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Reviewed work(s):

Source: *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (Oct., 1947), pp. 519-525

Published by: [American Sociological Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2086733>

Accessed: 06/02/2012 10:40

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respects whether we studied under, or have otherwise been affiliated with, MacIver, Park, Chapin, Ogburn, Lundberg, Young, Blumer, Reuter, or any one or more of dozens of other scholars. Unless we appreciate this fact we stand little chance of lifting the discussion of methodology and research procedures from the sentimental to the critical level. In the meantime, sociology will continue to

be split into sects and factions that may ultimately harden into denominations and parties, the production of our researches will continue to be a heterogeneous mass of discrete inferences scarcely susceptible of systemization, and the ratio of research effort to useful results will continue to be exceedingly high in both the theoretical and the practical realms.

## THE NEGRO IN MADISON, WISCONSIN\*<sup>1</sup>

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK AND RICHARD A. HORNSETH

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SINCE 1890 Madison, Wisconsin has shown a striking sameness in the ratio of Negro to total population, which has always been less than one per cent. The rate of growth of the Negro population has fluctuated less in Madison than in any of the other five Wisconsin cities which in 1940 had a total population of over 10,000 and a Negro population of over 100. This very low and stable ratio of Negroes in Madison seems to be related to differences in employment opportunities, the other five cities referred to being much more industrial than Madison. Industrial areas are more sensitive to economic conditions, and policies of employing Negroes in industry change rapidly.

Whatever the causes, the few Negroes and the stable ratio of Negroes to Whites in Madison over a long period are generally considered important assets in race relations. It means that for over half a century Madison has not been subjected to large influxes of Negroes and uncomfortable changes in race composition. By contrast, in Beloit, Wisconsin, Negroes increased nine-fold in the decade 1910 to 1920, and relations deteriorated rapidly there. Today, Beloit

is regarded by Negroes as a strictly "Jim Crow" town, whereas Madison has the reputation of being the most congenial of Wisconsin cities. These characteristics cannot be attributed solely to differences in the Negro ratio, but the small proportion of Negroes and its constancy apparently provide a setting in which the less violent forms of race adjustment are more likely to flourish. For these reasons, and because Madison is a Northern city and the seat of a great liberal state university, one would expect this city to furnish an example of unusually favorable long-term racial adjustments.

Even though Madison is more congenial to Negroes than are other cities of Wisconsin, it appears at once that there are limits to the congeniality there also. The first negative hints are found in the data on Negro births, deaths, migration, and transiency. For the decades 1920, 1930 and 1940, the crude rates of increase (crude birth rate minus crude death rate) were -8.9, -1.2, and 0.0 per 1,000 respectively for the Madison Negro, compared with 10.4, 9.8, and 10.3 for the Madison White. These unusual indices are not the result of a low fertility of Negroes, since the ratios of children under 5 per 1,000 females age 15 to 49 for the same years were 216, 360, and 253 respectively for the Madison Negro, and 289, 271, and 206 for the Madison White. Furthermore, the low rate of natural

\* Manuscript received July 20, 1947.

<sup>1</sup> This study was supported in part by the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin from special funds voted by the State Legislature.

increase of Madison Negroes cannot be attributed to an unusual age distribution. It appears rather that the unusual vital rates are due to the extreme transiency of the Madison Negro. Table 1 indicates more directly the extent of transiency. Whereas net in-migration of Whites constituted 66 per cent of the growth of the Madison White population between 1910-1939, net in-migration of Negroes constituted 111 per cent of the growth of the Madison Negro popu-

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF MADISON NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION GROWTH BETWEEN 1910 AND 1940

Race and Decade	Natural <sup>1</sup> In-crease	Popu-lation <sup>2</sup> Growth	Esti-mated <sup>3</sup> Migrants	Migrants as Per Cent of Population Growth
<i>Negro</i>				
1910-19	- 7	116	123	106
1920-29	-14	89	103	116
1930-39	- 3	17	20	118
Total		222	246	111
<i>White</i>				
1910-19	3,535	12,765	9,230	72
1920-29	5,298	19,421	14,123	73
1930-39	5,358	9,561	4,203	44
Total		41,747	27,556	66

<sup>1</sup> Resident births minus resident deaths for the decade.

<sup>2</sup> Population at one Census minus population at preceding Census.

<sup>3</sup> Population growth minus natural increase.

lation for the same period. We have already stated that the Madison Negro population did not differ greatly from the White population in the rate of growth, fertility and age composition, hence the large percentage of in-migrants implies transiency, and transiency depresses the birth rate and inflates the death rate. We found further corroboration in our interviews. For example Mrs. B—, age 60, has lived in Madison longer than any other Negro, and she came in 1905. Thus, the longest that any Negro now alive has lived in Madison is 40 years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Only 36 of the 75 children ever born to Madison Negro females were born in Madison.

This transiency is reflected in other indices as well. Between 1937-1940 there were 3,502 White marriages and one Negro marriage in Madison, a ratio of Negro to White marriages of .0029, whereas the population ratio of Negro to White in Madison is .0054. Transiency is usually associated with indices of disorganization. Compared with Whites, Madison Negroes have twice the proportion of widowed, divorced or separated. For Dane county in the years 1937 to 1940 there were 231 White and 3 Negro illegitimate births, a ratio of Negro to White of .0130, whereas the ratio of Negro births to White births is .0026 for the same period. The arrest rate for drunkenness and disorderly conduct per 1,000 males per year for the period 1939-1944 is 93 for Negro and 39 for White.

Why has the Madison Negro population been so transient? Negroes themselves claim that inadequate housing and lack of jobs are the reasons, but transiency may, of course, be as much a cause as a result of inadequate housing and jobs. It can, however, be shown that housing and jobs available to Negroes in Madison continue to be very inferior to those available to Whites. Eighty per cent of the Negro families live in blocks where the average rent is under \$30, whereas only 18 per cent of the Whites live in such blocks. This is in part the result of compulsory Negro segregation, since there are restrictive racial zoning covenants in Madison. In the 1940 Census the median gross rent was found to be \$42.80 for Whites and \$31.50 for Negroes.

Occupational data reveal even greater differences. The percentage of employed males age 14 and over engaged as operatives or in domestic service is 51 for Negro males and 9 for White males, while for females the percentages are 83 for Negro and 19 for White. An unpublished study by Miss A. Ujvary in 1943 of employment policies of the large firms in Madison revealed that department stores and utilities then hired Negroes only as porters and maids; foundries and heavy industries did not hire Negroes at all; and only two light industries plus a packing house and a railroad hired Negroes as regular laborers in any numbers. This

survey did not show much change from a similar survey made in 1927<sup>3</sup> which found that 9 out of 42 firms openly refused to employ Negroes and only 2 actually employed Negroes. Thus the possibility of Madison Negroes being employed in industry or trade has been severely limited. One reason is a matter of employment policy. Some firms have claimed that their workers would not like Negroes as co-workers, others that Negroes never apply for jobs. The fundamental reason, however, seems to be that the amount of Madison industry is so small that the recruitment of colored or outside labor is rarely necessary.<sup>4</sup> It is understandable that Madison firms should have a preference for White and local labor as long as it can be obtained.

It seems likely that the economic restrictions and limitations under which Negroes in Madison have existed will continue much as before. It is therefore pertinent to inquire into the adaptation of the Negro to these conditions, and the possibilities of a gradual improvement with time, persistence, and change of the Negro character and the White mores.

According to the Census there existed in 1940 a considerable difference in employment status between Madison Nonwhite (predominantly Negro) and White, there being an excess of Negro males on "public emergency work," and of Negro females "seeking work." It appears that as late as 1940 relatively more Negroes were suffering from unemployment than Whites. By 1943 all Negroes were employed, but Negro males were still disproportionately concentrated in the Domestic and Service occupations, and Negro females in the Domestic category. Even the War did not widen the occupational distribution of Negroes, at least up to 1943. (Table 2).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Kroner and Scandrett, *Industrial Survey of Madison*, unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1927, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Many Madison firms employed Negroes for the first time during the last war. However, it was merely a temporary measure. The Madison Negro gained little.

<sup>5</sup> In this study we employ the 10 per cent level of significance for Chi Square as a more satis-

factory indicator for our purposes. Strictly speaking, the use of Chi Square under our conditions is not above reproach, but we regard it as sufficiently valid and a useful safeguard. A significant Chi Square is denoted by an asterisk, \*.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF MADISON NEGROES IN 1943<sup>1</sup> COMPARED WITH OCCUPATION EXPECTED ON THE BASIS OF OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF MADISON WHITES, 1940,<sup>2</sup> BY SEX

Sex and Occupation	Negro	Expected	Difference	$\chi^2$
<i>Male</i>				
Professional	9	13.1	- 4.1	1.28
Proprietors	3	12.3	- 9.3	7.02
Clerical	5	19.2	-14.2	10.50
Craftsmen	9	15.8	- 6.8	2.92
Operatives	11	12.2	- 1.2	.12
Domestic & Service	44	8.1	35.9	159.00
Labor	5	5.3	- .3	.02
Totals	86	86.0		180.86*
<i>Female</i>				
Professional & Proprietors	4	13.6	- 9.6	6.77
Clerical	0	27.1	-27.1	27.10
Craftsmen, Labor & Operatives	12	5.4	6.6	8.05
Domestic	43	8.0	35.0	153.00
Service	6	10.9	- 4.9	2.20
Totals	65	65.0		197.12*

<sup>1</sup> From our survey of the Madison Negro.

<sup>2</sup> U. S. Census 1940, *Population II*, Wisconsin, Table 33.

his lag in education appears to be merely a consequence of the recent large in-migration of Negroes from areas where education is low for Negro and White alike.<sup>7</sup>

factory indicator for our purposes. Strictly speaking, the use of Chi Square under our conditions is not above reproach, but we regard it as sufficiently valid and a useful safeguard. A significant Chi Square is denoted by an asterisk, \*.

<sup>6</sup> Real differences are differences too great to be attributed to chance.

<sup>7</sup> The relationship between years lived in Madison and region of birth (North, South) yields a significant Chi Square, showing that the larger proportion of recent Negro arrivals in Madison were born in the South.

There is little or no association between education and personal welfare among Madison Negroes, on the basis of the evidence provided by our survey. In Table 4 we see that educational level has had no demon-

TABLE 3. EDUCATION AND EXPECTED<sup>1</sup> EDUCATION OF THE 1943 NEGRO POPULATION 20 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY SEX

Sex and Grade	Negro	Expected	Difference	$\chi^2$
<i>Male</i>				
Under 8	26	10.6	15.4	22.32
8	15	24.3	- 9.3	3.57
9-11	20	13.0	7.0	3.77
12	24	22.3	1.7	.13
13-15	9	14.7	- 5.7	2.19
16 and over	9	18.1	- 9.1	6.56
Totals	103	103.0		36.54*
<i>Female</i>				
Under 8	16	9.5	6.5	4.37
8	21	25.1	- 4.1	.67
9-11	29	13.2	15.8	18.95
12	34	33.2	.8	.02
13-15	6	16.8	-10.8	6.93
16 and over	5	13.2	- 8.2	5.05
Totals	111	111.0		35.99*

<sup>1</sup> Expected on basis of 1940 total Madison population age 20 and over from Table 19, *Population IV*, Wisconsin, U. S. Census, 1940.

strable effect upon (1) whether or not a Negro has been on relief, (2) number of children ever born to Negro females over 50, (3) type of Negro occupation, or (4) level of Negro income.

Education is not unrelated to all aspects of Negro life, however. We do get a significant association between the level of education and an index of cultural activity.<sup>8</sup> We also find a tendency for the better educated Negroes to be home owners, to vote, to have more contact with Whites, and to complain of difficulties in renting or buying property. Education apparently does not lead

<sup>8</sup> The index is simply the number of the following activities in which a Negro engages: A. Reading books B. Reading magazines C. Reading newspapers D. Listening to radio E. Attending movies F. Attending musical performances G. Visiting art exhibits.

to more complaints of economic and social discrimination.

Negro males who have lived in Madison more than half of their life tend to have a better education. But we already know that there has been a shift from North to South in the source of Negro migration to Madison, and that educational level is correlated with place of birth. Hence the evidence is inconclusive as to whether or not

TABLE 4. MADISON NEGRO MALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND BY WEEKLY INCOME, OCCUPATION, AND RELIEF; AND FEMALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND BY RELIEF AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN

Sex and Category	Education in Grades		$\chi^2$
	0 to 11	12 & Over	
<i>Male</i>			
Weekly income in dollars:			
15-39	36	19	
40 & over	13	10	.6
Occupation			
Domestic, Service or Labor	28	18	
Other	22	12	.1
Ever on Relief:			
Yes	11	6	
No	45	26	.1
<i>Female</i>			
Ever on Relief:			
Yes	11	3	
No	27	12	.2
Number children ever born			
None	7	2	
1 or more	18	5	.0

the educational level of Negroes has risen as a result of residence in Madison.

With regard to education, then, our data indicate that its gross effect on the welfare and status of Madison Negroes has been small, and its increase over time negligible—at least sufficiently small and negligible to require larger samples, clearer definitions and the holding constant of more factors before its true influence can be detected.

Education is not a complete measure of self-improvement, which is highly individual and difficult to define; but we have another crude measure of self-improvement in our aforementioned cultural activity index. There

is a slight tendency for females who have lived more than half of their life in Madison to participate in more cultural activities, but the interpretation is obscured by the fact that no such relation exists for the males.

We shall now further test the main hypothesis that improvement in Negro welfare is proportional to the length of residence in Madison. The next factor we shall consider is occupation. In Table 5 we see that an increase in proportion of life spent in Madison, if it does anything, accompanies a decline in the proportion of males in the better ("Other") occupations. If we omit

TABLE 5. NEGRO MALES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE LIVED IN MADISON, BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
Service & Labor	24	23
Other	24	13
	$\chi^2 = 1.6$	

males who have lived in Madison less than five years on the ground that they have not yet achieved job stability, the result is still more striking. Offhand, this result might be taken as evidence that life in Madison has a deleterious effect upon job advance for Negroes. But this need not follow. Those who have lived in Madison less than half of their life are somewhat younger, and more likely to be newcomers. However, the important point is that no clear trend is indicated. Thus, we have not proved that the proportion of life spent in Madison is associated with advance or decline in type of job. This conclusion is corroborated by what we find for females. Length of residence in Madison does not decrease the proportion of Negro women who find it necessary or profitable to work. When we inspect income of males, we find a similar result. (Table 6). Income does not increase with length of residence in Madison. In the case of home ownership we find a positive correlation between length of residence and

ownership, but it should be kept in mind that those who have lived in Madison less than half their life are by definition transient and hence not likely to own homes. This correlation may really show merely that home ownership is related to permanence of residence and not necessarily to residence in Madison.

When we consider the more voluntary types of behavior, we expect to find evidence bearing more directly upon the influence of residence in Madison—because, theoretically, voluntary behavior, such as voting, opinion regarding treatment, and contact with Whites, arises more directly from the present

TABLE 6. NEGRO MALES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE LIVED IN MADISON, BY WEEKLY INCOME (INCLUDING MAINTENANCE)

Weekly Income	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
Under \$30	28	12
\$30 & over	26	14
	$\chi^2 = 0.1$	

situation and is probably less entangled with origins and other background differences. In Table 7 there is given the Madison Negro voting behavior in the 1940 local and national elections. For both male and female, residence in Madison apparently had no effect on the proportion voting. The test, however, is not very sensitive. The great majority claimed they did vote, and the inclusion of a national election may have obscured differences in local election behavior. But we have enough evidence in several interviews of the general apathy of Negroes in local elections to lead us to suspect that the results of Table 7 are not too far from the truth concerning the influence of residence in Madison upon voting behavior.

There seems to be, among males, a tendency for the longer resident to complain of housing difficulty or discrimination, whereas, among females, there is no such disposition. This sex difference was found in interviews also.

TABLE 7. NEGROES IN MADISON 5 YEARS OR MORE BY PROPORTION OF LIFE IN MADISON BY SEX, AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY VOTED IN THE 1940 LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Sex and Voting Behavior	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Male</i>		
Vote	33	24
Not vote	2	3
	$\chi^2=0.5$	
<i>Female</i>		
Vote	38	23
Not vote	12	8
	$\chi^2=0.0$	

More evidence that there is little real assimilation of the Negro in Madison is given in Table 8. There appears to be no increase in contact of Negroes with Whites with length of residence in Madison.

In general, then, we may conclude that length of residence in Madison is not related to change in Negro welfare and characteristics, insofar as we have succeeded in measuring them.

Contact with Whites is so crucial for assimilation, however, that we shall consider it in more detail. The term "contact with

TABLE 8. NEGROES BY PROPORTION OF LIFE IN MADISON, BY SEX AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE SOME FRIENDLY CONTACT WITH WHITES

Contact with Whites	Proportion of Life in Madison	
	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	More than $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Male</i>		
Some	22	13
None	36	15
	$\chi^2=0.5$	
<i>Female</i>		
Some	31	14
None	49	24
	$\chi^2=0.1$	

Whites" as used here includes visiting with Whites in Negro or White homes and/or membership in some mixed organization. Thirty-seven per cent of the 221 adult Negroes in the survey reported some such

contact with Whites. If only visiting is used as the criterion, the percentage drops to twenty-three. However, out of the 40 families with children, 17 (42.5 per cent) reported their children visiting with White children. This higher ratio of contact among children ordinarily is taken as a sign favorable to eventual assimilation. The visiting among children is mutual. Practically all Negro children who visit White children receive

TABLE 9. MADISON NEGROES BY AMOUNT OF CONTACT WITH WHITES, BY OCCUPATION, BY EDUCATION, BY CULTURAL ACTIVITY, BY VOTING BEHAVIOR AND BY COMPLAINT OF DISCRIMINATION FOR MALES; AND BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, BY CULTURAL ACTIVITY AND BY HOME TENURE FOR FEMALES

Sex and Category	Contact with Whites		$\chi^2$
	Some	None	
<i>Male</i>			
Occupation:			
Service & Labor	15	32	4.8*
Other	21	15	
Education:			
Grade 11 & over	20	12	8.3*
10 & under	15	38	
Culture index:			
4-7	23	11	9.0*
0-3	16	34	
Voting:			
Yes	30	38	4.2*
No	2	14	
Complaint of discrimination:			
Yes	8	3	4.1*
No	25	46	
<i>Female</i>			
Employment status:			
Housewife	28	27	4.2*
Employed	18	47	
Culture index:			
4-7	33	32	8.4*
0-3	10	36	
Home tenure:			
Own	22	20	5.0*
Rent	23	54	

visits from White children. Also, interracial contact of children is associated with interracial contact of parents. These interracial contacts of children show some class differentials. A higher ratio of contact exists among Negro children whose parents are

employed in the better occupations; and a higher ratio of contact exists in residential areas where Negroes are the least concentrated. If the tenor of our interviews is to be taken seriously, however, childhood contacts with Whites probably affect the course of Negro adult life very little. Some Negroes claim that while there is much contact between White and Negro up through high school, after high school Negroes lose their White friends. This would explain why childhood contacts with Whites do not lead to more White contacts among the long resident. The effect of childhood contacts largely disappears at adulthood.

The contact of Negro adults with Whites is not, however, as entirely fortuitous as the conclusions above may appear to imply. In

Table 9 we see that, for males, those who have some contact with Whites are more likely to have better jobs, better education, and higher cultural activity scores, and are more likely to vote. For females, those who have some contact with Whites are more likely to be housewives, to have higher cultural activity scores and to own their homes.

In summary, then, although the number of Negroes in the city of Madison is very small and their ratio to Whites has scarcely changed in 50 years, the Negro population remains highly transient because of meager economic opportunities. Relative freedom from "Jim Crowism" has not resulted in observable assimilation or progress. Length of residence in Madison shows little correlation with welfare.

## DIFFERENCES IN VIRGINIA DEATH RATES BY COLOR, SEX, AGE AND RURAL OR URBAN RESIDENCE\*

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**R**ECENT developments in the study of vital statistics have made the factors involved in rates of death a little more apparent. Certain hypotheses have been given additional support by the new evidence available, while other generally accepted ideas are coming under the shadow of doubt. The purpose of this paper is to present some findings on this "matter of life and death" for Virginia.

A death rate is a ratio of a number of deaths, occurring in a specified period, to a given population subject to the risk of such death. In practice, there are difficulties in obtaining accurate data and in defining their use. Incomplete registration of death, misstatement of age, underenumeration of population, and limitations in classification are a few of the obstinate problems encountered in the data. In definition there is difficulty in deciding how to allocate deaths to the population subject to the risk of them;

whether to relate the deaths for a stated period to the population at the beginning of the period (before the event of death) or to the number in the middle of the period; whether to make corrections in the raw data or take them as they are reported; etc. Giving a brief description of methods actually employed in this study may be the best way to clarify the definitions used and to indicate some of the limitations of the data. For the most part well established conventions have been followed.

### DESCRIPTION OF METHODS

Special tabulations by place of residence of the decedent were obtained from the Virginia Bureau of Vital Statistics for the years 1939 and 1940. These tabulations were classified by color, sex, rural or urban residence and grouped by age in five-year intervals. No correction for underregistration was used.

The figures on deaths for 1939 and 1940

\* Manuscript received June 27, 1947.