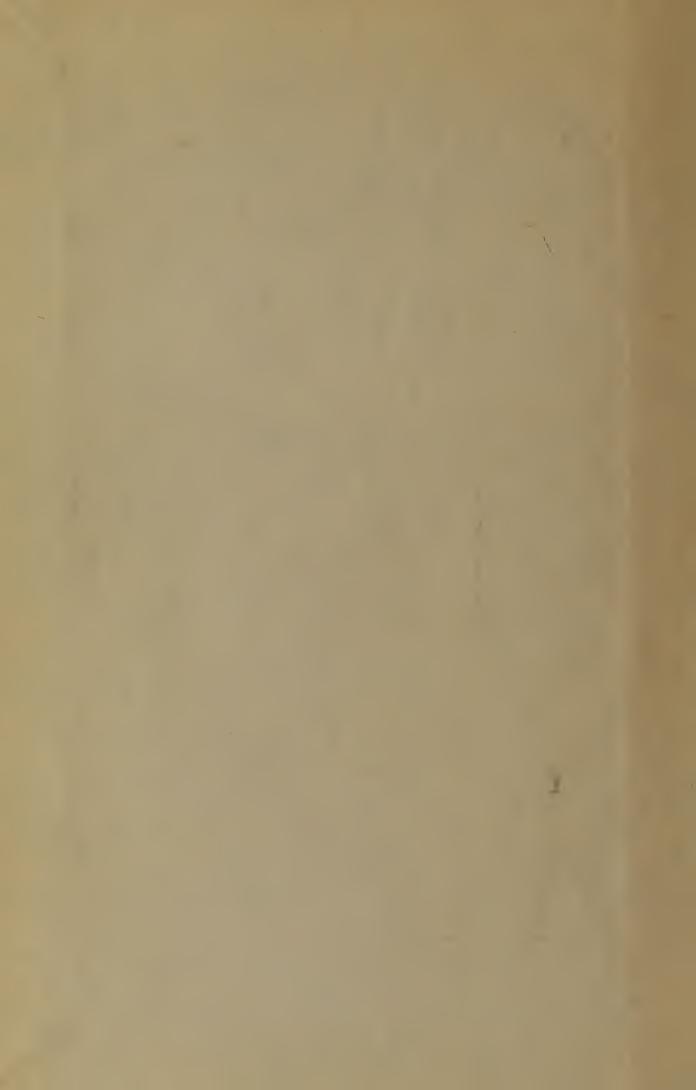
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# Migration Into ...

# EAST TEXAS 1835-1860

A Study from the United States Census

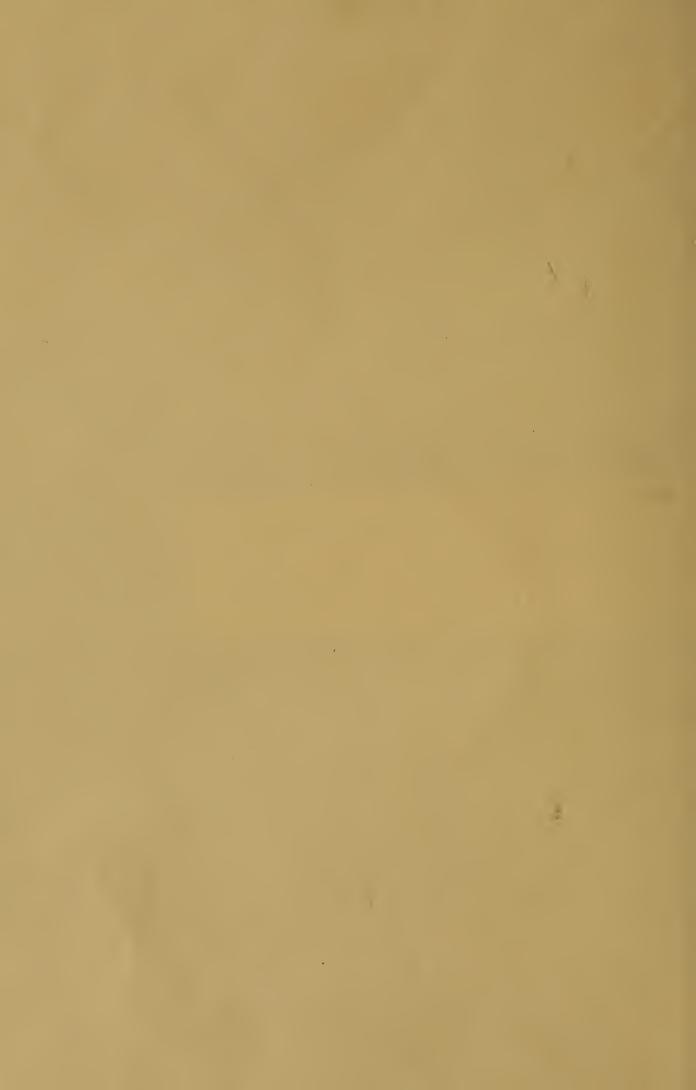
BARNES F. LATHEOP



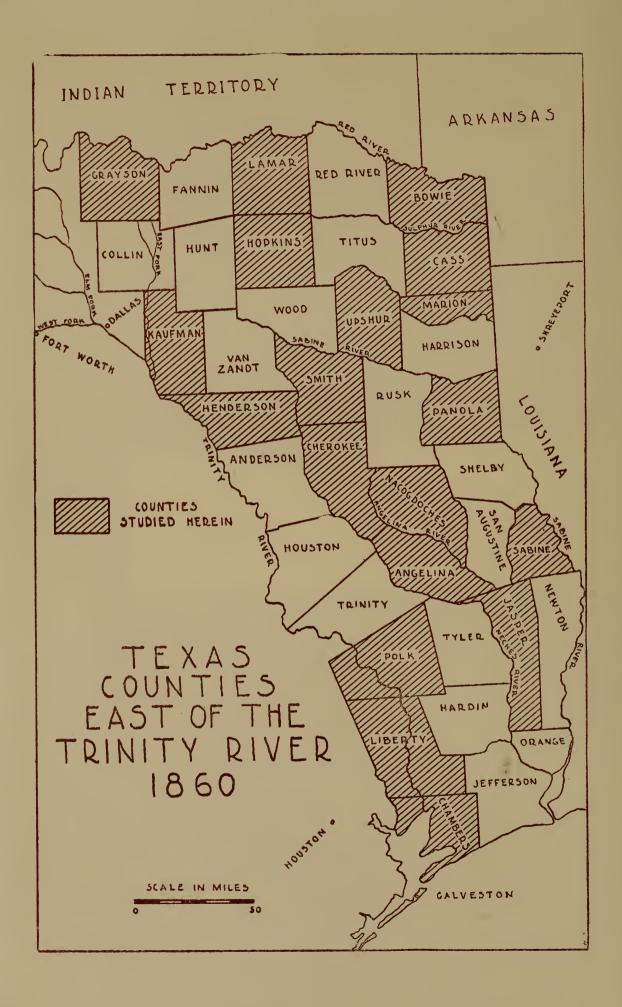
THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AUSTIN, 1949



AS THE CONDITION OF THIS VOLUME WOULD NOT PERMIT SEWING, IT WAS TREATED WITH A STRONG, DURABLE ADHESIVE ESPECIALLY APPLIED TO ASSURE HARD WEAR-AND USE.



# Migration Into East Texas 1835–1860



# Migration Into

# EAST TEXAS

1835-1860

A Study from the United States Census

BARNES F. LATHROP



THE TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Austin, 1949

## Preface

United States has been characteristic of American life. Analysts of recent society find this flow worth careful attention as intrinsically important and as germane to other changes in community, region, or nation. Historians see population movement as a primary feature of westward expansion and the rise of cities. In study of specific areas, knowledge of the sources of population is not only interesting in itself, but also necessary to an understanding of the basic cultural ingredients. He who would explain behavior—speech and lore, food and frolic, voting and worship, codes and values, building and farming—must know whence the people came.

Historical information on nineteenth century migration has commonly been derived from contemporary reports and from examples available in the known careers of individuals and families. These sources are invaluable in description of all aspects of migration. They are not, however, competent to the actual measurement of migration; and examples, especially, are unbalanced by the rarity of biographical data on the plain people who constituted the great majority of migrants. For measurement, the usual source has been the statistics of birthplace and residence in the printed reports of the United States census. Birth-residence statistics are, without doubt, extremely useful indexes to the volume and direction of population movement. But they also are notably defective: they do not measure accurately; they gloss over the actual steps in migration; and they reveal nothing about migrants as persons.

The present study introduces, in application to East Texas, a method of measuring and describing migration that is superior in accuracy and in analytic detail to the birth-residence index. The new method determines the sources and annual rates of population movement into a region and establishes certain characteristics of migrant families, thus affording a substantially correct statistical picture of the anatomy of interstate migration.

Because the method depends for raw materials upon the manuscript census returns, the explanation of method has required a prior account of certain census schedules. In depicting these schedules I have taken the occasion to deal with all of the extant census returns, 1850-1880, and to suggest their utility as sources on a wide range of topics. The reader intent upon migration, or impatient of the census, may safely glide over the first chapter, though he should examine the figure illustrative of Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants.

I am grateful to the Rockefeller Committee of the Texas State Historical Association for a grant enabling me to complete this investigation. The results first appeared in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, April, 1948-January, 1949.

Austin, Texas March 6, 1949 BARNES F. LATHROP

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Migration Into East Texas
1835–1860



#### CHAPTER I

## Introduction: History from the Census

The original manuscript returns of the decennial census enumerations of the United States, beginning in 1790, have long been prized by genealogists, and in the last twenty-odd years have received increasing appreciation among historians. Yet employment of this material in historical work remains on the whole so sporadic or so slight that the unprinted census records must still be classed as a great neglected source. The present chapter undertakes to describe the manuscript schedules, and to canvass their potential uses, partly in preparation for the following chapters, still more in the hope of attracting attention to the census source in general, and to the returns for Texas, 1850-1880, in particular.

The first six Federal censuses, 1790-1840, were little more than crude enumerations of population according to status, age, and sex.<sup>2</sup> The first census asked of each family, besides the name of

<sup>2</sup>Descriptions in this article are based upon examination of most of the schedules, and upon prolonged conning of *The History and Growth of the United States Census* (Washington, 1900; also issued as *Senate Document No. 294*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., Serial No. 3856), prepared by Carroll D. Wright, assisted by William C. Hunt,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The priority in census exploration of genealogists and other seekers after personal detail is manifest in the annual reports, 1904 and following, of the Director of the Census. On census data in relation to genealogy, see Gilbert Harry Doane, Searching for Your Ancestors: The Why and How of Genealogy (New York, London, c. 1937), 144-156, 232-235, and index under "Census." Joseph A. Hill, in "The Historical Value of the Census Records," a paper read before the American Historical Association, and published in Annual Report, 1908, vol. I (Washington, 1909), 197-208, made perhaps the earliest effort to interest historians in census subjects. A recent invitation to the census appears at pages 48-51 in that excellent manual, Local History, How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It (n.p., [1944]), by Donald Dean Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson for the Social Science Research Council. Examples of Texas studies depending in some part upon the manuscript census returns include R. L. Biesele, The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861 (Austin, c. 1930); Abigail Curlee, A Study of Texas Slave Plantations, 1822 to 1865 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas, 1932); A. F. Muir, "The Free Negro in Harris County, Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVI (Jan., 1943), 214-238; I. T. Taylor, The Cavalcade of Jackson County (San Antonio, c. 1938); G. W. Tyler, The History of Bell County (ed. by Charles W. Ramsdell; San Antonio, 1936); and Clarence R. Wharton, History of Fort Bend County (San Antonio, 1939).

the head, only the numbers of free white males aged sixteen years and above, of free white males under sixteen years, of free white females, of all other free persons, and of slaves.<sup>3</sup> In successive decades the analysis by age groups was much refined, and inquiries were added, but the approach was not basically altered.<sup>4</sup> The investigator may find the original returns without peer on certain topics—name frequencies,<sup>5</sup> or ancestors, or size of slaveholdings—but the range of information is narrow.

The Census of 1850 embodies a radical advance in the scope and technique of census-taking. The inquiries are divided into six schedules, each schedule printed on a sheet measuring 13 by 17½ inches. All six schedules are herewith illustrated in miniature. Figure 1 shows Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, with two

for the Senate Committee on the Census. The bulk of this volume (pp. 131-910) is an unabridged printing of nearly the whole of the schedules of inquiry, instructions, etc., for the first eleven censuses, 1790-1890. The other principal feature (pp. 12-76) is a meticulous "Historical Review of the Federal Census." Only those abused superlatives, "invaluable and indispensable," adequately state the relation of the Wright and Hunt compilation to serious census study. The graphic representation of the schedules through 1850 in J. D. B. DeBow, The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850... (Washington, 1853), pp. x-xii, proved useful in the construction of Figures 1-4, but for ordinary purposes the work of Wright and Hunt supersedes the descriptive matter scattered in earlier publications.

<sup>3</sup>The original returns have been published in full by the Bureau of the Census under title Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, taken in the year 1790 (12 vols., Washington, 1907-1908).

The population schedules of 1820 and 1830 called for the number of foreigners not naturalized; the schedules of 1820 and 1840 asked the numbers of persons engaged in several occupations; the schedules of 1830 and 1840 contained questions about the numbers of various "defectives," such as the deaf and dumb; and the schedule of 1840 sought the names and ages of "pensioners for Revolutionary or military services" (the roster thus obtained was published as a separate volume in 1841). The answers to all of these inquiries were recorded family by family. The census of 1840 also collected information about numbers of students and schools, the data being returned in the form of district totals. The population censuses were supplemented by imperfect attempts to collect statistics of manufacture in 1810 and 1820, of manufacture and agriculture in 1840. The 1810 returns of manufacture are not with the other early census records, and presumably perished long ago. The present writer has not had opportunity to compare the non-population schedules of 1820 and 1840 with the printed reports compiled from them. Wright and Hunt, History and Growth of the United States Census, give the impression that the returns of 1840 came in as district totals, which could be exhausted in the printed reports, while the returns of 1820 dealt with each establishment separately, and therefore embrace detail not shown in the printed report.

<sup>5</sup>See Howard F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1931, vol. I (Washington, 1932), 126-359.

families enumerated.<sup>6</sup> Figure 2 shows Schedule 4, Agriculture, with four sample entries.<sup>7</sup> Figure 3 shows the heads of columns for Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, for Schedule 3, Mortality, and for Schedule 5, Industry. Figure 4 shows the inquiries making up Schedule 6, Social Statistics. Schedules 1 to 5 required separate individual enumeration of each person or producer by visitation of all dwellings, farms, and establishments. For Schedule 6 the enumerator assembled as he saw fit the "Social Statistics" of his unit, usually a county.

The schedules employed in 1860 and in 1870 closely resemble those designed in 1850. Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, 1860, calls for occupation of females as well as of males, and for value of personal estate as well as of real estate. Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, has an added column for number of slave houses. On Schedule 4, Agriculture, beeswax is divorced from honey. Otherwise the 1860 schedules are identical with the 1850 schedules. Before 1870 the Civil War and the Thirteenth Amendment cancelled Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants; hence in 1870 all persons -with the perennial exception of "Indians not taxed"-are enumerated on Schedule 1, Inhabitants. The more important changes in the schedule concern illiteracy, nativity of parents, and "constitutional relations." Minimum age for classification as illiterate, formerly twenty years, becomes ten years, and the abilities to read and to write fall under separate heads. Two new columns ask in respect of each person whether either parent is of foreign birth. Two concluding columns aim to find out who are adult male citizens, and to which of them the "right to vote is denied or abridged on other grounds than rebellion or other crime." Schedule 3, Agriculture, divides unimproved land into woodland and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The first family, from Cherokee County, is fairly typical of East Texas farm families. The second family, from Henderson County, is something of an oddity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Dannell was a planter in Bowie County; Jennings, a general farmer in Grayson; Donahoe, a piney woods stock raiser in Polk; and McMurry, a newly-arrived small farmer in Smith.

Figure 1.

Schedule 1.—FREE INHABITANTS in ....., in the County of ....., State of ....., enumerated by me, on the ...... day of ....., 1850. ...., Ass't Marshal.

tion.			Desc	ript	ion.				1		vrite.	
Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.  Families numbered in the order of visitation.		Name of every person whose usual place of abode on the 1st day of June, 1850, was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	Color-white, black, or mulatto.	Profession, occupation, or trade of each male person over 15 years of age.	Value of real estate owned [in dollars].	Place of birth, maming the State, Territory, or country.	Married within the year.	Attended school within the year.	Persons over 20 years of age who cannot read and write	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
756	756	Wilson M. Brown	35	M	$\overline{W}$	Farmer	1,000	S. C.				
		Rachel "	31	F	"			Georgia			/	
		David P. "	8	M	**			Ala.				
		Robt. P. "	5	**	**			Texas				
		Nancy "	4	F	**			**				
		Eleanor "	3	**	**			44				
		John H. "	9/12	M	"			"				
161	162	Victor Pannell	50	$\overline{M}$	$\overline{w}$	Blacksmith	2,520	S. C.			/	
		Barsheba "	39	F	"			N. C.				
		Elisabeth "	18	"	"			Ill.		/		
		Lucinda "	16	"	"			**		/		
		Samuel R. G. "	14	$\overline{M}$	"			Mo.		-1		
		Malinda "	11	F	"			**		1		
		Thomas J. "	8	M	"			"		1		
		Malena B. "	4	F	66			Texas				
		Victor M. "	2	M	**			**				
		Henry Brikle	20	"	"	Farmer		Germany		1	7	
		David William[s]	33	"	"	Heardsmann		Tenn.				
		Bershada Williams	1	F	44			Texas				
		Victor P. H. Case	4	M	"			66				
		Alexander Mayfield	30	"	"	Spertsman		N. C.				
		Lewis Lee	36	"	"	Blacksmith		Indiana				

Figure 2.

### Schedule No. 4-PRODUCTIONS OF AGRICULTURE...

						I	Live	Sto	ck, Jı	une 1	, 185	0.
Name of owner, agent or manager of the farm.	Acres of land improved.	Acres of land unimproved.	Cash value of farm.	Value of farming implements and machinery.	Horses.	Mules and asses.	Milch cows.	Working oxen.	Other cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Value of live stock.
Jessee Dannell	230	410	2,500	150	5	6	17	6	20		150	1,240
Jno. Jennings	65	255	1,280	300	4		8	7	4		15	486
Dan Donahoe	14	1,000	222	180	9	2	24	10	200		12	1,127
William M. McMurry	15	305	500	10	2		4	2	9		60	302

	Produce During the													
Wheat, bushels of.	Rye, bushels of.	Indian corn, bushels of.	Oats, bushels of.	Rice, pounds of.	Tobacco, pounds of.	Ginned cotton, bales of 400 lbs. each.	Wool, pounds of.	Beans and peas, bushels of.	Irish potatoes, bushels of.	Sweet potatoes, bushels of.	Buckwheat, bushels of.	Barley, bushels of.	Value of orchard products in dollars.	Wine, gallons of.
		800				17			20	300				
25		1,000	8					6		30				
		120												
		250						4		150				

,	Year Ending June 1, 1850.																
Value of produce of market gardens.	Butter, pounds of.	Cheese, pounds of.	Hay, tons of.	Clover seed, bushels of.	Other grass seeds, bushels of.	Hops, pounds of.	Dew-rotted hemp, tons of.	Water-rotted hemp, tons of.	Flax, pounds of.	Flaxseed, bushels of.	Silk cocoons, pounds of.	Maple sugar, pounds of.	Cane sugar, hhds. of 1,000 pounds.	Molasses, gallons of.	Honey and beeswax, pounds of.	Value of home-made manufactures.	Value of animals slaugh- tered during the year,
	140																140
	500		3						5						60	50	100
																	100
	50															20	42

Figure 3.

#### Schedule No. 2—SLAVE INHABITANTS...

			Description			/	
Name of slave owners.	Number of slaves.	Age.	Sex.	Color.	Fugitives from the State.	Number manumitted.	Deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.

## Schedule No. 3—PERSONS WHO DIED DURING THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 1, 1850...

who nding ual n		Desc	cription.						h.	
Name of every person who died during the year endin June 1, 1850, whose usual place of abode at the time of his death was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	Color—white, black, or mulatto.	Free or slave.	Married or widowed.	Place of birth, naming the State, Territory, or country.	The month in which the person died.	Profession, occupation, or trade.	Disease, or cause of death.	Number of days ill.

#### Schedule No. 5-PRODUCTS OF INDUSTRY...

com-		Raw used,	mate, inclu fuel.	rial ding		Average of hempl	number ands oyed.	Wa	ges.	1	Annua p <b>rod</b> uc	al et.
Name of corporation, pany or individual producing articles to the annual value of \$500. Name of business, marfacture, or product.	Capital invested in real and personal estate in the business.	Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.	Kind of motive power, machinery, structure, or resource.	Male.	Female.	Average monthly cost of male labor.	Average monthly cost of female labor.	Quantities.	Kinds.	Values.

Figure 4.

#### Schedule No. 6-SOCIAL STATISTICS...

Name of Division [town, county,	Valuation of Estate: Real and Personal.	Annual Taxes.	Colleges, Academies, and Schools.							
or city].	Real estate \$  Personal estate \$  Total \$  How valued?  True valuation \$	Name or kind of each. Amount of each. How paid.	Number. Character, rank, or kind. Number of teachers. Number of pupils. Amount annually realized from endowment. Raised by taxation. Received from public funds. Received from other sources.							

	Season d Cro						News d Per	paper	s als.		Rel	igion.		Pau-		
What crops are short.	To what extent.	Usual average crop.	Number.	Kind,	Number of volumes.	Name.	Character.	How often published.	Circulation.	Number of churches.	Denomination.	Number each will accommodate.	Value of church property.	of passing of passing supplemental section of the s	number aupers orted in the ear.	

perism.	Crime.	Wages.
Mustive. Foreign.  Cost of support.	Whole number of criminals convicted within the year.  Logical Policy of Convicted within the year.  Logical Policy of Convicted within the year.  Logical Policy of Convicted on Ist June.	Average monthly wages to a farm-hand with board.  Average to a day-labourer with board.  Average to a day-labourer without board.  Average day-wages to a carpenter without board.  Weekly wages to a female domestic with board.  Price of board to labouringmen per week.

other unimproved, and has added headings calling for amount of wages paid during the year, gallons of milk sold, value of forest products, and "estimated value of all farm production, including betterments and additions to stock." Otherwise the schedule copies the 1860 schedule. Small alterations in Schedules No. 2, Mortality, and No. 5, Social Statistics, are not worth particularizing. Schedule 4, Industry, differs from 1860 chiefly in distinguishing between child and adult labor, and in asking for number and description of machines.

As the census of 1850 marked an epoch, so the census of 1880 began a "third era" in Federal census-taking. The schedules which had served for three decades were displaced by more precise and elaborate general schedules supplemented by numerous and encyclopedic special schedules; moreover, many topics were withdrawn partly or wholly from general enumeration and intrusted to expert special agents. The immensity of the expansion is evident in the increase of schedules from five containing 156 inquiries in 1870 to 215 containing 13,010 inquiries in 1880. The printed census report jumped from 2,524 pages quarto in 1870 to 19,305 pages quarto in 1880.

Even to mention all the schedules of 1880 is not possible here;<sup>8</sup> neither is it necessary, for the original returns of most of the 204 special schedules are thought not to be extant. Most lamentable for Texas is the apparent loss of the special schedules on cotton culture (265 inquiries), and on stock raising (482 inquiries),<sup>9</sup> employed in the preparation of E. W. Hilgard's Report on Cotton Production, and Clarence Gordon's "Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine." The schedules that survive appear to be only the twenty-three that were intrusted to the regular enumerators. Fortunately, these include the schedules of most importance for the nation as a whole, namely, the general population schedule and the general agriculture schedule. Also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>All or nearly all are printed in Wright and Hunt, *History and Growth of the United States Census*; they occupy about 240 pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 245-249, 261-273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Hilgard's massive work occupies vols. [V-VI] (Washington, 1884) of the Reports of the Tenth Census, 1880; Gordon's is in the same set, vol. [III], Report on the Productions of Agriculture. (Washington, 1883), 951-1116. Hilgard frequently quotes or abstracts the returns of the cotton schedules. It is hard to tell from his report what use Gordon made of the schedules on his subject.

included are the general schedules for manufactures and for mortality, and nineteen special and supplemental schedules presently to be named.

Schedule 1, Inhabitants, 1880, is a moderately enlarged version of earlier schedules on the same subject. The student interested in economic analysis is distressed to find that the old columns on value of real and of personal estate are gone. Likewise absent are the 1870 inquiries concerning "constitutional relations." A most useful addition is a column calling for statement of the relationship of each person in the family to the head of the family. Another column shows the birthplace of each of the parents of every person enumerated. The remaining new items deal with "civil condition" (single, married, widowed, divorced), unemployment (number of months during the census year), health (nature of sickness or temporary disability "on the day of the enumerator's visit"), and permanent disability ("maimed, crippled, bedridden, or otherwise disabled").

Schedule 2, Productions of Agriculture, 1880, containing 104 inquiries, includes everything (except value of home manufactures) in the earlier schedules, and much not asked before.11 Operators are to be designated owners, money renters, or sharecroppers. Improved land divides into tilled ("including fallow and grass in rotation") and untilled (permanent meadows and pastures, orchards, vineyards). Entirely new are columns on cost of fences and of fertilizers in 1879. Cost of labor, continued from the 1870 schedule, is supplemented by an item on weeks of hired labor, distinguishing white and colored. Grasslands are for the first time recognized as such, with one column to show acreage "mown," another, acreage "not mown." Inquiries headed "Movement-1879" ask in respect of cattle and sheep the numbers born, purchased, sold, slaughtered, and lost. Lost cattle, whether dead, strayed, or stolen, are entered in one lump figure; sheep are permitted no dereliction save death, but in death they enjoy choice among three columns according to cause (dogs, disease, or stress of weather). The old item on pounds of wool is altered into a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The version of the schedule used in the South differs from the one used elsewhere in that it omits broom corn and hops (together four items), and includes rice, cotton, and cane, plus a subdivision of weeks of hired labor into white and colored (together eight items).

request for fleeces and weight of the "clip, spring of 1880, shorn and to be shorn." New columns relate to poultry (barnyard, other), and to eggs produced in 1879. No doubt the most important advance in the whole schedule is the inclusion in the enumeration of crops of columns calling for the acreage as well as the production of each crop. The only field crop added to the Southern schedule is sorghum (acres, pounds of sugar, gallons of molasses). Apple and peach orchards are singled out for return under three heads each (acres, bearing trees, yield in 1879). Acres and value of product of nurseries appear for the first time. The former wine column is broadened into a vineyard section covering acres, grapes sold, and wine made. Finally, with the 1870 item on value of forest products is a question as to cords of wood cut in 1879.

General Schedule No. 3, Manufactures, 1880, contains a mere twenty-nine items; the principal additions deal with hours and wages of labor, months in operation, and details of water power and steam power. Certain classes of establishments are enumerated on special schedules as follows: No. 1, Agricultural Implements; No. 2, Paper Mills; Nos. 3 and 4, Boots and Shoes—Leather; Nos. 5 and 6, Lumber Mills and Saw Mills—Brick Yards and Tile Works; Nos. 7 and 8, Flour and Grist Mills—Cheese, Butter, and Condensed-Milk Factories; Nos. 9, 10, and 10a, Slaughtering and Meat Packing—Salt Works; and Nos. 11 and 12, Small Coal Mines—Quarries. These schedules, general and special, probably cover the bulk of the establishments in Texas and other agrarian states.<sup>13</sup>

General Schedule 5, Mortality, 1880, differs only moderately from its predecessors. The most informative new feature is a

<sup>12</sup>The agricultural schedule of 1880 was supposed to exclude animals "kept beyond the frontier of close and continuous settlement, under the ranch system" (Tenth Census, 1880, vol. [III], Agriculture, xv); such animals fell in the province of Gordon's special report. The attempted distinction, however well or ill observed, was by no means clean-cut, and the student should not assume the agricultural schedule to be irrelevant to ranching. Casual examination of the returns reveals men such as Winn Traylor, with pasture of 30,000 acres and 5,000 cattle (Victoria County, page 19, line 7), or J. N. Simpson, with 4,000 cows—entered by the enumerator as "Milch cows"—and 10,250 other cattle (Taylor County, page 11, line 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Special agents collected the statistics of manufacture in several major industries and in all or nearly all towns and cities of 8,000 or more population. Wright and Hunt, History and Growth of the United States Census, 63, 173-174.

request for the name of the physician attending the decedent, and for an attestation or emendation by the physician to the enumerator's entry giving cause of death.

The old method of seeking "Social Statistics" was abandoned in 1880 in favor of a wide variety of schedules handled by special agents. The regular enumerators were left with a few schedules classed as supplemental to general Schedule 1, Inhabitants, and deriving from certain queries made in the past partly under "Inhabitants" and partly under "Social Statistics." These supplemental schedules, known collectively as "Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," deal with the following: No. 1, Insane; No. 2, Idiots; No. 3, Deaf-Mutes; No. 4, Blind; No. 5, Homeless Children; No. 6, Inhabitants in Prison; and No. 7, Pauper and Indigent Inhabitants.

So much for description of schedules. Where can the returns of the schedules be had? In one form or another all those for Texas are to be found in Austin. The United States Bureau of the Census in 1919 distributed to state and other depositaries its entire holding of the non-population schedules of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Censuses, 1850-1880. The Texas State Library in consequence has for 1850 and 1860 the Texas returns of Schedules 3-6, for 1870 the Texas returns of Schedules 2-5, and for 1880 the Texas returns of general Schedules 2, 3, and 5, Special Schedules 1-10 (accompanying general Schedule 3), and Supplemental Schedules 1-7. Of the population schedules for 1850, 1860, and 1870, complete microfilm copies (positives) are in both the Texas State Library and the Archives Collection of the Library of the University of Texas. The Texas State Library alone has film copies of the 1880 population schedule. A rather

<sup>14</sup>The abandoned schedule was No. 4—hence the gap in number between the schedule of manufactures and that of mortality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Report of the Director of the Census, September 15, 1919, in Reports of the Department of Commerce, 1919 (Washington, 1920), 609.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The volumes in the Texas State Library appear to contain no returns of Special Schedules Nos. 11 and 12. The two schedules may have been withdrawn entirely from the regular enumerators. See Wright and Hunt, History and Growth of the United States Census, 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The originals of the population schedules, 1790-1880, and of the non-population returns, 1820 and 1840, are in The National Archives, Washington 25, D. C. Requests for estimates of the cost of microfilm or photostat copies should be

small part of the population returns, 1850-1870, is available also in the form of photostats or retained copies.<sup>18</sup>

Census material, either from printed reports or from manuscript returns, must be used with steady awareness of the imperfections of the data. In planning an investigation based upon manuscript returns, the careful student needs to fortify himself by (1) a moderate excursion into the critical literature, 19 (2) close attention to the schedules, instructions, and procedure of enumeration, (3) inspection and comparison of returns actually made by several enumerators, (4) rumination upon the probable foibles of enumerators and the enumerated. An example or two under each head will illustrate the purpose of these exercises. The critical literature reveals such points as the gross underenumeration of Southern Negroes in 1870, and the near worthlessness of the mortality schedules, 1850-1880, as bases for vital statistics. Attentive reading of the schedules and instructions shows that enumeration of farms, 1850-1870, furnishes no proof of ownership.20 Even in 1880, when tenure is defined, the owner

addressed to The National Archives for material from the Censuses of 1790-1830, to the Bureau of the Census, Washington 25, D. C., for material from the Censuses of 1840-1880.

18These are mentioned because most users prefer them to film copies. The Archives Collection has photostats of Schedules 1 and 2 of 1850 for the counties of Gillespie, Limestone, Milam, and Smith, and of Schedules 1 and 2 of 1860 for Bell, Gillespie, Limestone, and Smith. The State Library has photostats of Schedule 1 of 1850 for Goliad and Refugio, and of Schedule 1 of 1860 for twelve frontier counties. Much more substantial is the State Library holding of retained copies, 1870, from the records of the Secretary of State (Texas). The copies cover fifty-one of the counties with names falling alphabetically between Goliad and Zapata, inclusive, and comprise, in addition to the population schedules, most, if not all, of the non-population schedules.

<sup>19</sup>The introductory and analytical sections of the printed reports often state frankly the shortcomings either of the census to which they belong or of earlier censuses. Wright and Hunt, History and Growth of the United States Census, while primarily descriptive, contains good appraisals. The most elaborate critique is one by members of the American Economic Association entitled The Federal Census: Critical Essays (American Economic Association, Publications, New Series, No. 2, March, 1899; New York and London, c. 1899).

<sup>20</sup>Instructions (1850) direct the enumerator to insert "the name of the person residing upon or having charge of the farm, whether as owner, agent, or tenant." The official interpretation of the term "slave owners" in Schedule 2 reads: "The person in whose family, or on whose plantation, the slave is found to be employed, is to be considered the owner—the principal object being to get the number of slaves, and not that of masters or owners." Wright and Hunt, History and Growth of the United States Census, 153, 235.

of property worked by tenants does not appear; post-bellum plantations thus commonly remain invisible. Comparison of the returns made by several enumerators reveals variation, sometimes large, in interpretation of instructions. James H. Harrison, assistant marshal for Henderson and Kaufman counties, 1850, so defined unimproved land that he found only 680 acres of it in the two counties. Rumination along the classic lines of finding a cow ("I figgered what I'd do was I a cow," etc.) suggests various types of probable omissions or mistakes; the probabilities may later be confirmed by evidence. Thus, one would expect carelessness in reporting products not common in the enumerator's locality; and both the assistant marshal for Bowie County, 1850, and the Superintendent of the Census, 1880, confess that such was the case.<sup>21</sup>

Far outweighing the faults of the manuscript census returns are certain obvious virtues. The greatest is an unrivalled inclusiveness which offers the investigator a high degree of certainty in generalization, and a broadened view of society. The superiority of generalizations based upon enumeration over generalizations based upon crude sampling—the usual alternative—is too patent for argument. The broadened view of society is possible because the census comprehends (errors excepted) every person, high or low. Only through its manuscript pages can one see a past wherein ordinary individuals appear in proportion to their numbers. Given ingenious and persistent study, the census returns will in time largely improve our knowledge of the common man in the mid-nineteenth century.

Certain uses of the census are self-evident. As a universal directory of persons, the manuscript schedules may be consulted for information about almost any known individual. This biographical wealth merits much wider and more habitual employment than it has received. The enumerations, not to be ignored even for men of great fame, have as their peculiar province the furnishing of facts about the multitude of relatively obscure persons who serve the historian either as actors or as sources. The utility of the data on individuals becomes the more impressive the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Endorsement by Benj. Booth, assistant marshal, on his returns of the agricultural schedule; remark by General Francis A. Walker, Tenth Census, 1880, vol. [III], Agriculture, viii.

smaller the unit of study. Simply as a work of reference, without analysis, the returns can perform countless services for the local historian.

Numerous opportunities are to be found in the study of census data on groups of individuals already known by name, such as the members of a convention or a legislature, the county officials of a state, or a block of the field and regimental officers of the late Confederate States Army.<sup>22</sup> Equally profitable, and perhaps easier to execute, are examinations of groups distinguished by birth, occupation, or other characteristics, such as the Irish or the Yankees, the blacksmiths or the physicians, in Texas.<sup>23</sup>

Informative as the manuscript returns are in a biographical way, they promise still more as sources for statistical and semi-statistical studies. The printed tables for 1850-1880 are almost all either simple compilations of the totals of the several columns of enumeration, or distributions and correlations of data—usually color, sex, age, nativity, and occupation—that could not be totaled without prior classification. The room for further work lies both in supplying supplements to existing tables, and in making analyses not attempted in the printed reports.

Projects for the extension and refinement of existing types of census tables lack the attraction of novelty, yet by employing punch-cards and tabulating machines valuable work of this kind might be done. For example, the printed tables of proven worth include those classifying for each county (1) the inhabitants in 1870 and 1880 according to birth in selected states and foreign countries, (2) slaveholdings according to size in 1790 and 1860, and (3) farms according to size in 1860 and 1870, and size and tenure in 1880.<sup>24</sup> A reworking of the manuscript returns could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Notice the use of census data concerning the members of the Mississippi secession convention in P. L. Rainwater, Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861 (Baton Rouge, 1938).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>As a specimen of this kind of work, see Herbert Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns of the Lower South," *Journal of Southern History*, XIII (February, 1947), 62-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>The sizes of slaveholdings in 1850, and the birthplaces of the free inhabitants in 1850 and 1860, have been tabulated for states, but not for counties. Tables referred to here and above are in Bureau of the Census, A Century of Population Growth... (Washington, 1909), section XIV, and Tables 113-115; J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the Census, Seventh Census, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, and Statistical View of the United States ... being a Compendium of the Seventh Census...

provide comparable nativity tables for 1850 and 1860, slave-holding tables for 1850 (and back to 1800 in the older states), and farm size tables for 1850. The new data would be esteemed by students in several fields.

The larger and the fresher realm of census studies consists in the making of analyses of kinds not attempted in the printed reports. Since the number of potential correlations within and between censuses is astronomical, no one commentator can pretend to list all the varieties of meritorious census projects. It is practicable, however, roughly to subdivide analytic census research in terms of procedure, and to suggest topics of investigation under each head. According to the mechanics involved, and in order of increasing complexity, the several procedures are:

(1) analysis of a single column of enumeration, (2) analysis correlating two or more columns in the same schedule, (3) analysis correlating columns in two or more schedules, (4) analysis correlating columns in two or more censuses.

New single column analysis offers certain interesting possibilities. For example, a study of name frequencies could measure accurately the population elements in "mixed" regions like south Louisiana and southwest Texas. Again, many historians would welcome tabulations dividing cotton growers and other agricultural producers according to the sizes of their crops. Perhaps the prize columns for isolated analysis are those on value of personal and real estate; despite imperfections, they may be readily converted into tables showing, with probable validity, the distribution of wealth.

Informative correlations between columns may be made within the separate population, agricultural, manufacturing, and mor-

<sup>(</sup>Washington, 1854), 95, 116-118; Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], Population... (Washington, 1864), 616-623, and vol. [III], Agriculture... (Washington, 1864), 193-221, 223-247, 248; Ninth Census, 1870, vol. I, The Statistics of the Population... (Washington, 1872), 343-377, and vol. III, The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry... (Washington, 1872), 339-366; and Tenth Census, 1880, vol. [I], Statistics of the Population... (Washington, 1883), 496-535, and vol. [III], Agriculture, 28-101.

The copiousness and complexity of the printed census reports render hazardous any statement of what they do not contain. For a consoling instance of oversight by the Bureau of Census itself, see the assertion in A Century of Population Growth, 135, that the only previous classification of slaveholdings by size was that of 1850.

tality schedules. Thus numerous items respecting agriculture, such as acreage, livestock, and amounts and kinds of crops, can be explored in conjunction with one another. The enumeration of free inhabitants also is susceptible of many manipulations. Its very arrangement by families invites research on the subject of the family. Another feature is the age column, which has unique value because it in effect introduces a time element into an otherwise static description. Extensive tabulations of propertyholding by age would afford strong evidence on general economic opportunity; more refined analysis might measure the differentials in expectancy of "getting ahead" between different groups or different regions. Tabulations of birthplaces by ages in 1850 would illumine the population movements of the preceding half century. The study of migration following this chapter illustrates what may be learned from a simple correlation of the columns enumerating names, ages, and birthplaces.

The investigator need not confine himself to the contents of one schedule at a time. Through the link of the individual or the family, he can bring together data from two or more schedules. In ante-bellum Southern studies the customary first step is from the free to the slave schedule. Is the free individual slaveholder or non-slaveholder? If a slaveholder, in what bracket? The next move is usually to the agricultural schedule, whence farm items are added to the information acquired in the population schedules. In the case of an artisan or an industrialist, the manufacturing schedule may substitute for the agricultural schedule. Occasionally the mortality schedule adds a dismal bit. Accumulation of information from several schedules extends into the hundreds or above the number of fruitful correlations that can be devised within the limits of one census. Specimens of work already done along this line will be cited presently. Here a single illustration, involving the neglected Censuses of 1870 and 1880, will serve to demonstrate the importance of results obtainable by a correlation of schedules. The two censuses cover the period probably most critical in the adjustment of the South to free labor; yet the printed reports are fatally defective as measures of that process, because the agricultural schedule in 1870 ignored both the color and the tenure of farm operators, and the schedule in 1880, while recording tenure (owner, money renter, share-cropper), remained oblivious to color. In other words, existing statistics of farm tenure start in 1880, and the highly material division of owners and of tenants by color is first found in 1890.<sup>25</sup> The missing information for 1870 and 1880 is not, however, wholly irrecoverable, for the manuscript returns contain enough data to repair the worst defects. The schedules of inhabitants in the two censuses give the color of every person; and the column in 1870 on value of real estate permits reasonably correct sorting of farm operators into owners and non-owners.<sup>26</sup> Once correlation with the population schedules has been made, parts or the whole of the agricultural schedules can be retabulated in terms of tenure and color.

All types of analysis within the limits of a single census have one grave limitation: except as they employ the age column, they are incapable of showing change. To study change requires correlation or comparison of two or more censuses covering the same area or the same individuals. Work of this type promises the maximum rewards to be had from the census. It is, for example, entirely practicable, though by no means easy, to make from the manuscript returns a microscopic examination of leading features in the development of any settled locality from 1850 to 1860, or 1870, or 1880. It is possible, also, to follow the fortunes of any number of free individuals, especially men, through the same four censuses. Admittedly, so to trace individuals in quantity is a difficult job; but such statistical biography, even though it be less than perfect, holds uncommon promise as a way of describing social change.

Complex census studies of the several kinds mentioned demand so much labor that they must ordinarily be kept down either to a few topics or to a small area. The demerit of extensive examination of selected topics is that it necessitates rather rigid definition of technique and aims in advance of execution,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>The first report on agriculture that takes account of race is in Twelfth Census, 1900; but Eleventh Census, 1890, vol. [V], Report on Farms and Homes... (Washington, 1896), offers classifications of owners and tenants by color.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Since labor and tenure arrangements in agriculture take many forms, a mere division of farm operators into owners and non-owners in 1870 cannot be regarded as satisfactory; but it would be much more enlightening than no division at all.

and therefore incurs a danger that the findings may be warped by preconceptions and oversimplification. The prime advantages of wide-area work are the opportunities for comparison of subareas, and the sweep of the generalizations obtained. Major examples of this approach will be found in the trail-breaking studies conducted or inspired by Professor Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University. These studies aim to show the economic structure and the late ante-bellum trends in Southern society by analysis centering around the landholding of slaveowners and non-slaveowners in numerous sample counties.<sup>27</sup>

Small-area analysis, while weak in breadth of generalization and instructive comparisons, has compensating advantages. An individual away from a research center may hope to accumulate the material requisite for one or a few counties, and to handle that material without equipment more esoteric than ordinary note cards and a calculating machine. Because intimate acquaintance with a limited body of material leads to novel perceptions, the intensive study can achieve variety, flexibility, and subtlety in analysis quite impossible on a large scale. The small-area approach also lends itself to an effective mixing of the statistical and the non-statistical employments of the census, and to a ready integration of census data with information from other sources. Fine examples of such work are J. C. Bonner's "Profile" of Hancock County, Georgia, and the pioneer studies of groups of Wisconsin counties by Joseph Schafer, whose volumes proved, as he said, that "the great indispensable and hitherto almost universally neglected census source" enabled him "to disclose

<sup>27</sup>Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," Journal of Southern History, VI (February, 1940), 24-45; Blanche Henry Clark, The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860 (Nashville, 1942); Chase C. Mooney, "Some Institutional and Statistical Aspects of Slavery in Tennessee," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, I (September, 1942), 195-228; Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," Journal of Southern History, VIII (May, 1942), 161-182; H. L. Coles, Jr., "Some Notes on Slaveownership and Landownership in Louisiana, 1850-1860," Journal of Southern History, IX (August, 1943), 381-394; Herbert Weaver, Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860 (Nashville, 1945). Fabian Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South: An Appraisal of Some Recent Views," Journal of Negro History, XXXI (April, 1946), 140-189, is an elaborate criticism of the Vanderbilt studies, ending with a list of suggestions for further census work. See also Linden's review of Weaver's book, and Owsley's reply thereto, in American Historical Review, LII (January, July, 1947), 338-340, 845-849.

social and economic trends of which the conventional historical treatise is quite innocent," and to raise local history to general significance.<sup>28</sup> Frequently, too frequently, writers of town and county histories work solely for a home audience whose personal knowledge invests with sentiment and meaning long recitals of factual minutiae that merely bore or bewilder the outlander. But the historian of the small region can, if he will, find in local development sets of patterns and processes informative to the outlander and illustrative of man's behavior in society. The ways to this important end may vary; but the most promising, as a rule, is an astute and thorough use of the census.

The reader will inevitably have concluded that, whatever the value of the census, to attack it is to let oneself in for a deal of close and plodding work. The conclusion, though just, is partial, for census study has charms to redeem its pedestrianism. Scrutiny of the schedules turns up many diverting or unexpected facts. One may encounter in Cherokee County, Texas, 1850, a genuine Bee Hunter, or in Smith County a farm family, illiterate, with daughters called Luzyephia and Artemisea, and a neighboring farm family, literate but less imaginative, with two young children (numbers seven and eight) "not named." One is informed about Refugio County, 1860, by an enumerator's explanation that he had "numbered many Dwellings without Families which is owing to the callings and occupations many of whom have a Camp or Cabbin occupied by one or more men for the purpose of attending to stock others who are engaged in catching Fish, Turtles &c all of which I have Denominated Dwelling Houses." Again, one finds that William Hogan, assistant marshal for the Navarro District of Texas (Navarro, Ellis, and Tarrant counties), filed with his return of Schedule 6, Social Statistics, 1850, an addendum containing not only a methodological "Note on various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Bonner's "Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community" is in American Historical Review, XLIX (July, 1944), 663-680. Three books by Schafer constitute volumes II-IV of the Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The titles are: Four Wisconsin Counties, Prairie and Forest (Madison, 1927); The Wisconsin Lead Region (Madison, 1932); and The Winnebago-Horicon Basin, A Type Study in Western History (Madison, 1937). The quotation is from the last volume, p. ix. See also Schafer, "A Rural Life Survey of a Western State," in J. F. Willard, ed., The Trans-Mississippi West (Boulder, Colo., 1930), 291-308.

Schedules" but also a laudatory "Description of Navarro District." More consequential, however, than the garnering of tid-bits is the salutary effect upon the investigator of grinding through an interminable list in which men, women, and children of all ranks, provided they be free, are accorded almost equal attention; no other exercise in historical research can give so abiding an impression of the overwhelming weight of plain people in American society. Census study offers, besides, a challenge to think, in that the devising of analyses calls for ingenious contrivance, and the interpretation of findings demands clear and prudent reasoning. Finally, there is a genuine intellectual satisfaction in those moments, at the end of tedious tabulations, when results begin to take on coherent form, sustaining a presupposition, uncovering a new bit of truth, or propounding yet more questions.

### CHAPTER II

## The Child-Ladder Method

HE manuscript returns of Schedule 1 of the United States censuses, 1850-1880, have been illustrated and fully described in the preceding chapter. The reader will recall that the returns of free inhabitants are arranged by families, and that various columns show the name, age, and state or country of birth for each person enumerated. These data in combination offer an easy means of detecting the migration of families.2 Consider the Brooks family, of Cherokee County, Texas, as enumerated in 1850. Moses and Eliza Brooks have two children, "Agnus," aged three years, born in Tennessee, and Moriah, aged one year, born in Texas. The birthplaces of "Agnus" and Moriah prove that the Brooks family moved from Tennessee to Texas. And the children's ages show that the move occurred in 1846-1847, 1847-1848, or 1848-1849. (The year must be hyphenated because the census year ended June 1.) If the year midway between the birth years of the children be taken as the indicated year of removal, one may say that the Brooks family migrated from Tennessee to Texas in 1847-1848. "Agnus" and Moriah thus illustrate a way to ascertain, in the manuscript census returns, whence and when families moved between states or into the nation. The following study is an experiment in the application of this child-ladder method.

The scope of the experiment can be understood from a narrative of how it grew. The first plan contemplated a small trial of the method in the Texas returns of the Census of 1850 only. Search for a suitable test area turned up the fact that the line of the Trinity River—counting Dallas, Denton, and Cooke counties

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Above, pp. 5, 6, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>That birthplaces often indicate family movements has no doubt occurred to most students familiar with the manuscript census records. Herbert Weaver, in an article published while the present work was in progress, utilizes birthplaces to trace the paths by which foreigners entered the lower South. "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns of the Lower South," *Journal of Southern History*, XIII, 65-66.

as west of the river-divided the 1850 population of Texas into halves. Of the halves, the thirty-two counties east of the Trinity, herein designated East Texas, offered the simpler testing ground, since they were geographically the more compact, and contained only 1.1 per cent foreign-born as against 22 per cent foreign-born west of the Trinity.3 Nine counties, holding one-fourth of the East Texas population, were selected as typical, and the returns from them of Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Census of 1850, were scanned, family by family, for every detectable migration. The results appeared promising enough to warrant enlarging the 1850 sample and extending work to the Census of 1860. Hence the search was pushed through the 1850 returns of eight more counties, making seventeen in all, and then through the 1860 returns of the same counties.4 The seventeen counties of 1850 contained one-half of the population of East Texas, and one-fourth of the population of the state. In 1860 the counties, increased to nineteen by creation of Marion and Chambers, could still claim onehalf of the population east of the Trinity, but they no longer accounted for a full one-fourth of the population of Texas. Table 1 lists the nineteen counties in regional groups and gives population data permitting comparison between counties, groups of counties, and portions of the state.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The per cents have been calculated from the numbers of foreign-born by counties in J. D. B. DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 308-309, 314-315. 4From the 1850 returns of the nine counties first selected-namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith-each migrant family went down on a form card designed to receive most of the census data about the family. The best speed attained with this kind of note was thirty to forty families recorded per hour. Upon expansion of the project, copious notation had to be sacrificed to greater speed. For the eight added countiesnamely, Cass, Hopkins, Jasper, Lamar, Liberty, Nacogdoches, Sabine, and Upshurand for all of the 1860 returns, the only items noted for each family were the census number and place and date of removal. One hundred such notations could be placed in prepared spaces upon a single card. The change in form tripled speed, and the abbreviated notes are adequate to answer the central question of the sources and rates of migration. But analyses depending upon birthplace, age, or other characteristics of the migrant individual or family require full notes. Hence the figures and tables in this article are not uniformly based. The principal ones incorporate results for one-half of East Texas, 1850 and 1860, but Tables 5-8 and 13-14, and Figures 6-7 have a much smaller foundation, resting upon data for nine counties, or one-fourth of East Texas, in 1850 only.

#### Table 1.

### WHITE AND SLAVE POPULATIONS\* 1850 AND 1860

(nineteen East Texas counties)

Counties		1850			1860		Per	
(and parts of the state)	Whites	Slaves	Per cent of Slaves in	Whites	Slaves	Per cent of Slaves in	increas 1850 t	
•			Aggregate			Aggregate	Whites	Slaves
Group 1: FOUR								
NORTHERN COUNTIES Grayson	1,822	186	9.3	6,892	1,292	15.8	278.3	594.6
Hopkins	2,469	154		6,755	990	12.8	173.6	542.9
Kaufman	982	65	6.2	3,403	533	13.5	246.5	720.0
Lamar	2,893	1,085	27.3	7,294	2,833	27.9	152.1	161.1
Group totals	8,166	1,490	15.4	24,344	5,648	18.8	198.1	279.1
Group 2: FIVE UPPER								
EASTERN COUNTIES	1 071	1 041	F.O. 4	0 401	0.051	50 F	00.0	C1 E
Bowie	1,271 3,089	1,641 1,902	56.4 38.1	2,401 4,936	2,651 3,475	52.5 41.3	88.9	61.5
†Marion	3,069	1,902	30.1	1,960	2,017		123.2	188.7
Panola	2,676	1,193	30.8	5,417	3,058		102.4	156.3
Upshur	2,712	682	20.1	6,851	3,794	35.6	152.6	456.3
Group totals	9,748	5,418	35.7	21,565	14,995	40.0	121.2	176.8
Group 3: FOUR								
CENTRAL COUNTIES		·						
Cherokee	5,389	1,283	1	8,849	3,246		64.2	153.0
Henderson Nacogdoches	1,155 3,758	81 1,404	6.5 27.0	3,478 5,930	1,116 2,359		201.1 57.8	1277.8 3 68.0
Smith	3,738	717		8,408	4,982	l .	135.2	594.8
Group totals	13,877	3,485	20.0	26,665	11,703	30.5	92.2	235.8
Group 4. SIX LOWER								
COUNTIES								
Angelina	945	196		3,575	686		278.3	250.0
Jasper	1,226	541		2,426	,	39.9	115.5	197.8
Liberty  ‡Chambers	1,623	892	35.4	2,102 995	1,079 513	1	90.8	78.5
Polk	1,542	805	34.3	4,098			165.8	421.5
Sabine	1,556	942		1,600	1,150	4	2.8	22.1
Group totals	6,892	3,376	32.8	14,796	9,237	38.4	114.7	173.6
All 19 Counties	38,683	13,769	26.2	87,370	41,583	32.2	125.9	202.0
Other 19 Counties East of								
Trinity River All Counties East of	39,058	15,873	28.8	89,256	38, <b>7</b> 57	30.3	128.5	144.2
Trinity River	77,741	29,642	27.6	176,626	80,340	31.3	127.2	171.0
All Counties West of Trinity River	76,293	28,519	27.2	244,668	102,226	29.5	220.7	258.4
All of Texas	154,034	58,161	27.4	421,294	182,566	30.2	173.5	<b>2</b> 13.9

<sup>\*</sup>Population figures for 1850 are from J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the United States Census, either The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. . . (Washington, 1853), 503-504, or Statistical View of the United States . . . being a Compendium of the Seventh Census. . . (Washington, 1854), 308-309; population figures for 1860 are from Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], Population. . . (Washington, 1864), 484-486. The per cents have been supplied. †Created February 8, 1860, from the southern part of Cass plus a minute southeastern corner of Titus. ‡Created February 11-12, 1858, from the southern part of Liberty plus a strip five miles wide from the southwestern part of Jefferson.

The first and most critical question in judging the utility of the child-ladder method was whether detected migrations, or ascertained arrivals of families, would be numerous enough to furnish a respectable sample of the entire free population. Columns 1-3 of Table 2 present an answer to this question. The proportion of ascertained arrivals of families to all free families turned out to depend largely upon the age of the county. In the old county of Liberty, arrivals ascertained from the Census of 1850 were less than one-fifth of free families in 1850; in new counties such as Cherokee and Henderson, the proportion rose to one-half. On an average, ascertained arrivals of families amounted to two-fifths of all free families. The sample provided by the child-ladder method may therefore be adjudged entirely adequate in point of size.

The next question about the child-ladder method is qualitative rather than quantitative. Which of the facts about the movements of a family are beyond the purview of the method? Which facts are within its reach, and how accurately does it describe them? To see the method at its worst, suppose a family whose movements are known from the birth of the parents onward. A man, native of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, leaves home in 1839, at the age of twenty-one, and the following year marries in Crawford County, Georgia, a girl of seventeen brought by her parents from Abbeville District, South Carolina, ten years

of its free inhabitants born in Texas. Notice in Table 2 the inverse correlation between the per cents of Texas-born and the per cents that ascertained arrivals of families are of all free families. The per cents of Texas-born are based upon a table in J. D. B. DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 308-309, 314-315, listing by counties the number of free inhabitants born in the United States outside Texas and the number born in foreign countries; the sum of these numbers subtracted from the total number of free inhabitants gives the number of Texas-born. Like figures for 1860 cannot be obtained; the printed report tabulates by counties the number of foreign-born and of United States natives, but offers no means of distinguishing Texas-born from other natives. Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], Population, 487-489. Texas-born again appear separately in the reports of all censuses after 1860. Cf. Ninth Census, 1870, vol. I, The Statistics of the Population (Washington, 1872), 372-373, and Tenth Census, 1880, vol. [I], Statistics of the Population... (Washington, 1883), 528-531.

<sup>6</sup> Table 2 does not show the per cents that all arrivals of families ascertained from the Census of 1860 were of all free families in 1860. The per cent for nineteen counties was 32.5 per cent. The low and the high county per cents were 20 per cent for Chambers (part of Liberty in 1850), and 40.5 per cent for Cass.

### Table 2.

# COMPARISON OF ASCERTAINED ARRIVALS OF FAMILIES WITH TOTAL NUMBERS OF FAMILIES, 1850 AND 1860, AND WITH INDICATED IMMIGRATION OF FAMILIES, JUNE, 1850, TO JUNE, 1860

(nineteen East Texas counties)

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	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Counties (and parts of the state)	Number of free families, 1850	Ascertained arrivals of families to 1850, from Census of 1850	% of ascertained arrivals to all free families, 1850	% of all free inhabitants born in Texas	Indicated immigration of persons, June, 1850-May 1860	Indicated immigration of families, June, 1850-May, 1860	Ascertained arrivals of families, June, 1850-May, 1860, from Census of 1860	% of ascertained arrivals to indicated immigration	Number of free families,	Ascertained arrivals of families to 1860, from Censuses of 1850 and 1860	% of ascertained arrivals to 1860 to all free families, 1860
Group 1: FOUR NOR-THERN COUNTIES Grayson	295 435 170 497	137 195 76 195	46.4 44.8 44.7 39.2	18.9 24.1 16.7 31.0	4,175 3,339 1,971 3,355	735 588 347 591	389 282 152 307	52.9 48.0 43.8 52.0	1.214 1,226 611 1.223	526 477 228 502	43.3 38.9 37.3 41.0
Group totals	1,397	603	43.2	24.5	12,840	2,261	1,130	50.0	4,274	1,733	40.5
Group 2: FIVE UPPER EASTERN COUNTIES Bowie	252 576 456 484	73 215 193 220	29.0 37.3 42.3 45.5	31.8 21.4 27.8 22.6	753 2,781 1,910 3,158		104 374 217 355	78.2 76.5 64.6 63.9	454 1,215 936 1,147	177 589 410 575	39.0 48.5 43.8 50.1
Group totals	1,768	701	39.6	24.8	8,602			69.4			46.7
Group 3: FOUR CENTRAL COUNTIES Cherokee Henderson Nacogdoches Smith	890 193 631 605	438 99 219 297	49.2 51.3 34.7 49.1	19.6 17.5 33.8 13.8	1,998 1,848 1,177 3,603	352 325 207	327 158 169 392	92.9 48.6 81.6 61.8	1,533 587 1,066 1,491		
Group totals	2,319	1,053	45.4	21.8	8,626	1,518	1,046	68.9	4,677	2,099	44.9
Group 4: SIX LOWER COUNTIES Angelina Jasper Liberty and Chambers Polk Sabine	166 193 312 292 288	82 57	33.1 42.5 18.3 26.7 28.8	37.8 37.1 39.4 32.1 37.3		145 174 348	158 73 82 217 52	50.3 47.1 62.4	672 399 530 757 323	213 155 139 295 135	38.8 26.2 39.0
Group totals	1,251	355	28.4	36.7	<del></del>				2,681	937	34.9
All 19 Counties	6,735		40.3	<b>2</b> 5.8			3,808		15,384	6,520	42.4
Other 19 Counties East of Trinity River  All Counties East of Trinity River  All Counties West of				24.8 25.3		6,318 12,610					
Trinity River				31.6	135,448	25,521			46,151		
All of Texas	28,377			28.4	208,199	38,131			76,781		

before. Their first child dies in infancy. The couple moves from Crawford to Troup County, and then crosses the line into Tallapoosa County, Alabama, where a son is born in 1843. Two years later the family leaves Tallapoosa for northern Mississippi, settling in Panola County, where two children, the younger born in 1849, are added. In 1851 the father leads his wife and offspring to Ouachita Parish, Louisiana; they linger there for two crops and then go on to Cass County, Texas, arriving just ahead of the birth of a fourth child in 1853. The next year the family tries a farm in another part of Cass and in 1855 pushes out to Smith County, where the children increase to six. Four years later the father sees that his rainbow comes to earth in Henderson County.

Explanation of Table 2. Numbers of families, 1850, are from J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the United States Census, either Seventh Census of the United States, 505-506, or Compendium of the Seventh Census, 314-315; numbers of families, 1860, are from Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [IV], Statistics of the United States (including mortality, property, &c.,) in 1860... (Washington, 1866), 348-349.

Grayson County may serve to illustrate the means of calculating indicated immigration. The white population was 1,822 in 1850. Assuming 22.88 per cent to be the decennial rate of natural increase, the 1850 white population plus its natural increase came to 2,239 in 1860. But the actual white population in 1860 was 6,892. The county had gained, in immigrants and their natural increase, an indicated total of 4,653 persons. If the volume of immigration was steady, then immigrants arriving between 1850 and 1860 had been in the county an average of five years in 1860, and their natural increase would be one-half the decennial increase, or 11.44 per cent. In an equation, with x as the indicated number of immigrants, x plus .1144x equals the excess of the 1860 white population over the 1850 white population plus its natural increase. For Grayson this excess was 4.653; hence the indicated immigration was 4,653 divided by 1.1144, or 4,175 persons.

To reduce indicated immigration of persons to indicated immigration of families, the numbers of persons have been divided by the average sizes of census families, which were in 1860 as follows: for the nineteen counties, 5.6819 persons; for the other counties east of the Trinity, 5.8571 persons; for all counties east of the Trinity, 5.7691 persons; for all counties west of the Trinity, 5.3074 persons; for the whole of Texas, 5.4916 persons. The total indicated immigration of families into the state, as shown in the table, is a combination of the east of Trinity and the west of Trinity figures, and exceeds by 219 the number obtained if the average size of a census family in the state be divided into the indicated immigration of persons into the state.

The decennial rate of natural increase employed above is the rate of increase of the white population of the United States, 1850 to 1860, corrected for foreign immigration and the natural increase of immigrants.

For other methods of calculating indicated immigration, see C. Warren Thorn-thwaite, Internal Migration in the United States (Study of Population Redistribution, Bulletin No. I; Philadelphia, 1934), 5-8, 19-21. Thornthwaite's work is condensed as Appendix A in Carter Goodrich and associates, Migration and Economic Opportunity (Philadelphia, 1936); the discussion of methods is at pp. 676-678, 683-685.

There another infant appears, and the oldest son is sent off to school in Tennessee. When the census enumerator of Henderson County calls in the autumn of 1860, he finds a family of eight, consisting of two parents, two children born in Mississippi, and four born in Texas. When an investigator turns to the enumerator's record, he ascertains, according to his rules, the migration of one family from Mississippi to Texas, presumably to Henderson County in 1850-1851. Of the whole story, his version is only this meager and inexact epitome. The example has, of course, been contrived to emphasize, by exaggeration, the limitations and the fallibility of the child-ladder method. The great limitation arises from the imprecision of birthplaces as recorded in the census. Since birthplaces are shown by states, not by specific localities, the method deals only in state units. It cannot tell the part of a state whence a family came; respecting destination in Texas, it proves only the county of residence in the census year, not the county of first settlement, though as a rule the two may be the same. The method does not touch, nor pretend to touch, movements within a state, whether the state be Texas, or the place of first removal, or a place of intermediate residence. It detects only interstate moves attested by the birth and survival of one or more children living at home in the census year. The method can and often does miss interstate moves. The number of misses is not, however, alarming. Perhaps two-thirds of the families coming to Texas made a single interstate move from the state in which the first child was born; and those families moving more than once between states must needs have hurried to escape detection, for the normal gap between telltale children did not exceed two or three years. The method commits countless errors in assigning an exact year of arrival to individual families, but in the combination of many arrivals the errors presumably cancel out. In brief, the method describes reliably the direct or single move migration into Texas. Applied to families that reached Texas by stages, the method will often miss a move, usually with the effect of converting an actual two-stage migration (such as Missouri to Arkansas to Texas) into an apparent direct migration (Missouri to Texas, or Arkansas to Texas). Such errors result in understatement, probably substantial, of the number of families

making more than one move. Otherwise their effect is too small to impair seriously the correctness of the information about the sources and channels of family migration.

Because it assigns a date to each arrival, the child-ladder method promises to measure rates of migration. The present investigation began with the hope that a mere compilation of the annual totals of ascertained arrivals of families would turn out to be a true index to the relative volume of migration from year to year. Accumulation of data eventually proved, as careful reasoning might have foreseen, that the gross annual totals overstate heavily the volume of recent migration and understate the volume of earlier migration. The explanation of the distortion is that every passing year weakens the chances of detecting a family migration from the ages and birthplaces of children. For migrations on the eve of the census, enumeration itself proves the arrival of the family in Texas, and the census date can take the place of the birthdate of a Texas child. Hence one out-of-state child, aged five years or less, will prove a migration.7 But a migration in the fourth year before the census, or earlier, requires for the proof two children, one born outside and one inside Texas. Because twochild detection is more exacting than one-child detection, there is between the third and the fourth years a heavy drop in the proportion of ascertained arrivals to all arrivals. Back of the fourth year, the proportion declines slowly but steadily. The earlier the migration to be detected, the older the two children must be; and the older the children, the harder they are to find, death having thinned the stand from infancy onward. The comparative under-detection of the earlier migrations and over-detection of recent migrations require corrections of the gross annual totals. The requirement, entailing labor and opening another door to error, is unwelcome. Fortunately, appropriate corrections can be estimated with fair certainty and precision.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>An out-of-state child aged above five years is also evidence of a migration. But if the date of migration is to be inferred with acceptable accuracy, then the number of years intervening between proof of residence in the place of removal and proof of residence in Texas must be limited. The limit observed in this study is five years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>A description of the procedure is appended to this study. The corrected figures are called adjusted totals, the original uncorrected figures, gross totals. In calculating sources of migration, gross and adjusted figures give almost identical results.

How far back of the census date will the child-ladder method detect migrations? The answer depends indirectly upon the number of years children customarily remained under the parental roof. Just as they did not leave home at any fixed age, so the ascertained arrivals do not stop abruptly. The annual totals appear to have a certain coherence for as much as twenty-two years before the census; but the maximum reach of the method as an instrument of statistical measurement is around sixteen years. Information from the Census of 1850 thus begins to be useful about 1834-1835. Since each later census comfortably overlaps its predecessor, the Censuses of 1850 to 1880 taken together can afford a continuous coverage of annual migration from 1834-1835 through 1879-1880.9

The preceding paragraphs have shown that the child-ladder method will detect and describe the migration of a good fraction of the free families arriving in Texas each year from 1834-1835 through 1879-1880. In other words, the method provides a large sample of migration, and tolerably accurate information about the sample. Next comes the problem of judging how far the sample is representative. Migrants not included within the sample divide into three groups, namely, families having children but eluding detection, childless couples, and single persons. The similarity between detected and undetected families with children should preclude any significant difference in their migratory behavior. The main puzzle is to know how much the migration of persons not burdened with children, especially unmarried men, differed from the migration of families. (The free adult males of Texas in 1860 outnumbered the females by 36,279.) One may suppose that the single man moved farther and faster, more often and more boldly, than the family. But this commonsense presumption ought not be overdriven. Granting single men greater mobility, the likelihood remains that their starting places

For this reason, and because the work of "adjusting" masses of small figures is exceedingly tedious, the main tables and illustrations showing sources of migration are based upon gross totals. All tables and illustrations which show rates, or a combination of sources and rates, are based upon adjusted totals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The censuses prior to 1850 did not record the items necessary to detect migration. The manuscript returns of the general population schedule of the Census of 1890 are no longer extant. And the returns of the later censuses are not open to investigation.

and routes were much like those of families. Indeed, a majority of migrations by single persons may have been adjunct to family migrations; the census returns display such cases in great numbers. Unquestionably, the bulk of the migration into East Texas was a farm and family movement. Even if the behavior of childless persons differed markedly from that of families, still the sources and rates ascertained from family migration would be nearly correct for the movement as a whole. The best guess is that per cents derived from family migration slightly undervalue the minor and remote sources of migration, and minimize a trifle the volume of migration in the earlier, more hazardous years.<sup>10</sup>

The sample gathered by the child-ladder method permits elaborate analysis of migration in terms of per cents. While per cents are well enough, they do not meet every need. Can actual totals—for example, the whole number of Alabama families arriving in the nineteen counties—be calculated from ascertained arrivals? Such a conversion from sample to actual can be made if the precise detection rate of the method (ratio of ascertained arrivals to total arrivals) once be established. Thus, given a detection rate of 50 per cent, actual migration would be twice ascertained migration. The difficulty lies in figuring out the detection rate. Columns 5-8 of Table 2 make an attempt, but the effort must be adjudged a failure.<sup>11</sup> Without ascertained arrivals for the

<sup>10</sup> This discussion ignores towns because they amounted to little in ante-bellum East Texas. By and large, the town and the child-ladder method are not congenial. The proportion of single persons and small families is high in towns, and ascertained arrivals are correspondingly few. Townspeople tend, moreover, to come from odd places. The method may perhaps succeed in giving a correct, though small, sample of town migration as a distinct movement. But when town and country migrations are thrown together, the higher rate of detection in the country denies town migration its proper weight.

<sup>11</sup>In the eighth column of Table 2 the per cent ratio of ascertained arrivals of families to indicated immigration of families is 60.5 per cent, a plausible figure. But a glance at the individual county per cents proves either that the method is wildly erratic or that the mode of calculating efficiency is defective. No doubt the detection rate does vary, especially on small samples. But the main trouble in Table 2 lies in the calculations, which are distorted by the movements of families within the state. The child-ladder method measures only arrivals from outside the state, while indicated immigration into a county, derived from population increase, represents the sum of arrivals from without and within the state less departures of former residents. In a county suffering numerous departures, the indicated immigration is much below the actual out-of-state immigration, and the apparent detection rate is therefore deceptively high. The calculation for Sabine ends in arithmetical absurdity because the county, while receiving

entire state, the efficiency of the method cannot be statistically determined. As a result, the present study keeps for the most part within the prison of per cents. Only in the fifth section, devoted to estimates, are there figures purporting to measure actual totals of migration into East Texas.

This probing of technical problems may end with a plain warning. Migration data obtained in East Texas are accurate for East Texas only. There, immigration from foreign sources was almost nil; in Texas west of the Trinity, on the contrary, 15 per cent to 20 per cent of all migrants were of foreign origin. In the years immediately preceding 1850, migration into East Texas apparently averaged larger than migration into the area west of the Trinity; between 1850 and 1860, the growth of East Texas suffered a relative lag, while settlement west of the Trinity spurted ahead. These east-west differences, discerned from the printed census reports, are ample proof that migration into East Texas west of the Trinity, nor of migration into the whole state.<sup>12</sup>

immigrants, sent out even more emigrants. Other counties, such as Cherokee, were still gaining population, but the number of departures was sufficient to render the apparent detection rate grossly wrong. In a county receiving numerous settlers from within the state-Kaufman is probably the best example-the situation is reversed, making the apparent detection rate deceptively low. Intrastate movements thus defeat the attempt to calculate the true detection rate in sample counties from one region. On a state-wide basis, indicated immigration would be practically synonymous with total interstate and foreign migration into Texas, and the per cent ratio of ascertained arrivals to indicated immigration should be the true detection rate. If this per cent is ever sought, it ought not be calculated in terms of families, as essayed in Table 2, because the conversion of indicated immigration of persons into indicated immigration of families involves not only the fiction of "numerical equivalents" but also a doubtful assumption about the average size of all migrant families. See below, under "Estimates and Comparisons." Instead, since the average size of detected immigrant families is measurable, ascertained arrivals of families should be converted into arrivals of persons, and the per cent found in terms of persons.

12In 1860, 95.1 per cent of all foreign-born in Texas resided west of the Trinity, where they amounted to 16.9 per cent of all free inhabitants. In East Texas foreign-born were a mere 1.2 per cent of all free inhabitants. The per cents have been calculated from the numbers of foreign-born by counties in Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], Population, 487-489.

The greater migration into East Texas in the years just before 1850 may be inferred from the fact that in populations of equal size the per cent of Texas-born east of the Trinity was decidedly lower than the per cent of Texas-born west of the Trinity. See Table 2.

The per cent increases of white population, 1850 to 1860, were 127.2 per cent east of the Trinity, and 220.7 per cent west of the Trinity. See Table 1. A westward movement within Texas probably accounts for a good part of the difference.

### CHAPTER III

## Origins of the Immigrants

HE sources of migration into East Texas as a whole appear in Table 3 and the upper part of Figure 1. The per cents and the diagram speak for themselves, and require no protracted comment. The important sources are the seven states first listed. Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi furnished 51.8 per cent of the families. Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Missouri added 34.7 per cent. Taken together, the seven accounted for 87.5 per cent of all families; that is to say, they practically populated East Texas. The remaining one-eighth of the families came mostly from Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and the Carolinas. No other place contributed as much as 1 per cent.

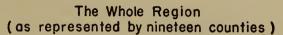
Even ante-bellum East Texas was not, of course, a uniform region. Table 4 and the lower part of Figure 1 show that the sources of migration varied substantially in different parts of the region. The populous upper eastern (or extreme northeastern) and central counties set the East Texas pattern. There Alabama arrivals took first rank by a wide margin. The upper eastern counties were the favorites of Georgia immigrants. As might be expected, the sharp sub-regional contrasts were between the northern and the lower counties. For the northern counties the major sources were Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas; arrivals there from Alabama and Mississippi no more than equalled those from Kentucky and Illinois. In the lower counties, Louisiana led, with Mississippi and Alabama second and third; Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas arrivals were comparatively unimportant, and Kentucky or Illinois migrants were rare.

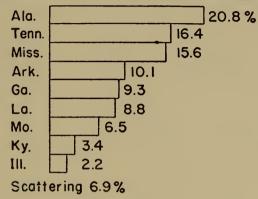
Figure 2 analyzes the sources of migration by four-year periods,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Counties do not readily fall into groups, and the arrangement here adopted is admittedly imperfect. Especially doubtful are the separation of Henderson and Kaufman and the assignment of Angelina and Sabine to the lower counties.

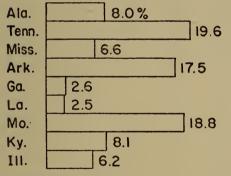
Figure 1.

SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS TO 1860 (per cents for the whole region and for groups of counties)



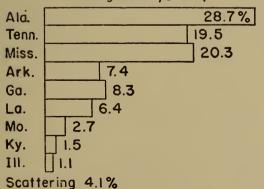


Four Northern Counties (Grayson, Hopkins, Kaufman, Lamar)

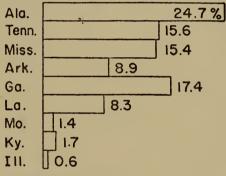


Scattering 10.1%

Four Central Counties (Cherokee, Henderson, Nacogdoches, Smith)

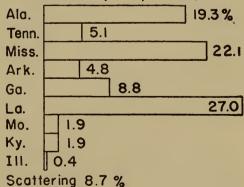


Five Upper Eastern Counties (Bowie, Cass, Marion, Panola, Upshur)



Scattering 6.0%

Six Lower Counties (Angelina, Jasper, Liberty, Chambers, Polk, Sabine)



## Table 3. SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS TO 1860\*

(The numbers given below are for nineteen counties, or one-half of Texas east of the Trinity River. The per cents should be approximately correct for the whole region east of the Trinity.)

Place of Removal	Ascert Arriv of Far to June (Census	vals milies 1, 1850	Ascert Arriv of Fai June, 183 186 (Census	vals milies 50-May,	Ascert Arriv of Far to June (1850 an combi	vals milies 1, 1860 d 1860	Place of Removal
	Number from	% from	Number from	% from	Number from	% from	
Alabama Tennessee Mississippi Arkansas Georgia Louisiana Missouri Kentucky Illinois North Carolina Indiana South Carolina Virginia Florida Indian Territory. Iowa Ohio New York Pennsylvania Wisconsin California Kansas Michigan New Hampshire New Jersey Connecticut Maryland Minnesota England	532 536 463 299 113 254 225 87 56 21 49 28 10 9 3 4 5 2 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 1	19.62 19.76 17.07 11.02 4.17 9.37 8.30 3.21 2.07 .77 1.81 1.03 .37 .33 .11 .15 .18 .07 .00 .00 .00 .00 .00 .00 .00	822 534 555 359 493 322 199 134 89 74 35 52 39 29 14 13 10 9 2 3 2 2 2 1 2 0 1 1 3	21.59 14.02 14.57 9.43 12.95 8.46 5.22 3.52 2.34 1.94 .91 1.37 1.02 .76 .37 .34 .26 .24 .05 .08 .05 .05 .05 .00 .03 .03 .03 .03	1,354 1,070 1,018 658 606 576 424 221 145 95 84 80 49 38 17 17 15 11 4 3 2 2 2 2 1 1 10 6	20.77 16.41 15.61 10.09 9.30 8.83 6.50 3.39 2.22 1.46 1.29 1.23 .75 .58 .26 .26 .23 .16 .06 .05 .03 .03 .03 .03 .03 .03 .02 .02 .02 .02	Alabama Tennessee Mississippi Arkansas Georgia Louisiana Missouri Kentucky Illinois North Carolina Indiana South Carolina Virginia Florida Indian Territory Iowa Ohio New York Pennsylvania Wisconsin California Kansas Michigan New Hampshire New Jersey Connecticut Maryland Minnesota England
Germany Norway Switzerland	3 0 2	.11	3 3 1	.08	6 3 3	.09 .05 .05	Germany Norway Switzerland
Totals	2,712	100.00	3,808	100.00	6,520	100.00	

<sup>\*</sup>Here and elsewhere—except in the second column of Table 11, in Table 17, and in Tables A and B—arrivals of date before 1850-1851 ascertained from the Census of 1860 have been dropped on the assumption that they duplicate arrivals already found in the Census of 1850. In application to select counties, the assumption is a bit arbitrary, for arrivals before 1850-1851 not noted from the Census of 1850 sometimes turn up in the Census of 1860, presumably because the families moved from an outside county into a sample county after 1850.

Table 4.

SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO NINETEEN EAST TEXAS COUNTIES
TO 1860

County	Ascertained Arrivals of Families					aces of					
County	to 1860	Ala.	Tenn.	Miss.	Ark.	Ga.	La.	Mo.	Ку.	III.	Scat- tering
Group 1: Four Northern Counties Grayson	526	2.5	15.6	3.4	13.3	1.7	0.8	32.3	9.1	9.7	11.6
Hopkins	477	9.6	17.2	10.1	22.2	4.6	3.8	14.0	5.5	3.6	9.4
Kaufman	228	11.0	15.8	11.4	14.0	0.9	7.0	14.9	11.0	5.7	8.3
Lamar	502	10.9	27.9	4.6	18.9	2.2	1.0	10.7	8.4	5.4	10.0
Group figures	1,733	8.0	19.6	6.6	17.5	2.6	2.5	18.8	8.1	6.2	10.1
Group 2: Five Upper Eastern Counties											
Bowie	177	15.8	24.9	11.3	16.9	6.8	11.3	1.1	2.8	0.6	8.5
Cass	589	25.3	12.7	13.9	9.7	20.4	<b>5</b> .8	2.2	2.2	0.5	7.3
Panola	410	27.8	14.9	14.4	7.5	12.2	14.4	1.5	1.2	1.0	5.1
Upshur	575	24.5	16.2	18.8	6.4	21.4	5.8	0.7	1.2	0.5	4.5
Group figures	1,751	24.7	15.6	15.4	8.9	17.4	8.3	1.4	1.7	0.6	6.0
Group 3: Four Central Counties											
Cherokee	765	32.3	22.3	18.8	6.4	7.6	5.3	2.0	2.0	0.3	3.0
Henderson	257	19.1	8.6	21.0	14.8	7.4	6.2	8.9	3.1	5.1	5.8
Nacogdoches	388	30.7	21.6	18.3	5.4	7.0	10.6	1.0	1.3	0.8	3.3
Smith	689	27.2	19.2	22.9	6.8	10.3	5.2	2.0	0.6	0.6	5.2
Group figures	2,099	28.7	19.5	20.3	7.4	8.3	6.4	2.7	1.5	1.1	4.1
Group 4: Six Lower Counties											
Angelina	213	23.9	8.5	27.7	9.9	4.2	16.9	1.4	0.9	0.0	6.6
Jasper	155	5.8	5.2	18.1	3.2	16.8	38.0	5.8	1.3	0.0	5.8
Liberty Chambers	155	12.2	3.6	8.6	2.9	1.4	53.2	2.3	0.7	0.0	15.1
Polk	295 135	28.5 14.8	2.7 6.7	27.1 20.8	5.1 0.0	8.8 14.1	15.3 28.9	0.7 0.7	$\frac{2.0}{5.2}$	1.0 0.7	8.8 8.1
Group figures	937	19.3	5.1	22.1	4.8	8.8	27.0	1.9	1.9	0.4	8.7
All 19 Counties	6,520	20.8	16.4	15.6	10.1	9.3	8.8	6.5	3.4	2.2	6.9

June, 1836-May, 1860. The sources were essentially the same through the years, but one notices a good many shifts in relative importance. In the first years of the Republic of Texas, June. 1836-May, 1840, Tennessee appears to have been distinctly the most important source of East Texas settlers, furnishing more than one-quarter of the families. In the next eight years, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi ran neck and neck. For the whole period down to 1850, Tennessee and Alabama ended in a virtual tie, with Mississippi a close third. (See the second column of Table 3.) About 1850 Alabama immigration assumed a commanding lead, and for the 'fifties as a whole families arriving from Alabama were half again as numerous as those from either Tennessee or Mississippi. (See the fourth column of Table 3.) At the same time the importance of the three leading sources relative to other sources declined moderately. The peak of their dominance was June, 1848-May, 1852, when they accounted for 63.4 per cent of all arriving families, as against only 46.1 per cent in the last four years, June, 1856-May, 1860. Alabama remained easily the number one source of immigrants, but Georgia families, a small element before 1850, now equalled or slightly exceeded arrivals from Tennessee or Mississippi.

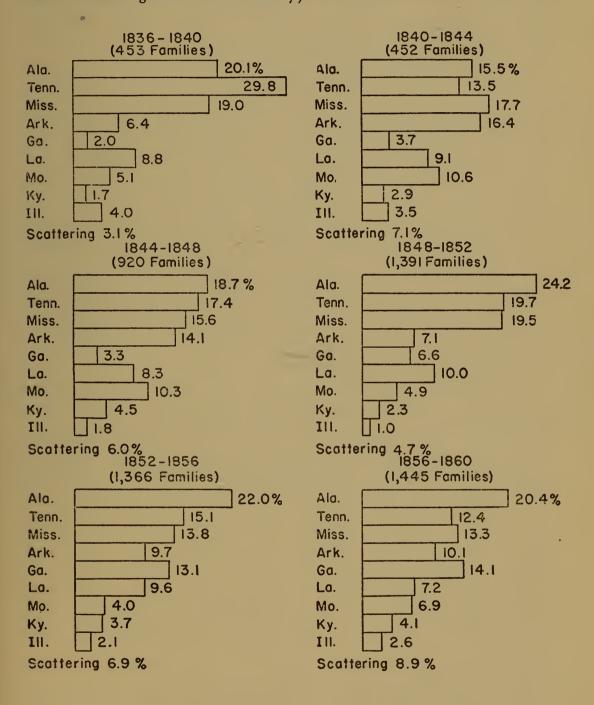
The foregoing data pertain strictly to sources of direct immigration, that is to say, the places whence families arrived in East Texas. But many families had, of course, made one or more moves prior to their Texas move.<sup>2</sup> Table 5, Prior Movement, shows the pre-Texas moves found among 1,446 families, and Table 6, Birth-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Prior moves are ascertained in the same way as arrivals in Texas, except that a prior move is recorded no matter what the gap in ages between the two key children. Ambiguities in the make-up of the census family are sometimes impediments to deciphering prior moves. Before 1880 the census returns do not state the relationship of members of the family to its head; family structure must be deduced mainly from surnames and ages, and these may leave room for doubt. Particularly perplexing is the family that runs from a male head aged forty-odd to a female aged in the low twenties to a child ladder beginning in the high teens. Is the female the oldest daughter of a widower, or stepmother to part or all of the children? The safe practice is to reject a prior move indicated by the birthplace of the ambiguous female, and to omit the family from tabulations requiring her to be classified. Now and then a family exhibits a sequence of birthplaces hinting at a hidden complication, such as a confinement of the mother away from home, or the enumeration in a single ladder of the children of husband and wife by previous marriages. In view of the chronic under-detection of prior moves (see above, under "Method"), the sensible rule is to accept the sequence of birthplaces at face value.

Figure 2.

### SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS BY FOUR-YEAR PERIODS 1836-1860

(Based upon ascertained arrivals [adjusted] for nineteen counties, or one-half of Texas east of the Trinity River. The per cents should be approximately correct for the whole region east of the Trinity.)



places of Children, helps define the moves. All of the information is from the 1850 returns of nine counties, and therefore deals only with arrivals before 1850. The apparent fraction of families that had moved once or more before coming to East Texas is one-fourth. This fraction is unquestionably lower than the true fraction would be. (See above, under "Method.") The true fraction may be estimated at about one-third.

Analysis in terms of places whence families started their moves, rather than places whence they came to East Texas, markedly diminishes the importance of the western states. According to the table, one-half of the families arriving from Louisiana, and one-third of those from Missouri, Arkansas, and Mississippi, had started elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> These states served as funnels to Texas. The more easterly sources naturally gain importance, although even as starting places the South Atlantic states, excepting Georgia, still rank far down the scale. The large increases accrue to the two places already outstanding as sources of direct migration. Nearly one-half of the "prior movers" started either from Tennessee or from Alabama; indirect migrants, added to direct immigrants, raise the contribution of Tennessee and Alabama to 46.9 per cent of the 1,446 families.

Most indirect migrants had moved only once before starting for East Texas.<sup>4</sup> Their characteristic moves may be readily identified from Tables 5 and 6. The trails of those making more than one move were sufficiently varied that in a small sample few turn out exactly alike. Ordinarily the progression was westward (for example, Georgia to Alabama to Mississippi to Texas), but a surprising number doubled back to the place of first removal (for example, Tennessee to Missouri to Tennessee to Texas). Among migrant families encountered in East Texas, the travel championship belongs to the Impey family, enumerated in Kaufman County in 1860. Levi Impey, aged forty-four years, was an illiterate farmer possessing \$100 in personal estate and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The Louisiana per cent seems out of line, and should probably be lower. The sample is too small to guarantee accuracy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In the sample of 364 families, 289 had moved once; 61, twice; 10, three times; 3, four times; and 1, five times. Since the child-ladder method sometimes misses moves, the sample is undoubtedly less than perfect. In a true sample, the number who had moved once would be smaller, the number who had moved more than once, larger.

Table 5.

### PRIOR MOVEMENT: ANALYSIS OF REMOVALS PRECEDING MIGRATION TO TEXAS

(Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

				P	lace	of Re	emov	al to	Texa	ıs					
Place of First Removal	Alabama	Tennessee	Mississippi	Arkansas	Georgia	Louisiana	Missouri	Kentucky	Illinois	No. Carolina	Indiana	Virginia	Scattering	Totals	Per cent of all prior movers
Alabama	6 7 3  18 1  3  5 1 1	8 8 4 1 2 2 4 3 1 32	41 26 2 1 8 2  1  3 1	7 21 4 2 1 8 2 3 1 1 1 1 1 53	1 2  2  4	17 9 8 5 7  1 1  2 3  4 1	3 14 1 4  3 5 7 2 3  1 1 2	3 1 1 1 1 1	2 1 1 1 3 1 2 10	1	2 1	1	1 2 1 2 7	84 92 22 11 39 4 17 16 13 13 9 18 8 10	23.1 25.3 6 0 3.0 10.7 1.1 4.7 4.4 3.6 3.6 2.5 4.9 2.2 2.2 2.7
Per cent of all ascer- tained arrivals		12.0	32.7	34.9	17.0	51.8	34.6	16.7	37.0	14.3	16.7	16.7	46.7	25.2	

### Table 6.

#### BIRTHPLACES OF CHILDREN

(Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

													1			
			1	,	Plac	e of	Remo	oval	to Te	xas				!		
Birthplace	Alabama	Tennessee	Mississippi	Arkansas	Georgia	Louisiana	Missouri	Kentucky	Illinois	No. Carolina	Indiana	So. Carolina	Virginia	Scattering	Totals	Per Cent Born Each Place
Alabama Tennessec Mississippi Arkansas Georgia Louisiana Missouri Kentucky Illinois North Carolina Indiana South Carolina Virginia Scattering	18 12  44 3 	829 16  9 5  4	72 760 3 20 3  3  6	31 20 423 12 3 25 6 17 1 5	178 	219  2 2  6	40  10  416 13 20 5 6	3  3 126	2  2 2	2  35	2 1			5	1,319 1,021 833 449 289 228 460 160 109 54 112 93 31 90	25.1 19.5 15.9 8.6 5.5 4.3 8.8 3.0 2.1 1.0 2.1 1.8 0.6 1.7
Totals	1191	896	995	568	204	391	534	142	82	40	94	42	15	54	5,248	100.0
Per cent from each place of removal Per cent born in place of removal						. 1									100.0 82.6	
												1				

no real estate. He, his wife Margaret, aged thirty-seven, and their son David, twenty-one, were born in Canada; Emeline Impey, sixteen, and Henry, thirteen, were born in Illinois; Catharine, twelve, was born in "Ioway"; Adam, five, was born in "Utaw"; and Winferd, eleven months, was born "on plains." Margaret Impey, may she rest in peace!

Table 7, Birthplaces of Parents, while complicated, is worth unraveling. Its main feature, the relation between birthplaces and places of removal to Texas, will be discussed in a later para-

## Table 7. BIRTHPLACES OF PARENTS

(Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties. namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

Per cents total 100 reading down

						Plac	e of	Rem	oval	to T	exas							
Birthplace		Alabama	Tennessee	Mississippi	Arkansas	Georgia	Louisiana	Missouri	Kentucky	Illinois	No. Carolina	Indiana	So. Carolina	Virginia	Scattering	Totals	Per cent each sex	Per cent each state
	M F	51 97	3 6		10 13	2	10 17	2 6		2					2 1	94 187	33.5 66.5	
Alabama	%	148 24.4	9	56 11.2		2 1.9	27 13.6	8 3.1	3 3.8			0.0	0.0	0.0	3 10.0	281		10.5
Tennessee	M F	64 53	131 161	56 69		3 4	14 14	42 35	7 6	7 4		2	1		2	363 404	47.3 52.7	
rennessee	%	117 19.3	292 61.5			7 6.8	28 14.2	77 30.3	13 16.4		0.0	5 10.6	1 4.3	0.0	2 6.7	767		28.7
N. G. Lander	M F	1 3	1 2	28 33			8 11	 1		1		1				41 54	43.2 56.8	
Mississippi	%	4 0.7	3 0.6	61 12.2	6 2.2	0.0	19 9.6	1 0.4	0.0	1 2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	95		3.5
A -1	M F		 1		5 9		1 2					1	- 1	1		7 12	36.8 63.2	
Arkansas	%	0.0	1 0.2	0.2	14 5.1	0.0	3 1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19		0.7
Georgia	M F	57 52	4 5	35 27	9 10	24 31	11 14	2 1			• • • •	i			1 2	144 142	50.3 49.7	
Congra	%	109 18.0	9	62 12.4	19 6.9	55 53.4	25 $12.6$	3 1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1 2.1	0.0	0.0	3	286		10.7
Louisiana	M F	2		3	2		5 13									8 20	28.6 71.4	
	%	2 0.3	0.0	6	0.7		18 9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	28		1.0
Missouri	M F	1			3 5	_	• • • •	14 24							1	17 31	35.4 64.6	
	%	0.2	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	48	. 3	1.8

(Continued on next page)

(Table 7, Birthplaces of Parents, continued)

						Place	e of :	Remo	val t	о Те	xas							
Birthplace		Alabama	Tennessee	Mississippi	Arkansas	Georgia	Louisiana	Missouri	Kentucky	Illinois	No. Carolina	Indiana	So. Carolina	Virginia	Scattering	Totals	Per cent each sex	Per cent each state
Kentucky	M F	11	 8 6	8 13	22 19	1	7 6	31 22	23 23	6 4	1			1	2 3	130 111	53.9 46.1	
Kentucky	%	19 3.1	14 2.9	21 4.2	41 14.9	1 1.0	13 6.6	53 20.8	46 58.2	10 20.8	1 3.7	16 <i>34 . 1</i>		1 10.0	5 16.7	241		9.0
Illinois	M F	1 	1				1 2	1 6 —		1 4 5				• • • •		8 18 26	30.8 69.2	1.0
	% M F	39 24	0.2 51		3.6 16		1.0 5	2.8	0.0	10.4 2	0.0 9	0.0		0.0	0.0 3		61.7 38.3	1.0
North Carolina		63			21	11 10.7	10	29 11.4	3	3	23				3	316	30.0	11.8
Indiana	M F		<u>1</u>		 			3 4		1		1 6			1	8 13	38.1 61.9	
	% M	0.0 69			0.7 10	0.0	1 0.5 14	7 2.8 2	1 1.3	1 2.1	0.0	7 14.9 1		0.0		21	60.0	0.8
South Carolina	F	49 118	5  19	29  76	7 17		12  26	1 3	1	1 2	2	1	11 			310	40.0	11.6
	M F	19.5 6 5	18	15.3 13 5	5	21.3 				2		1		4		70 51	57.9 42.1	
Virginia	%	11 1.8				1 1.0	8 4.0			5 10.4		3 6.4	0.0	7 70.0	į.	121		4.5
Scattering	M F	3	2	1	3		8 5	5				3		1	6	34	60.9 <b>3</b> 9.1	
	% M		1.5	$\begin{array}{ c c } & 6 \\ 1.2 \\ & 2 \end{array}$	4.0		13 6.6 4	3.5		7 14.6 1				20.0	12 40.0		55.2	3.3
Unknown	F	5	2	3 5	1 4	3	1 5	$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ -3 \end{vmatrix}$		1	1		0.0	0.0	0.0	13 29	44.8	1.1
TOTALS	100	606										47	23			1,340 1,335		100.0

### Table 8.

### SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS TO 1850 AS EXHIBITED BY

(1) Places of Removal of Families to Texas

(2) Birthplaces of Children Born Before Migration to Texas

(3) Places of First Removal of Families
(4) Birthplaces of Parents and Children Combined
(5) Birthplaces of Mothers
(6) Birthplaces of Fathers

(Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

Places	R of	(1) aces of emova Familio Texa	l ies		(2) rthplac of hildre		First	(3) laces of Remo	oval	of	(4) thplac Paren Child	ts	ļ	(5) rthplac of Aothers			(6) thplac of Tathers	
	No.	%	R*	No.	%	R*	No.	%	R*	No.	%	R*	No.	%	R*	No.	%	R*
Ala Tenn Miss Ark Georgia Louisiana Missouri. Kentucky Illinois N. C Indiana S. C Virginia Scattering Unknown	272 152 53 112 133 42 27 14 24 16 6 15	18.4 18.8 10.5 3.7 7.7 9.2 2.9 1.9 1.0 1.7 1.1 0.4	3 2 4 7 6 5 8 9 12 10 11 13	1,319 1,021 833 449 289 228 460 160 109 54 112 93 31 90	19.5 15.9 8.6 5.5 4.3 8.8 3.0 2.1 1.0 2.1 1.8 0.6 1.7	3 5 6 7 4 8 10 12 9 11 13	352 326 205 110 83 58 104 51 30 25 29 34 13 26	22.6 14.2 7.6 5.7 4.0 7.2 3.5 2.1 1.7 2.0 2.4 0.9 1.8	2 3 4 6 7 5 8 10 12 11 9 13	1,600 1,788 928 468 575 256 508 401 135 370 133 403 152 177 29	22.6 11.7 5.9 7.2 3.2 6.4 5.1 1.7 4.7 1.7 5.1 1.9 2.2 0.4	1 3 6 4 10 5 8 12 9 13 7 11	187 404 54 12 142 20 31 111 18 121 13 124 51 34 13	30.3 4.0 0.9 10.6 1.5 2.3 8.3 1.4 9.1 1.0 9.3 3.8 2.5 1.0	1 7 13 3 10 9 6 11 5 12 4 8	94 363 41 7 144 8 17 130 8 195 8 186 70 53 16	27.1 3.1 0.5 10.7 0.6 1.3 9.7 0.6 14.5 0.6 13.9 5.2 4.0 1.2	1 8 13 4 10 9 5 11 2 12 3 7
Totals	1,446	100.0		5,248	100.0		1,446	100.0		7,923	100.0		1,335	100.0		1,340	100.0	

\*Rank

graph. Here attention may focus on the column headed "Per cent each sex," which reveals pronounced variations in the ratio of husbands to wives born in the several states. Among Carolina born, the ratio was three to two in favor of men; among Alabama born, two to one in favor of women. The figures suggest that bachelors commonly left the Carolinas, Virginia, and Kentucky for a newer state, married there, and as family men came on to Texas. Another reason for the discrepancy in birthplaces is the fact that the average husband was five years older than his wife. If husband and wife were both the offspring of migrants, as they often were, the wife's birthplace was likely to be the farther

west. For example, if a group of families moved from North Carolina to Alabama, and their children in time intermarried, the boys aged under six at the date of migration would marry girls born in Alabama after the migration. In a majority of cases, probably, marriage between natives of different states attested not the wandering of husband or wife as unmarried adult, but the parallel or converging paths of their families while the future spouses were still dependent children.

Six indexes to the sources of migration into East Texas are brought together in Table 8. The indexes are based upon place, but a time element implicit in each accounts for the differences between them. Because the per cents are compound of removals or births occurring over many years, none of the indexes can have a precise date. Yet the bulk of the information in each index falls within a moderate range of years, and the median year of the range is more or less calculable. The medians herein listed are not to be taken literally, but they will indicate the range of years to which each index in the main applies. For removals to Texas, the approximate median date is 1845-1846; for births of children, 1840-1841; for first removals, 1838-1839; for births of children and parents, 1830-1831; for births of mothers, 1817-1818; for births of fathers, 1812-1813. A cautious correlation of these median dates with the several columns points to the general whereabouts of the East Texas migrant stock at various periods from the War of 1812 down to the annexation of Texas. Tennessee is the only state that holds a commanding position across the board.5 On the eve of the westward sweep that followed the War of 1812, the migrant stock outside Tennessee was almost all in the Carolinas and Georgia, Virginia and Kentucky. At each later period the per cents in those states had become smaller, and the per cents in the newer states, larger, until by the 'forties the migrant stock outside Tennessee was almost all in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri.

Table 8 affords a good opportunity to examine the adequacy of birthplaces as measures of migration. The subject merits ex-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>In the last two columns, the Alabama, Mississippi, and trans-Mississippi per cents are clearly too high for the median dates assigned; if they were lowered, the per cents for the states to the east, especially the Carolinas and Georgia, would be higher.

tended notice, because nativity tables furnish the bulk of available statistical information on population movements. The nativities of adults give a wildly erroneous impression of the sources of migration. (Compare columns 1 and 3 with columns 5 and 6.) Only 22.4 per cent of the fathers and 31.9 per cent of the mothers were born in the state whence they came to Texas. When working with fragmentary information about the background of an individual migrant or a young community, one must therefore remember that the birthplace of an adult cannot ordinarily be regarded as his probable place of removal, nor can his place of removal be regarded as his probable birthplace. Nativity per cents for children, unlike those for adults, correspond closely to migration per cents. (Compare columns 1 and 3 with column 2.) But the only variety of nativity data commonly available lumps together the free persons of all ages born in one place. Table 9, containing the general nativity tables for Texas, is a specimen of the data printed in the reports of the Censuses of 1850 and 1860.6 In defining migration, such general figures are not so bad as figures for adults alone, and not so good as figures for children alone. (Compare, in Table 8, column 4 with columns 2, 5, and 6.) The degree of correspondence between nativity and migration depends upon the relationship, mainly in age and distance, between the source state and the receiving state. With respect to East Texas, Virginia and the Carolinas were grandparent states; Georgia and Kentucky were, in Pickwickian biology, junior grandparent states; Tennessee and Alabama were parent states; Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For a description of the limited nativity data available by counties in 1850 and 1860, see above, p. 26n. The reports of 1870 and 1880 were the first to tabulate by counties "the number of persons born in selected states and foreign countries." For Texas counties, the selected states in 1870 were Texas, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana; in 1880, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Virginia were added.

Comprehensive tables of nativity by age would, if they existed, provide first-rate material for analysis of the sources and rates of migration.

### Table 9.

### NATIVITIES OF THE FREE INHABITANTS OF TEXAS BY STATE OR COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1850 AND 1860†

Part I. Natives of the United States.

		Census of 185	50		Census of 18	60	Per cent
Place of Birth	Number	Per cent of total non-Texas born natives	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabitants	Number	Per cent of total non-Texas born natives	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabitants	increase from 1850 to 1860
Alabama	12,040	12.904	10.848	34.193	15.184	12.730	184.0
Arkansas	4,693	5.030	4.228	11,319	5.027	4.214	141.2
California	*			83	.037	.031	
Connecticut	369	.395	.332	472	.210	.176	27.9
Delaware	61	.065	.055	114	. 051	.042	86.9
Florida	365	.391	.329	1,103	.490	.4.1	202.9
Georgia	7,639	8.187	6.883	23,637	10.497	8.800	209.4
Illinois	2,855	3.060	2.572	7,050	3.131	2.625	146.9
Indiana	1,799	1.928	1.(21	3,478	1.544	1.295	93.3
Iowa	109	.117	.098	702	.312	.261	544.0
Kansas	*			29	.013	.011	
Kentucky	5,478	5.871	4.936	14,545	6.459	5.415	165.5
Louisiana	4,472	4.793	4.029	9,660	4.290	3.596	116.0
Maine	226	.242	.204	459	.204	.171	103.1
Maryland	521	.558	.469	916	.407	.341	75.8
Massachusetts	414	.444	.373	660	.293	.246	59.4
Michigan	125	.134	, <b>1</b> 13	248	.110	.092	98.4
Minnesota	*			70	.031	.026	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Mississippi	6,545	7.015	5.897	19,902	8.838	7.409	204.1
Missouri	5,139	5.508	4.630	12,487	5.545	4.649	143.0
New Hampshire	97	.104	.087	210	.093	.078	116.5
New Jersey	205	.220	.185	384	.170	.143	87.3
New York	1,589	1.703	1.432	3,221	1.430	1.199	102.7
North Carolina	5,155	5.525	4.645	12,138	5.390	4.519	135.5
Ohio	947	1.015	.853	2,183	.969	.813	130.5
Oregon				6	.003	.002	
Pennsylvania	1,005	1.077	.905	1,796	.797	.669	78.7
Rhode Island	56	.060	.050	165	.073	.061	194.6
South Carolina	4,482	4.803	4.038	10,876	4.830	4.049	142.7
Tennessee	17,692	18.961	15.941	42,265	18.769	15.735	138.9
Texas	43,444	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		153,043			252.3
Vermont	144	.154	.130	288	.128	.107	100.0 153.7
Virginia	3,580	3.837	3.226	9,081	4.033	3.381	335.7
Wisconsin	42	.045	.038	183	.081	.068	148.6
District of Columbia	35	.038	.032	87	.039	.032	2,292.9
Territories	14	.015	.013	335	.149	.125	2,292.9
At Sea		0.47	F 4 4	247	.110		
Not stated	604	.647	.544	592	.263	.220	
Unassigned (faulty census tabulation)	4,809	5.154	4.333				
Total natives of U.S.				,			
born outside Texas	93,306	100.00	84.069	225,184	100.00	83.834	141.3
Total natives of U.S	136,750		88.551	378,227		89.702	176.6

<sup>†</sup>Data for 1850 from J. D. B. DeBow, either *The Seventh Census*, pp xxxvi-xxxvii, or *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 116-118; data for 1860 from Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], *Population*, 490 or 616-623. The per cents have been supplied.
\*No such classification in 1850.

## (Table 9, Nativities of the Free Inhabitants of Texas by State or Country of Birth, 1850 and 1860, continued)

### Part II. Natives of Foreign Countries

		Census of 185	50	(	Census of 186	60	
Place of Birth	Number	Per cent of total foreign born	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabitants	Number	Per cent of total foreign born	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabitants	Per cent increase from 1850 to 1860
Asia				7	.016	.003	
Africa		.023	.004	6	.014	.002	50.0
Australia	-		.004	22	.051	.002	30.0
Atlantic Islands	*			8	.018	.003	
Belgium		.045	.007	30	.069	.011	275.0
British America	137	.775	.123	458	1.055	.170	234.3
Central America	3	.017	.003	5	.012	.002	66.7
China		.017	.003		.012	.002	00.7
Denmark	49	.277	.044	150	.345	.056	206.1
Europe (not specified)			.021	45	.104	.017	200.1
France	647	3.659	.583	1,883	4.337	.701	191.0
German States:	017	0.000	.000	2,000	007		101.0
Austria	(11)			(730)			
Bavaria	, ,			(472)			
Baden				(507)			
Hesse				(975)			
Nassau				(1,078)			
Prussia				(6,235)			
Wurttemberg				(399)			
Germany (not				(033)			
specified)	(8,191)			(10,157)			
Total Germany		46.813	7.458	20,553	47.333	7.652	148.3
Great Britain and	0,277	10.010	7.100	20,555	27.7000	11302	210.0
Ireland:							
England	1,002	5.667	.903	1,695	3.904	.631	69.1
Scotland		1.476	.235	524	1.207	.195	100.8
Wales	17	.096	.015	48	.111	.018	182.4
Great Britain (not		1		10		, , ,	
specified)				27	.062	.010	
Ireland		7.935	1.264	3,480	8.014	1.296	148.0
Greece				2	.004	.001	
Holland	1	.079	.013	76	.175	.028	442.9
ltaly		.232	.037	67	.154	.025	63.4
Mexico	4,459	25.219	4.018	12,443	28.656	4.632	179.1
Norway		.594	.095	326	.751	.121	210.5
Portugal	5	.028	.004	10	.023	.004	100.0
Poland				783	1.803	.291	
Pacific Islands							
Russia	10	.057	.009	42	.097	.016	320.0
Sandwich Islands	5	.028	.004	2	.004	.001	60.0
Sardinia				2	.004	.001	
South America	1	.006	.001	6	.014	.002	500.0
Spain		.351	.056	59	.136	.022	-4.8
Sweden		.272	.043	153	. 352	.057	218.8
Switzerland	134	.758	.121	453	1.043	.169	238.1
Turkey				3	.007	.001	
West Indies		.124	.020	49	.113	.018	122.7
Other foreign countries.	60	.339	.054	5	.012	.002	
Unassigned (faulty				1	1	1	
census tabulation)	907	5.130	.817		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • •
T-116- 1	15.001	100.00	45.004	40, 100	100.00	10 100	1.15
Total foreign born	17,681	100.00	15.931	43,422	100.00	16.166	145.6
	1	V C	d	1			I

<sup>\*</sup>No such classification in 1850.

Louisiana were elder sister states.7 Only for the parent states were the nativity per cents and the direct migration per cents fairly close together. The ratio of natives to direct migrants from grandparent states was almost five to one; from Georgia and Kentucky, it was nearly two to one.8 On the other hand, natives from the elder sister states were about one-third less than direct migrants. In sum, nativity per cents greatly exaggerate direct migration from old and remote sources, and materially understate direct migration from young and neighboring sources. It may well be, however, that the places whence migrants came to Texas are less significant than the places whence they first moved. That is to say, a Kentucky family reaching Texas after residence in Missouri presumably brought with it more of Kentucky than of Missouri. Nativity per cents and migration per cents according to places of first removal agree moderately well; the nativity per cents still flatter the older sources, and slight the younger ones, but the apparent distortion is much less grave and may be partly chargeable to inaccuracies in the migration per cents. Judgment upon nativity data must obviously be dual: as indicators of the detailed stages in population movement, they are seriously defective; as measures of the transfer of persons and culture, without regard to steps and way stations, they are good, perhaps excellent.

How does the settlement of East Texas fit into the larger expansion of the South? The answer is to be sought chiefly in a combination of Tables 3-9 with Table 10, General Movements of Southern Free Population. At the end of the American Revolution, the progenitors of the bulk of those who would settle East Texas lived in the piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas. The movements of these Virginians and Carolinians, their chil-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Date of statehood and age in a population sense may differ. The leading example here is Mississippi, slightly older than Alabama as a state, but much younger in manner of behavior toward Texas. The explanation undoubtedly lies in the late settlement of north Mississippi, where the Chickasaw and the Choctaw remained until past 1830. In Louisiana also appearance is deceptive. Statehood dated from 1812, and lower Louisiana had been even then comparatively an old region. But migration from Louisiana into East Texas was, except for a trickle of French along the coast, essentially a movement of "Americans" from north Louisiana, which was mostly new country.

<sup>8</sup>With the rise of heavy direct migration after 1850, Georgia's relation to Texas came more nearly to resemble that of Tennessee and Alabama.

dren and their grandchildren, though fluid and overlapping, may yet be separated into three main streams. The upper stream ran westward, primarily from Virginia, secondarily from North Carolina and Maryland, to the Ohio River valley, first into Kentucky and Ohio, then onward to Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. People of this stream, usually second or third generation, became Texas settlers from Kentucky and Missouri, Indiana and Illinois. Whether technically free state or technically slave state in place of removal, they were essentially upper Southern in origin. A middle stream, rising in North Carolina, with a large tributary from Virginia, and a small one from South Carolina, poured into Tennessee, and thence into Missouri and Arkansas. This middle stream spread north, toward the Ohio valley, mingling with the upper stream, and south, into Alabama and Mississippi, mingling with a lower stream. Besides providing nearly all of the Texas settlers from Tennessee, and perhaps one-half of those from Missouri and Arkansas, the middle stream contributed to the arrivals from Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Mississippi. A lower stream, having headwaters in Virginia, but gaining its real volume in North Carolina and South Carolina, flowed into Georgia, and through Georgia to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. In the settlement of East Texas, this lower stream was the dominant one, accounting for a little over onehalf of the arriving families. The middle stream furnished a full one-third, the upper stream, hardly more than one-tenth. The typical East Texan derived from the back-country folk of the Carolinas, and the pivot of his westward progression had been either Tennessee or Alabama.

Population movements within the United States prior to 1860 showed two characteristics so definite that they may justly be termed laws or principles. These characteristics, manifest in the general nativity figures (see Table 10), are clearly formulated in the introduction to the population report of the Census of 1860.9 The first principle is thus stated:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], *Population*, p. xxxv. The presumptive author of the introduction was Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent of the Census.

General movements of southern free population as exhibited by nativity and residence,  $_{1850}$   $_{\Lambda}$   $_{1860\dagger}$ 

Alabama         Tennessee           1850         1860         1850         1860         11           237,542         320,026         22,541         19,139         2           6,398         8,015         585,084         660,589         2           11,250         24,433         33,807         66,609         4           11,250         24,433         33,807         66,609         4           11,250         24,433         33,807         66,609         4           11,250         24,433         33,807         66,609         4           11,250         24,433         33,807         66,609         4           11,34         12,078         3,352         3,520         10           13,14         14,970         73,594         2,66         3,60           13,35         1,565         32,303         34,127         10,356         3,127           180         214         4,748         112         245         1,254         11,336         3,176         4,851         12,554         1           1,36         3,176         4,851         12,565         34,756         34,33         3         3,13         3,13		Place o	Place of Birth						
1850   1860	Mississippi		Arkansas	Gco	Gcorgia	Loui	Louisiana	Missouri	ouri
1,250   24,433   34,047   38,878   8,015   34,047   38,878   8,015   11,250   24,433   3,154   1,250   24,433   3,156   1,335   1,355   1,355   1,340   3,176   12,040   34,193   1,336   3,176   1,336   3,176   1,0es outside   83,388   137,740   1,ves outside   83,388   137,740   1,ves outside   26.0   30.1   1,ves outside   20.0   30.1   1,ves outside   20.0   30.1	1850 1860	0 1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
6,398 8,015 34,047 38,878 11,250 24,433 3,154 4,628 7,346 12,078 2,067 3,473 792 920 1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 51 46 2,340 4,748 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 320,930 457,766 1ves outside 14,4 24.8 nong outside 16,398 137,740 1ves outside 16,309 14,48 16,209 18,49 180,499 180,499 180,499 180,499	1	4,848 91	1 343	58,997	83,517	628	1,149	158	191
34,047 38,878 11,250 24,433 3,154 4,628 7,346 12,078 7,346 12,078 2,067 3,473 792 920 1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 51 46 2,340 4,748 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 214 1836 3,176 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1 190 30.1			6 971	4,863		261	525	920	1,471
11, 250 24, 433 3, 154 4, 628 3, 154 4, 628 7, 346 12, 078 2, 067 3, 473 792 920 1, 335 1, 565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 51 46 225 309 92 177 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 214 180 330 457, 740 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011 190 3011	15		6 654		18,458	2,557		303	417
3,154 4,628 3,154 4,628 7,346 12,078 2,067 3,473 792 920 1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 92 146 180 214 180 214 1836 3,176 1ves outside 14,4 24,8 1n numerical g outside lives outside	16,	63,2	6 124,043		18,031	1,096		5,328	8,638
7,346 12,078 2,067 3,473 792 920 1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 92 177 92 146 225 309 345 177 180 214 180 214 180 34,193 1,336 3,176 1,040 34,193 1,336 3,176 1,040 34,193 1,346 3,176 1,040 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,340 34,193 1,440	184			40	475,496		105	09	70
2,067 3,473 792 920 1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 92 177 92 1830 92 1,77 92 1,765 1,204 92 1,766 1,806 1,306 3,176 1,908 0,1816 1,308 1,307 1,308 3,176 1,008 0,1816 1,44 24.8 1,008 0,1816 1,44 24.8 1,008 0,1816 1,	913 1	)			9,028	145,	214,294		1,199
1,335   1,565     1,335   1,565     131   184     395   358     2,340   4,748     180   214     180   324     180   324     1850     1,335   1,565     1,34   3,176     1,35   3,176     1,35   3,176     1,35   3,176     1,40   34,193     1,40		2,	4,	<u> </u>	2,568		1,389		475,246
1,335 1,565 131 184 395 358 225 309 92 177 51 46 2,340 4,748 180 214 180 214 180 345 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,336 3,176 1,44 24.8 1,485 0utside					879	671	824	1,467	2,585
131   184   395   358   225   309   92   177   184   46   2,340   4,748   180   214   244   180   214   244   246   26,0   30,1   26,0   30,		794 727	9	1,	1,347	7	886	7,228	12,394
395 358 358 225 309 92 177 51 46 2,340 4,748 180 214 209 345 3176 209 30,176 209 30,176 209 30,176 209 26.0 30,1 200 30,					1,219		31	33	38
225 309 92 177 51 46 2,340 4,748 180 214 180 214 203 345 11,336 3,176 1,36 3,176 1,37 3,176 1,37 3,176		==	~		561	321	222	1,006	1,679
92 177 51 46 62,340 4,748 180 214 209 345 112,040 34,193 11,336 3,176 11,366 3,176				<del>_</del> ,	1,854	30	37	က	5
2,340 4,748 180 214 209 345 209 345 11,336 3,176 112,040 34,193 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,336 3,176 11,34 24.8 12,388 137,740 131,080 outside 14,4 24.8 131,090 outside 131,090 outside 132,090 30.1 14,090 outside 14,090 outside 15,090 30.1 16,090 0utside 16,090 0utside 17,090 outside 1850-1850-1950 30.1		_			156	93	122	223	387
2,340 4,748 180 214 209 345 209 345 21,320 209 345 21,336 21,1336 21,133 220,930 457,766 260 30.1 26.0 30.1 28.388 28.388 29.137,740 29.399 28.399 29.11 29.29 29.309 20.11 20					124	181	182	98	97
180 214 209 345 209 345 11,336 3,176 12,040 34,193 1,336 3,176 130,930 457,766 131,388 137,740 131,388 137,740 132,388 137,740 133,388 137,740 144, 24.8 153,388 137,740 153,388 137,740 154,389 155,389 156,089 157,189 158,1		243		11,316	17,550	146	226	7	19
12,040   34,193   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,176   1,36   3,1776   1,36   1,37,740   1,36   1,37,740   1,36   1,37,740   1,37   1,3					262	133	281	3,807	5,931
natives outside			1 179			648		929	1,007
. 1,336 3,176 . 320,930 457,766 . 83,388 137,740 . 26.0 30.1 . 14.4 24.8	19	4,	Ξ,		23,	4,472		5,139	12,487
. 83.388 137,740 . 26.0 30.1 . 14.4 24.8	1,432 2,5	,225 600	0 3,590	2.920	4,223	2,260	4,660	10,491	40,428
26.0 30.1 29.2 34.756 14.4 24.8 7.3 12.3 2 2 2 7 3	72,473 264,8	347 74,122	2,148,376	148,376 525,620 665,719	665,719	160,253	241,268	315,428	564,289
26.0 30.1 29.2 34.3 -14.4 24.8 7.3 12.3 2 2 2 7 3									
. 26.0 30.1 29.2 34.3 . 14.4 24.8 7.3 12.3 . 2 2 7 3	31,588   69,041	41  10,916		24,333   122,954   190,223	190,223	14,779	26,974	37,824	89,043
14.4 24.8 7.3 12.3 2 7 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	18.3	26.1 14.7	7 16 4	23.4	28 6	6	11 2	12.0	15.8
14.4 24.8 7.3 12.3 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3									
2 2 2	20.7 28	3.8 43.0	0 46.5	6.2	12.4	30.3	35.8	13.6	14.0
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(Table 10, General Movements of Southern Free Population, continued)

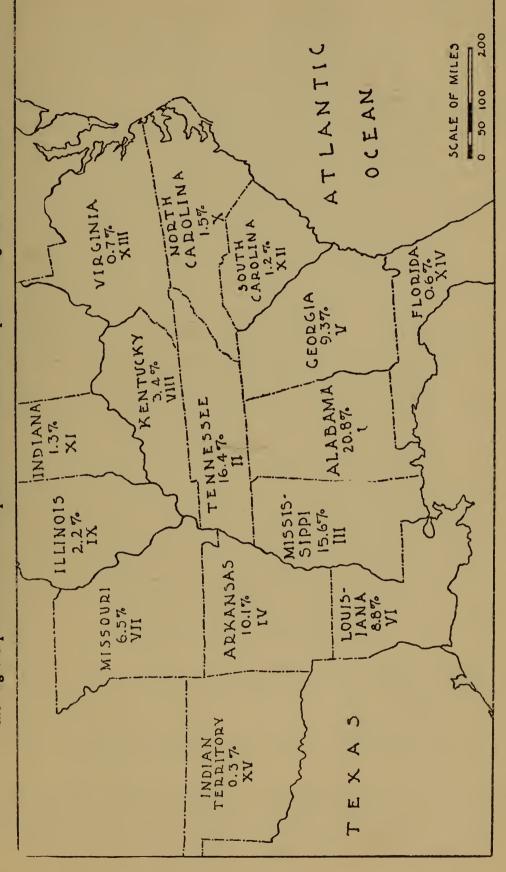
						Place	Place of Birth					
Place of Residence	Ker	Kentucky	HIII	Illinois	No. C	Carolina	Indiana	ana	So. Ca	Carolina	Virg	Virginia
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Alabama	2.694	1.966	114	224	28,521	23,504	93	186	48,663	45,185	10,387	7,598
Tennessee	12,609	12,975	872	1,396	72,027	55,227	692	1,086		11,423	46,631	36,647
Mississippi	3,948	3,201	311	371	21,487	18,321	413	409			8,357	6,897
Arkansas.	7,428		3,276	3,899		17,747	2,128	2,554	4,587		4,737	6,484
Georgia	458		41			29,913	20	47	52,154	п.	7,331	5,275
Louisiana	2,968	3,112	401	202	2,923	2,810		581	4,583		3,216	2,986
Missouri	C) 1	99,814	10,917	CO	17,009	20,259	_	30,463	2,919		40,777	53,957
Kentucky	601,764		21,570 1,649 60 193 373 618	2,617	13 851	13,609	30,898	62,010	5,104 4.162	3, 223	24.697	32.978
North Carolina	141		23	•	_	634,220	67	52	4,420		10,838	9,899
Indiana	68,651	68,588	4,173	7,925			541,079	774,721	4,069		41,819	36,848
South Carolina	73	89	9	14	6,173	7,818			3	276,	1,621	1,117
Virginia	2,029	2,938	126	245	7,343	9,978	288	390	381	353	872,923	1,001,710
Maryland	131	113	54	92	225	266		66	158	145	7,030	7,560
Florida	87	97	∞	8	3,537	4,168		26	4,	8,284	643	654
Iowa	8,994	13,204	7,247	26,696	2,589	4,690	_	57,555			7,861	17,944
Ohio	13,829	15,074	1,415		4,807	4,701	7,377	11,009	1,468		85,762	75,874
Texas	5,478	14,545	2,855	7,050	5,155	12,138	1,799	3,478			3,580	9,081
Other places	8,843	24,333	12,401	50,506	3,683	6,918	9,022	37,698	3,018	4,114	28,078	42,591
Total	859,407	$. 859, 407 \\ 1,053, 474 \\ 389, 507 \\ 841, 661 \\ 839, 325 \\ 906, 826 \\ 633, 117 \\ 990, 262 \\ 448, 639 \\ 470, 257 \\ 1,260, 982 \\ 1,401,410 \\ 1,200, 820 \\ 1,200, $	389,507	841,661	839,325	906,826	633,117	990,262	448,639	470,257	1,260,982	1,401,410
Number of natives outside state	257, 743	331,904	45,889	134,736	45,889 134,736 283,077 272,606	272,606		215,541	92,038 215,541 186,479 193,389	193,389	388,059	399,700
Per cent of natives outside state	30.0	31.5	11.8	16.0	33.7	30.1	14.5	21.8	41.6	41.1	30.8	28.5
Texas	2.1	4.4	6.2	5.2	1.8	4.5	2.0	1.6	2.4	5.6	0.0	2.3
Rank of Texas among outside places	(	l.		I	,	,	,	7	t	u	9	-
of residence	<del>∞</del>	C.	0	_	12	01	In		₹	ဂ	01	OT .
among outside places of residence, 1850–1860		က		9	•	81	14	#				4
Rank of Texas among outside places												1
of residence, 1880		4		9	•	က		<u> </u>		4		2

(Table 10, General Movements of Southern Free Population, continued)

			Place of Birth	f Birth			Total Free	Fotal Free
Place of Residence	Florida	ida	Maryland	land	Other	Other Places	roba	Iation
	1850	1860	1850	1360	1850	1860	1850	1860
Alabama	1,060	1,644	757	683	13,681	18,918	428.779	529,121
Tennessce	369	20	1,554	1,222	13,071	32,576	763,258	834,082
Mississippi	629	343	791	643	9,611	18,485	296,648	354,674
Arkansas	38	175	326	431	5,988	10,840	162,797	324,335
Georgia	1,103	1,659	703	609	10,799	18,465	524,503	595,088
Louisiana	372	635	1,440	1,321	81,922	102,839	272,953	376,276
Missouri	29	22	4,253	6,015	106,835	258,476	594,622	1,067,081
Kentucky	30	24	6,470	4,412	55,103	91,795	771,424	930,201
Illinois	23	22	6,898	10,476	333,776	765,772	851,470	1,711,951
North Carolina	54	47	635	497	4,948	5,930	580,491	661,563
Indiana	21	20	10,177	9,673	269,597	408,965	988,416	1,350,428
South Carolina	55	138	320	279	10,085	12,387	282,523	301,302
Virginia	26	45	10,328	12,599	53,300	73,348	949,133	1,105,453
Maryland	37	29	400,594	481,061	83,784	109,898	492,666	599,860
Florida	20,563	35,602	194	204	4,601	6,594	48,135	78,679
Iowa	51	26	1,888	4,663	*83,879	*345,692	192,214	674,913
Ohio	17	23	36,698	28,680	*605,128	*664,945	,980,329	2,339,511
Texas	365	1,103	521	916	*28,532	*55,911	154,431	421,649
Other places	417	725	43,846	53,935				
Total	25,297	42,372	528,393	618,319				
Number of natives outside state	4,734	6,770	127,799	137,258				
Per cent of natives outside state	18.7	16.0	24.2	22.2				
	7.7	16.3	0.4	0.7				
Rank of Texas in numerical increase among outside place	<u>.</u>	2	7.7	I/I				
of residence, 1850-1860			15				'\	
Rank of Texas among outside places of residence, 1880	က		14					

†Data for 1850 from J. D. B. DeBow, either The Seventh Census, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, or Compendium of the Seventh Census. 116-118; data for 1860 from Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], Population, 616-623. The data for 1850, though admittedly defective "in many particulars" (Seventh Census, p. xxxvi), seem to be validated in essentials by their coherence with the results obtained in 1860. The per cents and rankings herein given have been supplied. For the full tables of 1850 and 1860 in "per 10,000 distribution" (equivalent to per cents carried to two decimal places), see Twelfth Census, 1900, Special Reports: Supplementary Analysis and Derivative Tables (Washington, 1906), 910-921, 954-969 (Tables 71-72, 77-78). \*Excluding natives of the state.

showing the per cent from each place and the rank of each place among the several sources SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS



In thirty States out of thirty-four, it will be perceived that the native emigrants have chiefly preferred to locate in a State immediately adjacent to that of their birth... The second preference, in a majority of cases, has been given to another adjoining State. Thus the shorter removals are more frequent than those to longer distances.

Do the preferences displayed by migrants to Texas conform to this principle of adjacency, or short removal? Emigrant natives of Arkansas and Louisiana behaved properly in selecting Texas as their prime destination. But the emigrant natives of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi evidenced a tendency to flout the rule. By the principle of adjacency, Louisiana or Arkansas should have held the greatest number of emigrant Mississippians; actually, the greatest number was in Texas. After 1850 a plurality of Georgians moving past Alabama, and of Alabamians leaving home, elected to go to Texas, even though Texas lay the width of two states from Alabama. The disposition of Georgians and Alabamians to pass beyond Mississippi may perhaps be attributed to Mississippi's increasing maturity in the 'fifties. But why was Texas outdrawing Arkansas or Louisiana? Why were Mississippians, Georgians, and Alabamians willing to make interstate moves of abnormal length to reach Texas? The Texan patriot will regard these as idle and impertinent questions. Certainly Texas exceeded her rivals in fame, and homeseekers might think her superior in matters like healthfulness, cheap land, and prospect of growth. Routes of travel may also have fostered long removals; by water transportation from Georgia or Alabama, Texas was about as accessible as north Louisiana or Arkansas.10 Lastly, there is, as usual in Texas questions, the element of size. Since south Louisiana and northwest Arkansas were not congenial to the ordinary farmer or planter from the lower South, perhaps Texas should count as equivalent in attractive area to Arkansas and Louisiana combined. The combination of two against Texas, if licit, brings the behavior of migrants better in line with the principle of adjacency and short removal; but such combination severely wrenches the principle as stated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The importance of this factor depends upon the proportion between Gulf and river arrivals and overland arrivals. Evidence of both modes of migration is ample. See William Ransom Hogan, *The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History* (Norman, Oklahoma, c. 1946), 5-9. But it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to estimate what fraction came by water and what fraction by land.

The second law or principle, accepted and elaborated by Professor Frank L. Owsley in a fine article on Southern migration,11 reads: "men seldom change their climate, because to do so they must change their habits; the almost universal law of internal emigration is that it moves west on the same parallel of latitude."12 The states on approximately the same parallels with Texas-namely, Louisiana, half of Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina-provided 61.36 per cent of the direct migrants into East Texas. States definitely north of Texas-Missouri, half of Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and others-provided 38.3 per cent of the direct migrants into East Texas. In other words, nearly two-fifths of those arriving in East Texas had veered well to the south of the parallel of former residence. Among western settlers as a whole, probably not more than one-fifth or onequarter swerved decidedly north or south. Here again migration into Texas appears to strain against principle. But certain qualifiers are in order. The principle stipulates a tendency among emigrants, not among immigrants, and is properly to be measured in relation to the sending states, not in relation to the receiving state. Compared to the states east of Texas, the states northeast of Texas produced a very heavy volume of emigrants, wherefore the arrival of a small part of their emigrants made relatively a strong showing in Texas.13 The fourth line from the bottom in Table 10 gives for the several states the per cents of their emigrant natives in Texas, 1850 and 1860. For Alabama and Mississippi, the two major non-adjacent sources east of Texas, the 1860 per cents were 24.8 per cent and 28.8 per cent; for Tennessee and Missouri, the two major non-adjacent sources northeast of

<sup>11&</sup>quot;The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," Journal of Southern History, XI (May, 1945), 147-176. See also William O. Lynch, "The Westward Flow of Southern Colonists before 1861," ibid., IX (August, 1943), 303-327, esp. 305-306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>The passage continues: "The principle stated is of great importance, though it may be less applicable to the future than to the past." Eighth Census, 1860, vol. [I], *Population*, p. xxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>The increase between 1850 and 1860 in free emigrant natives from Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana was 440,980, as against only 178,179 from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Texas, 12.3 per cent and 14.0 per cent.<sup>14</sup> Plainly, the disposition to move south by west was far weaker than the disposition to move west. This observation leads to a second point. The tendency to proceed due west reflected not veneration for parallels of latitude as such, but preference for the climate, topography, soils, and vegetation already known to the migrant. But the kind of country familiar to persons from Tennessee, Kentucky, and the semi-Southern regions above the Ohio pretty well ended with north Arkansas and Missouri. To go farther, short of the Pacific coast, would usually require either an acceptance of some degree of plains environment, or an angling north or south from the parallel of former residence. Besides, the region west of Arkansas remained Indian country, and the region west of Missouri, organized in 1854 as Kansas Territory, proved not altogether inviting, in its political aspects, to the migrant bent upon placid pursuit of his own business. This situation perhaps induced an appreciable deflection south into Texas. Emigrants from certain parts of Tennessee, the least northerly and the largest source of settlers trending southward, could feel reasonably at home in the central and upper counties of East Texas; few of them went into the lower counties. Emigrants from states northwest or north of Tennessee-chiefly, Missouri, Kentucky, Illinois, and Indianacould not enter East Texas without encountering a changed environment, but they kept the change to a minimum by stopping almost entirely in the northern counties. (See again Table 4 and Figure 1.)

<sup>14</sup>Another fairly good index is the ratio of ascertained arrivals of families in East Texas to total families in the source state in 1860. For the fourteen leading sources these ratios were, in descending order: Mississippi, 1 to 62; Alabama, 1 to 71; Arkansas, 1 to 87; Louisiana, 1 to 130; Tennessee, 1 to 140; Georgia, 1 to 181; Florida, 1 to 397; Missouri, 1 to 453; South Carolina, 1 to 733; Kentucky, 1 to 753; North Carolina, 1 to 1,317; Illinois, 1 to 2,176; Indiana, 1 to 3,389; Virginia, 1 to 4,113.

### CHAPTER IV

# Rates of Arrival

HE annual rates of migration into East Texas are presented in Table 11 and Figure 3. The adjusted numbers represent a constant but unknown fraction of total arrivals each year; they are to be taken as index numbers, valid in comparison with one another, and capable of showing rate, but otherwise meaningless as long as the detection rate of the child-ladder method remains undetermined. The index number for the year ending May, 1835, is 43, for the next year, 61. For the year ending May, 1837, roughly the first year of the Republic of Texas, the index rises to 101, and it stays at a level around 120 all the way through the year ending May, 1844. If the two figures for June, 1834-May, 1836 be accepted—their statistical foundation is not overly strong-then one may conclude that the volume of migration into East Texas doubled soon after the Revolution. The index for June, 1836, to May, 1844, thought to be reliable, indicates an almost constant volume of migration throughout the period of the Republic. The decided drop in 1842-1843, if not a statistical fluke, may be a consequence of the troubles with Mexico. For 1844-1845 the index is about fifty per cent above the previous level, and it continues upward, except for a flat spot coinciding with the Mexican War, to a peak in the years from June, 1850, to May, 1853, when the volume of migration was about three times what it had been during the Republic. The five years following witnessed a marked decline, the index falling from 377 in 1852-1853 to 253 in 1857-1858. What happens next is both unexpected and embarrassing to an amateur statistician. Despite corrections believed adequate, the index jumps to a new high of about 450 for the two years ending June 1, 1860, seeming to prove that migration into East Texas, after dwindling for five or more years, surged to a record level in the late fifties.1 Table

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The distribution of the numbers for the last three years may be faulty. If so, the valley of 1857-1858 and the peak of June, 1858-May, 1860 are probably exaggerated. But even a large shift in numbers does not change the over-all pattern of decline and upsurge.

#### Table 11.

## RATE OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS TO 1860: ASCERTAINED ARRIVALS OF FAMILIES BY YEARS

(The numbers given below are for nineteen counties, or one-half of Texas east of the Trinity River. The adjusted percentages should be approximately correct for the whole region east of the Trinity.)

	Annual Totals, Gross				Annual	Totals, Ad	justed
Year	From Census	From Census		nd 1860 bined	1850 an		Year
	of 1850	of 1860	Number each year	% each year	Number each year	% each year	
1824-25	00		0.0	4.4			1824-25
to 1832-33	28		28	.44			to 1832–33
1833-34 1834-35	19 25	1 2	19 25	.29	43	.70	1833–34 1834–35
1835-36	37	4	37	.57	61	.70	1835-36
1836-37	63	4	63	.97	101	1.65	1836–37
1837-38	67	8	67	1.03	103	1.68	1837-38
1838-39	93	18	93	1.43	138	2.25	1838-39
1839-40	78	21	78	1.20	111	1.81	1839-40
1840-41	91	27	91	1.40	124	2.02	1840-41
1841-42	87	25	87	1.34	113	1.84	1841-42
1842-43	77	35	77	1.18	95	1.55	1842-43
1843-44	102	50	102	1.57	120	1.96	1843-44
1844-45	163	98	163	2.50	183	2.98	1844-45
1845-46	201	112	201	3.08	213	3.47	1845-46
1846-47	261	182	261	4.01	261	4.26	1846-47
1847-48	521	173	521	7.99	263	4.29	1847-48
1848-49	524	208	524	8.04	305	4.97	1848-49
1849-50	275	229	275	4.22	320	5.22	1849-50
1850-51		283	283	4.34	385	6.28	1850–51
1851-52		293	293	4.43	381	6.21	1851-52
1852-53		304	304	4.66	377	6.15	1852–53
1853-54		286	286	4.39	337	5.50	1853-54
1854–55		318	318	4.88	356	5.81	1854-55
1855–56		279	279	4.28	296	4.83	1855-56
1856–57		294	294	4.51	294	4.80	1856-57
1857-58		586	586	8.99	253	4.13	1857-58
1858-59		752	752	11.53	431	7.03	1858-59
1859–60		413	413	6.34	467	7.62	1859–60
	2,712	5,005	6,520	100.00	6,131	100.00	

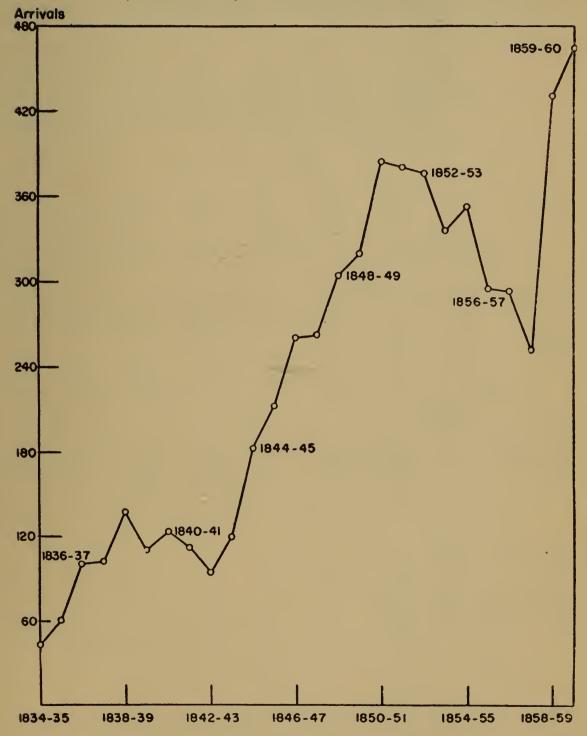
12 and Figure 4 place the decline mostly in the big central counties, such as Smith and Cherokee, which were comparatively full by 1851. The apparent upsurge of the late fifties had its main strength in the northern and upper eastern counties.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Mr. William W. White finds a parallel decline and upsurge in out-of-state

Figure 3.

RATE OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS 1835-1860

(Plotted from adjusted annual totals in Table 11)



arrivals west of the Trinity River. For a description of Mr. White's study, see below under "Estimates and Comparisons."

#### Table 12.

### RATES OF MIGRATION INTO NINETEEN EAST TEXAS COUNTIES 1836-1860

(This table is based upon ascertained arrivals [adjusted] of families for each county by four-year periods from June, 1836, through May, 1860. The four-year totals are expressed as per cents of ascertained arrivals [adjusted] for the county during the whole twenty-four years.)

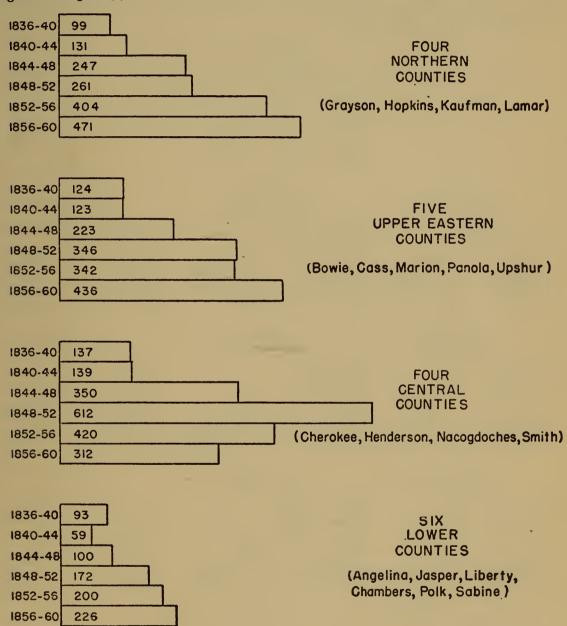
County	Ascertained arrivals of families, 1836-1860 (adjusted total)	Per cent arriving June 1836 through May 1840	Per cent arriving June 1840 through May 1844	Per cent arriving June 1844 through May 1848	Per cent arriving June 1848 through May 1852	Per cent arriving June 1852 through May 1856	Per cent arriving June 1856 through May 1860
Group 1: Four							
Northern Counties							
Grayson	471	2.8	3.2	13.8	16.3	29.1	34.8
Hopkins	465	6.4	9.7	16.6	20.2	25.2	21.9
Kaufman	200 477	1.0 11.3	5.0 12.8	16.0 15.3	18.0 11.3	25.5 20.8	34.5 28.5
Lamar	4//	11.5	12.8	15.5	11.5	20.8	20.5
Group figures	1,613	6.1	8.1	15.3	16.2	25.1	29.2
Group 2: Five Upper							
Eastern Counties							
Bowie	154	13.6	11.7	13.0	18.8	12.4	30.5
Cass						00.0	00.0
Marion	531	6.6	8.1	11.5	20.3	26.9	26.6
Panola	391	8.2	8.7	19.4	23.5	16.4	23.8
Upshur	518	7.0	5.4	12.7	22.6	22.4	29.9
Group figures	1,594	7.8	7.7	14.0	21.7	21.5	27.3
Group 3: Four							
Central Counties							
Cherokee	725	6.9	7.6	22.3	32.8	18.8	11.6
Henderson	239	1.3	5.0	16.7	31.4	23.4	22.2
Nacogdoches	369	17.3	10.3	12.7	25.5	20.1	14.1
Smith	637	3.1	5.3	15.9	32.2	24.2	19.3
Group figures	1,970	6.9	7.1	17.8	31.1	21.3	15.8
Group 4: Six							
Lower Counties							
Angelina	201	7.0	7.9	7.5	18.4	34.3	24.9
Jasper	136	13.2	6.6	14.0	31.6	15.5	19.1
Liberty	119	7.6	10.1	17.6	12.6	23.5	28.6
Chambers							
Polk	275	8.0	4.4	10.5	18.2	25.1	33.8
Sabine	119	25.2	8.4	13.5	22.7	10.9	19.3
Group figures	850	10.9	7.0	11.8	20.2	23.5	26.6
Ail 19 Counties	6,027	7.5	7.5	15.2	23.1	22.7	24.0
	l .			1	1	1	1

Caution: This table shows the time when families came to Texas, and the county of their residence in 1850 or 1860. But the time of their arrival in the county of residence is not necessarily the same as the time of their coming to Texas. First settlement may have been in some other county. Hence the figures, while excellent indicators, are not absolute indexes to the rates of settlement in the several counties.

Figure 4.

## RATES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES 1836-1860

(The numbers are ascertained arrivals [adjusted] of families in each quadrennium; for the quadrennial rate of migration into the nineteen counties combined, see the first diagram in Figure 5.)



### Figure 5.

# RATES OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS BY STATES OF REMOVAL 1836-1860

(Based upon ascertained arrivals [adjusted] by four-year periods for nineteen counties, or one-half of Texas east of the Trinity River. The four-year totals are expressed as percents of ascertained arrivals [adjusted] from the state during the twenty-four years from June 1, 1836, to June 1, 1860. The per cents should be approximately correct for the whole region east of the Trinity.)

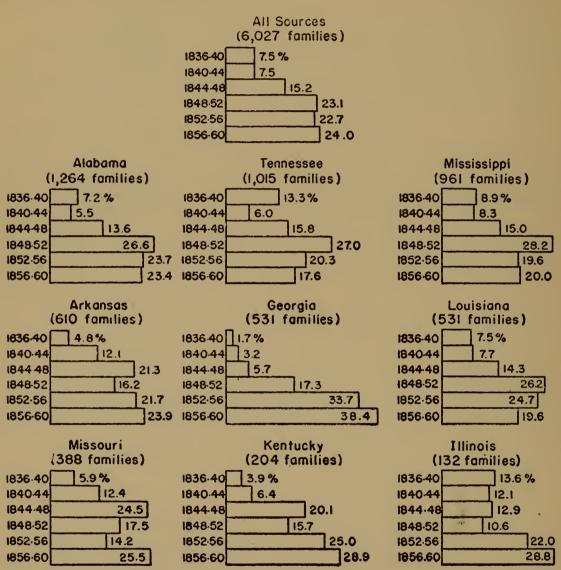


Figure 5 illustrates the quadrennial rates of migration into East Texas, 1836-1860, from all sources, and from the nine leading sources separately. A closely related set of diagrams will be found in Figure 2. On the whole, Figure 5 does not lend itself to ready interpretation. Most of the diagrams suggest inconstant flows of emigration from the several states, but whether the in-

constancy is chargeable mainly to fluctuations in the total volumes of emigration, or mainly to changes in emphasis between regions of settlement, cannot be told from data on arrivals in a restricted area. The plainest feature of Figure 5 is the rise in direct migration from Georgia to East Texas; nearly three-quarters of the Georgia families arrived after May, 1852. Also noticeable, though less pronounced, are the high per cents of the Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Illinois arrivals falling in the last four years. They account in large measure for the rapid growth of the northern counties on the eve of the Civil War.

### CHAPTER V

# Sidelights

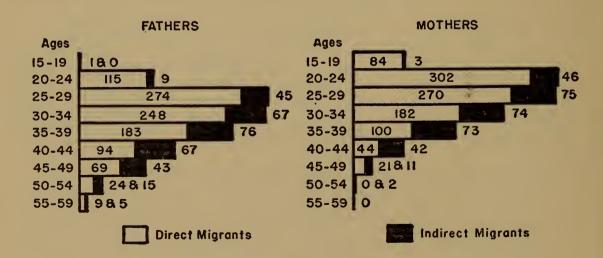
#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT FAMILIES

in Texas. The indirect migrants were, as one might guess, considerably older on an average than the direct migrants. Among all migrants, fathers were five years older than mothers. One-third of the men were aged under thirty at migration; slightly more than two-fifths were in their thirties; and about one-quarter had reached or passed forty. The median age of men was thirty-three years. Clearly, the accent was not on extreme youth, and migrations by elderly persons were numerous, though atypical. The most redoubtable old man lurking in Figure 6 is Zedic Weakes, an illiterate farmer of Angelina County, born in North

Figure 6.

AGES OF PARENTS AT TIME OF MIGRATION\*

(This analysis distinguishes between "direct migrants" [those whose first removal as parents was to Texas], and "indirect migrants" or "prior movers" [those who had made one or more moves as parents prior to their removal to Texas].)



Sidelights

		TO FORM TO FIRM OUT	THE TAKEN			-	
AGE	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION.	EXPRESSED	IN	PER	CENTS	

A =	Direct Migrants		Indirect	Migrants	All Migrants		
Age Groups (years)	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	
15–19	0.1	8.4	0.0	0.9	0.1	6.5	
20–24	11.3	30.1	2.7	14.1	9.2	26.2	
25-29	26.9	26.9	13.7	23.0	23.6	25.9	
30-34	24.3	18.1	20.3	22.7	23.3	19.2	
35–39	18.0	10.0	23.0	22.4	19.2	13.0	
40-44	9.2	4.4	20.3	12.9	11.9	6.5	
45–49	6.8	2.1	13.0	3.4	8.3	2.6	
50-54	2.3	0.0	4.6	0.6	2.9	0.1	
55–59	0.9	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	
60-64	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	
65–69	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	
70–74	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Median age	32	26	37	33	33	28	

\*Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith. The age distributions here given are unavoidably distorted by under-representation of the older age groups. The method used in selecting families eliminates women at five years past child-bearing age; and men above the maximum age for women appear only in as far as they are older than their wives. On the other hand, fathers under twenty-five or thirty, and mothers under twenty or twenty-five, are probably under-represented because the method tends to select large families, thereby discriminating against young parents.

Carolina, seventy-five years old in 1850. He was head of a family consisting of himself, a woman aged thirty-six, and five children aged from fourteen to three years. If Zedic was, as appears, the husband and father, then he had, since his sixty-fifth year, moved his brood from Mississippi to Louisiana, from Louisiana to Arkansas, from Arkansas back to Mississippi, and from Mississippi to Texas.

The sizes of natural families (parents and children) appear in Table 13. Comparison of the numbers of families with one, two, three, or four children suggests that the growth of a family did not materially reduce the disposition to move. As might be foretold, the child-ladder method produces an over-representation of large families. Whereas the average size of a census family in the nine counties was 5.8 persons, the families of Table 13 when enumerated in 1850 had reached an average census size of 7.3 persons. An aggregate of 742 persons other than the parents and children lived in 385 of the 1,417 census families. Certain of the "other persons," such as boarders and hired hands, had probably not shared in the family migrations. But usually the

### Table 13.

#### SIZE OF FAMILIES AT TIME OF REMOVAL TO TEXAS\*

(Data based upon ascertained arrivals of families from the Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

Children per family	Number of families	Per cent of all families	Number of children	Per cent of all children	Number of persons (assuming both parents alive)	Per cent of all persons
1 child	256 289 225 205 150 122 86 50 18 13 3 0	18.0 20.4 15.9 14.4 10.6 8.6 6.1 3.5 1.3 0.9 0.2 0.0 0.1	256 578 675 820 750 732 602 400 162 130 33 0	5.0 11.2 13.1 15.9 14.6 14.2 11.7 7.8 3.1 2.5 0.6 0.0	768 1,156 1,125 1,230 1,050 976 774 500 198 156 39 0 15	9.6 14.5 14.1 15.4 13.1 12.2 9.7 6.3 2.5 1.9 0.5 0.0
Totals	1,418	100.0	5,151	100.0	7,987	100.0

Median family had 3 children Median person belonged to a family of 6 Median child was one of 5 children Average number of children per family, 3.6

\*Size of families as here tabulated represents numbers of children born before removal to Texas who were surviving and at home in 1850. The numbers of children above shown must therefore be appreciably below the actual numbers at time of removal. On the other hand, the method of selecting the families in the sample produces an over-representation of large families.

"other persons" were related to the families, and had presumably moved with them. On a conservative estimate, the arrivals of one-half of the "other persons" were thus controlled by the family arrivals. This one-half of "other persons," plus the parents and children who had migrated, plus children born between arrival in Texas and 1850, averaged exactly seven persons to the family. That is to say, each detected family migration accounts, on an average, for the origins of seven residents in 1850. Because seven was well above the average size of an East Texas family, ascertained arrivals of families cover a larger per cent of all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The data are from a table, not here reproduced, analyzing the families of Table 13 as natural and as census families in 1850.

persons than of all families. Ascertained arrivals of 6,520 families come to 42.4 per cent of all free families in the nineteen counties in 1860. But 6,520 families of seven amount to 45,640 persons, or 52.2 per cent of all the white inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

The standard reason for migration to East Texas was undoubtedly the hope of economic betterment. To test fulfillment of this hope, Table 14 and Figure 7 analyze the ownership and value of real estate in relation to length of residence in East Texas.3 The data, covering 1,422 families, are from a column headed "Value of real estate owned" in Schedule 1 of the Census of 1850. Except among recent arrivals, the pattern of ownership was, in a rough way, much the same no matter what the length of residence. From 17.9 per cent to 30.3 per cent of the heads of families resident more than three years were without real estate in 1850. Both owners and non-owners were mostly farmers.4 Among real estate owners, about one-half of the total holdings belonged to the wealthier 13 per cent of the families. The value of the median family holding evinced an almost constant increase in proportion to length of residence in Texas. Counting both owners and nonowners, the median among recent arrivals was \$100; among residents of four to six years, \$400; among residents of seven to nine years, \$500; among residents of ten to twelve years, \$870; among residents of thirteen to fifteen years, \$1,000. (The fall to \$820 among residents of more than fifteen years can probably be dismissed as an aberration resulting from the smallness of the sample.) The amounts in dollars stand for comparatively large acre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This calculation assumes that the average of seven held good throughout the ante-bellum years. The assumption seems warranted by the fact that the average size of families in East Texas was nearly the same in 1850 and 1860. The average sizes of census families in Texas and subdivisions in 1860 are given in the explanation to Table 2. The average sizes in 1850 were: for the seventeen (later nineteen) counties, 5.7535 persons; for the other counties east of the Trinity, 5.7880 persons; for all counties west of the Trinity, 5.1438 persons; for the whole of Texas, 5.4421 persons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Because the sample grossly over-represents recent arrivals, the figures in the six columns of Table 14 cannot be cumulated to produce a correct composite analysis of ownership and value without regard to length of residence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>According to an informal tabulation, the per cent of owners, and the median value of holdings, were lower among farmers than among non-farmers. Professional men, artisans, and merchants or traders, living either in the countryside or in the few small towns like Rusk (Cherokee County) and Sherman (Grayson County), usually owned real estate, sometimes a good deal of it.

Table 14.

# OWNERSHIP AND VALUE OF REAL ESTATE IN RELATION TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN TEXAS

(Data from Census of 1850 for nine East Texas counties, namely, Angelina, Bowie, Cherokee, Grayson, Henderson, Kaufman, Panola, Polk, and Smith.)

		D	ate of Arri	val in Texa	s	
Sh.	1828-29 to 1834-35	1835-36 to 1837-38	1838-39 to 1840-41	1841-42 to 1843-44	1844-45 to 1846-47	1847-48 to 1849-50
Families without real estate:  Number  Per cent of all families	5 17.9	15 24.6	20 18.7	37 30.3	92 26.2	359 47.7
Families owning real estate:  Number  Per cent of all families  Average value of holding  Value of median holding	23 82.1 \$ 3,019 \$ 1,800	46 75.4 \$ 1,941 \$ 1,200	87 81.3 \$ 1,972 \$ 1,000	85 69.7 \$ 1,820 \$ 1,000	259 73.8 \$ 930 \$ 640	394 52.3 \$ 939 \$ 500
All families:  Number  Average value of holding  Value of median holding  Analysis of real estate ownership	28 \$ 2,480 \$ 820	61 \$ 1,464 \$ 1,000	\$ 1,603 \$ 870	122 \$ 1,268 \$ 500	351 \$ 636 \$ 400	753 \$ 491 \$ 100
\$40-149 (median, \$100)  Number of families  Per cent of all families  Per cent of owning families  Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	\$ 7.1 8.7 \$ 200 0.3	1 1.6 2.2 \$ 80 0.1	2 1.9 2.3 \$ 150 0.1	\$ 1.6 2.4 \$ 160 0.1	12 3.4 4.6 \$ 1,177 0.5	30 4.0 7.6 \$ 2,805 0.8
\$150-249 (median, \$169)  Number of families  Per cent of all families  Per cent of owning families  Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	1 3.6 4.3 \$ 222 0.3	1 1.6 2.2 \$ 160 0.2	7 6.5 8.0 \$ 1,415 0.8	3.3 4.7 \$ 760 0.5	29 8.3 11.2 \$ 5,181 2.2	51 6.8 12.9 \$ 9,120 2.5
\$250-349 (median, \$305)  Number of families  Per cent of all families  Per cent of owning families  Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	3 10.7 13.0 \$ 920 1.3	0 0.0 0.0 \$ 000 0.0	\$ 5.6 6.9 \$ 1,725 1.0	13 10.7 15.3 \$ 3,970 2.6	34 9.7 13.1 \$ 10,535 4.4	\$ 20,319 5.5
\$350-549 (median, \$480)  Number of families  Per cent of all families  Per cent of owning families  Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	\$ 7.1 8.7 \$ 980 1.4	\$ 2,790 3.1	10 9.3 11.5 \$ 4,700 2.7	10 8.2 11.8 \$ 4,760 3.1	44 12.5 17.0 \$ 19,574 8.1	69 9.2 17.5 \$ 31,479 8.5

(Continued on next page)

(Table 14, Ownership of Real Estate, continued)

		1	Date of Arr	ival in Tex	as	-1
	1828-29	1835-36	1838-39	1841-42	1844-45	1847-48
	to	to	to	to	to	to
	1834-35	1837-38	1840-41	1843-44	1846-47	1849-50
\$550-899 (median, \$640)						
Number of families	1	7	9	7	56	57
Per cent of all families	3.6	11.5	8.4	5.7	16.0	7.6
Per cent of owning families Value of combined holdings	\$ 640	\$ 4,910	10.3 \$ 6,487	\$ 4,700	21.6 \$ 37,178	\$ 39,388
Per cent of total value	0.9	5.5	3.8	3.0	15.4	10.6
			0.0			
\$900-1,399 (median, \$1,000)						
Number of families	2	10	20	19	46	54
Per cent of all families	7.1	16.4	18.7	15.6	13.1	7.2
Per cent of owning families	8.7	21.7	23.0	22.4	17.8	13.7
Value of combined holdings  Per cent ot total value	\$ 2,280 3.3	\$ 10,798 12.1	\$ 21,444	\$ 20,025	\$ 49,150 20.4	\$ 56,526 15.3
Ter cent of total value	3.5	12.1	12.5	12.3	20.4	10.0
\$1,400-1,899 (median, \$1,500)						
Number of families	1-	6	12	11	11	16
Per cent of all families	3.6	9.8	11.2	9.0	3.1	2.1
Per cent of owning families	4.3	13.0	13.8	12.9	4.2	4.1
Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	\$ 1,800	\$ 9,266	\$ 18,837	\$ 17,260	\$ 16,665	\$ 24,720
rer cent of total value	2.6	10.4	11.0	11.2	6.9	6.7
\$1,900-2,999 (median, \$2,000)						
Number of families	4	8	7	7	15	28
Per cent of all families	14.3	13.1	6.5	5.7	4.3	3.7
Per cent of owning families	17.4	17.4	8.0	8.2	5.8	7.1
Value of combined holdings	\$ 8,535	\$ 17,724	\$ 15,592	\$ 15,000	\$ 32,832	\$ 60,540
Per cent of total value	12.3	19.8	9.1	9.7	13.6	16.4
\$3,000-5,999 (median, \$4,000)						
Number of families	5	2	6	7	8	18
Per cent of all families	17.9	3.3	5.6	5.7	2.3	2.4
Per cent of owning families	21.7	4.3	6.9	8.2	3.1	4.6
Value of combined holdings	\$ 24,375	\$ 6,462	\$ 22,200	\$ 26,570	\$ 29,315	\$ 70,902
Per cent of total value	35.1	7.2	12.9	17.2	12.2	19.2
\$6,000-30,000 (median, \$9,744)						
Number of families	2	4	8	5	4	5
Per cent of all families	7.1	6.6	7.5	4.1	1.1	0.7
Per cent of owning families	8.7	8.7	9.2	5.9	1.5	* 1.3
Value of combined holdings  Per cent of total value	\$ 29,488	\$ 37,100	\$ 79,000	\$ 61,480	\$ 39,250	\$ 54,075
ref cent of total value	42.5	41.6	46.0	39.7	16.3	14.6
Total value	\$ 69,440	\$ 89,290	\$171,550	\$154,685	\$240,857	\$369,874
Per cent of total value held by						
lower one-half						
of all families	4.3	10.0	8.6	4.6	8.4	0.4
of owning families	10.1	18.3	14.4	13.7	17.8	14.4
Minimum number of families						
whose combined holdings amount						
to one-half of total value  Per cent these families are	3	7	10	9	40	51
of all families	10.7	11.5	9.3	7.4	11.4	6.8
of owning families	13.0	15.2	11.5	10.6	15.4	12.9
			-1.0		10.1	

Figure 7.

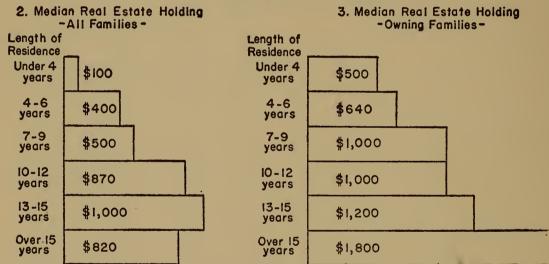
### OWNERSHIP AND VALUE OF REAL ESTATE IN RELATION TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN TEXAS

(These diagrams are based upon data from Table 14.)

I. OWNERSHIP OF REAL ESTATE

Number of Families	Length of Residence	Families Owning Real Estate	Families Not Owning Real Estate
753	Under 4 years	%. w: 52.3%	47.7 %
351	4-6 years	% : 73.8 % = :	26.2%
122	7-9 years	%: 4: 69.7%	30.3%
107	10-12 years	% : 81.3%	18.7%
61	13-15 years	% : ເດ : 75.4% = :	24.6 %
28	Over 15 years	% : 82.1 %	17.9%

Families on either side of dotted lines account for one-half of total value of real estate



ages, customary valuation being only one or two dollars per acre. The rise in value of holdings proportionate to length of residence demonstrates that the bulk of the migrants did in time better themselves economically.<sup>5</sup> But this conclusion needs to be tem-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The data do not, however, prove conclusively that migration paid. The progression in length of residence is much the same thing as a progression in age, and it may be that in most localities, old or new, men's property holdings tended to grow with their ages. If so, the increases shown above could be partly or wholly functions of age, and not evidences of superior opportunity in a fresh region.

pered with the recollection that substantial numbers failed to acquire real estate.

#### ESTIMATES AND COMPARISONS

Heretofore the detection rate of the child-ladder method has been treated as an unknown. But the upper and lower limits of the unknown have been fixed. (See Table 2.) In terms of families, the rate is certainly above 42.4 per cent (the per cent that ascertained arrivals are of resident free families), and almost certainly below 60.5 per cent (the per cent that ascertained arrivals are of total indicated immigration of families or their numerical equivalents). An estimated rate of 50 per cent is therefore reasonable, though doubtless not exactly correct. At that rate, ascertained arrivals of families multiplied by two will be total actual arrivals of families, or their numerical equivalents, in the nineteen counties (one-half of East Texas), and ascertained arrivals multiplied by four will be total actual arrivals in all of East Texas. To permit conversion to numbers of persons, the average size of an arriving family may be set at five and one-half. Total migration of persons will then be twenty-two times ascertained arrivals of families.

### Table 15.

### ESTIMATED TOTAL MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS BY STATES OF REMOVAL, JUNE, 1836-MAY, 1860

(The estimated numbers of families are simply the ascertained arrivals [adjusted] from each state, June, 1836-May, 1860, as shown in Figure 5, multiplied by four; the estimates of persons are the same figures multiplied by twenty-two.)

Place	Families*	Persons
Alabama Tennessee Mississippi	5,056 4,060 3,844	27,808 22,330 21,142
Arkansas	2,440 2,124	13,420 11,682
Louisiana Missouri Kentucky	2,124 1,552 816	11,682 8,536 4,488
IllinoisScattering	528 1,564	2,904 8,602
Total	24,108	132,594

<sup>\*</sup>Or their numerical equivalents.

Table 16.

## ESTIMATED ANNUAL VOLUME OF MIGRATION INTO EAST TEXAS, JUNE, 1834-MAY, 1860

(The annual estimates of numbers of families are simply the adjusted annual totals of ascertained arrivals, as shown in Table 11, multiplied by four; the estimates of persons are the same figures multiplied by twenty-two.)

Year	Families*	Persons
1834–1835	172	946
1835–1836	244	1,342
1836–1837	404	2,222
1837–1838	412	2,266
1838–1839	552	3,036
1839–1840	444	2,442
1840-1841	496	2,728
1841–1842	452	2.486
1842–1843	380	2,090
1843–1844	480	2,640
1844–1845	732	4,026
1845–1846	852	4,686
1846–1847	1,044	5,742
1847–1848	1,052	5,786
1848–1849	1,220	6,710
1849–1850	1,280	7,040
1850–1851	1,540	8,470
1851–1852	1.524	8,382
1852–1853	1,508	8,294
1853–1854	1,348	7,414
1854–1855	1,424	7,832
1855–1856	1,184	6,512
1856–1857	1,176	6,468
1857–1858	1,012	5,566
1858–1859	1,760	9,482
1859–1860	1,832	10,274
Total	24,524	134,882

<sup>\*</sup>Or their numerical equivalents.

The multipliers four, for families, and twenty-two, for persons, have been employed in constructing Table 15, Estimated Total Migration into East Texas by States of Removal, 1836-1860, and Table 16, Estimated Annual Volume of Migration into East Texas, 1834-1860. The numbers in the tables are estimates, nothing more. Take, for example, the purported number of persons migrating into East Texas in 1840-1841. Gross ascertained arrivals for the year were 91. This number has been increased by 36 per cent to compensate for a defect in the child-ladder method; multiplied by two to find actual arrivals in the nineteen counties; mul-

#### COMPARISON OF THE SOURCES OF MIGRATION INTO TEXAS TO 1860 EAST OF AND WEST OF THE TRINITY RIVER\*

Place of Removal	Per cen		Pcr cent from each place, excluding forcign countries		
Flace of Removal	East of the Trinity River	West of the Trinity River	East of the Trinity River	West of the Trinity River	
Alabama Tennessee Mississippi Arkansas Georgia Louisiana Missouri Kentucky Illinois North Carolina Indiana South Carolina Virginia Florida Indian Territory Iowa Ohio New York Pennsylvania Wisconsin California Kansas Michigan New Hampshire New Jersey Connecticut Maryland Minnesota Massachusetts Maine Nebraska New Mexico Vermont England Ireland Scotland Germany Norway Switzerland Holland Poland	21.62 15.14 15.74 9.39 11.09 8.53 5.41 3.36 2.34 1.74 0.96 1.30 0.94 0.66 0.28 0.28 0.26 0.20 0.04 0.04 0.04 0.02 0.04 0.02	9.71 11.00 13.17 10.24 2.71 6.43 9.54 3.64 3.77 1.55 1.55 1.11 0.84 0.58 0.40 0.58 0.40 1.51 0.49 0.35 0.35 0.31 0.13 0.13 0.13 0.13 0.18 0.13 0.13 0.18 0.10 0.27 0.27 0.27 0.18 0.04 0.27 0.09 0.04 9.98 0.09	21.71 15.21 15.81 9.43 11.11 8.57 5.44 3.37 2.35 1.75 0.96 1.31 0.94 0.66 0.28 0.28 0.26 0.20 0.04 0.04 0.04 0.04 0.02	11.90 13.48 16.14 12.56 3.32 7.88 11.68 4.46 4.62 1.90 1.90 1.36 1.03 0.71 0.49 0.71 0.49 1.85 0.60 0.43 0.43 0.38 0.16	
Bohemia France Denmark Europe Mexico	0.02 0.02	0.04 0.31 0.04 7.45			
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

<sup>\*</sup>Data in this table come from the Census of 1860 only, and are, for East Texas, inferior to the data in various other tables combining the Censuses of 1850 and 1860. The per cents for the area west of the Trinity, furnished by Mr. William W. White, are based upon 2,255 ascertained arrivals of families (reduced to 1,840 in the fourth column). Mr. White's figures derive from the census returns for representative counties, and include all ascertained arrivals irrespective of datc. Considering the diversity of the area, and the moderate size of his sample, Mr. White regards his findings as less than conclusive, but probably close to the mark. The per cents for the area east of the Trinity are based upon 5,005 ascertained arrivals of families (reduced to 4,985 in the third column). Of these, 3,808 arrivals, dating from 1850-51 to 1859-60, appear in Table 3. The other 1,197 arrivals, dating before 1850-51, and omitted from Table 3 as duplicating part of the arrivals ascertained from the Census of 1850, are included here to make the method of compilation strictly parallel to that used by Mr. White.

tiplied by two again to cover the whole of East Texas; and multiplied by five and one-half to convert from families to persons. By four steps, none unquestionably correct, a base figure has been inflated to more than twenty times its initial size. An estimate thus concocted can be, at the most flattering appraisal, only a good approximation.

Table 17 presents data for a comparison between the sources of migration into East Texas and the sources of migration into

Table 18.

DIRECT MIGRATION INTO TEXAS FROM THIRTEEN STATES: ESTIMATES OBTAINED BY APPLYING BIRTH-MIGRATION INDEXES TO NATIVITY FIGURES

	Birth-	Direct Migrants in Texas, 1850 (n		Direct Migrants to Texas, 1850-1860 (not corrected for deaths)		Direct Migrants in Texas, 1860	
Place of Removal	migration index (ratio per cent)	Number	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabit- ants	Number	Per cent of total increase of non-Texas born free inhabitants	Number	Per cent of total non-Texas born free inhabit- ants
Alabama	112.3	13,522	12.2	24,881	15.8	38,403	14.3
Tennessee	76.7	13,566	12.2	18,841	12.0	32,407	12.1
Mississippi	161.0	10,537	9.5	21,503	13.6	32,040	11.9
Arkansas	180.3	8,463	7.6	11,950	7.6	20,413	7.6
Georgia	53.4	4,078	3.7	8,542	5.4	12.620	4.7
Louisiana	230.1	10,289	9.3	11,937	7.6	22,226	8.3
Missouri	155.1	7,971	7.2	11,399	7.2	19,370	7.2
Kentucky	55.1	3,019	2.7	4,997	3.2	8,016	3.0
Illinois	96.3	2,749	2.5	4,040	2.6	6,789	2.5
North Carolina	18.1	933	0.8	1,265	0.8	2,198	0.8
Indiana	106.0	1,907	1.7	1,780	1.1	3,687	1.4
South Carolina.	16.1	723	0.7	1,031	0.7	1,754	0.7
Virginia	16.4	589	0.5	905	0.6	1,494	0.6
						~	

Texas west of the Trinity River. The per cents for the area west of the Trinity are the work of Mr. William W. White, who has made a sample study, employing the child-ladder method, in that area, and has generously consented to the inclusion of his findings here. As could be predicted from nativity tables and general information, the primary east-west difference was in migration from foreign sources. In Mr. White's sample, 10 per cent of ascertained arrivals came from Germany, and 7.5 per cent from Mexico. Notable also were the relative variety and volume of

free state immigration west of the Trinity. There the total from free state and foreign sources combined was 28.95 per cent; east of the Trinity the corresponding figure was a mere 4.76 per cent. The importance of foreign sources west of the Trinity tends to lower the per cent ratings of all the United States sources. Among migrants from the United States considered separately, those from four major source states-Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana—were in about the same proportions east and west. But the Alabama and Georgia elements were decidedly smaller, and the Missouri element was decidedly larger, west of the Trinity. The east-west per cents cannot be combined to produce statistically correct per cents from the several sources for the whole of Texas. But a rule of thumb procedure will afford results good enough to be useful. For any place, find the difference between the per cents in the east of Trinity and the west of Trinity columns (left half of Table 17), then add three-fifths of the difference to the East Texas per cent if it is the smaller, or subtract three-fifths of the difference if it is the larger. The per cent thus obtained should be close to the true per cent standing of that place as a source of direct migration into Texas.

The employment of a valuable set of indexes derived from the child-ladder sample is illustrated in Table 18. The indexes rest upon the assumption that the ratio between the number of persons born in a given place and the number of persons coming directly to Texas from that place was the same for all migrants as it was for known migrants in nine East Texas counties in 1850. For example, among known migrants the number directly from Alabama was 1,797, the number born there, 1,600. (See Tables 6 and 7.) Migrants were thus 112.3 per cent of natives. This ratio per cent, or birth-migration index, makes possible the conversion of nativity figures into indicated direct migration figures. Table 18 applies the birth-migration index for each state to the nativity figures, from Table 9, for that state. Note that the indicated numbers of migrants, 1850 and 1860, cover not the total migrants to date, but only the total then surviving; and that the indicated numbers of arrivals between 1850 and 1860 are decidedly too low because no allowance is made for deaths. As far as the estimates can be checked, they are imperfect but in general not bad. Certainly they are a vast deal better, as measures of migration, than the raw nativity figures from which they derive.

#### SUGGESTIONS

If two presumptions be granted—namely, that the child-ladder method is a success, and that historians could use a better knowledge of migration—then the foregoing study merely scratches one edge of a large field worth tilling.

To speak first of Texas, a definite statement of the sources and rates of ante-bellum migration into the state as a whole awaits the investigation of more counties. Such investigation would gain in interest if it distinguished between the migration of slave-holders and the migration of non-slaveholders.<sup>7</sup>

Still untouched is the tremendous post-bellum migration. About half a million persons moved to Texas in the decade 1870-1880. This number approached the record set in Illinois between

6The birth-migration indexes have a value additional to that manifest in Table 18. If good, they will, in application to source states, especially to states simultaneously receiving and sending considerable numbers of migrants, yield fairly accurate measurement of the total volume of population movement, whether in or out. The indexes in Table 18 are perhaps not good enough for this larger use, but will at least illustrate the procedure. For example, indicated immigration into Mississippi, 1850-1860, was in the neighborhood of zero. But the increase, 1850-1860, in emigrant natives of Mississippi was 37,453. If a birth-migration index of 161 per cent be accepted, then the total emigration was at least 60,296, wherefore the actual immigration must have been about the same amount, and the total population movement in and out not less than 120,000. In other words, while one might think from population sizes alone that Mississippi population movement was at a standstill, the nativity figures and birth-migration index demonstrate that immigration and emigration were both substantial, though almost in balance.

The index per cents employed in Table 18 are more or less defective because the sample does not cover enough space and time, and needs correction to bring the age distribution in the sample, which is overladen with children, into approximate conformity with the age distribution among all migrants.

To correct for deaths in calculating the decennial increase in natives and migrants from each place would be an intricate and uncertain process; but failure to correct means acceptance of serious underestimation, for the reason that increase in out-of-state natives, 1850 to 1860, is lower than the actual migration of out-of-state natives not only by the number of deaths among those migrating between 1850 and 1860, but also by the number of deaths, 1850 to 1860, among those who migrated before 1850.

<sup>7</sup>To learn which were slaveholders, one checks the migrant families found in Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, against the names of owners in Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants. The correlation is time-consuming, and the division of families into two groups increases labor in analysis and tabulation.

1850 and 1860, and exceeded the net immigration into Texas during any subsequent decade.

The child-ladder method could be supplemented to great advantage by tracing Texas families back to the communities whence they came. The obvious procedure would be to search out the enumerations of detected migrant families in the census preceding their removal to Texas. This is unquestionably a most difficult type of research.<sup>8</sup> But it would, if pushed through, give solid answers to three cardinal questions about migration, to-wit: (1) What parts of the source states chiefly contributed settlers, and what localities did the migrants from the several regions select for settlement? (2) To what extent was the westward flow of agricultural migrants a movement of kinship and neighborhood groups? (3) What was the status, especially the economic status, of migrant families before removal, and how did it compare with their status in their new homes?

The things done or suggested herein for Texas can be duplicated for every state or organized territory receiving a significant volume of agricultural immigrants between 1835 and 1880. The area fulfilling this condition includes all farming regions west of the Mississippi settled by 1880, and a minimum of five states east of the Mississippi. The student of migration need not pine for elbow room.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The first difficulty is that few investigators at present command access to the requisite census returns. The second and truly monumental difficulty lies in finding large numbers of migrant families in the returns of their former home states. The problem may probably be reduced to manageable proportions by searching back only from a few select counties for which there is information outside the census, say in county histories, pointing to the exact origins of the settlers. Even then, the expectation must be one of heavy work for imperfect results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>The child-ladder method seems ill-suited, if not totally incompetent, to the analysis of migration into mining, ranching, and urban areas.

# Appendix

#### DETAILS OF METHOD

Procedure in detecting and describing family arrivals. To avoid complication in words, the illustrations in this sub-section are confined to the Census of 1850. Procedure is the same in the Census of 1860. In scanning enumerations, which ordinarily list father, mother, and children in order of age, the searcher after migrations watches the age column. Whenever he notices a child-ladder, he shifts his eye to birthplaces. If he finds an out-of-state birth followed by a Texas birth, indicating a migration, he next glances over the whole family enumeration, especially the surnames, to assure himself that the key children are, to all appearances, siblings, and to see whether any prior moves can be detected farther up the child-ladder. He is then ready to make his note, which may vary from mere place of removal, date of removal, and family number, to a transcript of all the information about each member of the family. The place of removal is the birthplace of the older of the two key children. The interval in age between the children must not exceed five years; this limit keeps down the possible error in inferring date of arrival. If the ages are an even number apart (say the children are five and three, or five and one), then the number midway between the ages (four or three) subtracted from the census year 1850 gives the indicated year of arrival (1846 or 1847, meaning 1845-1846 or 1846-1847). If the ages are an odd number apart (say six and five, or six and one), then the number nearest the mid-number on the small side (five or three) is subtracted from the census date. This rule may not be everywhere applicable, since it predicates a rising volume of migration. The choice can be thrown with equal ease to the large side. But an evenhanded practice, such as alternating between the small and the large side, or recording fractions to be distributed in tabulation, would involve added work and worry.

One-child detections, depending upon an out-of-state child aged five years or under, with the census date substituting for a Texas child, are made like two-child detections. The inferred dates of arrival according to the age of the child in 1850 are: five or four years old, 1847-1848; three or two years old, 1848-1849; one year old or under, 1849-1850. Arrivals ascertained by one-child detection require special treatment in tabulation, and must therefore be clearly marked. For example, if an Alabama migration of 1847-1848 found by two-child detection is written "Ala 48," then an Alabama migration of

the same date detected from one child aged four years should be written "Ala 48-4."

A uniform five-year maximum, applying both to the interval between children in two-child detections, and to the age of the child in one-child detections, has been followed throughout the present study. The rule was adopted in beginning ignorance, and could not later be modified. But it is probably not the best rule. One objection lies against the uniformity. To illustrate, the median birthdates of children aged six and one in the Census of 1850 were January 1, 1844, and January 1, 1849; the gap in the two-child detection is five years. The median birthdate of children aged five was January 1, 1845; in a one-child detection, the interval to the census date of June 1, 1850, is five and one-half years. Considering that one-child detection is, on various grounds, the less desirable type of detection, discrimination should go rather against than in favor of it, and the maximum age of the child ought to be one year below the maximum interval in two-child detection. This minor change would affect ascertained arrivals for only one or two years. Of wider bearing would be a reduction of the interval allowed in two-child detection. The fiveyear maximum is needlessly high; only a small fraction of two-child detections depend upon a gap that long. As an odd number, five is troublesome in inferring indicated year of arrival, and its elimination would be welcome on that account. A four-year maximum in twochild detection, and a corresponding three-year maximum in onechild detection, would produce, with less effort and more accuracy, an ample volume of ascertained arrivals.

If there are two natural families (parents and children) within a census family, both count as migrant families only in cases where each has a usable child-ladder; if only one migration is detectable, then the census family counts as one migrant family including "other persons." Non-detectable census families are not to be accounted migrant families because of obvious relationship to one or more adjacent census families whose arrival has been ascertained.

Compensations and corrections. As explained in the initial discussion of method, the child-ladder detection is not even over the years. Taking the fourth year before the census, say 1846-1847, as the norm, each earlier year requires a progressively greater compensation. The compensation used is 6 per cent for the fifth year back, 12 per cent for the sixth, 18 per cent for the seventh, and so on to a maximum of 72 per cent for the sixteenth year. Since data from the censuses after 1850 need cover only the ten years back to the preceding census, they require no compensations above 36 per cent. The compensation rate is based primarily upon a comparison of the gross ascertained arrivals from the two censuses for 1846-1847 and the years immediately before. (See Table 11.) To about the sixteenth year, deaths are

presumably the chief cause of under-detection; then departures from home begin to be a major factor, and an even progression in compensation no longer holds. Valid compensations may perhaps be made for several years beyond the sixteenth year, but the data at hand are insufficient either to prove the possibility or to establish the amounts of the compensations.

For the three years just preceding the census, one-child detections pile on top of two-child detections. Arrivals ascertained by two-child detection and by one-child detection were: 1847-1848, 275 and 246; 1848-1849, 169 and 365; 1849-1850, 8 and 267; 1857-1858, 265 and 322; 1858-1859, 229 and 522; 1859 and 1860, 7 and 406. The combined totals are inordinately large, and the distribution by years is faulty. The distortion comes mostly from the one-child detections. To correct, one has to speculate: given time, how many of the families detected by one child would produce another child and become eligible for two-child detection? Only they, obviously, are entitled to weigh equally with families found through two-child detection. By crude mathematical reasoning-mayhap divination-the chances look as follows: for families with youngest child five or four years, four to one against a complementary child within the proper time; for families with youngest child three or two years, odds even; for families with youngest child one or under, four to one in favor of a complementary child. Arrivals detected by one child are reduced accordingly, those of 1847-1848 by four-fifths, those of 1848-1849 by one-half, and those of 1849-1850 by one-fifth. Fortunately, the corrections can be checked. If they are right, the sum of the corrected arrivals from the Census of 1850 for 1847-1848, 1848-1849, and 1849-1850, consisting of the residue, after correction, of the arrivals detected by one child, and all of the arrivals detected by two children, should equal the sum of the adjusted (compensated) arrivals for the same years ascertained from the Census of 1860. The sums turn out to be 888 from the Census of 1850 and 898 from the Census of 1860. This near identity is good evidence that the corrections are in combination, if not individually, about right. To obtain final annual totals, the three-year sum of the corrected ascertained arrivals from the Census of 1850 is distributed among the individual years 1847-1848, 1848-1849, and 1849-1850 according to the proportion prevailing between those years in the adjusted arrivals from the Census of 1860.

In the absence of data from the Census of 1870, the correction of gross ascertained arrivals from the Census of 1860 for 1857-1858, 1858-1859, and 1859-1860 must be an imitation of the process applied to the Census of 1850. Presumably the reductions (four-fifths, one-half, one-fifth) in arrivals detected by one child are as valid for one census as for another. The difficulty comes in the distribution of the sum of the corrected ascertained arrivals. There is no alternative to an

attempt to manipulate the sum for 1857-1858, 1858-1859, and 1859-1860 in a manner corresponding to the supposed behavior in distribution of the sum for 1847-1848, 1848-1849, and 1849-1850. The corrected total for 1847-1848 was 324, the final total, 263. It is assumed that the surplus of corrected over final consisted of the residue, after correction, of arrivals detected by one child, amounting to 49, plus 12 of the arrivals detected by two children, and that these 61 arrivals were carried down to 1848-1849. The corrected total for 1848-1849 was 342, the final total, 305. It is assumed that the final total consisted of the 61 brought down, all 159 of the 1848-1849 arrivals detected by two children, and 85 of the 183 arrivals which constituted the residue, after correction, of the 1848-1849 arrivals detected by one child. The corrected total for 1849-1850 was 222; the final total, 320. The final total is assumed to consist of the corrected total plus the remainder of 98 brought down from 1848-1849. The sum of the corrected ascertained arrivals for 1857-1858, 1858-1859, and 1859-1860 has been distributed into final annual totals by carrying down balances from 1857-1858 to 1858-1859, and from 1858-1859 to 1859-1860, in the proportions assumed above. This process is a conglomeration of suppositions and assumptions, and its uncertainty is the more deplorable because of the unexpectedly high final totals for 1858-1859 and 1859-1860. (See above, under "Rates of Migration.") However, the doubt attaches mostly to the distribution. The reductions yielding the corrected totals are probably not far wrong, and the three corrected totals are so large (averaging 383.6) that any distribution of their sum gives unexpectedly high final annual totals.

No one who has tried to read the two paragraphs preceding will question that one-child detections constitute a nuisance deserving abatement. Indeed, a great deal of time and trouble could be saved by ignoring all arrivals, whether evidenced by one child or two, in the years just before the census, and relying upon adjusted ascertained arrivals from the next census to cover those years. The objection to such simplification is that there will always be a last census, and to stop short of it may be undesirable. For example, an investigator studying from the Census of 1880 the huge migration into Texas during the seventies would be loath to quit with 1876-1877 or 1877-1878. If the child-ladder method is ever used enough for its characteristics to be fully determined, then omission of the years immediately preceding each census except the last will be permissible. Meanwhile, the worrisome period needs to be included in the hope of finding out enough about proper correction and distribution to allow confident handling of the data for the eve of the last census.

FULL TABULATION OF ALL ASCERTAINED ARRIVALS OF FAMILIES; ARRANGED BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL, PLACE OF REMOVAL, AND COUNTY OF RESIDENCE IN 1850; FROM THE ORIGINAL RETURNS (MANUSCRIPT) OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1850

												J-						
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1824-32 Ala Tenn Miss											1	1 1			2	1		3 4 2
ArkLaMoVa					1			1 1			3	1	1		1			2 5 1 1
Totals  1832-33 Ala Miss	1			_	1			3				3	1	 === 1 1	4	1		18 ————————————————————————————————————
ArkLaTotals				1	1			1				1	1	2	1 2			10
1833-34 Ala Tenn Miss Ark	1 1	1 1	1			• • • •	1			1 	1	1			1			2 5 2 3
GaLaIll	1	2	 					2	1	1 	 	  1			1 1 			1 4 2 ——————————————————————————————————
1834-35 Ala Tenn Miss	1	1		3			1					3 1 1	1 1			• • • •	1 1	5 6 4
ArkLaMoKyIll.														  1	1			3 1 1 2 2
Totals	1					1	1	1			1 ===	6	3	1	1	1	2	25 ===
Ala Tenn Miss Ark	1 	1 1		1 1		1			1	1  1		3			2 			12 12 5 1
Ga	1	2			1					• • • •		 1						1 2 2 1 1
Totals	4	4	1	5	1	1	2	1	1	3		7			4	1	2	37

(Table A, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1850, continued)

	a			e G		nos	<b>60</b>		g			oches						
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1836-37 Ala		1	1	2						1		2	1		1		2	11
Tenn	1		3	1						1	 1	5 1		1	1	1	2 1	22 12
ArkGa				1						4		1	• • • •					7 2
La Mo	• • • •	1		1						1		2						4 2
III			1															1
Ind																		1
Totals	1	2 ===	5 ——	6	3	····	6	5 ===		7	1	11	1	2 —	3	5 ——	5 ——	63
1837-38 Ala			1	1			1						1	1	1		2	12
Tenn	3	2 1	2							3	1	6 3	1	1 1	1	<b>2</b>	2 1	25 10
Ark La	1	 1	1				1			3	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1	1			1		6 6
Mo Ky							1								1 1			2 1
III Va	1						1			1								2 1
N. Y											1			1				1 1
Totals	5	4	4	6			4			11	4	10	3	4	4	3	5	67
1838-39																		
Ala	1	2 1	1 2	8	1		2	1		5		3 4	1		2 2	2	2	22 22
Miss	1			3	1			2		1 2		2	5	3				21 3
Ga La	1			3		• • • •	1	1			1	1			2			3 11
Mo Ky			1						1		1		1					6
Totals				15			1						1				1	4
Totals 1839-40	3	3	5	15 ——	4	1	6	4		11	1	11	12 ——	3	8	3 —	, 3 ===	93
Ala			3 2	1								_	3	2	1	1	5	16 20
Miss		•	1	3				1	1	1		1		1	2	1	4	15
Ga	<b></b>					1						1		1				1 6
Mo Ky		1	1							3		1	1	2				6 2
Ill			2	1					1				1				1	5
Ind		1	1	• • • •			1				1							3
Totals		5	10	7	1	1	4	3	1	7		10	5	6	5	2	11	78

1840-41       Ala.       3       4       1       2       1																			
Ala.       3       4       1       2       1	Totals	Upshur	Smith	Sabine	Polk	Panola	Nacogdoches	Liberty	Lanıar	Kaufman	Jasper	Hopkins	Henderson	Grayson	Cherokee	Cass	Bowie	Angelina	
Va	. 20	1 1 1	1 5 1 2	1	2 1	3	2 4  1 1	1	7 1 2  1 1	1	1	2 1 2  2 		1	2 1 1	3 2 3 	1 2 	1 1  2	Ala Tenn Miss Ark Ga La Mo Ky
Ala.       2       3       1       2         1       4       1<	91	4	10	1	4	5	10	2	14	2	1			1	8				Va
III	111	1 1 1	1 1	1	1	4	3 1 2 1 2 	1	2 1 6  1 1 1 1	1	1	2	1	2	2 1 4  1 	1 1 1 1 1 1	1	3	Ala. Tenn Miss Ark Ga. La. Mo. Ky. Ill. N. C. Ind. S. C.
Totals 4 5 9 9 2 3 7 2 1 12 2 10 10 2 3 3 3	87	3	3	3	2	10	10	2	12	1	2	7	3	2	9	9	5	4	Totals
Tenn. 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 1	10 7 14 4 4 4 5 2 2 2 2 3 3 5 5 1	3 2 1 1  1	1	1 1	1	1 1	1 2 1 1 	2	2 1 2  1 1 2 1		2	2 1 3	1	2	3 1 2	1		1	Ala. Tenn. Miss. Ark. Ga. La. Mo. Ky. Ill. Ind. S. C.
Totals 3 1 4 9 4 2 8 3 1 12 3 5 4 2 3 4 9	_ <del>77</del>	9	4	3	2	4	5	3	12	1	3	8 ===	2	4	9	4	1	3	Totals
Tenn       1       2       1        1       1        2         Miss       3       4        1       1       1        1        1        1        1        1         1	2 8 19 6 6 1 3	2 2 1	5 1 3 1	1	1	1	1 1 1 1	2	1 2 3	2	1	1 3  4 2  2	1	3	2 4 3 1 2 1 	1 3 1  2	2	1	Ala. Tenn Miss. Ark Ga. La. Mo. Ky. Ill. N. C.
Totals 1 4 8 18 5 5 12 1 4 10 2 5 8 1 2 10 6	1 1	• • • •			]					ì	]					1	1	į.	Va

(Table A, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1850, continued)

																		1
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1844-45 Ala Tenn Miss			2 1 2	8 1 6	1		1	1 1	1	1 8		3	5 3 3	1 1		3 2 11	 2 1	22 23 27
ArkGaMo	2	2	2 1 	3 1 2 1	4	1 1 1 3	2 3 	1	3	6	3	1	1	1 1	4	1 1 1	3 1	28 6 14 27
Ky				1	1 1	1	2		1	1					2			5 3 1 3
S. C	1							1			11							1 1 1 1
Totals	3	2	9	23	13	7	15	4	8	22	5	4	12	4	7	18	7	163
1845-46 Ala Tenn Miss Ark Ga La Mo Ky Ill Ind S. C Va Indian Terr ("C. N.")	1	1	3 1 3 1  1	9 6 9 3	1  5  10 1 1 1 1	1 2 2 2 6 1 3	1 1 2 5  1 4 1 1 1	1	1 2 2 1 1	3 3  6  3 4 1	6	5 1  1 1 	2 3 1 3  2 	1 2 1 1 2 1 1	1	8 4 3  2  3	3 2 1 1  1 	36 27 27 29 4 20 28 12 7 5 2
Totals	2	4	9	29	21	15	17	4	7	20	7	9	15	8	2	22	10	201
N. C	1 2 2 2	2 1  2  3 	6 2 5 2 2 2 1 2 1 1 1 22		3  8  1	1 2 3 1 2 9	1 3 4 5 1 2 2 1 2 21	1	3 1 1 1 1 	7 1 3  1 1 1 	3  1 	2 3 2 5  1 	6 5 4 1	• • • •			7 8 6 3 2	50 47 49 35 8 20 17 11 4 1 5 10 1 1 1

(Table A, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1850, continued)

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1847-48*		2	1	19	0	0		0		2	1	7	9	2	1	9	8	61
Ala		1	4	8	1	2		3		1	0	7	5	1	0	11	4	48
Tenn		0	8	17 10	2 1	1 2	6 4	0 2	2 4	7 1		6	4 2			5 3	5 3	60 41
Miss	1 4		<b>2</b> 5	6		1 4	2 1		0 3	0 2		6	3	3	0 2	10 8	4 6	38 47
Ark		1	4 0	5 2	4	1	7 6		0	0 3		0	5 1		• • • •	4 2	3 0	34 18
Ga		1	1 4	2 2		0		2 2				1 2	3		1 0	1 2	0 2	12 19
La	1 0	0	2 3	1 1		0	1 0	4 2	0		1 4	3 0	2 2	3	1 2	1 0	0 6	20 23
Mo		0	2 0	3	3 6	2 3	4 4		1 3	2 3			1 0			1		19 22
Ку			0	2 1	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	3 2	1 0			0			1 0	1 0	11 6
m					1 3				1									2 4
N. C		1 1										1 0	1	0				3
Ind				1 0	1 2		1 2		2 3		0					0		5 9
<b>s</b> . c				1 0										2 0			0	3 1
Va				1 0												1 0		2 0
Fla								1 0				1 0						2 0
Indian Terr ("C. N.")					0									ec.				0
Ohio						1 1								- 1			0 1	1 2
England			0 1							1 0								1
Germany															0			0
Switz												0						0
Totals	6	11	41	94	27	22	39	17	27	23	7	39		12	8	61	44	521

<sup>\*</sup>Arrivals recorded in the upper lines are two-child detections, those in the lower lines, one-child detections. The meaning of the terms, and the reason for the separate tabulations, are explained in the discussions of method.

(Table A, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1850, continued)

		,					1	1		1	1						1	
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1848-49* Ala		0 1	1 7	2 24	0	0 1				2 2		4 8	5 6	0	0 2	10 11	3 13	27 77
Tenn	1 0	1 4	1 7	15 13	2 0	1 1	1 3	0 2		2 3		5 5	3 2			5 16	5 11	42 67
Miss	0 2		1 9	1 11		1 4	0	0 4		0		2 4	0	4	1 2	10 12	4 13	24 70
Ark			1 4	4	1 3	2 4	4 6		0	2 2		0 4		0 2		3 2	1 2	18 34
Ga			0 6	0		0		4 2	0			0	0 3		0	1 4	0 2	5 22
La	0		1 0	2			0	0 3	0		0 5	3 6	2 4	1 5	1 1	6 4	2 2	18 34
Mo			0 2	1	4 8	1 1	3 4		3 5	1 1						0	0	13 24
Ку			0	2 2		1 0	0 2		0	0 2				0		1 0	0	4 10
m					1	0	0			0		0 1						1 5
N. C			0		0 2			0		0			0 1			0 2		0 8
Ind				1	2 0	0	0				0							3
s. c			0 2							0 2								0 4
Fla	0					0										1 0		2
Iowa							1											1 1
Ohio															0 1			0
Penn										0								0
N. Hamp			0															0
England						1 2												1 2
Totals	5	6	45	85	25	24	<b>2</b> 9	16	12	23	6	43	3 <b>2</b>	15	9	89	60	524

<sup>\*</sup>Arrivals recorded in the upper lines are two-child detections, those in the lower lines, one-child detections. The meaning of the terms, and the reason for the separate tabulations, are explained in the discussions of method.

(Table A, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1850, continued)

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
Ark. Ga. La. Mo. Ky. Ill. S. C. Fla. Iowa. England.	1 1	3  1  1	6 9 4 1 3 1 1 2 1 2	31 22 10 1 1 3  1	1 2  1 	1 2 1 1 1 1 1	1 2 4 1 1	1 3 1 1	1 1 2	1	4	6 4 5  3 	5 1 3 2 3 5 	1 1 2  1	2 1 6	9 15 9 1 3 	5 4 5 2 3 3 	69 65 45 15 16 32 16 10 1
Totals	3	5	30	69	12	7	14	10	4	1	4	21	19	5	11	38	22	275
Ala Tenn Miss Ark	1 11 13 5	1	46 46 41 20	142 104 86 36	3 15 1 30	7 8 19 19	7 35 14 50	23	4 6 6 12	57 8	4 2 5	63	60 29 35 14	6	13 9 10	72 62 82 22	51	536 463
Ga	16 3		18 9 10 8 3	13 18 15 11 1	60 5 10 2	3 3 20 6 7	1 5 47 10 7	12 24 1 2 	1 5 21 8 6 2	26 14 13 2	39	12 26 3 4 3 1	12 32 2 3 2 3	4 16  4 	8 22 1 5 1	18 16 11 2 1 2	9 17 4 2 2	113 254 225 87 56 21
Ind	1 2 1 2	1	3 4	3 7 1 	7  3	1	16	3	5	1 4 1	2	1	1	2	1	6  1 2	1 4 1	49 28 10 9 3 4
Ohio			1								1			 a a	1			5 2 2 1 1
0					1						1 1				1			3 2
Totals	55	73		438	137	99	195	82	76	195		219			83	297	<b>22</b> 0	

Table B.

## FULL TABULATION OF ALL ASCERTAINED ARRIVALS OF FAMILIES; ARRANGED BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL, PLACE OF REMOVAL, AND COUNTY OF RESIDENCE IN 1860; FROM THE ORIGINAL RETURNS (MANUSCRIPT) OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1860

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1833-38 Ala Tenn Miss Ark Ga		1			2	1					2 1  2			2 1 1 3					2	6 5 2 2 3 1
Totals  1 38-39 Ala Tenn		1			2	1			2	==	5			7	1	===	1		2	19 ————————————————————————————————————
MissArkLaMo	1	1		1				1	2		1						1		1	7 1 1 1
Totals  1839-40 Ala Tenn Miss	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2 	4		1			1	2		1	1	1	18 == 6 2 3
Ark					1	1		1		• • • •	1	• • • •		1		2	1 1 			3 2 1 2
Totals  1840-41  Ala  Tenn	1	2	2		2	1		1			3			2	3	3	2 	1	1	21
Miss. Ark. La. Mo. Ind.		1		• • • •		• • • •	• • • •	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	• • • • •	7 6 1 1 3
Totals		3	2		  1	2	2	2	1	1	1 = 1	1	2	4	1 ==	1	1	2	1	27
Tenn				••••	• • • •		1		1		2		1 1	1		1			• • • •	3 6 3 2 1
Ill Totals	1	1	2		1		1		1		6			3	2	1		2		1 1 25

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

`																				
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1842-43 Ala Tenn		1	2		1 1	1				1	1 1		}	1	1	1			1 1	9
Miss Ark	1				 1						2			1						1 4
La Mo	1							1	1	1	2	1		1	1					2 7
Ky				• • • •	• • • •		• • • •				2								1	1
Ind Germany		1		• • • •	• • • •		• • • •		• • • •											1
Totals	2	2	2		3	2		2	1	2	9	1		3	2	1			3	35
1843-44 Ala Tenn		1	1					1			2 2			1 1					1	7
Miss	2				2		1	1	• • • •			<del>.</del> .	1			1		2	1	9 4
Ga La Mo			 1	1	 2	$egin{array}{c} \cdots \ 2 \end{array}$	• • • •	 2	• • • •				• • • •	1		1	1			1 3 8
KyIll		1								1	1									1 3
N. C Ind S. C			1					1		1	1									1 2 1
Va Ohio		1	1										1							2 1
Totals	2	3	4	1	6	4	1	6		2	7	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	50
1844-45 Ala	1		1	1	7			===			1				1			2	1	15
Tenn	1	1	1 3					3		2	3			3		1		3 2	1 2	14 18
Ark	1		1		1	2		4	1	1	1	1		2	1			1	2	16 3
La Mo	<b> </b>			1			i				1 1					2				11 6
								1		1	1 1		1							2 5 1
N. C				1				1			1								1	1 1
Va Fla				<b> </b>		1														1 2
Germany Mexico	1	•				ŧ		1			i .	1		1						1
Totals	4	1	6	2	13	6	2	11	5	5	10	6		6	2	3	l	9	7	98

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

							1		,							,				
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1845-46 Ala Tenn Miss	1	1	1		7	2	1 1 2	2	1	2 3 1	3		. 1	4 2	4			8	1	24 13 27
ArkGaLaMoKy	1		2 1 	2	1	3	2	3 1 1	2	1	4	1	2 1		1			1 2	1	15 5 8 8
Il	1	1			1	1		1		1	1									4 2 1 4
Totals	4	3	5	2	17	8	7	11	3	9	11	1	4	6	7		1	11	2	112
1846-47 Ala Tenn Miss Ark	2 5 2	2  1	2 1 2 1		16 6 3 2	3	2	3 4 1 1	1	2 2 2 2	1 4 1 3		2	4 2 1 1	3 2 2 1	1 1 2	1 1	7  7 2	6 6 1 	49 30 30 19 5
La Mo Ky Ill. N. C	1	1	2		1	5	1	1 1 3	3	2 4	2 1 2	1	1		2 1	1	1	1	1	13 11 8 7 3
S. CVaGermany	10	1   5	10		28	1 1 12	5	14	5	12	14	1 2	4	8	11	5	3	17	1  17	4 2 1 182
1847-48	==		=			-	-	==	-	==			<u> </u>	==						
AlaTennMissArkGa	1	1	1		8 6 6 3	2 1 1	2 1 1 1	2 5 1 1 2		1	3	2	4 2	1 3 2 	3 5 3 1	1 1			3 7 1 	32 41 25 17
La	• • • •				2 1 1 	6	1 1	1  1	3	1	2 1	3	1		2	3		2°   1   1		18 10 7 1
Ind	• • • •	• • • •			• • • •	1		1	1		1					1		1		1 3 2 2 1 1
Ohio N. Y Norway Switz Totals	• • • •		1	1	• • • •		2	• • • •												1 2 1
Totals	3	4	ં રુ	1	27	12	10	15	7	2	11	7	7	8 1	15	11	1	17	10	1/3

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

		, .																	1	
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1040 40																				
1848-49 Ala	1		2		18		2	2			1		1	7	4		1	7	2	48
Tenn	1	2	3		9	2	3	3	1	3	4			5	3		1	7	3	50
Miss	3	• • • •	2		7	2	3	• • • •		2			2			3	1	8	6	39
ArkGa	1		1	• • • •	2	1	1	4	1	1	1		2	1	1 2	• • • •	• • • •	2 1	1	14 10
La				2	3		1		4	1			1	1	1	3		3	2	22
Mo						1	1	1	1		1		1							6
Ку					3		1	1			2									7
Ill										1	1									2
N. C	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •		• • • •				1								• • • •	1	• • • •	2 5
Ind Va		• • • •	• • • •	• • • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1	3		1				• • • •	1	• • • • !				1
Ohio						1														1
Holland	1																			1
Totals	7	2	8		42		12	14			10		7	14	12	6	3	29	14	208
1 otals			<u></u>	2	43	7	13	14	8	9	10		7	14	12			25		200
1849-50																				
Ala			1		12	2	5	1		1	2		1	6	3	3	1	4	4	46
Tenn		1	5 2		7 5	5	2	2			5		1	2 4	3 5	3	2	16	7	40 60
Miss	3	2		1		2	3	3		1 2	1 2	1	1	1 -			<b> </b>	1		13
Ga		1	1	::::	5			1	6		l	::::	::::	1	4	1		2	1	23
La	1				2		2		1		1	2		3	2	2	4		2	22
Mo						2		3	1	3	2				1					12
Ky						3									1					4 2
Ill						2			· · · ·							1				3
N. C Wisc						1				1	1	::::				ļ <del>.</del> .				1
Md				<b> </b>	:		1: : : :	::::	1	l		::::								1
Norway							1													1
Europe										1										1
Totals	4	4	9	1	31	17	16	13	9	9	14	3	2	16	19	10	7	27	18	229
	-	-	-	-	-		10	10	-		-	-	-	-					-	
1850-51			١.		1		_	_					١.,	1	-	١.		12	6	82
Ala		$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ 3 \end{vmatrix}$	3		19	1 2	7	5		1 .	2 4	1	1	9 3	5 4	1		13	3	52
Tenn Miss		4	3	1	14		5	4 2	1	1 1	2		1	1 4	4	4	3	13	7	60
Ark		1	1	::::	2	1	3	3	1			1	1	l î	2	ļ		2	2	19
Ga	1 7		1 ~		3	ļ	2	1						1	3			2	1	17
La					4									4	4	1	2	2	1	23 11
Mo			1			1 4	1	3	1							1	1	1		4
Ky			1		1	1 0		1		1							1	1		2
N. C	1			1	1 -	1		١ ،				1	1			1 -				7
Ind							1	1 0						1						2
Va	ŧ			.	ļ	1		.	.	.			.	.		1				1 1
Fla		1			1			1												1
Norway Switz									•											1
SWILZ			-					-			<u> </u>	-			-	-	-			-
Totals	. 7	10	13	1	50	14	21	25	4	5	10	1	4	20	22	7	5	43	21	283

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panole	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1851-52 Ala Tenn Miss	7 1 6	3 2 2	7 2		12 8 12	1 7 1	1 4 5	2 5 2		3 2	1 5 3		2 2	4 2 2	4 6 2	6	1	13 1 8	6 2 8	70 49 64
ArkGa	1 1 		6 2	1	2 3	1 1 3	3 1 1	4 1 1 2	3 7 1	1	1 2 1	1		1 2 2	1 3	5	2	5 2 1	3 1	16 28 32 8
N. CIndS. C			1 1			4 1 1	1	1 1		1 1 1	1 1 1							1	1	6 4 4 3 3
Va						1 			2	1					1	1 		• • • •		2 2 1 1
Totals	16	7	19	1	37	21	16	19	13	11	16	4	4	13	17	19	3	36	21	293
1852-53 Ala Tenn Miss Ark Ga La Mo Ky Ill N. C Ind S. C Va Fla Iowa Ohio Mich Norway		1	6 3 1 3 12 1  2 	1	11 7 7  5 4  1 1  1	1 6 1 6 5 4 2 1 1 1 28	1  1  1  1	3 2 6 4  1 1 1 1 1	1 1 3	2 2 2 2  1 1 2  	2 7 2 4 1  1 2 1  1 	1	2 1 2 5	4 3 3 1 1  1 	5 2 4  2 3  1	3	1 1 1 1 4	10 8 9 6 1 2 1  1 1 	5 6 6 2 8 1  1 	60 48 48 26 32 30 12 9 10 8 1 9 4 2 1 1 1 2
1853-54 Ala Tenn Miss Ark Ga La Mo Ky Ill N. C Ind S. C Va Fla Iowa Penn		1 1	9 1	1	16 9 3 3 4 1	2 3 1 1 3  5 5 2  1		1 4 2 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 3 3			2 4  7 1  2		1 1 1	6 4 2 2 2 1	1 3 2 2 2 1	6 1 2 1 2 4  1	2	12 5 2 1 4 1 1  1 	6 5 7 2 3 1	82 45 35 28 34 20 12 13 4 1 3 3 3 1 1
Totals		3	29	3	36	24	12	17	3	15	18	2	4	18	11	17	4	28	26	286

<sup>\*</sup>Choctaw Nation.

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

		1			1	1							1		1	1				
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith *	Upshur	Totals
	1		1				1							I						
1854-55																				
Ala Tenn	$\begin{vmatrix} 6 \\ 1 \end{vmatrix}$	1	$\begin{vmatrix} 3 \\ 2 \end{vmatrix}$		6 4	$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ 1 \end{vmatrix}$	3	8		1	3 7	1	1 1	8 3	$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ 3 \end{vmatrix}$	4		11 5	9 5	62
Miss	5	1	l		3	2	5	6	2	1	1	::::	1	3	1	1		7	3	41
Ark	1		4		3	6	2	7			8					1		3	1	36
Ga	$\begin{vmatrix} 3 \\ 2 \end{vmatrix}$	1	14		6 2		2 2	3 4			· · · ·		2	1	6		1	10	8	56
La Mo		1	3	1	4	6		1 1	1	$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ 1 \end{vmatrix}$	1 1	2		3	1	5	1	2		34
Ку					1	3		3		2	ļ								1	10
m						4		1			2									7
N. C	1		1			3		2							1	1			1	3 7
S. C						3							1		1	3		2	1	7
Va								1			1							ļ		2
Wisc														1						1
Totals	19	4	27	1	<b>2</b> 5	28	15	39	3	7	24	3	5	19	14	15	1	40	29	318
1855-56	==	==	=		==	-	_	-			-	==		==		==	==			
Ala	4		4		3	3	1	5		1	1	1	1	7	5	6	1	11	2	56
Tenn	1	1	1	1	5	6	2	6		4	6	1	2	1			· · · ·	3	2	42
Miss	2 1		$\begin{vmatrix} 4 \\ 2 \end{vmatrix}$	1	4	3 5	3	3 5	1	2	1 1	1	1	2	2 2	$\begin{vmatrix} 4\\2 \end{vmatrix}$		6	5	39 25
Ga			6		4	2	3	5						2	1	3		3	5	34
La	5	1	1			1		2	5	1		4	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	30
Mo		• • • •		• • • •	• • • •	8	• • • •	1	1	1	3		1							15
KyIll	• • • •			• • • •		6 2	• • • •	1			6	• • • •	1							13 4
N. C			1								1							2		4
Ind						3				1	1			1						6
S. C	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1		• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1			• • • •				• • • •	• • • •	2
Fla	$egin{array}{c} \cdots \\ 2 \end{array}$						• • • •			• • • •	1									2
Indian Terr.*						1												• • • •		1
Iowa	1							1								1		• • • •	• • • •	3
N. Y Md	• • • •		• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •		• • • •	• • • •	1	• • • •	• • • •			• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1
Wid	••••							• • • •	1		• • • •									
Totals	16	2	19	2	18	40	9	29 ===	8 	10	23	8	7	15 ===	13	17	2	26	15	279
1856-57																				
Ala	5		4	1	2		6	3		2	6	1	2	7	7	5	1	12	8	72 43
Tenn Miss	1 2	2	1		3 8	5 2	1 1	6		4	10		• • • •	1 2	4	4	2	4 6	1 6	43
Ark	1	3	5			1	1	5		2	2	1			2	3		1	1	28
Ga		1	5		4		1	2	1					2				6	9	31
La Mo			1	• • • •				3	1	2	1	3	2		3		• • • •	• • • •	2	18 18
**					1	7	2	2	2	1	3				1	1				12
III						5	1	2			1					• • • •				9
N. C			2					• • • •			1				• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1	• • • •	4
Ind S. C				• • • •		1	• • • •	1	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1	1	• • • •	1		2
Va	1					1	1				$\begin{array}{c c} 1 \\ 2 \end{array}$									5
Fla																1	1			2
Indian Terr.†								• • • •			1		• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •	1	1 1
Iowa N. Y					1															1
Totals	10	7	18	1	19		14	28	4	15	33	5	4	12	20	15	4	31	28	294
*Chickasaw	•	•						, 40	- +	10	. 33		- 1					- 1		

<sup>\*</sup>Chickasaw Nation.

<sup>†</sup>Choctaw Nation.

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

	ina	0)		pers	okee	son	Henderson	ins	ī	man	Ti.	ty	uc	Nacogdoches	la		<b>့</b>		ı,	on
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Hend	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Naco	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1857-58†	3 5	0 2	7 3	0	4 7		3 5	1 1	0	1 2	3	1 0	2 4	2	<b>4</b> 5	8 7	3 1	5 7	7 4	54 61
Tenn	1 0	0	3		1 3	7 10	0	3		1 3	7 8		0	0	3			5 10	1 2	32 41
Miss	2 6	1 1	2 7	1 0	3 4	1 1	3	3 2		2 0	1 3		1 3	2 2	1 0	5 4	1 2	7 4	1 1	37 41
Ark		2 4	1 1		0 2	5 7	0	4 6		2	4 7			1 1	2	1 0		1 4	2	25 36
Ga		0	5 9		1 3	1 0	1 2	2 0	2	1 0	1 3	2 0	2 3	0 2	2	2 3	1 2	2 4	12 12	37 46
La	1 1	1 2	0		1 2	0	2 0	0 2	3 1			1 5	0 2	1	0 2	2	1 0	1 5	1 2	15 28
Mo						17 10		3	0 2	1 2	2 2			1 0	1 0					25 16
Ку		0				5 2		1 3			3		0		1 0		0	1 0	1 0	12 9
ın		1 0				3 6	0	1 1		0 2	1							0		6 12
N. C		0			1		1 0				0 2		1 0		2 2			1 0		6
Ind						1	0	0 1		0			0							1 5
S. C									0		0				1 0				2 1	3
Va						2 1		1 0			1	0	0							3
Fla			0	0						1 0		1 0				0		• • • •		2 3
Indian Terr.*				i		0				• • • •										0
Iowa			1		1	1 0		0			0									1 2
Ohio						1 1		0											• • • •	1 3
N. Y		1					l	l .	l		i	1							1 0	1 0

<sup>†</sup>Arrivals recorded in the upper lines are two-child detections, those in the lower lines, one-child detections. The meaning of the terms, and the reason for the separate tabulations, are explained in the discussions of method. \*Chickasaw Nation.

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
185 <b>7</b> -58† Continued						ŕ									1					
Calif							• • • •	0							• • • •		3			0
Kan						0														0
N. Hamp						1 0														1 0
England						• • • •												0 2	0	0 3
Germany												1 0			0					1
Totals	19	18	40	3	33	87	22	39	11	20	<b>5</b> 5	12	23	17	<b>2</b> 9	34	12	60	52 ==	586
1858-59†	2	0	4	0	2		2	3	1	0	3	0	1	3	3	7		2	5	38
Ala	3	3	14	3	9		4	5	0	5	6	1	3	5	7	11		10	8	97
Tenn		2 4	1 0		0 6	4 11		2 4		3 2	5 13		0 4	1	0 4 ——			3 10	6	21 65
Miss	6 5	2	4 3		1 3	0 4	3 4	1 2		1 1	0		1 2	4 10	1	7 13	0 2	0 7	3 11	37 70
Ark	0 7	0 6	1 4		0	7	0	3 9	1 0	<b>4</b> 3	1 9				0 2	0		1	3	22 50
Ga	0	2 2	2 13		<b>2</b> 8	0 2	0 1	2 2	1 2		0 2				3 4	2 5	2	4 8	12 22	34 74
La	0 3	1 6	1 1	1 2	4		0 2	1 0	2 4	0 2		1 3	1		2 3	0 2	0 4	0	1 2	15 37
Мо		0	0			14 19		1 2		0	5 6	0								20 31
Ку	0 2			0	1 0	2 5		1 0		5 5	2 6		1 1			1		0	0 3	13 25
m						0 8	0 1	1 1		1 2	3 3				0 2	0 2				5 19
N. C			4 3		0 1	1 2					2 1		0 1	1 0	0 2			1 0		9 10
Ind						1 1				0 1	•									1 3

†Arrivals recorded in the upper lines are two-child detections, those in the lower lines, one-child detections. The meaning of the terms, and the reason for the separate tabulations, are explained in the discussions of method.

(Table B, Full Tabulation of All Ascertained Arrivals of Families, from Census of 1860, continued)

	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1858-19† Continued S. C			0		0 1	1 0	1 0				0 1	0 1	0 1		0 3	1 0		1 0	1 1	5 9
Va						0 3		1			1	0							0 2	2 8
Fla									0							1 5	0			2 6
Indian Terr.*						1 0				0	1 2								• • • •	2 3
Iowa						0		1 - 0												1 1
Ohio	0				0						0									0
N. Y						0	0						0		0			0		0 5
Penn																		0		0
Wisc										0		0								0 2
Calif						0														0
Kan											0				• • • •					0
N. J							1 0			0										1 1
Minn												1 0								1 0
Germany													0						• • • • •	0
Totals	30	30	57	7	41	92	21	43	12	39	76	10	19	<b>2</b> 5	41	60	13	52	84	752

<sup>†</sup>Arrivals recorded in the upper lines are two-child detections, those in the lower lines, one-child detections. The meaning of the terms, and the reason for the separate tabulations, are explained in the discussions of method.
\*Detail as follows: Grayson, Choctaw Nation, 1; Kaufman, Cherokee Nation, 1; Lamar, Choctaw Nation, 3.

		Т					1												_	7
	Angelina	Bowie	Cass	Chambers	Cherokee	Grayson	Henderson	Hopkins	Jasper	Kaufman	Lamar	Liberty	Marion	Nacogdoches	Panola	Polk	Sabine	Smith	Upshur	Totals
1859-60																				
Ala	3	4	16		14		2	7			1	2		5	6	7		9	12	88
Tenn	2	1	1		7	5	2	2	1	5	7			1	3	1		6	9	53
Miss	5	2	4		3	1	1	2	1	2		1	1	3	2	4		7	1	40
Ark	1	4	7		1	4	3	5		4	6	2		2	5			1	3	48
Ga La	1 2	3	10	1	3 1		3	2	3 5	2	$\begin{vmatrix} 2 \\ 1 \end{vmatrix}$	4	1	2	11\	5 3	1 3	4 3	19	70
Mo						10	1	2		4	2		1		1	1				22
Ky						1		3		1	3		'							8
III						4	1									1			1	7
Ind	1		2		1						2		1	2	1			2		12
S. C											1			1				2		4
Va											4									4
Fla					• • • •			1				2	1					2		6
Iowa		1				2				1	1								1	5 2
Ohio								1												1
N. Y														1						1
Mich						1														1
Totals	15	16	43	1	30	29	16	<b>2</b> 5	10	19	30	11	6	17	33	22	4	37	49	413
SUMMARY	===				==			==		==	==				===	===	==			
Ala	54	22	97	7	175	13	54	50	5	24	45	8	30	92	76	77	10	143	100	1082
Tenn	10	26		2	99	84	23	67	4	40	112	l .	13	43	48			86	65	
Miss	65	21	40	4	91	23	48	43	8	28	20	8	16	46	37		20	125	78	788
Ark	21	25	38		25	48	27	74	3	27	70	1	6	10	21	11		34	24	470
Ga La	10 23	12 16	96 15	13	52 33	9	16 17	24 17	25 50	1 13	11 7	3 40	13 12	22 21	46 35		13 25	58 25	117 21	555 427
Mo	1	1	5	2	3	129	7	31	12	19		1	3	2	6			4	2	271
Ку	2		1	1	9	47	4	21		20	36		6	1	4	2		3	6	168
Ill		1		• • • •	1	48	7	13		14	22			1	2 7	3		3	2	117
N. C	3	3	16		6	8	1	4	2	2	13	1	3	4	1 7	2		11	2	87
S. C	1	2	4				່	_	_				2	1						
Va	1	2			3	12 3	2 1	17		6	3 7	2	2 2	1 1	1 6	2	1	2 7		48
Fla	3				3 1			17	1		3	2	2 2 2		1	2	1	2		48
7 1' (7)	၂		···· 1	 3		3 13	1	17 1	 1  5	6  1 1	3 7 14	2	2 2		1 6	2 11	12	2 7	12	48 65 47 33
Indian Terr		1	1 	 3		3 13 6	1 1	17 1 4 1	1	6 1	3 7 14 	2 3	2 2 2		1 6 1	2 11 1 9		2 7 1	12 2 1	48 65 47 33 14
Indian Terr Iowa Ohio		1			1	3 13  6 5	1 1 	17 1 4 1 4	 1  5	6  1 1 2	3 7 14  5 1	2 3 3	2 2 2		1 6 1	2 11 1		2 7 1	12 2 1 	48 65 47 33
Iowa Ohio						3 13 6	1 1	17 1 4 1	 1  5	6  1 1	3 7 14 	2 3 3	2 2 2		1 6 1	2 11 1 9		2 7 1	12 2 1	48 65 47 33 14 14
Iowa Ohio N. Y Penn	1 1		1 1		1  1 1	3 13  6 5 3 1	1 1  1	17 1 4 1 4 2	 1  5	6 1 1 2 	3 7 14  5 1 2	2 3 3 	2 2 2	1	1 6 1 	2 11 1 9	2	2 7 1 3	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2
IowaOhioN. YPenn	1 1		1 1		1  1 1	3 13 6 5 3 1	1 1  1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 1 1 2 2	3 7 14  5 1 2	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1   1 1	1 6 1 	2 11 1 9	2	2 7 1 3 	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2
IowaOhioN. YPennWiscCalif	1 1		1 1		1 1 1	3 13 6 5 3 1	1 1 1 1 1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 1 1 2 2 2	3 7 14  5 1 2	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1  1 1	1 6 1  1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3  1 1	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2
Iowa Ohio N. Y Penn Wisc Calif Kansas Mich	1 1	1	1 1		1 1 1	3 13 6 5 3 1 1	1 1  1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 1 1 2 2	3 7 14  5 1 2	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1  1 1	1 6 1  1 1	2 11 1 9	2	2 7 1 3 	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2 4
Iowa         Ohio         N. Y         Penn         Wisc         Calif         Kansas         Mich         N. Hamp	1 1	1	1 1		1  1 1 	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2	1 1 1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2 	5	6 1 1 2 2 2	3 7 14  5 1 2 	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1 1 1	1 6 1  1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3  1 1	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2 4 2 2 2
Iowa	1 1	1	1 1		1  1 1 	3 13 6 5 3 1 1 1 2	1 1  1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 1 1 2 2 2 1	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3  1 1	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 13 10 2 4 2 2 2
Iowa	1 1		1 1		1 1 1	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2	1 1 1 1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 2 2 1	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3  1 1	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 14 13 10 2 4 2 2 2
Iowa Ohio N. Y Penn Wisc Calif Kansas Mich N. Hamp N. J Md Minn England	1 1	1	1 1		1 1 1	3 13 6 5 3 1 1 1 2	1 1  1 1	17 1 4 1  4 2	5	6 1 1 2 2 2 1	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	2 3 3  1	2 2 2 1  1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3  1 1	12 2 1  2	48 65 47 33 14 13 10 2 4 2 2 2
Iowa. Ohio. N. Y. Penn. Wisc. Calif. Kansas. Mich. N. Hamp. N. J. Md. Minn. England. Germany.	1 1	1	1 1		1 1 1	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	17 1 4 1 2	5	2	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	1 1 2	2 2 2 1 1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 7 1 3 1 1	12 2 1  2	48 655 477 333 144 143 110 2 2 4 4 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 1 3 6 6
Iowa. Ohio. N. Y. Penn. Wisc. Calif. Kansas. Mich. N. Hamp. N. J. Md. Minn. England. Germany. Norway.	1	1	1 1		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2 1	1 1 1 1 	17 1 4 1 2	5	6 1 1 2 2 1 1	3 7 14  5 1 2  1	1 1 1 2	2 2 2 1 	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3 1 1 2 2	12 2 1  2  1	48 655 477 333 144 143 110 2 2 4 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 1 3 3 6 6 6
Iowa. Ohio. N. Y. Penn. Wisc. Calif. Kansas. Mich. N. Hamp. N. J. Md. Minn. England. Germany. Norway. Switz.	1 1	1	1 1		1	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	17 1 4 1 2	5	6 1 1 2 2 1 1 1	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	1 1 1 2	2 2 2 1 	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3 1 1 1 2	12 2 1  2  1	48 655 477 333 144 143 110 2 2 4 4 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 1 3 6 6
Iowa. Ohio. N. Y. Penn. Wisc. Calif. Kansas. Mich. N. Hamp. N. J. Md. Minn. England. Germany. Norway. Switz. Holland.	1 1	1	1 1		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	3 13  6 5 3 1  1 1 2 1	1 1 1 1 	17 1 4 1 2	5	2 1 1 1	3 7 14 5 1 2 1 1	1 1 1 2	2 2 2 1 	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2 11 1 9  1 	2	2 7 1 3 1 1 2 2	12 2 1  2  1	48 655 477 333 144 143 110 2 2 4 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 1 3 3 6 6 6
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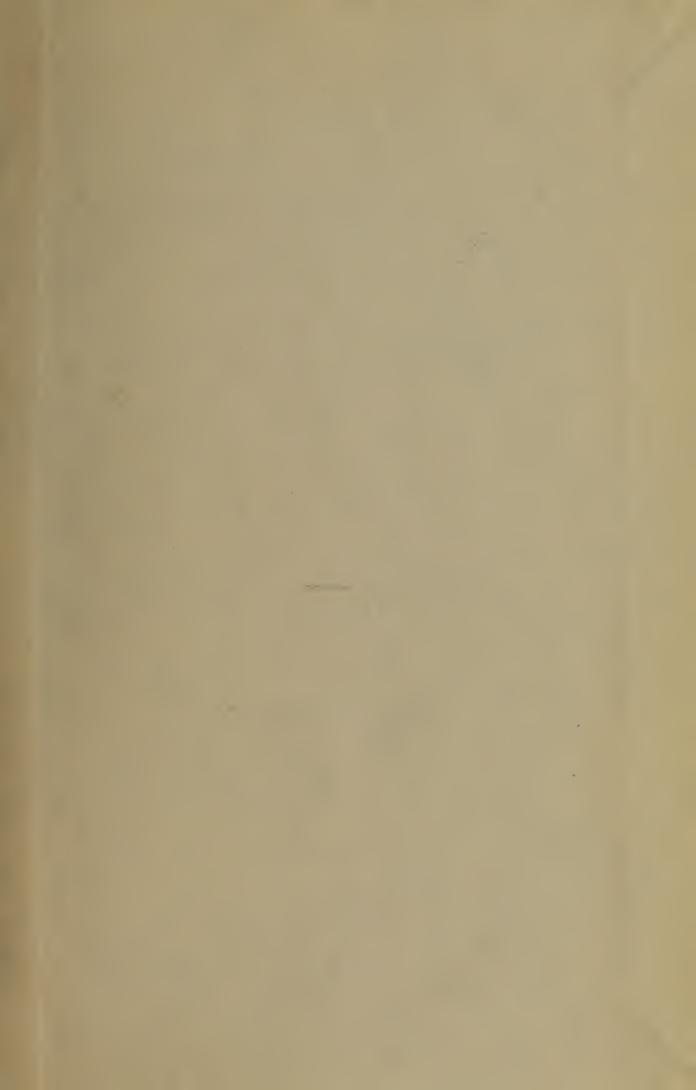












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