. Forty-six of these blocks were all black (Figs. 15 and 16); the remaining 21 blocks had whites residing in them. Of the non-all-black blocks, 7 of the 21 blocks were all white having a total of 28 white households. Three of the remaining 14 blocks were 90 per cent black. And of the remaining 11 blocks, 6 were 80 per cent black, 3 were 70, 1 was 60 and 1 was 50 per cent black respectively. In the black majority blocks which contained white households, one block contained 10 white residences, and in half of the blocks the usual number was one or two with the remainder of the blocks containing 3 to 9 white residences. Although white households appeared to be scattered within the Mobile Street Core, there was some concentration in the southern part of the core area, with the white node of settlement being at the intersection of Bouie and East Seventh, and then continuing north and south along Bouie Street (Fig. 15).

The Mobile Street neighborhood, which was low in terrain and elevation, was known for periodic flooding. This factor partly attributed to this area's undesireability

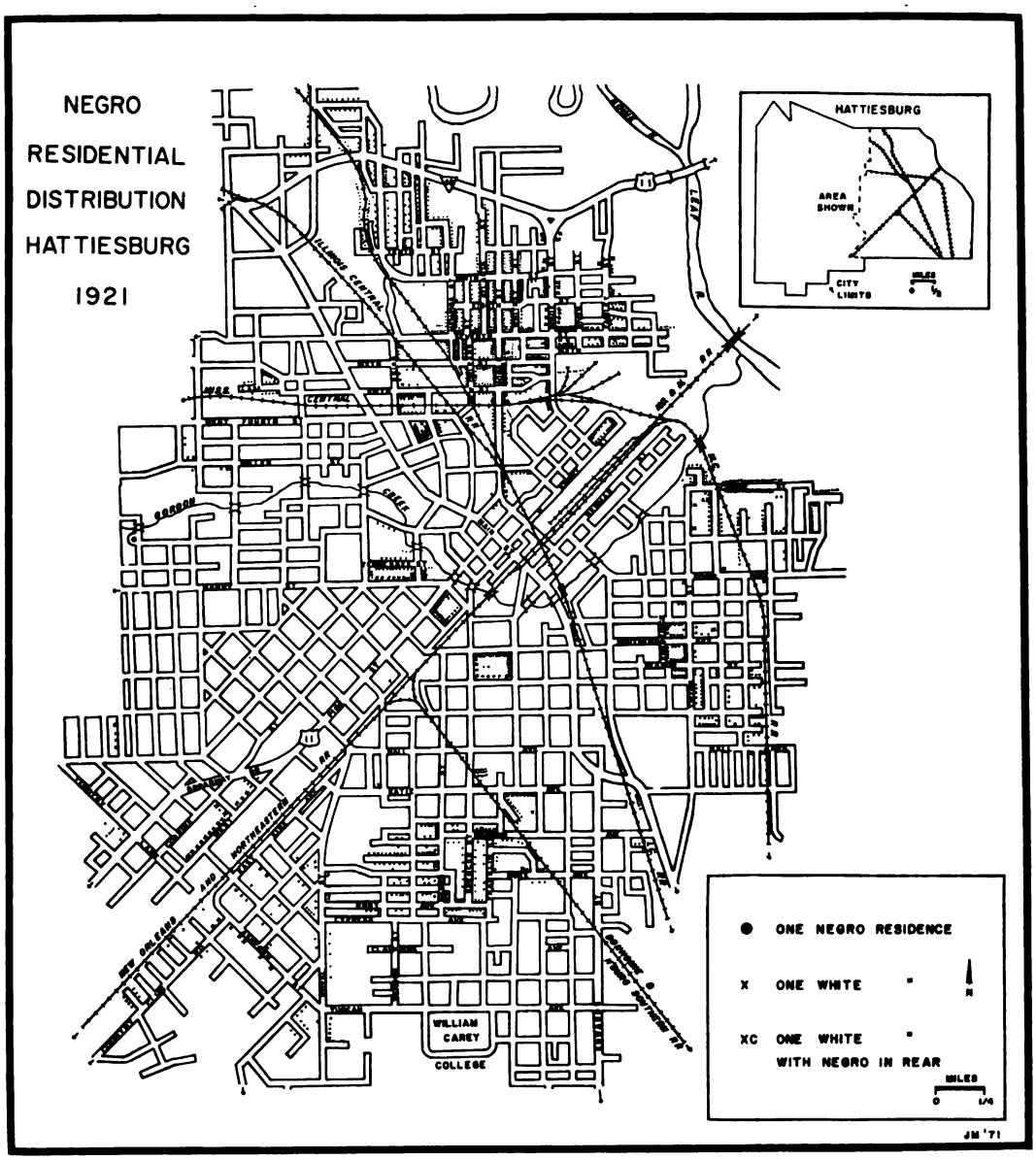
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
DISTRIBUTION
HATTIESBURG
1921
HATTIESBURG
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
ILLINOIS CENTRAL
GORDON CREEK
NEW ORLEANS & NORTHEASTERN
GREENVILLE & SOUTHERN
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
ONE NEGRO RESIDENCE
X ONE WHITE
XC ONE WHITE WITH NEGRO IN REAR
MILES
JM '71

Figure 15

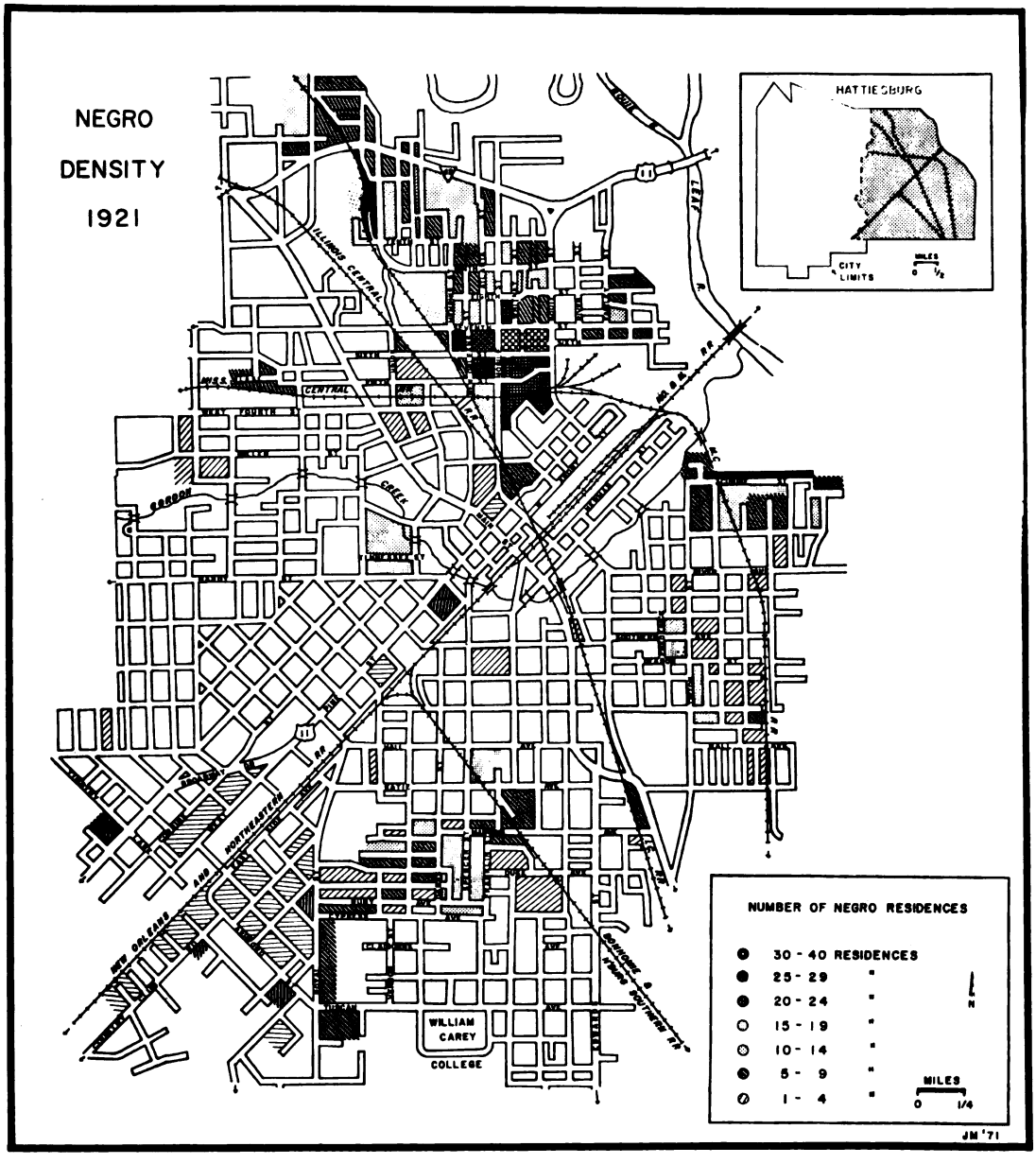
NEGRO
DENSITY
1921
HATTIESBURG
CITY LIMITS
MILES
0 1/2
ILLINOIS CENTRAL
CENTRAL
CREEK
GORDON
NEW ORLEANS AND NORTHEASTERN R.R.
GEORGIA & FLORIDA SOUTHERN R.R.
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
30 - 40 RESIDENCES
25 - 29 "
20 - 24 "
15 - 19 "
10 - 14 "
5 - 9 "
1 - 4 "
N
MILES
0 1/4
JM '71

Figure 16

for settlement as far as whites were concerned. It appears that the white residents recognized this area as a place where Negro citizens might live. Whites avoided settling there and that resulted in a virtually all black neighborhood. It should be pointed out that the rivers to the east and north, and the railroad to the west, and the railroad to the south together with the central business district acted as barriers to the expansion of the neighborhood; but even so, some Negroes spilled over the railroad tracks and occuppied an area between West Fourth and Seventh streets along Union Street located west of Mobile Street.

With regard to population density, the central node, and area of highest concentration of Negro residences within the Mobile Street Core, as well as the city as a whole, was the block bounded by Mobile Street to the west, East Seventh Street to the north, Bouie Street to the east, and East Sixth Street to the south (Fig. 14). For 1921, research results indicated that a total of 39 Negro residences were located in this block, together with 7 white residences[25] (Fig. 17). The block to the west

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[25] The Negro central business district is located on Mobile Street between the Mississippi Central Railroad to the south and Seventh Street to the north. According to the directory, many Negro businesses did not have a name, thus it was difficult to spot where barbers, or clothes cleaners, or restaurants were located. To further complicate the matter, many Negroes resided in their place of business. Thus if a Negro resided in his place of business, it was mapped as a resident; therefore, Mobile appears to be a dense residential area as well as the CBD.

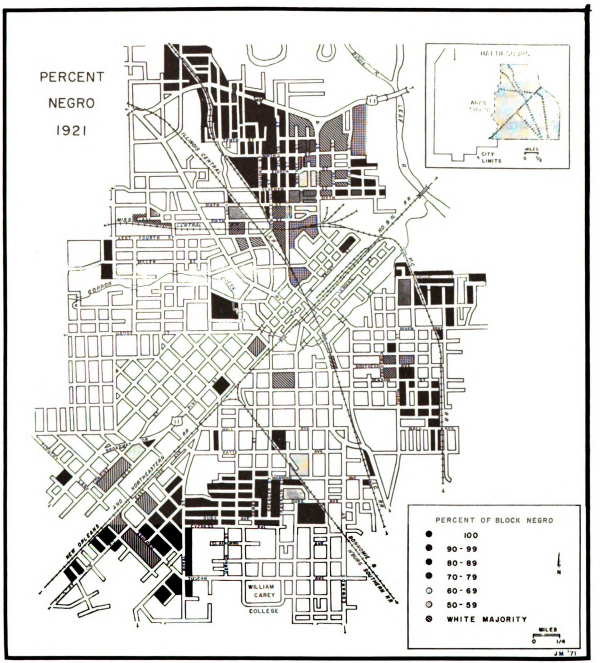
PERCENT
NEGRO
1921
PERCENT OF BLOCK NEGRO
100
90 - 99
80 - 89
70 - 79
60 - 69
50 - 59
WHITE MAJORITY
MILES
0 1/4
CITY LIMITS
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
JM '71

Figure 17

of the nodal block contained 26 Negro residences; the block to the west of it had a total of 21 residences. The block to the southwest of the nodal block contained 22 black residences and 1 white residence; the block to the south of the nodal block included 20 Negro residences. And the block to the south of it contained 21 Negro and 8 white residences. To the north of the node, along Mobile Street were four blocks with 20, 18, 15, and 14 Negro residences respectively. These nine blocks formed the heart of the Mobile Street area (Fig. 14).

Finally, in the Mobile Street area, there were a total of 638 black residences and 73 white residences in 67 blocks. Therefore, 91 per cent of its residences were black.

Located to the west and south of the Mobile Street Core, but oriented to it, were a total of 85 black residences and 40 white residences in 14 different blocks. In the 14 blocks of this Mobile Street "extension" area, two blocks were all black, 6 had a black majority, two had a white majority, one was equally divided between black and white residences, and 3 had black residences mixed in with retail and other business activity. Consequently, 68 per cent of the Mobile Extension area was composed of black residences.

Tipton-Currie Neighborhood -- In 1921, the Tipton Street Core area was composed of 18 blocks. Three of the 18 blocks had white residences--one white residence in each of the three blocks. To the northeast of the

Tipton Street Core was another area which was basically centered around Currie Street. The Currie Street area was composed of 12 blocks. One of the blocks had two whites and one white with a Negro living in the rear of the residence. One other block had one white residing in it. All of the 12 blocks, however, had a black majority. The Currie Street area and the Tipton Street area were separated by white settlement, vacant land and streets. When the two areas are combined, 25 of the 30 blocks are 100 per cent black. Of the remaining 5 blocks which contained some white residences, two were over 90 per cent black, two were over 80 per cent black, and the remaining block was over 70 per cent black.

The "Nodal Core" area of Tipton Street was bounded by Southern, Deason, Frederick and Tipton streets. This Node block was composed of 16 Negro residences and one white. To the southeast of the nodal block was a block with 16 Negro residences and 1 white residence. The block to the north of the nodal block contained 12 Negro residences and one white. These three blocks formed the heart of the Tipton Street area (Fig. 14).

In the Currie Street area, the focus was on Currie Street, but residences on this street were distributed over a long distance. The number of Negro residences on the north side of Currie Street was 22, and there were 18 Negro residences on the south side. Other

Negroes resided in such areas as Barney Quarters and Sugar Row.

In 1921, the Tipton Street neighborhood area had a total of 95 Negro residences and the Currie Street area a total of 115, for a grand total of 210. And finally, it should be noted that 8 Negro residences were located to the west outside of the Tipton Street area in 3 blocks. All 8 of these residences were located along the Illinois Central Railroad, but were oriented to the Tipton Street area. When the 8 residences outside the Tipton Street area are included in the Tipton-Currie area totals, it brings the sum of Negro residents in this area to 218. Seven white residences were located in the whole area, therefore, 97 per cent of the Tipton-Currie blocks were occupied by blacks.

Dabbs-Royal Streets-- There were 26 predominately Negro blocks that made up the immediate Dabbs Street Core, and there were 18 predominately Negro blocks lying adjacent to the Dabbs Street Core in the west and southwest primarily (i.e., Royal Street). Of the 26 blocks within the core, only three blocks had whites residing in them. Two of the three blocks had one white residence each; the other block had 9. But in the last instance, the spatial relationship of the whites and blacks are significant. Here, the whites were located on the other side of the same block that

was occuppied with Negroes, but the Negroes faced toward, and functioned with, Dabbs Street. Thus the black-white ratio is not so important, as is the structure and form of the spatial relationship between the two races within the block.

The "Nodal Core" of the Dabbs Street area was the block bounded by Manning, Spencer, Franklin, and Ruby streets. A total of 16 blacks resided within it. To the west of the Nodal Core, was a block comprised of 15 Negro households. The block to the south of the Node block contained 10 Negro residences. These three blocks formed the heart of the Dabbs Street neighborhood area (Fig. 14). The 26 blocks which made up the Dabbs Street area had a total of 175 Negro residences and 11 white residences. These blocks were surrounded to the northeast and west primarily either by vacant land or white residences.

With regard to the outlying 18 blocks around Royal Street, 14 were all black; the remaining 4 had white residences. One of the four blocks had a black majority of over 60 per cent, two blocks had a white majority of over 60 per cent, and one block was all white, but was surrounded by Negro residences and vacant land. The crucial concept about the outlying blocks is that the density of Negro residences is light and that the residences are somewhat scattered. Much vacant land existed within the various blocks, and usually vacant land separated Negro and white residences, as well as Negro

residences. A total of 43 Negro residences were located in this outlying Royal Street area adjacent to the Dabbs Street core area, thus bringing the total for both areas to 218 Negro residences. Twenty-one white residences were also located here, therefore, 91 per cent of the area was black.

Scattered Throughout the City -- Besides the three major Negro residential areas, (Mobile Street, Tipton-Currie, and Dabbs-Royal) and their associated Negro residences which were located adjacent to them, but outside their immediate Core areas, there were a total of 22 Negro residences in 7 different blocks, which also contained 26 white residences. These Negro residences were scattered, but still somewhat clustered in groups throughout the city. Most of these blocks were surrounded by vacant land, but two blocks were white dominated with blacks on the opposite side of the same block. Still it is doubtful that anything approaching the classic "backyard pattern" that was so prevalent in the Pre-Civil War cities in Mississippi and throughout the South existed in Hattiesburg. Most of the Negroes scattered out in the city were located within about four blocks to the northwest from the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad, and were generally away from the white residential areas.

Summary of the Residential Patterns of 1921

In summary it is evident that the majority of the Negroes lived in three distinct neighborhood areas, and that residential mixing of Negroes and whites within the same block existed only to a small extent. In no instance, are there any good examples of neighborhood block integration of Negro and white residences. Residential separation appears to be the rule. It should also be mentioned that only four white residences had Negroes living in the rear of the residence. This is a crucial variable when attempting to compare Pre-Civil War and Post-Civil War residential patterns within cities, because in most cases Pre-Civil War cities have more Negroes living in the rear of white residences.

Obviously, the Mobile Street area is the main Negro residential section in the city, followed by the Dabbs-Royal and Tipton-Currie areas. There were a total of 1,181 Negro residences within the city, located in 165 blocks. All of the data for 1921 is presented in Table 6 of this chapter.

Negro Residential Pattern: The 1950 Cross-Section

General Remarks -- Two major points need to be stressed concerning Negro residential changes between 1921 and 1950: 1) The three neighborhood core areas were virtually the same in 1950 as they were in 1921; no major changes occurred except for the filling in of Negro resi-

dences around the edges of the neighborhood core areas that was generally composed of vacant land in 1921; and 2) Negroes did not expand into any new areas in the city that were not in proximity to the older established areas (Fig. 18). In other words, there were no major changes in the overall pattern and no real evidence of black invasion into former white areas. It appears that in the course of the city's development some land was left vacant (intentional and unintentional) around the Negro communities to provide for further growth of the Negro neighborhoods. This vacancy was also used to segregate the Negro community from other parts of the city. Of course this is not to insinuate that the Negro areas were completely surrounded by vacant land, the point is that there were at least one or two areas adjacent to the neighborhood cores that were available for further expansion. In 1970, this vacant land was becoming more limited, and future problems doubtlessly are on the horizon. As the vacant land is choked off, Negroes will be forced to open up new residential areas away from the old core centers, or they will invade areas adjacent to the core and possibly cause a white out-migration. This is already occurring in some larger Southern cities. It is probably only a matter of time until it will begin in some of the smaller cities like Hattiesburg. The only other alternative would be to build Negro apartment houses in the already existing neighborhoods. This would allow

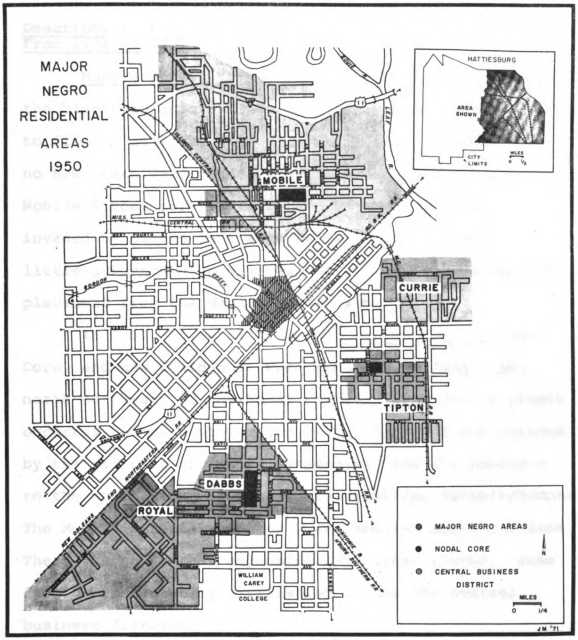
MAJOR
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
AREAS
1950
HATTIESBURG
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
MILES
MOBILE
CURRIE
TIPTON
DABBS
ROYAL
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
MAJOR NEGRO AREAS
NODAL CORE
CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
MILES
0 1/4
N
J.M. '71

Figure 18

for Negro population expansion and the closing of some of the poor housing areas. However, this alternative limits the lateral expansion of the neighborhoods into new areas.

Descriptive Changes in Residential Patterns From 1921 to 1950

Mobile Street -- The general tendency has been for the blocks to absorb a few more residences, and for Negroes to fill in adjacent land that was vacant in 1921. Thus no new areas were opened that were not contiguous to the Mobile Street core in 1921, and only 2 blocks were invaded by blacks that were white in 1921. There is little evidence of a mass exodus of whites or white displacement from the Mobile Street area.

In 1950, as in 1921, Mobile Street was the Nodal Core, and new residences were built to the east, and north-northwest of the Nodal center. Very little growth occurred to the south or the west. The west was bounded by the railroad and white residences, and the barriers to the south were warehouses and retailing establishments. The Mobile Street Extension Area remained about the same. There was no further expansion into other blocks. Some decline was actually experienced around the central business district.

Tipton-Currie Streets -- In the Tipton Street neighborhood, the Nodal Core of 1950 was the same as it was in 1921. Most of the residential growth occurred to the south and southeast of the core. Here again, no

whites were displaced and Negroes moved primarily into unoccuppied land. Expansion to the north was hampered by white settlement. Growth to the west was hindered by the railroad and white settlement. The Currie Street area to the north of Tipton Street still existed, but the general pattern of settlement had moved slightly towards the east.

Dabbs-Royal Streets -- By 1950, the Nodal core area of the Dabbs neighborhood had moved one block to the west. Other changes had occurred to the west and south, and slightly north from the Nodal block as blacks spread out into the periphery areas. The barriers to the east that stopped movement in this direction were the railroad and white residences. Thus between 1921 and 1950, the Dabbs Street area and the Royal Street area appeared to merge closer together. The only barrier to the westward expansion was the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad which was somewhat elevated above the surrounding landscape. The residential area between Royal Street and the New Orleans and North Eastern Railroad was probably the most racially mixed within the city. It is in this area in which some of the middle and upper middle class Negroes lived, which often resulted in less friction between low middle class whites and upper middle class Negroes who resided there. The choice of residences was basically determined by block sides and across-the-street pattern or street

control, rather than block control. Whites appeared to dominate Ashford Street, and East Side Street, while Negroes practically surrounded them. Despite this type of spatial closeness in residential pattern, nothing approaching integration is evident. Thus the westward expansion of 1950 was stopped by the railroad; to the north, Katie Avenue was the demarcating line. To the south, white residences, strategically placed vacant land, and William Carey College formed the barriers.

Residential Measurement

Mobile -- In the Mobile Street area in 1950, the Nodal Core block was the same as it was in 1921, only the density increased from 39 black and 7 white residences to 52 black residences and one white residence (Figs. 19, 20, 21). The total number of black residences increased from 638 to 1,079 for an increase of 69 per cent (Fig. 22). White residences increased from 73 to 86 for an 18 per cent increase. The total number of blocks increased from 67 to 77. Of the 77 blocks, 54 were all black, 16 had a black majority of which 15 of the 16 blocks were 70 per cent or more black, six blocks had a white majority, and one was half white and half black. Most of the whites resided on Bouie Street. The total area averaged to 92 per cent black.

There was a total of 74 Negro residences located just outside of the Mobile Street area (Mobile Extension),

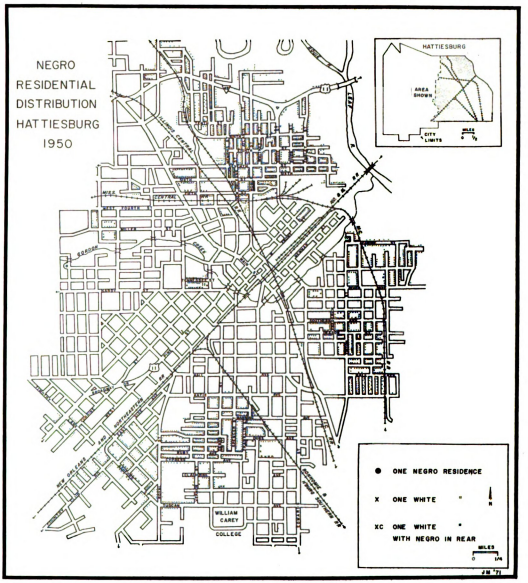
NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
DISTRIBUTION
HATTIESBURG
1950
HATTIESBURG
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
ONE NEGRO RESIDENCE
ONE WHITE
ONE WHITE WITH NEGRO IN REAR
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
MILES

Figure 19

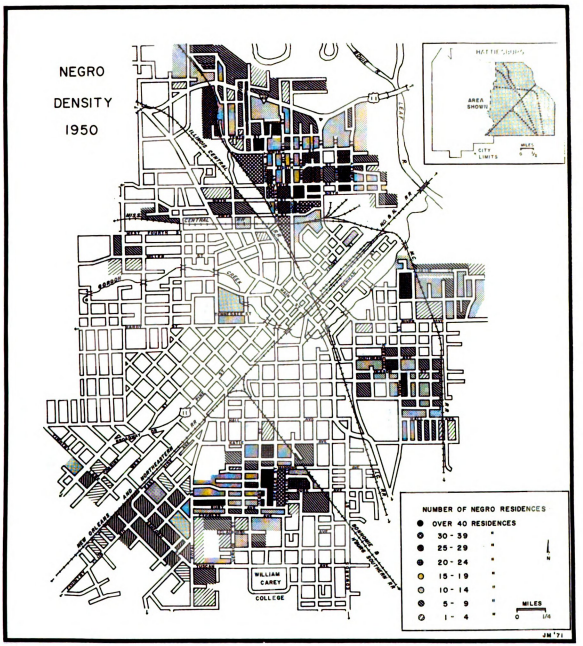
NEGRO
DENSITY
1950
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
1 - 4
MILES
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
JM '71

Figure 20

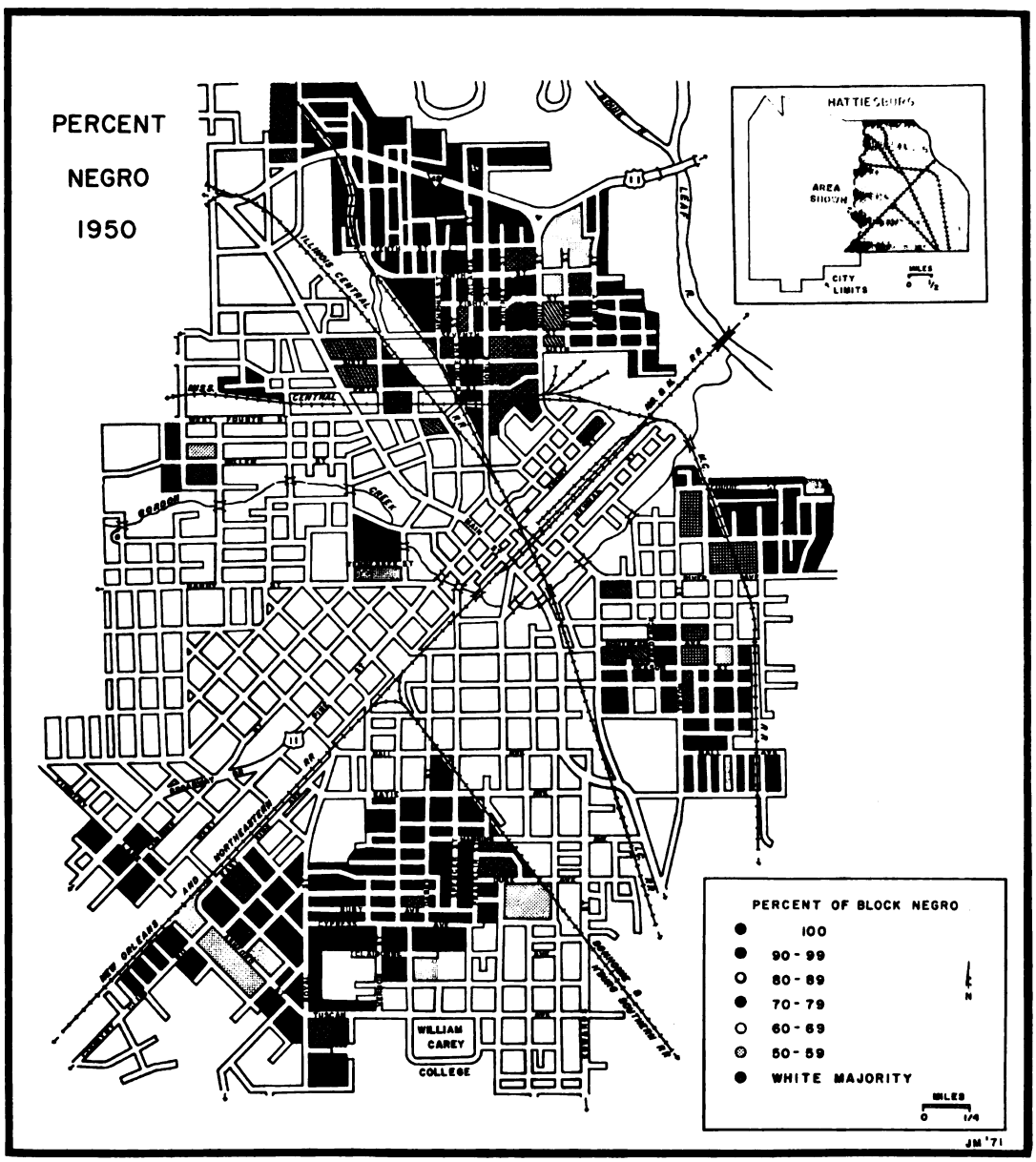
PERCENT
NEGRO
1950
HATTIESBURG
AREA SHOWN
CITY LIMITS
MILES
0 1/2
ILLINOIS CENTRAL
CREEK
NEW ORLEANS AND NORTHEASTERN
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE
PERCENT OF BLOCK NEGRO
100
90 - 99
80 - 89
70 - 79
60 - 69
50 - 59
WHITE MAJORITY
MILES
0 1/4
JM '71

Figure 21

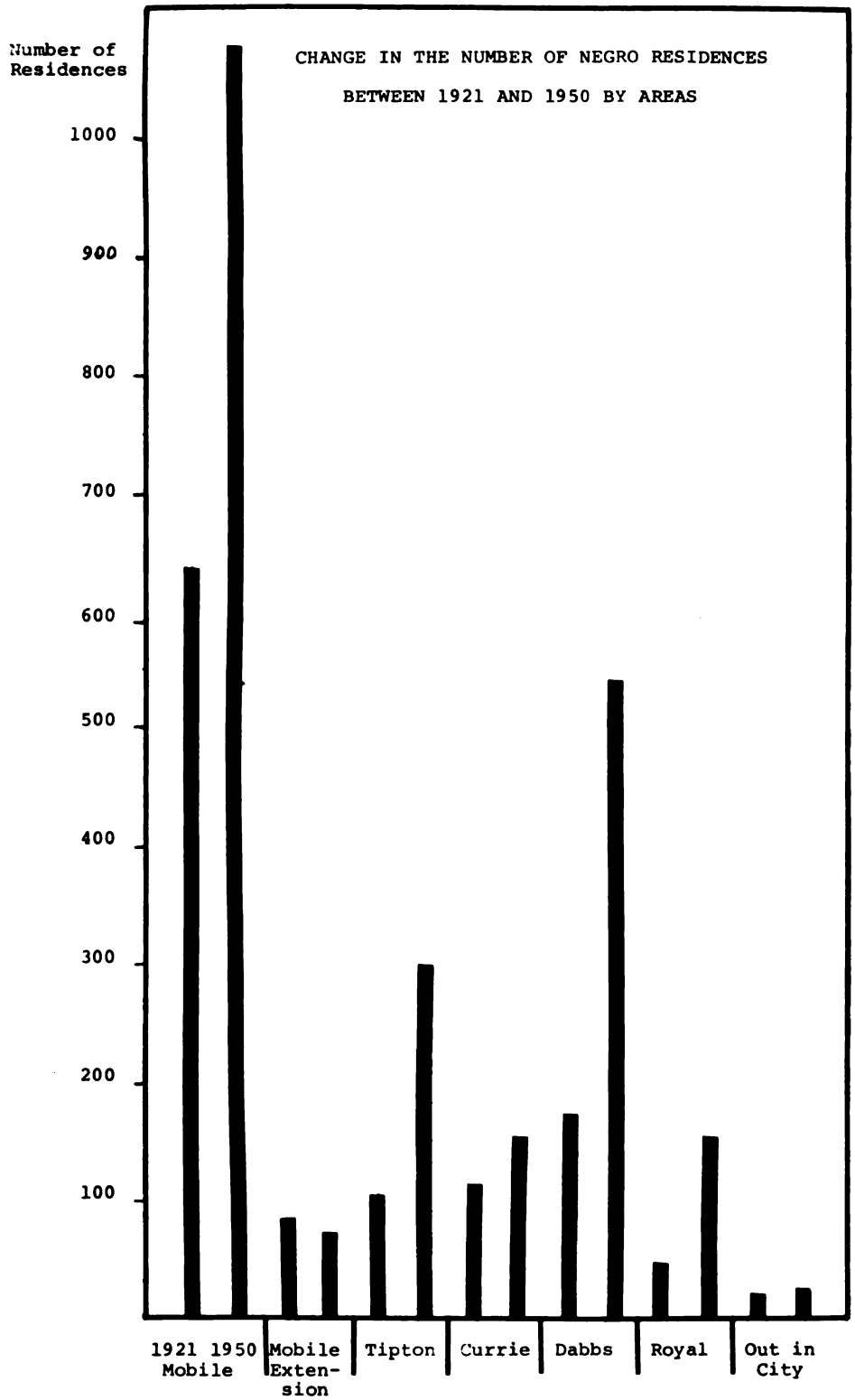
CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
BETWEEN 1921 AND 1950 BY AREAS
Number of Residences
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1921 1950 Mobile
Mobile Extension
Tipton
Currie
Dabbs
Royal
Out in City

Figure 22

a drop of 11 from the 1921 total. The white residential total dropped from 40 to 38. Also, the total of blocks containing Negroes was reduced from 14 to 10. These figures give some indication that certain forces were at work preventing the expansion of Negro residences further into the city between 1921 and 1950. The per cent of black residences was reduced from 68 to 66.

Tipton-Currie -- The total number of residences in the Tipton Street area increased from 95 to 300, an increase of 216 per cent. The total number of blocks also increased from 21 to 32 in 1950. White residences increased from 3 to 39. In 1950, 22 of the 32 blocks were all black; and 8 had a black majority of which 6 were 70 per cent or more Negro. The remaining 2 blocks had a white majority. The "Nodal" area was still along Tipton Street. Here one block had 22 black and 2 white residences and the other block had 20 black residences.

The Currie Street area did not have near the increase in Negro residences as Tipton Street. Currie Street increased from 115 Negro residences to 152 for a percentage increment of only 33 per cent. The total number of white residences was nine. The number of blocks rose from 12 to 15, and of the 15 blocks, 12 were all black, and the remaining three had black majorities. If both areas are totaled, there were 452 black residences, 48 white residences, in 47 blocks. Ninety per cent of the area was black.

Dabbs-Royal -- The Dabbs Street area experienced tremendous growth between 1921 and 1950. The Negro residences increased from 175 to 541 for an increment of 366 residences--an increase of 209 per cent. The number of blocks also increased accordingly from 26 to 42. White residences increased from 11 to 33. Thirty-one of the 42 blocks were all black, and 10 had black majorities leaving only 1 block with a white majority. The "Nodal" block increased from 15 to 51 Negro residences.

The Royal Street area underwent tremendous growth. Here the Negro residences more than tripled from 43 to 153. The number of blocks increased from 18 to 21. Fourteen of the blocks were all black; seven had a black plurality.

Scattered Throughout the City -- Outside of the major Negro neighborhoods, there were 5 blocks which were all black and contained 26 Negro residences. This total was about the same as it had been in 1921.

Summary

The Mobile Street area was still the largest Negro area in 1950, but the Dabbs-Royal area was developing as the most progressive and more desirable residential area for blacks. Tipton's population also increased. It still remained third in importance, however, and the Currie Street area increased only slightly. By 1950 Hattiesburg had a total of 2,325 Negro residences compared

to 1,181 in 1921 living in 202 blocks. All of the data for 1950 is presented in Table 6 in this chapter.

1970 - Field Work Analysis

The 1970 Cross-Section -- Extensive field work revealed that the 1970 pattern had not changed much from the 1950 pattern. The three major neighborhoods were firmly crystallized.

However, many Negro residences which were classified as "out in the city" in 1950 did not exist in 1970. The residences along Tennessee Street had been removed as well as those on Miller Street, and those adjacent to Broadway Drive. Thus a tightening up of the pattern was evident. While Mobile and Tipton-Currie residential areas remained relatively stable, the area of "active expansion" was in the Dabbs-Royal area. Here Negroes appeared to invade the block on Ashford Street. There was also expansion in the northern and eastern sections of the area. William Carey College and good quality residences kept the southern boundary from expanding. However, the greatest change occurred in the southwest, where new good quality Negro houses were constructed.

Classification of Negro Residential Change for Natchez (1912-1950) and Hattiesburg (1921-1950)

In the beginning of this chapter the method to be utilized in classifying Negro residential change was discussed and presented in Table 5. The results of the application of this classification is presented in Fig. 23

in the form of a scattergram in which the percentage Negro in 1912 is plotted against the percentage Negro in 1950 for Natchez. Blocks falling above the diagonal line of "No Change" increased in percentage Negro while those falling below the line decreased. A clustering of some blocks at the top right corner of the scattergram indicates that many blocks changed very little between the two time periods. Any clustering at the top left corner denotes blocks that were newly opened between 1912 and 1950, and probably are not the result of Negro invasion into former white blocks.

Of the 172 blocks, 72 were classified as "established" Negro areas, of which 26 remained 100 per cent black in 1912 and 1950. Sixty blocks were classified as "displacement", 33 were "consolidated", and 7 blocks remained "stable" (Figs. 23 and 24). Consequently, those blocks categorized as "displacement" were almost twice the number of blocks that were "consolidated". This is an important factor, for it suggests that in quite a few blocks whites have displaced blacks and that the residential pattern between Negroes and whites is becoming more segregated. Thus whites appear to be holding the Negroes in their "own residential areas" or displacing them. Taeuber and Teauber in their case study of Memphis also found this to be an important indicator about residential change in Southern cities.[26] However, they

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[26] Taeuber and Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, pp. 103-104.

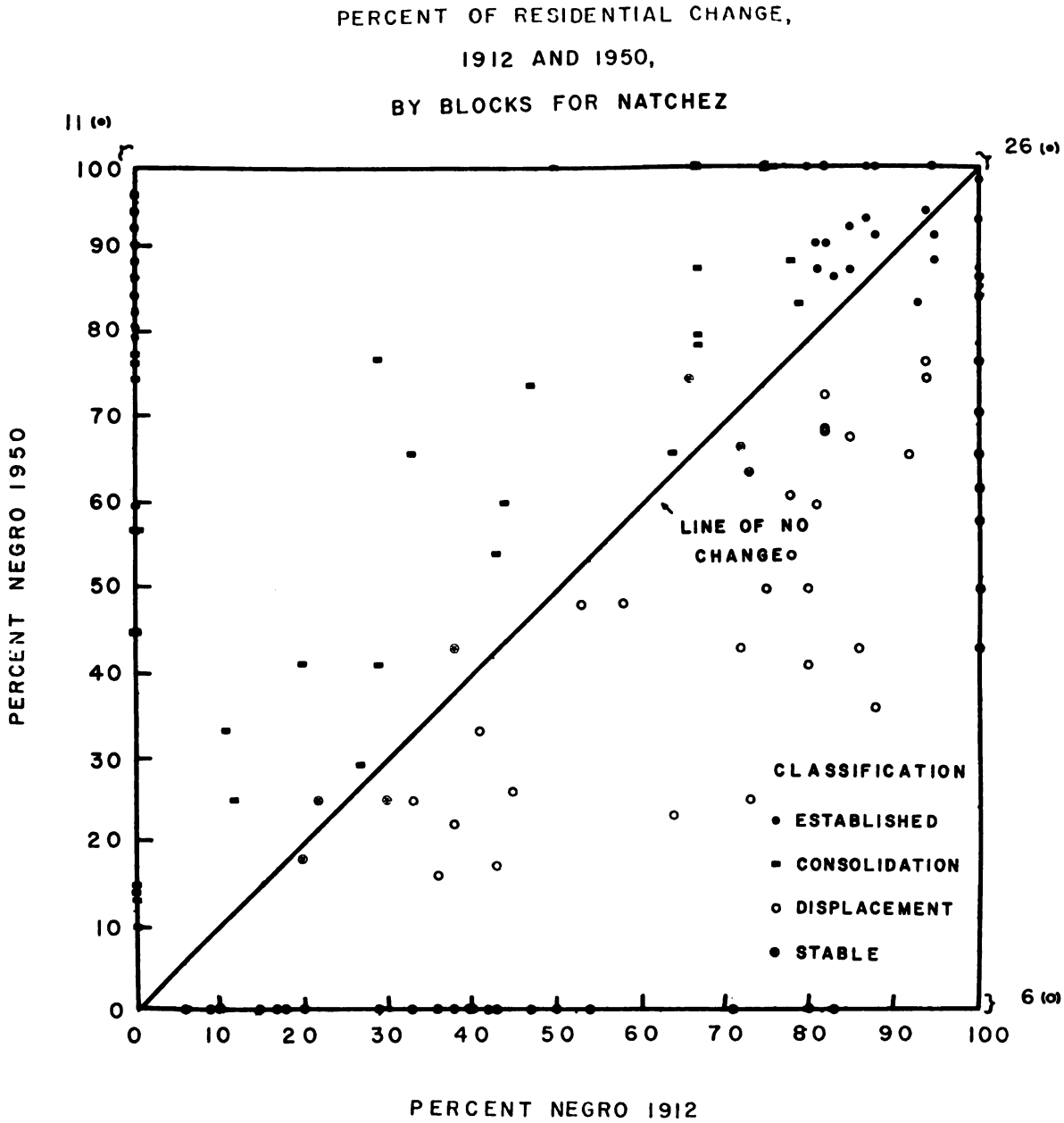
PERCENT OF RESIDENTIAL CHANGE,
1912 AND 1950,
BY BLOCKS FOR NATCHEZ
11 (•)
26 (•)
6 (o)
PERCENT NEGRO 1950
PERCENT NEGRO 1912
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
LINE OF NO CHANGE
CLASSIFICATION
• ESTABLISHED
▪ CONSOLIDATION
o DISPLACEMENT
• STABLE

Figure 23

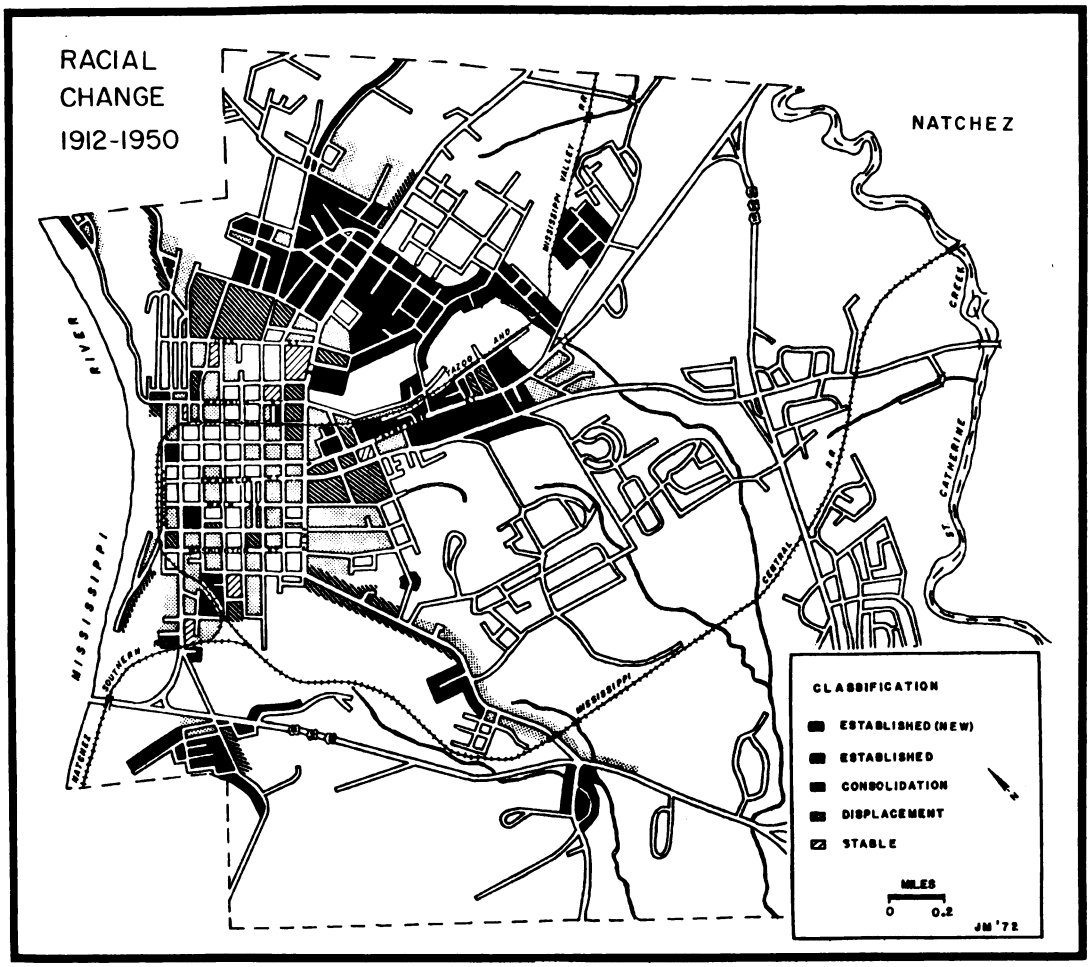
RACIAL
CHANGE
1912-1950
NATCHEZ
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
CLASSIFICATION
ESTABLISHED (NEW)
ESTABLISHED
CONSOLIDATION
DISPLACEMENT
STABLE
MILES
0
0.2
JM '72

Figure 24

found this not to be the case with Northern cities such as Cleveland.

It should be noted that the scheme of "stages of succession" developed by Duncan and Duncan for their Chicago study does not really apply to Natchez or Hattiesburg, and many other Southern cities.[27] Duncan and Duncan use the terms "Invasion", "Infiltration", "Consolidation", and "Piling Up" to describe residential succession and change in Chicago. Residential succession as defined by them refers to ". . . when one racial category of the population replaces another as residents of an area."[28] This is happening in only a few cities within the South, and the invasion or block busting which may eventually lead to a piling up of Negroes, and a wholesale evacuation of whites, does not really apply to the South.

In short summation, a total of 70 blocks fell above the "line of no change", displaying a tendency to become more Negro in the residential make-up of the block. Seventy-six blocks fell below the "line of no change", consequently showing a trend to become more white in residential structure. The remaining 26 blocks were 100 per cent black in 1912 and 1950 for no change.

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[27] Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, The Negro Population of Chicago, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[28] Ibid., p. 11.

The same criteria that was used for classifying city blocks according to types of racial changes for Natchez (Table 5) was also applied to Hattiesburg. In Hattiesburg, a total of 222 were categorized for 1921 and 1950. One hundred seventy-one were "established" Negro areas, of which 92 remained 100 per cent black in 1921 and 1950. Twenty-five blocks were classified as "displacement", 25 were "consolidated", and 1 block remained stable (Figs. 25 and 26).

A large number of blocks (92) are clustered at the top right corner which indicates that many blocks remained unchanged between the two time periods. Figure 25 gives the impression of a city that was highly segregated to start with and has remained so despite the passage of approximately thirty years. The visual impression of Figure 25 is vastly different from the scattered pattern found in Figure 23 for Natchez. In short, a total of 85 blocks fell above the "line of no change", while 44 blocks fell below the "line of no change". The remaining 92 blocks were 100 per cent black in 1921 and 1950 for no change, and one block remained located on the "line of no change".

Degree of Residential Segregation -- Natchez, Hattiesburg

In order to show the degree of residential segregation, another scattergram was composed in which the percentage Negro was plotted against the percentage white

PERCENT OF RESIDENTIAL CHANGE,
1921 AND 1950,
BY BLOCKS FOR HATTIESBURG

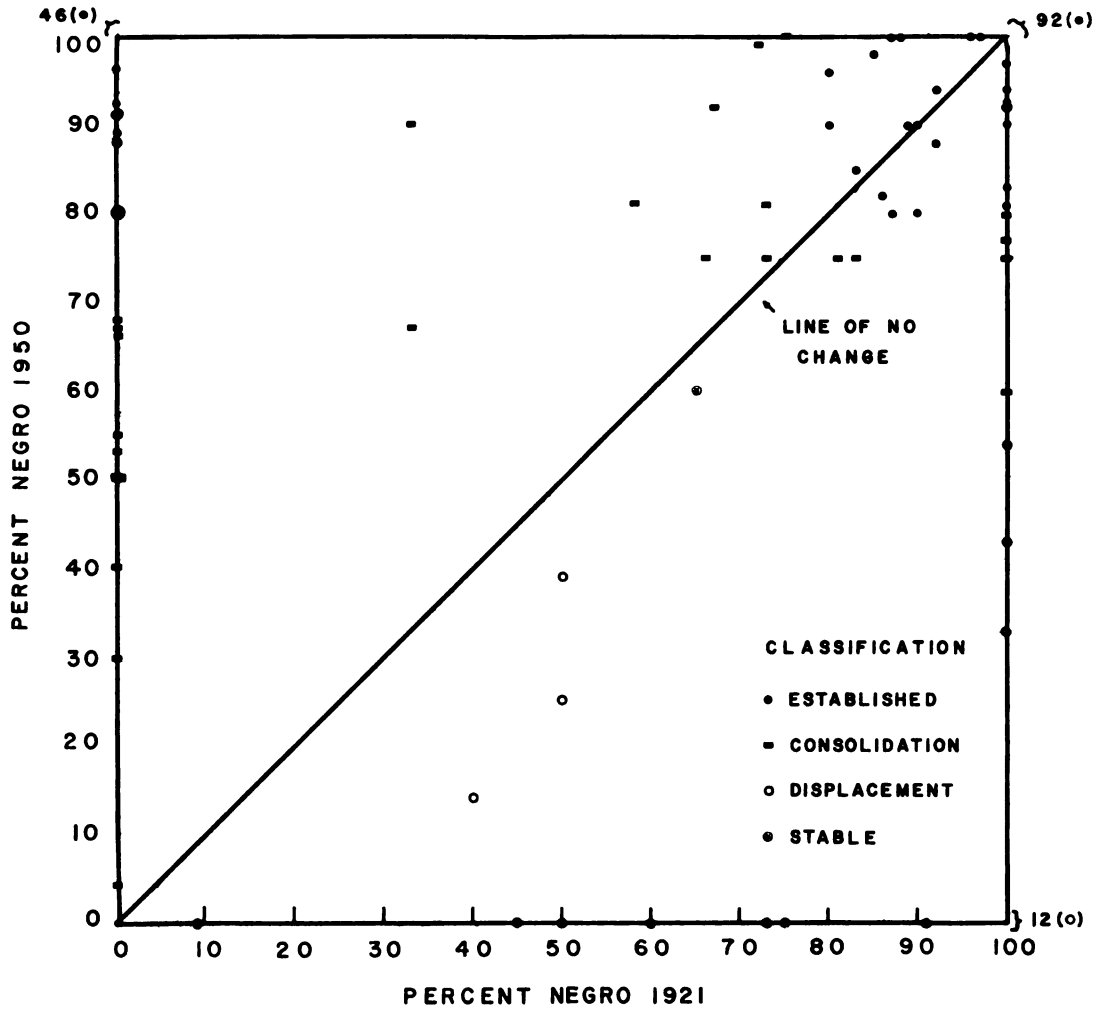

Figure 25

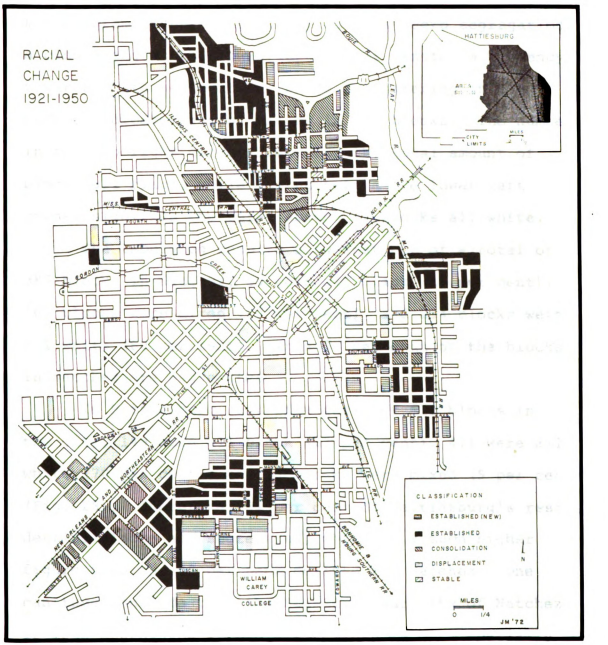
RACIAL
CHANGE
1921-1950
HATTIESBURG
CITY LIMITS
MILES
CLASSIFICATION
ESTABLISHED (NEW)
ESTABLISHED
CONSOLIDATION
DISPLACEMENT
STABLE
N
MILES
0 1/4
JM '72
WILLIAM CAREY COLLEGE

Figure 26

for 1950 (Fig. 27). Blocks falling above the diagonal line of "ideal integration" show a Negro majority, while blocks falling below the line display a white majority. A clustering of blocks toward the top right corner of the scattergram reveals a tendency towards Negro segregation, a clustering at the lower left corner denotes a tendency towards white segregation, while a clustering in the middle indicates racial mixing in the blocks. The number in the top right corner indicates the total amount of blocks all black, while the number in the lower left corner signifies the total amount of blocks all white.

The tabulated results show that out of a total of 389 blocks in Natchez, 50 were all black (13 per cent), 105 blocks were mixed (27 per cent), and 234 blocks were all white (60 per cent). Thus 73 per cent of the blocks in Natchez are segregated.

In Hattiesburg, out of a total of 671 blocks in the city, 140 were all black (21 per cent), 471 were all white (70 per cent), and 60 blocks were mixed (9 per cent) (Fig. 28). Therefore, 91 per cent of Hattiesburg's residential blocks are segregated, which is a much higher figure than the 73 per cent derived for Natchez. One can thus conclude that the Pre-Civil War city of Natchez is less segregated with black residences more spatially dispersed than in the Post-Civil War city of Hattiesburg. The main reason or reasons for this will be explained more fully in the following section which concentrates on the different historical processes and experiences that the two

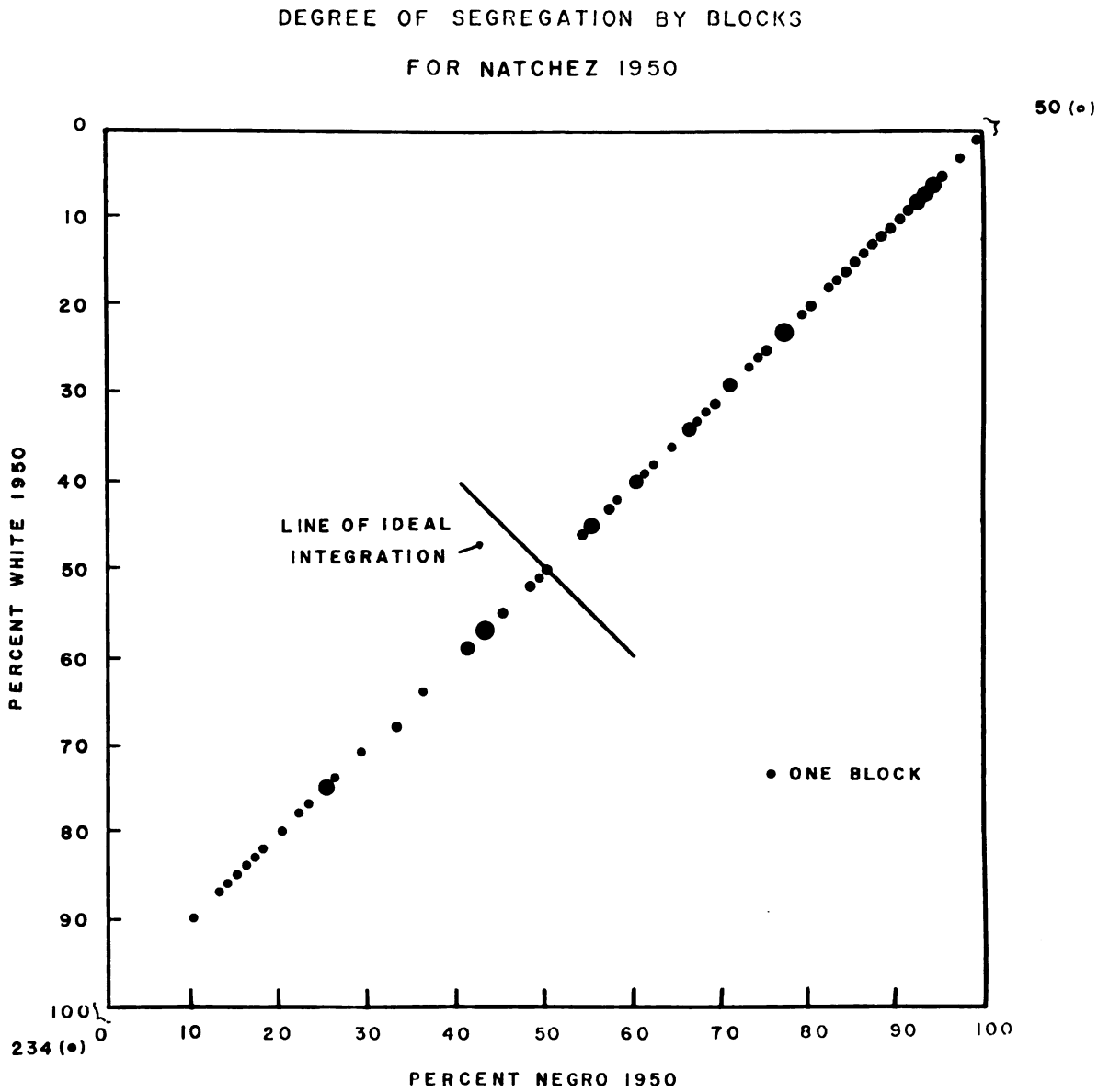
DEGREE OF SEGREGATION BY BLOCKS
FOR NATCHEZ 1950
50 (•)
234 (•)
PERCENT WHITE 1950
PERCENT NEGRO 1950
LINE OF IDEAL
INTEGRATION
• ONE BLOCK
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100

Figure 27

DEGREE OF SEGREGATION BY BLOCKS

FOR HATTIESBURG 1950

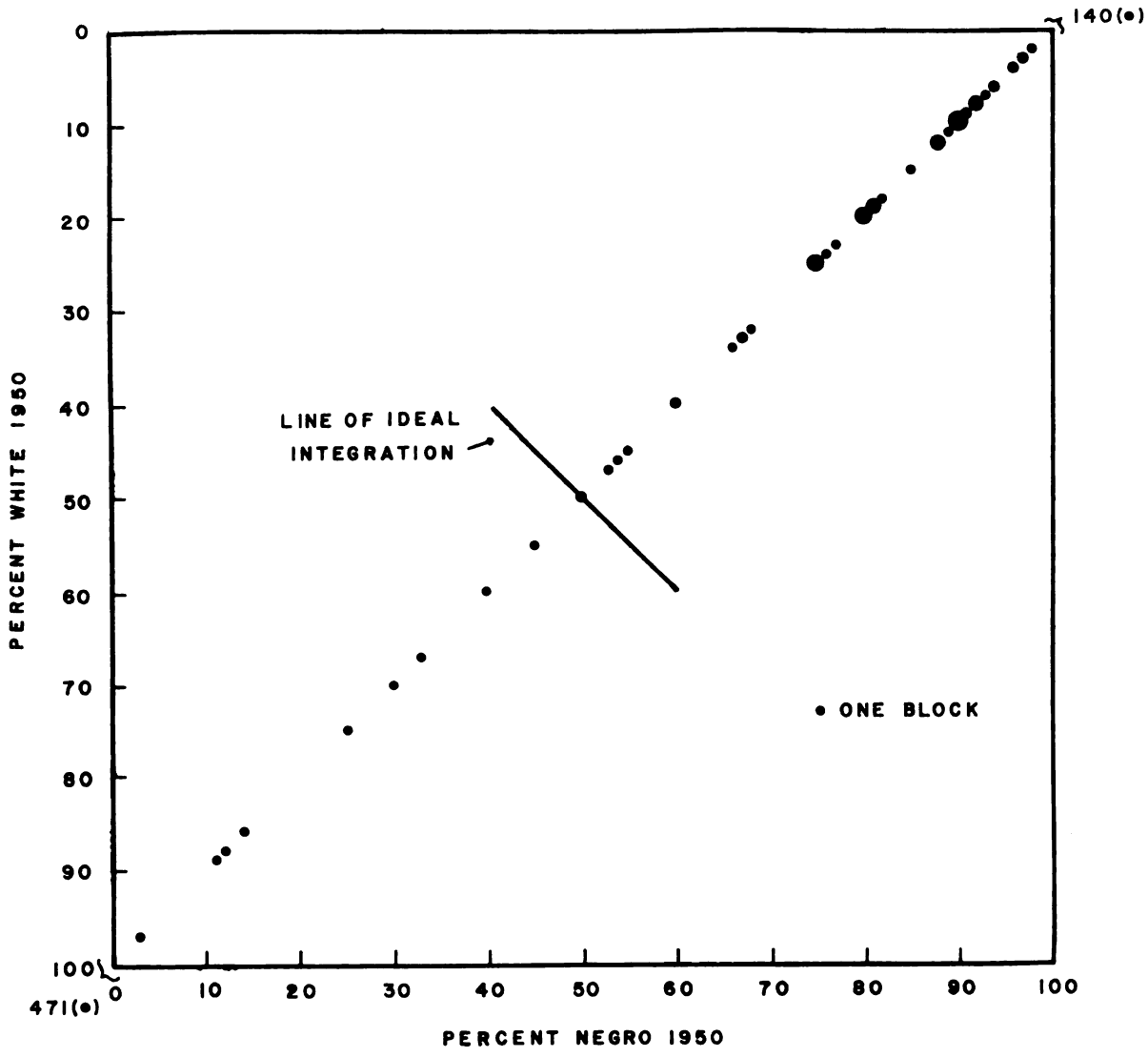

Figure 28

cities have undergone.

Historical Analysis of Residential Processes

Economic -- It is evident that early Negro settlement in Mississippi was concentrated in the rich soil areas conducive to agriculture--particularly in the growing of cotton. Prior to 1860, most Negroes were located in the "Cane hills or Natchez region, the Loess-Alluvial counties which follow the eastern border of the Delta, the Northeast Prairie, and, to a lesser extent, the Brown Loam counties which run north and south through the center of the state . . . ."[29] On the other hand, "The Northeast Highland, the Shortleaf Pine region in the east-central portion of the state, and the Longleaf Pine section of the southeast contained a population made up largely of subsistence farmers who held few or no slaves. . . ."[30] It is evident that the Negro population was concentrated in the sections where plantation life was predominant.

Natchez is a classical case of an old "Lower South" plantation city, with a rich and varied historic past, which includes: being a port city, an economy based on cotton, slave trading, and the enforcement of caste and class.

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[29] Vernon Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi: 1865-1890, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 10.

[30] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

Because Natchez was a typical Southern plantation city, its Negroes lived in specific "quarters" as well as in a "backyard" pattern prior to the Civil War.[31] Thus the Negro residences give the appearance of being dispersed as well as concentrated throughout the city. This is due to the fact that some lived close to the former ante-bellum homes where many obviously worked in the past, or close to their jobs in the downtown area.

After the Civil War, changes occurred in the distribution of Negro population within the state. Although many Negroes remained in the better soil areas, some drifted to towns and villages often taking with them developed skills which they had learned on the plantation: carpentry, weaving, and iron-working. There was also an influx of Negroes from outside Mississippi. Many of those who migrated went into the Delta region. This was supplemented by a movement of Negroes from the surrounding poorer cotton areas who also journeyed to the Delta.[32] Since Hattiesburg was a Post-Civil War city and part of the "Upper South", located in the longleaf pine section in the southeast, many of its Negroes migrated in from surrounding poorer agricultural areas, or from outside Mississippi. Many migrated to small lumbering communities and

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[31] Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1943), pp. 8-9.

[32] Wharton, Negro in Mississippi, p. 107.

then as some of these communities declined, many shifted on to larger communities. Lowe says that:

> In the southern long-leaf pine region the Negro on the farm was almost unknown, but within 35 to 40 years [refers to late 1800's] many of them have been and are still employed in saw mills and planing mills. The few farmers [white] who settled in that region in early days were mostly small farmers who owned few if any slaves, for they grew no cotton. Within the last decade or two [1900-1920] there has been a gradual drift of the younger negroes from the rural districts to the towns, where they become porters in hotels, warehouses, etc., drivers of trucks and automobiles, and workers in mills and factories.[33]

Since Hattiesburg had several lumber mills, factories, hotels, and other urban service occupations, many Negroes migrated there because of employment opportunities. The Negro settlement around Currie, and later Tipton and Deason streets, can basically be explained by the fact that the Newman Lumbering Company was located north of Currie Street. The Negro section around Dabbs Street can be explained because of its proximity to the Gulf State and Gordon-Van Tine Lumber Company located near Pine Street,[34] and the Tatum Lumber Company located to the west. In the Mobile Street section, many worked at the cotton compress and later the fertilizer plant. Because

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[33] Ephraim Noble Lowe, Economic Geography of Mississippi, (Mimeographed by author), p. 10.

[34] The Gulf State and Gordon-Van Tine Lumber Company is not as old as the Newman Lumber Company. It came into existence just prior to 1920.

the central business district was close to Mobile Street, many Negroes also found employment there. The above mentioned factors contributed to the "pull" for laborers, and accounted for much of the early settlement of Negroes in Hattiesburg. With regard to the pattern of Negro settlement, it appears that they settled close to their place of employment, then the neighborhoods spread out from their separate core areas. Consequently, many whites avoided these Negro areas and settled elsewhere in the city. Thus economic processes such as competition for labor opportunities, development of land use, and the site and situation of industry are important as explanatory factors.

Caste and Class Behavior -- Not only are economic processes factors in explaining Negro migration and settlement, but so are social processes which can often influence or control the political processes. For example, governmental officials may emphasize certain morphological (i.e., rivers, lakes, woods) and arbitrary spatial barriers (i.e., streets, fences) with regard to the residential spatial structure. Or they may pass laws, (Jim Crow) or zoning regulations to socially and economically foster the advancement of a particular superordinate ethnic group because of certain perceived images of the subordinate racial group. As current research in urban and cultural geography continues,[35] more

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[35] Clyde F. Kohn, "The 1960's: A Decade of Progress in Geographical Research and Instruction," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, (June, 1970),

and more information is being brought to light that "economic competition" and the idea that man organizes his ". . . activities in space to optimize or maximize productivity from a given set of resources [is being] questioned."[36] Thus social behavior, "social choice", and "freedom of choice", reflect alternative explanatory variables in residential choice or in some instances, residential dictation. The needs, values and desires of individuals are important in forming neighborhoods which contain homogeneous social cores. Consequently, one finds himself seeking answers to a problem not by a single factor analysis but by multiple factor analysis. It is also imperative to see residential structure as a system and to view it from a systems analysis standpoint. The problem, of course, is to weigh these variables or factors in some way in order to aid in a clearer explanation.

Many books and articles have been written about caste and class and race relations in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South[37] (Dollard; Warner; Davis, Gardner and Gardner; Powdermaker; Woodward and etc). In their

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pp. 211-219. Barry M. Moriarty, "A Test of Alternative Hypotheses of Urban Residential Growth," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, 2, (1970), pp. 97-101.

36 Kohn, Ibid., p. 216.

37 John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, Anchor Books, 3rd ed., (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1957). Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South, Phoenix Books, abridged

classic study of the Deep South, Davis and Gardner and Gardner, writing in 1941, write of the system of color-castes, and talk of the subordinate position of the Negro and his "inherent inferiority". There is a feeling by the superordinate (in this case, whites) that the Negro is unclean, therefore the wearing of clothes worn by Negroes and the eating or drinking from dishes used by Negroes is shunned by most whites. In instituting the caste system, there is a feeling that it is the "will of God" not to mix the races, and that the Negro in many instances behaves like a child, and that blackness ". . . is the master-symbol of derogation in the society. . . ."[38] Therefore whites feel a "responsibility" toward the Negro.

There are certain symbols, rituals, and taboos that are practiced by both groups in order to make the system work. First, there is a spatial separation in schools, jails, public transportation; in businesses such as restaurants, movie theaters, and in many instances,

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ed.; (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 2nd ed.; (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966). W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South, Vintage Books, (New York: Alford A. Knopf, Inc., 1941). James W. Silver, Mississippi: The Closed Society, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964). P. D. East, The Magnolia Jungle, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960). Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South, (New York: The Viking Press, 1939).

[38] Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, Ibid., p. 20.

residential segregation; despite the fact that many southern whites claim there is no residential separation and that their cities display a close relationship between blacks and whites, and that they live in close proximity to each other. Secondly, there is a deferential behavior whereby the Negro must behave in a subordinate position. Thirdly, there is sexual behavior and the preservation of the flowerhood of white women from Negro males. Fourthly, Negro upper-class are regarded as being in a class structure and not in a caste system. And generally, lighter Negroes can go further up the class ladder.

Since this was written in 1941, one might infer that its concepts might well have prevailed until 1954. Actually there was very little change until 1964. Writing in 1965, Davis states that the color-caste system rests upon: 1) endogamy--marriage only within a caste, never between white and Negro; 2) taboo on sexual relationships between white women and Negro men; and 3) restrictions against social equivalence.[39] Of the three points, it appears that the last one is breaking down to some extent. From personal observations between 1964 and 1972, it appears that the caste system is definitely being broken down by the younger better educated Negroes. The older generation and some uneducated younger Negroes slip into the caste and feel guilty when they break caste lines,

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[39] Ibid., p. 338.

even if they know it can be done. Older whites adhere to the caste system, but the younger whites, whether they like it or not, are forcing themselves to accept the changes.

In looking more closely at caste, "The major consideration seems to be that it is a defensive attitude intended to preserve white prerogatives in the caste situation and aggressively to resist any pressure from the Negro side to change his inferior position."[40] The reasons for this vary. It may be because of the traditionally low positions of Negroes, or ". . . reaction of hostility toward persons unlike us [white] in feature or culture", or that blackness as a color represents evil or witchcraft.[41] In some color association studies that have been done, black is often associated with ". . . woe, gloom, darkness, dread, death, terror, horror, wickedness, curse, mourning, and mortification."[42] Other adjectives which describe black are ". . . defilement, error, annihilation, strength, and deep quiet."[43] On the other hand, white is triumph, innocence, light, joy,

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[40] Dollard, Caste and Class, p. 441.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Kenneth J. Gergen, "The Significance of Skin Color in Human Relations," in Color and Race, ed. by John Hope Franklin, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 119.

[43] Ibid.

purity, divine power, happiness, gaiety, truth, chasity, femininity, modesty, delicacy, and goodness.[44] It may be that all types of humans tend to segregate themselves, socially and economically, and that there is a friendly feeling towards "one of our kind." Of course, in a capitalistic system such as we have in America, there is a need to compete and rivalry and social classification and stratification are almost a way of life. Thus the terms of prejudice and discrimination are deeply rooted in a multiple of causes.

James W. Silver indicates ". . . that Mississippi today can be understood only in terms of its heritage from the past."[45] "One must go back to the conditions of a generation ago, [and further] not just to study racial conflict and racial harmony but to look into the effects even then of a developing urban life on the caste system."[46] Silver goes on to say that, "(In the nineteenth century urban life and slavery were becoming increasingly incompatible--as industrial life and caste are doing so in the twentieth. . . ."[47] In general,

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[44] Ibid.

[45] James W. Silver, "Foreword to Abridged Edition," in Deep South, ed. by Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, Mary R. Gardner, Phoenix Books, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. viii.

[46] Ibid., p. x.

[47] Ibid., p. viii.

white Mississippians, because of the Negro's heritage and origin (rural, poverty, plantation) believe ". . . that the Negro is a lower form of human than he, biologically more primitive, mentally inferior, emotionally undeveloped."[48]

> The whole environment presents the black man as insensitive to pain, incapable of learning, and animal--like in behavior. It is assumed that he will work only under compulsion or immediate need, that in his irresponsibility he fails to anticipate the future and so remains dependent on the white man. The evidence seems persuasive that the Negro lacks respect for property, will steal with no feeling of guilt, has little emotional stability, does not possess the white's concept of morality, allows his passions free rein, and is therefore childlike with no chance to become a mature adult.[49]

This is the perception many whites have of Negroes, and these are the charges brought against them. They are particularly appropo to Mississippi, but some of these perceptions find general acceptance by whites throughout the South and to some extent in the North and West. In some instances, some of these charges can be changed by the Negro in order to eradicate certain prejudices against him.

On the other hand, the attitudes of the whites must also be changed. To be sure, as some argue, we do not have a black problem in this country, it is a white problem. The whites should recognize that all blacks cannot be stereotyped as a group. Such sayings as "whites in the South accept Negores individually and the North

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[48] Ibid., pp. viii-ix.

[49] Ibid., p. ix.

accepts them as a group," or "we don't care how far up the ladder you go, just don't get too close," or "we don't care how close you get, just don't get to uppity-up," need to be re-examined. Certain culture traits of whites are also offensive to Negroes. Thus, an acculturation process must take place, and traits from both sides need closer examination. The Negro does not need to adopt white culture to gain full acceptance into the mainstream of society. He needs only to adopt those cultural traits that will identify to others in society that he can, and is willing to, live and compete in an urban, technological society with all its implications such as education, and job skills. Thus, we are talking about acceptance into the "total" way of American life, and not just acceptance into a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle class, way of life. Granted, much Negro incentive has been squelched because of the past and present make-up of customs, laws, and social mores in Mississippi. Many Negroes have felt oppressed to say the least, and may have been afraid to rise up and claim their rights. But the 60's was a decade of new birth, and the Negroes must not let their Movement die. The fear of physical violence is subsiding and many court rulings and governmental laws are explicitly giving Negroes the rights that were lost in the shuffle of a hundred years. This must not happen again. Education is the key to the future and lack of it was the main reason

for failure in the past. Once education is achieved, then economic opportunity will follow and social equivalence will find its place.

Jim Crowism -- In the past, there is plenty of evidence that after the Civil War, there was a fair amount of intermingling among blacks and whites. And to a Northern traveler visiting the South, say New Orleans in the 1880's, the visual impression was one of racial harmony and equality. However, this should not be considered the "golden age" of race relations.[50] By 1890, in parts of the South, there is evidence that segregation was closing in. Many Negroes were excluded from saloons, restaurants, public halls, parks, and white cemeteries.[51] Some of the earliest laws passed were applied to the separation of passengers aboard trains. Woodward says that by 1900 most states across the South had such laws.[52] These laws were only the beginning. Eventually other laws were passed to include separate waiting rooms at the station, and a full exclusion of Negroes from certain public places. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Woodward would argue that American racism probably reached its zenith.[53] Rice, in his research says

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50 Woodward, Jim Crow, p. 43.

51 Ibid., p. 42.

52 Ibid., p. 97.

53 Ibid., p. 103.

that the period from 1890 to 1910 was the major period for the passing of Jim Crow laws.[54] But racial segregation by custom dates back to the ante-bellum period. Most writers would probably agree that there was more Jim Crowism practiced than was actually written as law on the books.

Jim Crowism also crept into the spatial development of the residential structure of Southern cities, particularly if the city originated during the crest period of Jim Crowism. However, if the city's origin pre-dates the Civil War, its residential structure is vastly different. Wade states that in the older Atlantic Seaboard cities and other older cities in Dixie, that residential intermixture prevailed.[55] Whites and blacks lived side by side, and this intermingling prevailed to the end of slavery, and even lingered on afterwards. Few streets or blocks were solidly black. Taeuber and Taeuber in their research on such cities as Charleston, also support this supposition. However, the older Southern cities have been becoming more segregated since the Civil War, and particularly in the last decade or so.

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[54] Roger L. Rice, "Residential Segregation By Law," Journal of Southern History, 34, (May, 1968), pp. 179-199.

[55] Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 277-278.

When one examines the residential pattern for Hattiesburg for 1921, Jim Crowism, and social caste and class behaviorialism, aid in interpretation of the pattern. By 1921, a rather rigid system of residential segregation is evident in Hattiesburg, and there are definitely many all black blocks and three distinct Negro neighborhoods. Hattiesburg experienced its greatest growth between 1900 and 1910 and to a slightly lesser extent between 1910 and 1920. Is this not the period of the height of Jim Crowism? Certain Jim Crow forces played an important part in forming the residential pattern of Negro areas in the city of Hattiesburg.

In Natchez, after the Civil War, many Negroes appeared to have moved to the northern part of the city.[56] With Reconstruction and later Jim Crowism, the Negro pattern in Natchez tended to stabilize and it did not expand into new areas that were not adjacent to the already established areas.

Since life on the plantation in the South has been well recorded in the literature, it is not necessary to pursue this topic any further, but a few comments about the site and situation of Natchez are pertinent. Natchez obviously focused on the Mississippi River; it was a

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[56] The earliest Polk Directory for Natchez (1892) was examined and it was found that Negroes lived basically in the same areas then as they did in 1912 when this author plotted the residential distribution of blacks.

terminal point of the Natchez Trace. Other cities existed along the Mississippi River both north and south of Natchez, but no major cities of comparable size existed around Natchez and its hinterland. Thus it became a regional center in isolation. This was particularly true after the river traffic died off and the Trace lost its importance. This isolation factor permitted Natchez to set its own code of behavior without much fear of outside interference. Approaching Natchez from the east today, one very subtly becomes aware of how Natchez is so different from its Mississippi hinterland.

The spatial patterns of Negro settlement appear to be the result of political, economical, social and behavioral processes that have occurred within specific historical time periods. For example: 1) Historical; Pre-Civil War versus Post-Civil War origin, slavery versus no slavery, 2) Economic; proximity to place of employment, cotton versus no cotton, 3) Social; inequivalent social treatment and the development of caste and class, and 4) Political; the formal[57] and informal[58] laws affecting residential choice and general freedom of movement. Of all the processes, the historical time period seems to be the most crucial. For it determined "backyard" or no "backyard" type of residential settlement.

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[57] Passed by law.

[58] Not on the books as a law, but accepted as a law.

Thus the decision making processes of the Negro, with regard to his ability to choose the residential area of his choice, has been retarded. He has acted within a perceived set of images, or what can be called his behavioral environment, or, to be more precise, his operational environment. And all of these processes might be seen as operating as a system. To be sure, it might be stated that Negroes had "little freedom of choice".

Natchez and Hattiesburg: A Comparison

In order to make a more precise analysis of the two cities a table was devised to aid in interpretation (Table 6). The following is a written summation of the table and the data gathered in this chapter.

Origin, Function, Historical Processes, Population, and Degree of Segregation -- Natchez, a city founded in 1803, gained early prominence as a port city on the Mississippi River. The plantations, slaves, and the growing of cotton functioned as a system on the cultural landscape in its hinterland. An economic, political, and social system developed and functioned together in a specific period of time. After the Civil War, Jim Crow laws replaced slavery and the rigid system of caste and class basically remained intact. By 1950, Natchez had a population of 22,740. In 1950, approximately eighty-five years after the Civil War, it is interesting to note that the residential structure which developed

TABLE 6

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PILOT STUDY CITIES

CITY ANALYSIS

Pre-Civil War City	Incorp. Date	Total Population	Early Function	Historical Processes	Degree of Segregation	Spatial Pattern of Black Areas	Types of Residential Boundaries
Natchez (Lower South Cultural Region)	1803	22,740 (1950) 19,704 (1970)	Agriculture, Cotton, Plantation, Slavery, Port City	Ec.-cotton, port Soc.-caste and class Pol.-slavery, Jim Crow Geog.-site and situation	73%	Scattered	Morphological: (i.e., rivers, canals, terrain) Arbitrary: (i.e., streets, highways, vacant land) Behavioral: (i.e., sides of blocks, financial income, racial attitudes, educational attainment)
Post-Civil War City							
Hattiesburg (Upper South Cultural Region)	1884	29,474 (1950) 38,277 (1970)	Lumbering, Railroad Center	Ec.-lumbering, railroad Soc.-caste and class Pol.-Jim Crow, no slavery Geog.-site and situation	91%	Clustered	Morphological: (same as above) Arbitrary: (i.e., streets, highways, vacant land, railroads) Behavioral: (same as above)

TABLE 6--Continued

NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

Name	No. of Black Residences 1912	No. of Black Residences 1950	No. of White Residences in Black Areas 1912	No. of White Residences in Black Areas 1950	No. of Blocks Containing Blacks 1912	No. of Blocks Containing Blacks 1950	No. of Residences in Core Block(s) 1912	No. of Residences in Core Block(s) 1950	Per Cent of Black Residences in Neighborhood Area 1912	Per Cent of Black Residences in Neighborhood Area 1950
St. Catherine	477	672	212	164	44	33	54	180	69%	80%
North Pine	574	1,045	70	208	53	69	36	47	89%	83%
South Wall-South Canal	195	226	139	104	29	28	35	27	58%	71%
North Canal-North Wall	86	91	66	94	13	12	16	18	57%	49%
Homochitto	52	137	21	64	7	13	13	28	71%	68%
Total	1,384	2,171 +17 2,188	508	634	148	155				

Classification of Residential Change by Block
72 Established
33 Consolidated
60 Displacement
7 Stable
172 Total
70 Above Line of No Change
76 Below Line of No Change
26 No Change
172 Total

Name	1921	1950	1921	1950	1921	1950	1921	1950	1921	1950
Mobile	638	1,079	73	86	67	77	39	52	91%	92%
Mobile Extension	85	74	40	38	14	10	--	--	68%	66%
Tipton-Currie	103 115	300 152	3 4	39 9	21 12	32 15	16 --	22 --	97%	90%
Dabbs-Royal	175 43	541 153	11 10	33 24	26 18	42 21	16 --	51 --	91%	92%
Scattered	22	26	26	--	7	5	--	--	46%	
Total	1,181	2,325	167	229	165	202				

Classification of Residential Change by Block
171 Established
25 Consolidated
25 Displacement
1 Stable
222 Total
85 Above Line of No Change
44 Below Line of No Change
93 No Change
222 Total

from a "backyard" pattern, that had emerged in the ante-bellum era, had apparently survived into the present. It is this former "backyard" pattern that is basically responsible for explaining the 1950 residential distribution of blacks. Blacks appeared to be scattered throughout the city, and many blocks were racially mixed. As a result, the degree of segregation for Natchez was 73 per cent.

Hattiesburg, a city of 29,474 persons in 1950, was founded in 1884. It gained early prominence as a rail center in the piney woods of southeast Mississippi. Logging, saw mills, and the railroad functioned as a system. Since Hattiesburg did not have a Pre-Civil War history, and was not in a geographical area conducive to cotton production, and did not experience slavery, its economic function was different from that of Natchez. However, Jim Crow laws and a rigid system of caste and class did develop. But since many blacks migrated to Hattiesburg to work in the lumbering or service industries, they tended to locate near their place of employment. Therefore, blacks did not disperse themselves throughout the city, but tended to confine themselves (probably due to white behavior) to specific "quarters", or "colonies", or what we might term ghettos today. Consequently, the pattern of black residences did not develop from a "backyard" pattern. As a result, fewer blocks were racially mixed, therefore,

the degree of segregation for Hattiesburg was 91 per cent.

Spatial Patterns - Boundaries -- Research results show that the pattern of black residences in Hattiesburg is more concentrated and not as spatially scattered as is evident in Natchez. In Hattiesburg, railroads, streets, creeks and rivers, are physical barriers used to check black residential expansion. On the other hand, in Natchez, creeks and railroads do not appear as devastating in demarcating black neighborhood boundaries as in Hattiesburg. In fact, blacks tend to cluster around them and occupy both sides of the creek or railroad track.

Classification Results -- When one examines the results of the classification utilized to measure residential change for Natchez between 1912 and 1950, a total of 72 blocks were established black areas, 60 blocks were classified as displacement, 33 blocks were consolidation, and 7 remained stable. Similarly, Hattiesburg had a high number of blocks in the "established" category (171), however, displacement had taken place in fewer blocks in Hattiesburg than in Natchez: 25 to 60. These figures suggest that Hattiesburg was highly segregated in its earlier years, whereas Natchez is becoming more so. A total of 25 blocks was consolidation and 1 remained stable to complete the Hattiesburg totals. The general tendency was for fewer blocks to

increase in percentage black between the two time periods for Natchez than in Hattiesburg. This is true because Natchez's Negro residential pattern had crystallized in space, and in some instances whites were taking over some black areas. Hattiesburg, being a newer city, was still growing in black residential space. In other words, fewer blocks fell below the "line of no change" for Hattiesburg (44 blocks) than for Natchez (71 blocks).

Total Figures -- In total figure comparison, Natchez in 1912 had a total of 1,384 Negro residences in 148 blocks, compared to an increase in residences to 2,188 by 1950, while blocks were increased to 155. However, Hattiesburg had a total of 1,181 Negro residences in 1921 and 2,325 in 1950, in 165 blocks and 202 blocks respectively.

Predictions--Natchez and Hattiesburg

In sum, one can infer that the minor Negro areas in Natchez will stay small, and in some cases pass out of existence. With regard to St. Catherine Street, when the city plans are completed, one might assume that the surrounding blocks in St. Catherine not slated for clearing will slowly merge into the North Pine section. The northern part of the city has obviously been designated as the Negro residential area. Thus Natchez will become more segregated and the Negroes will be distributed in fewer areas than they are presently. The spatial pattern

will become less dispersed, and it will not be as scattered as it was in 1912 or 1950.

It is evident that vacant land adjacent to the major Negro residential areas, which are to allow for future expansion, is becoming very limited in Hattiesburg. Most of the Negro neighborhoods are full. Thus there may well begin a mixed form of invasion by Negroes into white blocks adjacent to the Negro neighborhoods. This will be particularly true if the houses in these adjacent blocks are not of high quality. However, in order to provide better Negro housing and in order to prevent the possibility of block invasion, new apartment buildings are being constructed in the Dabbs-Royal area. These apartment buildings will siphon off some of the pressure of Negro expansion. However, in the not too distant future an all new Negro residential area might emerge, or Negroes might move into new white subdivisions. If the latter occurs, it would mark the dawn of a new day in race relations in Hattiesburg. However, if the present trend prevails, blacks will probably continue to expand outward from their three major core areas.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER MISSISSIPPI CITIES

This study, together with the existing literature, suggests that older southern cities (Pre-Civil War) are less segregated residentially than the newer ones (Post-Civil War). The two extensively studied case examples of Natchez and Hattiesburg are indicative of this pattern. Because it is rather difficult to generalize black residential patterns for Mississippi cities with only two case studies, this chapter concentrates on five additional cities. These include three Pre-Civil War (Vicksburg, Columbus and Greenville) and two Post-Civil War (Laurel, Meridian) cities. Although these cities are not examined as thoroughly, nor exactly in the same manner, as Natchez and Hattiesburg; it is hoped that they will produce enough evidence to support the hypothesis of this dissertation. If the evidence produced in this chapter is substantive, then one may be able to generalize for the state as a whole. Of course one has to be careful for "It is clearly not age per se that influences current levels of segregation; rather, it is the survival of a pattern of residence that

developed in only one part of the country in a particular era."[1]

Each of the following cities are examined from a historical viewpoint for age, economic function, site and situation, and general cultural traits. Then the Negro residences are plotted and patterns are examined for comparative purposes.

In order to measure scattering or clustering of residences, the total number of black residences for each city is recorded. The total number of blocks containing blacks is noted, then the average number of black residences per block is calculated. Finally, the percentage of blocks which contained Negroes and whites is tabulated. This percentage figure will be used to determine the degree of segregation for Pre-Civil War versus Post-Civil War cities. In other words, if the Pre-Civil War cities prove to have a higher percentage of racially mixed residences within individual blocks, then the hypothesis that black residences in Pre-Civil War cities are more residentially mixed and possibly more spatially scattered will be substantiated. All of the above mentioned data is then presented in Table 7 for comparative purposes.

Pre-Civil War Cities: Vicksburg

History -- Vicksburg's site and situation, and

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[1] Leo F. Schnore and Philip C. Evenson, "Segregation in Southern Cities," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII, (July, 1966), p. 62.

historical development correlates with that of Natchez. Similarly, Vicksburg fronts the Mississippi River, it was occuppied by the Natchez, Tunica and other Indian tribes; it was visited and controlled at times by the French, Spanish, English; it is located in a cotton producing region; it had its own "Natchez Under the Hill" in "Levee Street"; and it experienced the Civil War and Reconstruction.

The Spanish established Fort Nogales around 1783, and a map of their fort and the surrounding area for 1792 is available.[2] However, credit for being the first pioneer to the Vicksburg area is given to the Rev. Newitt Vick, who arrived sometime around 1812 and settled about seven miles northeast of the present day city of Vicksburg.[3] It is said that he came to that section of the country with ". . . his family, slaves, and possessions."[4] He was soon followed by a nephew, Foster Cook and other relatives and friends. Most of the early migrants came from Virginia and settled in the vicinity of the Vick homestead in an area called "Open Woods".

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[2] Lee Richardson, In and About Vicksburg, (Vicksburg: The Gibraltor Publishing Co., 1890).

[3] Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi, II, (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), p. 858.

[4] Ellsworth I. Davis, Vicksburg: Mississippi River City, with a Historic Past and a Promising Future, (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1964), p. 12.

In 1819, Mr. Vick purchased three or four hundred acres of land (known as the Glass Tract) where Vicksburg now stands; but he and his wife died of yellow fever and his son-in-law, the Rev. John Lane, had the town surveyed and platted in 1824. The town was incorporated in January of 1825. After its incorporation, people from the Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky, and other eastern states came to Vicksburg. The early economy of Vicksburg was focused on river commerce, cotton compresses, cotton-seed oil mills, and lumbering. Later Vicksburg became most famous for its Civil War history -- especially the Battle at Vicksburg.

After the Civil War, Vicksburg experienced the era of Reconstruction from 1865 to 1875. However, in 1876, a tragic event occurred -- the Mississippi River changed its course. It no longer flowed by Vicksburg. But through hard work by various engineers, they were able to return the river's course so it would front Vicksburg again by 1902. This provided the city with new life and probably kept it from declining.

The population of Vicksburg has increased considerably since 1850. In 1850 the population was 3,678; by 1860 the population was 4,591, and whites outnumbered Negroes 3 to 1. But by 1870, the population was 12,500; Negroes accounted for 55 per cent of the population.[5] By

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[5] Preston E. James, "Vicksburg: A Study in Urban Geography," Geographical Review, 21, (April, 1931) p. 238.

1950, the time chosen for this study, Vicksburg had a population of 27,948 and Negroes accounted for 49 per cent of the total. According to the 1970 census, Vicksburg has a population of 25,478, of whom 12,568 are Negro, 12,824 are white and 86 are categorized as "other".

Vicksburg's economy has evolved from concentration on cotton and river traffic to being a medical center and a light industrial area. The Waterways Experiment Station is located here, and a scale model of the Mississippi River, its navigation, flood control, and hurricane protection projects are widely known throughout the country.

Negro Residential Patterns: The 1950 Cross-Section and Analysis -- Because Vicksburg has a large Negro population and a Pre-Civil War history, Negroes are scattered throughout the city. At a glance, the density map (Fig. 29) displays a dispersed or scattered pattern, but upon closer examination a distinguishable pattern is visible. It was once said that Rome was built on seven hills and Vicksburg seven hundred -- and this may well be the case (Fig. 30). By relating the topography and drainage pattern of Vicksburg to residential settlement, a strong correlation can be made. Blacks basically occupy the low country and bayous while whites occupy the highland areas. In Preston James' study (1931), he found that 32.9 per cent of the land area of Vicksburg was in Negro residences. Of this total, 20.4 per cent of the Negro residential area was in the ravines, while only

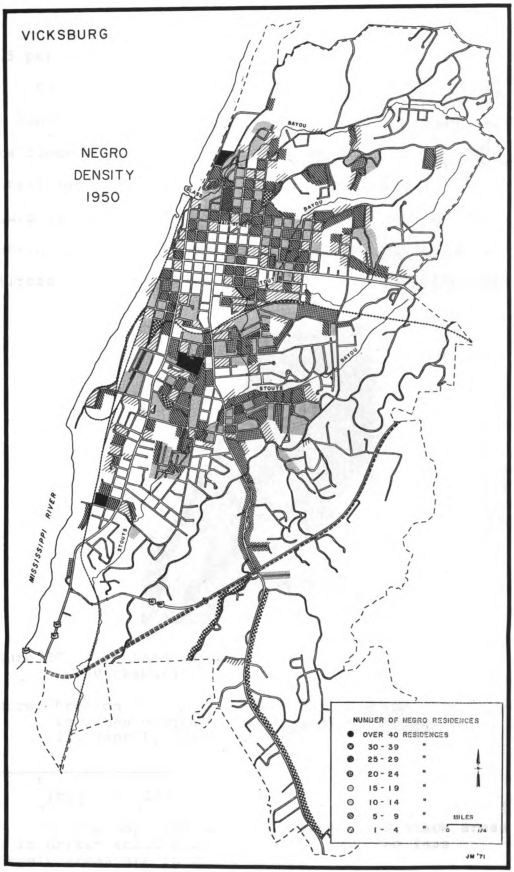
VICKSBURG
NEGRO
DENSITY
1950
BAYOU
BAYOU
BAYOU
STATE
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
LEVEE
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39 "
25 - 29 "
20 - 24 "
15 - 19 "
10 - 14 "
5 - 9 "
1 - 4 "
MILES
0 1/4
JM '71

Figure 29

12.5 per cent was on the ridge tops.[6]

Starting in the northern part of the city, blacks are concentrated along Glass Bayou.[7] In this area, the core block contained 40 Negro residences. In the east-central section of the city, blacks are located near Stouts Bayou. And in the western part as well as the eastern part of the city, blacks are situated along the railroad (Fig. 29). Thus the Vicksburg residential pat-

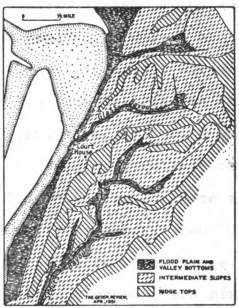

Figure 30. The Land Surface of the Site of Vicksburg

Source: Preston E. James, "Vicksburg: A Study in Urban Geography", Geographical Review, 21, (April, 1931), p. 240.

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[6] Ibid., p. 243.

[7] On the map, the more densely settled black areas are in darker solid shades and dots, and the less sparsely areas are in slant lines.

tern is mixed, and probably has a segregation index similar to that of Natchez. However, barriers such as bayous, railroads and streets are used to divide the white and black residences. Despite these barriers, the Vicksburg pattern is still quite mixed. Two other blocks, one in the central part (45 Negro residences), and one in the southern part (40 Negro residences) were densely settled by blacks.

It is also interesting to note that James' Negro residential areas of 1929 correspond closely to the author's Negro pattern of 1950 (Figs. 31 and 29). Blacks are located in approximately the same areas. Some small expansion into neighboring areas, however, by blacks is evident. What little expansion has taken place between the two study periods has basically occurred in the areas James classified as "ordinary residence district". Some of these "ordinary" houses were apparently susceptible to Negro invasion. Of course, some "displacement" of Negro residences has also taken place.

Many blocks in Vicksburg are mixed, but still, in the mixed blocks, whites may occupy one side and blacks the other. Or residences listed as vacant in the Polk City Directory may separate black residences from white. So integration is still at a minimum, but residential mixture is evident. The average number of blacks per block is low at 3.3 per block,[8] and 56 per cent of its

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[8] By finding the average number of blacks per block for each city, one can infer that the higher the average

FIG. 7—Vicksburg in 1929. A quantitative analysis of the area occupied by various utilities gives the following result in percentages: industries, 7; wholesale and storage, 2; commercial core, 3; lodging and boarding-house zone, 3; superior residence, 7; ordinary residence, 27; negro residence, 41; vacant or agricultural land within urban limits, 9; playgrounds and parks, 1. The total area in reference to which these percentages are measured is the area of the geographical city and does not include the agricultural and vacant land beyond the limits of urban development even though within the political city limits.

Figure 31

Source: James, "Vicksburg:," p. 241.

blocks containing Negroes also contain whites. Because of the historical development, site and situation of Vicksburg, racial mixing within blocks, low density of blacks per block, and the dispersed spatial pattern of Negro residences, Vicksburg is categorized as being similar to the Natchez model and dissimilar to the Hattiesburg model.

Columbus:

History -- According to the soil map of Mississippi, Columbus is situated adjacent to the Black Prairie Belt, which is the western extension of the Alabama Black Belt. Thus cotton became an important crop.

Columbus is located on the east bluffs along the Tombigbee River. In 1816 approximately 20 pioneers arrived in the vicinity of Columbus via the Tombigbee River. However, Dr. Gideon Lincecum is credited with the building of the first house in 1818. But it was not until June, 1819 that the area had enough citizens to call it a settlement, and it was at that time that it

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the more segregated, and the lower the average the more racial mixing within blocks. Of course low density of blacks in individual blocks may also indicate that it is a better Negro residential area, or that land use within the block may be vacant, in industry, or commercial. But in almost all cases, the Post-Civil War cities of Laurel and Meridian have higher densities than the Pre-Civil War cities of Vicksburg and Columbus. The exception is Greenville. In addition to density, the percentage of Negro blocks containing white residences was also calculated. In all cases, the river/cotton Pre-Civil War cities had a higher percentage of mixed blocks than the pine belt, Post-Civil War cities.

was named Columbus. In February 1821, the town was incorporated.[9] In 1830, Lowdnes County was formed and Columbus became its county seat. The "Military" road which goes through Columbus was built by General Jackson. It was very important in the early days in that it connected to the "Natchez Trace" and "Gaines Trace", and also connected Nashville to New Orleans. By 1840, the town had a population of about 3,000. It also had a large number of cotton warehouses. Columbus has always prided itself on the high intellect, character, and moral standards of its early pioneers. Also the first state supported women's college in America (Mississippi State College for Women) was founded here in 1884.

Columbus did not front the Mississippi River like Natchez or Vicksburg, but it did front the Tombigbee, a river large enough to allow steamboats to ply its waters. Since Columbus was a Pre-Civil War city, and had an early economy associated with cotton, its Negro residential pattern follows that of Natchez and Vicksburg. It too has many ante-bellum homes like Natchez and the Columbus Pilgrimage Association indicates that there are at least 100 ante-bellum homes existing in Columbus and Lowdnes County. Columbus is associated with the Civil War.

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[9] Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi, I, (Atlanta: Southern Historical Publishing Association, 1907), p. 477. See also William Lowndes Lipscomb, A History of Columbus, Mississippi, During the 19th Century, (Birmingham: Press of Dispatch Printing Company, 1909).

Although no major battles were fought there, it did become the hospital center for the wounded Mississippi and Tennessee armies that fought in the Battle of Shiloh.

Today Columbus has a diversified economy, more than 50 manufacturing plants are located within the city. Dairying and cattle raising have become significant in the surrounding area since cotton has somewhat declined since the Depression. In addition, Columbus is also the headquarters for the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority. Its present population (1970) is 25,795 of whom 9,721 are Negroes.[10]

Negro Residential Pattern: The 1935 Cross-Section and Analysis -- Negro residences are located in four general areas:[11] One is in the northeast (the major Negro area), the others are in the southeast, the southwest, and the northwest (Fig. 32). The highest number of Negro residences per block is 26, and that block is in the northeast portion of the city. It forms the core block. The average number of blacks per block is 6.4 persons. Also, 105 blocks out of a total of 220 blocks which have Negroes residing in them have whites living in the same blocks. Thus 48 per cent of the Negro blocks

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[10] U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, General Social and Economic Characteristics, pt. 26, Mississippi.

[11] The year 1935 was chosen since this is the last Polk City Directory available which distinguishes white from Negro residences.

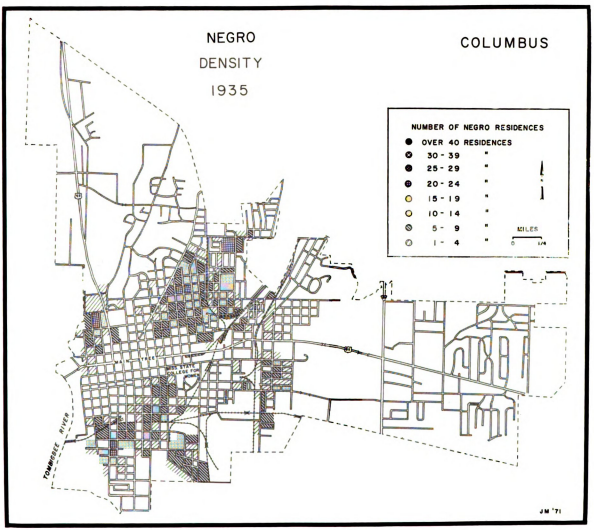
NEGRO
DENSITY
1935
COLUMBUS
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
1 - 4
MILES
TOMBIGBEE RIVER
JM '71

Figure 32

are mixed. However, most of the mixed blocks are in the southern portion of the city. The per cent of blocks racially mixed correlates to other Pre-Civil War cities such as Natchez and Vicksburg which were 58 and 56 per cent respectively.

Blacks tend to be located along the Tombigbee River and the railroads. Residential mixture of whites and blacks, however, within the same block is evident. After collecting the data, and examining the maps, it is clear that the Columbus pattern is very similar to that of Natchez and to some extent Vicksburg. It is apparent that since the historical development (Pre-Civil War, cotton, slavery, plantation and ante-bellum homes) of Columbus is similar to Natchez and Vicksburg, that its Negro residential pattern is also similar, and thus it is vastly different from the Post-Civil War cities.

Greenville:

History -- Greenville was established by a group of young bachelors who docked their boat in the area in 1829. Although originally called Bachelors Bend, it was a thriving hamlet which served as a business and cultural center for the surrounding cotton plantations. But after the Civil War, much of the "Old Greenville" caved in because of the cutting action of the river, plus the fact that the town received heavy shelling during the Civil War at the time of the siege of Vicksburg, and much of it was destroyed. The city, therefore, had to be relocated.

Present day Greenville is located three miles from the site of "Old Greenville". The Blantonia Plantation, which belonged to Mrs. Harriet B. Theobald, was purchased for the site of the new Greenville.[12] The new area was located in the heart of the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. The early economy of Greenville functioned around cotton-seed oil mills, cotton compresses, several iron and wood working establishments, as well as several large saw mills. The town was finally incorporated on March 21, 1886.

Today, however, Greenville's economy has become more diversified. A carpet manufacturing firm, a saw manufacturer, as well as other metal and chemical plants have helped to supplement the reliance upon cotton.

In sum, the history of Greenville is tied to the Mississippi River, the cotton crop and Negro labor. The immediate assumption is that Greenville's Negro pattern should resemble that of Natchez, Vicksburg, and Columbus. In short, this assumption is basically correct, despite the fact that the present city was incorporated after the Civil War. To be sure, Greenville is a river/cotton city. However, its Negro residential spatial pattern is not quite as dispersed as that of Vicksburg, but still it resembles the Pre-Civil War cities more so than it does the

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[12] Rowland, Mississippi, I, p. 801. See also A Short Story of Greenville, (Greenville: Chamber of Commerce). One should also be aware of the numerous books and articles on Greenville by one of its most famous residents -- Hodding Carter.

Post-Civil War cities.

Some of its Negro blocks have whites and even Chinese residing in them, and the evidence seems to be that its blocks are about as racially mixed as Vicksburg, Natchez, and Columbus.

Negro Residential Pattern: The 1950 Cross-Section and Analysis -- Negroes are mainly located in the northern portion of the city astride the railroad tracks. Two areas are in the southern portion of the city, and a fourth area is located in the eastern part of the city (Fig. 33). The northern part of the city has the most blocks (5) containing over 40 blacks per block. The striking factor about Greenville is the high density of black residences per block -- 15.5. This high percentage denotes that Greenville has a large number of Negro residences. In 1950, Greenville had a population of 29,936 persons, and 60 per cent were Negro. In 1970, Greenville had a population of 39,648 and 20,619 were black for a drop to 52 per cent.

Greenville has a large Negro population. It has a large density of Negroes per block, but 51 per cent of its Negro residential blocks have whites within them so racial mixing within blocks is evident. Thus for the purpose of this dissertation, and the criteria and variables set forth in it, Greenville's Negro residential pattern must be categorized as one similar to the Pre-Civil War river/cotton cities, particularly because of its percentage of racially mixed blocks.

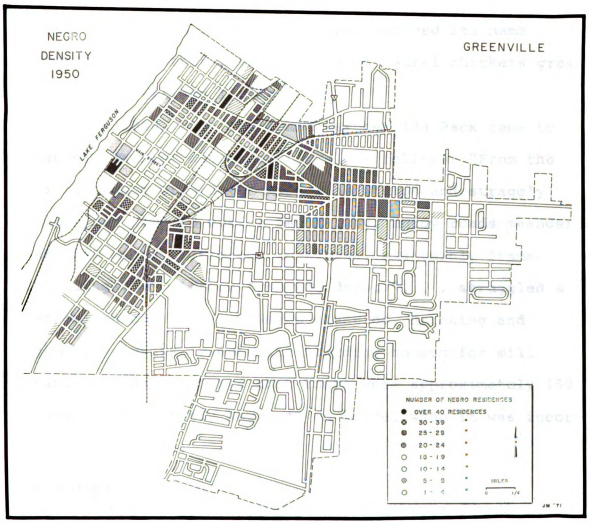
NEGRO
DENSITY
1950
GREENVILLE
LAKE FERGUSON
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
1 - 4
MILES
JM '71

Figure 33

Post-Civil War Cities: Laurel

History -- Laurel dates back to 1882 at which time Mr. Kamper established a saw mill in the piney woods section of southeast Mississippi. It was incorporated in 1886 and became a village in 1892, and a town in 1895, with a population of approximately 1,220 persons.[13] Most authorities agree that Laurel derived its name from the fact that large amounts of laurel thickets grew within the village limits.[14]

In 1888, when the schoolteacher Ida Pack came to Laurel, Watkins described Laurel as follows: "From the little shack of a depot among the stumps and straggly pines too puny to cut, a few filthy, muddy roads meandered at will among scattered, unpainted, slatternly frame buildings."[15] Across from the depot ". . . straggled a miscellaneous array of Negro shanties, drinking and gambling joints, ramshackle boarding houses for mill hands."[16] Watkins says that there were approximately 150 inhabitants (mostly Negroes) in Laurel when it was incorporated in 1886.[17]

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[13] Walter Watkins, "The Laurel Story," in Laurel Diamond Jubilee, (Laurel: Laurel Diamond Jubilee Corporation, 1957), p. 2.

[14] Rowland, Mississippi, II, p. 59.

[15] Watkins, "Laurel Story", p. 14.

[16] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[17] Ibid., p. 17. This source is also used for the following discussion on page 161.

Because Laurel was situated in the long leaf pine belt, its origin and early industry centered around the utilization and processing of the nearby timber resources. It also had access to two creeks, namely, the Tallahala and the Tallahoma. Railroads were also important to Laurel. The present day railroads of the Illinois Central; Gulf, Mobile and Ohio; and the New Orleans-Northeastern (Southern) pass through the city.

After the initial establishment of the Kamper Mill; Eastman, Gardener and Company bought out the Kamper Mill and started to redevelop it in 1891. This proved to be a major economic boost to Laurel since Kamper had let his mill slip into a rather poor economic state. Gilchrist and Fordney followed with another mill in 1906, and they were followed by Wausau-Southern in 1911 and Marathon in 1914. Thus Laurel grew from a town of 3,193 persons in 1900 to 13,037 in 1920.

As lumbering started to decline, the town's economic base was saved by William Mason, who perfected the process of making hardboard (called Masonite) in 1924-25. The Masonite Corporation was established in 1926. Laurel is the largest manufacturer of Masonite in the world with other plants in California, Sweden, Canada, South Africa, and Australia. By 1950 it employed approximately 3,000 workers in the Laurel plant.

Laurel survived the Depression and World War II and started to expand economically after the war. The discovery

of oil in the surrounding area, and the establishment of Norris Manufacturing Company (milk dispensers) have helped to move Laurel ahead. Today it has a population of 24,145 persons; 8,914 are Negro, 15,201 are white, and the remaining 30 are classifed as "other".[18] In 1950 it had a population of 20,598, of which 37.7 per cent were Negro.

Once cannot discuss Laurel without making short mention of the county of which it is a part -- Jones. Jones County was established in 1826. By 1836 the county had a population of 1,017 whites and 108 slaves.[19] The county remained sparsely settled until the advent of the railroads in the latter part of the 19th century. By 1900, the county had a total of 12,156 white persons and 4,690 Negroes for a total of 17,846.[20] Just a decade before it had only 8,333 persons.[21] Thus the growth period of Jones County and Laurel corresponds to that of Forrest County and Hattiesburg.

Because Jones County had few slave holders when the Confederacy seceded from the Union, the Free State of Jones seceded from the Confederacy. Thus there is clear evidence that the soil and early history of Laurel and Jones Countywas not tied to cotton and slavery. And the history

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[18] Census of Population: 1970

[19] Rowland, Mississippi, I, p. 974.

[20] Ibid., p. 975.

[21] Ibid.

and economic development of this area is vastly different from the river/cotton cities. So also is its residential structure of Negroes, which displays a direct correlation to the historic development of the area. Here Jim Crowism, and racial separatism was the rule. Laurel and Jones County are rather conservative. During the 1960's when the Klu Klux Klan became prominent in Mississippi, Laurel was a hot bed of the Klan. Thus history, man-land relationships, and certain cultural processes have been working together to form the Negro residential patterns in Laurel.

Negro Residential Patterns: The 1950 Cross-Section and Analysis -- In 1950, Laurel had a total of 1,948 Negro residences. By examining the Negro residential pattern, it is evident that blacks were restricted almost entirely to the east side of the city adjacent to the railroad tracks. The core area (in black on Fig. 34) was located in the east, south-central section of the Negro residential area. Located within this block was a total of 56 residences. The blocks adjacent to the core were also densely settled. There was also a small core block in the northeast part of the Negro area, as well as a small core area in the southern part of the Negro district. Only five blocks contained Negroes west of the railroad. Thus Laurel's residential pattern is not racially mixed since only 28 per cent of its Negro blocks contained white residences. It also has a rather high density

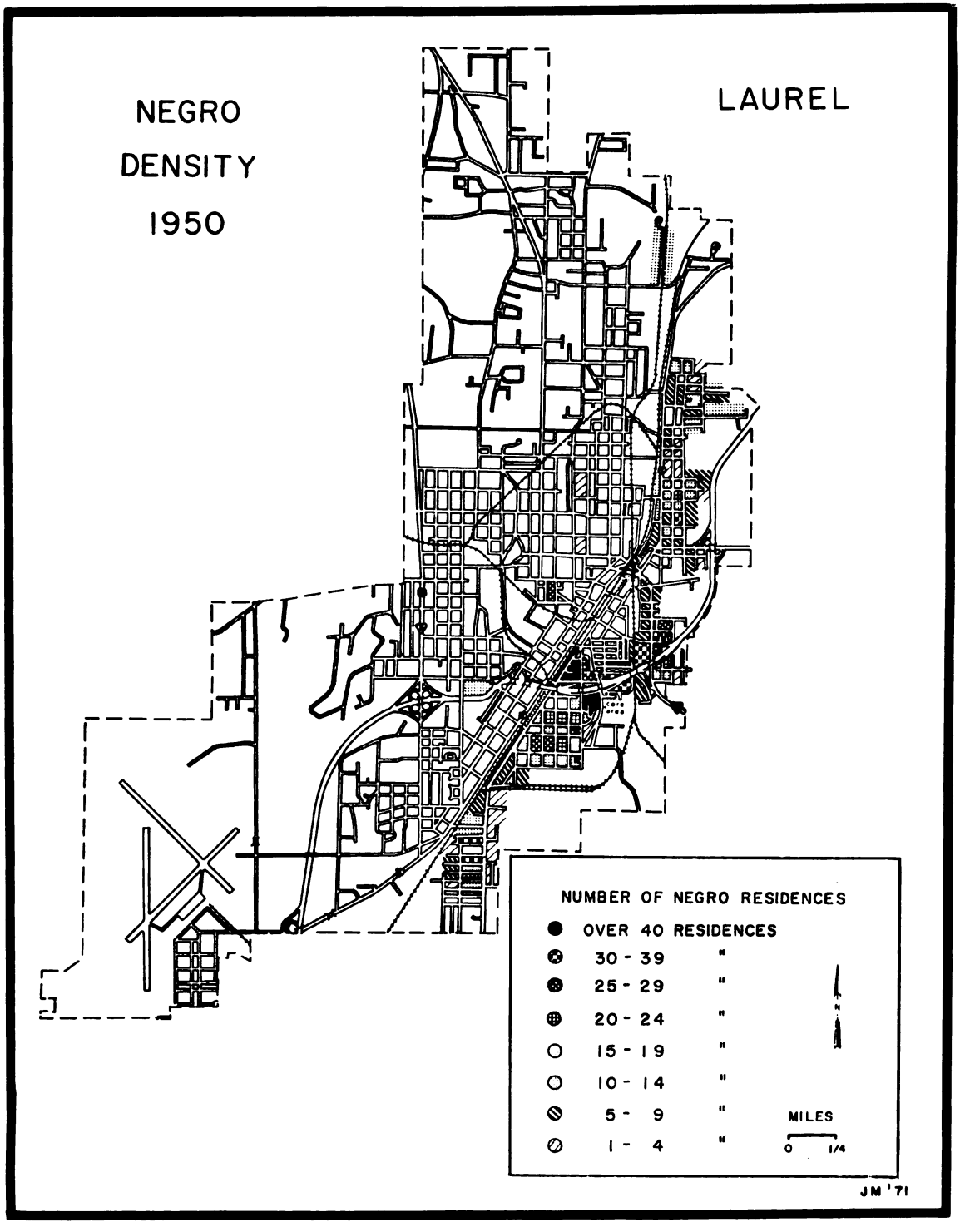
NEGRO
DENSITY
1950
LAUREL
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39 "
25 - 29 "
20 - 24 "
15 - 19 "
10 - 14 "
5 - 9 "
1 - 4 "
MILES
0 1/4
JM '71

Figure 34

average of blacks per block -- 13.4.

Like Hattiesburg, Laurel's Negro residential pattern is the result of historical (Post-Civil War), economic (largely lumbering), caste and class behavior, and Jim Crowism. Thus political, economical, and social processes have interacted together, but still the date of its founding, and the historical-geographical factors are the most significant. If Laurel had been founded at an earlier period in history and would have been located in a different geographical area, such as one conducive to cotton growing, its Negro pattern would have certainly developed differently.

Meridian:

History -- The location of Meridian in 1854 was due to the proposed crossing of the Vicksburg and Montgomery Railroad and the Ohio and Mobile. Mr. L. A. Ragsdale and John T. Ball are credited with laying out the original lots of the town; they are, therefore, considered the pioneers of Meridian. In 1860, Meridian became a legally incorporated city.[22] When the Civil War broke out, Meridian was a small village having three or four stores and a couple of hotels and a shingle machine. In 1864, General W. T. Sherman made his raid on Meridian in which much of the property was destroyed.

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[22] Rowland, Mississippi, II, p. 219.

After the war, a cotton mill was established, but the real economic boost to the town was the building of the New Orleans-Northeastern Railroad in the late 1800's, by Captain W. H. Hardy. Thus Meridian was founded just before the Civil War, but its major development occurred after it. Its population growth, like Hattiesburg and Laurel, came between 1880 and 1910 when it increased in population from 4,008 persons to 23,285.[23] Thus Meridian owes its early existence basically to the coming of the railroads and lumbering to some extent. Meridian is one of the more populated cities within the state. It has been a major contributor to the economic development of the state of Mississippi.

Negro Residential Patterns: The 1948 Cross-Section and Analysis -- In Meridian in 1948 Negro residences were 1) concentrated along the railroads and creeks in the southern portion of the city, 2) there was a large cluster in the northeast section and 3) one neighborhood area in the central area of the city (Fig. 35). There were some scattered Negro residential pocket areas, but generally Negroes were located in these three areas. In 1940, when a basic comprehensive survey of the city was conducted, it was found that the percentage of the city area in Negro residential property was 7.8 per cent compared to

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[23] U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of Population, pt. 26, Mississippi.

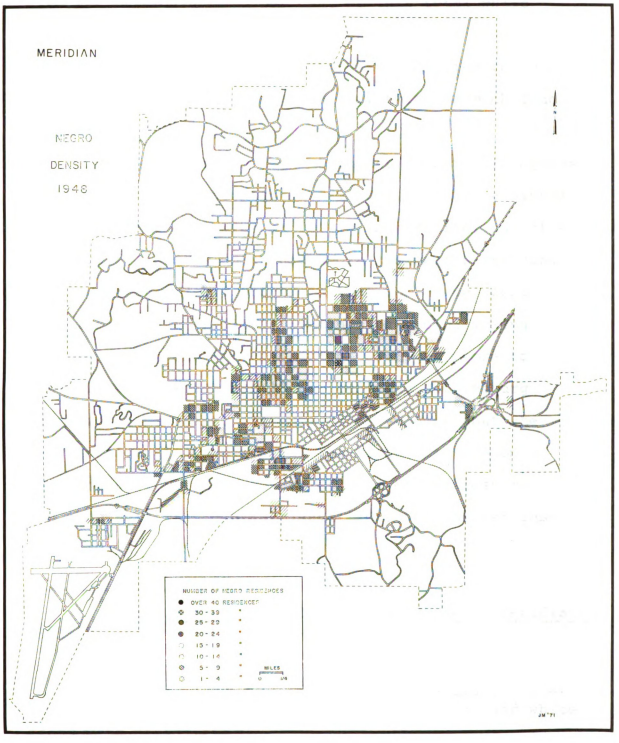
MERIDIAN
NEGRO
DENSITY
1948
NUMBER OF NEGRO RESIDENCES
OVER 40 RESIDENCES
30 - 39
25 - 29
20 - 24
15 - 19
10 - 14
5 - 9
1 - 4
MILES
JM '71

Figure 35

17.9 per cent for the whites.[24] However, the total number of families in the city was 9,347, and white families accounted for 55.5 per cent of this total while Negro families totaled 44.5 per cent.[25] From these statistics one can conclude that white families formed a slight majority, but they had over twice as much land in residences.

In 1948,[26] it was found that the density of Negroes per block was not too high at 7.5, and this was a little less than that of Laurel at 13.4. In addition, out of a total of 433 blocks which had Negro residences residing in them, only 167 had whites in them for 39 per cent. Therefore, there is little evidence of racial mixing within blocks, and this percentage averages close to that of Laurel which was 28 per cent and Hattiesburg which is 30 per cent. In sum, it is evident that the Negro residential pattern and the historical-economic background of Meridian resembles that of Hattiesburg, and thus this city can be classified under the Hattiesburg model.

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[24] Basic Comprehensive City Survey Project, Meridian, Mississippi, (Jackson, 1940), p. 7.

[25] Ibid.

[26] The year 1948 was chosen because it was the last available Polk City Directory that listed Negro and white residences separately.

Summary and Comparison

Table 7 summarizes the data presented in this chapter. The following comments are drawn from the data given in this chapter and in Table 7.

Vicksburg's Negro residential pattern is probably the most dispersed or scattered of the cities studied. In this city, historical processes and topography have worked together to form its pattern. Racial mixing within blocks is evident since Vicksburg has a low density of blacks per block -- 3.3, and 56 per cent of its blocks are racially mixed. Thus Vicksburg can be categorized under the Natchez model.

Columbus, although not on the Mississippi River, fronts the Tombigbee River. And since Columbus is a Pre-Civil War city, located in a cotton growing area, which attracted Negro labor, its black residential pattern tends to follow that of Natchez. It has a low density of blacks per block (6.4) and racial mixing (48 per cent) within blocks is apparent in parts of the city.

Greenville is a river/cotton city, and the area surrounding the city is a major cotton plantation region. However, the present city of Greenville was incorporated after the Civil War. So in some respects, it lacks some of the cultural history that Natchez and Vicksburg share. Statistics show that the density of blacks per block in Greenville correlates to that of Laurel. However, this

TABLE 7

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF OTHER STUDY CITIES

TABLE 7--Continued

Pre-Civil War City	Incorp. Date	Total Population	Early Function	Historical Processes	Per Cent of Negro Blocks With White Neighbors	Spatial Pattern of Black Areas	Types of Residential Boundaries	Total Negro Residences	Total Number of Blocks Containing Negroes	Average No. of Blocks Per Block
Vicksburg (1950)	1825	27,948 (1950)	Agriculture, Cotton, Plantation, Slavery, Port City	Ec.-cotton, port Soc.-caste, and class Pol.-slavery, Jim Crow Geog.-site and situation	56%	Scattered	Morphological Arbitrary Behavioral	1,106	338	3.3
Columbus (1935)	1821	13,645 (1940)	Same as Above	Same as Above	48%	Scattered	Same as Above	1,416	220	6.4
Greenville (1950)	1829[1] 1886[2]	29,936 (1950)	Same as Above	Same as Above	51%	Scattered	Same as Above	4,632	299	15.5
Natchez (See Table 6)					58%					
Post-Civil War Cities										
Laurel (1950)	1886	25,038 (1950)	Lumbering, Railroad Center	Ec.-lumbering, railroad Soc.-caste and class Pol.-Jim Crow, no slavery Geog.-site and situation	28%	Clustered	Morphological Arbitrary Behavioral	1,948	144	13.4
Meridian (1948)	1860	41,893 (1950)	Same as Above	Same as Above	39%	Clustered	Same as Above	3,254	433	7.5
Hattiesburg (See Table 6)					30%					

[1] Original Founding

[2] Relocated

is more of a reflection of the high percentage of Negroes in the total population in 1950, which was 60 per cent, rather than the result of being more racially segregated as in the case with Laurel. Thus in the final analysis, racial mixing in blocks (51 per cent) appears to be a more important variable in this instance than density.

Laurel's Negro residential pattern is obviously the most rigid and tightest spatial pattern of all the cities studied. The railroad constitutes a formidable barrier and only a few Negro residences are located west of it. Laurel has a high density of black residences per block (13.4) and only 28 per cent of the blocks containing Negroes have white residences within them. Thus the Negro residential pattern is the result of its historical development, and certain cultural-economic-political processes. This city did not have a cotton-plantation-slavery experience, therefore, it did not contain an early "backyard" residential pattern. Laurel can definitely be classified under the Hattiesburg model.

Meridian's Negro residential pattern is quite similar to the Hattiesburg model. Meridian has approximately three basic Negro neighborhoods and its density of blacks per block is also relatively high (7.5). Its historical development is similar to Hattiesburg, and railroads, rivers and streets also form barriers between black and white residences. Racial mixing within blocks is not prevalent since only 39 percent of its Negro blocks have whites within them.

The evidence produced in this chapter supports the fact that historical origin and era of development of these selected cities have basically determined the residential patterns in them. Moreover, it is not so much the population size of the city, but rather its historical origin, economic base, and geographical location within Mississippi and the south. To be sure, these five sample cities are comparable to Natchez and Hattiesburg, and they also help to substantiate the major hypothesis of this dissertation.

CHAPTER V

MODELS OF NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS

It has been possible to separate the Pre-Civil War--river/cotton cities from the Post-Civil War--pine belt/railroad cities in Mississippi by using the following variables; the spatial distribution pattern of Negro residences, the amount of racial mixing within city blocks, and the historical, social, economical, and political development in each of the previously discussed cities. Each city has been mapped, described, analyzed, classified, and tabulated with respect to black residential settlement. Admittedly, the Negro residential patterns in each of the cities studied is distinctive in itself, but theory and possible law in geography cannot be built through the study of uniqueness.[1] Therefore, one of the significant problems of this research is to try and develop a model or models that explain the various types of Negro residential areas empirically described in Chapters III and IV.

A model ". . . can be a theory or a law or an hypothesis or a structural idea."[2] Or in other words, "A

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[1] William Bunge, Theoretical Geography, (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1962), p. 9.

[2] Peter Haggett and Richard J. Chorley, "Models, Paradigms and the New Geography," in Models in Geography, ed.

model is thus a simplified structuring of reality which represents supposedly significant features or relationships in a generalized form."[3] With these definitions in mind, an attempt will be made in this chapter to model build at three different levels: micro, meso, and macro. Data from the maps and tables presented in the two previous chapters will be drawn upon heavily as source material for the models.

Model of an Idealized Scheme of a Negro Residential Area: Pre-Civil War--River/Cotton Cities

The descriptive model that follows (Fig. 36) attempts to portray an idealized Negro residential area in a Pre-Civil War city. It is designed to show block composition, block front and street control, various types of barriers, mixed residential blocks as well as racially separated blocks.

In the Pre-Civil War cities barriers such as railroads, creeks, or bayous do not appear to have the centrifugal dividing force as is the case with Post-Civil War cities. In the Pre-Civil War cities, railroads and creeks seem to have centripetal forces, or at least they are not so divisive. Because the Post-Civil War cities owe their

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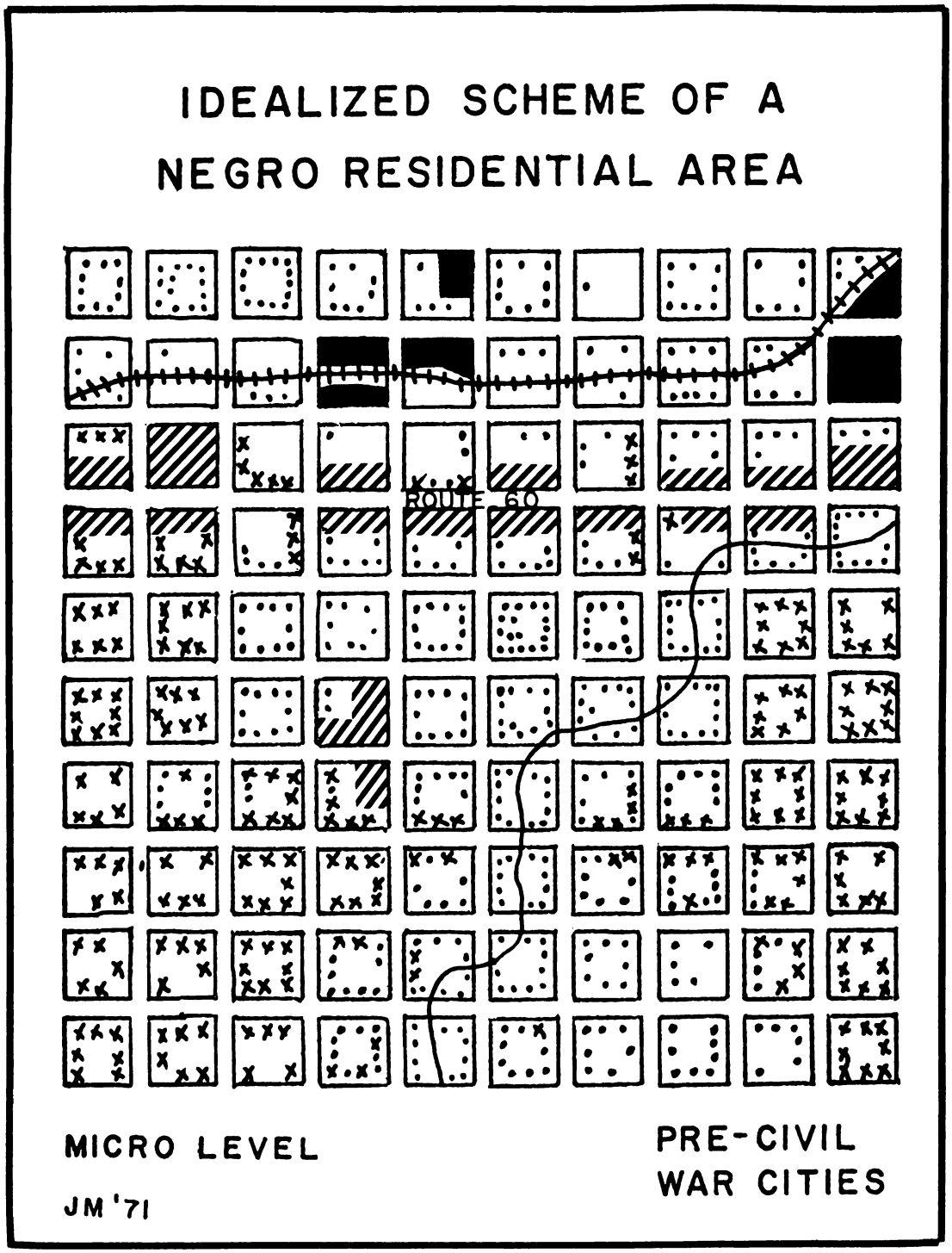
by Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett, (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1967), p. 21

[3] Ibid., p. 22

[4] Barriers can have centripetal as well as centrifugal forces.



•NEGRO RESIDENCES, × WHITE RESIDENCES, RAILROAD, CREEK, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, VACANT

Figure 36

early existence to the founding of railroads, railroads tend to be more important in forming the demarcation line between residential areas. A good example is Laurel. But in Pre-Civil War cities, railroads were not so important because these cities function around the river and therefore, railroads do not tend to demarcate as strongly. Nevertheless, Negro residences seem to cluster near or around them, but they are not generally used to separate Negro from white residences. Thus railroads are more of a centripetal force rather than a centrifugal force.

Pre-Civil War cities tend to have more blocks racially mixed than is the case with Post-Civil War cities. And in some respects, there was "true" racial mixing. However, one should not set the cities up as being "show pieces" of racial integration--they are not. In some cases, street control was still significant. However, the overall racial residential pattern displays a more blended scheme than did those cities in the pine belt, and residential racial separation is less pronounced on the map. Yet racial separation is still there.

In the east central part of the model (Fig. 36), white and black residences abut each other and the only barrier separating them is a street. In the northern part of the model a railroad forms no major obstacle and black residences spill across the tracks freely. South of the railroad a major highway cuts through the Negro neighborhood in a east-west direction, and the land use along it

is mixed. Some of these blocks are commercial, some are all white residences, some all black, and some are "truly" racially mixed residential blocks. In the lower middle part of the model, a white residential street extends almost continuously through the area with "true" racial mixing being evident in the adjacent side streets. In the central part of the model is a creek and Negroes can be found living in the low terrain.

In many instances, blocks classified as mixed in the Pre-Civil War cities are not "truly" mixed. There may be just as many examples of the other type, however, where "true" racial mixing does occur along the same side of the block. Thus, this model is indicative of both types of racial mixing. Still, despite mixing, Negroes usually have distinct residential areas. They may or may not be less discernible, however, upon the landscape than in the Post-Civil War cities.

Model of an Idealized Scheme of a Negro Residential Area: Post-Civil War--Pine Belt/Railroad Cities

The descriptive model that follows (Fig. 37) attempts to portray an idealized Negro residential area in a Post-Civil War city. It is designed to show block composition, block front and street control, various types of barriers, mixed residential blocks, as well as racially separated blocks.

In studying the Post-Civil War--pine belt/railroad cities, various types of barriers to Negro residential ex-

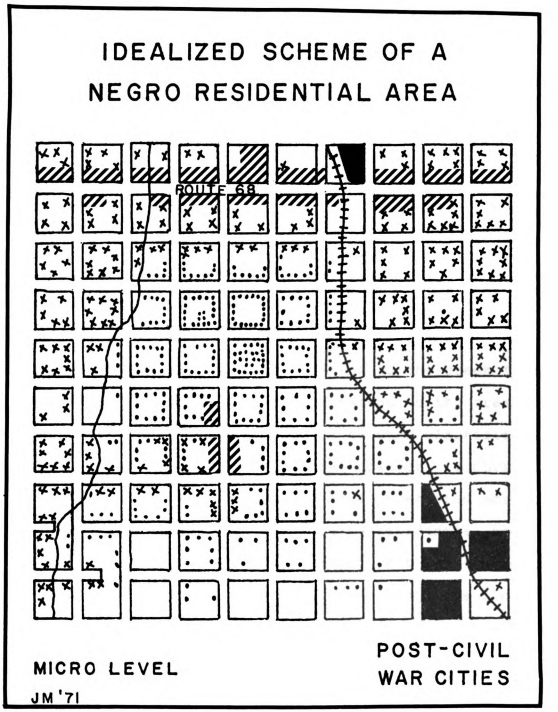

IDEALIZED SCHEME OF A
NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREA
ROUTE 66
MICRO LEVEL
POST-CIVIL
WAR CITIES
JM '71
• NEGRO RESIDENCES, ✕ WHITE RESIDENCES, RAILROAD,
CREEK, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, VACANT

Figure 37

pansion were disclosed. Railroads, streets, creeks, and highways formed rather rigid boundaries or barriers to expansion. However, some blocks were racially mixed. But there was not much racial mixing on the same side of the street or within a block as was evident with Natchez and other Pre-Civil War cities.

A railroad track in the eastern section of the model basically restrains black expansion from the central area, although on one street blacks have penetrated across the tracks into an all white area. A white residentially controlled street, a highway and commercial establishments restrict penetration to the north by blacks. To the west is a creek. In some cases the creek divides a block. In this instance white residences extend to the creek from the western direction and Negroes extend to the creek from the eastward side. The block becomes classified as racially mixed. In a "true" sense, however, it obviously is not. In one instance, whites have penetrated across the creek into the heart of the Negro residential area. Here the blocks become racially mixed, but the control of the sides of the block is crucial. Although the block must be classified as mixed, in a "true" sense it is not. Too, in this western part of the diagram some white residences extend northward from this eastern prong of white penetration. Thus, here is an example of a "true" racially mixed block and racially mixed sides of streets. However, in some cases corner lot control may be important.

In the southwestern corner of the model is a street that has not been cut completely through. In this case, blacks and whites are separated by vacant or wooded land, but in classifying the block, it would show up as racially mixed when it is not. Finally, in the southern portion of the model some vacant land exists for future expansion of the Negro district.

From this idealized model, one is better able to see the boundaries of a Negro neighborhood area as well as being able to see how blocks which are classified as all black or mixed come into existence. In short, "true" racial mixing within blocks is not widespread in the pine belt/railroad cities, and the Negro areas are usually well delimited and easily discernible upon the landscape.

Categorization of Residential Barriers

The processes involved in creating these various Negro residential areas have been discussed in earlier chapters. These included historical, cultural, economic and political factors. By utilizing these processes and the preceding models, the concept of barriers to Negro expansion becomes more distinctive. Practically all the cities studied had certain types of residential barriers. Some of these barriers were more pronounced in some cities than in others. The following list categorizes the barriers that were found to be in use into three groups: 1) morphological--those boundaries which utilize natural physical

features; 2) arbitrary--those boundaries used for residential space-adjusting which employ man-made cultural traits; 3) behavioral--those superimposed boundaries established as the result of the existing attitudes of the racial groups.

> Morphological: rivers, wooded areas, bayous, drainage canals (ditches), and land forms
>
> Arbitrary: streets, highways, railroads, vacant land, streets not open all the way through, industrial-commercial and public institutional land uses
>
> Behavioral: sides of blocks, corner lot control, social (perception of racial behavior), educational attainment, economic (realtors, income of resident or residents, financial lending institutions), and political (zoning laws)

All of these boundaries are rather discriminatory, and tend to separate and isolate the two racial communities within the city. Some of these barriers can be thought of as having centrifugal or centripetal forces as well as being "visible" or "invisible".[5] For example, such morphological barriers as creeks or bayous, might have centrifugal forces in one city and centripetal forces in another; but in both instances, they would be "visible" upon the landscape.

---

[5] Visible means that the barriers are discernible in "form" upon the landscape. Invisible means that the barriers are not easily seen in "form" upon the landscape. They undoubtedly are there, but are rather hidden in "form", but can be seen when one investigates the "processes" involved in residential structure.

Railroads, which are an example of an arbitrary boundary, would also be centripetal, centrifugal, and visible. However, such behavioral barriers as financial lending institutions (Negro borrowing power)[6], or possible realtor discrimination in home selling, may have centrifugal forces in that they tend to separate the black and white residences. But for general purposes, this would be "invisible" in form upon the landscape but "visible" in processes involved in residential structure.

Model of Types of Negro Residential Areas

The earlier models (Figs. 36 and 37) examined an idealized Negro neighborhood at the micro level. It was evident that each of the cities studied had three, four or more Negro neighborhood areas. Thus it is imperative that one should now try to construct a model to depict the types of Negro residential areas at the meso level.

Some of the neighborhoods studied displayed distinctive characteristics with reference to past, present, and future development. For example, some neighborhoods were old, established, rather stable in development, and basic expansion had ceased. In analogy with the life stages of the development of a stream, they could be re-

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[6] Financial here is meant to relate to a black's ability to get financing to purchase a new home or repair one, or to establish himself in business. If a black was contemplating building a house in an area where certain influential whites did not want him to, they would simply see to it that he would not obtain the financing.

ferred to as mature-approaching old age. Only by subjecting the area to a type of renewal program could it be put into a stage of rejuvenation and the start of a possible youthful cycle again. This type of neighborhood area is referred to here as being Inactive/Passive[7] (Fig. 38). The classification of the blocks within this area may be characterized as being Established Negro, slight Consolidation: "growing" or Stable.[8] In addition to the above criteria, this type of neighborhood area is usually distinguished by the following variables.

> 1) old established Negro area--usually the largest in areal extent and number of residences, or at least one of the largest Negro areas; 2) not much land area available for expansion; 3) area is usually clearly defined by surrounding barriers; 4) often it is close to the CBD; 5) usually has high density of black residences per block; 6) may have some mixed residential blocks but usually 80 per cent or more of its residences are black; 7) often it contains the "Negro Main Street"; 8) usually composed of low-ordinary quality houses;[9] 9) may be more than one inactive area within the city, and an inactive area may also have blocks or small areas within it which are active or declining.

Another type of neighborhood core area might also be categorized generally according to block composition as

---

[7] Passive as used here means stable and/or slow expansion.

[8] The terms Established Negro, Consolidation and etc., are defined in Table 5 on page 56.

[9] Low quality houses refers to homes constructed of clapboard or wooden frame in a state of ill repair. Ordinary quality are those houses which are usually wooden frame (painted) or shingled and are usually in a fairly good state of repair and rather neat in appearance. Better quality are those houses whose basic construction is of brick or wooden frame or aluminum sided houses in good condition.

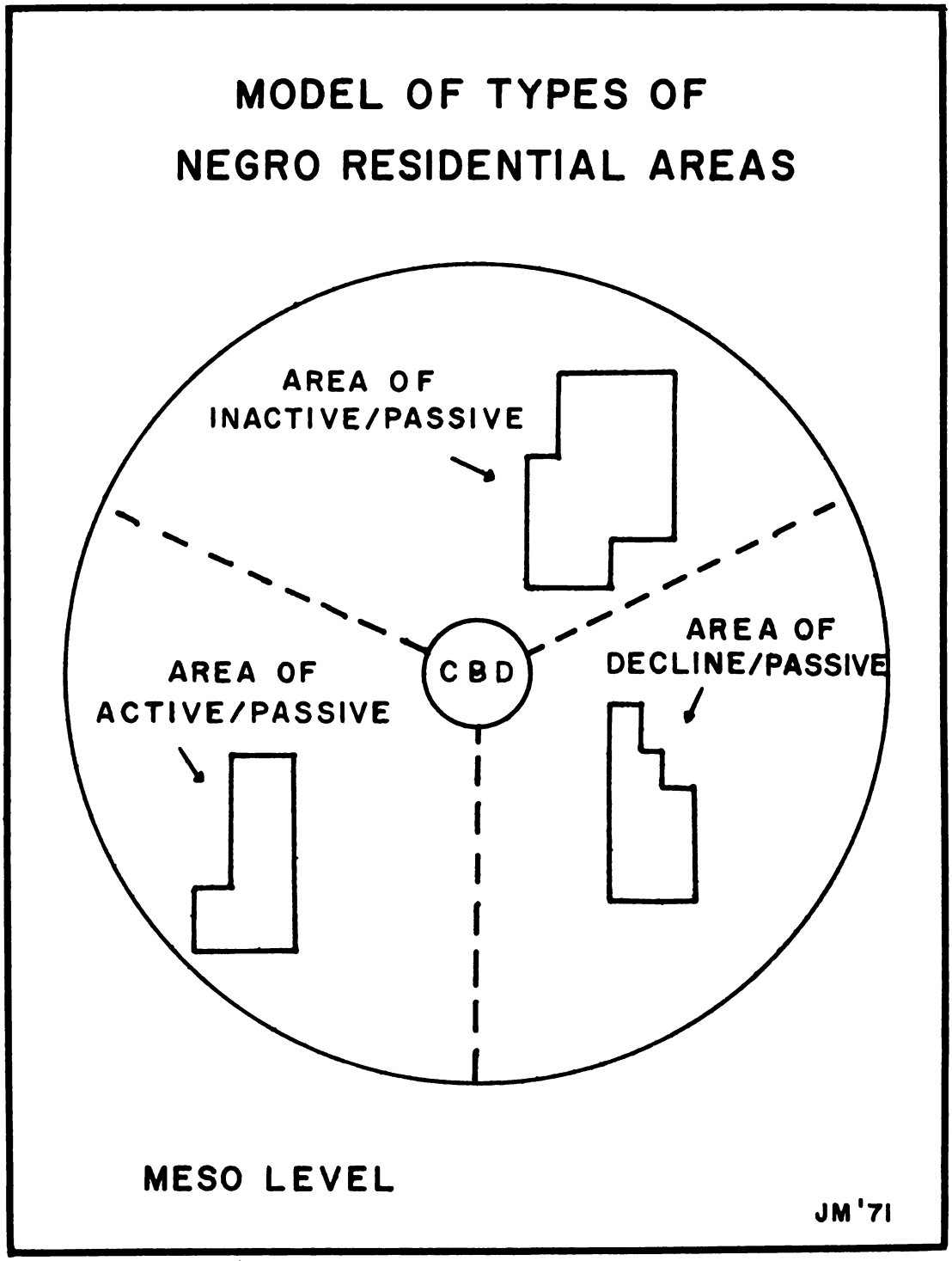
MODEL OF TYPES OF
NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS
AREA OF
INACTIVE/PASSIVE
AREA OF
ACTIVE/PASSIVE
CBD
AREA OF
DECLINE/PASSIVE
MESO LEVEL
JM '71

Figure 38

being Established Negro, but in this sector a certain number of blocks show Consolidation in the forms of "succession", "invasion", and "growing". And more blocks fall into this category than in Consolidation: "declining" or in Displacement. This type of neighborhood is referred to here as being Active/Passive.[10] It could be an old or mature neighborhood in the time sense, but is youthful in the growth and space expansion sense. In addition to the above criteria, it is usually distinguished by the following variables:

> 1) usually is an established Negro area of fairly large areal extent and in the total number of residences; 2) vacant land may be available for expansion; 3) barriers bordering the area may not be as clearly defined as in the inactive area; 4) usually it is not too close to the CBD, and may have its own neighborhood commercial area; 5) density of blacks per block may tend to be a little lower; 6) residential mixing of blocks may be evident, several blocks may be less than 80 per cent black and Consolidation is more prevalent over "decline" or Displacement; 7) often it is the best class neighborhood containing many "ordinary" and "better" quality houses; 8) may be more than one active area within the city, and and an active area may also contain some blocks defined as being inactive, and a few blocks may even be declining.

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[10] Although no precise formula is proposed here, one could devise a formula to fit one's own needs. For example, to be classified as an area of Active/Passive, the majority (51 per cent or more) of its blocks must be classified as established, and at least 10 per cent of its blocks must be categorized as Consolidated: "succession", "invasion", or "growing" and there must be twice as many blocks in this category as opposed to Consolidation: "declining" or Displacement.

The final type of Negro neighborhood can be categorized as the area of Decline/Passive. This neighborhood has Established Negro blocks too, but a larger percentage of its blocks fall into the category of Stable or Consolidation: "decline", or Displacement: "pure", "growing", "declining", than it has blocks falling into the categories of Consolidation: "succession", "invasion", and "growing". This area may be declining due to the fact that new residential apartments are being built or white residences are taking over, or land is being rejuvenated for conversion to industry, commercial establishments, and etc. Or its just in a stage of stability, or decline. It could eventually cease to exist upon the cultural landscape. This area is categorized by the following variables:

> 1) usually is an established Negro area but may not be large in areal extent or number of residences; 2) bordering barriers are usually quite evident; 3) may or may not be close to the CBD; 4) density of blacks per block is usually not high; 5) may or may not have residential mixing, but many blocks will probably be 80 per cent or more black; 6) the area is usually a low-middle or low class neighborhood, it may be a blighted area, the quality of houses is usually "low" with some "ordinary"; 7) may have other types of land uses encroaching upon the area (i.e. industrial, commercial, apartments, new highways, or it may be slated as an area to be cleared); 8) may be more than one declining area within the city, and this area may also have some block areas classified as inactive or active.

Generalized Scheme of Negro Residential Areas

At the macro level, one is interested in seeing the "Meso Level" Negro neighborhoods in relation to the city

as a whole (Figs. 39 and 40). The various Negro core areas are usually clearly defined upon the landscape and are usually bordered by various types of morphological, arbitrary and behavioral barriers.

In both models (Figs. 39 and 40) the CBD is usually situated close to the railroad extending through the city or is adjacent to the river front. Warehouses and other commercial functions are often located along side the tracks. A major Negro residential area (Inactive/Passive) is generally situated close to the CBD and the railroad tracks or possibly a creek. Usually it is an old neighborhood, densely settled and one of the inactive areas will probably contain the "Negro Main Street". Expansion of the area is often limited but slight growth may still be taking place in population number and in areal extent. But the area is most often clearly delimited and contained by the land use that surrounds it such as older high quality and low quality residences, schools and churches, warehouses, heavy and light industry, a commercial ribbon development, the CBD, and morphological barriers.

The Negro neighborhood area of Active/Passive is usually surrounded by lower middle, middle class white residences, but certain white residences may be within the price range of blacks and some residential "succession" or possibly limited "invasion" is feasible. This is usually the best Negro residential area, and status

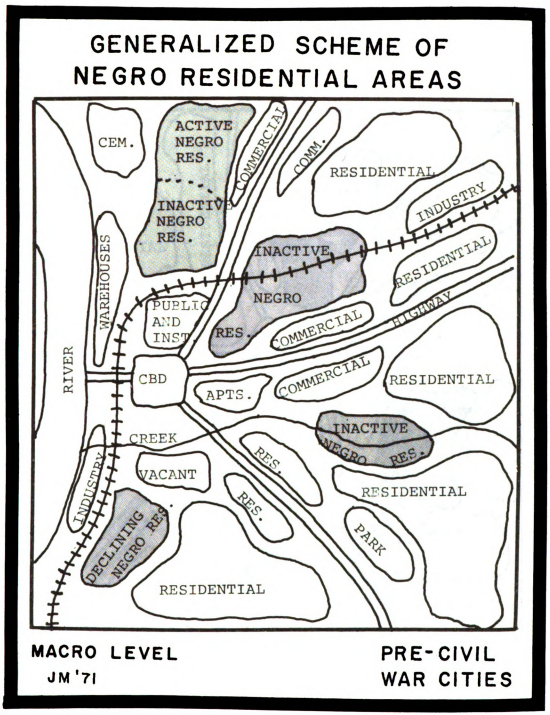
GENERALIZED SCHEME OF
NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS
CEM.
ACTIVE NEGRO RES.
INACTIVE NEGRO RES.
COMMERCIAL
COMM.
RESIDENTIAL
INDUSTRY
WAREHOUSES
INACTIVE NEGRO
RESIDENTIAL
PUBLIC AND INST.
RES.
COMMERCIAL
HIGHWAY
RIVER
CBD
APTS.
COMMERCIAL
RESIDENTIAL
INACTIVE NEGRO RES.
CREEK
INDUSTRY
VACANT
RES.
RESIDENTIAL
RES.
DECLINING NEGRO RES.
PARK
RESIDENTIAL
MACRO LEVEL
JM '71
PRE-CIVIL WAR CITIES

Figure 39

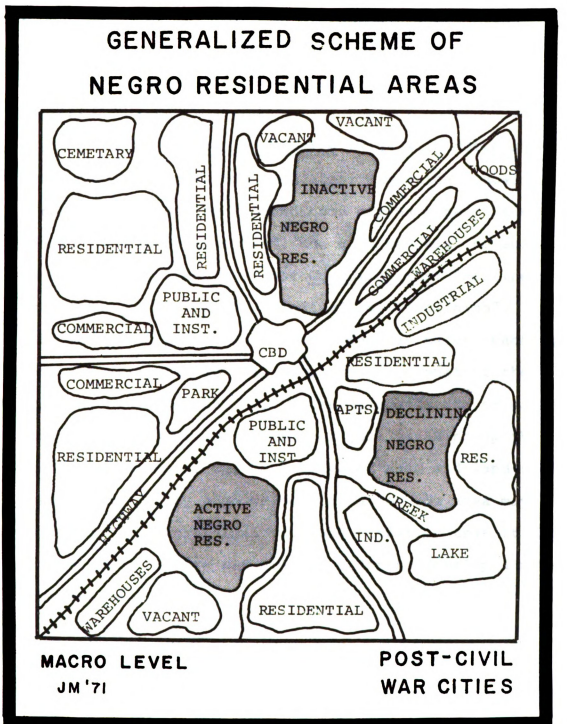
GENERALIZED SCHEME OF
NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS
CEMETARY
RESIDENTIAL
VACANT
VACANT
RESIDENTIAL
INACTIVE
NEGRO
RES.
COMMERCIAL
WOODS
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
WAREHOUSES
PUBLIC
AND
INST.
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL
CBD
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
PARK
APTS.
DECLINING
NEGRO
RES.
RES.
PUBLIC
AND
INST
RESIDENTIAL
CREEK
ACTIVE
NEGRO
RES.
IND.
LAKE
WAREHOUSES
VACANT
RESIDENTIAL
MACRO LEVEL
JM'71
POST-CIVIL
WAR CITIES

Figure 40

climbing blacks may be attempting to move into this area. The room for expansion varies, some cities have more, some have less. Although this area may be expanding areally and in population, there is probably an outer limit as to how far it can expand before it hits some barriers.[11]

The area of Decline/Passive is usually quite stable with regard to population and areal expansion. However, certain blocks of the neighborhood may have passive expansion. On the other hand, the area may also be susceptible to decline -- either Consolidation: "decline" or Displacement: "pure", "growing", or "declining". In this instance, planners or councilmen may be encroaching upon the area with an idea of either rejuvenating the area (by building schools, industry, apartments or parks) and placing Negroes elsewhere, or just cleaning up the area. Sometimes it can be a blighted area and land use surrounding it may also be declining, or the area may be in such a geographical site and situation that it lies in the way of future planning in order to develop a more progressive city.[12]

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[11] Often Negro residential areas extend from the central part of the city to the city limits, sometimes this is not always the case in some Northern cities.

[12] Stimulation for the creation of Figures 39 and 40 originated from Donald W. Griffin and Richard E. Preston, "A Restatement of the 'Transition Zone' Concept," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 56, (June, 1966), pp. 339-350.

Mississippi Models Compared To Other Models

If one relates the findings and conclusions drawn in this chapter to some of the relevant literature on similar topics some interesting comparisons can be made. The first model (Figs. 36 and 37) of a "Typical Scheme of a Negro Residential Area" was independently derived from that of Harold M. Rose where he differentiated the Northern Example of black residential structure from the Southern Example[13] (Fig. 41). This writer's Post-Civil War model closely resembles Rose's Southern Example, but the Pre-Civil War model correlates to Rose's Northern Example. Rose says that "Frequently a physical barrier will separate black from white areas in Southern communities, thereby eliminating the zone of transition which is commonplace in non-Southern cities."[14] Thus the argument might be made that the Pre-Civil War cities do have a transition zone, however, the transition zone may have morphological, arbitrary, and behavioral barriers within it. Also, the transition zone is not viewed in this instance as an area of blacks invading white blocks or whites displacing blacks. It more closely resembles an area of racially mixed residences. So in some respects

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[13] Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto as a Territorial Entity, Special Publication No. 3, Department of Geography, (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1969), p. 47. It also reappears in his paperback The Black Ghetto:, p. 9.

[14] Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective, McGraw-Hill Problems Series in Geography, (Englewood Cliffs: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 9.

the Pre-Civil War cities resemble northern cities in that they have transition zones (although of a different nature), but certainly black residences are more scattered over the city than is the case with northern cities. Recently, however, as the case example of Natchez indicates, black residences are tending to cluster together more and are not as scattered spatially as previously. In contrast, Post-Civil War cities resemble northern cities in that blacks are less spatially scattered and are more confined to specific blocks, but a strong transition zone of racial mixing and/or invasion is lacking.

Regional variations in the intensity of black ghetto occupancy on a block basis. (Source: Harold M. Rose, "The Black Ghetto as a Territorial Entity," Special Publication No. 3, Department of Geography, Northwestern University, 1969, p. 47)

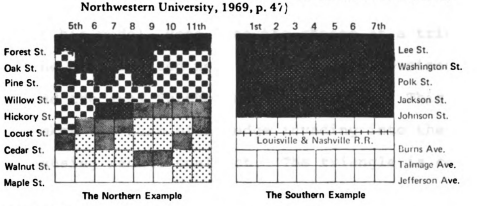

Figure 41

Source: Rose, The Black Ghetto, p. 9.

The author feels that Rose has over-generalized the pattern for Southern cities, and that a distinction must be made between the Pre-Civil War and Post-Civil War cities, or those cities belonging to the "Upper" and "Lower" South as defined in Chapter I. The results of this dissertation, together with findings by other researchers cited previously, such as Taeuber and Taeuber, and Schnore and Evenson, suggest that all black residential patterns in the South are not the same. And some patterns are contrary to the Southern model described by Rose. Therefore, one must acknowledge residential differences within the South, as well as differences between the North and South.

With regard to model two (Fig. 38), "Types of Negro Residential Areas" (Inactive/Passive, Active/Passive, Decline/Passive), it shows some resemblance to Rose's "Spatial Class Structure of the Black Ghetto" (Fig. 42). In his model, Rose sees the ghetto as a triangle with the base located next to the central business district and the apex further out in the city. This triangle takes the form of a wedge invading into the city often causing racial conflict. The triangle is composed of a lower-class neighborhood close to the CBD, followed by the working-class, and middle-class neighborhoods. Southern cities, both Pre-Civil War and Post-Civil War certainly have the different levels of class neighborhoods, but they are not always contiguous to each other as depicted

in Rose's model. Also, southern black residential areas frequently extend to the city limits. And since territory was often allocated for the purpose of future black residential development, very little clash between whites and blacks occur when black residential territorial space expands. This is a crucial difference between the spatial structure of black and white residences in northern and southern cities. This difference (future vacant black territory, and extension to city limits) is also visible in the author's models (Fig. 39 and 40).

A hypothetical model of the spatial class structure of the black ghetto.

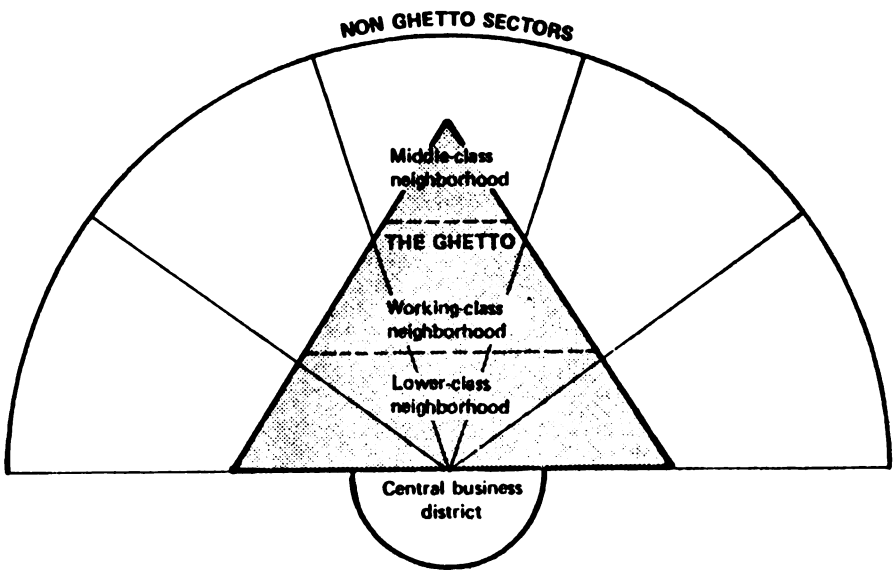

Figure 42

Source: Rose, The Black Ghetto, p. 110.

In short, the models discussed in this chapter were intended to aid in the interpretation of the empirical evidence elaborated on in Chapters III and IV. They were also designed to show intra-Mississippi and intra-South differences, as well as North and South differences.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

That cultural geographers have traditionally slighted the study of minority residential areas is understandable but not excuseable. That geography as a discipline has neglected black studies in the past is now being corrected. Geographers have studied the black with regard to slavery and the plantation, the rural black, distribution of black population, migration patterns, and urban studies stressing the ghetto, residential change, and social problems. Much of the geographical research on the ghetto and residential change has been on cities in the North and West. The most popular approach to the study of residential change has been through the use of diffusion and behavioral models. Little has been done by geographers on black residential change using block data in cities in the South, especially on intra-South differences, except in a very superficial way. This research attempted to fill a geographical area gap, Mississippi, but it attempted to contribute to the expanding knowledge about black residential change from a cultural (behavioral)-historical perspective which has been rather neglected in the geographical literature.

Before delving into black residential change in urban centers in Mississippi some attention was focused on the historical development of blacks in this country in attempt to understand the spatial distribution, spatial movement, and spatial interaction of blacks. And until the appearance of a recent article by Morrill and Donaldson in Economic Geography this topic had been largely neglected by geographers. This chapter (II) gave the research that followed some connectivity to the total black landscape. Differences between the northern and southern black residential patterns were discussed, as well as the impact of historical processes on residential patterns.

Of particular interest in this study is why have blacks traditionally been separated residentially from whites in the North, West, and South; and why have they sometimes lived in specific core areas and sometimes been spatially scattered throughout a city? Current research indicates that because of white behavior, blacks have tended to congregate together forming ghetto territories within large cities. In the North and West one tends to visualize the development of a black core (ghetto) area, and as black migrants to these ghettos increased, the ghetto spread away from the center of the city creating conflict as it wedged out. Blacks had little or no residential freedom of choice, and thus were confined to a core area. In the South, blacks and whites tended to

migrate to the city together, thus, the black was not superimposed upon a pre-existing pattern of urban residential differentiation as was the case in the North and West. In the Pre-Civil War cities in the South, blacks tended to locate near their place of employment. If they were domestic slaves they located close to the white employer's home, and the residential pattern that resulted has been referred to as "backyard". In the Post-Civil War cities many black migrants who came to work were employed in the service industries or different types of industrial jobs. In this instance, blacks often lived near the different industries that employed them, thus several black core areas developed within the city. Land surrounding these early black residential core areas was left vacant for future black expansion. Therefore, the invasion of blacks into white blocks was not a common characteristic of Southern cities.

The problem of this study was to determine if black residences and black residential areas in cities which had a Pre-Civil War history would be less segregated, and more spatially scattered, than in those cities which originated after the Civil War. The problem was placed in a cultural-historical framework and was approached by mapping and examining the <u>patterns</u> of black residential areas, by <u>measuring</u> the degree of residential segregation, by analyzing the <u>processes</u> involved in the creation of black residential areas, and by <u>classifying</u> racial change by

blocks as they changed through time. The degree of residential segregation was determined by the formula: $S = \frac{B + W}{T}$ explained in Chapter I. The classification scheme, utilized to measure racial change by blocks, was adapted from Taeuber and Taeuber. It was realized that the residential distribution patterns of blacks in cities in Mississippi were not all the same, although similarities would be evident.

The origin date of each city, and its historical experience, were chosen as the key variables. By using history it was found that in the evolution of each city, each experienced various social, economic and political processes which were tied to certain periods of time. Some examples were: slavery, abolition of slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crowism, and the civil rights movement. However, not all cities in Mississippi experienced these processes. The problem was them to single out those cities which had a common heritage and compare the cities on this basis. The obvious starting point was the Civil War. Those cities which originated before the Civil War had a common historical experience which was different from those cities which were basically founded and developed after the Civil War. It was also important to differentiate between those cities located in the "Lower South" and "Upper South" cultural regions within Mississippi.

With regard to a hypothesis, the author proceeded on the supposition that those cities originating before

the Civil War, where blacks and whites often worked close together, would be less racially segregated and black residences more spatially scattered than in those cities originating after the Civil War where the relationship between the races might not have been as close. Natchez was used as the pilot study to express the residential structure of the Pre-Civil War cities such as Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville. On the other hand, Hattiesburg was used as the pilot study to exemplify Post-Civil War cities, which also included Laurel and Meridian.

Numerous findings and conclusions were drawn from the tabular and map data presented in previous chapters of this dissertation. For example, in Natchez, the major black residential areas in 1912, as well as 1950 and 1970 were St. Catherine and North Pine. Three minor areas existed, these were South Wall-South Canal, North Canal-North Wall, and Homochitto. However, blacks were more spatially scattered throughout Natchez than were the Negro residences in Hattiesburg.

In 1950, North Pine had a total of 1,045 black residences and St. Catherine had 672. The major change that occurred between 1912 and 1950 was an increase in the number of black residences in North Pine, which nearly doubled, while St. Catherine only increased from 477 to 672. The minor areas appeared to remain rather stable in number and areal extent.

In classifying residential change between 1912 and

1950, 72 blocks were Established Negro blocks, 60 blocks were classified as Displacement, 33 were Consolidated, and 7 remained Stable.

A scattergram depicting the degree of residential segregation showed that out of a total of 389 blocks in the city, 13 per cent of the blocks were all black, 27 per cent were racially mixed, and 60 per cent were all white. Thus only 73 per cent of the blocks were segregated--a much lower figure than the 91 per cent derived for Hattiesburg.

With regard to Hattiesburg, the same procedures that were applied to Natchez were also followed in Hattiesburg. The black residential areas in Hattiesburg were located in three major areas together with some minor sections. These three major areas remained basically the same for 1921, 1950, and 1970, the years chosen for the study. These major areas were subsequently named Mobile, Tipton-Currie, and Dabbs-Royal. In 1950, Mobile was the major residential area and it contained 1,079 black residences in 77 blocks. The second largest area was Dabbs-Royal with 694 black residences in 63 blocks. And finally, the Tipton-Currie area had 452 black residences in 47 blocks.

An attempt was made to show the residential changes in space between 1921 and 1950. The conclusion drawn was that the black residences expanded in number, but expanded in space only where there was vacant land to move into.

Thus there was no actual 'invasion' of blacks into previously all white blocks. In classifying residential change between 1921 and 1950 the statistics showed that 171 blocks remained Established black blocks, one block was Stable, 25 blocks were categorized as Displacement, and 25 blocks were Consolidated.

The other notable feature about the Negro residential areas in Hattiesburg was that few whites were located in black blocks and vice versa. The research findings showed that 21 per cent of the blocks in the whole city were all black and 60 per cent were all white, leaving only 9 per cent of the blocks racially mixed. Therefore, 91 per cent of the blocks in the city of Hattiesburg were either all black or all white.

With regard to the other cities studied, the total number of black residences, the total number of black blocks, the number of black residences per block, the average number of blacks per block, and the per cent of the black residential blocks which contained white residences and vice versa, were the major means of measurement. The assumption was that the Post-Civil War cities of Laurel and Meridian would have a higher average of blacks per block, and they would also have fewer black blocks containing white residences than the Pre-Civil War cities of Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville. Hopefully, the patterns derived from these cities would give supporting evidence to the pilot study cities as well as strengthen the hypothesis of this dissertation.

The results of the research indicated that Laurel and Meridian did have the lowest per cent of black blocks containing white residences--28 and 39 per cent respectively. Whereas Vicksburg, Columbus, and Greenville had totals of 51, 48, and 56 per cent accordingly. These figures were an indicator of the amount of racial mixture within the residential blocks. The average number of black residences per block was also higher in the Post-Civil War cities, however, this was not the case with Greenville because of the fact that Greenville had such a high number of black residences within the city. The spatial pattern of the black residences was also more concentrated in the Post-Civil War cities.

Consequently, the major problem was successfully solved, the hypothesis was proven, and the assumptions set forth by Frazier in the introductory chapter were accepted. Of course it should be noted that Frazier stated that these patterns were not evident in smaller cities in the South. However, this study has shown that these patterns do exist in smaller cities (25,000 to 50,000) in Mississippi.

After examining the black residential areas of the seven cities used in this study, it became evident that a definite pattern was visible, not only in the structure and function of the cities, but also in the organization of the black residential areas. Therefore, certain models were devised to show these patterns. The first model de-

picted a single black residential area and inserted such variables as white residences, railroads, creeks, commercial establishments, industrial areas, and vacant land. An attempt was made to show how these variables were or were not used as barriers to black residential expansion, depending on whether it was a Pre-Civil War or Post-Civil War city. The conclusion drawn was that some of these variables formed rather rigid boundaries between white and black residential areas. The general tendency was for railroads and creeks, particularly in the Post-Civil War cities, to form a more distinctive barrier between white and black residential areas than was the case with the Pre-Civil War cities.

The second model attempted to classify the black residential areas with regard to numerical growth and areal expansion. Three categories were devised: Active/Passive, Inactive/Passive, and Declining/Passive. Practically all of the cities studied had Negro residential areas within them which fell into the categories listed above.

The third model tried to show where the black areas were located with respect to the total city structure. In almost all cases, one Negro residential area was located relatively close to the central business district, and the others tended to form distinctive neighborhoods a little further away from the downtown area. Although similarities existed between Pre- and Post-Civil War cities, this model

attempted to incorporate the types of residential barriers which were included in the first model. Therefore, railroads, creeks, and other types of barriers are clearly shown. It is obvious that railroads are a much stronger type of barrier in Post-Civil War than in Pre-Civil War cities.

Certain conclusions and contributions made by this study are worthy of note. First, this micro cultural-historical study of intra-South differences, using block data will hopefully fill a research gap that exists in the field of geography. Second, the spatial pattern of black residences in Pre- and Post-Civil War cities are different from each other. Third, Pre-Civil War cities are less segregated and black residences more spatially scattered than in Post-Civil War cities. Fourth, white "displacement" of black residences, rather than black "invasion" of white residences, is a characteristic of Southern cities--particularly in Mississippi. Fifth, different types of residential barriers to areal expansion are evident, but railroads and creeks are more divisive in Post than in Pre-Civil War cities. Sixth, most of the cities studied were jointly settled by blacks and whites. Seventh, usually land was set aside for further black residential expansion, however, as these areas filled up, new adjacent areas were often allocated. This often prevented Negro "invasion" in all white areas. Eighth, black areas in the South generally started from,

and presently contain, multiple core centers rather than one ghetto core characteristic of many Northern and Western cities. Ninth, the historical time period, and the present survival of selected cultural traits of that period into the present, is the most critical factor in analyzing the cause and effect of the different types of black residential patterns. Tenth, in addition to the historical time period as an explanatory factor, are the concepts of: the original site and situation, the early economic function of the city, and the sum total of social and political processes associated with an historical era.

In closing, it is apparent that the residential structure of these cities is becoming more segregated, despite the fact that integration in schools and universities, in other public institutions, in the patronizing of commercial establishments, and in job opportunities is at a quickening pace. Residential integration is lagging, particularly in apartment houses, and in the suburban areas. Until more industry and outside culture contact from other areas in the United States comes into these cities, and the economic power of the black is strengthened, and more social change becomes evident, little progress will take place.

APPENDIX A

A few comments are necessary with regard to how the researcher used the Polk City Directories. Until approximately 1954, the Directory differentiated white residences from black residences. However, this was not true for Columbus and Meridian, thus earlier dates were used. Despite the above drawbacks, the Directory proved to be the best source for identifying white and black residences by block for these small cities chosen for study.

Numbering of Residences -- In plotting residences located along a street, all even numbered residences were placed on the left side of the street in the block and odd numbered residences on the right side. In a few instances the residences were randomly numbered. The above rule was still adhered to, however, in some instances because of a creek, or a railraod track, or some other type of barrier on one side of a block, odd and even numbered residences were then placed on the same side of the street.

In those cases where half numbers were used, if it was evident that this was indicative of a separate residence, it was counted.

Houses Under Construction -- Houses under construction were not counted.

Businesses -- Black or white businesses were not counted. However, in some cases it was evident that a black or white resident was located at the rear of a business. When this occurred it was counted as a residence.

Vacancy -- If vacant residences were located in an all black or all white residential area they were counted. If vacant residences were located in a mixed residential area, and could not be properly identified, they were not counted.

Apartments -- There was practically no evidence of residential mixing within apartment buildings. When an apartment building was encountered it was counted as one residence, either black or white.

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