People of African Origin

This chapter deals with people from islands off the west coast of Africa and from parts of Africa south of the Sahara. Those whose origin was in North Africa have been included as Arab nationalities within chapter 9. Although all blacks who migrated to the U.S. from the West Indies were originally of African origin, most of these have been treated in terms of their specific West Indian nationalities in chapter 11.

The race data used for the map of blacks includes the major East and West African ancestries and some of the West Indian and Cape Verdean ancestries. These three ethnic groups have had different migration and settlement histories, and the West Indians constituted most of the 3 percent of blacks who were not born in the U.S. But because well over 90 percent of the American black population is descended from people originally brought here as slaves, especially in the 18th century, the map of blacks is interpreted in terms of this population, which has lived for so many generations in this country.

Beginning in 1619, with a shipload of 20 Africans arriving in the harbor of Jamestown, Virginia, laborers were brought to the American colonies. White settlers wanted workers for their tobacco, rice, and later, sugar and cotton crops, and the wealthiest of these men were able to afford to purchase slaves to do the work. For over a century and a half people in Africa were rounded up and crammed into ships bound for America. By 1790 blacks constituted over 19 percent of the U.S. population.

Although in 1808 bringing slaves into the states was made illegal, many thousands were smuggled in, but importation was slowly replaced by programs of slave breeding and trade within the South. During this time a minority of slaves escaped to the North, and some other saved money and purchased their freedom. After emancipation in 1863, conditions in the South were not greatly improved. Few blacks ever returned to Africa or emigrated elsewhere. Although there was substantial miscegenation, in the U.S. most blacks were not fully accepted in the society of whites. However, the large immigration of whites over the last century has meant that blacks made up only about 11 percent of the country's population in recent decades.

The people of Cape Verdean and East and West African ancestries had very different immigration histories. The Portuguese-speaking Cape Verdeans first came to America as sailors and workers in the early whaling industry. People who identified their ancestry as one of the major countries of East or West Africa have been much more recent immigrants and in 1980 were mostly foreign-born.

### Blacks

**1980 Summary Statistics**

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<thead>
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<th>Complete count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Ethnic Population</td>
<td>26,482,349</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Counties with Largest Black Population**

- New York City, NY: 1,784,337
- Cook (Chicago), IL: 1,346,464
- Los Angeles, CA: 943,968
- Wayne (Detroit), MI: 893,983
- Philadelphia, PA: 630,678

#### Counties with Highest Percentage of Blacks in Population**

- Macon (Tuskegee), AL: 84.16
- Jefferson (Fayette), MS: 82.00
- Hancock (Sparta), GA: 76.24
- Greene (Eutaw), AL: 76.00
- Lowndes (Ft. Deposit), AL: 74.98

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on complete count data.

** Major cities or towns may be included in parentheses.

Although just 53 percent of blacks lived in the South in 1980, a map based on percentage black in county populations accentuates the southern features of the distribution.

### Persistence of 19th-Century Patterns in the South

**General Historical Developments.** Before 1790 the major slave concentrations were around Chesapeake Bay and near the coast of South Carolina. Slaves worked especially on the tobacco plantations in Maryland and Virginia and in the rice and indigo fields around Charleston. In addition, by about 1800 many sugar plantations were being developed in southern Louisiana, especially by French Creole planters who had retreated from slave insurrections in the West Indies and transplanted their operations to this country.

However, the soils of the tobacco lands became depleted, and after about 1810 increases in cotton prices and improved means of production persuaded many tobacco and rice farmers to shift to cotton. The great territorial expansion of slavery occurred over the next half century, after the Indians had been pushed aside. Most white families could afford no slaves, and others had but one or two. But because those who had money could buy both land and slaves, areas of high proportions of blacks were areas of good cotton land and plantations.

After the Civil War, most blacks remained in the South, typically becoming sharecroppers or tenants on white-owned cotton farms, all suffering from fluctuations in production and price and, later, the ravages of the boll weevil. However, in the 1930s tenants—both black and white—were ultimately forced out of cotton farming by federal acreage restrictions and by subsidies, which went primarily to the owners of the larger and more productive farms (Flugstein 1981). By the end of the 1950s the decreased acreage and the mechanization made possible by the subsidies had eliminated the need for most blacks on farms. The exodus of blacks from the rural
South was further stimulated by growth of jobs in defense industries during World War II and the continued economic expansion in northern and western cities.

Since World War II there have been revolutionary changes in the southern economy. Cotton has been replaced by the raising of beef cattle and some specialty crops, the harvesting of pine for wood pulp, and the mass production of chickens. Many small towns and cities have grown rapidly, often because new manufacturing plants have located in the South to take advantage of cheaper labor, lower taxes, lower wage rates, and a willing and less unionized labor force.

Although southern economic growth between 1960 and 1980 has been impressive, less than a quarter of the new non-agricultural jobs have gone to blacks, and most of these have been in personal service (Wright 1986). In eastern North Carolina blacks who had been tobacco workers did apparently find jobs in new industries that had been attracted to the area by ample labor supplies (Hart and Chestnut 1978). Generally, counties with high percentages of blacks experienced a growth of low-wage industrial jobs in the 1960s, but new high-wage jobs requiring a more skilled work force tend to be located in counties with low percentages of blacks (Walker 1979).

During the 1970s the net outflow of blacks from the South was reversed (Farley and Allen 1987). In contrast to the decades since World War I, fewer blacks moved from the South to northern cities, and those migrating into the South were more than double the 1960s total. Northern-born blacks migrating to the South tended to have higher levels of education and income and experience in more prestigious jobs than southern-born blacks, suggesting that the in-migrants were qualified to hold some of the higher-level jobs that had traditionally gone to whites. The earnings of these in-migrants in 1979 were indeed slightly higher than totals reported by those who remained in either the North or the South.

Patterns of Percentage Black in County Populations. These many economic changes have resulted in only minor changes in the pattern of black proportions at the county level. The highest percentages of blacks in 1980 were in those counties within the former cotton area that have experienced relatively little recent urban and economic development. That area, between Virginia's Tidewater and East Texas, has been basic to the black experience and can be considered the hearth of traditional black American culture (Rose 1985).

There has been a small decline in the proportion of blacks to whites in rural counties, but the old pattern of relative black concentration has remained. This is primarily because there has been a net out-migration of both blacks and whites from rural counties to nearby counties with urban growth centers and to cities in the South, the North, and the West.

Since the 1960s there has been a dramatic and widespread change in the local settlement pattern of the rural blacks (Hart 1980; Alkire 1985). Until the mid-1960s blacks typically lived in dilapidated, tenant shacks dispersed on numerous back roads and paths through the woods and countryside. By the mid-1970s, however, new homes with modern conveniences, often financed by the Farmers Home Administration, had appeared in small subdivisions and along paved highways across much of the rural South. The local scale of this major residential shift means, however, that there is no evidence of it on the county-level map.

The general stability of that pattern can be demonstrated statistically in six southern states from North Carolina through Louisiana. Although there have been numerous county-level shifts in the labor supply (Hart and Chestnut 1978), additional shifts have been required either adjustment or elimination of certain counties, the percentage of blacks in county populations in 1980 is highly correlated with the percentage in 1980 (Pearson coefficient r = 0.90).

The greatest reductions in percentage black have occurred in counties where there has been greater economic growth, such as in the Piedmont counties of central Georgia and the Carolinas, where textile and other factories have helped retain local white workers and attract others. In some cases, the economic growth and decreasing proportion of blacks has been due to suburbanization, the establishment of a military base, or resort development.

Recent intercounty migrations have probably increased the black proportions in metropolitan areas of the South. Blacks have been migrating especially to southern metropolitan areas, but white population increases have been greater in places of under 50,000 population (Reid 1974). Also, the black exodus from the South increased in the 1970s and balanced by the flow of black people back to that region. Presumably most of the in-migrants have settled not in the rural areas where black populations have long been high but rather in or near the larger cities where jobs are more likely to be found.

In some southern counties black percentages have been increased somewhat by enrollments at predominantly black colleges. For example, at Prairie View A. & M. (Wallace County) constituted 37 percent of that county's black population in 1980. Macon County, Alabama, would not have led the U.S. in its percentage of blacks without the effect of students drawn to Tuskegee Institute. In Macon County and in Mississippi's Claiborne County, home of Alcorn A. & M. College, black college students made up over 14 percent of each county's black population in 1980.

Former Cotton Areas East of the Mississippi River. Except for peninsular Florida, most areas with high proportions of blacks have remained the same for the last century or more and represent areas where large plantations had been especially prominent.

Cotton and slaves became most concentrated in the areas of smoother terrain. Clearly, the rougher country of the foothills and ridges of the Appalachian Mountains was not desired by the more wealthy cotton growers. Thus, northern Georgia and parts of northern Alabama never developed high proportions of blacks. Cotton was grown as far north as the Nashville Basin of central Tennessee, but wheat and corn crops and mule breeding created opportunities in commercial agriculture for farmers who had few or no slaves. The fertile Nashville Basin was rimmed by rougher, eroded plateau country, which resulted in even lower proportions of blacks than in the Nashville Basin. However, the valley of the Tennessee River, winding east to west across northern Alabama, provided good cotton lands after it left the Cumberland Plateau. The counties north of the river have had higher proportions of blacks since before the Civil War than the rougher, southern end of the Appalachians (Winston and Cullinan counties) south of the river. Also, the unusually low percentage of blacks in Holmes County of Florida's Panhandle dates from before 1860, although terrain probably played little role in the paucity of slaves in that area.

There were special concentrations of cotton and slaves in Alabama and Mississippi. White settlers, attempting farming in a largely rolling area of grassland in central Alabama, found that the black soils that had developed on the underlying chalk were surprisingly rich. The soil gave the region its name — the Black Belt. That area, stretching in a geologically defined arc from Macon and Bullock counties in the east to Mississippi's Noxubee County, came to have an unusually high percentage of slaves in the total population. The region has not been an important cotton area since the 1930s, but enough blacks have remained that three of the five counties in America with the highest proportions of blacks in 1980 were in the Black Belt.

The very flat lands of the Mississippi River floodplain came to have some of the highest proportions of blacks in the South. Despite the perils of flooding and malaria, the plantation system was extended upriver from southern Louisiana, and in the 1830s development was begun in the large region (called the Delta) between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers in the northwestern part of the state of Mississippi. The rich and easily worked alluvial soils enabled the Delta to become the
largest, most intensive cotton-production area in the Old South. When cotton growing and picking were finally mechanized in the Delta in the early 1960s, blacks found few opportunities in the rural portions of the Delta and typically migrated to nearby towns or distant cities.

Southern Cities and Mining Areas. Although two-thirds of all blacks in America in 1910 lived in the rural South, southern cities all had many blacks, usually working as laborers, stevedores, craftsmen, janitors, or servants. In some cities like Selma, Alabama; Albany and Waycross, Georgia; and Columbus and Natchez, Mississippi, blacks constituted over half the population in 1920. Since that time the proportions of blacks who have dropped slightly in many cities but risen in larger cities. Washington, DC, at 70-percent black in 1980, is particularly visible on a county-level map. The increasing black proportions in large southern cities have been mostly due to heavy in-migration. However, suburbanization by whites beyond city boundaries—so characteristic of northern metropolitan areas—has usually been a factor too.

Birmingham (Jefferson County), Alabama, was unusual in the South because it was a center of heavy industry rather than commerce. A survey conducted about 1910 of the iron and steel workers in the Birmingham district showed that 44 percent of the work force was black (Imm. Com. 1911c). And during the first decades of the 20th century over half the coal miners in Alabama were black (Northrup 1985).

Although coal mining in most of America was in the hands of European immigrants and native whites, miners and loaders for Appalachian coal companies as far north as West Virginia and Kentucky included many blacks in 1900 and 1910 (Northrup 1985). Workers at one large field near the southern rim of West Virginia (McDowell and Mercer counties) were over 50-percent black at one time. Although the percentage of black workers has since been reduced and many people have left those areas, black communities in the southern Appalachians had their origins in mining.

Areas West of the Mississippi River. In the decades after the Civil War many blacks moved westward. A few became cowboys, and some tried to find better lives as farmers in Kansas or other states, but most headed for the expanding cotton lands in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. These were most concentrated along river floodplains, as in eastern Arkansas and along the Red River in northwest Louisiana and the Trinity and Brazos rivers in East Texas. When cotton prices fell or the boll weevil began its attacks, many moved again. However, few blacks went to southwestern Louisiana, the wetter Cajun country where there was no cotton but where rice production was becoming highly mechanized by midwestern farmers.

The hilly Ozark plateau country of southern Missouri and northwestern Arkansas is highly visible on the map to its low percentage of blacks compared to surrounding areas. Commercial cotton production and slavery were never part of life in the Ozarks, which were settled mostly by poorer whites from the upland South and Appalachian Mountains. Few opportunities have since beckoned blacks to the region, and the percentage of blacks has been reduced since the late 1960s by the heavy influx of white retirees to northern Arkansas. For some of these in-migrants from midwestern cities, one of the many attractions of the area has been the absence of blacks (Kennedy 1986).

Although in Texas the greatest pre-Civil War concentrations of slaves were in the cotton and sugar plantation area in the lower Brazos area (Wharton, Waller, and Fort Bend counties), in the early 20th century more cotton was being grown on the Blackland and Grand prairies, just east of a line between Dallas and Austin. To the west the climate became too arid for good cotton yields, and the many immigrants from Europe were more willing than southern whites to work in the cotton fields themselves. Most of East Texas had become an extension of the life and economy of the lower South, but the highest percentages of blacks were in that intense cotton-production area. Despite 20th-century black out-migration from Texas, the least urbanized and most rural developed counties within the former cotton areas have remained the most strongly black counties in Texas as they have east of Texas.

Florida. The greatest change in the black distribution in the South since the mid-19th century has been the growth of peninsular Florida. After the U.S. obtained Florida from Spain in 1821, tracts of cheap but fertile land along the Georgia border were occupied by southerners whose slaves produced good cotton crops in the same counties that recorded the highest black percentages in 1860. In the late 19th century industries based on the pine forests were developed, and the great majority of workers in the woods, sawmills, and turpentine camps of northern Florida were local blacks.

The white settlement of southern Florida was delayed by sporadic Indian wars until 1842. After the remaining Seminoles retreated to the Everglades, some plantations were built in the area that became Miami, and after the Civil War more blacks were brought in from cotton areas to the north, and from the Bahamas as well, to raise vegetables in the rich soils near Miami (George 1978). But the white and black settlement of peninsular Florida took place primarily after reclamation by railroad lines in the 1880s and 1890s. Because black
laborers were so thoroughly involved in this development, blacks were widely distributed through Florida. In the 20th century, it has been a net in-migration of blacks to Florida, in contrast to other Southern states, but the massive invasion by whites has reduced black percentages in most areas of Florida.

Many blacks have been part of the nonmigratory labor force in the citrus orchards and processing plants, but others have had to migrate to obtain year-round work. In Dade and Palm Beach counties alone, the winter labor camps of the migrant families who have long made up the easternmost of the country’s three major streams of farmworkers (Dunbar and Kravit 1976). These migrants, estimated to number over 40,000, have been ethnically varied but predominantly black. Crews pick local-area vegetables in the winter and move northward each spring to harvest vegetables and fruit as far as New England. The labor centers have been situated on the outskirts of towns and cities in the south (southwest of Miami) and Belle Glade and Pahokee (southeast of Lake Okeechobee), as well as near Route 441 and within a few miles of the beautiful beaches and affluent populace of Florida’s Gold Coast.

Blacks in the North and West

In 1860, 92 percent of America’s blacks lived in the South. During the half-century after the Civil War, relatively few black migrants moved out of the South; 89 percent of the blacks in the U.S. still remained in that region as of 1910. Yet there were good reasons to leave: poverty, lack of civil rights, terrorism and lynching, and the likelihood that small-time black cotton farmers who owned no land could ever get ahead economically.

Reasons for Delayed Migration to the North.

Many tried moving to industrial cities in the North but were prevented from doing so. White landowners and employers in the South wanted to preserve their large force of cheap labor, and they actively prevented blacks from migrating out of the South (Farley and Allen 1987). Sharecroppers and many others usually found themselves in a position of permanent indebtedness, which made any departure illegal. Local laws were passed that required any labor recruiters to pay an exorbitant license fee (sometimes a thousand dollars) or face jail, and blacks who had to leave or wanted to leave for trains to the North were easily labeled as vagrants and arrested. Most illiterate southern blacks, especially those in rural areas, were simply not in a position to know about possibly good opportunities in the North. Also, federal government policies assisted in retaining the black work force in the South: the Freedmen’s Bureau kept blacks tied into plantation labor contracts, and white immigrants rather than native blacks were encouraged to homestead the Midwest and Great Plains.

As America’s industrial centers, states closest to northern cities (Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky) did move north for industrial jobs, but they often found themselves threatened and attacked by a white work force very concerned over its job security. Labor unions in the North fought against the importation of blacks, and because there always seemed a sufficient supply of white immigrant workers to handle industrial tasks, there was usually no need to hire southern blacks. Exceptions to this pattern were the black strike-breakers, occasionally brought in by the trainload, but only in a few places did they succeed in keeping their jobs once the strike was over. Thus, there were powerful factors tending to keep blacks in the South.

The Great Migration.

The situation changed abruptly in 1915, however, when the supply of cheap white immigrant workers was cut off by World War I just at the time when industries were gearing up for the war effort. Recruiters from the North now needed to sign up many thousands of men. In 1916, the Pennsylvania Railroad brought trainloads of blacks from Jacksonville, Florida, and Pittsburgh steel mills set up recruiting offices in Richmond and other Virginia cities (Brody 1940). Steel companies in the Chicago area tapped the supply of potential workers in Louisiana and Mississippi. Blacks were also informed about opportunities by advertisement and editorial encouragement in a new black newspaper, the Chicago Defender. Once connections with employers were made, chain migrations continued the flows.

The migration resulted in streams of blacks pouring out of the rural South toward the centers of industry, especially in the Midwest. Generally, migrants from Georgia and the Carolinas headed toward the northeastern cities, whereas those from Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi moved toward midwestern and California cities. A large number also from Texas and Louisiana. Although New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other northeastern cities had established black populations, they also received many unskilled and usually illiterate migrants. The ethnic composition of the largest cities changed rapidly, and job and neighborhood stress that people had anticipated began to occur. Black residential segregation and job discrimination were found throughout the land, and no longer was race just a southern problem.

Selected Northern Settlements.

Blacks living in the North in the decades prior to 1915 found themselves slowly crowded out of most skilled jobs by white workers. This happened, for instance, in the steel mills at Steelton (Dauphin County) in central-south Pennsylvania (Bodnar 1976b). Black millworkers had been working their way into many skilled jobs, but after about 1910 European immigrants were taking many of the most unskilled and advancing into positions previously occupied by blacks. Many blacks found work in the nearby state capital, Harrisburg, which came to house most of Dauphin County’s black population. Similarly, in the Saginaw area of Michigan (near the thumb of the state) blacks in the 1870s had taken skilled logging and lumber-mill jobs. Some had become successful businessmen (Kilar 1979). However, within three decades, whites had taken over the better jobs and most blacks had the status of laborers.

The mighty industrial centers like Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Gary, and Chicago were by far the most important destinations for migrants during and after World War I. There younger black workers took the jobs that white immigrants would have taken if they had been able to cross the Atlantic during World War I. Jobs in the steel industry have been much reduced, but black percentages remained higher in 1980 in counties and cities whose heavy industry had initially attracted blacks. Gary (Lake County), Indiana, so strongly dependent on U.S. Steel, was an extreme case. In that declining city half of the white population left during the 1970’s, leaving the city 71 percent black in 1980 (Erbe 1984).

In large northern cities blacks and whites were competing for jobs and housing during and after World War I, and the tensions sometimes led to riots and violence. Detroit was probably not too different from other cities. Private real estate agreements not to sell homes to blacks outside a certain area and the tremendous in-migration led to a poor, overcrowded, and disease-filled slum, where the deaths of black babies outnumbered the births (Zinz 1952).

During the 1920s Detroit’s black population tripled, but until about 1950 the density in the ghetto increased greatly because most area expansion to the west was being blocked by restrictive covenants (Deskins 1981). After these had been made illegal, the ghetto increased in area more rapidly, absorbing earlier outlying enclaves, so that by 1970 it contained 44 percent of Detroit’s population in 43 percent of the city’s land area.

The southwest corner of Michigan during the previous century, a few slaves, escaping on the underground railroad, arrived in Cass County in the 1840s (Wheeler and Brunn 1968). Their small settlement persisted, and in the early 20th century many more blacks came to Berrien and nearby counties after becoming dissatisfied with life in Chicago. There have been a few small, primarily black towns in the area, and in 1950 (Berrien County) 17 percent of the population was black. Some blacks have farmed, others have retired, but most commuted some distance for factory work.

Further north in Michigan, a resort area in Lake County
was first promoted in 1919 among blacks in midwestern cities (Hart 1960). The modest vacation and retirement center that grew here was the reason why Lake County was one-sixth black in 1980.

**Selected Western Settlements.** There were attempts to establish agricultural colonies in several states of the Great Plains, and in the 1880s blacks were probably more widely scattered than today. Even in the 1880s half of the few thousand blacks in Colorado lived in Denver, where most were in service jobs, many as railroad porters (Wayne 1976). Mexicans already occupied most unskilled jobs in mining, railroad, and farm labor work, and blacks found few opportunities.

Blacks entered Kansas in the early 1860s by following returning Union troops, and after the Civil War others came, hoping that they could achieve a good living, as indicated in the promotion literature (Cox 1982). In 1879 thousands of blacks in many parts of the South were seized by a migration fever directed toward Kansas. The wave of settlers washed but briefly over the state, as only a few of these "Exodusters" adapted to farm life in Kansas (Atthearn 1978). Nevertheless, the 90 percent who did not return to the South dispersed to various towns in the Great Plains and the West, where some of their descendants may still have been living in 1980.

By 1890 blacks who had settled in Topeka (Shawnee County) were mostly laborers, often working for the Santa Fe Railroad, but others were farmers on the outskirts of town or businessmen serving the black community (Cox 1982). However, in 1980 the highest-percentage black county in the state was Wyandotte County—the central part of the much larger Kansas City metropolitan area. Geary and Riley counties, some hundred miles to the west, represented a less typical situation, where the percentage of black residents was increased by the presence of black servicemen and their families at Fort Riley.

The larger cities in Washington and Oregon had some blacks in the 1890s, mostly railroad employees, servants, and unskilled laborers. But it was the rapid growth of the defense industries, especially shipbuilding, at the beginning of World War II that brought thousands more blacks to Portland and Seattle (Taylor 1981). When the industry declined at the end of the war, blacks were the first to lose their jobs, and thousands left. Nevertheless, large black communities remained.

There were blacks in California before the Civil War. In 1781, when the Los Angeles pueblo was founded, 24 of the 46 original settlers could probably have been considered black, although mixed with Indian parentage and ultimately disappearing from the records (Thurman 1976). In the 1850s there were blacks in gold-mining counties, San Francisco, and some Central Valley towns. However, after 1900 Los Angeles contained the largest black settlement in the state. But, as elsewhere, the jobs available to blacks were limited, so that by World War I most were laborers, janitors, servants, porters, and the like, despite qualifications as college graduates, teachers, and professionals (DeGraaf 1970).

The homes of blacks in Los Angeles were fairly dispersed until just before World War I, but blacks soon found themselves more and more limited to housing along a corridor following Central Avenue southward from the downtown area (DeGraaf 1970). Far to the south, a separate farmworker town of Watts became attractive to many blacks. In the next few decades, black in-migration and residential restrictions resulted in the expansion of the black ghetto southward from the old Central Avenue core, where it coalesced with the once-rural Watts. Middle-class and wealthy blacks have moved westward from the ghetto toward the ocean and several black suburban areas in the county have developed.

Blacks, like whites and other Americans, have participated in the migration from the northern industrial cities to the West. Half of the blacks who had moved to the West between 1975 and 1980 had been living in either the north-
people of african origin • Cape Verden Ancestry

Residential Segregation in Cities. A high degree of residential segregation between blacks and whites has been found throughout the last half century in American cities. The index of dissimilarity provides a statistical measure of the degree of segregation. In a comparative analysis of 1980 segregation in the 17 cities and metropolitan areas with the largest black populations, the metropolitan areas of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Saint Louis were slightly more segregated than the others, although for the cities alone Detroit was relatively less segregated (Farley and Allen 1987). However, the differences between the places were relatively small compared to the general pattern of much greater segregation of blacks than of Asians, people of Hispanic origin, or people of various southern and eastern European ancestries. The largest Texas and California metropolitan areas, as well as Washington, DC, showed declines of about 15 percent from their 1970 levels, but the average measured segregation for all 17 metropolitan areas was 6 percent lower than the 1970 index values. Because blacks of high income and education levels were also highly segregated from whites of comparable status, it appears that racial attitudes remained the basic factor behind the residential segregation of blacks and whites in 1980.

Cape Verden Ancestry

1980 Summary Statistics*

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<td>Bristol (Fall River; New Bedford), MA</td>
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The Cape Verde Islands, dry and infertile lands off the westemmost point of Africa, were Portuguese territory until they became independent in 1975. Centuries ago the islands functioned as a way station on the slave and trade routes to the New World and an administrative center for the Portuguese colony of Guinea (Machado 1981).

Dilemmas of Identity

People who reported Cape Verden ancestry were coded separately in the 1980 Census and are not included with the Portuguese-ancestry data in this atlas. This is appropriate because other Americans, particularly in places far from the major Cape Verden settlements, have usually perceived the racially mixed Cape Verdeans as blacks rather than as Portuguese. Where Cape Verdeans are concentrated, however, they have often been distinguished from blacks and called "Bravos," for one of the islands of origin, or "black Portuguese" (Machado 1981).

In the 1970s the Cape Verden communities were often sharply divided over issues of identity (Rogen 1980; Machado 1981). Some, acknowledging the fact of racial discrimination, began to urge alliances with the formerly shunned black community. However, they have remained a separate, predominantly Catholic ethnic group with a distinctive Crioulo language, a creole based on Portuguese. Others have long wished to retain a Portuguese identity despite lack of acceptance by whites of Portuguese ancestry.

Major Settlements

Cape Verdeans, who arrived in America on the whaling ships of the late 18th- and early 19th century, settled primarily in
New Bedford (Bristol County), Massachusetts — the major American whaling port of that time. Immigrants worked in that industry and often later became cooks or stewards on fishing boats and freighters. A growing exodus from the drought-stricken islands has long been directed to southeastern Massachusetts. In the 20th century many people have picked berries and maintained the cranberry bogs on Cape Cod (Barnstable County) or in nearby Plymouth County. Others have become gardeners and longshoremen, worked in jewelry and shoe factories, or opened small businesses.

The distribution of people of Cape Verdean ancestry is the most distinctive of the ancestry groups in that its correlation with the total U.S. population is the lowest of all (Pearson coefficient r = -.17). The Cape Verdean communities remain highly concentrated regionally in southeastern Massachusetts and especially between New Bedford — still the major center — and Providence, Rhode Island. However, there are Cape Verdians in Scranton and Brockton (Plymouth County), Massachusetts, and in New York City and Bridgeport (Fairfield County), Connecticut.

The largest community outside southeastern Massachusetts is the Boston area, where most have lived in Roxbury and Dorchester (black sections of the city) but have maintained a separate ethnic community (Rogers 80). In California the Cape Verdean settlements originated when some immigrants worked on the rebuilding of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake. Later arrivals became farmers, gardeners, day laborers, and railroad workers in the area between the Bay and Sacramento.

### East and West African Ancestries

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<td>Harris (Houston), TX</td>
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<td>Washington, DC</td>
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</table>

### Counties with Highest Percentage of East and West African Ancestries in Population**

- Alexandria, VA: .46
- Sweetwater (Rock Springs), WY: .35
- Riley (Manhattan), KS: .34
- Mingo (Morgantown), WV: .28
- Chesterfield (Cheraw), SC: .20

* County statistics, map, and table interpretation are based on single ancestry data only. County data are the aggregation of Beninians, Liberians, Nigerians, Ethiopeians, Kinyarwanda, and Ugandan ancestries. However, the list of U.S. Total of East and West African ancestries is somewhat larger than the total from these countries because it includes people from numerous smaller countries between Senegal and Zambip.

** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parenthesis.

The people who identified their ancestry in terms of one of the modern countries of Africa south of the Sahara (Black Africa) were mostly recent immigrants. Of the 125,000 people who in 1980 reported a birth in Africa other than North Africa, 101,000 had immigrated during the 1970s (Census 1984b).

In contrast to earlier decades in which the great majority of people born in Africa had been whites leaving former colonial areas (Africans 1980), in 1980 a majority were black. The number of African-born blacks in America increased from 13,000 in 1970 to 53,000 in 1980 (Census 1984b). Because it is assumed that most whites of African birth described their ancestry in terms of some European or Middle Eastern identity, this interpretation deals with African-born blacks.

Africans from the former French colonies have been much more likely to migrate to France than to the U.S., and the fewer than six thousand people who reported South African single ancestry (both whites and blacks) have not been included here.

### Universities and Metropolitan Areas

By far the largest source country has been Nigeria, the identity of 57 percent of the people whose ancestry was East or...
Most Nigerians and other black Africans outside the larger metropolitan areas may well have been associated with the field of education at some level, at least at the time of their entry. The proportion that return to their countries after their education is not known; some marry U.S. citizens or obtain jobs that permit them to change their status from student to permanent resident.

Although there were some students from the other East or West African countries, the distribution of other ancestries was mostly associated with metropolitan areas, particularly New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington, DC. Many black Africans have been trained at some college or university so as to qualify for the skilled or professional positions that have been more available in such places. Others have been on the staff of their country's embassy in Washington.