

Unto Us A Child Is Born: A Demographic Study of the African American Community in Indiana County from 1850 – 1880

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THESIS: *Information from the 1850-1880 Census not only provides facts about individuals living in Indiana County, but it also yields valuable information for a demographic study of the African American community in Indiana County.*

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In Conemaugh Township, Pennsylvania, there was quite a stir at Elias Woods' home in May of 1870. Commotion was not unusual in his household since there were already a dozen people living together, but this was a special event – the birth of his grandson, Harry. Elias' son, Sylvester, married Martha last July and they had not delayed in starting their family. The Woods family was, perhaps in many ways, typical of other families in Indiana County in the late 1800's, but at least one characteristic distinguished them from the larger population; they were African American.¹

By the time his grandson was born in 1870, Elias Woods was fifty² and had lived a hard life. He was born in Maryland³ and did not receive education sufficient to enable him to read or write with any proficiency.⁴ In 1860, he lived in Saltsburg and some called him a loafer. At that time, he owned no property, but he had a wife and five children to feed and clothe.⁵ By 1870, he moved to Conemaugh Township and gained employment as a laborer.⁶ His family continued to grow and sometime after the arrival of his grandson upon the scene, the Woods family moved to Philadelphia Street in West Indiana Borough where Elias got a job as a hostler. This may have been an overall improvement for the Woods family, but by 1880, tragedy had struck Elias' seventeen year-old daughter, Edith; she had gone insane.⁷

The 1850 – 1880 manuscript census aids us in reconstructing at least a part of Elias Woods' life. His personal story serves as a reminder that listings on the census represent individuals. Each person has a unique story to tell; however, the census itself can contribute only a limited amount. While the census from 1850 – 1870 sheds much light on individual households, it is not until the 1880 census that familial connections are defined by listing each individual's relationship to the head of the household. Only then can we begin to understand household relationships and connect family with family by marriage.

Information from the 1850 – 1880 census not only provides facts about individuals living in Indiana County, but it also yields valuable information for a demographic study of the African American community. This study will concentrate on grouping individuals together then sorting them according to the points they share in common.

The 1850 – 1880 manuscript censuses for Indiana County were the primary source documents used in this study. These census years are on microfilm and consist of one or two reels of microfilm for each year. Every other page is numbered and therefore, during data collection, this number served as the base number. A .5 after the base number indicates that the individual entry exists between numbered pages. In this way, both retrieval and verification

occur with greater ease.

Each entry extracted from the census is comprehensive. To conserve space, the comments section contains information that appears at irregular intervals such as blind, insane, disabled, etc. If a White person lived with the family, shared a last name with the head of household, and appeared beneath the head of house, the individual was most likely the spouse and/or parent of the children. The total population count does not include this individual, but the comment section once again notes this information. This section also includes other extraneous information not listed directly on the census such as a conflict between index and researcher interpretation of handwriting.

A page-by-page examination and handwritten transcription of the census data on the microfilmed record resulted in the creation of a sizable database. This researcher entered the collected material into a computer database in Lotus software for better legibility, organization and later sorting. After data entry was concluded and spreadsheets printed, this researcher reexamined listed entries to assure accuracy. In many cases, a different microfilm reader facilitated this process. The second search often proved to be fruitful as names that were formerly illegible became decipherable on a different reader and a different day.

Once updated data entry was completed, it was relatively simple to sort data into appropriate categories and create tables. This began with the simplest and most logical relationships and then progressed to more complex combinations as more questions emerged. Tables were constructed for easier reader comprehension. Totals crosscheck the accuracy of the sort. While tables can give information at a glance, the inconsistency of data in census years both increases the quantity of tables and decreases the possibility and quality of meaningful comparisons.

While this demographic study of Indiana County locates African Americans and provides some information regarding distribution, gender, age, wealth, educational level and family structure, it is limited by several factors. The most obvious limitation is the accuracy of the transcription from census to database. The handwritten nature and subsequent microfilming of these records allows for legibility and transcription errors beyond the researcher's control. The illiteracy or limited education of citizen and census taker alike also contributes to discrepancies between census years and between other records. In cases of very bad handwriting or poor microfilm quality, printed indexes verified names or assisted with proper spelling in the years 1850⁸ and 1860.⁹ At the present time, there are no printed indexes for the subsequent years, so this researcher either examined the film in another reader in an attempt to catalog difficult entries or listed them as illegible. Experience with the medium as the project progressed also proved to be invaluable where writing was unclear or ambiguous, particularly in individual and family names.

The dissimilarity of information contained on the census also makes it difficult to make meaningful comparisons from year to year without the use of other documents. For example, property values are absent altogether from the 1880 census. This issue could be addressed by checking the Indiana County Tax

Records;¹⁰ however, additional problems then emerge. The County Tax records are not complete and often begin long after there is census data available. A cursory comparison of these records reveals that property values listed in the Tax records are not consistent with those reported in the census. If it is even possible for meaningful comparisons to be made, these records must be catalogued and processed. This activity is beyond the scope of this study, but would prove profitable for further study.

Another problem with the census data is missing or inaccurate information. Carelessness on the part of census taker, a difference in style between census takers and illegible handwriting contribute to this problem. Researcher error, such as overlooking an entry or series of entries or misreading handwriting also accounts for missing data and affects the overall accuracy of this project.

The final difficulty is sociological. For example, the census taker in 1880 listed a man with a "C" in the designated box to indicate that he was Chinese. The census taker further enumerated that the birthplace of both parents was China. In the 1870 census, however, the same man was married and had children, but the census taker listed the entire family as White. It is nearly impossible to determine how often this happened in the studied population, particularly when individuals were light-skinned Blacks or Mulattos. The census takers may have simply made assumptions of race in these cases if he/she did not know the family history and did not ask for racial identity. In other cases, those of a "high yellow" complexion may have moved into the area from outside the township, county or state and simply chose to "pass" as White.

In spite of the above-listed difficulties, this study makes several positive contributions: 1) It provides a good comparative base for those doing future research by separating out African-American data. 2) It makes a valuable contribution to the demographic history of African Americans in Indiana County. 3) It puts information in an organized and legible form that frees the researcher from the cumbersome microfilm reader. 4) It provides a computer readable database to ease future sorting and processing.

We now turn our attention to the actual demographics of the African-American community in Indiana County.¹¹ Total population figures in the community reached its peak of 252 in 1850, declined sharply in 1860 and 1870 and made some gains by 1880. The population jumped from 1870 – 1880 almost as quickly as it fell between 1850 and 1860, but even so, it had not returned to earlier 1850 figures (See Table 1).

It is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between the populations of townships and boroughs because each census was divided townships and boroughs differently. County maps help tremendously, however, and population figures begin to make sense as we observe changes in the county geographical divisions from the 1840's through the 1880's (See Maps 1 – 5). In 1850, the areas with a significant population (over 10) were Blacklick, Conemaugh, Indiana, Wheatfield, Blairsville, Young and Saltsburg borough (See Table 2). In 1860, the population concentrated in Burrell, Conemaugh, Indiana, Blairsville, Saltsburg and White Township (See Table 3). In 1870,

Burrell, Conemaugh, Indiana, White and Blairsville Borough continued to be strong population areas (See Table 4); and by 1880, the population established itself in Burrell, Blairsville, Indiana, West Indiana, White and Conemaugh Township (See Table 5).

In the years between 1860 and 1880, Burrell Township consistently had the highest population with 49 in 1860, 57 in 1870 and 70 in 1880. The maps for these census years reveals that this group tended to consolidate in either the southern part of the county or in the Indiana borough area (See Maps 2 – 5). Blacklick Township had the highest population in 1850; however, by comparing Map 1 and Map 2, we can see that Blacklick Township included what later became the Burrell Township and Blairsville areas of later censuses.

We then turn our attention to the origins of this population. We know from other sources that Indiana County was a busy depot on the Underground Railroad.¹² With this in mind, one might expect that some slaves may have settled in the county; however, according to the census data this is not overwhelmingly the case (See Table 6). Residents were more likely to be born in Pennsylvania. Those who immigrated into Indiana County were few but most likely to hail from Maryland or Virginia. The census reveals in some entries that there were individual who had been enslaved, but this is rare. Examining the origins of parents may give us deeper insight into the population's origins; however, only the 1880 census records parents' birthplace and no meaningful comparisons are possible between other years.

This population was not racially monolithic. Obviously, the Federal Census Bureau was aware of this and requested a division between Black and Mulatto. Except for a sharp imbalance in 1860, blacks consistently outnumber mulattos (See Tables 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that in families where mulattos were living with their parents, they most often consisted of a Black man married to a White woman. In only one year in the census years examined did a Black or Mulatto woman share the name of a White man who lived within the same household.

Gender also divides any population. In Indiana County, males generally outnumber females from 1850 through 1870; however, in 1880, the ratio is nearly balanced with females taking the lead (See Tables 9 and 10). Tables 11 – 14 provide an engendered view of population between census districts while Tables 15 – 16 provide overall Black and Mulatto populations with special consideration for gender. Tables 17 – 20 factors in residence while analyzing gender for each district that had a population of one or more. Table 21 reveals the percentages of males and females of Pennsylvania and out-of state origin. Tables 22 – 25 allows us to view specific states where they were born.

Age groups which imply life stages also reveal much about a population. The 1840 census only enumerates the head of the household and simply tallies other family members according to gender and age group. In the 1840 census, age groups are more precise for the White population than the "Colored" population, but they are still not meaningful. Age groups, therefore, will be tabulated in two ways. Table 26 shows age groups according to the 1840 census for consistency's sake and Table 27 gives the corresponding

percentages. Tables 28 and 29 will address age groups in more meaningful ways. For example, the 1840 census lumps children 0-9 into one group. Obviously, the eight year old has little in common with the infant, and so the following is an attempt to provide a better framework.

Erikson's stages of development from Basic Trust versus Mistrust to Ego Integrity versus Despair may have been the ideal vehicle for definition of age groups; however, Erikson does not assign any chronological ages to his stages.¹³ Since this is the case, age groups in Tables 28 and 29 are only loosely connected with Erikson's theory. Ages 0-4 is associated with infancy and early childhood; 5-11, with early education, 12-16, with adolescence; 17-23 with early marriage years; 24-35, with early parenthood years; 36-45, with parenting adolescents; 46-55, with early grandparenthood; 56-74, with late grandparenthood or early great-grandparenthood and 75 and over, with diminished labor responsibility. While these age groups may not describe the entire population accurately, they do provide a better base of understanding than the groups offered on the 1840 census.

In 1850, the community corporately possessed only \$4200 in real property (See Table 30). By 1860, the value of real and personal property totaled \$29,405 (See Table 31) and in 1870, it totaled \$26,420 (See Table 32). As previously stated, the 1880 census data does not offer any property values. When we look at this by gender, we see that one woman, Heston (Ester) George, owned the highest valued property of \$1000 in 1850. In 1860, that same woman's property was valued at \$10,000 and she also owned personal property. Other women also had personal property valued at \$300, \$50, \$40 and \$20. In 1870, one woman owned \$600 of real property and two others owned \$220 and \$125. Only one woman had \$100 in personal property.

If it is occupation that creates wealth, then we must wonder how these women obtained even the holdings of real and personal property they had. No women in the 1850 census had any listed occupation, and those listed in subsequent years related to domestic or "pink collar" work. Men's work was more diverse. Of those who had an occupation in 1850, 42% were laborers, 18% were coal miners and another 18% were farmers (See Table 33). In 1860, women who worked were listed as servants or washerwomen. Farmers or farm laborers made up 27%; laborers, 30% and coal miners, 14% (See Table 34). In 1870, women who worked labored as washerwomen, domestics, cooks or keeping house¹⁴. Men's work was more diverse, but still included 33% farmers, 30% laborers and 8% coal miners (See Table 35). In 1880, women continued in the traditional work of previous censuses; however, one woman moved into the occupation of a hairdresser. Men were still laborers at 36%; farmers at 9% and coal miners at 10% (See Table 36).

The census divulges that occupations remain traditional for women throughout these years with none working outside the home in 1850, 10 in 1860, 13 in 1870 and 20 in 1880; however, men's work consistently becomes more diverse and begins to stray away from agricultural pursuits. Farming increases in the years following 1850 and through the 1870's; however, it drops off drastically in 1880. Laborers remain consistently high and coal miners decrease only by eight percent.

While occupation and income can produce wealth and property holdings, those who held property from 1850 – 1870 were from diverse occupational backgrounds (See Table 37). Farmers, however, tended to hold the most valuable property. This stands to reason and reveals nothing out of the ordinary. In 1860, all who owned real property had personal property as well, but by 1870, some owned real property but not personal property. This may indicate either more property was inherited or that not as much earned income funneled into real property as in earlier years.

A sort between age groups on Table 28 and 29 revealed nothing unpredictable (See Table 38). The very young and the very old did not own property with one exception; in 1860 one owner is over 75 years of age. Overall, these numbers are too small to reveal many significant patterns; however, it is interesting to note that the age group which held 1/3 of the total real property in 1850 falls into the next higher age groups the following years and then owns the largest percentage of the property for the two consecutive census years.

This researcher also sorted data with wealth and racial identity. This showed that in 1850, all landholders were Black; however, in ten years, mulattos held over 50% of the real property holdings (See Table 39). Of greatest interest here is what the census tells us about Heston (Ester) George. When she owned \$1000 in 1850, she was listed as Black. When her holdings increased to \$10,000 in 1860, she listed as mulatto. In Latin America, people say that money lightens the skin, which means that in a society with a hierarchy based on skin color, money moves a person up the social ladder. Perhaps this is the case in 19th century Indiana County as well or perhaps we can attribute this once again to census taker error.

Another sort was performed using literacy to indicate educational level in relation to wealth (See Table 40). The findings are not surprising. Those who were literate tended to have wealth more often. It is obvious though that education was not a deciding factor in obtaining wealth. Heston (Ester) George is illiterate and yet she owns property at the highest value.

Another sort between place of birth and wealth also reveals data that is not totally unexpected (See Table 41). A large percentage of property owners were born in PA, but this is consistent with the overall population. In 1870, a large number of those born in Virginia own property, but this is also congruent with the makeup of the overall population.

Education is an important institution and one which this study will address both in terms of literacy for adults and school attendance for children of school age. In 1850, 65% of the total adult population over 21¹⁵ was illiterate (See Table 42). This fell to 53% in 1860, rose slightly to 56% in 1870 and then dropped off to 52% in 1880. In 1850, females were the most literate segment of the population, but by 1880 less than half could perform at the level of their predecessors.

The concept of school attendance in a rural county where farming is a way of life also produces interesting questions. School attendance and gender were

the factors most carefully analyzed in a sort for all school-aged children 5 – 18.¹⁶ Once again, no consistent patterns appeared here, but in both 1870 and 1880, a significant amount of school age females are not in school (See Table 43). Table 44 reveals the results of the sort by place of birth and school attendance. As the researcher suspected, a lack of school attendance was slightly higher for those born out of state, but this is not weighty enough to make any general statements.

In addition to the institution of education, family is another important institution and the basic unit of any community. While we cannot follow each family with the same degree of attention afforded Elias Woods, we can look at overall structural patterns through the years of 1850-1880. In 1850, there were 40 African American headed families; 27 in 1860, 34 in 1870 and 45 in 1880. In 1850, thirty-four individuals lived with non-related Whites; fifteen of these lived without the company of their own family members. In 1860, only 15 individuals lived with non-related Whites and none of these lived with other family members. In 1870, 26 individuals lived with non-related Whites; 17 lived alone with non-related Whites, but the remainder had other family members present. In 1880, 18 individuals lived with non-related Whites and only two individuals had each other's company-the remaining 16 lived with Whites alone.

Culturally, most African Americans who lived with non-related Whites were not isolated. Even for those individuals who lived with Whites exclusively, family members often lived nearby or even next door so this did not separate families and the community to any great degree. Black families tended to cluster together residentially and Whites who married into the community also tended to live near other African Americans. As early as 1850, there were two White women who married and had children with African American men. In 1860, one White woman had a one-year old mulatto child, but no father is listed in the household. In 1870, both Charles Southren and Jonathan Johnston had White wives. In 1880, when relationships to the head of house appear on the census, Mary Sutherland emerges with her mulatto children; William Carter, Alex Thompson, Thomas Clark and James George had taken White wives; and one White man, Nathan Landis, had married a White woman who has two Mulatto children. Margaret Donahey is the only African American women married to a White man and appear in the census as such. She and her White husband lived with her husband's family.

At this time, Indiana County's White population has not been indexed or entered into a database in any comparable form. Population totals are unavailable except by select townships or localities and these are suspect because of obvious errors in calculations. One of the questions that remains unanswered is how Indiana County African Americans fared in relation to those who lived near them. Wealth, occupation, education and family size and structure would all take on new meaning when compared to another African American or White population group.

Information concerning the African American community in Indiana County is far from exhausted. The Indiana County Tax Records mentioned earlier hold a wealth of information about the individuals who comprised this early

community. If the individuals owned land, tax records list lot numbers that in turn lead to deed and/or mortgage records. Church records and family papers have the capacity to tell us much more about these people, their lives and legacy. Family histories and oral histories also hold untold potential. Older local residents have stories to tell about their own lives and incidents to relate about the lives of deceased loved ones. In fact, these stories may be better preserved as African American culture tends to be a more oral culture than mainstream America.

Mary Helen Washington reminds us in her book Memory of Kin:

The story of kin has inspired some of the very best writing by black writers, and surely that is because the family is integral to black traditions. But, as many of these stories imply, much of what we call family is constructed through memory-what we remember and pass on become an essential part of family.¹⁷

For the families that remain of the ones discussed here, it is important to continue this work. This project has barely scratched the surface. The census material itself also contains more data than can be analyzed in this brief paper. The numbers here have not been computer analyzed statistically by a means such as SPSS. Some areas may not have enough data to draw conclusions and make generalizations about the overall population, but other areas such as males and females in education lend themselves well to the type of "number crunching".

Even while this study has looked at and proposed further study for the African American community as a whole, this compiled database is now ripe for family and individual history. We have heard Elias Woods' story; we have learned something of his community; now it is time for us to learn more about the legacy born on that day in the spring of 1870.

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US Bureau of the Census. Federal Population Schedules: 1860. Indiana County, Pennsylvania.

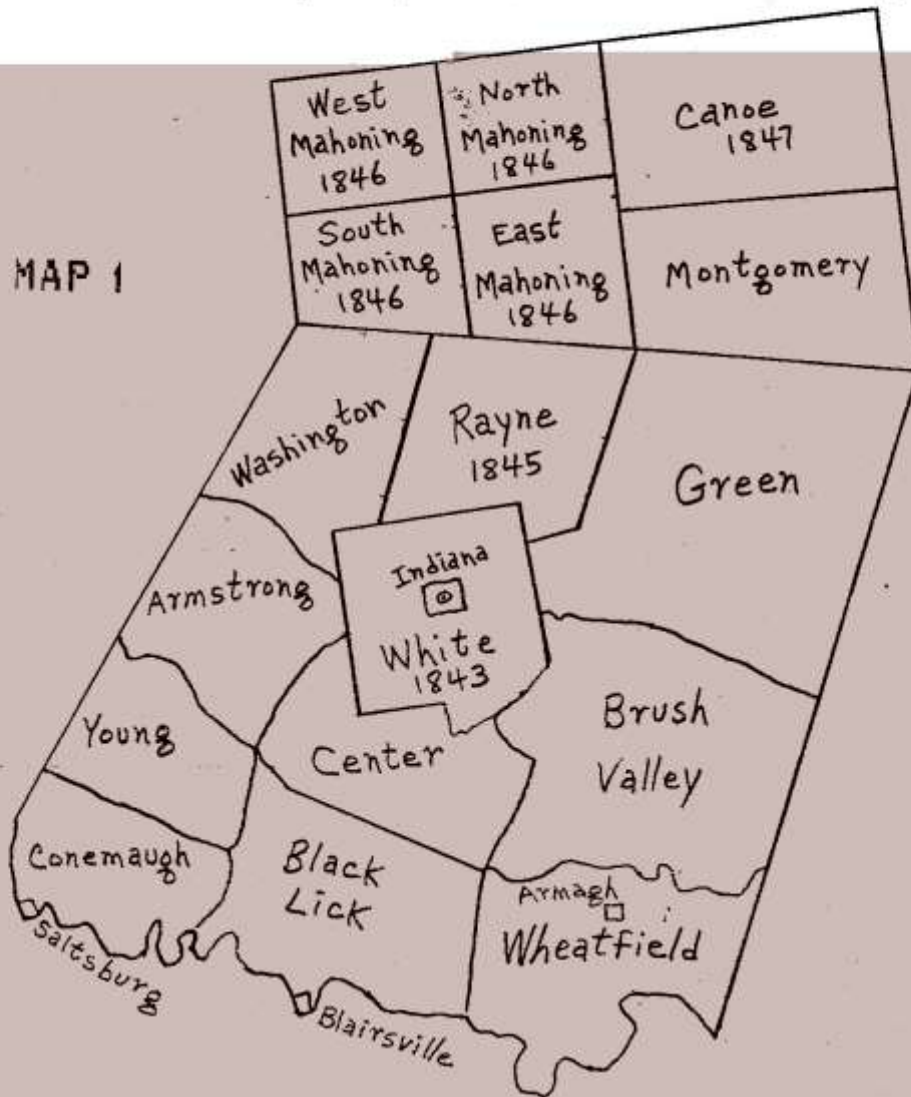
US Bureau of the Census. Federal Population Schedules: 1870. Indiana County, Pennsylvania.

US Bureau of the Census. Federal Population Schedules: 1880. Indiana County, Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX I

Map 1.

Map of Indiana County, Pennsylvania. 1843-1847.

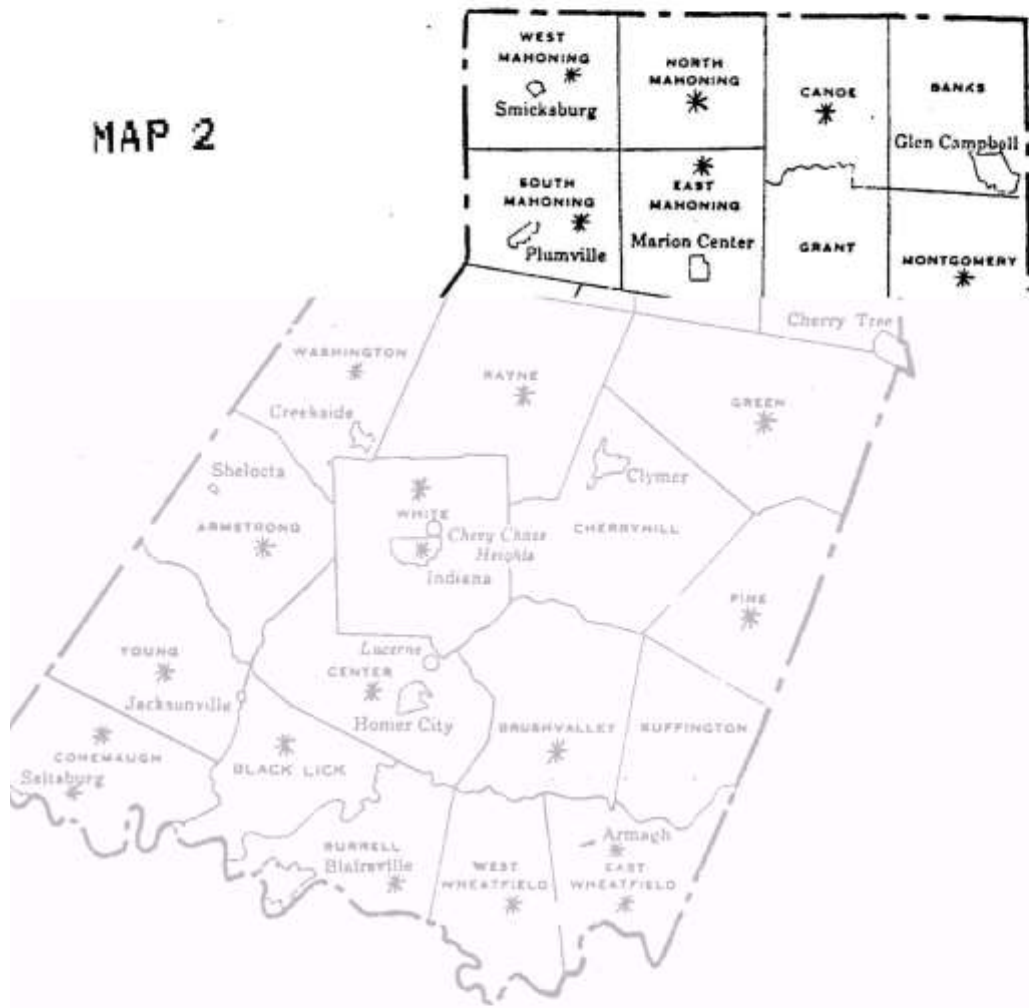


Seven townships added, 1843-1847

Map found in Stephenson, Clarence D. Indiana County 175th Anniversary History. Indiana, PA: The A.G. Halldin Publishing Co., 1978, 214-K.

Map 2.
Map of Indiana County, Pennsylvania. 1850.

MAP 2



Found in Jackson, Ronald Vern, Gary Ronald Teeple and David Wefermeyer. Pennsylvania 1850 Census Index. Bountiful, UT: General Indexing Systems, Inc., 1978.

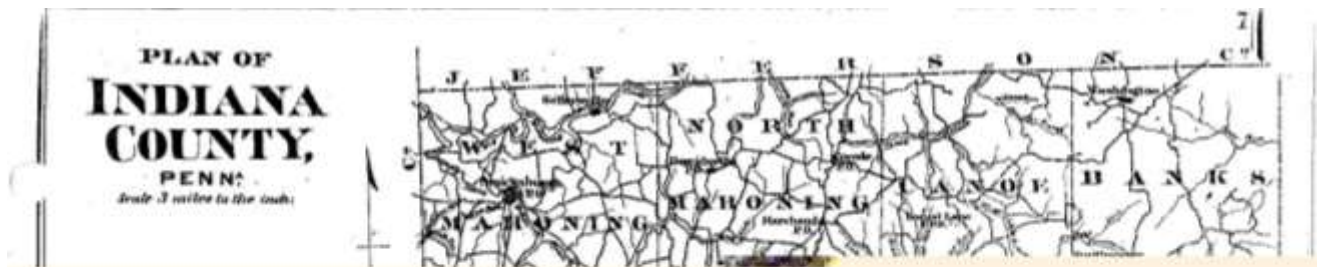
**Map 3.
Map of Indiana County, Pennsylvania. 1850-1859.**



Indiana County during the Civil War. Five townships and six new boroughs added, 1850-1859

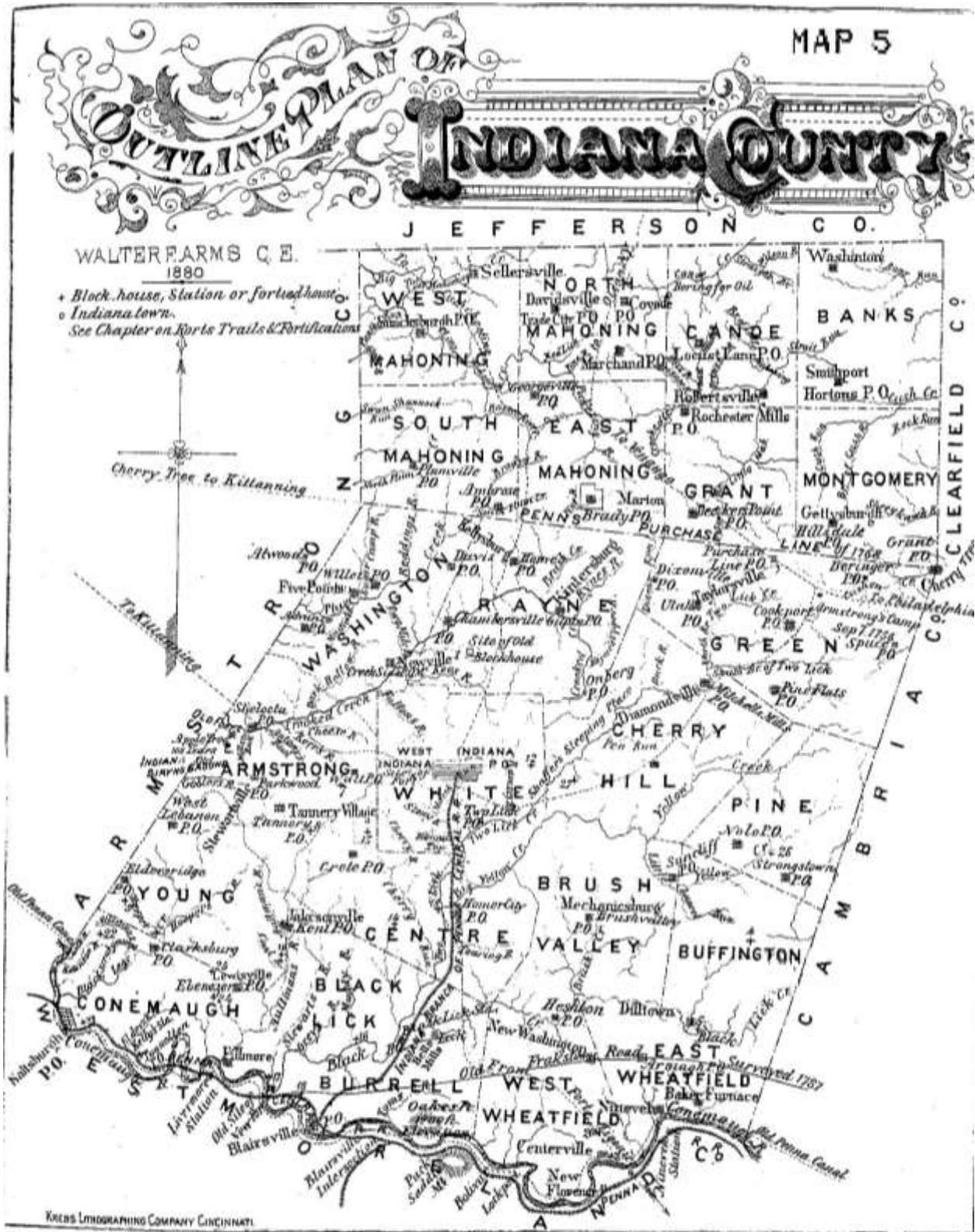
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Map 4.
Map of Indiana County, Pennsylvania. 1871.



Map found in Beers, F.W. Atlas of Indiana Co. Pennsylvania. New York: F.W. Beers and Company, 1871, 7.

Map 5.
 Map of Indiana County, Pennsylvania. 1880.



Map found in Caldwell, J.A. 1845-1880 History of Indiana County, Penna. Newark, OH: J.A. Caldwell, 1880.

APPENDIX II

Table 1.
Total Populations By Year.

CENSUS YEAR	TOTALS
1850	252
1860	186
1870	181
1880	223

Table 2.
1850 Population By Residence

TOWNSHIP OR BORO	POPULATION
Blacklick	67
Conemaugh	40
Indiana	29
Wheatfield	28
Blairsville	26
Young	20
Saltsburg	11
North Mahoning	7
Green	7
Brush Valley	6
White Township	6
Centre	3
Rayne	1
Armagh	1
Totals	252

Table 3.
1860 Population By Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BORO	POPULATION
Burrell	49
Conemaugh	33
Indiana	33
Blairsville	28
Saltsburg	16
White	16
East Wheatfield	5
Brush Valley	3
Washington	1
Armstrong	1
Armagh	1
Totals	186

Table 4.
1870 Population By Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BORO	POPULATION
Burrell	57
Conemaugh	33
Indiana	29
White	27
Blairsville	19
Saltsburg	5
Green	3
Cherry Tree	2
Blacklick	2
Brush Valley	2
North Mahoning	1
East Wheatfield	1
Totals	181

Table 5.
1880 Population By Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BORO	POPULATION
Burrell	70
Blairsville	42
Indiana	31
West Indiana	22
White Township	18
Conemaugh	18
Armstrong	6
Blacklick	5
Saltsburg	5
Cherry Hill	4
West Lebanon	1
Buffington	1
Totals	223

Table 6.
Origins of African-American Indiana County Residents.

PLACE OF BIRTH	1850	1860	1870	1880
Alabama	0	0	0	1
District of Columbia	0	0	1	0
Indiana	1	0	0	0
Kentucky	0	0	0	1
Louisiana	0	0	0	1
Maryland	7	6	9	6
Mississippi	0	0	1	1
New Jersey	0	0	1	0
New York	0	0	0	1
Ohio	0	1	0	0
Ontario C.W	0	0	0	3
Pennsylvania	237	176	149	194
Tennessee	0	0	2	1
Unknown	1	0	0	0
Virginia (or East VA)	6	3	17	13
West Virginia	0	0	1	1
Totals	252	186	181	223
PENNSYLVANIA OR OUT OF STATE ORIGINIS				
Origins In PA	94.05%	94.62%	82.32%	87.00%
Origins Outside PA	5.95%	5.38%	17.68%	13.00%

**Table 7.
1850-1880 Population By Racial Groups.**

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	BLACK POPULATION	MULATTO POPULATION
1850	252	218	34
1860	186	75	111
1870	181	125	56
1880	223	147	76

**Table 8.
1850-1880 Population By Racial Groups (Percentages).**

CENSUS YEAR	BLACKS	MULATTOS
1850	86.51%	13.49%
1860	40.32%	59.68%
1870	69.06%	30.94%
1880	65.92%	34.08%

**Table 9.
Total Populations By Year and Gender.**

CENSUS YEAR	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES
1850	252	140	112
1860	186	100	86
1870	181	92	89
1880	223	111	112

**Table 10.
Percentage Populations By Year and Gender.**

CENSUS YEAR	MALES	FEMALES
1850	55.56%	44.44%
1860	53.76%	46.24%
1870	50.83%	49.17%
1880	49.78%	50.22%

Table 11.
Population of 1850 Census By Townships or Boroughs and Gender.

INDIANA COUNTY TOWNSHIPS OR BOROS	TOTAL POPULATION	MALE POPULATION	FEMALE POPULATION
Indiana	29	14	15
White Township	6	4	2
Green	7	6	1
Montgomery	0	0	0
Blairsville	26	15	11
Brush valley	6	1	5
Wheatfield	28	17	11
Armagh	1	0	1
Centre	3	1	2
Blacklick	67	43	24
West Mahoning	0	0	0
Rayne	1	1	0
South Mahoning	0	0	0
Washington	0	0	0
Canoe	0	0	0
North Mahoning	7	3	4
East Mahoning	0	0	0
Young	20	7	13
Armstrong	0	0	0
Conemaugh	40	23	17
Saltsburg	11	5	6
Pine	0	0	0
Totals	252	140	112

Table 12.
Population of 1860 Census By Townships or Boroughs and Gender.

INDIANA COUNTY TOWNSHIPS OR BOROS	TOTAL POPULATION	MALE POPULATION	FEMALE POPULATION
Armagh	1	1	0
East Wheatfield	5	4	1
Armstrong	1	0	1
Shelocta	0	0	0
Blacklick	0	0	0
Blairsville	28	13	15
Conemaugh	33	16	17
Burrell	49	31	18
Brush Valley	3	1	2
Canoe	0	0	0
Center	0	0	0
Cherry Hill	0	0	0
Cherry Tree	0	0	0
Saltsburg	16	7	9
East Mahoning	0	0	0
West Mahoning	0	0	0
Green	0	0	0
Indiana	33	15	18
Jacksonville	0	0	0
Young	0	0	0
Mechanicsburg	0	0	0
Montgomery	0	0	0
North Mahoning	0	0	0
Pine	0	0	0
Rayne	0	0	0
Smicksburg	0	0	0
South Mahoning	0	0	0
Tailorsville	0	0	0
Washington	1	0	1
West Wheatfield	0	0	0
White	16	12	4
Totals	186	100	86

Table 13.
Population of 1870 Census By Townships or Boroughs and Gender.

INDIANA COUNTY TOWNSHIPS OR BOROS	TOTAL POPULATION	MALE POPULATION	FEMALE POPULATION
Tailorsville	0	0	0
Montgomery	0	0	0
Cherry Tree	2	1	1
North Mahoning	1	1	0
Pine	0	0	0
South Mahoning	0	0	0
Rayne	0	0	0
Washington	0	0	0
West Mahoning	0	0	0
Smicksburg	0	0	0
West Wheatfield	0	0	0
White	27	16	11
Indiana	29	14	15
Young	0	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0
Armstrong	0	0	0
Shelocta	0	0	0
Banks	0	0	0
Blacklick	2	0	2
Brush Valley	2	1	1
Mechanicsburg	0	0	0
Buffington	0	0	0
Burrell	57	31	26
Canoe	0	0	0
Blairsville	19	8	11
Center	0	0	0
Cherry Hill	0	0	0
Conemaugh	33	14	19
Saltsburg	5	3	2
East Mahoning	0	0	0
Marion	0	0	0
East Wheatfield	1	1	0
Armagh	0	0	0
Grant	0	0	0
Green	3	2	1
Totals	181	92	89

Table 14.
Population of 1880 Census By Townships or Boroughs and Gender.

INDIANA COUNTY TOWNSHIPS OR BOROS	TOTAL POPULATION	MALE POPULATION	FEMALE POPULATION
Indiana	31	15	16
West Indiana	22	10	12
White Township	18	10	8
Center	0	0	0
Homer City	0	0	0
Blairsville	42	19	23
Blacklick	5	2	3
Conemaugh	18	12	6
Young	0	0	0
West Lebanon	1	0	1
Jacksonville	0	0	0
Armagh	0	0	0
Burrell	70	34	36
East Wheatfield	0	0	0
Brush Valley	0	0	0
Mechanicsburg	0	0	0
Shelocta	0	0	0
Armstrong	6	4	2
Buffington	1	0	1
Pine	0	0	0
Cherry Hill	4	4	0
Green	0	0	0
Washington	0	0	0
South Mahoning	0	0	0
Plumville	0	0	0
Rayne	0	0	0
West Mahoning	0	0	0
Smicksburg	0	0	0
Marion	0	0	0
East Mahoning	0	0	0
North Mahoning	0	0	0
Montgomery	0	0	0
Cherry Tree	0	0	0
Grant	0	0	0
Canoe	0	0	0
Banks	0	0	0
Saltsburg	5	1	4
West Wheatfield	0	0	0
Totals	223	111	112

Table 15.
Gender and Racial Divisions Between Census Years.

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
1850	252	218	121	97	34	19	15
1860	186	75	38	37	111	62	49
1870	181	125	65	60	56	27	29
1880	223	147	73	74	76	38	38

Table 16.
Gender and Racial Percentages Between Census Years.

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
1850	86.51%	48.02%	38.49%	13.49%	7.54%	5.95%
1860	40.32%	20.43%	19.89%	59.68%	33.33%	26.34%
1870	69.06%	35.91%	33.15%	30.94%	14.92%	16.02%
1880	65.92%	32.74%	33.18%	34.08%	17.04%	17.04%

Table 17.
1850 Gender, Racial Divisions and Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BOROUGH	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
Armagh	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Blacklick	67	60	39	21	7	4	3
Blairsville	26	25	14	11	1	1	0
Brush Valley	6	6	1	5	0	0	0
Centre	3	0	0	0	3	1	2
Conemaugh	40	34	19	15	6	4	2
Green	7	1	1	0	6	5	1
Indiana	29	28	14	14	1	0	1
North Mahoning	7	2	2	0	5	1	4
Rayne	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Saltsburg	11	11	5	6	0	0	0
Wheatfield	28	23	14	9	5	3	2
White Twp	6	6	4	2	0	0	0
Young	20	20	7	13	0	0	0

Totals	252	218	121	97	34	19	15
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Table 18.
1860 Gender, Racial Divisions and Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BOROUGH	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
Armagh	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Armstrong	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Blairsville	28	9	5	4	19	8	11
Brush Valley	3	3	1	2	0	0	0
Burrell	49	21	13	8	28	18	10
Conemaugh	33	16	8	8	17	8	9
East Wheatfield	5	5	4	1	0	0	0
Indiana	33	9	2	7	24	13	11
Saltsburg	16	9	4	5	7	3	4
Washington	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
White	16	2	1	1	14	11	3
Totals	186	75	38	37	111	62	49

Table 19.
1870 Gender, Racial Divisions and Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BOROUGH	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
Blacklick	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Blairsville	19	14	7	7	5	1	4
Brush Valley	2	2	1	1	0	0	0
Burrell	57	56	31	25	1	0	1
Cherry Tree	2	0	0	0	2	1	1
Conemaugh	33	13	5	8	20	9	11
East Wheatfield	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Green	3	0	0	0	3	2	1
Indiana	29	21	10	11	8	4	4
North Mahoning	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Saltsburg	5	1	1	0	4	2	2
White	27	17	9	8	10	7	3

Totals	181	125	65	60	56	27	29
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Table 20.
1880 Gender, Racial Divisions and Residence.

TOWNSHIP OR BOROUGH	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK	MALE BLACK	FEMALE BLACK	TOTAL MULATTO	MALE MULATTO	FEMALE MULATTO
Armstrong	6	6	4	2	0	0	0
Blacklick	5	2	1	1	3	1	2
Blairsville	42	5	3	2	37	16	21
Buffington	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Burrell	70	57	26	31	13	8	5
Cherry Hill	4	0	0	0	4	4	0
Conemaugh	18	13	9	4	5	3	2
Indiana	31	21	9	12	10	6	4
Saltsburg	5	1	1	0	4	0	4
West Indiana	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
West Lebanon	22	22	10	12	0	0	0
White Twp	18	18	10	8	0	0	0
Totals	223	147	73	74	76	38	38

Table 21.
Pennsylvania and Other Origins.

PENNSYLVANIA ORIGINS			
CENSUS YEAR	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES
1850	94.05%	92.86%	95.54%
1860	94.62%	95.00%	94.19%
1870	82.32%	79.35%	85.39%
1880	87.00%	84.68%	89.29%
OTHER ORIGINS			
CENSUS YEAR	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES
1850	5.95%	7.14%	4.46%
1860	5.38%	5.00%	5.81%
1870	17.68%	20.65%	14.61%

1880	13.00%	15.32%	10.71%
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Table 22.
Origins of Residents in 1850.

PLACE OF BIRTH		MALE	FEMALE
Indiana	1	1	0
Maryland	7	4	3
Unknown	1	1	0
Virginia	6	4	2
Pennsylvania	237	130	107
Totals	252	140	112

Table 23.
Origins of Residents in 1860.

PLACE OF BIRTH		MALE	FEMALE
Maryland	6	4	2
Ohio	1	1	0
Pennsylvania	176	95	81
Virginia	3	0	3
Totals	186	100	86

Table 24.
Origins of Residents in 1870.

PLACE OF BIRTH		MALE	FEMALE
Dist of Columbia	1	0	1
E. Virginia (or VA)	17	12	5
Maryland	9	6	3
Mississippi	1	0	1
New Jersey	1	1	0
Pennsylvania	149	73	76
Tennessee	2	0	2
West Virginia	1	0	1
Totals	181	92	89

Table 25.
Origins of Residents in 1880.

PLACE OF BIRTH	TOTALS	MALE	FEMALE
ALABAMA	1	0	1
KENTUCKY	1	0	1
LOUISIANA	1	0	1
MARYLAND	6	4	2
MISSISSIPPI	1	0	1
NEW YORK	1	1	0
ONTARIO C.W.	3	2	1
PENNSYLVANIA	194	94	100
TENNESSEE	1	0	1
VIRGINIA	13	9	4
WEST VIRGINIA	1	1	0
TOTALS	223	111	112

Table 26.
Corresponding Age Groups with the 1840 Census Age Grouping.

AGE GROUPS OF BLACK MALE POPULATION				
MALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
100 AND UP	0	0	0	0
55-99	9	7	13	19
36-54	10	12	18	12
24-35	23	16	13	20
10-23	57	37	25	24
0-9	41	28	23	36
TOTALS	140	100	92	111
AGE GROUPS OF BLACK FEMALE POPULATION				
FEMALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
100 AND UP	0	0	0	0
55-99	6	8	9	14
36-54	12	16	13	14
24-35	25	13	17	19
10-23	34	23	29	34
0-9	35	26	21	31
Totals	112	86	89	112

Table 27.
Corresponding Groupings with the 1840 Census Age Grouping.
Percentages of Total Male and Female Populations.

AGE GROUPS OF BLACK MALE POPULATION				
MALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
100 AND UP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
55-99	6.43%	7.00%	14.13%	17.12%
36-54	7.14%	12.00%	19.57%	10.81%
24-35	16.43%	16.00%	14.13%	18.02%
10-23	40.71%	37.00%	27.17%	21.62%
0-9	29.29%	28.00%	25.00%	32.43%
AGE GROUPS OF BLACK FEMALE POPULATION				
FEMALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
100 AND UP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
55-99	5.36%	9.30%	10.11%	12.50%
36-54	10.71%	18.60%	14.61%	12.50%
24-35	22.32%	15.12%	19.10%	16.96%
10-23	30.36%	26.74%	32.58%	30.36%
0-9	31.25%	30.23%	23.60%	27.68%

Table 28.
Ages According to Development and Life Stage.

AGE GROUPS OF BLACK MALE POPULATION				
MALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
75 AND UP	3	0	3	3
56-74	6	6	10	15
46-55	2	3	9	6
36-45	8	10	9	7
24-35	23	16	13	20
17-23	22	14	15	11
12-16	27	15	8	7
5-11	31	20	10	21
0-4	18	16	15	21
TOTALS	140	100	92	111
AGE GROUPS OF BLACK FEMALE POPULATION				
FEMALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
75 AND UP	1	3	2	3
56-74	5	5	6	11
46-55	6	4	7	11
36-45	6	12	7	3
24-35	25	13	17	19
17-23	17	4	11	16
12-16	13	16	14	14
5-11	21	19	13	25
0-4	18	10	12	10
TOTALS	112	86	89	112

Table 29.**Ages According to Development and Life Stage. Percentages of Total Male and Female Populations.**

AGE GROUPS OF BLACK MALE POPULATION				
MALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
75 AND UP	2.14%	0.00%	3.26%	2.70%
56-74	4.29%	6.00%	10.87%	13.51%
46-55	1.43%	3.00%	9.78%	5.41%
36-45	5.71%	10.00%	9.78%	6.31%
24-35	16.43%	16.00%	14.13%	18.02%
17-23	15.71%	14.00%	16.30%	9.91%
12-16	19.29%	15.00%	8.70%	6.31%
5-11	22.14%	20.00%	10.87%	18.92%
0-4	12.86%	16.00%	16.30%	18.92%
AGE GROUPS OF BLACK FEMALE POPULATION				
FEMALES	1850	1860	1870	1880
75 AND UP	0.89%	3.49%	2.25%	2.68%
56-74	4.46%	5.81%	6.74%	9.82%
46-55	5.36%	4.65%	7.87%	9.82%
36-45	5.36%	13.95%	7.87%	2.68%
24-35	22.32%	15.12%	19.10%	16.96%
17-23	15.18%	4.65%	12.36%	14.29%
12-16	11.61%	18.60%	15.73%	12.50%
5-11	18.75%	22.09%	14.61%	22.32%
0-4	16.07%	11.63%	13.48%	8.93%

Table 30.**1850 Wealth Listings By Gender.**

REAL ESTATE VALUE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL MONETARY VALUE
1000	0	1	1000
800	1	0	800
600	1	0	600
500	2	0	1000
300	1	0	300
200	2	0	400
100	1	0	100
Totals	8	1	4200

Table 31.
1860 Wealth Listings By Gender.

REAL ESTATE VALUE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL MONETARY VALUE
10000	0	1	10000
7800	1	0	7800
1500	1	0	1500
1000	1	0	1000
900	1	0	900
800	1	0	800
700	1	0	700
400	1	0	400
150	2	0	300
100	1	0	100
Totals	10	1	23500
PERSONAL PROPERTY VALUE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL MONETARY VALUE
2870	1	0	2870
600	1	0	600
400	1	0	400
300	1	1	600
200	2	0	400
145	1	0	145
100	3	0	300
75	2	0	150
50	6	1	350
40	0	1	40
20	1	1	40
10	1	0	10
TOTALS	20	4	5905

Table 32.
1870 Wealth Listings By Gender.

REAL ESTATE VALUE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL MONETARY VALUE
3200	1	0	3200
3000	1	0	3000
2500	1	0	2500
2000	1	0	2000
1600	1	0	1600
1200	1	0	1200
1000	2	0	2000
600	3	1	2400
500	1	0	500
400	1	0	400
340	1	0	340
300	2	0	600
220	0	1	220
125	0	1	125
Totals	16	3	20085
PERSONAL PROPERTY VALUE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL MONETARY VALUE
960	1	0	960
600	2	0	1200
500	3	0	1500
400	2	0	800
300	2	0	600
250	1	0	250
150	2	0	300
125	1	0	125
100	5	1	600
Totals	19	1	6335

Note: 1880 Property values not listed on the census.

Table 33.
Occupational Listings for 1850.

OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR MALES		OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR FEMALES	
Barber	3	None listed on census	
Blacksmith	1		
Boatman	3		
Coal Digger	9		
Drayman	1		
Farmer	9		
Laborer	21		
Salt Boiler	2		
Totals	49	0	

Table 34.
Occupational Listings for 1860.

OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR MALES		OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR FEMALES	
Apprentice Barber	1	Servant	3
Barber	2	Washer Woman	7
Boatman	2		
Coal Miner	6		
Day Laborer	8		
Drayman	1		
Farm Laborer	4		
Farmer	7		
Hostler At Hotel	2		
Jour. Tanner	1		
Laborer	5		
Laborer On Farm	1		
Loafer	1		
Master Barber	1		
None	1		
Wagon Driver	1		
Totals	44		10

Table 35.
Occupational Listings for 1870.

OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR MALES		OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR FEMALES	
At Home	8	At Home	7
Barber	5	Cook	1
Blacksmith	1	Domestic Servant	4
Coal Carrier	1	Drives The Servant	1
Coal Miner	4	Housekeeper	1
Common Laborer	5	Keeping House	17
Cook On Steamboat	1	None	10
Day Laborer	1	Servant	4
Engineer Apprentice	1	Washer Woman	3
Farm Laborer	8		
Farmer	9		
Farming	1		
Hood Carrier	1		
Hostler	4		
Laborer	11		
None	6		
Servant	1		
Works In Paper Mill	1		
Works On Farm	1		
Totals	70		48

Table 36.
Occupational Listings for 1880.

OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR MALES		OCCUPATIONAL LISTINGS FOR FEMALES	
At Home	9	Assistant H.K.	1
Bakerry	1	At Home	12
Barber	8	At School	1
Blacksmith	1	Boarding	1
Coal Digging	1	Cook At Hotel	1
Coal Miner	6	Domestic Servant	2
Day Laborer	2	General Work	1
Engineer Of Stationary	1	Going To School	1
Farm Laborer	6	Hair Dresser	1
Farmer	1	Keeping House	31
Going To School	3	Lives Out	2
Hostler	2	Pauper	6
Hotel Porter	1	Servant	6
Laborer	23	Washer Woman	8
Laborer At Brickyard	1	Working Out	1
Laboring	1		
Learning Barbering	1		
Pauper	5		
Porter At Hotel	2		
Servant	3		
Stable Boy	2		
Stone Mason	1		
Teamster	1		
Works In Brickyard	2		
Totals	84		75

Note: Three men and one woman had two occupations listed on census.

Table 37.
Occupations of Those Who Own Real Property.

OCCUPATION OF REAL PROPERTY OWNERS	CENSUS YEAR		
	1850	1860	1870
Barber	2	0	1
Blacksmith	1	0	0
Boatman	0	1	0
Coal Miner	0	3	0
Cook On Steamboat	0	0	1
Domestic	0	0	2
Farming	2	4	7
Hood Carrier	0	0	1
Hostler	0	1	0
Laborer	2	1	5
Missing Or None	2	1	1
Paper Mill Worker	0	0	1
Totals	9	11	19

Table 38.
Ages Groups of Black Property Owners. Percentages in Age Groups for Comparison.

AGE OF PROPERTY OWNER	CENSUS YEAR		
	1850	1860	1870
24-35	3	3	3
36-45	1	3	5
46-55	1	2	7
56-74	4	2	4
75+	0	1	0

AGE OF PROPERTY OWNER	CENSUS YEAR		
	1850	1860	1870
24-35	33.33%	27.27%	15.79%
36-45	11.11%	27.27%	26.32%
46-55	11.11%	18.18%	36.84%
56-74	44.44%	18.18%	21.05%
75+	0.00%	9.09%	0.00%

Table 39.**Property Ownership and Racial Identity By Census Year. Property Ownership and Racial Identity By Census Year and Percentages.**

CENSUS YEAR	PROPERTY OWNERS	
	BLACK	MULATTO
1850	9	0
1860	5	6
1870	13	6
CENSUS YEAR	PROPERTY OWNERS	
	BLACK	MULATTO
1850	100.00%	0.00%
1860	45.45%	54.55%
1870	68.42%	31.58%

Table 40.**Literacy and Property Ownership.**

CENSUS YEAR	LITERATE	ILLITERATE
1850	5	4
1860	7	4
1870	12	7
CENSUS YEAR	LITERATE	ILLITERATE
1850	55.56%	44.44%
1860	63.64%	36.36%
1870	63.16%	36.84%

Note: Illiterate indicates inability to write in years where census lists both reading and writing.

Table 41.
Origins and Property Ownership. Percentages: Origins and Property Ownership.

ORIGINS AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP			
STATE OF ORIGIN	1850	1860	1870
MARYLAND	1	0	1
PENNSYLVANIA	6	11	15
UNKNOWN	1	0	0
VIRGINIA	1	0	3
PERCENTAGES: ORIGINS AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP			
STATE OF ORIGIN	1850	1860	1870
MARYLAND	11.11%	0.00%	5.26%
PENNSYLVANIA	66.67%	100.00%	78.95%
UNKNOWN	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%
VIRGINIA	11.11%	0.00%	15.79%

Table 42.
Literacy By Year and Gender.

CENSUS YEAR	ILLITERATE			RATE OF ILLITERACY		
	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES
1850	35	21	14	34.65%	42.00%	27.45%
1860	35	15	20	46.67%	40.54%	52.63%
1870	42	22	20	43.75%	40.74%	47.62%
1880	53	22	31	47.75%	39.29%	56.36%
CENSUS YEAR	LITERATE			RATE OF LITERACY		
	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES	TOTALS	MALES	FEMALES
1850	66	29	37	65.35%	58.00%	72.55%
1860	40	22	18	53.33%	59.46%	47.37%
1870	54	32	22	56.25%	59.26%	52.38%
1880	58	34	24	52.25%	60.71%	43.64%

Table 43.
School Age Children 5-18 Years Old.

CENSUS YEAR	SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN	IN SCHOOL		NOT IN SCHOOL	
		MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
1850	101	22	11	40	28
1860	80	22	21	21	16
1870	52	14	11	7	20
1880	74	17	13	14	30

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL IN SCHOOL	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL NOT IN SCHOOL	MALES	FEMALES
1850	32.67%	21.78%	10.89%	67.33%	39.60%	27.72%
1860	53.75%	27.50%	26.25%	46.25%	26.25%	20.00%
1870	48.08%	26.92%	21.15%	51.92%	13.46%	38.46%
1880	40.54%	22.97%	17.57%	59.46%	18.92%	40.54%

Table 44.
Origins and Education.

IN SCHOOL				
CENSUS YEAR	MALES		FEMALES	
	PA BORN	NOT PA BORN	PA BORN	NOT PA BORN
1850	22	0	11	0
1860	22	0	20	1
1870	13	1	10	1
1880	16	1	12	1

NOT IN SCHOOL				
CENSUS YEAR	MALES		FEMALES	
	PA BORN	NOT PA BORN	PA BORN	NOT PA BORN
1850	40	0	27	1
1860	19	2	16	0
1870	6	1	15	5

1880	12	2	29	1
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NOTES

¹ Although the term "Colored" describes the population included in this study, it is too broad a term as it also describes other groups of people; therefore, "African American" is the term used throughout this paper instead of Colored, Negro and/or Black. Later in the paper, the terms "Black" and "Mulatto" differentiate between children of identical and biracial parentage, respectively. These are census terms and provide sociologically valuable information.

² The 1870 manuscript census lists Elias Woods as 35, but we can assume that this is incorrect as the 1860 census lists his age as 40 and the 1880 census, as 59. Other family members' ages are consistent throughout the census years.

³ Elias Woods was born in Maryland according to the 1860 census though the 1870 and 1880 censuses list him as born in Pennsylvania. This researcher proposes that Maryland is correct for two reasons. First, the census taker writes Maryland as the place of birth in the first census where Elias Woods' name appears and second, because it seems that many census takers had the habit of placing ditto marks to indicate Pennsylvania as place of birth for an entire page, leaving a large margin for hasty errors.

⁴ The 1860 census lists Elias Woods simply as illiterate; however, the 1870 census states that he could not write (ability to read is missing) and the 1880 census lists him as unable to read or write.

⁵ US Bureau of the Census, Federal Population Schedules: 1860, Indiana County, PA.

⁶ US Bureau of the Census, Federal Population Schedules: 1870, Indiana County, PA.

⁷ US Bureau of the Census, Federal Population Schedules: 1880, Indiana County, PA.

⁸ Ronald Vern Jackson et al, Pennsylvania 1850 Census Index, (Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Inc., 1976).

⁹ Jackson, Ronald Vern et al, Pennsylvania 1860 West, (New Salt Lake City, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1987).

¹⁰ These records are located in two vaults in the basement of the Indiana County Courthouse, Indiana, PA.

¹¹ From this point, terms citing the community or a group of people will refer to the African-American community unless otherwise noted in the text.

¹² Stewart, J.T. Indiana County Pennsylvania: Her People, Past and Present. I. Chicago: J.H. Beers and Co., 1913, 192.

¹³ McConnell, James V. Understanding Human Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974, 624-627.

¹⁴ The house these women were keeping was most likely their own as typically occupation is listed as servant or washerwoman if the work is performed in the home of another.

¹⁵ This is the criteria used in the census; however, people under that age were noted to be illiterate. Anyone under 21, however, was not included in the sort.

¹⁶ This range was derived by initially sorting the data and checking for school attendance. Although two 22 year olds, one 19 year old, two 4 year olds and one 1 year old were listed as in school throughout 1850-1880, this researcher felt including them would skew the data.

¹⁷ Washington, Mary Helen. Memory of Kin: Stories About Family By Black Writers. New York: Anchor Books, 1991, 7.